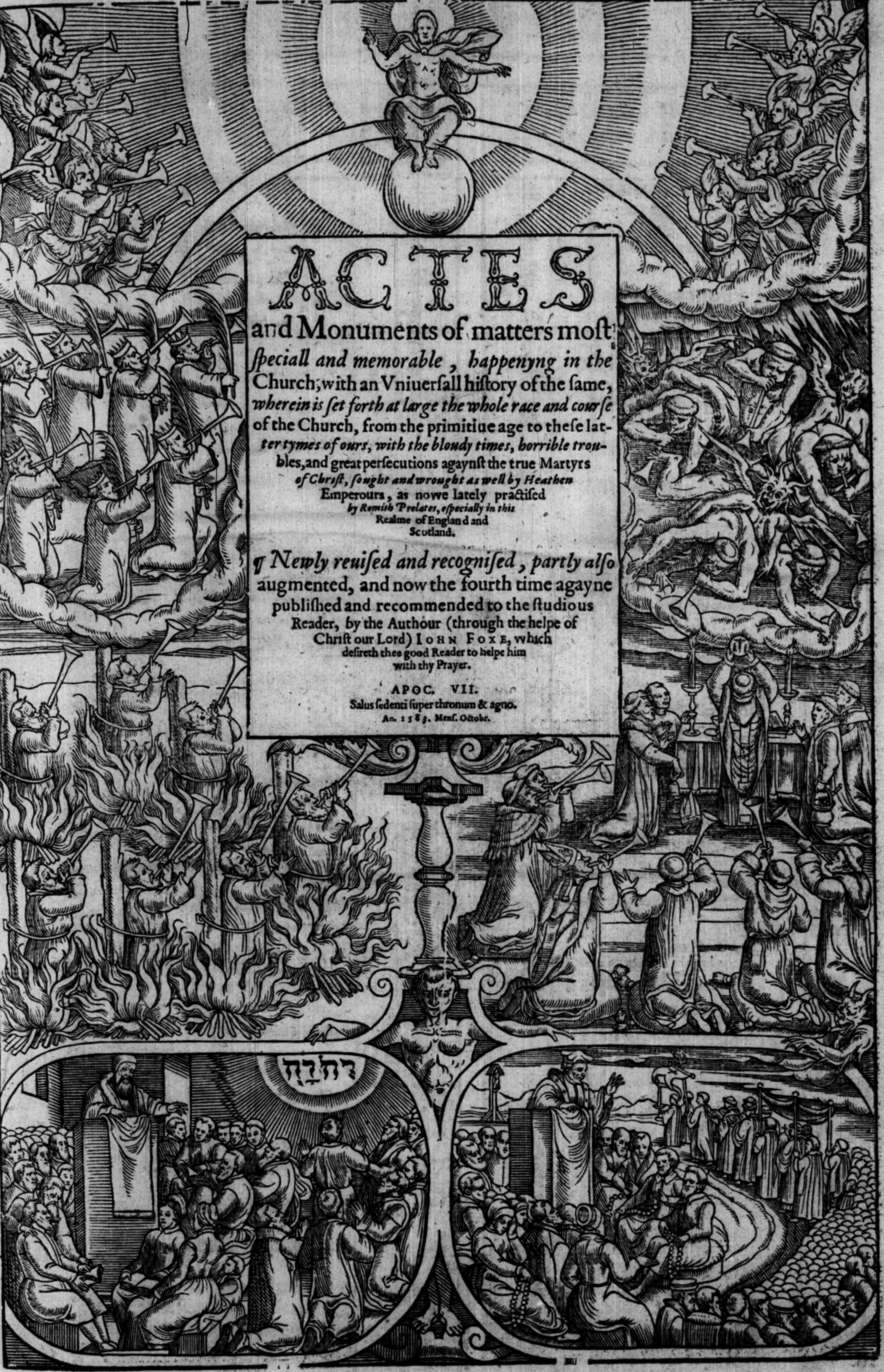


ACTES

and Monuments of matters moſt *ſpeciall and memorable, happenyng in the* Church, with an Vniuerſall hiſtory of the ſame,

wherein is ſet forth at large the whole race and courſe
of the Church, from the primitiue age to theſe lat-
ter tymes of ours, with the bloudy times, horrible trou-
bles, and great perſecutions agaynſt the true Martyrs
of Chriſt, ſought and wrought as well by Heathen
Emperours, as nowe lately practiſed
by Romish Prelates, eſpecially in this
Realme of England and
Scotland.

¶ *Newly reuiſed and recogniſed, partly alſo*
augmented, and now the fourth time agayne
publiſhed and recommended to the ſtudious
Reader, by the Authour (through the helpe of
Chriſt our Lord) IOHN FOXE, which
deſireth thee good Reader to helpe him
with thy Prayer.

APOC. VII.
Salus ſedenti ſuper thronum & agno.

An. 1583. Menſ. Octobr.

The Kalender.

			¶ Ianuary hath 31. dayes. *The Moone xxx.*	Dayes of their death	Yeare of our Lord.
3	A	1	Circumciſion.		
	b	2	*Iohn Wickliffe Preacher, Martyr.*		1387
11	c	3	I. Aſton confeſ.		1382
	d	4	William Sawtry prieſt Martyr.		1400
19	e	5	Swinderby a prieſt, martyr.		
8	f	6	Epiphany.		
	g	7	*Sir Rog. Acton knight, Martyr.*		1401
16	A	8	Iohn Browne Gentlemā Martyr.		1413
5	b	9	Iohn Beuerley preacher Martyr.		1413
	c	10	Richard Silbecke martyr.	14	1413
13	d	11	Iohn Caſtellane Doctor, Martyr.	12	1521
2	e	12	Tho. Whittle Miniſter, Martyr.	27	1525
	f	13	Bartlet Greene Gentleman, Martyr.	27	1556
10	g	14	Iohn Tudſon, Martyr.	27	1556
	A	15	Thomas Went, Martyr.	27	1556
18	b	16	Thomas Browne, martyr.	27	1556
			Iſabel Foſter, Martyr.	27	1556
7	c	17	Ioane Warne, aliâs Laſhford, Martyr.	27	1556
	d	18	Iohn Lomas, Martyr.	31	1556
15	e	19	Anne Albright, aliâs Champnes, Martyr.	31	1556
4	f	20	Ioane Catmer, Martyr.	31	1556
			Agnes Snoth, Martyr.	31	1556
	g	21	Ioane Sole, Martyr.	31	1556
12	A	22	William Waterer, martyr.	15	1556
			Conuer. of Paule.	15	
1	b	23	Steuen Kempe, Martyr.	15	1557
	c	24	William Hay, Martyr.	15	1557
			Thomas Hudſon, Martyr.	15	1557
9	d	25	William Lowicke, martyr.	15	1557
	e	26	William Prouting martyr.		1557
17	f	27	Nicholas Finall, Martyr.		1557
6	g	28	Math. Bradbrige Martyr.	16	
	A	29			
14	b	30	*Iohn Philpot, Martyr.*		1557
3	c	31	Thomas Steuens, martyr.		

			February hath 28. dayes. *The Moone xxix.*	Daies of their death.	Yeare of our Lord.
	d	1	William Thorpe prieſt, confeſſor.		1407
11	e	2	Purification of our Lady.		
19	f	3	Iohn Claidon, Martyr.		1413
8	g	4	Richard Turmine, martyr.		1413
	A	5	Ziſca a confeſſor.		1416
16	b	6	*Sir Iohn Oldcaſtle, Lord Cobham, Martyr.*		1418
5	c	7	Richard Houeden, martyr.		1430
	d	8	Thomas Bagley prieſt, Martyr.		1431
			Paule Crawes, Martyr.		1431
13	e	9	Thomas Rhedon. Martyr.		1436
2	f	10	Rainold Pecocke biſhop, confeſſor.		1457
	g	11	*Sir Roger Onley knight Martyr.*		1441
10	A	12	Elenor Cobham gentlewoman, confeſſor.		
	b	13	Mother of the lady Yong Martyr.		1490
18	c	14	Thomas Norice, Martyr.		1507
7	d	15	Thomas Eckles Martyr.		1510
	e	16	Thomas Bungay Martyr.		1511
15	f	17	*D. Martin Luther, confeſſor.*	18	1546
4	g	18	Pope of Eay, Martyr.		1512
	A	19	Peake, Martyr.		1512
12	b	20	George Carpenter, martyr.	8	1527
1	c	21	*Iohn Rogers Preacher, Martyr.*	4	1555
	d	22	*Laurence Sanders Preacher, Martyr.*	8	1555
9	e	23	*Iohn Hooper Biſhoppe, Martyr.*	9	1555
	f	24	Mathias Apoſtle.		
17	g	25	*Rowland Tailor Doctor Martyr.*	9	1555
6	A	26	*Robert Farrar Biſhoppe, Martyr.*	22	1555
	b	27	Agnes Potten, Martyr.	19	1556
14	c	28	Trunchfields wife, martyr.	19	1556

The Kalender.

¶ March hath 31. dayes
The Moone xxx.

				Dayes of their death.	Yeare of our Lord.
3	d	1	William Taylour Martyr.	2	1422
	e	2	John Weſelianus a doctor, Martyr.		1479
11	f	3	Doctor Veſelus, aliâs Baſilius, confeſſor.		1490
	g	4	Henry Sudphen, Martyr.		1524
19	A	5	John Hougley, Martyr.		1526
8	b	6	Petrus Fleſtedius, martyr.		1528
	c	7	Adolphus Clabachus, Martyr.		1528
16	d	8	Patrike Hamelton martyr.		1528
5	e	9	Thomas Hitton, Martyr.		1530
	f	10	*Thomas Bilney, Martyr.*		1531
13	g	11	Dauy Foſter, Mar.		1531
2	A	12	Edward Freeſe, confeſſor.		1531
	b	13	Valentine Freeſe and his wyfe, Mar.		
10	c	14	Father Bate, confeſ.		1531
	d	15	Rawlin White, Mar.	5	1555
18	e	16	Thom. Tomkins, Martyr.	15	1555
7	f	17	Thomas Higbed gentleman, Mar.	25	1555
	g	18	Thomas Cawſon Gentleman, Mar.	25	1555
15	A	19	William Hunter, Martyr.	25	1555
4	b	20	William Pigot, Martyr.	28	1555
	c	21	Stephen Knight, Martyr.	28	1555
12	d	22	John Laurence Miniſter Martyr.	29	1555
1	e	23	*Thomas Cranmer Archbiſhop of Canterbury, Martyr.*	21	1556
	f	24	Robert Spicer, Martyr.	24	1356
9	g	25	Annuntiation of our Lady.		
	A	26	Williã Coberley, Martyr.	24	1556
17	b	27	Maundrell, Mar.	24	1556
6	c	28	Rich. Craſhfield, Martyr.	15	1557
	d	29	Cuthbert Simpſō, martyr.	28	1558
14	e	30	Hugh Foxe, Mar.	28	1558
3	f	31	John Deuenniſh, Martyr.	28	1558

¶ Aprill hath 30. dayes
The Moone xxix.

				Daies of their death.	Yeare of our Lord.
	g	1	Robert Hatches Martyr. Archer Martyr. Hawkins Martyr.	4	1519
11	A	2	Thomas Bound, Martyr.	4	1519
	b	3	Wrigſham Martyr.	4	1519
19	c	4	Lanſdale Martyr.	4	1519
8	d	5	Mayſtres Smith Widow Martyr.	4	1519
16	e	6	James Baynham Gentleman Martyr.	30	1532
5	f	7	John Awcocke Confeſſor.	2	1555
	g	8	George Marſh Preacher Martyr.	24	1555
13	A	9	William Flower Miniſter Martyr.	24	1555
2	b	10	Robert Drakes Miniſter, Martyr.	24	1556
	c	11	Thomas Tyms Martyr:	24	1556
10	d	12	Richard Spurge Martyr.	24	1556
	e	13	Thomas Spurge Martyr.		
18	f	14	John Cauell Martyr.	24	1556
7	g	15	George Ambroſe Martyr.	24	1556
	A	16	J. Harpole Martyr. Joane Bech Martyr.	1	1556
15	b	17	John Hullier Miniſter, Martyr.	2	1556
4	c	18	Chriſtopher Liſter Miniſter, Martyr.	28	1556
	d	19	John Mace Martyr.	28	1556
12	e	20	John Spencer Martyr.	28	1556
1	f	21	Symon Joyne Martyr. Richard Nicholl Martyr.	28 28	1556 1556
	g	22	John Hamond Martyr.	28	1556
9	A	23	S. George Martyr.		
	b	24	Thomas Loſeby Martyr.	12	1556
17	c	25	Marke Euangeliſt.		
5	d	26	Henry Ramſey Martyr. Thomas Thyrtle Martyr.	12 12	1557 1557
	e	27			
4	f	28	Margaret Hyde Martyr.	12	1557
	g	29	Agnes Stanley Martyr.	12	1557
	A	30	William Nicholl Martyr.		1558

The Kalender.

			¶ May hath 31. dayes. The Moone xxx.	Dayes of their death.	Yeare of our Lord.
11	b	1	Phillip and Iacob Apoſtles.		
	c	2	*Iohn Hus, Martyr.*		1415
19	d	3	Hieronymus Saluonarola, Martyr.	23	1499
8	e	4	Dominike, Martyr.	23	1499
	f	5	Siluester, Martyr.	23	1499
16	g	6	Frier Roy, Mar.		1531
			Rob. Kyng, mar.		1532
5	A	7	Robert Debnam, Martyr.		1532
	b	8	Nicholas Marſh, Martyr.		1532
13	c	9	*Iohn Cardmaker*, alias *Taylour, Preacher.* Martyr.	31	1555
2	d	10			
	e	11	Iohn Warne, mar.	31	1555
10	f	12	Margaret Ellis, confeſſor.	13	1556
	g	13	Hugh Lauerocke, Martyr.	15	1556
18	A	14	Iohn Apprice, mar.	15	1556
7	b	15	Katherine Hut Widow, Martyr.	16	1556
	c	16	Elizab. Thackuell, martyr.	16	1556
15	d	17	Ione Hornes, mar.	16	1556
4	e	18	A blind boy and another with him, mar.	5	1556
	f	19	Thomas Spycer, Martyr.	21	1556
12	g	20	Iohn Denny, mar.	21	1556
1	A	21	William Poole, Martyr.	21	1556
			Iohn Sleſh, confeſſor.	30	1556
	b	22	William Norant, Martyr.	29	1557
9	c	23	Steuen Gratwike, martyr.	29	1557
	d	24	Iohn Thurſtone, confeſſor.		1557
17	e	25			
6	f	26	William Seaman, martyr.	19	1558
	g	27	Thomas Carman, martyr.	19	558
14	A	28	Thomas Hudſon, Martyr.	19	1558
3	b	29	William Harries, Martyr.	26	1558
	c	30	Rich. Day, mar.	26	1558
11	d	31	Chriſtian George, Martyr.	26	1558

			¶ Iune hath 30. dayes. The Moone xxix.	Dayes of their death.	Yeare of our Lord.
	e	1	*Hieromus of Prage, martyr.*	1	1416
19	f	2	Anne Aſkew, Martyr. Ioh. Laſſels, gent. Mar. Nich. Belman, Mar.		1546
8	g	3	Tho. Hawkes, Mar. Tho. Watts, Mar.	10	1555
16	A	4	John Simpſon, Mar. John Ardley, Mar.		
			Nic. Chamberlain, mar.	14	1555
5	b	5	Tho. Oſmond, mar. W. Bramford, Mar.	15	1555
	c	6	Tho. Harland, Mar. John Oſward, Mar.	6	1556
13	d	7	Tho. Read, Mar. Tho. Abington, Mar. Tho. Wood, miniſt. Mar. Tho. Miles, Mar.	20	1556
2	e	8	Wil. Adherall Miniſter, confeſſor.	23	1556
			John Clement, confeſ.	25	1556
	f	9	A merchants ſeruaunt, Martyr.	26	
10	g	10	H. Adlington, mar. Lau. Pernam, mar. Hen. Wie, mar.	27	1556
	A	11	W. Halliwell, mar. Th. Bowyer, mar.	27 27	1556
18	b	12	George Searle, mar. Edm. Hurſt, mar. Lion Cawch, mar. Raſe Jackſon, mar.	27 27	1556
7	c	13	Ioh. Deriſall, mar. John Roth, mar.		1556
	d	14	Eliz. Pepper, mar. Agnes George, mar.	27 27	1556
15	e	15	Tho. Parret, confeſ. Hunt & Ambroſe, confeſ. Ioh. Morice, confeſ.	28	1556
4	f	16	Rog. Bernard, mar. Adam Foſter, mar. Rob. Lawſon, mar.	29 30	1556 1556
	g	17	Walter Apleby & Petronill his wife, mar.	18	1557
12	A	18	Edm. Allen, and Katharine his wyfe, mar.		
1	b	19	Io. Bradbrige, mar. J. Manning, mar. Eliz. a blind maid, mar.	18	1557
	c	20	Tho. More, mar. Nich. White, mar. Nich. Pardue, mar.	19	1557
9	d	21	J. Fiſhcocke, mar. Barbara Final, mar.		
	e	22	Bradbriges wid. Mar. Bendens wife, and Wilſons wife, Mar.	19	1557
17	f	23	Rich. Woodman, mar.		
6	g	24	Nat. of S. Iohn Bap. G. Stephens, W. Mainard, Alexander Hoſmans man, Martyrs.	22	1557
	A	25	Tomaſin a Woods maid,		
14	b	26	Margery Morice, Iam. Morice ſonne, Dennis Burges, Aſdowns wife, Groues wife, Martyrs.	22	1557
3	c	27	Henry Pond, mar. R. Eſtland, mar.	27	1558
	d	28	Ro. Southam, mar. Mat. Ricarby, mar.		
11	e	29	Peter and Paule. John Lloyd, mar.	27	1558
	f	30	John Holyday, mar. Rog. Holland, mar.		

The Kalender.

¶ Iuly hath 31. dayes.
The Moone xxx.

				Dayes of their death	Yeare of our Lord.
19	g	1	Henry Voz, Mar. John Esch, mar.		1522
8	A	2	John Frith, Martyr. Andrew Hewet, Martyr.	4	1523
	b	3	Anthony Person, Martyr.		
16	c	4	Robert Testwood, Martyr.	18	1543
5	d	5	H. Finnemore, mar.		
	e	6	John Bradford preacher, Martyr.	1	1555
13	f	7	John Leafe, mar.		
2	g	8	John Polley, Mar.		
	A	9	Will. Ming Minister, Mar. Richard Hoke, Mar.	2	1555
10	b	10	John Blande Preacher, Mar.	12	1555
	c	11	John Franke, mar. Humfrey Middleton, Mar.	12	1555
18	d	12	Nich. Shetterden, Martyr.	12	1555
7	e	13	William Dighel, Martyr.		
	f	14	Dirike Caruer, mar. John Launder, mar.	2 3	1555 1555
15	g	15	Thomas Iueson, Martyr.		
4	A	16	Nich. Hall, Mar. John Alewortch, confessor.		
	b	17	John Carelesse confessor. John Owin, mar.	1	1556
12	c	18	Julins Palmer a schoolemaister, and Askine, Martyrs.	16	1556
1	d	19	Katharine Cauches, and Paratine Massy, with her child not one hower old, and Guillemine Gilbert, Mar.	17	1556
	e	20			
9	f	21	Thomas Dungate, mar. John Foreman, Martyr.	18	1556
	g	22	Symon Miller, Mar.		
17	A	23	Elizabeth Cooper, Martyr.	13	1556
6	b	24	Mary Magdalene.		
	c	25	Richard Yeoman, Minister, mar.	10	1558
14	d	26	William Pikes, Mar.	14	1558
3	e	27	Iames Apostle.		
	f	28	Stephen Cotton, Martyr. John Slade, mar.	14 14	1558 1558
11	g	29	Stephen Wight, Mar. Rob. Milles, mar.	14 14	1558 1558
	A	30	Rob. Dines, mar.	14	1558
19	b	31	Tho. Benbricke Gentleman, mar.	19	1558

¶ August hath 31. dayes.
The Moone xxx.

				Daies of their death.	Yeare of our Lord.
8	c	1	Leonard Keyser, Martyr.	16	1527
16	d	2	James Abbes, mar.	2	1555
5	e	3	John Denly Gentleman mar.	8	1555
	f	4	John Newman, Martyr.	28	ibid.
13	g	5	Patrike Patingham, mar.	28	ibid.
2	A	6	Will. Coker, mar. Wil. Hopper, mar.	23 23	ibid. ibid.
	b	7	Henry Laurence, Martyr.	23	ibid.
10	c	8	Richard Collier, Martyr.	23	ibid.
	d	9	William Steere, Martyr.	23	ibid.
18	e	10	Richard Wright, Martyr.	23	ibid.
7	f	11	Elizabeth Warne, martyr.		
	g	12	George Tankerfield, mart.	26	ibid.
15	A	13	Richard Smith, Martyr.	8	ibid.
4	b	14	Stephen Horwod, martyr.	30	ibid.
	c	15	Thomas Fusse, mar.	30	ibid.
12	d	16	William Haile, Martyr.	31	ibid.
1	e	17	Robert Samuell Preacher, mar.	31	1555
	f	18	Ioane Waste, Mar.		1556
9	g	19	William Bongeor, martyr.	2	1557
	A	20	Robert Purcas, mar.	2	1557
17	b	21	Thomas Bennold, martyr.	2	1557
6	c	22	Agnes Siluerside, alias Smith, mar.	2	1557
	d	23	Bartholomew Apostle.		
14	e	24	Ellin Ewring, mar.	2	1557
3	f	25	Elizabeth Folkes mayd, Martyr.	2	1557
	g	26	William Munt, Martyr.	2	1557
11	A	27	Alice Munt, mar.	2	1557
19	b	28	Rose Allin, maide, Martyr.	2	1557
	c	29	John Johnson, mar. George Egles, mar.	2	1557
8	d	30	One Frier and the sayde George Egles sister, Martyrs.	2	1557
	e	31			

The Kalender.

September hath 30. dais The Moone xxix.				Dayes of their death.	Yeare of our Lord.
16	f	1	Father Abraham, Marſor.		1428
5	g	2	Williā Wright Prieſt, Martyr.		1428
	A	3	John Waddon Prieſt, Martyr.		1428
			Williā Gardiner, Martyr.		1552
13	b	4	W. Allen, Mar.		1556
			Tho. Cob, Martyr.		
2	c	5	Tho. Coo, Mar.		1555
	d	6	Will. Andrew, confeſſor.		ibid.
			Thomas King, confeſſor.		
10	e	7	Thomas Leis, confeſſor.	5	ibid.
	f	8	George Catmer, Martyr.	6	ibid.
18	g	9	Robert Streater, Martyr.		
7	A	10	Anthony Burward, martyr.		ibid.
	b	11	George Bradbrige, martyr.	6	ibid.
			James Tutty, Mar.		
15	c	12	Thom. Hayward, Martyr.		ibid.
4	d	13	J. Goreway, Mar.		
			Rob. Glouer, Mar.		ibid.
	e	14	Cornelius Bungay, martyr.	20	
			Edw. Sharpe, mar.		1556
12	f	15	John Hart, mar.	8	
1	g	16	Tho. Rauensdale a ſhoomaker, or a Currier, mar.	24	1556
	A	17	John Horne and another woman, mar.	25	1556
9	b	18	John Kurd, mar.	20	1556
			Cicelie Ormes, mar.		1557
			Joyce Lewys, mar.	23	
	c	19	Rafe Allerton, mar.	10	1557
			Richard Roth, mar.	17	1557
17	d	20			
			Mathew Apoſtle.		
6	e	21	James Auſco and Margery his wyfe, mar.	17	1557
	f	22	Agnes Bongeor, Martyr.	17	1557
14	g	23	Mar. Thurſtone, Martyr.		1557
3	A	24	John Warren, mar.		
	b	25	Chriſti. Grouer, Martyr.		
11	c	26	Thomas Athoth, Martyr.		1557
19	d	27	John Aſhdone, Martyr.		
	e	28	Thomas Spurdaunce, Mar.		1557
8	f	29	Michaell Archangel.		
	g	30	John Fortune, Martyr.		1557

October hath 31. dayes. The Moone xxx.				Dayes of their death.	Yeare of our Lord.
6	A	1	Bartholet Milton, martyr.		1534
	b	2	John de Burge, a riche merchant, Mar.		1534
3	c	3	The receiuer of Naunts Mar.		1534
			Henry Poile, Mar.		1534
2	d	4	Catelle a ſchoolemaiſtres Martyr.		1534
	e	5	Stephen de la Foarge, a merchant, Mar.		1534
10	f	6			
			William Tyndall, Martyr.		1536
	g	7			
			William Leyton, Martyr.		1537
18	A	8	Puttedew, Mar.		1537
7	b	9	Joh. Lambert, alias Nicolſon, Mar.		1538
	c	10	Collins, Mar.		1538
			Cowbrige, Mar.		
5	d	11	Peter a Germane, Martyr.		1539
			Launcellot, Mar.		1539
4	e	12	John a Painter, Mar.		1539
	f	13	Giles Germaine, Martyr.		1539
			Robert Barnes, Mar.		1539
2	g	14	Thomas Garrard, martyr.	4	1541
	A	15	William Hierome, martyr.		
	b	16	William Wolſey, Martyr.	4	1555
9	c	17	Rob. Pigot, Mar.	4	1555
			Luke Euangeliſt.		
	d	18	*Nicholas Ridley Biſhop, Martyr.*	16	1555
17	e	19	*Hugh Latymer Biſhop, Martyr.*		
6	f	20			
			J. Web, gent. mar.		1555
	g	21	George Roper, mar.	31	
14	A	22	Gregory Parke, Martyr.		
			Adam Walles, mar.		1551
3	b	23	Marke Burges, mar.	2	
	c	24	William Hooker, Martyr.		1560
11	d	25	Simō Prieſt, Beuerech Frier, Kepler blacke Frier, Dauy Strattō, gentleman, Norman Gorley Vicar of Dolor, a blacke Canon, with 4. other, martyrs		
19	e	26			
	f	27			
8	g	28	Simon and Iude.		
	A	29	Three died in priſon at Ciceſter, confeſ.	18	1556
16	b	30	Mother Seaman, confeſſor.		1556
5	c	31	Mother Bennet, confeſſor.		1556

The Kalender.

Nouember hath 30. dais.

The Moone xxix.

				Dayes of their death	Yeare of our Lord.
	d	1	The feaſt of all Saints.		
13	e	2	Richard Mekings, martyr.		1541
2	f	3	Richard Spenſer, Martyr.		1541
	g	4	Andrew Hewet, Martyr.		1541
10	A	5	John Porter, confeſ.		1542
	b	6	Thomas Bernard, martyr.		1542
18	c	7	James Morton, Martyr.		1542
7	d	8	George Wizard Gentleman, Mar.		1146
	e	9	John Kirby, Mar.		1546
15	f	10	Roger Clarke, Mar.		1546
4	g	11	Richard Bayfield, alias Somerſam, Mar.	20	1531
	A	12	John Clarke, confeſ.		1556
12	b	13	Dunſtane Chittenden, confeſ.		1556
1	c	14	William Foſter, Martyr.		1556
	d	15	Alice Potkins, confeſſor.		1556
9	e	16	John Archer, confeſ.		1556
	f	17	Hooke, Mar.		1556
17	g	18	John Hallingdale, Martyr.	18	1557
6	A	19	William Sparow, martyr.	18	1557
	b	20	Richard Gybſon Gentleman, Mar.	18	1557
14	c	21	Saunder Gouch, Martyr.	4	1558
3	d	22	Elizabeth Dyner, martyr.	4	1558
			Phillip Humfrey, Martyr.	5	1558
	e	23	John Davy, Mar.	5	1558
11	f	24	Henry Davy, Mar.	5	1558
19	g	25	John Corneforth, Martyr.	10	1558
	A	26	Chriſtopher Browne, Martyr.	10	1558
8	b	27	John Herſt, Mar.	10	1558
	c	28	Alice Snoth, Mar.	10	1558
16	d	29	Katharine knight, Martyr.		
5	e	30	Andrew Apoſtle.		

December hath 31. daies

The Moone xxx.

				Daies of their death.	Yeare of our Lord.
	f	1	William Tracy, Eſquier, confeſ.		1534
13	g	2	Peter Sapience, Martyr.		1545
2	A	3	George Buckes alias Adam Damlip, Martyr.		1531
10	b	4	An old man of Buckinghamſhire, Mar.		1381
	c	5	Two gray Friers, Martyrs.		1513
18	d	6	John Hilton, confeſſor. John Coignes, confeſſor.		1517
7	e	7	Robert Warde, confeſſor.		1517
	f	8	A ſcholer of Abbeuile, Martyr.		1522
15	g	9	A Jew, Martyr.		1528
4	A	10	Richard Hunne, Martyr.	4	1515
			John Tewkeſbery, martyr.	20	1531
	b	11	James Gore, confeſ.	7	1555
12	c	12	William Wiſeman confeſſor.	13	1555
1	d	13	*Iohn Philpot Preacher, Martyr.*	18	1557
	e	14	John Rough, Preacher, Martyr.	22	1557
9	f	15	Margaret Mering, martyr.	22	1558
	g	16	Thomas Tyler, confeſſor.		1558
17	A	17	Mathew Withers, confeſſor.		1558
6	b	18	Dale, confeſ. Thomas Apoſtle.		1550
	c	19	Wil. Plaine. Elizabeth Lawſon, confeſſor.		1550
14	d	20	Joh. Glouer, confeſ.		
3	e	21	Nicholas Burton, martyr.	22	1562
	f	22	Nat. of our Lord. Stephen, Mar.		
11	g	23	Iohn Euangeliſt. Childermaſſe.		
19	A	24	Thomas Rhedonenſis, an Erle, mar.		1436
	b	25	Picus Mirandula, confeſſor.		1497
8	c	26	Eraſmus Roterodamus, confeſſor.		1513
	d	27	Mart. Bucer, confeſ.		1549
16	e	28	Paulus Phagius, confeſſor.		1551 1559
5	f	29	Phillip Melancton, confeſſor.		1562
	g	30	Peter Martir, confeſ.		1553
13	A	31	*King Edward the ſixt, confeſſor.*		

Ad Dominum Ieſum Chriſtum Seruatorem clementiſsimum, *Euchariſticon. Ioan. Foxi.*

CONFECTO NVNC OPERE, QVOD TVIS PRIMVM AVSPIcijs ac voluntate aggreſſus (ſumme & adorande Ieſu, idemq́; Seruator clementiſſime) inchoaui, quodq́; tuo demum beneficio ac fauore exegi atque abſolui, præter omnem certam opinionem & vires meas: ſupereſt itaque pro officio meo, vt animula hæc, ceu pro votiua tabula, gratias, ſi non quantas debeat (vtinam enim id poſſet) at quantas queat maximè, munificentiſſimæ tuæ perſoluat maieſtati: quæ tam miſerum homuncionem, vel ſyphar potius hominis, in laboribus tot tantíſque iſtis, qui vel aſellum quemuis ἀχθοφόρον poſſent conficere, tumultuantem, benigno ſucceſſu ac ſolatio tam clementer ſuffulcerit. Quanquam autem de operis difficultate nihil hic cauſari attinet, quæ vix æſtimari à multis poterit: tua tamen non ignorat omnipotens maieſtas, huius, qualecunque ſit, negotij confectio quibus quanq; non ferendis curis, vigilijs, moleſtijs conſtitit: Quibus nullo modo pares futuri eſſemus, niſi fauentis gratiæ tuæ numen affulſiſſet, ac ſeſe quodam modo admiſcuiſſet operi. Quid ni enim fatear ac teſter ingenuè, quod re ipſa experti ſumus. Perſenſimus enim, penéque oculis ipſis conſpeximus, ſingularem excellſæ dexteræ tuæ ἐνεργίαν, non modo in ſucceſſu negotij prouehendo, ſed in vita etiam ſpiritúq; inter labores, conſeruando. Tui igitur muneris eſt (clementiſſime Ieſu) quod opus tuis ſuſceptum auſpicijs huc vſque prouectum ſit. Nos viciſſim quod noſtri ſit officij, gratias clementiæ tuæ, cum noſtro priuatim, tum publico quodammodo eccleſiæ tuæ nomine, agimus. Vel hinc enim cernimus quanti cauſam Martyrum tuorum æſtimes, quando eorum illuſtrando nomini tanta faueas propenſione. Quanquam verò ſi nulla hic extaret eorum recordatio, non poſſent non omnibus modis eſſe illuſtriſſimi, quorum ſint nomina vitæ tuæ libro inſcripta. Et tamen voluit hoc modo tua declarare maieſtas, nobiſq́; innoteſcere hominibus, quàm honorificum ſit pro tui nominis gloria fortiter dimicãtes occumbere, quorum tu vitam à cinere ac rogo ſic vindicas, ſic cauſam tueris, ſic dignitatem illuſtras, vt eandem multo cum gloriæ fœnore abs te recipiat clariorẽ, quam ſi ipſi nunquam alioqui perdidiſſent. Habet ſiquidem peculiare hoc ſibi militiæ tuæ ratio, longe à mũdo hoc diuerſum, quòd in caſtris tuis militantes ſiue viuant, tibi viuant, ſiue moriantur, multò clareſcant a funere fœlicius, quàm ſi vixiſſent maximè.

Auxilium Chriſti in cõcinnando hoc opere.

Sic Cranmerum videmus, Ridleum, Latimerum, Iohannem Hooperum, Bradfordum, cæteroſq́; eiuſdem decuriæ pugiles, quanto maiore occubuiſſe cum gloria in acie tua depugnantes, quàm ſi relicta ſtatione, in qua erant collocati, ſaluti ipſi ſuæ cauſam tuam poſtpoſuiſſent. Quæ enim gens, quæ lingua, quæ natio, quæ temporum vetuſtas, quæ hominum poſteritas eorum non cantabit laudes, non virtutem agnoſcet, non magnitudinem admirabitur? Quis Wicleuum vnquam, aut Cobhamum natum fuiſſe exiſtimaſſet, niſi tua in cauſa tam egiſſent ſtrenuè? Quanto honori illud Huſſio Bohemenſi, noſtroq́; Tindallo fuit, quod vitam in Euangelij tui cauſa perditam, magis abs te recipere, quam ipſi retinere maluerint? Spectemus è diuerſa parte aduerſarios tuos, quorum tam multas eſſe conſtat cædes, iniurias, crudelitates aduerſus tuos, multáq; item occultè & ſceleſtè ab ijſdem perpetrata, quæ nũquam ſperabant fore palam: Et tamen quid vnquam in angulis & tenebris ab illis eſt deſignatum tam occultè aduerſus Eccleſiam, quod non in apricum tua produxit producetq́; prouidentia? atque ita produxit, vt vnde ipſi laudis ſibi conceperunt animo opinionem, inde ſummum ſibi ipſis dedecus pepererint & contumeliam, quam nec vita effugere, nec morte vnquam finire poterint. Quis Guiſios, Boneros, Storios, Gardineros, tanquam execranda hominum nomina nunc non nouit? non exhorret, quis eorum facinora obliterabit dies, aut ſepeliet memoria? Et quid hos in tanta multitudine hoſtium tuorum recenſeo? Cui vnquam proſpere ceſſit tuo rebellare numini, aut hoſtem ſe eccleſiæ tuæ profiteri? Papæ nomen quàm erat aliquando in his terris celebre & glorioſum? Nunc quid putidius, quid probroſius? Cardinalitium faſtigium cœperunt primo admirari homines, multáque proſequi reuerentia: Sic Monachorum & Nonnarum collegia ſuum quondam habebant plauſum apud plebem ſimplicem & credulam: At poſtquam ſpreta veritate tua cæperunt graſſari contra te, tuorumq; homicidæ fieri, eo tandem ſunt prolapſi (exceptis paucis quos tua exemit gratia) vt reliqua fex nihil aliud iam eſſe præter vocabula quædam ad ignominiam relicta videatur.

Felix ac glorioſum pro Chriſto mortem oppetere.

Papæ nomen nunc probroſum

Cardinalium Monachorum, nõnarum nomina ad ignominiam nunc relicta.

Hæc nimirum (ſanctiſſime domine ac deus noſter) iuſtiſſimi iudicij tui ſunt præludia, ex quo haud difficile æſtimare ſit, quidnam in altero illo expectaturi ſint, quos in hoc ipſo ſeculo, hoc eſt in ſuo ipſorũ regno, tanta accumules infamia & dedecore. Sed omiſſis his, ad ſanctos tuos redeamus Martyres, quorum nomine, merito à nobis perenne velut ſacrificium laudis & gratiarum tuæ debetur, ſimul & habetur, bonitati. Primum quòd in eccleſiæ tuæ cauſa dimicantibus tam fortem & alacrem ſpiritum omnibuſq; tormentis maiorem aduerſus parricidas Papiſtas ſubminiſtraſti. Deinde quòd & nobis

1.
2.

3. bis in illorum deſudantibus hiſtoria propitius adeò clementiæ tuæ fauor affuerit. Debetur & hoc priuatim meo quoque nomine ſingulari tuæ pietati, quòd vitam toties alioqui nutantem, in hac tanta,
4. quantam tu ſolus nouiſti, laboris immenſitate conſeruatam tuo volueris beneficio. Verum illud inprimis omnes debemus pariter effuſiſſimo tuo in nos amori, quòd beatorum Martyrum tuorum, quos mundi huius ad flammas & cineres adegerit peruerſitas, cauſam & innocentiam velut è cinere recollectam, in lucem denuò notitiamq; eccleſiæ tuæ reuocare at patefacere dignatus ſis. Etſi enim dubium non eſt, quin in ſupremo illo iudicio tuo, quum virtutes cœlorum mouebuntur, omnis eorum ad amuſſim excutietur cauſa ante tribunal tuum, eſt tamen aliquid hîc quoq; in eccleſia tua cauſam ipſorum, facta, vitęq; virtutes cæteras non ignorari. Tunc autem ad illos vberior gloria, ad nos interea maior redundabit fructus, quando ex ipſorum rectè factis, integritate, innocentia, fide ac patientia conſtare poterit, non quid ipſi ſolum fecerint, ſed quid & nobis eorum ſit exemplo faciendum.

Deploratio noſtrorum morum et temporum.

Quanta degeneratio noſtrorum nunc hominum, ab exemplis ſuperiorum Martyrum.

Sed hic rurſus (dulciſſime Ieſu) opus eſt benigno fauoris tui præſidio. Nos enim qui filij Martyrum tuorum ſumus, quoſque maximè maiores noſtros imitari conueniebat, nunc nihil ferè parentum tenemus, præter vitæ ſolam hanc, quam ſuo partam ſanguine reliquerunt, libertatem: qua etiam ipſa nimium abutimur intemperanter, vt iam periculum ſit, ne non filij modò Martyrum, ſed ne fratres quidem ipſorum haberi mereamur. Quantum enim interſit diſcriminis, quamq; prorſus diſconuenit ordine toto noſtra conſuetudo ab illorum veſtigijs & diſciplina, pudet profectò referre. Sed quid ego tibi referam, cuius nihil non perſpicit maieſtas ac intuetur? Quanto illis ſtudio ac curæ fuit amore tui, cætera quæq;, adeoq; ſeipſos ad vitæ etiam contemptum abdicare, mundum cum omnibus deſiderijs flocci facere, voluptates tanquam nugas ſpernere? Nec ſinebant pericula vndiq; imminentia opibus congerendis multoq; minus honoribus cumulandis vacare. Contra verò noſtra nunc vita, ſtudium, omniſq; adeò contentio, quid niſi mundum ſpirat, quid aliud quàm perpetuum quoddam fluxarum rerum, opum, ac honorum aucupium videtur & ambitus? At illi quam præclarè ſecum actum putaſſent, ſi vel viuere modò licuiſſet. Ideoq; multi fuere eorũ qui Mariæ Reginæ facultates & poſſeſſiones omnes aduſq; extremum aſſem obtulerũt, dummodo ſolam ipſis remitteret conſcientiam. Et quę nos tanta hæc habendi intemperies exagitat, quibus nec vnus nec mediocris victus poſſit eſſe ſatis? Sine modo, ſine fine opibus, ſacerdotijs, cenſuiq; dilatando inhiamus. Quanto ambitu amicos fatigamus & inimicos, non vt viuamus ſolum, verum vt ſublimes viuamus & honorati? De fide, de manſuetudine eorum, tolerantia, ſimplicitate, ac patientia incredibili, quid dici ſatis poteſt? Quanta conſtantia, qua animi alacritate perpeſſi ſunt quicquid infligebatur, vindictam omnem deo remittentes, cui & cauſam commendabant? Nulla vis eos aduerſariorum deijcere, nec minæ frangere, non ludibria mouere, non pericula, non tormenta vlla conſternere, nec delinire blanditiæ potuerunt.

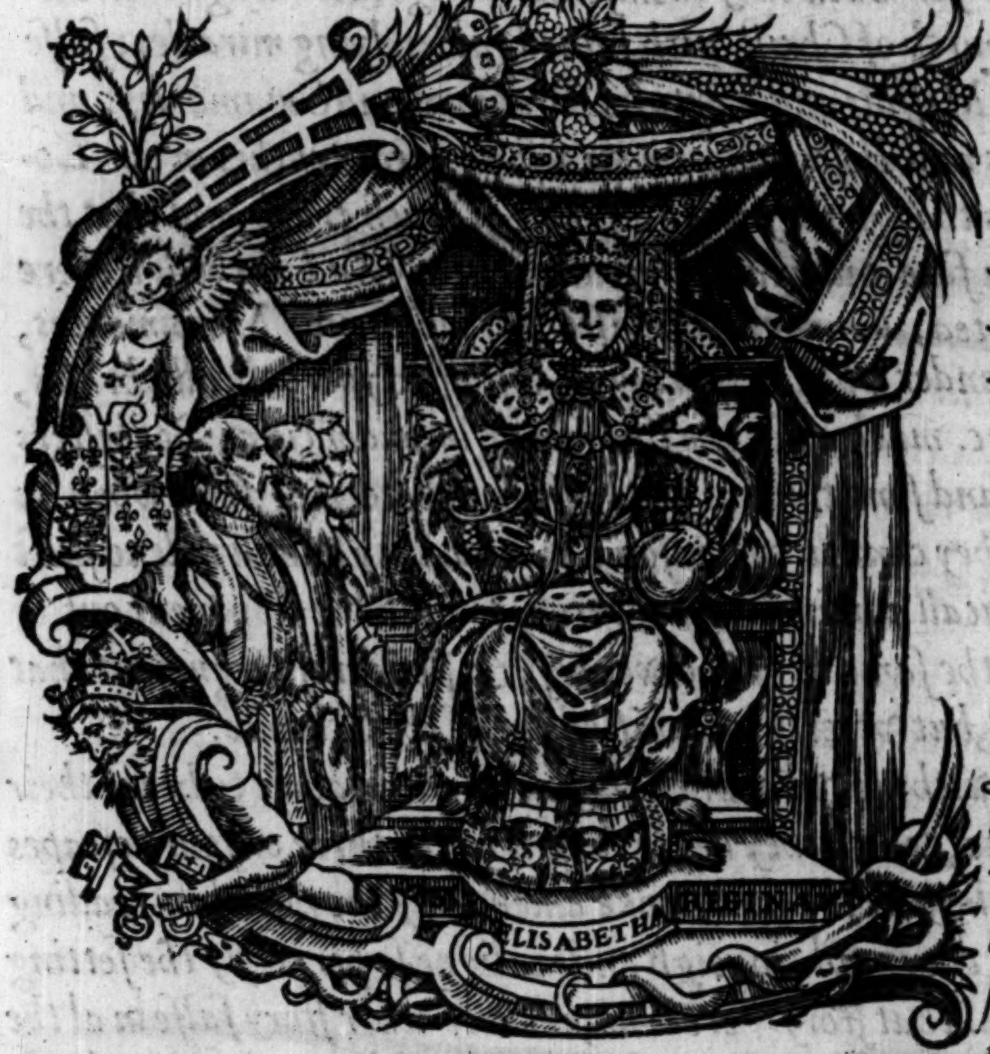
Neceſſaria precatio.

Componamus nunc noſtram cum his mollitiem. Sed pudor prohibet, Nam quæ tam leuis nos tentationis aura afflare poſſit, quæ non illico præcipites ac tranſuerſos rapiat in auaritiam, in faſtum, voluptates, turpitudinem, vindictam, & in quid non malorum? Quæ tam leuis obijci poterit iniuriola, pro qua non cœlum terræ miſcemus, mariáq; turbamus ab imo? Ex quo in promptu eſt colligere, quantum ab eo abſumus, vt mortem ſimus vnquam, tua cauſa ſubituri, ſiquando res Martyrium flagitet, quum nec affectus quidem iſtos tuo amputare iuſſu velimus. Quapropter vt Martyrum quidem illorum cauſa gratias agimus nomini tuo ſancto: ita noſtra viciſſim cauſa deprecamur, vt qui largitus ſis ipſis vincendi facultatem, nobis itidem pia eorundem exempla imitandi fœlicitatem aſpires: ſicque eccleſiæ tuæ affulgeat tua gratia, necubi ſeducti huius mundi illecebris, ſecordiores ipſi in retinenda Euangelij tui victoria, quàm illi in comparanda ſtrenui, videamur. Poſtremo quoniam hiſtoriam hanc tuo nutu ac voluntate aggreſſi, in ea re operam ſtudiumq; poſuimus, quo facta geſtaque
ſanctorum tuorum (ſanctiſſime Ieſu) ad nominis tui gloriam, & in commodum eccleſiæ
publicum emergerent, adde nunc labori fructum, ſimulq; hiſtoriæ tutelam in te recipias
magnopere petimus, cui & opus ipſum, totumq; meipſum, quem tot modis
tuæ miſericordiæ debeo, toto corpore & anima, totiſq; viribus commendo,
dedico, conſecroque, cui omne cadat genu, omniſque
vox & lingua confeſſionis gloriam per omnes eccleſias
tribuat perſonetque. Amen.

◆

¶ To the Right Vertuous, moſt Excellent and *Noble Princeſſe, Queene* ELIZABETH, *our dread Lady*, by the grace of God, Queene of England, Fraunce and Ireland, Defender *of Chriſtes Faith and Goſpell, and principall Gouernour both of the Realme, and al*ſo ouer the ſayd Churche of England and Ireland, vnder Chriſt the Supreme head *of the ſame, &c.*

Iohn Foxe her humble ſubiect wiſheth daily increaſe of Gods holy ſpirite
and Grace, with long raigne, perfect health, and ioyfull peace, to gouerne
hys flocke committed to her charge, to the example of all good Princes,
the comforte of his Churche, and glory of hys
bleſſed name.



CHRIST the Prince of all *Princes, who hath placed you in your throne of Maieſtie, vnder him to gouerne the Church and Realme of England, geue your royall highneſſe long to ſit, and many yeares to raigne ouer vs, in all flouriſhing felicitie, to his gracious pleaſure, and long laſting ioy of all your ſubiects. Amen.*

When I firſt preſented theſe Actes *and* Monvmentes *vnto your Maieſtie (moſt deare Soueraigne Queene* Elizabeth, *our peaceable* Salome) *which your Maieſties rare clemencie receiued in ſuch gentle part: I well hoped that theſe my trauailes in this kynd of writing had bene well at an ende, whereby I might haue returned my ſtudies agayne to other purpoſes after myne owne deſire, more fitte then to write hiſtories, eſpecially in the Engliſh tong. But certaine euill diſpoſed perſons, of intemperant tongues, aduerſaries to good procedings, would not ſuffer me ſo to reſt, fuming and fretting, and raiſing vp ſuch miſerable exclamations at the firſt appearing of the booke, as was wonderfull to heare. A man would haue thought Chriſt to haue bene new borne agayne, and that Herode with all the Citie of Ieruſalem had bene in an vprore. Such bluſtring and ſtirring was then againſt that poore booke thorough all quarters of England, euen to the gates of Louaine: ſo that no Engliſh Papiſt almoſt in all the Realme thoght himſelfe a perfect Catholike, vnleſſe he had caſt out ſome word or other to geue that booke a blow.*

Whereupon, conſidering with my ſelfe what ſhould mooue them thus to rage, firſt I beganne with more circumſpect diligence to ouerlooke agayne that I had done. In ſearching whereof, I found the fault both what it was, and where it lay: which was in deede, not ſo much in the Booke it ſelfe (to ſay the truth) as in an other certayne priuy myſterie and working of ſome: of whome Ioannes Auentinus *ſhall tel vs in his own words, & ſhew vs who they be:* Quibus, inquit, audiendi quæ fecerint. pudor eſt: nullus faciendi, quæ audire erubeſcunt. Illic vbi opus nihil verentur: hic vbi nihil opus eſt, ibi verentur. &c. *Who beyng aſhamed belike to heare their worthy ſtratagemes lyke to come to light, ſought by what meanes they might, the ſtopping of the ſame. And becauſe they could not worke it* per brachium ſeculare, *by publike authoritie (the Lord of heauen long preſerue your noble Maieſtie) they renewed again an old wonted practiſe of theirs: doyng in like ſort herein as they did ſometymes with the holy Bible in the dayes of your renowmed father of famous memory king Henry the viij. who when they neither by manifeſt reaſon could gainſtand the matter contained in the booke, nor yet abide the comming out thereof, then ſought they by a ſubtile deuiſed traine to depraue the tranſlation, notes and Prologues thereof, bearing the king in hand and* all the people, that there was in it a thouſand lies, and I cannot tell how many mo: Not that there were ſuch lies in it in very deede: but becauſe the comming of that booke ſhould not bewray their lying falſhood, therefore they thought beſt to begin firſt to make exceptions themſelues againſt it: playing in their ſtage like as Phormio did in the old Comedie, who beyng in all the fault himſelfe, began firſt to quarell with Demipho, when Demipho rather had good right to lay Phormio by the heeles.

With like facing brags theſe Catholike Phormiones thinke now to daſh out all good bookes, and amongſt others alſo, theſe Monuments of Martyrs. Which godly Martyrs as they could not abide beyng aliue, ſo neither can they now ſuffer their memories to lyue after their death, leaſt the acts of them beyng knowne, might bring perhaps their wicked acts and cruell murthers to deteſtation: and therfore ſpurne they ſo vehemently againſt this booke of hiſtories, with all kind of contumelies and vprores, railing and wondering vpon it, much like as I haue heard of a company of thieues, who in robbing a certaine true man by the high wayes ſide, when they had found a piece of gold or two about him more then he would be acknown of, they cried out of the falſhood of the world, meruailing and complaining what little truth was to be found in men.

Euen ſo theſe men deale alſo with me: for when they themſelues altogether delight in vntruths, and haue repleniſhed the whole Church of Chriſt with fained fables, lying miracles, falſe viſions, miſerable errors contained in their Miſſals and Portuſes, Breuiars, and Summaries, and almoſt no true tale in all their Saintes lyues and Feſtiuals, as now alſo no great truthes in our Louanian bookes, &c. Yet notwithſtanding, as though they were a people of much truth, and that the world did not perceiue them, they pretend a face and zeale of great veritie: And as though there were no hiſtories els in all the world corrupted, but onely this hiſtory of Actes and Monumentes, with tragicall voyces they exclaime and wonder vpon it, ſparing no coſt of Hyperbolicall phraſes, to make it appeare as full of lies as lines. &c. much after the like ſort of impudencie as Sophiſters vſe ſometymes in their Sophiſmes to doe (and ſometimes is vſed alſo in Rhetorike) that when an Argument commeth againſt them which they cannot well reſolue in deed, they haue a rule to ſhift of the matter with ſtoute wordes and tragicall admiration, whereby to daſh the Opponent out of countenance, bearing the hearers in hand, the ſame to be the weakeſt & ſlendereſt argument that euer was heard not worthy to be anſwered, but vtterly to be hiſſed out of the Schooles.

With like ſophiſtication theſe alſo fare with me, who when they neither can abide to heare their owne doings declared, nor yet deny the ſame, which they heare to be true for three or foure eſcapes in the booke committed (and yet ſome of them in the ſaid Booke amended) they neither reading the whole, nor rightly vnderſtanding that they read, inueigh and maligne ſo peruerſly the ſetting out therof, as though neither any word in al that ſtory were true, nor any other ſtory falſe in al the world beſides. And yet in accuſing theſe my accuſers, I do not ſo excuſe my ſelf, nor defẽd my book, as though nothing in it were to be ſponged or amended. Therfore I haue taken theſe paines, & reiterated my labours in trauailing out the ſtory again, doyng herein as Penelope did with her web, vntwiſting that ſhe had done before: Or as builders do ſometimes, which build and take down againe, either to tranſpoſe the faſhion, or to make the foundation larger. So in recogniſing this hiſtory I haue emploied a little more labour, partly to enlarge the argument which I tooke in hand: partly alſo to aſſay, whether by any paynes taking I might pacifie the ſtomacks, or ſatiſfie yͤ iudgments of theſe importune quarellers: which neuertheleſſe I feare I ſhall not do, when I haue done all I can. For well I know that all the heads of this hiſsing Hidra will neuer be cut of, though I were as ſtrong as Hercules. And if Apelles the skilfull Painter, when he had beſtowed all his cunning vpon a piece of worke, which no good artificer would or could greatly reprooue, yet was not without ſome controlling Sutor, which tooke vpon him Vltra crepidam, much more may I looke for the like in theſe controlling dayes.

Ne ſutor vltra crepidam.

Neuertheleſſe committing the ſucceſſe thereof vnto the Lord, I haue aduentured againe vpon this ſtory of the Church, and haue ſpent not onely my paines, but alſo almoſt my health therein, to bring it to this. Which now beyng finiſhed, like as before I did: ſo againe I exhibite and preſent the ſame vnto your Princely Maieſtie, bleſsing my Lord my God with all my heart: firſt for this libertie of peace and tyme, which through your peaceable gouernement he hath lent vnto vs for the gathering both of this and other like bookes, tractations and monuments requiſite to the behoofe of his Church, which hitherto by iniquitie of tyme could not be contriued in any Kinges raigne ſince the Conqueſt, before theſe Alcion dayes of yours.

Secondly, as we are all bound with publicke voyces to magnify our God for this happy preſeruation of your royall eſtate: ſo priuately for mine owne part, J alſo acknowledge my ſelfe bound to my God and to my Sauiour, who ſo graciouſly in ſuch weake health, hath lent me time, both to finiſh this worke, and alſo to offer the ſecond dedication thereof to your Maieſty: deſiring the ſame to accept in worth the donation thereof, if not for the worthineſſe of the thing geuen, yet as a teſtification of the bounden ſeruice and good will of one, which by this he here preſenteth, declareth what he would, if he had better to geue.

And though the ſtory being written in the popular tongue, ſerueth not ſo greatly for your own peculiar reading, nor for ſuch as be learned: yet I ſhall deſire both you and them, to conſider in it the neceſſity of the ignoraunt flocke of Chriſt committed to your gouernement in this Realme of England. Who, as they haue bene long led in ignoraunce, and wrapt in blindeneſſe for lacke ſpecially of Gods word, and partly alſo for wanting the light of hiſtory, pity I thought but that ſuch ſhould be helped, their ignoraunce relieued, and ſimplicity inſtructed. I conſidered they were the flocke of Chriſt, and your ſubiectes, belonging to your account and charge, bought with the ſame price and hauing as deare ſoules to the Lord as other. And though they be but ſimple and vnlearned, yet not vnapt to be taught if they were applyed. Furthermore what inconuenience groweth of ignoraunce, where knowledge lacketh, both I conſidered: and experience dayly teacheth.

And therefore hearing of the vertuous inclination of your Maieſty, what a prouident care, & Zeale full of ſolicitude you haue, minding (ſpeedely I truſt) to furniſh all quarters & countryes of this your realme with the voice of Chriſtes Goſpel, & faythful preaching of his word, I thought alſo not vnprofitable to adioyne vnto this your godly proceedinges, and to the office of the miniſtery, the knowledge alſo of Eccleſiaſticall hiſtory, which in my minde ought not to be ſeparate from the ſame: that like as by the one the people may learne the rules and preceptes of doctrine: ſo by the other they may haue examples of Gods mighty working in his Church, to the confirmation of their fayth, and the edification of Chriſtian life. For as we ſee what light and profite commeth to the Church by hiſtories in olde times ſet forth of the Iudges, Kinges, Machabees, & the Actes of the Apoſtles after Chriſtes time: ſo likewiſe may it redound to no ſmall vſe in the Church, to knowe the Actes of Chriſtes Martirs now ſince the time of the Apoſtles.

Profite to be taken by examples of chriſtian Martyrs.

Gods workes to be obſerued in hiſtories.

Beſides other manifolde examples and experimentes of Gods great mercies and iudgementes in preſeruing his Church, in ouerthrowing tyrauntes, in confounding pride, in altering ſtates & kingdomes, in conſeruing Religion againſt errours and diſſentions, in relieuing the godly, in brideling the wicked, in loſing and tying vp againe of Sathan the diſturber of common weales, in puniſhing tranſgreſſions as well againſt the firſt table as the ſecond: wherin is to be ſeene Idolatry puniſhed, blaſphemy plagued, contempt of Gods holy name and religion reuenged, murder with murder rewarded, Adulterers & Wedlockbreakers deſtroied, periuries, extortions, couetous oppreſſions, and fraudulent councels come to nought, with other excellent workes of the Lord: the obſeruing and noting whereof in hiſtories, miniſter to the readers therof wholeſome admonitions of life: with experience and wiſedome both to know God in his workes, and to worke the thing that is godly: eſpecially to ſeeke vnto the ſonne of God for their ſaluation, & in his fayth onely to finde that they ſeeke for, and in no other meanes. The continuance and conſtancy of which fayth, the Lord of his grace and goodnes graunt to your noble Maieſty, and to his whole beloued Church, and all the members of the ſame, to euerlaſting life. Amen.

What vſe commeth by reading of Hiſtories.

Ad doctum Lectorem

Ioh. Foxus.

COgitanti mihi, verſantique mecum in animo quàm periculoſa res aleæ ſit, emittere nunc aliquid in publicum, quod in man[illegible] oculóſque multorũ ſubeat, his præſertim tam exulceratis moribus temporibúſq;, vbi tot hominum diſſidijs, tot ſtudijs partium, tot moroſis capitibus, tam rigidis cenſuris, & Criticorum ſannis feruent ferè omnia, vt difficillimum ſit quicquã tam circumſpectè ſcribere, quod non in aliquam calumniandi materiam rapiatur: perbeati profectò fœlicéſque videntur ij, quibus eum vitæ curſũ tenere liceat, vt in otio viuentes cum dignitate, ſic alienis frui queant laboribus, velut in theatro ocioſi ſedentes ſpectatores, vt nullum interim ipſis uel ex actione tædium, vel ex labore periculum metuendum ſit. Me vero neſcio quo pacto longe diuerſa quidem hactenus exercuit vitæ ratio, quippe cui nec fortunæ illam fœlicitatem, in cuius complexibus tam multos ſuauiter foueri video, nec otij amœnitatem experiri, vix etiam per omnem vitam deguſtare in continuo laborum ac negotiorum feruore ac contentione contigerit. Quanquam de fortuna parum queror, quam ſemper contempſi, quin neque de laboribus multum dicturus, ſi modo lobores ij, tantum vel prodeſſe vel placere cæteris poſſent hominibus, quantum me priuatim atterunt incommodántque. Nunc ad meæ infœlicitatis cumulum accedit inſuper, quod in eo argumenti genere laborandum fuit, quod præter lugubrem rerum ipſarum materiam, præter linguæ inamœnitatem, præter tractandi difficultatem, quæ vix nitorem recipiat orationis, eo porro autorem ipſum redigit anguſtiæ, vt neque falſa narrare ſine iniuria hiſtoriæ, nec verum dicere ſine magna ſua inuidia odióque multorum liceat. Nam cum in eo hiſtoriæ argumento mihi verſandum fuit, quod non ad ſuperiorum modo temporũ res geſtas altéque repetitas pertineat, ſed hanc ipſam ætatem noſtram, noſtræque gentis nunc homines etiamnum præſentes, viuóſque ſic attingat, ſic perfricet, ſic deſignet, quemadmodum in hoc materiæ genere neceſſario faciundum fuit: quæſo quid hîc mihi aliud expectandum ſit, niſi poſtquã fruſtrà me defatigando, valetudinem attriuerim, oculos perdiderim, ſenium acciuerim, corpus exhauſerim, demum vt poſt hæc omnia multorum me hominum odijs, ſibilis, inuidiæ ac calumnię exponam. In tot iſtis aſperitatibus cum nihil me tutum præſtare poterit, non Cæſar, non Monarchæ, non Rex, non Regina, non vlla huius mundi præſidia, pręter ſolam diuini numinis potentem deteram: principiò igitur atque ante omnia huc ceu ad tutiſſimum aſylum me recepi, huic me librúmque commendaui & commendo. Tum vero inſuper in eodem domino tuum illum candorem (docte piéque Lector) eãque tuam humanitatem appellare volui, qua ex humanioribus literis ſtudijſque te ſcio præditum, quo noſtris his ſudoribus tuę approbationis accedat calculus, aut ſi approbationem non mereamur, ſaltem ne fauoris deſit benignitas: cui ſi approbatum iri hanc hiſtoriæ noſtræ farraginem ſenſerimus, cæterorum iudicia obtrectatorum leuius feremus.

Nam alioquì non defuturos ſat ſcio qui varijs modis nobis faceſſent moleſtiam. Habebit hîc momus ſuos morſus, ſycophanta ſuos ſibilos, nec deerit Calumniatori ſua lingua & aculeus, quem infigat. Hic fidem detrahet hiſtoriæ. Ille artificium in tractando, alter diligentiam, vel in excutiendis rebus iudicium deſiderabit. Illi forſan operis diſplicebit moles, vel minus diſpoſita ſeruatâque temporum ratio. Et ſi nihil horum fuerit, attamen in tanta religionis pugna, in tanta iudiciorum, capitum, ſenſuum varietate, vbi ſuæ quiſque fauet ac blanditur factioni, quid tam affabrè aut circumſpectè enarrari poteſt, quod placeat vniuerſis? Quin & iam nunc muſſitari etiam audio a nonnullis, qui longa ſeſe teneri dicant expectatione, quoad hæc tandem (*Legenda noſtra vt appellant Aurea*) euulganda ſit: qui ſi noſtram primùm in eo tarditatem repræhenſam velint, næ ego ſuaues iſtos homines viciſſim rogatos velim, vt ipſi prius in edendis ſuis ſe præbeant expeditiores, quam alienam inceſſant lentitudinem.

Deinde ſi tardius exeat ipſorum opinione volumen, meminerint prouerbiali præcepto, lentam eſſe feſtinationem oportere. Et bos dicitur laſſus fortius pedem figere. Egimus in hac quidem re pro virili noſtra, egimus ſpero & pro officio, ſi non ſatis pro temporis modo expeditè, at egimus certè pro valetudine, addam porro, egimus ſupra valetudinem. Quin & illud ipſorum venia adijcere liceat, egiſſe nos maturius quam ipſis forſan expediet, qui in hunc nugantur modũ: certè maturatius egimus, quam tanti momenti & magnitudinis negotio conueniebat, quod accuratiorem in digerendis rebus moram curamq; poſtulabat, cùm a nobis vix integros datos eſſe menſes octodecim præparandæ materiæ, comportandis componendiſq; rebus, conferendis exemplaribus, lectitandis codicibus, reſcribendis his quæ ſcripto mandata erant, caſtigandis formulis, concinnandæ hiſtoriæ, & in ordinẽ redigendæ. &c, nouerunt ij qui teſtes adfuerint, & temporis conſcij; & laboris ſocij. Quòd ſi autem *Legendæ ſua aurea* titulum huc eò accomodant, quòd illius exemplo hanc ſimiliter fabuloſam putent hiſtoriam, hincque odioſo vocabulo eius preiudicent veritati, quid his reſpondeam aliud quam quòd ingenuè ſuam ipſi prodant calumniam, quam ne ad editionem quidem libri differre queant, prius de rebus dijudicantes quam nouerint. Atq; interim quidem illud bene habet quòd ipſis tandem aliquando *Aurea ſua legenda* pudeat tam fabuloſæ. Et tamen fabellis illis non puduit mundum tam diu ludificare, periculum etiam intentantes his, ſi qui *Legenda illi*, hoc eſt, mendaciſſimis illorum nugis auderent detrahere. Quare cum nihil magis eſſe poſſit impium quam ſacroſanctam eccleſię fidem fabulamentis huiuſmodi confictiſque præter omnem veri fidem delitijs commaculare, tamen ineptiſſimi iſti nugatores ex ſuo ingenio cęteros quóſque ſcriptores metientes, nec ipſi verum adferre ſatagunt, nec afferentibus alijs fidem habendam putāt, cuncta videlicet ſuis aureis ſomnijs ſimilia exiſtimantes. Quin apagè cum *Aurea tua legenda*, nugator impudens, quem ego librum, cum omnes eum ſcimus, nec ipſe ignoras prodigioſis mendaciorum portentis & vaniſſimis vndique commentis ſcatere, ne cū Homeri quidē fabulis conferre velim: tantum abeſt vt cū verè ſerijs grauibusq; eccleſię hiſtorijs quicquam commune habeat. Quid? an quia Papiſtis illis tuis & impuris monachis ſic libuit in ridiculis miraculorum ſuorum portentis ineptire, tu protinus nullam grauem hiſtoriæ authoritatem putas in eccleſia admittendam? Quin eadem lege & de Euſebij eccleſiaſtica, & tripartita Sozomeni & Socratis cæterorúmque hiſtorijs iudicemus. Sunt præter hæc & alia quædam de Sanctis & Diuis conſcripta miracula, quæ proprius ad *Legendam* hanc accedunt, & tamen nequaq̃ eo loco apud nos habentur, vt *Legendæ illi Papiſticæ* annumerentur, etiam quæ ſuſpectiſſimæ ſunt fidei. Quanq̃ de ſcriptoribus cæteris mea nihil intereſt cenſuram ferre. Quòd ad hanc verò noſtram περὶ τῶν μαρτυρικῶν attinet, teſtatum id velim vniuerſis, datam eſſe a nobis operam ſedulò ne quid vſquam ineſſet operi fabuloſum, aut eiuſmodi, quod vel a nobis fictum, vel quod *Legendæ illi aureæ* (magis dicam plumbeæ) non vndique foret diſſimillimum. Id quod res ipſa & natiua hiſtorię facies teſtari poterit, cuius tota textura ex ipſis Epiſcoporum Archiuis atque Regiſtris, partímque ex proprijs martyrum ipſorum literis hauſta ac cōflata videri poterit. In qua hiſtoria etſi neque id exigam vt ſingula hic ꝓ oraculis habeantur, at dedimus tamen pro virili operam vt ſi non plenè aſſequeremur, accederemus tamen quam proximè ad veterē illam hiſtoriæ legem, vt duas res, præcipuas hiſtoriæ peſtes vitaremus, timorem uidelicet & aſſentationem: quarum altera ſæpe minus dicit, altera ſemper plus addit quàm par eſt, narrationi. Sed huius rei fidem ex ipſo magis opere, quam ex mea commendatione aſtrui honeſtius eſt. Habet enim veritas ipſa ſimplicem ſuam & natiuam faciem, quam non erit deficile non muccoſis naribus lectori, ex ipſo vel orationis habitu, aut rerum aſpectu, ſiue alijs circumſtantiarum notis deprehendere. Sed vereor ne hîc quoque, quemadmodum cæteris in rebus locum habeat veteris prouerbij experientia: faciunt quippe mendaces vt ne vera etiam dicenti fides habeatur. Cum hactenus in Martyrologicis ſanctorum Legendis vitíſque deſcribendis mendacia, ac nugaciſſimæ ſomniorum fictiones pro veris legantur narrationibus, fit vt & cæteræ eiuſdem argumenti materiæ eandem pariter ſuſpicionem ſubeant, vt vix iam quicq̃ legi dicíue in eccleſia cum fide queat. Verùm huic malo cùm mederi nequeamus, ſatis erit quod noſtrarum erat virium id nos præſtitiſſe. Quod ſupereſt, diuinæ curandum prouidentiæ relinquamus. Atque de certitudine veritatéſque hiſtoriæ hæc hactenus: quæ vtinam ne tam vera quidem certaque eſſet, quàm iſti videri volunt, at falſa potius, conſimiliſque huic quam dicunt, *Aurea ipſorum Legenda*, aut Vitis patrum, aut Feſtiuali, aut Dormi ſecure, cæteríſque Papiſticis iſtis τοῖς τῶν ληρῶν λήροις foret. Nunc verò martyrum horum non a nobis ficta, ſed inflicta à vobis ſupplicia, atroxque cædes veriorem hanc comprobant hiſtoriam, pluréſq; ſuæ veritatis teſtes habent quàm vellemus ipſi qui hiſtoriam ſcripſimus. Venio iam ad alteram criminationis partem, quæ *de Calendario* fortaſſis obijcietur. Audio enim & hic mihi obſtrepere non tacitas modò ſententias, ſed apertas papiſtarum quorūdam voces, quibus iniquè a me factum videbitur, quòd antiquatis atque ex Calendario exploſis veteris eccleſiæ Diuis, Martyribus, Confeſſoribus, Virginibúſq;, nouos eorum loco Martyres at Confeſſores inſultiam. Primùm nulli ego veterum Diuorum hoc facto pręiudicatum velim. Neque verò ideò inter Diuos a me referuntur iſti, quòd inſeruntur in Calendarium. Hanc ego apotheoſin mihi nunq̃ ſumpſi, quam ſibi tam confidenter ſumpſit Gregorius nonus. Porro neque eò ſpectat hoc Calendarium, vt nouam aliquam feſtorum dierum legem præſcribam eccleſiæ, Tum multò minus cultum ſancti alicuius inſtituo. Feſtorum dierum iam plus ſatis erat in mundo. Vtinam dominicum ſolum ſabbatum dignè, atque vt par eſt, tranſigeremus. Habeant per me ſuum papiſtæ Calendarium, Habeat & eccleſia ſuos ſanctos, tum recētes tum veteranos, modò probatos, modò interim idē ne colantur, modò quàm ſint vetuſti, tàm verè etiam ſancti ſint.

Verum enimuero cum non dubitauit ſua etiam ætate Hieronimus multos exiſtimare eorum gehennæ ignibus cruciari, quos multi paſſim pro ſanctis haberent in eccleſia: quid hîc tum diceret Hieronimus, ſi modo ſuperſtes papiſticam hanc ſanctorum colluuiem & Calendaria, tot Papis, tot Epiſcopis, & Abbatibus oblita cerneret?

Quanquam à me quidem non aliter Calendarium hoc inſtitutum eſt, niſi vt *pro Indice* duntaxat ſuum cuiuſque Martyris menſem & annum deſignante, ad priuatum Lectoris ſeruiret vſum. Et tamen ſi in templis etiam fas ſit ſingulorum menſium dies proprijs ſanctorum nomenclaturis conſignare: qui minus liceat id mihi in veris iſtis facere Martyribus, quod ipſi in ſuis pſeudomartyribus tanta ſibi licentia, ne dicam impudentia, permiſerunt? Si non pœna, ſed cauſa Martyrem faceat, cur non vnum *Cranmerum* ſexcentis Becketis Cantuarienſibus non conferam, ſed prætulerim? Quid in Nicholao Ridleo videtur cum quouis Diuo Nicholao non conferendum? Qua in re Latimerus, Hoperus, Marſheus, Simpſonus, cæteriq; chriſtiani martyrij Candidati, inferiores ſummis maximíſque illis papiſtici Calendarij Diuis, imo multis etiam nominibus non præponendi videantur? Interim nullius ego boni ſanctique viri (modo qui verè ſanctus ſit) cauſam lædo, nec memoriam extinguo, nec gloriam minuo. Et ſi cui hoc diſpliceat Calendarium, memineret non in templis collocari, ſed domeſticæ tantum lectioni præparari.

Sed miſſis hiſce aduerſariorum calumnijs, ad te, docte candidéque Lector (quoniam hæc ad te inſtituta eſt epiſtola) tempus eſt vt recurrat oratio, cuius in his rebus iudicium vt pluris æſtimo, ita egeo magis hîc quoque patrocinio. Scio enim in vaſta hac congerie reperies nonnulla, ad quæ merito corruges frontem. Neque vero fieri facile potuit, præſertim in tanta operis præcipitatione, vt cuncta ad amuſſim atque ad vnguem perfectè adeo elimarētur, quin alicubi vel ex laſſitudine dormitaret ſcriptor, vel per incuriam excideret authori aliquid, vel ex feſtinatione eueniret, quod cani ſolet in prouerbijs nimium præ ſtudio properanti, cæcos nimirum producenti catulos. In quibus quidem excutiendis rebus magis nobis venia tua quam cenſura imploranda eſt. Quamobrem paucis hæc apud te, docte ſimul & humaniſſime Lector, ante operis ingreſſum libuit προοιμιάζειν, vt ſi quid inter euoluendum occurrerit, non omnibus perfectum numeris, non ad Cleantis lucernam elucubratum, non ad exquiſitum Theologorum acumen expreſſum aut minus alioqui acutiſſimis tuis dignum naribus, cogites hæc non tuis auribus data eſſe, ſed meæ hoc eſt craſſioris turbæ hominibus, a quibus facilius leguntur libri quam iudicantur. Aut ſi ne id quidem grauiſſimæ tuæ ſententiæ fecerit ſatis, liceat illa mihi vti lege, qua ſemper permiſſum eſt opere in magno ſcriptori obrepere ſomnum. Quod ſi vero tuam hac in re facilitatem impetrauero, minus laborabo quid cæteri obſtrepant, græci memor prouerbij, cuius & ipſos commeminiſſi velim: μωμήσεταί τις θᾶσσον ἢ μιμήσεται.

To the true and faythfull Congregation of Chriſtes Vniuerſall *Church, with all and ſinguler the members therof, whereſoeuer congregated* or diſperſed through the Realme of England, a Proteſtation or Petition of *the Author, wiſhing to the ſame aboundaunce of all peace and tranquility,* with the ſpeedy comming of Chriſt the Spouſe, to make an *ende of all mortall myſerye.*

SAlomon the peaceable Prince of Iſraell, as we read in the thirde of Kynges, after he had finiſhed the buildyng of the Lordes Temple (which he had vij. yeares in hand) made his petition to the Lord for all that ſhould pray in the ſayde Temple, or turne theyr face toward it. And his requeſt was graũted, the Lord aunſwering him, as we read in the ſayd booke. cap. *6. I haue heard* (ſayth he) *thy prayer and haue ſanctified this place. &c.* Albeit the infinite Maieſty of God is not to be compaſſed in any materiall walles, yet it ſo pleaſed his goodneſſe to reſpect this praier of the king, that not only he promiſed to heare thẽ which there prayed, but alſo repleniſhed the ſame with his own glory. For ſo we read again in the book aforeſayd: *Et non poterant miniſtrare propter nebulã, quia repleuit gloria domini, domũ domini. 3. Re. 7.*

Vpon like truſt in Gods gracious goodnes, if I ſinnefull wretch, not comparing with the building of that Temple, but folowing the zeale of the builder might either be ſo bold to aske, or ſo happye to ſpeed, after my vij. yeares trauayle about this Eccleſiaſticall Hiſtory, moſt humbly would craue of almighty God to beſtow his bleſſing vpon the ſame, that as the prayers of them, which prayed in the outward Temple were heard: ſo all true diſpoſed mindes which ſhall reſort to the reading of this preſent Hyſtory conteining the Actes of Gods holy Martyrs, and monumentes of his Church, may by example of theyr lyfe, fayth, & doctrine, receiue ſome ſuch ſpirituall fruit to theyr ſoules through the operation of his grace, that it may be to the aduauncement of his Glory, and profite of his Churche, through Chriſt Ieſus our Lord. *Amen.*

But as it happened in that Temple of Salomon, that all which came thither, came not to pray, but many to prate, ſome to gaze and ſee newes, other to talke and walke, ſome to buy and ſell, ſome to carpe and finde fault, and finally ſome alſo at the laſt to deſtroy and plucke down, as they did in deed. For what is in this world ſo ſtrong, but it will be impugned? what ſo perfect, but it will be abuſed? ſo true, that will not be contraryed? or ſo circumſpectly done, wherein wrangling *Theon* will not ſet in his tooth? Euen ſo neither do I looke for any other in this preſent Hyſtory: but that amongeſt many well diſpoſed Readers, ſome Waſpes neſt or other will be ſtyrred vp to buſze about mine eares. Such a daungerous thing it is now a dayes to write or do any good, but either by flattering a man muſt offend the Godly, or by true ſpeaking procure hatred with the wicked. Of ſuch ſtinging Waſpes and buſzing Drones I had ſufficient triall in my former edition before, who if they had found in my book any iuſt cauſe to carpe, or vpon any true zeale of truth had proceded agaynſt the vntruths of my ſtory and had brought iuſt proofes for the ſame, I could haue right well abide it. For God forbid, but that faultes, whereſoeuer they be, ſhould be detected and accuſed. And therfore Accuſers in a Common wealth after my mind do ſerue to no ſmall ſtead.

But then ſuch Accuſers muſt beware they play not the dog, of whom Cicero in his Oration ſpeaketh, which being ſet in *Capitolio* to fray away Theeues by night, left the Theeues and fell to barcke at true men walking in the day. Where true faultes be, there to bay & barcke is not amiſſe. But to carpe where no cauſe is, to ſpye in other ſtrawes, and to leape ouer theyr owne blockes: to ſwalow Camels, and to ſtrayne gnattes: to oppreſſe truth with lyes, and to ſet vp lyes for truth, to blaſpheme the deare Martyrs of Chriſt, and to Canonize for Sayntes, whom Scripture would ſcarce allow for good Subiectes, that is intollerable. Such barcking Curres, if they were well ſerued, would be made a whyle to ſtoope. But with theſe brauling ſpirites I entend not at this time much to wraſtle.

Wherefore to leaue them a while, till further leaſure ſerue me to attend vpon them, thus much I thought in the meane ſeaſon, by way of Proteſtation or petition, to write vnto you both in generall & particular the true members and faythful Congregation of Chriſtes Church, whereſoeuer either cõgregated together, or diſperſed through the whole Realme of England, that forſomuch as all the ſeeking of theſe Aduerſaryes is to do what they can, by diſcrediting of this Hiſtory with ſlaunders & ſiniſter ſurmiſes, how to withdraw the Readers frõ it: This therfore ſhalbe in few wordes to premoniſh and deſire of all and ſinguler of you (all well minded louers and partakers of Chriſtes Goſpell) not to ſuffer your ſelues to be deceiued with the big brags, and hyperbolicall ſpeeches of thoſe ſlaundering tongues, whatſoeuer they haue or ſhall hereafter exclame agaynſt the ſame. But indifferently ſtaying your iudgement till truth be tryed, you will firſt peruſe, & then refuſe: meaſuring the vntruthes of this Hyſtory, not by the ſcoaring vp of theyr hundreds and thouſandes of lyes which they geue out, but wiſely weying the purpoſe of theyr doinges, according as you finde, and ſo to iudge of the matter.

To read my bookes I allure neither one nor other. Euery man as he ſeeth cauſe to like as he liſt. If any ſhall thinke his labor to much in reading this hiſtory, his choyce is free either to read this, or any other which he more mindeth. But if the fruite thereof ſhall recompence the Readers trauell, then would I wiſh no man ſo light eared, to be caryed away for any ſiniſter clamour of Aduerſaryes, who many times depraue good doinges, not for the faultes they finde, but therefore finde faultes becauſe they would depraue. As for me and my hiſtory, as my will was to profite all and diſpleaſe none: ſo if skill in any part wanted to will, yet hath my purpoſe bene ſimple, and certes the cauſe no leſſe vrgent alſo, which moued me to take this enterpriſe in hand.

The partiall dealing of ſtorie writers.

For firſt to ſee the ſimple flocke of Chriſt, eſpecially the vnlearned ſort, ſo miſerably abuſed, and all for ignoraunce of hiſtory, not knowing the courſe of times, and true diſcent of the Church, it pittyed me, that part of diligence ſo long to haue bene vnſupplyed in this my countrey Church of Englande. Agayne conſidering the multitude of Chronicles and ſtory writers, both in England, and out of England, of whome the moſt part haue bene either Monkes or Clientes to the ſea of Rome, it grieued me to behold how partially they handled theyr ſtoryes. Whoſe paynefull trauell albeit I cannot but cõmend, in committing diuers thinges to writing, not vnfruitful to be knowne, or vnpleaſant to be read: yet it lamented me to ſee in theyr Monumentes the principall poyntes, which chiefly concerned the ſtate of Chriſtes Church, and were moſt neceſſary of all chriſten people to be knowne, either altogether pretermitted, or if any mention thereof were inſerted, yet were all things drawn to the honor ſpecially of the Church of Rome, or els to the fauor of theyr owne ſect of Religion. Wherby the vulgare ſort, hearing and reading in theyr writinges no other church mentioned or magnified but onely that Church which here floriſhed in this world in riches and iollity, were drawne alſo to the ſame perſuaſion, to thinke no other Church to haue ſtand in all the earth, but onely the Church of Rome.

In the number of this ſort of writers, beſides our Monkes of England (for euery Monaſtery almoſt had his Chronicler) I might alſo recite both Italian, and other countrey authors, as *Platina, Sabellicus, Nauclerus, Martinus, Antoninus, Vincẽtius, Onuphrius, Laziardus, Georgius Lilius, Pollid. Virgilius*, with many more; who taking vpon thẽ to intermeddle with matters of the church, although in part they expreſſe ſome truth in matters concerning the Biſhops and ſea of Rome: yet in ſuppreſſing an other part, they play with vs, as Ananias and Saphira did with their mony, or as Apelles did in Pliny, who painting the one halfe of Venus comming out of the ſea, left the other halfe vnperfect. So theſe writers while they ſhew vs one half of the B. of Rome, the other halfe of him they leaue vnperfect, & vtterly vntold. For as they paynt him out on the one part gliſtering in welth and glorye, in ſhewing what ſucceſſion the Popes had from the chaire of S. Peter, when they firſt began, and how long they ſate, what Churches and what famous buildings they erected, how farre theyr poſſeſſions reached, what lawes they made, what councels they called, what honour they receiued of Kynges and Emperours, what Princes and Countryes they brought vnder theyr authority, with other like ſtratagemes, of great pompe and royalty: ſo on the other ſide what vices theſe Popes brought with them to theyr ſeat, what abhominatiõs they practiſed, what ſuperſtition they mainteined, what Idolatry they procured, what wicked doctrine they defended contrary to the expreſſe word of God, to what hereſies they fell, into what diuiſion of ſectes they cut the vnity of chriſtian Religion, how ſome practiſed by Simony, ſome by Necromancy and Sorcery, ſome by poyſoning, ſome indenting with the Deuill to come by theyr Papacy, what hypocriſy was in theyr liues, what corruptiõ in theyr doctrine, what warres they rayſed, what bloudſhed they cauſed, what treachery they trauerſed agaynſt their Lordes and Emperours, impriſoning ſome, betraying ſome to the Templaryes and Saracẽs, in bringing other vnder theyr feet, alſo in beheading ſome, as they did with *Fredericus* and *Conradinus*, the heires and oſſpring of the houſe of *Fredericus Barbaroſſa*. an. 1269. furthermore how mightely almighty God hath ſtand agaynſt them, how their warres neuer proſpered agaynſt the Turke, how the iudgementes of the godly learned frõ time to time haue euer repugned agaynſt theyr errours, &c. of theſe and a thouſand other mo, not one word hath bene touched, but all kept as vnder *Benedicite* in Auriculer confeſſion.

This partiall dealing and corrupt handling of Hiſtoryes, when I conſidered, I thought with my ſelf nothing more lacking in the church, then a ful & a complet hiſtory, which being faythfully collected out of all our Monaſtical writers & writtẽ Monuments, ſhould conteine neither euery vain written fable for that would be to much, nor yet leaue out any thing neceſſary, for that would be to little: but with a moderate diſcretion taking the beſt of euery one, ſhould both eaſe the labor of the reader from turning ouer ſuch a number of writers: and alſo ſhould open the plaine truth of times lying long hid in obſcure darcknes of antiquity. Wherby all ſtudious Readers, beholding as in a glaſſe the ſtate, courſe, and alteration of Religion, decay of doctrine, and the controuerſies of the church, might diſcerne the better betwene antiquity and nouelty. For if the things which be firſt (after the rule of Tertullian) are to be preferred before thoſe that be latter, then is the reading of hiſtories much neceſſary in the church, to know what went before, and what folowed after. And therfore not without cauſe *Hiſtoria, in old authors is called the witneſſe of times, the light of verity, the life of memory, teacher of life, & ſhewer of antiquitie. &c.* Without the knowledge wherof mans life is blind, and ſoone may fall into any kind of errour, as by manifeſt experience we haue to ſee, in theſe deſolate latter times of the Church, when as the Byſhops of Rome vnder colour of antiquity haue turned truth into hereſy and brought ſuch new found deuiſes of ſtraunge doctrine and Religiõ as in the former age of the church were neuer heard of before, and all through the ignorance of times, and for lacke of true hiſtory.

Primum quodq; veriſſimum eſt Tertul.

For to ſay the truth, if times had bene well ſearched, or if they which wrote Hyſtories had without partiality gone vpright betwene God and Baall, halting on neither ſide, it might well haue bene foũd the moſt part of all this catholicke corruptiõ intruded into the church by the biſhops of Rome, as Tranſubſtantiation, leuation, and adoration of the ſacrament, auriculer confeſsion, forced vowes of Prieſtes not to mary, veneration of Images, priuate and ſatiſfactory Maſſes, the order of Gregories Maſſe now vſed, the vſurped authoritie, & *Summa poteſtas* of the ſea of Rome, with all the route of their ceremonies and wiedes of ſuperſtition ouergrowing nowe the Churche, all theſe (I ſay) to bee new nothinges lately coyned in the minte of Rome without any ſtampe of antiquitie, as by readyng of this preſent hiſtory ſhall ſufficiently, I truſt, appeare. Whiche hiſtory therefore I haue here taken in hand, that as other ſtory writers heretofore haue employed their trauayle to magnifie the Church of Rome, ſo in this hiſtory might appeare to all Chriſtian readers the Image of both Churches, as well of the one as of the other: eſpecially of the poore oppreſſed and perſecuted Churche of Chriſt. Which perſecuted Church though it hath bene of long ſeaſon troden vnder foote by enemyes, neglected in the world, nor regarded in hiſtories, and almoſt ſcarſe viſible or knowne to worldly eyes, yet hath it bene the true Church only of God, wherin he hath mightely wrought hetherto in preſeruing the ſame in all extreeme diſtreſſes, continually ſtirring vp frõ time to tyme faythful miniſters, by whõ alwayes hath bene kept ſome ſparkes of hys true doctrine and Religion.

Image of both Churches.

Now for aſmuch as the true Church of God goeth not lightly alone, but is accompanyed wyth ſome other Church or Chappel of the deuill to deface and maligne the ſame, neceſſary it is therfore the difference betweene them to be ſene, and the deſcent of the right Churche to be deſcribed from the Apoſtles tyme. Which hetherto in moſt part of hiſtories hath bene lacking, partly for feare, that men durſt not: partly for ignoraunce that men could not diſcerne rightly betweene the one and the other. Who beholding the Church of Rome to be ſo viſible and glorious in the eyes of the worlde, ſo ſhining in outward beauty, to beare ſuche a porte, to cary ſuche a trayne and multitude, and to ſtand in ſuch hye authoritie, ſuppoſed the ſame to be only the right Catholike mother. The other because it was not ſo viſibly known in the world, they thought therfore it could not be the true church of Chriſt. Wherin they were far deceaued. For although the right church of God be not ſo inuiſible in the world, that none can ſee it, yet neyther is it ſo viſible agayne that euery worldly eye may perceiue it. For like as is the nature of truth: ſo is the proper condition of the true Churche, that commonly none ſeeth it, but ſuch onely, as be the members and partakers thereof. And therefore they which require that Gods holy Church ſhould be euident and viſible to the whole world ſeeme to define the great ſinagogue of the world rather then the true ſpirituall Church of God.

The deſcent of Chriſts Church from the Apoſtles time deſcribed.

How the true Church of Chriſt is viſible, and not viſible.

In Chriſtes time who would haue thought, but the congregations and Councelles of the Phariſies had ben the right church: and yet had Chriſt an other Church in earth beſides that, which albeit it was not ſo maniſeſt in the ſight of the world, yet was it the onely true Church in the ſight of God. Of this Church ment Chriſt ſpeaking of the Temple, whiche he woulde rayſe agayne the thyrd day. And yet after that the Lord was riſen, he ſhewed not himſelfe to the worlde, but onely to his electe which were but few. The ſame Churche after that encreaſed and multiplied mightely amonge the Iewes, yet had not the Iewes eyes to ſee Gods Churche, but did perſecute it till at length all their whole nation was deſtroyed.

After the Iewes, then came the heathen Emperours of Rome, who hauing the whole power of the world in their hands, did what the world could do, to extinguiſh the name and church of chriſt. Whoſe violence cõtinued the ſpace of 3. hundreth yeares. All which while the true church of chriſt was not greatly in ſight of the world, but rather was abhorred euery where, and yet notwithſtanding the ſame ſmall ſelly flocke ſo deſpiſed in the worlde, the Lorde highly regarded and mightely preſerued. For although many then of the Chriſtians did ſuffer death: yet was their death neither loſſe to them, nor detriment to the Church: but the more they ſuffered, the more of theyr bloud encreaſed.

In the time of theſe Emperours, God rayſed vp then in this Realme of Britaine diuers worthy teachers and witneſſes, as *Elnanus*, *meduinus*, *Meltiuianus*, *Amphibolus*, *Albanus*, *Aaron*, *Iulius* and other moe In whoſe time the doctrine of fayth without mens traditions was ſincerely preached. After theyr death and Martyrdom, it pleaſed the Lord to prouide a generall quietnes to his Church, wherby the number of hys flocke began more to encreaſe.

In this age then followed here in the ſayd land of Britayne *Faſtidius*, *Niuianus*, *Patricius*, *Bacchiarius*, *Dubricius*, *Congellus*, *Kentigernus*, *Helmotus*, *Dauid*, *Daniell*, *Sampſon*, *Elnodugue*, *Aſaphus*, *Cildas*, *Heulanus* *Elbodus*, *Dinothus*, *Samuell*, *Niuius*, and a great ſort moe, whiche gouerned the Churche of Britayne by Chriſten doctrine a long ſeaſon, albeit the ciuil gouernours for the tyme, were then diſſolute & careles, as Gildas very ſharply doth lay to theyr charge, and ſo at length were ſubdued by the Saxons.

The antiquitye of the Churche here in England with the deſcent of the ſame.

All this while about the ſpace of foure hundred yeares, Religion remayned in Britayne vncorrupt and the word of Chriſt truely preached, till about the comming of Auſten and of hys companions from Rome, many of the ſayd Britayne preachers were ſlayne by the Saxons. After that began Chriſten fayth to enter & ſpring among the Saxons, after a certayne romiſh ſort, yet notwithſtanding ſomewhat more tollerable, thẽ were the times, which after folowed, through the dilligent induſtry of ſome godly teachers, which then liued amongeſt them: as *Aidanus*, *Finianus*, *Coleman* Archbiſhop of Yorke *Beda*, *Iohn of Beuerlay*, *Alcuinus*, *Noetus*, *Hucharius*, *Serlo*, *Achardus*, *Ealredus*, *Alexander Neckam*, *Negellus*, *Fenallus*, *Alfricus*, *Sygeferthus* & ſuch other: who though they erred in ſome few thinges, yet neither ſo groſſely, nor ſo greatly to be complayned of in reſpect of the abuſes that followed. For as yet, all thys while, the error of Tranſubſtantiation and leuation, with auriculer confeſsion was not crept in for a publicke doctrine in Chriſtes Church, as by theyr owne Saxon Sermon, made by *Aelfricus*, & ſet out in the ſecond Volume of this preſent hiſtory may appeare pag. 1114. During the which meane time although the Biſhops of Rome wer had here in ſome reuerẽce with the Clergy: yet had they nothing

Tranſubſtantiation not yet receaued for a publicke doctrine.

as yet to do in ſetting lawes touching matters of the Church of England: but that only appertayned to the kings and gouernours of the land as is in this ſtory to be ſeene.pag.754.

The Church when it began to fall from God. Æneas Siluius ſayth that Mathilda made the Pope heyre of thoſe landes, which is called the Patrimonye of S. Peter. Ex Auen. lib. 6. Monkery when it beganne to raigne in England.

And thus the Church of Rome albeit it began then to decline a pace frõ God, yet during all this while it remayned hitherto in ſome reaſonable order, till at length after that the ſayd Biſhops began to ſhout vp in the world through the liberalitie of good Princes, and eſpecially by Mathilda a noble Duches of Italy. Who at her death made the Pope heyre of all her landes, and indued his ſea, with great reuenewes. Then riches begot ambition. Ambition deſtroyed Religion, ſo that all came to ruine. Out of this corruption ſprang forth here in Englãd (as did in other places more) an other romiſh kind of Monkery, worſe then the other before, being much more drowned in ſuperſtition and ceremonies, which was about the yeare of our Lord.980. Of this ſwarme was *Egbertus Aigelbert*. *Egwine*, *Boniſace*, *Wilfrede Agathon*, *Iames*, *Romayne*, *Cedda*, *Dunſtane*, *Oſwold*, *Athelwold*, *Athelwine* Duke of *Eaſtangles*, *Lanfrancke*, *Anſelme* and ſuch other.

And yet in this tyme alſo through Gods prouidence, the Churche lacked not ſome of better knowledge and iudgement, to weigh with the darcknes of thoſe dayes. For although king Edgar, with Edward his baſe ſonne being ſeduced by Dunſtane, Oſwold and other Monkiſh Clerkes, was thẽ a great author and fautor of much ſuperſtition, erecting as many Monaſteries, as were Sondayes in the yeare: yet notwithſtanding this continued not long. For eftſoones after the death of Edgar came king Ethelrede and Queene Elſthred his mother, with Alferus Duke of merceland, and other peeres and nobles of the Realme, who diſplaced the Monkes againe, and reſtored the maryed Prieſts to their old poſſeſsions and liuings. Moreouer after that followed alſo the Danes whiche ouerthrew thoſe Monkiſh foundations, as faſt as king Edgar had ſet them vp before.

The true Church when it began firſt to decay.

And thus hetherto ſtode the condition of the true Church of Chriſt, albeit not without ſome repugnance and difficultie, yet in ſome meane ſtate of the truth & veritie, till time of pope Hildebrand called Gregory 7. which was nere about the yeare. 1080. And of Pope Innocentius 3. in the yeare 1215. By whome altogether was turned vpſide downe, all order broken, diſipline diſſolued, true doctrine defaced. Chriſtian faith extinguiſhed. In ſtead whereof was ſet vp preaching of mens decrees dreames, and idle traditions. And whereas before truth was free to be diſputed amongeſt learned men, now libertie was turned into law, Argument into Authoritie. Whatſoeuer the Byſhoppe of Rome denounced, that ſtode for an oracle, of all men to be receaued without oppoſition or contradiction: whatſoeuer was contrary, *ibſo facto* it was hereſie, to be puniſhed with fagot and flaming fire. Then began the ſincere fayth of this Engliſh Church, which held out ſo long, to quayle. Then was the clerre ſunne ſhine of Gods word ouerſhadowed, with miſtes and darcknes, appearing like ſackecloth to the people, which neither could vnderſtand that they read, nor yet permitted to read that they could vnderſtand. In theſe miſerable dayes, as the true viſible Church beganne now to ſhrinke and keep in for feare: ſo vpſtart a new ſort of players to furniſh the ſtage, as ſchole Doctours, Canoniſtes, and foure orders of Friers. Beſides other Monaſticall ſectes and fraternities of infinite variety. Which euer ſince haue kept ſuch a ſtirre in the Church, that none for them almoſt durſt rout, neyther Cęſar, king, nor ſubiect. What they defined, ſtode. What they approued, was Catholicke: What they condemned, was hereſie: whom ſoeuer they accuſed, none almoſt could ſaue. And thus haue theſe hetherto continued or raigned rather in the Church, the ſpace now of foure hundreth yeares and odde. During which ſpace, the true Church of Chriſt, although it durſt not openly appeare in the face of the world, oppreſſed by tyranny: yet neyther was it ſo inuiſible or vnknown: but by the prouidence of the Lord, ſome remnaunt alwayes remayned from tyme to time, which not onely ſhewed ſecret good affection to ſincere doctrine, but alſo ſtode in open defence of truth agaynſt the diſordered Churche of Rome.

The true Church continueth in the middeſt of their enemies.

Extrauagant cap. Non ſine multa, Ex Nicholao Emerico. lib. Inquiſitionum.

Ex Ioan. Auentino. lib.7. Extrauant. cap. Licet infra doctrinam.

Ex Bullis quibuſdam Othonis Epiſt. Herbipolenſis.

In which Catalogue, firſt to pretermit *Barthramus* and *Barengarius*, which were before Pope Innocent 3. a learned multitude of ſufficient witneſſes here might be produced, whoſe names neyther are obſcure nor doctrine vnknowne: as *Ioachim* Abbot of Calabria, *Almericus* a learned Byſhop, who was iudged an hereticke for holding agaynſt Images, in the time of the ſayd Innocentius. Beſides the Martirs of Alſatia, of whome we read an hundred to be burned by the ſayd Innocentius in one day, as writeth *Hermanus Mutius*. Adde likewiſe to theſe *Waldenſes* or *Albigenſes*, which to a great number ſegregated themſelues from the Church of Rome. To this number alſo belonged *Reymundus* Earle of Tholoſe, *Marſilius*, *Patiuius*, * *Gulielmus de S. Amore*, *Simon Tornatenſis Arnoldus de noua villa*, *Ioannes Semeca*, beſides diuers other preachers in Sueuia ſtanding agaynſt the Pope. Anno.1240. *Ex Cranz.* *Laurentius Anglicus* a Mayſter of Parris, anno. 1260. *Petrus Ioannis* a Minorite, who was burned after hys death. anno.1290. *Robertus Gallus* a Dominicke Frier, anno. 1291. *Robert Groſthead* Byſhoppe of Lincolne which was called Malleus Romanorum. anno. 1250. *Lord Peter de Cugnerijs*. anno. 1329. To theſe we may adde moreour *Gulielmus Ockam*, *Bongratius Bergomenſis*, *Luitpoldus Andræas Laudenſis*. *Vlricus Hangenor* Treaſurer to the Emperour, *Ioannes de Ganduno*. anno, 1330. mentioned in the Extrauagantes, *Andræas de Caſtro*, *Buridianus*, *Euda*, Duke of Burgundy, who counſelled the french king, not to receiue the new found conſtitutions, and extrauagantes of the Pope into his realme, *Dantes Alligerius*, an Italian, who wrote agaynſt the Pope, Monkes and Fryers, and agaynſt the donation of *Conſtantine*. anno.1330. *Taulerus* a Germayne preacher, * *Conradus Hager* impriſoned for preaching agaynſt the Maſſe an.1339. The author of the booke called, *Pœnitentiarius Aſini*, compiled about the yeare 1343. *Michael Ceſenas* a gray Fryer, *Petrus de Corbaria*, with *Ioannes de Poliaco*, mentioned in the Extrauantes and condemned by the Pope, *Ioannes de Caſtilione*. with *Franciſcus de Arcatara*, who were burned about the yeare of our Lord. 1322. * *Ioannas Rochtaylada*, otherwiſe called *Haybalus*, with an other Frier martyred about the yeare.1346. *Franciſcus Petrarcha*,,who called Rome the whore of Babilon.&c.an.1350.**Georgius Ariminenſis*,an.1350 *Ioannes de Rupe Sciſſa*, empriſoned for certayne propheſies againſt the Pope.an.1340. *Gerhardus Ridder*, who alſo wrote againſt Monks and Friers a book called *Lacryma Eccleſiæ*.an.1350. *Godfridus de Fontanis*,*Gulielmus de Landuno*,*Ioannes Monachus Cardini. Armachanus*,*Nicholaus Orem* preacher.an.1364. *Militzius* a Bohemian,which then preached that Antichriſt was come, and was excommunicate for the ſame, an.1366.*Iacobus Miſnenſis*,* *Mathias Pariſienſi*: a Bohemian borne,and a writer againſt the Pope,an.1370. *Ioannes Mountziger*, Rector of the Vniuerſitie of Vlme,anno.1384. *Nilus* Arch. of Theſſalonica.*Henricus de Iota*, *Henricus de Haſſia*.&c.

Extrauagant Ioan.22. Ex Ioan. Froſiardo volum.1. Cap. 211. Ex Tritemio.
Ex Bulla Gregorij cap.11.
Ex Illirico.

I do but recite the principall writers and preachers in thoſe dayes: Howe many thouſandes there were which neuer bowed their knees to Baall, that is knowne to God alone.Of whome wee finde in the writings of one * *Bruſhius* that xxxvi.Citizens of Maguntia were burned, an.1390. Who following the doctrine of the Waldenſes, affirmed the Pope to be the great Antichriſt. Alſo *Maſſæus* recordeth of one hundred and fourty, which in the prouince of Narbon were put to the fire, for not receiuing the decretalles of Rome:beſides them that ſuffered at Paris to the number of xxiiij.. at one time,anno.1210. and the next yeare after were foure hundred brent vnder the names of Heretiques. Beſides alſo a certayne good Heremite, an Engliſhman, of whome mention is made in *Iohn Bacon. Diſt.2.Queſt.1.* who was committed for diſputing in Paules Church, agaynſt certaine Sacramentes of the Church of Rome.an.1306.

Ex Bruſhio.
Ex Chriſtiano Maſſeo.
Ex Ioan. Bacon Diſt.2.Queſt.1.

To diſcend now ſomewhat lower in drawing out the diſcent of the Churche. What a multitude here commeth of faythfull witneſſes in the time of *Iohn.Wickleffe,as Ocliffe,Wickliffe.an*,1376.*W.Thorp White*,*Puruey*,*Patſhall*,*Payne*, *Gower*, *Chaucer*,*Gaſcoyne*,*Williã Swinderby*,*Walter Brute*,*Roger Dexter*,*William Sautry* about the yeare.1400. *Iohn Badby, an.1410. Nicholaus Tayler*,*Rich.Wagſtaffe*, *Mich. Scriuener*,*William Smith Iohn Henry*,*W.Parchmenar*,*Roger Goldſmith*,with an Ancreſſe called *Mathilde* in the Citie of Leiceſter,Lord *Cobham*,Syr *Roger Acton* knight, *Iohn Beuerley* preacher,*Iohn Huſſe*,*Hierome* of *Prage* Scholemaiſter,with a number of faithfull Bohemians and Thaborites not to be told with whõ I might alſo adioyne *Laurentius Valla* and *Ioannes Picus*, the learned Earle of Mirandula. But what do I ſtand vpon recitall of names,which almoſt are infinite.

Wherfore if any be ſo farre beguiled in his opinion to thinke the doctrine of the church of Rome (as it now ſtandeth)to be of ſuch antiquitie, & that the ſame was neuer impugned before the time of *Luther* and *Zuinglius* now of late,let him read theſe hiſtories: or if he thinke the ſayd hiſtorie not to be of ſufficient credite to alter his perſwaſion let him peruſe the Actes and Statutes of Parliamentes, paſſed in this realme of auncient time and therein conſider and conferre the courſe of times;where he may finde and read.*An.5.Regis Richardi.2.* in the yeare of our Lord.1380,of a great nũber(which there be called euill perſons) *goyng about from town to town in freeſe gownes preaching vnto the people.&c.* which preachers although the wordes of the Statute do terme there to be diſſembling perſons,preaching dyuers Sermons contayning hereſies & notorious errours, to the emblemiſhment of Chriſten faith,& of holy Church &c.as the words do there pretend:yet notwithſtanding euery true Chriſtian reader may conceaue of thoſe Preachers to teache no other doctrine, then nowe they heare theyr owne Preachers in Pulpits Preache, agaynſt the Biſhoppe of Rome and the corrupte hereſies of his Churche.

Statut. in An.5. Rich.2.An.Domini.1390.

Furthermore he ſhall finde likewiſe in *Statut.An.2.Henr.4.Cap.15.* in the yeare of our Lord. 1402. an other lyke company of good Preachers and faythful defenders of true doctrine agaynſt blynd hereſie and errour: Whom albeit the wordes of the Statute there, through corruption of that time, do falſely terme, to be falſe *and peruerſe Preachers, vnder diſſembled holines, teaching in thoſe dayes openly and priuely new doctrines and hereticall opinions contrary to the faythe and determination of holy Churche.&c.* yet notwithſtanding whoſoeuer readeth hiſtories and conferreth the order and diſcent of times,ſhall vnderſtand theſe to be no falſe teachers, but faythfull witneſſes of the truth, not teaching any newe doctrines contrary to the determination of holy Church: But rather ſhall finde that Churche to be vnholy, which they Preached agaynſt, teaching rather it ſelfe hereticall opinions contrary both to antiquitie, and veritie of Chriſtes true Catholicke Churche.

Ex Statut. in An.2.Henr.4. cap.15.An.Domini 1402.

Of the lyke number alſo, or greater, of lyke true faythfull fauourers and followers of Gods holy worde, we find in the yeare of our Lord. 1422. ſpecified in a letter ſent from *Henry Chicheſley* Archbiſhop of Canterbury,to Pope Martin 5. in the fift yeare of his Popedome,where mention is made *of ſo many here in Engand infected:* (as he ſayde) *with the hereſies of Wickleffe and Huſſe, that without force of any army they could not be ſuppreſſed.&c.* Whereupon the Pope ſent two Cardinals to the Archbiſhop to cauſe a tenth to be gathered of all ſpirituall and Religious men, and the money to be layde in the chamber Apoſtolicke, and if that were not ſufficient, the reſidue to bee made vppe of Chalices, Candleſtickes, and other implementes of the Churche.&c.

Ex Literis Archiepiſcopi Cant.ad Martinum.5. Anno. Domini.1422.

What ſhall neede then any more witnes to proue this matter, when you ſee ſo many yeares agoe, whole armyes and multitudes, thus ſtanding agaynſt the Pope? who thoughe they bee termed here for heretickes and ſchiſmatickes, yet in that, which they call hereſie, ſerued they the liuing Lord, within the Arke of his true ſpirituall and viſible Churche.

And where is then the friuolous bragge of the Papiſtes, which make ſo muche of there paynted ſheath, & would nedes beare vs downe, that this gournment of the Church of Rome which now is, hath bene of ſuch an old ſtanding,time out of minde,euen from the primitiue Antiquitie, & that neuer was any other church demonſtrable here in earth for men to follow,beſides the ſaid only Catholick mother church of Rome? whẽ as we haue ſufficiently proued before by the continual deſcẽt of the

Church till this preſent tyme, that the ſayd Church, after the doctrine which is now reformed, is no new begunne matter, but euen the olde continued Churche, by the prouidence and promiſe of Chriſt, ſtill ſtanding, which albeit it hath bene of late yeares repreſſed by the tyranny of Romayne Byſhops, more then before: yet notwithſtanding it was neuer ſo oppreſſed but God hath euer maintayned in it the truth of his Goſpell, agaynſt hereſies and errours of the Church of Rome, as in thys hiſtory more at full is to be ſeene.

Bloudy markes of Chriſtes paſſion ſeene on mens garmentes in Germany. Anno. 1501.

Let vs now proceede farther as we began, deducing this deſcent, of the Churche vnto the 1501. yeare. In which yeare the Lord began to ſhew in the partes of Germany wonderfull tokens, and bloudy markes of his Paſſion, as the bloudy Croſſe, hys nayles, ſpeare, and Crowne of thornes, which fell from heauen vpon the garments and cappes of men, and rockes of woman, as you may further read in this booke pag. 816. By the which tokens almighty God (no doubt) preſignified what grieuous afflictions and bloudy perſecutions ſhoulde then begin to enſue vppon his Churche for hys Goſpels ſake, according as in this hiſtory is deſcribed, wherein is to be ſeene what Chriſten bloud hathe bene ſpilt, what perſecutions rayſed, what tyranny exerciſed, what tormentes deuiſed, what trechery vſed agaynſt the poore flocke and Church of Chriſt, in ſuch ſort as ſince Chriſtes tyme greater hath not bene ſeene.

Seuentie yeares of captiuitie well neare expired.

And now by reuolution of yeares we are come from the time of. 1501. to that yeare now preſent 1570. In which the full ſeuenty yeares of the Babilonicall captiuitie draweth now well to an ende, if we count from the firſt appearing of theſe bloudy markes aboue mentioned. Or if wee recken from the beginning of Luther, and hys perſecution, then lacketh yet xvi. yeres. Now what the Lord wil do with this wicked world, or what reſt he will geue to hys Church after theſe long ſorrowes, he is our father in heauen, his will be done in earth, as ſeemeth beſt to his diuine maieſtie.

Exhortation to the Church of England.

In the meane time let vs for our partes with all patient obedience wayt vpon hys gracious leyſure and glorifie his holy name, and edifie one an other with all humilitie. And if there cannot be an end of our diſputing, and contending one agaynſt an other: yet let there be a moderation in our affections. And for aſmuch as it is the good will of our God, that Sathan thus ſhould be let loſe amongſt vs for a ſhort time: yet let vs ſtriue in the meane while what wee can to amende the malice of the tyme with mutuall humanitie. They that be in errour, let them not diſdayne to learne. They whiche haue greater talentes of knowledge committed, inſtruct in ſimplicitie them that be ſimple. No man liueth in that common wealth where nothing is amiſſe. But yet becauſe God hath ſo placed vs Engliſhmen here in one common wealth, alſo in one Church as in one ſhippe together: let vs not mangle or deuide the ſhippe, which being deuided periſheth: but euery man ſerue in his order with dilligence, wherein he is called. They that ſitte at the helme, keepe well the poynt of the needle, to knowe how the ſhip goeth, and whether it ſhould. Whatſoeuer weather betydeth, the needle well touched with the ſtone of Gods word will neuer fayle. Such as labour at the oares, ſtart for no tempeſt, but doe what they can to keepe from the rockes. Likewiſe they whiche be inferiour rowmes, take heede they moue no ſedition, nor diſturbance agaynſt the rowers and mariners. No ſtorme ſo daungerous to a ſhippe on the ſea, as is diſcord and diſorder in a weale publique. What countryes and nations, what kingdomes and Empyres, what Cities, townes, and houſes diſcord hath diſſolued, in ſtoryes is manifeſt: I neede not ſpend tyme in rehearſing examples. The Lord of peace, who hath power both of land and Sea, reach forth hys mercifull hand to helpe them vp that ſincke, to keepe them vpp that ſtand, to ſtill theſe windes and ſourging ſeas of diſcord and contention among vs: that wee profeſſing one Chriſt, may in one vnitie of doctrine gather our ſelues into one Arke of the true Church together, where we continuing ſtedfaſt in fayth may at the laſt luckely be conducted to the ioyfull porte of our deſired landing place by hys heauenly grace. To whome both in heauen and in earth be all power and glory, with his father and the holy ſpirite for euer. Amen.

The vtilitie of this Story.

Seyng the worlde is repleniſhed with ſuch an infinite multitude of bookes of all kinde of matters, I may ſeeme (perhaps) to take a matter in hand ſuperfluous and needles, at this preſent to ſet out ſuch Volumes, eſpecially of hiſtories, conſidering now a dayes the world is ſo greatly peſtered, not only with ſuperfluous plenty therof, but of all other treatiſes, ſo that books now ſeeme rather to lacke Readers, then Readers to lacke bookes: In which multitude of bookes I doubt not, but many doe both perceiue, and inwardly bewayle this inſatiable boldnes of many now a dayes both in writing and printing, which to ſay the truth, for my part I do as much lament as any man els beſide: and would therefore no man ſhould thinke that vnaduiſedly or with raſhnes I haue attempted this enterpriſe, as one being not onely doubtful, but alſo both baſhfull and feareful within my ſelf for ſetting the ſame abroad. And why? firſt I perceaued howe learned this age of ours is in reading of bookes, neither could I tell what the ſecret iudgementes of readers woulde conceaue, to ſee ſo weake a thing, to ſet vpon ſuch a weighty enterpriſe, not ſufficiently furniſhed with ſuch ornamentes able to ſatiſfie the perfection of ſo great a ſtory, or ſufficient to ſerue the vtility of the ſtudious: and the delight of the learned. Which abilitie the more I perceiued to be wanting in me, the leſſe I durſt be bold to become a writer.

Multitude of bookes lamented.

But agayne on the other ſide, when I weyed with my ſelfe what memorable Actes and famous doynges this latter age of the Churche hath miniſtred vnto vs by the patient ſuffringes of the worthy martyrs: I thought it not to be neglected, that ſo precious Monumentes of ſo many matters, meet to be recorded and regeſtred in books, ſhould lie buried by my default vnder darkenes of obliuion. Me thought ſomewhat was to be ſayd of them for their well deſeruing, and ſomething agayne of our partes for benefites by them receaued. But aboue all other thinges nothing did ſo much ſtyrre me forward hereunto, as the dilligent conſideration and ſpeciall regard of the common vtilitie which euery man plentifully may receaue by the reading of theſe Monuments or Martyrologe which hiſtory as I haue taken in hand chiefly for the vſe of the Engliſh Church: ſo haue I framed it in that tongue which the ſimple people could beſt vnderſtand.

Nowe if men commonly delite ſo much in other Chronicles which intreate onely vpon matters of pollicye, and reioyce to beholde therein the variable euentes of worldlye affayres, the Stratagemes of valiaunt captaynes, the terrour of foughten fieldes, the ſacking of Cities, the hurlye burlies of Realmes and people. And if men thinke it ſuch a gaye thing in a common wealth to committe to hiſtory ſuch olde antiquities of thinges prophane and beſtow all theyr ornamentes of wit and eloquence in garniſhing the ſame: how much more then is it meete for Chriſtians to conſerue in remembraunce the liues: Actes and doynges, not of bloudy warriours, but of myld and conſtant Martyrs of Chriſt, which ſerue not ſo much to delight the eare, as to garniſh the lyfe, to frame it with examples of great profite, and to encourage men to all kinde of Chriſtian godlines? As firſt by reading thereof wee may learne a liuely teſtimony of Gods mighty working in the life of man, contrary to the opinion of Atheiſtes, and all the whole neſt of Epicures. For like as one ſayd of Harpalus in times paſt, that his doyngs gaue a liuely teſtimony agaynſt God, becauſe he being ſo wicked a man eſcaped ſo long vnpuniſhed: ſo contrariwiſe in theſe mē we haue a much more aſſured and playne witnes of God both in whoſe liues and deathes appeared ſuche manifeſt declarations of Gods diuine working, whiles in ſuch ſharpnes of tormentes we behold in them ſtrength, ſo conſtant aboue mans reach, ſuch readines to aunſwere, ſuch patience in impriſonment, ſuche godlines in forgeuing, cherefulnes ſo couragious in ſuffering, beſides the manifold ſenſe and feeling of the holy ghoſt which they in their liues ſo plentifully taſted in theyr afflictions, as in readyng of theyr letters euidently we may vnderſtand. Ouer and beſides this, the milde deaths of the ſayntes do not a little auayle to the ſtabliſhing of a good conſcience: to learne the contempt of the world, and to come to the feare of God. Moreouer, they confirme fayth, encreaſe godlines, abate pride in proſperitie, and in aduerſitie do open an hope of heauenly comfort. For what man reading the miſery of theſe godly perſons, may not therein as in a glaſſe behold his owne caſe, whether hee be godly or godles. For if God geue aduerſitie vnto good men, what may eyther the better ſort promiſe themſelues, or the euill not feare? And whereas by reading of prophane ſtoryes we are made perhaps more ſkilfull in warlike affayres: ſo by reading of this we are made better in our liuinges, and beſides are better prepared vnto like conflictes, if by Gods permiſſion they ſhall happen hereafter more wiſer by theyr doctrine, and more ſteadfaſt by theyr example.

Compariſon betweene worldly ſoldiours and the ſoldiours of Chriſt.

To be ſhort, they declare to the world what true Chriſtian fortitude is, and what is the right way to conquere which ſtandeth not in the power of man, but in hope of the reſurrection to come, and is nowe I truſt at hand. In conſideration whereof, me thinkes I haue good cauſe to wiſh, that like as other ſubiectes: euen ſo alſo Kinges and Princes, which commonly delite in heroicall ſtories, would diligently peruſe ſuch Monumentes of martyrs, and lay them alwayes in ſight, not alonely to read, but to follow, and would paynt them vpon theyr walles, cups, ringes and gates. For doubtles ſuche as theſe: are more worthy of honour thē an hundreth Alexanders, Hectors, Scipions and warlike Iulies. And though the world iudgeth proſperouſly of thinges, yet with God the true iudge, certes ſuch are to be reputed in deede, not that kill one an other with a weapon, but they which being rather killed in Gods cauſe, do retayne an inuincible conſtancie agaynſt the threates of tyrantes and violence of tormentours. Such as theſe, are the true Conqueroures of the world, by whome we learne true manhode, ſo many as fight vnder Chriſt, and not vnder the world. With this valiantnes did that moſt milde Lambe and inuincible Lyon of of the tribe of Iuda firſt of all go before vs, of whoſe vnſpeakeable fortitude we heare this prophetical admiration: *who is this* (ſayth he) *which walketh ſo in the multitude of hys ſtrength?* Forſooth the high ſonne of the high God, once conquered of the world, and yet conquering the world after the ſame maner he was conquered.

Eſay. 63.

The like daunce did all hys other Martyrs follow, to whome the auncient antiquitie of the Churche did attribute ſo great honour, as neuer king or Emperour could purchaſe in this world with all theyr images, pillers hie ſpires, triumphes, temples, and all theyr ſolemne feaſtes. In probation whereof we ſee with what admiration, and almoſt ſuperſtition, not onely the memory, but alſo the reliques of thoſe good Martyrs were receaued & kept amongeſt the auncient Chriſtians. We haue alſo for witnes the learned Hymnes and Songes of Prudentius and Nazienzene, wherewith Pindarus did neuer ſo much ſet out hys triumphes of Olympia and Nemea. I neede not here rehearſe the learned Orations of eloquent Cyprian, Chryſoſtome, Ambroſe. and Hierome, who neuer ſhewed theyr eloquence more, then when they fell into the commendations of the Godly Martyrs.

Whereby it is manifeſt, what eſtimation in times paſt was attributed to Martyrs: with what gratulation, reioyce, myrth, and common ioy the afflictions of thoſe godly, dying in Chriſtes quarrell, were ſometime receiued and ſolemniſed, and that not without good reaſonable cauſe. For the Churche did well conſider howe much ſhe was beholding to theyr benefites, by whoſe death ſhe vnderſtoode her treaſures to encreaſe. Now then if Martyrs are to be compared with Martyrs, I ſee no cauſe why the Martyrs of our tyme deſerue any leſſe commendation, then the other in the primatiue Churche, which aſſuredly are inferiour vnto them in no poynt of prayſe: whether we view the number of them that ſuffered, or greatnes of theyr tormentes, or theyr conſtancie in dying, or alſo conſider the fruite that they brought to the amendment of poſteritie, and encreaſe of the Goſpell. They did water the truth with theyr bloud, that was newly ſpringing vp: ſo theſe by theyr deathes reſtored it agayne, being ſore decayed and fallen downe. They ſtanding in the forewarde of the battell, did receaue the firſt encounter and violence of theyr enemies, and taught vs by that meanes to ouercome ſuch tyranny: Theſe with like courage agayne like old beaten ſouldiours did winne the field in the rereward of the battayle. They like famous huſbandmen of the world did ſow the fieldes of the Church, that firſt lay vnmanured and waſt: theſe with fatnes of their bloud did cauſe it to battell and fructifie. Would to God the fruite might be ſpeedely gathered into the barne, whiche onely remayneth behinde to come.

A compariſon betweene the Martyrs of the Primitiue Church and of the latter Church.

Now, if we aſcribe ſuch reputation to Godly preachers (and worthely) which diligently preache the Goſpell of Chriſt, when they liue notwithſtanding by the benefite of tyme, without all feare of perſecution: howe muche more reaſonable cauſe haue we to prayſe and extoll ſuch men as ſtoutly ſpend theyr lyues for the defence of the ſame: All theſe premiſſes duely of our partes conſidered and marked, ſeeing we haue found ſo famous Martyrs in this our age, let vs not fayle then in publiſhing and ſetting forth their doings, leſt in that poynt we ſeeme more vnkinde to them, then the writers of yͤ primitiue Church were vnto theirs. And though we repute not theyr aſhes chaynes, and ſwerdes in the ſtede of reliques: yet let vs yeld thus much vnto theyr commemoration, to glory the Lord in hys Saintes, and imitate theyr death (as much as we may) with like conſtancy, or theyr liues at yͤ leaſt with like innocency. They offered theyr bodies willing, to the rough handling of the tormentors. And is it ſo great a matter then for our part, to mortifie our fleſh, with all the members thereof? They neglected not onely the riches and glory of the world for the loue of Chriſt, but alſo their liues: and ſhal we then keepe ſo great a ſtyrre one agaynſt an other, for the tranſitory trifles of this world? They continued in patient ſuffering, when they had moſt wrong done vnto them, and when theyr very heartes bloud guſhed out of theyr bodyes: and yet will not wee forgeue our poore brother, be the iniury neuer ſo ſmall, but are ready for euery trifling offence to ſeeke hys deſtruction, and cut his throat. They wiſhing well to all men, did of theyr own accord forgeue theyr perſecutors: & therefore ought we, which are now the poſteritie and Children of Martyrs, not to degenerate from theyr former ſteps, but being admoniſhed by their examples, if we cannot expreſſe theyr charitie toward all men, yet at leſt to imitate the ſame to our power and ſtrength. Let vs geue no cauſe of offence to any. And if any be geuen to vs, let vs ouercome it with patience, forgeuing and not reuenging the ſame. And let vs not onely keepe our handes
from ſhedding of bloud, but our tongues alſo from hurting the fame of others. Beſides, let vs
not ſhrinke if caſe ſo require, martyrdome or loſſe of lyfe, according to their example,
to yeld vp the ſame in the defence of the Lordes flocke. Whiche thing if
men would do, much leſſe contention and buſines woulde be
in the world then now is. And thus much tou-
ching the vtilitie and fruit to be ta-
ken of this hiſtory.

To all the profeſſed frendes and followers of the Popes proceedinges, foure Queſtions propounded.

Foure demaundes or queſtions put forth to the Papiſtes.

TO you all and ſinguler, which profeſſe the doctrine and Religion of the Pope your holy Father, and of your mother Church of Rome, pretending the name of Catholickes. commōly termed Papiſtes, whereſoeuer abiding in the Realme of England, theſe foure Queſtions or Problemes hereunder folowing I would moue, deſiring you all either to muſe vpon thē, or to anſwere thē at your leiſure.

* *The firſt Queſtion.*

The 1. queſtion.

Eſay. 11. 65.

FIrſt, forſomuch as Mount Sion (which God calleth by the Prophet Jeſai, the hill of his holines) beareth in the ſcripture an vndoubted type of the ſpiritual church of Chriſt: & for ſo much as the ſayd Jeſai. ca. 11. & 65. propheſying of the ſayd Mount Sion, ſayth in theſe wordes: Non nocebunt neq; affligent in omni monte ſancto meo, dicit Dominus. &c. i. They ſhal not kill nor hurt, in all my holy hill, ſayth the Lord, &c. And agayne in the ſame chap. thus we read: Habitabit Lupus cum agno, & Pardus cū hædo accubabit: Vitulus, & Leo & ouis vna commorabuntur, & puellus paruulus ducet eos. &c. i. The wolfe ſhall dwell with the Lambe, & the Leopard with the Kid: the Calfe, the Lion & the ſheepe ſhall feed together, & a yong child ſhall rule thē. The Cow alſo & the Beare ſhall abide together wͭ theyr yong ones, & the Lion ſhall eat chaffe & fodder like yͤ Oxe. &c.

Obiection.

Upon theſe premiſes now foloweth my queſtion, how the church of Rome can be anſwerable to this hill of Siō: ſeing in the ſayd church of Rome is, and hath bene now ſo many yeares ſuch killing and ſlaying, ſuch crueltie and tyranny ſhewed, ſuch burning & ſpoyling of chriſten bloud, ſuch malice & miſchiefe wrought, as in reading theſe hiſtoryes may to all the world appeare.

Refutation.

To this if they aunſwere, & expound theſe wordes of the Prophet, as perteining to the church triumphant therevnto I reply agayne: that by the wordes in the ſame place & in the ſame ſentence expreſſed that ſence cannot ſtand, for as much as the Prophet in the very ſame place, where he propheſieth of this peaceable dwelling in Gods holy mountayne without hurting or killing, meaneth plainly of the earth, & ſheweth alſo the cauſe of that godly peace. Becauſe (ſayth he) the earth is repleniſhed with knowledge & ſcience of the Lord. &c. ibid. And furthermore the Prophet ſpeaking of the ſame day when this ſhalbe, addeth ſaying: In that day the root of Jeſſe ſhall ſtand for a ſigne to the people, for the Gentils to be conuerted, and to ſeeke vnto him, &c. which day in no wiſe can be applyed to the church in heauen triumphant, but only here militant in earth.

Publicke execution of lawes, not forbidden in Scripture.

The conditions and properties of the true Church of Chriſt.

Rom. 15.

Galath. 6.

Touching which place of Jeſai, further here is to be noted by the way, that by this peaceable Mōūt Sion (which comprehendeth both the ſtates, as well eccleſiaſticall as tēporall) is not reſtrayned the publicke penalty of good lawes needfull to be executed vpon publicke malefactors, but here is reſtrayned the fierceneſ, reuenge, cruelty, & violence of mens affections. To which affectiōs men being commonly ſubiect by nature, through grace & working of the goſpel are altered, reformed, & chaūged to another diſpoſition: frō ſtoutnes to ſoftnes: frō violence to ſufferance: from fierceneſ to forbearing: frō pride to humility, frō cruelty to compaſſion, from wilynes to ſimplicity, frō ſolemne ſingularity to humanity and meekenes. which vertues, if they had bene in the church of Rome (according to the rule of S. Paul, which willeth men that be ſtronger, to beare with the infirmities of the weaker, and that in the ſpirit of meeknes. &c. Rom. 15. Gal. 6.) I ſhould not haue needed now at this time to write ſuch a long hiſtory as this of the ſuffering of ſo many Martyrs.

❡ *The ſecond Queſtion.*

The 2. queſtion.

The deadly hatred of the Papiſtes agaynſt the Proteſtantes, grounded vpon no iuſt cauſe nor deſeruing.

MY ſecond queſtion is this: to demaūd of you catholicke profeſſors of the popes ſect, which ſo deadly maligne and perſecute the proteſtants profeſſing the goſpell of Chriſt, what iuſt or reaſonable cauſe haue you to allege for this your extreme hatred ye bear vnto thē, yͭ neither you your ſelues can abide to liue wͭ them, nor yet will ſuffer yͤ other to liue amongeſt you? If they were Jewes, Turkes or Infidels, or in their doctrine were any Idolatrous impietie or deteſtable iniquitie in their liues: if they went about any deadly deſtruction, or priuy conſpiracies to oppreſſe your liues, or by fraudulent dealing to circūuent you, then had you ſome cauſe to cōplaine, and alſo to reuenge. Now ſeing in their doctrine ye haue neyther blaſphemy, idolatry, ſuperſtition nor miſbeliefe to obiect vnto them: ſeing they are baptiſed in the ſame beliefe, and beleue the ſame articles of the Crede, as ye do: hauing the ſame God, yͤ ſame Chriſt & ſauiour, the ſame baptiſme, & and are ready to conferre with you in all kinde of Chriſten doctrine, neyther do refuſe to be tryed by any place of the ſcripture, how then riſeth this mortall malice of you agaynſt them? If you thinke them to be herretickes, then bring forth if ye can, any one ſentence which they arrogantly hold, contrary to the minde of holy ſcripture: expounded by the cenſure of moſt auncient Doctours? Or what is there in all yͤ ſcripture to be required, but they acknowledge & confeſſe the ſame? See & try the order of their liues & doinges, what great fault find you. They ſerue God, they walke vnder his feare, they obey his law, as men may do: and though they be tranſgreſſors toward him, as other men are, yet toward you what haue they done, what haue they committed or deſerued why you ſhould be ſo bitter agaynſt them?

Malice and crueltie of Papiſtes againſt the countrey of Merindoll and Cabriers.

What offended the poore habitants of Merindal & Cabriers when the biſhop of Aix, the Cardinall of Turon, and other Biſhops of Fraunce wraſting from Fraunces the French king a commiſſion, ſent Mencrius wͭ his Captayne John de Gay to deſtroy theyr countrey, an. 1530. who driuing yͤ poore people there into a barn ful of ſtraw, ſet yͤ barn on fire, & burned vp men, women, and children: And likewiſe in a church, exerciſed the like crueltie vpon them, where were murdered the ſame time to the number of a thouſand yong and old, women, children, and yong infants, beſides vii. whole townes, with the moſt part of the dwellers therin, being murdered & burnt in yͤ ſayd country of Prouēce.

Malice of Papiſtes agaynſt the Citizens of Tholouſe in Fraunce.

Alſo before that, what offended the Citizens of Tholouſe and Auinion when Pope Gregory the ix. ſet Lewes the French king to warre agaynſt them and agaynſt Raymundus their Earle, without cauſe, where alſo the ſayd kyng died at the ſiege.

Malice and crueltie of Papiſtes agaynſt the Proteſtantes in the towne of Vaſſy.

Or to ſpeake of later yeres, what hurt or harme did the poore Proteſtantes in the towne of Vaſſy, who peaceably being at a Sermon, were miſerably ſlayne and cut, men, women, and children, by the Duke of Guyes and hys armed ſouldiours? beſides other infinite examples almoſt not to be numbred of like crueltie, in Calabria, Apulia, Bohemia, Fraunce, and now of late in Flaunders, and in other countryes moe.

Clemencie and mercy ſhewed to Papiſtes in the raigne of Queene Elizabeth.

But to let other countryes paſſe, let vs turne now to the peaceable gouernment in this realme of England, vnder this our ſo milde & gracious Queene now preſently reigning. Under whome you ſee howe gently you are ſuffered, what mercy is ſhewed vnto you: how quietly ye liue. what lacke you, that you woulde haue, hauing almoſt the beſt rowmes and offices in all the realme, not onely without any loſſe of lyfe, but alſo without anye feare of death. And though a few of your Archclerkes be in cuſtody: yet in that cuſtody ſo ſhrewdly are they hurt, that many a good Proteſtant in the realme would be glad with all their hartes to chaunge rowmes and dyet with them if they might. And albeit ſome other for their pleaſure haue ſlipt ouer the ſeas, if their courage to ſee countries abroade did ſo allure them, who coulde let them, yet this is certayne, no dreade there was of death that draue them. For what papiſt haue you ſeen in all this land to loſe eyther life or limme for papiſtry during al theſe xii. yeares hetherto ſince this Queenes reigne? And yet all this notwithſtādīg, hauing no cauſe to complayne, ſo many cauſes to geue God thāks ye are not yet content, ye fret and fume, ye grudge and mutter, and are not pleaſed with peace, nor ſatiſfied with ſafety but hope for a day, and fayne would haue a chaunge. And to preuent your deſired day, ye haue conſpired, and riſe vpp in open rebellion agaynſt your Prince, whom the Lord hath ſet vp to be your gouernour.

The trayterous murdering of the Lord Iames Regent of Scotland Martyr.

And as you haue ſince that, nowe of late diſturbed the quiet and peaceable ſtate of Scotland, in murdering moſt trayterouſly the gentle and godly Regent of Scotland (who in ſparing the Queenes life there when he had her in his handes, hath now therfore loſt his own) ſo with like fury, as by your rebellion appeareth, would diſturbe the golden quiet and tranquilitie of this Realme of England, if ye might haue your willes. which the mercifull grace of almightie, for Chriſt his ſonnes ſake our Lord, forfend and vtterly diſapoynt. Amen.

Wherfore theſe premiſes cōſidered, my queſtion is to aſke of you & know, what iuſt or reaſonable cauſe ye haue of

The chiefe cauſe of al theſe latter perſecutions in the Church is onely the priuate quarrell of the Biſhop of Rome.

theſe your vnreaſonable doinges, of this your ſo mortall and deadly hatred, fury and malice you beare agaynſt theſe your euenchriſtened, of theſe your tumultes, coniurations, gaping and hoping, rebellions, mutteringes, & murders, wherewith you trouble and diſquiet the whole world. Of all which miſchiefes, if the true cauſe were well knowen, the truth would be found doubtles to be none other but onely the priuate cauſe of the Biſhop of Rome, that he is not receiued, and the dignity of his Church exalted.

The plantation of the Popes ſupremacie proued not to be of God. Iohn. 8. Luke. 18.

Touching which cauſe how vnreaſonable and vniuſt it is, more ſhalbe ſayd (the Lord willing) in reply, according as I ſhal ſee theyr anſwere, if it ſhall ſo pleaſe thẽ, or any of thẽ to anſwere this queſtion. In the meane time this for a briefe note ſhall ſuffice: that it ſtandeth not with the ſcripture, but contrary to the ſcripture that the Biſhop of Rome ſhould ſo reuenge his owne priuate cauſe. If his title & plantatiõ be good & of God, why doth he not refer it vnto god? And no doubt, but if it be ſo, God will maintein it, though the whole world ſayd no. If it be otherwiſe, it will fall & be rooted out, though all the world ſayd yea, yea the greateſt argument to proue this plantation of the Popes ſupremacy not to be of God, is, that the Pope fighting in his owne priuate cauſe, by outward & worldly force ſeeketh his owne glory. Chriſt our ſauior being here refuſed himſelfe, yet neither reuenged his cauſe, nor ſought his owne glory, but onely the glory & will of his father, thus ſpeaking of himſelf: Si ego glorifico meipſũ, gloria mea nihil eſt, pater meus eſt, qui glorificat me. &c. Ioan. 8. i. If I glorify my ſelfe, my glory is nothing, my father is he that glorifyeth me, &c. Euen ſo I ſaye with ſcripture, that if the Popes proceedings were planted of God, he would not ſo wraſtle for his glory, as he doth. But forſomuch as he ſeeketh by ſuch cruelty and bloudſhed to exalt himſelfe, we may well argue his proceedings not to be of God, and that he ſhalbe brought low. &c. Luke. 18.

The 3. queſtion.

¶ The third Queſtion.

Apocal. 13. The two beaſtes in the booke of Reuelatiõ deſcribed. The ſecond beaſt with the hornes like a Lambe.

MY third queſtion I take of the 13. chap. of the booke of Reuelation. which booke as it conteineth a Propheticall hiſtory of the Church: ſo likewiſe it requireth by hiſtories to be opened. In this chapter mention is made firſt of a certayne beaſt comming out of the Sea, hauing vij. heads & x. hornes, with x. diademes of blaſphemy. Vnto ỹ which beaſt the dragon, the deuill, gaue his ſtrength, and great power to fight agaynſt the Saynctes, & to ouercome them, & to make xlij. monethes: of the which beaſt, one of his heades was wounded at length to death. &c.

After this immediatly in the ſame chap. mentiõ foloweth of an other beaſt, riſing out of the land, hauing 2. hornes like a lambe, & ſpake like a dragon, & did all the power of the former beaſt before his face, and cauſed all dwellers of the earth to worſhip the beaſt: whoſe head was wounded, and liued. Who alſo had power to geue ſpirit & life to the ſayd former beaſt, to make the Image of the beaſt to ſpeak, & to cauſe al men frõ the higheſt to the loweſt, to take the marke of the beaſt in theyr handes and foreheades, & whoſoeuer worſhipped not the Image of the beaſt ſhould be killed. &c.

Vpon this deſcription of theſe two beaſtes riſeth my queſtion, wherein I deſire all papiſtes, from the higheſt to the loweſt, either to anſwere or to conſider with thẽſelues, what the ſpirit of the propheſy meaneth by the ſayd 2. beaſtes. Neither is the miſtery of this propheſy ſo obſcure, but being hiſtoricall, by hiſtories it may be explaned & eaſely expounded. Writing therfore to the Papiſtes, as men expert in hiſtories, my queſtion is this: that ſeing the propheſy of theſe 2. beaſtes muſt needes prefigure ſome people or dominiõ in the world, of ſome high eſtate & power: they will now declare vnto vs, what people or domination this ſhould be. Which if they will do playnely and truely, according to the markes & propertyes of the ſayd ij. beaſtes here ſet forth, they muſt needes be driuen of force ineuitable to graunt and confeſſe, the ſame only to agree to the City & Empyre of Rome, & to no other: which by theſe reaſons folowing of neceſſity muſt needes be concluded.

The miſterie of the firſt beaſt riſing out of the Sea applied.

Firſt, the beaſt wich came out of the ſea, hauing the ſtrength, the ſeat, and power of the great Dragon (the Deuill, called the Prince of this world, committed to him, who alſo had power geuẽ ouer all tribes, nations, languages, people and countryes in the earth) muſt needes be an Empyre or Monarchy of great force, paſſing all other Monarchies in the world beſides, and this muſt needes argue the Empyre of Rome and none other.

The Image of the beaſt reſembled to the Monarchie of Rome. Apocall. 13.

Secondly, in that the beſt had vij. heads, & x. hornes, with x. diademes full of blaſphemy vpõ thẽ: thoſe vij. heades being expounded in the ſayd booke, cap. 17. for vij. hilles, notoriouſly importeth the Citie of Rome, wherein were 7. hilles conteyned. The like alſo may be thought of ỹ x. hornes being there expounded for x. kinges (ſignifying belike ỹ x. Prouincies or Kingdomes of the worlde ſubdued to the Romayne Empyre) with x. crownes of blaſphemy vppon their heades: all which conueniently agree to the Cittie of Rome.

Of theſe 42. monethes, and the expoſition thereof, read. page. 101.

Thirdly, where the ſayd beaſt had power to make 42. monthes and to fight againſt the Saintes, and to ouercome them, &c. therby moſt manifeſtly is declared the Empyre of Rome, with the heathen perſecuting Emperours, which had power geuẽ the ſpace of ſo many monthes, (that is, from Tiberius to Licinius. 294. yeares) to perſecute Chriſts Church as in the Table of the primitiue Church hereafter following is diſcourſed more at large.

The wounded head of the beaſt in the reuelation what it meaneth. The ſecond beaſt riſing out of the land pretending the hornes of a Lambe what it meaneth.

Fourthly, where the prophet ſpeaketh of the one of the heades of the beaſt to be wounded to the death, & the wound afterward to be cured agayne, by that ye haue to vnderſtand the decay and ſubuerſion of the Citie of Rome & of Italy, which being one of the heades of the Romayne Monarchie, was ſubdued by the Gottes, Vandals, & Lombards, and the Cittie of Rome, thriſe ſackt and taken betweene the reigne of Honorius Emperour of Rome, and the tyme of Iuſtinian Emperor of Conſtantinople, & ſo remayned this head of Rome wounded a long time vnder the dominion of ỹ Lombards, till at length this wound was cured agayne, as the ſequele of this propheſie declareth: For ſo it followeth in the foreſayd chap. of the Reuelation: And after this I ſaw (ſayth he) an other beaſt riſing out of the land, hauing two hornes like the lamb, and ſpake like the Dragon. Who practiſed all the power of the firſt beaſt before his face, and cauſed all the inhabitantes of the earth to worſhip the firſt beaſt, whoſe head was wounded and cured agayne. &c. And to him it was geuen to geue life to the Image of the beaſt, and to make it ſpeake: and alſo to make all them that will not worſhip the image of the beaſt, to bee ſlayne, and cauſed all from the moſt to the leaſt, both rich and poore, free men and bondmen, to take the marke of the beaſt in their right hand and in their foreheades, ſo that none ſhould buy and ſell vnles he had the beaſtes marke about him. &c.

Apocall. 13. The Miſterie of the 13. chapter of the Reuelations expounded.

The deſcription of this ſecond beaſt being well viewed: it cannot be auoided, but needes muſt be applyed to ỹ Byſhop of Rome and to none other: as by the hiſtory and order of times is euident to be proued. For who els repreſenteth ỹ hornes of the lambe of God which taketh away the ſinnes of the world, but only he? who ſpeaketh with ỹ voyce of ỹ Dragon ſo proudly, as he? The voice of the Dragon ſpake once to Chriſt: That all the glory of the world was his to geue to whom he would, & that he would geue it. &c. And doth not thys falſe horned lambe ſpeaking in the ſame voyce of the Dragon, ſay by the mouth of Pope Gregory 7. that all the kingdomes of the earth were hys, and that hee had power in earth to looſe, and take away Empyres, Kingdomes, Dukedomes, and what els ſoeuer mortall menne may haue, and to geue them where he would? &c. Ex platina in Vit. Gregorij. 7.

Ex platina in vita Gregorij. 7. The Image of the old Monarchie reuiued by the Biſhop of Rome.

Furthermore, at what time the declining ſtate of Rome began to decay, and Italy was brought vnder ſubiection of ỹ Lombardes, then the Pope ſtirred vp Pipinus and Carolus Magnus, to take his part agaynſt the Lombardes, and to reſtore agayne, the old glory of ỹ Monarchie to hys former ſtate. And therfore who cured the wounded head of this beaſt agayne, but onely he? who gaue life and ſpeach to the Image of the beaſt but he? who after that by helpe of the French kings, had ſubdued thoſe Lombardes with other aliens, and had gotten the poſſeſſion of Rome, into hys own handes, he ſo repared & aduaunſed the fame and name of Rome, that ſince that time all perſons from the hyeſt, to the loweſt, both rich & poore haue bene glad to ſend & ſeek to Rome, yea Kinges, Emperors, Queens, & Dukes haue bene glad to kiſſe the Biſhops feete, and to lead hys horſe by the bridle: So that the Maieſty of Rome in the old heathẽ Emperors days was neuer more terrible, nor glorious, nor neuer had more power to perſecute & ouercome gods Saintes thẽ theſe lambelyke Byſhops of Rome haue had, and haue exerciſed theſe 500. yeares in Chriſtendome. And therefore who els in all the world hath ſo much power to do the workes of the firſt beaſt, before hys face, as he? or who but he alone? which forceth both high and low, rich and poore, free and bond to receaue the ſeale, and to become loyall to the Citie and ſea of Rome: ſo that whoſeuer hath not the marke whereby to be knowne to holde of the Churche of Rome, ſhall haue no place, to buy and ſell nor to occupy in all Chriſtendome.

Power to doe the workes of the beaſt before his ſight. Apocal. 13.

Now if any Papiſt whatſoeuer, in anſwering to this my queſtiõ can apply this propheticall miſtery of theſe 2. beaſts otherwiſe then thus, I would hartely deſire him, to take ſo much paynes to ſatiſfie this doubt at his good pleaſure &

laiſure

layſure. In the meane ſeaſon let this ſtand for a Corolarium, that the biſhop of Rome by this deſcription muſt be that ſecond beaſt propheſied to come in the latter time of the Church vnder a falſe pretenſed lambe, to reſtore agayn the old perſecutions of Rome, and to diſturbe the whole Church of Chriſt, as this day so truely is come to paſſe.

¶ *The fourth Queſtion.*

AS touching my fourth queſtion, although I could vrge you with an other like propheticall place of ſcripture no leſſe euident agaynſt the biſhop of Rome, taken out of the ſecond Epiſtle of S. Paule to the Theſſa. where mention is made of the ſonne of perdition, ſitting in the Temple of God, as god, & aduauncing himſelfe aboue al that is called god &c. which place ye can by no reaſonable euaſiō auoyd: yet notwithſtanding to let this paſſe, I turne my queſtiō to aſke this of you, whether the religion of Chriſt be mere ſpiritual, or els corporall. If ye affirme it to be corporall as was the old religiō of the Iewes cōſiſting in outward rites, ſacrifices, ceremonies of the law: thē ſhew if ye can, what any one outward actiō or obſeruatiō is required in chriſtian religiō by the ſcripture, as neceſſary in a chriſten man, for remiſſiō of ſinnes & ſaluation, ſaue onely the two Sacramentall ceremonies of outward Baptiſme, & of the Lordes Supper? Howbeit neither theſe alſo as they are corporall, that is to ſay neither the outward action of the one, nor of the other cōferreth remiſſiō of ſinnes, nor ſaluation, but onely are viſible ſhewes of inuiſible & ſpirituall benefits. And furthermore if our god, whō we ſerue, be ſpirituall, how can his religiō & ſeruice be corporall as we are taught by the mouth of our ſauior, ſaying: God is a ſpirit and therfore they that worſhip him, muſt worſhip in ſpirit & verity. &c. Ioan. 4.

The 4. queſtion. 2. Theſſ. 2.

Religion of Chriſt ſpiritual, and not corporall.

Now if ye graunt (as ye muſt needes) this our chriſten religion to be ſpirituall, & not a corporall religiō, thē ſhew if ye can, any one poynt of all theſe thinges which ye ſtriue for ſo much with vs, to be ſpirituall, but altogether corporall, & externe matters & ceremoniall obſeruations, nothing cōducing to any ſpirituall purpoſe, as your outward ſucceſſiō of biſhops, garmentes, veſtures, geſtures, coulors, choiſe of meates, differēce of dayes, times & places, hearing, ſeing, ſaying, touching, taſting, numbring of beades, gilding & worſhipping Images, building monaſteries, riſing at midnight, ſilence in cloyſters, abſteining from fleſh & white meat, faſting in Lent, keeping Imberdayes hearing maſſe & diuine ſeruice, ſeing & adoring the body in forme of bread, receiuing holy water, & holy bread, creeping to the croſſe, carying palmes, taking aſhes, bearing candles, pilgrimage going, ſenſing, kneeling, knocking, aultars, ſuperaltars, candleſtickes, pardons: In orders croſſing, annoynting, ſhauing, forſwering mariage: In baptiſme, croſſing, ſalting, ſpatling, exorciſing, waſhing of handes: At Eaſter eare confeſſion, penaunce doing, ſatiſfaction: And in receiuing with beardes new ſhauen, to imagine a body, where they ſee no body: & though he were there preſent to be ſene, yet the outward ſeing & touching of him, of it ſelfe, without fayth, conduceth no more, thē it did to the Iewes. At Rogatiō daies, to cary banners, to follow the croſſe, to walke about the fieldes. After Pentecoſt, to go about with Corpus Chriſti play. At halowmas to watch in the church, to ſay a dirige & commendations, & to ring for all ſoules to pay tithes truely, to geue to the high aultar. And if a man will be a Prieſt, to ſay Maſſe & Mattens, to ſerue the Saynt of that day, and to lift well ouer his head. &c. In ſicknes to be ancled, to take his rites, after his death to haue funerals, & obites ſayd for him, and to be rong for at his funerall, moneth mind, and yearemind. &c. Adde moreouer to theſe the outward ſacrifice of the Maſſe, with opus operatum ſine bono motu vtentis. &c.

The Pope turneth the ſpirituall religion of Chriſt to a corporall religion.

The whole ſumme of the Popes Catholicke religion ſet forth in partes.

All which thinges aboue recited, as they conteine the whole ſummary & effect of all the popes catholicke religion: ſo are they all corporall exerciſes, conſiſting in the externe operation of man. which if they can make a perfect right catholicke chriſtian, then it may be ſaid, that men may be made perfect chriſtians by fleſh and bloud, without any inward working of faith, or of the holy ghoſt. For what is in all theſe, but the fleſh & bloud, of his ſtrength is able to accōpliſh, though no inward ſtrength or motion of the holy Ghoſt did worke.

A man may be Catholique by the Popes religion without any working of the holy ghoſt.

But now the order of our religion, & way of ſaluation conſiſteth not in ſuch corporall or outward things as theſe, but in other more higher & more ſpirituall gifts, which farre exceed the capacity of fleſh & bloud: of the which giftes the chiefeſt & onely meane cauſe that ſaueth man, & remitteth ſinnes, is his fayth in Chriſt. which fayth I thus define, for a man to beleue by the bloudſhedding of Ieſus ye ſonne of god, his ſinnes to be forgeuen, Gods wrath to be pacified, & himſelfe to be iuſtified perfectly from all accuſations that can be layd vnto him. &c. And though the Papiſtes make a light matter of this, to beleue in Chriſt, and when they heare vs ſay, that fayth onely iuſtifieth, they obiect to vs again and make it a ſmall matter to be ſaued, if fayth onely iuſtifie vs. Yet notwithſtanding, this fayth, if it be well examined, is ſuch a thing that fleſh and bloud is not able to attayne therto, vnles Gods holy ſpirite frō aboue do draw him.

The nature of true Chriſtian Religion deſcribed.

Saluation of man, ſtandeth onely in fayth of Chriſt.

Fayth in Chriſt, no light matter to fleſhe and bloud.

Moreouer beſides this fayth, many other thinges are incident alſo to the doctrine of our ſaluation. Albeit as no cauſes therof, but either as Sacramentes and ſeales of fayth, or as declarations thereof, or els as fruites, & effects folowyng the ſame. So Baptiſme, and the Supper of the Lord be as teſtimonies and profes: that by our fayth only in Chriſt we are iuſtified, that as our bodyes are waſhed by water, and our life nouriſhed by bread and wine: ſo by the bloud of Chriſt, our ſinnes be purged, and the hunger of our ſoules releued by the death of his body.

Many thinges incident to ſaluation beſides fayth: but not as cauſes thereof.

Upon the ſame fayth riſeth alſo outward profeſſion by mouth, as a declaration thereof. Other thinges alſo as fruites and effectes do follow after fayth, as peace of conſcience, ioy in the holy Ghoſt, inuocation, patience, charitie, mercy, iudgement, & ſanctification. For God for our fayth in Chriſt his ſonne, therfore geueth into our hartes his holy ſpirite of comfort, of peace, and ſanctification, whereby mans hart is moued to a godly diſpoſition to feare God, to ſeek him, to call vpon him, to truſt vnto him, to ſtick to him in all aduerſities and perſecutions, to loue him: & for hys ſake alſo to loue our brethren, to haue mercy and compaſſion vpon them, to viſite them if they be in priſon, to breake bread to them, if they be hungry: and if they be burdened, to eaſe them: to clothe them if they be naked, and to harbour them if they be houſeles, Mat. 25. with ſuch other ſpirituall exerciſes of pietie and ſanctification as theſe. which therefore I call ſpirituall, becauſe they procede of the holy ſpirite and law of God which is ſpirituall.

Workes of ſanctification, how they come and follow fayth. Eſay. 58. Math. 25.

And thus haue ye a Catholicke Chriſtian defined, firſt after the rules of Rome, and alſo after the rule of the Goſpell. Now conferre theſe Antitheſes together, and ſee whether of theſe is the truer chriſtian, the ceremonial man after the Church of Rome, or the ſpirituall man with his fayth and other ſpirituall fruites of pietie following after ye ſame. And if ye ſay that ye mixt them both together, ſpirituall thinges with your corporall ceremonies, to that I aunſwere agayne, that as touching the end of remiſſion of ſinnes, and ſaluation, they ought in no caſe to be ioyned together, becauſe the meane cauſe of all our ſaluation and remiſſion, is onely ſpirituall, and conſiſteth in fayth, and in no other.

And therefore vpon the ſame cauſe I come to my queſtion agayne, as I began, to aſke whether the Religion of Chriſt be a mere ſpirituall religion: and whether in the Religion of Rome: as it is now, is any thing but onely mere corporall thinges required, to make a catholicke man. And thus I leaue you to your aunſwere.

IN turning ouer the firſt leafe of this booke, which is pag. 2. col. 1. and in the latter end of the ſame columne, thou ſhalt finde gentle Reader, the argument of Pighius & Hoſius, wherein thus they argue: That forſomuch as Chriſt muſt needes haue a catholicke Church euer continuing here in earth, which all men may ſee & wherunto all men ought to reſort: and ſeeing no other church hath endured continually from the Apoſtles, viſible here in earth, but only ye church of Rome: they conclude therefore the Church onely of Rome to be the right Catholicke Church of Chriſt. &c.

In aunſwering whereunto this is to be ſayd: that forſomuch as the medius terminus of this argument, both in the Maior and Minor, conſiſteth onely in the word (viſible and vnknowne) if they meane by this word (viſible) in the Maior that Chriſtes Church muſt be ſeene here to all the world, that all men may reſort to it, it is falſe: Likewiſe if they meane by the ſame word (viſible in the Minor: that no other Church hath bene ſeene and knowen to any, but onely the Church of Rome, they are likewiſe deceiued. For the true Church of Chriſt neyther is ſo viſible, that all the worlde can ſee it, but onelye they whiche haue ſpirituall eyes: and bee members thereof: nor yet ſo inuiſible agayne, but ſuche as be Gods elect, and members therof, doe ſee it and haue ſeen it, though the worldly eyes of the moſt multitude cannot ſo doe. &c. wherof read more in the proteſtation aboue prefixed to the church of England.

❧ Foure conſiderations geuen out to Chriſtian Proteſtantes *profeſſours of the Goſpell with a briefe exhortation* inducing to reformation of life.

¶ *The firſt conſideration.*

AS in the page before, foure queſtions were moued to the Catholick Papiſts to anſwere them at theyr leyſure: ſo haue I here to the Chriſtian Goſpellers foure conſiderations likewiſe for them to muſe vpon, with ſpeede conuenient.

THe firſt conſideration is this euery good man well to weigh with himſelfe the long tranquillitie, the great plenty, the peaceable libertie, which the Lord of his mercy hath beſtowed vpon this land during all the reigne hetherto of this our Soueraigne and moſt happy Queene ELIZABETH, in ſuch ſort as the like example of Gods aboundant mercies are not to be ſeene in any nation about vs, ſo as we may well ſing with the Pſalme in the Churche. *Non fecit taliter omni nationi, & opes gloriæ ſuæ non manifeſtauit eis:* firſt in hauing the true light of Gods goſpel ſo ſhining among vs, ſo publickly receiued, ſo freely preached, with ſuch libertie of conſcience without daunger profeſſed, hauing withall a Prince ſo vertuous, a Queene ſo gratious geuen vnto vs, of our owne natiue country, bred and borne amongſt vs, ſo quietly gouerning vs, ſo long lent vnto vs in ſuch peace defending vs, agaynſt ſuch as would els diuoure vs: briefly what could we haue more at Gods hand, if wee woulde wiſh? or what els could we wiſh in this world, that we haue not? if this one thing lacked not grace to vſe that well, which we haue.

¶ *The ſecond conſideration.*

AS theſe thinges firſt are to be conſidered concerning our ſelues: ſo ſecondly let vs conſider likewiſe, the ſtate and tymes of other our countrymen, and bleſſed Martyrs afore paſt: what ſtormes of perſecutions they ſuſteined, what little reſt they had, with what enemies they were matched, with what croſſes preſſed, vnder what Princes, vnder what Prelates they liued, or rather dyed in the dayes of King Henry the 4. king Henry 5. King Henry 7. King Henry 8. Queene Mary. &c. vnder Boner Biſhoppe of London, Gardiner Biſhoppe of Winchester, Cholmley, Story, Biſhoppe Arundell, Stokeſley, Courtney, Warham. At what time children were cauſed to ſet fire to their fathers: The father adiured to accuſe the ſonne, the wife to accuſe the husband, the husband the wife, brother the ſiſter, ſiſter the brother, examples whereof are plenty in this booke to be ſeene, pag. 774.

¶ *The third conſideration.*

THirdly let vs call to mynd, conſidering thus with our ſelues: Theſe good men and worthy Martyrs in thoſe dangerous daies, taſtyng as they did, the heauy hand of Gods ſharpe correction, beginning commonly with his owne houſe firſt if they were aliue now in theſe Alcion daies, vnder the protection of ſuch a peaceable prince, O what thanks would they geue to God, how happy would they count themſelues hauing but halfe of that we haue, with freedome onely of conſcience, and ſafetie of lyfe. Or if in caſe we our ſelues had bene in thoſe times of theirs ſo troubled and diſtreſſed as they were, ſpoiled of goods, hated of the world, cited in conſiſtories, pinched in priſons, ſequeſtred from wife, houſe and children, loking for nothing but death, What would we ſay? what would we thinke? what would we do? Much otherwiſe doubtleſſe, then we do now, God graunt we may do better, for worſe I thinke we cãnot if we would. Ioh Wickliffe, W. Swinderby, Thorpe, Sawtrie, with a nũber of godly men moe, beyng thẽ glad in frieſe gownes goyng barefoote, to preach where they could. If they were now alyue, how glad would they be of theſe dayes, what paines would they take, yea what pains would they not take in preaching the goſpell, not for lucre, nor for mony, nor paſſing for promotions or dignities of the church? Sir I. Oldcaſtle L. Cobham, ſir Rog. Acton, with diuers worſhipful gentlemen a great nũber, If they being in our ſtate might enioy with vs their houſes and lands, with the good fauour of their Prince (as then they could not) how gladly would they haue contented themſelues though they neuer raiſed their rentes and fines to the vndoyng of their poore tenants? Likewiſe in the tyme of Ioh. Hus and Hierome of Prage, the Nobilitie and gentlemen of Bohemia, if they might haue had halfe this tranquillitie which we haue, to enioy the liberty of Gods word, and true vſe of the ſacraments without moleſtatiõ of Romiſh prelates, what would they haue cared how ſimply they walked in their attire, without any ſuch monſtrous pomp in pranckyng vp themſelues, as we Engliſhmen in theſe reformed dayes walke now, more like plaiers in a ſtage, then gods children in his Church.

¶ *The fourth conſideration.*

WHerfore, welbeloued, theſe thinges being ſo, let vs call our ſelues to mind, conſidering the times that haue bene, the times that be, and times that may come, how we ſtand, and by whom we ſtand. If it be the fauor of God onely, that doth ſupport vs in the midſt of ſo many enemies, let vs beware, in no wiſe we prouoke his indignation. If it be his trueth and Goſpell that we profeſſe, let vs walke in the light of his truth, and keepe our ſelues within the compaſſe of his Goſpell: what the Goſpel requireth, and what it abhorreth, who knoweth not? And yet who foloweth that he knoweth? If S. Paule willeth euery one to depart from iniquity, which nameth the Lord Ieſus: And if the Lord Ieſus himſelfe teſtifieth playnely, his kingdome not to be of this worlde, how will then the nature of that kingdome ſo ſpirituall, and our conditions ſo worldly match well together? To rippe vp all our deformities in particular, I minde not here, neither need I, the ſame being ſo euident to all mens eyes, that who cannot ſee our exceſſiue outrage in pompous apparrell, our carnall deſires and vnchaſt demeanors, without feare of God, our careles ſecurity without conſcience, as though there were no iudgement to come, our ſtudyes ſo vpon this world, as though there were no other heauen: what pride and idlenes of life, double diſſembling in word & deed with out ſimplicity, auarice vnſatiable, litle regard to heare Gods word, leſſe to read it, leaſt of all to folow it, euery man aſpiring to worldly wealth and promotion, litle or no mercye to the poore, racking of rentes & fines, bribing and taking vnmeaſurable. What ſhould I ſpeake of the contentions and vnbrotherly diuiſion amongeſt vs moſt lamentable to ſee, but more lamentable, if all were ſeene which may or is like to folow vpon the ſame. Such were the times once of the Churh before the horrible perſecution of Diocleſian, for ſo we read, ſuch hatred and diſdayne, through much peace and proſperity of the Church, to creepe in amongeſt the Church men. Read pag. 77.

Euſeb. lib. 8. cap. 1.

Wherefore let vs be exhorted (dearely beloued) to reclayme our ſelues, whyle time doth ſerue. If we finde the Lord ſo gracious in ſparing vs, as he doth, let that not make vs worſe, but better. It is a lewd childe, which will not learne without beating. A well minding man will be good, not forced by coaction, but of voluntary office induced. As aduerſity if it come, ought not to diſmay vs: ſo neither proſperity now preſent ought not to puffe vs vp in ſecurity, conſidering what commonly is wont to folow. As Plato well writeth: *Summa atq; effrenata libertatis ſeruitutẽ plerumq; aſſeclam eſſe.* Of immoderate liberty, and to much ſecurity, foloweth moſt commonly extreme ſeruitude. And as Hippocrates ſayth: diſpoſitions of bodyes when the are come to the higheſt perfection of health, then are they moſt ſubiect to daunger of ſickenes. &c. Let vs therfore hauing light geuen vs, walke like children of light. Otherwiſe if we walke like children of diſobedience, God hath his roddes to ſcourge vs, if we will needes be Rebelles, he hath his Pharaos and Nabuchodonoſors to plague vs. Or if we will be ſo vnordinate, and (with reuerence be it ſpokẽ, without offence to God or man) ſo doggiſh and curriſh, one to another, the Lorde lacketh not his Doggeſtrikers to whippe vs. And would God our liues were ſuch, that the deſtruction and ruine here of late ſeene amongeſt vs, may portend nothing agaynſt vs, as I truſt there is no cauſe for vs to feare, but rather to feare the Lord and walke in his obedience & amend that is amiſſe amongeſt vs. Amen.

Plat. de rep. 8.
Hippocrates.

¶ The Grace of our Lord Ieſus bleſſe thee gentle reader, that long
mayſt thou read and much mayſt thou profite. Amen.

¶ *Pax Prædicantibus. Gratia Audientibus.*
Gloria Ieſu Chriſto. Amen.

Conſtantinus.

In Martyrologium Ioan. Foxi,

Laurentius Humfredus.

TRiſtes Iliadas docti miramur Homeri:
Quas ſcite ſtuduit texere τυφλὸς ἀνήρ.
Deflentur tragico multorum fata cothurno,
Hæc madidis ſpectant mæſta theatra genis.
Multa dolenda quidem, ſed vatum ſomnia multa,
Fictis intexunt vera probata nothis.
Sunt quos delectant vanæ commenta Legendæ,
Quam ſtabulum Augeæ rite vocare queas.
Dum vitam & mortem Sanctorum narrat, vt errat?
Vt pingit, fingit, Plumbeus ille liber?
Aurea nunc tandem prodit, noua, vera Legenda:
Egregium Chronicon, lugubris hiſtoria.
Authorem commendat opus, ſic rurſus adornat
Author opus: ſimul hæc vtraq́ felle carent.
Authorem ſpecta: pius eſt, & terſus, & amplus,
Iudicio clarus, dexteritate, fide.
Si rem conſideras, caſus, cædeſq́ bonorum
Tractat, & immeritæ ſtigmata ſæua crucis.
Illudant alij, carpant, at Zoilus olim
Dum perijt, quid ſit rodere, iam docuit.
Hic diſcas Lector, quam ſit furioſa tyrannis
Romanæ caulæ cornigeriq́ gregis:
Vt lupus innocuos ſemper graſſetur in agnos:
Vt fremat, atque auidis faucibus oſſa voret.
Nonne ſatis fuerat Chriſti pia membra cremare?
Et viuos flammis perdere, nonne ſatis?
Nonne ſatis damnaſſe ſenes, pueroſq́, viroſq́,
Fæmellas, omni ex ordine, nonne ſatis?
Cur iuuat, heu, Manes ſcriptis lacerare iacentes,
Et Diuos Foxi dicere ſtercoreos?
Ah miſer, ah Chriſti teneros compungis ocellos,
Pupillam tangis, quiſquis es, ergo ſæpe.
Hæc eſt progenies cuius ſtola lota cruore
Agni, per Chriſtum candida tota nitet.
Illa ſub altari querulatur, Chriſte quouſq́?
Chriſte veni propere, Chriſte quouſque feres?
Extra tela tua eſt, & prædicat illa Tonantem:
Mors pretioſa fuit, vita perennis erit.
Quid furis ô rabioſe Sathan? quid ſpicula torques?
Quid reges acuis? quid laniáſque pios?
Fruſtra carnifices, carcer tormenta, faceſq́.
In Cælo regnant membra caputq́ ſimul.
Corpora ſanctorum mundus conſumpſit, in altum
Migrarunt auimæ, nomina Foxus habet.
Nomina Foxus habet totum celebranda per orbem,
Nomina iam nullo contumulanda die.
Nam cum Martyribus Foxus, cum numine viuent
Nomina, cumq́ ſuo ſtirps generoſa deo.
Monſtra, Chriſte, tuis portum, compeſcito fluctus
Iactatæ naui ſit ſua, Chriſte, quies.
Sanguine Fraterno poſthac ne terra madeſcat:
Ne pergat Foxus ſcribere Martyria.
Perdita decurtes ſceleratæ tempora vitæ,
Tandem mortiferus tranſeat iſte calix.
Sit finis, veniatq́ tuum, pater optime, regnum:
Sit tibi, ſit Chriſto, Spirituiq́ decus.

In Sanct. Martyrum hiſtoriam,

Abrah. Hartwelus.

ELoquio, venerande, tuo non Μάρτυρες ipſi
Sed nos: non Cælum, Foxe, ſed orbis eget.
Illorum creuiſſe malis læthoq́ putatum eſt
Quos nunc ipſe vides degenerare greges.
Illorum, crede, hiſtoria velut ignibus antè
Calſiet quod nunc friget Euangelium.
Certabitq́ ætas veniens milleſima, quorum
Fortia facta leget, fortia facta ſequi.
Et calamo ſeruata tuo tot flagra, tot ignes,
Funera tot, lacrymas, damna, pericla, neces,
Nulla dies tollet, non qui malus intulit hoſtis:
Non quamuis omni cum Phlegetone velit.
Non renuente deo, quondam qui ſæuijt hoſtis,
Non, renuente deo, bis violentus erit.
Bis fremat: innocuo rapietur cum grege paſtor;
Grex cadet & paſtor, ſpeſq́ futura gregis.
Nullus reſtabit lacerus in ouilibus agnus,
Nulla, deus, recta ſimplicitate pecus.
Omnia victa malis bona cedent omnibus: alma
Simplicitas fuco, perfidiæq́ fides:
Iniuſto, falſo, ſcelerato, ſanguineoq́
Virtutum ſacer Euangeliumq́ chorus.
Quid facient diſce ex factis: ventura probantur
præteritis.
Ni tua de cælo veniat Clementia, cuius
tolluntur digito parua, ſuperba cadunt.
Et venias æterne, potens, inuicte, triumphans:
Sic, vt in Aegypto vel Babylone, veni.
Non tanti Babylone Draco Beluſq́ fuere,
Cultuſq́ inſani, & fœda ſuperſtitio.
Et licet Aegypti crudelia facta legentur,
Aegyptus non tam ſæua minaxq́ fuit.
Vtraq́, nec ſatis eſt, monſtrum concreuit in vnum:
Et ſi qua ambabus tetrior hydra fuit.
Quid contra fidus præco, ſtyliue magiſter?
Doctæ quid poterunt veriparæq́ ſcholæ?
Quid mitis toto laniatus corpore Martyr?
Martyre quid plenus ſanguifluuſq́ liber?
Qui truculenta liber, qui viuos vndiq́ teſtes,
Factores viuos, & modò geſta canit?
Scilicet vt monſtret ſanctorum Eccleſia qualis,
Collecti quales ex Acheronte lupi.
Vt doceat, firmet, ſoletur corda piorum:
Dedoceat, vincat, excrucietuè malos.
Vt tibi parta, deus, ſtet ſemper gloria, nati
Vt poſſit tecum gloria ſtare tui:
Sanguinis vt ſacri, non occultanda trophæa.
Vtraq́ poſteritas, ſancta, maligna, ſciat.
Hæc, venerande, tibi tanto quæſita labore,
Tot votis optata, & tot vigilata modis,
Noctibus exantlata tot, & ſudata diebus,
Tot placitura bonis, obruitura malos.
Chriſti, non hominum, laudes ſparſura per orbem
Factaq́ (credo) ætas qualia rara feret:
Hæc, oro, tibi Summipotens nobiſq́ ſecundet,
Numinis in laudem perpetuumq́ decus.
Inuideat Sathanas, & Zoilus ilia rumpat,
Obtrectet mendax cum grege Roma ſuo.

In idem argumentum.

Rob. R.

EN iterum in magnos noua commentaria vates:
Auctius & plus eſt, quàm fuit antè decus.
Sanctorum hiſtorias, & noſtri perfida ſecli
Tempora, lector habes, terrificumq; ſcelus.
Dignum certè opus eſt, quamuis ſit grande volumen,
Quod pia turba legat poſteritaſq; probet.
Surgit opus (fateor) maius: numeroſa ſophorum eſt
Littera, ſed ſimilis pondere & arte ſtylus.
Crede mihi hiſtoriam hanc quondam lectura vetuſtas
Suſpiciet genium (Foxe diſerte) tuum.
Non tamen inſani ſinit hæc dementia vulgi,
Hei mihi nec doctos fert patitur ve viros.
Hiſtrio, ſcurra dicax, paraſitus, hypocrita, mimus;
Vappa mage arrident, leno, papiſta placent.
Neſcis adulari, nec verum (Foxe) ſilere:
Scriptaq; miraris non placuiſſe tua?

Eiuſdem.

QViſq; bonus te (Foxe) colit, tua ſcripta celebrat,
Dant decus hoc ſtudij tot Monumenta tui.
Te pia vita ornat, doctorum concio laudat,
Vnde ergo in libros inuidia iſta tuos?
Vnde Papizantis ſubita hæc conuerſio ſectæ:
Nunc audire pudet, quod facere haud puduit.
Vnde tot Harpyæ, nempe Hardyngiq; Copiq;.
Vnde hæc Louanij garrula turba ſcholæ?
Cauſa patet: furiæ Muſas, nec ſacra Papiſmus,
Nec Chriſti athletas raſa farina probat:
Nec te adeò oderunt puto, ſed verumq; fidemq;,
Heu bene nulla poteſt lingua maligna loqui.

In Acta Martyrum, Carmen,

Thom. Drant.

Papa.

ERgone ſic Papæ potuit vox improba iuſſu
Tam dirum mandare nefas? tot corpora tantis
Contumulaſſe rogis, cineres ſine honore ſepulchri?
Quod genus hoc hominum? quæue hunc tam barbara morem
Permittit gens vlla, pios ſine lege necari,
Totq; ſimul mactare viros meretricis ob iram?
Papa refer, quæ te rapuit rabieſq; furorq;
Corpora tam diris ſanctorum addicere flammis,
Funera tot miſcere hominum, tot plectere ciues,
Vaſtare & toto diuiſos orbe Britannos?
Dic quid noſtrates in te committere tantum?
Illi quid potuere, quibus tot maxima paſſis
Vix pars vlla manet terræ qui panditur orbis?
An tua quod nobis taxata eſt frauſq; doluſq;,
Et πολυπραγμοσύνη, *& amor ſceleratus habendi?*
An tua quod nobis vox non hominem ſonat: ergo
Rite putabamus papam cacadæmone natum?
An quod cum Chriſto nos conſpirare delebas?
Quod te cum Chriſto non conſpirare videmus?
Quòd te Romanam crebris cum cornibus hydram
Prodimus, vt ſceleris magni, vitijq; miniſtrum?
Hinc illud quod ſe verſat diriſq; miniſq;,
Hinc illud quòd & hos facibus fumantibus aſſit.
Sis miſer & nulli cuiquam miſerabilis. Huius Bonerus.
Tu cladis tantæ pars magna Bonere fuiſti:
Mactator pecudum Chriſti, diſperſor ouilis,
Triſte malum ſtabulis, & nil niſi peſſima clades.
Vos quoque vos omnes Ihouæ tetigiſſe prophetas,
Et calcaſſe pios, numen ſpreuiſſe benignum
Queîs iocularе fuit, crudeles ponite mentes.
Iam ſatis eſt (proh) plus ſatis eſt, reſipiſcite ſero,
Sera nimis non vlla dies, nunc diſcite tandem,
Diſcite vel tandem moniti non temnere Chriſtum. Ad Martyres.
Oſcula libetis gnato, ne ſæuiat vltor,
Et male vos ſperſos deturbet tramite vitæ
At vos qui læti quiduis ſuperaſtis acerbum,
Cælicolæ, quibus æternum licet eſſe beatis,
Dulce decuſq; Dei, Chriſtum quia morte decora
Ornaſtis, clari ſuperi, cœtuſq; triumphans.
Non caro, non mundus, non vos turcæ, papa, dæmon,
Non phæbe pernox vexabit, ſol vè diurnus.
Et vos ô cuncti, ſcanſo qui culmine cæli,
Vaditis ad patrem, terrena mole relicta:
Quid carcer, colaphi, compes: tormenta, cachinni,
Vultus quid nocuere truces? quid tale? quid ignes?
Scilicet vt fuluum ſpectatur in ignibus aurum:
Sic vos mactarunt ſpectata holocaumata Chriſto.
Interitus veſter Domini, precioſus ocellis,
Horum (Foxe) pijs, dum tu ſic nomina ſcriptis.
Et mortem, & mores longum diffundis in æuum,
Omnia dum vera repetens ab origine pandis,
Es bonus, & merito multum memorabilis ipſo.
Ergo tu doctis pergis palleſcere chartis
Nocturna verſando manu, verſando diurna,
Athlas clarorum gnauus, gnaruſq; laborum
Et ſtudijs, dum magna cohors ſua commoda captans
(Auſpice non Chriſto) mundi venatur honores.
Vel tu Romano, vel tu ſermone Britanno
Scribito, præteriti vel produc temporis acta,
Patre Deo monſtrante viam, data fata ſecutus:
Omne feres punctum, ſi miſces vtile dulci.
Magne Deus, Cæliq; ſator, mundiq; monarcha,
Quem nos terrarum tempeſtatumq; potentem Ad deum de inundantibus bellorum procellis.
Credimus, & ſolum ſcimus venerabile numen,
Aſpicis inſano vexari cuncta tumultu,
Et penitus mundum pacis de cardine volui?
Parce gregi paruo, pacem te poſcimus omnes.
Sis bonus (ô) Fœlixq; tuis, vel parcito Chriſto,
Cuius membra nimis iam mundus lædit & odit.
per tibi dilectam ſponſam promiſſaq; pacta,
per paſſum Chriſtum, per dulcia pignora paſſi,
per te, te petimus, dentes confringe malorum.

Contra Papiſtas incendiarios.

SI fas cædendo cæleſtia ſcandere cuique eſt,
Papicolis cæli maxima porta patet.

I. F.

In idem argumentum Ægidius

Fletcher Cantabrigienſis.

IAm tua ter magnum ſpatijs emenſa laborem
Aequora luſtrauit puppis, ter littora vidit,
Foxe.
Dumq; fugas, enſeſq; canis, conſumptaq; flammis
Corpora, conſumptum corpus tibi, pallida languent
Membra, ſed vtilior nobis tibi noxia ſoli
Indefeſſa manet virtus. Quin otia carpis
Mollia, iam ſolare tuos (diuine) labores.
Non potes, & ſemper mentem tibi numinis ingens
Ardor agit, reparatq; nouas in pectore vires.
Ergo age quandoquidem nobis memoranda piorum
Facta canis ſacro properans indulge labori.

Iam veniet magni ſeriem dum colligit æui
Poſteritas, quam longa tenet cuſtodia fama,
Dumq; tui monumenta legit (venerande) laboris,
Magnanimóſq; duces, medioſq́; petita per ignes
Ad Martyres.
Sydera, te ventura ſimul mirabitur ætas,
Et veterum ſacras imitabitur æmula laudes.
Scilicet æthereas ardentia pectora flammas,
Non ignes alij, non ipſa potentia Regum,
Nec vis vlla domat ferri, non tela, nec enſes.
Qualis vbi Aurora veniens è montibus Ales
Exequiale refert munus, cineréſq; paternos,
Dúmq; rogum, flammáſq; parat ſibi, maior ab igne
Egreditur, quaq́; illa nouis volitauerit alis,
Indigenæ volucres læto clamore ſequuntur:
Fælices animæ vobis ſuper alta beatis
Sydera calcatur quicquid mortalia tangit
Pectora, nec iam noſter honor, nec præmia curæ:
Nec quid agat tantis virtutibus inuida tellus.
Ecce tamen, quales poterit, perſoluet honores
Poſteritas, dum facta legens ingentia, vires
Miratur, plauſuq́; fidem ſuper aſtra ſequetur
Victricem. (Hoc ſiquid debent mortalibus) ipſi
Sanctorum cineres tibi ſe debere fatentur,
Foxe.
Tempus erit, cum tu poſt fata, pióſque labores,
Aucturus ſuperos fælix ſuper alta videbis
Sydera, iam quorum tranſcribis nomina fama,
Inſignes heroas, & ipſe videberis illis.
Iamq; patres ſuperans mundo labente ſequetur
Progenies, Cælo ſe clarior exeret alto
Relligio, humani generis decus, optima cuſtos
Imperij, quam ſancta fides comitatur euntem,
Ad deum de inundantibus bellorum procellis.
Et circum latis creſcet pax aurea terris,
Tum quoque diuini paſſim monumenta laboris,
Et ſacrum florebit opus, fructúq; beabit,
Et populum, & populi per ſecula longa nepotes.

In idem argumentum Tho.
Ridley Cantabrigienſis.

COrpora quæ quondam iuſto caruere ſepulchro
Oſſáq; per campos vndiq; ſparſa pia
Collegit magna cum ſedulitate peritus
Foxus, & in vnum conglomerauit opus.
At cum gens mendax atque importuna Papiſtæ,
Fruſtra tam ſanctum perſequerentur opus.
Auxit, & ex vno, idem bina volumina fecit,
Obſtruxitq; ſuis hoſtibus ora pius.
Nec ſic contentus, rurſus limauit & auctum
Arctauit, populi commoditate ſui:
Nequaquam veritus ſtolidæ conuitia linguæ,
Dum veſtra ô ſancti fortia facta ſonet.
O vos fælices animæ, quæ ſanguine veſtro
Cæleſtes nobis teſtificaſtis opes.
Et tu qui tali decoraſti funere ſanctas
Relliquias, peragens triſte miniſterium:
Sed tibi præclarum, nobiſq; nec inutile, vt iſtis
Exemplis fortes poſſumus eſſe fide.

M. M. S.

PErlege, quæ faſtis ſignata fidelibus acta
Pandimus Angligeûm & feruida fata virûm.
Admiranda tibi gemini ſpectacula cœtus,
Pugnantéſq; ſuo diſpare marte greges.
Hinc quibus incumbus ſæuo ferus impete Sathan
Tartareas præfert in ſua regna faces.
Illinc Rex ſuperûm, trans flammas, tranſq́; cruentas
Mille neces, Chriſtus ſternit ad aſtra viam.
Illinc arma, preces, lacrymæ, ieiunia templis
Iuſſus honos ſummi iuſſáq; ſacra patris.
Concilium hoc Cyclopum rabies, fera corda fatigant
Eumenides, triſti pectora ſenta ſitu.
Miſſa volat flammis, & ſanguinis ebria riuis
Ante, gradum retrò Roma maligna premit.
Talia dum memorat Foxus certamina longi
Temporis, & libro tot monumenta legit.
Intereà veri vis ſtat ſata tempore virgo
Ardua calcato iam Phlegetonte ſuper.
Poſt alios fætus, alios poſt deinde labores
Hæc extrema ſubit vindicis ira manus,
Tertiaq́; iſta patri ſuſpendimus arma Quirino
Parua prius iam nunc qualia, quanta, vides.
Qualia fatalis iam tum miracula ſaxi
Prodidit Aſſyria regius exul humo.
Exiguus lapis hic, ſed qui ſe attollere in auras
Iuſſus Atlantæos æquiparare ſinus.
Nunc quoque qui impleuit ſinuoſo fragmine mundum
Aetherioq́; ingens occupat ire polo.
Hoc pater ipſe tonans flagranti diſtulit axe
Imperia, & vertit Regna ſuperba ſolo.
Sæua Silex quià nam flammantibus incita fundis
Vrbium & elatis perniicioſa minis.
Coctilibus muris Romana Semiramis audax
Proſpice, iam Bobylon iam ruit illa tua.
Saxea iam rupes quantas dabit acta ruinas?
Quas ſtrages miſeris horrida Romulidis
Vltimus hic labor eſt montis rapientis auari
Puppicolaſq́; papas papicolaſq́; popas.
At vos fælices animæ, quibus aurea cordi
Sæcla, pias puro funditis ore preces.
Aligeræq́; acies, ciues ſtellantis Olympi:
Plaudite: Roma fuit Babela, papa fuit.

In ſanguiſugas Papiſtas,
Philippus Stubbes.

QVi ſacrum Chriſti ſatagit conuellere verbum,
Vulnificum contrà calcitrat hic ſtimulum.
Florida quæ nimio compreſſa eſt pondere palma,
Fortius exurgit viribus aucta ſuis.
Auricomanſq; crocus quo calcatur magis, exit
Hoc magis, excreſcit, floret, eoq́; magis.
Sic Ευαγγελιον *quantumuis turba papalis*
Conſpuat, exurat, creſcit vbiq́; tamen.

Finis.

Actes and Monumentes of Chriſtian Martyrs, and matters Eccleſiaſticall, paſſed in the Church of Chriſt from the Primitiue beginning, to theſe our dayes, *as well in other Countreys, as namely, in this* Realme of England, and alſo of *Scotland, diſcourſed* at large.

Math. 16.

CHRIST our Sauiour in the Goſpell of S. Mathew, Cap. 16. hearing the confeſſiõ of Simon Peter, who firſt of all other openlye acknowledged him to be the ſonne of God, and perceauing the ſecret had of his father therin, aunſwered agayne and alludyng to his name, called him a Rocke, vpon which Rocke hee would buylde his Church ſo ſtrõg, that the gates of Hell ſhould not preuaile againſt it. &c. In which wordes three things are to be noted: Firſt that Chriſt will haue a Churche in this world. Secondly that the ſame Church ſhould mightely be impugned, not onely by the world, but alſo by the vttermoſt ſtrength & powers of all hell. And thirdly, that the ſame Church notwithſtãdyng the vttermoſt of the deuill & all his malice ſhould continue. which Propheſie of Chriſt, we ſee wõderfully to be verified. In ſomuch that the whole courſe of the Churche to this day, may ſeeme nothyng els but a verifying of the ſayd Propheſie. Firſt that Chriſt hath ſet vp a Church needeth no declaration. Secondly, what force, what ſides and ſortes of men, of Princes, Kynges, Monarches, Gouernours, and rulers of this world, with their ſubiectes publikely & priuately, with all their ſtrength & cunnyng haue bent them ſelues againſt this Church. And thirdly, how the ſayd Church all this notwithſtandyng hath yet endured & holden his owne. what ſtormes & tempeſtes it hath ouerpaſt, wonderous it is to behold. For the more euident declaration wherof, I haue addreſſed this preſent hiſtory, entendyng, by the fauorable ayde of Chriſt our Lord, not ſo much to delight the eares of my countrey in readyng of newes, as moſt eſpecially to profite the harts of the godly in peruſing antiquities of auncient times, to the ende, that the wonderfull workes of God firſt in his Church might appeare to his glory. Alſo that the continuaunce and proceedings of the Church from tyme to tyme beyng ſet forth in theſe Actes and Monumentes, more knowledge and experience may redound therby to the profite of the Reader, and edification of Chriſtian faith.

Three thinges noted in Chriſtes wordes.

The order of the diſpoſition of this hiſtory.

For the better accõpliſhyng wherof, ſo to proſecute the matter, as may beſt ſerue to the profite of the Reader, I haue thought good firſt, begynnyng from the tyme of the primitiue Church, & ſo continuyng (by the Lordes grace) to theſe latter yeares, to runne ouer the whole ſtate and courſe of the Church in generall, in ſuch order as digeſting the whole tractation of this hiſtory, into fiue ſundry diuerſities of tymes:

1. The ſuffering time of the church.

Firſt, I will entreat of the ſuffring tyme of the Church which continued from the Apoſtles age about. 300. yeres.

2. The floriſhing time of the Church.

Secondly, of the floriſhyng time of the Church, which laſted other 300. yeares.

3. The declining time of the church.

Thirdly, of the declinyng or backeſlidyng tyme of the Church, which comprehendeth other 300. yeares, vntill the looſing out of Sathan, which was about the thouſand yeare after the ceaſing of perſecution. During which ſpace of tyme, the Church, although in ambition & pride, it was much altered from the ſimple ſinceritie of the Primitiue tyme, yet in outward profeſſion of doctrine and religion, it was ſomethyng tollerable, & had ſome face of a Church: notwithſtanding ſome corruption of doctrine, with ſuperſtition and hypocriſie was then alſo crept in. And yet in compariſon of that as followed after, it might ſeeme (as I ſayd) ſomethyng ſufferable.

4. The time of Antichriſt in the Church.

Fourthly, foloweth the tyme of Antichriſt, and looſing of Sathan, or deſolation of the Church, whoſe full ſwyng conteineth the ſpace of 400. yeares. In which tyme, both doctrine and ſinceritie of life, was vtterly almoſt extinguiſhed, namely, in the chiefe heades and rulers of this weſt church, through the meanes of the Romaine Byſhops, eſpecially countyng from Gregory the vij. called Hildebrand, Innocentius the iij. and Friers which with him crept in, til the tyme of Iohn Wickliffe, & Iohn Huſſe, duryng 400. yeres.

5. The reformation of the Church.

Fiftly and laſtly, after this tyme of Antichriſt, raigning in the Church of God by violence and tyranny, followeth the reformation & purgyng of the church of God, wherein Antichriſt begynneth to be reuealed, and to appeare in his coulors, and his Antichriſtian doctrine to be detected, the number of his Church decreaſing, and the number of the true Church increaſing. The durance of which tyme hath continued hetherto about the ſpace of 280. yeres, and how long ſhall continue more, the Lord and gouernour of all tymes, he onely knoweth. For in theſe fiue diuerſities & alterations of tymes, I ſuppoſe the whole courſe of the Church may well be compriſed. The which Church, becauſe it is vniuerſall, and ſparſedly through all countreys dilated, therfore in this hiſtory ſtanding vpon ſuch a generall argument I ſhall not be bõd to any one certaine nation, more then an other: yet notwithſtandyng keepyng mine argument aforeſayd, I haue purpoſed principally to tary vpon ſuch hiſtoricall actes and recordes, as moſt appertaine to this my country of England and Scotland.

The Church of Rome.

And for ſomuch as the Church of Rome, in all theſe ages aboue ſpecified, hath chalenged to it ſelfe the ſupreme title, and ringleadyng of the whole vniuerſall Church on earth, by whoſe direction all other Churches haue bene gouerned, in writyng therfore of the Church of Chriſt, I can not but partly alſo intermedle with the actes and procedynges of the ſame Church, for ſomuch as the doynges & orderyngs of all other Churches from tyme to tyme, as well here in England, as in other nations, haue this long ſeaſon, chiefly depended vpon the ſame. wherfore, as it is much needefull and requiſite to haue the doynges & orderyngs of the ſayd Church to be made manifeſt to all Chriſten congregations: ſo haue I framed this hiſtory, accordyng to the ſame purpoſe. Firſt in a generall deſcription briefly to declare as in a ſummary Table, the miſguidyng of that Church, comparyng the former primitiue ſtate of the forenamed Church of Rome, with theſe later tymes of the ſame. which done, then after in a more ſpeciall tractation, to proſecute more at large all the particulars therof, ſo farforth as ſhall ſeeme not vnprofitable for the publike inſtruction of all other Chriſten Churches, to behold and conſider the maner & dealyng of this one. In the which one church of Rome foure things, as moſt ſpeciall points, ſeeme to me chiefly to be conſidered. To wit, Title, Iuriſdictiõ, Life, and Doctrine, wherin I haue here to declare, firſt concernyng the title or primacie of the Church, how it firſt began, and vpon what occaſion. Secondly, concernyng the iuriſdiction and authoritie therof, what it was, and how farre it did extend. Thirdly, touchyng the miſorder of lyfe and conuerſation, how inordinate it is. And fourthly, the forme of doctrine, how ſuperſtitious & Idolatrous of late it hath bene. Of the which foure yͤ firſt was preiudiciall to all Byſhops, the ſecond derogatorie to Kings and Emperours. The third deteſtable to all men. The fourth iniurious agaynſt Chriſt.

Foure thinges to be conſidered in the Church of Rome.
1. Title.
2. Iuriſdiction.
3. Lyfe.
4. Doctrine.

The title of the Pope.

The iuriſdiction of the Pope.

For firſt, the title and ſtile of that church was ſuch, that it ouerwent all other churches, beyng called the holy vniuerſall mother Church, which could not erre, and the Byſhop therof holy father yͤ Pope, Byſhop vniuerſal, prince of Prieſtes, ſupreme head of the vniuerſall Church, and Vicare of Chriſt here in earth, which muſt not be iudged, hauyng all knowledge of Scripture and all lawes cõtayned with in the cheſt of his breſt.

The iuriſdiction of the Pope.

Secondly the iuriſdiction of that Byſhop was ſuch, that chalenging to him ſelfe both the ſwordes, that is, both the keyes of the ſpiritualtie, and the ſcepter of the Laytie: not onely he ſubdued all Byſhops vnder him, but alſo extended him ſelfe aboue Kynges and Emperours, cauſing ſome of them to lye vnder his feete, ſome to hold his ſturrup, Kynges to leade his horſe by the bridle, ſome to kiſſe his feete, placyng and diſplacyng Emperours, Kynges, Dukes and Earles, whom and whē he liſted, takyng vpon him to tranſlate the Empire at his pleaſure. Firſt from Grece to Fraunce, from Fraūce to Germany, preferryng and depoſing whom he pleaſed, confirmyng them which were elected. Alſo beyng Emperour him ſelfe *ſede Vacante*, pretendyng authoritie or power to inueſt Byſhops, to geue benefices, to ſpoyle Churches, to geue authoritie to binde and loſe, to call generall Councels to iudge ouer the ſame, to ſet vp religions, to canonize Saintes, to take appeales, to binde conſciences, to make lawes, to diſpence with the law and word of God, to deliuer from Purgatory, to commaunde Aungels. &c.

The properties of life in the Romiſh Clergy.

Thirdly, what was the lyfe and conuerſation of the court of Rome, hereafter in the proces of this hiſtory followeth to be ſene and obſerued.

The doctrine of the Pope.

Fourthly, ſuch was his doctrine in like maner, tedious to Students, pernicious to mens conſciences, iniurious to Chriſt Ieſus, & cōtrary to it ſelfe. In lawes more diuers, in volume more large, in diligēce & ſtudy more applied, in vauntage & preferment more gaynfull, then euer was the ſtudy and learning of the holy Scripture of God.

All which foure pointes well cōſidered and aduiſed in this preſent hiſtory ſet forth, I truſt it may miniſter to the indifferent Chriſtiā Reader, ſufficient inſtructiō to iudge, what is of this ſea and Church of Rome to be eſteemed.

Pope ſilueſter the ſecond.

Pope Gregory, 7. called Hildebrand.

Pope innocentius the third.

Pope Bonifatius the eight.

But here by the way is to be noted, that all theſe deformities aboue touched of vayne title, of pretenſed iuriſdiction, of hereticall doctrine, of ſchiſmaticall lyfe, came not into the Church of Rome all at one tyme, nor ſprang with the begynnyng of the ſame Church, but with long workyng, and continuaunce of tyme by litle and litle crept vp, through occaſion, & came not to full perfectiō, till the tyme partly of Pope Silueſter, partly of pope Gregory the vij. an. 1170. partly of Innocentius the thyrd, and finally of Pope Boniface the viij. an. 1300. Of the which foure Popes, the firſt brought in the title. an. 670. which was neuer in ſuch ample wiſe before publickely exacted & receiued publikely in the ſayd Church of Rome. The ſecond brought in iuriſdiction. The thyrd, which was Pope Innocent with his rable of Monkes and Friers, (as Thomas Aquine, Petrus Lombardus, Iohannes Scotus,) and with ſuch other Biſhops as ſucceeded in the ſame ſea after hym, corrupted and obſcured the ſinceritie of Chriſtes doctrine and maners alſo. And laſtly, Pope Bonifacius the viij. and after him Pope Clement the fift, ouer and beſides the iuriſdiction, ſufficiētly aduaunced before by Pope Hildebrand, added moreouer the temporall ſword to be caryed before them. And that no Emperour (were he neuer ſo well elected) ſhould bee ſufficient and lawfull, without the Popes admiſſion. an. 1300. whereby the Popes power was brought now to his full pride, and perfection. And thus came vp the corruption of the Romiſh Church in continuaunce of yeares by degrees, and not all together, nor at one tyme, as is declared, and hereafter more particularly (Chriſt willyng) ſhalbe expreſſed.

Wherfore, whoſoeuer ſhall haue hereafter to do with any aduerſaries, about the antiquitie or authoritie of the Church of Rome, let him here well conſider when, & how the title, iuriſdiction, & corruption of doctrine firſt begā in the Popes ſea. And ſo ſhal he ſee, that the church of Rome, as it is now gouerned with this maner of title, iuriſdictiō, & inſtitution of doctrine, neuer deſcended frō the primitiue age of the Apoſtles, or frō their ſucceſſion, *niſi tātum æquiuocè, & non vniuocè*: Like as *Sancta Maria picta, non eſt ſancta Maria, & homo pictus eſt non homo*, as the ſcholes do ſay: that is as the picture of the holy virgine, is not the holy virgine, and as a man painted on the wall, is not a man: ſo it is to be ſayd of the Church of Rome, (the inſtitution and doctrine of the Church of Rome I meane) that although it haue the name of the Church Apoſtolicall, & doth bring forth a long Genealogie of outward ſucceſſion from the Apoſtles, as the Phariſeis did in Chriſtes tyme bryng their deſcent frō Abraham their father: yet all this is (as I ſayd) but onely *æquiuocè*, that is, in name onely, and not in effect or matter, which maketh the Apoſtolical Church in deede, for as much as the definition of the Apoſtolicall Church, neither agreeth now with this preſent Church of Rome, nor yet the maner, forme, & inſtitution of the ſayd Romiſh Church, as it now ſtandeth with this title, iuriſdictiō, and doctrine, had euer any ſucceſſion or offpring from the primitiue Church of the Apoſtles. But as Chriſt ſayd by the Phariſeis, that they were the childrē not of Abraham, but of the deuill: in ſemblable wiſe may be aūſwered, that this Church of Rome now preſent, with this title, iuriſdictiō, and doctrine now vſed, can not be fathered vpon the Apoſtles, neither Petrus, nor Linus, but of an other author, whō here I will not name.

Æquiuocè. That is in name onely and not in very deede.

Vniuocè That is both in name and alſo in definition and effect agreeing with the name.

The Church of Rome as now it is, is not Apoſtolicall but onely *æquiuocè*.

The argument of Pighius, Hoſius, and Eckius for the authoritie of the Church of Rome.

And here now commeth in the Argument of Pighius, Hoſius, and Eccius, to be aunſwered vnto, who arguyng for the antiquitie and authoritie of the Church of Rome, reaſon on this maner.

Da That for ſomuch as an ordinary & a knowen Church viſible muſt here be knowen cōtinually on earth, duryng frō the time of the Apoſtles, to the which church all other Churches muſt haue recourſe.

ri- And ſeeyng then there is no other Church viſible, orderly knowen to haue indured from the Apoſtles time, but onely the Church of Rome.

j. They conclude therfore that the Church of Rome, is that Church wherunto all other Churches muſt haue their recourſe. &c.

Aunſwere. *Fallacia æquiuoci.*

To the which Paralogiſme I aūſwere thus: that this word *Durans Eccleſia*, the during Church in the Minor, hath *fallaciā æquiuoci*. For although the name of the Church and outward ſucceſſiō of Byſhops haue had their durance frō tyme of the Apoſtles, yet the definition and matter which maketh a true Apoſtolicall church in deede, and *vniuocè*, neither is now in the church of Rome, nor yet the forme & inſtitution of the church now vſed in Rome was euer frō the Apoſtles, whiche Apoſtles were neuer Authors or fathers of this title, iuriſdictiō, and doctrine now taught in Rome, but rather were enemies euer to the ſame.

The minor examined.

The maior examined.

Agayne to the Maior which ſtandeth vpon two partes, I aunſwere, firſt although the neceſſitie of the churche duryng from the Apoſtles, may and muſt be graūted, yet the ſame neceſſitie was not boūd to any certaine place, or perſō, but onely to fayth, ſo that where ſoeuer, that is to ſay, in whatſoeuer congregation true fayth was, there was the church of Chriſt: And becauſe the true fayth of Chriſt muſt needes euer remaine in earth, therfore yͤ Church alſo muſt needes remaine in earth. And God forbid that the ſaid true faith of Chriſt ſhould only remaine in one citie in yͤ world, and not in other as well. And therfore to the ſecōd part of the Maior is to be ſayd, that as this true and ſincere fayth of Chriſt is not ſo geuen, to remaine firely in one place or citie alone: ſo neither is there any one church in the world ſo ordained & appointed of God, that al other Churches ſhould haue their recourſe vnto it, for determination of their cauſes and cōtrouerſies incident. &c. And thus much to the Argument of Pighius and Hoſius, &c.

A diſtinction. The church of Rome diſtincted into a double conſideration of tymes.

Now as touchyng the authorities & allegations of the auncient Doctours, and holy fathers in the commēdation of the Church of Rome, here commeth in alſo to be noted, that whoſoeuer will vnderſtand rightly their authorities and aūſwere to the ſame, muſt firſt learne to make a difference and diſtinction of the ſayd Church of Rome, frō that it was, to that it is, for as much as the Church of Rome is not the ſame Church now, which it was then, but onely *æquiuocè*: otherwiſe as touching the very propertie and definition of a Church, it is an other Church, and nothing agreeing to that was then, ſaue onely in outward name and place, therefore by this diſtinction made, I aunſwere the place of Irenæus, Cyprianus, and other famous Doctours, commendyng the Church of Rome as Catholicke and Apoſtolicall, and ſay that theſe Doctours ſpeakyng of the Church of Rome which then was, ſayd not vntrue, callyng it Catholicke & Apoſtolicall, for that the ſame Church tooke their ordinary ſucceſſion of Byſhops, ioyned with the ordinary doctrine and inſtitution frō the Apoſtles: but ſpeakyng of the Church of Rome, whiche now is, we ſay the ſayd places of the Doctours are not true, neither doe appertaine to the ſame, all which Doctours neither knew the Churche of Rome that now is, neither if they had, would euer haue iudged any thyng therein worthy ſuch commendation.

The church of Rome, how it was commended of the olde Doctours.

The principall obiection of the Papiſtes, agaynſt the Proteſtants.

Ouer and beſides, our aduerſaries yet more obiect agaynſt vs, who heauing and ſhouyng for the antiquitie of the Romiſh Churche for lacke of other ſufficient reaſon to proue, are driuen to fall in ſcannyng the tymes and yeares. What, ſay they, where was this Church of yours, before theſe fiftie yeares? To whom briefly to aunſwere, firſt we demaund what they meane by this, which they call our Church? If they meane the ordinaunce and inſtitution of doctrine and Sacramentes, now receaued of vs, and differing from the Church of Rome, we affirme and ſay, that our church was, when this church of theirs was not yet

Aunſwere to the obiection.

hatched

The church of Rome reuolted from the Church of Rome.

hatched out of the ſhell, nor did yet euer ſee any light: that is, in the time of the Apoſtles, in the primitiue age, in the tyme of Gregorie the firſt, & the old Romane church, when as yet no vniuerſall pope was receiued publikely, but repelled in Rome, nor this fulneſſe of plenary power yet knowen, nor this doctrine, and abuſe of Sacramentes yet heard of. In witnes wherof we haue the old actes and hiſtories of aũcient tyme to geue teſtimony with vs, wherein ſufficiẽt matter we haue for vs, to declare yͤ ſame forme, vſage, and inſtitution of this our church reformed now, not to be the begynnyng of any new church of our owne, but to be the renewyng of the old aũcient church of Chriſt: nor to be any ſweruyng from the church of Rome, but rather a reducyng to the church of Rome. Whereas contrary the churche of Rome whiche now is, is nothyng but a ſweruyng from the churche of Rome, as partly is declared, and more ſhall appeare (Chriſt willyng) hereafter.

An other obiection of the papiſts.

An anſwere to the obiection.

And where the ſayd our aduerſaries doe moreouer charge vs with the ſayth of our fathers and Godfathers, wherein we were baptiſed, accuſing and cõdemnyng vs, for that we are now reuolted frõ them & their fayth, wherein we were firſt Chriſtened: To this we aũſwere, that we beyng firſt baptiſed by our fathers & Godfathers, in water, in the name of the Father, of the Sonne, & of the holy Ghoſt, the ſame fayth wherin we were Chriſtened thẽ, we do retaine, & becauſe our Godfathers were thẽ ſelues alſo in the ſame fayth, therfore they cã not ſay that we haue forſaken the fayth of our Godfathers. &c. As for other points of Eccleſiaſticall vſes & circumſtaunces cõſidered, beſides the principall ſubſtaunce of fayth and baptiſme, if they held any thyng whiche receded from the doctrine and rule of Chriſt, therein we now remoue our ſelues not becauſe we would differ from them, but becauſe we would not with them remoue from the rule of Chriſtes doctrine. Neither doth the Sacramẽt of our baptiſme binde vs in all points to the opiniõs of them that baptiſed vs, but to the fayth of him, in whoſe name we were Baptiſed. For as if a man were Chriſtined of an heretique, the Baptiſme of him notwithſtandyng were good, although the Baptiſer were nought: ſo if our Godfathers or fathers, which Chriſtened vs, were taught any thyng, not conſonant to Chriſtiã doctrine in all pointes, neither is our Baptiſme worſe for that, nor yet we bouñd to folow thẽ in all thynges, wherein they them ſelues did not folow the true church of Chriſt.

No man bound to follow the opinions of hys Godfathers in all poyntes vnleſſe they be conſonant in al things.

Wherefore as it is falſe, that we haue renounced the fayth of our Godfathers wherin we were firſt baptiſed, ſo is it not true yͤ we are remoued from the church of Rome. But rather ſay, and (by the leaue of Chriſt) will proue that yͤ Church of Rome hath vtterly departed frõ the church of Rome, accordyng to my diſtinctiõ afore touched. Which thyng yͤ more euidently to declare, I will here compare yͤ church of Rome, with yͤ churche of Rome: And in a generall deſcription ſet forth (by Gods grace) the difference of both the churches, that is of both yͤ tymes of the church of Rome: to yͤ intent it may be ſene, whether we or yͤ churche of Rome haue more Apoſtated from yͤ church of Rome.

The church of Rome diſtincted frõ the Church of Rome.

Two times of the Church of Rome conſidered and examined.

And here firſt I diuide the churche of Rome in a double conſideration of tyme, firſt of thoſe firſt. 600. yeares which were immediatly after Chriſt: and ſecõdly of the other. 600. yeares, which now haue bene in theſe our latter dayes. And ſo in cõparyng theſe two together, will ſearch out what diſcrepance is betwene them both. Of the which two age and ſtates of the Romane church, the firſt I call the primitiue church of Rome. The other I call the latter churche of Rome, countyng this latter churche from the thouſand yeares expired after the binding vp of Sathã, to the time of his louſing agayne accordyng to the Propheſie of the xx. chap. of S. Iohns Reuelation, countyng theſe. 1000. yeares from the ceaſing of perſecution, vnder Conſtantinus Magnus, to the beginnyng of perſecution of the churche agayne vnder Innocentius 3. and Ottomannus the firſt Turcian Emperour. And thus haue ye the churche of Rome parted into two churches, in double reſpect and cõſideration of two ſondry ſtates and tymes. Now in ſettyng and matchyng the one ſtate with the other, let vs ſee whether the churche of Rome hath ſwarued from the church of Rome more then we, or no.

The firſt poynt.

AND to begyn firſt with the order and qualities of life: I aſke here of this Romane Clergie, where was this Church of theirs which now is, in the old auncient tyme of the primitiue Church of Rome, with this pompe and pride, with this riches & ſuperfluitie, with this *gloria mundi*, and name of Cardinals, with this praunſing diſſolutenes and hooryng of the Curtiſans, with this extortiõ, bribyng, bying and ſellyng of ſpirituall dignities, theſe Annates, reformations, procurations, exactions, and other practiſes for money, this auarice inſatiable, ambition, intollerable, fleſhly filthynes moſt deteſtable, barbarouſnes and negligence in preachyng, promiſe breakyng faythleſſe, poyſoning and ſupplantyng one another, with ſuch ſchiſmes & diuiſions, which neuer were more ſeen then in the elections and Court of Rome theſe 700. yeares, with ſuch extreme crueltie, malice and tyranny in burnyng and perſecutyng their poore brethren to death.

The enormities of life in the later Churche of Rome deſcribed.

Policies and practiſes of Rome to get mony.

It were to long, and a thing infinite, to ſtand particularly vpõ theſe aboue rehearſed. And if a man ſhould proſecute at large all the ſchiſmes that haue bene in yͤ Church of Rome ſince the time of Damaſus the firſt, which are coũted to the number of xviij. ſchiſmes. What a volume would it require? Or if here ſhould be recorded all that this Sea hath burned and put to death ſince looſing out of Sathan, who were able to number them? Or if all their ſleightes to get money ſhould be deſcribed as proceſſe of matter would require, who were able to recite them all? Of which all notwithſtandyng, the moſt principall groundes are reckoned at leaſt to xiiij. or xv. ſleights.

XV. Practiſes of the newe Churche of Rome to get mony.

Firſt for Annates, or vacanties of Archbyſhoprikes, Byſhoprikes, Abbaties, Priories conuentuall, and other benefices electiue.

Secondly, for the holdyng and reteinyng of all other ſpirituall liuyng whatſoeuer, beſides this which now the incumbent payeth for, or which he may hold hereafter.

Thirdly, new annates for all the ſame are required agayne, *toties quoties*, any one of all his ſpirituall liuynges be, or are fayned to be not orderly come by, whereby it hath chaunced diuers tymes three or foure Annates to be payed for one benefice.

Fourthly, for geuing out preuẽtiõs of benefites before they fall, and many tymes ſome one preuention to be geuẽ to diuers and ſundry perſons, by the office for money ſake.

Fiftly, for reſignations vpon fauour, whiche in many caſes the Pope chalengeth to be reſerued to him ſelfe.

Sixtly, for commendams.

Seuently, for compoſidyng with ſuch as be abſent frõ their charge, and geue attendaunce about the Court.

Eightly, for infinite diſpenſations, as to diſpence with age, with order, with benefices incompatible, as if the nũber be full, if the houſe be of ſuch or ſuch an order. Item diſpenſation for irregularitie, for whoredome & aduoutry, for times of mariage, for marying in degrees forbidden, or in affinitie canonicall, for Goſſips to mary, for the which it hath bene ſene in Fraũce a thouſand crownes to be payd to Rome at one tyme, for diſpenſing with this canonicall affinite of Goſſippes, as we call it, the ſame beyng yet not true, but fayned. Item diſpenſing for eatyng meates in tymes prohibited.

Ninthly, for innumerable priuilegies, exẽptiõs, graces for not viſityng, or viſityng by a Proctor, for cõfirmations of priuileges, for tranſactiõs made vpon ſpeciall fauour of the Pope, for permutations of benefices with diſpenſation annexed, or makyng of penſiõs, with ſuch like.

Tenthly, for mandates graunted by the Pope, to Ordinaries, wherof euery Ordinary, if he haue the collation or preſẽtatiõ of x. may receaue one mãdate, if he haue fifty, he may receaue ij. mandates, & for euery mandate cõmeth to the Pope about xx. ducates. And yet notwithſtãdyng ſo many are ſold, as will come buyers to pay for them.

Eleuenthly, for the Popes penitẽtiarie, for abſolutiõ of caſes reſerued to yͤ Pope, for breaking & chãging of vowes for tranſlation frõ one monaſtery to another, alſo from one order to an other, for licẽce to enter into certaine Monaſteries, to cary about altars, with many other things of like deuiſe, pertainyng to the office of the Popes penitentiary.

Twelfty, for geuyng & graũtyng of innumerable Pardons and Indulgences, to be read not onely in publicque tẽples, but alſo to be bought in priuate houſes, and of priuate perſons, in diuers and ſundry reſpectes.

Thirtenthly, for makyng Notaries, and Protonotories, and other offices of the Court of Rome.

Fourtenthly, for grauntyng out Buls and Commiſſions of new foundatiõs, or for chaungyng of the old, for reducyng regular Monaſteries, to a ſecular ſtate, or for reſtoryng agayne into the old, & for other infinite reſcriptes & writes, about matters dependyng in controuerſie, & otherwiſe might and ought by the Ordinary to be decided.

Fiftenthly, for geuing the palle to Archbyſhops newly elected, by reaſon of all whiche deuiſes (beſides the firſt of the Annates) it hath bene accounted out of the kynges recordes in Fraunce, in the tyme of Ludouike the ix. (as teſtifieth Molineus) to the number of CC. thouſand crownes, onely out of Fraunce payd & tranſported to Rome. Which ſumme ſince that time hath bene doubled & tripled, beſides Annates and Palles, whiche all together are thought to make the totall ſumme, yearely goyng out of Fraunce to

Summa totalis.

the Popes coffers of late yeares x. Myriades, or Milliõs, euery Myriade mountyng to x. thouſand crownes. Now what hath riſen beſides in other Realmes and Natiõs, let other men coniecture.

Wherfore if the Goſpell ſend vs to the fruites to know the tree, I pray you what is to be thought of the Churche of Rome, with theſe fruites of lyfe? Or if we will ſeeke the Church in length and number of yeares, where was this Church of Rome with theſe qualities then, at what tyme the Church of Rome was a perſecuted Church, not a perſecutyng Church? And when the Byſhops therof did not make Martyrs, as theſe do now, but were made Martyrs them ſelues, to the number of xxv. in order one after an other? Or when the Byſhops therof were elected & exalted, not by factiõs conſpiring, not by power or partes taking, not by money or frendes makyng, as they be now, but by the free voyces of the people & of the Clergy, with the conſent of the Emperour ioyned with all, and not by a few cõſpired Cardinals, cloſed vp in a corner, as they be now &c.

The iuriſdiction and power of this new church of Rome examined.

This newe Church of Rome in three poyntes challenged.

Nicen. Con. Cap. 6.

Victor ſtopped from his excommunication by Ireneus.

Boniface the firſt falſefieth the Councell of Nice.

The 6. Councell of Carthage.

Appellations to Rome forbidden in England.

Appellations to Rome forbiddẽ in Fraunce.

Ex Annonio de geſtis Frãcorum Lib 5. Cap. 33.

The Popes iuriſdiction reſiſted in Fraunce.

AND yet if there were no other difference in the matter, but onely corruptiõ of life, all that we would tollerate, or els impute to the common fragilitie of man, and charge them no further therein, then we might charge our ſelues. Now ouer and beſide this deformitie of life, wherein they are cleane gone frõ the former ſteppes of the true Church of Rome, we haue moreouer to charge them in greater pointes, more nearely touchyng the ſubſtauntiall ground of the Church, as in their iuriſdiction preſumptuouſly vſurped, in their title fallſely grounded, and in their doctrine heretically corrupted. In all which three pointes, this latter pretenced Churche of Rome, hath vtter ſequeſtred it ſelfe from the Image and nature of the auncient and true Church of Rome, and haue erected to them ſelues, a new Church of their owne makyng, as firſt vſurping a iuriſdiction neuer knowen before to their auncient predeceſſors. For although the Churche of Rome in the old primitiue tyme had his due authoritie and place due vnto that ſea, among other Patriarchall Churches, ouer and vpon ſuch Churches as were within his precinct, & bordering neare vnto it, as appeareth by the Actes of Nicene Cõucell: yet the vniuerſall fulneſſe and plenitude of power in both the regimentes, ſpirituall & temporall, in depoſing & diſpenſing matters of the Church, not to him belõging, in taking Appeales, in geuyng elections, inueſtyng in benefices, in exẽpting him ſelfe from obedience & ſubiection of his ordinary power & Magiſtrate, with his coactiue power newly erected in the church of Rome, was neuer receaued nor vſed in the old Romane church, frõ which they diſagree in all their doings. For although Victor thẽ biſhop of Rome. an. 200. went about to excõmunicate the Eaſt Churches, for the obſeruation of Eaſter day: yet neither did he proceede therein, neither was permitted by Irenæus ſo to doe. And although Boniface the firſt likewiſe, wrytyng to the Byſhops of Carthage, required of thẽ to ſend vp their appellatiõs vnto the Church of Rome, alledgyng moreouer the decree of Nicene Coũcell for his authoritie: The Byſhops & Clergy of Carthage aſſemblyng together in a generall Coũcell (called the vj. Councell of Carthage) to the nũber of. 217. Byſhops, after they had peruſed the decrees in the autentike copies of the foreſayd Nicene Councell, & foũd no ſuch matter, by the ſayd Bonifacius alledged, made therefore a publike decree, that none out of that countrey ſhould make any appeale ouer the ſea. &c. And what maruell if appeales were forbiddẽ them to be made to Rome, whẽ as both here in Englãd the kyngs of this land would not permit any to Appeale frõ them to Rome, before king Henry the ij. becauſe of the murther of Thomas Becket, beyng thereunto compelled by Pope Alexander the iij. And alſo in Fraunce yͤ like prohibitions were expreſſely made by Ludouicus Pius, an. 1268. which did forbid by a publicke inſtrument, called *Pragmatica ſanctio*, all exactions of the Popes court within his Realme. Alſo by kyng Philip named *Le bel*, an. 1296. the like was done, which not only reſtrayned all ſedyng or goyng vp of his ſubiectes to Rome, but alſo that no money, armour, nor ſubſidy, ſhould be tranſported out of his Realme. The like alſo after him did king Charles the v. ſurnamed the Wiſe, and his ſonne likewiſe after him Charles the vj. who alſo puniſhed as traytours, certaine ſeditious perſons for appealyng to Rome. The like reſiſtaũce moreouer was in the ſayd countrey of Fraũce, againſt the Popes reſeruatiõs, preuẽtiõs, & other like practiſes of his vſurped iuriſdictiõ in yͤ dayes of pope Martin the v. an. 1418. Item, when kyng Henry the vj. in England, and kyng Charles the 7. in Fraũce, did both accord with the Pope, in inueſting & in collatiõ of benefices, yet notwithſtandyng the highe Court of Parliament in Fraunce did not admit the ſame, but ſtill maintayned the old libertie & cuſtomes of the French Church. In ſo much that the Duke of Bethfort came with the kynges letters patẽt to haue the Popes procurations & reſeruations admitted, yet the court of Parliamẽt would not agree to the ſame, but the kyngs Procurator generall was fayne to go betwixt them, as is to be ſene in their Regiſters. an. 1425. the fift day of Marche. In the dayes of the which kyng Charles the vij. was ſet forth in Fraunce, *Pragmatica ſanctio*, as they call it, agaynſt the Annates, reſeruations, expectatiues, and ſuch other proceedyngs of the Popes pretenced iuriſdictiõ. an. 1438. wherfore what maruell if this iuriſdiction of the Popes Court in excommunicatyng, in takyng Appeales, and geuyng of benefices, was not vſed in the old Church of Rome, when as in theſe latter dayes it hath bene ſo much reſiſted?

Pragmatica ſanctio.

The Popes iuriſdiction concerning elections examined.

Platina. Sabel. Enead. 8. lib. 6.

Cõſtãtine the 4. Emperour of Conſtantinople.

The Popes bibliothecarie ſuſpected.

And what ſhould I ſpeake of the forme and maner of elections, now vſed in the Church of Rome, cleane conuerted from the maner of the old Church of their predeceſſors? For firſt in thoſe auncient dayes, when as yet the Church remayned in the Apoſtles onely, & a few other Diſciples, the Apoſtles then with prayer and impoſition of handes, elected Byſhops & Miniſters, as by the Apoſtles Iames was made Biſhop of Hieruſalem. Paule in Creta elected Titus, and Timothe in Epheſus. Alſo Peter ordayned Linus and Clement in Rome. &c. After which tyme of the Apoſtles, when the Church began more to multiply, the election of Byſhops and Miniſters ſtode by the Clergie & the people, with the conſent of the chief Magiſtrate of the place, and ſo continued during all the tyme of the Primitiue Church, till the tyme, and after the time of Conſtantine the 4. Emperour, which Emperour (as writeth Platina and Sabellic. Enead. 8. lib. 6.) publiſhed a law concernyng the election of the Romane Byſhop, that he ſhould be takẽ for true Byſhop, whom the Clergy and people of Rome did chuſe & elect, without any tarying for any authoritie of the Emperour of Conſtãtinople, or the Deputie of Italy: ſo as the cuſtome and faſhion had euer bene before that day, an. 685. And here the Byſhops began firſt to writhe out their elections and their neckes a litle from the Emperours ſubiection, if it be ſo as the ſayd Platina and Sabellicus after him reporteth. But many coniectures there be, not vnprobable, rather to thinke this conſtitutiõ of Conſtantine to be forged and vntrue. Firſt, for that it is taken out of the Popes Bibliothecarie, a ſuſpected place and collected by the keeper and maiſter of the Popes Librarie, a ſuſpected author, who whatſoeuer fayned wrytynges or Apocripha he could finde in the Popes cheſtes of Recordes, makyng any thyng on his maiſters ſide: that he compiled together, and therof both Platina, Sabellicus, & Gratianus take moſt part of their reportes, & therefore may the more be ſuſpected. &c.

The conſtitution of Conſtantine the 4. Emperour of Cõſtãtinople examined.

Secondly, where Platina and Sabellicus ſay that Conſtantine moued with the holynes of Pope Benedict the firſt made that cõſtitutiõ, how ſeemeth that to ſtãd with truth, when both the Emperour was ſo farre of from him being at Conſtantinople, & alſo for that the ſayd Pope raigned but x. monethes? which was but a ſmall tyme to make his holines knowen to the Emperour ſo farre of. And giue he were ſo holy, yet that holynes might rather be an occaſiõ for the Emperour ſo to confirme and maintaine the olde receaued maner of his inſtitution, then to alter it.

Rubrica de ordinatione Epiſcopi. ex Caleſtino Papa diſt. 63. Cap. Cleri. Diſt. 63. Cap. Sacrorum.

The third coniecture is this, for that the ſayd conſtitution was not obſerued, but ſhortly after by the ſayd Benedict was broken in the election of Pope Conon. And yet notwithſtanding albeit the conſtitution were true, yet the election there by was not takẽ away from the people, and limited to the Clergy onely, and much leſſe might be taken away frõ the Clergie, and be limited onely to the Cardinals, without the conſent of their Prince and ruler, accordyng to their owne Rubrice in their Decrees, where the Rubrice ſayth: De ordinatione Epiſcopi: Nullus inuitis detur Epiſcopus, cleri, plebis, & ordinis conſenſus & deſiderium requiratur, &c. That is: Let no Byſhop be geuen to any people agaynſt their wils: but let the conſent & deſire both of the Clergy and of the people, and of the order, be alſo required. &c. And in the ſame Diſt. alſo, cap. Sacrorũ, we read the ſame libertie & intereſt to be graunted by Carolus Magnus, and Ludouicus his ſonne, not to a few Cardinals onely, but to the order as well of the Clergy, as of the people, to chuſe not onely the Biſhop of Rome, but any other Biſhop within their owne Dioceſſe whatſoeuer, and to the Monkes likewiſe, to chuſe their owne Abbot, ſettyng aſide all reſpect of perſons and giftes, onely for the worthynes of life, and gift of wiſedome, ſo as might be moſt profitable for doctrine, and exãple vnto the flocke. &c. And this continued till the tyme of the foreſayd Carolus Magnus, and

Libertie graunted to the Clergy, and to the people to chuſe their Biſhop.

Carolus Magnus.

Ludouicus Pius.

The decree, *Ego Ludoucus, diſt. 63.* ſuſpected.

Gratianus & Volateranus, what ground they haue of their recordes.

Diſt.63.ca. Ego Ludouicus.

Election of the Biſhop of Rome ſtandeth vpon the cōſent of the Clergy, and the people of Rome.

Ludouicus his ſonne, an. 810. of the which two, Carolus the father receaued expreſly of Pope Adrian the firſt, full iuriſdiction and power to elect & ordeine the Biſhop of Rome, like as pope Leo the ix. did alſo to Ottho the firſt Germain Emperour, an. 961. The other, that is, Ludouicus, ſonne to the forſayd Charles, is ſayd to renoūce agayne, and ſurrender from him ſelfe and his ſucceſſours, vnto pope Paſchalis and the Romaines, the right and intereſt of chuſing the Romane Biſhop, and moreouer to giue and graunt to the ſayd Paſchalis the full poſſeſſion of the Citie of Rome, & the whole territorie to the ſame belongyng. An. 821. as appeareth by the decree, Ego Ludouicus Diſt.63. But admit that fayned decree to be vnfaynedly true (as it may wel be ſuſpected for many cauſes, as proceedyng out of the ſame foūtaine, with the cōſtitution of Conſtantine afore mentioned, that is, from the maiſter of the Popes Library, of whō doth Gratianus & Volateran, by their owne confeſſion take their grounde) yet the ſame decree doth not ſo geue away the freedome of that election, that he limiteth it onely to the Cardinals, but alſo requireth the whole cōſent of the Romaines, neither doth he ſimplely & abſolutely geue the ſame, but with cōditiō, ſo that, Omnes Romani vno conſilio, & vna concordia ſine aliqua promiſsione ad pontificatus ordinem eligerent: that is, whō as all the Romaines with one counſaile, & with one accord, without any promiſe of their voyces grāted before, ſhall chuſe to be Byſhop of Rome. And moreouer in the ſame Decree is required, that at the conſecration of the ſame Biſhop, meſſengers ſhould be directed incōtinent to the Frēch kyng concernyng the ſame.

The decree *Ego Ludouicus,* proued falſ.

Diſt.23.ca. In Nomine Domini.

Furthermore, neither yet did the ſame decree (albeit it were true) long continue. For although Pope Stephen the fourth, and pope Paſchalis the firſt, in Ludouicus time were inpapaced thorough diſcord without election of the Emperour, yet they were fayne by meſſage to ſend their purgation to him of their election. And after that, in the tyme of Eugenius the ij. which ſucceeded next to Paſchalis, Lotharius ſonne of Ludouicus, and Emperour with his father, came to Rome, and there appointed lawes & magiſtrates ouer the Citie. whereby may appeare the donation of Ludouike, in geuyng away the Citie of Rome to the Pope, to be fayned. And after Eugenius, pope Gregory the iiij. who followyng within a yeare after Eugenius, durſt not take his election without the conſent and confirmation of the ſayd Emperour Ludouicus. And ſo in like maner his ſucceſſours pope Sergius the ij: Pope Leo, the iiij. pope Nicolas the firſt, and ſo orderly in a long tract of tyme, from the foreſayd Nicolas the firſt, to Pope Nicolas the ij. an. 1061. (which Nicolas in his Decree beginnyng, In nomine Domini Diſt.23. ordained alſo the ſame) ſo that in the election of the Biſhops of Rome, commonly the conſent of the Emperour and the people with the Clergy of Rome, was not lackyng. After which Nicolas came Alexander the 2. and wicked Hildebrād, which Alexander being firſt elected without the Emperors will and conſent, afterward repenting the ſame, openly in his preaching to the people declared that he would no longer ſit in the Apoſtolique ſea, vnleſſe he were by the emperor confirmed. wherfore he was greatly rebuked, and caſt into priſon by Hildebrand, and ſo depoſed. Then Hildebrand and his folowers ſo ordred the matter of this election, that firſt the Emperor, then the lay people, after that the Clergie alſo began to be excluded. And ſo the election by litle & little was reduced into the handes of a few Cardinals, cōtrary to all anciēt order, where euer ſince it hath remained.

The iudiciarie power of the Pope examined.

Georg. Turonenſ. in Francorum hiſt. lib.10. ca.18.

And like as in elections, ſo alſo in power iudiciarie, in deciding and determinyng of cauſes of fayth, and of Eccleſiaſticall diſcipline, the ſtate of the Church of Rome, now beyng, hath no cōformitie with the old Romane Churche heretofore. For then Byſhops debated all cauſes of fayth onely by the Scriptures, and other queſtions of Eccleſiaſticall diſcipline they determined by the Canōs, not of the Pope, but of the Church, ſuch as were decreed by the auncient Councels, as writeth Greg. Turonenſis in Francorum hiſtoria. where as now both the rule of ſcripture, & ſanctions of the old Councels ſet aſide, all thynges for the moſt part are decided by certaine new decretall or rather extradecretall & extrauagant conſtitutions, in the Popes Canon law compiled, and in his Conſiſtories practiſed.

The Popes iuriſdiction vſurped in geuing and diſpoſing eccleſiaſtical promotions.

16.q.7.cap.omnes Baſilicæ.

The Councell of Nice.cap 6.

The generall Councell of Antioch.cap.9.

9.q.3.cap.per ſingulas, Pragmatica ſanctio ſancti Ludouici.

Impropriations and firſt fruites of benefices.

And where as the old ordinaunce and diſpoſition, as well of the common law, as of the ſacred Coūcels, and inſtitution of auncient fathers haue geuen to Byſhops & other prelates, alſo to patrons and donors of Eccleſiaſtical benefices euery one within his owne precinct and dominion, alſo to cathedrall Churches and other: to haue their free elections & to proſecute the ſame in full effect: ordryng and diſpoſing promotions, collatiōs, prouiſions & diſpoſitions of prelacies, dignities, and all other Eccleſiaſticall benefices whatſoeuer, after their owne arbitremēt, as appeareth by the firſt generall Councell of Fraunce. 16. q 7. cap. Omnes Baſilicæ, by the firſt generall Councell of Nice, cap 6. Alſo by the generall Councell of Antioche. cap. 9. and is to be ſeene in the Popes Decrees. 9.q.3. Per ſingulas. And alſo beſide theſe auncient decrees, the ſame is confirmed agayne in more latter yeares by Ludouicus the ninth French kyng in his conſtitution called Pragmatica ſanctio, made and prouided by full Parliament agaynſt the popes exactions. An. 1228. in theſe wordes as folow. Item exactiones & onera grauiſsima pecuniarum, per curiam Romanam Eccleſiæ regni noſtri impoſitas vel impoſita (quibus regnum miſerabiliter de pauperatum exiſtit) ſiue etiam imponendas vel imponenda leuari aut colligi nullatenus volumus: niſi duntaxat pro rationabili, pia & vrgentiſsima cauſa, vel ineuitabili neceſsitate, ac etiam de expreſſo, & ſpontaneo iuſſu noſtro, & ipſius Eccleſiæ regni noſtri. &c. that is. Item all exactions & importable burdens of money, which the Court of Rome hath layd vpon the Church of our kingdome (whereby the ſaid our kingdome hath bene miſerably hetherto impoueriſhed) or hereafter ſhall impoſe or lay vpon vs, we vtterly diſcharge and forbyd to be leuied or collected hereafter for any maner of cauſe, vnleſſe there come ſome reaſonable, godly, & moſt vrgent, & ineuitable neceſſitie, & that alſo not to be done without the expreſſe & voluntary commaundement of vs, & of the Church of the ſame our foreſayd kingdome. &c. Now contrary and agaynſt to theſe ſo manifeſt & expreſſe decrementes of generall Councels, & conſtitutions Synodall, this latter Church of Rome of late preſumption, degeneratyng frō all the ſteppes of their elders, haue taken vpon them a ſingular iuriſdiction by them ſelues, & for their owne aduauntage, to entermedle in diſpoſing & trāſpoſing Churches, Colledges, Monaſteries, with the collations, exemptions, elections, goodes & landes to the ſame belongyng, by reaſon and exāple wherof haue come in theſe impropriations, firſt fruites, & reſeruations of benefices to the miſerable diſpoyling of Pariſhes, & horrible decay of Chriſten fayth, which thynges amōg the old Romaine elders were neuer knowē. For ſo much then did it lacke, that due neceſſities were pluckt frō the Church, that Emperours, Kyngs, & Princes plucking frō their owne, rather did cumulate the Church with ſuperfluities.

Inſtitutiones canonicæ ſub Ludouico Pio.

Agayne, when ſuch goodes were geuen to the Church by thoſe auncetors, they were neither ſo geuen, nor yet taken, to ſerue the priuate vſe of certaine churchmen takyng no paynes therein, but rather to ſerue the publique ſubuētiō of the needy, as is cōteined in the canonicall inſtitutiōs by the Emperour Ludouicus Pius ſet forth. An. 830. The wordes be theſe: Res Eccleſiæ vota ſunt fidelium, pretia peccatorum, & patrimonia pauperum, that is: The goods of the church be the vowes and bequeſtes of the faythfull, prices to raunſome ſuch as be in captiuitie or priſon, and patrimonies to ſuccour them with hoſpitalitie, that be needy.

The wordes of Proſper.

Wherunto agreeth alſo the teſtimony of Proſper, whoſe wordes be theſe: Viros ſanctos eccleſiæ non vendicaſſe vt proprias, ſed vt commendatas pauperibus diuiſiſſe: that is, good men tooke ỹ goodes of the church not as their own but diſtributed thē as geuē & bequeathed to the poore. And ſayth moreouer: Quod habet Eccleſia, cum omnibus nihil habentibus habet commune, that is: what ſoeuer the church hath, it hath it common, with all ſuch as haue nothyng. &c.

Aug. ad Bonifac.

Adde to theſe the worthy teſtimony of S. Auguſt. ad Bonif. Si autem priuatim, quæ nobis ſufficiant poſsidemus, nō ſunt illa noſtra, ſed pauperum quorum procurationem quodammodo gerimus, non proprietatem nobis vſurpatione damnabili vendicamus, &c.

Vowſons and pluralities of benefices.

Likewiſe vowſons and pluralities of benefices were thyngs then as much vnknowen, as now they are pernitious to the church, taking away all free election of miniſters from the flocke of Chriſt.

Three points wherein the Popes Church erreth in his iuriſdiction.

All which inconueniences as they firſt came and crept in chiefly by the pretenſed authoritie & iuriſdiction abuſed in this latter church of Rome, ſo it can not be denyed, but the ſayd latter church of Rome hath taken and attributed to it ſelfe much more, thē either the limites of Gods word do geue, or ſtandeth with the example of the old Romane church, in theſe three thynges eſpeciall. wherof as mentiō is touched before, ſo briefly I will recapitulate the ſame.

1. Eccleſiaſticall iuriſdiction falſly reſtrained & impropriate to the Church of Rome, which ought to be generally equall to all Churches Chriſtian.

The firſt is in this, that whatſoeuer the Scripture geueth and referreth, either to the whole church vniuerſally, or to euery particular church ſeuerally, this church now of Rome doth arrogate to it ſelfe abſolutely and onely, both doyng iniury to other churches, & alſo abuſing the Scriptures of God. For albeit the Scripture doth geue authoritie to binde and looſe, it limitteth it neither to perſon nor place, that is, neither to the Citie of Rome onely, more thē to other Cities, nor to ỹ ſea of Peter, more thē to other Apoſtles, but geueth it clearely to ỹ Church, wherof Peter did beare the figure, ſo that where ſoeuer the true Church of Chriſt is, there is annexed power to bynde & looſe, geuen and taken meerly as from Chriſt, and not mediatly by the Pope or Byſhop of Peters ſea.

2. Eccleſiaſticall iuriſdiction abuſed and extended in the church of Rome further then the word limiteth.

The ſecond poynt wherein this preſent Churche of Rome abuſeth his iuriſdiction contrary to Scripture and ſteps of the old Romane Church, is this, for that it extendeth his authoritie farther and more amply, thē either the warrant of the word, or example of tyme will giue. For although the Churche of Rome hath (as other particular churches haue) authoritie to binde and abſolue, yet it hath no ſuch authoritie to abſolue ſubiectes frō their othe, ſubiection, and loyaltie to their rulers & Magiſtrates, to diſpēſe with periury, to denounce remiſſiō, where no earneſt repentaunce is ſene before, to number remiſſion by dayes & yeares, to diſpenſe with thynges expreſſely in the word forbiddē, or to reſtrayne that which the word maketh free, to deuide Religion into Religions, to binde and burthen conſciences with conſtitutions of men, to excommunicate for worldly matters, as for breakyng of parkes, for not ringyng bels at the Byſhops commyng, for not bringyng litter for their horſe, for not paying their fees and rētes, for withholding the church goods, for holding on their princes ſide in princely caſes, for not going at the Popes commaundement, for not agreeyng to the Popes electiō in an other princes Realme, with other ſuch thyngs mo & more vayne then theſe. &c. Agayne, although the Scripture geueth leaue and authoritie to the Byſhop and Churche of Rome to miniſter Sacraments, yet it geueth no authoritie to make Sacramentes, much leſſe to worſhyp Sacraments. And though their authoritie ſerueth to baptiſe mē, yet it extendeth not to Chriſten bels: neither haue they authoritie by any word of God to adde to the word of God, or take from the ſame, to ſet vp vnwritten verities vnder payne of damnation, to make other articles of belief, to inſtitute ſtraunge worſhip, otherwiſe thē he hath preſcribed, which hath told vs how he would be worſhipped. &c.

Chriſtening of Bels.

3. The iuriſdiction of the Pope abuſed and vſurped in temporal matters where he hath nothing to doe.

The third abuſe of the Popes iuriſdiction ſtandeth in this, that as in ſpirituall iuriſdiction they haue vehemētly exceeded the boūdes of Scripture, ſo they haue impudētly intermedled them ſelues in temporall iuriſdictiō, wherein they haue nothing to do. In ſo much that they haue trāſlated the Empire, they haue depoſed Emperours, Kyngs, Princes & rulers & Senatours of Rome, & ſet vp other, or the ſame agayne at their pleaſure, they haue proclaymed warres, & haue warred them ſelues. And where as Emperours in aūcient tyme haue dignified thē in titles, haue enlarged thē with donations, & they receauyng their confirmation by the Emperours, haue like ingratfull clients to ſuch benefactors, afterward ſtampte vpon their neckes, haue made thē to hold their ſtyrrup, ſome to hold ẏ bridle of their horſe, haue cauſed them to ſeeke their confirmation at their hand, yea haue bene Emperours thē ſelues: Sede vacante, & in diſcordia electionis, and alſo haue bene Senatours of the Citie. Moreouer haue extorted into their owne handes the plenary fulnes of power & iuriſdiction of both the ſwordes, eſpecially ſince the tyme of Pope Hildebrand: which Hildebrand depoſing Henricus the iiij. Emperour, made him geue attendance at his Citie gate. And after him Pope Bonifacius the viij. ſhewed him ſelfe vnto the people on the firſt day like a Byſhop, with his keyes before him, & ẏ next day in his robes Imperiall, hauyng a naked ſword borne before him, like an Emperour. an. 1298. And for ſo much as this inordinate iuriſdiction hath not onely bene vſed of thē, but alſo to this day is mainteined in Rome, let vs therefore now compare the vſage hereof to the old maner in tymes paſt, meanyng the primitiue and firſt age of the Church of the Romaines. Wherein ẏ old Byſhops of Rome in thoſe dayes, as they were then ſubiect to their Emperours, ſo were other Byſhops in like maner of other nations ſubiect euery one to his Kyng & Prince, acknowledgyng them for their Lordes, & were ordered by their authoritie & obeyed their lawes, and that not onely in cauſes ciuile, but alſo in regiment Eccleſiaſticall as appeareth Diſt. 10. cap. 1. & 2. Diſt. 97. cap. De illicita.

Popes ſubmitted in the olde tyme to Emperours.

Alſo 24.q.3. So was Gregorius ſurnamed Magnus, ſubiect to Mauritius, and to Phocas, although a wicked Emperour. So alſo both Pope & people of Rome tooke their lawes of the Emperours of Conſtantinople, & were ſubmitted to thē, not onely in the time of Honorius an hūdreth yeares after Conſtantine the great, but alſo in the tyme of Martianus, an. 451. & ſo further vnto the tyme of Iuſtinian & of Carolus Magnus, and alſo after the dayes of them. In all which cōtinuance of tyme, it is manifeſt, that the Emperiall law of Martiane did rule & bynde in Rome, both in the days of Iuſtinian, an 150. yeres after, til the tyme of the Empire beyng tranſlated from Grece vnto Fraūce. Whereby it may appeare falſe, that the Citie of Rome was geuē by Conſtantine the firſt vnto the biſhop of Rome to gouerne, for that Pope Bonifacius the firſt writyng to the Emperour Honorius, called in the ſame place Rome the Emperours Citie. Diſt. 97. cap. 1. And Lotharius, alſo Emperour appointed Magiſtrates and lawes in Rome, as is aboue mentioned. Moreouer, for further probation hereof, that both the Byſhop of Rome & all other Eccleſiaſticall perſons were in former tyme, and ought to be ſubiect to their Emperours and lawfull Magiſtrates, in cauſes as well ſpirituall as ciuile, by many euidences may appeare, takē out both of Gods law, and mans law. And firſt by Gods law we haue exāple of godly kyng Dauid, who numbred all the Prieſtes and Leuites, & diſpoſed thē into xxiiij. orders or courſes, appointyng thē cōtinually to ſerue in the miniſtery euery one in his proper order & turne, as came about: which inſtitution of the Clergy, alſo good king Ezechias afterward renued, of whō it is written: he did that was right in the ſight of the Lord, accordyng to all things as his father Dauid had done before, he tooke away the high groues, and brake downe Images. &c. 4.Reg.8. The ſayd Ezechias alſo reduced the Prieſts & Leuites into their orders, preſcribed by Dauid before, to ſerue euery one in his office of miniſtratiō. 2.Paralip.30.31. And this order frō Dauid ſtill continued till the time of Zachary at the cōmyng of Chriſt our Lord, beyng of Abias courſe, which was the viij. order of the Prieſtes appointed to ſerue in the tabernacle. Luc.1. To paſſe ouer other lighter offices tranſlated from the Prieſtes to the Kyngs authoritie, as cōcernyng the orderyng of oblations in the Temple, and reparations of the Lordes houſe, kyng Salomon diſplaced Abiathar the high Prieſt, by his kyngly power, and placed Sadoch in his ſtede. 3.Reg.cap.6. Alſo dedicatyng the temple of the Lord with all the people, bleſſed the whole congregation of Iſraell. 3.Reg.8. Iudas Machabeus alſo elected Prieſtes, ſuch as beyng without ſpot had a zeale to the law of the Lord, to purge the Temple, which the Idolatrous Gentiles had before prophaned. 1.Machab.4.

Ex cap.1. de iuramentu calumniatu.

Diſt.97. cap.1.

Plat. in vita Euge. 2.

Euidences prouing eccleſiaſticall perſons to haue bene ſubiect to their Magiſtrates in cauſes both Eccleſiaſticall & temporall.

Euidences out of the Scripture.

Dauid. 1.Par.cap.30.31.

Ezechias. 4.Reg.18.

The order of Abias was the eight order among the Prieſts. 1.Par.24.

Salomon.

Iudas Machabeus.

Alſo kyng Alexander writyng to Ionathas, appointed him chief Prieſt in his coūtrey. 1.Mac.10. Demetrius ordeined Simon & Alchimus in the like office of Prieſthood. Ioſaphat likewiſe as in the whole lād did ſet Iudges, ſo alſo in Hieruſalem he appointed Leuites & Prieſtes, and heades of families to haue the hearyng of cauſes, and to miniſter Iudgement ouer the people. 2 Paral. 19. By theſe & many other is to be ſene, the Kynges & Princes in the old tyme as well, when Prieſtes were borne Prieſtes, as whē they were made by election, had the dealyng alſo in Eccleſiaſticall matters, as in callyng the people to Gods ſeruice, in cutting down groues, in deſtroying images, in gathering tithes into ẏ Lordes houſe, in dedicating the tēple, in bleſſing the people, in caſtyng downe the braſen Serpēt within the tēple, in correcting & depoſing Prieſtes, in cōſtituting the order & offices of Prieſtes, in commaundyng ſuch thynges as pertained to the ſeruice & worſhyp of God, & in puniſhyng the contrary. &c. And in the new Teſtament what meaneth the exāple of Chriſt himſelfe both geuing & teaching tribute to be geuen to Cæſar? to Cæſar I ſay, & not to ẏ high Prieſt. What meaneth his wordes to Pilate not denying power to be geuen to him from aboue?

1.Mac.10.

1.Mac.14.

Ioſaphat.

2.Par.19.

Iohn.19.

And agayne declaryng the kynges of nations to haue dominiō ouer thē, & willing his Diſciples not ſo to do, geuyng vs to vnderſtād the difference betwene the regimēt of his ſpirituall kingdome, & of ẏ kingdome of this world, willyng all worldly ſtates to be ſubiect vnder the ſuperiour rulers & Magiſtrates, in whoſe regiment is dominiō and ſubiectiō, & not in the other. Whereunto accordeth alſo the doctrine of S. Paule, where it is written: let euery ſoule be ſubiect to the higher powers, vnder whoſe obedience neither Pope, Cardinall, Patriarch, Byſhop, Prieſt, Frier nor Monke is excepted, nor exempted, as Theophilactus expoūdyng the ſame place declareth, & ſayth: Vniuerſos erudit, ſiue ſacerdos ſit ille, ſiue monachus, ſiue Apoſtolus, vt ſe principibus ſubdant: that is, he teacheth all ſortes, whether he bee Prieſt, or Monke, or els Apoſtle, that they ſhould ſubmit themſelues vnder their Princes. &c. And S. Auguſtine writyng ad Bonifacium, ſayth in much like ſort: Quicunq; autem legibus imperatoris, quæ pro Dei veritate feruntur, obtemperare non vult, acquirit grande ſupplicium, that is, whoſoeuer refuſeth to obey the lawes of the Emperor, which make for the veritie of God, incurreth the daunger of great puniſhmēt. &c. Alſo in an other place, writyng cōtra Creſconium, hath theſe words: In hoc enim reges ſicut eis diuinitus præcipitur, Deo ſeruiunt, in quantum reges, ſi in ſuo regno bona iubeant, mala prohibeant, non ſolùm quæ pertinent ad humanam ſocietatem, verumetiam quæ ad diuinam religionē &c. that is, Kynges accordyng as it is inioyned them of

Rom.13.

Theophilactus.

Aug. ad Bonifacium.

Aug. contra Creſconiū. li.3. cap.5.

God, do ſerue God in that they are kynges, if they in their kyngdome commaunde thoſe thynges that be good, & forbid thynges that be euill, ſuch as appertaine not onely to humaine ſocietie, but alſo to Gods Religion. &c. And yet to come more neare to the Popes owne Doctours, Thomas Aquine not much diſcrepant from the iniunction of the Apoſtle aboue alledged, thus deſcribeth ẏ office of a kyng: Hoc inquit, officium rex ſe ſuſcepiſſe cognoſcat, vt ſit in regno, ſicut in corpore anima, & ſicut Deus in mundo, &c. Let a kyng (ſayth he) vnderſtand, that he hath taken this office vpon him, to be as the ſoule within the body, and as God in the world. In like agreemẽt with the holy Apoſtle S. Paule, ioyneth alſo S. Peter: be you ſubiect (ſayth he) to euery humaine creature, whether it be to the king, as moſt preeminent, or to other ſet ouer you. &c. Where the common Gloſe addeth thereto, to obey the ſame, whether they be good or euill. Theſe places rightly pondered, let any mã now iudge whether the Pope hath done open wrong to the Emperour, in ſurpriſing aboue the iuriſdiction of his lawfull Prince and Magiſtrat, notwithſtãdyng whatſoeuer his owne Canon law ſayth to the contrary.

Thomas de regim. princip. li. 1. cap. 32.

1. Pet. 2.

And as it is ſufficiently hetherto proued by Gods law, that all Eccleſiaſticall perſons owe their due ſubiection to their lawfull Princes, in matters as well tẽporall, as ſpirituall: ſo no leſſe euidẽces may alſo be inferred out of mãs law, and examples of the oldeſt fathers, to proue the ſame. And firſt to begyn with the example of Gregory the great, who in his Epiſtle to Mauritius writeth thus: Dominus meus fuiſti, quando adhuc Dominus omnium non eras: Ecce per me ſeruum vltimum ſuum, & veſtrum reſpondebit Chriſtus, &c. that is: You were thẽ my Lord, whẽ you were not the Lord of the whole Empire, behold Chriſt him ſelfe ſhall make you aũſwere by me, which am his moſt ſimpleſt ſeruaũt and yours. &c. And before him Eleutherius his predeceſſour Byſhop of Rome, wrytyng to Lucius, kyng of this Realme, calleth him by the name of Chriſtes Vicare: But what needeth much confirmation of this matter, whẽ the Popes decrees & Canons be full of recordes hereof, teſtifying how the auncient Church of Rome not onely receaued, but alſo required of the Emperours, lawes & cõſtitutions to be made, touchyng not onely ſuch cauſes, but alſo ſuch perſons as were Eccleſiaſticall. And here to omit by the way the chap. Principes ſeculi, alſo cap. Adminiſtratores, 23. q. 5. with diuers other beſide, I will recite out of the Epiſtle of Boniface the 1. to the Emperour Honorius, ſo much as ſerueth for our purpoſe, written diſt. 92. cap. Eccleſiæ, cap. Victor. Where it is mentioned that the ſayd Bonifacius Byſhop of Rome ſent an hũble ſupplication to the forenamed Emperour, deſiryng him by his authoritie to prouide ſome remedy againſt the ambitious cõtentions of the clergie, concerning the biſhoprike of Rome. Which Emperor Honorius incontinent at his requeſt, directed & ſtabliſhed a law, that none ſhould be made Byſhop of Rome through ambitiõ, charging all Eccleſiaſticall Miniſters to ſurceaſe frõ ambition, appointyng moreouer, that if two were elected together, neither of them both ſhould be takẽ, but the election to proceed further to an other to be choſen by a full conſent of voyces, as is expreſſed. Diſt. 79. cap. Si duo.

Gregor. ad Maurit. Aug. lib. 3. epiſt. 61.

The Pope calleth king Lucius Chriſtes Vicar.

23. q. cap. 5. principes, cap. Adminiſtratores. Diſt. 97. ca. eccleſiæ, cap. Victor.

Diſt. 79. ca. Si duo.

To this I adioyne alſo the law & conſtitution of Iuſtinian the Emperour, ratified and renued afterward in the counſell of Paris, in tyme of king Ludouicus Pius. Where all Byſhops & Prieſtes be expreſly forbiddẽ not to excommunicate any mã, before his cauſe was knowen & proued to be ſuch, as for the whiche the auncient Canons of the Church would him to be excõmunicate. And if any ſhould otherwiſe procede cõtrary to the ſame, thẽ the excõmunicate perſon to be abſolued by ẏ authoritie of an higher degree, & the excõmunicate to be ſequeſtred frõ the communiõ, ſo long as ſhould ſeeme conueniẽt to him that had the executiõ therof, as is expreſſed. 24. q. 3. De illicita. The ſame Iuſtinian moreouer in his lawes & cõſtitutions, how many thynges did he diſpoſe & ordeine in Church matters, as to haue a determinate number of Churchmen or Clerkes in Churches. cõſt. 3. Alſo cõcerning Monaſteries & Mõkes. conſt. 5. how Byſhops & Prieſtes ſhould be ordeined. cõſt. 6. concerning remouyng of Eccleſiaſticall perſons frõ one Church to an other. Alſo concernyng ẏ conſtitution of the Churches in Affrike. And that the holy miſteries ſhould not be done in priuate houſes, ſo ẏ whoſoeuer ſhould attẽpt the contrary, ſhould be depriued. conſt. 57. Moreouer cõcernyng Clerkes leauyng their Churches. conſt. 58. Alſo concerning the order & maner of funerals. conſt. 59. And that Byſhops ſhould not keepe frõ their flocke. conſt. 67. The ſame Iuſtiniã graũted to the Clergy of Conſtãtinople the priuiledge of the ſecular court, in caſes onely ciuile, and ſuch as touched not the diſturbaũce of the Byſhop, otherwiſe in all criminall cauſes he left them to the iudgemẽt of the ſecular court. conſt. 83. He geueth alſo lawes & decrees for breach of matrimonie. conſt. 117. & in diuers other places. And in his conſt. 123. after the doctrine of S. Paule, he commaũdeth all Byſhops & Prieſtes to ſounde out their ſeruice, & to celebrate the miſteries, not after a ſecrete maner, but with a loude voyce, ſo as they might not onely be heard, but alſo be vnderſtand of the faythfull people, what was ſayd & done, whereby it is to be gathered, that diuine prayers and ſeruice then, was in the vulgar toung.

24. q. 3. cap. De illicita.

Ex Nouel. Iuſtinian.

Diuine ſeruice vſed in the vulgare tongue.

And as the ſaid Iuſtinian, & other Emperours in thoſe dayes had the iuriſdictiõ and gouernement ouer ſpirituall matters & perſons, the like examples alſo may be brought of other kyngs, in other lãdes, who had no leſſe authoritie in their Realmes, then Emperours had in their Empire. As in Fraũce, Clodoueus the firſt Chriſtened kyng at Orleans cauſed a Coũcell of 33. Byſhops, where, 33. Canons were inſtituted cõcernyng the gouernemẽt of the Church, within. 200. yeares after Chriſt. Ex primo Tomo Concil. Carolus Magnus, beſide his other lawes and edictes political, called v. Synodes, one at Mentz, the ſecond at Rome, the third at Remes, the fourth at Cabilone, the fift at Arelate, where ſundry rites & ordinaũces were geuen to the Clergy, about. 810. yeares after Chriſt. The ſame Carolus alſo decreed that onely the Canonicall bookes of Scripture ſhould be read in the Church, & none other. Which before alſo was decreed. an. 417. in the third generall Councel of Carthage. Item he exhorteth and chargeth Byſhops and Prieſts to preach the word, with a godly iniũction: Epiſcopi verò vt ſiue per ſe, ſiue per vicarios, pabulum verbi diuini ſedulò populis annuncient. Quia vt ait beatus Gregorius: Iram contra ſe occulti iudicis excitat Sacerdos ſi ſine prædicationis ſonitu incedit. Et vt ipſi clerum ſibi commiſſum in ſobrietate & caſtitate nutriant. Superſtitiones quas quibuſdam in locis in exequijs mortuorum nõnulli faciunt, eradicent, that is: That biſhops either by them ſelues, or their deputies ſhall ſhew forth ẏ foode of Gods word to the people with all diligẽce. For as Gregory ſayth, the Prieſt procureth againſt him the wrath of ẏ ſecret iudge, which goeth without the ſound of preaching. And alſo that they bring vp their Clergy to thẽ cõmitted in ſobernes & chaſtitie. The ſuperſtitiõ which in certaine places is vſed of ſome, about the Funerals of the dead, let them exterminate & plucke vp by the rootes. &c.

Clodoueus.

Concilium Aurelienſe.

Carolus Magnus.

Canonicall Scripture onely to be read in Churches.

Conc. Carthag. 3. cap. 47.

Biſhops and Prieſts charged to preach with diligence.

Superſtition in Funerals forbidden.

Moreouer, inſtructing & informyng the ſayd Byſhops & Prieſtes in the office of preaching, willeth thẽ, not to ſuffer any to fayne or preach to the people any new doctrine of their owne inuẽtion, & not agreeing to the word of God, but that they them ſelues both will preach ſuch thyngs as lead to eternall life, and alſo that they ſet vp other to do the ſame, & ioyneth with all a godly exhortation. Ideo, dilectiſſimi, toto corde præparemus nos in ſcientia veritatis, & mox: vt diuina donante gratia verbum Dei currat & creſcat, & multiplicetur, in profectum Eccleſiæ Dei ſanctæ, & ſalutem animarũ noſtrarum, & laudem, & gloriam nominis Domini noſtri Ieſu Chriſti. Pax prædicantibus, gratia obedientibus, gloria Domino noſtro Ieſu Chriſto, Amen. Furthermore, the ſaid Carolus in his conſtitutions diuideth the goodes geuẽ to the Church ſo, that in ẏ more welthy places, two partes ſhould go to the vſe of the poore, ẏ third to the ſtipẽd of the Clergy. Otherwiſe in poorer places an equall diuiſiõ to be made betwene the pouertie & the Clergy, vnles the gift had ſome ſpeciall exception. Ex Anſegiſo. lib. 1. cap. 80. And in the ſame booke a little after, cap. 83. the author declareth by the ſayd Carolus to be decreed, that no Eccleſiaſticall perſon or perſons frõ thenceforth ſhould preſume to take of any perſon, any ſuch gift or donation, wherby ẏ childrẽ or kinſfolkes of the ſayd Donor ſhould be defeited of their inheritance duly to them belongyng. Ludouicus Pius king of France, & after Emperor, was ſonne to the foreſaid Charles who being ioined together with the ſaid Charles his father in ẏ Empire, ordained alſo with his father ſundry actes & obſeruaunces touchyng the gouernement of the Church, as in ẏ author before alledged may appeare. As firſt, that no entry ſhould be made into the Church by Symony: Agayne, that Byſhops ſhould be ordained by the free electiõ of the Clergie & of the people, without all reſpect of perſon or reward, onely for the merite of life, and gift of heauenly wiſedome.

Ex Anſegiſo Abbate, lib. 1. cap. 76.

Ludouicus Pius.

Ex Anſ. lib. 1. cap. 20.

Alſo the ſayd Kynges & Emperours forbad that any free mã or Citizen ſhould enter the profeſſiõ of Monkery, without licence aſked of the kyng before, & added a double cauſe wherfore. Firſt, for that many not for meere deuotiõ, but for idlenes and auoyding the kynges warres, do geue thẽ ſelues to Religiõ: againe, for that many be craftely circumuẽted & deluded by ſubtile couetous perſons, ſeekyng to get frõ them that which they haue. Lib. 1. cap. 114. ibidem. Itẽ that no young childrẽ or boyes ſhould be ſhauẽ or enter any profeſſion, without the will of their Parẽtes. And no young maydens ſhould take the veale or profeſſion of a

Lib.2.C de ſacro eccle.
Iuſtin.in Nouel.

Nunne, before ſhe came to ſufficient diſcretion of yeres to diſcerne & chuſe what they will follow. That none ſhould be interred or buried thẽce forth within the Church, which alſo was decreed by Theodoſius & Valentinianus .40. yeares before them. Item the ſayd Carolus.22. yeares before this Emperour, enacted that murderers & ſuch as were giltie of death by the law, ſhould haue no ſanctuary by flying into the Church. &c. which alſo was decreed by Iuſtiniã. 300. yeares before this Carolus.Ex Nouel.Iuſtiniã.

Ludouicus and Clotharius.

Anſeg.lib.2. Cap.43.

Clodouicus. II.

Ex Inon Carnotenſis,lib.11.decretorum.

The Pope pleadeth his cauſe at the barre before the Emperour.

2.quaeſt.7.cap. Hos ſi incontinenter.

Moreouer the foreſayd Ludouicus Pius, with his ſonne Clothariꝰ (or as ſome call him, Lotharius) ioyned with him, among other Eccleſiaſticall Sanctions, ordained a godly law, for laymen to cõmunicate the Sacrament of the body & bloud of the Lord in theſe wordes: Vt ſi nõ frequẽtius, vel ter, laici homines communicent: niſi fortè grauioribus quibuſdam criminibus impediãtur. That laymen do communicate at leaſt thriſe, if not ofter, except they be let percaſe by ſome more haynous greuous offences. Anſeg.lib.2.cap.43. Item they enacted that no goodes of the Church ſhould be alienated vnder the payne Leoninæ conſtitutionis. Unto this Lotharius French kyng and Emperour, Pope Leo the 4. writeth that Romana lex, that is, the Romane law (meanyng the law of the Frẽch Emperours) as it hath hetherto ſtode in force: Ita & nunc ſuum robur propriúmq; vigorem obtineat, that is: ſo now it may continue ſtill in his vigour and ſtrength, Ino Carnotenſis.lib.11.Decretorum, about the yeare of the Lord. 848. After this Lotharius ſucceeded his ſonne Ludouicus the ſecond in the kyngdome & Empire of Fraunce, before whõ the foreſayd Pope Leo was brought into iudgement, & pleaded his cauſe of treaſon, and there was before the Emperour quyte and releaſed. Which declareth that Popes and Byſhops all this while were in ſubiection vnder their Kynges and Emperours.

Ludouicus.9.

Pragmatica ſanctio, S.Ludouici.
Areſtum Senatus Pariſien.
ex Molinæo.
Philippus Pulcher.
Carolus Sapiens.

Carolus.6.

Moreouer deſcendyng yet to lower tymes. an. 1228. Ludouicus 9. called holy Ludouike, made a law agaynſt the peſtiferous ſimonie in the Church, alſo for yͤ maintenaũce of the libertie of the Church of Fraũce, eſtabliſhed a law or decree, agaynſt the new inuẽtions, reſeruations, preuẽtions, & exactions of yͤ court of Rome, called Pragmatica ſanctio, S.Ludouici, the which Sãction was alſo practiſed lõg after in the kyngdome of Fraũce agaynſt the popes collectors & vndercollectors, as appeareth by the Areſtum of the coũſaile of Paris. an. 1463. ex Molinæo in Cõmẽtarijs. Furthermore king Philip le Bel. 1303. ſet forth a law, called Philippina, wherein was forbid any exactiõ of new tithes and firſt fruites, & other vncuſtomed collections, to be put vpon the Church of Fraũce. Carolus the v. named Sapiens. an. 1369. by a law cõmaũded, that no Byſhops nor Prelates, or their Officials within his kyngdome of Fraũce ſhould execute any cenſure of ſuſpenſe, or excommunicatiõ, at the Popes cõmaundemẽt, ouer or vpõ the Cities, or townes, corporations, or cõmons of his Realme, ex regiſt. antiquarũ conſt.chart.62. Itẽ Carolus vi. an. 1388. agaynſt yͤ Cardinals & other Officials, & collectors of the Pope, reuoking againe the power which he had geuẽ to thẽ before, prouided by a law, that the fruites & rentes of benefices, with other penſions, & Byſhops goodes that departed, ſhould no more be exported by the Cardinals & the Popes collectours vnto Rome, but ſhould be brought to the king, and ſo reſtored to them to whõ they rightly did appertaine.

The like alſo may be inferred & proued by the ſtories & exãples of our kyngs here in Englãd, as kyng Offa, kyng Egbertus, Edgarus, Aluredus, Athelwoldus, Canutus, Edwardus. William Conquerour, Wilhel.Rufus, Henricus the firſt, Henricus the ſecond, till the tyme of kyng Iohn and after. Whoſe dealyng as well in Eccleſiaſticall caſes, as in tẽporall, is a ſufficient demonſtration to proue what iniury the Popes, in theſe latter dayes, haue done vnto the Emperours their lawfull gouernours & Magiſtrates: in vſurpyng ſuch fulnes of power & iuriſdictiõ ouer them, to whõ properly they owe ſubiection, cõtrary to the ſteps & example of the old Romaine Byſhops their aunciters, & therfore haue incurred the daũger of a Premunire, worthy to be depriued. Although it is not to be denyed, but that Eccleſiaſticall miniſters and ſeruitures haue their power alſo committed vnto thẽ, after their ſort, of the Lord: yet it becommeth euery man to know his owne place & ſtandyng, & there to keepe him, wherein his owne precinct doth pale him & not raſhly to breake out into other mẽs walkes. As it is not lawfull for a ciuile Magiſtrate to intermedle with a Byſhops or a Preachers function: ſo vnſeemely & vnorderly it is agayne that Boniface the viij. ſhould haue borne before him the tẽporall maſe, & the naked ſword of the Emperour, or that any Pope ſhould beare a triple crowne, or take vpon him like a Lord and Kyng. Wherfore let euery man conſider the compaſſe & limitation of his charge, & exceede no farther. The office of a Biſhop or ſeruiture Eccleſiaſticall, was in the old law to offer ſacrifice, to burne incenſe, to pray for the people, to expounde the law, to miniſter in the tabernacle, to which office it was not lawfull for any Prince or mã els to intermedle, as we read how Ozias was puniſhed for offering incenſe, & an other for touchyng the Arke: ſo now the office of Chriſtian Miniſters is to preach the word, to miniſter Sacramẽts, to pray, to binde and looſe, where cauſe vrgently requireth, to iudge in ſpirituall caſes, to publiſhe & denounce free reconciliation, & remiſſiõ in the name of Chriſt, to erect & comfort troubled conſciences with the rich grace of the Goſpell, to teach the people the true differẽce betwixt the law and the Goſpell, whereof the one belongeth to ſuch as be not in Chriſt, and come not to him: the other pertaineth to the true beleuers in the ſonne of God, to admoniſh alſo the Magiſtrates erryng or tranſgreſſing in their office. &c.

The office of the Eccleſiaſticall miniſter.

The office of ciuile rulers & magiſtrates.

And as theſe properly belong to the functiõ of the Eccleſiaſticall ſort: ſo hath yͤ ciuile gouernour or Magiſtrate agayne his proper charge & office to him aſſigned, whiche is, to ſee the adminiſtratiõ of iuſtice & iudgement, to defend with power the right of the weake that ſuffer wrõg, to defend from oppreſſion the poore oppreſſed, to miniſter with equalitie, that which is right and equall to euery man: to prouide lawes good & godly, to ſee the execution of yͤ ſame as cauſe moueth: eſpecially to ſee the law of God mainteined, to promote Chriſtes glory & Goſpell, in ſettyng vp & ſendyng out good Preachers, in mainteinyng the ſame, in prouidyng Byſhops to be elected that be faythfull, in remouyng or els correctyng the ſame beyng faulty or negligẽt, in congregatyng the Clergy whẽ neede is of any coũſell or electiõ, to heare their learning in cauſes propoũded, & according to the truth learned, to direct his iudgemẽt, in diſpoſing ſuch rites & ordinaunces for the church, as make to edification not to the deſtruction therof, in conſeruyng the diſcipline of the Churche, and ſettyng all thynges in a congrue order. Briefly, the office of the ciuile ruler & Magiſtrate extendeth to miniſter iuſtice and iudgement in all Courtes as well temporall, as Eccleſiaſticall: to haue correction ouer all trãſgreſſours, whether they be laymen or perſons Eccleſiaſticall. And finally all ſuch thyngs as belong to the mouyng of yͤ ſword, whatſoeuer, that is to ſay, all outward puniſhment, is referred to the iuriſdiction of the ſecular Magiſtrate, vnder whoſe ſubiection the ordinaunce of God hath ſubiected all orders and ſtates of mẽ.

Here we haue the witneſſe alſo of Hormiſda Byſhop of Rome, which being well weyed, maketh yͤ matter plaine, that Princes haue to deale in ſpirituall cauſes alſo, not onely in temporall: where the ſayd Hormiſda writeth to Epiphanius, Patriarche of Conſtant. in this ſort: Clara cœleſtis miſericordiæ demonſtratio procedit, quando reges ſeculi cauſas de fide, cum gubernatione politiæ coniungunt. &c. ex Act.v.vniuerſ.concil.Conſtantini ſecundi. an. 528. And thus much, and to much peraduenture concernyng the matter of iuriſdiction, in which poynt this new Church of Rome hath ſwarued from the auncient Church of Rome, which was, as is ſufficiently proued.

The 3. point wherein the Church of Rome is altered from the Church of Rome. The titles & ſtile of the Biſhop of Rome.

24 q.1. cap. Loquitur.
Diſt.50.ca. De eo tamẽ.

Papa, a cõmon name in the old tyme to all Biſhops of higher knowledge & vertue.

Hierony.ad Chromatiũ, Epiſt. Idem ad Euſtachium & Fabiolam.

The third point wherein the church of Rome hath broken and is departed from the Church of Rome, is the forme of ſtile & title annexed to the Biſhop of that Sea. As where he is called Pope, moſt holy father, vicare generall, & vicare of Chriſt, ſucceſſour of Peter, vniuerſall Byſhop, Prince of Prieſtes, head of the Church vniuerſall Summus orbis pontifex, Stupor mundi, head Byſhop of the world, the admiration of the world, neither God nor mã, but a thyng betwene both. &c. for all theſe termes be geuen him in Popiſh bookes. Albeit yͤ name Pope, beyng a Greeke name, deriued of παϖϖας, which ſoũdeth as much as Father, in the Syracuſane ſpeach, may peraduenture ſeeme more tolerable, as which hath bene vſed in the old time among Byſhops, for ſo Auſten was called of the Coũcell of Aphrike, Hierome, of Boniface & other. Alſo Cyprian Byſhop of Carthage, was called Papa.24.q.1.cap.loquitur & diſt.50.cap. De eo tamen. Item Clodouæus or (as Rheanus calleth him) Ludouicus, firſt Chriſtiã king of Fraũce, calleth a certain ſimpler Byſhop, Papam. Hierome alſo in his Epiſtle to Chromatius calleth Valerianus, by the name of Pope: & likewiſe writyng to Euſtachium, and Fabiola, he calleth Epiphanius beatum Papam. In the Apologies of Athanaſius, we read oft tymes that he was called Papa, and Archiepiſcopus. Ruffinus alſo Lib.2.cap.26. calleth him. Pontificem maximum: Alſo Aurelius Preſident in the vi. Councell of Carthage was called of the ſayd Councell, Papa, ex cap.4.vi. Concil. Carthag. And before this Eleutherius Byſhop of Rome, writyng to kyng Lucius the firſt Chriſtian kyng in this land, calleth him in his Epiſtle, the vicare of Chriſt. &c. But that any of theſe termes were ſo peculiarly applied to the Biſhop of

Ex Epiſt. Pij. ſecūdi. 103.

The foure Patriarches appoynted by the Coūcel of Nice. *Ex Concil. Nicen. Ex Concil. Conſtantinop. cap. 36.*

Rome, that other biſhops were excluded from the ſame, or that any one biſhop aboue the reſt, had the name of Oecumenicall, or vniuerſall, or head, to the derogation of other Biſhopps, or with ſuch glory as is now annexed to the ſame: that is not to be found neither in hiſtories of the old tyme, nor in any example of the primitiue Church, nor in the teſtimonies of auncient approued Doctours. Firſt before the Councell of Nice, it is euident by Pope Pius the ij. that there was no reſpect had to the church of Rome, but euery church then was ruled by his owne gouernance, til the yeare of our Lord, 340. Then folowed the Councell of Nice, wherin was decreed, that throughout the whole vniuerſitie of Chriſtes Church, which was now far ſpread ouer all the world, certaine Prouinces or precincts to the number of foure were appointed, euery one to haue his head church, and chiefe biſhop, called then Metropolitane or Patriarch, to haue the ouerſight of ſuch churches as did lie about him. In the number of which Patriarches or Metropolitanes, the Biſhop of Rome had the firſt place, The Biſhop of Alexandria was the ſecond. The Biſhop of Antioche the third. The Biſhop of Hieruſalem was the fourth Patriarch. Afterward in the number of theſe Patriarches, came in alſo the Biſhop of Conſtantinople in the roome of the biſhop of Antioch. So theſe foure or fiue Metropolitanes or Patriarches, had their peculiar circuites and precincts to them peculiarly appointed, in ſuch ſort, as one of them ſhould not deale within an others precinct, & alſo that there ſhould be among them equalitie of honour, wherupon we read ſo oft in the decrees of the olde Councels, τὰ ἴσα πρεσβεῖα τῶν θρόνων, καὶ τῆς τιμῆς, that is, equall degree of thrones, and of honour among prieſts and miniſters. Againe, ſpeaking of the ſaid Patriarches or Primates, we read in the 2. and 3. chap. of the Councel of Conſtant. ἐπισκόπους ταῖς ὑπερορίοις ἐκκλησίαις μὴ ἐπιέναι, μηδὲ συγχέειν τὰς ἐκκλησίας, that is, That biſhops ſhould not inuade the Dioces of other biſhops without their borders, nor confound togither churches, &c. Moreouer, the old Doctours for the moſt and beſt part, do accord in one ſentēce, that all biſhops placed whereſoeuer, in the church of God, be eiuſdem meriti & honoris, & ſucceſſores Apoſtolorum, that is, to be of one merite, of like honour, and all to be ſucceſſors together of the Apoſtles. Alſo, he that is the Author of the booke called Dionyſius Areopagita, calleth all the Biſhops ὁμοταγεῖς καὶ ἰσοτίμους, that is, of equall order, and of like honor, &c. All this while the Biſhop of Rome was a Patriarch, and a Metropolitane or biſhop called of the firſt ſea, but no Oecumenicall Biſhop, nor head of the vniuerſall Church, nor any ſuch matter. In ſo much, that he, with all other Biſhops, was debarred from that, by a playne decree of the Councell of Carthage, Can. 39. in theſe wordes: ὥστε τὸν τῆς πρώτης καθέδρας ἐπίσκοπον μὴ λέγεσθαι ἔξαρχον τῶν ἱερέων, ἢ ἄκρον ἱερέα, ἢ τοιοῦτόν τι ποτε, that is, That the biſhop of the firſt ſeat ſhall not be called the Prince of prieſts, or the high prieſt, or any ſuch thing.

Ex Concil. Conſtan. 2. Cap. 36.

Ex Concil. Conſt. cap. 2. 3.

Ex Concil. Carthag. Can. 39.

And leaſt any here ſhould take occaſion of cauilling, to heare him called biſhop of the firſt ſea, here is to be expounded, what is ment by the firſt ſea, and wherfore he was ſo called, not for any dignitie of the perſō, either of him which ſucceedeth, or of him whom he is ſaid to ſucceede, but onely of the place wherin he ſitteth. This is plainly proued by the councell of Calcedone, cap. 28. wherin is manifeſtly declared the cauſe why the ſea of Rome among all other Patriarchall ſeas is numbred for the firſt ſea by the auncient fathers. For why, ſaith the Councell, καὶ γὰρ θρόνῳ τῆς πρεσβυτέρας ῥώμης, διὰ τὸ βασιλεύειν τὴν πόλιν ἐκείνην, οἱ πατέρες εἰκότως ἀποδεδώκασι τὰ πρεσβεῖα, that is, for that our forefathers did worthily attribute the chiefe degree of honour to the ſea of old Rome, becauſe the principall raigne or Emperie was in that Citie, &c. The ſame alſo is confirmed by Euſebius Cæſarienſis, declaring, quòd excellentia Romani Imperij extulit papatum Rom. Pontificis ſupra alias Eccleſias. That the excellencie of the Romaine Emperie did aduance the Popedome of the Romaine biſhop aboue other churches, &c. Ex Gab. Biel. Moreouer, ſaith the ſaid Cæſarienſis: Nicena ſynodus hoc contulit priuilegium Rom. pontifici, vt ſicut Romanorum rex Auguſtus præ cæteris appellatur: ita Rom. pontifex præ cæteris Epiſcopis Papa vocaretur. That is, The Councell (ſaith he) of Nice gaue this Priuiledge to the Biſhop of Rome, that like as the king of the Romaines is named Emperour aboue all other kings, ſo the biſhop of the ſame citie of Rome ſhould be called Pope aboue other biſhops &c. By theſe places hitherto alledged (and ſuch other, many more then be here alleaged) it appeareth that though theſe titles of ſuperioritie had bene attributed to the Biſhop of Rome, yet it remaineth certaine, that the ſaid Biſhop receiued that preferment Iure non diuino, ſed humano, by mans law, not by the law of God. And ſo is the diſtinction of the Popes proued falſe, where is ſaid: Romanam Eccleſiam non a concilio aliquo, ſed a diuina voce primatum accepiſſe, that the church of Rome, tooke not his primacie by any Councell, but onely by the voyce of God. And this is to be ſaid although it were true, that theſe titles & termes were ſo giuen to the biſhop of Rome in the olde time, yet how and by whom they were giuen, ye ſee. Now to tne this matter, as ioyning an iſſue with our aduerſaries, whether theſe foreſaid titles of ſoueraigntie, were applied in the old tyme of the Primitiue church, to the Biſhop of Rome, as to be called the vicare generall of Chriſt, the head of the whole church, and vniuerſall biſhop, it remaineth to be proued. wherunto this in my minde is to be anſwered, that albeit the biſhops of Rome (of ſome peraduenture) were ſo called by the names of higher preeminence of that citie, of ſome going about to pleaſe them, or to craue ſome helpe at their handes, yet that calling 1. Firſt, was vſed then but of a few. 2. Secondly, neither was giuen to many. 3. Thirdly, was rather giuen, then ſought for, of the moſt. 4. Fourthly, was not ſo giuen that it maketh or can make any generall neceſſitie of law, why euery one is ſo bound to call them, as the biſhop of Rome now ſeeketh to be taken and called, and that by neceſſitie of ſaluation, as the decree of Pope Boniface 8. witneſſeth, where is ſaid, quòd ſit de neceſsitate ſalutis, vt credatur Primatus Eccleſiæ Rom. & ei ſubeſſe. That it ſtandeth vpon neceſſitie of ſaluation, to beleue the Primacie of the church of Rome, and to be ſubiect to the ſame, &c.

Ex Concil. Calcedon. cap. 28.

Ex Gabri. Biel. lect. 25.

The Popes decree proued falſe.

Bonifat 8. Extrauag. de maioritat. & obedient Cap. Vnam.

As touching therfore theſe titles and termes of preeminence aforeſaide, orderly to ſet foorth and declare what hiſtories of times doe ſaye in that matter, by the grace of Chriſt. Firſt we will ſee what be the titles, the Biſhop of Rome doth take and chalenge to himſelfe, and what is the meaning of them. 2. When the firſt came in, whether in the primitiue time or not, and by whom. 3. How they were firſt giuen to the Romane Biſhops, that is, whether of neceſſary duety, or voluntary deuotion, whether commonly of the whole, or particularly of a few, and whether in reſpect of Peter, or in reſpect of the Citie, or els of the worthines of the Biſhop which there ſat. 4. And if the foreſayd names were then giuen of certaine Biſhops, vnto the biſhop of Rome: whether all the ſaide names were geuen, or but certaine, or what they were. 5. Or whether they were then receaued of all Byſhops of Rome, to whō they were giuen, or els refuſed of ſome. 6. And finally whether they ought to haue bene refuſed beyng giuen, or not. Touching the diſcourſe of which matters, although it appertaine to the profeſſion, rather of Diuines, then hyſtoritians, and would require a long and large debating: yet for ſo much as both in theſe, & diuers other weighty controuerſies of Diuinity, the knowledge of times and hiſtories, muſt needes helpe Diuines diſputing about the ſame ſo much as the grace of Chriſt ſhall aſſiſte me therein, I wil ioyne to the ſeeking out of truth, ſuch helpe as I may.

1. 2. 3. 4. 5. 6.

What names and titles be attributed to the Biſhop of Rome. *Ex 6. decret. Lib. 1. de elect. & electi poteſtate. tit. 6. in ca. 17. in proœmio. gloſ.*

The forme of the Popes regalitie to his titles appertayning.

Regalia Sancti Patri.

Ex frat. Barth. & alijs.

And firſt to begin with the names and titles, now clayned and attributed to the ſea and Byſhop of Rome: and what they be, is ſufficiently declared aboue, that is, the cheiſe Preiſt of the worlde, the Prince of the Church, Byſhop Apoſtolicall, the vniuerſall head of the Church, the head and Byſhop of the vniuerſall Church, the ſucceſſor of Peter, moſt holy Pope, the vicar of God on earth, neither God nor man, but a mixt thing betweene both: the Patriarche or Metropolitane of the Churche of Rome, the Byſhop of the firſt ſea. &c. Unto the which titles or ſtile is annexed a triple crowne, a triple croſſe, two croſſed keyes, a naked ſword, ſeauenfold ſeales, in token of the ſeauenfolde giftes of the holy Ghoſt, he being carried pickbacke vpon mens ſhoulders, after the maner of heathen kynges, hauing all the Empire, and the Emperour vnder his dominion: & that it is not conuenient for any terrene Prince to reigne there, where he ſitteth, hauing the plenary fulnes of power, as well of temporall things as ſpirituall things in his handes, that all thinges are his, and that all ſuch Princes as haue gyuen him any thing, haue giuen him but his owne, hauing at his will and pleaſure to preach indulgencies, and the croſſe againſt Chriſten Princes whatſoeuer: And that the Emperour, & certaine other Princes, ought to make to him confeſſion of ſubiection at their coronation: hauing authoritie to depoſe, and that he de facto, hath depoſed Emperors and the king of France: Alſo to abſolue the ſubiects from their allegeance to their Princes, whom kings haue ſerued for footmen to lead his horſe, and the Emperour to hold his ſtirrop, that he may and doth geue power to Biſhops vpon the bodies of men, and hath graunted them to haue priſons, without whoſe authoritie no general Counſell hath any force, And to whom appellations in all maner

ner of cauſes may and ought to be made. That his decrees be equall with the decrees of Nicen Councel, and are to be obſerued and taken in no leſſe force, then if they had bene confirmed with the heauenly voyce of Saint Peter himſelfe ex fra. Barth. & alijs. Item that the ſayd Byſhop of Rome hath the heauenly diſpoſition of thinges and therefore may alter and chaunge the nature of thinges, by applying the ſubſtance of one thing to an other. cap. Quando de tranſl.Epiſ.tit.7. Item that he can of nothing make ſomething, and cauſe the ſentence, which before was none to ſtande in effect, and may diſpence aboue the lawe, and of iniuſtice make iuſtice, in correcting and chaunging lawes, for he hath the fulnes of power. And againe. diſt 40.cap. Si Papa. If the Pope doe leade with him innumerable ſoules by flockes into hell, yet no man muſt preſume to rebuke his faultes in this worlde. Item that it ſtandeth vpon neceſſitie of ſaluation to beleeue the Premacie of the ſea of Rome, and to be ſubiect to the ſame. &c.

Cap. quando. de. tranſl. & . Epiſc. tit. 7.

Diſt 40. cap. Si. papa.

These thinges thus declared, now let vs ſee whether theſe names and titles, with the forme and maner of this authoritie and regalitie aboue rehearſed: were euer attributed of any in the primitiue tyme to the byſhop of Rome. For al theſe, he doth chalenge and clayme vnto him by old poſſeſſion from the time of S. Peter. And here a queſtion is to be aſked of our aduerſaries the Papiſtes, whether they will auouch all theſe aforeſaide titles, together wyth the whole forme and tenour of regalitie, to the ſame belongyng as is afore touched, or not? if they wil, let them come foorth with their allegations, which they neuer haue done yet, nor euer ſhalbe able: if they will not, or can not auouch them all together in maner as is ſpecified, then why doth the byſhop claime them altogether ſo ſtoutly, vſurpe them ſo falſely, and obtrud them vpon vs ſo ſtraitly. Moreouer if the ſayd our aduerſaries, being conuicted by plaine euidence of hyſtorye, and example of time, will yeld vnto vs (as they muſt needes) in part, and not in the whole, let vs come then to the particulars, and ſee what part of this regalitie they wil defend, and deriue from the auncient cuſtome of the Primitiue Church (that is from the firſt fyue hundred yeares, I meane after Chriſt.) Firſt, in the Cõcell of Nyce, which was the yeare of our Lord. 340. and in the. vj. Canon of the ſayd Councell, we finde it ſo decreed: that in euery prouince or precinct of ſome one Church, and Byſhop of the ſame, was appointed and ſet vp to haue the inſpection and regiment of other churches about him. Secundum morem antiquum, that is, after the ancient cuſtome, as the wordes of the Councell do purport, ſo that the Byſhop of Alexandria ſhoulde haue power of Lybia, & Pentapolis in Egypt, for as much as the Byſhop of the Cytie of Rome, hath the like or ſame maner. And in like ſort alſo in Antioch, & in other countreyes, let euery Church haue his due honor, & conſequently yͤ the Biſhop of Ieruſalem haue alſo his due honor to him reſerued, ſo that ſuch order be kept, that the Metropolitane Cities be not defrauded of their dignitie which to them is due and proper. &c. In this Councell and in the ſame Canon. vj. and vij. where the Byſhops of Alexandria, of Rome, and of Antioch, are ioyned together in on like maner of dignity, fyrſt there appeareth no difference of honor to be ment therin. Secondlye forſomuch as in the ſayde two Canons after mention made of them, immediatly followeth, that no Byſhops ſhould be made without conſent of their Metropolitanes, yea and that the City alſo of Hieruſalem ſhould be vnder hys Metropolitane, and that the Metropolitane ſhould haue the ful power to confirme euery Byſhop made in his prouince: Therfore it may be well ſuſpected that the third Epiſtle decretall of Pope Anacletus, and of Pope Stephanus, with other mo are forged, wherin theſe Byſhops, and eſpecially the Byſhop of Rome is exempted and deſceuered from the name of a Metropolitane or an Archbyſhop, to the name of a Patriarch or Primate: as appeareth in the decrees. diſt. 22. cap. Sacro ſancta. wherefore as wee muſt needes graunt the Byſhop of Rome to be called a Metropolitane or an Archbyſhop by the Councell of Nice: ſo we will not greatly ſticke in this alſo, to haue him numbred with Patriarches or primates. which title ſeemeth in the old tyme to be common to mo Cities then to Rome, both by the Epiſtle of Anacletus, of Pope Stephanus, of Pope, Iulius, and Leo, &c.

Ex Cõcil. Nice. Cano. 6.

Diſt. 65. cap. Mos antiquus.

Ex. cõcil. Nice. Cant.

Diſt. 12. cap. Sacroſancta.

The Byſhop of Rome called Metropolitane, Archbiſhop, Patriarch, Primate.

The 6. Counſell of Carthage.

After this followed a generall Councell in Aphricke, called the vj. Councell of Carthage, an. 420. where were congregated. 217. Byſhops among whom was alſo, Auguſtinus, Proſper, Oroſius, with diuers other famous perſons. This Councell continued the ſpace of v. yeares, wherein was great contention about the supremacie, and iuriſdiction of Rome. The Byſhop wherof then was Zoſimus. This Zoſimus the Romane Biſhop had receaued the ſame time into the communion of the church without any examination, one that came to complaine to him out of Aphrike, named Apiarius, a Prieſt whom Aurelius the Metropolitane with the Councell of Aphrike had worthelye excommunicated for his deteſtable conditions before. Vppon this Zoſimus after that hee hadde receaued and ſhewed ſuch fauor to Apiarius, for that he did appele to him, ſendeth to the Councell his meſſengers, to wit Faſtinus Byſhop of Potentine and two Prieſtes of the Churche of Rome named Philippus and Aſellus, with theſe foure requeſtes: firſt that Apiarius whom he had abſolued might be receaued of them againe, and that it might be lawful for Byſhops or Prieſtes to appeale from the ſentence of their Metropolites, & alſo of the Counſell, to the ſea of Rome.

Ex Conciliorum. Tom. 1. in Sexta Synod. Carthage.

Secondly, that Byſhops ſhould not ſaile ouer inportunely ad comitatum. Thirdly, that if any Prieſt or Deacon were wrongfully excommunicate by yͤ Byſhops of their owne prouince, it ſhould be lawfull for thẽ to remooue the hearing and iudgeing of their cauſe to their neighbour biſhops. Fourthly, that Vrbanus there Byſhop, either ſhould be excommunicated, or els ſent vp to Rome, vnleſſe he would correct thoſe things that were to be corrected. &c. For the approbation whereof, the ſayde Zoſimus alledged for him the words (as he pretended) taken out of Nicene Councell. The Councell of Carthage hearyng this, and remembring no ſuch thing in the Councell of Nice to bee decred, & yet not ſuſpecting the Byſhop of Rome to dare wrongfully to falſefie the wordes of that Councell: writeth againe to Zoſimus, declaring that they neuer reade to their remembraunce, in their common Latine exemplare of Nicene Councell any ſuch Canon, yet notwithſtanding for quietnes ſake, they woulde obſerue the ſame tyll time they might procure the originall copies of that councell to be ſent to them from Conſtantinople, Alexandria, and from Antioch. In like effect afterward they wrote to Pope Boniface, which then ſucceded Zoſimus.

Vrbanus. Epiſcopus Siccenſis.

The Popes of Rome taken with the maner in falſefiyng the decrees of Nicene Councell.

And thirdly alſo to Celeſtinus, which ſhortly after ſucceeded Boniface. In the meane time this foreſayd Councell ſent their Legates, Marcellus and Innocentius to Atticus Patriarche of Conſtantinople, and to Cyrillus Patriarch of Alexandria, for the autentique copies in Greeke of Nicene Councell, which being ſent vnto them, & they finding in the true originals no ſuch Canon, as the Biſhoppe of Rome had falſely forged, they wrote a ſharpe & an handſome letter to Celeſtinus Byſhop of Rome, calling him in the ſaid letter by the way: Domine frater: declaring to him, how they had peruſed all the copies of yͤ Councell of Nice coulde finde no ſuch Canon: as he and his predeceſſours had falſely alledged, and therewithall reciting the vj. Canon afore mentioned, declared how the decrees of Nicene Councell had committed all and ſingular perſons Eccleſiaſticall, as well Byſhops, as other, vnto the charge of their Metropolitanes. Moreouer expounding the ſame decree, they ſhewed the reaſons thereof.

The Biſhop of Rome called *Dominus frater.* that is brother Byſhop.

Biſhops of Rome proued falſefiers of Nicen Councell.

1. Fiue reaſons why matters of controuerſie ought not to be had out of other countryes vnto Rome.

1. For that (ſayd they) the fathers of that councell did well foreſee, to be moſt iuſt and conuenient, that all controuerſies there be ended (in ijſdem locis) where they begin.

2. For that it is not to be ſuppoſed contrary, but that the grace of God wil be as preſt and ready in one prouince as in other, to inſtruct his miniſters both prudently to vnderſtand iudgement, and conſtantly to mayntayne the ſame. 2.

3. For that there is no need to ſeeke further to any outlandiſh helpe, becauſe eſpecially that the party whoſoeuer is not contented with the determination of his iudges or commiſſioners, may lawfully appeale either to the prouincial or to any generall counſell. 3.

4. That way to be better, then to runne to any forranine Iudge, it muſt needes be graunted, because it is not like that our God will inſpire his iuſtice and truth of examining, vnto one Byſhop, and denie it to a multitude congregated in a whole Councell. 4.

5. Neither can it be, that any ſuch outlandiſh iudgement in hearing and determining cauſes, can ſtand perfect and vpright, for that the neceſſary perſons of witneſſes, either for infirmitie of ſexe of age, of ſickenes, or ſome other impeachment, are not able to be preſent, by whom the truth of the ſentence, ſhould be directed. wherefore as by theſe & other reaſons they thought it not conuenient from them to bryng their matters ouer vnto Rome: ſo neither was it to be found, ſayd they, by any councell of the old fathers decred, that any Legates ſhould be ſent frõ Rome to thẽ, for deciding of their matters. And therefore exhorted they the ſayd biſhop of Rome, that he would not induce fumoſum typũ, (or rather as I may call it) typhos ſeculi, in Eccleſiam Chriſti, quæ lucem ſimplicitatis & humilitatis præfært ijs qui Deum Diligunt, that is, that he would not induce the ſwelling pride of the worlde into the Church of Chriſt,

5. Euery coũtrey to appeale firſt to his own Metropolitane, ſecondly to a prouinciall or generall Councell.

Fumoſum typhos ſeculi.

which

Summary notes gathered out of the Councell of Carthage agaynſt the Pope.

which church ſheweth and giueth the light of ſimplicitie & of humilitie to ſuch as loue to ſee God, &c. In theſe foreſaid letters moreouer, is ſignified how ẏ forenamed malefactor Apiarius, whom the biſhop of Rome before had abſolued & receiued to the communion of the church, was afterward found culpable, and therfore the councell procded againſt him, brought him to open confeſſion of his faults, & ſo enioined him due penance for his demerites, notwithſtanding the abſolution and inconſiderate clearing of the Biſhop of Rome before proceeding.

In ſumme, out of this Councell of Carthage theſe are to be noted. Firſt, how glad the Biſhops of Rome were to receiue ſuch as came to them for ſuccour.

2. What pride they tooke by the occaſion therof, thinking and ſeeking thereby to haue all vnder their ſubiection.

3. To the intent to allure other to ſeeke to them, how redie they were to releaſe and quit this Apiarius as guiltles, which after was tried culpable by his owne confeſſion.

4. How contrary to the actes and doings of the Romiſh biſhop, this Councell condemned him, whom the ſaid biſhop of Rome before had abſolued, litle reſpecting the proceedings of the Romiſh church.

5. How the biſhops of old time haue bene falſifiers of ancient Councels and writings, wherby it may be ſuſpected, that they which ſhamed not to falſifie & corrupt the Councell of Nice, much leſſe would they ſticke to abuſe and falſifie the decretall Epiſtles and writings of perticular Biſhops & Doctors, for their owne aduantage, as no doubt they haue done many one.

6. In this foreſaid Councell, whereat Auguſtine himſelfe was preſent, & where Aurelius Preſident of the ſame, was called Papa, the biſhop of Rome was called expreſly in their letters, but biſhop of the citie of Rome, and Dominus frater, that is, brother Biſhop.

7. Seuenthly, the dominion of this Romain Patriarch, in the ſaid Councel of Carthage. was cut ſo ſhort, that neither it was permitted to thē of Affrike to appeale ouer the ſea to him, nor for him to ſend ouer his Legates to them for ending their controuerſies. wherby it may ſufficiently appeare, that the Biſhop of Rome in thoſe dayes, was not fully admitted to be the chiefe of all other Biſhops, nor the head of the vniuerſall church of Chriſt in earth, &c.

8. We heare in this Councell, fiue cauſes or reaſons giuē, why it is not neceſſary nor yet conuenient for all forraine cauſes to be brought to one vniuerſall head or iudge, as is before recited.

9. Laſtly, by the ſaid Councell of Carthage, we heare a vertuous exhortation to be giuen to the biſhop of Rome, that he would not induce into the meeke & humble church of Chriſt, the fuming and ſwelling pride of the world, as is before declared, &c. In this, or in ſome other Councell of Carthage, it was moreouer prouided by expreſſe law, and alſo ſpecified in the Popes decrees, that no Biſhop of the firſt ſea, ſhould be called the Prince of Prieſts, or the chiefe prieſt, or any ſuch like thing but onely the biſhop of the firſt ſeat, as followeth more in the ſaid decree, Vniuerſalis autem, nec etiam Rom. pontifex appelletur, that is, Be it enacted, that no biſhop, no not the Biſhop of Rome be called vniuerſall biſhop, &c. And thus much cōcerning this foreſaid Councell of Carthage.

Diſt. 99. Cap. ſedis Epiſc.

The higheſt title belōging to a Biſhop is to be called the Byſhop of the firſt ſeate.

The Biſhop of Rome forbidden to be called vniuerſall Biſhop.

Synodus Mileuitana.

No Byſhop to appeale ouer the ſea

Byſhop of the firſt ſeate what it meaneth.

Concil. Car. Cano. 23.

Not long before this Councel, was celebrate in Affrike an other Councel, called Synodus Mileuitana, about the yere of our Lord, 442. at the which Councell alſo S. Auguſtine was preſent, where it was decreed vnder payne of excommunication, that no miniſter or biſhop ſhould appeale ouer the ſea to the biſhop of Rome, whereby it may appeare that the biſhop of Rome all this ſpace was not vniuerſally called by the terme of Oecumenical or vniuerſal biſhop, but Biſhop of the firſt ſea: ſo that if there were any preferment therein, it was in the reuerence of the place, and not in the authoritie of the perſon. And yet it was not ſo in the place, that the place importeth the Citie of Rome onely, but the firſt ſeate then was called Metropolitane Church, as by the woordes of Nicene Councell, and other conſtitutions moe, is to be ſeene where the foure Patriarches were called πρῶτοι, or προτεύοντες, or προεστῶτης, as namely, by the wordes of the Councell of Carthage may appeare, which be theſe: εἰ μὴ μετὰ ψηφίσματος τῆς πρώτης καθέδρας τοῦ ἰδίου ἑκάστης χώρας ἐπισκόπου: τοῦτ' ἐστιν, εἰ μὴ ὑπὸ αὐτοῦ τοῦ πρωτεύοντος κατ' ἐξαίρετον λάβῃ. that is, except he haue ſome ſpecial licēce or exception, by ẏ conſent of ẏ firſt ſeat of ẏ proper biſhop in euery country, that is, of him that is the Primate in ẏ ſaid countrey, &c. Alſo the wordes of the can. 39. of the Councell of Carthage, before touched be theſe, ὥστε τὸν τῆς πρώτης καθέδρας ἐπίσκοπον μὴ λέγεσθαι ἔξαρχον τῶν ἱερέων, ἢ ἄκρον ἱερέα, ἢ τοιοῦτόν τίποτε, That is, that the biſhop of the firſt ſea, be not called

Concil. Car. Cano. 39.

Ex Epiſt. decret. Anicet. Step. Felicis.

Prince of Prieſtes, or head Prieſt, or els any ſuch like. Againe Anicetus the x. biſhop of Rome, and Pope Stephen & Pope Felix making a difference betwene Primate & Metropolitane, writeth thus. Let no Archbiſhops bee called Primates, but onely ſuch as haue the firſt ſeat, &c. Thus it is made plaine, how the biſhop of the firſt ſeate, or firſt biſhop, or Primate is none other, but he which was called Patriarch, and belonged not only to the church of Rome, but to all ſuch cities & places, where as before among the Gentiles were primi flamines, &c. diſt. 80. cap. vrbes & loca, & in illis. where, by the way is to be noted the repugnance or contrarietie of ſuch as craftily, but falſly haue counterfaited the Popes decretall epiſtles, which beſides other great and many coniectures alſo hereby may be gathered. For where Clement, Anacletus, epiſt. 2. Anicetus and other, ioyning together the office of Patriarchs & Primates, do deuide the ſame from the order of Metropolitanes or Archbiſhops, alledging therin the conſtitution of the Apoſtles and their ſucceſſors, that is, to be found falſe by the Canōs of the Apoſtles, by the Councell of Nice, and by the councell of Antioche with other moe. For in the Canons of the Apoſtles, where in euery Canon almoſt, mention is made of Biſhops, Prieſtes, and Deacons, no worde is there touched, neither of any order aboue the Biſhop, or lower then the Deacon, saue only in the 33. Canon, ſetting an order among biſhops, the Canon willeth the Biſhops of euery nation to know their firſt or chiefe biſhop, & him to be taken for the head of them: he ſaith not the head of the church, or head of the world, but the head of thoſe biſhops. And where: not in Rome onely, but plainely and expreſly in euery nation, for ſo the wordes purport, τοὺς ἐπισκόπους ἑκάστου ἔθνους εἰδέναι χρὴ τὸν ἐν αὐτοῖς πρῶτον. That is, the biſhops of euery nation ought to know the firſt or chiefe among them, &c. Moreouer, the Councell of Antioch reciting the foreſaid Canon worde for worde, expoundeth the matter plainly, in ſtead of τὸν πρῶτον, writing τὸν ἐν μητροπόλει προεστῶτα ἐπίσκοπον: which is as much to ſay, as Metropolitan: and in the end of the ſaid Canon, calleth him τὸν τῆς μητροπόλεως ἐπίσκοπον, Id eſt, Metropolitanum, 6 q 3. per ſingulas. wherby it is concluded, that to be falſe, that Clement and Anacletus, and Anicetus bee reported (but falſedly) to put a difference betwene Primates or Patriarchs, and Metropolitanes or Archbiſhops. whereas by ſufficient authoritie it is to bee proued, that in the old church both Primates, firſt biſhops biſhops of the firſt ſeat, Patriarchs, Metropolitanes, biſhops of the Mother citie, and Archbiſhops were all one. Firſt, that Primates and Metropolitanes were both one, is before declared by the Canons of the Apoſtles, & by the Councell of Antioch aforeſaid. Agayne, that Patriarches and Archbiſhops were all one, it is euident Ex Nouella Iuſtiniani. cap. 23. where the ſayd conſtitution reciting the 4. Patriarches (aboue mentioned) calleth them by the name of Archbiſhops. And a little after calleth the Patriarch of Conſtantinople, Archbiſhop, by theſe wordes: οἵτινες ὑπὸ τὸν μακαριώτατον ἀρχιεπίσκοπον Κωνσταντινουπόλεως, καὶ πατριάρχην εἰσίν, That is, which be vnder the Archbiſhop and Patriarch of Conſtantinople. And after ſpeaking more plainly in the matter, ſetteth an other order, diuers from that of Clement, Anacletus and Anicetus, in placing theſe foreſayd perſons, firſt beginning with biſhops, then ouer them ſetteth the Metropolitane, and ouer him againe, the Archbiſhop, and there ſtaieth, making no further mention of any other aboue him: whoſe wordes be theſe, εἰ γὰρ ἐπίσκοπος εἴη ὁ κατηγορούμενος, τὸν τούτου μητροπολίτην ἐξετάζειν τὰ λεγόμενα, εἰ δὲ μητροπολίτης εἴη, τὸν μακαριώτατον, ὑφ' ὃν τελεῖ. That is, if a Biſhop be accuſed, the Metropolitane to haue the examination of theſe things that are brought againſt him, if the Metropolitane be accuſed, then the Archbiſhop to haue the hearing therof, vnder whom he dwelleth & pertaineth, &c.

Diſt. 80. cap. Vrbes & loca. ibid. ca. in illis.

The Papiſtes in their decrees contrary to thē ſelues.

Cano. Apo. 34.

Cano. Apo. 33.

The firſt Byſhop or head Biſhop expoūded, how it is to be taken.

Antioch. con. cap. 9. 6. q. 3. per ſingulas prouincias.

Diſt. 99. cap. Anacletus.

Nouella. Iuſtinia. cap. 23.

Ex Nouel. Iuſtini. ibi.

And in the ſame conſtitution moreouer, εἰ δὲ καὶ παρὰ κληρικοῦ ἢ ἄλλου οἱουδήποτε προσέλευσις κατὰ ἐπισκόπου γίνεται, πρῶτον ὁ μητροπολίτης τὸ πρᾶγμα διακρινέτω, καὶ εἴ τις τοῖς κεκριμένοις ἀντείποι, ἐπὶ τὸν μακαριώτατον ἀρχιεπίσκοπον καὶ πατριάρχην τῆς διοικήσεως ἐκείνης ἀναφερέσθω τὸ πρᾶγμα. &c. If any ſute or ſupplicaton be brought againſt a Biſhop by a miniſter, firſt the Metropolitane to haue the deciding of the matter, and if any default ſhall be found in the iudgement thereof, then the hearing and ending of the caſe to be brought before the Archbiſhop, &c.

Archbiſhop and Metropolitane not to be both one.

In this conſtitution of Iuſtinian, although the Metropolitane be placed aboue the Byſhop, and the Archbiſhop aboue the Metrapolitane: yet notwithſtanding by this is ſufficiently confuted the forged conſtitution of Clement Anacletus, Anicetus, Stephanus, & Felix: who in their Epiſtles decre-

An item againſt the forged Epiſtles decretall.

Clemẽt Epiſt. 1. Anaclet. Epiſt. 2 art. 4. Aniceti. Epiſt. art 2. Diſtinct. 39. Cap. Nulli Archiepiſcopi. Stepha. Epiſt. art. 5.

decretall, doe ioyne together in one forme and order, both Archbiſhop and Metropolitane, and aboue them both do place the Patriarch, and aboue the Patriarch, the Apoſtolicall ſea to wit the Biſhop of Rome, as may appeare in reading the firſt Epiſtle of Clement. In illis autem ciuitatibus &c. the ſecond Epiſtle of Anacletus. Art. 4. prouinciæ. diſt. *99.* prouincie multo, and the Epiſtle of Anicetus art. 23. diſt. *99* cap. Nulli Archiepiſcopi. Alſo the Epiſtle of Pope Stephen the firſt, Art. 5. (where note by the way, that Gratianus referreth this place of the Epiſtle to Pope Lucius.) Item the Epiſtle of Pope Felix the ſecond, Art. 12. in which all foreſayd Epiſtles, this order and difference of degrees is taken, that the firſt and principall place is giuen to Primats or Patriarches, the ſecond to Metrapolitanes or Archbyſhops, the third to Byſhops, and finally aboue all theſe is extolled the Apoſtolicall ſea of the Byſhop of Rome, contrary to all that which before hath bene alledged out of Iuſtinian, the Councell of Nice & of Antioch, &c. whereby it may appeare that either Iuſtiniã in preferring Archbiſhops aboue Metropolitanes, did not read theſe Epiſtles decretall, if they were vnfayned, or if they were forged, they which forged the ſaid Epiſtles in their names, did not wel aduiſe that Iuſtinian had written in this matter before.

Repugnaunce betwene the cõſtitutions of Iuſtinian: and the Epiſtles decretall.

Biſhop Metropolitane Biſhop of the firſt ſea. Primate, Patriarche, Archbiſhop. Chiefe Byſhop termes vſed in the primitiue time of the Churche. High Prieſt or high Prieſthoode.

Thus then theſe titles aboue recited, as Byſhop, Metropolitane, Byſhop of the fyrſt ſeat, Primate, Patriarche, Archbyſhop, that is to meane, chiefe byſhop, or headbiſhop to other Byſhoppes of his prouince, wee deny not but were in the olde time applyed, and myght be applyed to the Byſhoppe of Rome lyke as the ſame alſo were applyed to other Patriarches in other chiefe Citties and prouynces.

Diſt. 83. cap. omnes Summus ſacerdos, Summum ſacerdotium.

As touching the name likewiſe of the high Prieſt, or hyghprieſthood, neither doe I denye but that it hath bene found in old monuments and recordes of auncient times, but in ſuch wiſe and ſort, as it hath beene common to Byſhops indifferently, and not ſingularly attributed to any one Byſhoppe or ſea. whereof teſtimony we haue out of the. vij. generall Councell. diſt 38. cap. Omnes, where the Byſhoppes office is called Summum ſacerdotium, the hygh Prieſthood, in theſe wordes: Subſtantia ſummi ſacerdotii noſtri ſunt eloquia diuinitus tradita. i. vera diuinarum Scripturarũ diſciplina. &c. That is, the ſubſtance (ſay they) of our hygh Prieſthood is the word of diſcipline of holy ſcriptures geuen vs from aboue. &c.

Ex concilio Agathenſi. 12. q. 3. cap. Pontifices.

3. q. 1. cap. Deus. ergo.

Ex Anaclet. Epiſt. 2. 2. q. 7. cap. Accuſatio. Biſhops called the ſucceſſors of the Apoſtles.

Diſt. 61. c. miſerum. Diſt. 59. cap. 1.

Ex Vrba 1. Diſt. 59. cap. Si officia.

And likewiſe the Councell of Agatha, maketh relation De pontificibus in ſũmo ſacerdotio conſtitutis, of Biſhops ſet in the high Prieſthood, meanyng not of any one, but indiffynitly & indifferently of whomſoeuer. 12. q. 3. cap. Pontifices. Alſo Fabianus Byſhop of Rome, an. 240. wryting in generall to his brethren, and to all Byſhoppes and Miniſters Eccleſiaſticall doth attribute to them the ſame title of Summum ſacerdotium, in theſe wordes, Deus ergo, fratres, qui præordinauit vos, & omnes qui Summo ſacerdotio fũguntur. &c God which hath preordayned you brethren, and all them which beare the office of high prieſthoode. 3. q. 1. cap. Deus ergo. With like phraſe of ſpech, Anacletus alſo in his ſecond Epiſtle, ſpeaking of Biſhops in general, calleth them Summos ſacerdotes: vnde, inquit, liquit quod ſummi ſacerdotes. i. Epiſcopi a Deo ſunt iudicandi. &c. The high prieſts, that is, Byſhops, ſaith he. And moreouer in the ſame place calleth thẽ Apoſtles, and ſucceſſours of the Apoſtles. &c, So doth Innocentius the firſt, an. 405. as appeareth. diſt. 61. cap. Miſerum. Item Zoſimus Byſhop of the ſayd Citie of Rome, an. 420, as witneſſeth. diſt. 59. cap. 1. who ſpeaketh de ſummo ſacerdotio, that is, of high prieſthood, not onely of yͤ church of Rome, but of all other churches. Vrbanus the firſt was Byſhop of Rome, an. 226. who in his writinges alleaged by Gratian, referreth the name & place Summi pontificis, of the hygh Byſhop, not onely to the ſeate of Rome, but vniformely to euery Byſhop, as appeareth in the wordes of the diſt. 51. cap. Si officia. &c.

Summus orbis pontifex.

And thus much as touching the name or title of high Prieſt, or ſupreme Byſhop. which title as I doe not deny to haue bene vſed in maner & forme aforeſayd: ſo do I denye this tytle and ſtyle of Summus orbis pontifex, as it is now vſed in Rome, to haue bene vſed, or vſually receaued duryng all the primitiue tyme of the Church, that is v. hũdred yeares after Chriſt, after the manner and ſort I mean of that authoritie and glory, which in theſe dayes nowe is vſed and is giuen to the ſame, vntil the time of Phocas, the wicked Emperour, which was after the yeare of the Lord 608. The which title as it is to glorious for any one Byſhop in yͤ church of Chriſt to vſe: ſo is it not to be found in any of the approued and moſt auncient writers of yͤ church namely theſe, as Cyprianus, Baſilius, Fulgentius, Chryſoſtomus Hieronymus, Ambroſius, Auguſtinus, Tertullianus, but rather writeth againſt the ſame, eſpecially of the laſt. And therfore not without cauſe it is written and teſtified of Eraſmus, who ſpeaking of the ſayd name, of Summus orbis pontifex, denieth plainely the ſame to be hearde of among the olde writers, whoſe wordes be theſe: Certe nomen hoc nondum illis temporibus erat auditum, quantum ex veterum omniũ ſcriptis licet colligere. &c. lib. Epiſt. 3. Epiſt. 1. art. 37. &c. as whoſoeuer readeth the ſame authours ſhall finde to be true.

Ex Eraſm. Epiſt. lib. 3. Epiſt. 1. art. 73.

Vniuerſalis pontifex. Caput vniuerſalis Eccleſia. Chriſti in terris vicarius. Princeps ſacerdotũ. &c

The like is to be affirmed alſo of other preſumptious titles of like ambition, as the head of the vniuerſal church, the Vicar of Chriſt in earth, Prince of Prieſtes, with ſuch like, which all be new found termes, ſtraunge to the eares of the old primitiue writers and Councels, and not receiued openly and commonly before the tyme of Boniface the third, and Phocas the aforeſayd.

Papa.

Now remaineth the name of the Pope, which of his nature, and by his firſt origine, being a word of the Syracuſane ſpeech called παππᾶς, and ſignifieth as much as Pater, Father, was then vſed and frequented of them in the old tyme, not ſo as proper onely to the Byſhop of Rome, but common and indifferent to all other Byſhops or perſonages, whoſoeuer were of worthy excellẽce, as is partly before declared. But nowe contrarily, the generalitye of this name is ſo reſtrayned and abuſed, that not onely it is appropriate to the Byſhop of Rome, but alſo diſtincteth and diſceuereth the authoritie and preminence of that Byſhop alone from all other Byſhoppes, for which cauſe it is now worthely come into contempt and execration. No leſſe is to be reiected alſo the name of vniuerſalis, or œcumenicus, pontifex, Summus orbis Epiſcopus, Caput vniuerſalis Eccleſiæ, Chriſti in terris, Princeps vicariꝰ ſacerdotũ, &c. Al which termes and vocables, tending to the derogation of other Biſhops & Patriarches, as they were neuer receaued nor allowed in Rome (if we beleeue Gregory) during the tyme of yͤ Primatiue church, ſo now are worthely of vs refuſed.

How they began firſt at Conſtantinople, to take the name of vniuerſall Byſhop. *Ex quinta ſynodo vniuerſali. Actione prima. cap. poſt. conſulatum. Ibid. cap. dom. noſtri.*

Although it cannot be denied, but certaine were in the Primatiue time, which began priuately to pretende that proude and wicked title of vniuerſall Byſhop, as Menna, and eſpecially Ioannes Patriarche of Conſtantinople, who calling a Counſell at Conſtantinople, went about to ſtabliſh and ratifie and to dignifie his throne by the conſent of the Councell, and the Emperour of Conſtantinople, and obtained the ſame as appeareth in the v. generall Councell of Conſtantinople the 2. where both Menna is named Oichumenicus Patriarcharum and alſo Ioannes in the ſayde Councell is titled Oicumenicus Patriarcha: ex Concil. general. 5. cap. Domino. Concerning the which title although it was then vſed to Conſtantinople through the ſufferaunce of the Emperours, being then willing to haue their imperiall City aduaunced: yet notwithſtanding this foreſayde title, all this while was not in the City of Rome. And in Conſtantinople it ſtoode not then in force: Iure aliquo diuino, but onely by mans lawe. And thirdly it was then but onely, verbalis titulus: hauing no true dominacion vpon all other Churches, or any reall ſubiection belonging to the ſame. Foraſmuch as neither yͤ Biſhop of Rome, nor any of the weſt churches were ſubiect or did acknowledge ſeruice vnto them but rather did repugne the ſame: namely Pelagius the 2. & Gregorius the 1. both Byſhops at that time of Rome, whiche Pelagius writing to all Byſhops, ſayth playnely in theſe wordes: that no Patriarch ſhould take the name of vniuerſalitie at any time, becauſe that if any be called vniuerſall, the name of Patriarch is derogate from all other. But let this be farre, ſaith he, from all faithfull men, to will to take that thing to him, wherby the honor of his brethren is diminiſhed. Wherefore yͤ ſayd Pelagius chargeth all ſuch Byſhops, that none of them in their letters will name any Patriarche to be vniuerſall, leaſt he take from him ſelfe the honour due to him, while they giue that which is not due to another. What can be more euident then theſe wordes of Pelagius, who was Biſhop of Rome next before Gregory. an. 583? In lyke maner or more plainely, and more earneſtly writeth alſo Gregory of this matter in his regiſter, prouyng and diſputing that no man ought to be called vniuerſall Byſhop. Moreouer with ſharpe wordes and rebukes deteſteth the ſame title, calling it new, foliſh, proude, peruerſe, wicked, prophane, and ſuch, as to conſent vnto it, is as much, as to denye the fayth. He addeth further and ſaith, that whoſoeuer goeth about to extoll himſelfe aboue other Byſhops, in ſo doing followeth the fact of Sathan, to whõ it was not ſufficient to be counted equall or like vnto other angels. In his Epiſtles how oft doth he repeate, and declare yͤ ſame to repugne directly againſt the Goſpell, and auncient decrees of Counſels? affirming that none of his predeceſſours did euer vſurpe to himſelfe that ſtyle or title, and concludeth that whoſoeuer ſo doth, declareth himſelfe to be a forerunner of Antichriſt. &c. With this iudgement of Gregory wel agreeth

Ex Pelagi. 20. diſt. cap. 99. Nullus.

Gregory againſt the vniuerſality of the Byſhop of Cõſtantinople.

Auguſt. lib.3.cap.3. de Baptiſm. contra Donat.

To be Byſhops of biſhops forbidden, by Cypryan, and Auſten.

Ex pio ſecũdo. Epiſt.301.

The Popes premacy reſiſted.

well agreeth alſo the wordes of S. Auguſtine, Lib.3.cap.3. De Baptiſmo, where reciting the wordes of Cyprian thus ſaith: Neque enim quiſquam noſtrum ſe Epiſcopum Epiſcoporũ conſtituit, aut tyrannico more ad obſequendi neceſsitatem collegas ſuos adigit, &c. That is, for none of vs doth euer ſet himſelfe to be Biſhop of Biſhops, or after a tyrannical maner doth ſubdue and bring vnder his fellowes vnto the neceſſitie of his obedience, &c. By theſe wordes of Cyprian and Auguſtine, it is manifeſt, that in their tyme was no ſupremacie, or vniuerſall title among Biſhops receiued, nor that any greater reſpect was had to the biſhop of Rome (as Pius the 2. ſaith, Epiſt.301.) before the Councell of Nice. And after in that Councell the ſaid Biſhop of Rome had no further authoritie to him limited, then only ouer his prouince, and places ſuburbane, bordering about the Citie of Rome. Againſt whoſe primacie diuers cities alſo did reſiſt long after that, as the Church of Rauenna, Mediolanenſis, and Aquilegienſis. Alſo the Greeke Churches long reſiſted the ſame, ſo did the churches of Aſia, Rutenicæ, Moſcouiticæ, Valachicæ, and other moe.

Ex Antonino titl.12. cap.3.

But to returne againe to Gregory, who confirming the ſentence of Pelagius his predeceſſour aboue mentioned, had no ſmall conflicts about this title matter, both with the Patriarche, and with the Emperour of Conſtantinople, as witneſſeth Antoninus, & other. &c. The hiſtorie is thus: After that Iohn beyng made of a Monke, Patriarche of Conſtantinople, by his flatterie & hypocriſie, had obtained of Mauritius the Emperor, to be extolled aboue other Biſhops with the name of vniuerſall Patriarche, and that he would write to Gregorie biſhop then of Rome, for his conſent concerning the ſame: Gregory abiding ſtill in his conſtancie, did ſet himſelfe ſtoutly againſt that Antichriſtian title, and would geue no place. At the ſame tyme the Lombards had inuaded the countrey of Italy, and the Citie of Rome, the Emperor keping then at Conſtantinople, and ſetting in Italy an ouerſear called Exarchus, to rule in Rauenna: Gregory perceiuing the Emperour Mauritius to bee diſpleaſed with him about the matter afore touched, writeth to Conſtantina the Empreſſe, arguing and declaring in his letters, that preſumption and pride of him to bee vniuerſall Patriarch, was both againſt the rule of the goſpel, and decrees of the Canons, namely, the vj. Canon of Nicene Councell, and the noueltie of that newfound title to declare nothing els, but that the tyme of Antichriſt was neere. Vpon this, Mauritius the Emperor taking diſpleaſure with him, calleth home his ſouldiors againe from Italy, and inciteth the Lombardes againſt the Romaines: who with their king Agilulphus, therupõ contrary to their league made before, ſet vpon the citie of Rome, and beſieged it a whole yeare togither, Gregory yet notwithſtãding ſtill remaining in his former conſtancie. After theſe afflictions thus ouerpaſt, Eulogius Patriarch of Alexandria, writeth to the ſaid Gregory in his letters, naming him vniuerſall Pope, vnto whom Gregory refuſing the ſame, anſwereth againe as followeth.

❧ *The letter of Gregorie, to the Patriarch of Alexandria.*

The aunſwere of Gregory to Eulogius Patriarche of Alexandria.

Diſt 99. cap.Ecce.

Gregory refuſeth the name of vniuerſall Pope.

BEhold in the Preface of your Epiſtle directed to me, ye haue vſed a worde of a proud name, calling me vniuerſall Pope, which I pray your holineſſe you will ceaſe hereafter to doe, for that is derogated from you, whatſoeuer is attributed to an other more then right and reaſon requireth. As for me I ſeeke not mine aduauncement in wordes, but in maners: neither doe I account that any honour, wherein the honour of my brethren I ſee to bee hindred: For my honour I take to be the honour of the vniuerſall Church: my honour is the whole and perfect vigour of my brethren. Then am I honoured when to no man is denied the due honour which to him belongeth. For if your holineſſe call me vniuerſall Pope, in ſo doing you denie your ſelfe to be that, which ye affirme me to be vniuerſal. But that God forbid, let theſe words therefore go, which do nothing but puffe vp vanitie, and wound charitie, &c.

It were too long here to inſerte all ſuch letters and Epiſtles of his, concerning this matter, written to the Emperour Mauritius, and Conſtantina the Empreſſe, but that ſhal more largely appeare hereafter (Chriſt willing) in the body of the hiſtory, when we come to the yeare and time of Gregory, which was well nie about vj. hundred yere after Chriſt. In the meane ſeaſon this is ſufficiẽt to declare how the church of Rome with the fourme and maner of their title of vniuerſall ſupremacie now vſed & maintained, hath vtterly ſwerued from the auncient ſteps of the primitiue church of Rome.

Now let vs ſee what the aduerſarie ſide hath to obiect againe for the title of their vniuerſalitie, or rather ſingularitie. And firſt here commeth in a blind cauillation of a certaine Sophiſter, who gloſing vpon the wordes of Pelagius aboue recited, laboureth to colour the playne text with a ſubtile meaning, as though the ſenſe of the Canon were this, not to deny there the ſtate of ſupremacie: Sed negari ibi aliquem poſſe eſſe vniuerſalem Epiſcopum, ſub eo ſenſu duntaxat, quòd eſſet cuiuſq; Eccleſiæ proprius rector, ita quòd nullus alius eſſet Epiſcopus, &c. That is, but to denie there, that any may be vniuerſall biſhop after this ſenſe and meaning onely, ſo that he ſhould be the proper Paſtor of euery Church alone, and that there ſhould be no other biſhop beſide himſelf, &c. Thus goeth this Sophiſter about to daſh out this text, but he cannot ſo diſcharge the matter. For neither did Iohn the Patriarch then ſeeke any ſuch thing, to be biſhop and proper Paſtor of euery church alone, nor if he had the Councell of Chalcedon, and the Emperor Iuſtinian, would neuer haue agreed therunto. Neither is it true, that this Gloſer denieth Pelagius, here to forbid the primacie or ſupremacie of that Patriarch, which in deed is the onely intent of Pelagius in that Canon, witneſſing as well other Hiſtoriographers, as namely, Anton.tit.12.cap.3.par.13. & alſo the gloſe ordinary vpon the ſame Canon, &c.

A ſophiſtical cauillation vpon the wordes of Pelagius and Gregory aunſwered.

An obiection of a certayne late Engliſh writer refuted.

Out of the ſame fountaine ſpringeth the like or very ſame reaſon of late renued by a certaine new ſtart Engliſh Clarke in theſe our dayes, who aunſwering to the places of Gregory touching the ſaid matter, laboureth to auoide the cleare authoritie of him, by a like blind cauillation, ſaying, that Iohn biſhop of Conſtantinople, by this title of vniuerſall biſhop, vnderſtood himſelfe onely to be a biſhop, and none els. And that Gregory in reſiſting him, had none other meaning but the ſame. And to proue this to be the very meaning of Gregory, he reciteth the wordes of Gregory written to the ſaid Iohn Archbiſhop of Conſtantinople as followeth: Qui enim indignum te eſſe fatebaris, vt Epiſcopus dici debuiſſes, ad hoc quandoq; perductus es, vt deſpectis fratribus Epiſcopus appetas ſolus vocari. That is to ſay, For thou (Iohn biſhop of Conſtantinople) which ſometime didſt graunt thy ſelfe vnworthy the name of a biſhop, art now come to this, that ẏ doeſt ſeeke to be called a biſhop alone, &c. Vpõ this word Epiſcop' ſolus, this gloſer would ground a ſurmiſe, that Gregory did find fault with the Archbiſhop, not for any primacie which he ſought for aboue other Biſhops, but onely, for that he coueted to be biſhop and Paſtor alone in euery Church, in ſuch ſort, as there ſhould be no other Biſhop nor Paſtour els but himſelfe onely. But as is ſaid, that was neuer the Archbiſhops ſeeking, nor the matter of Gregories reprehenſion. For the ſaid Archbiſhop of Conſtantinople, went not about to bee Biſhop alone, (which was to much abſurd, and alſo impoſſible) but to be vniuerſall alone: not to take away the office from other, but the honour from other: not to depoſe them, but to deſpiſe them. And therfore ſaith Gregory, vt deſpectis fratribus, not depoſitis fratribus, ſo that this worde ſolus, here noteth a deſpiſing of other, not a depoſing of other, & importeth a ſingularitie in condition aboue other, and not the office or ſubſtaunce of miniſtration without other, that is, to be vniuerſall among many, and not to bee one alone without any, nor to diminiſh the number of them, but only to encreaſe the honour to himſelfe. For the more euident probation whereof (although the thing of it ſelfe is ſo euident, that it needeth no proofe) what can be more playne, then the words themſelues of Pelagius and Gregory wherwith they charge him for running before his brethren, for chalenging ſuperioritie aboue them, for diminiſhing their honour, by taking more honour then to him was due, for following the aungell of pride in exalting himſelfe, in admitting that to him, which the biſhops of Rome and their predeceſſours had refuſed, beyng offered to them before, &c. All which declare that he ſought not to thruſt out all other biſhops out of their churches, and to be biſhop himſelfe alone. For that was neuer offered to the Biſhops of Rome by the Councell of Chalcedon, that they ſhould be biſhops alone, and none other. Neither did Lucifer ſeeke to haue no mo angels in all heauen, but himſelf, but he to be aboue all other alone.

A place of Gregory examined.

Pelag.2. Epiſt.1.

Likewiſe the word præcurrere, that is, to runne before other in the Epiſtle of Pelagius, declareth that Iohn ſought not to be biſhop alone, but Biſhop vniuerſall. We ſay not that a man runneth before another, whẽ he runneth alone, and no mã followeth him, that is not properly præcurrere, but ſolus currere. Moreouer, in ſeeking to be ſuperior to other biſhops, he ſeeketh not to take away other Biſhops, but to make other biſhops inferior to him. For where no inferior is, there can be no ſuperior, foraſmuch as theſe together are correlatiues, & inferre neceſſary reſpect mutually. And if it were true as this Gloſer ſayth, that he had ſought to be biſhop alone, how would that Councel either

Ex. Epiſt. Greg. 36. Lib. 4.

haue graunted that vnto him, or haue offered it to the Biſhop of Rome before? or if they had, howe could it be poſſible for him alone to ſerue all Churches, without any felow Biſhop to helpe him? And where this foreſaid clerke ſtandeth ſo much vpon the wordes of S. Gregory: Solus Epiſcopus Gregory therfore ſhall expound Gregory, and one Solus ſhall declare an other. wherfore if this diuine (whatſoeuer he be Doctour or Bacheler) either knoweth not, or would learne, what (onely Byſhop) meaneth in this place: an other place of the ſayde Gregory may inſtruct him, where Gregory wryting to Eulogius, Patriarch of Alexandria, geueth this reaſon, why he refuſed the ſame title offered to him (which then was offered to the ſayde Iohn Patriarche of Conſtantinople) ſaying: Quia videlicet ſi vnus Patriarcha vniuerſalis dicitur, Patriarcharum nomen cœteris derogatur, ſed abſit hoc. &c. That is to ſay: For if one alone woulde be called Patriarch vniuerſall, then ſhould the name of Patriarches be derogated from all other. &c. wherby two things are to be noted: Firſt what thing it was which the Patriarche of Conſtantinople did ſeeke, for Gregory here findeth no other fault, but with the ſame which was geuen to Iohn, which was to be called Patriarche vniuerſal. The ſeconde thing to be noted, is the cauſe why Gregory did rebuke this title, both geuen to Iohn, and offered to him, becauſe (ſayeth he) if one take vpon him the name of vniuerſall Patriarch, then is the name Patriarche taken from the reſt. As who would ſay: if I ſhould take vpon me to be named vniuerſal Patriarch, then ſhould there be no other Patriarches; but I ſhoulde be Byſhop Patriarche alone. And here commeth in your Solus Epiſcopus. &c.

Ex Epiſt. Greg. 38. Lib. 4.

Furthermore, the ſame Gregory ſpeaking of the ſayde Solus, in an other place by, ſeemeth to declare there what he meaneth by this Solus here, in theſe wordes as followe: vt & nulli ſubeſſe, & ſolus omnibus præeſſe videretur. That is to ſay: ſo that he would be ſubiect to none, and would be chieftain to all other alone. &c. And ſo by this place, may the other place be expounded, vt ſolus Epiſcopus ſit is, qui ſolus inter Epiſcopos præeſſe appetat. That is, he that ſeeketh to be as biſhop alone, who alone ſeeketh to be extolled aboue other byſhops. But to be ſhort in a matter that needeth not many wordes. He that thus cauilleth vpon this place Solus Epiſcopus in Gregory, muſt be deſired here not to take Solus alone, but ioyne with all the word going before, which is, deſpectis fratribus, by the which might ſeeme ſufficiently declared, what Gregory ment by Solus Epiſcopus, meaning, that to deſpiſe other biſhops, & to diminiſh their honor, to ſet vp his owne, & to be ſubiect to none, but to preferre him ſelfe inequally before al other, is as much as to be counted biſhop alone. And thus much touching this obiection.

An other obiection reſolued.

An other obiection of our aduerſaries is this: although (ſay they) no Byſhop of Rome was euer called, or would be called by the name of vniuerſal Biſhop: yet it followeth not therefore, that they be not, or ought not to be heades of the vniuerſall Church. Their reaſon is this:

As S. Peter had the charge of the whole Church (by the teſtimonie of Gregory) committed vnto him, although he were not called vniuerſall Apoſtle:

So no more abſurde it is, for the Pope to be called the head of the whole Church, and to haue the charge thereof, although he be not called vniuerſall Byſhop. &c.

A double vntrueth in one Popiſh argument.

Peter how he had charge and not charge of the Church.

The firſt vntrueth in this argument.

The dignitie of the Church aboue the Apoſtles.

Vide Baldum conſi. 169. lib. 3 Secundum nouam impreſſionem. Et ſecund. Vete conſi. 359. lib. 1.

Proofes and reaſons that there was no inequallitie of preheminence among the Apoſtles.

Wherein is a double vntruth to be noted. Firſt in that they pretend Peter to be the head, & to haue the charge of the whole Church: if we take here (charge or head) for dominion or maſterſhip vpõ or aboue the Church, in all caſes iudiciarie, both ſpirituall & temporal: for the wordes of the Scripture be plaine. Non dominantes in clerum 1. Pet. Vos autem non ſic. Luke. 22. That is. Not as maiſters ouer the Clergy. &c. but you not ſo. &c. Againe that the Churche is greater, or rather the head of Peter it is cleare: 1. Corin. 3. All thinges are yours, whether it be Paule, or Apollo, or Cephas: either the world, death, or life, you be Chriſtes, Chriſt is Gods. &c. In which wordes the dignitie of the Churche no doubt is preferred aboue the Apoſtles, and aboue Cephas alſo. Moreouer as the dignitie of the wife is aboue the ſeruant, ſo muſt needes the honour and worthines of the Churche (being the ſpouſe of Chriſt) ſurmount the ſtate of Peter or other Apoſtles, which be but ſeruants to Chriſt and to the Churche, yea and though they were Princes of the Church, yet after the minde of Baldus: Magis attenditur perſona intellectualis, quàm organica. Otherwiſe if by this word (charge) he ment only the office and diligence of teaching: to that I aunſwere: The ſame Lord that ſayde to Peter, feede my ſheepe, ſaid alſo to the other, go & preach this Goſpell to al nations. And he that ſaid to Peter: whatſoeuer thou looſeſt, ſaid alſo to the other: whatſoeuer ye remit in the earth. Moreouer if the matter goe by preaching, Paul the Apoſtle laboured more therin, then euer did Peter by his owne confeſſion: Plus laboraui, alſo ſuffered more for the ſame, Plus ſuſtinui, neither was his doctrine leſſe ſound. Yea and in one point he went before Peter, & was teacher and ſchoolmaiſter vnto Peter, whereas Peter was by him iuſtly corrected. Gal. 2. Furthermore, teaching is not alwaye nor in all things a point of maiſterſhip, but ſometime a point of ſeruice. As if a Frenchman ſhould be put to an Engliſhman to teach him French, although he excelleth him in that kind of facultie, yet it followeth not therefore, that he hath fulnes of power vpõ him, to appoint his diet, to rule his houſhold, to preſcribe his lawes, to ſtinte his landes, and ſuch other. wherfore ſeing in trauail in teaching, in paines of preaching, in gifts of tongs, in largenes of commiſſion, in operation of miracles, in grace of vocation, in receauing the holy Ghoſt, in vehemencie of tormentes and death for Chriſtes name, the other Apoſtles were nothing inferiour to Peter: why Peter then ſhould claime any ſpecial prerogatiue aboue the reſt, I vnderſtãd no cauſe. As in deed he neuer claimed any, but the patrons of the Apoſtolicall ſea do claime it for him, which he neuer claimed himſelf, neither if he were here, would no leſſe abhorre it with ſoule and conſcience, then we do now: & yet our abhorring now is not for any malice of perſon, or any vantage to our ſelues, but only the vehemencie of truth, & zeale to Chriſt and to his congregation. Moreouer, if theſe men would needes haue Peter to be the Curate and ouerſear of the whole vniuerſall Church (which was to much for one man to take charge vpon) and to be Prince of al other Apoſtles, then would I faine learne of them, what meaneth (Dextræ ſocietatis) the right hand of ſocietie betwene Peter, Paul, & Barnabie, mentioned, Gal. 2. what taking of hands is there betwene ſubiects & their Prince, in way of fellowſhip? Or where fellowſhip is, what maiſterſhip is there? Or againe, what ſtate of maiſterſhip is it like, that Chriſt would geue to Peter, who beyng in deede maiſter of all, toke ſuch little maiſterſhip vpon himſelfe, and that not only in inward affection, but alſo in outward fact. Although I am not ignorant that Peter in places of the Goſpell hath his commendation, neither doe I denie Peter to bee worthy of the ſame. But yet theſe wordes of commendation, geue to him no ſtate of ſuperioritie, or iuriſdiction vpon all other, to haue all vnder his ſubiection. As if a Schoolemaiſter ſhould haue more ſpecial charge to ſome one of his ſcholers for his riper towardnes: yet this geueth him no fulnes of authoritie, or power coactiue vpõ the reſt, vnleſſe by ſpecial admiſſion he be deputed thereunto. Whereof, nothing can be gathered of Peter, for if it bee true that S. Auguſtine ſaith, that ſuch things as were ſpokẽ to Peter, haue no lightſome vnderſtanding, except they be referred to the church, wherof Peter did beare a figure: thẽ hath yͤ perſon of Peter nothing to claime by theſe wordes, but all redoũdeth to the church, which being ment by Peter, hath power by this reaſon, both ouer the perſon of Peter, and all other perſons in the Lord.

Office of teaching geueth no dominion, farther then in his book.

Peter in no poynt excelleth the reſt of the Apoſtles.

Dextra ſocietatis.

Auguſt. in præfat. pſal. 103.

Anſwere to an inuincible argument prouing by Chriſoſtõe the whole Church to be committed to S. Peter.

Chriſoſt. Lib. 2. de ſacred.

But here ſtumbleth in an argument of our aduerſarie againe, which he in the margent of his booke calleth an inuincible argument drawen out of the bowels of S. Iohn Chryſoſtome. Lib. 2. De Sacerd. Wherby he ſuppoſeth to haue giuen a ſhrewd blow to the Proteſtants, and to haue gotten Hectors victory vpon a certaine Engliſh priſoner taken in plain field, and of all ſuch as take his part. The text onely of Chryſoſtome he reciteth, but maketh no argument albeit he maketh mention of an inuincible argumẽt in the margent. But becauſe he either wiſt not, or liſt not to ſhew his cunning therein, I wil forme that in argumẽt for him which he would haue done, but did not: and ſo will forme it (the Lord willing) as he himſelfe muſt of neceſſitie bee driuen to do, if the matter euer come to the triall of act, and not to the trifling of wordes. Firſt, he taketh his text out of Chryſoſtome, as followeth: for what cauſe, I pray you, did Chriſt ſhed his bloud? Truely, to redeeme thoſe ſheep, whoſe charge he committeth to Peter, and to Peters ſucceſſours. Vpon this place of Chryſoſtome. this Clarke taketh his medium, Chriſtes ſuffring. His concluſion is, that all which Chriſt died for, were committed to Peter, wherfore the forme of the argument muſt needes ſtand thus in the third figure.

A Popiſhe perilous paralogiſme.

Chriſt ſuffred for all men.

Chriſt ſuffered for them whome hee committed to Peter.

Ergo, All that Chriſt dyed for, were committed to Peter.

If this be the forme of his inſoluble argument, as it ſeemeth to be, by the order of his reaſoning, & alſo muſt needs be, taking that medium, and making that concluſion as he doth, (for els in the firſt figure, and firſt moode, the text of Chriſoſtome will not ſerue him) then muſt the forme and violence of this inexpugnable argumẽt be denied, for that it breaketh the rules of Logike, making his concluſiõ vniuerſall, which in that figure muſt needes be perticular, either affirmatiue or negatiue. And ſo this argument inuincible, falleth into one of theſe two ſtraites, either cõcluding thus, the forme wil not ſerue him, or cõcluding in another figure, the wordes of Chryſoſtome will not aunſwer to his purpoſe, to proue that all the world was committed to Peter. which propoſition as it is ſtrange in ſcripture: ſo neither is it the propoſition of Chryſoſtome. And though it were, yet both without inconuenience might be graunted of vs, and being graunted, ſerueth his purpoſe nothing, ſo long as the propoſition is not exceptiue, excluding other Apoſtles. For the words of Chryſoſtom do not ſo ſound, that the whole world was committed to Peter onely and to none other. Likewiſe then as it may be well affirmed of vs, that the world was committed to Peter, ſo can it not be denied of them, that the world was alſo committed to Iohn, Iames, Bartholomew, Paule, Barnabe, and other all and ſingular Apoſtles. For he that ſaid to Peter, Feede my ſheepe, ſaid alſo to all and ſingular his Apoſtles: Go into all the world & preach, &c. Math.vlt. Moreouer, for as much as this man collecteth out of Chryſoſtome, that the whole world was committed to Peter, how ſhall we then ioyne this meaning of Chryſoſtome with S. Paule, which ſayth that the Goſpel was committed to Peter ouer the circumciſion, as was Paule ouer the vncircumciſion? And here an anſwer to this doughtie argument, both to the forme, & to the matter thereof, albeit concerning the matter, here lacketh much to be ſaid more of Peters ſucceſſours in the text of Chryſoſtome. By the which ſucceſſours is not ment the biſhop of Rome onely (as the Papiſts would beare vs in hand) but all ſuch true and faithfull Paſtors, whom the Lordes calling ſendeth, and ſetteth ouer his flocke, whereſo euer, or whatſoeuer they be. For as Peter beareth a repreſentation of the church, by the teſtimonie of Auguſt. in Ioan.tract 124.Præfat.in Pſal.108. ſo the ſucceſſours of Peter be all faithfull Paſtors and ouerſeers of Chriſtes Church, to whom Chriſt our Lord hath committed the charge of his flocke. Wherefore they are not a little deceiued, which looking vpõ the rocke onely of the perſon, and not the rocke of confeſſion (contrary to the rule of Hilarie, De trinit. lib 6.) doe tie the Apoſtleſhip or rocke of Peter, to one onely Biſhop, and the ſucceſſion of Peter to one onely ſea of Rome: where as this being a ſpiritual office, and not carnall, hath no ſuch carnall race or diſcent after any worldly or locall vnderſtanding: but hath a more myſticall meaning, after a ſpirituall ſenſe of ſucceſſion, ſuch as Hierome ſpeaketh of, epiſt. ad Euagrium. Omnes, inquit, Apoſtolorum ſucceſſores ſunt &c. That is, All, ſaith he (ſpeaking of Biſhops) be ſucceſſours of the Apoſtles, &c.

The worlde was committed as well to other Apoſtles as to Peter.

A place of Chriſoſtome examined by S. Paule.

The ſucceſſours of Peter.

Auguſt. in Ioan. tract. 124.

Hilarius. lib. 6.

Hierony. Epiſt. ad Euagrium.

Of like force and faſhion, and out of the ſame figure, the ſame Author patcheth moreouer another argument, prouing that the Biſhop of Rome was tituled the head of Chriſtes church, in the primitiue time of the old aunciters, before the age of Gregory. His argument proceedeth thus, in the third figure.

An argument of the Papiſtes.

S. Peter was called by the auncient fathers, head of Chriſtes church.
S. Peter was biſhop of Rome:
Ergo, the biſhop of Rome was called head of yͤ Church in the old auncient tyme.

This argument expoſitorie, beyng clouted vp in the third figure, and concluding ſingularly, hath rather a ſhew of an argumẽt, then maketh any neceſſarie concluſiõ, ſtanding vpon no moode in the ſaid figure, if the Author thereof were put to his triall. Albeit to leaue the forme, and to come to the matter of the argument. Firſt, how wel he wil diſpatch himſelfe of the Maior, & proue vs that S. Peter, although he were at Rome, and taught at Rome, and ſuffered at Rome: yet that he was biſhop and proper Ordinarie of that citie and ſpeciall ſea of Rome? As touching the allegation of Abdias, Oroſius, Ado, Tertullian, Cyprian, Hierome, Optatius, and Auguſtine, brought forth for his moſt aduantage, to proue his Maior: thus I anſwer cõcerning Oroſius, Tertullian, Cyprian, Hierome, and Auguſtine, that where they ſpeake of S. Peters chaire, or planting yͤ faith at Rome, ſtraightway this man argueth thereupon, that Peter was Biſhop of Rome. But that doth not clarkely follow. For the office of the Apoſtles was to plant the faith in all places, and in euery regiõ, yet were they not biſhops in euery region. And as for the chaire, as it is no difference eſſentiall that maketh a biſhop (for ſo much as a Doctour may haue a chaire, and yet be no biſhop) ſo cannot he conclude by the chaire of Peter, that S. Peter was Biſhop of Rome. For all this proueth no farther, but that Peter was at Rome, and there taught the fayth of Chriſt, as Paul did alſo, and peraduenture in a chayre likewiſe: yet we ſay not that Paule was therefore Biſhop of Rome. But that he was there as an Apoſtle of Chriſt, whether he taught there ſtanding on his feete, or ſittyng in a chayre. In the Scripture commonly the Chaire ſignifieth doctrine or iudgement, as ſitting alſo declareth ſuch as teach or iudge, whether they ſit in the chaire of Moyſes, or in the chaire of peſtilence. Planting likewiſe is a worde Apoſtolicall, and ſignifieth not onely the office of a Biſhop. Wherefore it is no good conſequent, he ſate, he taught, he planted at Rome his chaire and ſeate was at Rome: Ergo, he was Biſhop of Rome. And thus much touchyng Oroſius, Tertullian, Cyprian, Auguſtine.

Aunſwere to the argument.

Oſorius. Tertul lib. de præſcript aduer hære. Cypri. lib. 1. Epiſt. 3. Hier. in catal. & Epiſt. 42.

As for Abdias, Ado, Optatus, and ſuch other, although we ſhould haue much wrong offered, and neuer ſhould make an ende, if we ſhould be preſt with the authoritie of euery one that could or did moue pen, in all the whole firſt age of the church, to be our iudges in euery eccleſiaſticall matter: and much more wrong ſhould haue, if the authors either corrupted, or counterfaited, ſhould be layd vnto vs, ſpeaking not in the ſame ſenſe, or in the ſame tongue, or in the ſame time wherin they wrote: yet to helpe and to ſalue the authorities of theſe authors ſo much as we may, I anſwer to their allegations, with this diſtinction of a biſhop, which is to be taken either generally or ſpecially. After the firſt, a biſhop is he to whom ſo euer the publike cure and charge of ſoules is committed, without any limitation of place. And ſo the name of Biſhop is concident with the office of Apoſtle, or any publique Paſtour, Doctour, or Curator of the vniuerſall flocke of Chriſt. And thus may Paule, Peter, or any other of the Apoſtles be called Biſhops. So alſo is Chriſt himſelfe by expreſſe worde called ἐπισκόπος and ποίμην, that is, Biſhop and Paſtor, 1. Peter. 2. And thus may Peter wel be named a biſhop of theſe foreſaid authors after this maner of taking. But this publike and generall charge vniuerſally ouer the whole, without limitation, ceaſed after Chriſt and the Apoſtles. For then were biſhops by places and prouinces appointed, to haue ſpeciall ouerſight of ſome perticular flock or prouince, and ſo to be reſident and attendant onely vpon the ſame.

A double taking of the word Biſhop.

Chriſt himſelfe a Byſhop.

The other diuerſitie of this name biſhop, is to be taken after a more ſpeciall ſort, which is, when any perſon orderly called, is aſſigned, namely & ſpecially to ſome one certain place, citie, or prouince, wherunto he is only bound to employ his office & charge, and no where els, according to the old Canons of the Apoſtles, and of the Councell of Nice. And this Biſhop differing from the other, is called Epiſcopus intitulatus, hauing his name of his citie or Dioces. And thus we deny that Peter the Apoſtle was euer Biſhop elected, inſtalled, or intituled to the Citie of Rome, neyther doth Optatus, Abdias, Ado, or Hierome affirme the ſame. And if Ado ſay that Peter was biſhop of Rome 25. yeares, vntill the laſt yeare of Nero, that is eaſilie refuted both by the Scriptures and Hiſtories: for ſo we vnderſtand by the declaration of Saint Paule, Gal. 1. 2. that 14. yeares after his conuerſion, Saint Paule had Peter by the hand at Hieruſalem.

Canon. Apoſt. 23. 14. 34. Con. Nice. cap. 15. Concil. Antioch. cap. 3 13.

Peters being at Rome.

Moreouer, the ſaid Paule in the foreſaid Epiſtle, witneſſeth, that yͤ charge Apoſtolical was cõmitted vnto Peter ouer the Circumciſed, and ſo was he intituled. Alſo S. Paule writing to the Romains, in his manifold ſalutations to them in Rome, maketh no mentiõ there, of S. Peter, which doubtles ſhould not haue bene vnremembred, if he had bene then in Rome. Againe S. Peter dating his Epiſtle from Babilon, was not then belike at Rome.

Furthermore, hiſtories doe record, that Peter was at Pontus v. yeares, and at Antioch. 7. yeares. How could he then be 25. yeares at Rome? Finally, where our aduerſary alleaging out of Ado, ſaith, that S. Peter was there 25 yeres, vntil the laſt yere of Nero: how can that ſtand, when S. Paule ſuffering vnder Nero, was put to death the ſame day tweluemonth, that is, a whole yeare after Peter, &c. But eſpecially how agreeth this with Scripture, that Chriſt ſhould make Peter an Apoſtle vniuerſall to walke in all the world: Item per vniuerſum orbem. Item, Eritis mihi teſtes vſque ad fines terræ. &c. And our Papiſts would needs make him a ſitting Byſhop, and intitle him to Rome. How accorde theſe: Apoſtolus and Epiſcopus ire and ſedere. Omnes gentes, and Roma togither?

And thus haue I reſolued the firſt vntrueth of that Popiſh demonſtration aboue rehearſed, Pag. 14. wherein they thinke to proue that as Peter, although hee was not called vniuerſall Apoſtle, yet was the head of the whole Churche: ſo the Pope might and hath had after him the charge of the whole Church, although he was not called vniuerſall Biſhop in the olde tyme. &c.

Now followeth the ſecond vntrueth to be touched in

The ſecond vntrueth of the argument aboue mentioned.

ſame argument, which is, that becauſe Peter was the head of the church: ſo therfore the Pope muſt alſo be the head of the church, and was, albeit he was not called vniuerſal biſhop a long time. But this we do deny, yea the matter denieth it ſelfe, by their owne poſition, for being graunted by them, that the title of vniuerſall biſhop was not receiued at Rome, but refuſed to the time of Gregory: then muſt it neceſſarily be graunted, that the Biſhops of Rome before S Gregory, had not the charge of the whole church, neither could be admitted by that reaſon to be heads of the church. For ſo much as there can be no head, but which is vniuerſall to the whole body, neither can any haue charge of the whole, but he muſt needes be vniuerſal to all and ſinguler partes of that, whereof he hath the charge. As in ſciences, whoſoeuer hath knowledge & cunning in all the ſeuen liberal ſciences, & all the partes therof pertaining to liberall knowledge, is ſaid to be an vniuerſall learned man: ſo in office, to whomſoeuer the publike charge of all Churches doth appertaine, how is he not to be called biſhop vniuerſal? Now if before S. Gregories time the name of vniuerſall biſhop, was repealed in Rome: how then can the name be refuſed, & the definition of the name be admitted? Or els let our aduerſaries tell vs how they define an vniuerſall Biſhop, ſeing this word biſhop is properly the name of office whereto is annexed charge. Wherefore, if a Biſhop be he which hath the charge of all ſoules in his Dioces cōmitted to him, & muſt render account for thē al: then whoſe charge extendeth to all & ſinguler churches, & muſt render account for euery chriſtian ſoule within the whole world, to him cā not be denied the name of an vniuerſal biſhop, hauing the office of an vniuerſall biſhop. Or if he be not an vniuerſall biſhop, he cannot then haue the charge of the whole that is, of all and ſingular churches of Chriſt. For ſuch is the rule of true definition. Cui cōuenit definitio, conuenit & definitum, & contra. Cui adimitur definitio, eidem & definitum adimitur. Although this word vniuerſall, in the Greeke writers, ſignifieth that, which we in our vulgar Engliſh tongue call catholike: yet I ſuppoſe our aduerſaries here will not take vniuerſall in that ſenſe. For after that meaning, as we doe not deny that the biſhops of Rome may be vniuerſall Biſhops, ſo neither can they deny but other biſhops alſo may be as vniuerſall, that is, as catholike as they. But ſuch as more diſtinctly & ſchoolelike diſcuſſe this matter, define vniuerſall or catholike by three things: to witte, by tyme, place, and perſon. So that whatſoeuer extendeth it ſelfe to times, all places, & to all perſons that is properly vniuerſal or catholike. And contrarywiſe, what thing is to be called vniuerſal or catholike, reacheth to all thoſe three aforeſaid, cōprehending al places, times, & perſons, & extendeth it ſelfe of his owne nature to the ſame, or els it is not to be called properly vniuerſal or catholike. And thus iij. things there be, which moſt cōmonly we cal catholike or vniuerſal: that is, the church which is called the catholike church: Faith, which is called the catholike faith: A man, whome alſo we call a man catholike, becauſe theſe iij. of their owne nature & diſpoſition (no contrary obſtacle letting) extend themſelues ſo to all, that no time, place, nor perſō is excluded. Which iij. conditions, if they altogither cōcurre in the charge of yͤ biſhop of Rome, then is it an vniuerſal charge, and he an vniuerſal biſhop: if not, then is his charge neither vniuerſall, nor he the head of the Church, nor yet vniuerſall biſhop. For how theſe three can be ſeparated, I can not ſee, except the aduerſary part do proue it more euidently, then yet they haue done.

What is an vniuerſall Biſhop.

Regula definitionis.

Cui conuenit definitio & definitum.

Vniuerſall defined by three thinges, tyme, place, and perſō.

Three thinges commonly called catholique or vniuerſall.

To haue vniuerſall charge to be head of the vniuerſall Church, and to be vniuerſall Biſhop are all concident together.

And thus much to the obiection of our aduerſaries, arguing thus: that as S. Peter being not called vniuerſall Apoſtle, yet was the head of the vniuerſal church: So the Pope although he was not firſt called vniuerſall Biſhop, had, and might haue the charge of the whole Church, and was the vniuerſall head of the ſame. The which obiection conteining (as is ſaid) a double vntruth, our aduerſaries yet notwithſtanding do buſie themſelues greatly to fortify by ſundry teſtimonies and allegations, patched out of old and auncient Doctours, but ſpecially out of Theodoritus, Irenæus, Ambroſe, & Auguſtine, prouing by them, that the ſea of Rome hauing the preeminence and principallitie, hath bene honoured aboue all other churches. Whereupon the ſaid aduerſarie before minded, groundeth this conſequent.

Irenaus. Lib. 3. Cap. 3. Amb. de doct. gent. lib. 2. ca. 6. August. Epist. 162.

An argument of the Papiſtes.

Irenæus, Ambroſe, Auguſtine and Theodoritus affirme that the church of Rome is the chiefe of all other churches.

Ergo, the Biſhop and head of that church is chiefe and head ouer all other biſhops, & head of all other churches.

Aunſwere.

But this conſequent is to be denied, for that the excellencie of the church or place doth not always argue the excellencie of the miniſter or biſhop, nor yet neceſſarilie doth cauſe the ſame. For in matters of the church which are ſpirituall, all preeminence ſtandeth vpon ſpirituall & inward gifts, (ſpiritualia enim ſpiritualibus comparantur) as fayth, pietie, learning and godly knowledge, zeale and feruencie in the holy ghoſt, vnitie of doctrine, &c. which giftes many tymes may excel in a church, where the miniſter or biſhop is inferiour to biſhops or miniſters of other churches. As the moſt famous ſchoole in a realme hath not alway yͤ moſt famous ſchoolemaiſter, neither doth make him therby moſt excellent in learning aboue of all other: So if our aduerſaries do meane by this preeminēce of the church of Rome, ſuch inward gifts of doctrine, faith, vnitie and peace of religion: then ſay I, the excellencie hereof doth not inferre or argue the excellencie of the Biſhop. And thus concerning the principallitie of the Church of Rome, commended at that time of the Doctors, it may be true, & ſo well expounded one way. And thus do I graunt the antecedent of this argument, and deny the conſequent. But here will our aduerſaries peraduenture reply againe and ſay, that yͤ principallitie of the church of Rome which is commended by the Doctours, is not ment here ſo much by inward gifts and induments belonging to a chriſtian church, as by outwarde authoritie and domination ouer other churches, whereto is to be aunſwered. Firſt, what neceſſitie is there, or where did our Papiſts learne, to bring into the ſpiritual church of Chriſt, this outward forme of ciuile regimēt and pollicie? that as the Romaine Emperours in tyme paſt gouerned ouer all the world, ſo the Romaine biſhop muſt haue his monarchie vpon the vniuerſall Clergy, to make all other churches to ſtoupe vnder his ſubiection. And where then be the wordes of our Sauiour: Vos autem non ſic, If they hold their affirmatiue, quòd ſic where then is Chriſtes negatiue, non ſic? if they ſay, there muſt needes be diſtinction of degrees in the church, and in this diſtinction of degrees, ſuperioritie muſt neceſſarily be graunted for the outward diſcipline of the church, for directing matters, for quieting of ſchiſmes, for ſetting orders, for commenſing of Conuocations and Councels, as neede ſhall require, &c. Againſt this ſuperioritie we ſtand not, & therefore we yeld to our ſuperior power, kings, and princes, our due obedience, and to our lawfull gouernours vnder God of both regiments, Eccleſiaſticall and Temporall. Alſo in the Eccleſiaſticall ſtate, we take not away the diſtinction of ordinarie degrees, ſuch as by the Scripture be appointed, or by the primatiue church allowed. As Patriarchs, or Archbiſhops, Biſhops, Miniſters and Deacons, for of theſe foure, we eſpecially read as chiefe. In which foure degrees as we graunt diuerſitie of office, ſo we admitte in the ſame alſo, diuerſitie of dignitie: neither denying that which is due to ech degree, neither yet maintaining the ambition of any ſinguler perſon. For as we geue to the miniſter place aboue the Deacon, to the biſhop aboue the miniſter, to the Archbiſhop aboue the Biſhop: ſo we ſee no cauſe of inequalitie, why one miniſter ſhould be aboue an other miniſter: One biſhop in his degree aboue an other biſhop to deale in his Dioceſſe: or one Archbiſhop aboue another Archbiſhop. And this is to keepe an order duely & truly in the church, according to the true nature and definitiō of order by the authoritie of Auguſt. lib. De ciuit. Dei. Where he thus defineth that which we call order: Ordo, eſt parium diſpariumq; rerum ſua cuiq; loca tribuens diſpoſitio Order) ſaith he) is a diſcretion or diſpoſition giuen to all things, according as they are matches, or not matches, proportionally to euery one his owne right and proper place.

Preheminence of a Church eſteemed after a double conſideration.

Obiection. Outward preheminence belongeth to outwarde kingdomes not to the Church of Chriſt.

The 1. aunſwere to the obiection.

Non ſic, ſayth Chriſt.

Quod ſic, ſayth the Pope.

Obiection.

Aunſwere. Superioritie in the Church.

Diſtinction of degrees in the church.

Diuerſitie of dignityes in degrees.

Order kept in the Church, and what true order is.

Aug. de Ciuit. Dei. lib. 91. cap.

Order defined.

This definition of S. Auguſtine, ſtanding with the things before premiſed, now here ioyneth the queſtiō betwene vs and the Papiſtes, whether the Metropolitane Church of Rome, with yͤ Archbiſhop of the ſame, ought to be preferred before other Metropolitane churches & Archbiſhyps, through vniuerſall Chriſtendome or not? To the anſwer wherof, if the voyce of order might here be heard, it would ſay: geue to things that be matches & like, like honour, to things vnlike, vnlike honour, &c. Wherefore, ſeyng the ſea of Rome is a Patriarchall ſea appointed by the Primitiue Church, and the Biſhop thereof an Archbiſhop limited within his owne bordering churches, which the Councel of Nice calleth ſuburbicas Eccleſias, as other Archbiſhops be: he ought therfore orderly to haue the honor of an Archbiſhop (ordering himſelfe thereafter) & ſuch outward preeminence as to other Archbiſhops is due. More if he do require, he breaketh the rule of right order, he falleth into preſumption, and doth wrong vnto his fellows, and they alſo do wrong vnto themſelues, whoſoeuer they be, which feeding his humour of ambition, geue more vnto him thē the foreſaid rule of order doth require. For ſo much as they yeld to him more thē is his right, ſo much they take frō themſelues, which is due to thē. And the ſame is the cauſe, why both Gregory and Pelagius his predeceſſour reprehendeth them, which gaue to the Archbiſhop of Conſtantinople,

that,

Ex Regiſtro Greg. lib. 4. Epiſto. 32.

that, which now the biſhop of Rome claimeth to himſelfe; charging them with the breach of order in theſe wordes: Ne dum priuatim aliquod daretur vni, honore debito ſacerdotes priuarentur vniuerſi, that is, leaſt that while any ſingular thing is giuen to one perſon, all other Prieſtes be depriued of their due honour. And for the like caſe Pelagius exhorteth that no Prieſt do giue to any one Archbiſhop, the name of vniuerſall biſhop, ne ſibi debitum ſubtrahat cum alteri honorem offert indebitum. That is, leaſt (ſaith he) in ſo doing, he take from himſelfe his due honour, while he yeldeth that, which is not due to another. And alſo in the ſame Epiſtle: Quia ſi ſummus Patriarcha vniuerſalis dicitur, Patriarcharum nomen cæteris derogatur. For (ſaith he) if he be called the chiefe vniuerſal Patriarch, then is the name of Patriarchs derogated from other. &c. wherfore as is ſaid, ſeing the biſhop of Rome is an Archbiſhop, as other be. Order giueth that he ſhould haue the dignitie, which to Archbiſhops is due, whatſoeuer is added more, is derogation to the reſt. And thus much concerning diſtinction of degrees, and order in giuing to euery degree, his place and honour.

Ex Epiſt. 2. Pelag. 2. Diſt. 99. ca. Nullus.

The ſecond aunſwere to the obiectiō before moued.

The ſecond reaſon or anſwer to the obiectiō before moued, pag. 16. is this: that beyng graunted to the Papiſts, that the Doctours aforeſaid, ſpeaking of the principallitie of the church of Rome, doe meane not onely of the inward vertues of that church, but alſo of the outward authoritie and iuriſdiction of the ſame, aboue other churches: yet the cauſe wherfore they did attribute ſo much to the church, is to be expēded, which was this, as before was alledged out of the Councel of Calcedon, cap. 28. διὰ τὸ βασιλεύειν τὴν πόλιν ἐκείνην, that is, for the rule and Imperie which that citie of Rome had then aboue other cities, which cauſe being outward & carnall, was neither then cauſe ſufficient, and now ceaſing, importeth not to vs the like effect, according as they ſay: Sublata cauſa, tollitur effectus. So that by the reaſon therof, the foreſaid principallitie of the church of Rome, did not hold then iure diuino, ſed humano. And as it holdeth by mans law, ſo by mans law may be repealed againe.

Ex Concil. Calced. cap. 28.

Wherfore, be it admitted that both the Pope ſitteth and ſucceedeth in the chaire of Peter, and alſo that he is the Biſhop of the greateſt citie in the world: yet it followeth not therby that he ſhould haue rule and lordſhip ouer all other biſhops and churches of the world. For firſt touching the ſucceſſion of Peter, many things are to be conſidered.

Certayne demaundes for the Papiſtes to anſwere vnto.

Firſt, whether Peter ſate, and had his chaire in Rome, or not?

Secondly, whether he ſate there as an Apoſtle, or as a Biſhop?

Thirdly, whether the ſitting in the outward ſeate of Peter, maketh ſucceſſour of Peter?

Fourthly, whether he ſitteth in the chaire & ſeat of Peter, which ſitteth not in the doctrine of Peter?

Fiftly, whether the ſucceſſion of Peter maketh rather an Apoſtle then a Biſhop, & ſo ſhould we call the Pope, the Apoſtle of Rome, and not the biſhop of Rome?

Sixtly, whether Eccleſiaſticall functions ought to be eſteemed by ordinarie ſucceſſion of place, or by Gods ſecret calling or ſending?

Seuenthly and laſtly, whether it ſtand by Scripture, any ſucceſſion at all to be pointed in Chriſtes Church, or why more from Peter, then from other Apoſtles?

All which Interrogatories being wel diſcuſſed (which would aſke a long proces) it ſhould wel appeare what litle hold the Pope hath to take this ſtate vpon him, aboue all other Churches as he doth. In the meane tyme, this one argument by the way may ſuffice in ſtead of many, for our aduerſaries to anſwer to at their conuenient leiſure. Which argument thus I forme and frame in Cameſtres.

An argument prouing the Popes of this latter Church of Rome not to be ſucceſſours of Peter.

Ca- All the true ſucceſſors of Peter, ſit in the chaire of the doctrine of Peter, and other Apoſtles vniformly.

me- No Popes of this latter Church of Rome, ſitte in the chaire of Saint Peters and other Apoſtles doctrine vniformely.

ſtres. Ergo, no Popes of this latter church of Rome, be the true ſucceſſors of Peter.

And when they haue well peruſed the Minor of this argument, and haue well conferred together the doctrine taught them of S. Peter, with the doctrine taught now by the Popes, of iuſtification of a Chriſten man, of the office of the law, of the ſtrength and largenes of ſinne, of mens merites, of free will, of works of ſupererogation, of ſetting vp images, of vij. Sacramentes, of auricular confeſſion, of ſatiſfaction, of ſacrifice of the Maſſe, of communicating vnder one kinde, of eleuating and adoring the Sacramentall elements, of Latine ſeruice, of inuocation, of prohibitiō of meates and mariage, of vowing chaſtitie, of ſectes & rules of diuers religions, of indulgences and pardōs: alſo with their doctrine taught now of magiſtrates, of the fulnes of power, and regalitie of the ſea of Rome, with many other like to theſe, &c. then will I be glad to heare what they wil ſay to the premiſſes.

Secondly, if they would proue by the allegation of the Doctours, Irenæus, Ambroſe, Auguſtine, Theodoritus aforeſaid, the Biſhop of Rome to bee the chiefe of all Biſhops, therfore, becauſe the citie wherof he is biſhop, is the chiefe and principall aboue all other Churches, that conſequent is to be denied. For it followeth not (taking as I ſaid, the principallitie of that church to ſtand διὰ τὸ βασιλεύειν τὴν πόλιν that is, vpon the principal dominion of that citie) no more then this conſequent followeth.

London is the chiefe Citie in all England.

Ergo, the biſhop of London is the chiefeſt of all biſhops in the Realme.

Which argument were derogatory to the biſhop both of Canterbury, and of Yorke.

Yea to graunt yet more to our aduerſaries (which is all they can require) the minde of the foreſaid Doctours Irenæus, Ambroſe, Auguſtine, and Theodoritus, in giuing principallitie vnto Rome, to haue reſpect vnto ý vertue of ſucceſſion from Peter, and not vnto the greatnes of the Citie: yet notwithſtanding, for all this their argument holdeth not, if it be rightly conſidered, to ſay.

A falſe conſequent of the Papiſtes.

The Apoſtolicall Sea of Rome, hauing ſucceſſiō from Peter, with the biſhops therof, was chief then of all other churches, in the primitiue tyme of theſe Doctours.

Ergo, the Apoſtolicall ſea of Rome, with the Biſhops therof, hauing ſucceſſiō from Peter, ought now to be chiefe of all other churches in theſe our dayes.

Aunſwere to the conſequent.

This conſequent might well follow, if the tymes were like, or if ſucceſſion which gaue them the cauſe of principallitie, were the ſame now, which was then. But now the time and ſucceſſion is not correſpondent, for then ſucceſſion in the time of theſe Doctours, was as well in doctrine Apoſtolicall, as in place Apoſtolicall. Now the ſucceſſion of doctrine Apoſtolicall hath not long ceaſed in the ſea Apoſtolicall: and nothing remaineth but onely place, which is the leſt matter of true ſpirituall and Apoſtolical ſucceſſion. And thus much to the authoritie and teſtimonie of theſe forenamed Doctors.

Succeſſion Apoſtolicall double wiſe to be conſidered.

Beſides theſe obiections heretofore recited out of Irenæus, Ambroſe, Auguſtine, and Theodoritus, our aduerſaries yet obiect and heape vp againſt vs: moreouer, examples of the primitiue time of the church, teſtimonies of generall Councels, and opinions of auncient writers, taken out of the booke of Councels, & Epiſtles decretall, wherby their intent is to proue, the foreſayd termes (of the head of the church, ruler of the church, chiefe of all other Prieſtes) to bee applied not onely to Peter, but alſo to the Biſhop of Rome within the compaſſe of the primitiue time. And here commeth in the teſtimonie cited of Vincentius Lirinenſis. Of the Epiſtle of Paſchaſius and his fellowes, writing to Leo from the Councel of Chalcedon. The teſtimonie alſo of Iuſtinian the Emperour in his Codex: where Ioannes then Pope was called caput omnium Eccleſiarum Epiſt. inter claras cap. De ſumma Trinit & fide Cath. The teſtimonie alſo of Athanaſius, with his fellow biſhops of Egypt, of Thebaida, and Libia, in their Epiſtles to Pope Marcus, Liberius & Felix. Likewiſe the teſtimonie of Hierome, In præf. in 4. Euang. Item Epiſt. 42 Tom. 1. Item Epiſt. 41. Tom. 2. Of S. Ambroſe, 1. Tim 3. Of S. Auguſtine to Boniſace. Ad Bonifac. contra duas Epiſt. Pelagian. Lib. 1. cap. 1. Item, Lib. 2. De Baptiſm. cap. 1. Of Theodoritus in his Epiſtle to Pope Leo. Epiſt Commentar. in Pauli Epiſt. præfixa. Of Chryſoſtome, Epiſt ad Innocentium, Tom. 5. &c. By which teſtimonies our aduerſaries would proue S. Peter, and after him the Biſhop of Rome to be called and taken for head of the church, chiefe biſhop, prince and ruler of the whole Clergy. To all which obiections fully and exactly to aunſwer in order, would require a whole volume by it ſelfe. In the meane time, leauing the reſt vnto them vnto whom it doth more properly appertain, briefly with this one ſhort diſtinction, I anſwer theſe & all ſuch other like places, where S. Peter with his ſucceſſours are called: head of the church, chiefe of Biſhops, Prince of the Apoſtles, &c. In which places, this worde head, chiefe, and Prince of the Apoſtles, may be taken two maner of waies: to note, either dominiō, or els commendation. For ſo we read ſometime Caput, and princeps, to be wordes not of authoritie, but of excellencie, wherby is declared the chiefeſt and worthieſt part among many parts, and not poſſeſſour and gouernour of the whole. Like as in the perſon of mā, the hed is the principal part of the whole body, being endued with reaſon, & furniſhed with moſt excellēt ſenſes, by the which ý whole body of mā is directed,

Teſtimonies alledged for the principalitie of the Pope.

Aunſwere by a diſtinction.

Caput and Princeps, haue a double vnderſtanding.

ſo thereof is deriued by a metaphor, to what man or thing ſoeuer nature or condition hath giuen the greateſt excellẽcie, of gifts and properties aboue other partes or mẽbers, the ſame ſocietie to be called of the ſaid parties, Caput, or Princeps, head or Prince. And yet the ſame head or Prince ſo called, hath not alwayes dominion or iuriſdictiõ of the reſt. So we call in our vulgar ſpeach the head or chiefe men of the pariſh, who for their riches, wiſdom, or place, are moſt ſpecially noted: After like phraſe of ſpeach we call the head man of the Inqueſt, him that hath the firſt place. And yet neither they nor theſe haue any dominion or iuriſdiction vpon the reſidue. In a ſchoole the chiefeſt Scholer in learning, is not therefore the maiſter or gouernour of his fellowes. Neither hath M. Cicero any title thereby to claime ſubiection and ſeruice of all other Oratours, becauſe he is named Princeps eloquentiæ, and goeth before them in that kind of phraſe. The ſame Cicero. Lib. 1. offic. calleth Cratippũ principem huius ætatis Philoſophorum: as Homerus alſo may be called Poetarum Princeps: And yet neither Philoſophers to Cratippus, nor Poetes to Homere, owe anye thing els, but onely fame and praiſe.

How Peter is *Princeps Apoſtolorum. Princeps eloquẽtiæ Cicero. Princeps Philoſophorum Cratippus.*

And what if S. Peter the bleſſed Apoſtle be called and counted of the old auncient Doctours, as head and Prince of the Apoſtles, which is as much as Coryphæus Apoſtolorum, for his excellent faith, for his deuine confeſſion & ſingular affection to the Lorde Ieſus: yet what Intereſt or charge either hath he to chalenge ouer the Apoſtles, or the Pope after him ouer all other biſhops & the whole church of Chriſt, although the Pope haue the like excellencie of Chriſtes faith which Peter had, as would God he had? As concerning theſe allegations therfore out of the Doctors, two thinges are to be obſerued: Firſt, that neither theſe names and titles though they be geuen to Peter, doe geue him any ſtate or dominion aboue other Apoſtles: nor yet the ſucceſſion of him doth further any whit this celſitude and regalitie of the Pope to aduance him aboue his fellow Archbiſhops, as he now doth.

Petrus Princeps & Coryphæus Apoſtolorum.

And if our aduerſaries would needs prouoke vs to the numbring of teſtimonies, & deuiding the houſe (ſpeaking of the writers and Counſels of the Primitiue age) for theſe aforeſaid teſtimonies alleaged on their ſide, I could on the contrary part recite out of the witneſſe of Doctours, out of the examples of Councels, & practiſes of Emperors, no leſſe then 60. voices, much more repugnant againſt their aſſertion, then there is for the Pope. The tractation whereof for this preſent I do refer, either to them that haue more laiſure at this time to diſcourſe them, or els omit it to an other time, if the good pleaſure of the Lord ſhall be, to graunt me further laiſure in an other Booke to intreat thereof at large, in ſuch order, as (if the Lord ſo graunt) ſhal appeare ſufficient matter, to proue by the Doctors, general Councels, examples and hiſtories of time, that the Biſhops of Rome during the firſt 500. yeres after Chriſt, although for the greatnes of the Empire, were ſomewhat more magnified then the other, and therfore were ſought of many, and were flattred of ſome, and they themſelues diuers, did ſet forth themſelues more then they ſhould: yet by the commõ conſent of churches, were ſtopped of their purpoſe, ſo that by the conſenſion of the moſt part, within the compaſſe of that age the Biſhops of Rome had not this regall ſtate of title, iuriſdiction, and fulnes of power, which now they vſurpe, but were taken as Archbiſhops, of equal honour, of equal merite with other Archbiſhops & rulers of yͤ church. And if any preferment was giuen vnto them ſome thing aboue the reſt, yet neither was it ſo giuen of all, nor of the moſt part: ſecondly, neither was it ſo giuen of them for any ſuch neceſſitie of Gods worde, aut iure aliquo diuino, as which did ſo bind them thereunto, nor yet ſo much for the reſpect of Peter, & his ſucceſſion: as for certaine other cauſes and reſpects, as may be gathered to the number of 13.

Cauſes 13. of aduauncing the ſea of Rome.

1. Of which, the firſt is the greatneſſe of the citie and Monarchie of Rome.

2. The ſecond, is the authoritie of the Emperor Conſtantine the great, firſt of the Emperors conuerted to the faith, and ruling in the ſame citie, by whom the vniuerſal libertie of the church was firſt promoted, and the cauſes of the biſhops being then at variance, were committed partly to the biſhop of Rome, partly to other biſhops nere by, to be decided, as appeareth Euſeb. lib. 10. cap. 5.

3. The third, was the Councel of Nice, which confirmed the preeminence of that church to haue the ouerſight of the churches bordering about it.

4. The fourth cauſe of aduauncing the church of Rome, was the vnquiet ſtate of the Greek church, much troubled in thoſe dayes with ſects, factions, and diſſentions, wherof we may read, Socrat. lib. 2. cap 15. Sozom. lib. 3. cap. 8.

5. The fift, when Synodes were called by other Metropolitanes, then if it chanced the biſhops of Rome to be abſent, and their ſentence being abſent to be required, by the occaſion therof, they began at length to take their ſentence for a Canon or rule Eccleſiaſticall, & thereby to refuſe other Synodes, where their decree or ſentẽce was not required.

6. An other cauſe was, that when any common matter was in hand in other places, whatſoeuer was done, commonly the maner was to write to the Romaine biſhop for his approbatiõ in the ſame, for publike vnitie and conſent to be had in Chriſtes church, as appeareth Lib. 10. Epiſt. 78. Ambroſij ad Theophilum.

7. Item, for that the teſtimonie ſomtimes of the Romain biſhop was wont in thoſe dayes alſo to be deſired, for admitting teachers and biſhops in other churches, whereof we haue example in Socrat lib. 4. cap. 37.

8. Moreouer, this was a great ſetting vp of that church, when as their ſentence not only was required, but alſo receiued diuers times of other biſhops. And when Biſhops of other prouinces were at any diſſention among thẽſelues they of their owne accord appealed to the biſhop of Rome, deſiring him to cite vp both parties, and to haue the hearing and deciding of the cauſe, as did Macarius and Heſychius ſend to Iulius then biſhop of Rome, &c.

9. Item, in that certaine of the Arrians returning from their Arrianiſme, offered vp and exhibited vnto the biſhops of Rome their libels of repentance, and were of them receiued againe, as Vrſatius and Valens did to Iulius. Socra. lib. 2. cap 24.

10. The x. cauſe was alſo, for that Gratianus the Emperour made a law, that all men ſhould retaine that religiõ which Damaſus biſhop of Rome, and Peter biſhop of Alexandria did hold. Sozom lib. 7. cap. 4.

11. And alſo, if it happened the biſhop of Rome to diſalow the ordering of any miniſter or miniſters, the Popes perceiuing how diligent and redy they were to ſeeke their fauour, and to ſend vp their meſſengers to Rome for their purgation, tooke therby no little maner of exaltation. Theodoret. lib. 5. cap. 23.

12. Beſides theſe aforeſaid, the biſhops of Rome had alſo an other artificiall practiſe, that in ſending out their letters abroad, as they did to many, in all their Epiſtles (if the Epiſtles be theirs, and not forged) euer they were harping of the greatnes of their name, and of their Apoſtolike ſea, and of the primacie of S. Peter, their predeceſſor and prince of all the Apoſtles, &c. And this they vſed in euerie letter, when ſo euer they wrote to any, as appeareth in all their letters decretall, namely, in the letters of Miltiades, Marcellus, and Marcus, &c.

13. Againe, if any of the Eaſt church directed any writing to them, wherein any ſignification was conteined of neuer ſo little reuerence giuen vnto them (as learned men commonly vſe for modeſties ſake) that was taken by & by and conſtrued for plaine ſubiection, and due obediẽce, as declareth the letter of Damaſus, written to the biſhops of the Eaſt Church, beginning thus: Quod debita reuerentia, &c. in Engliſh thus: but that your charitie yeldeth due reuerẽce to the Apoſtolicall ſea, you in ſo doing (deare children) do much for your ſelues, &c. Theodoret. Lib. 5. cap. 9. where as the Biſhops of the Eaſt Church notwithſtanding had ſhewed little or no reuerence in their Epiſtle to Pope Damaſus before.

Thus haue ye the firſt and originall groundes, by the meanes wherof, the Archbiſhops of the Romiſh Sea haue atchieued to this their great kingdome and celſitude ouer Chriſtes church, firſt beginning the myſterie of their iniquitie, by that which was modeſtly and voluntarily giuẽ them. Afterward by vſe and cuſtome claiming it ambitiouſly vnto them, of dutie & ſeruice, & laſtly holding faſt (as we ſee) that which once they had gotten into their poſſeſſiõ, ſo that now in no caſe they can abide the birdes to cal home their fethers againe, which they ſo long haue vſurped.

This latter Church of Rome differing from the firſt Church of Rome, in forme of gouernement.

And thus much concerning the life, iuriſdiction, & title of the Romain biſhops: In all which (as is declared) they and not we, haue fallen from the church of Rome. To theſe I might alſo ioyne the maner of gouernment, wherin the ſaid Romiſh Biſhops haue no leſſe altered both from the rule of Scripture, and from the ſteps of the true church of Rome, which gouernment as it hath bene, and ought to be only ſpirituall: ſo hath the biſhop of Rome vſed it of late yeres no otherwiſe, thẽ hath an earthly king or prince gouerned his realme & dominiõs, with riches, glory, power, terror, outward ſtrẽgth, force, priſõ, death, executiõ, lawes policies, promoting his friends to dignities, reuenging his affections, puniſhing and correcting faults againſt his perſon more then other offences againſt God committed, vſing and abuſing in all theſe things the word of God for his pretext & cloke to worke his worldly purpoſe withall:

whereas indede the word of God miniſtreth no ſuch power to ſpirituall perſons, but ſuch as is ſpirituall: according to the ſaying of the Apoſtle. Arma militiæ noſtræ non ſunt carnalia, ſed ſpiritualia.&c. The armour and artillery, sayth S. Paule, of our warfaire is not carnall, but ſpirituall: ſuch as ſerue not againſt fleſh and bloud, nor againſt the weake perſon of man: but againſt Sathan, agaynſt the gates of hell, and the profundities of the wicked power. &c.

Howe the Church of Chriſt ought to be gouerned.

which armour as it is al ſpiritual, ſo ought they, which haue the dealing therof, to be likewiſe ſpirituall, well furniſhed with all ſuch giftes and graces of the holye Ghoſt, meete for the gouernance of his ſpiritual Church: as with wiſedome and knowledge in the Scripture, to inſtructe the ignorant: with inward intelligence & forſight of the craftye cogitations and operations of Sathan, with power of the ſpirit to reſiſt the ſame: with practiſe and experience of tentations, to comfort ſuch as be afflicted and oppreſſed of Sathan: with heauenly diſcretion to diſcerne ſpirits, and truth from vntruth: with iudgment and knowledge of tounges and learning to conuict errour: wyth zeale of Gods glory, with feruencye of prayer, with patience in perſecution: with a minde contented with all caſes and ſtates incident, with teares and compaſſion on other mens greeues: with ſtoutnes and courage againſt proud and ſtout oppreſſours: with humilitie toward the poore and miſerable: with the counſaile of the Lorde Ieſus, by his word and ſpirite to direct him in all things to be done with ſtrength againſt ſinne: with hatred of this worlde; with gift of fayth: power of the keyes in ſpirituall cauſes, as to miniſter the word, the Sacraments and excommunication when the worde biddeth, that the ſpirite may be ſaued, and to reconcile againe, as caſe requireth. &c. Theſe and ſuch like are the matters wherin conſiſteth the ſinewes and ſtrength of the church, and the true gouernance of the ſame. But cõtrary to theſe aforeſaid both yͤ Biſhop & clergie of this latter Church of Rome, proceeding in their adminiſtration and gouernaunce, as who vnder the name and pretence of Chriſt and his word, haue exerciſed of long time nothing els but a worldly dominion, ſeeking indede their owne glory, not the glory of Chriſt: riches of the world, not the lucre of ſoules: not feeding the flocke, but fillyng the purſe: reuenging their owne wronges, but neglecting gods glory: ſtryuing againſt man onely, and killing him, but not killing the vice, nor confuting the errour of man: ſtrong againſt fleſh and bloude, but weake againſt the Deuill, ſtout againſt the ſimple, but meeke againſt the mightie: briefly, doing almoſt all thinges preposterouſly, more like to ſecular Princes, then ſpirituall Paſtours of Chriſtes flocke, with outward forcement, and feare of puniſhment, wyth pryſoning, famiſhyng, hanging, racking, drowning, headyng, ſlaying, murdering, and burning, and warring alſo: on the other ſide with his riches and treaſures, wyth his garde and gardiance, with ſtrength of men, with Court and Cardinals: with pomp and pride about them, with their triple crowne, with the naked ſworde: with theyr ordinary ſucceſſion: with their lawes, and executions: their promotions and prefermẽts: their biddings and commandings: threatninges and reuenginges. &c.

Prepoſterous gouernement of the Church by the pope.

A compariſõ betwene the kingdom of this world and the kingdome of the Pope.

In fine, to compare therfore the Images of a worldly kingdome, with this kingdome of the Pope, there is no difference, ſaue onely that this kingdome of the Pope, vnder hypocriſie maketh a face of the ſpirituall ſword, which is the worde of God: but in verye deede doth all things with the temporall ſworde, that is with outwarde forcement and coaction: differing nothing from ciuile and ſecular regiment in all properties and conditions, if it be well conſidered. For as in an earthly kingdome firſt there is a Prince or ſome chiefe Magiſtrate appointed, hauing dominion ouer his nobles and commons, conteining all his ſubiects vnder his ſtatutes and lawes, with the which lawes notwithſtanding he diſpenſeth at his pleaſure: vnder whom all other inferior Magiſtrates haue their order and place to them appointed to rule ouer the ſubiects, and yet to be ſubiect vnder him: So if the ſtate and forme of the Pope be well aduiſed, we ſhall ſee it altereth nothing from the ſame, but onely in the names of the perſons. In ciuile gouernment, al ſubiectiõ is referred to one head ruler, whoſe authoritie ſurmounteth all the reſt, and kepeth them vnder obedience: In like maner the gouernement of the Popiſh Church is committed to one man, who as chiefe ſteward, ouerſeer and ruler of Chriſtes houſhold in his abſence, hath ſupreame power ouer all Churches, to moderate and direct all the affaires thereof. But here ſtãdeth the difference, in ciuill policy he is called a Kyng or Prince: here he is called a Pope.

Seculer Nobilitie compared with eccleſiaſticall Nobilitie.

The King hath next vnto him his Dukes & Earles, The Popes nobilitie ſtandeth in his Cardinals, and Legats, who though they be no Dukes in name, yet in pompe and prid will not onely giue checke to them, but alſo mate to Kings themſelues, if they might be ſuffered, as did Theodorus, Lancfrancus, Ancelmus, Thomas Becket, and ſo would Thomas Woulſey haue done, had not the King giuen him a necke to his mate betime. In ciuile policie next to Dukes & Earles foloweth the order of Lords, Barons, Knights Eſquiers, Gentlemen, with Mayors, Sheriffes, Cõſtables, Bayliffes, wardens. &c. The like race is to be ſeene alſo, although vnder other names, in the Popes policie: of Primates, Biſhops, Suffraganes, Prouoſtes, Deanes Canons, Vicars, Archdeacons, Prieſts, Deacons, Subdeacõs, Acolites, Exorciſts, Lectors, Dorekepers, Singſters, with other Clerks. And as in the other vnder wardens cometh the order of Scauingers: ſo neither doth the Popes Monarchy lacke his kaynilrakers, to whome may well be compared the rablement of Abbots, Prouincials, Priors, Monkes, Friers, with their Couentes and Nonneries.

Ciuile Magiſtrates compared with Eccleſiaſticall.

Officers of the temperall court compared with the officers of the ſpirituall Court.

Moreouer from Iuſtices, Iudges, Laweyers, Sergeants, Attorneyes, which be neceſſary offices in the cõmon wealth, what differeth the Popes Inquiſitors, Canoniſtes, Doctours and Bachelers of the Popes lawe, Comiſſaries, Officials, Proctors, Promoters, with ſuch other, which ſerue no leſſe in ſpirituall Court, & in the conſiſtorie, then the other aforeſaid doe in temporall Court, or in the Yeldhall. Now who ſo liſt to compare the glory and magnificence of the one, with the glory of the other: alſo the power and ſtrength of the one regiment, with the power of the other: and ſo the ryches of the one, wyth the rythes of the other, I ſuppoſe he ſhall ſee no great ods betweene them both, taking the Popes kingdome as it hath ſtood in his full ruffe, & yet doth ſtande, where Churches are not reformed. As for ſubtiltie and politike practiſe, there is no man that doubteth, that is indifferent, nor that ſeeth not, that hath his eyes, but that the Popes hierarchie in holding vp their ſtate, far excelleth all yͤ kingdomes of worldly Princes, of whome all other may take example to learne.

Glory cõpared. Power cõpared. Riches compared.

Subteltie compared.

The difference betweene the Popes regiment and the order of the primitiue Church.

Thus in comparing the Popes regiment with ciuile gouernance as they doe little or nothing diſagre a ſunder: So in comparing againe the ſame with the order of ſcriptures, or with the regiment that was in the old auncient Church of Rome, we ſhall ſee no reſemblaunce betwene them. As we read in the Apoſtles time, all the armour of Chriſtes miniſters was ſpirituall and ful of godly power againſt the ſpirituall enimies of our ſaluation, gouerning the Church then with peace, patience, humilitie, true knowledge of God, the ſword of the ſpirite, the ſhielde of fayth, the breaſtplate of righteouſnes, harty charitie, ſincere faith, and good conſcience: ſo after the Apoſtles in the time of Ambroſe, by his owne teſtimonie is to be vnderſtand, that the armour of Churchmen was then, preces & lachrymæ, prayers and teares: where now the armour of the popes Prieſthode is nothing els but ignis & ferrum, i. fire and ſword, wherewith they keepe all things vnder their ſubiection. And here commeth the enorme and horrible abuſe of excommunication, ſuſpenſion, and interdiction in caſes friuolous, or worldly, and for ſuch, as for which the ciuile magiſtrate will not commit any Citizens to the ſtockes, the Popes cenſure will not ſticke to commit a Chriſtian to the deuill: not to ſpeak of their other vſurped dealings and doings in matters, that belong to yͤ ciuile ſword, & be to them impertinent. As in puniſhing whoredome and adultery, in adminiſtration and probates of teſtamentes, in bearing ciuile office, as popes to be Senators of Rome and Emperour alſo ſede vacante. Cardinals to be Capitaines in warre, and rulers of regions: Byſhoppes to be Preſidentes or Chauncelours, Prieſtes to be ſtewards in great mens houſes, or mayſters of mintes, or Clerkes of yͤ market, or gardiners to Gentlemen. &c. All which here I ouerpaſſe referring thẽ to yͤ deeper conſideratiõ of ſuch as haue more leiſure to mark yͤ order of their doings, & ſo to iudge of the ſame with indifferencie, according to yͤ rule of truth, touched with Gods worde, and publike examples of yͤ auncient Church of Chriſt in the primitiue tyme.

2. Cor. 10. Ephe. 6. 1. Tim. 1.

The armour proper to Churchmen.

Horrible abuſe of excommunication in the Popes Church.

The Popes gouerning in matters to them not pertayning.

The corrupt doctrine of the Popes Church examined and detected.

Thus hauing diſcourſed, ſufficiently ſo much as concerneth the maner of life, title, iuriſdiction, and gouernement of the Popes ſea (in all which pointes is to be ſene how this latter Church of Rome hath receded from the true auncient Church of Rome) now remaineth, according to my promiſe, and order prefixed, conſequentlye to proceede to the fourth and laſt point, which is of doctrine: wherein conſiſteth the chiefeſt matter that maketh with vs and againſt them, in ſuch ſort as (their doctrine ſtanding

The falſe image of the Popes Church.

No comfort nor ſaluation in the Popes doctrine now taught.

The ſcope and ſumme of the Popes doctrine whether it tendeth.

ding as it doth) neither they are to be reputed for true Catholikes being altered ſo far from them: nor we otherwiſe then heretikes if we ſhoulde now ioyne with theſe. For the more triall whereof, let vs examine the doctrine & rites of the ſayd Church of Rome now vſed, and compare the ſame with the teaching of the auncient Catholikes, to the intent that ſuch ſimple ſoules as haue beene hetherto, and yet ſeduced by the falſe viſour and image of this pretenced and baſtardly church, perceauing what lieth within it, may be warned by tyme, either to eſchue the perill, if they liſt to be inſtructed: or if not, to blame none but thẽſelues for their owne wilfull deſtruction. And albeit I coulde here charge the newfangled Church of the Pope with vij. or viij. heynous crimes, as blaſphemy, Idolatry, hereſie, ſuperſtition, abſurditie, vanitie, crueltie, and contrarietie (as which neither agreeth with the old learning of their forelders, nor yet with thẽſelues in ſundry points) yet after a more temperate ſort to paſſe this matter wyth them, theſe ij. things, I will & dare boldly affirme, that in this doctrine of the Pope nowe taught in the Church of Rome, is neither any conſolation of conſcience, nor ſaluation of mans ſoule. For ſeeing there is no life nor ſoule health but onely in Chriſt, nor any promiſe of ſaluation or comfort made, but only by faith in the ſonne of God, what aſſurance then can there be of perfect peace, life, or ſaluatiõ where that which onely maketh all, is leaſt made of, and other things which make leaſt are moſt eſteemed? For to ſay the ſimple truth, what els is the whole courſe and body of the popes law now ſet forth, but a doctrine of laws, a heape of ceremonies, a teaching of traditions, a meditation of merites, a foundation of new Religions: al which conferre not one iote to the iuſtification of our ſoules before the terrible iudgement of God.

Papiſtes neuer lightly afflicted in conſcience deepely.

An horrible thing to thinke of God without Chriſt. *Luther.*

And therefore (as it may be truely ſaide) this doctrine of the Pope to be voyd of all true comfort and ſaluation: ſo likewiſe it ſeemeth that theſe which addict themſelues ſo deuoutly to yͤ popes learning, were neuer earneſtly afflicted in conſcience, neuer humbled in ſpirite nor broken in hart, neuer entred into any ſerious feeling of Gods iudgement, nor euer felt the ſtrength of the law & of death. For if they had, they ſhoulde ſoone haue ſeene their owne weakenes and be driuen to Chriſt: then ſhould they haue ſeene what a horrible thing it is to appeare before GOD the father, or once to thinke on him (as Luther ſaith) without chriſt. And on the contrarye ſide, then ſhoulde they know what a glory, what a kingdome, what liberty and life it were to be in Chriſt Ieſus by faith, holding their inheritance, not with the bondſonne of Agar, but with the free ſonne of Sara: by promiſe and not by yͤ law: by grace, and not by works: by gift and not by deſeruing, that god onely might be prayſed and not man.

The right fayth of the olde Romanes.

Cornelius a Romane firſt baptiſed of all the Gentiles.

The church of Rome hath loſt the liquor where with it was firſt ſeaſoned.

The Galathians almoſt gone frõ fayth in Sainct Paules time.

And thus were the olde Romaines firſt taught by S. Paule writing to the Romanes. The ſame did Cornelius the Romaine, and firſt that was Baptiſed of all the Gentiles, learne of S. Peter when he receaued the holy Ghoſt, not by the deedes of the law, but onely by hearing the faith of Ieſus preached. And in the ſame doctrine the ſayd Church of the Romaines many yeares continued, ſo long as they were in affliction. And in the ſame doctrine, the byſhop of Rome with his Romanes now alſo ſhould ſtill remayne, if they were ſuch auncient Catholickes as they pretende, and woulde follow the old mother Church of Rome, and holde the firſt liquor wherewith they were firſt ſeaſoned. But the ſweete verdor and ſent of that liquor and pleaſant muſt is nowe cleane put out through other vnſauery infuſions of the Popes thruſting in, ſo that almoſt no taſt nor peece remaineth of all that primitiue doctrine which S. Paule and other Apoſtles firſt planted among the Gentiles. And what maruell if the Romanes now in ſo long tract of time haue loſt their firſt ſap, ſeyng the Church of the Galathians then in the very time of S. Paule their Schoolemaiſter, he being amongſt them, had not ſo ſoone turned his backe a little, but they were all turned almoſt from the doctrine of fayth, and had much a doo to be recouered againe.

1. Tim. 4.

Of this defection and falling from faith. S. Paule expreſſely foretelleth vs in his letters both to the Theſſalonians, and alſo to Timothe, where he ſheweth: that a defection ſhall come, and that certaine ſhall depart from the faith, attending to ſpirits of errour. &c. 1. Tim. 4. And to know what errours theſe ſhall be, the circumſtance plainly leadeth vs to vnderſtande in the ſame place, where the ſayd Apoſtle, ſpeaketh of marked conſciences, forbidding men to marry, and to eate meates ordeined of God to be taken with thankes giuing, for mans ſuſtenance, moſt euidently as with his finger, pointeth out vnto vs yͤ church of Rome, which not in theſe pointes onely but alſo in all other conditions, almoſt is vtterly reuolted from the pure originall ſinceritie of that doctrine which Saint Paule planted in the Churche of the Romanes, and of all other Gentiles.

¶ *The Summe of S. Paules doctrine deliuered to the Gentiles.*

A briefe ſũme of S. Paules doctrine deliuered to the Gentiles.

1. Firſt, the doctrine of S. Paule aſcribeth all our iuſtification freely & meerly to faith onely in Chriſt as to the onely meanes and cauſe immediate, whereby yͤ merites of Chriſtes paſſion be applyed vnto vs, without any other reſpect of worke or workes of the law, whatſoeuer? and in this doctrine the Church of the Romanes was firſt planted.

Saluation by mercy onely and not by merites.

2. Secondly, the ſame doctrine of S. Paule cutting of and excluding all glory of mans deſeruing, ſtayeth onely vpon Gods promiſe and vpon grace, not mans merites, vpon mercy, not mans labouring or running: vpon election and calling, not mans willing. &c.

All fleſhe concluded vnder ſinne,

3. Thirdly, the ſame doctrine caſting downe the ſtrength of man and his integra naturalia (as the ſcholes doe terme them) concludeth all fleſhe vnder ſinne, and maketh the ſame deſtitute of the glory of God.

Difference betweene the law and the goſpell,

4. Item, it maketh manifeſt difference betweene the law and the Goſpell, declaring the vſe and ende of them to be diuers: the one to kill, the other to quicken, the one to cõdemne, the other to iuſtifie: the one to haue an ende and a tyme, the other to be perpetuall. &c.

Iuſticia dei. Iuſticia propria.

5. Item, the ſame doctrine of S. Paule, as it ſheweth a difference betweene the law and the Goſpell: ſo it maketh no leſſe difference betweene Iuſticia Dei, and Iuſticia propria, that is, the righteouſnes of God and the righteouſnes of man, abhorryng the one, that is, mans owne righteouſnes, comming by the law and works: and embracing the other which God imputeth freely and graciouſly to vs for Chriſt his ſonnes ſake, in whom we beleeue.

The righteouſneſſe of God, and the righteouſnes of man howe they differ in Scripture.

6. Item, it wipeth away al traditions, and conſtitutions of men whatſoeuer, eſpecially from binding of conſcience, calling them beggerly elements of this world.

A true chriſtian knoweth nothing but Chriſt crucified.

7. Likewiſe it reiecteth and wipeth away al curious ſubtilities, and ſuperfluous ſpeculations, & knoweth nothing els but Chriſt onely Crucified, which is onely the obiect whereunto our faith looketh.

All men condemned by one: All men ſaued by one. Originall ſinne, originall iuſtice.

8. Furthermore, as the ſame doctrine of S. Paule defineth al men to be tranſgreſſours by diſobedience of one Adam, though they neuer touched the Aple, comming of his ſtocke by nature: ſo doth it proue all men to be iuſtified by the obedience of one, though they did not his obedience, being likewiſe borne of him by ſpirituall regeneration and faith.

9. And therfore as all men comming of Adam be condemned originally, before they grow vp to commit anye ſinne agaynſt the law, ſo all men be ſaued originally being regenerated by fayth in Chriſt, before they begin to do any good worke of charitie, or any other good deede.

Rom. 5.

Epheſ. 2.

Itaq; iam non es ſeruus ſed filius.

Gal. 4. Heb. 4.

1. Cor. 3.

The glorious ſtate of Chriſtian libertie, and ſpirituall freedome in Chriſt Ieſu.

10. Item, the doctrine of S. Paule perpending the high glory of a Chriſten mans ſtate in Chriſt Ieſus by faith, firſt ſetteth him in a perfect peace with almightie God. Rom. 5. Secondly exempteth him from all condemnatiõ. Rom. 8. Thirdly it matcheth him with aungels, it equalleth him with Saints and felow citizens of heauen, it nũbereth him with the houſholde of God, and inheriteth him with Ieſus Chriſt himſelfe. Epheſ. 2. Fourthly it adopteth him from the ſtate of a ſeruaunt, to the ſtate of the ſonne of God, crying Abba father. Gal. 4. Fiftly, it openeth to him a bolde acceſſe and entraunce to the high maieſtie and throne of grace, Epheſ. 2. Heb. 4. Sixtlye, it ſubiecteth all thinges vnder him: as miniſters, yea, the Apoſtles themſelues in their hieſt office, death, life, thinges preſent, thinges to come, with the whole worlde beſides, and aſſigneth him no ſpirituall head, but onely Chriſt, ſaying. And you are Chriſtes, and Chriſt is Gods. 1. Cor. 3. Seuenthly, it aduaunceth and ſetteth him in a ſpirituall liberty or freedome, aboue all terrours of ſpirite, riſing either of Gods lawe or mans lawe, aboue all dreadfull feares of ſinne, damnation, malediction, reiection, death, hell, or purgatory: aboue al ſeruile bondage of ceremonies, mens precepts, traditions, ſuperſtitious vſes, yokes, cuſtomes, or what els ſoeuer oppreſſeth and intangleth the ſpirituall freedome of a conſcience with Chriſt hath ſet at libertie: And requireth moreouer that wee walke and ſtande ſtout in that liberty with the free ſonne of Sara, whereto we are brought, and not ſuffer our ſelues any more to bee clogged with any ſuch ſeruile bondage: that is to meane, although we muſt be content to ſubiect our bodies to all ſeruice & to all men, yet that we yeld not our ſpirituall conſciences

and

ding as it doth) neither they are to be reputed for true Catholikes being altered ſo far from them: nor we otherwiſe then heretikes if we ſhoulde now ioyne with theſe. For the more triall whereof, let vs examine the doctrine & rites of the ſayd Church of Rome now vſed, and compare the ſame with the teaching of the auncient Catholikes, to the intent that ſuch ſimple ſoules as haue beene hetherto, and yet ſeduced by the falſe viſour and image of this pretenced and baſtardly church, perceauing what lieth within it, may be warned by tyme, either to eſchue the perill, if they liſt to be inſtructed: or if not, to blame none but thẽſelues for their owne wilfull deſtruction. And albeit I could here charge the newfangled Church of the Pope with vij. or viij. heynous crimes, as blaſphemy, Idolatry, hereſie, ſuperſtition, abſurditie, vanitie, crueltie, and contrarietie (as which neither agreeth with the old learning of their forelders, nor yet with thẽſelues in ſundry points) yet after a more temperate ſort to paſſe this matter wyth them, theſe ij. things, I will & dare boldly affirme, that in this doctrine of the Pope nowe taught in the Church of Rome, is neither any conſolation of conſcience, nor ſaluation of mans ſoule. For ſeeing there is no life nor ſoule health but onely in Chriſt, nor any promiſe of ſaluation or comfort made, but only by faith in the ſonne of God, what aſſurance then can there be of perfect peace, life, or ſaluatiõ where that which onely maketh all, is leaſt made of, and other things which make leaſt are moſt eſteemed? For to ſay the ſimple truth, what els is the whole courſe and body of the popes law now ſet forth, but a doctrine of laws, a heape of ceremonies, a teaching of traditions, a meditation of merites, a foundation of new Religions: al which conferre not one iote to the iuſtification of our ſoules before the terrible iudgement of God.

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No comfort nor ſaluation in the Popes doctrine now taught.

The ſcope and ſumme of the Popes doctrine whether it tendeth.

And therefore (as it may be truely ſaide) this doctrine of the Pope to be voyd of all true comfort and ſaluation: ſo likewiſe it ſeemeth that theſe which addict themſelues ſo deuoutly to ẏ popes learning, were neuer earneſtly afflicted in conſcience, neuer humbled in ſpirite nor broken in hart, neuer entred into any ſerious feeling of Gods iudgement, nor euer felt the ſtrength of the law & of death. For if they had, they ſhoulde ſoone haue ſeene their owne weakenes and be driuen to Chriſt: then ſhould they haue ſeene what a horrible thing it is to appeare before GOD the father, or once to thinke on him (as Luther ſaith) without chriſt. And on the contrarye ſide, then ſhoulde they know what a glory, what a kingdome, what liberty and life it were to be in Chriſt Ieſus by faith, holding their inheritance, not with the bondſonne of Agar, but with the free ſonne of Sara: by promiſe and not by ẏ law: by grace, and not by works: by gift and not by deſeruing, that god onely might be prayſed and not man.

Papiſtes neuer lightly afflicted in conſcience deepely.

An horrible thing to thinke of God without Chriſt. *Luther.*

And thus were the olde Romaines firſt taught by S. Paule writing to the Romanes. The ſame did Cornelius the Romaine, and firſt that was Baptiſed of all the Gentiles, learne of S. Peter when he receaued the holy Ghoſt, not by the deedes of the law, but onely by hearing the faith of Ieſus preached. And in the ſame doctrine the ſayd Church of the Romaines many yeares continued, ſo long as they were in affliction. And in the ſame doctrine, the byſhop of Rome with his Romanes now alſo ſhould ſtill remayne, if they were ſuch auncient Catholickes as they pretende, and woulde follow the old mother Church of Rome, and holde the firſt liquor wherewith they were firſt ſeaſoned. But the ſweete verdor and ſent of that liquor and pleaſant muſt is nowe cleane put out through other vnſauery infuſions of the Popes thruſting in, ſo that almoſt no taſt nor peece remaineth of all that primitiue doctrine which S. Paule and other Apoſtles firſt planted among the Gentiles. And what maruell if the Romanes now in ſo long tract of time haue loſt their firſt ſap, ſeyng the Church of the Galathians then in the very time of S. Paule their Schoolemaiſter, he being amongſt them, had not ſo ſoone turned his backe a little, but they were all turned almoſt from the doctrine of fayth, and had much a doo to be recouered againe.

The right fayth of the olde Romanes.

Cornelius a Romane firſt baptiſed of all the Gentiles.

The church of Rome hath loſt the liquor where with it was firſt ſeaſoned.

The Galathians almoſt gone frõ fayth in Sainct Paules time.

Of this defection and falling from faith. S. Paule expreſſely foretelleth vs in his letters both to the Theſſalonians, and alſo to Timothe, where he ſheweth: that a defection ſhall come, and that certaine ſhall depart from the faith, attending to ſpirits of errour. &c. 1. Tim. 4. And to know what errours theſe ſhall be, the circumſtance plainly leadeth vs to vnderſtande in the ſame place, where the ſayd Apoſtle, ſpeaketh of marked conſciences, forbidding men to marry, and to eate meates ordeined of God to be taken with thankes giuing, for mans ſuſtenance, moſt euidently as with his finger, pointeth out vnto vs ẏ church of Rome, which not in theſe pointes onely but alſo in all other conditions, almoſt is vtterly reuolted from the pure originall ſincerity of that doctrine which Saint Paule planted in the Churche of the Romanes, and of all other Gentiles.

1. Tim. 4.

¶ *The Summe of S. Paules doctrine*
deliuered to the Gentiles.

1. FIrſt, the doctrine of S. Paule aſcribeth all our iuſtification freely & meerly to faith onely in Chriſt as to the onely meanes and cauſe immediate, whereby ẏ merites of Chriſtes paſſion be applyed vnto vs, without any other reſpect of worke or workes of the law, whatſoeuer: and in this doctrine the Church of the Romanes was firſt planted.

A briefe ſũme of S. Paules doctrine deliuered to the Gentiles.

2. Secondly, the ſame doctrine of S. Paule cutting of and excluding all glory of mans deſeruing, ſtayeth onely vpon Gods promiſe and vpon grace, not mans merites, vpon mercy, not mans labouring or running: vpon election and calling, not mans willing. &c.

Saluation by mercy onely and not by merites.

3. Thirdly, the ſame doctrine caſting downe the ſtrength of man and his integra naturalia (as the ſcholes doe terme them) concludeth all fleſhe vnder ſinne, and maketh the ſame deſtitute of the glory of God.

All fleſhe concluded vnder ſinne.

4. Item, it maketh manifeſt difference betweene the law and the Goſpell, declaring the vſe and ende of them to be diuers: the one to kill, the other to quicken, the one to cõdemne, the other to iuſtifie: the one to haue an ende and a tyme, the other to be perpetuall. &c.

Difference betweene the law and the goſpell.

5. Item, the ſame doctrine of S. Paule, as it ſheweth a difference betweene the law and the Goſpell: ſo it maketh no leſſe difference betweene Iuſticia Dei, and Iuſticia propria, that is, the righteouſnes of God and the righteouſnes of man, abhorryng the one, that is, mans owne righteouſnes, comming by the law and workes: and embracing the other which God imputeth freely and graciouſly to vs for Chriſt his ſonnes ſake, in whom we beleeue.

Iuſticia dei. Iuſticia propria.

The righteouſneſſe of God, and the righteouſnes of man howe they differ in Scripture.

6. Item, it wipeth away al traditions, and conſtitutions of men whatſoeuer, eſpecially from binding of conſcience, calling them beggerly elements of this world.

7. Likewiſe it reiecteth and wipeth away al curious ſubtilities, and ſuperfluous ſpeculations, & knoweth nothing els but Chriſt onely Crucified, which is onely the obiect whereunto our faith looketh.

A true chriſtian knoweth nothing but Chriſt crucified.

8. Furthermore, as the ſame doctrine of S. Paule defineth al men to be tranſgreſſours by diſobedience of one Adam, though they neuer touched the Aple, comming of his ſtocke by nature: ſo doth it proue all men to be iuſtified by the obedience of one, though they did not his obedience, being likewiſe borne of him by ſpirituall regeneration and faith.

All men condemned by one: All men ſaued by one. Originall ſinne, originall iuſtice.

9. And therfore as all men comming of Adam be condemned originally, before they grow vp to commit anye ſinne agaynſt the law, ſo all men be ſaued originally being regenerated by fayth in Chriſt, before they begin to do any good worke of charitie, or any other good deede.

10. Item, the doctrine of S. Paule perpending the high glory of a Chriſten mans ſtate in Chriſt Ieſus by faith, firſt ſetteth him in a perfect peace with almightie God. Rom. 5. Secondly exempteth him from all condemnatiõ. Rom. 8. Thirdly it matcheth him with aungels, it equalleth him with Saints and felow citizens of heauen, it nũbereth him with the houſholde of God, and inheriteth him with Ieſus Chriſt himſelfe. Epheſ. 2. Fourthly it adopteth him from the ſtate of a ſeruaunt, to the ſtate of the ſonne of God, crying Abba father. Gal. 4. Fifthly, it openeth to him a bolde acceſſe and entraunce to the high maieſtie and throne of grace, Epheſ. 2. Heb. 4. Sixtlye, it ſubiecteth all thinges vnder him: as miniſters, yea, the Apoſtles themſelues in their hieſt office, death, life, thinges preſent, thinges to come, with the whole worlde beſides, and aſſigneth him no ſpirituall head, but onely Chriſt, ſaying. And you are Chriſtes, and Chriſt is Gods. 1. Cor. 3. Seuenthly, it aduaunceth and ſetteth him in a ſpirituall liberty or freedome, aboue all terrours of ſpirite, riſing either of Gods lawe or mans lawe, aboue all dreadfull feares of ſinne, damnation, malediction, reiection, death, hell, or purgatory: aboue al ſeruile bondage of ceremonies, mens precepts, traditions, ſuperſtitious vſes, yokes, cuſtomes, or what els ſoeuer oppreſſeth and intangleth the ſpirituall freedome of a conſcience with Chriſt hath ſet at libertie: And requireth moreouer that wee walke and ſtande ſtout in that liberty with the free ſonne of Sara, whereto we are brought, and not ſuffer our ſelues any more to bee clogged with any ſuch ſeruile bondage: that is to meane, although we muſt be content to ſubiect our bodies to all ſeruice & to all men, yet that we yeld not our ſpirituall conſciences

Rom. 5.

Epheſ. 2.

Itaq; iam non es ſeruus ſed filius.

Gal. 4.
Heb. 4.

1. Cor. 3.

The glorious ſtate of Chriſtian libertie, and ſpirituall freedome in Chriſt Ieſu.

and ſoules as ſlaues and ſeruants to be ſubiect to the feare or bondage of any terrene thing in this world, foraſmuch as we are in that part made Lordes and Princes ouer all things whatſoeuer can harme or binde, or terrifie vs. Ga. 4. Coloſſ. 2.

Gal. 4. Coloſ. 2. Dayes and tymes indifferent.

11. Item, the right vayne of S. Paules doctrine putteth no difference nor obſeruation in dayes and tymes. Gal. 4. Col. 2.

Meates indifferent with thākſgeuing.

12. Item, it leaueth all meates to be indifferent, wyth thankes giuing, to ſerue the neceſſitie of the body, and not the body to ſerue them. Col. 2. 1. Tim. 4.

Mariage lawfull for all men.

13. Item, it permitteth marriage without reſtraint or exception, lawfull and alſo expedient for all men, hauyng neede thereof. 1. Cor. 7.

One ſacrifice for ſinne & no more. Heb. 9.

14. Item, it admitteth no ſacrifice for ſinne but the ſacrifice of Chriſt alone, and that done once for all with bloude. For without bloud there is no remiſſion of ſinne whiche onely is applied to vs by fayth, & by nothing els. Heb. 9.

The vſe of the holye communion in auncient tyme of the primitiue church.

15. Item, as touching the holy Communion, by the letters of S. Paule to the Cor. 11. we vnderſtande, that the vſe then amongſt them was, to haue the participation of the bread called the Lordes body, and of the cup called the Lordes bloud, adminiſtred not at an altar, but at a plaine bord or table, the congregation there meeting together after the time of their ſupper, where not the miniſter alone did receaue and the other looked on, but the whole congregation togither did cōmunicate with reuerence & thankes giuyng, not lifting ouer the Prieſtes head, nor worſhipyng, nor kneeling, nor knocking their breſtes, but eyther ſittyng at the ſupper, or ſtanding after the ſupper. Accordyng to which forme the Muſcouites yet to this day followyng the old rite of the Country (although being drowned otherwiſe in much ſuperſtition) vſe to receaue it after they be riſen from their diner ſtanding. Experience whereof was ſeene here at London the firſt day of October. 1569.

No mo Sacramentes mentioned in S. Paule, but the Lordes ſupper and baptiſme.

16. Item, the ſayde Apoſtle, beſides the ſacramentall ſupper maketh mention of Baptiſme, or waſhing of regeneration, although he himſelfe Baptiſed but few. 1. Cor. 1. of the other ſacraments he maketh no mention.

17. Item, by the ſame doctrine of S. Paule no tongue is to be vſed in the congregation which is not knowen and doth not edifie. 1. Cor. 14.

The authoritie and office of the ciuill Magiſtrates.

18. Item, the rule of S. Paules doctrine ſubiecteth euery creature vnder the obedience of Kinges and Princes and ordinary Magiſtrates ordeined of God to haue the ſword and authoritie of publike regiment to order and diſpoſe in all thinges not contrary to God, whatſoeuer perteineth to the maintenance of the good, or to the correction of the euil: from whoſe iuriſdiction there is no exemption of vocations of perſons, whether they be Eccleſiaſticall or politicall. And therfore to this office appertaineth to preſerue peace, to ſet things in lawfull order, to conſerue Chriſtian diſcipline in the Church of Chriſt, to remoue offences, to bridle the diſobedient, to prouide and procure wholeſome and faithfull teachers ouer the people, to maintaine learning and ſet vp ſchooles, to haue ouerſight not onely of the people, but alſo of all Eccleſiaſtical miniſters to ſee to euery one to do his dutye, & to remoue or puniſh ſuch as be negligent: alſo to call Councels and Synodes, & to prouide the Church goodes to be faithfullye diſpenſed by the handes of true dealers, to the ſuſtentation of the Church, of true teachers, & to the publike neceſſitie of the pore, &c.

The office and aucthoritie of Byſhops how farre it doth extend.

19. Furthermore, by S. Paules doctrine, the Miniſters and ſuperintendentes of Chriſtes Church haue their authoritie and armour likewiſe to them limited, which armour is onely ſpiritual, and not carnal, wherby they fight not againſt fleſh & bloud, but againſt the power of darkenes, errour, and ſinne againſt the ſpirituall ſeduction and craftines in heauenly things, againſt the works and proceedings of Sathan the Prince of this worlde, in comforting weak conſciences againſt the terrors of the deuil, and deſperation, and finally againſt euery cogitation lifted vp againſt Chriſt, to ſubdue euery celſitude to the ſubiection and power of Chriſt Ieſu the ſonne of God.

An other briefe recapitulation of the ſame

An other briefe recapitulation of S. Paules doctrine reduced to fiue poynts. Iohn. 3.

Briefly and in a compendious ſumme to reduce the whole doctrine of S. Paule, in theſe fiue pointes chieflie it conſiſteth.

1. Firſt, in ſetting forth the grace, great loue and good will, and free promiſes of God the Father in Chriſt Ieſus his ſonne to mankinde, which ſo loued the worlde, that he hath giuen his owne ſonne for the redemption thereof. Iohn 3. which gaue his ſonne to die for vs being his enimies. Rom. 5 which hath quickned vs being dead in ſinne Epheſ. 2. which ſo mercifully hath reconciled the world to himſelfe by his ſonne, and alſo by his ambaſſadours deſireth vs to be reconciled vnto him, 2. Cor. 5. who hath giuē his owne ſonne to be ſinne for vs. 2. Cor. 5. to be accurſed for vs. Gal. 3. which by firme promiſe hath aſſured vs of our inheritance. Rom. 4. which not by the works of righteouſnes that we haue done, but of his owne mercy hath ſaued vs by the waſhing of regeneration. Tit. 3. &c.

The great mercy of God in Chriſt.

Rom. 5. 2. Cor. 5. Epheſ. 2. Rom. 4. Tit. 3.

The glory and Maieſtye of Chriſt Ieſus ſet forth in Sainct Paule. Epheſ. 4.

2. The ſeconde point conſiſteth in preaching and expreſſing the glorious and triumphant Maieſtie of Chriſt Ieſus the ſonne of God, and the excellency of his glory, who being once dead in the infirmitie of fleſh roſe againe wyth power, aſcending vp with maieſtie, hath led away captiuitie captiue, Eph. 4. ſitteth and reigneth in glory on the right hand of God in heauenly thinges, aboue all principates and poteſtates, powers and dominations, & aboue euery name that is named, not only in this world, but alſo in the world to come, Ephe. 1. In whoſe name euery knee hath to bende both in heauen and in earth, and vnder the earth, and euery tongue to confeſſe our Lord Chriſt Ieſus to be of the glory of God the Fathee. Phil. 2. In whome and by whome all things are made both in heauen and in earth, things viſible & inuiſible, whether they be thrones or dominations, or principates, or poteſtats, al are by him and for him created, and he is before all, & all thinges conſiſt in him, who is the head of his body the Churche, the beginning and firſt borne from the dead, in whome dwelleth all fulnes. Col. 1. To whome the Father hath giuen all iudgement, and iudgeth no man himſelfe any more. Ioh. 5 To whom the Father hath giuen all things to his hands Iohn. 13. To whome the father hath giuen power of all fleſh. Iohn. 17. To whome all power is giuen in heauen and in earth. Math. vlt. In whome be all the promiſes of God. Eſt & Amen. 2. Cor. 1.

Phil. 2. Coloſ. 1. Iohn. 5. Iohn. 13. Iohn. 17. Math. vlt. 2. Cor. 1.

The 3. braunch. The vertue and effect of Chriſts death, and what exceeding benefites procede thereof.

3. Thirdly, he declareth the vertue of his Croſſe & Paſſion, and that what exceeding benefites procede to vs by the ſame. By whoſe bloud we haue redemption & remiſſion of our ſinnes. Epheſ. 1. By whoſe ſtrypes we are made whole. Eſay. 53. By whoſe Croſſe all things are pacified, both in heauen and in earth. Col. 1. By whoſe death wee are reconciled. Ro. 5. who hath deſtroied death, & brought life to light. 2. Timot. 1. who by death hath deſtroyed him which had the power of death, that is, the diuell, and hath deliuered them which liued vnder feare of death all their life in bondage. Heb. 2. By whoſe obedience we are made iuſt: by whoſe righteouſnes we are iuſtified to life. Rom. 5. By whoſe curſe wee are bleſſed, and deliuered from the malediction of the law. Gala. 3. By whoſe bloud we that once were farre of, are made neere vnto God. Epheſ. 5. who in one body hath reconciled both Iewes & Gentiles vnto God. Eph. 2. who by his fleſh hath taken away the diuiſion and ſeparation betweene God and vs, aboliſhing the law which was ſet againſt vs in preceptes & decrees. Epheſ. 2. who is our peace, our aduocate, and propitiatiō for the ſinnes of the whole worlde. 1. Iohn. 2. who was made accurſed, & ſinne for vs, that we might be the righteouſnes of God in him. 2. Cor. 5. who is made of God for vs, our wiſedome and righteouſnes, & ſanctification, and redemption. 1. Cor. 1. By whom we haue boldnes, and entraunce with all confidence through faith in him. Epheſ. 3. who forgiueth all our ſinnes, and hath torne a peeces the obligation or handwriting, which was againſt vs in the law of commaundements, and hath crucified it vpon the Croſſe, & vtterly hath diſpatched and aboliſhed the ſame, and hath ſpoiled principates and poteſtates, as in an open ſhew of conqueſt, triumphing ouer them openly in himſelfe. Col. 2. who iuſtifieth the wicked by faith. Ro. 4. In whom we are made full and complete. Col. 2. &c.

Epheſ. 1. Eſay. 53. Colloſ. 1. Rom. 5. 2. Timo. 1. Heb. 2. Rom. 5. Gal. 3. Bpheſ. 2. 1. Iohn. 2. 2. Cor. 5. 1. Cor. 1. Epheſ 3. Colloſ. 2. Rom. 4. Coloſ. 2.

The fourth braunch.

4. The fourth branch is, to teach and informe vs (to whō theſe benefites of Chriſtes Paſſion and victory do apperteine) by what meanes the ſame is applied & redoundeth vnto vs: which meanes is onely one, that is onely faith, in Chriſt Ieſu, and no other thing. which faith it pleaſeth almightie God, to accept for righteouſnes. And this righteouſnes it is, which onely ſtandeth before God and none other, as we are plainly taught by the Scriptures, and eſpecially by the doctrine of S. Paule. which righteouſnes thus riſing of faith in Chriſt. S. Paule calleth the righteouſnes of God, where he ſpeaketh of himſelfe, vtterly refuſeth the other rigteouſnes which is of the lawe, that he might be found in him, not hauing his own righteouſnes which is of the law, but the righteouſnes of Chriſt, which is of faith. Phil. 3. Againe, the ſaide Apoſtle writing of the Iewes, which ſought for righteouſnes and found it not: and alſo of the Gentiles which ſought not for it, and yet found it, ſheweth the reaſon why: becauſe (ſaith he) the one ſought it as by workes and the lawe, and came not to

Fayth onely the meane cauſe of ſaluation and nothing els.

Phil. 3. The righteouſnes of the law.

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The righteouſneſſe of the goſpell.
Rom. 9.
The places of S. Paul. Rom. 3. expounded.
Rom. 3.
The righteouſneſſe of fayth, why it is called Gods righteouſnes.
Rom. 3.

it, who not knowing the righteouſnes of God, and ſeking to ſet vp their owne righteouſnes, did not ſubmit themſelues to the righteouſnes whiche is of God: The other, which were the Gentiles, and ſought not for it, obteined righteouſnes, that righteouſnes, which is of faith. &c. Ro. 9. Alſo in an other place, Saint Paule in the ſame Epiſtle writing of this righteouſnes which commeth of faith, calleth it the righteouſnes of God, in theſe wordes. Whome God (ſaith he) hath ſet vp for a propitiatiõ by faith in his bloud, whereby to make manifeſt the righteouſnes, which is of himſelfe in tollerating our ſinnes. &c. Rom. 3. By the which righteouſnes it is euident that S. Paule meaneth the righteouſnes of faith, which almightie God nowe reuealeth & maketh manifeſt by preaching of the Goſpell. Wilt thou ſee yet more plainely this righteouſnes of God howe it is taken in S. Paule, for the righteouſnes of faith, & therefore is called the righteouſnes of God, becauſe it is imputed onely of God to fayth, and not deſerued of man? In the ſame Epiſtle to the Romanes and in the 3. chap. aforeſayd, his wordes be manifeſt: The righteouſnes of God (ſayth he) is by faith of Ieſus Chriſt, in all, and vpon al that doe beleue. &c.

A leſſon out of S. Paules doctrine, of all Chriſtians to be obſerued.
Rom. 9.
Act. 10.
Saluation commeth onely by fayth.
Math. 16.
Luke. 19.
Luc. 7.
Luc. 23.
Luc. 28.
That which is loſt by the law, is recouered by fayth.
Luc. 18.
Math. 9.
Iohn. 14.
Iohn. 14.
Iohn. 15.
Iohn. 6.
Act. 26.
Act. 10.
Mat. vlt.
Iohn 14.

Wherfore whoſoeuer ſtudieth to be accepted with God and to be found righteous in his ſight, let him learne diligently by the doctrine of S. Paule to make a difference & a ſeparation, as farre as from heauen and earth, betwene theſe two, that is betweene the righteouſnes of workes, & righteouſnes of faith: & in any wiſe beware he bring no other meanes for his iuſtification, or remiſſion of his ſins, but onely faith apprehending the body or perſon of Chriſt Ieſus crucified. For as there is no way into the houſe but by the dore, ſo is there no comming to God but by Chriſt alone, which is by faith. And as the mortall body, without bodely ſuſtenance of bread & drinke can not but periſhe ſo the ſpiritual ſoule of man hath no other refreſhing but only by faith in the body and bloude of Chriſt, whereby to be ſaued. With this faith the Idolatrous Gentiles apprehẽded Ieſus Chriſt, and receaued therby righteouſnes. Cornelius (the firſt Baptiſed Romane) ſo ſoone as he heard Peter preache Chriſt, receaued ſtraightway the holy Ghoſt, Peter himſelfe confeſſed, and for his confeſſion, hadde the keyes of heauen. Math. 16. Zacheus receaued the perſon of Chriſt into his houſe, and withal receaued ſaluation both to him and his whole houſhold. Luc. 19 What a ſinner was Mary, which had no leſſe in her then vij. deuils, & yet becauſe ſhe ſet her hart and affectiõ vpon that perſon, many ſinnes were forgiuen her. Luc. 7. The right hand theefe, how farre was he from all works of the law, & yet by faith entred he iuſtified into Paradiſe yͤ ſame day with chriſt. Luc. 23. In like maner, although the poore Publicane came to the Church with leſſe holines after the law, yet went he home to his houſe more iuſtified then the Phariſie with all his workes, and all by reaſon of fayth. Luc. 18, The parable of the prodigal ſonne which was loſt yet reuiued agayne: Alſo of the loſt groat, and of the loſt ſheepe which went aſtray and was found againe, what do theſe declare but that which is loſt by the lawe, to be recouered by faith and grace? And how oft doe we reade in the Goſpels: Thy faith hath ſaued thee. &c. Ieſus ſeing their beliefe &c. He that beleueth in me I will raiſe him vp in the laſt day. &c. Beleue alſo in me &c. He that beleeueth in me hath euerlaſting life. &c. Without me ye can do nothing. &c. He that is in me. &c. He that looueth me. &c. He that heareth me. &c. He that abideth in me. &c. He that receaueth me. &c. Onles ye eate my fleſh: and drinke my bloud. &c. That they may receaue remiſſion of ſinnes by their faith in me. &c. Act. 26. To him al the Prophets giue witnes, to haue remiſſion of ſinnes, whoſoeuer beleeueth in his name &c. Act. 10. He that beleeueth & is baptiſed. Mat. vlt. He that beleeueth in me ſhall do the works that I do, & greater then theſe. &c.

The writinges of S. Paule, full of the name of Chriſt Ieſus.
Belief onely in Chriſt ſaueth.
Act. 16.

And likewiſe in the writings of S. Paule, how often doe we heare the name of Chriſt, almoſt in euery thirde or fourth line, where hee ſtill repeateth: In Chriſto Ieſu per Chriſtum Ieſum, Per Ieſum Chriſtum Dominum noſtrum. &c. Qui credunt in ipſo. &c. Omnes qui credunt in eo. &c. Credentes illo, in eum credentes illi, in nomen eius, in nomine Domini noſtri Ieſu Chriſti, &c. Beleue, (ſaith S Paule to the Iaylor) in the Lorde Ieſus, and thou ſhalt be ſaued and thy whole houſe, &c. Actes. 16.

The perſonall cauſe of ſaluation.
The inſtrumentall cauſe.
How fayth iuſtifieth.
Chriſt the onely obiect of faith which iuſtifieth.
Example of the braſon Serpent.
What fayth is by Sainct Paule.
Rom. 10.
Faith onely.

Thus then thou ſeeſt as the paſſion of Chriſt is onely the efficient or perſonall cauſe immediate of our ſaluation: ſo is faith onely the inſtrumentall or meane cauſe that maketh the merits of Chriſt to vs auaileable. For as the Paſſion of Chriſt ſerueth to none but ſuch as do beleue: ſo neither doth faith (as it is onely a bare qualitie or action in mans minde) it ſelf iuſtifie, vnles it be directed to the body of Chriſt crucified, as to his obiect, of whom it receueth all his vertue. And therfore theſe ij. muſt alwayes ioyntly concurre together, faith, and Chriſt Ieſus crucified. As for example, when the children of Iſrael were byd of Moſes to looke vp to the braſen Serpent, neither could yͤ Serpent haue helped them, except they had looked vp, nor yet their looking vpward haue profited them, vnles they had directed their eyes vpon the ſaid Serpent, as the only obiect ſet vp to the ſame purpoſe for them to behold. So our faith in like caſe directed to the bodye of Ieſus our Sauiour is onely the meanes wherby Chriſtes merits are applied vnto vs, and we now iuſtified before God, according to the doctrine of S. Paule, who in expreſſe wordes, defining to vs what this faith is, and how it iuſtifieth, ſayth: If thou ſhalt confeſſe with thy mouth the Lord Ieſus, and beleeue with thy hart, that God raiſed him from death, thou ſhalt be ſaued. &c, Rom, 10. Beſides this, what action or qualitie ſoeuer is in man, either, hope, charitie, or any other kinde of faith and beleeuing, be it neuer ſo true except it apprehend this obiect (which is) the body of Chriſt, the ſonne of God it ſerueth not to iuſtification. And that is the cauſe why we adde this particle Onely, to faith, and ſay that faith, Onely, in Chriſt iuſtifieth vs, to exclude all other actions, qualyties, giftes, or works of man, from yͤ cauſe of iuſtifying for ſo much as there is no other knowledge nor gift giuen of God to man, be it neuer ſo excellent, that can ſtand before the iudgement of God to iuſtification, or whereunto any promiſe of ſaluation is annexed: but onely this faith lookyng vp to the braſen Serpent, that is to the body of Chriſt Ieſus for vs crucified.

Diuers ſorts of beleuing.
The Turkes fayth.
The Iewes fayth.
Euery truth may be beleued but the beleuing of euery trueth ſaueth not.
The Papiſts fayth.
Onely.
Hope and charitie be no partes of our iuſtification, nor cauſes to make the merites of Chriſt ours.
The cauſes of our ſaluation diſtincted.

As for example, when the Turke ſayth, that he beleeueth in one lyuyng God that made heauen & earth, his beliefe therin is true, yet it iuſtifieth him not, becauſe it lacketh the right obiect, which is Chriſt. So when the Iewe ſaith that he beleeueth in one God maker of heauen and earth, and beleeueth alſo the ſame God to be omnipotent, merciful, iuſt, and true of promiſe, and that he hath elected the ſeede of Abraham: true it is that he beleeueth, and yet all this ſerueth him not, becauſe Chriſt yͤ ſonne of God is not ioyned wͭ all. And though yͤ ſaid Iew ſhould be neuer ſo deuout in his prayers, or charitable in almoſe, or preciſe in keeping yͤ law, & beleeued neuer ſo ſtedfaſtly yͭ he is elect to be ſaued: yet he is neuer the neerer to ſaluation for all this, ſo long as his faith is not grounded vpon yͤ head cornerſtone, which is the perſon and body of Chriſt Ieſus the true Sauiour. After like ſort, it may be ſayd of the Papiſt, when he ſaith that he is Baptiſed, and beleeueth in the Father, the Sonne, and the holy Ghoſt, three perſons and one God, and alſo confeſſeth Ieſus Chriſt to be the ſonne of God, which died for our ſinnes, and roſe againe for our righteouſnes. &c. his beleiſe therin is true, & indede would ſaue him, if he did ſtay his ſaluation in this faith, and vpon Chriſt his Sauiour, Onely. according to the promiſe and grace of God, and go no farther. But that he doth not: for neither doth he admit Chriſt onely to be his perfect Sauiour without the helpe of the patrons, heades, aduocates, and mediatours, nor yet permitteth his faith in Chriſt, Onely to be the meanes of his iuſtification, but ſetteth vp other by meanes, as hope, charitie, ſacrifice of the Maſſe, confeſſion, penaunce, ſatiſfaction, merites, and pardons, ſuppoſing thereby to worke his iuſtification before God, contrary to the word of promiſe, to the Goſpell of grace, & to the doctrine of S. Paule whereof we ſhall ſee more (the Lord willing) hereafter.

The cauſes of our ſaluation, diſtincted.
Grace and mercy.
Election.
Vocation.
Chriſtes paſſion.
Chriſtian fayth.
The meaning and cauſe why fayth onely iuſtifieth.

And thus much of the true cauſes of our iuſtification after the doctrine of S. Paule. Concerning which cauſes this diſtinctiõ furthermore by the way is to be added, that as touching the originall cauſes of our ſaluation, which be diuers and ſondry, ſome are externall, & without vs: ſome are internall, and within vs. Of the external cauſes which are without vs, the firſt and principal is the mercy & grace of god. Of this foloweth predeſtination and election. Thẽ cõmeth vocation. The laſt and next cauſe to vs is the deth and bloudſhed of chriſt wherby we are redemed, & al theſe be external cauſes, becauſe they are without vs. Of internall cauſes that be in man through the gift of God, there is but one, & no mo in ſcripture apointed, that is, our faith in Chriſt, which is the gift of God in vs. Beſide this there is no gift of God giuen to man, vertue, work, merite, nor any thing els, that is any part or cauſe of ſaluation, but only this gyft of fayth, to beleeue in Chriſt Ieſu. And this is the cauſe why we hold that faith onely iuſtifieth; meanyng, that amongſt all the workes, deedes, actions, labours, and operations, whatſoeuer man doth, or can doe, there is nothing in that man that worketh ſaluation but onely his fayth gyuen to hym of God to beleeue in Chriſt his ſonne, following therein the trade of S. Paules teaching: who in preciſe wordes ſo aſcribeth iuſtification to fayth, that he excludeth all other actions of man, & works of the law: And therfore in the ſame Epyſtle to the Romanes,

manes, S. Paule reſonyng of the glory of iuſtifiyng, aſketh this queſtion how this glory is excluded: whether by the law of works? and concludeth no: aſcribing onely ẏ glory thereof to the law of faith, And conſequently vppon the ſame he inferreth: Colligimus enim iuſtificari hominem per fidem ſine operibus legis. We hold that a man is iuſtified by faith. without the deedes of the law.

All workes of man excluded from the glory of iuſtifiyng.

Epheſ. 2.
Tit. 3.
2. Timot. 1
Gal. 2.
Rom. 4.

And how then can that be accounted for any part of our iuſtification, which S. Paule vtterly debarreth and excludeth in that behalfe? of which like excluſiues and negatiues the whole courſe of S. Paules doctrine is full, where he ſtill concludeth: Sine operibus, abſque operibus legis, non ex operibus, Dei donum eſt, non ex operibus ne quis ſed ſecundū miſericordiā glorietur, Ephe 2. Non ex operibus iuſtitiæ quæ fecimus nos ſed ſecundū propoſitū ſuum & gratiam &c. Titi 3. Non ſecundum opera noſtra. &c. Timot 1. That is to ſay, It is the gift of God, not of works, that no mā ſhould glory. &c. Not of the workes of righteouſnes, which we haue done, but of his own mercy. &c. Not after our workes, but after his owne purpoſe, & grace which is giuen to vs, &c, Agayne Gal 2. Non iuſtificatur homo ex operibus. &c. That is, A man is not iuſtified by works &c. Item, Ei qui non operatur credenti autē in eū qui iuſtificat impium fides imputatur ad iuſtitiam &c. Rom. 4. To him that worketh not, but beleeueth in him which iuſtifieth the wicked, his faith is imputed to righteouſnes. &c. By theſe excluſiues, and negatiues in Sainct Paules doctrine what doth he els meane, but vtterly to ſeclude all kinde of mans merits, and works of the law from the office & dignitie of iuſtifying? And although he expreſſeth not ẏ word, Onely, yet vpon his excluſiues and negatiues, this exceptiue muſt needes be inferred. For in all Logike the conſequent is neceſſary and formall, as one man is ſuffered, to come into the houſe: and no perſon els is ſuffered but one Ergo, one man only is ſuffered to enter into the houſe. And thus much concerning faith in Chriſt, proued to be the onely meane, or inſtrumentall, or conditionall cauſe of our ſaluation, and no other beſides the ſame alone, by the doctrine of S. Paule taught to the ancient Romanes.

The excluſiues, and negatiues of S. Paule to be marked.

The fift braunch.

The true vſe and end of good workes.

5. The fift branch, which I note in S. Paules doctrine, is this: that after he hath thus eſtabliſhed vs in certeinty of our ſaluation through faith in Chriſt, then after that, he exhorteth vs vehemently and with all inſtaunce of good workes, ſhewing the true vſe and ende of good workes: which is, firſt to ſhewe our obedience and dutifull ſeruice (as we may) vnto God, who hath done ſo great thinges for vs. Secondly to relieue our neighbours with our charitie and kindnes, as God hath bene kinde to vs his enimies. Thirdly, to ſtirre vp other by our example, to praiſe God, to embrace the ſame Religion, & to do the like. For requiſite it is, that as God hath bene ſo merciful to vs and gratious in eternal giftes, we ſhould be merciful likewiſe to other in temporall cōmodities. And ſeeing it hath pleaſed him of his fatherly goodnes (of our partes ſo litle deſerued) to call vs to ſo high a vocation, to giue the bloud of his ſonne for vs, to forgiue vs al our ſinnes, to deliuer vs from this preſent wicked worlde, to make vs Citizens of heauen, yea his children, more then ſeruaunts: little then can we doe, and well may we thinke thoſe benefites ill beſtowed, if we forgiue not our neigbours, and ſhewe ſome thing againe worthy that holy calling wherewith he hath called vs, in mortifying our worldly luſtes here, & ſtudying after heauenly things: and finally if we being prouoked with ſuch loue & kindnes, reder not againe ſome loue for loue, ſome kindnes for kindnes, ſeeking how to walke in the ſteps which he hath prepared for vs to walke in, ſeruing him (ſo much as we may) in holines & righteouſnes all the daies of our life. And though our obedience ſhall alwaies be imperfect, doe the beſt we can: yet reaſon would that ſome obedience we ſhould ſhew as louing children to ſuch a louing father.

Good workes iuſtifie not, but follow the iuſtified.

And this is the cauſe why S. Paule is ſo vehement & vrgent to call vpon good workes, not that workes ſhould iuſtifie, but that we being iuſtified ſo mercifully & tenderly through his grace, ſhould not abuſe his grace in vayne, but endeuour our ſelues to our vttermoſt to render our ſeruice againe to him, in ſuch conuerſation of life as may moſt make to his glorye, and profite of our neighbour. And though the words of our ſauiour ſeme in ſome places to attribute to our obedience and charitie here in earth, great rewards in heauen, that is of his owne free grace & goodnes ſo to impute ſmall matters for great deſerts, and not for vs to claime any meede thereby or thanke at hys hande, as by any worthines of our doings, no more then the ſeruaunt when he commeth from the plough and ſeruing the cattell in the field, ſerueth firſt his maſter at home and waiteth vpon his table: the maſter is not bound (ſaith Chriſt) to thanke his ſeruaunt therefore, and bid him ſit downe: So you (ſaith he) when you haue done that is cōmanded you, ſay ye are vnprofitable ſeruants: ye haue done but what your bound duety was to doe. Luc. 17.

Luke. 17.

Againe, here alſo is to be vnderſtand, that where ſuch rewardes be aſcribed vnto mens deedes, it is not for the worthines of the deede it ſelfe, but for the faith of the doer, which faith maketh the worke to bee good in Gods ſight: for els if an infidell ſhould do the ſame worke that the chriſtian doth, it were nothing but meere ſinne before god. In that therefore the chriſtian mans worke is accepted be it neuer ſo ſmall (as to giue a cup of cold water) the ſame is onely for his fayth ſake that doth it, and not for the worke which is done. Whereby againe we may learne how faith onely doth iuſtifie a man, and that three maner of wayes.

Fayth iuſtifieth three manner of wayes.

Firſt it iuſtifieth the perſon in making him accepted, and the child of God by regeneration, before he begin to doe any good worke.

Secondly, it iuſtifieth a man from ſinne, in procuring remiſſion and forgiuenes of the ſame.

Thirdly, it iuſtifieth the good deedes and workes of man, not onely in bringing forth good fruites, but alſo in making the ſame workes to be good and acceptable in the ſight of God, which otherwiſe were impure and execrable in his ſight.

The office of fayth, and the office of the law compared together.

The office therefore of faith and works is diuers, and muſt not be cōfounded. Faith firſt goeth before, and regenerateth a man to God, & iuſtifieth him in the ſight of god, both in couering his yll deedes, and in making his good deedes acceptable to God, clyming vp to heauen, & there wraſtling with God and his iudgement for righteouſnes, for ſaluation, and for euerlaſting life. Workes and charitie, folow faith, and are exerciſed here vpon the earth, & glorieth onely before man, but not before God, in ſhewing forth obedience both to God & to man. Further then this our good works doe not reach, nor haue any thing to doe in the iudgement of God touching ſaluation. I ſpeake of our good workes (as S. Paule ſpeaketh Rom. 7.) as they be ours & imperfect. For els if our workes could be perfect according to the perfection of the lawe, as Chriſt wrought them in the perfection of his fleſh, that is if we could perfect them, as it is ſayd: Qui fecerit ea viuet in eis. But now ſeeing the imbecilitie of our fleſh cannot atteine thereto it foloweth thereof that all glory of iuſtifiyng is taken from workes, and transferred onely to faith.

The workes of man be imparfect and therefore haue nothing to doe with iuſtification.

Gal. 1.

Deffection of fayth in the Church of Rome.

A vew of the Popes Catholicke Church.

And thus much concerning the principall contents of S. Paules doctrine. Wherein the Church of the auncient Romanes firſt was grounded & planted, and ſo continued in the ſame, or at leaſt did not much alter, during the prymitiue ſtate of the Church. Likewiſe the ſame forme of doctrine the latter Romanes alſo that followed ſhoulde haue mainteined, and not haue fallen away for any mans preaching, but hold him accurſed, yea if he were any Apoſtle or an Angell from heauen, teaching any other doctrine beſides that inſtitution which they haue receaued. Gal. 1, for ſo were they warned before by the Apoſtle S Paule, to doe. And yet notwithſtanding all this forewarning & diligent inſtruction of this bleſſed Apoſtle of the Gentiles, what a defection of faith is fallen among the Gentiles, eſpecially among the Romanes, whereof the ſayde Apoſtle alſo foretold them ſo long before, foreprophecying: That the day of the Lord ſhall not come, except there come a defectiō before, and that the man of ſinne ſhould be reuealed, the proude aduerſary of God. &c. Theſ. 2, meaning (no doubt) by this defection, a departing and a falling from that faith which the holy ghoſt had then planted by his miniſtery, among the Gentiles. As we ſee it now come to paſſe in the Church of Rome. Which Church is ſo gone from the faith that S. Paule taught, that if he were now aliue, and ſaw theſe decrees and decretals of the Biſhop of Rome, theſe heapes of ceremonies & traditions, theſe maſſe bokes, theſe Portuſes, theſe Feſtiuals and Legendes, theſe Proceſſionals, Hymnes and Sequences, theſe Beades and Graduals, & the maner of theſe inuocation, their Canons, Cenſures, & latter Councels, ſuch ſwarmes of ſuperſtitious Monkes and Friers, ſuch ſectes of ſo many dyuers religions, the Teſtament of S. Fraunces, the rule of S. Benedict, of S Brigit, of S. Anthony. &c. the intricate ſubtelties & labyrynthes of the ſcholemen, the infinite caſes and diſtinctiōs of the Canoniſtes, the Sermons in Churches, the aſſertions in ſchooles, the glory of the Pope, the pride of the clergie, the cruelty of perſecuting Prelates with their officials and promotors: he woulde ſaye this were not a defection, but rather a plaine deſtruction and a ruine of fayth: neyther that this were any true Church of Chriſt, but a newe found Religion, or paganiſme rather, brought in vnder the ſhadow of Chriſtianity, wherin remaineth almoſt nothing els but the name onely of Chriſt, and the outwarde

The Church of Rome degenerated agayne almoſt to new paganiſme.

forme of hys religion; the true vayne, and effect wherof is vtterly decayed, as to them which liſt to examine all the parts of this new Romiſh religion, may ſone appeare.

For ſaue onely that they pretend the ſolemne forme and wordes of the Crede, and are Baptiſed, confeſſing yͤ name of the father the ſonne & holy ghoſt: As touching all other pointes and true ſinceritie of the Chriſtian faith which they outwardly profeſſe, they are vtterly degenerated from that which S. Paule & the word of God firſt had taught them.

The Popes Church onely in wordes Catholicke, in deed heatheniſh.

Firſt, they cōfeſſe the father in word, but his will in his word expreſſed they renounce, his grace they acknowledg not, his benefits and promiſſes giuen vnto vs in his ſonne they receaue not, the vigor of his law they feele not, the terrour of his iudgements earneſtly they feare not, his commaundementes they obſerue by the traditions and commaundements of their owne.

Likewiſe the name of Chriſt his ſonne in worde they confeſſe, but his office indede they deface and deminiſh: his glory they ſeeke not, but vnder his name they do ſeke their owne: the power of his bloud and paſſion they know not or els diſſemble it, whom neither they admit to be the head of his Church alone, nor ſauiour alone, nor only to be our patrone & aduocate, but match with him our Lady, and other patrons, ſo that euery Pariſh almoſt in chriſtendome hath his peculiar patrone beſides Chriſt to hold by.

In like maner they confeſſe the name of the holy Ghoſt, But God himſelfe knoweth how farre they are from the comfort, knowledge, and taſt of the holy ghoſt, as wel may appeare by their councels, by their expounding of Scripture, by their ſuperſtitious ceremonies, by their outward worſhipping and Idolatrous inuocation to ſtockes and ſtones and dead creatures, by their ſcrupulous obſeruatiō of dayes, tymes, places, numbers & geſtures: And no leſſe alſo by their doctrine, which defraudeth the poore harts of ſimple Chriſtians, of their due conſolation, ioy and liberty in the holy Ghoſt, & kepeth them ſtill in a ſeruile bondage, and a doubtfull incertaintie of their ſaluation, contrary to the working of the holy ſpirite of God.

The Religion of the Popes Church proceedeth contrary to the working of the holy Ghoſt.

The Church of Rome pretendeth a fayre face of Religion but is voyd of the effect therof

The old Phariſeis, and the latter Church of Romanes compared together.

The Popes Church vnder the name of the Catholicke Church, perſecuteth the true Catholicke Church of Chriſt.

And thus the Church of Rome pretending onely the name of Chriſt and of his Religion, is ſo farre altered from the truth of that which it pretendeth, that vnder the name of Chriſt, it perſecuteth both Chriſt & his Religion: working more harme to the Church of Chriſt, then euer did the open tirants and perſecuting Emperours among the heathen: not much vnlike herein to the olde Sinagoge of the Scribes and Phariſeis, who vnder the name of God, crucified the ſonne of God, and vnder pretence of the law, fought againſt the Goſpell, and vnder the title of Abrahams children, perſecuted the childrē of Abraham. And as they bragging ſo highly of the Temple of the Lord, the Temple of the Lorde, did in deede deſtroye the true Temple of the Lord: rightſo theſe pretenſed Catholikes in theſe dayes, after they haue rayſed vppe a Catholike Churche of their owne, and haue armed the ſame with lawes, and haue gathered vnto them a power of Prieſtes, Prelates, Abbats, Priors, of religious men, of Cardinals, and alſo of ſecular Princes to take their part, now vnder the name of the Catholike Church, they perſecute the true Catholike church, and coloring their procedings ſtill with In nomine Domini, moſt cruelly they put to death, which die pro nomine Domini, condemning them for heretikes, ſchiſmatikes, and rebles, not which deny any part of the crede, which they themſelues profeſſe, nor ſuch whome they can conuince by any Scripture, but onely ſuch which will not ioyne wyth their errours and hereſies contrary to the honour of God and truth of his worde.

And leſt any ſhould thinke this that we here proteſt againſt the corrupt errours & manifold deformities of this latter Church of Rome, to procede of any rancor or affection, rather then grounded of neceſſary cauſes, and demōſtrations euident, my purpoſe is (by the Lordes leaue) to take herein ſome litle paine, that as I haue collected a litle before, the ſumme & cōtents of S. Paules doctrine, where with the old Church of Rome was firſt ſeaſoned and acquainted, ſo now as in a like ſummary table, to diſcrye the particular braunches and contents of the Popes doctrine now ſet forth, to the intent that all true Chriſtian readers comparing the one with the other may diſcern what great alteration there is betwene the church of Rome that now is, and the church of Rome that then was, planted by the Apoſtles in the primitiue time. And to the ende to open to the ſimple reader ſome waye whereby he may the better iudge in ſuch matters of doctrine, & not be deceaued in diſcerning truth from errour, firſt we will propound certeine principles or general poſitions, as infallible rules or truthes of the Scripture, wherby al other doctrines & opinions of men being tried and examined as in the touchſtone, may the more eaſily be iudged whether they be true or contrary, & whether they make agaynſt the ſcripture, or no.

¶ Certeine Principles or generall verities grounded vpon the truth of Gods word.

Cortayne generall principles and rules gathered of the ſcriptures.

¶ The firſt principle.

1. AS ſinne and death came originally by the diſobedience of one to all men of his generation by nature: ſo righteouſnes and life come originally by the obedience of one to all men regenerated of him by faith & Baptiſme, Rom.5.

¶ The 2. Principle.

2. The promiſe of God, was freely giuen to our firſt parentes without their deſeruing, that the ſeede of a woman ſhould breake the Serpents head. Gen.3. Gene.3.

¶ The 3. Principle.

3. Promiſe was giuen freely to Abraham before he deſerued any thing, that in his ſeede all nations ſhould be bleſſed. Gen.12. Gen.12.

¶ The 4. Principle.

4. To the worde of God neither muſt wee adde, nor take from it. Deut.4. Deut.4.

¶ The 5. Principle.

5. He that doth the workes of the law, ſhall liue therein. Leuit.18. Gal.3. Leuit.18. Gal.3.

¶ The 6. Principle.

6. Accurſed is he, which abideth not in euery thing that is written in the booke of the law. Deut.27. Gal.3. Deut.27. Gal.3.

¶ The 7. Principle.

7. God onely is to be worſhipped. Deut.6. Luc.4. Deut.6. Luc.4.

¶ The 8. Principle.

8. All our righteouſnes is like a defiled cloth of a woman Eſay.64. Eſay.64.

¶ The 9. Principle.

9. In all my holy hill, they ſhall not kill, nor ſlay ſaith the Lord. Eſay.11.65. Eſay.11.65.

¶ The 10. Principle.

10. God loueth mercy and obedience, more then ſacrifice. Oſee.6. 1.Reg.15. Oſee.6. 1.Reg.15.

¶ The 11. Principle.

11. The lawe worketh anger, condemneth, and openeth ſinne. Rom.3. Rom.3.

¶ The 12. Principle.

12. The end of the law is Chriſt, to righteouſnes to euery one that beleeueth. Rom.10. Rom.10.

¶ The 13. Principle.

13. Whoſoeuer beleeueth and is Baptiſed, ſhall be ſaued. Mat.vlt. Math.vlt.

¶ The 14. Principle.

14. A man is iuſtified by faith without workes freely by grace, not of our ſelues. Gal.2. Epheſ.2. Gal.2. Epheſ.2.

¶ The 15. Principle.

15. There is no remiſſion of ſinnes without bloud. Heb.9 Heb.9.

¶ The 16. Principle.

16. Whatſoeuer is not of faith is ſinne. Rom.14. without faith it is impoſſible to pleaſe God. Heb.11. Rom.14. Heb.11.

¶ The 17. Principle.

17. One Mediatour betweene God & man Chriſt Ieſus. 1.Tim.2. & he is the propitiatiō for our ſinnes. 1.Iohn.2. 1.Tim.2. 1.Iohn.2.

¶ The 18. Principle.

18. Who ſoeuer ſeeketh in the law to be iuſtified, is fallen from grace. Gal.5.

¶ The 19. Principle.

19. In Chriſt be all the promiſes of God, Eſt & Amen. 2.Cor.1. 2.Cor.1.

¶ The 20. Principle.

20. Let euery ſoule be ſubiect to ſuperiour powers, gyuyng to Cæſar that which is Ceſars, & to God that which is Gods. Rom.13. Rom.13.

Theſe principles and infallible rules of the Scripture, as no man can denie, ſo if they be granted, the doctrine thē of the Popes Church muſt neede be found not to be Catholike, but rather full of errours and hereſies, as in the ſequele folowing remaineth more expreſſely and particularly by the grace of Chriſt to be conuinced.

¶ Here foloweth a Summary collection of the errours, hereſies, and abſurdities conteyned in the popes doctrine, contrary to the rules of Gods word, and the firſt inſtitution of the Church of Rome.

Of Faith and Iuſtification.

The errours hereſies, and

FIrſt, as touching the onely meanes and inſtrumentall cauſe of our iuſtificatiō, wherby the merits of Chriſtes Paſſion abſurdities in the popes doctrine.

Paſſiō be applied to vs & made ours, ye heard before how S. Paule onely aſcrybeth the ſame to faith: as appeareth by all his letters, eſpecially to the Romanes. where he excluding al kind of works, aſcribeth al our ſaluation, iuſtification, righteouſnes, reconciliation, and peace with god onely to faith in Chriſt. Contrary to which doctrine the Pope and his church hath ſet vp diuers and ſondry other meanes of their owne deuiſing, whereby the merites of Chriſtes paſſion (they ſaye) are applyed to vs and made ours, to the putting away of ſinnes, and for our iuſtification, as hope, charitie, ſacrifice of the Maſſe, auricular confeſſion, ſatiſfacion, merits of Saintes, and holy orders, the Popes pardons, &c. So that Chriſts ſacrifice, ſtripes, and ſufferyng, by this teaching doth not heale vs, nor is not beneficiall to vs, though we beleeue neuer ſo well, vnles wee adde alſo theſe workes and merites aboue recited. which if it be true, then is it falſe that Eſay the prophet doth promiſe: chap.53. In his ſtripes all we are made hole.&c. This errour and hereſie of the Church of Rome, though it ſeeme at fyrſt ſight to the naturall reaſon of man to be but of ſmall importaunce yet if it be earneſtly conſidered, it is in very deede the moſt pernicious hereſie that euer almoſt crept into the Church, vpon the which as the onely foundation, all, or the moſt part of all the errours, abſurdities, and inconueniences of the Popes Church are grounded. For this being once admitted, that a man is not iuſtified by his fayth in Chriſt alone, but that other meanes muſt be ſought by our owne working and merites to apply the merites of Chriſtes Paſſiō vnto vs, then is there neither any certeinty left, of our ſaluation, nor end in ſetting vp newe meanes and merites of our owne deuiſing, for remiſſion of ſinnes. Neyther hath there beene any hereſye that eyther hath rebelled more preſumptuouſly againſt the high Maieſtie of God the Father, nor more perniciouſly hath iniuried the ſoules of the ſimple, then this doctrine.

The meanes of applying Chriſtes merites vnto vs by the Popes doctrine.

The taking away of this Article of fayth onely to iuſtifie, is the roote of great inconuenience in Chriſtes Church.

No hereſie to be cōpared to the hereſie of Papiſtes.

The firſt inconueniēce.

First of all it ſubuerteth the will and teſtament of God. For where almighty God of mercy hath giuen vs his ſon to dye for vs, and with him hath giuen out his full promiſe, that whoſoeuer beleeueth vpō him ſhould be ſaued by their fayth, & aſſigneth none other condition either of the lawe or any works, but onely of fayth, to be yͤ meanes betweene his ſonne and vs: theſe men take vpon them to alter this teſtament that God hath ſet, and adioyne other conditions, which the Lord in his word neuer appointed nor knew. To whom the wordes of Hierome may be well applyed vpon the Epiſtle to the Gal. ſpeaking of ſuch. Qui de Euangelio Chriſti faciunt hominis Euangelium, vel quod peius eſt, Diaboli, &c. That is, Which make of the Goſpell of Chriſt, the Goſpell of men, or rather the Goſpell of the deuil &c.

No condition limitted of God to man for ſaluation but one.

Hieroni. in Epiſt. ad Gal. cap. 1.

The 2. incōuenience. What hurt commeth into the Church, by taking away the Article of iuſtification.

Secondly, whereas the Chriſtian reader in the Goſpell, reading of the great grace and ſwete promiſes of god gyuen to mankinde in Chriſt his ſonne, might thereby take much comfort of ſoule, and be at reſt and peace with the Lorde his God: commeth in the peſtiferous doctrine of theſe heretikes, wherewyth they obſcure this free grace of God, to choake the ſweete comforts of man in the holy Ghoſt, and oppreſſe Chriſten libertie, and bring our ſpirituall into bondage.

The third inconuenience.

Obiection of the Papiſtes aunſwered.

The Papiſtes doe teach the mercye of God to be vncertayne.

Mercy of God made certayne by hys owne promiſes.

Thirdly, as in this their impious doctrine they ſhew themſelues manifeſt enimies to Gods grace: ſo are they no leſſe iniurious to Chriſten men, whom they leaue in a doubtfull diſtruſt of Gods fauour and of their ſaluation, contrary to the worde and will of God, and right inſtitutiō of the Apoſtolicke doctrine. And wheras our new ſchoolemen of late, to mayntaine the ſayde wicked point of doctrine, doe obiect vnto vs that wee rather leaue mens conſciences vncertaine, for ſo much as, if lyfe (ſaye they) were not a due rewarde, it were vncerteine, And nowe for ſomuch as due debt is certaine, and mercy or fauour is vncerteine, therefore (ſay they) we leauing mens conſciences to the mercy of God, doe leaue them in a doubtfull vncerteintie of their ſaluation. To this I aunſwere that due debt, if it be proued by the law duely deſerued, it muſt be certeine. But if the lawe ſhall proue it vnperfect or vnſufficiently due, then is it not certeine, neither can there be any thing duely claymed. Nowe as touching mercye, ſo long as it remaineth ſecret in the Princes wyll, and not knowne to his ſubiectes, ſo long it is vncerteine, But when this mercy ſhall be openly publiſhed by proclamation, ratified by promiſe, conferred by will and Teſtamēt, eſtabliſhed in bloude, and ſealed wyth Sacraments, then this mercy remayneth no more doubtful, but ought firmely to be beleued of euery true faythfull ſubiect. And therefore Saint Paule, to eſtabliſh our harts in this aſſuraunce, and ſo aunſwere to this doubte, in his Epiſtle to the Romaines doth teach vs, ſaying: And therefore of fayth, that after grace the promiſe might be firme & ſure to the whole ſeede of Abraham.&c. Rom.4. Meanyng hereby, that workes haue nothing to doe in this caſe of Iuſtifying, and noteth the reaſon why. For then our ſaluation ſhould ſtande in a doubtfull wauering, becauſe in working we are neuer certeine whether our deſertes be perfect and ſufficient in Gods iudgement or no. And therefore (ſayeth Saint Paule) to the intent our ſaluation ſhould be out of all doubt, and certeine, it ſtandeth not of workes, in deſeruing, but of fayth in apprehending, and of Gods free grace in promiſing.

Saluation ſtandeth ſure and certayne by Gods promiſe.

The place of S. Paule. Rom.4. expounded.

The 4. inconuenience.

Fourthly, as in this their ſiniſter doctryne they break this principle of Chriſtian Religion, which ſayth that a man is iuſtified by fayth wythout workes, ſo agayne it breaketh an other principle aboue rehearſed. For this rule beyng graunted that nothing is to be added to gods word nor taken from it: then haue theſe men done wickedly in adding (as they doe) to Gods worde. For where the word of god lymiteth to our iuſtification no cōdition but fayth: Beleeue (ſayth he) in the Lorde Ieſu and thou ſhalt be ſaued, and thy whole houſe, &c. Act.16. theſe Iuſticiaries doe adde thereto dyuers and ſondry other conditions beſides, and ſuch as the worde alſo preciſely excludeth, as hope, charitie, the ſacrifice of their Maſſe, the work of the Prieſt Ex opere operato, auricular confeſſion, ſatiſfaction, meritorious deedes. &c. And thus much concerning the doctrine of fayth and iuſtification. whereby it may appeare to what horrible blindnes and blaſphemie, the Church of Rome is now fallen: where this kinde of doctrine is not only ſuffered, but alſo publikely profeſſed, which ſpeaking againſt fayth, thus blaſphemouſly dare ſay: Fides illa qua quis firmiter credit, & certo ſtatuit propter Chriſtum ſibi remiſſa eſſe peccata, ſeſeq; poſſeſſurum vitam æternam, non fides eſt, ſed temeritas: non ſpiritus ſancti perſuaſio, ſed humanæ audaciæ preſumptio. That is, That fayth wherewith a man firmely beleueth and certeinely aſſureth himſelfe, that for Chriſtes ſake his ſinnes be forgyuen him, and that he ſhall poſſeſſe eternal life, is not faith but raſhnes: not the perſwaſion of the holy Ghoſt, but preſumption of a mans boldnes.

The 4. principle aboue recited broken.

Ex Lindano in Epitome doctrina Euangelica.

¶ *Of workes, and the law.*

AS touching the doctrine of good workes and the lawe, what the teaching of Saint Paule was to the Romanes, yee hearde before. Who although hee excludeth good workes from the office of Iuſtifying, yet excludeth he them not from the practiſe and conuerſation of Chriſten life, but moſt earneſtly calleth vpon all faythfull beleeuers in Chriſt, to walke worthye their vocation, to laye downe their olde conuerſation, to gyue theyr members ſeruauntes of ryghteouſnes, to offer their bodyes vppe to God a liuelye Sacrifice, &c. The like example of whoſe teachyng, if the Churches nowe reformed doe not folowe, let their Sermons, their Preachynges, wrytinges, exhortynges, and lyues alſo beare recorde. Who although they can not ſay with Chriſt. Which of you can blame me of ſinne, yet they may ſay to the aduerſaryes, whoſoeuer of you is wythout fault, caſt the fyrſt ſtone of reproch agaynſt vs. Wherefore Hoſius, Pighius, wyth their fellowes, doe them open wrong, and ſlaunderouſly belye them in comparing them in this behalfe to Ætius Eunominus, and other heretikes called Anomæi, who taking the good ſentences of S. Paule, did abuſe the ſame to filthy licence of the fleſh, and corruption of wicked life, &c.

The firſt errour of the Papiſtes touching good workes.

Hoſius in 2. tom. confeſſionis. Cap. 1.

But to let theſe ſlaunders paſſe, nowe what the errours be of the Church of Rome, touching this part of doctryne, remayneth to be declared. Whoſe errour firſt ſtandeth in this, that they myſunderſtanding the definition of good workes, doe call good workes, not ſuch as properly are commaunded by the lawe of God, but ſuch as are agreable to the Popes law: As buylding of Abbayes and churches, gyuing to the high altar, founding of trentales, fynding of chauntries, gylding of Images, hearing of Maſſes, going on pilgrimage, fyghting for the holye croſſe, keeping of vowes, entryng to orders, faſtyng of vigiles, creepyng to the Croſſe, praying to Saintes, &c. All which are not onely reputed for good workes, but ſo preferred alſo before all other workes, that to theſe is gyuen pardon from the Pope, double and triplefolde more, then to any other good worke of charitie commaunded in the law of almightie God.

The ſecond errour of the Papiſtes in the doctrine of good workes.

Fayth the roote and cauſe of good workes.

An other errour alſo may be noted in the Papiſts, touching the efficient or formall cauſe of good workes. For albeit they all confeſſe in their bookes, that Gratia dei gratis data, is the chiefe principall cauſe thereof, and worketh in vs iuſtitiam primam (as they call it) yet the good workes after regeneration, they refer to other ſubordinate cauſes vnder God, as to fre wil, or to habitum virtutis, or ad integra

gra naturalia, & nothing at all to faith, when as faith onely next vnder God, is the roote and fountaine of all well doyng: as in the fruites of a good tree, albeit the planter or the huſbandman be the principall agent thereof, and ſome cauſe alſo may be in yͤ good ground, yet the next and immediate cauſe is the roote that maketh the tree fruitefull. In like maner the grace of God, in a ſoft & repentaunt mollified hart planteth the gift of fayth. Fayth as a good roote can not lye dead or vnoccupied, but ſpringeth forth and maketh both the tree fruitefull, and alſo the tree thereof to be good. which otherwiſe had no acceptatiõ nor goodnes in them, were it not for the goodnes of the roote from whence they ſpring. So Paule although he had certeine workes in him ſuch as they were, before his conuerſion, yet had he no good workes before the grace of Chriſt had rooted fayth in him. So Mary Magdelene the ſinner, and Zacheus the Publicane. So all the nations of the Gentiles began to bryng forth frute, and eſpecially good fruit, when they began to bee ingrafted in Chriſt, and to receaue the roote of hys fayth, whoſe fruites before that were all damnable and vnſauery. As touchyng the cauſe therefore of good workes, there is no other in man but fayth, whoſe office as it is to iuſtifie vs in heauen ſo the nature of it is here in earth to worke by loue, as the roote worketh by the ſappe. For as a man ſeeth and feeleth by fayth, the loue and grace of God toward him in Chriſt his ſonne: ſo begynneth he to loue agayne both God and man, and to doe for his neyghbour as God hath done to him. And hereof properly ſpringeth the runyng fountaine of al good works and deedes of charitie.

Workes are not to be called good but by reaſon of fayth.

The office of fayth to iuſtifie.

The effect of fayth to bring forth good workes.

Fides per dilectionẽ operans. Gal.5.

Thirdly, as they erre in the cauſe of good works, ſo do they erre much more in the ende of the lawe, and of good workes: for where Saint Paule teacheth the lawe to be gyuen to thys vſe and ende, to conuict our tranſgreſsions, to proue vs ſinners, to ſhewe and condemne our infirmitye, and to dryue vs to Chriſt: they take and applye no other ende to the lawe, but to make vs perfect, to keepe vs from wrath, and to make vs iuſt before God. And likewiſe where Saint Paule prooueth al our good works to be vnperfect, and vtterly ſecludeth them from the ende of Iuſtifying, they contrariwiſe doe teache, as though the ende of good workes were to merite remiſsion of ſynnes, to ſatiſfye vnto God, to deſerue grace, to redeeme ſoules from Purgatory, and that by them the perſon of the regenerate man doth pleaſe God, and is made iuſt before God. For ſo they teach moſt wickedly and horribly, ſaying. That chriſt ſuffered for originall ſinne, or ſinnes going before Baptiſme, but the actuall ſinnes, which followe after Baptiſme, muſt be done away by mens meryts. And ſo they aſſigne to Chriſt the begynning of ſaluation, or obteyning of the fyrſt grace (as they call it) but the perfection or cõſũmation of grace, they giue to works & our own ſtrẽgth. Neither can they in any caſe abide, that we be iuſtified freely by the mercy of God through fayth onely apprehending the merites of Chriſt. Howbeit neyther doe all Papiſtes in this their errour agree in one. For ſome make diſtinction and ſay: that we are iuſtified by Chriſt principaliter. i. principally: & minus principaliter. i. leſſe principally, by the dignitie of our owne deedes, contrary to the eight principle before mentioned, page. 24. Other holde that we are made ryghteous before God, not by works that go before fayth: but by our vertues that follow after. Some againe do thus expound yͤ ſaying of Saint Paule: We are iuſtified by faith: yͤ is (ſay they) by fayth, preparing vs or ſetting vs in a good way to be iuſtified. Other expoũde by it yͤ figure Sinecdoche, that is, by faith conioyned together with other vertues. Other thus: by faith, that is, being formed with charytie, &c. Thus all theſe doe derogate from the benefite of Chriſt, and attribute vnto works a great or the greateſt part of our iuſtification, directly againſt the true veine of Saint Paules doctryne and firſt inſtitucion of the auncient Church of Rome, and againſt all the principles of holy Scripture.

The 3. errour of the Papiſtes touching the end of the law & good works. The end of the law and good workes peruerted.

Thom. Aquinas. Hoſius in 2. tom. confeſ. Cap.1.

The diuers opinions of their Catholicke Papiſtes, how faith iuſtifieth.

The Popes doctrine agaynſt the principles of Scripture.

Furthermore, as touching the ſayde doctryne of the lawe and good workes, they erre in miſunderſtanding the nature of the lawe and workes. For where Saint Paule diſputeth that the lawe is ſpirituall, and requireth of vs perfect obedience of the whole power of man, which wee beyng carnall are neuer able to accompliſh: they affirme otherwiſe that the lawe doth require but onely outward obedience of man, and therewith is contented: And this obedience they ſay, man is not onely able to performe, but alſo to do more and greater things then the law requireth. Wherof riſeth yͤ works of ſupererogatiõ, contrary to yͤ 6. and 8. principles aboue ſpecified, page. 24. Alſo there be ſay they, among other certaine workes of the lawe, which pertayne not to all men, but are conſilia, counſayles, left for perfect men, as matter for them to merite by, and theſe they call opera perfectionis, or opera indebita, adding alſo to theſe newe deuiſes to ſerue God after their owne traditions beſides the worde of God, as Monaſticall vowes, wilfull pouerty, difference of meates and garmentes, pilgrimage to reliques and Saints, worſhipping of yͤ dead, ſuperſtitious ceremonies, roſaries, &c. with ſuch like, and theſe they call workes of perfection, which they preferre before the other commaunded in the lawe of God. In ſo much that in compariſon of theſe, the other neceſſary duties commaunded and commended by the worde of God (as to beare office in the common wealth, to liue in yͤ godlye ſtate of matrimony, to ſuſteine the office of a ſeruant in a houſe) is contemned, and accounted as prophane in cõpariſon of theſe, contrary to the 10. principle aboue mentioned, pag. 24.

The 4. errour of the Papiſtes touching the imperfection of man in ſatiſfiyng the perfection of the law.

Agaynſt the principles of Scripture.

Preceptes and Counſayles.

Workes of ſupererogation.

Mens traditions preferred before the workes of Gods law.

Agaynſt the principle of Scripture.

❀ *Of Sinne.*

Of Sinne likewiſe they teach not rightly, nor after the inſtitution of the Apoſtles, and the auncient Church of Rome, while the conſider not the deepenes and largenes of ſinne, ſuppoſing ſtill to be nothing els but inwarde actions with conſent of will, or outwarde, ſuch as are agaynſt will: whereas the ſtrength of ſinne extendeth not onely to theſe, but alſo comprehendeth the blyndnes and ignorance of the minde, lacke of knowledge and true feare of God, the vntowardnes of mans minde to Godwarde, the priuy rebellion of the hart againſt the lawe of God, the vndeliting will of man to God and his worde. The ſenſe of fleſh S. Paule alſo calleth an enimie againſt God, and feeleth in himſelfe, that is, in his fleſhe nothing dwelling but ſinne.

Erroneous doctrine of the latter Church of Rome concerning ſin.

As touching alſo originall ſinne, wherin we are borne which is the deſtruction of original iuſtice, and of gods Image in vs (remayning in vs and bringing forth in vs wicked cogitations, affections, and motions of naughtynes, againſt the law of God, and neuer ceaſeth ſo long as man liueth) this originall ſinne the Popes doctrine doth not deny, but yet doth much extenuate the ſame and holdeth that this inwarde concupiſcence & vicious affections not braſting out in vs with conſent of will, are no mortall nor damnable ſinne, but only fomes peccati: And ſay moreouer, that this concupiſcentia in vs, is no depriuation of the higher, but onely of the lower partes of man, beyng as a thing ἀδιάφορον, indifferent, and no leſſe naturall in vs then is the appetite to eate and drinke, and that the ſame is left to remaine in the Saintes after Baptiſme, to be to them occaſion of more meriting, &c.

Originall ſinne what it is.

Fomes peccati. Concupiſcentia.

Originall ſinne extenuated.

❀ *Of Penaunce, or Repentaunce.*

Of Penaunce, this latter Latterane Church of Rome, of late hath made a Sacrament (contrary to the fourth principle before pag. 24.) which penaunce ſay they, ſtandeth of three partes. Contrition, Confeſsion, and Satiſfaction canonicall. Contrition (as they teach) may be had by ſtrength of free will, without the lawe, and the holy Ghoſt per actus elicitos, through mans owne action and endeuour. which contrition firſt muſt be ſufficient, and ſo it meriteth remiſsion of ſinne. In confeſsion, they require a full rehearſall of all ſinnes, whereby the Prieſt knowing the crymes, may miniſter ſatiſfaction accordingly. And this rehearſing of ſinnes, ex opero operato deſerueth remiſsion, contrary yͤ to 14. principle before, pag. 24. Satiſfactions they call opera indebita, enioyned by the ghoſtly father. And this ſatiſfaction (ſay they) taketh away, and chaungeth eternall puniſhment, into temporall paynes, which paines alſo it doth mittigate. And againe, theſe ſatiſfactions may be taken away by the Popes indulgence. &c.

Falſe doctrine of the latter Church of Rome, touching penaunce.

Contrition.

Confeſsion.

Satiſfaction.

This vnſauery and hetheniſh doctrine of penaunce farre differeth from the true teaching of holye Scripture. By the which teaching repentaunce properly conteineth theſe three partes, contrition, fayth, and new life. Contrition is called in Scripture the ſorrow of hart, ryſing vpõ the conſideration of ſinne committed and of the anger of God prouoked, which ſorrowe dryueth a man to Chriſt for ſuccour: whereupon ryſeth fayth. Fayth bringeth, afterward amendement or newenes of life, whiche wee call newe obedience, working fruites worthye of repentaunce.

True doctrine of repentaunce by the ſcripture.

Partes of repentance.
1. Contrition.
2. Fayth.
3. New obedience.

¶ *Difference betweene the law and* the Goſpell.

As there is nothing more neceſſary and cõfortable for troubled conſciences, then to be well inſtructed in the difference

The blinde ignoraunce

of the popes Church in not diſtinctting the law from the Goſpel.

A Babilonicall confuſion in the Popes doctrine.

What difference the Papiſtes put betwene Moſes and Chriſt.

Papiſtes make the Goſpell a new law.

Papiſtes deuide the law, into the law of nature, the law of Moſes, and the lawe of Chriſt.

The Popes Churche, blinde in the office of Chriſt.

difference betweene the lawe and the Goſpell: ſo is the Churche of Rome much to blame in thys behalfe, becauſe it confoundeth togyther thoſe two, beyng in nature ſo dyuers ⁊ contrary one from another: as threatninges and promiſes, thynges temporall wyth thinges eternall, ſorrowfull thinges wyth glad tydinges, death wyth lyfe, bondage with freedome, ⁊c. Teachyng the people, that whatſoeuer the lawe ſayth the Goſpell confirmeth, and whatſoeuer the Goſpell ſayth the ſame is agreeable to the lawe, and ſo make they no difference betweene Moſes and Chriſt, ſaue onely that Moſes (they ſaye) was the gyuer of the olde lawe, Chriſt is the gyuer of the newe and a more perfect lawe. And thus imagine they the goſpell to be nothyng els but a newe lawe gyuen by Chriſt, bynding to the promiſes thereof, the condition of our doynges and deſeruinges, no otherwiſe then to the olde lawe. And ſo deuyde they the whole lawe after this deſtinction, into three partes, to wytte, the law of Nature, the lawe of Moſes, and the lawe of Chriſt. And as for the Goſpell (they ſaye) it is reueled for no other cauſe, but to ſhew to the world more perfect preceptes and counſayles, then were in the olde lawe: to the fulfylling whereof they attribute iuſtification, and ſo leaue the poore conſciences of men in perpetuall doubt, and induce other manyfolde errours: bryngyng the people into a falſe opinion of Chriſt, as though he were not a remedy againſt the law, but came as an other Moſes, to gyue a newe lawe to the worlde.

The time of the law, and time of the Goſpell diſtincted.

Malediction of the law ceaſeth in Chriſt.

The vſe of the law remayneth.

Chriſt and the law can not raygne together.

Epheſ.4.

The power of the law is for a time

The power of Chriſt is eternall.

Rom.8.

Coloſ.2.

The malediction of the law geneth place to Chriſt.

The curſe of the law is crucified and ſhall neuer riſe agayne.

Rom.7.

Rom.6.

To be vnder the law, and vnder grace expounded.

What is to be vnder grace.

Pſal.31.

Act.10.

One remedy for remiſſion of ſins and no more.

Auriculer confeſſion no remedy for remiſſion of ſinnes.

Remiſſion of ſinnes ſtandeth vpon a generall cauſe, and not particular.

The law crucified by Chriſt, what it meaneth.

Obiection.

Aunſwere.

The cauſe of remiſſion euer one and perpetuall.

Furthermore, as they make no difference betweene the nature of the lawe and nature of the Goſpell, confoundyng Moſes and Chriſt together: ſo neyther doe they diſtinct or diſcerne the tyme of the lawe, and the tyme of the Goſpell a ſonder. For where S. Paule, bryngeth in the law, to be a ſchoolmaſter, ⁊ limiteth him his tyme vnto Chriſt: ⁊ ſaith that Chriſt is the end of the law, that is, wheras yͤ law ceaſeth, there Chriſt beginneth, ⁊ where chriſt beginneth there the law endeth, they cõtrary make yͤ law to haue no ende nor ceaſing, but gyue to it immortall life ⁊ kingdome equall with Chriſt, ſo that Chriſt and the lawe togither do reigne ouer the ſoule and conſcience of man. which is vntrue. For either Chriſt muſt giue place, and the lawe ſtande: Or els the law (the condemnation and malediction of the lawe I meane) muſt ende, and Chriſt reigne. For both theſe, Chriſt and the lawe, grace and malediction, can not reigne and gouerne together. But Chriſt the Sonne of God which once dyed, can die no more, but muſt reigne for euer. wherefore the lawe with his ſtrẽgth ſtyng, and curſe, muſt needes ceaſe and haue an end. And this is it that S. Paule ſpeaking of the tryumph of Chriſt, ſaieth, that he aſcendyng vp led away captiuitie captiue, ⁊ hath ſet man at lyberty, not at libertie to liue as fleſh liſteth, neither hath freed him from the vſe ⁊ exercyſe of the law, but from the dominion and power of the lawe, ſo that there is nowe no condemnation to them that bee in Chriſt Ieſu, which walke not after the fleſh, &c. Romaines, 8. And in an other place Saint Paule ſpeaking of the ſame power and dominion of the lawe, ſayth, that Chriſt hath taken the obligation written againſt vs in decrees, and hath nayled it vpon the Croſſe, tryumphing ouer all, ⁊c. ſo that as the kyngdome of Chriſt fyrſt began vpon the Croſſe, euen ſo vpon the ſame Croſſe, and at the ſame time the kingdome of the lawe expired, and the malediction of the lawe was ſo crucified vpon the Croſſe, that it ſhall neuer ryſe agayne, to haue any power agaynſt them that be in Chriſt Ieſu. For lyke as if a woman be diſcharged from her firſt huſband being dead, ⁊ hath maryed an other man, the firſt huſbande hath no more power ouer her: euen ſo we nowe beyng eſpouſed vnto Chriſt our ſeconde huſbande, are diſcharged vtterly from our firſt huſbãd the law: (⁊ as S. Paule in an other place ſayth) are no more vnder the law, that is, vnder the dominion ⁊ malediction of the lawe, but vnder grace, that is, vnder perpetual remiſſion of al ſinnes, cõmitted not only before our Baptiſme, but as well alſo after Baptiſme, and duryng all our lyfe long. For therein properly conſiſteth the grace of God, in not imputyng ſinne vnto vs, ſo often as the repenting ſinner riſing vp by fayth flyeth vnto Chriſt, and apprehendeth Gods mercy and remiſſion promiſed in him, according to the teſtimonie both of the Pſalme: Bleſſed is the man to whome the Lord imputeth no ſinne. &c. ⁊ alſo of all the Prophets, which (as Saint Peter ſaith) giue recorde to him that through his name all that beleeue in him ſhall receaue remiſſion of their ſinnes, &c. Actes. 10. which being ſo, as it cannot be denied, then what needeth theſe priuate and extraordinary remiſſions to be brought into the Church by eare confeſſion, by meritorious deedes, and by the Popes pardons? for if there be no condemnation but by the law: and if this law it ſelfe be captiued, crucified, aboliſhed, and departed, which was the firſt huſbande, what condẽnation thẽ can there be to thẽ that be in Chriſt Ieſu, or by whome ſhould it come? If there be no condemnation, but a free and generall deliueraunce for all men, once gotten by the victorie of Chriſt, from the penalty of yͤ lawe: what needeth thẽ any particular remiſſion of ſinnes, at ſondry tymes to be ſought at the Prieſtes handes or the Popes pardons? He that hath a generall pardon needeth no particular. If remedy for ſinne be generall and perpetuall once gotten for euer, to all them that be in Chriſt Ieſu, what needeth any other remedy by auricular confeſſion? If it be not generall and perpetuall, howe then, is it true that Saint Paule ſayth: the lawe is crucified, and condemnation aboliſhed? or howe ſtandeth redemption perpetuall and generall, if remiſſion be not generall? For what is redemption els, but remiſſion of ſinnes, or ſinnes bought out? or what is els to kill the lawe, but to diſcharge vs from condemnation for euer? He that deliuereth his friende for a time out of his enimies hande, doth him a pleaſure: but he that killeth the enimie once out of the way giueth perpetuall ſafety. So if remiſſion of ſinnes by Chriſt were for ſome ſinnes and not for all, the lawe then muſt needes liue ſtill. But nowe the kylling and crucifying of the law importeth full remiſſion to be abſolute, and our ſafety to be perpetuall. But here percaſe will be obiected of ſome: how ſtandeth remiſſion of ſinnes certeine and perpetuall, ſeeyng newe offences being daily committed, doe daily require newe remiſſion? Hereto I aunſwere: albeit ſinnes doe daily growe, whereby wee haue neede dailie to deſire God to forgiue vs our treſpaſſes (&c. yet notwithſtanding the cauſe of our remiſſion ſtandeth euer one and perpetuall, neither is the ſame to be repeted any more, nor any other cauſe to be ſought beſides that alone. This cauſe is the ſacrificed body of Chriſt once vpon the Croſſe for all ſinnes that either haue or ſhall be committed. Beſide this cauſe, there is no other, neither confeſſion, nor mens pardons that remitteth ſinnes.

The promiſe of remiſsion euer perpetuall.

Remiſsion of ſinnes freely promiſed without limitation of time or number.

Furthermore, as the cauſe is one and euer perpetuall, which worketh remiſſion of ſinnes vnto vs: ſo is the promiſe of God euer one, once made and ſtandeth perpetuall that offereth the ſame to the faith of the repenting ſinner. And becauſe the ſayde promiſe of God is alwayes ſure and can not fayle, which offereth remiſſion to all them that beleeue in Chriſt, being limited neyther to time nor number, therefore we may boldely conclude, that what time ſoeuer a repenting ſynner beleeueth, and by fayth applyeth to him the ſacrifice of Chriſt, he hath by Gods owne promiſe remiſſion of his ſinnes, whether they were done before, or after Baptiſme.

The meanes whereby remiſſion is promiſed is onely fayth.

The wordes of promiſe free and abſolute.

Act.10.

Rom.6.

Mans infirmitie impayreth not the grace of Chriſt, but augmenteth it.

2.Cor.12.

Rom.5.

And moreouer, for ſo much as the ſaid promiſe of God offereth remiſſion to the repentaunt ſynner, by no other meanes nor condition. but onely one, that is, by fayth in Chriſt: therefore excluding all other meanes and conditions of mans working, we ſay, that what repenting ſinner ſoeuer beleeueth in Chriſt, hath already in him ſelfe (and needeth not to ſeeke to any Prieſt) perpetuall aſſuraunce of remiſſion, not for this time or that tyme onely, but for euer and a day. For the promiſe ſayth not, he that beleeueth in Chriſt ſhall be pardoned this tyme, ſo he ſinne no more: neyther doth it ſay, that the law is ſtayde, or the ſentence repriued, but ſayth playnely, that the law with her condemnation and ſentence her ſelfe is condemned and hanged vp, and ſhall neuer ryſe agayne to them that be in Chriſt Ieſu: and promiſeth indeterminatelye, without limitation, remiſſion of ſinnes, to all that beleeue in his name. &c, Actes. 10. and likewiſe in an other place the Scripture ſpeaking abſolutely, ſaith, Sinne ſhall not preuayle ouer you, ⁊ addeth the reaſon why: ſaying: Becauſe ye are not vnder the law but vnder grace. Rom. 6. Adding this leſſon withall, (as it followeth in the ſame place) not that ſinners ſhoulde ſinne more therefore, becauſe they are vnder grace, but onely that weake infirmities myght be releeued, broken conſciences comforted, and repenting ſinners holpen from deſperation, to the prayſe of Gods glory. For as God forgiueth not ſynners becauſe they ſhould ſinne: ſo neither doth infirmitie of falling diminiſh the grace of Chriſt, but rather doth illuſtrate the ſame, as it is written: My ſtrength is made perfect in infirmitie. 2. Cor. 12. and againe: Where ſinne aboundeth, there ſuperaboundeth alſo grace.

Foure thinges concurre in remiſsiõ of ſinnes.

In remiſſion of ſynnes therefore, theſe foure thinges muſt concurre together: the cauſe that worketh (which is the ſacrifice of Chriſtes body) 2. the promiſe that offereth, 3. fayth that apprehendeth. 4. the repenting ſinner that receaueth. And although ſinnes daily do grow, which daily prouoke vs to craue remiſſion, yet as touching the cauſe that worketh remiſſion of our daily ſinnes: & the meanes which apprehendeth and applieth the ſayd cauſe vnto vs, they remayne alwaies one & perpetuall: beſides which no other cauſe nor meanes is to be ſought of man. So that to them that be repenting ſinners & be in Chriſt Ieſu there is no law to condemne them, though they haue deſerued condemnation: but they are vnder a perpetual kingdome and a heauen full of grace and remiſſion to couer their ſins and not to impute their iniquities, through the promiſe of God in Chriſt Ieſu our Lord.

The Popes errours touching remiſſion of ſinnes detected.

And therefore wicked and impious is the doctrine of them, fyrſt which ſeeke any other cauſe of remiſſion, then onely the bloud of our Sauiour. Secondly, which aſſigne any other meanes to apply the bloudſheding of Chriſt vnto vs, beſides onely faith. Thirdly and eſpecially, which ſo limite and reſtraine the eternall priuiledge of Chriſts paſſion, as though it ſerued but only for ſinnes done without and before faith: and that the reſt after Baptiſme committed muſt be done away by confeſſion, pardons, and ſatiſfactory deedes. And al this riſeth, becauſe the true nature of the law, & of the Goſpell is not knowen, nor the difference rightly conſidered betwene the times of the one, and of the other. Neither againe doe they make any diſtinction betweene the malediction of the law, and vſe of the law. And therfore whenſoeuer they heare vs ſpeake of the law (meanyng yͤ malediction of the law) to be aboliſhed, there vpon they maliciouſly ſlaunder vs, as though we ſpeak againſt the good exerciſes of the lawe, and giue liberty of fleſhe to carnall men to liue as they liſt. Whereof more ſhalbe ſayd (by the Lordes grace) as place and time ſhall hereafter require.

What inconuenience riſeth for lacke of diſtinction betweene the law and the Goſpell.

❧ *Of free will.*

Concerning free will, as it may peraduenture in ſome caſe be admitted that men without the grace may doe ſome outward functions of the law, and keepe ſome outward obſeruaunces or traditions: ſo as touching thinges ſpirituall & apperteining to ſaluation, the ſtrength of man being not regenerate by grace, is ſo infirme and impotent that he can performe nothing, neither in doing well nor willing well. Who after he be regenerated by grace may worke and doe wel, but yet in ſuch ſort, that ſtill remaineth notwithſtanding a great imperfection of fleſh, & a perpetuall repugnaunce betwene the fleſh and ſpirit. And thus was the originall Church of the auncient Romanes firſt inſtructed. From whome ſee now howe farre this latter Church of Rome hath degenerated, which holdeth and affirmeth, that men without grace may performe the obedience of the law, & prepare themſelues to receaue grace by working, ſo that thoſe works may be meritorious, and of congruitie obteine grace. Which grace once obteined, then men may (ſay they) perfectly performe the full obedience of the law, and accompliſh thoſe ſpirituall actions, and workes which God requireth, and ſo thoſe workes, of cõdignitie, deſerue euerlaſting life. As for the infirmity which ſtil remaineth in nature, that they nothing regarde nor once ſpeake of.

Erroneous doctrine of the papiſtes concerning free will.

Meritum de congruo.

Meritum de incongruo.

❧ *Of Inuocation, and Adoration.*

Over and beſides theſe vncatholike and almoſt vnchriſtian abſurdities and defections from the Apoſtolicall faith aboue ſpecified, let vs conſider the maner of theyr Inuocation, not to God alone, as they ſhould, but to dead men ſaying: that ſaintes are to be called vpon tanquam mediatores interceſsionis: as Mediatours of interceſſion: Chriſtum vero tanquam mediatorem Salutis, and Chriſt as the Mediator of Saluation. And affirme moreouer, yͭ Chriſt was a Medyatour onely in time of his Paſſion. Which is repugnaunt to the wordes of S. Paule writing to the old Romanes chap. 8. where he ſpeaking of the interceſſion of Chriſt: Which is (ſaith he) on the right hand of God, who alſo maketh interceſsion for vs, &c. And if Chriſt be a Mediatour of ſaluation, what needeth then any other interceſſion of the Saintes for other ſutes? for ſaluation being once had what can we require more? or what lacketh he more to be obtained of the Saintes, which is ſure to be ſaued only by Chriſt? And yet in their Catholicke deuotions: why doe they teach vs thus to pray to the bleſſed virgine: Salua omnes qui te glorificant, i. Saue all them that glorifie thee, &c. if ſaluation onely belong to Chriſt? vnles they ſtudy of purpoſe to ſeeme contrary to themſelues.

False doctrine concerning inuocation.
Mediator of interceſſion.
Mediator of ſaluation.
Chriſt a continuall Mediator, by the doctrine of S. Paule. Rom. 8.
Chriſt onely being our Mediator of ſaluation, what needeth any other Mediation of Sainctes?
Saluation falſely attributed to the bleſſed Virgine.

Hetherto alſo perteineth the worſhipping of reliques, and the falſe adoration of Sacramentes, that is, the outward ſignes of the things ſignified, cõtrary to the 7. principle before, page, 24. Adde to this alſo the prophanation of the Lordes Supper, contrary to the vſe for which it was ordeined, in reſeruing it after the Communion miniſtred, in ſetting it to ſale for money, and falſely perſwading both themſelues and other, that the Prieſt doth merite both to him ſelſe that ſaith, and to him that heareth, Ex opere operato, ſine bono motu vtentis, &c. That is, Onely by the meere doing of the worke, though the partie that vſeth the ſame, hath no good motion in him. &c.

Idolatrous adoration of Reliques and Sacramentes.
Prophanation of the Lordes Supper.
Falſe marting by Maſſes.

✻ *Of Sacramentes, Baptiſme and* the Lordes Supper.

As touching Sacramentes, their doctrine likewiſe is corrupt and erroneus.

1. Firſt they erre falſely in the number. For where the inſtitution of Chriſt ordeineth but two, they (contrary to the fourth principle aboue prefixed) haue added to the preſcription of the Lords worde, fiue other Sacraments.

2. Secondly, in the cauſe finall they erre. For where the word hath ordeined thoſe Sacraments to excite our faith, and to giue vs admonitions of ſpiritual things: they contrariwiſe doe teach that the Sacramentes doe not onely ſtirre vp faith, but alſo that they auayle and are effectuall without faith, Ex opere operato, ſine bono motu vtentis &c. as is to be founde in Thom. Aquine, Scotus, Catharinus, and other moe.

3. Thirdly, in the operation & effect of the Sacramentes they faile: where the contrary to the minde of the Scriptures, doe ſay, that they giue grace & not onely do ſignifie, but alſo conteine and exhibite that which they ſignifie, to wytte grace and ſaluation.

4. Fourthly, they erre alſo in Application, applying their Sacramentes both to the quicke and the dead, to thẽ alſo that be abſent, to remiſſion of ſinnes, and releaſing of payne. &c.

Falſe doctrine touching Sacramentes.

The number, Cauſe finall, The operation, The application of Sacramentes.

In the Sacrament of Baptiſme they are to be reproued, not onely for adding to the ſimple wordes of Chriſts inſtitution, diuers other newfound rites & phantaſies of men: but alſo where the vſe of the olde Church of Rome was onely to baptiſe men, they Baptiſe alſo Belles, and applye the wordes of Baptiſme to water, fire, candels, ſtockes, and ſtones. &c.

Errours and abuſes in Baptiſme.

Baptiſing of Belles.

But eſpecially in the Supper of the Lord their doctrine moſt filthely ſwarueth from the right minde of the Scripture, all order, reaſon, and faſhion, moſt worthy to be exploded out of all Chriſten Churches. Touching yͤ which Sacrament, the firſt errour is their Idolatrous abuſe by worſhipping, adoring, ſenſing, knocking and kneelyng vnto it, in reſeruing alſo and carying the ſame about in pompe and proceſſion in townes and fieldes. Secondlye alſo in the ſubſtance thereof their teaching is monſtruous, leauing there no ſubſtance of bread and wine to remayne, but onely the reall body and bloud of Chriſt, putting no difference betweene calling, and making. Becauſe Chriſt called bread, his body therfore, ſay they, he made it his body, and ſo of a wholeſome Sacramẽt, make a perilous Idole, & that which the old Church of Rome did euer take to be a miſtery, they turne into a blind miſte of meere accidences to bleare the peoples eies, making them beleeue they ſee that they ſee not: & not to ſee yͭ which they ſee: & to worſhip a thing made, for their maker, a creature for their creator: and that was threſhed out of a wheaten ſheffe they ſet vp in the Church, & worſhip for a Sauiour: and when they haue worſhipped him, then they offer him to his father: and when they haue offered him, then they eate him vp, or els cloſe him faſt in a pixe. Where if he corrupt & putrifie before he be eaten, then they burne him to pouder & aſhes. And notwithſtanding they know wel by the ſcriptures, that the body of chriſt can neuer corrupt and putrifie, yet for all this corruption, will they needes make it the body of Chriſt, and burne all them which beleeue not that, which is againſt true Chriſtian beleefe.

Falſe doctrine of the Popes Churche concerning the [illegible]des Supper.

Idolatry committed to the Sacrament.

The Sacrament turned to an Idole.

Chaũging, Worſhipping. Offering, Eating, Burning the body of Chriſt in the Sacrament, of the Altar.

✻ *Of Matrimony.*

What order and rule S. Paule hath ſet for mariage in his Epiſtle to the Corinthians it is manifeſt. Whereas he preferreth ſingle life in ſuch as haue the gift of continence, before the maried ſtate, ſo againe in ſuch as haue not the gift he preferreth the coupled life before the other: willing euery ſuch one to haue his wife because of fornication. Furthermore, how the ſaid Apoſtle aloweth a Byſhop to be the huſband of one wife (ſo he excede not to the maner of the Iewes, which were permitted to haue many) & how vehemently he reproueth them that reſtraine mariage, his letters to Timothy do record. Moreouer, what degres be permitted by the law of God to mary, in the booke of Leu.

Abſurdities and errours of the popes Churche touching Matrimony
1. Cor. 7.
1. Tim. 3.
1. Tim. 4.

is

Leuit. 18.

is to be ſeene. cha, 18. Alſo how children ought not to mary without conſent of their parents, by manifeſt examples of the Scriptures it is notorious.

Single life be it neuer ſo impure preferred before Matrimony.

The third part of chriſtendome ſtopt by the Popes law to marry

The Popes doctrine agaynſt Prieſtes maryage, and their Children.

The third part of the yeare exempted frō the mariage.

Mariage within the fift, or ſixt degree, by the Popes law.

Goſſippes inhibited to marry by the Popes law.

What inconueniences come by reſtrayning of mariage.

Contrary to theſe ordinaunces of the Scripture, the new Catholikes of the Popes church, firſt doe repute and call mariage a ſtate of imperfection, & preferre ſingle lyfe, be it neuer ſo impure, before the ſame, pretending yͤ where the one repleniſheth the earth, the other filleth Heauen. Further, as good as yͤ third part of Chriſtendome, if it be not more both men and women, they keepe through coacted vowes from mariage, hauing no reſpect whether they haue the gift or no. Miniſters and Prieſtes, ſuch as are found to haue wiues, not onely they remoue out of place, but alſo pronounce ſentence of death vpon them & account their children for baſtardes & illegitimate. Againe, as good as the iij. part of the yeare they exempt & ſuſpend from liberty of mariage. Degrees of copulation forbidden they extend farther then euer did the law of God, euen to the fift or ſixt degree. which degree notwithſtanding they releaſe againe when they liſt for money. Ouer and beſides al this they haue added a new found prohibition of ſpiritual kindred, that is, that ſuch as haue bene goſſips, or godfathers and godmothers together in chriſtening an other mans child, muſt not by their law mary together. Briefly and finally in this their doctrine and caſes of Matrimony they gaine and rake to themſelues much money from the people, they augment horrible Sodomitry, they nouriſh wicked adultery and much fornication. They fill the worlde with offenſions, and baſtardes, and giue great occaſion of murdering infants.

Of Magiſtrates and ciuill gouernement.

The corrupt doctrine of the Popes Churche concerning ciuile rulers and magiſtrates. Rom. 13.

YE hard before what rules and leſſons S. Paule gaue to the old Romanes concerning Magiſtrats, to whoſe authoritie he would all humaine creatures to be ſubiected and how they are the miniſters of God, hauing the ſworde giuen vnto them, wherewith they ought to repreſſe falſe doctrine and idolatry, and maintaine that which is true & right. Rom. 13. Now let vs ſuruey a litle the Popes proceedinges, and marke how farre he tranſgreſſeth in this, as he doth in al other points almoſt from true chriſtianity.

1. Firſt, the Pope with all his clergy exempt themſelues from all obedience ciuill.
2. They arrogate to themſelues authoritie to ordeine and conſtitute, without all leaue or knowledge of the ordinary Magiſtrate.
3. Yea, they take vpon them to depoſe, and ſet vp rulers and Magiſtrates whom they liſt.

Of Purgatory.

The Phantaſies and Antiques of the popes Churche concerning Purgatory.

THe Paradoxes, or rather the phanteſies of the latter Church of Rome concerning purgatory, be monſtruous, neither old nor Apoſtolicall.

Ex Thom. Mono & alijs.

1. Firſt, (ſay they) there is a Purgatory, where ſoules do burne in fier after this life.
2. The paine of Purgatory differeth nothing from the paynes of hell, but onely that it hath an end, the paines of hell haue none.
3. The painefull ſuffering of this fier fretteth and ſcoureth away the ſinnes before committed in the body.
4. The time of theſe paines indureth in ſome longer, in ſome leſſe, according as their ſinnes deſerue.
5. After which time of their paines being expired, then the mercy of God doth tranſlate them to heauenly bliſſe, which the body of Chriſt hath bought for them.
6. The paines of purgatory be ſo great, that if al the beggars of the world were ſeene on the one ſide, and but one ſoule of Purgatory on the other ſide, the whole worlde woulde pitie more that one, then all the other.
7. The whole time of puniſhment in this Purgatory muſt continue ſo long, till the fier haue cleane fretted and ſcoured away the ruſty ſpots of euery ſinnefull ſoule there burning, vnleſſe there come ſome releaſe.
8. Helpes and releaſes that may ſhorten the time of their purgation, be the Popes pardons and indulgences, ſacrifice of the alter, dyrges, and trentals, prayer, faſting meritorious deedes out of the treaſure houſe of the Church, almes, and charitable deedes of the liuing in ſatiſfiyng gods Juſtice for them, &c.
9. Lacke of beliefe of Purgatory, bringeth to hell.

Manifeſt defection of the Popes Church from the olde fayth of Rome.

Many other falſe errours and great deformities, hereſies, abſurdities, vanities, & follies, biſides their blaſphemous raylinges and contumelies, may be noted in the ſaid latter church of Rome, wherein they haue made manifeſt defection from the old faith of Rome, as in depriuing the Church of one kinde of the Sacrament, in taking from the people the knowledge and reading of Gods word, in praying and ſpeaking to the people and adminiſtring ſacramentes in a tongue vnknowne, in miſtaking the authoritie of the keyes, in their vnwritten verities, in making yͤ authority of ſcripture inſufficient, in vntrue iudgement of the Churche and the wrong notes of the ſame, in the ſupremacy of the ſea of Rome, in their wrong opinion of Antichriſt.

But becauſe theſe with all other partes of doctryne are more copiouſly and at large comprehended in other bookes both in Latine and Engliſhe ſet forth in theſe our dayes, I ſhall not need further herein to trauell, eſpecially ſeeing the contrariety betweene the Popes Church, and the Church of Chriſt, betweene the doctrine of the one, and doctrine of the other, is ſo euident that he is blind that ſeeth it not, and hath no handes almoſt, that feeleth it not.

Contrarietie betweene the Religion of Chriſt and of the Pope briefly noted.

Chriſtes doctrine is wholly ſpirituall.

No outward thing is required in Chriſtes doctrine to make a Chriſten man but onely Baptiſme and the Lordes Supper.

All doctrine of the Pope ſtandeth onely in outward things.

For (briefely in one note to comprehende, which may ſuffice for all) where as the doctrine of Chriſt is altogether ſpirituall, conſiſting wholy in ſpirite and veritie, and requireth no outwarde thing to make a true Chriſten man but onely Baptiſme (which is the outwarde profeſſion of fayth) and receauing the Lordes ſupper: let vs now examine the whole religion of this latter Church of Rome, and we ſhall finde it wholy from toppe to toe, to conſiſt in nothing els but altogether in outwarde and ceremoniall exerciſes, as outward confeſſion, abſolution at the Prieſts hand, outward ſacrifice of the Maſſe, buying of pardons, purchaſing of obites, externe worſhipping of Images and reliques, pilgrimage of this place or that: building of Churches, founding of Monaſteries, outward workes of the law, outwarde geſtures, garments, colours, choiſe of meates, difference of times and places, peculiar rytes, and obſeruauncies, ſet prayers and number of prayers preſcribed, faſting of vigiles, keeping of holidayes, comming to Church, hearing of ſeruice, externe ſucceſſion of Biſhops, and of Peters ſea, externe forme and notes of the Church. &c. ſo that by this religion to make a true Chriſtian and a good Catholike, there is no working of the holy Ghoſt almoſt required: As by example to make this matter more demonſtrable, let vs here define a Chriſten man after the Popes making: whereby we may ſee the better what is to be iudged of the ſcope of his doctrine.

A Chriſten man after the Popes making defined.

A Chriſten man defined after the Popes doctrine.

AFter the Popes Catholike Religion, a true Chriſten man is thus defined: firſt to be baptiſed in the Latine tongue (where the Godfathers profeſſe they can not tell what) then confirmed by the Byſhop: the Mother of the childe to be purified. After he be growen in yeares, then to come to the Church, to keepe his faſting dayes, to faſt the Lent, to come vnder benedicite. that is, to be confeſſed of the Prieſt, to doe his penance, at Eaſter to take his rites to heare Maſſe, and diuine ſeruice, to ſet vppe candels before Images to creepe to yͤ Croſſe, to take holy bread and holy water, to go on proceſſiō, to cary his palmes & candle, and to take aſhes, to faſt the Ember daies, Rogation daies, & vigiles, to keepe the holy dayes, to pay his tithes and offeringe daies, to go on pilgrimage, to buy pardons, to worſhip his maker ouer the Prieſtes head, to receaue the Pope for his ſupreame head and to obey his lawes, to receaue S. Nicolas Clerks, to haue his beades, & to giue to the high altar, to take orders, if he will be Prieſt, to ſaye his Mattens, to ſing his Maſſe, to liſt vp fayre, to keepe his vow, and not to marry. when he is ſicke to be anneeld and take the rites of holy Church, to be buried in yͤ church yard, to be rong for, to be ſong for, to be buried in a Fryers coule, to finde a ſoule Prieſt. &c.

Corporall exerciſe ſerueth to ſmall profite.

All which pointes being obſerued, who can denie but this is a deuoute man and a perfecte Chriſtian Catholike, and ſure to be ſaued, as a true faithfull childe of the holye mother Church.

Now looke vpon this definition, and tell me (good reader) what faith or ſpirite, or what working of the holye Ghoſt in all this doctrine is to be required. The grace of our Lord Jeſus giue the true light of his Goſpell to ſhine in our hartes, Amen.

σὺν τῷ Χριστῷ.

¶ The firſt booke contayning the 300. yeares next after Chriſt.

THeſe things before premiſed, hauing thus hitherto prepared ẏ way vnto our ſtory, let vs nowe (by the grace and ſpeede of Chriſt our Lord) enter into the matter: ẏ as we haue heretofore ſet forth in a generall deſcriptiō the whole ſtate as wel of the primitiue as of the latter times of this Church of Rome: ſo now conſequently to diſcourſe in particular ſort the Actes and doings of euery age, by it ſelfe, in ſuch order as is afore prefixed.

1. Firſt, to declare of the ſuffering time of the Church, which conteineth about the time of three hundreth yeares after Chriſt.

2. Secondly, the floriſhing & growing time of the ſame: conteyning other 300. yeares.

3. Thirdly the declining time of the Church, and of true Religion, other 300. yeares.

4. Fourthly, of the time of Antichriſt, raigning & raging in the Church, ſince the looſing of Sathan.

5. Laſtly, of the reforming time of Chriſtes Church in theſe latter 300. yeares.

In the tractation of all which things our chiefe purpoſe and indeuor ſhalbe (ſo neare as the Lord will giue vs grace) not ſo much to intermedle with outward affaires of Princes, or matters ciuile,) except ſomtime for example of life) as ſpecially minding (by the helpe of the Lorde) to proſecute ſuch thinges, which to the Eccleſiaſticall ſtate of the Church are appertaining: as firſt to entreat of the ſtabliſhing of Chriſtian faith, then of the perſecutions of tyraunts, the conſtancy and patience of Gods Saintes, the firſt conuerſion of Chriſten Realmes to the faith of Chriſt namely of this Realme of England & Scotland: firſt beginning with king Lucius, and ſo forwarde following the order of our Engliſh kings here in this land, to declare the maintenaunce of true doctrine, the falſe practiſe of Prelates, the creping in of ſuperſtition, and hipocriſie, the manifold aſſaultes, warres and tumults of the princes of this world, againſt the people of God. wherein may appeare the wonderfull operation of Chriſtes mightie hand, euer working in his church, & neuer ceaſing to defend the ſame againſt his enimies, according to the verity of his owne word, promiſing to be with his Church while the worlde ſhal ſtand, ſo as by the proces of this ſtory may wel be proued, and be teſtified in the ſequell thereof.

Two thinges in this hiſtory chiefly to be noted.

In the traction of all which things 2. eſpeciall pointes I chiefly commend to the reader, as moſt requiſite and neceſſary of euery Chriſten man to obſerue & to note for his owne experience and profite, as firſt the diſpoſition & nature of this worlde: ſecondly the nature & condition of the kingdome of Chriſt, the vanitie of the one, and ſtabliſhment of the other: The vnproſperous and vnquiet ſtate of the one, ruled by mans violence & wiſdome: And the happy ſucceſſe of the other euer ruled by Gods bleſſing & prouidence. The wrath and reuenging hand of god in the one and his mercy vpon the other. The world I call al ſuch as be without or againſt Chriſt, eyther by ignoraunce not knowing him, or by heatheniſh life not following him, or by violence reſiſting him. On the otherſide the kingdome of Chriſt in this world I take to be all them which belong to the faith of Chriſt, & here take his part in this world againſt the world. The nūber of whom although it be much ſmaller then the other and alwaies lightly is hated & moleſted of the world, yet it is the number, which the Lorde peculiarly doth bleſſe and proſper, and euer will. And this number of Chriſtes ſubiects is it, which we cal the viſible Church here in earth. which viſible Church hauing in it ſelfe a difference of 2 ſorts of people, ſo is it to be deuided in two parts, of which the one ſtandeth of ſuch as be of outward profeſſion only, the other which by election inwardly are ioyned to Chriſt, the firſt in words & lips ſeemeth to honor Chriſt, and are in the viſible Church onely, but not in the Church inuiſible, & partaketh the outward Sacraments of Chriſt, but not the inward bleſſing of Chriſt: the other are both in the viſible & alſo in the inuiſible Church of Chriſt, which not in wordes onely and outward profeſſion, but alſo in hart doe truely ſerue & honour Chriſt, partaking not onely the Sacramentes, but alſo the heauenly bleſſings and grace of Chriſt.

The world.

The kingdome of Chriſt in this world.

The viſible Church.

The Church of Chriſt deuided in two ſortes of people.

And many times it happeneth, that as betweene the world, and the kingdome of Chriſt there is a continual repugnaunce: ſo betweene theſe two partes of this viſible Church aforeſaid, oft times groweth great variaunce and mortal perſecution, inſomuch that ſometime ẏ true church of Chriſt hath no greater enimes, than of their owne profeſſion and company, as happened not onely in the time of Chriſt, and his Apoſtles, but alſo from time to time almoſt continually, Euſeb. Lib. 8. cap. 1. But eſpecially in theſe latter daies of the Church vnder the perſecution of Antichriſt and his retinue, as by the reading of this volume more manifeſtly hereafter may appeare.

Euſeb. Lib. 1. cap. 1.

At the firſt preaching of Chriſt, and comming of the Goſpel: who ſhould rather haue knowen & receaued him, then the Phariſeis and Scribes of that people, which had his law? And yet who perſecuted and reiected him more, then they themſelues? what followed? They in refuſing Chriſt to be their king, and choſing rather to be ſubiect vnto Cæſar, were by the ſayde their owne Cæſar at length deſtroyed: when as Chriſtes ſubiectes the ſame time eſcaped the daunger. whereby it is to be learned, what a dangerous thing it is to refuſe the Goſpell of God, when it is ſo gently offered.

Gods puniſhment for refuſing the Goſpel.

The like example of Gods wrathful puniſhment is to be noted no leſſe in the Romanes alſo themſelues. For when Tiberius Cæſar, hauing receaued by letters frō Pontius Pilate, of the doings of chriſt, of his miracles. Reſurrection, and aſcention into heauen, & how he was receiued as God of many, was himſelfe alſo moued with beliefe of the ſame, and did conferre thereof with the whole Senate of Rome, to haue Chriſt adored as god: but they not agreyng therunto refuſed him, becauſe that contrary to the law of the Romanes, he was conſecrated, (ſaid they) for God, before the Senate of Rome had ſo decreed & approued him. &c. Tertul. Apol. cap. 5. Thus the vaine Senate following rather the law of man, then of God, & which were contented with the Emperour to reigne ouer them, were not cōtented with the meeke king of glory the ſonne of God to be their king. And therfore after much like ſort to ẏ Iewes were ſcourged and intrapped for their vniuſt refuſing, by the ſame way which they themſelues did preferre. For as they preferred the Emperour, and reiected Chriſt, ſo the iuſt permiſſion of God, did ſtirre vp their owne Emperours againſt them in ſuch ſort, that both the Senatours themſelues were almoſt all deuoured, & the whole Citye moſt horrible afflicted the ſpace almoſt of 300. yeares togither. For firſt the ſame Tiberius, which for a great part of his reigne was a moderate and a tollerable Prince, afterward was to them a ſharpe and heauy tyraunt, who neyther fauoured his owne mother, nor ſpared his owne neuewes, nor the Princes of the City, ſuch as were his own counſelers, of whom to ẏ number of xx. he left not paſt two or three aliue, & ſo cruell was he to the Citye, that as the ſtory recordeth: Nullus a pæna hominum ceſſabat dies, ne religioſus quidem ac ſacer. Suet. reporteth him to be ſo ſterne of nature and tirannical, that in time of his reigne, very many were accuſed and condemned with their wiues & children, Maydes alſo firſt defloured, then put to death. In one day he recordeth .xx. perſons to be drawen to ẏ place of execution. By whom alſo, through the iuſt puniſhment of God Pilate vnder whom Chriſt was crucified, was apprehended and accuſed at Rome, depoſed, then baniſhed to the towne of Lyonce, and at length did ſlaye himſelfe. Neither did Herode and Cayphas long eſcape, of whome more followeth hereafter. Agrippa alſo by him was caſt into priſon, albeit afterward he was reſtored. In ẏ raigne of Tiberius the Lord Ieſus the ſonne of God, in the xxxiiij. yeare of his age, which was the xvij. of this Emperour by the malice of the Iewes, ſuffered his bleſſed paſſion for the conquering of ſinne, death, and Sathan the Prince of this world, and roſe againe the third day. After whoſe bleſſed Paſſion & reſurrectiō, this foreſayde Tiberius Nero (otherwiſe called) Liberius Mero, liued vj. yeares, duryng which time no perſecution was yet ſtirring in Rome againſt the Chriſtians, through ẏ commaundemēt of the Emperour.

Tiberius Cæſar moueth the Senate to haue Chriſt receaued. Chriſt refuſed of the Senate of Rome.

The vayne cauſe why the Senate of Rome refuſed Chriſt.

Tertul. Apol. cap. 5. Euſeb. lib. 2. cap. 3.

The Senate and Citie of Rome plagued for refuſing of Chriſt.

Ex Suet. in vita Tiberij.

Chriſt ſuffereth and riſeth agayne.

{An. 34.}

In the raigne alſo of this Emperour, and yeare which was the next after the paſſion of our Sauior, or ſomewhat more, S. Paule was conuerted to the faith. After the death of Tiberius: whē he had raigned 23. yeares, ſuccded C. Cæſar Caligula, Claudius Nero, and Domitius Nero: which 3. were likewiſe ſuch ſcourges to the Senate and people of Rome that the firſt not onely tooke other mens wiues violentlye from them, but alſo defloured three of his owne ſiſters. and afterward baniſhed them. So wicked he was that he cōmaunded himſelfe to be worſhipped as God, and temples to be erected in his name, and vſed to ſit in the temple among the Gods, requiring his images to be ſet vp in all temples, and alſo in the temple of Ieruſalem whiche cauſed great diſturbaunce among the Iewes, and then began the abhomination of deſolation to be ſet vp in ẏ holy place,

Sainct Paul. conuerted.

{An. 35.}

{An. 39.}

Cæſar. Caligula.

Caligula commaunded hys image to be ſet vp in the Temple of Hieruſalem.

ſpoken

The abhomination of deſolation ſtanding in the holye place.
Herode miſerably dyed in baniſhment.
Cayphas depoſed.
{An. 43.}
Ex Gotfrido Viterbienſi parte 15

ſpoken of in the goſpel. His cruel condition, or els diſpleaſure was ſuch toward the Romaines, that he wiſhed that all the people of Rome had but one necke, that hee at hys pleaſure might deſtroy ſuch a multitude. By this ſayd Caligula, Herode the murtherer of Iohn Baptiſt, and condemner of Chriſt, was condemned to perpetuall baniſhment, where he died miſerably. Cayphas alſo which wickedly ſat vpon Chriſt, was the ſame tyme remoued from the high Prieſts roome, and Ionathan ſet in his place. The raging fierceneſ of this Caligula incenſed agaynſt the Romaines, had not thus ceaſed, had not he bene cut of by the handes of a Tribune, and other gentle men, which ſlew him in the 4. yeare of hys raigne. After whoſe death was found in his cloſet. 2. litle libels, one called a ſword, the other the daggar. In the whiche libels were contayned the names of thoſe Senatours, and noble men of Rome, whom he had purpoſed to put to death. Beſides this ſword and daggar, there was found alſo a cofer, wherein diuers kindes of poyſon were kept in glaſſes and veſſels, for the purpoſe to deſtroy a wonderful number of people. Which poyſons afterward being thrown into the ſea, deſtroied a great number of fiſh. Gotfr. Viterb.

Claudius Nero.
{An. 56.}
Domitius Nero.
The horrible wickednes and crueltie of Nero.
Peter and Paule ſuffered for Chriſt.
{An. 69.}

But that which this Caligula had onely conceaued, the ſame did the other two, which came after, bring to paſſe, Claudius Nero, who raygned xiii. yeares with no little crueltie. But eſpecially the third of theſe Neroes, called Domitius Nero: whiche ſucceeding after Claudius, rayned 14. yeares, with ſuch fury and tyranny, that he ſlewe the moſt part of the Senats, he deſtroyd the whole order of knighthode in Rome. So prodigious a monſter of nature was he, more like a beaſt, yea rather a deuill then a man, that he ſeemed to be borne to the deſtruction of man. Such was his monſtrous vncleannes, ẏ he abſtayned not from hys owne mother, his naturall ſiſter, nor from any degree of kindred. Such was his wretched cruelty, that he cauſed to be put to death his mother, his brother in law, his ſiſter, hys wyfe great with childe, alſo his inſtructor Seneca and Lucane, with diuers moe of his owne kindred and conſanguinitie. Moreouer, he commaunded Rome to be ſet on fire in xii. places, and ſo continued it 6. dayes and 7. nights in burning, while that he to ſee the example how Troy burned, ſang the verſes of Homere. And to auoide the infamie therof, he layd the fault vpon the Chriſtian men, & cauſed them to be perſecuted. And ſo continued this miſerable Emperour in his reigne 14. yeares, till at laſt the Senate proclaiming him a publike enemie of mankind, condemned him to be drawn through the citie, and to be whipped to death. For the feare whereof, he flying the hands of his enemies, in the night fled to a manor of his ſeruants in the countrey, where he was forced to ſlay himſelfe, complayning that he had then neither friend nor enemie left, that would do ſo much for him. In the latter end of this Domitius Nero, Peter alſo and Paul were put to death for the teſtimonie and faith of Chriſt. an. 69.

Veſpaſian Emperour and Titus his ſonne. The deſtruction of the Iewes.
A note for all Realmes to marke.

Thus ye ſee, which is worthy to be marked, how the iuſt ſcourge and heauie indignation of God from tyme to tyme euer followeth there, and how all things there go to ruine, neither doth any thing well proſper, where Chriſt Ieſus the ſonne of god is contemned, and not receiued, as by theſe examples may appeare, both of Romains which not only were thus conſumed and plagued by their owne Emperors, but alſo by ciuile warres, wherof three were fought in two yeres at Rome, after the death of Nero, and other caſualties (as in Sueton is teſtified) ſo ẏ in the dayes of Tiberius aforeſaid, 5000. Romains were hurt and ſlaine at one time by fal of a Theatre. And alſo moſt eſpecially by the deſtruction of the Iewes, which about this ſame tyme, an. 73. and 40. yeres after the paſſion of Chriſt, and the third yeare after the ſuffering of S. Peter and Paule, were deſtroied by Titus & Veſpaſian his father, (who ſucceeded after Nero in the Empire, to the number of xi. hundred thouſand beſides them which Veſpaſian ſlue in ſubduing the country of Galilie, ouer and beſide them alſo which were ſold and ſent into Egypt and other prouinces, to vile ſlauery, to the number of 17. thouſand, 2000. were brought with Titus in his triumph, of which, part he gaue to be deuoured of the wild beaſts, part otherwiſe moſt cruelly were ſlaine. By whoſe caſe al nations and realmes may take exãple, what it is to reiect the viſitation of Gods veritie being ſent, and much more to perſecute thẽ which be ſent of God for their ſaluation.

The Romanes in contemning Chriſt, puniſhed by their owne Emperours.

Examples of the iuſt plague of God vpon the Romaine Emperours perſecuting and reſiſting Chriſt till the time of Conſtantine.

Tiberius.
Caligula.
Claudius Domitius.
Nero.
Galba.
Ottho.
Vitelius.
Titus.
Domitian.
Commodus.
Pertinax.
Iulianus.
Seuerus.
Geta.
Baſſianus.
Macrinus.
Diadumenus.
Heliagabolus.
Alexande.
Seuerus.
Maximinus.
Maximus.
Balbinus.
Gordianus.
Philippus.
Decius.
Gallus & Voluſianus.
Aemilianus.
Varelianus, & Galienus.
Aurelianus.
Tacitus.
Florinus.
Probus.
Carus.
Diocleſianus.
Maximianus.
Galerius.
Maximinus.
Maxentius.
Licinius.

And as this wrathfull vengeaunce of God thus hath ben ſhewed vpõ this rebellious people both of the Iewes and of the Romains, for their contempt of Chriſt, whome God ſo puniſhed by their own Emperours, ſo neither the Emperors themſelues, for perſecuting Chriſt in his members eſcaped without their iuſt reward. For amongeſt ſo many Emperours, which put ſo many chriſtian Martyrs to death, during the ſpace of theſe firſt 300. yeares, fewe or none of them ſcaped either not ſlaine thẽſelues, or by ſome miſerable end or other, worthily reuenged. Firſt, of ẏ poiſoning of Tiberius, & of the ſlaughter of the other thre Neroes after him, ſufficiently is declared before. After Nero, Domitius Galba. within 7. monthes was ſlaine by Ottho. And ſo did Ottho afterward ſlay himſelfe, being ouercome by Vitellus. And was not Vitellus ſhortly after drawen through the citie of Rome, and after he was tormẽted, was thrown into Tiber? Titus a good Emperor, is thought to be poyſoned of Domitian his brother. The ſaid Domitian after he had bene a perſecutor of the chriſtians, was ſlaine in his chamber, not without the conſent of his wife. Likewiſe Commodus was murdered of Narciſſus. The like end was of Pertinax and Iulianus. Moreouer, after that Seuerus was ſlayne here in England, and lieth at Yorke, did not his ſonne Baſſianus ſlay his brother Geta, and he after ſlaine of Martialis? Macrinus with his ſonne Diadumenus were both ſlayne, of their owne ſouldiours. After whom Heliagabolus that mõſtrous bellypanch, was of his owne people ſlain, & drawn through the citie, and caſt into Tiber. Alexander Seuerus, that worthy and learned Emperour, which ſayd he would not feede his ſeruants doing nothing, with the bowels of the common wealth, although in life and vertues, was much vnlike other Emperours, yet prooued the like ende, beyng ſlayne at Mentz, with his godly mother Mammea by Maximinus whom the Emperour before of a Muletor had aduaunced to great dignities. The which Maximinus alſo after three yeres was ſlaine himſelfe of his ſouldiours. What ſhould I ſpeake of Maximus, and Balbinus, in like ſort both ſlaine in Rome? Of Gordian ſlaine by Philip: of Philip the firſt chriſtened Emperour, ſlaine or rather martired for the ſame cauſe? of wicked Decius, drowned, and his ſonne ſlaine the ſame time in battail? Of Gallus and Voluſianus his ſõne, Emperours after Decius, both ſlaine by conſpiracie of Æmilianus, who roſe againſt them both in warre, and within three monthes after was ſlaine himſelfe? Next to Æmilianus ſucceded Valerianus and Galianns his ſonne, of whome Valerianus (who was a perſecuter of the Chriſtians) was taken priſoner of the Perſians, and there made a ridyng ſtole of Sapores their king, who vſed him for a ſtoole to leap vp vpon his horſe, while his ſonne Galienus ſleepyng at Rome, either would not, or could not once proferre to reuenge his fathers ignominie. For after the taking of Valerian, ſo many Emperors roſe vp as were prouinces in the Romaine Monarch: At length Galienus alſo was killed by Aureolus, which warred againſt him. It were too long here to ſpeake of Aurelianus an other perſecuter, ſlain of his Secretarie: Of Tacitus and Florinus his brother, of whom the firſt raigned 6. months, and was ſlaine at Pontus, the other raigned two months, and was murdred at Tarſis. Of Probus, who although a good ciuill Emperour, yet was he deſtroied by his ſouldiers. After whom Carus the next emperour was ſlaine by lightning. Next to Carus followed the impious and wicked perſecuter Diocleſian, with his fellowes Maximian, Galerius, Maximinus, Maxentius, and Licinius, vnder whom all at one time (during the life of Diocleſian) the greateſt and moſt grieuous perſecution was moued againſt the Chriſtians x. yeares together. Of which, Diocleſian and Maximinian depoſed themſelues frõ the Empire. Galerius the chiefeſt miniſter of the perſecution, after his terrible perſecutions, fell into a wonderfull ſickneſſe, hauing ſuch a ſore riſen in the neather part of his belly, which conſumed his priuie members, and ſo did ſwarme with wormes, that being not curable, neither by Surgerie nor Phiſike, he confeſſed, that it happened for his crueltie toward the Chriſtians, and ſo called in his proclamations againſt them. Notwithſtanding, he not able to ſuſtain (as ſome ſay) the ſtench of his ſore ſlue himſelfe. Maximinus in his warre being tormented with payne in his guttes, there died. Maxentius was vanquiſhed by Conſtantine, and drowned in Tiber. Licinius likewiſe beyng ouercome by the ſaid Conſtantine the great, was depoſed from his Empire, and afterward ſlaine of his ſouldiours. But on the other ſide, after the tyme of Conſtantine, when as the fayth of Chriſt was receiued into Imperiall ſeate, we read of no Emperour after the like ſort deſtroied or moleſted, except it were Iulianus or Baſilius which expelled one Zeno, & was afterward expelled himſelfe: or Valende, beſides theſe we read of no Emperour to come to ruine, as the other before mentioned. Ex lib hiſt. tripart.

And thus haue we in a briefe ſumme collected out of the Chronicles, the vnquiet and miſerable ſtate of the Emperours of Rome, vntill the tyme of Chriſtian Conſtantine, with the examples no leſſe terrible then manifeſt, of Gods ſeuere iuſtice vpon them, for their contemptuous refuſing and perſecuting the faith and name of Chriſt their Lord.

Brittaines. *Gildas.*

Wickliefe and hys bookes condemned and brent for an heriticke after hys death.

Iohn.16.

Gods benefites toward England.

A caueat for England.

S. Steuen the firſt ringleader of all Chriſtes Martyrs.

Moreouer, in much like ſort and condition, if leiſure of tyme, or haſte of matter, would ſuffer me a little to digreſſe vnto more lower tymes, and to come more nere home, the like examples I could alſo inferre of this our countrey of England, concerning the terrible plagues of God againſt the churliſh and vnthankfull refuſing or abuſing the benefite of his truth. Firſt, we read how that God ſtirred vp Gildas to preach to the old Britains, and to exhort thē vnto repentance and amendment of life, and afore to warne thē of plagues to come, if they repented not. what auayled it? Gildas was laughed to ſcorne and taken for a falſe prophet, and a malicious preacher. the Britains with luſty courages, whoriſh faces, and vnrepentant hartes, went forth to ſinne, and to offend the Lord their God. what followed? God ſent in their enemies on euery ſide, & deſtroied them, and gaue the land to other nations. Not many yeres paſt, God ſeing idolatry, ſuperſtition, hipocriſie, and wicked liuing vſed in this Realme, rayſed vp that godly learned man Iohn Wickliffe, to preach vnto our fathers repentance, and to exhort them to amend their liues, to forſake their Papiſtry & Idolatry, their hypocriſy, ſuperſtition, and to walke in the feare of God. His exhortations were not regarded, He with his Sermons was deſpiſed. His bookes and he himſelf after his death were burnt, what followed? they ſlue their right king, and ſet vp three wrong kings on a rowe, vnder whom all the noble bloud was ſlaine vp, & halfe the commons thereto, what in Fraunce, & with their own ſword in fighting among themſelues for the crowne, and the Cities and townes decayed, and the land brought halfe to a wildernes, in reſpect of that it was before. O extreme plagues of Gods vengeance. Since that tyme euen of late yeares, God once againe hauing pitie of this realm of England, raiſed vp his prophets, namely, William Tindall, Thomas Bilney, Iohn Frith, Doctor Barnes, Ierome Garret, Anthonie Perſon, with diuers other, which both with their writings and ſermons earneſtly laboured to call vs vnto repentaunce, that by this meanes the fierce wrath of God might be turned away from vs. But how were they intreated? how were their painfull labours regarded? they themſelues were condemned and burnt as heretikes, and their bookes condemned and burnt as heretical. The time ſhall come ſaith Chriſt, that whoſoeuer killeth you, will thinke that he doth God hie good ſeruice. whether any thing ſince that tyme hath ſo chaunced this Realme worthy the name of a plague, let the godly wiſe iudge. If God hath deferred his puniſhment, or forgeuē vs theſe our wicked deedes, as I truſt he hath, let vs not therfore be proud and hie minded, but moſt humbly thanke him for his tender mercies, and beware of the like vngodly enterpriſes hereafter. Neither is it here any neede to ſpeake of theſe our lower and latter tymes, which haue ben in king Henry and king Edwards dayes, ſeeing the memory thereof is yet freſh, and cannot be forgotten. But let this paſſe, of this I am ſure, that God yet once againe is come on viſitation to this church of England, yea and that more louingly & beneficially then euer he did afore. For in this his viſitation he hath redreſſed many abuſes, and cleanſed his church of much vngodlines and ſuperſtition, and made it a glorious Church, if it be compared to the olde forme and ſtate. And now how gratefull receiuers we be, with what hart, ſtudy and reuerence we embrace that which he hath giuen, that I referre either to thē that ſee our fruits, or to the ſequele, which peraduenture will declare. But this by the way of digreſſion. Now to regreſſe againe to the ſtate of the firſt former tymes. It remaineth, that as I haue ſet forth the iuſtice of God vpon theſe Romain perſecutors: ſo now we declare their perſecutions raiſed vp againſt the people and ſeruauntes of Chriſt, within the ſpace of 300. yeares after Chriſt. which perſecutions in number commonly are coūted to be tenne, beſides the perſecutions firſt moued by the Iewes in Hieruſalem and other places againſt the Apoſtles. In the which, firſt S. Steuen the Deacon was put to death, with diuers other moe, in the ſame rage of tyme either ſlaine, or caſt into priſō. At the doing wherof, Saule the ſame tyme playd the doughtie Phariſie, beyng not yet cōuerted to the fayth of Chriſt, wherof the hiſtory is playne in the Actes of the Apoſtles ſet forth at large by S. Luke.

S Iames the Apoſtle, brother of Iohn Martyred.
Act.12.

Hiſt. Eccle. lib.2.cap.9. Ex clemente Septimo Hypolypſeon.

A notable conuerſion of a wicked accuſer, and after a martyr.

After the Martyrdome of this bleſſed Steuen, ſuffered next Iames the holy Apoſtle of Chriſt, and brother of Iohn. Of which Iames, mention is made in the Actes of the Apoſtles the xij. chap. where is declared, how that not long after the ſtoning of Stephen, king Herode ſtretched forth his hand, to take and afflict certaine of the cōgregation: among whome Iames was one, whom he ſlew with the ſword, &c. Of this Iames, Euſebius alſo inferreth mention, alleaging Clement, thus writing a memorable ſtory of him. Thus Iames (ſaith Clement) when hee was brought to the tribunall ſeat, he that brought him (& was the cauſe of his trouble) ſeeing him to be condemned, and that he ſhould ſuffer death: as he went to the execution, he being moued therewith in hart and conſcience, confeſſed himſelfe alſo of his owne accord to be a Chriſtian. And ſo were they both led foorth together, where in the way he deſired of Iames to forgiue him that he had done. After that Iames had a little pauſed with him vpon the matter, turning to him Peace (ſayth he) be to thee brother, and kiſſed him, and both were beheaded together, an. *36.*

Nicanor one of the ſeuen Deacons, with 2000. other martyred. *Ex Dorotheo in Synopſ.*

Dorotheus in his booke named Synopſis teſtifieth, that Nicanor one of the vij. Deacons, with 2000. other, which beleued in Chriſt, ſuffred alſo the ſame day, when as Steuen did ſuffer.

Symon a Deacon martyred,

The ſaith Dorotheus witneſſeth alſo of Simon, an other of the Deacons, Biſhop afterward of Boſtrum in Arabie, there to be burned. Parmenias alſo an other of the Deacons ſuffred.

S. Thomas the Apoſtle ſuffered.

Thomas preached to the Parthians, Medes, and Perſians: Alſo to the Germains, Hiraconis, Bactris, & Magis. He ſuffred in Calamina a Citie of Iudea, being ſlaine with a dart.

Symon Zelotes crucified.

Simon Zelotes preached at Mauritania, and in the Countrey of Affrike. And in Britania hee was lykewiſe crucified.

Thaddeus the Apoſtle ſlayne.

Iudas brother of Iames, called alſo Thaddeus, and Lebeus, preached to the Edeſſens, and to all Meſopotamia. He was ſlayne vnder Augarus. king of the Edeſſens in Berito.

Simon Cananeus crucified.

Simon called Cananeus, which was brother to Iude aboue mentioned, and to Iames the younger, which all were the ſonnes of Mary Cleopha, and of Alpheus, was Biſhop of Hieruſalem after Iames, and was crucified in a Citie of Egypt in the tyme of Traianus Emperour, as Dorotheus recordeth. But Abdias writeth, that hee with his brother Iude, were both ſlayne by a tumult of the people in Suanyr a citie of Parſidis.

Marke the Euangeliſt burned.

Marke the Euangeliſt, and firſt Biſhop of Alexandria, preached the Goſpell in Egypt, and there drawen with ropes vnto the fire, was burned, and afterward buried in a place called there Bucolus, vnder the raigne of Traianus Emperour.

Bartholomew the Apoſtle. crucified and beheaded. *Ex Ioan. de Monte Regali.*

Bartholomeus is ſayd alſo to preach to the Indians, and to haue conuerted the Goſpell of S. Mathew into their tonge, where he continued a great ſpace doing many miracles. At laſt in Albania a citie of greater Armenia, after diuers perſecutions, he was beaten downe with ſtaues, then crucified, and after being excoriate, he was at length beheaded. Ioan. De Monte Regali.

Andrew the Apoſtle crucified for the Goſpel, *Ex Hieronimo in Catologo ſcrip. Eccleſ. Ex Cypriano. lib. De duplici Martyrio Ex Barnardo ſerm 2. de Sanct. Andraa.*

The words of Andrew to the Counſell.

Of Andrew the Apoſtle and brother to Peter, thus writeth Ierome in his booke De catalogo ſcriptorum Eccleſ. Andrew the brother of Peter (in the tyme and raigne of Veſpaſianus, as our aunceters haue reported) did preach in the 80. yeare of our Lord Ieſu Chriſt to the Scithians, Sogdians to the Saxons, and in a Citie which is called Anguſtia, where the Ethiopians do now inhabite. He was buried in Patris a citie of Achaia, being crucified of Egeas the gouernour of the Edeſſians: hitherto writeth Ierome. Although in the number of yeares he ſemeth a little to miſſe, for Veſpaſianus reached not to the yere 80. after Chriſt. But Bernard in his ſecond Sermon, and S. Cyprian in his booke De duplici Martyrio, doe make mention of the confeſſion and Martyrdome of this bleſſed Apoſtle, wherof partly out of theſe, partly out of other credible writers we haue collected after this maner: that when as Andrew being conuerſant in a Citie of Achaia called Patris, through his diligent preaching had brought many to the faith of Chriſt: Egeas the gouernour knowing this, reſorted thither to the intēt he might conſtraine as many as did beleeue Chriſt to bee God, by the whole conſent of the Senate, to doe ſacrifice vnto the Idols, and ſo geue diuine honor vnto them. Andrew thinking good at the beginning to reſiſt the wicked counſaile, and the doings of Egeas, went vnto him, ſaying in this effect vnto him: that it behooued him which was Iudge of men, firſt to know his Iudge which dwelleth in heauen, and then to worſhip him being knowen, and ſo in worſhipping the true God, to reuoke his mynd from falſe Gods and blynd Idols. Theſe wordes ſpake Andrew to the Conſul.

The feruencie of Andrew agaynſt Idolatry.

But he greatly therwith diſcontented, demaunded of him whether he was the ſame Andrew that did ouerthrow the Temple of yͤ gods, and perſwaded men of that ſuperſtitious ſect, which the Romaines of late had commaunded to be aboliſhed and reiected. Andrew did plainely affirme that the Princes of the Romains did not vnderſtand the truth, & that the ſonne of God comming from heauen into the world for mans ſake, hath taught & declared how theſe Idols, whom they ſo honoured as Gods, were not only not gods, but alſo moſt cruell Deuils, moſt enemies to mankind, teaching ẏ people nothing els, but that wherwith God is offended, and being offended turneth away and regardeth them not, and ſo by the wicked ſeruice of the Deuill doe fall headlong into all wickedneſſe, and after their departing, nothing remaineth vnto them, but their euill deedes.

But the Proconſul eſteeming theſe thinges to bee as vayne, eſpecially ſeing the Iewes (as he ſaid) had crucified Chriſt before, therfore charged and commaunded Andrew not to teach and preach ſuch thinges any more, or if he did, that he ſhould be faſtened to the croſſe with all ſpeede.

Andrew abiding in his former mynd very conſtãt, anſwered thus concerning the puniſhment which he threatened, he would not haue preached the honour and glory of the croſſe, if he had feared the death of the croſſe. wherupon ſentence of condemnation was pronounced, that Andrew teaching and enterpriſing a new ſect, and taking away the religion of their gods ought to be crucified. Andrew commyng to the place, and ſeyng a farre of the croſſe prepared, did chaunge neither countenance nor colour, as the imbecillitie of mortal men is wont to do, neither did his bloud ſhrinke, neither did he faile in his ſpeech, his body faynted not, neither was his mynd moleſted, his vnderſtanding did not fayle him, as it is the maner of men to do, but out of the aboundance of his hart his mouth did ſpeake. And feruent charitie did appeare in his words as kindled ſparcles. He ſaid, O croſſe moſt welcome and long looked for with a willing mynde, ioyfully and deſirouſly I come to thee, beyng the Scholer of him which did hang on thee: Becauſe I haue bene alwayes thy louer and haue coueted to embrace thee. So beyng crucified, he yelded vp the Ghoſt and fell on ſleepe, the day before the Calendes of December.

The conſtant fayth of Andrew to the end.

The croſſe here is not taken for the materiall croſſe of wood: but for the maner of death vpon the Croſſe whiche death was to him welcome.

Mathew otherwiſe named Leui, firſt of a Publicane made an Apoſtle, wrote his goſpell to the Iewes in ẏ Hebrue tongue, as recordeth Euſebius, lib. 3. 24. 39. lib 5. cap. 8. cap. 10. Alſo Iræneus, lib 3. cap. 1. Item Hieronymus in Catalogo ſcript. Eccleſiaſt. concerning the doings and decreementes of this bleſſed Apoſtle and Euangeliſt, diuers things bee recorded by Iulius Africanus, vnder the pretenſed name of Abdias. Alſo of Vincentius, Perionius, and others, but in ſuch ſort, as by the contents may greatly be ſuſpected, the matter not to lacke ſome craftie forgerie, for the more eſtabliſhment of latter decretals, and Romiſh doctrine, as touching merites, conſecration of Nunnes, the ſuperſtitious preſcription of Lent faſt, not onely in abſtainyng from all fleſhmeates, but alſo from all matrimoniall copulatiõ betwene man and wife, during the ſaid tyme of holy Lent. Item, the ſtraight prohibition not to taſte any bodily ſuſtenance, before the receiuing of the Lordes ſupper. In ordaining of Maſſe, and that no Nunne muſt marry after the vowe of her profeſſion, with ſuch other like.

S. Mathew the Apoſtle ſlayne with a ſpeare.
Euſeb lib. 3. Cap. 24. 39.
Irenaus lib. 3. cap. 1.
Hiero, in catalogo ſcript.

Ioan de Monte Regali, teſtifieth of Mathias, that after he had preached to the Iewes, at length he was ſtoned & beheaded. Some other record that he died in Ethiopia.

Mathias the Apoſtle, ſtoned and headed.

Philippus the holy Apoſtle, after he had much laboured among the barbarous nations in preaching the worde of ſaluation to them, at length he ſuffered as the other Apoſtles did, in Hierapolis a citie of Phrygia, being there crucified and ſtoned to death, where alſo he was buried, & his daughters alſo with him. Iſido.

Philip the Apoſtle crucified.
Ex Iſido. lib. de patribus noui teſtã.

James Byſhop of Ieruſalem.

✻ *Of Iames the brother of the Lord, thus* we read in the ſtory of Clement *and Egeſippus.*

After that Feſtus had ſent the Apoſtle Paul vnto Rome after his appellatiõ made at Cæſaria, & that the Iewes by the meanes thereof had loſt their hope of performing their malicious vow againſt him conceiued, they fel vpon Iames the brother of our Lord, who was biſhop at Ieruſalem, againſt whom they being bent with like malice, brought him forth before them, and required him to denye before all the people the faith of Chriſt. But he otherwiſe then they all looked for, freely and with a greater conſtancie before all the multitude, confeſſed Ieſus to be the ſonne of God, our Sauiour, and our Lord. Wherupon, they not being able to abide the teſtimonie of this man any longer, becauſe he was thought to be the iuſteſt among all, for the highnes of deuine wiſedome, and godlineſſe, which in liuing he declared, they killed him, finding the more opportunitie to accompliſh their miſchiefe, becauſe the kingdom the ſame tyme was vacant. For Feſtus being dead in Iewrie, the adminiſtration of that prouince was deſtitute of a ruler, and a deputie. But after what maner Iames was killed, the words of Clement do declare, which writeth that he was caſt downe from the pinacle of the temple, and being ſmitten with the inſtrument of a Fuller was ſlain, but Egeſippus which liued in the tyme next after the Apoſtles, deſcribeth this cauſe diligently, in his fift Commentarie, after this maner as followeth.

Ex Clemente.
Ex Egeſippo in Commentario.

Iames the brother of our Lord, tooke in hand to gouern the Church after the Apoſtles (beyng counted of all men from the tyme of our Lord to be a iuſt and perfect man.) Many and diuers other Iameſes there were beſide him, but this was borne holy from his mothers wombe, he dronke no wine, nor any ſtrong drinke. neither did he eate any liuing creature, the raſor neuer came vpon his head, he was not annointed with oyle, neither did he vſe bathe, to him onely was it lawfull to enter into the holy place, neyther was he clothed with woollen cloth, but with ſilke, and he onely entred into the temple, falling vpon his knees, aſking remiſſion for the people, ſo that his knees by ofte kneling, loſt the ſence of feeling, being benummed & hardened like the knees of a Camell. He was (for worſhipping God and crauing forgiuenes for the people) called iuſt, & for the excellencie of his iuſt life named Oblias, which (if you do interprete it) is the ſauegard, and iuſtice of the people as the Prophets declare of him: therefore when as many of the heretikes which were among the people aſked him what maner of dore Ieſus ſhould be, he anſwered that he was the Sauiour. Wherof ſome do beleue him to be Ieſus Chriſt, but the aforeſaid heretikes neither beleue the reſurrection, neither that any ſhall come, which ſhal render vnto euery man according to his workes, but as many as beleue, they beleued for Iames cauſe. When as many therefore of the Princes did beleue, there was a tumult made of the Scribes, Iewes, and Phariſeis, ſaying: it is daungerous leaſt that all the people do looke for this Ieſus, as for Chriſt, therfore they gathered themſelues togither, & ſayd vnto Iames: we beſeech thee reſtrain the people, for they beleue in Ieſus, as though he were Chriſt. We pray thee perſwade them all which come vnto the feaſt of the Paſſeouer of Ieſus, for we are all obedient vnto thee, and all the people do teſtifie of thee that thou art iuſt, neither that thou doeſt accept the perſon of any man, therefore perſwade the people that they be not deceiued in Ieſus, and all the people, and we will obey thee, therfore ſtand vpon the piller of the temple, that thou mayeſt be ſeene from aboue, and that thy wordes may be perceiued of all the people, for to this paſſeouer all the tribes do come with all the countrey. And thus the forenamed Scribes, and Phariſeis did ſet Iames vpon the battlements of the Church, and they cried vnto him and ſayd, thou iuſt man whom all we ought to obey, becauſe this people is led after Ieſus, which is crucified, tell what is the dore of Ieſus crucified: and he anſwered with a great voyce, what do you aſke me of Ieſus ẏ ſonne of man, ſeeyng that he ſitteth on the right hand of God in heauen, and ſhall come in the cloudes of the ſkie? But whẽ many were perſuaded of this, they glorified God vpon the witnes of Iames, and ſayd: Oſanna in the higheſt to the ſonne of Dauid. Then the Scribes and the Phariſeis ſayd among themſelues, we haue done euill that we haue cauſed ſuch a teſtimony of Ieſus. But let vs go vp and let vs take him, that they being compelled with feare, may deny that faith. And they cried out, ſaying: O, O, this iuſt man alſo is ſeduced, and they fulfilled that Scripture which is ſpoken of in Eſay. Let vs take away the iuſt man, becauſe he is not profitable for vs: wherfore let them eat the fruits of their workes. Therfore they went vp to throwe downe the iuſt man, and ſaid among themſelues: let vs ſtone this iuſt man Iames, & they toke him to ſmite him with ſtones for he was not yet dead whẽ he was caſt downe, but he turning, fell downe vpon his knees, ſaying: O Lord God, Father, I beſeech thee to forgeue them, for they know not what they do. But whẽ they had ſmitten him with ſtones one of the prieſts of the children of Rechas, the ſonne of Charobim, ſpake to them the teſtimonie which is in Ieremie the Prophet: leaue off, what do ye? The iuſt man praieth for you. And one of thoſe which were preſent, tooke a Fullers inſtrument, wherwith they did vſe to beat and purge cloth, and ſmote the iuſt man on his head, and ſo he finiſhed his Martyrdome, and they buried him in the ſame place, & his piller abideth yet by the temple. He was a true teſtimonie to the Iewes and the Gentiles. And ſhortly after Veſpaſianus the Emperour deſtroying the land of Iewrie, brought them into captiuitie. Theſe thinges being thus written at large of Egeſippus, do well agree to thoſe which Clement did write of him. This Iames was ſo notable a man, that for his iuſtice he was had in honour of all men, in ſo much that the wiſe men of the Iewes ſhortly after

Apoc. 13.

Cap. 3.

Luc. 23.

his Martyrdome did impute the cauſe of the beſieging of Ieruſalem and other calamities which happened vnto thē to no other cauſe, but vnto the violence and iniurie done to this man. Alſo Ioſephus hath not left this out of his hiſtorie, where he ſpeaketh of him after this maner: Theſe things ſo chanced vnto the Iewes for a vengeance becauſe of that iuſt man Iames which was the brother of Ieſu, whō they called Chriſt, for the Iewes killed him although he was a righteous man.

Ioſephus lib. 20.

The ſame Ioſephus declareth his death in the ſame booke and chapter, ſaying: Cæſar hearing of the death of Feſtus, ſent Albinus the Lieuetenant into Iewrie, but Ananus the yonger, being biſhop, and of the ſect of the Saduces, truſting that he had obtained a conuenient tyme, ſeing that Feſtus was dead, and Albinus entred on his iourney, he called a Councell, and calling many vnto him, among whom was Iames by name the brother of Ieſu which is called Chriſt, he ſtoned them, accuſing them as breakers of the law.

Martyrs.

Whereby it appeareth, that many other beſides Iames alſo the ſame tyme were Martyred and put to death amōg the Iewes, for the faith of Chriſt.

A deſcription of the X. firſt perſecutions in the Primitiue Church.

The firſt x. perſecutions in the primitiue Church.

These thinges being thus declared for the Martyrdome of the Apoſtles, and the perſecutiō of the Iewes. Now let vs (by yͤ grace of Chriſt our Lord) comprehend with like breuitie, the perſecutions raiſed by the Romaines, againſt the Chriſtians in the Primitiue age of the Church, during the ſpace of 300. yeares, till the comming of godly Conſtantine, which perſecutions are reckoned of Euſebius, and by the moſt part of writers, to the number of x. moſt ſpeciall.

The ſondry tormentes of the holy Martyrs in the Primitiue Church.

Wherin meruailous it is, to ſee and read the numbers incredible of Chriſtian innocents that were ſlaine and tormented, ſome one way, ſome an other. As Rabanus ſaith, & ſaith truly. Alij ferro perempti. Alij flammis exuſti. Alij flagris verberati. Alij vectibus perforati. Alij cruciati patibulo. Alij demerſi pelagi periculo. Alij viui decoriati. Alij vinculis mancipati. Alij linguis priuati. Alij lapidibus obruti. Alij frigore afflicti. Alij fame cruciati. Alij truncatis manibus, aliiſue cæſis membris ſpectaculum contumeliæ, nudi propter nomen Domini portantes, &c. That is, Some ſlaine with ſword. Some burnt with fire. Some with whips ſcourged. Some ſtabbed in with forkes of iron. Some faſtned to the croſſe or gibbet. Some drowned in the ſea. Some their ſkinnes pluckt of. Some their tongues cut off. Some ſtoned to death. Some killed with cold. Some ſtarued with hunger. Some their hands cut off or otherwiſe diſmembred, haue bene ſo left naked to the open ſhame of the world, &c. Whereof Auguſtine alſo in his booke De Ciuit. 22. cap. 6. thus ſaith: Ligabantur, includebantur, cædebantur, torquebantur, vrebantur, laniabantur, trucidabantur, multiplicabantur, non pugnantes pro ſalute, ſed ſalutem contemnentes pro ſeruatore. Whoſe kindes of puniſhments although they were diuers, yet the maner of conſtancie in all theſe Martyrs was one. And yet notwithſtāding the ſharpenes of theſe ſo many and ſundry tormēts, and like cruelnes of the tormentors: yet ſuch was the nūber of theſe conſtant Saintes that ſuffered, or rather ſuch was the power of the Lord in his Saints, that as Hierome in his Epiſtle to Chromatius, and Heliodorus ſaith: Nullus eſſet dies qui non vltra quinq; millium numerum Martyrum reperiri poſſet aſcriptus excepto die Kalendarum Ianuarij. That is, There is no day in the whole yeare, vnto which the nūber of fiue thouſand Martyrs cannot be aſcribed, except onely the firſt day of Ianuary.

Aug. de Ciuit. Lib. 22. cap. 6.

The number of holy Martyrs in the primitiue Church.

The firſt Perſecution.

1. The firſt perſecution.

Anno. 67.

Hiſtor. Eccleſi. Lib. 2. Cap. 24. 25. 26.

The firſt of theſe x. perſecutions, was ſtirred vp by Nero Domitius, the vj. Emperour before mentioned, about the yeare of our Lord, 67. The tyrannous rage of which Emperour, was ſo fierce againſt the Chriſtians (as Euſebius recordeth) Vſq; adeò vt videres repletas humanis corporibus ciuitates, iacentes mortuos ſimul cum paruulis ſenes: foeminarúmq; abſq; vlla ſexus reuerentia nudata in publico, reiectáq; ſtarent cadauera. That is, In ſo much that a man might then ſee cities lye full of mens bodies, the old there lying together with the yong, and the dead bodies of women caſt out naked, without all reuerence of that ſexe in the opē ſtreets. &c. Likewiſe Oroſius writing of the ſaid Nero, ſaith, that he was the firſt which in Rome did raiſe vp perſecution againſt the Chriſtians, and not onely in Rome, but alſo through all the prouinces therof, thinking to aboliſh and to deſtroy the whole name of Chriſtians in all places, &c. Whereunto accordeth moreouer the teſtimonie of Hierome vpon Daniel, ſaying: that many there were of the Chriſtians in thoſe dayes, which ſeyng the filthy abominations, and intollerable crueltie of Nero, thought that he ſhould be Antichriſt, &c.

Oroſius, Lib. 7. Nero thought to be Antichriſt.

S. Peter the Apoſtle, crucified at Rome.

In this perſecution, among many other Saintes the bleſſed Apoſtle Peter was condemned to death, and crucified as ſome doe write, at Rome, albeit otherſome, and not without cauſe doe doubt thereof, concerning whoſe lyfe and hyſtory, becauſe it is ſufficiently deſcribed in the text of the Goſpell, and in the Actes of S. Luke. chap. 4. 5. 12. I neede not heere to make any great repetytion therof. As touching the cauſe and maner of hys death, diuers ther be, which make relation, as Hierome, Egeſippus, Euſebius, Abdias, and other: although they doe not all preciſely agree in the tyme. The wordes of Hierome be theſe: Simon Peter the ſonne of Iona, of the prouince of Galile, and of the Towne of Bethſaida, the brother of Andrew. &c. After hee had bene Byſhop of the Church of Antioch, and had preached to the diſperſion of them that beleued, of the Circumciſion in Pontus, Galacia, Capadocia, Aſia, and Bithinia in the ſecond yeare of Claudius, the Emperour, (whiche was about the yeare of our Lord. 44.) came to Rome, to withſtand Simon Magus, and there kept the prieſtly chayre, the ſpace of *25. yeares, vntill the laſt yeare of the forelayd Nero, which was the 14. yeare of hys raygne, of whome he was crucified, hys head being downe, and his feete vpward, himſelfe ſo requiring, becauſe he was (he ſayd) vnworthy to be crucified after the ſame forme and maner, as the Lord was. &c. Egeſippus, proſecuting this matter ſomething more at large, and Abdias, alſo, (if any authoritie is to be geuen to hys booke, who following not onely the ſenſe, but alſo the very forme of wordes of Egeſippus in this Hyſtory, ſeemeth to be extracted out of him, and of other authors) ſayth, that Simon Magus being then a great man with Nero, and his preſident and keeper, of hys life, was required vppon a tyme to be preſent at the rayſing vp of a certayne noble young man in Rome, of Neros kindred, lately departed. Wheras Peter alſo was deſired to come to the reuiuing of the ſayd perſonage. But when Magus in the preſence of Peter could not doe it: Then Peter calling vpon the name of the Lord Ieſus, dyd rayſe him vp, and reſtored him to hys mother, wherby the eſtimation of Simon Magus, began greatly to decay, and to be deteſted in Rome. Not long after the ſayd Magus threatned the Romaynes, that he would leaue the Citie and in their ſight flye away from them into heauen. So the day being appoynted Magus taking hys winges in the Mounte Capitolinus, began to flye in the ayre. But Peter by the power of the Lord Ieſus brought him downe with his winges headlong to the ground, by the whiche fall hys legges and ioyntes were broken, and he thereupon dyed. Then Nero ſorrowing for the death of him, ſought matter agaynſt Peter to put hym to death. Which when the people perceiued, they entreated Peter with much a doe, that he would flye the Citie. Peter through their importunitie at length perſwaded, prepared himſelfe to auoyd. But comming to the gate he ſawe the Lord Chriſt come to meete him, to whom he worſhipping ſayd: Lord whether doeſt thou goe? To whome he aunſwered and ſayd, I come agayne to be crucified. By this Peter perceauing hys ſuffering to be vnderſtanded, returned backe into the Citty agayne. And ſo was he crucified, in maner as is before declared. And this out of Egeſippus.

Hieron. lib. Deuiris illuſtris.

This report ſeemeth neyther to come of Ierome not to be true in Peter.

Egeſippus. Lib. 3. De excidio Hieroſo. cap. 2.

Abdias. lib. 1. De Vita Patri.

Euſebius moreouer, writing of the death not onely of Peter, but alſo of his wife, affirmeth, that Peter ſeeing his wife goyng to her Martyrdom (belike as he was yet hanging vpon the croſſe) was greatly ioyous and glad thereof, who crying vnto her with a loud voyce, and calling her by her name, bade her remember the Lord Ieſus. Such was then (ſaith Euſebius) the bleſſed bonde of Mariage among the Saintes of God. And thus much of Peter.

Euſeb. lib. 3. hiſt. eccle. c. 30.

Peters wife put to death for Chriſt. The wordes of Peter to hys wife, goyng to death.

Paule the Apoſtle, which before was called Saule, after his great trauail and vnſpeakable labours in promoting the Goſpell of Chriſt, ſuffred alſo in this firſt perſecution vnder Nero, and was beheaded. Of whom thus writeth Hierome in his Booke De viris illuſtr. Paule, otherwiſe called Saule, one of the Apoſtles, yet out of the number of xij. was of the tribe of Beniamin, and of a towne of Iewrie called Giſcalis: which towne beyng taken of the Romains, he with his parents fled to Tharſus a town of Cilicia. Afterward was ſent vp by his parents to Hieruſalē,

Paule the Apoſtle.

Ex Hieronimo. Lib. de Viris illuſt.

and

Saule brought vp vnder Gamaliell. Saule a perſecutor. Saule conuerted.

and there brought vp in the knowledge of the law, at the feete of Gamaliel, and was at the death of Stephen a doer. And when he had receiued letters from the high Prieſt to perſecute the Chriſtians, by the way going to Damaſcus, was ſtroken downe of the Lordes glory, and of a perſecutor, was made a profeſſor, an Apoſtle, a Martyr, a witneſſe of the Goſpell, and a veſſell of election.

Saulus turned to *Paulus*. Paule ſent to the Gentiles.

Among his other manifold labors & trauails in ſpreading the doctrine of Chriſt, he wan Sergius Paulus, the Proconſul of Cyprus, to the faith of Chriſt, whereupon he toke his name as ſome ſuppoſe, turned from Saulus to Paulus. After he had paſſed through diuers places and countries in his laborious peregrinations, he toke to him Barnabas, and went vp to Hieruſalem, to Peter, Iames, and Iohn, where he was ordained and ſent out with Barnabas to preach vnto the Gentils.

Act.28.

2.Tim.4.

And becauſe it is in the Actes of the Apoſtles ſufficiently comprehended, concerning the admirable conuerſion, & conuerſation of this moſt worthy Apoſtle, that which remaineth of the reſt of his hiſtory, I will here adde, how the ſayd Apoſtle Paule, the 25. yere after the paſſion of the lord, in the ſecond yeare of Nero, what tyme Feſtus ruled in Iewrie, was ſent vp in bondes to Rome, where he remaining in his free hoſterie two yeares together, diſputed daily againſt the Iewes, prouing Chriſt to be come. And here is to be noted, that after his firſt anſwer or purgation there made at Rome, the Emperor Nero, not yet fully confirmed in his Empire, & yet not burſting out into thoſe miſchiefs, which hiſtories report of him, he was at that tyme by Nero diſcharged, and dimiſſed to preach the Goſpell in the weſt partes and about the coaſtes of Italy, as he himſelfe writing vnto Timothie, afterward in his ſecond apprehenſion, in his ſecond Epiſtle witneſſeth, ſaying: In my firſt purgation, no man ſtode with me, but did all forſake me, the Lord lay it not to their charge. But the Lord ſtood with me, & did comfort me, that the preaching of his word might proceed by me, & that all the Gentiles might heare and be taught, and I was deliuered out of the Lions mouth, &c. In which place by the Lion he plainly meaneth Nero. And afterward likewiſe ſaith: I was deliuered from the mouth of the Lion, &c. And againe, the Lord hath deliuered me out from all euill workes, and hath ſaued me vnto his heauenly kingdom, &c. ſpeaking this, becauſe he perceiued thẽ the tyme of his Martyrdome to be nere at hand. For in the ſame Epiſtle before, he ſaith: I am now offred vp, and the tyme of my diſſolution draweth on.

The Epiſtles of S. Paule to vii. Churches.

Thus then, this worthy preacher and meſſenger of the Lord, in the 14. yeare of Nero, and the ſame day in which Peter was crucified (although not in the ſame yeare as ſome write, but in the next yeare following) was beheaded at Rome for the teſtimonie of Chriſt, and was buried in the way of Oſtia. The yeare after the paſſion of the Lord 37. He wrote ix. Epiſtles to ſeuen Churches: to the Romains one, to the Corinthians two, to the Galathiãs one, to the Epheſians one, to the Philippians one, to the Coloſſians one, to the Theſſalonians two. Moreouer, he wrote to his Diſciples, to Timothie two, to Titus one, to Philemon one.

The Epiſtle to the Hebrues.

The Epiſtle which beareth the title to the Hebrues, is not thought to be his, for the difference of the ſtile & phraſe, but either iudged to be written of Timothie, as Tertullian ſuppoſeth, or of S. Luke as other do thinke: or els of Clement afterward Biſhop of Rome, who as they ſay, was adioyned with Paul, and compiling together his ſayings and ſentences, did phraſe them in his ſtile and maner. Or els, as ſome do iudge, becauſe S. Paul wrote vnto the Hebrues, for the odiouſnes of his name among that people, therefore he diſſimuled, and confeſſed his name in the firſt entre of his ſalutation, contrary to his accuſtomed condition. And as he wrote to the Hebrues he being an Hebrue, ſo he wrote in Hebrue, yͭ is, in his own tongue more eloquently. And that is thought to be the cauſe why it differeth from his other Epiſtles, and is after a more eloquent maner tranſlated into the Greeke, then his other Epiſtles be. Some alſo read the Epiſtle written to Laodicea, but that is exploſed of all men. Thus much Hierome.

The Epiſtle to *Laodicea*

Abdias de Viris.lib.2.

As touching the tyme and order of the death and Martyrdome of S. Paule, as Euſebius, Hierome, Maximus and other authors doe but briefly paſſe ouer: So Abdias (if his booke be of any ſubſtãtial authoritie) ſpeaking more largely of the ſame doth ſay: that after the crucifying of Peter, & the ruine of Simon Magus, Paule yet remayning in free cuſtody, was dimiſſed and deliuered at that time from Martyrdome by Gods permiſſion, that all the Gentiles might be repleniſhed with preaching of the Goſpell by him.

Paule declareth his doctrine to the Emperour.

The ſumme of Paules doctrine.

And the ſame Abdias proceeding in his ſtory, declareth moreouer, that as Paule was thus occupied at Rome, he was accuſed to the Emperour, not onely for teaching new doctrine, but alſo for ſtirring vp ſedition againſt the Empire. For this he being called before Nero, and demaunded to ſhew the order and maner of his doctrine, there declared what his doctrine was, to teach all men peace and charitie how to loue one an other, how to preuent one an other in honor, rich mẽ not to be puft in pride, nor to put their truſt in their treaſures, but in the liuing God. Meane men to be contented with foode and rayment, and with their preſent ſtate. Pore mẽ to reioyce in their pouertie with hope. Fathers to bring vp their children in the feare of God. Children to obey their parents. Huſbandes to loue their wiues. Wiues to be ſubiect vnto their huſbands. Citizens and ſubiects to giue their tribute vnto Cæſar and to be ſubiect to their magiſtrates. Maiſters to be curteous not curriſh to their ſeruaunts. Seruants to deale faithfully with their maiſters. And this to be the ſumme of his teaching, which his doctrine he receiued not of men nor by men, but by Ieſus Chriſt, and the father of glory, which ſpake to him from heauen, the Lord Ieſus ſaying to him, that he ſhould goe and preach in his name, and that he would be with him, and would be the ſpirit of life to all that beleued in him. and that whatſoeuer he did or ſaid, he would iuſtifie it, &c. After that Paule had thus declared vnto the Emperour, ſhortly after ſentence of death was pronounced againſt him, that he ſhould be headed. Unto whoſe executiõ then Nero ſent two of his Eſquiers Ferega, and Parthemius to bring him word of his death. They comming to Paule, inſtructing then the people, deſired him to pray for them that they might beleue. who told them that ſhortly after they ſhould beleue, and be baptiſed at his Sepulchre (as Abdias writeth.) This done, the ſouldiours came and led him out of the Citie to the place of execution, where he after his prayers made, gaue his necke to the ſword. Abdias reporteth, that as his head was ſtrokẽ off, in ſtead of blood iſſued out white milke, and that at laying downe his head he ſigned himſelfe with the ſigne of a croſſe in his forehead, but this being found in no other hiſtorie, Abdias ſemeth either to adde of his own, or els to borow out of the Legend as he doth many other things beſide, whereof more ſhalbe ſayd (Chriſt willing) hereafter. Although the ſame miracle of milke flowing out of his necke, is referred alſo vnto Ambroſe, who in his ſermon 68. (if it be not counterfaited) ſeemeth to affirme the ſame. Of the tyme and yeare when theſe bleſſed Apoſtles did ſuffer, hiſtories doe not all agree. They that follow the commõ opinion, and the Popes decrees ſay, that both Peter and Paul ſuffred both in one day and in one yeare, which opinion ſemeth to be taken out of Dionyſius biſhop of Corinth. Hierome in his booke De viris illuſtr. affirmeth that they ſuffred both in one day, but he expreſſeth not the yeare. So doth Iſidorus and Euſebius. Symon Metaphraſtes bringeth in the opinion of ſome, which thinke that Paul ſuffred not with Peter, but after Peter. Prudentius in his Periſtephano, noteth that they both were put to death vpon the ſame day, but not in the ſame yere, and ſaith that Paule followed Peter a yeare after.

Paule condemned.

Paule ſuffereth.

A Legende miracle.

The ſtory of *Abdias* ſuſpected.

Hiſtoryes doe varry about the tyme of their Martyrdome.

If this be true that *Prudẽtius* recordeth of Paule to ſuffer vnder *Nero*, and the yeare after Peter: then is it falſe, which Hierome before teſtifieth, Peter to ſuffer the laſt yeare of Nero.

Abdias aboue mentioned, recordeth that Paule ſuffered two yeares after Peter. Moreouer, if it be true which Abdias ſaith, that after the crucifiyng of Peter, Paul remained in his fyare cuſtody at Rome, mẽtioned in the Actes of the Apoſtles, which was as Hierom witneſſeth the 3. or 4. yere of Nero, then muſt it be x. yeare betwixt the Martyrdome of Peter and of Paule, for as much as it is by all writers confeſſed, that Paule ſuffered the 14. yeare, which was the laſt yeare of Nero. And ſo Abdias ſeemeth neither to agree with other authors, nor with himſelfe. And thus much of the firſt perſecution.

❧ The ſecond Perſecution.

The ſecond perſecution. Anno. 69.

THe firſt Romaine perſecution beginning vnder Nero, as is aforeſaid, ceaſed vnder Veſpaſianus who gaue ſome reſt to the pore Chriſtians. After whoſe raigne was moued not long after the ſecond perſecution, by the Emperor Domitian brother of Titus. Of whome Euſebius and Oroſius ſo write, that he firſt beginning mildly, afterward did ſo farre outrage in pride intollerable, that he commaunded himſelf to be worſhipped as God, and that images of gold and ſiluer in his honour ſhould be ſet vp in Capitolio. The chiefeſt nobles of the Senators, either vpon enuy, or for their goodes, he cauſed to be put to death, ſome openly, and ſome he ſent into baniſhment, there cauſing them to be ſlaine priuilie.

Ex Oroſio. Lib.7.

The tyranny and intemperaunce of *Domitian*.

And as his tiranny was vnmeaſurable, ſo the intemperancie of his life was no leſſe. He put to death all the nephewes of Iuda, called the Lordes brother, and cauſed to be ſought out, and to be ſlayne all that could be found of the ſtocke of Dauid (as Veſpaſian alſo did before him) for feare leaſt he were yet to come of the houſe of Dauid, which ſhould enioy the kingdome. In the tyme of this perſecutor, Symeon Biſhop of Hieruſalem, after other torments, was crucified to death, whom Iuſtus afterward ſucceeded in that Biſhopprike.

Symeon Byſhop of Hieruſalem crucified.

Iohn the Euangeliſt.

Iſidorus de patribus noui Teſtamenti.

In this perſecution Iohn the Apoſtle and Euangeliſt was exiled by the ſayd Domitianus into Pathmos. Of whō diuers and ſundry memorable actes, be reported in ſundry Chronicles. As firſt how he was put in a veſſell of boiling Oile, by the Proconſul of Epheſus. The Legend and Perionius ſay, it was done at Rome. Iſidorus alſo writing of him and comprehending many things in few wordes, declareth that he turned certaine peeces of wood into gold, and ſtones by the ſea ſide into Margarites, to ſatiſfie the deſire of two, whom he had before perſwaded to renounce their riches: And afterward they repenting that for worldly treaſure, they had loſt heauen, for their ſakes agayne he changed the ſame into their former ſubſtance. Alſo, how he raiſed vp a widow and a certaine yong man from death to life. How he dronke poiſon, and it hurt him not, raiſing alſo to life two which had dronke the ſame before. Theſe and ſuch other miracles, although they may be true, & are foūd in Iſidorus & other writers mo, yet becauſe they are no articles of our Chriſtian belief, I let them paſſe, and only content my ſelfe with that which I read in Euſebius, declaring of him in this wiſe: That in the 14. yeare after Nero, in the ſecond perſecution, in the dayes of Domitian, Iohn was baniſhed into Pathmos for the teſtimonie of the word, an. 97. And after the death of the foreſaid Domitian being ſlaine, & his actes repealed by the Senate, Iohn was againe releaſed vnder Pertinax the Emperor, & came to Epheſus, an. 100. where he continued vntill the tyme of Traianus, & there gouerned the Churches in Aſia, where alſo he wrote his Goſpell, and ſo liued till the yeare after the Paſſion of our Lord, 68. which was the yeare of his age. 99.

Euſeb. Lib. 3. Cap. 10. Hiſtor Eccle.

Anno. 97.

Iohn baniſhed. Iohn releaſed out of baniſhement.

Moreouer, in the foreſayd Eccleſiaſticall ſtory of Euſebius, we read that Iohn the Apoſtle and Euangeliſt, whō the Lord did loue, was in Aſia, where he being returned out of Pathmos, after the death of Domitian, gouerned the Churches and congregations. Irenæus in his ſecond booke thus writeth: And of him all the Elders do witnes, which were with Iohn the Diſciple of the Lord in Aſia, that he ſpake and wrote theſe thinges, &c. for there he continued with them vnto the tyme of Traianus, &c. Alſo the ſaid Irenæus, Lib. 3. Hypotheſ. in like wordes declareth, ſaying: The Church of the Epheſians being firſt founded by Paul, afterward beyng confirmed of Iohn, (who continued in the ſame Citie vnto the tyme of Traianus the Emperour) is a true witneſſe of this Apoſtolicall tradition, &c. Clemens Alexandrinus moreouer noteth, both the tyme of this holy Apoſtle, and alſo addeth to the ſame a certain hiſtory of him, not vnworthy to bee remembred of ſuch which delite in things honeſt and profitable. Of the which hiſtorie Sozomenus alſo in his Commentaries maketh mention. The wordes of the author ſetting forth this hiſtorie, be theſe: Heare a fable, and not a fable, but a true report which is told vs of Iohn the Apoſtle, deliuered and commended to our remembrance. After the death of the tyrant, whē Iohn was returned to Epheſus, from the Ile of Pathmos: he was deſired to reſort to the places bordering neare vnto him, partly to conſtitute biſhops, partly to diſpoſe the cauſes and matters of the church, partly to ordaine and ſet ſuch of the Clergy in office, whom the holy ghoſt ſhould elect. Wherupon, when he was come to a certaine citie not farre of, the name of which alſo, many do yet remember, and had among other thinges comforted the brethren, he looking more earneſtly vpon him which was the chiefe biſhop among them, beheld a yong man mighty in body, and of a beautiful countenance, and of a feruent mind. I commend this man (ſaith he) to thee with great diligence, in the witneſſe here of Chriſt and of the Church.

Euſeb. lib. 3. Cap. 23.

Iren. Lib. 3. Clemens Alexandrinus.

A notable hiſtory of Iohn the Euangeliſt.

When the Biſhop had receiued of him this charge, and had promiſed his faithfull diligence therein. Agayne the ſecond tyme Iohn ſpake vnto him and deſired him in like maner and conteſtatiō as before. This done, Iohn returneth againe to Epheſus. The Biſhop receiuing the yong man, commēded & committeth to his charge, brought him home, kept him and nouriſhed him, and at length alſo did illuminate, (that is) he baptiſed him. And in ſhort tyme through his diligence, brought him into ſuch order and towardnes, that he cōmitted vnto him the ouerſight of a certaine cure in the Lordes behalfe. The yong man thus hauing more his libertie, it chanced that certaine of his companions & old familiars being idle, diſſolute, & accuſtomed of old time to wickednes, did ioyne in company with him. Who firſt brought him to ſumptuous & riotous bankets. Then entiſed him forth with them in the night to rob and ſteale. After that, he was allured by thē vnto greater miſchiefe and wickedneſſe. Wherin by cuſtome of tyme by litle and litle, he being more practiſed, and being of a good wit, and a ſtout courage, like vnto a wild or an vnbrokē horſe, leauing the right way & running at large without bridle, was caried headlong to the profunditie of all miſorder and outrage. And thus being paſt all hope of grace, vtterly forgetting and reiecting the wholeſome doctrine of ſaluatiō, which he had learned before, began to ſet his mynde vpon no ſmall matters. And foraſmuch as he was entred ſo farre in the way of perdition, he cared not how further he proceded in the ſame. And ſo aſſociating vnto him the company of his companions, and fellow thieues, toke vpon him to be as head and captaine among them, in committing all kynd of murther and felony.

What wicked company doth.

In the meane time it chaunced, that of neceſſitie Iohn was ſent for to thoſe quarters againe, and came. The cauſes being decided, and his buſines ended, for the which he came, by the way meeting with the Biſhop afore ſpecified, requireth of him the pledge, which in the witnes of Chriſt and of the congregation then preſent, he left in his handes to keepe. The biſhop ſomething amaſed at the wordes of Iohn, ſuppoſing he had meant of ſome money committed to his cuſtody, which he had not receiued, and yet durſt not miſtruſt Iohn, nor contrary his wordes could not tell what to aunſwer. Then Iohn perceauing his doubtyng, and vtteryng his mynde more plainely: The yong man (ſaith he) and the ſoule of our brother committed to your cuſtody, I do require. Then the biſhop with a loude voice, ſorrowing and weeping, ſaid, he is dead: to whom Iohn ſaid, how? And by what death? The other ſaid, he is dead to God: for he is become an euill man, and pernicious, to be briefe, a thiefe: & now he doth frequent this mountaine with a company of villains and thieues, like vnto himſelfe againſt the Church. But the Apoſtle renting his garmēts, and with great lamentation, ſaid, I haue left a good keper of my brothers ſoule. Get me a horſe, and let mee haue a guide with me, which being done, his horſe and man procured, haſted from the Churche as much as he could, and comming to the ſame place, was taken of theeues yͭ watched. But he neyther flying, nor refuſing ſayd: I came for this ſame cauſe hither, lead me (ſayd he) to your captayne. So he being brought, the captaine all armed, fiercely begā to looke vpon him. And eftſoones comming to the knowledge of him, was ſtroken with confuſion and ſhame, and began to flie. But the olde man followed him as much as he might, forgetting his age and crying: My ſonne, why doeſt thou flie from thy father? an armed man, from one naked, a yong man, from an olde man. Haue pitie on me my ſonne, and feare not, for there is yet hope of ſaluation, I will make an anſwer for thee vnto Chriſt, I will dye for thee if neede be, as Chriſt hath died for vs. I will giue my life for thee, beleeue me, Chriſt hath ſent me. He hearing theſe things, firſt as in a maſe ſtood ſtill, and therewith his courage was abated. After that he caſt downe his weapons, by and by he trembled, yea and wept bitterly: and comming to the old man, embraced him, and ſpake vnto him with wepyng (as well as he could) beyng euen then baptiſed a freſh with teares, only his right hand beyng hid and couered. Then the Apoſtle, after that he had promiſed and firmly aſcertained him that he ſhould obtain remiſſion of our Sauiour, and alſo prayed falling downe vpon his knees, & kiſſed his murdering right hand, which for ſhame he durſt not ſhew before: as now purged through repentaunce, brought him to the congregation, and when he had prayed for him with continuall prayer and daily faſtings, and had comforted and confirmed his mynde with many ſentences, went not from him (as the author reporteth) before he had reſtored him to the congregation againe, and made him a great example and triall of regeneration, and a token of the viſible reſurrection.

A notable leſſon for al miniſters to ſeeke againe their loſt ſheepe.

O vnſpeakable loue ſhewed out to a wicked ſinner.

Moreouer, the foreſayd Irenæus in Lib. 3. cap. 3. and Euſebius, Lib. 3. cap 28 and Lib. 4. cap. 14. proſecuting the hiſtorie of Iohn, declare in theſe wordes, ſaying, that there were certaine which heard Policarpus ſay; that Iohn the diſciple of our Lord, goyng into Epheſus to be waſhed, ſeyng Corinthus within, he leaped out of the bathe vnbathed, becauſe he feared the bathe ſhould haue fallen, ſeing that Cerinthus an enemy to the truth, was within. Such feare had the Apoſtles (ſaith Irenæus) that they would not communicate a word with them that adulterate the truth.

An example of the godly to flye the cōpany of the wicked.

And foraſmuch as we are here in hand with the ſtory of Iohn the bleſſed Euangeliſt, commeth in matter and occaſion, not geuē by him, but takē of other, of a great doubt and difficulty, ſuch as hath occupied all the Catholike, ſubtile, illuminate, and ſeraphicall Doctors of the Popes Catholike

A Catholique queſtion concerning auricular confeſsion.

Solutio.

An other Catholique queſtion.

tholike Church, theſe 500. yeares. The difficultie is this: that for ſo much as auricular confeſſion hath bene, & is yet receiued in the Popes Catholike Church for an holy and neceſſary Sacrament, extending vniuerſally to al & ſingular creatures Chriſtian. Here then riſeth a queſtion, who was our Ladies confeſſour, or ghoſtly father? But that is decreed and confeſſed with full conſent of all the Catholikes to bee S. Iohn. Whoſoeuer denieth or doubteth of this, is ſtraight wayes ipſo facto an heretike. This then ſo determined, ariſeth an other queſtion or doubt, that ſeeyng our Lady was without all originall ſinne, and alſo actuall or mortall: what need then had ſhe of any Confeſſour? or what ſhould ſhe confeſſe vnto him? For if ſhe had confeſſed any ſinne, when ſhe had none: then had ſhe made her ſelfe a lyer, & ſo had ſinned in deede. Here therefore gentle Reader, in this perplexitie, theſe our illuminate Doctours ſtād in neede of thine ayde, to helpe at a pinch. Magnus Albertus yͤ great diuine, denieth not, but that ſhe in deede, although moſt pure, yet was confeſſed to her ghoſtly father, to keepe the obſeruances of the law, appointed for ſuch as had that neede, which ſhe had not. And therfore (ſayth he) neceſſary it was that ſhe ſhould confeſſe with mouth. But then here is to be aſked, what did ſhe ſay in her confeſſion, when ſhe had nothing to confeſſe? To this Albertus aunſwereth agayne, and telleth vs plainely what ſhe ſayd in her confeſſiō which was this: that ſhe had receiued that great grace, not ex condigno, that is, not of any dignitie of her own, but yet notwithſtanding of congruitie. And this was it (ſayth Albert) that ſhe ſayd in her confeſſion. Albert cap. 74 ſuper Euang. Miſſus eſt, &c.

Solution. Albert. ſuper Euāgelium. Miſſus eſt.

An other queſtion with the ſolution.

Albert. ibidem. ca. 17.

S. Thomas par. 3. queſ. 37. art. 5.

Moreouer, to helpe this caſe out of all doubt, commeth in famous Thomas of Watring, & thus looſeth the knot, much after like effect, ſaying: that as Chriſt, although he did owe nothing to the law, yet notwithſtanding receiued he Circumciſion, to geue to other example of humilitie and obedience: In like maner would our Lady ſhew her ſelfe obedient to the obſeruaunce of the law, albeit there was no cauſe, why ſhe had any neede thereof. And thus haſt thou (gentle Reader) this doubtful queſtiō moued and ſoluted, to the intent I would reueale to thee ſome part of the deep diuinitie of our Catholike Maiſters, that haue ruled and gouerned the Church in theſe their late Popiſh dayes.

Flauia the daughter of a Conſul. baniſhed for the teſtimony of chriſt. *Ex Euſeb. Lib. 3. ca. 19*

But breaking of this matter, to returne againe where we left, that is, to this foreſayd 2. perſecutiō vnder Domitianus. In which perſecution beſides theſe afore mentioned, and many other innumerable godly Martyrs, ſufferyng for the like teſtimonie of yͤ Lord Ieſus, was Flauia yͤ daughter of Flauius Clemens, one of the Romaine Conſuls, which Flauia with many other was baniſhed out of Rome into the Iſle Pontia, for the teſtimony of the Lord Ieſus by the Emperour, Domitianus, Euſeb. Lib. 3.

The Emperour maketh inquirie for all that were of Dauids ſtocke.

Dauids ſtocke feared of the Emperours.

Two Nephewes of Iude the Lordes brother preſerued.

The kingdome of Chriſt not of this world.

This Domitianus feared the comming of Chriſt as Herode did, & therefore commaunded them to be killed which were of the ſtocke of Dauid in Iewry. There were remaining aliue at that tyme certayne of the Lordes kindred, which were the nephewes of Iude, that was called the Lordes brother after the fleſh. Theſe when the Lieuetenāt of Iewry had brought vp to Domitian to be ſlayn: the Emperour demaunded of thē, whether they were of the ſtocke of Dauid: which when they had grāted, he aſked againe, what poſſeſſions, and what ſubſtaunce they had. They aunſwered, yͭ they both had no more betweene them in all, but xxxix. acres of grounde, & how they gat their liuing & ſuſtained their families with the hard labours of their hādes ſhewing forth their hands vnto the Emperor, being hard and roughworne with labours, to witnes that to be true which they had ſpoken. Then the Emperour inquiring of them concerning the kingdome of Chriſt, what maner of kingdome it was, how and when it ſhould appeare: they aunſwered that his kingdome was no worldly nor terren thing, but an heauenly and Aungelicall kingdome, & that it ſhould appeare in the conſummation & end of the world what tyme he comming in glory, ſhould iudge the quicke and the dead, and render to euery one according to his deſeruinges. Domitian, the Emperour hearing this (as the ſaying is) did not condemne them, but deſpiſing them as vile perſons, let them go, & alſo ſtaid the perſecution then moued againſt the Chriſtians. They being thus diſcharged and diſmiſſed, afterward had the gouernmēt of Churches, beyng taken for Martyrs, and as of the Lords ſtock, and ſo continued in good peace till the tyme of Traianus. Hæc Egeſip. & Euſeb Lib. 3. cap. 20.

The cauſes why the Emperours and Senate of Rome did ſo rage agaynſt the Chriſtians.

The kingdome of Chriſt feared of the Romaines.

By this ſtory here recited may appeare, what were the cauſes why the Emperours of the Romaine Monarchie did ſo perſecute the Chriſtians: which cauſes were chiefly theſe: feare, and hatred: 1. feare, for that the Emperors and Senate of blinde ignoraunce, not knowing the maner of Chriſtes kingdome, feared and miſdoubted leaſt the ſame would ſubuert their Emperie. Like as the Pope thinketh now that this Goſpel wil ouerthrow his kingdom of maieſtie. And therfore ſought they all means poſſible, how by death and all kindes of torments vtterly to extinguiſh the name and memorie of the chriſtians. And therupon ſeemeth to ſpring the old law of the Romaine Senate: Non debere dimitti Chriſtianos qui ſemel ad tribunal veniſſent, niſi propoſitum mutent. i. That the Chriſtians ſhould not bee let goe, which were once brought to the iudgement ſeate, except they chaunged their purpoſe, &c. Euſeb. Lib. 5. cap. 21. 2. Hatred, partly for that this world of his owne naturall condition hath euer hated and maliced the people of god, from the firſt beginning of the world. Partly agayne, for that the Chriſtians beyng of a contrary nature and Religion, ſeruing only the true liuing God, deſpiſed their falſe gods, ſpake againſt their idolatrous worſhippings, and many tymes ſtopped the power of Sathan, working in their Idoles. And therfore Sathan the Prince of this world, ſtirred vp the Romaine Princes & blynd Idolaters to beare the more hatred and ſpite againſt them.

Lex antiqua Romana contra Chriſtianos. Ex Euſeb. lib. 2. cap. 21.

The kingdome of Chriſt hated of Romaine Princes.

Falſe accuſations and ſlaunders agaynſt the Chriſtians. *Ex Apologia Iuſtini. Marty.*

Upon theſe cauſes and ſuch like, roſe vp theſe malicious ſlaunders, falſe ſurmiſes, infamous lies & ſlanderous accuſations, of the Heathen idolaters againſt the Chriſtian ſeruaunts of God, which incited the Princes of this world the more to perſecute them: for what crimes ſo euer malice could inuent, or raſh ſuſpicion could miniſter, that was imputed to the Chriſtians, as that they were a people inceſtuous, that in the night in their concourſes, puttyng out their candles, they ranne together in all filthy maner, that they killed their owne children, that they vſed to eate mans fleſh, that they were ſeditious and rebellious, that they would not ſweare by the fortune & proſperitie of Cæſar, that they would not adore the Image of Cæſar in the market place, that they were pernitious to the Emperie of Rome. Briefly, whatſoeuer miſhappened to the Citie or Prouinces of Rome, either famine, peſtilence, earthquake, warres, wonders, vnſeaſonablenes of weather, or what other euils ſoeuer hapned, it was imputed to the Chriſtians, as Iuſtinus recordeth. Ouer and beſide al theſe, a great occaſion that ſtirred vp the Emperours againſt the Chriſtians came by one Publius Tarquinius the chiefe Prelate of the idolatrous ſacrifices, and Mamertinus the chiefe gouernour of the Citie, in the tyme of Traianus, who partly with money, partly with ſiniſter and peſtilent counſaile, partly with infamous accuſations (as witneſſeth Nauclerus) incenſed the mynde of the Emperour ſo muche againſt Gods people.

Publius Tarquinius. Mamertinus perſecutors.

Alſo among theſe other cauſes abouesaid, crept in ſome piece of couetouſnes withal (as in all other things it doth) in that the wicked promooters and accuſers for lucre ſake, to haue the poſſeſſions of the chriſtians, were the more redy to accuſe them to haue the ſpoyle of their goods.

Ex Iuſt. Mart. in. 2. Apolog. The forme of inquiſition agaynſt the Chriſtians in the old tyme.

Thus haſt thou (Chriſtian reader) firſt the cauſes declared of theſe perſecutions. 2. The cruell law of their condemnation. 3. Now heare more what was the forme of inquiſition, which was (as is witneſſed in the ſecond Apologie of Iuſtinus) to this effect: that they ſhould ſweare to declare the truth, whether they were in very deed Chriſtians or not: and if they confeſſed then by the law the ſentence of death proceeded. Iuſt. Apol. 2.

The cruelty of tyrauntes in killing of Chriſtian men.

Neither yet were theſe tyrants and organes of Sathā thus contented with death onely, to bereaue the life from the bodye. The kindes of death were diuers, and no leſſe horrible then diuers. Whatſoeuer the cruelneſſe of mans inuention could deuiſe for the puniſhment of mans body, was practiſed againſt the Chriſtians (as partly I haue mentioned before, and more appeareth by the Epiſtle ſent from the brethren of France, hereafter following. Craftie traynes, outcries of enemies, impriſonments, ſtripes and ſcourgings, drawings, tearings, ſtonings, plates of iron layd to them burning hote, deep dungeons, racks, ſtrangling in priſons, the teeth of wild beaſts, gridirons, gibbets and gallowes, toſſing vpon the hornes of Buls: Moreouer, whē they were thus killed, their bodies laid in heaps, and dogs there left to keep them, that no man might come to bury them, neither would any prayer obtayne them to be interred and buried. Ex Epiſtola fratrum Viennenſium ac Lugdunenſium. &c.

Ex Epiſt fratrum. Viennenſium & Lugdunenſium, ad fratres per Aſiam, & Phrigium ſcripta.

Ex Nicephoro. Lib. 3. cap. 22.

And yet notwithſtanding for all theſe continual perſecutions, and horrible puniſhments, the church of the chriſtians daily increaſed, deepely rooted in the doctrine of the Apoſtles, and of men Apoſtolicall, and watered plenteouſly with the bloud of Saintes, as ſaith Nicephorus. Tib. 3.

Ex Iuſtino. Martyr in Dialogo cum Tripheo,

Whereof let vs heare the worthy teſtimony of Iuſtinus Martyr in his Dialogue with Tripheus: And that none (ſaith he) can terrifie or remoue vs which beleue in Ieſus, The Church increaſeth by perſecution.

by this it daily appeareth: for when we are ſlaine, crucified, caſt to wild beaſtes, into the fire, or geuen to other tormentes, yet we goe not from our confeſſion: but contrary, the more crueltie and ſlaughter is wrought againſt vs, the mo they be that come to pietie and faith by the name of Jeſus: no otherwiſe then if a man cut the vine tree, the better the braunches grow. For the vine tree planted by God and Chriſt our Sauiour, is his people. Hæc Iuſt.

Diſagreement in authors touching the liues and tymes of Martyrs.

¶ To comprehend the names and number of all the Martyrs that ſuffered in all theſe ten perſecutions (which are innumerable) as it is vnpoſſible, ſo it is hard in ſuch varietie and diuerſitie of matter, to keepe ſuch a perfect order and courſe of yeares and times, that either ſome be not left out, or that euery one bee reduced into his right place, eſpecially ſeeing the Authors themſelues, whome in this preſent worke we follow, doe diuerſly diſagree, both in the tymes, in the names, and alſo in the kynd of Martyrdome of them that ſuffered. As for example, where the common reading and opinion of the Church, and the Epiſtles Decretall doe take Anacletus to ſucceed after Clement, next before Euariſtus. Contrary Euſebius, Lib. 3. & Lib. 5. cap 6. making no mention of Cletus, but of Anacletus, ſayth that Euariſtus ſucceeded next to Clement. Likewiſe Ruffinus and Epiphanius, ſpeakyng nothyng of Anacletus, make mention of Linus and of Cletus, next before Clement, but ſay nothing of Anacletus, whereby it may appeare that Cletus and Anacletus were both one. Sabellicus Ænead. 7. Lib. 2. ſpeaketh of Linus and of Cletus, and ſayth that they were ordained helpers vnder Peter, while he laboured in his Apoſtleſhip abroad, and ſo ſayth alſo Marianus Scotus. Contrary Irenæus Lib. 3. contra Hæreſ. ſpeaketh of Anacletus, making no mention of Cletus. wherby it may appeare by the way, what credite is to be geuen to the Decretall Epiſtles whom all the latter hyſtories of the Popes Church do follow in this behalfe, &c. Moreouer, where Antoninus, Vincentius, Iacobus in Supplemento, Symoneta, Aloyſius, with other, declare of Linus, Cletus, Clemens, Anacletus, Euariſtus, Alexander, biſhops of Rome, that they died Martyrs. Euſebius in his Eccleſiaſticall hiſtory writing of them, maketh therof no mention.

Linus Byſhop of Rome.

Cletus and *Anacletus* both one.

Clement Byſhop counted a Martyr.

And firſt as touching Clement (whom Marianus Scotus calleth the firſt Biſhop of Rome after Peter) they ſay that he was [illegible]ent out in baniſhment of Traianus, beyond Ponticus, with 2000. chriſtians, where he opened to them a welſpring, whiche in the wilderneſſe were condemned to the Mines. Afterward being accuſed to the Emperor, he was throwne into the ſea with a Milſtone faſtened about his necke, and that not long after his body was caſt vp & buried (as Platina ſaith) at the place where the wel was made. Some ſay it was found firſt in the dayes of Pope Nicholas the firſt, Faſcicul. tempor. But foraſmuch as I finde of his Martyrdome no firme relation in the auncient authors, but onely in ſuch new writers of latter tymes, which are wont to painte out the liues and hiſtories of good men, with fained additions of forged miracles, therfore I count the ſame of leſſe credite, as I do alſo certaine Decretall Epiſtles, vntruely (as may ſeeme) aſcribed and intituled to his name. Euſebius in his third booke, writing of Clemens, geueth no more of him, but thus: After he had gouerned the Church of Rome ix. yeares, the ſayd Clement left ẏ ſucceſſion thereof to Euariſtus.

The liues of Martyrs paynted out with fayned miracles.

Euariſtus Byſhoppe of Rome and martyr.

Of which Euariſtus next Biſhop of Rome, thus we find in Irenæus, Lib 3. cap. 3. Peter and Paule (ſayth he) cōmitted the charge of that church to Linus. After whom came Anacletus, then ſucceeded Clemens, next to Clemens followed Euariſtus, after whome came Alexander, and then Sixtus the vi. Biſhop of Rome after the Apoſtles. After Sixtus ſate Teleſphorus, then Higinus, then Pius, then Anicetus. And when Soter tooke the place after hym, then the xij. Biſhop of Rome was Eleutherius. Thus after Clement followed (as is ſayd) Euariſtus in the ſecond or third yeare of Traianus as ſayth Euſebius, or as Nicephorus ſayth, the fourth yeare of the ſayd Emperour. But howſoeuer the counte of the yeares ſtand, little or nothing remayneth of the Actes and Monuments either of this, or of other Biſhops of Rome in thoſe dayes. whereby it may appeare that no great accompt was then made of Romain Biſhops in thoſe dais, whoſe actes and deedes were then either ſo lightly reputed, or ſo ſlenderly committed to hiſtory. Notwithſtanding certaine Decretal Epiſtles are remaynyng, or rather thruſt vpon vs in their names, containing in them litle ſubſtance of any doctrine, but all together ſtuffed with lawes, iniunctions, and ſtately decrees, little to the purpoſe, and leſſe ſauoring of the nature of that time then preſent. Amongeſt whō alſo are nūbred the two epiſtles of this Euariſtus. And when he had geuen theſe orders, & had made vi. Prieſtes, two Deacons, and fiue Byſhops, for ſondry places (ſayth the ſtory,) he ſuffered Martyrdome, but what kinde of death, for what cauſe he ſuffered, what conſtancy he ſhewed what was the order or conuerſation of hys life, is nothing touched, and ſeemeth therefore the more to be doubted that which our new hiſtoryes do ſay: becauſe the olde auncient writers haue no remembraunce thereof, which otherwiſe would not haue paſſed ſuch thinges ouer in ſilence, if they had bene true. Agayne, neyther do the authors fully agree in the tyme of hys martyrdome, which Nauclerus witneſſeth to be in the laſt yere of Traianus: but Platina thinketh rather that he ſuffered vnder Hadrianus: Faſcicul temporum, referreth it to the third yeare of Hadrian, Volateranus, to the begynning of the reigne of Hadrian, Contrary, Euſebius, comming neare to the ſimple trueth (as ſeemeth) doth affirme that Euariſtus ſucceeded Clement in the third yeare of Traianus, and ſo geuing to him ix. yeares, it ſhould follow thereby that Euariſtus deceaſed the xii. yeare of Trianus.

The decretall Epiſtles.

Naucl. ge.
Platina.
Volateran.
Anthropo. Lib 22.
Euſeb. Lib. 3. Cap. 24.

Alexander Byſhop of Rome and Martyr.

After whome ſucceeded next Alexander, in the gouernaunce of that Church, of whoſe tyme & death the like diſcrepance is among the writers, Marianus Scotus, ſayth, he was the fourth Byſhop from Peter, but that could not be. Some ſay he was the ſixt & ſome the vii. but they likewiſe were deceiued. For the moſt part all do graunt Sixtus to be the vi. Damaſus affirmeth that hee was in the reigne of Traiane. And how can that be, when the ſayd Damaſus affirmed before that Euariſtus hys predeceſſour ſuffered in the laſt yeare of Traiane, and then the Byſhopricke ſtood at leaſt a moneth voyde, except hee meane that the ſayd Alexander ſucceeded Euariſtus in the laſt yeare of Traianus? But then how can that ſtand with Bede and Marianus Scotus, which ſay, that he ſuffered vnder Traianus, or with Otto Friſingenſis, which ſayth he ſuffered the fourth yeare of Hadrian, whē he had bene Byſhop ten yeares, by the generall conſent of moſt writers?

Authors diſagree.

They which write of the deedes and doynges of thys bleſſed Byſhop, as Bergomenſis, Antoninus, Equelinus and ſuch as follow them, declare that he had conuerted a great part of the Senators to the fayth of Chriſt, amongſt whom was Hermes a great man in Rome, whoſe ſonne being dead, Alexander rayſed agayne to lyfe, and likewiſe reſtored ſight to hys mayd being blinde. Hadrian the Emperour then abſent hearing this, ſent word to Aurelianus gouernour of Rome, to apprehend Alexander, with Euentius and Theodulus, otherwiſe called Theodorus, as Platina ſayth, hys two Deacons, and Hermes, and to commit them to warde with Quirinus the Tribune: whiche being done as their ſtory recordeth, Alexander incloſed in a diuers priſon from Hermes. Notwithſtanding by the guiding of an Aungell through three doores ẇ three lockes a peece, was brought with candle light to the lodging of Hermes. And ſo returning to the priſon agayne: cured the daughter of Quirinus his keeper, named Balbina. by reaſon whereof the ſayd Quirinus, with his whole houſhold were all Baptiſed, and ſuffered alſo for the fayth of Chriſt.

Alexander.
Euentius.
Theodulus.
Hermes with hys houſhold.
Quirinus with hys houſhold Martyrs.

Thus then ſayth the ſtory, about the ſecond yeare of Hadrian, Aurelianus the ruler tooke Alexander the Byſhop, with Hermes, hys wife children, and hys whole houſhold, to the number of a M, CC. L. and threw them in priſon. And not long after the ſayd Alexander with Euentius his Deacon, and Hermes and the reſt were burned in a fornace, Theodulus an other Deacon of Alexnder, ſeeyng and rebuking the crueltie of the tyraunt, ſuffered alſo the ſame Martyrdome.

Quirinus alſo the ſame tyme (as ſayth Antoninus) hauyng firſt his tongue cut out, then his handes and feete, afterward was beheaded and caſt to the dogs. Equilinus ſaith that he was beheaded and caſt into Tyber in the raigne of the Emperour Claudius, but that cannot be. Albeit Platina maketh relation but onely of Alexander with his two Deacons aforeſayd. Declaring moreouer, that in the tyme of this Biſhop, Saphira of Antioch, and Sabina a Romaine ſuffred Martyrdome.

Ex Platina in vita Alexandri.

Saphyra. Sabina, Martyrs.

Ex Florilego.

Florilegus, the Author of Flores Hiſtoriarum, affirmeth that Alexander Byſhoppe of Rome was beheaded ſeuen myles out of Rome, where he lyeth buried, anno. 105. but that agreeth not with the Chronicles aboue recited. Euſebius recordeth of him no more, but that in the third yeare of Hadrian, he ended his life and office, after he had bene biſhop ten yeares.

Diuers miracles are reported of this Alexander, in the Canon Legends, and liues of Saintes: which as I deny not but may be true: ſo becauſe I cannot auouch them by any graue teſtimony of auncient writers, therefore I dare not affirme them, but do referre them to the authors & Patrons thereof, where they are founde. Notwithſtandyng, whatſoeuer is to be thought of his miracles, this is to bee affirmed and not doubted, but that he was a godly & vertuous Biſhop.

The ordinaunces of *Euariſtus.*

Diſt. 93. cap. Diaconi.

And as I ſay of his miracles, the like iudgement alſo I haue of the ordinaunces both of him and of Euariſtus his predeceſſour teſtified in the Popes Decrees, by Gratianus, as 93. Diſt. cap. Diaconi, where is ſayd that Euariſtus deuided diuers titles in the Citie of Rome to the Prieſtes, alſo ordeined in euery Citie vij. Deacons to aſſociate and aſſiſt the biſhop in his preaching, both for his defence, and for the witnes of truth. Notwithſtāding, if probable coniectures might ſtand againſt the authoritie of Gratianus and his decrees, here might be doubted whether this abſolute ordination of Prieſtes was firſt forbidden by Euariſtus, and whether the intitulation of Prieſtes was firſt by hym brought in or not: wherein an inſtaunce may be geuen to the contrary, that this intitulation ſeemeth to take his firſt beginning at the Councell of Chalcedon, and of Pope Vrbane in the Councell of Placent. In the which Councell of Chalcedon the wordes of the Canon (making no mention of Euariſtus at all) doe expreſſely forbid, that any Eccleſiaſticall perſon eyther Prieſt or Deacon ſhould be ordayned abſolutely, otherwiſe the impoſition of handes without ſome proper title of the party ordayned, to ſtād voyde and fruſtrate. &c. And likewiſe Vrbanus in the counſell of Placentia, doth decree the ſame, alledging no name of Euariſtus, but the ſtatutes of former Councels.

Ex Diſt. 70. cap. Neminem.

Ibidem cap. Sanctorum.

Moreouer in the time of Euariſtus the Church then being vnder terrible perſecutions, was deuided in no peculiar Pariſhes or Cures, wherby any title might riſe, but was ſcattered rather in corners and deſertes, where they could beaſt hide themſelues. And as the Church of Rome, in thoſe dayes was not deuided into ſeuerall Parriſhes or Cures (as I ſuppoſe) ſo neyther was then any ſuch open or ſolemne preaching in Churches, that the aſſiſtaunce or teſtimony of vii. Deacons eyther could auayle among the multitude of the Heathen, or els needed amongſt the chriſtian ſecret congregations. Agayne the conſtitution of vii. Deacons ſeemeth rather to ſpring out of the counſell of Neoceſaria long after Euariſtus, where it was appoynted that in euery Citie were it neuer ſo ſmall, there ſhould be vij. Deacons after the rule. And this rule the ſayd Councel taketh out of the booke of the Actes of the Apoſtles, making no word or mentiō of Euariſtus at all Diſt. 93. but theſe (as is ſaid) be but onely coniectures, not denying yͤ which is commonly receiued, but onely ſhewing what may bee doubted in their Epiſtles Decretall.

Ex Diſt. 93. cap. Diaconi.

More vnlike it ſeemeth to be true that is recorded and reported of Alexander, whereof we read De conſecr. Diſt. 3. that he ſhould be the firſt founder and finder of holy water mixt with ſalt, to purge and ſanctifie them vpon whom it is ſprinckeled. The wordes of the Diſt. be theſe: Aquam ſale conſperſam in populis benedicimus, vt ea cuncti aſperſi ſanctificentur & purificentur, quod omnibus ſacerdotibus faciendū eſſe mandamus, &c. That is, we bleſſe water mixt with ſalte among the people, that all men being ſprinckled therewith may be ſanctified and purified. And this we commaund all Prieſts to do, &c.

The Inſtitutions of Alexander. Holy water firſt inuented.

De conſecrat. Diſt. 3.

The opinion is alſo, but how true I haue not to affirme, that by him firſt was ordained, water to bee mixte with wine in the chalice.

The mixting of water with the wine in the chalice.

Item, that by him was brought in the piece of the Maſſe Canon, beginning: Qui pridie, &c. And thus much of theſe foreſayd Biſhops of Rome, martired in the dayes of Traian and Hadrian.

Qui predie put in the Maſſe Canon.

✻ *The third Perſecution.*

The third perſecution of the Church.

An. 100.

Betwene the ſecond Romain perſecution and the third, was but one yeare, vnder the Emperour Nerua. After whom ſucceeded Traianus. And after him followed the third perſecution. So the ſecond and the third, are noted of ſome to be both one, hauing no more difference but one yere betwene them. This Traianus if we looke well vpon his politike and ciuill gauernance, might ſeeme in compariſon of other, a right worthy and commendable Prince. Much familiar with inferiors, and ſo behauing himſelf toward his ſubiectes, as he himſelfe would haue yͤ Prince to be to him, if he himſelf were a ſubiect. Alſo he was noted to be a great obſeruer of iuſtice, in ſo much that when he ordained any Pretour, geuing to him the ſword, he would bid him vſe the ſword againſt his enemies in iuſt cauſes, and if he him ſelfe did otherwiſe then iuſtice, to vſe then his power againſt him alſo. But for all theſe vertues, toward chriſtian Religion, he was impious and cruel, who cauſed the third perſecution of the Church. In the which perſecution Plinie the ſecond, a man learned and famous, ſeyng the lamentable ſlaughter of Chriſtians, and moued therewith to pitie, wrote to Traianus of the pitifull perſecution: certifiyng him that there were many thouſāds of them daily put to death, of which none did any thing contrary to the Romaine lawes worthy perſecution, ſauing that they vſed to gather together in the morning before day, and ſing Hymnes to a certaine God, whom they worſhipped, called Chriſt. In all other their ordinaunces they were godly and honeſt. Wherby the perſecution by commaundement of the Emperour, was greatly ſtayd and diminiſhed. The forme and copy of which Epiſtle of Plinie I thought here not inconuenient to ſet downe as followeth.

Plinius ſecundus. wrote to Traian to ſtop the perſecutiō.

✻ *The Epiſtle of Plinie an Heathen Philoſopher to Traiane the Emperour.*

The Epiſtle of Plinie to *Traianus.*

It is my propertie and maner (my ſoueraigne,) to make relation of all thoſe thinges vnto you wherein I doubt. For who can better, either correct my ſlackeneſſe, or inſtruct mine ignoraunce then you? I was neuer yet preſent my ſelfe, at the examination and execution of theſe Chriſtians. And therfore what puniſhment is to be adminiſtred, and how farre, or how to proceede in ſuch Inquiſitions, I am plaine ignoraunt, not able to reſolue in the matter, whether any difference is to bee had in age and perſon, whether the young and tender ought to be with like crueltie intreated as the elder and ſtronger, whether repentance may haue any pardon, or whether it may profite him or not, to denie which hath bene a Chriſtiā, whether the name onely of Chriſtians without other offences, or whether the offences ioyned with the name of a Chriſtian ought to be puniſhed. In the meane ſeaſon, as touching ſuch Chriſtians as haue bene preſented vnto me, I haue kept this order, I haue inquired the ſecond and third time of them, whether they were Chriſtians, manacing them with feare of puniſhmeut, and ſuche as did perſeuere, I commaunded to execution. For thus I thought, that what ſo euer their profeſſion was, yet their ſtubburneneſſe and obſtinacie ought to be puniſhed. Whether they were alſo of the ſame madneſſe, whom becauſe they were Citizens of Rome, I thought to ſend them backe againe to the Citie. Afterward, in further proceſſe & handling of this matter, as the ſect did further ſpread, ſo the more caſes did thereof enſue.

There was a libell offred to me bearing no name, wherein was contained the names of many which denied themſelues to be Chriſtians, contented to doe ſacrifice with incenſe, and wine to the Gods and to your Image (whiche Image I for that purpoſe cauſed to be brought) and to blaſpheme Chriſt: whereunto none ſuch as were true Chriſtians in deede could be compelled, and thoſe I did diſcharge and let goe. Other ſome confeſſed that they had bene Chriſtians, but afterward denied the ſame, &c. Affirming vnto me the whole ſumme of that ſect or errour, to conſiſt in this, that they were woont at certain times appointed, to conuent before day, and to ſing certaine Hymnes to one Chriſt their God, and to confederate among themſelues to abſtaine from all theft, murther, and adulterie, to keepe their faith and to defraude no man: which done, then to departe for that time, and afterward to reſort againe to take meate in companies together both men and women, one with an other, & yet without any acte of euils.

The vſe of Chriſtians in the primitiue Churche.

The teſtimony of the Heathen of the Chriſtians.

In the truth whereof to be further certified whether it were ſo or not, I cauſed two maidens to bee laied on the Racke, and with tormentes to bee examined of the ſame. But finding no other thing in them, but onely lewde and immoderate ſuperſtition, I thought to ſurceaſe of further inquirie, til tyme that I might be further aduertiſed in the matter from you, for ſo the matter ſeemed vnto me worthy and needefull of aduiſement, eſpecially, for the great number of thoſe that were in daunger of your ſtatute. For very many there were of all ages and ſtates, both men & women which then were & more are like hereafter to incurre the ſame perill of condemnation. For that infection hath crepte not onely in Cities, but Villages alſo and Boroughs about, which ſeemeth that it may be ſtaied and reformed For as much as we ſee in many places that the Temples of our Gods whiche were woont to be deſolate, beginne now againe to be frequented, and that they bring ſacrifices from euerie parte to be ſolde, whiche before verye fewe were founde willing to buie them. Whereby it may eaſilie be coniectured, what multitudes of men may bee amended, if ſpace and tyme bee giuen them, where in they may be reclaimed.

Two maydens racked for Chriſt.

✻ *The Epiſtle of Traianus to Plinie.*

The Acte and Statute my Secundus, concernyng the cauſes of the Chriſtians whiche ye ought to followe, ye haue rightlye executed. For no ſuche generall lawe can be enacted, wherin all ſpeciall caſes particularly can be comprehended. Let them not be ſought for, but if they be brought and conuicted, then let them ſuffer execution: So notwithſtanding that whoſoeuer ſhall

The aunſwere of Traian to Plinies letter.

deny himſelfe to be a Chriſtian, and that he do it vnfainedly in open audience, and do ſacrifice to our Gods, howſoeuer he hath bene ſuſpected before, let him be releaſed vpō promiſe of amendment. Such libels as haue no names, ſuffice not to any iuſt crime or accuſation, for that ſhould geue both an euill Preſident, neither doth it agree with the example of our tyme.

Tertullian writing vpon this letter of Traianus aboue prefixed, thus ſaith: O ſentence of a confuſed neceſſitie: He would not haue them to be ſought for as men innocent, & yet cauſeth them to be puniſhed as perſons gilty. And thus the rage of that perſecutiō ceaſed for a tyme, although notwithſtanding many naughty diſpoſed men and cruell officers that were, which vpon falſe pretence to accompliſhe their wicked myndes, ceaſed not to afflict the Chriſtians in diuers prouinces. And eſpecially if any occaſiō were geuē neuer ſo litle for the enemies to take hold, or if any commotion were raiſed in the Prouinces abroad, by and by the fault was laid vpon the chriſtians. As in Hieruſalem after that the emperor Traianus had ſent doune his commaundement, that whoſoeuer could be found of the ſtocke of Dauid, he ſhould be enquired out and put to death: vpon this Egeſippus writing, ſaith, that certaine ſectaries there were of the Iewiſh nation, that accuſed Simeon the biſhop then of Ieruſalem and ſonne of Cleophas to come of the ſtocke of Dauid, and that he was a Chriſtian. Of the which his accuſers it happened alſo (ſaith the ſaid Egeſippus) that certaine of them likewiſe were apprehended and taken to bee of the ſtocke of Dauid, and ſo right iuſtly were put to execution themſelues, which ſought the deſtruction of other. As concerning Simeon the bleſſed biſhop, the foreſayd Egeſippus thus writeth: That Simeon the lordes nephew, whē he was accuſed to Attalus the Proconſul, by the malicious ſect of the Iewes, to be of the line of Dauid, & to be a chriſtian, was ſcourged, during the ſpace of many dayes together, beyng of the age of an hundred and twentie yeres. In which his Martyrdome he indured ſo conſtant, that both the Conſul and all the multitude did meruaile to ſee him of that age ſo conſtantly to ſuffer, and ſo at laſt being crucified finiſhed his courſe in the Lord, for whome he ſuffered, as partly before alſo is recorded.

The ſtocke of Dauid feared and inquired for of the Romaine Emperours.
Ex Egeſippo.
Simeon ſonne of Mary Cleophas.
A iuſt puniſhment of God vpon the malitious accuſers of the Chriſtians.

The age of Simeon.
The death and Martyrdome of Simeon.

In this perſecution of Traianus aboue ſpecified, (which Traianus next followed after Nerua) beſides the other afore mentioned, alſo ſuffred Phocas biſhop of Pontus, whome Traianus becauſe he would not do ſacrifice to Neptunus, cauſed to be caſt into an hote Limekilne: and afterward to be put into a ſkalding bathe, where the conſtant godly Martyr, in yͤ teſtimony of Chriſt ended his life, or rather entred into life. Anton.Equil.Faſcic.temporum.

Phocas.
Byſhop of Pontus Martyr.

In the ſame perſecution ſuffered alſo Sulpitius and Seruilianus, two Romains. whoſe wiues are ſayd to bee Euphroſina and Theodora, whom Sabina did cōuert to the faith of Chriſt, and after were alſo Martyred. Of which Sabina Iacobus Philippus author of the booke called Supplementum, reporteth that in the mount of Auentine in Rome, ſhe was beheaded of Clepidus the gouernour, in the dayes of Hadriā. Vnder whom alſo ſuffred Seraphia a virgin of Antioche, as Hermannus witneſſeth.

Sulpitius.
Seruilianus.
Euphroſina.
Theodora
Martyrs.
Sabina Martyr.
Ex Supple. Chr.
Seraphia.

The forenamed authors Anton. and Equilius make mētion moreouer of Nereus and Achilleus, who in this perſecution of Traiane, had the crowne of Martyrdom, being put to death at Rome. Euſebius in his iiij. booke cap. 26. maketh mention of one Sagaris, who about the ſame tyme ſuffered Martyrdome in Aſia, Seruilius Paulus beyng then Proconſul in that Prouince.

Nereus.
Achilleus Martyrs.
Sagaris Martyr.

In this perſecution beſide many other, ſuffred the bleſſed Martyr of Chriſt Ignatius, who vnto this day is had in famous reuerence among very many. This Ignatius was appointed to the biſhoprike of Antioch next after Peter in ſucceſſion. Some do ſay, that he beyng ſent from Syria to Rome, becauſe he profeſſed Chriſt, was giuen to the wilde beaſts to be deuoured. It is alſo ſayd of him, that when he paſſed through Aſia, being vnder the moſt ſtraight cuſtody of his garders, he ſtrengthned and confirmed the pariſhes through all the cities as he went, both with his exhortations and preaching of the word of God: and admoniſhed them eſpecially and before all other things, to beware and ſhunne thoſe hereſies riſen vp, and ſprong newly among them, and that they ſhould cleaue and ſticke faſt to the traditiō of the Apoſtles, which he for their better ſafegard, beyng about to denoūce or put in writing, thought it a thing very neceſſary to trauaile in. And thus when he came to Smyrna, where Polycarpus was, he wrote one epiſtle to the congregation of Epheſus, wherin he made mention of Oneſimus their Paſtor, & an other he wrote to the congregation of Magneſia, beyng at Meandre, wherein alſo he forgetteth not Dama their Biſhop. Alſo an other he wrote to the congregation of Trallis: the gouernour of which Citie at that time he noteth to be one Polibius. Vnto which congregation he made an exhortation, leſt they refuſing Martyrdome, ſhould looſe the hope that they deſired,

Ignatius Martyr.
Anno. 111.
Ex Euſe. Lib. 3. Cap. 35. 36.
Ex Hier In catalogo Scrip.

Eccleſ.
Oneſimus Paſtor at *Epheſus.*

But it ſhalbe very requiſite that I aledge ſomewhat thereof to the declaration of this matter. He wrote therfore as the wordes lye in this ſort. From Syria (ſaith he) euen till I came to Rome had I a battell with beaſtes, as well by ſea, as land, both day & night, being bound in the midſt of ten cruell Libardes (that is, the company or band of the ſouldiers) which, the more benefites that they receaued at my hands, became ſo much the worſe vnto me. But I being exerciſed and now wel acquainted with their iniuries, am taught euery day more and more: but hereby am I not yet iuſtified. And would to God I were once come to yͤ beaſts, which are prepared for me. which alſo I wiſh with gaping mouthes were ready to come vpon me, whō alſo I will prouoke that they without delay may deuoure me, and forbeare me nothing at all, as thoſe whome before they haue not touched or hurt for feare. And if they wyll not vnleſſe they be prouoked, I will then inforce them agaynſt my ſelfe. Pardon me I pray you. How much beneficiall it is to me, I knowe. Now begin I to be a ſcholer I force or eſteeme no viſible thinges, nor yet inuiſible thinges, ſo that I may get or obtaine Chriſt Ieſu. Let the fire, the galowes, the deuouring of wild beaſtes, the breaking of bones, the pulling a ſunder of my members, the broſing or preſſing of my whole body, and the tormentes of the deuill or hell it ſelfe come vpon me, ſo that I maye winne Chriſt Ieſus.

The wordes of *Ignatius.*
The ſtraight handling of *Ignatius.*

The notable conſtancy and burning zeale to Chriſt in this bleſſed martyr to be marked,

And theſe things wrote he from the foreſayde Citye, vnto the congregations which we haue recited. And when he was euen now iudged to be throwne to the beaſtes, he ſpake for yͤ burning deſire that he had to ſuffer, what tyme he heard the Lyons roaryng: I am the wheat or grayne (ſayth he) of Chriſt, I ſhall be grounde wyth the teeth of wylde beaſtes, that I may be found pure bread. Hee ſuffered in the xj. yeare of Traian the Emperour. Hæc Euſebius, & Hieronym.

Ignatius deuoured of wild beaſts,

Beſides this godly Ignatius, manye thouſandes alſo were put to death in the ſame perſecutiō, as appeareth by the letter of Plinius ſecundus aboue recited, written vnto the Emperour.

Hierome in his booke intituled De viris illuſtrib, maketh mention of one Publius Byſhop of Athens, who for the fayth of Chriſt, the ſame time during this perſecution was put to death and martyred.

Ex Hier. Lib. de viris illuſt.
Publius Byſhop of Athens Martyr.

Hadrian Emperour.

Next after this Traianus ſucceded Hadriā the Emperor, vnder whom ſuffered Alexander the Biſhop of Rome, with his two Deacons: Euentius and Theodorus: Alſo Hermes, and Quirinus, with their families, as latly before was declared.

It is ſignified moreouer in the hiſtoryes, yͭ in the time of this Hadrian, Zenon a noble man of Rome with ten thouſand, two hundreth and three, were ſlayne for Chriſt. Henr. de Erfordia, and Bergomenſis, Lib. 8. make mention of tenne thouſand, in the daies of this Hadrian, to be crucified in the mount Ararath, crowned with crownes of thorne, & thruſt into the ſides with ſharpe Dartes, after the example of the Lordes paſſion. whoſe Captaines (as Antoninus, & Vincentius in ſpec. hiſtor. declareth (were Achaicus, Heliades, Theodorus, and Carcerius, &c. whether this ſtory be yͤ ſame with the other aboue of Zenō, or not, it is doubted. As touching the miracles done, and the ſpeaking of the angell, I referre the certainty therof to Vincentius and ſuch other like authors where mo things ſeme to be told, then to be true.

Zenon with 10000. Martyrs ſlayne for Chriſt.
Ex Henr. de Erfordia & alijs.

Achaichus.
Heliades.
Theodorus.
Carcerius with ten thouſand Martyrs.

There was one Euſtachius a Captaine, whom Traianus in tyme paſt had ſent out to warre againſt the Barbarians. After he had by Gods grace valiantly ſubdued his enemies, and now was returning home with victory: Hadrian for ioymeting him in his iourney, to bring him home with triumph, by the way firſt would do ſacrifice to Apollo, for the victory gotten, willing alſo Euſtachius to doe the ſame with him. But when Euſtachius could by no meanes therto be inforced, being brought to Rome, there with his wife and children ſuffred Martyrdome vnder the foreſayd Hadrian. It were a long proceſſe here to recite all the miracles conteined or rather ſuſpected in this ſtory of this Euſtachius concerning his conuerſion and death. How the crucifixe appeared to him betwene the hornes of an Hart. Of the ſauing of his wife frō the ſhipmen. Of one of his ſōnes ſaued from the Lion, the other ſaued from yͤ wolf. Of their miraculous preſeruation from the wild beaſts, frō the torments of fire mentioned in Bergomenſis, and Vincētius and

Euſtachius with hys wife and Children Martyred for Chriſt, other. All which as I find them in no ancient recordes, ſo I leaue them to their authors and compilers of the Legeds.

Fauſtinus and Iobita. Calocerius. Martyrs.

We read alſo of Fauſtinus and Iobita, citizens of the Citie of Brixia, which ſuffered Martyrdome with like grieuous torments. At the ſight wherof, one Calocerius ſeeing their ſo great pacience, in ſo great torments, cried out with theſe wordes: Verè Magnus Deus Chriſtianorum. That is, verily great is the God of the Chriſtians. Which wordes being heard, forthwith he was apprehended, and being brought to the place of their executiō, was made partaker of their Martyrdome. Ex Ant. Equilin.

Elutherius, with hys mother Anthia Martyrs. Ex Nicephoro & ex Onam.

The hiſtory of Nicephorus maketh mention of Anthia a godly woman, who committed her ſonne Eleutherius to Anicetus biſhop of Rome, to be brought vp in the doctrine of Chriſtian faith, who afterward beyng Biſhop in Apulia, was there beheaded with his foreſayd mother Anthia. Onomaſt.

Iuſtus and Paſtor brethren and Martyrs.

Iuſtus alſo and Paſtor two brethren, with like Martyrdome ended their liues in a citie of Spaine called Gomplutum, vnder the ſaid Hadrian the Emperour.

Symphoriſ. with her 7. Children martyred.

Likewiſe Symphoriſſa the wife of Getulus the Martyr, with her vij. children, is ſaid about the ſame time to ſuffer: who firſt was much, and oft beaten & ſcourged, afterward was hanged vp by the haire of her head. At laſt hauing an huge ſtone faſtened vnto her, was throwne headlong into the riuer, & after that her ſeuen childrē in like maner, with ſundry & diuers kindes of puniſhment diuerſly were martyred by the tirants.

Sophia with her 3. children Martired.

The ſtory of M. Hermannus, and Antoninus, and other, report of Sophia, with her three children alſo. alſo of Serapia and Sabina, to ſuffer vnder the ſaid Emperour, about the yeare of our Lord, 130.

As concerning Alexander biſhop of Rome, with his ij. Deacons, alſo with Hermes, Quirinus, Saphyra, and Sabina. Some writers, as Bede, and Marianus Scotus recorde that they ſuffred vnder Traianus. Others againe, as Otto Friſingenſis with like mo, report that they ſuffred in the iiij. yeare of this Emperour Hadrian, but of theſe Martyrs ſufficiently hath bene ſayd before.

Quadratus Byſhop of Athens, offereth an Apology of Chriſtian doctrine.

While Hadrian the Emperour was at Athens, he purpoſed to viſite the countrey of Eleuſina, and ſo did: where he ſacrifiſing to the Gentiles Gods, after the maner of the Grecians, had geuen free leaue & libertie, whoſoeuer would to perſecute the Chriſtians. Whereupon Quadratus a man of no leſſe zeale excellent, as of famous learning, being thē Biſhop of Athens, and Diſciple of the Apoſtles, or at leaſt ſucceding incontinent the age of the Apoſtles, and following after Publius (who a litle before was martyred for the teſtimony of Chriſt) did offer vp and exhibite vnto Hadrian the Emperour, a learned and excellent Apologie in the defence of the Chriſtian Religion. Wherein he declared the Chriſtians without all iuſt cauſe or deſert, to be ſo cruelly entreated and perſecuted, &c. The like alſo did Ariſtides an other no leſſe excellēt Philoſopher in Athens, who for his ſingular learning and eloquence being notified to the emperor, and comming to his preſence, there made before him an eloquent Oration. Moreouer, did exhibite vnto the ſaid Emperour a memorable Apologie for the chriſtians, ſo ful of learning and eloquence, that as Hierome ſayth, it was a ſpectacle and admiration to men in his tyme, that loued to ſee wit and learning. Ouer and beſides theſe, there was alſo an other named Serenus Granius a man of great nobility, who likewiſe did write very pithy & graue letters to Hadrian the Emperour, ſhewing and declaring therein, to be conſonant with no right nor reaſon, for the bloud of innocents ſo to be geuen to the rage and fury of the people, and ſo to be condemned for no fault, onely for the name and ſect that they followed.

Ariſtides a Philoſopher of Athens, defēdeth before the Emperour the religion of Chriſt.

Serenus Granius a defender of Chriſtian Religion. Euſeb. lib. 4. Cap. 8.

The Emperour writeth for the Chriſtians.

Thus the goodnes of God being moued with the prayers and conſtant labour of theſe ſo excellent men, ſo turned the hart of the Emperour, that he beyng better informed concerning the order & profeſſion of the chriſtians, became more fauorable vnto them. And immediatly vpō the ſame directed his letters to Minutius Fundanus (as is partly before mencioned) Proconſul of Aſia, willing him frō henceforth to exerciſe no more ſuch extremitie againſt the Chriſtians, as to condemne any of them hauing no other crime obiected againſt them but onely their name. The copy of which his letter, becauſe that Iuſtine in his Apologie doth alleage it, I thought therefore to expreſſe the ſame in his owne wordes as followeth.

The letter of Hadrian the Emperour, to Minutius Fundanus.

The letter of Hadrian the Emperour to Fundanus the Proconſull,

I Haue receiued an Epiſtle writen vnto me from Serennius Granianus, our right worthy and welbeloued, whoſe office you do now execute. Therefore I thinke it not good to leaue this matter without further aduiſement and circumſpection to paſſe, leaſt our ſubiects be moleſted, and malicious ſycophants boldned and ſupported in their euill. Wherefore if the ſubiects of our prouinces, doe bring forth any accuſition before the iudge agaynſt the Chriſtians, and can prooue the thing they obiect againſt them, let them doe the ſame, and no more, and otherwiſe for the name onely, not to impeach them, nor to cry out againſt them. For ſo, more conuenient it is, that if any man will be an accuſer, you to take the accuſation quietly, and iudge vpon the ſame. Therfore, if any ſhall accuſe the Chriſtians, and complaine of them as malefactors, doing contrary to the law, then geue you iudgement according to the qualitie of the crime But notwithſtanding who ſo euer vpō ſpite and maliciouſnes ſhal commence or cauil againſt them, ſee you correct and puniſh that man, for his vnordinate and malicious dealing.

Reſpite from perſecution.

Thus by the mercifull prouidence of God, ſome more quiet and reſt was geuen to the Church, although Hermannus thinketh theſe Alcione dayes did not very long continue, but that the Emperour changing his Edict, began to renue agayne perſecution againſt gods people, albeit this ſoundeth not to be ſo by the wordes of Melito in his Apologie to Antoninus hereafter enſuing. In the meane tyme this is certain, that in the dayes of this Hadrian, the Iewes rebelled agayne & ſpoyled the country of Paleſtina. Againſt whom the Emperour ſent Iulius Seuerus, who ouerthrew in Iurie, 50. caſtels, and burnt and deſtroyed 980. villages and Townes, and ſlue of the Iewes 50. thouſand, ſo that with famine, ſickenes, ſword, and fire, Iuda was almoſt deſolate. But at length Hadrian the Emperour, which otherwiſe was named Ælius, repaired and enlarged the Citie agayn of Hieruſalem, which was called after his name Æliopolis, or Ælia Capitolina, the inhabitaunce whereof, he graunted only to the Gentiles, and to the Chriſtians, forbidding the Iewes vtterly not to enter into the Citie.

The ſecond deſtruction of the Iewes.

Hieruſalem reedified & enlarged.

Some write that the place where Chriſt was crucified, was taken into the walles.

Hieruſalem called by a new name. Aeliopolis.

Antoninus Pius Emperour.

Anno. 140.

After the death of Hadrian, who died by bleeding at the noſe, ſucceded Antoninus Pius, about the yeare of our Lord, 140. and raigned 23. yeres. Who for his clemency and modeſt behauiour, had the name of Pius, and is for the ſame in hiſtories commended. His ſaying was, that he had rather ſaue one Citizen, then deſtroy a thouſand of his aduerſaries. At the beginning of his raigne, ſuch was the ſtate of the Church, as Hadrian his predeceſſour had left it, as in which, although there was no Edict ſet forth to perſecute the Chriſtians: yet the tumultuous rage of the Heathen multitude for the cauſes aboue ſpecified, did not ceaſe to diſquiete and afflict the quiet people of God, imputing and aſcribing to the Chriſtians whatſoeuer miſfortune happened contrary to their deſires. Moreouer, inuentyng agaynſt them all falſe crimes and contumelies wherein to accuſe them. By reaſon whereof, diuers there were in ſundry places much moleſted, and ſome put to death: albeit, as it is to be ſuppoſed, not by the conſent of the Emperour, who of nature was ſo mylde and gentle, that either he rayſed vp no perſecution agaynſt the Chriſtians, or els he ſoone ſtayed the ſame beyng moued. As well may appeare by his letter ſent doune to the countreys of Aſia, the tenor whereof here inſueth.

The Epiſtle of Antoninus Pius, to the Commons of Aſia.

The letter of Antoninus Pius to the commons of Aſia.

EMperour and Cæſar, Aurelius, Antoninus, Auguſtus, Armenicus, Pontifex Maximus, Tribune eleuen tymes, Conſull thriſe, vnto the commons of Aſia greeting. I am very certayne, that the Gods haue a care of this, that they which be ſuch, ſhall be knowen, and not lye hid. For they doe puniſh them, that will not worſhip them more then you: which ſo vexe and trouble them, confirming thereby the opinion which they haue conceaued, and doe conceaue of you, that is, to bee wicked men. For this is their ioy and deſire, that when they are accuſed, rather they couet to dye for their God, then to lyue. Whereby they are Victorers, and doe ouercome you, geuing rather their lyues, then to bee obedient to you, in doyng that which you require of them. And here it ſhall not be inconuenient to aduertiſe you of the Earthquakes, which haue, and doe happen among vs, that when at the ſight of them you tremble and are afraide, then conferre your caſe with them. For they vpon a ſure confidence of their God, are bolde and feareleſſe, much more then you: who in all the tyme of this your ignoraunce, both doe worſhip other Gods, and neglect the Religion of immortalitie, and ſuch Chriſtians as worſhip him, them you doe driue out, and perſecute them vnto death. Of theſe and ſuch like matters, many Preſidents of our Prouinces, did write to our father of famous memorie heretofore. To whome he directed his aunſwere agayne, willing them in no caſe to moleſt the Chriſtians, except they were found in ſome treſpaſſe preiudiciall againſt the Empire of Rome.

A notable argument of the Emperour to proue the good conſcience of Chriſtians, and the falſe conſcience of the Heathen.

He meaneth *Hadrian* which adopted this *Antoninus* of hys ſonne in law, to be hys ſonne & heyre. O noble edict.

And to me alſo many there be, which write, ſignifiyng their mind in like maner. To whome I haue aunſwered againe, to the ſame effect and maner as my father did. Wherefore, if any hereafter ſhall offer any vexatiõ or trouble, to ſuch, hauing no other cauſe, but onely for that they are ſuch, let him that is appeached, be releaſed and diſcharged free, yea although he be founde to bee ſuch, (that is a Chriſtian) and let the accuſer ſuſtaine the puniſhment, &c.

This godly Edict of the Emperour was proclaymed at Epheſus, in the publique aſſẽbly of all Aſia, whereof Melito alſo Byſhop of Sardis, who floriſhed in the ſame tyme, maketh mention in his Apologie written in defence of our doctrine to M. Antoninus Verus as hereafter (Chriſt willing) ſhall appeare. By this meanes then the tempeſt of perſecution in thoſe daies began to be appeaſed, through the mercifull prouidence of God, which woulde not haue hys Chuch vtterly to be ouerthrowne, though hardly yet to growe.

✻ The fourth Perſecution.

M. Antoninus Verus Emperour.

Anno. 162.

Policarpus, the bleſſed Martyr Byſhop of Smyrna.

After the deceaſe of the foreſayd quiet and milde Prince Aurelius Antonius Pius (who among all other Emperours of that tyme made the moſt quiet end, followed his ſonne M. Antoninus Verus, with Lucius his brother, about the yeare of our Lord. 162. a man of nature more ſterne and ſeuere. And although in ſtudy of Philoſophy, & in ciuile gouernement no leſſe commendable: yet toward the Chriſtians ſharpe and fierce, by whome was moued the fourth perſecution after Nero. In whoſe tyme a great number of them which truely profeſſed Chriſt, ſuffered moſt cruel tormentes, and puniſhments, both in Aſia and in Fraunce. In the number of whome was Policarpus, the worthy Biſhop of Smyrna. who in the great rage of this perſecution in Aſia, among many other moſt conſtant Saintes was alſo Martyred. Of whoſe end and Martyrdome I thought it here not vnexpedient to cõmit to hiſtory, ſo much as Euſebius declareth to be taken out of a certaine letter or Epiſtle, written by them of hys owne Churche, to the brethren of Pontus the tenor of which Epiſtle here followeth.

Ex Euſeb. hiſt. Eccleſ Lib. 4. Cap. 15. Hieron. in Catalogo.

Twelue Martyrs in Aſia.

The cruell and beaſtly handling of the Chriſtian Martyrs.

The ſingular patience, and conſtancie of the Chriſtians.

Germanicus a moſt conſtant Martyr.

Quintus a Phrigian to hardie hold.

The congregation which is at Smyrna, to the congregation which is at Philomilium, and to all the congregations throughout Pontus, mercy to you, peace, and the loue of God our father, and of our Lord Ieſu Chriſt, be multiplied, Amen. We haue written vnto you brethren of thoſe men which haue ſuffred Martyrdome, and of bleſſed Polycarpus which hath ended and appeaſed this perſecutiõ, as it were by the ſhedding of his own bloud. And in the ſame epiſtle, before they enter into farther matter of Polycarpus, they diſcourſe of other Martyrs, deſcribing what patience they abode and ſhewed in ſuffering their torments: which was ſo great and admirable (ſaith the Epiſtle) that the lookers on were amaſed, ſeeing and beholding, how they were ſo ſcourged and whipped, that the inward vaynes & arteries appeared, yea euen ſo much that the very intrailes of their bodies, their bowels and members were ſeen, & after that, were ſet vpon ſharp ſhels taken out of the ſea, edged, and ſharpe, and certaine nailes and thornes for the Martyrs to go vpon, which were ſharpned and pointed called Obeliſci. Thus ſuffred they all kind of puniſhment and torment that might be deuiſed: and laſtly, were throwne vnto the wild beaſts to be deuoured. But eſpecially in the foreſayd Epiſtle, mention is made of one Germanicus, how he moſt worthily perſeuered and ouercame by the grace of God, that feare of death which is ingraffed in the common nature of all men, whoſe notable patience & ſufferaunce was ſo notable, that the whole multitude wondring at this beloued Martyr of God, for this his ſo bold conſtancie, and alſo for the ſingular ſtrength and vertue proceeding of the whole multitude of the Chriſtians: began ſodenly to cry with a loud voyce, ſaying: deſtroy the wicked men, let Polycarpus be ſought for. And whileſt a great vprore and tumult began thus to be raiſed vpon thoſe cries: A certaine Phrigian named Quintus, lately come out of Phrigia, who ſeyng and abhorring the wilde beaſts, and the fierce rage of them, of an ouer light mynd betrayed his own ſafetie. For ſo the ſame letter of him doth report, that he, not reuerently, but more malipertly then requiſite, was together with others ruſhed into the iudgement place, and ſo being takẽ, was made a manifeſt example to all the beholders, that no man ought raſhly and vnreuerently with ſuch boldneſſe, to thruſt in himſelf, to entermeddle in matters, wherwith he hath not to do.

Policarpus flyeth perſecution.

Policarpus prayeth for the church.

Policarpus hath a viſiõ of hys burning.

Policarpus purſued and taken.

Policarpus might eſcape and would not

Policarpus falleth to prayer.

But now we will ſurceaſe to ſpeake more of them, and returne to Polycarpus, of whome the foreſayd letter conſequently declareth as foloweth: How that in ẏ beginning, when he heard of theſe things, was nothing at all afrayd nor diſquieted in mynd, but purpoſed to haue taried ſtil in the Citie, till beyng perſwaded by the intreatie of thẽ that were about him (which deſired him inſtatly that he would conuey himſelfe away) hid himſelfe in a grange or village not farre of from the Citie, and there abidyng with a fewe more in his company, did nothing els (night nor day) but abode in ſupplication, wherin he made his humble petitiõ for the obtaining of peace vnto all ẏ congregatiõs through out the world. For that was his accuſtomed maner ſo to doe. And as he was thus making his prayers three dayes before he was apprehended, in a viſion by night he ſaw the bed ſet on fire vnder his head, and ſodainly to be cõſumed. And when he awaked, he told by and by & expounded vnto them that were preſent, his viſion, and told them before what thing ſhould come to paſſe, that is, how that in ẏ fire he ſhould loſe his life for Chriſtes cauſe. It is further mentioned, that whẽ they were hard at hand, which ſo narowly ſought for him, that he was inforced for the affection and loue of his brethren, to fleet into an other village, to which place notwithſtanding within a little while after the purſuers came, and when they had taken a couple of children that dwelt therabouts, they ſo beat one of them wt whips, ẏ by the bewraying or confeſſion of him, they were brought to the Inne where Polycarpus was. And they ſay that the purſuers making no great haſt to enter, found him in the vppermoſt place of the houſe, from whence he might haue eſcaped into other houſes, if he would, but this he would not do, ſaying: the wil of God be done. Furthermore, whẽ he knew that they were come, as the ſaid hiſtory ſheweth: he came downe, and ſpake vnto them with a very chereful and pleaſant countenaunce, ſo that it was a wonder to ſee thoſe which a while agone knew not the man, now beholding & viewyng his comely age, and his graue & conſtant countenaunce, lamented that they had ſo much employed their labour, that ſo aged a man ſhould be apprehẽded. To conclude, he commaunded that ſtraightway without any delay the table ſhould be layd for them, and perſuaded thẽ that they would eate and dine well, and required of them boldly, that he might haue an houres reſpite to make his prayers. Which thing after it was graunted, he aroſe and went to pray, ſo being repleniſhed wich the grace of God, that they which were preſent, and hearyng the prayers that he made, were aſtonied at it, and now many of them were ſory that ſo honeſt and godly an aged man ſhould be put to death.

Policarpus refuſeth to doe ſacrifice.

Policarpus comforted by a uoyce from heauẽ.

Policarpus allured to chaunge hys name would not conſent.

After this, the foreſaid Epiſtle or letter, proſecuting the hiſtorie, addeth more as followeth: After he had made an end of his prayers, & had called to his remẽbrance al thoſe things which euer hapned vnto him, and to the vniuerſal catholike church throughout all the world (whether they were ſmall or great, glorious or els inglorious) and that the houre was now come in which they ought to ſet forward, they ſet him vpon an Aſſe, and brought him to the Citie vpon a ſolemne feaſt day. And there met him Irenarchus Herodes, and his father Nicetes, which cauſing him to come vp into the chariote where they ſate, perſuaded him & ſayd: What hurt I pray thee ſhall come thereof to thee, if thou ſay (by the way of ſalutation.) My Lord Cæſar, and to do ſacrifice, and thus to ſaue thy ſelfe? But he at the beginning made them none aunſwere. Till that when they inforced him to ſpeake, he ſayd: I wil not do as ye counſail me I ſhould. When that they ſawe he could not be perſuaded, they gaue him very rough language, & of purpoſe moleſted him, that in goyng doune the chariot from them, he might hurt or breake his legs. But he forcing very light of the matter, as though he had felt no hurt, went merily and diligently forward, making haſt vnto the place appointed. And when there was ſuch vprore in the place of execution, that he could not be heard but of a very few, there came a voyce from heauen to Polycarpus, as he was going into the Stage or appointed place of iudgement, ſaying: be of good cheare Polycarpus and play the man. No man there was, which ſaw him that ſpake, but very many of vs heard his voyce. And when he was brought in, there was a great noiſe made by them which vnderſtood that Polycarpus was apprehended. The Proconſul aſked him whẽ that he was come, whether his name was Polycarpus or not, and when he ſaid, yea it was, he gaue him counſail to deny his name, and ſaid vnto him, be good vnto thy ſelfe, and fauour thyne old age, and many other ſuch like words which they accuſtome to ſpeake. Sweare ſaith he, by the Emperours good fortune, looke vpõ this matter, ſay thou with vs: Deſtroy theſe naughtie men. Then Polycarpus beholding with conſtant countenance the whole multitude which was in the place appointed, and geuing a great ſigh, looked vp to heauen, ſaying: Thou, thou it is that wilt deſtroy theſe wicked naughty men. And the Proconſul thus being earneſt-

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A faythfull ſeruaunt of Chriſt his Lord.

Policarpus ready to geue a reaſon of hys doctrine.

Policarpus obedient to higher powers.

Policarpus threatned with wilde beaſtes.

An example of brotherly loue.

The willing minde of *Policarpus* to ſuffer.

His prayer before hys death.

ly in hand with him, ſayd, take thine othe, and I will dyſcharge thee, defye Chriſt, Policarpus aunſwered: fourreſcore and ſixe yeares haue I beene his ſeruaunt, yet in all this tyme hath he not ſo much as once hurt me: how then may I ſpeake euill of my king & ſoueraigne Lorde, which hath thus preſerued me: Then the Proconſull againe inforced him and ſayd: Sweare thou I aduiſe thee by Cæſars proſperity. Policarpus replieth, if thou require of me this fonde worde of vaine boaſting, feyning not to know (as yͧ saieſt) who I am, I doe thee to wit, that I am a Chriſtian: And if thou deſire to know the doctrin of Chriſtianity, appoint a day, & thou ſhalt heare. Perſwade the people to this ſaid the Proconſul: Truly ſayth Policarpus, I haue thought it my part, thus to ſay vnto you, for ſo much as we are commaunded to giue vnto the gouernours & powers ordayned of God, the honor meete & due to them, and not hurtfull vnto vs: but as for thoſe I doe iudge them vnworthy, to purge my ſelf vnto them. Hereupon the proconſul ſtode vp, I haue, ſaith he, wilde beaſts, to whom I will throwe thee, vnles thou take a better way: whereunto Policarpus anſwered let thẽ come: we haue determined with our ſelues that we will not by repentance turne vs from the better way, to the worſe, but rather conuenient it is, that a man turne from the thinges that be euill, to that which is good and iuſt. Agayne ſayth the Proconſul, I will tame thee with fire, if that thou ſet not by the wilde beaſtes, nor yet repent. Then ſaid Policarpus you threaten me with fyre which ſhal burne for the ſpace of an houre, & ſhalbe within a litle while after put out & extinguiſhed, but yͧ knoweſt not the fire of the iudgement that is to come and of euerlaſting puniſhment, which is reſerued for the wicked & vngodly. But why make you all theſe delayes, giue me what death ſoeuer ye liſt. Theſe & many other ſuch like thinges being by him ſpoken, he was ſo repleniſhed with ioy, and boldnes, and his countenaunce appeared ſo full of grace & fauour, that not onely he was not troubled with thoſe things which yͤ Proconſul ſpake vnto him, but contrarily the Proconſul himſelfe began to be amaſed and ſent for the crier, which in the middle of the ſtage was commaunded to cry 3. times, Policarpus, hath confeſſed himſelf to be a Chriſtian, which wordes of the cryer, were no ſooner ſpoken, but that all the whole multitude both of the Gentiles and Iewes inhabiting at Smyrna, with a vehement rage and loude voice cried. This is that Doctour or teacher of Aſia, the father of the Chriſtianes, and the deſtroyer of our gods, which hath inſtructed a great nūber that our Gods are not to be worſhipped, & after this they crid vnto Philip the gouernour of Aſia, and required him that he would let looſe the Lion to Policarpus. To whom he made aunſwere that he might not ſo doe, becauſe he had already his praye. Then they cried againe altogither with one voice that he woulde burne Policarpus a liue. For it was requiſite that yͤ viſion which he ſaw as concerning his pillow or bolſter ſhould be fulfilled: which when he had ſeene burnt, as he was in his prayer, he turned himſelfe vnto the faithful ſort which were with him, ſaying by the way of prophecie, it will ſo come, that I ſhall be burned a liue. And the Proconſul had no ſooner ſpoken, but it was out of hande performed. For why the multitude by and by brought out of their ſhops, workehouſes, and baynes, woode and other dry matter for that purpoſe and eſpecially the Iewes were moſt ſeruiceable for that matter, after their wõted maner. And thus the pile being layd, and that now hee had put of his garments & vndone his girdel, and was about to pul of his ſhooes, which he had not done before, for that all the faithfull ſort amongſt themſelues ſtriued (as it were) who ſhould firſt touch his body at their farewell, bicauſe for the good conuerſation of his life, yea, from his younger age, he was had in great eſtimation of al men. Therfore ſtraightway thoſe inſtruments which are requiſite to ſuch a bonfire, were brought vnto him, & when the would haue nayled him to the ſtake with yron hoopes, he ſaid, let me alone as I am, for he that hath giuen me ſtrength to ſuffer and abide the fire, ſhal alſo giue power, that without this your prouiſion of nayles, I ſhall abide, & ſtirre not in the middeſt of this fire or pyle of woode. Which thing when they heard, they did not nayle him, but bounde him. Therefore when his handes were bounde behinde him, euen as the chiefeſt Ramme taken out of the flocke, he was ſacrificed as an acceptable burnt offring to God ſaying: O father of thy welbeloued and bleſſed ſonne Ieſus Chriſt, by whom we haue attained the knowledge of thee, the God of aungels and powers, and of euery creature, and of al iuſt men which liue before thee, I giue thee thankes, that thou haſt vouchſafed to graũt me this day that I may haue my part amongeſt the number of the Martyrs in the cup of Chriſt vnto the reſurrection of eternall life both of body & ſoule, through the operation of the holy ſpirit, among whome I ſhalbe this day receaued into thy ſight for an acceptable ſacrifice: & as thou haſt prepared, and reueled the ſame before this time, ſo thou haſt accompliſhed the ſame. Which canſt not lye, O thou moſt true God. Wherefore I in lyke caſe for all things prayſe thee, bleſſe thee, and glorifie thee by our euerlaſting Biſhop Ieſus Chriſt to whom be glory euermore. Amen.

The thankeſgeuing of *Policarpus*

A miracle ſhewed.

An example of much crueltie.

The Iewes enemies alwayes to the Chriſtians.

Marke that he ſayth we loue them, and worſhippe them not.

And aſſoone as he had ended this word Amen, and finiſhed his prayer, the tormentors began to kindle the fire, & as the flame flaſhed out vehemently: we to whom it was giuẽ to diſcerne the ſame, ſaw a maruellous matter, which were alſo to this purpoſe preſerued, that we might ſhewe the ſame to other. For the fier being made like to acouſe or vaute of a houſe, and after the maner of a ſhipmans ſayle, filled with wind, compaſſed about the body of the Martir as with a certaine wall, and he in the middle of the ſame, not as fleſh, that burned, but as gold and ſiluer when it is tried in the fier. And ſurely we ſmelt a ſauour ſo ſweete as if Myrre or ſome other precious balme had giuen a ſent. At the laſt when thoſe wicked perſons ſawe yͭ hys body could not be conſumed by fire, they commaunded one of the tormentors to come vnto him, & thruſt him through with his ſworde. Which being done, ſo great a quantitie of bloude ran out of his body that the fire was quenched therewith, & the whole multitude marueyled that there was ſo much diuerſitie betwene the infidels and the elect, of whom this Policarpus was one, being a Diſciple of the Apoſtles, and a propheticall inſtructour of our times, and Biſhop of the Catholique Church of Smyrna, for what worde ſoeuer he ſpake both it was and ſhalbe accompliſhed. But the ſubtil and enuious aduerſary, when he ſaw the worthines of his martirdome, & that his conuerſation euen from his yoũger yeares could not be reproued, and that he was adourned with the crowne of martirdome, and had now obtained that incomparable benefite, gaue in charge, that we ſhould not take & deuide his body. For feare leaſt the remnaunts of the dead corps ſhould be taken away, & ſo worſhipped of the people. Wherupon diuers whiſpered Niceta the father of Herode, and his brother Dalces in the eare, to admoniſh the Proconſul, that in no caſe he ſhould deliuer his body, leaſt (ſaith he) they leaue Chriſt & begin to worſhip him. And this ſpake they becauſe the Iewes had gyuen them ſecret warning & prouoked them therunto, who alſo watched vs that we ſhoulde not take him out of the fire. not being ignoraunt how that we ment, at no time to forſake Chriſt, which gaue his life for the ſaluation of the whole world, (as many I meane as are elected to ſaluatiõ by him) neither yet that we could worſhip any other. For why? him we worſhip as the ſonne of God, but the Martirs do we loue as diſciples of the Lord (& that worthely) for their aboundaunt loue towardes their king and maiſter, of whom we alſo deſire and wiſh to be companions, & to be made his diſciples. Whẽ therfore the Centurion ſaw & perceaued the labour of the Iewes, the corps being layd abroad, they burnt the ſame, as was their maner to doe.

Twelue Martyrs put to death in Smyrna.

Thus good Policarpus with xij. other that came from Philadelphia, ſuffered Martyrdome at Smyrna, which Policarpus ſpecially aboue the reſt is had in memory, ſo that hee in all places among the Gentiles is moſt famous. And this was the ende of this worthy diſciple of the Apoſtles. Whoſe hyſtory the brethren of the congregation at Smyrna, haue wrytten in this their Epiſtle as is aboue recited.

Ex Irenæo. lib. 3 cap. 3.
Euſeb. Lib. 4. cap. 14.

{Anno. 167.}

Iræneus in his 3. booke againſt hereſies, the 3, chap. and Euſæbius in his 4. booke, and 14. chap. of his Eccleſiaſticall hiſtory reporteth this worthy ſaying of Poticarpus: This Policarpus (ſayth hee) meeting at a certeine time Martion, the heretick, who ſaid vnto him, doeſt thou not know me? made anſwere, I know that thou art the firſt begotten of Sathan. So great feare what euil might enſue therof, had the Diſciples of the Apoſtles, that they would not ſpeake to them whom they knew to be the deprauers of the veritie, euen as Paule ſaith: The hereticke after the firſt and ſecond admonition, ſhonne, and auoyd: Knowing that he which is ſuch one, is peruerte or frowarde, and damneth himſelfe. This moſt holy confeſſour and Martyr of Chriſt Policarpus, ſuffered death in the fourth perſecution after Nero, when Marcus Antonius, and Lucius Aurelius Commodus raigned, an, Dom. 167. as Vrſperg. affirmeth, an. 170. as Euſebius witneſſeth in his Chronicles the 7. before the Calendes of Februarie.

Germanicus.
Ex. Euſeb. lib. 4. cap. 15. Hiſtor. eccle.

Of Germanicus mention is made aboue in the ſtorye of Policarpus of whome writeth Euſebius Lib. 4. cap. 15. notyng him to be a younge man, and moſt conſtantly to perſeuere in the profeſſion of Chriſtes doctrine, whom whẽ the Proconſul went about to perſwade, to remember his age, and to fauor him ſelfe, being in the floure of his age, he woulde not be allured: but conſtātly and boldly, and of his owne accorde incited and prouoked the wild beaſt to come vpon him, and to deuour him, to be deliuerd more ſpedely out of this wretched life. Hæc Euſebius, an, 170.

The olde age of *Policarpus.*

Thus haue you heard out of the Epiſtle of the brethren of Smyrna, the whole order and life of Policarpus, wherby it may appeare that he was a very aged mā who had ſerued Chriſt, lxxxvj. yeares ſince the firſt knowledge of him, and ſerued alſo in the miniſtery about the ſpace of 70. yeares.

Policarpus the ſcholler of Iohn.

Irenaus lib. 3.*Cap.*1.

This Policarpus was the ſcholer and hearer of Iohn the Euangeliſt, and was placed by the ſayde Iohn in Smyrna. Of him alſo Ignatius maketh mention in his Epiſtle which he wrote in his iourney to Rome, going toward his martyrdome, and commended to him the gouernement of hys Church at Antioch, whereby it appeareth that Policarpus then was in yͤ miniſtery. Likewiſe Iræneus writeth of the ſayd Policarpus after this maner. He alwaies taught (ſayd he) thoſe things which he learned of the Apoſtles, leauing them to the Church, and are onely true. Whereunto alſo al the Churches that be in Aſia, and all they which ſucceeded after Policarpus to this day beareth witnes, And the ſame Irenæus witneſſeth alſo that the ſayd Policarpus wrote an Epiſtle to the Philippians, which whether it be the ſame that is now extant and read in the name of Policarpus, it is doubted of ſome: notwithſtanding in the ſayd Epiſtle diuers things are founde very holeſome and Apoſtolicke: as where he teacheth of Chriſt, of iudgement and of the reſurrection. Alſo he writeth of faith very worthily, thus declaryng that by grace we are ſaued, and not by works, but in the will of God by Jeſus Chriſt.

The Epiſtle of *Policarpus* to the Philippians.

Iuſtification by fayth.

Ex Euſeb. lib.5. cap.20.

Irenaus conuerſaunt with *policarpus.*

Policarpus conuerſaunt with the Apoſtles.

In Euſebius we reade in like maner a part of an Epiſtle written by Irenæus to Florinus, wherin is declared how that the ſaid Irenæus being yet yong, was with Policarpus in Aſia: at what time he ſaw & well remembred, what Policarpus did, and the place where he ſat teaching, his whole order of life and proportion of his body, with the ſermons & wordes which he ſaid to the people. And furthermore, he perfectly remembred howe that the ſaide Policarpus often times reported vnto him thoſe thinges which hee learned and heard them ſpeake of the Lord, his doinges, power, and doctrine, who heard the worde of life with their owne eares, all which were more conſonant and agreable to the holy Scripture. Thus with much more hath Irenæus, concerning Policarpus.

The authoritie of Policarpus in the Churches of Aſia.

Hierome alſo writing of the ſame Policarpus, hath howe he was in great eſtimation throughout all Aſia, for that he was ſcholer to the Apoſtles and to them which did ſee and were conuerſant with Chriſt himſelfe, whereby it is to be coniectured his authority to be much not onely with them of his owne Church, but wyth all other Churches about him.

Policarpus came to Rome.

Polycarpus conferreth with *Anicetus*

The Eaſt church and Romaine Church differre about Eaſterday

Ex Nicepho. Lib.4. cap 39.

Ouer and beſides, it is witneſſed by the ſayd Irenæus, that Policarpus came to Rome in the time of Anicetus Byſhop of Rome about the yere of our Lord. 157. in yͤ raigne of Antoninus Pius, whoſe cauſe of his comming thether appeareth to be about the controuerſie of Eaſterday: wherin the Aſians and the Romanes ſomthing diſagreed amonge theſelues. And therfore the ſaid Policarpus in the behalfe of the brethren and Church of Aſia, tooke his long iourneye thether to come and conferre with Anicetus. Wherof wryteth alſo Nicephorus Lib.4. declaring that Policarpus and Anicetus, ſomething varied in opinions and iudgement about that mater. And that notwithſtanding, yet both frendly communicated either with the other, inſomuch that Anicetus in his Church gaue place to Policarpus to miniſter the Communion and Sacrament of the Lordes Supper for honour ſake, which may be a notable teſtimony now to vs, that the doctrine concerning the free vſe and liberty of ceremonies, was at that time retained in the church without any offence of ſtomacke, or breach of Chriſtian peace in the Church.

Difference of ceremonyes cauſed no breach of charitie in the Primitiue Church.

This Policarpus (as is aboue mentioned) ſuffered his Martyrdome euen in his owne Church at Smyrna, where he had laboured ſo many yeares in planting of the Goſpel of Chriſt, which was about the yeare of our Lorde 170. as Euſebius rekoneth in his Chronicle, and in the 7. yeare of Antoninus Verus his raigne: wherby it appeareth that Socrates in Hiſtoria tripartita was much deceaued ſaying that Policarpus ſuffered in the time of Gordianus.

Socrates deceiued in hys *Tripart. hiſt.*

Ex Euſeb. Lib.4. cap.17.

Metrodorus.

Pionius.

Carpus.

Papylus.

Agathonica.

Martyrs.

In this fourth perſecution beſide Policarpus and other mentioned before, we read alſo in Euſebius of diuers other, who at the ſame time likewiſe did ſuffer at Smyrna.

Ouer and beſides in the ſaid perſecution ſuffered moreouer Metrodorus a miniſter: who was giuen to the fire, & ſo conſumed. An other was worthy Pionius, which after much boldnes of ſpeeche, with his Apologies exhibited, & his ſermons made to the people in the defence of chriſtian fayth, and after much releuyng and comforting of ſuch as were in priſons, and otherwiſe diſcōforted, at laſt was put to cruell torments and afflictions, then giuen likewiſe to the fire, ſo finiſhed his bleſſed martyrdome.

After theſe alſo ſuffered Carpus Papylus, and Agathonyca, a woman who after their moſt conſtaunt and worthye confeſſions were put to death at Pergamopolis in Aſia, witneſſing Euſebius Lib.4, cap 7.

Felicitas with her 7. Children.

Ianuari.

Felix.

Philipus.

Siluanus.

Alexander.

Vitalis.

Martialis.

Martyrs.

And as theſe ſuffered in Aſia, ſo in Rome ſuffered Felicitas with her 7. children, who vnder this M. Antoninus Verus, ſuſtayned alſo the cruelty of this perſecution. The names of whoſe children Bergomenſis and other hiſtories doe thus recite, Ianuarius. Felix, Philippe, Siluanus, Alexander, Vitalis, Martialis. Of whom her firſt and eldeſt ſonne Ianuarius after he was whipped and ſcourged with roddes, was preſt to death with leaden waightes. Felix and Phillippe had their braynes beaten out with maules. Siluanus was caſt downe headlong, and had his necke broken. Furthermore, Alexander, Vitalis, and Martialis was beheaded. Laſt of all Felicitas the mother (otherwiſe then the accuſtomed maner was, for ſuch as hadde borne Children) was ſlayne with the ſword. Ex Supplem.

Iuſtinus

Martyr.

Ex Euſeb. Lib.4. Cap. 16.

In the rage of this fourth perſecution, vnder the raigne of Antonius Pius, ſuffered alſo good Iuſtinus, a man in learning and Philoſophy excellent, & a great defender of Chriſtian Religion. Who firſt exhibited vnto the Emperour & to the Senate, a booke or Apologie in the defence of the Chriſtians, and afterward himſelfe alſo dyed a Martyr. Of whom in the hiſtory of Euſeb. Lib.4.cap.16. it is thus recorded: That about what tyme, or a little before that Polycarpus with other diuers Saincts ſuffered Martyrdome in Pargamopolis, a Cittie of Aſia, this Iuſtinus (as is aforeſayd) preſented a booke in defence of our doctrine to the Emperour, to wit vnto Antonius, and to the Senate. After which he was alſo crowned with like Martyrdome vnto thoſe, whome he in his booke had defended, through the malicious meanes, and crafty circumuention of Creſcens.

Creſcens A Philoſopher procurer of the death of Iuſtinus.

This Creſcens was a Philoſopher confirming hys lyfe and maners to the Cynical ſect, whom for becauſe this Iuſtinus had reproued in open audience, and had borne away the victory of the trueth which he defended, he therefore as much as in him lay, did worke & procure vnto him this crowne of Martyrdome. And this did alſo Iuſtine him ſelfe a Philoſopher, no leſſe famous by hys profeſſion, foreſee and declare in hys foreſayd Apology, telling almoſt all thoſe thinges before hand which ſhould happen vnto him, by theſe words ſaying: And I looke after this good turne, that I be ſlayne goyng by the way, eyther of ſome of thoſe whom I haue named, and to haue my braynes beaten out with a bat, or els of Creſcens, whom I cannot call a Phyloſopher, but rather a vayne boaſter. For it is not conuenient to call him a Philoſopher, whiche openly profeſſeth thinges to him vnknowne, and whereof he hath no ſkil, ſaying and reporting of vs, that the Chriſtians be vngodly & irreligiouſe: And all to pleaſe and flatter them, which are reduced by errour.

Creſcens a rayling Philoſopher, and a malicious rayler.

A ſlaue of fame and feare.

Creſcens proued an vnlearned Philoſopher.

For whether he obiecteth againſt vs the doctrine of the Chriſtians whiche he hath not read, yet is he very malicious, and worſe then the vnlearned ideotes, who for the moſt part vſe not to diſpute or iudge of thinges they know not, and to beare witnes of the ſame. Or put caſe that he had read them, yet vnderſtandeth he not the maieſtie of the matters therein conteined, or if peraduenture he vnderſtandeth them, and doth it for thys purpoſe, that he would not be counted as one of them: then is he ſo much the more wicked and malicious, and the bondſlaue of vyle & beaſtly both fame and feare. For this I teſtifie of him, geuing you truely to vnderſtand that for a truth, which I declare vnto you, how that I haue appoſed him, and haue put vnto him many queſtions, whereby I know and perceaue, that he vnderſtandeth nothing. But if ſo be that this our diſputatiō with him, hath not come vnto your eares, I am ready to communicate vnto you agayn thoſe queſtions which I demaunded of him, whiche things ſhall not be vnfit for your Princely honour to heare. But if ye knowe and vnderſtand both what thinges I haue examined him of, as alſo what aunſwere he hath made, it ſhal be apparant vnto you, that he is altogether ignoraunt of our doctrine and learning, or els if he knoweth the ſame, he dare not vtter it for feare of hys auditors, which thing, as I ſayd before, is a proofe that he is no Philoſopher, but a ſlaue to vayne glory, which maketh none accompt of that, which his own Mayſter Socrates had in ſo great eſtimation. And thus much of Iuſtine, out of Iuſtine himſelfe.

Now to verifie that, which Iuſtine here of him ſelfe doth prophecie, that Creſcens would and did procure his death, *Tacianus* cōmended.

The prayſe of *Iuſtinus* Martyr.

Tacianus (a man brought vp of a childe in the inſtitutions of the Gentiles, and obtayned in the ſame not a little fame, and which alſo left behinde him many good monumentes and Commentaries) writeth in hys booke agaynſt yͤ Gentiles in this ſort: And Iuſtine ſayth he, that moſt excellent learned man, full well ſpake and vttered his minde, that the afore recited men were lyke vnto theeues or lyers by yͤ high way ſide. And in the ſayd book ſpeaking afterward of certaine Philoſophers, the ſayd Tacianus inferreth thus: Creſcens therefore (ſayth he) when he came firſt into that great Cittie, paſſed all other in the vicious loue of children, and was very much geuen to couetouſnes, and where he taught that men ought not to regard death, he himſelf doth feare death, that he did all his indeuour to oppreſſe Iuſtine with death, as with the moſt greateſt euill that was, and all becauſe that Iuſtine ſpeaking trueth, reproued the Philoſophers to be men onely for the belly and deceauers, and this was the cauſe of Iuſtines Martyrdome. Hierome in his Eccleſiaſticall Catalogue thus writeth: Iuſtine when in the Cittie of Rome he had his diſputations, and had reproued Creſcens the Cinike, for a great blaſphemer of the Chriſtians: for a bellygod and a man fearing death, and alſo a follower of luſt and lechery: at the laſt by his indeuour and conſpiracie was accuſed to be a Chriſtian, and for Chriſt ſhed his bloud in the yeare of our Lord. 154. vnder Marcus Antonius, as the Cronicles doe witnes, Abb Vrſperg: and Euſebius in his Cronicle in the xiii. yeare of the Emperour Antoninus.

Ex Catalogo Hiero.

The death and martirdome of *Iuſtinus.* the noble Philoſopher and a Chriſtian Martyr.

Praxedis, Potentiana Chriſtian virgines.

Among theſe aboue recited is alſo to be numbred Praxedis a bleſſed virgine, the daughter of a Citizen of Rome, who in the tyme of Anicetus there Byſhop, was ſo brought vp in the doctrine of Chriſt, and ſo affected to hys religion, that ſhe with her ſiſter Potentiana, beſtowed all her patrimony vpon the relieuing of poore Chriſtians, geuing all her time to faſting and prayer, and to the buriyng of yͤ bodyes of the Martyrs. And after ſhe had made free all her famelie with her ſeruauntes, after the death of her ſiſter, ſhe alſo departed and was buryed in peace.

Ptolomeus. *Lucius* Martyrs.

Vnder the ſame Antoninus alſo ſuffered Ptolomeus, and Lucius for the confeſſion of Chriſt, in a Cittie of Egipt called Alexandria, whoſe hiſtory becauſe it is deſcribed in the Apology of Iuſtinus Martyr, I thought therefore ſo to ſet forth the ſame, as it is alledged in Euſebius, declaring the manner and occaſion therof. Lib. 4 cap. 17. in wordes and effect as followeth, &c.

Euſeb. lib. 4. Cap. 17.

There was (ſayth he) a certayne woman maryed vnto a huſband, who was geuen much to laciuiouſnes, whereunto ſhe her ſelfe in tymes paſt was alſo addict. But ſhe afterward being inſtructed in the Chriſtian religion, became chaſte her ſelf and alſo perſwaded her huſband to liue chaſtly: often times telling him that it was written in the preceptes of the Chriſtians, that they ſhould be puniſhed eternally, which liued not chaſtely and iuſtly in this life. But he ſtill continuing in his filthines, thereby cauſed his wife to eſtraunge her ſelfe from his company. For why? the woman thought it not conuenient to continue in her huſbandes company, which contemning the lawe of nature, ſought otherwiſe to ſatiſfie hys filthy appetite. Therefore ſhe was purpoſed to be deuorced frō him. But her neighbours and kinſfolkes prouoked her, by promiſing hys amendment, to keepe company agayne with hym, and ſo ſhe did. But he after this, tooke hys iourny into Alexandria and when it was ſhewed her, that there hee liued more licenciouſly, then at any time before, for that ſhe would not be counted partaker of his inceſtuous lyfe by coupling her ſelfe any longer with him, ſhe gaue him a letter of diuorce, & ſo departed frō him. Then her huſbād, who ought rather to haue reioyced to haue ſo honoſt and chaſte a wife, which not onely would not commit any diſhoneſt thing her ſelfe, but alſo could not abide any lewde or miſordered behauiour in her huſband, and that by this her ſeperation ſhee went about to reclayme hym from hys inceſt and wickednes to better amendment of lyfe: He in recompence to hys wyfe agayne, accuſed her to be a Chriſtian, whiche at that tyme was no leſſe then death. Whereupon ſhe being in great periſl and daunger deliuered vp vnto the Emperour (as Iuſtinus in his Apology writing to the Emperour him ſelfe declareth) a ſupplication, deſiring and crauing of hys maieſty, firſt to graunt her ſo much licence as to ſet her famiIie in order, and that done, afterward to come agayne & make aunſwere to all that might or ſhould be layd agaynſt her: whereunto the Emperour condeſcended. Then her huſband ſeing that he could haue no vauntage agaynſt her deuiſed wͭ himſelfe, how he might bring Ptolomeus (which was her inſtructor in the fayth of Chriſt) in trouble and accuſation: vſing the meanes of a certayne Centurion who was hys very frend, whom he perſwaded to examine Ptolomeus whether he were a Chriſtian or not. Ptolomeus (as one yͭ loued the trueth, & not thinking good to hide hys profeſſion) confeſſed no leſſe then to the examinour, openly declaring that he had (as truth was) taught and profeſſed the veritie of Chriſtian doctrine. For who ſo denyeth him ſelfe to be that he is, eyther cōdemneth in denying that thing that he is, or maketh himſelfe vnworthy of that, the confeſſion whereof he flyeth, whiche thing is neuer found in a true and ſincere Chriſtian. Thus thē he being brought before Vrbicius the iudge and by him condemned to ſuffer: One Lucius being alſo a Chriſtian, ſtanding by, and ſeing the wrong iudgement, and haſty ſentence of the Iudge, ſayd to Vrbicius: what reaſon, I pray you or equitie is this, that this man, who neyther is adulterer, nor fornicator, nor homicide, nor fealon, neyther hath committed any ſuch crime, wherein hee may be charged, thus is condemned onely for hys name and confeſſion of a Chriſtian. This cōdemnation and theſe maner of Iudgementes (O Vrbici) are neither ſeemely for the vertuous Emperour, nor to the Philoſopher hys ſonne, nor yet for the eſtate of hys Senate of Rome.

The boldnes & Chriſtian conſtancie of *Lucius.*

Which wordes being heard, Vrbitius making no farther examination of the matter, ſayd vnto Lucius: me thinketh thou art alſo a Chriſtian. And when Lucius had geuen him to vnderſtand that he was alſo a Chriſtian, the Iudge without further delay commaunded him to be had away to the place of execution. To whom he aunſwered: I thanke you withal my hart, that you releaſe me from moſt wicked gouernours, and ſend me vnto my good and moſt louing father, being alſo the king of all Gods. And in like maner the third man alſo, comming vnto him, and vſing the like libertie of ſpeeche, had alſo the like ſentence of death and condemnation, and crowned alſo with the ſame crowne of Martyrdome. And thus much out of the Apology of Iuſtinus, by the which ſtory it may appeare not to be true, that Gratianus attributeth vnto Higynus Byſhop of Rome, the deciding of cauſes matrimoniall, ſeeing that in Iuſtinus tyme (who was in the ſame age of Higynus) the deuorcement of this woman in this hiſtory aboue touched, was not decided by any Eccleſiaſticall law, or brought before any Byſhop, but was brought before a Heathen Prince, and determined by the law ciuill.

Lucius condemned and Martyred.

The third alſo condemned and Martyred.

A place of *Gracianus* ſuſpected.

Concordus Martyr.

Henricus de Erfordia recordeth out of the Martyrologe of Iſuardus, of one Concordus a miniſter of the Citie of Spolete, who in the reigne of this Antoninus Verus, becauſe he would not ſacrifice vnto Iupiter, but did ſpit in the face of the Idole, after diuers and ſundry puniſhments ſuſtaynd, at laſt with the ſword was beheaded. Vincentius in hys x. booke, chap. 108. reciteth a long ſtory of his actes and life, wherof ſome part perhappes may ſeeme tollerable. But this verily appeareth to be falſe and fabulous, concerning the water flowing beſides his ſepulchre in the forenamed Cittie of Spolete, vnto the whiche water was geuen (ſayth Vincentius) by the vertue of hym, for whoſe name hee ſuffered, to reſtore ſight to the blinde, to heale the ſicke, and to caſt out deuils. &c. Which kinde of vertue to open the eyes of the blinde, and to expell deuils, neither doth God geue to any creature of water, neither is it like that Concordius the bleſſed Martyr did or would require any ſuch thing at the handes of God.

Concordus ſpitteth in the face of the Idole.

The ſtory of *Vincentius* ſuſpected of vntrueth.

Ex Iſuardo. Vincentio. & Henrico de Erford.

Iſuardus and Bede, Vincentius, and Henricus de Erſordia, with other authors moe, make relation of diuers other Martyrs that by ſondry kindes of tormentes were put to death, vnder the foreſayd Antoninus Verus: the names of whome be Simmetrius, Florellus, Pontianus, Alexander, Caius, Fpipodus, Victor, Corona, Marcellus, Valerianus. The cauſe of whoſe Martyrdome was the reprehending of Idolatry and becauſe at the Emperours cōmandement, they would not ſacrifice to Idols. Many ſortes of puniſhmentes and of miracles are tolde of them, but at length the end of them all is this, that they were beheaded. Whereby it may be the more ſuſpected, the hiſtories of theſe writers not to be certayne or true, aswell touching theſe, as alſo other Martyrs, as may appeare in Vincentius, in Petrus de Natalibus, & other authors of like ſort. In which authors they which liſt to read more of their miracles, there may finde them.

Symmetrius. *Florellus.* *pontianus.* *Alexander.* *Caius.* *Epipodus.* *Victor.* *Corona.* *Marcellus.* *Valerian,* Martyrs.

Authors in the writing the miracles of Martyrs ſuſpected.

A little before, pag 41 mention was made of Symphoriſſa, otherwiſe named Symphoroſa, wife of Getulus, with her vii. ſonnes. This Getulus or Getulius, was a miniſter or a teacher (as witneſſeth Martyrol. Adonis) in the Cittie of Tyber, which Getulus with Cerealis, Amantius, and Primitiuus, by the commaundement of Adria were condemned to the fire, wherein they were Martyred and put to death. The names moreour of the ſeuen ſonnes of this Symphoroſa, I finde to be Creſcens, Iulianus, Nemeſius, Primitiuus, Iuſtinus Statteus, and Eugenius, whom the Chronicle of Ado declareth to be put to death at the commaundement of Hadrian,

Getulus. *Corealu.* *Amantius.* *Primitiuus.* Martyrs.

The vii. ſonnes of *Symphoroſa.* *Creſcens.* *Iulianus.*

Nemeſius. Primitiuus. Iuſtinus. Statteus. Eugenius. Martyrs.

drian, being faſtened to vij. ſtakes, and ſo racked vp wyth a pulley, and at laſt were thruſt through, Creſcens in the necke, Iulianus in the breſt, Nemeſius in the hart, Primitiuus about the nauell, Iuſtinus cut in euery ioynte of his bodye, Stateus run through with ſpeares, Eugenius cut a ſonder frō the breſt to the lower partes, and then caſt into a deepe pyt, hauyng the name by the Idolatrous Prieſtes, intituled Ad ſeptem Biothanatos. After the martirdome of whō alſo Symphoroſa the mother did likewiſe ſuffer, as is before declared.

The perſecution in Lyons and Vienna, two Cities in Fraunce. *Ex Euſeb. lib. 5. Cap. 2.*

Under the ſayd Antoninus Verus, and in the ſame perſecution, which raged not in Rome and Aſia onely, but in other countryes alſo, ſuffered the glorious & moſt cōſtant Martirs of Lyons and Vienna, two Cities in Fraunce, gyuing to Chriſt a glorious teſtimony, & to all Chriſtian men a ſpectacle, or example of ſingular conſtancie, and fortitude in Chriſt our ſauiour. The hiſtory of whom, becauſe it is written and ſet forth by their owne Churches, where they did ſuffer, mentioned in Euſeb. Lib. 5. cap. 2. I thought here to expreſſe the ſame in the forme and effecte of their owne wordes, as there is to be ſeene. The title of which their Epiſtle written to the brethren of Aſia and Phrigia thus beginneth.

✠ *The ſeruauntes of Chriſt inhabiting the Cities of* Vienna and Lyons, to the brethren in Aſia and *Phrigia, hauing the ſame faith and hope of redemption* with vs: peace, and grace, and glory, from God the father, and from Ieſus Chriſt our Lorde.

A letter of the brethren of Fraunce to the brethrē of Aſia.

The greatnes of this our tribulation, the furious rage of the Gentiles againſt vs, & the tormentes which the bleſſed martyrs ſuffered, neither can we in wordes, nor yet in writing exactly, as they deſerue, ſet forth. For the aduerſary with all his force gaue his endeuor to the working of ſuch preparatiues, as he himſelfe liſted, againſt his tyrannous comming, & in euery place practiſed he and inſtructed his miniſters, how in moſt ſpitefull maner to ſet them againſt the ſeruauntes of God: ſo that not onely in our houſes ſhoppes and markets we were reſtrained, but alſo were vniuerſally cōmaunded, that none (ſo hardy) ſhould be ſene in any place. But God hath alwaies mercy in ſtore and toke out of their hands ſuch as were weake amongſt them, and other ſome did he ſet vp as firme and immoueable pillers, which by ſufferance were able to abide all violent force, and valiantly to withſtand the ennmie, induring all their opprobrious puniſhment they could deuiſe: to cōclude, they fought this battell for that intent to come vnto Chriſt, eſteming their great troubles but as light: therby ſhewing that al that may be ſuffered in this preſent life, is not able to counteruayle the great glorye which ſhall be ſhewed vpō vs after this life. And firſt they patiently ſuffered whatſouer the multitude of frantike people running vpon head did vnto them, as railings, ſcourgings, drawynges and hailings, flynging of ſtones, impriſoninges, & what other thing ſoeuer the rage of the multitude are wōt to vſe and practiſe againſt their profeſſed enimies. Then afterwarde they being led into the marked place, and there iudged of the Captayne and reſt of the Potentates of the Citie, after their confeſſion made openly before the multitude were commaunded againe to priſō, vntil the returne of their chiefe gouernor. After this they being brought before him, and he vſing all extremity that poſſibly he might againſt them: One Vetius Epagathus, one of the brethren, replenished with feruent zeale, both towards god and his brethren (whoſe conuerſation, although he were a young man was counted as perfect, as was the life of Zachary the Prieſt, for he walked diligently in al the commaundements and iuſtifications of the Lord, and in all obedience towards his brethren blamles) he hauing within him the feruent zeale of loue, and ſpirit of god, could not ſuffer that wicked iudgement which was giuen vpon the Chriſtians but being vehemently diſpleaſed, deſired that the Iudge woulde heare the excuſe which he was minded to make in the behalfe of the chriſtians, in whom ſaith he is no impietie founde, But the people cryed againe to thoſe that were aſſiſtentes to the chiefe Iuſtice, that it might not be ſo (for indede he was a noble man borne) neither did the Iuſtice graunt him his lawfull requeſt, but onely aſked him whether he himſelfe were a Chriſtian or not. And he immediatly with a loude and boulde voice, aunſwered and ſayde, I am a Chriſtian. And thus was he receiued into the felowſhip of the martirs, and called the aduocate of the Chriſtians. And he hauing the ſpirite of God more plentifully in tyme, then had Zachary, the abundaunce thereof he declared, in that he gaue his life in the defence of his brethren, being a true diſciple of Chriſt, following the Lamb whereſoeuer he goeth.

Vetius Epagathus Martir.

The ſtoutnes of a godly young man.

By this mans example the reſt of the Martirs were the more animated to martirdome, and made more ioious with al courage of mind to accompliſh the ſame. Some other there were vnready and not ſo well prepared, and as yet weak, not well able to beare the vehemency of ſo great conflict: of whom x. there were in number, that faynted, miniſtring to vs much heauines & lamentation. who by their example cauſed the reſt which were not yet apprehēded, to be leſſe willing thereunto. Then were we all for the variablenes of confeſſion not a litle aſtonied: not ye we feared the puniſhment intended againſt vs, but rather as hauing reſpect to the ende, and fearing leaſt any ſhoulde fal. Euery day there were apprehended ſuch as were worthy to fulful the number of them which were fallen. In ſo much that of two churches, ſuch as were chiefeſt, & which were the principall gouernors of our Churches were apprehended. with theſe alſo certeine of the Ethnicks, being our men ſeruaunts, were apprehended (for ſo the gouernour commaunded, that all of vs ingenerall without any reſpect, ſhould be taken) which ſeruants being ouercome by Sathan, and fearing the torments which they ſaw the Saintes doe ſuffer, being alſo compelled thereunto by the meanes of the ſouldiers, fained againſt vs that we kept the feaſtinges of Thieſtes, and inceſt of Oedipus, and many ſuch other crimes, which are neither to be remembred, nor named of vs, nor yet to bee thought that euer any man would commit the like.

The faynting of certaine weake Chriſtians.

Falſe ſlaunders of the Chriſtians.

These things being now bruted abroad, euery man began to ſhewe crueltie againſt vs, inſomuch that thoſe which before for familiarities ſake were more gentle toward vs, now vehemently diſdained vs, and waxed mad againſt vs. And thus was now fulfilled that, which was ſpoken by Chriſt, ſaying, the time will come that whoſoeuer killeth you, ſhall thinke that he doth God great good ſeruice. Thē ſuffered the Martirs of God ſuch bitter perſecution as is paſſing to be tolde: Sathan ſtill ſhooting at this marke, to make them to vtter ſome blaſphemy by all meanes poſſible. Marueilous therefore was the rage both of the people & Prince, ſpecially againſt one Sanctus, which was Deacon of the congregation of Vienna, and agaynſt Maturus, being but a litle before baptiſed, but yet a worthy ſouldiour of Chriſt, and alſo againſt Attalus, being borne in Pergama, which was the foundation and pyller of that congregation, and alſo againſt Blandina, by whome Chriſt ſheweth, that thoſe things which the world eſteemed vyle and abiect, to be glorious in Gods ſight, for the very loue which in hart and deede they beare vnto him, not in outward face onely. For when all we were afrayd, & ſpecially her miſtres in fleſh, who alſo was her ſelfe one of the nūber of the foreſayd martirs, leaſt happely for the weakenes of body ſhe woulde not ſtande ſtrongly to her confeſſion, the foreſaid Blandina was ſo repleniſhed with ſtrength & boldnes, that they which had the tormenting of her by courſe from morning to night, for very werines gaue ouer & fell downe, & were themſelues ouercome, confeſſing that they could do no more againſt her, & marueiled that yet ſhe liued hauing her body ſo torne and rent. And teſtified that any one of thoſe torments alone without any moe had ben inough to haue plucke the life from her body. But that bleſſed woman, fighting this worthy battell, became strōger & ſtronger, (& as often as ſhe ſpake theſe words) I am a Chriſtian, neither haue we commi tted any euill) it was to her a marueilous comfort and bolding to abide the torments.

The rage of the Heathen againſt the Chriſtians.

The cruell handling and great patience of *Blandina.*

Sanctus alſo another of the Martyrs, who in the middeſt of his tormentes, induring more paines, then the nature of a man might away with, alſo at what time ye wicked ſuppoſed, to haue heard him vtter ſome blaſphemous words, for the greatnes & intollerablenes of his torments & paines, that he was in, abode notwithſtanding in ſuch conſtancy of mind, that neither he told them his name, nor what countryman he was, nor in what Citie brought vp, neither whether he was a free man or a ſeruaunt, but vnto euery queſtion yt was aſked him, he aunſwered in the Latine toung, I am a Chriſtian, and this was al that he confeſſed both of his name, citie, kinred, and all other thinges in the place of execution, neither yet could the Gentils, get any more of him: whereupon both the Gouernour & tormentours, were the more vehemently bent againſt him. And when they had nothing to vexe him with all, they clapped plates of Braſſe red hote, to ye moſt tendereſt parts of his body, wherewith his body indede being ſchorched, yet he neuer ſhronke for the matter, but was bold and conſtant, in his confeſſion, being ſtrengthened and moyſtened with the fountaine of liuely water, flowing out of Chriſts ſide. Truely his body was a ſufficient witnes, what tor-

Sanctus a Martyr.

The notable conſtancy of *Sanctus.*

The cruell tormentors of Sanctus.

ments

mentes he ſuffered for it was all drawne together and moſt pitifully wounded and ſcoarched, ſo that it had therwith loſt the proper ſhape of a man, in whoſe ſuffering Chriſt obtained vnpeakeable glory, for that he ouercame his aduerſary, and to the inſtruction of other declared, that nothing els is terrible, or ought to be feared where the loue of God is, nor nothing greeuous, wherein the glory of Chriſt is manifeſted.

A miraculous working of God.

And when thoſe wicked men, began after a certayne time againe to torment the Martyr, & hoped well to bring it to paſſe, that either they ſhould ouercome him in cauſing him to recant, by reiterating his torments, now whē his body was ſo ſore & ſwollen, that he might not ſuffer a man to touch him with his hande, or els that if hee died vnder their handes, yet that thereby they ſhould ſtrike ſuch feare into the harts of the reſt, to cauſe them to deny Chriſt. But they were not only diſappointed herein, but alſo contrary to the expectation of men, his bodye was in the latter puniſhment & torments ſuppled & reſtored, and toke the fyrſt ſhape and vſe of the members of the ſame, ſo that the ſame his ſecond torment was by the grace of Chriſt (in ſteede of puniſhment) a ſafe medecine.

Byblydes an holy Martyr.

Eculens ad quintum feramen. Diuers Martyrs ſtrangled in priſon.

Other martyrs dyed in priſon.

Alſo Sathan now thinking to haue ſetteled himſelfe in the hart of one Byblides, being one of them which had denied Chriſt, and thinking to haue cauſed her, beyng a weake and feable woman in faith, to haue damned her ſoule, in blaſpheming the name of God, brought her to the place of execution: inforcing to wreſt ſome wicked thing out of the mouth of the Chriſtians. But ſhe in midle of her torments, returning to her ſelfe, and waked as it were out of her dead ſlepe, by that temporall paine, called to her remembraunce the paynes of hell fire, and againſt all mens expectations reuiled the tormentors, ſaying. How ſhould we Chriſtians eate young infants (as ye reported of vs) for whom it is not lawfull to eate the bloud of any beaſt? Vpon that ſo ſoone as ſhe had confeſſed her ſelfe to bee a Chriſtian, ſhe was Martyred with the reſt. Thus when Chriſt had ended thoſe tyrannicall torments, by the patience & ſufferaunce of our Saintes, the diuell yet inuented other engynes and inſtruments. For when the Chriſtians were caſt into priſon, they were ſhut vp in darke and ougly dongeons, and were drawne by the feete, in a racke or ingine made for that purpoſe, euen vnto the fift hole. And many other ſuch puniſhmentes ſuffered they which the furious miniſters ſtirred vp with deuiliſh furye, are wont to put men vnto: ſo that very manye of them were ſtrangled & killed in the priſons, whom the Lorde in thys maner would haue to enioy euerlaſting life, & ſet forth his glory. And ſurely theſe good men were ſo pitifully tormented, that and if they had had all the helpe, & medicines in the world, it was thought impoſſible for them to lyue, & to be reſtored. And thus they remaining in priſon deſtitute of al humaine helpe, were ſo ſtrengthened of the Lord, and both in body and minde confirmed, that they comforted & ſtirred vp the myndes of the reſt, the yonger ſorte of them, whiche were latter apprehended, & put in priſon, whoſe bodies had not yet felt yͤ laſh of yͤ whip, were not able to indure yͤ ſharpneſſ of their impriſonment, but died of yͤ ſame.

Photinus a bleſſed martyr.

The rage of the people agaynſt *Photinus*.

The bleſſed Photinus, who was Deacon to the biſhop of Lyons, about .90. yeares old, and a very feeble or weake man, & could ſcarſely draw breath for the imbecilitie of his body: yet was he of a liuely courage & ſpirit. For the great deſire he had of martyrdome, when he was brought vnto the iudgement ſeate: although his bodye was feeble and weake, both becauſe of his old age, and alſo through ſicknes, yet was his ſoule or life preſerued to this purpoſe, that by the ſame Chriſt might triumph & be glorified. He, being by the ſouldiers brought to the place of iudgement, many Citizens & men of great ability following him, and the whole multitude cried vpon him diuerſly, as though he had beene Chriſt himſelfe, gaue a good teſtimony. For being demaunded of the chiefe ruler, what was the Chriſtian mans God, he aunſwered: If thou be worthy to know thou ſhalt know. He being with theſe wordes ſomewhat neere touched, cauſed him to be very ſore beaten. For thoſe that ſtood next him, did him all the ſpit & diſpleaſure yͭ they could both with hand and foote, hauing no regarde at all to his olde age or white heares. And they which were further of, whatſoeuer came next to hande, they threwe at him, & euery man thought yͭ he did very wickedly refraine that withheld his hande from not doing the like. For by this meanes they thought that they did reuenge the quarell of their Gods. Photinus, now euen as it were gaſping after life, was throwen into priſon, and within two daies after dyed.

The comfort of the godly ſtanding to their confeſsion. The denyers of their confeſsion comfortles and notwithſtanding puniſhed.

And here is the mighty prouidence of God, and the vnſpeakable mercy of Ieſus Chriſt declared, which prouidence being aſſured amongeſt al eternity, is neuer deſtitute of the aide of Ieſus Chriſt. For thoſe which in their firſt perſecution denied Chriſt, they alſo were put in pryſon, and made pertakers of the others affliction. Neither yet did it any whit at all at that time helpe them that had denied Chriſt, but they which confeſſed him, were impriſoned as chriſtians, neither was there any other crime obiected againſt them, but the other ſort taken like homicides and wicked doers, were layd hand on, and had double more puniſhment then the others had. Theſe mē were refreſhed with the ioy of martyrdome, the hope of Gods promiſes, the loue toward Chriſt, and the ſpirite of God: The other their conſciences accuſed them, & that very ſore in ſo much that by their gate, their countenaunces bewrayed vnto the reſt their giltie conſciences. For the Chriſtians went forth hauing cheerefull countenaunces, very much adourned with glory and grace, inſomuch that the verye bondes wherewith they were tyed, ſet them out as men in ſeemely apparel: and like as brides when they be decked in gorgeous and gay garmentes, and therewithal laud ed as of the redolent ſmell of Chriſt, ſo that it might be ſuppoſ d them to be annointed with ſome ſwete baulme: whereas the other were doubtfull and ſad, abiect, ſorowed, filled, to al ſhame, and furthermore rebuked of the Gentils themſelues, as wretches, degenerate, hauing the crime of homicid and deſtitute of the moſt precious, glorious, and liuely calling of the Chriſtian name. And truly by theſe ſightes the reſt were confirmed, & being apprehended, confeſſing chriſt without any ſtickering, not hauing ſo much as yͤ thought of any ſuch deuiliſh minde of denial. And in the ſame Epiſtle of the foreſayd brethren of Fraunce, writing to the brethren of Aſia, it followeth in this maner: After theſe things done, the Martirdome of theſe holy Saintes were deuided diuerſly, into diuers kindes and formes, as the offering to God the Father a garland decked with diuers and ſundry kindes of colours and flowres. For it ſo behoued the worthy Champions of God, after they had ſuffered diuers kindes of tormentes, and ſo winning a triumphaunt victory to obtaine great reward of immortalitie.

The ſpitefull handling of Gods people.

Maturus and Sanctio Martyred.

Then Maturus Blandina, and Attalus together were brought to the cōmon ſcaffolde, there in the face of the people to be caſt & deuoured of the beaſts. And Maturus with Sanctus being brought yͤ ſecond time to the ſcaffolde, ſuffered againe all kinde of torments, as though hetherto they had ſuffered nothing at all, yea rather as though yͤ aduerſarye being oftentimes put to the worſt, they as ſtriuyng for the crowne, ſuffered againe more ſcourginges, the tearing of wilde beaſtes, & what thing els ſoeuer the frantike people on euery ſide cryed for and willed. And aboue al the reſt they brought an yron chayre, in the which their bodies being ſet, were ſo fryed and ſcorched as on a gridiron fried vpon the coales, filled with the ſauour of the frying all the people that ſtode by. And yet for all that the tormentours ceaſed not, but waxed more fierce and mad againſt thē, laboring to ouercome the patience of the Saints. Notwithſtanding al this they could not get out of Sanctus mouth any other thing but the confeſſion which at the beginning he declared. And thus theſe holy men, after they had long continued aliue in this their moſt horrible conflicte, at the length were ſlaine, being made al that whole day a ſpectacle vnto the worlde in place and in ſtede of the games and ſightes, which were woont to be exhibited to the people. And thus much concerning Maturus and Sanctus.

Blandina brought forth agayne.

Now concerning Blandina, who being faſtened vpon a ſtake, was caſt to the rauening beaſtes to be deuoured, which thing was not done without the determinate wyll of God: to this ende that while ſhe ſeemed to hang vpon a croſſe (as it were) by the feruentnes of her praier, ſhe much cōforted the reſt of the ſaints, as beholding vnto her chriſt, with their bodily eyes, which in that agonie ſuffered for them all, and that al which beleue in him, and ſuffer for the glory of Chriſt, might be aſſured to liue with him for euer. And when they ſawe that no beaſt woulde come neare her thus hanging, they toke her downe from the tree, and caſt her againe into priſon till an other time, that ſhe hauing yͤ victory of many battels, might triumphe ouer that ougly Serpent the deuill, & that ſhe being a weake and ſely woman, and not regarded, armed with Chriſt the inuincible conquerour, might incourage her brethren, and by the induring of this battaile might winne a crowne of incorruptible glory.

Now to Attalus, who being alſo required and cald for of the people to puniſhment, already prepared (for his conſcience ſake) commeth forth to the fight. For he being worthely exerciſed in the Chriſtian profeſſion, was alwayes a witnes and a mayntayner of our doctrine. Therfore when the preſſe of people was about the ſcaffolde, and the table

caried

Attalus commaunded to pryſon.

The denyers returning agayne to their confeſsion.

Alexander. the Phrigian Martyred.

caried before him, wherein was written in the Romayne toung. This is Attalus the Chriſtian. Then the people were in a marueilous rage againſt him, but the gouernor vnderſtanding yͤ he was a Romane, commaunded him againe to priſon, with the reſt of his priſon fellowes: whereof he wrote to the Emperour, and waited for aunſwere what his pleaſure herein was. The priſoners were not ydle in yͤ meane ſeaſō, nor vnprofitable to their brethrē, but by their patience the vnſpeakable mercy of Chriſt ſhined out. For thoſe which were dead before, were now reuiued by them that liued and they which were Martyrs, profited them which were none, & the Church did much reioyce, as receiuing them againe aliue, whō ſhe had loſt before as dead For many of them which before had denied, now by theyr denial were reſtored and ſtirred vp, and learned to be confeſſours. And now being reuiued and ſtrengthned, and taſting the ſweetenes of him which deſireth not the death of a ſinner, but is mercifull to the penitent, came of their own accorde to the iudgement ſeate againe, that they might bee examined of the Iudge. And for that the Emperour had written backe againe to him, that all the confeſſors ſhould be puniſhed and the other let go, and that the Seſſions or Siſes were now begun, which for the multitude that had repayre thether out of euery quarter, was marueilous great: he cauſed all the holy martirs to be brought thether, that the multitude might beholde them, & once againe examined them, and as many of them as he thought had the Romane fredome, he beheaded, the reſidue he gaue to the beaſtes to be deuoured. And truely Chriſt was much glorified by thoſe which a little before had denied him, which againe contrary to yͤ expectation of the Infidels, confeſſed him euen to the death. For they were examined a part frō the reſt, becauſe of their deliuery, which being found Confeſſours, were ioined to the company of the martirs, & had with them their part. But there were then abroade, which had no faith at all, neither yet ſo much as the feeling of the wedding garment, nor any cogitation at all, of the feare of God, but blaſphemed his waies, by the lewd conuerſatiō of their life, euen ſuch as were the children of damnation. Al the reſidue ioined thēſelues to the congregation: which whē they were examined one Alexander a phrigian, borne, and a Phiſition, which had dwelt long in Fraunce, and knowen almoſt of euery man, for the loue he had to God, & boldnes of ſpeaking (neither was he voide of the Apoſtolicall loue) this Alexander ſtanding ſomewhat neare to the barre, by ſignes and beckes perſwaded ſuch as were examined to confeſſe Chriſt: ſo that by his countenaunce ſomtime reioiſing, and ſome other while ſorrowing, he was deſcryed of the ſtanders by. The people not taking in good part to ſee thoſe which now recanted, by and by againe to ſticke to their firſt confeſſion, they cried out againſt Alexander, as one that was the cauſe of all this matter. And when he was inforced by the Iudge and cōmaunded what Religion he was of, he aunſwered: I am a Chriſtian. He had no ſooner ſpoken the worde, but he was iudged to the beaſtes, of them to be deuoured.

The worthy pacience and conſtancie of *Attalus.*

The next day following, Attalus, of whome I made mention a litle before, and Alexander, were brought forth together (for the gouernour graunting Attalus vnto the people, was baited againe of the beaſts.) when theſe men were brought to the ſcaffold, and had taken a taſt of all the inſtruments that there were prepared for their execution, and had ſuffered the greateſt agonie they could put thē to, were alſo at the length ſlaine: Of whome Alexander neuer gaue ſo much as a ſigh, nor held his peace, but frō the bottome of his hart praiſed and praied to the Lorde. But Attalus when he was ſet in the yron chaire, and began to frye, and the frying ſauour of his burning body began to ſmell, he ſpake to the multitude in yͤ Romane language: Behold (ſayth hee) this is to eate mans fleſh which you doe, for we neither eate men, nor yet cōmit any other wickednes. And being demaunded what was the name of their God: our God (ſaith he) hath no ſuch name as men haue. Then ſaid they, now let vs ſee whether your God can helpe you, and take you out of our handes or not.

Blandina and *Ponticus* agayne brought forth.

Ponticus Martyred.

Blandina Martyred.

Apoc. 11.

After this, being the laſt day of the ſpectacle, Blandine againe, & one Pōticus, a child of xv. yeare old was brought forth, and this was euery day, to the intent they ſeing the puniſhment of their fellowes, might be compelled thereby to ſweare by their Idoles. But becauſe they conſtantly abode in their purpoſe, & defied their idols, the whole multitude was in a rage with them, neither ſparing the age of the child, nor fauoring the ſexe of the woman, but put them to all the puniſhment and paine they could deuiſe, & often times inforced them to ſweare, & yet were not able to cōpel them thereunto. For Ponticus ſo being animated of his ſiſter, as the Heathnikes ſtanding by did ſee, after he had ſuffered all torments and paynes gaue vp the ghoſt. This bleſſed Blandina therefore being the laſt that ſuffered, after ſhe had like a worthy mother giuen exhortations vnto her children, and had ſent them before as conquerours to their heauenly king, and had called to her remembraunce al their batels & conflicts, ſo much reioiced of her childrens death, & ſo haſtened her owne, as though ſhe had bene bidden to a bridall, & not in caſe to be throwne to the wilde beaſtes. After this her pittifull whipping, her deliuery to yͤ beaſts, & her tormentes vpon the gridiron, at the length ſhe was put in a net, and throwne to the wild Bull, and when ſhe had bene ſufficiently gored & wounded with the hornes of the ſame beaſt, & felt nothing of all that chaunced to her, for the great hope and conſolation ſhe had in Chriſt & heauenly thinges, was thus ſlaine, inſomuch that the verye Heathen men themſelues confeſſed that there was neuer woman put to death of them that ſuffered ſo much as this woman did. Neither yet was their furious crueltie thus aſſwaged againſt the Chriſtians. For the cruel barbarous people, like wilde beaſtes when they be moued, knew not when the time was to make an ende, but inuented new & ſundry torments euery day againſt our bodies. Neyther yet did it content thē when they had put the Chriſtians to death, for yͤ they wanted the ſenſe of men: for which cauſe both the magiſtrate & people were vexed at the very harts that the ſcripture might be fulfilled, which ſaith, he that is wicked, let him be wicked ſtil, and he that is iuſt let him be more iuſt. For thoſe which in their priſons they ſtrangled they threw after to the dogs ſetting keepers both day and night to watch them, that they ſhoulde not be buryed, and bringing forth the remnaunt of their bones & bodies, ſome halfe burnt, ſome left of the wilde beaſts, & ſome al to be mangled, alſo bringing forth heads of other which were cut of, and like maner committed by them to the charge of the keepers to ſee them remaine vnburied.

The Gentiles grinded & gnaſhed at the Chriſtians with their teeth, ſeeking which way they might amplifie their puniſhment: ſome other flouted and mocked them, extolling their idoles, attributing vnto them the cauſe of thys crueltie and vengeaunce ſhewed to vs. Such which were of the meeker ſort, and ſeemed to be moued with ſome pyty, did hit vs in the teeth, ſaying, where is your God, that you ſo much boaſt of: & what helpeth this your religion: for which you giue your liues? These were the ſundrye paſſions and affects of the Gentiles, but the Chriſtians in the meane while were in great heauines, that they might not burye the bodies and reliques of the holy Martirs. Neither could the dark night ſerue them to that purpoſe, nor any intreaty, nor waging them with money, whiche were appointed for watchmen: but they ſo narowly loked vnto the matter, as though they ſhould haue gotten great benefite and profite thereby.

Thus were the bodies of the martirs made a wonderyng ſtocke, and laye ſixe dayes in the open ſtreetes, at the length they burned them, & threwe their aſhes into yͤ riuer of Rods, ſo that there might appeare no remnaunt of thē vpō the earth. And this did they as though they had beene able to haue pulled god out of his ſeat, & to haue let the regeneration of the Saintes, and taken from them the hope of the reſurrection, whereof they being perſwaded (ſayd they) bring in this newe and ſtraunge Religion, and ſet thus light by death and puniſhment. Atque hæc: hæc ex Epiſtola Viennenſium. &c.

Iuſtinus.

Priſcus Bachius. *Iuſtinus* father.

Iuſtine deſirous of Philoſophy.

Amongeſt other that ſuffered vnder Antoninus, mention was made alſo of Iuſtinus, who as it is ſaid before, exhibited two Apologies, concerning the defence of chriſtian doctrine, the one to the Senate of Rome, and the other to Antoninus Pius the Emperour, cōcerning whoſe ſuffering, and the cauſes therof is partly before declared: this Iuſtine was borne in Neapoli, in the countrey of Paleſtine, whoſe father was Priſcus Bachius, as he himſelſe doth teſtifie. By whom in his youth he was ſet to ſchole to learne, wherin proceſſe of time he became a famous and worthy Philoſopher, of whoſe excellency many learned & notable men doe record, For firſt, he being altogither inflamed and rauiſhed with deſire of knowledge, would in no wiſe be ſatiſfied in his mind, before he had gotten inſtructors ſingularly ſeene in all kinde of Philoſophy, whereupon he writeth of himſelfe in the beginning of his Dialogue Cum Tripone, thus declaring, that in the beginning he being deſirous of that ſect and ſocietie, applied himſelſe to be the ſcholer to a certaine Stoicke, & remaining with him a time, when he nothing profited in diuine knowledge (wherof the Stoicke had no ſkill, and affirmed the knowledge therof not to be neceſſary) he forſoke him, and went to another of the ſect of the Pereparetick, a ſharp witted man, as he thought with whom after he had beene a while, he demaunded of him a

pende

Iuſtine proueth all ſectes of Philoſophy.

Iuſtine a *Platoniſt.*

The end of *Plato* hys Philoſophy.

Ex Euſeb. lib.4.cap.8.

Iuſtine beginneth to fauour Chriſten Religion.

Iuſtine goeth into deſert.

Iuſtinus miraculouſly conuerted by an olde man.

The vanity of the olde Philoſophers reproued.

The doctrine of the Prophetes commended.

The vtilitie of reading the Prophetes.

ſtipende for his teaching, for the better confirmatiõ of their familiaritie. Whereupon Iuſtine accõpting him as no Philoſopher left him, & departed. And yet not ſatiſfied in mind but deſirous to heare of further learning in Philoſophye, adioyned himſelfe to one that profeſſed ẏ Pithagorian ſect, a man of great fame, and one who made no ſmall accompt of himſelfe. Who after he had followed a time, his maiſter, demaunded of him whether he had any ſight in Muſicke, Aſtronomy, and Geometry, wythout the ſight of whiche ſcience, he ſaide he coulde not be apte to receiue the knowledge of vertue and felicitie, vnles before he had vſed to apply his minde from ſenſible matters to the contemplation of things intellible. And ſpeaking much in the commendation of theſe ſciences, how profitable and neceſſary they were: after that Iuſtine had declared him ſelfe not to bee ſene therin, the Philoſopher gaue him ouer, which greued Iuſtine not a little, & ſo much the more becauſe he thought his maſter to haue ſome knowledge in thoſe ſciences. After this Iuſtine conſidering with himſelfe what time was requiſite to the learning of theſe ſciences, and thinking not to differre any longer, thought beſt to reſort to the ſecte of the Platoniſtes for the great fame that ran of them: wherefore he choſe vnto him a ſinguler learned man of that ſecte, which lately was come to thoſe parties & ſo remaining wͭ him ſeemed to profite not a litle in contemplation of ſupernall things, & inuiſible formes, inſomuch that he thought ſhortly to aſpire to ſuch ſharpnes of witte and wiſedome, that out of hand he might atchiue to the comprehenſion & contẽplation of god, which is the end of Plato his Philoſophie. And in this maner he beſtowed his youth: but afterward he growing to a riper age, howe & by what meanes the ſaid Iuſtine came to the knowledge & profeſſion of chriſtianitie, it foloweth likewiſe in his ſaide firſt Apologie: where he affirmeth of him ſelfe (as witneſſeth Euſebius in his fourth booke) that when he did behold the chriſtians in their tormentes and ſufferinges to be ſo conſtaunt in theyr profeſſion, was therwith marueilouſly moued: after this maner reaſoning with himſelfe, that it was impoſſible for that kinde of people to be ſubiect to any vice or carnalitie, which vices of their owne nature are not able to ſuſtayne any ſharpe aduerſitie, much leſſe the bytterneſſe of death. The ſight wherof helped him not a litle (being of his own nature inclined to the ſearching of true knowledge & vertue) to begin thereby to loue and imbrace Chriſtian Relygion, for ſo he doth witnes of himſelfe in the ende of ẏ fyrſt Apologie: ſignifiyng there how it was his ſeking and indeuor to attaine to Chriſtianitie: Underſtanding how the Chriſtians by malice of wicked perſons were cõpelled to ſuffer wrong and tormentes, and to be euill ſpoken of. By ſight wherof, as he ſaith himſelfe, he became a Chriſtian, through this occaſion, for being thus afflicted in his minde as is aforeſaid, it came in his head for his more quietnes to go aſide to ſome deſert and ſolitary place void of concourſe of people, vnto a village or graſige neare to ẏ ſea ſide: whither as he approched, thinking there to be al alone, there meeteth with him an old auntient father of a comly viſage and gentle behauior, who folowing him a litle of began to reaſon with him, where after lõg diſputation, when ẏ old man had declared vnto him that there was no knowledge of truth amongſt the Philoſophers, which neither knewe God, neither were aided by the holy Ghoſt: & further had reaſoned wͭ him of ẏ immortality of ẏ ſoule, of the reward of the godly, & puniſhment of the wicked: then Iuſtine being confirmed with his reaſons and arguments, yelded to him of his owne accorde, and demaunded of him by what meanes he might attaine to that true knowledge of God, wherof he had ſpoken. Who then counſailed him to read & ſearche the Prophetes, adioyning therewith prayer: but what maſter, quoth Iuſtine ſhould I vſe for the inſtruction therof. & who ſhalbe able to helpe vs if theſe philoſophers (as you ſay) lacke the truth, & are voide of the ſame? To whom the old father aunſwering, there haue bene ſaide he many yeres before theſe philoſophers, other more aũtient then all theſe, which beyng accompted for Philoſophers were iuſt and beloued of God: who ſpake by the ſpirite of God, foreſeing and propheſiyng theſe thinges which wee ſee now come to paſſe, & therfore they are called Prophets. Theſe only haue knowen the truth and reueled it to men, neither fearing nor paſſyng for any: who were ſeduced wͭ no opinions of mans inuention, but only ſpake & taught thoſe things which they themſelues both heard and ſawe, being inſpired with the holy ſpirit of god: whoſe writings and works yet to this day remaine. Out of which the reader may receiue great profite & knowledge of thinges, as concerning the firſt creation of the worlde & end of ẏ ſame, with al other things neceſſary to be knowne of euery true Philoſopher which wil giue credite vnto them. Neither in their teaching they do vſe any demonſtration, as being more certaine of themſelues, then that they neede any ſuch demonſtration to be made. For aſmuch as the accomplyſhing and the end of things both paſte, & now preſent conſtraineth vs of neceſſitie to beleue the wordes and doctrine which they taught: which men not only therefore are to be beleued, but alſo for their miracles and wonders done are worthy of credite, for that they both preached of God the maker and creator of all thinges: And alſo did propheſye before of Chriſt his ſonne to be ſent of him. The which the falſe Prophets being ſeduced with falſe and wicked ſpyrits, neither haue done, nor do, but onely take vpon them to worke certaine prodigious wonders for men to gaſe at, ſetting out thereby to the worlde falſe & vncleane ſpirites: But then afore all thinges make thy prayer, that ẏ gate of light may be opened vnto thee, for otherwiſe theſe things cannot be attained vnto of euery man, but onely of ſuch, to whom God and his Chriſt giueth vnderſtanding. Theſe thinges with much more (which now leaſure ſerueth not, to proſecute) after the foreſaid old father had declared vnto him he departed: exhortyng him well to follow the things which he had ſpoken. And after that Iuſtine as he himſelfe witneſſeth, ſaw him no more. Immediatly after thys Iuſtine being all inflamed as with fyre kindled in his breaſt, began to conceiue a loue & zeale toward the Prophets and all ſuch as were fauoured of Chriſt. And thus he reuolning in his mind more and more theſe wordes, found onely this Philoſophie among all other profeſſions, both ſure and profitable, and ſo became he a Philoſopher, & in time by theſe meanes afterwards he was made a Chriſtian and Baptiſed. But where he receiued this holy Sacrament of Baptiſme, it is not read of, nor yet by what occaſiõ he left his country and came to Rome. This only we read in Ierome that he was in Rome, & there vſed certaine exerciſes which he called Diatribas, diſputing there with Creſcens, a Cinycal philoſopher, as is before touched. But this is certaine how that Iuſtine after he had receaued the profeſſiõ of Chriſtian Religiõ, became an earneſt defẽder of the ſame, trauelling and diſputing againſt al the aduerſaries therof fearing neither peril of life nor daunger of death whereby he might maintaine the doctrine of Chriſt, againſt the malicious blaſphemers and alſo augment the number of Chriſtian beleuers. As may appeare by his vehement diſputations againſt ẏ heathen Philoſophers. Alſo moreouer aſwell appeareth in that long diſputatiõ which he had with one Tripho at Epheſus: as alſo in his confutations of heretikes. Furthermore his conflictes and Apologies which with great courage & ſecurity he exhibited againſt the perſecutors of the Chriſtians, both the Emperour and the Magiſtrates, yea and the whole Senate of Rome, doe teſtifie the ſame.

Prophetes to be credited for two cauſes.

Iuſtinus baptiſed.

Diatriba.

Iuſtinus an earneſt defender of Chriſt.

Two Apologies of *Iuſtinus.*

The ſumme of his Apologies.

Of the which Apologies the firſt he wrote to the Senate of Rome, and after to Antoninus Pius the Emperour as is before mentioned, where, in the fyrſt writing wyth great liberty to the Senate he declared: that of neceſſitie he was compelled to write and vtter his minde and conſciẽce to them. For that in perſecuting of the Chriſtians they did neglect their duety, and highly offended God, and therfore neede they had to be admoniſhed. And further writing to Vrbitius liefetenaunt of the Citie, ſayd, that hee put men to death and tormentes for no offence committed, but for the confeſſion onely of the name of Chriſt: which proceedinges and iudgementes neyther became the Emperour nor hys ſonne, nor the Senate: defending moreouer in the ſayd Apology and purgyng the Chriſtiãs of ſuch crimes as falſely were layd and obiected agaynſt them by the Ethnikes.

The ſecond Apology of *Iuſtine.*

And likewiſe in hys ſecond Apology writing to Antonius the Emperour and his ſucceſſours, with like grauity and free libertie, declareth vnto them how they had the name, cõmonly beyng reputed & taken as vertuous Philoſophers, mayntayners of iuſtice, louers of learning, but whether they were ſo, their actes declared. As for him neither for flattery nor fauour at their hands, he was cõſtrayned thus to write vnto them, but onely to ſue vnto thẽ and deſire a ſerious & righteous kind of dealing in their iudgements and ſentences. For it becommeth Princes to folow vprightnes & pietie in their iudgements, not tiranny and violence: & alſo in playne wordes chargeth as wel the emperour as the Senate with manifeſt wrong. For that they did not graunt the Chriſtians, that which is not denied to all other malefactors, iudging men to death not conuicted but onely for the hatred of the name: Other men which be appeached (ſaid he) in iudgement, are not condemned, before they are cõuicted: but on vs you take your name only for the crime, when as indede you ought to ſee iuſtice done vpõ our accuſers. And againe (ſaith he) if a Chriſtian being accuſed onely denie that name, him you releaſe beyng not able to charge him with any other offence. But if he ſtande to his name, onely for his confeſſion you may caſt him, where indeede it were your duety rather to examine their maner of life what thing they confeſſe or denye, and according to their demerites to ſee iuſtice done.

And in the ſame further he ſaith, you examine not the cauſes. but incenſed with raſh affections as with the ſpur of fury, ye ſlay & murder them not conuicted, without any reſpect of iuſtice. And further he addeth: Some peraduenture wil ſay certaine of them haue bene apprehended & taken in euill doinges, as though (ſaith he) you vſed to enquire vpō them being brought afore you, & not commonly to condemne thē before due examination of their offence for the cauſe aboue mentioned. Where alſo in the ende of yͤ ſaid Apology after this maner he reprehendeth thē. You do degenerate (quoth he) from the goodnes of your predeceſſours, whoſe exāple you followe not: for your father Adrian of famous memorye, cauſed to bee proclaymed that Chriſtians accuſed before the iudge, ſhould not be cōdemned, vnles they were found gilty of ſome notorious crime I finde that all his vehement and graue Apologie ſtādeth vpon moſt ſtrong & firme probations: denying yͭ the chriſtians ought by conſcience at the will & commaundement of the Emperour & Senate to doe ſacrifice to the Idols. For the which they being condemned, affirme yͭ they ſuffer open wrong: approuing moreouer that the true & only Religion, is the Religion of the Chriſtians: whoſe both doctrine and conuerſation hath no fault. Iuſtinus although with theſe and ſuch like perſwaſions did not ſo preuayle with the Emperour to cauſe him to loue his Religion & become a chriſtian (for that is not written) yet thus much he obtained, that Antoninus writing to his Officers in Aſia in the behalfe of the Chriſtians, required and cōmaunded them, that thoſe Chriſtians which onely were founde giltie of any treſpaſſe, ſhould ſuffer, and ſuch as were not conuicted, ſhould not therfore onely for the name be puniſhed, becauſe they were called Chriſtians. By theſe it is apparant with what zeale and faith this Iuſtinus did ſtriue againſt the perſecutors, which (as he ſaid) could kill onely but could not hurt.

The Lord take away this ſpirit of fury, condemning innocentes before they be conuicted.

This Iuſtinus by the meanes and malice of Creſcens the Philoſopher as is before declared, ſuffered Martyrdome vnder Marcus Antoninus Verus a little after that Polycarpus was martired in Aſia, as witneſſeth Euſebius. Lib. 4. Here is to be gathered how Epiphanius was deceiued in the time of his death, ſaying that he ſuffered vnder Ruſticus the preſident, and Adrian the Emperour, being of xxx. yeares of age, which indeede agreeth not neither with Euſebius, nor Ierome, nor Swide, nor other moe, which manifeſtly declare and teſtifie how he exhibited his Apology vnto Antoninus Pius which came after Adrian. Thus haſt thou good Reader the life of this learned & bleſſed martir although partly touched before, yet now more fully & amply diſcourſed, for the better commendatiō of his excellent & notable vertues of whoſe finall ende thus writeth Photius ſaying that he ſuffering for Chriſt died cheerefully & with honor.

Ex Euſeb. lib 4. Cap 16.
A place of *Epiphanius* found faulty.

Thus haue ye heard the whole diſcourſe of Iuſtinus and of the bleſſed Saints of Fraunce, Vetius, Zacharias, Sanctus, Maturus, Attalus, Blandina, Alexander, Alcibiades, with other, recorded and ſet forth by the writing of certaine Chriſtian brethren of the ſame Church & place of Fraunce. In the which foreſaid writing of theirs moreouer appeareth the great meekenes and modeſt conſtancie of the ſaid martirs deſcribed in theſe wordes: ſuch folowers were they of chriſt who when he was in the forme of God thought it no robbery to be equal with god, being in yͤ ſame glory with him, that they not once nor twiſe, but oft times ſuffered martyrdome, & taken againe from the beaſtes & bearing woundes tearinges and ſkarres in their bodies, yet neither woulde counte them ſelues Martirs, neyther woulde they ſuffer vs ſo to cal thē: but if any of vs either by word or letter woulde call them Martirs, they did vehementlye rebuke them: ſaying that yͤ name of martirdome was to be gyuen to Chriſt the faithfull and true martir, the firſt borne of the dead, & the captaine of life, teſtifiyng moreouer that martirdome belongeth to ſuch, who by their martirdome were already paſſed out of this life, and whom as chriſt by their worthy confeſſion hath receiued vnto him ſelfe and hath ſealed vp their Martirdome by their ende finiſhed: As for thē, which were not yet conſūmated, they (ſaid they) were not worthy the names of martirs, but only were humble and worthy confeſſours, deſiring alſo their brethren with teares, to praye without ceaſing for their confirmation. Thus they performing in deede that whiche belonged to true Martirs, in reſiſting the heathen with much lybertie, and great patience, without all feare of man, being repleniſhed with the feare of God, refuſed to be named of their brethren for martirs. And after in the ſaid writing it followeth more: they humbled themſelues vnder the mightye hand of God, by which they were greatly exalted. Then they rendred to all men a reaſon of their faith, they accuſed no man, they looſed all, they bounde none. And for them which ſo euill did intreate them, they praied, following the example of Stephen the perfect Martir, which ſayde: O Lord impute not their ſinne to them. And after againe: Neither did they proudly diſdaine againſt them which fell but of ſuch as they had, they imparted to them that lacked bearing toward them a motherly affection, ſhedding their plentifull teares for them to God the Father, and prayed for their life and ſaluation, and as God gaue it them, they alſo did communicate to their neighbours. And thus they as conquerers of all thynges departed to God. They loued peace, and leauing the ſame to vs, they went to God, neither leauyng any moleſtation to their mother, nor ſedition or trouble to their brethren, but ioye, peace, concorde, and loue to all.

Cū dignitate & latus pro Chriſto pertulit.
The ſinguler modeſty of the foreſayd Martyrs declared.
Ex Euſeb. lib. 5. cap. 2.

The holy Martyrs refuſe to be called Martyrs.

Out of the ſame writyng moreouer concernyng theſe Martyrs of Fraunce afore mentioned, is recorded alſo an other hiſtory, not vnworthy to be noted, taken out of the ſame booke of Euſebius. cap. 3. which hiſtory is this.

There was among theſe conſtaunt and bleſſed Martirs, one Alcibiades, as is aboue ſpecified: which Alcibiades euer vſed a very ſtraight diet, receiuing for his foode and ſuſtenaunce nothing els but only bread and water: when this Alcibiades now being caſt into priſon, went about to accuſtome the ſame ſtraightnes of diet, after his vſual maner before it was reueiled by God to Attalus afore mentioned, one of the ſaid company, being alſo the ſame time impriſoned after his firſt conflict vpon the ſcaffolde that Alcibiades did not well in that hee refuſed to vſe and take the creatures of God: & alſo thereby miniſtred to other a pernicious occaſion of offenſiue example. Whereupon Alcibiades being aduertiſed, & reformed, began to take al thinges boldly and with giuing thankes, whereby may appeare to all ſcrupulous conſciences, not only a wholeſome inſtrucion of the holy Ghoſt, but alſo here is to be noted how in thoſe dayes they were not deſtytute of the grace of God: but had the holy ſpirite of God to be their inſtructor, Hæc Euſeb.

Ex Euſeb. Lib. 5. ca. 3.
Alcibiades.
The ſtraite faſting of *Alcibiades* corrected by the holy Ghoſt.

A leſſon for ſcripulous conſciences.

The foreſaide martirs of Fraunce alſo the ſame tyme, commended Irenæus newly then made miniſter, with their letters vnto Eleutherus Biſhop of Rome: as witneſſeth Euſeb. in the x. chap. of the ſame booke, which Irenæus fyrſt was the hearer of Polycarpus, then made miniſter (as is ſayde) vnder theſe Martyrs. And after their death, made Byſhop afterward of Lyons in Fraunce and ſucceded after Photinus. Beſides this Iuſtinus there was alſo the ſame time in Aſia, Claudius Apolinaris, or Apolinarius Byſhop of Hierapolis, And alſo Melito Biſhop of Sardis an eloquent & learned man, much commended of Tertullian, who ſucceeding after the time of the apoſtles, in the reigne of this Antoninus Verus, exhibited vnto him, learned and eloquent Apologies, in defence of Chriſtes Religion, like as Quadratus and Ariſtides aboue mentioned, did vnto the Emperour Hadrian whereby they moued him ſomewhat to ſtay, the rage of his perſecution. In like maner did this Apolinaris and Melito (ſtirred vp by God) aduenture to defende in writing the cauſe of the chriſtians vnto this Antoninus. Of this Melito, Euſebius in his fourth booke making mention, excerpeth certaine places of his Apologie, in theſe wordes as followeth. Nowe ſaith he which was neuer ſeene before, the godly ſuffereth perſecution by occaſion of certaine Proclamations & Edictes proclaimed throughout Aſia, for vilanous Sichophantes, robbers & ſpoylers of other mens goods grounding them ſelues vpon thoſe Proclamations, and taking occaſion of them, robbe openlye night and daye, and ſpoyle thoſe which doe no harme: And it followeth after: which if it be done by your commaundement, be it ſo well done. For a good Prince wyll neuer commaund but good things. And ſo we wil be contented to ſuſtaine the honor of his death. This onely wee moſt humblye beſeech your Maieſtie, that callyng before you and examining the authors of this tumult and cōtention. then your grace would iuſtly iudge whether we are worthy of cruell death or quiet life. And then if it be not your pleaſure, and that it proceedeth not by your occaſion (which indeede againſt your barbarous enimies were to badde) the more a great deale we are petitioners to your hyghnes, that hereafter you wyll vouchſafe to heare vs thus ſo vexed and oppreſſed with theſe kinde of vylanous robberies. And verily our Philoſophy & doctryne did firſt among the barbarous take place, which doctrine fyrſt in the daies of Auguſtus your predeceſſor, when it did raygne and floriſh, thereby your Empire became moſt famous &

Irenæus newely made miniſter, and cōmended to *Eleutherius.*

Appollinarius and *Melito* exhibited Apologies to the Emperour for the Chriſtians.

Ex Euſeb. Lib. 4. cap. 26.
The ſumme of the Apologye of *Melito.*

The Chriſtians Religion began with the Empire of Rome.

fortunate:

Chriſten religion maketh common weales to floriſh.

fortunate: and from that time more and more the ſtate of the Romane Empire increaſed in honor whereof you moſt happely were made ſucceſſour, and ſo ſhall your ſonne to. Honor therefore this Philoſophie, which with your Empire ſprang vp and came in with Auguſtus whiche your progenitors aboue al other honored & moſt eſteemed. And verily this is no ſmall argumēt of a good beginning, that ſince our doctrine flouriſhed in the Empire, no misfortune or loſſe happened frō Auguſtus time: but contrary alwaies victory, good and honorable yeres, as euer any mā would wiſhe. Onely among all, and of all Nero and Domitian beyng kindled by diuers naughty and ſpitfull perſons cauillingly obiected againſt our doctrine, of whom this Sicophanticall ſlaundring of vs by naughty cuſtome firſt came and ſprang vp. But your godly fathers eſpying the ignoraunce of theſe, oftentimes by their writing corrected their temerous attemptes in that behalfe. Among whom your granfather Adrian to many other is read of, to haue wrytten of Fundayne the Proconſul and Lieutenāt of Aſia. And your father, your own father I ſay, with whom you ruled in al things, wrote to the Cities vnder his ſignet, as the Laerſens, Theſſalonicenſes, Athenienſes and Grecians raſhly to innouate or alter nothing of your highnes: therfore, who in this caſe is of that ſect as your predeceſſours were, yea & of a more benigne & Philoſophicall minde, we are in good hope to obtaine our peticion and requeſt.

The bookes of tho olde Teſtament autentike and receaued.

Thus much out of the Apologie of Melito, who writing to Oneſimus, geueth to vs this benefite to knowe the true Catalogue, & the names of al the autentike bookes of the olde Teſtament, receaued in the auncient time of the prymitiue Church. Concerning the number & names whereof the ſaid Melito in his letter to Oneſimus declareth, howe that he returning into the parts where theſe things were done and preached, there hee diligently inquired out the bookes approued of the old Teſtament, the names whereof in order he ſubſcribeth & ſendeth vnto him as followeth: The fiue bookes of Moſes, Geneſis, Exodus, Leuiticus, Numeri, Deuteronomi, Ieſus Naue, The Iudges, Ruth, Foure bookes of Kings: Two bookes Paralipomenon. The Pſalmes Prouerbes of Salomon The booke of Wiſedome: The Preacher. The ſong of ſongs. Iob. The Prophets, Eſay, Hieromie, twelue Prophetes in one booke, Daniel, Ezechiel, Eſdras. And thus much of thys matter, which I thought here to record, for that it is not vnprofitable for theſe latter times to vnderſtande what in the firſt times was receaued, and admitted as autentike, and what otherwiſe.

But from this little digreſſion to returne to our matter omitted, that is, to the Apologies of Apolinarius and Melito, in the ſtory ſo it followeth, that whether it was by the occaſiō of theſe two Apologies, or whether it was through the writing of Athenagoras a Philoſopher, and a Legate of the Chriſtians, it is vncertaine: but this is certaine that the perſecution the ſame time was ſtaid. Some do thinke, which moſt probably ſeeme to touch the truthe, that the cauſe of ſtaying this perſecution, did riſe vpon a wonderfull myracle of God, ſhewed in the Emperours campe by the Chriſtians the ſtory whereof is this: At what time the two brethren Marcus Antonius, and Marcus Aurelius Commodus Emperours, ioyning together, warred againſt the Quades, Vandales, Sarmates, and Germaines, in the expeditiō againſt them their army by reaſon of the imminent aſſault of their enimies, was cooped & ſhut in within the ſtraights and hoate dry places, where their ſouldiours beſides other difficulties of battaile, being deſtitute of water, fyue dayes, were like to haue periſhed, which dread not a little diſcomfited them, & did abate their courage. Wherin this their ſo great diſtreſſe and ieopardy, ſodainely wythdrew from the army a legian of the chriſtian ſouldiours for their ſuccour: who falling proſtrate vpon the earth, by ardent praier, by & by obtained of God double reliefe: by meanes of whom God gaue certaine pleaſaunt ſhowers from the element, whereby as their ſouldiors quenched their thirſt ſo were a great number of their enimies diſcomfited & put to flight by the continual lightnings which ſhooted out of the aire. This miracle ſo pleaſed & won the Emperour, that euer after he waxed gentler & gentler to the Chriſtians & directed his letters to diuers of his rulers, as Tertullian in his Apologie witneſſeth, commaūding thē therin to giue thankes to the Chriſtians, no leſſe for his victory, then for the preſeruation of him and all his men. The copy of which letter hereafter enſueth.

Ex Euſebio ibidem. A miraculous rayne obtayned by the Chriſtians.

¶ *Marcus Aurelius Antonius Emperour,*

to the Senate and people of Rome.

I Giue you hereby to vnderſtande, what I intend to doe, as alſo, what ſucceſſe I haue had in my warres in Germany, and with how much difficultie I haue viteled my campe, being compaſſed about with 74. fierce Dragons, whome my Scottes deſcryed to be within ix. miles of vs, and Pompeianus our Lieſetenaunt hath viewed as he ſignified vnto vs by hys letters: Wherefore I thought no leſſe but to be ouerunne and all my bandes of ſo great multitude, as well my vaward mayne warde as reere warde, with all my ſouldiours of Ephrata. In whoſe hoſt there were numbred of fighting men ix. hundreth ſeuenty and fiue thouſand. But when I ſaw my ſelfe not able to encounter with the enemy, I craued ayde of our countrey Gods, at whoſe hands I finding no comfort, and being driuen of the enemye vnto an exegent, I cauſed to be ſent for thoſe men which we call Chriſtians who being muſtred were found a good indifferent number, with whom I was in farther rage, then I had good cauſe, as afterwardes I had experience by their merueilous power, who forthwith did their indeuour, but without either weapon, munition, armour or trumpets, as men abhorring ſuch preparation and furniture but onely ſatiſfied in truſt of their God, whome they cary about with them in their conſciences. It is therefore to be credited, although we call them wicked men, that they worſhip God in their hartes. For they falling proſtrate vpon the ground, prayed not onely for me, but for the hoſt alſo, which was with me, beſeeching their God for helpe in that our extremitie of vittels and freſh water. For we had bene now v. dayes without water, and were in our enemies land, euen in the middeſt of Germany. who thus falling vppon their faces, made their prayer to a GOD vnknowne of me: and there fell amongeſt vs from heauen a moſt pleaſaunt and cold ſhower, but amongeſt our enemies a great ſtorme of hayle mixt with lightning ſo that immediately we perceiued the inuincible ayde of the moſt mighty God to be with vs. Therefore we geue thoſe men leaue to profeſſe Chriſtianitie, leaſt perhap by their prayer, we be puniſhed with the lyke, and thereby make my ſelfe the author of ſuch hurt as ſhalbe receiued by the Chriſtian profeſsion. And if any ſhall apprehend one that is a Chriſtian, onely for that cauſe: I will that he being apprended without puniſhment, may haue leaue to confeſſe the ſame, ſo that there be none other cauſe obiected agaynſt hym, more then that he is a Chriſtian: But let his accuſer be burned aliue. Neither will I that he confeſsing and being founde a Chriſtian, ſhalbe enforced to alter the ſame his opinion by the gouernour of any of our prouinces, but left to hys owne choyſe. And this decree of myne I will to be ratified in the Senate houſe, and commaund the ſame publiquely to be proclaymed and read in the Court of Traianus and that farther from thence it may be ſent into all our Prouinces by the diligence of Veratius gouernour of our Citie Polione. And further we geue leaue to all men to vſe and write out this our decree, taking the ſame out of our copie publiquely in the common Hall ſet forth.

Thus the tempeſtuous rage of perſecution againſt the Chriſtians began for a tyme to aſſwage partly by the occaſion hereof. partly alſo vpon other cauſes incident, cōpelling the enimies to ſurceaſe their perſecutiō, as great plagues & peſtilence lying vpon the countrie of Italy: lykewiſe great warres, as well in ẏ Eaſt partes, as alſo in Italy and Fraunce, terrible earthquakes great floods, noiſome ſwarmes of flies and vermine deuouring their corne fieldes, &c. And thus much of thinges done vnder Antoninus Verus which Antoninus in the beginning of his raygne ioyned with him in the gouernement of the Empire, hys brother Marcus Aurelius Commodus, who alſo was wyth hym at the miraculous victory gotten by the Chriſtiās, as Euſebius cap. 5. Lib. 5 recordeth. contrary Platina in vita Soteris, and the book intituled Flores hiſtoriarū, referre the ſame to the time of Antoninus verus, and his ſonne Lucius Antoninus Commodus, and not of Marcus Aurelius Commodus hys brother. But howſoeuer the truth of yeares doe ſtand, certaine it is, that after the death of Antoninus Verus, and of Aurelius Commodus, ſucceeded Lucius Antoninus, Commodus the ſonne of Verus who raigned 13. yeares.

Antoninus Verus. M. Aurelius Commodus Emperours. The diſcrepance betweene *Euſebius* and *Platina.*

{ Anno. 175. }

Quietnes geuen to the Church.

In the time of this Commodus, although he was an incōmodious Prince to the Senatours of Rome, yet notwithſtanding there was ſome quietnes vniuerſally through the whole Church of Chriſt from perſecution by what occaſion it is not certaine. Some thinke of whom is Xiphilinus that it came through Marcia the Emperours concubine, which fauoured the Chriſtians: but how ſoeuer it came ſaith Euſebius, the furye of the raging enimies was then ſomwhat mittigated. & peace was giuen by the grace of Chriſt, vnto the Church throughout the whole worlde. At what time the wholeſome doctrine of the Goſpel allured and reduced the harts of all ſortes of people, vnto the true Religion of God, inſomuch that many both rich and noble perſonages of Rome, with their whole families and houſholdes to their ſaluation, adioyned thē to the Church of Chriſt.

Appollonius Martyr.

Among whom there was one Apollonius, a noble man and a Senatour of Rome, mentioned in Euſebius. Lib. 5. ca. 21, who being maliciouſly accuſed vnto the Senate by one

Appollonius accuſed by hys owne ſeruaunt.

Apollonius exhibiteth an Apology of hys fayth to the Senate.

An old wicked lawe of the Romaines.

whom Hierome writeth to be the ſeruaunt of yͤ ſaid Apollonius, and nameth him Seuerus: but whoſe ſeruaunt ſoeuer he was, the wretched man came ſoone inough before the iudge, being condignely rewarded, for that his malicious diligence. For by a law which yͤ Emperour made that no man vpon paine of death ſhoulde falſely accuſe the Chriſtians, he was put to execution, & had his legs broken forthwith, by the ſentence of Perenninus the iudge, which being an heathen man, he pronounced againſt him: but the beloued martyr of God, when the iudge with much a doe had obtained of hym to render an accoũt before the honorable Senate of his faith, vnder whoſe defence and warrant of lyfe he did the ſame, deliuered vnto them an eloquẽt Apologie of the chriſtian beliefe: but the former warrant notwithſtanding, he by the decree of the Senate, was beheaded, and ſo ended his life: For that there was an auncient law among them decreed, that none that profeſſed Chriſt, and therefore araigned, ſhould be releaſed without recantation, or altering his opinion.

The ridiculous pride of the Emperour.

This Commodus is ſaid in ſtories to be ſo ſure & ſteddy handed in caſting the dart, that in the open Theatre before the people, he would encounter with the wild beaſts, and be ſure to hit them in place where he appointed. Among diuers other his vicious and wild parts he was to farre ſurpreſſed in pride & arrogancy, that he would be called Hercules, and many times would ſhewe himſelfe to the people in the ſkinne of a Lion, to bee counted thereby the king of men, like as the Lion is of the beaſtes.

Vincentius. Euſebius. Peregrinus. Potentianus. Martyrs.

Iulius a Senator conuerted to Chriſt. *Ex Vincen. lib. 10. cap 119. Henr. de Erfor.*

Vpon a certaine time being his birth day, this Commodus, calling the people of Rome togither, in a great roialtye hauing his lions ſkinne vpon him, made ſacrifice to Hercules & Iupiter, cauſing it to be cried through the Citty that Hercules was the patrone and defender of the Citye. There were the ſame time at Rome. Vincentius, Euſebius, Peregrinus, Potentianus, learned men, and inſtructors of the people, who folowing the ſteps of the Apoſtles, went about from place to place where the Goſpell was not yet preached, conuerting the Gentiles to the fayth of Chriſt, Theſe hearing the madnes of the Emperour & of the people, began to reproue their idolatrous blindnes, teaching in villages & townes al that heard them, to beleue vpon yͤ true and only God, and to come away from ſuch worſhipping of deuils, and to giue honor to God alone, which only is to be worſhipped, willing them to repent and to bee Baptiſed, leaſt they periſhed with Commodus. With thys their preaching, they conuerted one Iulius a Senatour and other to the Religion of Chriſt. The Emperour hearyng thereof, cauſed thẽ to be apprehended of Vitellus his Captaine, and to be compelled to ſacrifice vnto Hercules, which when they ſtoutly refuſed, after diuers greuous torments and great miracles by them done, at laſt they were preſſed with leaden waightes to death, Vincentius. Lib. 10. cap. 119. & Chron. Henr. de Erfordia.

Peregrinus ſent to Fraunce and Martyred at at Rome. *Ex Platina in Vita Sixti.*

This Peregrinus aboue mentioned had bene ſent before by Xiſtus Byſhop of Rome, into the parties of Fraunce, to ſupply there yͤ rowme of a Biſhop and teacher, by reaſon yͭ for the continuall and horrible perſecutions there aboue touched, thoſe places were left deſolat and deſtitute of miniſters and inſtructors, where after he had occupied hym ſelfe wͭ much frute among the flocke of Chriſt, and had ſtabliſhed the congregation there, returning home againe to Rome, there finiſhed at laſt (as it is ſaid) his martirdome.

Iulius with hys family baptiſed and after Martyred.

Now remaineth likewiſe to ſpeake of Iulius, which Iulius being as is afore deſcribed, a Senator of Rome, and now won by yͤ preaching of theſe bleſſed men, to the fayth of Chriſt, did eftſoones inuite them & brought them home to his houſe, where being by them more fully inſtructed in chriſtian religiõ, he beleued in the goſpel. And ſending for one Ruffinus a Prieſt, was with all his family by him baptiſed, who (not as the common ſort was wont to do) kept cloſe and ſecret his faith: but incenſed with a marueylous and ſincere zeale openly profeſſed the ſame: altogither wiſhing and praying to be giuen to him by God, not only to beleue in Chriſt, but alſo to haſarde his life for him. Which thing the Emperour hearing, how that Iulius had forſakẽ his old religion, and became a chriſtian, forthwith ſent for him to come before him, vnto whom he ſpake on this wiſe O Iuly, what madnes hath poſſeſſed thee, that this thou doeſt fall from the olde & common Religion of thy forefathers who acknowledged and worſhipped Iupiter & Hercules their gods, & now doeſt embrace a new & fond kind of Religion of the Chriſtians: At which time Iulius hauing good occaſion to ſhew and opẽ his faith gaue ſtraight way accompt thereof to him, and affirmed that Hercules & Iupiter were falſe Gods, & how the worſhippers of thẽ ſhould periſh with eternall damnation & puniſhmentes. Which the Emperour hearing, how that he condemned & deſpiſed his Gods, being then inflamed with a great wrath as he was by nature very cholericke, committed him forthwith to Vitellus, the maſter of the ſouldiours, a very cruell & fierce man, to ſee Iulius either to ſacrifice to mighty Hercules or refuſing the ſame to ſlea him. Vitellus as hee was commaunded) exhorted Iulius to obey the Emperors cõmaundement and to worſhip his Gods, Alledging how that the whole Empire of Rome was not onely conſtituted, but alſo preſerued and maintained by them. Which Iulius denied vtterly to do, admoniſhing ſharply in like maner Vitellus to acknowledge the true God, and obey hys commaundementes, leaſt he with his maiſter ſhould dye ſome greeuous death. Whereat Vitellus being moued, cauſed Iulius with cougels to be beaten vnto death.

Xiſtus Byſhop of Rome.

The triſling ordinaunces of *Xiſtus*.

S. Peter celebrated the Lordes ſupper onely with the Lords praier *Platina in Vita Sixti.*

The ordinaunce of *Xiſtus* ſuſpected.

Theſe things being thus briefly recited touching ſuch holy martirs, as hetherto haue ſuffered, nowe remayneth that wee returne againe to the order of the Romaine Byſhops ſuch as followed next after Alexander, at whome we left, whoſe ſucceder next was Xiſtus or Sixtus, the firt Byſhoppe counted after Peter, and gouerned that miniſterye the ſpace of x. yeares as Damaſcus & other do write. Vrſpergenſis maketh mention but of ix. yeares. Platina recordeth that he died a Martir, and was buried at Vaticane. But Euſebius ſpeaking of his diſceaſe, maketh no word mentiõ of any Martyrdome. In the 2. tome of the Councelles certaine Epiſtles be attributed to him, whereof Euſebius Damaſus, Hierome, and other olde authors, as they make no relation, ſo ſeeme they to haue no intelligence nor knowledge of any ſuch matter. In theſe coũterfeit epiſtles, & in Platina appeareth yͭ Xiſtus was the firſt author of theſe ordinaunces. Firſt that the holy miſteries and holy veſſels ſhoulde be touched, but onely of perſons holy and conſecrated, eſpecially of no woman, Itẽ that the corporas cloth ſhould be made of no other cloth, but of fine linnen. Item that biſhops ſuch as were called vp to the Apoſtolicke ſea, returning home againe, ſhould not be receiued at their returne, vnleſſe they brought with them letters from the biſhop of Rome, ſaluting the people. Itẽ, at the celebration he ordained to be ſong this verſe, Sanctus, Sanctus, Sanctus, Dominus Deus Sabaoth. Where moreouer is to be noted, that the ſaide Platina, in the life of thys Xiſtus, doeth teſtifie that Peter miniſtred the celebration of the cõmunion onlie wyth the Lordes prayer. Theſe tryflyng ordinaunces of Xiſtus, who is ſo rude that ſeeth not or may not eaſly cõiecture to be falſly fathered of Xiſtus, or of anye father of that time, firſt by the vniforme rudenes and ſtile of all thoſe decretal letters, nothing ſauouryng of that age, but rather of yͤ later dunſticall times that followed. Alſo by the matter and argument in thoſe leters contained, nothing agreeing with the ſtate of thoſe troubleſome daies. Neither againe is it to be ſuppoſed that any ſuch recourſe of biſhops was then to the Apoſtolicall ſea of Rome, that it was not lawfull to returne without their letters: when as the perſecution againſt the Chriſtians was then ſo hoate, in the daies of Hadrian that the Biſhoppes of Rome themſelues were more glad to flee out of the Citie, then other biſhops were to come to them vnto Rome. And if Xiſtus added the Sanctus vnto the Maſſe cannon, what peece then of the canon went before it, when they which put to the other patches came after Xiſtus: And if they came after Xiſtus that aded the reſt, why did they ſet their peeces before his, ſeing they yͭ began the firſt peece of the canon, came after him?

Teleſphorus Byſhop of Rome and Martyr.

The ordinaunces of *Teleſphorus*.

Lent faſt and the originall therof examined.

The ſame likewiſe is to be iudged of the Epiſtles & ordinaunces of Teleſphorus, who ſucceded next vnto Xiſtus, and being Biſhop of that congregation the terme of a 11, yeares, the firſt yeare of the raigne of Antoninus Pius, dyed Martyr, about the yeare of our Lorde. 138. His Epiſtle like vnto the reſt containing in it no great matter of doctrine, hath theſe ordinaunces: Firſt he cõmaundeth al that were of the Clergy to faſt and abſtaine from fleſh eatyng, vij. weekes before Eaſter. That three Maſſes ſhoulde bee ſaid vpon the Natiuity day of the Lord. That no lay man ſhould accuſe either biſhop or prieſt. He ordained moreouer Gloria in excelſis, to be added to the Maſſe, &c. but theſe things falſely to be fained vpon him may eaſely be coniectured. For as touching the vij. weekes faſt neither doth it agree with the old Romane terme cõmonly receaued, calling it Quadrageſima, that is the xl. daies faſt: neither with the example of our Sauiour, who faſted not ſeuen wekes but onely xl. dayes. Moreouer, as concernyng this xl. daies faſt, wee reade of the ſame in the Epiſtle of Ignatius, which was lõg before Teleſphorus: wherby it may appere that this Teleſphorus was not the firſt inuentour thereof. And if it be true, that is lately come out in the name of Abdias (but vntruſly, as by many coniectures may be proued) there is read, that in the daies of S. Mathewe this Lent, faſt of xl. dayes was obſerued long before Teleſphorus: by theſe wordes that followe: In the dayes ſayd he, either of Lente, or in the time of other lawfull faſtinges, he that abſtaineth not as well from the eating meate as alſo from yͤ mixture of bodies, doth incurre in ſo doing not onely pollution, but alſo cōmitteth offence, which muſt be waſhed away with the teares of repentaunce. Agayne, Apollonius, affirmeth that Montanus the heretike, was the firſt deuiſer and brynger in of theſe lawes of faſting into the Churche, which before was vſed to be free. Euſeb. Lib. 5. cap. 18. but eſpecially by Socrates, wryter of the Eccleſiaſticall ſtory, who lyued after the daies of Theodoſius, maye bee argued, that this vij. wekes faſt is falſely imputed to Teleſphorus. For Socrates in his firſt booke, ſpeaking of this time hath theſe wordes: Romani namque tres ante Paſcha ſeptimanas præter Sabbatum & Dominicam continuas ieiuuant, that is: the Romanes (ſaith he) doe faſt three weekes continually before Eaſter, beſide the Sabbaoth and the Sonday. And moreouer, ſpeaking of the diuers and ſundry faſtings of Lent in ſundry and diuers Churches, he addeth theſe wordes: And becauſe that no man can bring forth any commaundement written of this matter, it is therefore apparant, that the Apoſtles left this kind of faſt free to euery mans will and iudgement, leaſt anye ſhould be conſtrayned by feare and neceſſitie to doe that which is good, &c. With this of Socrates, agreeth alſo the wordes of Sozomenus, liuing much about yͤ ſame time, in his ſeuenth boke, where he thus writeth: The whole faſt of Lent (ſaith he) ſome comprehend in ſixe weekes, as doe the Illyrians, and the weſt churches, with al Libia, Egipt, & Paleſtina: ſome in vij. weekes, as at Cōſtantinople, & yͤ parties bordering to Phœnicia: other ſome in three weekes, next before the day of Eaſter, & ſome againe in ij. weekes. &c. By yͤ whiche it may be collected, yͤ Teleſph. neuer ordained any ſuch faſt of vij. wekes: whiche otherwiſe neither woulde haue ben neglected in Rome, & in yͤ weſt churches: neither againe woulde haue bene vnremembred of theſe auncient Eccleſiaſticall writers, if any ſuch thing had bene. The like is to be thought alſo of the reſt, not onely of his conſtitutions: but alſo of the other auntient Byſhops & Martyrs, which followed after him, as of Higinus. an. 142. who ſucceding him & dying alſo a Martyr, as Volateranus, Lib. 22. declareth, is ſaide or rather fained to bring in the creame, one Godfather and Godmother in Baptiſme, to ordayne the dedication of Churches: when as in his time ſo far it was of, that anye ſolemne Churches were ſtanding in Rome, that vnneth the Chriſtians could ſafely conuent in their own houſes. Likewiſe they diſtincting the orders of Metropolitanes, Byſhops, and other degres, ſauour nothing leſſe then of that tyme.

Montanus firſt brought in the lawes of faſting

Ex Euſeb. Lib. 5. cap. 18.

Ex Socrat. Eccleſ. Iuſt. Lib. 5. cap. 22.

Ex Sozomeno. lib. 7. cap. 19.

The ordinaunces of *Teleſphorus* falſely to him aſcribed.

Higynus Byſhop of Rome and Martyr.

Ex Volaterano Anthrop. Lib. 22.

Creame. One Godfather and Godmother in Baptiſme. Dedication of Churches.

After Higynus followed Pius, who as Platina reporteth was ſo preciſely deuout aboute the holye miſteries of the Lords Table, that if any one croome therof did fall downe to the grounde, he ordained that the Prieſt ſhoulde doe penaunce xl. daies. If any fell vpō the Superalter, he ſhould doe penaunce iij. daies: if vpon the linen Corporas cloth iiij. daies: if vpon any other linnen cloth. ix. daies. And if any drop of the bloude (ſaith he) ſhould chaunce be ſpilled, whereſoeuer it fell it ſhould be licked vp, if it were poſſible if not the place ſhould be waſhed or pared, & ſo being waſhed or pared, ſhould be burned and layd in the veſtry. All which toies may ſeeme to a wiſe man, more vaine and trifling, then to ſauour of thoſe pure and ſtraight times of thoſe holy Martyrs. This Pius (as is reported) was much conuerſaunt with Hermes called otherwiſe Paſtor. Damaſus ſaith he was his brother, but how is that like that Hermes being the diſciple of Paule, or one of the lx. diſciples, could be the brother of this Pius? Of this Hermes & of the reuelations the foreſaid Pius in his Epiſtle decretall (if it be not forged) maketh mentiō, declaring that vnto him appeared the aungel of God in the habite of a ſhepherde, commaunding him, yͤ Eaſter day ſhould be celebrated of al men vpō no other day, but vpon a ſonday, whereupon, ſaith the Epiſtle, Pius the Byſhop, by his authoritie Apoſtolicall, decreed and commaunded the ſame to be obſerued of al men.

Pius Byſhop of Rome.

The daungers of letting the holy miſteries fall from the Lordes Table.

The reuelation of *Hermes.*

The decretall Epiſtle of *Pius.*

Then ſucceeded Anicetus, Soter, and Eleutharius, about the yeare of our Lord. 180. This Eleutherius, at the requeſt of Lucius king of Britanes, ſent to him Damianus, and Fugatius, by whom the king was conuerted to Chriſtes faith, and baptiſed about the yeare of our Lorde 179. Nauclerus, Lib. Chro. Gen. 6. ſaith, it was, an. 156. Henr. de Erfodia, ſaith, it was, 169. in the xix. yeare of Verus the Emperour, ſome ſay it was in the vj. yeare of Commodus, which ſhoulde be about the yeare of our Lorde, 185. Timotheus in his ſtorye thinketh that Eleutherius came himſelf: but that is not like And as there is a variaunce among the writers for yͤ count of yeres: So doth there riſe a queſtion among ſome, whether Eleutherius was the firſt that brought the faith from Rome into this lande or not. Nicephorus, Lib. 2. cap. 4. ſaith that Symō Zelotes, came into Britaine. Some other alledge out of Gildas de victoria Aurel Ambroſi, that Ioſeph of Arimathie after the diſperſion of the Iewes, was ſent to Philip the Apoſtle from Fraunce to Britaine, about the yeare of our Lord 63. and here remained in this land al his time, and ſo with his fellowes laide the firſt foundation of chriſtian fayth among the Britaine people. Whereupon other preachers and teachers cōming afterwarde confirmed the ſame & increaſed it more. And therefore doth Petrus Cluniacenſis call the Scotiſhmen & ſo doth count them as more auntient Chriſtians. For the confirmation hereof might be alledged the teſtimonie of Origene, of Tertulian, and the wordes alſo of the letter of Eleutherius whiche importe no leſſe, but that the faith of Chriſt was here in Englande among the Britaine people, before Eleutherius time, & before the king was cōuerted, but hereof more ſhalbe ſpokē hereafter (Chriſt willing,) when after the tractation of theſe. x. perſecutiōs, we ſhal enter yͤ matter of our Engliſh ſtories.

Anicetus. Byſhop of Rome and Martyr.

Soter Byſhop.

Elutherius Byſhop.

England conuerted to the fayth of Chriſt.

Ex Nicep. lib. 2. cap. 4.

Ex Gildа de Victor. Aur. Ambroſ.

Whether this land of Brittaine receiued the Goſpell before kinge Lucius dayes.

About this time of Commodus aforementioned among diuers other learned men and famous teachers whō God ſtirred vp at that time (as he doth at all other times rayſe vp ſome) in his church, to confound yͤ perſecutors by learning and writing, as the Martirs to confirme the truth with their bloud, was Serapion Byſhop of Antioche, Egeſippus a writer of the Eccleſiaſticall hiſtorye from Chriſtes Paſſion to his time, as witneſſeth Hierome, & Euſebius Lib. 4. cap. 8. & 22. which bookes of his be not nowe remayning. And thoſe that be remaining (which be 5. de excidio Hieroſol.) be not mentioned neither of Hierome, nor of Euſebius Miltiades which alſo wrote his Apology in defence of chriſtian Religion, as did Melito Quadratus, and Ariſtides before mentioned. About yͤ ſame time alſo wrote Heraclitus, who firſt began to write annotations & enarrations vpon the newe Teſtament, and Epiſtles of the Apoſtles. Alſo Theophilus Byſhop of Cæſaria, Dionyſius Byſhoppe of Corinthe a man famouſly learned, which wrote diuers Epiſtles to diuers Churches, & among other writeth, exhorting Penitus a certaine Byſhop, Ne graue ſeruandæ caſtitatis onus neceſſario fratribus imponat, ſed multorum ſeſe imbecilitati attemperet, that is, that he would lay no yoke of chaſtitie of any neceſſity vpon his brethren: but that he would conſider the infirmitie of other, and beare with it. Euſeb. Lib. 4. cap. 23. Moreouer yͤ ſayd Dioniſius in his Epiſtles writing of Dioniſius Agiopagites, declareth of him how that he was firſt cōuerted to the Chriſtian faith by S. Paule, according as in the actes is recorded, and afterwarde was made the firſt Byſhop of Athens, but maketh there no mention of his booke de Hierarchia. Whereby it maye eaſely appeare, what is to be iudged of that booke. Furthermore, by the Epiſtles of the ſaide Dioniſius Corint. this wee haue to vnderſtande, to be the vſe at that time in Churches to reade the letters and Epiſtles, ſuch as were ſent by learned Biſhops and teachers vnto the Congregations, as may appeare by theſe words of Dioniſius, who writing to yͤ church of the Romanes, and to Soter ſaith. This day we celebrate the holy Dominical day. In which we haue read your Epiſtle, which alwaies we wil read for our exhortation, like as we doe reade alſo the Epiſtle of Clement ſent to vs before, &c. Euſeb. ibid. where alſo mention is made of keepyng the Sonday holy. Whereof wee finde no mention made in auntient authors, before his time, except onely in Iuſtinus Martyr, who in his deſcription declareth two tymes moſt eſpecially vſed for Chriſten men to congregate together, firſt, when any conuert was to be Baptiſed. The ſecond was vpon the Sonday, which was wont for ij. cauſes then to be halowed. Firſt, becauſe (ſaith he) vpon that day God made the worde, Secondlye, becauſe that Chriſt vpon that day firſt ſhewed himſelfe after his reſurrection to his Diſciples, &c.

Serapion Byſhop of Antioche.

Egeſippus Eccleſiaſticall writer.

Miltiades Eccleſiaſticall writer.

Heraclitus Eccleſiaſticall writer.

Theophilus Eccleſiaſticall writer.

Dioniſius Corinthius Eccleſiaſticall writer.

The yoke of chaſtitie not to be layd vpon the infirme brethren.

Ex Euſeb. lib. 4. cap. 23.

The booke of *Dioniſius Areo. De Hierarchia* ſuſpected.

Celebration of the Sonday.

Ouer and beſide theſe aboue named, about the daies of Commodus, wrote alſo Clemens Alexandrinus, a man of notable and ſingular learning, whoſe bookes, although for a great part be loſt, yet certaine of them yet remaine wherin is declared among other thinges, the order and number of the bookes and Goſpels of the new teſtament, &c.

Clement Alexandrinus.

The ſame time moreouer liued Pantenus, which was the firſt in Alexandria, that profeſſed in open ſchoole to reade of whom is thought firſt to procede the order and maner among the Chriſtians to read and profeſſe in Vniuerſities This Pantenus for his excellency of learning was ſent by Demetrius Biſhop of Alexandria to preach to the Indeans, where he founde the Goſpell of S. Mathewe written in Hebrew, left there by S. Bartelmewe, which booke afterward he brought with him from thence, to the Library of Alexandria.

The Goſpell of S. Mathew in Hebrew.

Duryng all the raigne of Commodus, God graunted reſt & tranquility, although not without ſome bloudſhed

Difference about the ceremony of Eaſter.

of certaine holy Martyrs, as is aboue declared, vnto his Church. In the which time of tranquillitie, the Chriſtians hauing now ſome laiſure from the forraine enemy, begā to haue a little contention among themſelues, about the ceremonie of Eaſter: which contention albeit of long time before had bene ſtirring in the church as is before mentioned of Polycarpus and Anicetus: yet the variance and difference of that ceremonie brought no breach of Chriſtian concorde and ſocietie among them: Neither as yet did the matter exceede ſo farre, but that the band of loue, and communion of brotherly life continued, although they differed in the ceremonie of the day. For they of the weſt Church pretending the tradition of Paule and Peter, but in deede beyng the traditiō of Hermes and of Pius, kept one day, which was vpon the Sonday after the 14. day of the firſt moneth. The Church of Aſia following the ordinance of Iohn the Apoſtle, obſerued an other, as more ſhalbe declared (the Lord willing) when we come to the tyme of Victor Biſhop of Rome. In the meane tyme as concerning the fourth perſecution, let this hetherto ſuffiſe.

The fift Perſecution.

Seuerus Emperour.
Anno. 195.

The 5. perſecution. Ex Euſe. Lib. 6. cap. 2.

Anno. 205.

The falſe accuſations agaynſt the Chriſtians.

After the death of Commodus, raigned Pertinax but few monthes, after whom ſucceeded Seuerus. Vnder whom was raiſed the fift perſecution againſt the chriſtian ſaints: who raigning the terme of 18. yeares, the firſt x. yeares of the ſame, was very fauourable and curteous to the Chriſtians. Afterward through ſiniſter ſuggeſtions and malicious accuſations of the malignāt, was ſo incenſed againſt them, that by Proclamations he commaunded no Chriſtians any more to be ſuffered. Thus the rage of the Emperour beyng inflamed agaynſt them, great perſecution was ſtirred vpon euery ſide, wherby an infinite nūber of Martyrs were ſlayne, as Euſebius in his ſixt booke recordeth, which was about the yeare of our Lord, 205. The crimes and falſe accuſations obiected againſt the Chriſtians, are partly touched before, pag. 37. as ſedition and rebellion againſt the Emperour, ſacriledge, murthering of Infants, inceſtuous polution, eating rawe fleſh, libidinous cōmixture, whereof certaine in deede called then Gnoſtici, were infamed. Item, it was obiected againſt them, for worſhipping the head of an Aſſe, which whereof it ſhould riſe, I finde no certain cauſe, except it were perhaps by yͤ Iewes. Alſo they were charged with worſhipping the ſunne, for that peraduenture before the ſunne riſe, they conuented together, ſinging their morning Hymnes vnto the Lord, or els becauſe they prayed toward yͤ Eaſt: but eſpecially for that they would not with them worſhip their idolatrous gods and were counted as enemies to all men, &c.

The captaines and miniſters of this perſecution. Ex Tertul ad Scapulam.

The Captaines and Preſidentes of this perſecution vnder the Emperour were Hilarianus, Vigellius, Claudius, Hermianus Ruler of Cappadocia, Cecilius, Capella, Veſpronius, alſo Demetrius mentioned of Cyprian. And Aquila Iudge of Alexandria, of whom Euſeb. Lib. 6. cap. 5. maketh relation.

The places where the force of this perſecution moſt raged, were Affrica, Alexandria, Cappadocia, and Carthage.

Leonides father of Origene Martyr.

Origene kept from Martyrdome by hys mother.

The number of them that ſuffered in this perſecution, by the report of the Eccleſiaſticall ſtory was innumerable. Of whō the firſt was Leonides, the father of Origene, who was beheaded: with whō alſo Origene his ſonne, beyng of the age thē of xvij. yeares, ſhould haue ſuffered (ſuch a feruent deſire hee had to be Martired for Chriſt) had not hys mother priuily in the night ſeaſon conueied away his clothes & his ſhirt, wherupō more for ſhame to be ſeen, then for feare to die, he was cōſtrained to remaine at home: and when he could do nothing els, yet he writing to his father a letter with theſe words: Caue tibi, ne quid propter nos aliud quam martyrij conſtanter faciendi propoſitum cogites, that is, Take heede to your ſelfe, that you tourne not your thought and purpoſe for our ſake, &c. Such a feruency had this Origene being yet young, to the doctrine of Chriſtes faith, by the operation of Gods heauenly prouidence, and partlye alſo by the diligent education of his Father, who brought him vp from his youth moſt ſtudiouſly in all good literature, but eſpecially in yͤ reding & exerciſe of holy ſcripture, wherin he had ſuch inward & miſtical ſpeculatiō, that many times he would moue queſtions to his father, of the meaning of this place, or yͭ place in yͤ ſcripture. Inſomuch yͭ his father diuers times would vncouer his breſt being a ſleepe, & kiſſe it, giuing thanks to God which had made him ſo happy a father of ſuch a happy child. After the death of his father, and all his goodes confiſcated to the Emperour, he wyth his poore mother, and ſixe brethren, beyng brought to ſuch extreme pouerty, did ſuſtaine both himſelf and them by teaching a ſchole. Til at length being wearye of yͤ profeſſion, he transferred his ſtudy onely to the knowledge and ſeeking of diuine Scripture, & ſuch other learning conducible to the ſame. So much he profited both in the Hebrue and other toungs, that he conferred yͤ Hebrue text with the tranſlation of the lxx. And moreouer did conferre and find out the other tranſlations which we call the common tranſlation of Aquila, of Symmachus, and Theodotion. Alſo he adioyned to theſe aforeſaid other foure tranſlations, whereof more is in the ſtory of Euſebius expreſſed.

Origene commended. Ex Euſeb. Lib. 6. cap. 3.

Ex Euſeb. Antonino. Symoneta. &c.

They that write of the life of Origene, teſtifie of him that he was of wit quicke and ſharpe, much patient of labour, a great traueler in the tongues, of a ſpare dyet, of a ſtraight life, a great faſter, his teaching & his liuing were both one: his going was much barefoot. A ſtraight obſeruer of that ſaying of the Lorde, bydding to haue but one coate, &c, he is ſaid to haue written ſo much as ſeuen Notaries, & ſo many maides euery day could penne. The nūber of his bookes by the accōpt of Hierome, came to 7000. Volumes, yͤ copies whereof he vſed to ſel for 3. d. or a little more, for the ſuſtentation of his liuing. But of hym more ſhalbe touched hereafter. So zelous he was in the cauſe of Chriſt, and of Chriſtes Martirs, that he nothing fearyng his owne perill would aſſiſt & exhort them going to theyr death, & kiſſe them, inſomuch that he was oft in ieopardie to be ſtoned of the multitude. And ſometimes by the prouiſion of Chriſten men had his houſe garded about wyth ſouldiers, for the ſafety of them, which daily reſorted to heare his readings, & many times he was cōpelled to ſhift places & houſes, for ſuch as laid waite for him in al places, But ſuch was the prouidence of God to preſerue him in the middeſt of all this tempeſt of Seuerus. Among other which reſorted vnto him, & were his hearers. Plutarchus, was one, and died a martyr, & with him Serenus hys brother who was burned. The third after theſe was Heraclides, The fourth Heron, who were both beheaded. The fift, was an other Serenus alſo beheaded, Rhais, and Potamiena. who was tormented with pitch poured vpon her, & martyred with her mother, Marcella, who died alſo in the fyre. This Potamiena was of a freſh and flouriſhing beautie, who becauſe ſhe could not be remoued from her profeſſion was committed to Baſilides one of the Captaines there in the armie, to ſee the execution done, Baſilides receyuing her at the Iudges hand, & leading her to the place, ſhewed to her ſome compaſſion in repreſſing the rebukes and raylinges of the wicked aduerſaries: for the which Potamiena, the virgine, to requite againe his kindnes, bad him bee of good comfort, ſaying that ſhe would pray yͤ Lord to ſhewe mercy vpon him. And ſo went ſhe to her Martyrdome, which ſhe both ſtrongly and quietly did ſuſtaine.

Plutarchu ſcholler of Origene, and Serenus hys brothe Martyred, Heraclides, Heron. Rhais. Potamiena, Marcella. ſchollers of Origene and Martyrs.

Baſilides of a perſecutour made a martyr.

Not long after it happened that Baſilides was required to giue an othe in a matter cōcerning his fellowe souldiours: which thing he denied to doe, plainely affirming yͭ he was a Chriſtian. For their othe then, was wont to be by the Idoles & the Emperor. At the firſt he was thought diſſimulingly to ieſt, but after whē he was heard conſtantly, & in earneſt to confirme the ſame, he was had before the iudge, and ſo by him committed to warde. The Chriſtians marueiling thereat, as they came to him in the priſon inquired of him the cauſe of that his ſodaine conuerſion. To whom he aunſwered againe and ſaide, that Potamiena had praied for him to the Lord, & ſo he ſaw a crowne put vpon his head: adding moreouer that it ſhould not be long, but he ſhould be receiued. which things thus done, yͤ next day following, he was had to the place of execution, and there beheaded, Euſeb. Lib. 6. cap. 5. Albeit the ſaid Euſebius, giueth this ſtory of no credite, but onely of heare ſay, as he there expreſſeth.

Ex Euſeb. Lib. 6. ca. 5.

Alexander confeſſor and Byſhop of Hieruſalem.

The notable age of Narciſſus Byſhop of Hieruſalem.

As diuers and many there were that ſuffered in the daies of this Seuerus: ſo ſome were againe which through the protection of God his prouidence, being put to great torments, yet eſcaped wͭ life. Of whom was one Alexander who for his conſtant confeſſiō and torments ſuffered, was made Biſhop afterwarde of Hieruſalem, together with Narciſſus, who being then an olde man of an hundred and threeſcore yeares and three, as ſayeth Euſebius, was vnwieldy for his age to gouerne that function alone.

A miracle of water turned into oyle. Ex Euſeb. Lib. 6. Ca. 9.

Of this Narciſſus is reported in the Eccleſiaſticall hiſtorie, that certaine miracles by him were wrought verye notable, if they be true. Firſt of water by him turned into oyle at the ſolemne vigile of Eaſter, what time the cōgregation wanted oyle for their lampes. Another miracle is alſo told of him, which is this. There were three euill diſpoſed perſons, who ſeing the ſoundnes & graue conſtancy of his vertuous life, & fearyng their owne puniſhment, as a conſcience that is giltie, is alwaies fearefull, thought to preuent his accuſations, in accuſing him firſt, & laying an haynous crime to his charge, And to make their accuſatiō more probable before the people, they bound their accuſation with a great othe: One wiſhing to be deſtroied with fire if he ſayd not true. The other to bee conſumed with a grieuous ſickenes. The third to looſe both his eyes if they did lye. Narciſſus although hauing his conſcience cleare, yet not able beyng but one man to withſtand their accuſation bound with ſuch othes gaue place, and remoued himſelfe from the multitude, into a ſolitarie deſert by himſelf, where he continued the ſpace of many yeares. In the meane time to them which ſo willingly and wickedly forſweare themſelues, this happened: the firſt by caſualtie of one litle ſmal ſparkle of fire, was burnt with his goods and all his familie. The ſecond, was taken with a great ſickneſſe from the top to the toe, and deuoured with the ſame. The third, hearing and ſeyng the puniſhment of the other, confeſſed his fault, but through great repentance poured out ſuch tears, that he loſt both his eyes. And thus was their falſe periurie puniſhed. Narciſſus after long abſence returning home agayne, was by this meanes both cleared of the facte, and receiued into his biſhoprike agayne. To whom, as is ſaid, for impotencie of his age, Alexander was ioined with him in execution of the function. Euſeb.Hiſt.Eccleſ.Lib.6.cap.10. Of this Alexander is recorded in the ſayd Eccleſiaſticall hiſtory, that after his agonies and conſtancie of his confeſſiō ſhewed in the perſecution of Seuerus, he was admoniſhed by a viſion in the night ſeaſon to make his iourney vp to Hieruſalem & Paleſtina (for that place remained free from this perſecution) to ſee there the congregation, & to pray. Thus he taking his iourney, and drawing nere to the city, a viſion with playne wordes was geuen to certaine chiefe heads of Hieruſalem, to go out of the gate of the city, there to receiue the Biſhop appointed to them of God. And ſo was Alexander met and receiued, and ioyned partner with aged Narciſſus, as is before expreſſed in the Citie of Hieruſalem, where he continued biſhop aboue 40. yeares, vntill the perſecution of Decius, and there erected a famous Librarie, where Euſebius had his chiefeſt helpe in writing his Eccleſiaſticall hiſtory. He wrote alſo diuers Epiſtles to diuers churches, and licenſed Origene openly to teach in his Church. At length beyng very aged, was brought frō Ieruſalem to Ceſaria before the Iudge vnder Decius, where after his conſtant confeſſion the ſecond tyme, he was committed to priſon, and there died.

A terrible example of periury puniſhed.

Narciſſus and *Alexander* ioyned together in one Byſhopricke.

Alexander ordayned Byſhop of Hieruſalem by Gods miracle. *Ex Euſeb. Lib.6.cap. 11.*

The conſtācie & death of *Alexander* Byſhop

Beſides theſe that ſuffred in this perſecution of Seuerus recited of Euſebius, Vincentius alſo, Lib.11.cap.6. Ex Martyrol. ſpeaketh of one Andoclus, whom Polycarpus before had ſent into Fraunce: which Andoclus becauſe he ſpread there the doctrine of Chriſt, was apprehended of Seuerus, and firſt beaten with ſtaues and battes, after was beheaded.

Andoclus, Martyr.

To theſe aboue named, may alſo be added Aſclepiades, who although was not put to death in this perſecution of Seuerus, yet conſtantly he did abide the trial of his confeſſiō & ſuffred much for the ſame, as Alexander did before mentioned. wherfore afterward he was ordained biſhop of Antioch, where he continued the ſpace of vij. yeares of whom Alexander writeth to the Church of Antioche, out of priſon, much reioyſing and geuing thankes to God, to heare that he was their Biſhop.

Aſclepiades Byſhop of Antioche confeſſor.

About the ſame tyme during the raigne of Seuerus, died Irenæus, Henr. de Erfordia, Ado, and other Martyr writers, do hold, that he was martyred with a great multitude of other moe, for the confeſſion and doctrine of Chriſt, about the fourth or fift yeare of Seuerus. This Irenæus as he was a great writer, ſo was he greatly commended of Tertullian for his learning, whom he calleth omnium doctrinarum curioſiſſimum exploratorem: a great ſearcher of all kynde of learning. He was firſt ſcholer and hearer of Polycarpus, frō thence either was ſent or came to Fraunce, and there by Photinus, and the reſt of the Martyrs was inſtituted into the miniſtery, commended by their letter vnto Eleutherius, as is before premoniſhed. At length after yͤ Martyrdom of Photinus, he was appointed biſhop of Lions, where he cōtinued about the ſpace of 23. yeres. In yͤ tyme of this Irenęus, the ſtate of the Church was much troubled, not only for the outward perſecution of the foraine enemy, but alſo for diuers ſectes and errours then ſtirring, againſt which he diligently laboured, and wrote much, although but few of his bookes be now remayning. The nature of this man well agreeyng with his name, was ſuch, that he euer loued peace, and ſought to ſet agreement when any controuerſie roſe in the Church. And therfore, when the queſtion of keeping the Eaſter day was renued to the Church, bebetwene Victor biſhop of Rome, and the churches of Aſia, and when Victor would haue excommunicated them as ſchiſmatikes, for diſagreeyng from him therein: Irenæus with other brethren, of the French Church, ſory to ſee ſuch a contention among brethren for ſuch a trifle, conuented themſelues together in a common Councell, and directing their letter with their common conſent ſubſcribed, ſent vnto Victor, intreating him to ſtay his purpoſe, & not to proceed in excommunicating his brethren for that matter. Although they themſelues agreed with him in obſeruing the Sonday Eaſter as he did: yet with great reaſons and arguments exhorted him not to deale ſo rigorouſly with his other brethren, following the ancient cuſtome of their countrey maner in that behalf. And beſide this he wrote diuers other letters abroad concerning the ſame contentiō, declaring the excommunication of Victor to be of no force.

Irenæus Byſhop of Lyons, and Martyr.

Not long after Irenæus followed alſo Tertullian about the tyme of this Seuerus, and Antoninus Caracalla his ſonne, a man both in Greeke and Latin wel expert, hauing great gifts in diſputing, and in writing eloquent, as his bookes declare, & as the commendation of al learned men doth teſtifie no leſſe. To whom Vincentius Lirinenſis geueth ſuch prayſe, that he calleth him the floure of all Latine writers, and of the eloquence of his ſtile ſo he writeth, that with the force of his reaſons, he ſaith, whom he could not perſuade, them he cōpelled to conſent vnto him. How many words, ſo many ſentences, and how many ſentences, ſo many victories he had, &c.

Tertullian Eccleſiaſticall writer.

Such men of doing and writing, God raiſeth vp from tyme to tyme, as pillers and ſtayes for his poore Church, as he did this Tertullian in theſe dangerous dayes of perſecution. For whē the chriſtians were vexed with wrongs, & falſly accuſed of the Gentils, Tertullian taking their cauſe in hand, defendeth them againſt the perſecutors, & againſt their ſlaunderous accuſations: Firſt, that they neuer minded any ſtyrre or rebellion, either againſt the Empire or Emperors of Rome: forſomuch as the vſe of Chriſtians was to pray for the ſtate of their Emperours and gouernours. And where as they were accuſed falſly to bee enemies to all mankind, how could that be (ſaith Tertullian to Scapula) ſeyng the proper office of the Chriſtians is by their profeſſion to pray for all men, to loue their enemies, neuer requiting euil for euil, when as all other do loue but onely their friends, and ſcarcely them? As touching the horrible ſlaunder of murdering infants, how can that be true in the Chriſtians (ſaith he), whoſe order is to abſtayne from all bloud, & ſtrangled: in ſo much, that it is not lawful for thē to touch the bloud of any beaſt at their tables when they feede? From filthy copulation no ſort more free then they? which are and euer hath ben the greateſt obſeruers of chaſtitie, of whom, ſuch as may, liue in perpetuall Virginitie all their life, ſuch as cannot, contract matrimony, for auoyding all whoredom and fornication. Neither can it be proued of the chriſtians to worſhip the ſunne, which falſe ſurmiſe, Tertulliā declareth to riſe hereof, for that the maner of the Chriſtians was to pray toward the Eaſt. Much leſſe was there any of them ſo mad as to worſhip an Aſſes head whereof the occaſion beyng taken onely of the Iewes, the ſlaunder therof therfore he proueth to be falſly and wrōgfully laid to the charge of the Chriſtians.

The Apology of *Tertullian* defending the Chriſtians.

Tertullianus ad Scapulam.

The occaſion hereof, belike came of the Iewes worſhipping the iawe of an Aſſe in the ſtory of *Sampſon.*

And likewiſe againſt all other lies and ſlaunders, obiected of the Heathen againſt the Chriſtians, the ſayd Tertullian purgeth the Chriſtians, declaring them falſly to be belied, & wrongfully perſecuted, not for any deſert of theirs but only for the hatred of their name. And yet notwithſtāding by the ſame perſecutions, he proueth in the ſame Apologie, the religion of the chriſtians nothing to be empaired, but rather encreaſed. The more (ſaith he) we are mowen doune of you, the moe riſe vp. The bloud of Chriſtians is ſeede. For what man ſayth he, in beholding the painfull torments, and the perfect patience of them will not ſearch and inquire what is in the cauſe? And when he hath found it out, who will not agree vnto it? And when he agreeth to it, who wil not deſire to ſuffer for it? Thus (ſaith he) this ſect will neuer die, which the more it is cut doune, the more it groweth. For euery man ſeing and wondring at the ſufferance of the Saints, is moued the more therby to ſearch the cauſe in ſearching, he findeth it, and in finding, he followeth it. Tertul in eodem Apolog.

Tertul. in Apologetico.

Thus Tertullian in this daungerous tyme of perſecution, being ſtirred vp of God, defended the innocēcie of the Chriſtians, againſt the blaſphemy of the aduerſaries, and moreouer for the inſtruction of the church compiled many fruitfull workes, wherof ſome are extant, ſome are not to be found. Notwithſtanding the great learning & famous vertues of this worthy mā, certaine errors and blemiſhes are noted in his doctrine, as were before both of Origine, & Irenæus, and likewiſe of them were they neuer ſo excellent, that followed them. which errors all here in order to note and comprehend, were too long a matter for this ſtory to proſecute. This by the way ſhall be ſufficient to admoniſh the Reader, neuer to looke for any ſuch perfection of any

The errours and imperfections in learned men noted.

man in this world, how ſingular ſo euer he be (Chriſt onely excepted) but ſome blemiſhe or other ioyneth himſelfe withall, whereof more perchaunce ſhall be ſayd when we come to Cyprian.

Victor Byſhop of Rome.

Victor reported of ſome to dye a Martyr.

The cauſe diſcuſſed why the holy Ghoſt forbad bloud and ſtrangled in the primitiue Church.

Ex Euſeb. lib. 5. Cap. 26.

The doctrine of Chriſtian libertie in outward vſages.

Anno. 200.

And now to returne agayne to the order of biſhops of Rome intermitted: after Eleutherius afore mentioned, next in the biſhoprike of Rome ſucceded Victor, who as Platina ſayth, died quietly in the dayes of Seuerus. But Damaſus Supplementum, Lib.8. and ſuch as folow the common Chronicles, affirme that he died a Martyr, after he had ſitten x. or as ſome ſay xij. yeares. This Victor was a great ſtyrrer (as partly before is ſignified) in the controuerſie and contention of Eaſterday. For the which he would haue proceded in excommunication againſt the churches of Aſia, had not Irenæus then biſhop of Lions, with the counſaile of other his brethren there aſſēbled, repreſſed his intended violence. As touching that cōtrouerſie of Eaſter in thoſe dais of the primitiue Church, the originall thereof was this, as Euſebius, Socrates, Platina, and other record. Firſt, certain it is, that the Apoſtles onely being intentiue and attendaunt to the doctrine of ſaluation, gaue no heed nor regard to the obſeruation of dayes & times, neither bound the Church to any ceremonies and rites, except thoſe things neceſſary mentioned in the Actes of the Apoſtles, as ſtrangled and bloud, which was ordayned then of the holy Ghoſt, notwithout a moſt vrgent and neceſſary cauſe, touched partly in yͤ hiſtory before. For when the murdering and bloud of Infants was commonly obiected by the Heathen perſecutors agaynſt the Chriſtians, they had no other argumēt to help thēſelues, nor to refell the aduerſarie, but only their own law, by the which they were commaūded to abſtaine not onely from all mens bloud, but alſo from the bloud of all cōmon beaſtes. And therefore that law ſeemeth by the holy Ghoſt to be geuen, & alſo to the ſame end & continued in the Church, ſo long as the cauſe, that is the perſecutions of the Heathen Gentiles continued. Beſide theſe we read of no other ceremonies or rites, which the Apoſtles greatly regarded, but left ſuch things free to the libertie of Chriſtians, euery man to vſe therein his own diſcretion, for the vſing or not vſing thereof. Whereupon, as concerning all the ceremoniall obſeruations of dayes, tymes, places, meates, drinks, veſtures, and ſuch other, of all theſe things neither was the diuerſitie among men greatly noted, nor any vniformitie greatly required. In ſo much, that Irenæus writing to Victor of the tradition of dayes, and of faſtings, and of the diuerſitie of theſe things then vſed among yͤ primitiue fathers, ſaith: Nihilo tamen minus omnes illi pacem inter ſe retinuerunt, & retinemus etiamnū, & ieiunij diſſonantia, fidei concordiam commendat, &c. That is, Notwithſtanding all this varietie, all they kept peace among themſelues, & yet we keepe it ſtill, and this difference of faſting among vs, commendeth more the concord of faith. And ſo long did the doctrine of Chriſtian libertie remaine whole & ſounde in the Church till the tyme of Victor, which was about the yeare of our Lord, 200. Although the diuerſitie of theſe vſages, began ſomething before alſo in the dayes of Pius and Anicetus, about the yere of our Lord, 163. to be miſliked: yet reſtraint hereof was not ſo much vrged before, as in yͤ time of Victor. And yet neither did the violēce of Victor take ſuch place, but that the doctrine of Chriſtian libertie was defended and maintained by meanes of Irenæus and other, and ſo continued in the Church till after the Councell of Nice. And thus much concerning the doctrine of Chriſtian libertie of the differences of rites and ceremonies.

Ex Euſeb. Lib. 4. Cap 26.

Polycarpus and *Anicetus* diſagreeing in controuerſie, yet agreed in charitie.

Vniformitie in ceremonies not to be required as a thing neceſſary.

Now to returne to Victor agayne, to ſhew what diuerſitie there was in obſeruing the day of Eaſter, and how it came, thus is the ſtory: Firſt, in the tyme of Pius and Anicetus, an.163. the queſtiō of Eaſter day began firſt to be moued, at what tyme Pius, by the reuelation of Hermes, decreed the obſeruatiō of that day to be chaunged from the wonted maner of the 14. day of the moone in the firſt moneth, vnto the next Sonday after. After him came Anicetus, Soter, and Eleutherius Biſhops of Rome, which alſo determined the ſame. Agaynſt theſe ſtode Melito Biſhop of Sardis, Polycarpus, and as ſome thinke, Egeſippus, with other learned men of Aſia which Polycarpus being ſent by the brethren of Aſia, came to Rome as is aforeſayd, to cōferre with Anicetus in that matter: wherin when they could not agree after long debating, yet notwithſtanding, they did both cōmunicate together with reuerēce, & departed in peace. And ſo the celebration of Eaſterday remained Adiaphoron, as a thing indifferent in the Church, till the time of Victor: who folowing after Anicetus and hys fellowes, and chiefly ſtirring in this matter, endeuoured by all meanes and might, to draw, or rather ſubdue the Churches of Aſia vnto hys opinion, thinking moreouer to excommunicate all thoſe Byſhops and churches of Aſia, as heretickes and ſchiſmatickes, which diſagreed from the Romaine order, had not Irenæus otherwiſe reſtrayned him from that doyng, as is aforeſayd, whiche was about the yeare of our Lord.191. in the reigne of Commodus. Thus then began the vniformitie of keeping that holy day to be firſt required, as a thing neceſſary, & all they accompted as heretickes and ſchiſmatickes, which diſſented from yͤ Biſhop & traditiō of Rome.

With Victor ſtoode Theophilus Byſhop of Ceſarea, Narciſſus of Hieruſalem, Irenæus of Lyons, Palmas of Pontus, Banchillus of Corinthe, the Byſhop of Oſroena, and other moe. All which condeſcended to haue the celebration of Eaſter vpon the Sonday, becauſe they would differ frō the Iewes in all things, as neare as they might, and partly becauſe the reſurrection of the Lord fell on the ſame day.

Polycrates Byſhop of Epheſus.

Byſhop in thoſe dayes maryed.

On the contrary ſide diuers Byſhop were in Aſia, of whom the principall was Policrates Byſhop of Epheſus, who being aſſembled with a great multitude of Biſhops and brethren of thoſe parties, by the common aſſent of the reſt, wrote agayne to Victor, and to the Church of Rome, declaring, that they had euer from the beginning obſerued that day, according to the rule of Scripture vnchaunged, neither adding nor altering any thing frō the ſame. Alledging moreouer for them the examples of the Apoſtles and holy fathers their predeceſſours, as Phillip the Apoſtle, with hys three daughters at Hierapolis: alſo Iohn the Apoſtle and Euangeliſt at Epheſus, Polycarpus at Smyrna Thraſeas at Eumenia, Byſhoppe and Martyr, lykewiſe of Sagaris at Laodicæa Byſhop and Martyr, Holy Papyrius, and Melito at Sardis. Beſide theſe biſhops alſo of his own kindred, and his owne auncetors, to the number of ſeuen which all were biſhops before him, & he the eight now after them. All which obſerued (ſaith he) the ſolemnitie of the ſame day, after the ſame wiſe and ſort as we do now.

Victor excommunicating the Churches of Aſia.

Irenæus to *Victor*.

Diuerſitie commendeth the concorde of fayth.

Victor being not a litle moued herewith, by letters agayne denounceth againſt them (more bold vpon authoritie, then wiſe in his commiſſion) violent excommunicatiō, Albeit by the wiſe handlyng of Irenæus, and other learned men, that matter was ſtaid, and Victor otherwiſe perſwaded. What the perſwaſiōs of Irenæus were, partly may appeare in Euſeb.Lib.5.cap.26. the ſumme whereof tendeth to this effect: That the variance and difference of ceremonies is no ſtraunge matter in the Church of Chriſt, when as this varietie is not onely in the day of Eaſter, but alſo in the maner of faſting, & in diuers other vſages among the chriſtians. For ſome faſt one day, ſome two days, ſome other faſt moe. Other there be, which counting xl. houres, both day & night, take that for a ful dayes faſt. And this ſo diuers faſhion of faſting in the church of Chriſt, began not onely in this our tyme, but was before among our forelders. And yet notwithſtāding they with all this diuerſity, were in vnitie among themſelues, and ſo be we, neyther doth this difference of ceremonies any thing hinder, but rather commendeth the concorde of fayth. And bringeth forth the examples of the fathers of Teleſphorus, Pius, Anicetus, Soter, Eleutherius, and ſuch other, who neither obſerued the ſame vſage themſelues, neither preſcribed it to others, and yet notwithſtanding kept chriſtian charitie with ſuch as came to cōmunicate with them, not obſeruing the ſame forme of things which they obſerued, as well appeared by Polycarpus and Anicetus, which although they agreed not in one vniforme cuſtome of rites, yet refuſed not to cōmunicate together, the one geuing reuerence vnto the other. Thus the controuerſie being taken vp betwene Irenæus & Victor, remained free to the time of Nicene Councell. Hæc ex Iren. Euſebius. And thus much cōcerning the controuerſie of that matter, and concerning the doings of Victor.

Zephyrinus Byſhop of Rome.

The Epiſtle and ordinaunces of *Zephyrinus* ſuſpected to be counterfet.

After Victor, ſucceded in the ſea of Rome Zephyrinus, in the dayes of the foreſayd Seuerus, about the yeare of our Lord.203. To this Zephyrinus be aſcribed two Epiſtles, in the firſt Tome of the Councels. But as I haue ſayd before of the decretall Epiſtles of other Romaine Biſhops: ſo I ſay and verily ſuppoſe of this, that neither the countenāce of the ſtile, nor the matter therin contained, nor the condition of the tyme, doth otherwiſe giue to thinke of theſe letters, but that they be verily baſtard letters, not written by theſe fathers, nor in theſe tymes, but craftily and wickedly pact in by ſome, which to ſet vp yͤ primacie of Rome, haue moſt peſtilently abuſed the authoritie of theſe holy & auncient fathers, to deceaue the ſimple Church. For who is ſo rude, but that in conſidering onely the ſtate of thoſe terrible tymes, may eaſily vnderſtand except affectiō blind him, beſide a nomber of other probable coniectures to lead him, that the poore perſecuted biſhops in that time, would haue bene glad to haue any ſafe couert to put their heades in: ſo far was it of, that they had any luſt or laiſure, thē to ſeeke for any Primacie or Patriarkeſhip, or to driue all other churches to appeale to the ſea of Rome, or to exempt

The firſt Epiſtle of *Zephyrinus* to the Byſhops of Sicilia.

all Prieſts from the accuſation of any lay man: as in the firſt Epiſtle of Zephyrinus is to be ſeene, written to the Biſhops of Sicilia, And likewiſe the ſecond Epiſtle of his, to the Biſhops of the prouince of Egypt, containing no maner of doctrine, nor conſolation neceſſary for that time, but only certain ritual decrees to no purpoſe, argueth no leſſe but the ſaid epiſtles neither to ſauor of that man, nor taſte of the tyme.

Patins of glaſſe borne before the Prieſt. The ordinaunces of Zepherinus of ſmall credite.

Golden chalices. *Concilium Tiburtinum Rhenenſe.*

Of like credite alſo ſeemeth the conſtitution of the Patines of glaſſe, which Damaſus ſayth that the ſame Zephyrinus ordained to be caried before the Prieſt, at the celebratiõ of the Maſſe. Againe Platina writeth that he ordayned the miniſtration of the Sacramẽt to be no more vſed in veſſels of wood, or of glaſſe, or of any other mettall, except only ſiluer, gold, and tinne, &c. But how theſe two teſtimonies of Damaſus and Platina ioyne together, let the reader iudge: eſpecially ſeyng the ſame decree is referred to Vrbanus, that came after him. Againe, what needed this decree of golden chalices to be ſtabliſhed afterward in the Councell of Tybur and Rhenes, if it had bene enacted before by Zephyrinus? How long this Zephyrinus ſate, our writers do varie. Euſebius ſayth, he died in the raigne of Caracalla, and ſate 17. yeares, Platina writeth that he died vnder Seuerus, and ſate 8. yeares, and ſo ſaith alſo Nauclerus. Damaſus affirmeth that he ſate 16. yeares and two monthes.

Ex Florilego. *Perpetua. Felicitas. Reuocatus Saturninus. Satyrus. Secundulus.* Martyrs.

Matthæus author of the ſtory intituled, Flores Hiſtoriarũ, with other latter Chronicles, maketh mention of Perpetua, and Felicitas, and Reuocatus, her brother, alſo of Saturninus and Satyrus brethren, and Secundulus, which in the perſecution of this Seuerus, gaue ouer their liues to Martyrdome for Chriſt, beyng throwen to wild beaſts, and deuoured of the ſame, in Carthage and in Affrike, ſaue that Saturninus brought agayne from the beaſts, was beheaded, and Secũdulus dyed in priſon, about the yeare of our Lord, 202. as writeth Florilegus.

Seuerus warreth in Brittayne. A wall betweene England builded, 132. miles in length. *Seuerus* the perſecutour ſlayne at Yorke. An. 215. *Baſsianus* Emperour. *Macrinus* with hys ſonne *Diadumenus* Emperour. An. 219.

This Seuerus the perſecutor raigned, as the moſt part of writers accord the terme of 18. yeares, who about yͤ latter tyme of his raigne, came with his army hether into Britaine, where after many conflictes had with the Britains, in the borders of the North, he caſt vp a ditche with a mighty walle made of earth and turues, & ſtrong ſtakes, to the length of 132. myles from the one ſide of the ſea to the other, beginning at Tine, and reached to the Scottiſh ſea, which done, he remooued to Yorke, and there by the breaking in of the Northren men and the Scots, was beſieged and ſlaine, about the yere of our Lord, 214. leauing behind him two ſonnes, Baſsianus, and Geta. Which Baſsianus ſurnamed Caracalla, after he had ſlayne his brother Geta here in Britaine, gouerned the Empire alone, the ſpace of ſixe yeares. After whoſe death, he beyng ſlayne alſo of his ſeruaunts (as he had ſlayne his brother before) ſucceded Macrinus with his ſonne Diadumenus, to be Emperour, who after they had raigned one yeare, were both ſlayne of their owne people.

The monſtrous life of Heliogabolus Emperour.

A prodigious beliged.

After them followed Varius Heliogabalus, in the empire, rather to be called a Monſter, then a man, ſo prodigious was his life in all glotonie, filthines, and ribaudry. Such was his pompe, that in his lampes he vſed balme, & filled his fiſhpondes with roſewater. To let paſſe his ſumptuous veſtures which he would not weare but only of gold, and moſt coſtly ſilkes: his ſhoes gliſtering with precious ſtones finely engraued he was neuer ij. dayes ſerued with one kynd of meate, he neuer wore one garment twiſe, and likewiſe for his fleſhly wickednes: ſome dayes his company was ſerued at meale with the braynes of Oſtriges, and a ſtraunge foule called Phenocapterie, an other day with the toungs of Popiniayes, and other ſweete ſinging birdes. Beyng nye to the ſea, he neuer vſed fiſh: in places farre diſtant from the ſea, all his houſe was ſerued with moſt delicate fiſhes. At one ſupper he was ſerued with 7000. fiſhes, and 5000. foules. At his remoouing in his progreſſe, often there followed him 600. chariots, laden only with baudes, common harlots, and ribaudes. He ſacrificed with young children, and preferred to the beſt aduauncementes in the common weale, moſt light perſonages, as baudes, Minſtrels, Carters, and ſuch like. In one word he was an enemy to all honeſty & good order. And when he was foretold by his Sorcerers and Aſtronomers, that he ſhould dye a violent death, he prouided ropes of ſilke to hang himſelfe, ſwordes of gold to kill himſelfe, and ſtrong poyſon in Iacincts and Emerandes to poyſon himſelf, if needs he muſt thereto be forced. Moreouer, he made an high tower, hauing the floore of boordes couered with gold plate, bordred with precious ſtones, frõ the which toure he would throw himſelf downe, if he ſhould be purſued of his enemies. But notwithſtanding all his prouiſion, he was ſlayne of the ſouldiours, drawen through the Citie, and caſt into Tiber after he had raigned two yeres and viij. monthes, as witneſſeth Eutropius, other ſay foure yeares.

Heliogabalus ſlayne of hys ſouldiours. *Ex Eutropio.*

Alexander Seuerus Emperour. Anno. 224.

This Heliogabalus hauing no iſſue, adopted to his ſõne and heyre Aurelius Alexander Seuerus, the ſonne of Mammea who entring his raigne the yeare of our Lorde, 224. cõtinued 13. yeares, well commended for vertuous, wiſe, gẽtle, liberal, & to no man hurtful. And as he was not vnlerned himſelf, through the diligent education of Mammea his mother, ſo he was a great fauourer of men, wiſe and learned. Neither did he any thing in the common weale, without the aſſiſtance of learned and ſage counſailors. It is reported of him, to beare ſuch ſtomacke againſt corrupt iudges, that when he chaunced to meete with any of them, by the commotion of his mind, he would caſt vp choler, being ſo mooued with them that he could not ſpeake, and was redy with his two fingers to put out their eyes. From his court he diſmiſſed all ſuperfluous and vnneedful ſeruants ſaying, that he was no good pupil, which fed idle ſeruants with the bowels of his common weale.

Againſt corrupt Iudges. The ſaying of *Alexander* to be noted and followed. Idle ſeruauntes eate vp the bowels of the common weale.

Among his other good vertues, it appeareth alſo that he was frendly and fauourable vnto the Chriſtians, as by this act may be gathered: For when the chriſtians had occupied a certaine publike place in ſome good vſe, belike for the aſſembling and conuenting together of the congregation, the company of the Cookes or tiplers, made chalenge of that place to belõg vnto thẽ. The matter being brought before the Emperour, he iudged it more honeſt, the place to ſerue to the worſhip of God, howſoeuer it were, then to the dirtie ſlubbering of Cookes and Skullians.

A note worthy to be marked.

By this it may be vnderſtand, that in Rome no Chriſtian churches were erected vnto this tyme, when as yet (notwithſtanding this fauour of the Emperour) no publike houſe could quietly be obtained for the chriſtians. So that by the reaſon hereof may appeare the decretall epiſtle and ordinance of Pope Higynus concerning the dedication of churches aboue mentioned, pag. 53. to bee falſified. And likewiſe the ordinaunce of Pius his ſucceſſour, concernyng the Altar, or Superaltare, to be alſo falſe. For what Superaltare was it like, they had in the tyme of Higynus and Pius, when as at this tyme which was long after, no publike place almoſt could be graunted them for the Chriſtians to aſſemble together?

Platina in vita Pontiani.

Of this Alexander, Platina writeth, that as hee was a great hater of all boaſters & flatterers, ſo he was of ſuche prudence, that no deceit could eſcape him, and bringeth in a ſtory of one Turinus, who had gotten craftily many great bribes and gifts, in making the people beleue that he was of great authoritie with the Emperour, and that he could helpe them to haue whatſoeuer they ſued for. Whereof the Emperour being certified, cauſed him in the open market to be faſtned to a ſtake, and there killed with ſmoke, where the Crier ſtood thus crying to the people: Smoke he ſold, and with ſmoke he is puniſhed.

Puniſhed with ſmoke, that ſold ſmoke.

Mammea the mother of the Emperour.

Mammea the mother of this Alexander aboue mentioned (whom Hierome calleth a deuout and religious woman) hearing of the fame and the excellent learning of Origene, being then at Alexandria, ſent for him to Antioche, deſirous to heare and ſee him, Unto whom the foreſayd Origene according to her requeſt, reſorted, and after that he had there remained a ſpace with the Emperour, and his mother, returned againe to Alexandria.

And thus continued this good Emperor his raigne the ſpace of 13. yeares, at length at a commotion in Germany, with his mother Mammea he was ſlaine. After whome ſucceded Maximinus, contrary to the mynd of the Senate, only appointed by the ſouldiours to be Emperour. During all this tyme betwene Seuerus and this Maximinus, the church of Chriſt, although it had not perfect peace, yet it had ſome meane tranquillitie from perſecution. Albeit ſome Martyrs there were at this tyme that ſuffred, whereof Nauclerus giueth this reaſon: For although (ſaith he) Alexander beyng perſwaded through the entreating of his mother Mãmea, did fauour the Chriſtians: yet notwithſtanding, there was no publike Edict or Proclamation prouided for their ſafegard. By reaſõ whereof, diuers there were which ſuffered Martyrdome vnder Almachius & other iudges. In the number of whom after ſome ſtories, was Calixtus Biſhop of Rome, who ſucceded next vnto Zephyrinus, aboue mentioned. And after him Vrbanus alſo, which both beyng Biſhops of Rome, did both ſuffer, by the opiniõ of ſome writers, vnder Alexander Seuerus.

Ex Nauclero.

Calixtus Byſhop of Rome and Martyr.

The decretall Epiſtles of *Calixtus* examined.

This Calixtus in his two decretal Epiſtles, written to Benedictus, and to the Biſhops of Fraunce, geueth theſe ordinances, that no actions or accuſations agaynſt the Prelates or teachers of the church ſhould be receaued, that no ſecret conſpiracies ſhould be made againſt biſhops. Item, no man to communicate with perſons excõmunicate. Alſo

The place of S. Paule vnfitly expounded.

Imber faſt firſt ordayned.

no biſhop to excommunicate or to deale in an other Dioces. And here he expoundeth the Dioces or the Pariſh of any biſhop or miniſter to be his wife. The wife (ſayth the Apoſtle) is bound to the law, ſo long as the husbād liueth, when he is dead, ſhe is free from the law: So (ſaith Calixtus) the wife of a biſhop (which is his Church) ſo long as he liueth, is bound duely to him, neither ought to be iudged or diſpoſed by any other man, without his will and iudgement: after his death ſhe is free from the lawe, to marrie to whō ſhe will, ſo it be in the Lord, that is, regulariter, regularly. In the end of the ſayd his epiſtle decretall, he confuteth the error of them which hold, that they which are fallen, are not to be receiued agayne. which hereſie after the tyme of Calixtus or Caliſtus, came in firſt by Nouatus, in the dayes of Cornelius. Moreouer, in his ſayd firſt Epiſtle decretall, is contayned the faſt of the foure tymes, commonly called the Imber faſt, whereof alſo Marianus Scotus, maketh mention. But Damaſus ſpeaking of the ſame faſt, ſayth, he ordayned the faſt but of three tymes, which was for the encreaſe of corne, wyne, and oyle.

By theſe hetherto premiſed, it is not hard for a quicke Reader to ſinel out the crafty iugling of that perſon or perſons whoſoeuer they were, ẏ falſly haue aſcribed theſe decretall inſtitutions to thoſe holy fathers. For firſt, what layſure had the Chriſtians to lay in their accuſations againſt their biſhops, when we neuer read nor finde in any ſtory any kynde of variaunce in thoſe dayes among them, but all loue, mutuall compaſſion, and harty communion among the Saintes. And as we read of no variaunce among the people in thoſe dayes, nor of any fault or backſliding among the Biſhops, who for the moſt part then died all conſtant Martirs: ſo neither do we read of any tribunall ſeat or Conſiſtorie vſed or frequented then about any ſuch matters. Agayne, if a man examine well the dangers of thoſe buſie days, he ſhall ſee the poore flocke of the chriſtians, ſo occupied and piteouſly oppreſſed by the cruell accuſations of the Heathen Infidels, that though the cauſe did, yet the tyme would not ſerue them to commenſe any law againſt their biſhops. Secōdly, as touching their conſpiracie againſt biſhops, what conſpiracie either would they then practiſe agaynſt them, which always gaue their liues for their defence? Or how could they then conſpire in any cōpanies together, when neuer a true chriſtian man durſt once put his head out of his dores, neither was there in the church any Chriſtian man in thoſe perilous dayes, except he were a true man in deed, ſuch as was farre from all falſe conſpiracies? And when as all the world almoſt in all places conſpired agaynſt them: what tyme, what cauſe, or what hart trow ye could they haue to cōſpire againſt their inſtructors? Thirdly, concerning the confutation of that hereſie, how ſtandeth the confutation with the tyme of Caliſtus, whē Nouatus the author of that hereſie was after him in the tyme of Cornelius? Fourthly, if by the lawe of Calixtus, euery Dioces be the proper wife of euery biſhop or miniſter, then how many biſhops wiues, and perſons wiues hath the adulterous Pope of Rome deflowred in theſe latter dayes of the Church, which ſo proudly and impudently hath intermedled and taken his pleaſure & his owne profit in euery Dioces and Pariſh almoſt through all Chriſtendome, without all leaue and licence of the good man, who hath bene in the meane tyme, & yet is compelled ſtil, where ſo euer the Popes holines commeth, Vigilante ſternere naſo, and to giue him leaue vnaſked, to do what he liſt. wherefore if this Canon decretall be truly his, why is it not obſerued, ſo as it doth ſtand without exceptiō? If it bee not, why is it then falſly forged vpon him, and the Church of Chriſt deceaued? And certes, lamentable it is, that this falſifiyng of ſuch trifling traditions vnder the falſe pretēce of antiquitie, either was begon in the Church, to deceaue the people: or that it hath remayned ſo long vndetected. For as I thinke, the church of Chriſt will neuer be perfectly reformed, before theſe decretall conſtitutions & Epiſtles which haue ſo long put on the viſard of antiquitie, ſhalbe fully detected, and appeare in their owne colour, wherein they were firſt paynted.

Agaynſt the decretall Epiſtles and conſtitutions.

Calixtus a Martyr. *Ex Vincen. in ſpecul Hiſt. Et Antonino. tit. 7. cap. 6.*

And yet neither do I ſay this, or thinke contrary, but that it may be, that biſhops of Rome and of the ſame name haue bene the true authors of theſe traditions: but here cōmeth in the error (as I credibly ſuppoſe) that when other later biſhops of the like name, haue deuiſed theſe ceremoniall inuentions, the vulgar opinion of men hath transferred them to the firſt primitiue fathers, although beyng of an other time, yet bearing the ſame name with the true inuentors thereof. But of Calixtus enough: who as Damaſus ſayth in the dayes of this Alexander Seuerus, died a Martyr. Vincentius affirmeth that he was tied to a great ſtone, and ſo out of a window was thrown into a ditch. Euſebius ſpeakyng of his death, maketh no mention of his Martyrdom, and ſayth he ſate v. yeares. Platina ſayth vj. yeres, Sabellicus giueth him vij. yeares, and ſo doth Damaſus.

Vrbanus Byſhop of Rome. {An. 227.}

Confirmation of children inſtituted.

Vrbanus Martyred.

After Caliſtus folowed Vrbanus, about the yeare of our Lord 227. who in his epiſtle decretall (comming out of the ſame forge) which he wrote in common to all biſhops, making no mention of the heauy perſecutions of the Church, nor miniſtring any exhortation of comfort or conſtancie to the brethren, onely geueth many ſtraight precepts, for not tranſporting or alienating the goods of the Church, and to pay truly their offrings, which they vow: alſo to haue all common among the Clergie. Moreouer, about the ende of his epiſtle he inſtituteth the confirmation of children after Baptiſme (which the Papiſtes bee woont to take into the number of their vij. Sacraments) affirming and denouncing more then Scripture will beare, that the impoſition of the Biſhops hand bringeth the holy ghoſt, and thereby to be made full Chriſtiās, &c. But of theſe decretall epiſtles inough is ſayd before, more may bee conſidered of the diſcrete Reader. Marianus Scotus, Sabellicus, Nauclerus, & other late ſtory writers doe hold as is aforeſayd, that he dyed a Martyr in the dayes of Alexander Seuerus, after he had gouerned that ſeat, 4. yeares, as Damaſus and Platina do witnes, as Marianus ſayth, eight yeares.

Tiburtius. Valerianus Martyrs.

The ſame Damaſus and Platina do teſtifie of him, that he by his preaching and holines of life cōuerted diuers Ethnikes to the fayth. Among whom were Tiburtius, and Valerianus the huſband of Cecilia, which both being noble men of Rome, remained conſtant in the fayth vnto the end and Martyrdome.

Cecilia Martyr *Ex martyrologio Adonis.*

The Martyrdome of *Cecilia.*

Of this Cecilia thus it is is written in the Martyrologe by Ado, that Cecilie the virgin, after ſhe had brought Valerian her huſband eſpouſed, and Tiburtius his brother to the knowledge and fayth of Chriſt, and with her exhortations had made them conſtant vnto Martyrdome: after the ſuffryng of them ſhe was alſo apprehended by Almachius the ruler, and brought to the Idols to do ſacrifice, which thing when ſhe abhorred to do, ſhe ſhould be preſented before the iudge to haue the condēnation of death. In the meane time the Sergeants and officers which were about her, beholdyng her comely beautie, and the prudent behauior in her conuerſation, began with many perſuaſions of wordes to ſollicite her mynd, to fauour her ſelfe, and that ſo excellent beautie, and not to caſt her ſelfe away, &c. But ſhe agayne ſo replied to them with reaſons & godly exhortations, that by the grace of almighty God their hartes began to kindle and at length to yeld to that Religion, which before they did perſecute. which thing ſhe perceauing, deſired of the iudge Almachius a litle reſpite. which beyng graunted, ſhe ſendeth for Vrbanus the Biſhop home to her houſe, to ſtabliſh and ground them in the fayth of Chriſt. And ſo were they, with diuers other at the ſame tyme Baptiſed, both men & women, to the number (as the ſtory ſayth) of 400. perſons, among whome was one Gordianus a noble man. This done, this bleſſed Martyr was brought before the iudge, where ſhe was condemned: then after was brought to the houſe of the Iudge, where ſhe was encloſed in a whote bath, but ſhe remayning there a whole day & night without any hurt, as in a cold place, was brought out again, and cōmaundement giuen that in the bath ſhe ſhould be beheaded. The executor is ſaid to haue foure ſtrokes at her necke, & yet her head beyng cut off, ſhe (as the ſtory geueth) liued three days after. And ſo died this holy Virgine martyr, whoſe body in the night ſeaſon Vrbanus the biſhop toke and buried among the other Biſhops. Ado the compiler of this Martyrologe addeth that this was done in yͤ tyme of Marcus Aurelius, and Commodus. But that cannot be, for ſo much as Vrbanus by all hiſtories, was long after thoſe Emperors, and liued in the dayes of this Alexander as is aboue declared. Antoninus, Bergomēſis, Equilinus with ſuch other writers, ſet forth this hiſtory with many ſtrāge miracles, wrought by the ſaid Cecilia, in conuerting her huſband Valerianus, and his brother, in ſhewyng them the Angell which was the keeper of her virginitie, and of the Angell putting on crowns vpon their heads. But as touching theſe miracles, as I do not diſpute whether they be true or fabulous: ſo becauſe they haue no ground vpon any ancient or graue authors, but taken out of certain new Legends, I do therfore referre them thether from whence they came.

Agapitus a bleſſed Martyr. *Ex Bergomenſe. Lib. 8.*

Vnder the ſame Alexander diuers other there be whom Bergomenſis mentioned to haue ſuffred martyrdom, as one Agapitus of the age of xv. yeares, who beyng apprehended and condemned at Preneſte in Italy, becauſe he would not ſacrifice to Idoles, was aſſayled with ſundry tormentes: firſt with whips ſcourged, then hanged vp by the feete, after hauing hote water poured vpon him, at laſt caſt to the

wild

A notable example of Gods iuſt plague vpon a perſecutor. Ex Henr. Erfordienſ. Lib 6.

wild beaſts. With all which tormentes, when he could not be hurt, finally with ſword was beheaded. The executor of theſe puniſhments (as by Henricus Erford, may be gathered) was one Antiochus, who in the executing of the foreſayd tormentes, ſodenly fell downe from his iudiciall ſeate, crying out, that al his inward bowels burned within him and ſo gaue vp the breath, Henr. de Erfordia, Lib. 6. cap. 29.

Calepodius, Martyr.

Alſo with the ſame Agapitus is numbred Calepodius a miniſter of Rome, whoſe body firſt was drawen through the citie of Rome, & after caſt into Tiber. Bergo. ibidem.

Pammachius with his wife and children Martyrs. 42. Martyrs.

Then followeth Pammachius a Senatour of Rome, with his wife and children, and other both men and women, to the number of xlij.

Simplicius, Martyr.

Item an other noble Senator of Rome named Simplicius all which together in one day had their heads ſmitten off, and their heads after hanged vp in diuers gates of the Citie, for a terrour of other, that none ſhould profeſſe the name of Chriſt.

Quiritius, Iulia, hys mother Martyrs.

Beſide theſe ſuffred alſo Quiritius a noble man of Rome, who with his mother Iulia, and a great number moe, were put likewiſe to death.

Tyberius, Valerianus, brethren and martirs.

Alſo Tiberius and Valerianus, Citizens of Rome, and brethren, ſuffered (as Bergomenſis ſayth) the ſame tyme, who firſt being bruiſed and broken with bats, after were beheaded.

Martina a Virgine & Martyr.

Alſo Vincentius, Bergomenſis, and Erfordienſis, make mētion of Martina a Chriſtian virgine, which after diuers bitter puniſhments, beyng conſtant in her fayth, ſuffered in like maner by the ſword.

Albeit as touching the tyme of theſe forenamed Martyrs, as I find them not in elder writers: ſo do I ſuppoſe them to ſuffer vnder Maximinus, or Decius, rather then vnder Alexander.

* The ſixt Perſecution.

Maximinus Emperour and perſecutour. The vi. perſecution. An. 237.

AFter the death of Alexander the Emperour, who with his mother Mammea (as is ſaid) was murdred in Germany folowed Maximinus, choſen by the will of the ſouldiours, rather then by the authoritie of the Senate, about the yeare of our Lord, 237. who for the hatred hee had to the houſe of Alexander (as Euſebius recordeth) rayſed vp the vj. perſecution againſt the Chriſtians: eſpecially againſt the teachers and leaders of the Church, thinking thereby the ſooner to vanquiſh the reſt, if the captains of them were remoued out of the way. whereby I ſuppoſe rather ẏ Martyrdome of Vrbanus the biſhop, and of the reſt aboue ſpecified, to haue happened vnder the tiranny of this Maximinus then vnder Alexander. In the tyme of this perſecution, Origene wrote his booke De Martyrio: which booke if it were extant would geue vs ſome knowledge, I doubt not, of ſuch as in this perſecution did ſuffer, which now lye in ſilence vnknowne. And no doubt but a great number they were, & moe ſhould haue bene, had not the prouidēt mercy of God ſhortened his dayes, & brideled his tiranny, for he raigned but three yeares. After whom ſucceded Gordianus an 240. a man no leſſe ſtudious for the vtilitie of the commō wealth, as mild and gentle to the chriſtians. This Gordian after he had gouerned with much peace and tranquilitie the Monarchie of Rome the ſpace of vj. yeares was ſlayne of Phillip Emperour after him.

Origenes de Martyrio.

Gordianus Emperour. An. 240.

Pontianus Byſhop of Rome. Diuerſity betweene *Damaſus and Euſeb. Pontianus* baniſhed.

In the dayes of theſe Emperours aboue recited, was Pontianus biſhop of Rome, who ſucceded next after Vrbanus aboue reherſed, about the yeare of our Lord, 236. in the xij. yeare of Alexander, as Euſebius, Lib. 6. cap. 28. noteth: declaring him to ſit vj. yeares. Contrary Damaſus and Platina write, that he was biſhop ix. yeares and a halfe. And that in the tyme of Alexander, he with Philippus his Prieſt was baniſhed into Sardina, and there died, But it ſemeth more credible that he was baniſhed rather vnder Maximinus, and died in the beginning of the raigne of Gordianus. In his Epiſtles decretal (which ſeeme likewiſe to be fayned) he appeareth very deuout, after the common example of other biſhops to vphold the dignitie of Prieſts, and of Clergie men, ſaying: that God hath them ſo familiar with him, that by them he accepteth the offrings and oblations of other, and forgiueth their ſinnes, and reconcileth them vnto him. Alſo, that they do make the body of the lord with their owne mouth, and geue it to other, &c. which doctrine how it ſtandeth with the Teſtament of God, & glory of Chriſt, let the Reader vſe his owne iudgement.

This doctrine ſeemeth derogatory to Chriſt and blaſphemous.

Other notable fathers alſo in the ſame time were rayſed vp in the church, as Philetus Biſhop of Antioch, which ſucceded after Aſclepiades afore mentioned, an. 220. and after him Zebennus biſhop of the ſame place, an. 231.

Ammonius a Chriſtian writer.

To theſe alſo may be added Ammonius the ſchoolemaiſter of Origene, as Suidas ſuppoſeth, alſo the kinſmen of Porphiry the great enemy of Chriſt. Notwithſtanding, this Ammonius endued with better grace, as he left diuers bookes in defence of Chriſtes religion: ſo he did conſtantly perſeuere (as Euſebius reporteth) in ẏ doctrine of Chriſt, which he had in the beginning receaued, who was about ẏ days of Alexander.

Iulius Aphricanus writer.

Iulius Aphricanus alſo about the tyme of Gordianus aforeſayd, is numbred among the old and auncient writers, of whom Nicephorus writeth to be the ſcholer of Origene, and a great writer of hiſtories of that tyme.

Natalius, Confeſſor. *Ex Euſeb. lib. 5. cap. 28.*

Unto theſe Doctors and Confeſſors may be adioyned the ſtory of Natalius, mentioned in the fift booke of Euſebius. This Natalius had ſuffred perſecution before like a conſtant confeſſor, who being ſeduced and perſuaded by Aſclepiodotus and Theodorus (which were the Diſciples of Theodocus) to take vpon him to be biſhop of their ſect, promiſing to geue him euery month an hundreth and fiftie pieces of ſiluer, and ſo he ioyning himſelfe to them, was admoniſhed by viſion and reuelatiō from the Lord. For ſuch was the great mercy of God, and of our Lord Chriſt Ieſu, that he would not his Martyr, which had ſuffered ſo much for his name before, now to periſh out of his church. For the which cauſe (ſayth Euſebius) God by certaine viſions did admoniſh him. But he not taking great heede thereunto, beyng blynded partly with lucre, partly with honor, was at length all the night long ſcourged of the Angels: In ſo much that he beyng made thereby very ſore, and early on the morow putting on ſackcloth, with much weeping and lamentation went to Zephyrinus the biſhop aboue mentioned, where he falling down before him and all the Chriſtian congregation, ſhewed them the ſtripes of his body, and prayed them for the mercies of Chriſt, that he might be receiued into their communion again, from which he had ſequeſtred himſelfe before. And ſo was admitted according as he deſired.

The Lord will not looſe them which haue done or ſuffered anye thing for him.

Anterius, Byſhop of Rome martyr.

After the deceaſe of Pontianus Biſhoppe of Rome afore mentioned, ſucceded next in that place Anterius of whom Iſuardus writeth that Pontianus departing away, did ſubſtitute him his roome. But Euſebius writeth that he ſucceded immediately after him. Damaſus ſayth, that becauſe he cauſed the actes and deathes of the Martyrs to be written, therefore he was put to martirdome himſelfe, by Maximinus the Iudge. Concerning the tyme of this Byſhop, our writers do greatly iarre. Euſebius and Marianus Scotus affirme that he was Biſhop but one moneth. Sabellicus ſayth that not to be ſo. Damaſus aſſigneth to him xij. yeares & one moneth. Volateranus, Bergomenſis, and Henricus Erford, geue to him three yeares & one moneth. Nauclerus writeth that he ſat one yeare and one moneth. All which are ſo farr diſcrepant one from an other, that which of them moſt agreeth with truth, it lyeth in doubt. Next to this Biſhop was Fabianus, of whom more is to be ſayd hereafter.

Authors diſagree.

Hyppolitus Byſhop and Martyr.

Of Hippolytus, alſo both Euſebius and Hieronymus maketh mention that he was a biſhop, but where, they make no relation. And ſo likewiſe doth Theodoretus witnes him to be a biſhop, and alſo a Martyr, but namyng no place. Gelaſius contra Eutichen ſayth, he dyed a Martyr, and that he was biſhop of an head Citie in Arabie. Nicephorus writeth, that he was Biſhop of Oſtia, a port towne neare to Rome. Certain it is, he was a great writer, and left many workes in the Church, which Euſebius and Hierome do recite: by the ſupputation of Euſebius, he was about the yeare of our Lord, 230.

Prudentius Periſtepha.

Prudentius in his Periſtephanon, making mentiō of great heapes of Martyrs buried by lx. together, ſpeaketh alſo of Hippolytus, and ſayth that he was drawn with wild horſes through fields, dales and buſhes, and deſcribeth thereof a pitifull ſtory.

After the Emperour Gordianus, the Empire fell to Philippus, who with Philip his ſonne, gouerned the ſpace of vj. yeares, an. 246. This Philippus with his ſonne and all his familie, was chriſtened & conuerted by Fabianus & Origene, who by letters exhorted him and Seuera his wife to be baptiſed, being the firſt of all the Emperours that brought in Chriſtianity into the emperiall ſeat. Howſoeuer Pomponius Letus reporteth of him to be a diſſembling prince, this is certayne, that for his Chriſtianitye, he with his ſonne was ſlayne of Decius one of his Captaynes. Sabellicus Bergomenſis Lib 8. ſheweth this hatred of Decius agaynſt Philippus to be conceaued, for that the Emperour Philip both the Father and the ſonne had committed their treaſures vnto Fabianus then Biſhop of Rome.

Philippus Emperour. Anno. 240. *Philippus* the firſt Chriſtian Emperour.

The ſeuenth Perſecution.

Decius Emperour. Anno. 250.

THus Philippus beyng ſlayne, after him Decius inuaded the crowne about the yeare of our Lord, 250. by whom was

The ſeuenth perſecution. The cauſe and occaſion of this perſecution. *Fabianus* Byſhop of Rome.

was moued a terrible perſecution againſt the Chriſtians, which Oroſius noteth to be the vij. perſecution. The firſt occaſion of this hatred and perſecution of this tyrant conceaued agaynſt the Chriſtians, was chiefly, as is before touched, becauſe of the treaſures of the Emperour which were committed to Fabian the biſhop.

Euſeb.Lib.6.

The miraculous election of *Fabianus.*

Fabianus Martyr.

This Fabian firſt being a maryed man, as Platina writeth, was made Biſhop of Rome after Anterius aboue mẽtioned by the miraculous appointment of God, which Euſebius doth thus deſcribe in this ſixt booke: when the brethren (ſayth he) were together in the Congregation, about the electiõ of their Biſhop, and had purpoſed among themſelues vpon the nominatiõ of ſome noble and worthy perſonage of Rome, it chaũced that Fabianus amõg other was there preſẽt, who of late before was newly come out of the countrey to inhabite in the Citie. This Fabian, as is ſayd, thinking nothyng leſſe then of any ſuch matter ſodenly cõmeth a Doue fleing from aboue, and ſitteth vpon his head. Whereupon all yͤ Congregation beyng moued, wyth one minde and one voyce, dyd choſe hym for their Biſhop. In the which function he remayned the ſpace of xiij. yeares, as Euſebius writeth. Damaſus, Marianus, and Sabellicus ſay. xiiij. yeares vnto yͤ tyme of Decius. Who, whether for that Philippus had committed to him his treaſures, or whether for the hatred he bare to Philippus, in the beginning of his raigne cauſed him to be put to death. Sendyng out moreouer his Proclamation into al quarters that al which profeſſed the name of Chriſt, ſhould be ſlayne.

The ordinaunces of *Fabianus* pretenſed. Oyle and creame. Accuſing of Byſhops. Appealing to the ſea Apoſtolicall. Marrying not within the fift degree.

False doctrine detected.

To this Fabian be aſcribed certaine ordinaunces, as of conſecrating new oyle once euery yeare, and burnyng the olde, of accuſations againſt Byſhops, of appealing to the ſea Apoſtolicke, of not marying within the fift degree, of communicating thriſe a yeare, of offering euery Sonday, with ſuch other things moe in his. iij. Epiſtles decretall, the which Epiſtles, as by diuers other euidences may be ſuppoſed to be vntruely named vpon hym, gyuing no ſignification of any matter agreeing to that tyme: ſo do I finde the moſt part of the iij. Epiſtle, worde for wordſtanding in the Epiſtle of Sixtus yͤ 3. which folowed almoſt 200. yeares after him, beſide the vnſeemely doctrine alſo in the ende of the ſayd Epiſtles contayned, where he contrary to the tenour of the Goſpell, applyeth remiſſion of ſinnes (onely due to the bloud of Chriſt) vnto the offerings of bread and wyne by men and women euery Sonday in the Church.

Origene.

Ex Euſeb.lib.6. Cap.39. The perſecutions of *Origene.*

Ex Suida & Nicepho.Lib.5.Cap.32.

The fall of *Origene.*

Origene excommunicated.

The repe taunce of *Origene.*

To this Fabianus wrote Origine De orthodoxia ſuæ fidei, that is, of the rightnes o fhis fayth. Whereby is to be vnderſtode, that he continued to the tyme of Decius, ſome ſay alſo to the tyme of Gallus. Of this Origene partly mention is touched before, declaring how bolde and feruente he was in the dayes of Seuerus, in aſſiſting, comforting, exhorting and kiſſing the Martyrs that were impriſoned & ſuffered for the name of Chriſt, with ſuch daunger of his owne life, that had not bene the ſingular protectiõ of God, he had bene ſtoned to death many tymes of the Heathen multitude. Such great concourſe of men and women was daily to his houſe to be catechiſed & inſtructed in the chriſtian fayth by him, that ſouldiours were hyred of purpoſe to defend the place where he taught them. Agayn, ſuch ſearch ſometymes was ſet for him, that vnneth any ſhiftyng of place or countrey could couer him. In thoſe laborious trauailes and aſſayes of the Church, in teaching, writing, confuting, exhorting, and expounding, he continued about the ſpace of 52. yeares, vnto the tyme of Decius and Gallus. Diuers and great perſecutions he ſuſtayned, but ſpecially vnder Decius, as teſtifieth Euſebius in his ſixt booke, declaring, that for the doctrine of Chriſt he ſuſtained bands and torments in his body, rackings with barres of iron, dungeons, beſides terrible threates of death and burning. All this he ſuffred in the perſecution of Decius, as Euſebius recordeth of him, and maketh no relatiõ of any further matter. But Suidas and Nicephorus following the ſame, ſayth further concerning him, that the ſayd Origene, after diuers and ſundry other torments, which he manfully and conſtantly ſuffred for Chriſt, at length was brought to an altar where a foule filthy Ethiope was appointed to be, and there this option or choyſe was offred vnto him, whether he would ſacrifice to the idole, or to haue his body polluted with that foule and ouglie Ethiope. Then Origene (ſayth he) who with a Philoſophicall mynd, euer kept his chaſtitie vndefiled, much abhorring yͤ filthy villany to be done to his body, condeſcended to their requeſt. Wherupon, the iudge puttyng incenſe in his hand, cauſed him to ſet it to the fire vpõ the altar. For the which impietie, he afterward was excommunicated of the Church. Epiphanius writeth that he beyng vrged to ſacrifice to Idols, and takyng the boughes in his hand, wherwith the Heathen were wont to honour their Gods, called vpon the Chriſtians to cary them in the honour of Chriſt. The which fact the church of Alexandria miſliking, remoued him from their communion. Wherupon Origene driuen away with ſhame and ſorow out of Alexandria, went into Iewry, where beyng in Hieruſalem among the congregation, and there requeſted of the Prieſtes and Miniſters (he being alſo a Prieſt) to make ſome exhortation in the church, refuſed a great while ſo to do. At length by importunate petition being cõſtrained therunto, roſe vp, and turning the booke, as though he would haue expounded ſome place of the Scripture, only read the verſe of the 49. Pſalme: but God ſayd to the ſinner, why doeſt thou preach my iuſtifications, & why doeſt thou take my teſtament in thy mouth, &c. Which verſe beyng read, he ſhut the booke, and ſate downe weepyng and wayling, the whole congregation alſo weeping & lamentyng with him, Suid. Niceph. More what became of Origene it is not found in hiſtory, but onely that Suidas addeth, he dyed and was buried at Tyrus. Euſebius affirmeth, that he departed vnder the Emperour Gallus, about the yeare of our Lord 255. and the 70. yeare of his age, in great miſerie (as appeareth) and pouertie.

Blemiſhes noted in *Origene.*

Origene commended for his learning.

Ex. Socrat. Lib.6.cap. 13.

In this Origene diuers blemiſhes of doctrine be noted wherupon Hierome ſome tymes doth inueigh againſt him. Albeit in ſome places agayne he doth extoll and commend him for his excellent learning, as in his Apologie agaynſt Ruff. and in his Epiſtle to Pammachus and Ocean, where he prayſeth Origene, although not for the perfection of his faith and doctrine, nor for an apoſtle, yet for an excellent interpreter, for his wit, and for a Philoſopher. And yet in his Prologue vpõ the Homelies of Origene vpon Ezechiel, he calleth him an other maiſter of the churches, after the Apoſtles. And in an other Preface vpon his queſtions vpon Geneſis, he wiſheth to himſelf the knowledge of the ſcriptures, which Origene had, alſo with the enuy of his name. Athanaſius moreouer calleth him ſingular, and laborious, and vſeth alſo his teſtimonies againſt the Arrians. Socrates, Lib. 6. cap. 13.

Heraclas Byſhop of *Alexandria.*

Euſeb.Lib. 6.cap.29.

After Origene, the congrue order of hiſtory requireth. next to ſpeak of Heraclas his Vſher, a man ſingularly comẽded for his knowledge, not only in Philoſophy, but alſo in all ſuch faculties as for a chriſtiã diuine doth appertain. This great towardnes of wit and learning when Origene perceiued in him, he appointed him aboue all other, to bee his Vſher or vnderteacher, to helpe in his ſchoole or Vniuerſitie of Alexandria, in the raigne of Antoninus Caracalla, ſonne of Seuerus. And after in the x. yeare of Alexander, Origene departing vnto Ceſarea, he ſucceeded in his roome to gouerne the ſchoole in Alexandria. Further alſo, in the time of Gordianus, after the deceaſe of Demetrius, biſhop of Alexandria, this Heraclas ſucceeded to be Biſhop of the ſaid Citie. Euſebius. Lib. 6. cap. 29. In the which functiõ he miniſtred the terme of xvj. yeares, Euſebius, Lib. 6. cap. 35. Of this Heraclas writeth alſo Origene himſelfe, that he, although beyng Prieſt, yet ceaſed not to read ouer and peruſe yͤ bookes of the Gentils, to the intent he might the better out of their owne bookes confute their errour. &c.

Heraclas called Pope yet no Byſhop of Rome.

{ An. 250. }

Ex Nicepho. Lib 5.cap. 29.

After Heraclas ſucceeded Dionyſius Alexandrinus, in the biſhopricke of Alexandria, like as he ſucceded him in yͤ ſchole before. Which Dionyſius alſo writeth of the ſame Heraclas vnto Philemon a Prieſt of Rome, thus ſaying: Hunc ego canonem & typum a beato Heracla Papa noſtro accepi, &c. that is, This Canon and type I receaued of bleſſed Heraclas our Pope, &c. This Heraclas was no Martyr which dyed 3. yeares before Decius, about the yeare of our Lord, 250. After whom ſucceded next in the ſame ſeat of Alexandria, Dionyſius Alexandrinus, who alſo ſuffered much vnder the tiranny of Decius, as hereafter ſhalbe ſhewed (Chriſt willing) when we come to the tyme of Valerian.

Perſecutors.

Nicephorus in his fift booke, and other which write of this perſecutiõ vnder Decius, declare the horriblenes therof to be ſo great and ſo innumerable Martyrs to ſuffer in the ſame, that he ſayth it is as eaſie to number the ſandes of the ſea, as to recite the perticular names of them, whõ this perſecution did deuour. In the which perſecutiõ the chiefeſt doers and tormenters vnder the Emperour, appeare in the hiſtory of Vincentius to be theſe: Optimus the vnder Conſull, Secundianus, Verianus, and Marcellianus, &c. Although therfore it be hard here to inſerte all and ſingular perſons in order that dyed in this perſecution: yet ſuch as remayne moſt notable in ſtories I will briefly touche, by the grace of him for whoſe cauſe they ſuffred.

Alexander. Byſhop of Ieruſalem. Martyr.

In the former tractation of the fift perſecution, mentiõ was made before of Alexander biſhop of Hieruſalem, and of his troubles ſuffred vnder Seuerus, and how afterward by the miracle of God he was appointed biſhop of Hieruſalem, where he continued a very aged man, aboue the terme of 40. yeares gouernour of that Church, til the time of the firſt yeare of Decius. At what tyme he being brought from Hieruſalem to Ceſarea into the iudgement place, after a conſtant and euident confeſſion of his fayth made before the Iudge, was committed vnto priſon, and there finiſhed his lyfe, as teſtifieth Dionyſius Alexandrinus in the ſixt booke of Euſebius. After whome ſucceded in that ſeate Mezabanes the xxxvi. Biſhop of that Citie, after Iames the Apoſtle.

Ex Euſeb. Lib.6.cap. 41.

Mention was made alſo before of Aſclepiades Biſhop of Antioch, who ſucceeded after Serapion, and in the perſecution of Seuerus did likewiſe perſeuer a conſtant confeſſor, and as Vincentius teſtifieth in his xi. booke ſuffered Martyrdome at laſt vnder this Decius. But this computation of Vincentius can in no wiſe agree with the truth of tyme, for as much as by probable writers, as Zonaras, Nicephorus and other, the ſayd Aſclepiades after Serapion, entred the biſhops ſeate of Antioch, an. 214. and ſate vij. yeares before the tyme of Gordianus. After whom ſucceeded Philetus, an. 221. gouerning the function xij. yeares. And after him Zebinus followed, an. 232. and ſo after him Babylas, which Babylas if he dyed in this perſecution of Decius, then could not Aſclepiades alſo ſuffer in the ſame tyme, who dyed ſo long before him, as is declared.

Aſclepiades Byſhop of Antioche Martyr. *Ex ſpecu. Vincent. Lib.11.ca. 52.*

A place of *Vincentius* reproued.

Of this Babylas biſhop of Antioche, Euſebus and Zonaras record, that vnder Decius he dyed in priſon, as did Alexander biſhop of Hieruſalem aboue rehearſed.

We read in a certaine treatiſe of Chryſoſtome, intituled Contra Gentiles, a notable and a long hiſtory of one Babylas a martyr, who about theſe times was put to death for reſiſtyng a certaine Emperour, not ſuffring him to enter into the temple of the Chriſtians, after a cruell murder cōmitted, the ſtory of which murder is this: There was a certaine Emperour, who vpon concluſiō of peace made with a certain nation, had receiued for hoſtage or ſuretie of peace the ſonne of the king beyng of yong and tender age, with conditions vpon the ſame, that neither he ſhould be moleſted of them, nor that they ſhould euer be vexed of him. Vpon this the kings ſonne was deliuered not without great care and feare of the father vnto the Emperour, whom the cruell Emperor, contrary to promiſe, cauſed in ſhort tyme, without all iuſt cauſe to be ſlayne. This fact ſo horrible beyng committed, the tyrant with all haſt would enter into the temple of the chriſtians: where Babylas beyng biſhop or miniſter withſtode him that he ſhould not into yͤ place approch. The Emperour therewith not a litle incenſed, in great rage commaunded him forthwith to be laid in priſon with as many irons as he could beare, & from thẽce ſhortly after to be brought forth to death and execution. Babylas going conſtantly and boldly to his Martyrdome, deſired after his death to be buried with his irons and bands, & ſo he was. The ſtory proceedeth moreouer, and ſaith, that in continuaunce of tyme in the raigne of Conſtantinus, Gallus then made the ouerſear of the Eaſt partes, cauſed his body to be tranſlated into the ſuburbes of Antioch called Daphnes, where was a temple of Apollo, famous with diueliſh Oracles & anſwers, geuen by that Idole, or by the deuill rather in that place. In the which temple after yͤ bringing of the body of Babylas, the idole ceaſed to geue any more Oracles, ſaying, that for the body of Babylas, he could geue no moe anſwers, but complaining that that place was wont to bee conſecrated vnto him, but now it was full of dead mens bodies. And thus the Oracles there ceaſed for that tyme, till the comming of Iulianus: who inquiring out the cauſe why the Oracles ceaſed, cauſed the bones of the holy Martyr to be remoued agayne from thence by the chriſtians, whom he then called Galileans. They commyng in a great multitude both men, maydens, and children, to the tombe of Babylas, tranſported his bones according to the commaundement of the emperour, ſinging by the way as they went, the verſe of the Pſalme in wordes as followeth: Confounded be all that worſhip Images and all that glory in Idoles, &c. which comming to the Emperours eares, ſet him in great rage againſt the Chriſtians, ſtirring vp perſecution againſt them. Albeit Zonaras declareth the cauſe ſomething otherwiſe: ſaying, that ſo ſone as the body of him and other Martyrs were remoued away, incontinent the temple of the Idole with the Image, in the night was conſumed with fire. For the which cauſe (ſayth Zonaras) Iulian ſtirred vp with anger, perſecuted the Chriſtians, as ſhall be ſhewed (Chriſt willyng) in his order and place hereafter.

Babylas Byſhop of Antioche Martyr. *Ex Chriſoſt. Lib. contra Gentiles.*

The ſtory of *Babylas.*

The body of *Babylas* ſtoppeth the oracles of Idols.

Ex Zonara Tom,3.

And thus much of Babylas, which whether it was the ſame Babylas Biſhop then of Antioche, or an other of the ſame name, it appeareth not by Chryſoſtome: which neither maketh mention of the Emperours name, nor of the place where this Babylas was biſhop. Agayne the ſtopping out of the Emperour out of the Church importeth as much as that Emperour to haue bene a Chriſtian. For otherwiſe if he had come in as an Heathen and as a perſecutor, it was not then the maner of chriſtian biſhops violently to withſtand the Emperours or to ſtop them out. Ouer & beſide the teſtimony of Euſebius, Zonaras doth witneſſe contrary in his vj. booke, that this Babylas which was then Biſhop of Antioch after Zebinus, was not put to death by the tormentors, but died in priſon. Wherfore it is not vnpoſſible, but this Babylas, and this Emperour which Chryſoſtome ſpeaketh off may be an other Babylas, then that which ſuffered vnder Decius. Nicephorus in his v. booke maketh mention of an other Babylas beſide this that ſuffered vnder Decius, which was biſhop of Nicomedia.

Euſeb.Lib.6. cap.39.

Nicepho.Lib.5. cap.25. Bab. Byſhop of Nicomedia Martyr.

In the forenamed Citie of Antioche, Vincentius, Lib.11. ſpeaketh of 40. virgines Martyrs, which ſuffered in this perſecution of Decius.

Vincent.lib.11. cap.52. XL. Virgines Martyrs.

In the country of Phrigia, and in the towne of Lampſar, the ſame Vincentius alſo ſpeaketh of one Peter, which there was apprehended, and ſuffered bitter tormentes for Chriſtes name, vnder Optimus the Proconſul. And in Troada likewiſe of other Martyrs that there ſuffered, whoſe names were Andrew, Paule, Nicomachus, and Dioniſia a virgin. Lib.11 cap.46.

Peter, of Phrigia Martyr.

Andræas, Paulus, Nichomackus, Dionyſia Virgine Martyrs.

Alſo in Babylon (ſayth he) diuers chriſtian Confeſſours were found of Decius, which were led away into Spayne, there to be executed, Lib.eodem, cap.43.

Martyrs of Babilon,

In the countrey of Cappadocea at the Citie of Ceſarea, in like maner of the ſayde author is teſtified, of Germanus, Theophilus, Ceſarius, and Vitalis, to ſuffer Martyrdom for Chriſt, eodē cap 52. And in yͤ ſame Booke mētion alſo is made of Polychronius Byſhop of Babylon, cap. 89. And in Pamphilia of Neſtor there Biſhop, yͤ dyed Martyr, cap.52.

Germanus, Theophilus, Cæſarius, Vitalis, Polychronius, Noſtor.

At Perſide in the Towne of Cardala, Olympiades and Maximus. In Tyrus alſo Anatolia Virgin, and Audax gaue theyr lyues likewyſe to death, for the teſtimonie of Chriſtes name.

Olympiades, Maximus, noble men.

Anatolia Virgine, Audax, Martyrs.

Euſebius moreouer in his ſixt booke, reciteth out of the Epiſtles of Dionyſius Alexandrinus, diuers that ſuffred diuerſly at Alexandria, the which places of Dionyſius, as they be cited in Euſebius, I thought here good for the auncientnes of the author, to inſert and notifie in his own wordes, and in our language, as he wrote them to Fabius biſhop of Antioch, as followeth.

Ex Euſeb.lib.6. cap.40.41.42.

This perſecution (ſaith he) began not with the proclamation ſet forth by the Emperor, but began a whole yeare before, by the occaſion and meanes of a wicked perſon, a Southſayer, and a follower of wicked Artes: who comming to our Citie here, ſtirred vp the multitude of yͤ Heathen agaynſt vs, and incited them to maintaine their own olde ſuperſtition and gentilitie of their countrey, whereby they beyng ſet a gog, and obtayning full power to proſecute their wicked purpoſe ſo thought & no leſſe declared, all their pietie & religiō to conſiſt only in the idolatrous worſhip of deuils, and in our deſtruction. And firſt flying vpon a certaine prieſt of ours named Metra, apprehended him & brought him forth, to make him ſpeake after theyr wicked blaſphemy, which when he would not do, they layd vpon him with ſtaues and clubs, and with ſharp reedes pricked his face and eyes, and afterward bringing him out into the ſuburbes, there they ſtoned him to death. Then they tooke a faithfull woman called Quinta, and brought her to the temple of their Idols, to compell her to worſhip with them, which whē ſhe refuſed to do, and abhorred their Idols, they bound her feete, and drew her through yͤ whole ſtreete of the citie, vpon the hard ſtones, & ſo daſhyng her againſt milſtones, & ſcourging her with whippes brought her to the ſame place of the ſuburbes, as they did the other before, where ſhe likewiſe ended her lyfe. This done, in a great outrage, & with a multitude running together, they bruſt into houſes of the religious & godly chriſtians, ſpoiling, ſacking, and carying away all that they could finde of any price. The reſt of things, ſuch as were of leſſe value & of wood, they brought into the open market, & ſet them on fire. In the meane time the brethren voyded aſide, & withdrew themſelues, taking patiently and no leſſe ioyfully the ſpoyling of their goods, then did they of whome S. Paule doth teſtifie. Neither do I know any of them all (one only excepted) apprehended of them, which reuoltyng from his profeſſion, denied the Lord yet to this preſent day.

The Epiſtle of *Dionyſius* Byſhop of Alexandria to *Fabius.*

A commotion of the people of Alexandria agaynſt the chriſtians.

Metra, Martyr.

Quinta a faithfull woeman and Martyr.

Patience and ioy in affliction.

The conſtancy of the Martyrs of Alexandria.

Among the reſt that were taken, there was a certayne virgin wel ſtriken in yeres, named Apollonia, whome they brought forth, & daſhing out all her teeth out of her iawes, made a great fire before the citie, threatning to caſt her into the ſame, vnleſſe ſhe would blaſpheme with them and deny Chriſt. Whereat ſhe ſtaying a litle with her ſelfe, as one that would take a pauſe, ſodenly leaped into the midſt of the fire, and there was burned.

Apollonia a bleſſed virgine and Martyr.

Serapion Martyr.

There was one alſo Serapion, whom they tooke in his owne houſe, and after they had aſſayled him with ſundrye kyndes of torments, and had broken almoſt all the ioyntes of his body, they caſt him downe from an vpper loft, & ſo did he complete his Martirdom. Thus was there no way neither priuie nor publike, nor corner nor alley left for vs, neither by day nor by night to eſcape, al the people making an outcry againſt vs, that vnleſſe we vttred wordes of blaſphemy, we ſhould be drawn to the fire & burned. And this outragious tumult endured a certaine ſpace, but at length as the Lord would, the miſerable wretches fell at diſſentiõ among themſelues, which turned the crueltie they exerciſed againſt vs, vpon their own heads. And ſo had we a litle breathyng tyme for a ſeaſon, while the fury of the Heathen people by this occaſion aſwaged.

The iuſt puniſhment of God turning the cruelty of aduerſaries vpõ them ſelues.

Shortly then after this, word was brought vnto vs of the ſtate of the Empire, which before was ſomthing fauorable to vs, to be altered and changed agaynſt vs, putting vs in great feare. And conſequently vpon the ſame folowed the Edict of the Emperor ſo terrible & cruell, that accordĩng to the forewarning of the lord, the elect if it had bene poſſible, might haue bene therby ſubuerted. Vpon that Edict ſuch feare came ouer vs al, that many there were eſpecially of the richer ſort, of whõ ſome for feare came rũning, ſome were led by the occaſion of time, ſome were drawne by their neighbours beyng cited by name, to thoſe vnpure and idolatrous ſacrifices. Other ſome came trembling & ſhaking, as men not which ſhould do ſacrifice, but which ſhould be ſacrificed themſelues, the multitude laughyng them to ſcorne. Some agayne came boldly to the aultars, declaring themſelues neuer to haue bene of that profeſſiõ, of whom it is ſaid, that hardly they ſhalbe ſaued. Of the reſidue, ſome followed one part, ſome an other, ſome ran away, ſome were taken. Of whome certaine continued to bands & torments conſtant. Other agayne after long impriſonment, before they ſhould come before the Iudge, renounced their faith. Some alſo after they ſuffred tormẽts, yet after reuolted. But other being as ſtrong as bleſſed, & valiant pillers of the Lord, fortified with conſtancie agreeing to their fayth, were made faithfull Martyrs of yͤ kingdome of God.

Iulianus Martyr.

Of whom the firſt was Iulianus, a man diſeaſed with the gout, and not able to go, being caried of two men, of whõ the one quickly denied, the other Cronion ſurnamed Eunus, with the forſayd Iulianus, the old man, confeſſing the Lord with a perfect fayth, were layd vpon Camels, and there ſcourged, at length caſt into the fire, with great conſtancie were ſo conſumed.

A certayne ſouldiour Martyr.

As theſe aforeſaid were going to their Martyrdome, there was a certaine ſouldiour, who in their defence tooke part agaynſt them that rayled vpon them. For the which cauſe the people crying out agaynſt hym, he alſo was apprehended, and beyng conſtant in his profeſſiõ, was forthwith beheaded.

Macar a bleſſed Martyr.

Likewiſe one Macar, a man borne in Lybia, beyng admoniſhed and exhorted of the Iudge to deny his fayth, and not agreyng to his perſuaſions was burned alyue.

Epimachus. *Alexander,* with foure woemen Martyrs.

After theſe ſuffred Epimachus, and one Alexander, who beyng long deteined in priſon and in bandes, after innumerable paynes & torments with razers & ſcourges, were alſo caſt into the burning fire with foure other women with them, which all there ended their Martyrdome.

Ammonarion Virgine martyr.

Alſo Ammonarion an holy virgine, whõ the cruel iudge had long and bitterly tormented, for that ſhe promiſing the Iudge before, that for no puniſhment ſhe would yelde to his requeſt, and conſtantly performyng the ſame, ſuffred likewiſe Martyrdome, with two other women, of whom there was an aged Matrone, named Mercuria, the other was called Dionyſia, beyng a mother of many fayre childrẽ, whom yet notwithſtanding ſhe loued not aboue the Lord. These after they could not be ouercome by no tormẽts of yͤ cruell iudge, but he rather aſhamed and confounded to be ouercome of ſely women, at length they beyng paſt feeling of all torments, were ſlayne with the ſword, firſt Ammonarion like a valiant Captaine ſuffryng before them.

Mercuria, *Dyonyſia,* *Martyrs.*

Heron, Ater, *Iſidorus,* *Dioſcorus,* Martyrs.

Heron, Ater, and Iſidorus Egyptians, and with them Dioſcorus alſo a child of xv. yeres, were crowned with yͤ ſame crowne of Martyrdom. And firſt the iudge began with the child, thinking him more eaſie to be wonne, with wordes to entiſe him, then with torments to conſtrain him, but he perſiſted immouable, geuing neither place to perſuaſions nor puniſhments. The reſt after he had greuouſly tormẽted being conſtant in their profeſſion, he committed to the fire. At Dioſcorus, the iudge greatly meruailing for his wiſe anſwers & graue conſtancie diſmiſſed him, ſparing (as he ſaid) his age to a longer reſpite: which Dioſcorus is yet alſo with vs at this preſent, wayting for a longer triall.

Nemeſion, Martyr. Theeues i the olde tyme amongſt th Romain burned.

Nemeſion beyng alſo an Egyptian, firſt was accuſed for a companion of theeues, but beyng purged thereof before the Centurion, was then accuſed of Chriſtianitie, and for that cauſe being in bands, was brought to the Preſident, who moſt vnrighteouſly tormenting and ſcourging hym double to al other theeues and felons, at length among the theeues burned him to death, making him a bleſſed martir.

Ammon, *Zenon,* *Ptolomeu* *Ingenuu,* *Theophil* Martyrs co fellours.

A notable example of Chriſtian courage in confeſſing Chriſt.

There were ſtanding before the tribunall ſeate certaine of the warriors or Knightes, whoſe names were Ammon, Zenon, Ptolomeus, Ingenuus, and with them a certayne aged man called Theophilus, who ſtanding by, at what tyme a certaine chriſtian man was before the iudge examined, and there ſeyng him for feare redy to incline and fall away, did burſt almoſt for ſorow within themſelues, making ſignes to him with their hands, and all ieſtures of their body, to be conſtant. This beyng noted of all the ſtanders by, they were redy to lay hold vpon them, but they preuenting the matter, preaſed vp of their owne accord before to the bench of the iudge, profeſſing themſelues to be Chriſtians. In ſo much, that both the Preſident with the benchers were all aſtonied, the chriſtians which were iudged, more emboldned to ſuffer, and the Iudges therby terrified. This done, they departed away from the place, glad and reioycing for the teſtimony that they had geuen of their fayth. Many other beſides were in other cities and townes rent and torne aſunder by the Heathen, among whom, one I wil ſpeake off for cauſe worthy of memory.

Iſchyrion, Martyr.

Iſchirion one that was in ſeruice with a certaine noble man, was commaunded of his maiſter to make ſacrifice, who for not obeying, was therefore rebuked: After perſiſting in the ſame, was greuouſly threatned with ſharp and manacing wordes. At laſt his maiſter when he could not preuaile againſt him, taking a ſtake or pike in his handes, ran him through into the body and ſlue him.

What ſhould I ſpeake of the multitude of them which wandering in deſertes and mountaines, were conſumed with hunger, thirſt, cold, ſicknes, theeues, or wilde beaſts, of whoſe bleſſed victorie they which be aliue, are yet witneſſes. In the number of whom, one I will ſpeake off, among diuers other, named Cheremon Biſhop of the Citie called Nilus, an aged man, he with his wife flying to the mountain of Arabia, neuer returned again, nor euer could be ſeene after. And though they were ſought for diligently by their brethren, yet neither they nor their bodies were found. Many other there were which flying to theſe moũtains of Arabia, were taken of the barbarous Arabians: of whom ſome with much mony could ſcarſe be ranſomed, ſome were neuer heard off yet to this preſent day. Thus much out of the Epiſtle of Dionyſius alledged in Euſeb. Lib. 6 cap. 41 42. &c.

Cheremon, *Martyr.* *Cheremon,* a Byſhop had a wife.

Euſeb. lib. 6. cap. 40. 41. 42.

The Epiſtle of *Dionyſius Alexād. to Germanus.*

This *Germanus* was a Byſhop in that tyme, whiche charged *Dionyſius* for hys flyeng perſecution, agaynſt whõ he purgeth hymſelfe.

God willed *Dionyſius* to flee in perſecution.

Moreouer, the foreſaid Dionyſius in an other place writyng to Germanus, of his owne daungers and of other, ſuſtained in this perſecution, & before this perſecution of Decius, thus inferreth as followeth: I, ſayth he, behold before the ſight of God, I lye not: and he knoweth, I lie not, how that I hauing no regard of myne owne life, and not without the motion of God, did flye and auoyde the daunger of this perſecution. Yea and alſo before that this perſecution of Decius did rage againſt vs: Sabinus the ſeme houre ſent a Farmer to ſeeke me, at what tyme I remaining at home waited iij. dayes for his comming. But he ſearching narowly for me by all wayes, fields, floods, & corners, where he thought I might beſt haue hid my ſelf, or to haue paſſed by, was ſtroken with ſuch a blindneſſe, that he could not find myne houſe, thinking with himſelf nothing leſſe, then that I would abide at home in ſuch ſo dangerous perſecution. Thus theſe iij. days beyng paſt, vpon the fourth day, the Lord God ſo willing and commanding me to flie, and alſo maruelouſly opening to me the way, I with my* children and many other brethren went out together. And this not to come of my ſelfe, but to be the worke of Gods prouidence, the ſequel of thoſe things declared, wherein afterward I was not vnprofitable peraduenture to ſome, &c.

**Ergo* Byſhops then had wiues and Children.

Againe in another place ſhortly after the foreſayd Dionyſius proceedyng in the narration of himſelfe, thus inferreth: Then I comming to Hieruſalem with them which were with me, was brought by ſouldiours vnto Tapoſixis, where as Timotheus (by the prouidence of God) neyther was preſent, nor yet takẽ. who then returning home foũd his houſe deſert, and officers watching about the ſame, & vs within taken, &c. And agayne ſhortly after it foloweth: And to ſee (ſayth he) the admirable diſpoſing of God his workes. As Timotheus was thus flying with much haſt & great feare, a certain man, as happened, a dweller neere by met him by the way, & aſked, whether he went ſo haſtely: to whome Timotheus aunſwering declared all the matter ſimply as it was, which done, the man proceedeth on hys

The prouidence of God in preſeruing hys.

iourney

The ſtory of the deliueraunce of *Dionyſius* and hys felowes.

iourney, whether he was purpoſed to go, which was to a mariage, the maner of which mariages then was to ſit vp all the night long feaſting and drinking. Thus as he was come, ſitting with them at the feaſt, he telleth his companions what was done, & what he heard by the way. This was no ſooner told, but all they forthwith vpon a head, as ſtroken with a ſodain fury ruſhing out together, made toward vs as faſt as they could, with ſuch crying & noyſe, as might ſeeme very terrible. At the firſt hearing wherof, the ſouldiours that had vs in keping, being afraid, ran away, by reaſon wherof we were left alone, & found as we were lying vpon fourmes & benches. I then, (the Lord knoweth) thinking with my ſelfe that they had bene thieues, which came to ſpoyle and rob, being in my couch, lay ſtill in my ſhirt onely as I was, the reſt of my garments lying by me, I offred to them. They then willed me in all haſt to riſe and get away, wherby I then perceauing the cauſe of their commyng, cryed vnto them deſiring that they would ſuffer vs ſo to do: And if they would do any benefit for me for ſo much as I could not eſcape the hands of thē which would purſue me and cary me away, I prayed them that they would preuent them, and cut off my head before. And as I was crying thus vnto them, caſting my ſelfe groueling vpon the pauement as my companions can teſtifie, who were pertakers of all theſe thinges, they bruſt forth violently, takyng me by the handes and feete, and caried me out of the dores, and led me away. There followed me Gaius, Fauſtus, Petrus, Paulus, (who were witneſſes of all the ſame) which brought me alſo out of the Citie, and ſo ſetting me vpon a bare Aſſe, conueyed me away. Thus much writeth Dionyſius of himſelfe, the example of whoſe Epiſtle is cited in the Eccleſiaſticall ſtory of Euſebius, Lib. 6. cap. 40. alſo Lib. 7. cap. 11.

Dionyſius. Gaius, Fauſtus, Petrus. Paulus deliuered frō the Centurion and the ſouldiours. *Ex Euſeb. lib. 6. ca. 40. Lib. 7. cap. 11. Ex Niceph. Lib. 5. cap. 27.*

Chriſtophorus Martyr. The fable of great *S. Chriſtopher.*

Nicephorus in his fift booke, cap. 27. maketh mention of one named Chriſtophorus, which alſo ſuffered in this perſecution of Decius. Of which Chriſtophorus, whether the fable riſeth of that mighty Giant ſet vp in Churches, wadyng through the Seas, with Chriſt on his ſhoulder, and a tree in his hand for a walking ſtaffe. &c. it is vncertayne. Georg. Wicelius alledgeth out of Ruggerus Fuldenſ. and mentioneth of one Chriſtophorus, borne of the nation of the Cananites, which ſuffered vnder Decius, beyng, as he ſayth of xii. cubites hye. But the reſt of the hiſtory paynted in Churches, the ſayd Wicelius he derideth as fables of Centaurus, or other Poeticall fictions.

Meniatus, Agatha. Martyrs. *Ex Bergomenſ. Lib. 8. Ex Martyrologio Adonis.*

Bergomenſis in hys viii. booke maketh relation of diuers martyred vnder Decius, as Meniatus which ſuffered at Florence, of Agatha an holy virgine of Sicile, who is ſayd to ſuffer diuers and bitter tormentes vnder Quintinianus the Proconſul, with priſonment, with beatinges, with famine, with racking, roled alſo vpon ſharpe ſhelles and hot coles, hauing moreouer her breſtes cut from her body, as Bergomenſis, and the Martyrologe of Ado recorde. In the whiche Authors as I denye not, but part of the ſtory may be true, ſo agayne concernyng the myracles of the aged man appearing to her, and of the yong man clothed in a ſilken veſture, with an hundreth yong mē after him, and of the marble table with the inſcription, Mentem ſanctam, &c. I doubt.

Martyrs wandring in mountaynes.

Hard it is to recite all that ſuffred in this perſecution, whē as whole multitudes went into wildernes & mountains, wandring without ſuccour or comfort, ſome ſtarued with hunger and cold, ſome with ſicknes conſumed, ſome deuoured of beaſtes, ſome with barbarous theeues taken and caried away. Vincentius in his xi. booke ſpeakyng of Aſclepiades, writeth alſo of xl. virgins and Martyrs, which by ſundry kindes of torments were put to death about the ſame tyme, in the perſecution of this tirant.

Fourty Virgines Martyrs. *Tryphon* Martyr.

Likewiſe in the ſaid Vincentius, mentiō is made of Tryphon, a man of great holines, and conſtant in his ſuffryng, who beyng brought to the Citie of Nice, before the Preſident Aquilus, for his conſtant confeſſion of Chriſtes name was afflicted with diuers and grieuous torments, and at length with the ſword put to death.

Maximianus. Malchus, Martinianus. Dyoniſius. Ioannes. Serapion. Conſtantinus. 7. Martyrs.

At what tyme Decius had erected a temple in the midſt of the Citie of Epheſus, compelling all that were in the Citie there, to ſacrifice to the Idoles, ſeuen Chriſtians were found, whoſe names were Maximianus, Malchus, Martianus, Dionyſius, Ioannes, Serapion, and Conſtantinus, who refuſing the Idolatrous worſhip, were accuſed for the ſame vnto the Emperour to be Chriſtians. which when they conſtantly profeſſed, and did not deny, notwithſtanding, becauſe they were ſouldiours, retayning to the Emperours ſeruice, reſpite was geuen them for a certaine ſpace to deliberate with themſelues, til the returne agayne of the Emperour, which then was goyng to warre. In the meane ſpace, the Emperour being departed, they taking counſail together, went and hidde themſelues in ſecret caues of the Mount Cælius. The Emperour returnyng agayne, after great inquiſitiō made for them, hearing where they were, cauſed the mouth of the place where they were, to be cloſed vp with heapes of ſtones, that they not able to get out, ſhould be famiſhed within. And thus were thoſe good men martired. The ſtory (if it be true) goeth further that they betwene feare and ſorow fell a ſleepe, in which ſleepe they continued the ſpace of certaine ages after, till the tyme of Theodoſius the Emperour, before they did awake, as reporteth Vincentius, Nicephorus, Lib. 5. ca. 27. and partly alſo Henr. Erfordienſ. But of their awakyng, that I referre to them that liſt beleue it. Certain it is, that at the laſt day they ſhall awake in dede without any fable.

The fable of the awaking of theſe ſeuen martyrs. *Ex Vincent. Nicepho. Erfordienſ.*

A ſouldiour martyr. *Ex Hierony. in Vita Pauli Eremitæ.* A notable example of a chaſt ſouldiour byting of hys toung, and ſpitting it in the face of an harlot.

Hieronymus in the lyfe of Paulus the Hermite, reciteth a ſtory of a certaine ſouldiour, whom the Pretor could not otherwiſe with torments remoue frō his Chriſtianitie, he deuiſed an other way, which was this: he commaunded the ſouldiour to be layd vpon a ſoft bed in a pleaſant garden among the flouriſhing Lillies and red Roſes, which done, all other beyng remoued away, & himſelf there left alone, a beautifull harlot came to him, who embracing him, & with al other intiſements of an harlot, laboured to prouoke him to her naughtines. But the godly ſouldiour fearyng God more, then obeying fleſh, bitte of his tong with hys owne teeth, and ſpit it in the face of the harlot, as ſhe was kiſſing him, and ſo gat he the victorie, by the conſtant grace of the Lord aſſiſting him.

A like example of chaſtitie betweene two Chriſtians. *Ex Ambr. lib. 2. de Virgin.*

An other like example of ſingular chaſtitie is written of the virgin Theodora, and an other ſouldiour, by Ambroſe Lib. 2. De virginibus. At Antioche, this Theodora refuſing to do ſacrifice to the Idols, was condemned by the Iudge to ẏ ſtewes, which notwithſtanding by the ſingular prouidence of god was wel deliuered. For as there was a great company of wanton yong men ready at the dore to preaſe into the houſe where ſhe was, one of the brethren, named Didimus (as Ado ſayth) moued with fayth and motiō of God, putting on a ſouldioures habite, made himſelfe one of the firſt that came in, who rounding her in the eare, tolde her the cauſe and purpoſe of his commyng, beyng a chriſtiā as ſhe was: his counſaile was that ſhe ſhould put on ẏ ſouldiors habite, and ſo ſlip away. And he puttyng on her garmentes would there remaine to abide their force. And ſo did, whereby the virgine eſcaped vnknowen. Didimus left vnto the rage and wondring of the people beyng a man in ſtead of a woman, was preſented vnto the Preſident, vnto whom without delay he vttered all the whole matter as it was done, profeſſing him ſo as he was, to be a chriſtiā, and therupon was condemned to ſuffer. Theodora vnderſtanding thereof, and thinking to excuſe him by accuſing her ſelfe, offred her ſelfe as the partie guiltie, vnto the Iudge, claymyng and requiring the condemnation to light vpon her, the other as innocent to be diſcharged. But the cruell Iudge (crueller then Dionyſius, which ſpared Damon & Pithias) neither conſidering the vertue of the perſons, nor the innocency of the cauſe, vniuſtly and inhumanely proceded in execution againſt thē both, who firſt hauing their heads cut off, after were caſt in the fire, Ambroſ. Ado. Although what tyme, or in what perſecution theſe did ſuffer, in the authors of this narration it doth not appeare.

Theodora, Didimus, Martyrs.

Agathon, Martyr.

Agathon a man of armes in the Citie of Alexandria, for rebuking certaine lewd perſons, ſcornefully deridyng the dead bodies of the Chriſtians, was cried out off and rayled on of the people. Afterward accuſed to the iudge, was condemned to looſe his head. Erfordienſis

Paulus, Andreas, Martyrs.

The ſayd Erfordienſis alſo maketh mention of Paulus, and Andræas, whome the Proconſul of Troada gaue to the people beyng ſcourged, and after drawne out of the Citie, they were troden to death with the feete of the people. Hen. de Erford.

Iuſtinus, Nicoſtratus, Portius Martyrs.

Among other that ſuffered vnder this wicked Decius, Bergomenſis alſo maketh mention of one Iuſtinus a Prieſt of Rome, and of an other Nicoſtratus a Deacon. To theſe Vincentius alſo addeth Portius a Prieſt of Rome, whom he reporteth to be the conuerter of Phillip the Emperor afore mentioned.

Abdon, Sēnas. Martyrs.

Of Abdon and Sennas we read alſo in the foreſayd Bergomenſis and Vincentius, two noble men, who becauſe they had buried the chriſtians, whom Decius had brought from Babylon to Corduba, and there put them to death, were therfore accuſed to Decius, & brought to Rome, where they beyng commaunded to ſacrifice to dead Idols, would not obey, and for the ſame were geuen to the wilde beaſtes to be deuoured: but when the wild beaſtes more gentle then the men would not touch them, they were at length with the ſword beheaded. Bergom. Vincent. Lib. 11. cap. 4. Albeit to me it ſeemeth not vnpoſſible nor vnlike, this Abdon and

Sennas, to be the ſame, whome in other ſtoryes we finde, and before haue mentioned to be Ammon and Zenon.

Secundianus. Verianus. Marcellianus. Martyrs.

One Secundianus was accuſed to Valerian a Captayne of Decius, to be a Chriſtian, which profeſſiō when he ſtoutly did maynetayne, was commaunded to priſon. By the way as the ſouldiours were leading him to the gaile, Verianus and Marcellianus ſeing the matter, cried to the ſouldiours, aſking them whether they drew the innocent. At the which worde, when they alſo confeſſed them ſelues to be Chriſtians, they were likewiſe apprehended, and brought to a Citie named Centumcellas: where being willed to ſacrifice, they did ſpit vpon the Idols, and ſo after ſentence and iudgement geuen, firſt they were beaten with waſters or trunſhons, after that were hanged and tormented vpō the gibbet, hauing fire ſet to their ſides. Vincentius addeth moreouer that the tormentors ſome of them fallē ſodainly dead, other ſome being taken wͭ wicked ſpirites, the Martyrs wͭ ſword at length were beheaded. Vinc. Lib. 11. cap. 51.

Ex Vincent. lib.11.cap.51.

To proſecute in length of hiſtory, the liues and ſufferings of all them, which in this terrible perſecution, were Martyred, it were to long, & almoſt infinite: briefly therefore to rehearſe the names of ſuch as we finde alledged out of a certaine brief treatiſe of Bede intituled De temporibus, cited by Henricus De Erford, it ſhalbe at this tyme ſufficient. Vnder Decius ſuffered Hyppolitus and Concordia, Hiereneus and Abnudus, Victoria a virgine, being noble perſonages of Antioche. Bellias Byſhoppe of the Citie of Apollonia. Leacus, Tyrſus, and Gallinetus, Nazanzo, Tryphon in the Citie of Egypt called Tanais. Phileas Biſhop, Philocomus with many other in Perſide. Philcronius byſhop of Babylon, Theſiphon Byſhop of Pamphilia. Neſtor Byſhop in Corduba. Parmenius Prieſt with diuers moe. In the Prouince called Colonia, Circenſis, Marianus and Iacobus. In Africa, Nemeſianus, Felix, Rogatianus prieſt. Feliciſſimus. At Rome Iouinus, Baſileus, alſo Ruffina, and Secunda Virgines, Tertullianus, Valerianus, Nemeſius, Sempronianus, and Olympius. In Spayne Teragone, at Verona Zeno Byſhop. At Cæſarea, Marinus, and Archemius. In the towne of Miliane Priuatus Byſhop, Theodorus ſurnamed Gregorius Byſhop of Pontus. Hæc Beda.

Ex libro. Beda, de Temporibus, citante. Henrico de Erfordia.

A briefe Cataloge of diuers which ſuffered vnder *Decius ex Beda.*

Vincentius in his xi. booke, maketh alſo mention, citing Ex Hugone, of certaine children ſuffering Martyrdome vnder the ſame perſecution, in a Citie of Tuſcia called Aretium: whoſe names I finde not, except they be Pergentius & Laurentius mentioned in Equilinus, Lib. 5. cap. 80.

Children Martyrs. *Ex Vincent lib. 11.cap.52.*

Nowe that I haue recorded of them ſufficiently, which vnder this tempeſt of Decius, conſtantly gaue their liues to Martyrdome for the teſtimonie of Chriſt: it remaineth, that a fewe wordes alſo be ſpoken of ſuch that for feare or frailtie in this perſecution did ſhrinke backe, & ſlide from the truth of their confeſſion. In the number of whome firſt commeth in the remembrāce of Serapion an aged olde man. Of whom writeth Dionyſius Alexandrinus, vnto Fabius, declaring: that this Serapion was an olde man, which liued amongeſt them a ſincere and vpright life of long time, but at length fell. This Serapion oft and many times deſired to be receaued againe, but no man liſtened to him, for hee had ſacrificed before. After this not long after he fell into ſickeneſſe where he remained three dayes dombe, and benummed of all his ſēſes. The fourth day following, beginning a litle to recouer, he called to him his ſiſters ſonne, & ſaide: how long, how lōg (my ſonne) do ye hold me here? Make haſt I pray you, that I were abſolued. Call hether ſome of the miniſters to me, and ſo ſaying no more, held his peace, as dombe & ſpeachles. The boy ranne, it was then night, vnto the miniſter, who at the ſame time being ſicke, could not come with the meſſenger, but ſayde: for ſomuch as he willed herretofore (as he ſayde) that ſuch as lay a dying, if they couet to be receaued & reconciled, and eſpecially if they required it earneſtly, ſhould be admitted, wherby with the better hope & confidence they may depart hence: therefore he gaue to the boy a litle of the *Euchariſt, willing him to crumble it into the cup, & ſo to drop it into the mouth of the olde man. With this the boy returned, bringing wͭ him the holy Euchariſt. As he was now nere at hād, before he had entred in, Serapiō the old mā, ſpeaking againe, cōmeſt thou (ſayd he) my ſonne? The Prieſt, quoth the meſſenger, is ſicke & can not come, but do, as he willeth you, & let me go. And the boy immixed the Euchariſt, & dropt it in ſoftly into the mouth of the old mā. Who after he had taſted a litle, immediatly gaue vp the Ghoſt. &c. Hæc Dionyſ. ex Euſ.

Such as reuolted and fell in this perſecution.

Serapion.

Ex Euſeb. Lib. 6. cap. 44.

*Note here the Sacrament to be called the Euchariſt, and not the body of Chriſt.

The holy Euchariſt in time of great neede and diſtreſſe committed to a boy.

The repentance and reconciliation of *Serapion.*

The goodnes of God ſhewed to *Serapion.*

Ex Henr. de Erford.

In the Citie of Troade, as the Proconſul was grieuouſly tormenting one Nicomachus, he cried out, that he was no Chriſtian, and ſo was let downe againe. And when after he had ſacrificed, he was taken eftſoones with a wicked ſpirite, and ſo throwen downe vpon the ground, where he byting of his toung with his teeth, ſo departed. Henr. de Erfordia.

Dionyſius in his Epiſtles alſo writyng to Fabius, and lamentyng the great terrour of this perſecution declareth, how that many worthy and notable Chriſtians, for feare and horror of the great tiranny therof, did ſhew themſelues feeble and weake men. Of whome ſome for dread, ſome of their owne accord, other after great torments ſuffered, yet after reuolted from the conſtancy of their profeſſion. Alſo S. Cyprian in his treatiſe De lapſis, reciteth with great ſorrow, and teſtifieth, how that a great number at the firſt threatnyng of the aduerſary, neither beyng cōpelled nor throwen downe with any violence of the enemy, but of their volūtary weakenes fell downe themſelues. Neither (ſayth he) tarying while the iudge ſhould put incenſe in their hands, but before any ſtroke ſtroken in the fielde, turned their backes, & played the cowards, not only commyng to their ſacrifices, but preuētyng the ſame, and pretending to come without compulſion, bringing moreouer theyr infantes & children eyther put into their hands, or taking them with them of their owne accord, and exhortyng moreouer other to do the lyke after their example.

A terrible example of denying, ſhewed vppon *Nichomachus.*

Dionyſius ad Fabium, Cyprianus Serm. de lapſis.

The weaknes of chriſtians denying their fayth.

Of this weakneſſe and falling, the ſaid author ſheweth two cauſes, either loue of their goodes and patrimonie, or feare of torments. And addeth moreouer examples of the puniſhmentes of them which ſo reuolted: affirmyng that many of them were taken and vexed with wicked ſprites. And of one man among other which after his voluntary deniall, ſodainly was ſtroken dombe. Agayn, an other after his abiuration as he ſhould communicate with other, in ſtead of bread receiued aſhes in his hād. Itē of a certayn mayden, who beyng taken & vexed with a ſprite, did teare her owne toung with her teeth, and tormented with paine in her bellie and inward partes ſo deceaſed.

Examples of Gods puniſhment after denial.

The ſacrament called bread of *S. Cyprian, De lapſis.*

Among other of this ſort, S. Cyprian, Lib. 2 cap. 8. maketh alſo mention of one Euariſtus a Biſhop in Aphrica, who leauing his charge, and making a ſhipwracke of his faith, went wandering about in other countreys, forſakyng his owne flocke. In like maner he maketh alſo mention of Nicoſtratus a Deacon, who forſakyng his Deaconſhip, and takyng the goods of the Church with him, fled away into other countreys, &c. Albeit Bergomenſis geueth that this Nicoſtratus the Deacon afterward dyed a Martyr. Thus then although ſome did relent, yet a very great nūber ſaith he, there was, whom neither feare could remoue, nor pain could ouerthrow to cauſe them to betray their confeſſion, but that they ſtoode like glorious Martyrs vnto the ende, Cyprian.

The ſame Cyprianus alſo in an other booke De mortalitate, reciteth a notable ſtory of one of his owne Colleges and fellow Prieſt: who beyng oppreſſed with weakneſſe, and greatly afrayd with death drawyng at hand, deſired leaue to depart, and to be diſcharged. As he was thus entreating, and almoſt now dying, there appeared by him a yong man, of an honorable and of reuerend maieſtie, of a tall ſtature, and comely behauior, ſo bright & cleare to behold, that ſcarce mans carnall eyes was able to beare the beholding of him, but that he was able ſo to do, which was now redy to depart this world. To whom this yong man ſpeaking with a certaine indignation of mynd and voyce, thus ſaid: Pati timetis, exire non vultis, quid faciam vobis? To ſuffer ye dare not, to goe out ye will not, what would ye me to do vnto you?

Cyprianus Lib. de mortalitate.

A notable voyce of God to a Prieſt of Carthage.

Vpon the occaſion of theſe and ſuch other, which were a great number, that fell and did renounce, as is aforeſaid, in this perſecution of Decius, roſe vp firſt the quarell & hereſie of Nouatus, who in theſe dayes made a great diſturbance in the church, holding this opinion, that they which once renounced the faith, and for feare of torments had offred incenſe to the idols, although they repented therefore, yet could not afterward be reconciled, nor admitted to the Church of Chriſt. This Nouatus beyng firſt Prieſt vnder Cyprian at Carthage, afterward by ſtirring vp diſcord and factions, began to diſturbe the Biſhopricke of Cyprian, to appoint there a Deacon called Feliciſſimus, agaynſt the biſhops mynd or knowledge, alſo to allure and ſeparate certayne of the brethren from the Biſhop, all which Cyprian, Lib. 1. Epiſt. 8. doth well declare. After this the ſayd Nouatus goyng to Rome, kept there the like ſtirre with Cornelius (as the ſame Cornelius in Euſebius, Lib. 6. cap. 43. doth teſtifie) ſettyng himſelfe vp as Biſhop of Rome againſt Cornelius, which was the lawfull Biſhop of Rome before. The which to bring to paſſe, he vſed this practiſe: firſt he had allured to him to be his adherents, thre or foure of good men and holy confeſſours, which had ſuffered before great tormentes for their confeſſion, whoſe names were Maximus, Vrbanus, Sydonius, and Celerinus. After this he entiſed three ſimple biſhops about the coaſtes of Italy to repayre

The occaſion and riſing vp of *Nouatus* hereſie.

Cornelij Epiſt. ad Fabium, ex Euſe. lib. 6. cap. 43.

to Rome, vnder pretence to make an end of certain controuerſies then in hand. This done, he cauſed the ſame, whether by making them dronke, or by other craftye counſell, to lay theyr handes vpon him, and to make him Biſhop, & ſo did. wherefore the one of thoſe three Byſhops hardly was receiued to the communion, by the great interceſſion of his people: the other two by diſcipline of yͤ church, were diſplaced from their Byſhoprickes, & other poſſeſſed with their roomes. Thus then were there two Byſhops together in one church of Rome, Nouatus and Cornelius, which was vnſemely, & contrary to the diſcipline of the Church. And hereupon riſeth the true cauſe and meaning of S. Cyprian, writing in his Epiſtles ſo much of one Byſhop, and of the vnity to be kept in Eccleſiaſticall regimēt, as appeareth, Lib.4.Epiſt.2. De ſimplicit.prælat. item.Lib 3. Epiſt.11.&c. And in like ſort writeth alſo Cornelius himſelfe of one Byſhop, ſaying: Itaq; vindex ille Euangelij ignorauit vnum eſſe debere Epiſcopū in Catholica Eccleſia.&c. That is, He knew not that there ought to be one Byſhoppe in a Catholicke Church. &c. This by the way, not out of the way I truſt, I haue touched briefly, to detect or refute the cauiling wraſtling of the Papiſtes, which falſely apply theſe places of Cyprian and Cornelius to maintayne the Popes ſupreme maiſterſhippe alone, ouer the whole vniuerſall Church of Chriſt in all places. whē their meaning is otherwiſe, how that euery one Catholicke Church or dioces ought to haue one Byſhop ouer it, not that the whole world ought to be ſubiect to the dominion of him onely that is Byſhop of Rome. Now to the ſtory againe. Nouatus beyng thus Biſhop tooke not a little vpon him, goyng about by all meanes to defeat Cornelius, and to allure the people from him. Inſomuch that (as in the foreſayd book of Euſebius appeareth) whē Nouatus came to the diſtributing of the offrings, and ſhould geue euery man his part, he cōpelled the ſimple perſōs euery man to ſweare, before they ſhould receiue of the benediction, & of the collectes or oblations, holding both their handes in his, & holding them ſo long, ſpeaking theſe wordes vnto them, (Sweare to me by the body and bloud of our Lord Ieſu Chriſt, that thou wilt not leaue me and goe to Cornelius,) till that they ſwearing vnto him, in ſtead of Amē (to be ſayd at yͤ receauing of the* bread, ſhould aunſwere, I will not returne to Cornelius, &c. where note by the way, that the Latine booke of Chriſtoferſons tanſlation, in this place, craftely leaueth out the name of bread. This ſtory being written in Euſebius, alſo contained in Nicephorus, although not in the ſame order of wordes, yet in effect drawne out of him, doth declare in playne wordes in both the Authors (who ſo will marke the ſame) that the ſacrament of the bodye of Chriſt, is termed with the playne name of bread, after the conſecration.

The meaning of *Cyprian* opened, writing of one Biſhop onely to gouerne in a Catholicke church falſely wraſted of the Papiſtes for the Papacy.

Ex Euſeb. Lib.6.cap.43.

*Note here the Sacrament of the body to be called bread.

Euſeb.lib.6.Cap.43. Nicepho.lib.6.ca.3.

The latine tranſlatiō of *Euſebius* corrupted by *Chriſtoferſō Lib.6.ca.43.*

It followeth more in the ſtory, that Maximus, Vrbanus, Sydonius, and Celerinus before mentioned, perceiuing at length the crafty diſſimulation and arrogancy, of Nouatus, left him, and with great repentance returned agayne to the Church, & were reconciled to Cornelius, as they thēſelues writing to Cyprian, and Cyprian likewiſe writing to them an Epiſtle gratulatory doth declare. Lib 3. Epiſt.3. & Cornelius alſo in his Epiſtle to Fabꝰ witneſſeth the ſame. In this Epiſtle the ſayd Cornelius moreouer writeth of one Moſes a worthy Martyr, which once being a follower alſo of Nouatus, after perceiuing his wickedneſſe forſooke him, and did excommunicate him. Of him Cyprian alſo maketh mention, & calleth him a bleſſed confeſſour. Lib.2 Epi.4. Damaſus in his pontificall ſayth, that he was apprehended with Maximus and Nicoſtratus aboue mentioned, & was put with them in priſon, where he ended his life. And thus much of Nouatus (agaynſt whom, as Euſebius teſtifieth) a Synode was holdē at Rome of lx. ſondry Byſhops in the tyme of Cornelius, and vnder the reigne of Decius an. 255. whereby it may be ſuppoſed that the heat of the perſecutiō at that tyme was ſomewhat calmed.

Maximus, Vrbanus, Sidonius, Celerinus, confeſſors. *Ex Cypr. Lib.3. Epiſt.3.*

Moſes, Martyr.

A Synode at Rome.

An. 255.

After Fabianus (or as Zonaras calleth him Flauianus) next ſucceeded into the biſhoprick of Rome Cornelius, whō Cyprian noteth to be a worthy Byſhop, and for his great vertue & maydenlye continency much commedable, choſen to that roome, not ſo much of his owne conſent, as of yͤ full greement both of the Clergy men, and alſo of the people. Hierome addeth alſo that he was a man of great eloquēce, wherby it may appeare thoſe two Epiſtles decretal, which go in his name not to be his, both for the rudenes of the barbarous and groſe ſtile, and alſo for the matter therin conteined, nothing taſting of that tyme, nor of that age nor doings then of the Church. wherof in the firſt he writeth to all miniſters & brethren of the Church, concerning the lifting vp of the bodyes & bones of Peter & Paule, De cathecumbis, and tranſpoſed to Vaticanum, at the inſtance of a certayne deuoute woman named Lucina, hauing no great argumēt or cauſe to write therof vnto the churches, but onely that he in that letter doth deſire thē to pray vnto the Lord, that through the interceſſion of thoſe Apoſtolicall Sayntes, their ſinnes might be forgeuen them. &c. In the ſecond Epiſtle writing to Ruffus a Byſhop of the Eaſt Church, he decreeth and ordaineth that no oth ought to be required or exacted of any head or chiefe Byſhop, for any cauſe, or by any power. Alſo that no cauſe of Prieſtes or Miniſters ought to be handled in any ſtraunge or forreine Court, without his precinct, except onely in the Court of Rome by appellation, wherby who ſeeth not the trayn of our latter Byſhops, going about craftely to aduaunce the dignity of the Court of Rome, vnder and by the pretenced title of Cornelius, and of ſuch auncient Byſhops. If Cornelius did write any Epiſtles to any in deede in thoſe ſo turbulent times of perſecution, no doubt but ſome ſignification thereof he would haue touched in the ſayd his letters, either in miniſtring conſolation to his brethrē, or in requiring conſolation and prayers of others. Neither is there any doubt, but he would haue geuē ſome touch alſo of the matter of Nouatus, with whom he had ſo much to do, as in deed he did: for ſo we finde it recorded both in Euſebius, and in Hierome that he wrote vnto Fabius Byſhop of Antioche, of the decreementes of the counſell of Rome, and an other letter of the maner of the Counſell: the third alſo of the cauſe of Nouatus, and agayne of the repentaunce of ſuch as fell, wherof there is no word touched at all in theſe foreſayd Epiſtles decretall.

Cornelius Byſhop of Rome, and Martyr.

Byſhops were choſen then not without the voice of the people.

A cenſure of the decretall Epiſtles of *Cornelius.*

What trouble this Cornelius had with Nouatus, ſufficiently is before ſignified. In this perſecution of Decius, he demeaned himſelfe very conſtantly and faythfully, whiche ſuſtayned great conflictes with the aduerſaries, as S. Cyprian geueth wineſſe, Lib.1.Epiſt.1. Hierome teſtifieth that he remayned Byſhop after the death of Decius, to the tyme of Gallus, and ſo appeareth alſo by S.Cyprian, which hath theſe wordes: Et tyrannum armis & bello poſtmodum victum, prior ſacerdotio ſuo vicit. But Damaſus and Sabellicus, his folowers, affirm that he was both exiled & alſo martired vnder the tyrannous reigne of Decius. Of whom Sabellicus writeth this ſtory, taken out (as it ſeemeth) of Damaſus, and ſayth: that Cornelius by the commaūdement of Decius, was baniſhed a towne called Centumcellas, bordering in Hetruria, from whence he ſent letters to Cyprian Byſhop of Carthage, and Cyprian agayne to him. This comming to the eares of Decius the Emperour, he ſendeth for Cornelius, aſking him: how he durſt be ſo bolde to ſhew ſuche ſtubbernes, that he neither caring for the Gods, nor fearing the diſpleaſure of his Princes, durſt, agaynſt the cōmon wealth, geue and receiue letters from other. To whom Cornelius anſwering agayne, thus purged himſelfe, declaring to the Emperour, that letters in deede he had written and receiued agayne concerning the prayſes & honoring of Chriſt, & of ſaluation of ſoules, but nothing as touching any matter of the common wealth. And it foloweth in the ſtorye: Then Decius moued with anger commaunded him to be beaten with plumbattes (which is ſayth Sabellicus a kinde of ſcourging) and ſo to be brought to the temple of Mars: either there to do ſacrifice, or to ſuffer the extremitye. But he rather willing to dye, then to committe ſuch iniquity, prepared himſelfe to Martyrdome, beyng ſure that he ſhould dye. And ſo commending the charge of the Churche vnto Stephanus his Archdeacon, was brought to the way of Appius, where he ended his life in faythfull Martyrdome. Euſebius in one place ſayth, that he ſat ij. yeares, in an other place ſayth, that he ſat three yeares, and ſo doth Marianus Scotus, following alſo the diuerſity of the ſayd Euſebius. Damaſus geueth him onely two yeares.

The conſtancie of *Cornelius* in hys tryall.

Cyprian.Lib.1. Epiſt.1.

Cornelius accuſed for writing letters to *Cyprian.*

Plumbatis cadi.

Cornelius, Martyred.

In this foreſayde perſecution of Decius, it ſeemeth by ſome writers alſo that Cyprian was baniſhed, but I ſuppoſe rather his baniſhment to be referred to the reigne of Gallus next Emperour after Decius, whereof more ſhall be ſayd, (Chriſt willing) in this place hereafter. In the mean time the ſayd Cyprian in his ſecond booke, Epiſt.5.&.6. maketh mention of two that ſuffered either in the time of this Decius, or much about the ſame time. Of whom one was Aurelius a worthy and valiant yong man, who was twiſe in tormentes for his confeſſion, which he neuer denied, but manfully and boldely withſtood the aduerſary, till he was baniſhed, and alſo after. And therefore was commended of Cyprian to certayne brethren, to haue him for their lectorer, as in the forenamed Epiſtle of Cyprian appeareth. The other was named Mappalicus, who the day before he ſuffered, declaring to the Proconſul, in the midſt of his tormentes, & ſaying: Videbis cras agonem: that is, to morrow you ſhall ſee the running for a wager. &c. was brought forth according as he foreſpake, to Martyrdome, and there with no leſſe conſtancie then patience did ſuffer.

Aurelius, Martyr.

Mappalicus, Martyr.

The death and deſtruction of *Decius.*

Oroſius.Lib.7. Cap.14.

The iuſt reuenge of God agaynſt perſecutours.

And thus much of the tyrannie of this wicked Decius agaynſt God his Saintes, now to touch alſo the power of God his vengeance and puniſhment agaynſt him, like as we ſee commonly a tempeſt that is vehement, not long to continue: ſo it happened with this tyrannicall tormenter, who raigning but two yeares as ſayth Euſebius, or three at moſt, as writeth Oroſius among the middle of the Barbarians with whom he did warre, was there ſlayne with his ſonne, like as he had ſlayn Philippus, and his ſonne his predeceſſours before, ſo was he with his ſonne ſlayne by the righteous iudgement of God himſelfe. Euſeb. Lib.7. cap.1. Platin. Pomponius affirmeth that he warryng agaynſt the Gothians, and beyng by them ouercome, leſt he ſhould fall into their handes, ranne into a whurlepyt, where he was drowned, and his body neuer found after.

The iuſt puniſhment of God vpon the Heathen multitude, for perſecuting his people.

The plague and hand of God.

The brotherly loue and piety among the chriſtians, ſhewed in the time of plague.

Neither did the iuſt hand of God plague the Emperor onely, but alſo reuenged as well the heathen Gentils and perſecutors of hys word, throughout all prouinces & dominions of the Romain Monarchie, amongſt whom the lord immediatly after the death of Decius, ſent ſuch a plage and peſtilence, laſtyng for the ſpace of x. yeares together, that horrible it is to heare, and almoſt incredible to beleue. Of this plague or peſtilence, teſtifieth Dionyſius to Hierax a biſhop in Egypt, Euſeb.Lib.7.cap.21.22. Where he declareth the mortalitie of this plague to bee ſo great in Alexandria, where he was biſhop, that there was no houſe in ỹ whole Citie free. And although the greatnes of the plague touched alſo the Chriſtians ſomwhat, yet it ſcourged the heathen Idolaters much more: beſide that the order of their behauiour in the one, and in the other was much diuers. For, as the foreſayd Dionyſius doth recorde, the Chriſtians through brotherly loue and pietie, did not refuſe one to viſit and comfort an other, and to miniſter to him, what need required. Notwithſtanding it was to them great danger: for diuers there were, who in cloſing vp their eyes, in waſhyng their bodies, & interryng them in the ground, were next themſelues which folowed them to their graues. Yet all this ſtayed not them frõ doyng their duetie, and ſhewyng mercy one to another. Where as the Gentils contrarily, beyng extremely viſited by the hand of God, felt the plague, but conſidered not the ſtriker, neyther yet conſidered they their neighbour, but euery man ſhifting for himſelfe, neither cared one for an other: but ſuch as were infected, ſome they would caſt out of the dores halfe dead, to be deuoured of dogges and wilde beaſts, some they let dye within theyr houſes without all ſuccour, ſome they ſuffred to lye vnburied, for that no mā durſt come neare him. And yet notwithſtandyng, for all their voyding and ſhiftyng, the peſtilence followed them whetherſoeuer they went, & miſerably conſumed them. In ſo much, that Dionyſius biſhop ỹ ſame tyme of Alexandria, thus reporteth of his owne City: that ſuch a great mortalitie was then among them, that the ſayd City of Alexandria had not in number of all together, both old and yong, as it was wont to contayn before of the old men onely from the age of 60. to 70. ſuch as were found in tyme paſt commonly almoſt in that Citie. Pomponius Lætus, and other Latine writers alſo makyng mention of the ſayd peſtilitie, declare how the beginnyng therof firſt came (as they thinke) out of Ethiope, and from the hote countreys, and ſo inuading and waſtyng firſt the South partes, from thence ſpread into the Eaſt, & ſo further running and increaſing into all other quarters of the world, eſpecially, whereſoeuer the Edicts of the Emperor went agaynſt the Chriſtians, it followed after, and conſumed the moſt part of the inhabitauntes, whereby manye places became deſolate and voyde of all concourſe, and ſo continued the terme of x. yeares together.

A terrible peſtilence raygning through all the Romaine Monarchy.

This peſtiferous mortalitie (by the occaſion whereof Cyprian tooke the ground to write hys booke De mortalitate) began as is ſayd, immediately after the death of Decius the perſecutor, in the beginning of the raigne of Vibias Gallus, and Voluſianus hys ſonne: who ſucceeded through treaſon, next vnto Decius, about the yeare of our Lord. 255. and continued their raygne but two yeares.

Cyprianus Lib. de mortalitate. *Gallus* and *Voluſianus* Emperours.

{Anno. 255.}

This Gallus although the firſt beginning of the raygne was ſome thing quiet, yet ſhortly after following the ſteps of Decius, by whõ rather he ſhould haue taken better heed, ſet forth Edictes in like maner, for ỹ perſecution of Chriſtians, albeit in this Edict we finde no number of Martyrs to haue ſuffered, but only all this perſecution to reſt onely in the exilement of biſhops or guides of the flock. Of other ſufferings or executions we do not read: for the terrible peſtilence following immediatly, kept the barbarous heathẽ otherwiſe occupied. Unto this tyme of Gallus, rather then to the tyme of Decius, I referre the baniſhment of Cyprian, who was then biſhop of Carthage. Of the which baniſhment, he himſelfe teſtifieth in diuers of his epiſtles, declaryng the cauſe therof to riſe vpon a commotion or ſedition among the people, out of the which he withdrew himſelfe, leſt the ſedition ſhould grow greater. Notwithſtãding the ſayd Cyprian, though beyng abſent, yet had no leſſe care of his flocke and of the whole church, then if he had bene preſent with them. And therfore neuer ceaſed in his Epiſtles continually to exhort and call vpon them to be conſtant in their profeſſion, and pacient in theyr afflictions. Amongſt diuers other, whom he doth comfort in his baniſhmẽt, although he was in that caſe to be comforted himſelfe, writing to certayne that were condemned to minyng for metals, whoſe names were Nemeſianus, Felix, Lucius, with other biſhops, Prieſts and Deacons, declareth vnto them, how it is no ſhame but a glory not to be feared, but to be reioyced at, to ſuffer baniſhment or other paynes for Chriſt. And confirming them in the ſame, or rather commending them, ſignifieth, how worthily they do ſhew themſelues to be as valiant captaines of vertue, prouoking both by the confeſsions of their mouth, and by the ſuffring of their body, the hartes of the brethren to Chriſtian Martyrdome, whoſe example was and is, a great confirmation to many, both maydes and children to follow the like. As for puniſhment and ſufferyng, it is (ſayth he) a thing not execrable to a Chriſtian. For a Chriſtian mans breſt, whoſe hope doth wholy conſiſt in the * tree, dreadeth neyther batte nor club, woundes and skarres of the body be ornaments to a Chriſtian man, ſuch as bring no ſhame nor diſhoneſtie to the partie, but rather preferreth and freeth him with the Lord. And although in the mines where the mettals be digged there be no beds for Chriſtian mens bodies to take their reſt, yet they haue their reſt in Chriſt. And though their wearie bones lye vpon the cold ground, yet it is no payne to lye with Chriſt. Their feete haue bene fettered with bandes and chaynes, but happily he is bound of man, whome the Lord Chriſt doth looſe: happily doth he lye tyed in the ſtockes, whoſe feete therby are made ſwifter to runne to heauen. Neither can any man tye a Chriſtian ſo faſt, but he runneth ſo much the faſter for his garland of life. They haue no garmentes to ſaue them from colde, but he that putteth on Chriſt, is ſufficiently coated. Doth bread lacke to their hungry bodies? But man liueth not onely by bread, but by euery worde proceedyng from the mouth of God. Your deformitie (ſayth he) ſhall be turned to honour, your mourning to ioy, your payne to pleaſure, and felicitie infinite. And if this doe grieue you, that ye cannot now employ your ſacrifices and oblations after your wonted maner: yet your ſacrifice daily ceaſeth not, which is a contrite and humble hart, as when you offer vp daily your bodies a liuely and a glorious ſacrifice vnto the Lorde, which is the ſacrifice that pleaſeth God. And though your trauaile be great, yet is the rewarde greater, which is moſt certaine to follow. For God beholding and looking downe vpon them that confeſſe his name, in their willyng mynd approoueth them, in their ſtriuyng helpeth them, in their victory crowneth them, rewarding that in vs, which he hath performed, and crowning that which he hath in vs perfected. With theſe and ſuch like comfortable wordes he doth animate his brethren, admoniſhing them, that they are now in a ioyfull iourney, haſting apace to the manſions of the Martyrs, there to enioy after this darknes a ſtable light, and brightnes greater then all their paſsions, according to the Apoſtles ſaying: Theſe ſufferings of this preſent tyme be nothing like comparable to the brightneſſe of the glory that ſhall be reuealed in vs, &c.

The firſt baniſhment of *Cyprian.*

The Byſhops and Prieſtes condemned to metals. *Nemeſianus. Felix. Lucius.* Byſhops condemned for the name of Chriſt.

* That is, in the paſsion of hym that dyed on the tree.

S. Cyprian exhorteth and confirmeth the Chriſtian Martyrs. *Cypr.lib.3. Epiſt.Ult.*

The Chriſtian mans ſacrifice.

Cypr.lib.4. Epiſt.1. Seagrius. Rogatianus. Martyrs.

Sapien.3.

And after the like wordes of ſweete comfort and conſolation writing to Seagrius, and Rogatianus, which were in priſon and bondes for the teſtimony of truth, doth encourage them to continue ſtedfaſt and patient in the way, wherein they haue begun to runne, for that they haue the Lord with them their helper and defender, who promiſeth to bee with vs to the worldes ende: and therfore willeth them to ſet before their eyes in their death immortalitie, in their payne euerlaſting glory, of the which it is written: Precious in the ſight of the Lord is the death of his Saintes. Item, although before men they ſuffred torments, yet their hope is full of immortalitie, and beyng vexed in ſmall things, they ſhall be well requited in great matters. For the Lord hath tried them as gold in the fire. And writeth moreouer, admoniſhing them, that it is ſo appoynted from the beginnyng of the world, that righteouſnes here ſhould ſuffer in ſecular conflicts, for ſo iuſt Abell was ſlayne in the beginnyng of the world, and after him all iuſt and good men, the Prophets alſo and the Apoſtles ſent of the Lord himſelfe, vnto whome all, the Lorde firſt gaue an example in himſelfe, teachyng that there is no comming to his kingdome, but by that way which he entred himſelfe, ſaying by theſe wordes: he that loueth his lyfe in this worlde, ſhall looſe it, &c. And agayne, feare ye not them, that ſlay the body, but haue no power to ſlay the ſoule. And S. Paule likewiſe admoniſhing all them, whoſoeuer couete to be pertakers of the promiſes of the Lord, to follow the Lord ſayth: if we ſuffer together with him, we ſhall raigne together, &c.

Furthermore, as the ſame Cyprian doth encourage here the holy Martyrs, which were in captiuitie: to perſiſt: ſo likewyſe

The death and deſtruction of *Decius.*

And thus much of the tyrannie of this wicked Decius agaynſt God his Saintes, now to touch alſo the power of God his vengeance and puniſhment againſt him, like as we ſee commonly a tempeſt that is vehement, not long to continue: ſo it happened with this tyrannicall tormenter, who raigning but two yeares as ſayth Euſebius, or three at moſt, as writeth Oroſius among the middle of the Barbarians with whom he did warre, was there ſlayne with his ſonne, like as he had ſlayn Philippus, and his ſonne his predeceſſours before, ſo was he with his ſonne ſlayne by the righteous iudgement of God himſelfe. Euſeb. Lib. 7. cap. 1. Platin. Pomponius affirmeth that he warryng agaynſt the Gotthians, and beyng by them ouercome, leſt he ſhould fall into their handes, ranne into a whurlepyt, where he was drowned, and his body neuer found after.

Oroſius. Lib. 7. Cap. 14.

The iuſt reuenge of God agaynſt perſecutours.

The iuſt puniſhment of God vpon the Heathen multitude, for perſecuting his people.

Neither did the iuſt hand of God plague the Emperor onely, but alſo reuenged as well the heathen Gentils and perſecutors of hys word, throughout all prouinces & dominions of the Romain Monarchie, amongſt whom the lord immediatly after the death of Decius, ſent ſuch a plage and peſtilence, laſtyng for the ſpace of x. yeares together, that horrible it is to heare, and almoſt incredible to beleue. Of this plague or peſtilence, teſtifieth Dionyſius to Hierax a biſhop in Egypt, Euſeb. Lib. 7. cap. 21. 22. where he declareth the mortalitie of this plague to bee ſo great in Alexandria, where he was biſhop, that there was no houſe in ÿ whole Citie free. And although the greatnes of the plague touched alſo the Chriſtians ſomwhat, yet it ſcourged the heathen Idolaters much more: beſide that the order of their behauiour in the one, and in the other was much diuers. For, as the foreſayd Dionyſius doth recorde, the Chriſtians through brotherly loue and pietie, did not refuſe one to viſit and comfort an other, and to miniſter to him, what need required. Notwithſtanding it was to them great danger: for diuers there were, who in cloſing vp their eyes, in waſhyng their bodies, & interryng them in the ground, were next themſelues which folowed them to their graues. Yet all this ſtayed not them frō doyng their duetie, and ſhewyng mercy one to another. Where as the Gentils contrarily, beyng extremely viſited by the hand of God, felt the plague, but conſidered not the ſtriker, neyther yet conſidered they their neighbour, but euery man ſhifting for himſelfe, neither cared one for an other: but ſuch as were infected, ſome they would caſt out of the dores halfe dead, to be deuoured of dogges and wilde beaſts, ſome they let dye within theyr houſes without all ſuccour, ſome they ſuffred to lye vnburied, for that no mā durſt come neare him. And yet notwithſtandyng, for all their voyding and ſhiftyng, the peſtilence followed them whether ſoeuer they went, & miſerably conſumed them. In ſo much, that Dionyſius biſhop ÿ ſame tyme of Alexandria, thus reporteth of his owne City: that ſuch a great mortalitie was then among them, that the ſayd City of Alexandria had not in number of all together, both old and yong, as it was wont to contayn before of the old men onely from the age of 60. to 70. ſuch as were found in tyme paſt commonly almoſt in that Citie. Pomponius Lætus, and other Latine writers alſo makyng mention of the ſayd peſtilitie, declare how the beginnyng therof firſt came (as they thinke) out of Ethiope, and from the hote countreys, and ſo inuading and waſtyng firſt the South partes, from thence ſpread into the Eaſt, & ſo further running and increaſing into all other quarters of the world, eſpecially, whereſoeuer the Edicts of the Emperor went agaynſt the Chriſtians, it followed after, and conſumed the moſt part of the inhabitauntes, whereby manye places became deſolate and voyde of all concourſe, and ſo continued the terme of x. yeares together.

The plague and hand of God.

The brotherly loue and piety among the chriſtians, ſhewed in the time of plague.

A terrible peſtilence raygning through all the Romaine Monarchy.

This peſtiferous mortalitie (by the occaſion whereof Cyprian tooke the ground to write hys booke De mortalitate) began as is ſayd, immediately after the death of Decius the perſecutor, in the beginning of the raigne of Vibias Gallus, and Voluſianus hys ſonne: who ſucceeded through treaſon, next vnto Decius, about the yeare of our Lord. 255. and continued their raygne but two yeares.

Cyprianus Lib. de mortalitate. Gallus and *Voluſianus* Emperours.

Anno. 255.

This Gallus although the firſt beginning of the raygne was ſome thing quiet, yet ſhortly after following the ſteps of Decius, by whō rather he ſhould haue taken better heed, ſet forth Edictes in like maner, for ÿ perſecution of Chriſtians, albeit in this Edict we finde no number of Martyrs to haue ſuffered, but only all this perſecution to reſt onely in the exilement of biſhops or guides of the flock. Of other ſufferings or executions we do not read: for the terrible peſtilence following immediatly, kept the barbarous heathē otherwiſe occupied. Unto this tyme of Gallus, rather then to the tyme of Decius, I referre the baniſhment of Cyprian, who was then biſhop of Carthage. Of the which baniſhment, he himſelfe teſtifieth in diuers of his epiſtles, declaryng the cauſe therof to riſe vpon a commotion or ſedition among the people, out of the which he withdrew himſelfe, leſt the ſedition ſhould grow greater. Notwithſtanding the ſayd Cyprian, though beyng abſent, yet had no leſſe care of his flocke and of the whole church, then if he had bene preſent with them. And therfore neuer ceaſed in his Epiſtles continually to exhort and call vpon them to be conſtant in their profeſſion, and pacient in theyr afflictions. Amongſt diuers other, whom he doth comfort in his baniſhmēt, although he was in that caſe to be comforted himſelfe, writing to certayne that were condemned to minyng for metals, whoſe names were Nemeſianus, Felix, Lucius, with other biſhops, Prieſts and Deacons, declareth vnto them, how it is no ſhame but a glory not to be feared, but to be reioyced at, to ſuffer baniſhment or other paynes for Chriſt. And confirming them in the ſame, or rather commending them, ſignifieth, how worthily they do ſhew themſelues to be as valiant captaines of vertue, prouoking both by the confeſsions of their mouth, and by the ſuffring of their body, the hartes of the brethren to Chriſtian Martyrdome, whoſe example was and is, a great confirmation to many, both maydes and children to follow the like. As for puniſhment and ſufferyng, it is (ſayth he) a thing not execrable to a Chriſtian. For a Chriſtian mans breſt, whoſe hope doth wholy conſiſt in the * tree, dreadeth neyther batte nor club, woundes and ſkarres of the body be ornaments to a Chriſtian man, ſuch as bring no ſhame nor diſhoneſtie to the partie, but rather preferreth and freeth him with the Lord. And although in the mines where the mettals be digged there be no beds for Chriſtian mens bodies to take their reſt, yet they haue their reſt in Chriſt. And though their wearie bones lye vpon the cold ground, yet it is no payne to lye with Chriſt. Their feete haue bene fettered with bandes and chaynes, but happily he is bound of man, whome the Lord Chriſt doth looſe: happily doth he lye tyed in the ſtockes, whoſe feete therby are made ſwifter to runne to heauen. Neither can any man tye a Chriſtian ſo faſt, but he runneth ſo much the faſter for his garland of life. They haue no garmentes to ſaue them from colde, but he that putteth on Chriſt, is ſufficiently coated. Doth bread lacke to their hungry bodies? But man liueth not onely by bread, but by euery worde proceedyng from the mouth of God. Your deformitie (ſayth he) ſhall be turned to honour, your mourning to ioy, your payne to pleaſure, and felicitie infinite. And if this doe grieue you, that ye cannot now employ your ſacrifices and oblations after your wonted maner: yet your ſacrifice daily ceaſeth not, which is a contrite and humble hart, as when you offer vp daily your bodies a liuely and a glorious ſacrifice vnto the Lorde, which is the ſacrifice that pleaſeth God. And though your trauaile be great, yet is the rewarde greater, which is moſt certaine to follow. For God beholding and looking downe vpon them that confeſſe his name, in their willyng mynd approoueth them, in their ſtriuyng helpeth them, in their victory crowneth them, rewarding that in vs, which he hath performed, and crowning that which he hath in vs perfected. With theſe and ſuch like comfortable wordes he doth animate his brethren, admoniſhing them, that they are now in a ioyfull iourney, haſting apace to the manſions of the Martyrs, there to enioy after this darknes a ſtable light, and brightnes greater then all their paſsions, according to the Apoſtles ſaying: Theſe ſufferings of this preſent tyme be nothing like comparable to the brightneſſe of the glory that ſhall be reuealed in vs, &c.

The firſt baniſhment of *Cyprian.*

The Byſhops and Prieſtes condemned to metals. *Nemeſianus. Felix. Lucius.* Byſhops condemned for the name of Chriſt.

* That is, in the paſsion of hym that dyed on the tree.

S.ſyprian exhorteth and confirmeth the Chriſtian Martyrs. *Cypr. lib. 3. Epiſt. vlt.*

The Chriſtian mans ſacrifice.

And after the like wordes of ſweete comfort and conſolation writing to Seagrius, and Rogatianus, which were in priſon and bondes for the teſtimony of truth, doth encourage them to continue ſtedfaſt and patient in the way, wherein they haue begun to runne, for that they haue the Lord with them their helper and defender, who promiſeth to bee with vs to the worldes ende: and therfore willeth them to ſet before their eyes in their death immortalitie, in their payne euerlaſting glory, of the which it is written: Precious in the ſight of the Lord is the death of his Saintes. Item, although before men they ſuffred torments, yet their hope is full of immortalitie, and beyng vexed in ſmall things, they ſhall be well requited in great matters. For the Lord hath tried them as gold in the fire. And writeth moreouer, admoniſhing them, that it is ſo appoynted from the beginnyng of the world, that righteouſnes here ſhould ſuffer in ſecular conflicts, for ſo iuſt Abell was ſlayne in the beginnyng of the world, and after him all iuſt and good men, the Prophets alſo and the Apoſtles ſent of the Lord himſelfe, vnto whome all, the Lorde firſt gaue an example in himſelfe, teachyng that there is no comming to his kingdome, but by that way which he entred himſelfe, ſaying by theſe wordes: he that loueth his lyfe in this worlde, ſhall looſe it, &c. And agayne, feare ye not them, that ſlay the body, but haue no power to ſlay the ſoule. And S. Paule likewiſe admoniſhing all them, whoſoeuer couete to be pertakers of the promiſes of the Lord, to follow the Lord ſayth: if we ſuffer together with him, we ſhall raigne together, &c.

Cypr. lib. 4. Epiſt. 1. Seagrius. Rogatianus. Martyrs.

Sapien. 3.

Furthermore, as the ſame Cyprian doth encourage here the holy Martyrs, which were in captiuitie: to perſiſt; ſo likewyſe

writing

Cyprian. Lib. 3. Epiſt. 6.

writing to the Prieſtes and Deacons, which were free, exhorteth them to be ſeruiceable and obſequious with al care and loue, to cheriſh and embraſe thẽ that were in bondes. Cypria. Lib. 3. Ep. 6. whereby may appeare the feruent zeale & care of this good Byſhop, toward the Church of Chriſt, although beyng now in exile, in the time of this Emperour Gallus.

Lucius Byſhop of Rome baniſhed.

An. 256.

The Epiſtle decretall of *Lucius* Biſhop. The ordinaunces of *Lucius*.

The põpous ſtile of the Church of Rome.

In the ſame time and vnder the ſaid Gallus reignyng with his ſonne Voluſianus was alſo Lucius biſhop of Rome ſent to banyſhment who next ſucceded after Cornelius, in that byſhopricke, about the yeare of our Lorde 256. Albeit in this baniſhment he did not long continue, but returned againe home to his Church: as by the Epiſtle of, S. Cyprian, Lib 3. Epiſt. 1. maye appeare. As to all other Biſhops of Rome in thoſe primitiue daies certaine decretall Epyſtles with ſeuerall ordinaunces be aſcribed, bearing theyr names and titles, as hath bene afore declared: ſo alſo hath Lucius one Epiſtle, fathered vpon him, in the which Epiſtle he writing to the brethren of Fraunce and of Spayne, appointeth ſuch an order and forme of the church, as ſeemeth not to agree with the time then preſent: For ſo hee declareth in that Epiſtle that a Byſhop in al places, whether ſoeuer he goeth, ſhould haue two Prieſtes with three deacons waiting vpõ him, to be witneſſes of al his waies and doings. which ordinaunce although I deny not, but it may be and is conuenient, yet I ſe not how that time of Lucius could ſerue then, for a Biſhop to cary ſuch a pompe of Prieſtes & Deacons about him, or to ſtudy for any ſuch matter: for ſo much as Biſhops commonly in thoſe daies were ſeldome free to go abroad, went they neuer ſo ſecrete: but either were in houſes cloſe and ſecret, or in priſon, or els in baniſhment. Moreouer in the ſaid Epiſtle how põpouſly he writeth to the Church of Rome: This holy and Apoſtolycall Church of Rome (ſayth he) the mother of all Churches of Chriſt, which by the grace of God omnipotent, hath neuer bene proued to ſwerue out of the pathe of Apoſtolicall tradition, neyther hath euer fallen, or bene depraued with heretical innouations: but euen as in the firſt beginning it receaued the rule of the Apoſtolicall faith by his firſt inſtructers, the Princes of the Apoſtles, ſo it continueth euer immaculate and vndefiled vnto the end.

Diſt. 81. Miniſtri. Miniſters reſtrayned from their own wiues.

Euſebius and *Damaſus* vary in time.

Lucius Byſhop of Rome, martyr.

Stephanus Byſhop of Rome, martyr.

Unto this Lucius alſo is referred in the decrees of Gratian this conſtitution, that no miniſter whatſoeuer, after his ordination, ſhould at any time reenter to the chamber of his owne wife, in paine of looſing his Miniſtery in the Church. &c. Euſebius in his vij. booke, making mention of the death of Lucius, and not of his Martyrdome, ſaith that he ſate but eight monethes. But Damaſus in his Martyrologe holdeth that hee ſat thre yeares, & was beheaded the ſecond yeare of Valerian and Galienus Emperours. And ſo doth alſo Marianus Scotus, and Nauclerus, with other that folow Damaſus, affirme the ſame.

The cenſure of the decretall Epiſtles and ordinaunces of *Stephanus*.

No Byſhop ought to be accuſed, after he be expulſed, before he be reſtored agayne.

The number of the poore found at Rome by the Church goodes.

After him came Stephanus next Biſhop of Rome following Lucius: whome Damaſus, Platina, and Sabellicus, affirme to haue ſit vij. yeares fiue monethes, & to die a martir. Contrary Euſebius and Volateranus holding with hym, giue him but two yeares, which part commeth moſt neare to the truth, I leaue to the readers iudgement, of his two Epiſtles decretall, and of his ordinaunces out of the ſame collected, I nede not much to tary, for two reſpects, eyther for that concerning theſe decretal Epiſtles ſuſpiciouſly intituled to the names of the fathers of the primitiue church, ſufficiently hath bene ſaid before: or els becauſe both the phraſe barbarous and incongrue and alſo the matter it ſelf therin contained is ſuch, that although no teſtimony came againſt it, yet it eaſely refelleth it ſelfe. As wherein the ſecond Epiſtle he decreeth, that no Byſhop being expulſed out of hys ſeate or depriued of his goodes, ought to be accuſed of anye, or is bound to aunſwere for himſelfe, before that by the lawe regularly he be reſtored agayne fully to his former ſtate, and that the Primates and the Synode render to him agayne all ſuch poſſeſsions and fruites, as were taken frõ him before his accuſation, as is agreeing both to the lawes Canon & alſo ſeculare. Firſt here I would deſire yͤ Reader a little to ſtay, & this to conſider to himſelf, who be theſe here ment, which either vſed or might deſpoile theſe biſhops of their goods, & expulſe thẽ frõ their ſeates for ſuch wrõgfull cauſes, but only Kings & Emperours, which at this time were not yet Chriſtened nor vſed any ſuch proceedinges againſt theſe Biſhops, in ſuch ſort as either Primates or Synodes coulde reſtore them again to their places and poſſeſsiõs. Againe what priuate goodes or poſſeſsions had Byſhops then to be taken from them, when as Churches yet neither were indued wyth patrimonies nor poſſeſsions. And if any treaſures were cõmitted to the church, it pertained not properly to yͤ Byſhop, but went in general to the ſubuention of the poore in the Church, as in the Epiſtle of Cornelius to Fabius maye appeare, alleaged in Euſebius, Lib. 6. cap. 43. where he ſpeaking of his Church, & declaring how there ought to bee but one Byſhoppe in the ſame, inferreth mention of xlvi. Prieſtes, vij. Deacons, with vij. Subdeacons, xlij. Acolutes, of widowes and poore afflicted perſons to the number of a 1500, and aboue, founde and nouriſhed in the ſame Church, by the mercifull benignitie and prouidence of god Euſebius. Lib. 6. cap. 43. It followeth more in the ende of the ſaid Canon. which thing is forbidden both by the lawes Eccleſiaſtical, & alſo ſeculer, &c. Now what lawes ſeculer were in the time of Stephen, for biſhops not to be charged wt any accuſation before they were reſtored againe to their ſtate, let any Reader marking well the ſtate of the Heathen lawes that then were, iudge, and in iudgeing, I doubte not but this matter alone, though there were no other, will be ynough to deſcry the vntruth hereof.

Primates Metropolitanes, Archbiſhops.

Moreouer, by diuers other probable notes and arguments in the ſaide ſeconde Epiſtle of Stephanus, it maye be eaſely eſpied, this Epiſtle to be fained and miſauthorized, eſpeciall by the firſt Canon of the ſaide Epiſtle, where hee ſo ſolemnely entreateth of the difference betweene Primats, Metropolitanes, and Archbyſhops, which diſtinction of degres and titles, ſauoring more of ambition, then of perſecution, giueth me verily to ſuppoſe this Epiſtle not to be written by this Stephen, but by ſome other man, either of that name or of ſome other time when the Churche began to be ſetled in more proſperitie, and orders therein to bee taken, for euery man to know his degree and limits of his authoritie according as is ſpecified by the vi. and vij. Canon, of Nicene Councell decreeing of the ſame matter.

Lawfull to appeale to Rome.

Veſtiments and holy veſſels ſeruing for the aultare.

The like eſtimation may be conceiued alſo of the ſeuenth Canon of the ſaid Epiſtle, where he willeth and appointeth all cauſes iudiciarie to be decided & determined within the precinct of their owne proper Prouince, and not to paſſe ouer the boundes thereof, vnleſſe (ſaith he) the appeale be made to the Apoſtolical ſea of Rome: which ſauoreth in my noſe, rather of a ſmacke of Popery then of the veine of Chriſtianity, eſpecially in theſe times, during this terrible perſecution among yͤ Byſhops of Chriſt. And thus much of the ſecond decretall Epiſtle of Stephanus: although of the firſt Epiſtle alſo written to Hilarius, ſome thing may be ſaid, as where he ſpeaketh in the ſaid Epiſtle of holy veſtimentes, and holy veſſels, and other ornaments of the aulter, ſeruing to diuine worſhip, and therfore not to be touched nor handled of any mã, ſauing of Prieſts alone. Concerning all which implements, my opinion is this, that I thinke the Church of Rome not to haue beene in ſo good ſtate thẽ, that either Stephanus or Sixtus before him beyng occupied about other more earneſt maters, and ſcarce able to hide their owne heades, had any minde or cogitation to ſtudie vpon ſuch vnneceſſary inuentions, ſeruing in publike Churches. Neither doe I ſee howe the Heathen in thoſe daies would haue ſuffered theſe ornaments to be vnconſumed, which would not ſuffer the Biſhops themſelues to liue amongſt them. Notwithſtanding Iſidorus and Polydorus iudge the contrary. Betweene this Stephen and Cyprian Byſhop of Carthage was a great contention, about rebaptiſing of heretickes, whereof more hereafter (Chriſt willing) ſhall be ſaide.

Byſhops baniſhed in the time of *Gallus*.

Beſides theſe Byſhops aboue ſpecified, diuers other there were alſo ſent into baniſhmẽt vnder the forenamed Emperours Gallus & Voluſianus, as appeareth by Dionyſius writing to Hermammon on this wiſe: that Gallus not ſeeyng the euill of Decius, nor foreſeeing the occaſion of his ſeductiõ and ruine, ſtumbled himſelfe alſo at the ſame ſtone, lying open before his eyes. For at yͤ firſt beginning when his Empire went proſperouſly forward, and all thinges went luckely with him, afterward he draue out holy men, which praied for his peace and ſafegarde, and ſo with them reiected alſo the praiers which they made for him. &c. Euſebius. Lib. 7 cap. 1. Otherwiſe of any bloudſhed or any Martirs that in the time of this Emperour were put to death, we doe not read.

Gallus and *Voluſianus* Emperours ſlayne.

Emelianus Emperour three monethes.

Valerianus and Gallienus hys ſonne Emperours.

After the raigne of which Emperour Gallus and of his ſonne Voluſianus being expired who reigned but ij. yeares, Emelianus which ſlewe them both by ciuill ſedition, ſucceded in their place, who reigned but three monethes, & was alſo ſlayne. Next to whom Valerianus, & his ſonne Gallienus were aduaunced to the Empire.

Perſecution ceaſed for a tyme.

The good beginning of *Valerian*.

About the chaunging of theſe Emperours, the perſecution which firſt began at Decius, & afterwarde ſlacked in the time of Gallus, was now extinguiſhed for a time, partly for the great plague raigning in all places, partly by yͤ change of the Emperors, although it was not very long. For Valerianus in the firſt entraunce of the Empire for the ſpace of iij. or foure yeres, was right courteous and gentle to the people of God, & well accepted to the Senate. Neither was there any of all the Emperors before him, no not

Ex Dionyſio citante Euſeb. Lib.7. cap.10. & Nicepho. Lib.6. cap.10.

Wicked counſell What euill it doth.

of the which openly profeſſed Chriſt, that ſhewed himſelfe ſo louing and familiar toward the Chriſtians as he did: in ſo much that (as Dionyſius, writing to Herman doth teſtifie) all hys whole courte was repleniſhed wt holy Saintes & ſeruantes of Chriſt, and godly perſons, ſo that his houſe might ſeeme to be made a Church of God. But by the malice of Sathan, through wicked counſell theſe quiet dayes endured not very long. For in proceſſe of tyme this Valerianus beyng charmed or incenſed by a certayne Egiptian, a chiefe ruler of the Heathen Synagoge of the Egiptians, a mayſter of the Charmers or inchaunters, who in deede was troubled, for that he could not do his Magicall feates for the Chriſtians, was ſo farre infatuated and bewitched, that through the deteſtable prouocations of that deuiliſhe Egyptian, he was wholly turned vnto abhominable Idols, and to execrable impietie, in ſacrifiſing young infãts and quartering bodies, and deuiding the entrals of childrẽ new borne, and ſo proceeding in his fury, moued the eight perſecution, agaynſt the Chriſtians, whom the wicked Egyptian coulde not abide, as being the hinderers and deſtroyars of hys Magicall enchauntinges, about the yeare of our Lord, 259.

❧ *The eight Perſecution.*

The eight perſecution.

Anno. 259.

The chiefe executours of this perſecution.

IN the which perſecution the chiefe adminiſters and executours were Emilianus Preſident of Egipt, Paternus and Galerius Maximus, Proconſuls in Aphrica, Bergomenſis alſo maketh mention of Paternus. Vicegerent of Rome, and of Perennius. Vincentius ſpeaketh alſo of Nicerius, and Claudius Preſidentes. &c.

The ſpeciall cauſes of this perſecution.

Cypria. Lib 4. Epiſt. 4.

The ſinnes of the Chriſtians cauſe of perſecution.

What was the chiefe originall cauſe of this perſecution, partly is ſignified before, where mention was made of the wicked Egiptian. But as this was the outward and politicall cauſe, ſo S Cyprian ſheweth other cauſes more ſpeciall, and Eccleſiaſticall, in his iiii. booke. Epiſt.4. Whoſe wordes be theſe: but we (ſayth he) muſt vnderſtand and confeſſe, that thys turbulent oppreſſion & calamitie, which hath waſted for the moſt part all our whole company, and doth dayly conſume, riſeth chiefly of our owne wickednes & ſinnes: while we walke not in the way of the Lord, nor obſerue his preceptes left vnto vs for our inſtitution. The Lord obſerued the will of his father in all poynts: but we obſerue not the will of the Lord, hauing all our minde and ſtudy ſet vpon lucre & poſſeſſions, geuen to pryde, full of emulation and diſſention, voyde of ſimplicitie and faythfull dealing, renouncing thys world in word onely, but nothing in deede, euery man pleaſing himſelfe, and diſpleaſing all other. And therefore are we thus ſcourged, and worthely. For what ſtripes and ſcourges doe wee not deſerue, when the confeſſors themſelues (ſuch as haue byd the tryall of their confeſſion) and ſuch as ought to be an example to the reſt of well doyng, doe keepe no diſcipline? And therfore becauſe ſome ſuch there be, proudly puſt vp with this ſwelling and vnmannerly bragging of their confeſſion, theſe tormentes come: ſuch as doe not eaſely ſend vs to the crowne, except by the mercy of God, ſome being takẽ away by quicknes of death, do preuẽt the tediouſnes of puniſhimẽt. Theſe things do we ſuffer for our ſinnes and deſertes, as by the Lordes cenſure we haue bene forewarned, ſaying: If they ſhall forſake my lawe, and will not walke in my iudgementes: If they ſhall prophane my inſtitutions, and will not obſerue my preceptes, I will viſite their iniquities with the rod, and their tranſgreſsions with ſcourges. Theſe rods and ſcourges (ſayth he) we feele, which neyther pleaſe God in our good deedes, nor repent in our euill deedes. Wherefore the ſayd Cyprian, adding this exhortation withall, exhorted them to pray and intreate from the bottome of their hart and whole minde, the mercy of God which promiſeth, ſaying: but yet my mercy I will not ſcatter from them. &c. Let vs aske, and wee ſhall obtayne, and though (ſayth Cyprian) it be with tariance, yet for ſo much as we haue greeuouſly offended, let vs continue knocking, for to him that knocketh, it ſhalbe opened, if our prayers, ſighinges, aud weepinges knocke ſtill at the dore with continuance, and if our prayers be ioyned together with brotherly agreement &c.

Diſcord and deuiſion among the brethren.

Moreouer, what vices were then principally raygning among the Chriſtians, hee further ſpecifieth in the ſayd Epiſtle: which chiefly were deuiſion and diſſention among the brethren. For when it was ſpoken to them in a viſion, by theſe wordes *Petite & impetrabitis*, that is: Pray, and ye ſhall obtayne, afterward it was required of the congregation there preſent, to direct their prayers, for certayne perſons aſſigned to them by name: but they could not agree and cõdeſcend altogether of the names and perſons of them which they ſhould pray for, but were diſſonant in their conſent and petition: whiche thing (ſayth Cyprian) did greatly diſpleaſe hym, that ſpake vnto them: Pray, and ye ſhal obtayne, for that there was no vniforme equalitie of voyce and hart nor one ſimple and ioynt concorde among the brethren, whereof it is written the Pſalme.67. God which maketh to dwell in the houſe together men of one accord. &c. And ſo by the occaſion hereof, he writeth vnto them in the foreſayd Epiſtle, and moueth them to prayer and mutuall agreemẽt. For (ſayth he) if it be promiſed in the Goſpell, to be graunted whatſoeuer any two conſenting together ſhall aske, what ſhall then the whole Churche do agreeing together? or what if this vnanimitie were among the whole fraternitie, which vnanimitie (ſayeth Cyprian) if it had bene then among the brethren, *non veniſſent fratribus hac mala, ſi in vnum fraternitas fuiſſet animata*, that is: theſe euiles had not happened to the brethren, if the brethren had ioyned together in brotherly vnanimitie. &c.

Pſal.67.

A viſion foreſhewing perſecutiõ to come.

Cyprian. Lib.4. Epiſt.4.

After the cauſes thus declared of this, or other perſecutions, the ſayd, S. Cyprian moreouer in the forenamed Epiſtle (worthy to be read of al men) deſcribeth likewiſe a certayne viſion, wherin was ſhewed vnto them by the Lord, before the perſecutiõ came, what ſhould happen. The viſion was this: There was a certayne aged father ſitting, at whoſe right hand ſet a young man very ſad and penſiue: as one with an indignation ſorrowfull, holding hys hand vpon hys breſt, hys countenaunce heauy and vnchearefull. On the left hand ſate an other perſon, hauing in hys hand a net, whiche he threatned to lay to catch the people that ſtode about. And as he was marueiling that ſaw the ſight thereof, it was ſayd vnto him: The young man whõ thou ſeeſt ſit on the right hand, is ſad and ſory, that hys preceptes be not obſerued. But he on the left hand daunceth and is merry, for that occaſion is geuen him to haue power of the aged Father geuen him to afflict men. And this viſion was ſeene long before this tempeſt of perſecution happened, Wherein is declared the ſame that before is ſayd, the ſinnes of the people to be the cauſe, why Sathan in this perſecution and all other, hath had and hath ſtill ſuch power with hys net of deſtruction, to rage agaynſt the bloud of Chriſten men, and all becauſe (ſayth Cyprian) we forſlacke our praying, or be not ſo vigilant therein as wee ſhoulde: wherefore the Lord becauſe he loueth vs, correcteth vs, correcteth vs, to amend vs, amendeth vs to ſaue vs. &c. Cyprian.

Our ſinnes geue Sathã power agaynſt vs.

An other reuelation ſhewed to *S. Cyprian.*

Furthermore, the ſame Cyprian, and in the ſame Epiſtle, writing of his own reuelation or meſſage ſent to him, thus ſayth: And to hys leaſt ſeruaunt both ſinfull and vnworthy (meaning by himſelfe) God of his tender goodnes hath vouched ſafe to direct this word. Tell him ſayth he that hee be quiet and of good comfort, for peace will come. Albeit a litle ſtay there is for a while, for that ſome remain yet to be proued and tryed. &c. And ſheweth alſo in ye ſame place of an other reuelation of his, wherein he was admoniſhed to be ſpare in hys feeding, and ſober in hys drinke, leaſt hys minde geuen to heauenly meditation might be caryed away with worldly allurements, or oppreſſed with to much ſurfet of meates and drinkes, ſhould be leſſe apt or able to prayer and ſpirituall exerciſe.

Spare dyet and ſober drinke conuenient in Chriſtian biſhops.

The peace of the Church to come, foreſhewed by the Lord.

Finally in the latter end of the foreſayd Epiſtle, mention alſo followeth of other reuelations or ſhewinges, wherein the Lord (ſayth Cyprian) doth vouchſafe in many of hys ſeruantes to foreſhew to come the reſtauring of hys Church, the ſtable quiet of our health and ſafegard, after rayne fayre weather, after darcknes light, after ſtormy tempeſt, peaceable calme, the fatherly helpe of his loue, the wont & old glory of hys diuine maieſty whereby both the blaſphemy of the perſecutors ſhall be repreſſed, and the repentance of ſuch as haue fallen be reformed, and the ſtrong and ſtable confidence of them that ſtand, ſhall reioyce and glory. Thus much hath S. Cyprian, writing of theſe thinges to the Clergy. Lib.4. Epiſt.4.

Crimes and cauſes falſely layd to the Chriſtians.

The Apology of *Cyprian* for the Chriſtians.

Cyprian contra Demetrianum.

Cyprian de idolorum vanitate.

As touching now the crymes and accuſations in this perſecution layd to the charge of the Chriſtians, thys was the principall, firſt becauſe they refuſed to doe worſhip to their Idols and to the Emperours: then for that they profeſſed the name of Chriſt. Beſides all the calamities and euils that happened in the world, as warres, famine, and peſtilence, were onely imputed to the Chriſtians. Agaynſt all which quarreling accuſations Cyprian doth eloquently defend the Chriſtians in his booke Contra Demetrianum: Like as Tertulian had done before, writing Contra Scapulam page.55. And firſt touching the obiection for not worſhipping Idoles, he cleareth the Chriſtians both in his booke *Contra Demetr.* & alſo *De vanitate idol.* prouing thoſe Idols to be no true Gods, but Images of certayne dead kinges, which neyther could ſaue themſelues from death, nor ſuch as worſhip them. The true God to be but one, and that by the teſtimony of Soſthenes, Plato, and Triſmegiſtus, the which God the Chriſtians doe truely worſhip. And as concerning that the Chriſtians were thought to be cauſes of publique calamities, becauſe they worſhipped not the Gentiles Idoles, he purgeth the Chriſtians thereof, prouing that if there be any defect in increaſe of thinges, it is not to be aſcribed to them, but rather to the decreaſe of nature, languiſhing now toward her age and latter end. Agayne for that it hath bene ſo foreſayd and prophecied, that toward the end of the worlde ſhould come warres, famine, and peſtilence. Moreouer if there be anye cauſe therof more proper then other, it is moſt like to be imputed to their vaine Idolatry, and to the contempt of the true God. Alſo that ſuch euils be increaſed by the wickednes of the people, ſo that to ſpeake in his owne words *famem maiorem facias rapacitas quam ſiccitas*, i. famine cometh more by auarice of men, then by drought of the aire, but eſpecially the cauſe therof to procede of the cruell ſhedding of the innocent bloud of the Chriſtians &c.

The countrey and education of *Cyprian.*

The conuerſion of *Cyprian.*

Cyprian made firſt Prieſt, then Byſhop of Carthage.

Thus with many other mo probations doth Cyprian defend the Chriſtians, againſt the barbarous exclamatiõs of the heathẽ Gentiles. Of which Cyprian forſomuch as he ſuffered in the time of his perſecution, I mynde (Chriſt wylling) to recapitulate here in ample diſcourſe, the ful ſumme, firſt of his life and bringing vp, then of his death, & Martyrdome, as the worthines of that man deſerueth to be remembred. Of this Cyprian therfore, otherwiſe named Statius, thus writeth Nicephorus, Nazianzenus, Iacobus de Voragine, Henricus de Erfordia, Volateranus, Hieronymus, and other, that he being an Aphrican, and borne in Carthage, firſt was an Idolater and Gentill, altogether giuen to the ſtudy and practiſe of the Magicall Artes, of whoſe parentage and education in letters from his youth, no mention is made but ẏ he was a worthy Rethorician in Aphrica. Of whoſe conuerſion and baptiſme he himſelfe in his firſt booke & ſecond Epiſtle, writeth a floriſhing and eloquent Hyſtory. Which his conuerſion vnto the chriſtian fayth as Hieronimus affirmeth in his commentary vpon Ionas, was through the grace of God and the meanes of Cecilius a Prieſt, whoſe name after he bare, and through the occaſion of hearing the hiſtory of the Prophet Ionas. The ſame Hierome moreouer teſtifieth how he immediatly vpon his conuerſion, diſtributed among the poore al his ſubſtaunce and after that being ordained a Prieſt, was not long after conſtituted biſhop of the congregation of Carthage. But whether he ſucceded Agrippinus of whom he often maketh mention, which alſo was the firſt author of rebaptization, or ſome other biſhop of Carthage, it remaineth vncertain. But this is moſt true, he himſelfe ſhined in his office and dignitie with ſuch good giftes, and vertues, that as Nazianzenus writeth, he had the gouernment of the whole eaſt Church, and church of Spain, and was called the Biſhop of the Chriſtian men.

The vertues of *Cyprians* lyfe deſcribed.

The care of *Cyprian* toward the afflicted brethren.

And to the further ſetting forth (to the praiſe of God) of his godly vertues wherwith he was indued appearing as well in his owne workes, to them that liſt to peruſe the ſame, as alſo deſcribed by other worthy writers, he was curteous and gentle, louing and ful of patience, and therwithall ſharpe & ſeuere in his office, according as the cauſe required, as appeareth in his firſt booke and third epiſtle. Furthermore he was moſt louing and kinde towarde his brethren, and tooke much payne in helping and relieuyng the Martyrs, as appeareth by his letters to the Elders, and Deacons of his Biſhopricke, that with all ſtudy and indeuour they ſhould gently entertaine and ſhewe pleaſure vnto the Martirs in his abſence, as partly is touched before.

The modeſty of *Cyprian* in conferring with hys fellow brethren.

Viſions cõcerning the troubles and peace of the church, recited and expounded by *Cyprian* before pag. 67.

The third Epiſtle of his firſt booke doth declare of what ſtomacke and godly courage he was, in executyng his office, and handling his matters. Neither was he void of prudence & circumſpection, but was adorned with maruelous modeſtie, wherby he attempted nothing vpon his owne head and iudgement, but with the conſent of his fellow byſhops and other inferiour Miniſters, & that chiefly (amõg others) doth the 10. Epiſtle of his third booke witnes. He was of a maruellous liberal diſpoſition towards the poore brethren of other countries: for ſo often as he had cauſe of abſence he committed the care of thoſe poore men to his fellow officers, and wrote vnto them, that of their own proper goods, they would helpe their baniſhed brethren, to that which was neceſſary for them, as witneſſeth the 24. Epiſtle of his thirde booke. He reciteth among other gifts wherewith he was indued, as touching the viſions and heauenly admonitions of the perſecutions that ſhould follow, and of other matters touching the gouernment of ẏ Church in his firſt booke & third Epiſtle, and fourth booke and fourth Epiſtle, where he reciteth and expoundeth the forme or maner of a certaine viſion, which we haue before ſufficiently expreſſed.

Cyprian meeke and pacient.

Cyprian a great reader of *Tertullian.*

He had moreouer great ſkill in the foreknowledge of things that ſhould chaunce, as may be gathered in the vj. Epiſtle of his fourth booke. Alſo Auguſtine doth attribute vnto him many worthy vertues, which wryteth much in ſetting forth his giftes of humilitie, in his ſeconde booke of Baptiſme, the fourth chapter, againſt the Donatiſtes, and in his vij. booke and xj. chap. of his long ſufferaunce and patience. Alſo of his curteſie and meekenes by which vertues he concealed nothing that he vnderſtoode, but vttered the ſame meekely and patiently. Alſo that he kept the Eccleſiaſticall peace & concorde with thoſe that were of an other opinion then he was of: laſtly, that he neither circumuented nor did preiudice any man, but followed ẏ thing which ſeemed good in his iudgement, it is manifeſt in S. Auguſtine his fift booke, De Baptiſmo contra Donatiſtas. Neyther is this to be paſſed with ſilence, that Hierome writeth that he was very diligent in reading, eſpecially the works of Tertullian, For he ſaieth that he ſaw a certaine olde man whoſe name was Paulus, which tolde him he ſaw the notarye of bleſſed Cyprian, being then an olde man when he him ſelfe was but a ſpringal in the Citie of Rome, and told him that it was Cyprians wont neuer to let one daye paſſe wythout ſome reading of Tertullian, and that he was accuſtomed oftentimes to ſay vnto him: giue me my maſter, meanyng thereby Tertullian.

The ſecond baniſhment of *Cyprian.*

The apprehenſion of *Cyprian.*

The martirdome of *Cyprian.*

{ Anno. 259. }

Now a few wordes touching his exile, and Martyrdome. Of his Epiſtles which he wrote backe to his congregation, leading his life in exile, mention is made aboue wherin he ſheweth the vertue beſeeming a faithfull paſtor in that he tooke no leſſe care, as wel of his owne church, as of other Biſhops being abſent, then he did beyng preſente. Wherin alſo he himſelfe doth ſignifie ẏ voluntarily he abſented himſelfe, leaſt he ſhould doe more hurt then good to the congregation, by reaſon of his preſence, as is likewyſe declared before. Thus from the deſolate places of his baniſhment, wherein he was oftentimes ſought for, he writeth vnto his brethren, as in his third booke and x. Epiſtle is manifeſt, which thing ſemeth to be done in the raigne of Decius or Gallus. But after that he returned againe out of exile, in the raigne of this Valerianus, he was alſo after that the ſecond tyme baniſhed of Paternus the Proconſull of Aphrica, into the Citie of Thurbin, as the oration of Auguſtine touching Cyprian ſheweth, or els as Pontius the Deacon ſaith, into a Citie named Furubilitana, or Curabilitana. But when Paternus the Proconſull was dead, Galienus Maximus ſucceded in the rowme and office of Paternus, who fynding Cyprian in a garden, cauſed him to be apprehended by his Sergeauntes, and to be brought before the Idoles, to offer ſacrifice, which when he woulde not doe, then the Proconſul breaking forth in theſe words ſayd: Long haſt thou liued in a ſacrilegious mind, and haſt gathered togither men of wicked conſpiracie, and haſt ſhewed thy ſelfe an enimie to the Gods of the Romanes, and to their holye lawes: neither could the ſacrete Emperours Valerianus & Galienus reuoke thee to the ſecte of their ceremonies. At length the wicked tyraunt condemnyng him to haue hys head cut of, he patiently and willingly ſubmitted his necke to the ſtroke of the ſword (as Hieronimus affirmeth.) And ſo this bleſſed Martyr ended this preſent life in the Lorde, Xiſtus then being Byſhop of Rome, as Euſebius noteth, in the yeare of our Lorde. 259. Sabellicus ſaith that he was Martired in the raigne of Gallus and Voluſianus, Lucius, being biſhop of Rome, but that ſeemeth not like.

The books of *Cyprian.*

The iudgement of *Auſten* vpon the bookes of *Cyprian.*

Auguſt. contra Creſconium. Lib. 12. cap. 32.

Now remayneth to ſpeake ſomething likewiſe of hys workes and bookes left behind him, although al peraduẽture doe not remaine, that he wrote: wherof ſome are miſſing, ſome againe which in the liuery of his name & title, are not his, but ſuch as be certainly his by the ſtyle & ſenſe may ſoone be diſcerned: ſuch is the eloquence of his phraſe, & grauity of his ſentence, vigour of wit, power in perſwaſion, ſo much differing from many other, as he can lightlye be imitated but of fewe. Of the which his bookes with vs extant, as the floriſhing eloquence is worthely cõmended, proceeding out of the ſchoole of Rhetoricians, ſo is the authoritie therof no leſſe reputation, not onely among vs of this age of the Church, but alſo among the Auncient fathers. Whereof S. Auſten ſpeaking of his commendation ſayth, Ego inquit, literas Cypriani non vt canonicas habeo, ſed eas ex canoniſis conſidero: & quod in eis deuinarum Scripturarum autoritati congruit cum laude eius accipio: quod autem non congruit, cum pace eius reſpuo. &c. By which wordes it may appeare that Auſten, although he did not repute ẏ bookes and writings of Cyprian, to be equiualent with the holy Scripture, yet notwithſtanding next after the ſcriptures he had the ſame in great admiration.

Sentences of *Cyprian* collected.

Ex Vincent. Lib. 12 ca. 63.

Vincentius, and Laziardus Celeſtinus, reciting the names of dyuers bookes, bearyng the tytle of Cyprian (moe perchaunce then be truly his) do collect out of them a certaine extract of his moſt pithy ſentences, al which here to repeat were to tedious. To giue a taſt of the ſpeciall, I thought it not impertinent. As where he ſpeaking of the treaſures of a rich man, exhorteth ſaying:

Ne dormiat in theſauris tuis, quod pauperi prodeſſe poteſt. i.

Let it not ſleepe in thy treaſures, that may profite the poore.

Duo nunquam veteraſcunt in homine, cor ſemper nouas cogitationes machinando: lingua, cordis vanas conceptiones proferendo.

ferendo i.

Two things neuer waxe old in man, the hart euer in imagining new cogitations, the toung euer in vttering the vaine conceptions of the hart.

Quod aliquando de neceſſitate amittendum eſt, ſponte pro diuina remuneratione diſtribuendum eſt. i.

That which a man muſt needes forgo of neceſſitie, wiſedome it is a man to diſtribute ſo, that God may euerlaſtingly reward him.

Diſciplina eſt morum præſentium ordinata correctio, & malorum præteritorum regularis obſeruatio. i.

Diſcipline is an ordinate amendment of maners preſent, and a regular obſeruation of euils paſt.

Integritas ibi nulla eſſe poteſt, vbi qui improbos damnent, deſunt: & ſoli qui damnentur, occurrunt.

There can be no integrity, wheras they which ſhould condemne the wicked are euer wanting: and they onely which are to be condemned, are euer preſent.

Auari ad hoc tantum poſſident, quæ habent, vt ne alteri poſſidere liceat.

A couetous man onely poſſeſſeth his goodes for this, becauſe an other ſhould not poſſeſſe them.

Sericum & purpurum indutæ, Chriſtum induere non poſſunt.

Wemen that aduaunce themſelues in putting on ſilks and purple, cannot lightly put on Chriſt.

Fœminæ crines ſuos inficiunt malo præſagio: Capillos enim ſibi flammeos auſpicari non metuunt.

They which colour their lockes with red and yealow, beginne betime to prognoſticate, of that colour theyr heades ſhall be in hell.

Qui ſe pingunt in hoc ſeculo, aliter quam creauit Deus metuant ne cum reſurrectionis venerit dies, artifex creaturam ſuam non recognoſcat.

They which loue to paynt themſelues in this world otherwiſe then God hath created thē: let them feare, leaſt when the day commeth of reſurrection, the creator will not know them.

Qui pauperi eleemoſinam dat, Deo ſuauitatis odorem ſacrificat.

He that gyueth an almes to the poore, ſacrificeth to God an odour of ſwete ſmell.

Contemnenda eſt omnis iniuria præſentium molorum, fiducia futurorum bonorum.

All iniurie of euils preſēt to be neglected, for the good hope of good thinges to come.

Nihil prodeſt verbis proferre virtutem, & factis deſtruere.

To ſet out vertue in wordes, and to deſtroy the ſame in factes, is nothing worth.

Quo plures domi ſint tibi liberi, hoc plus tibi non recondendum ſed erogandum eſt, quia multorum iam delicta redimenda ſunt multorum purgandæ conſcientiæ.

The mo children and greater houſhoulde thou haſt at home the more cauſe thou haſt not to horde vp, but to diſperſe abroode, for that many ſinnes are to be redeemed many conſciences are to be purged.

The place of ſcripture expounded. *Eleemaſina ab omni peccato & morte liberat. Tob. 4. Ex Cypri. Lib. 4. Epiſt. 2.*

¶ Moreouer, leaſt the Papiſts here ſhould take an occaſion by this text, grounded vpon the text of Tobi, cap. 4. Almoſe (ſaith he) deliuereth from al ſinne and death: to build vp the workes of ſatiſfactiō, the ſaid Cyprian, Lib. 4. Epiſt, 2. more plainely expoundeth both himſelfe, and that place of Scripture, writing in theſe wordes: Quia ſcriptum eſt, Eleemoſina ab omni peccato, & morte liberat. Tob. 4 non vtique ab ea morte, quam ſemel Chriſti ſanguis extinxit, & a qua nos ſalutaris Baptiſmi & tedemptoris noſtri gratia liberauit, ſed ab illa quæ per delicta poſtmodum ſerpit. &c. That is: Almoſe doth deliuer from all ſinne and from death. Tob. 4. not from that (ſaith Cyprian) which the bloude of Chriſt hath once extincted, and from which the wholſome grace of our Baptiſme, and of our redeemer hath deliuered vs, but frō that death which afterward creepeth in by ſinne. &c. Cyprian. Lib. 4. Epiſt. 2. by which words it is apparant, that Cyprian meaneth this deliueraunce (which commeth by almoſe gyuing) from death and ſinne, not to be expounded nor to be taken for death euerlaſting, from which only the bloude of Chriſt doth ſaue vs, but for temporall or tranſitory puniſhment, which is wont to be inflicted in this body of ſin. For ſo it is nothing repugnaunt, but that temporall vertues may haue their temporall rewards in this life, & likwiſe ſinnes committed may haue temporal puniſhments both of vs and in our families, our eternal ſaluation ſtanding euermore firme in Chriſt yet notwithſtanding.

The foreſaide Vincentius moreouer ſpeaking of an other booke of Cyprian (although the ſaid booke be not numbred in the Catalogue of his workes) maketh mention of xij. abuſes, or abſurdities in the life of man, which in order be theſe:

Twelue abuſes in the lyfe of man noted out of *Cyprian*.

1. Sapiens ſine operibus. A wiſe man without good workes.
2. Senex ſine religione. An old man without religion.
3. Adoleſcens ſine obedientia. A young man without obedience.
4. Diues ſine eleemoſina. A rich man without almoſe.
5. Fœmina ſine pudicitia. A woman ſhameles.
6. Dominus ſine virtute. A guide without vertue.
7. Chriſtianus contentioſus. A Chriſtian man contentious.
8. Pauper ſuperbus. A poore man proude.
9. Rex iniquus. A king vnrighteous.
10. Epiſcopus negligens. A byſhop negligent.
11. Plebs ſine diſciplina. People without diſcipline.
12. Populus ſine lege. Subiectes without law.

The learning of *Cyprian*, ioyned with hys blemiſhes.

The faulte of Papiſtes to make to much of euery thing.

As I haue hetherto ſet forth the commendation of Cyprian this bleſſed Martyr: ſo muſt we nowe take heede againe, ẏ we do not here incurre the old & common daunger, whiche the Papyſtes are commonlye accuſtomed to runne into, whoſe fault is alwayes almoſt to be immoderate and exceſſiue in their procedings, making to much almoſt of euery thing. So in ſpeaking of the holye Sacraments, they make more of them then doth ẏ nature of Sacraments require, not vſing them, but abuſing thē, not referring or applying them, but adoring them, not taking thē in their kind for thinges godly as they are, but taking thē for God himſelfe, turning religion into ſuperſtition, & ẏ creature to the creator, ẏ things ſignifying to the things them ſelues ſignified, &c. To the Church likewiſe and ceremonies of the church, to generall Councels, to the bleſſed virgin Mary mother of Chriſt, to the biſhop of Rome, and to all other in like caſe, not contented to attribute that which is ſufficient, they excede moreouer the bounds of iudgement and veritie, iudging ſo of the Church, & general cōſicels, as though they could neuer, or did neuer erre in any iote. That the bleſſed mother of Chriſt amongeſt al women was bleſſed, and a virgine ful of grace, the Scripture & truth doth giue, but to ſay that ſhe was borne without al original ſinne, or to make of her an aduocate, or mother of mercy, there they run further then truth wil beare. The ceremonies were firſt ordained to ſerue but onely for order ſake, vnto the which they haue attributed ſo much at length, that they haue ſet in them a great part of our Religion yea & alſo ſaluation. And what thing is there els almoſt, wherein the Papiſtes haue not exceeded?

How farre the authoritie of the doctors ought to extend.

Wherfore to auoyd this common error of the papiſts, we muſt beware in cōmending the Doctors & writers of the Church, & ſo commend them, that truth and conſideratiō, go with our cōmendation. For though this cannot be denied, but that holy Cyprian, and other bleſſed Martyrs were holy men, yet notwithſtanding they were men that is ſuch as might haue, & had their falles & faultes, men I ſay, & not aungels, nor gods, ſaued by God, not ſauiours of men, nor patrons of grace: and though they were alſo men of excellent learning, & worthy Doctors, yet wt theyr learning they had their errors alſo annexed. And though their bookes be (as they ought to be of great authority, yet ought they not to be equall with the Scriptures. And albeit the ſaide well in moſt things, yet it is not therefore inough that what they ſaid it muſt ſtande for a truth. That preeminence of authority onely belongeth to the worde of God, and not to the pen of man. For of men and Doctors, be they neuer ſo famous, there is none that is voyde of his reprehenſion. In Origene (although in his time the admiratiō of his learning was ſinguler) yet how many things be there, which the Church nowe holdeth not? but examining him by Scriptures, where he ſayd well, they admit him, where otherwiſe they leaue him. In Polycarpus the church hath corrected and altered that which he did holde in celebrating the Eaſter day after the Iewes. Neither cā holy and bleſſed Ignatius be defended in al his ſayings: as where he maketh the faſting vpon ẏ Sonday or the Sabboth day as great an offence, as to kil Chriſt him ſelfe, Ignat Epiſt. ad Phillip. contrary to this ſaying of Saint Paule. Let no man iudge you in meate & drinke. Alſo where the ſaid Ignatius ſpeaketh De virginitate, and of other thinges mo. Irenæus did hold that man was not made perfect in the beginning. He ſeemeth alſo to defend free will in man, in thoſe thinges alſo that be ſpirituall. He ſayeth that Chriſt ſuffered after he was fifty yeares old, abuſing this place of the Goſpell: Quinquaginta annos nondum habes. &c. Tertulianus (whom S. Cyprian neuer laide out of his handes almoſt) is noted to be a Chiliaſte: alſo to haue bene of Mōtanus ſect. The ſame did hold alſo wt Iuſtine, Cyprian, & other, that the Aungels fel firſt for the concupiſcence of women, Lib. de habitu mulierum. He defendeth fre wil of man after ẏ corruption of nature, inclining alſo to the errour of them, which defend the poſſibilitie of keeping God his law. Cōcerning Mariage. Vnum matrimonium (inquit) nouimus, ſicut vnum Deum. i. We know (ſayth he) one Mariage, as

The blemiſhes and errours of doctors noted.

Origene

Policarpus.

Ignatius.

Ireneus.

Tertulianus.

we

Iuſtinus.

Cyprian.

Contention betweene *Cyprian* and *Stephanus* Byſhop of Rome.

we know one God condemning the ſecond maryage. Lib, de Monogam. Diuers other things of like abſurditie in him be noted. Iuſtinus alſo ſeemeth to haue inclined vnto the errour of the Chiliaſtes, of the fall of certaine Aungels by wemen, of free will of man, of poſſibilitie of keeping the lawe and ſuch other. Neither was this our Cyprian, the great ſchooler of Tertulian, vtterly exempt from the blot of them, who contrary to the doctrine of the Church, did hold with rebaptiſing of ſuch, as were before Baptiſed of heretikes, whereof ſpeaketh S. Auſten, myſlyking the ſame errour of Cyprian, in theſe words contained in his 2. booke, Contra Creſconium. Cypriani, inquit, laudem ego conſequi non valeo eius multis literis mea ſcripta non comparo, eius ingenium diligo eius ore delector, eius charitatem miror, eius Martyrium veneror. Non accipio quod de baptiſandis hæreticis & ſchiſmaticis ſenſit, &c. Vppon the whiche matter there was a great contention betwene the ſayd Cyprian, and Stephen Biſhop of Rome, as partly afore is noted. Of Auſten himſelfe likewiſe, of Ambroſe, Hierome, Chriſoſtome, the ſame maye be ſaid, that none of them alſo clearely paſſed away, but their peculiar faultes and errours went with them, whereof it were to long, and out of our purpoſe at this preſent to entreate. And thus much concerning the ſtory of Cyprian the holy learned Martyr of Chriſt.

Cyprians diuers of that name.

Diſt. 10. *Quoniam.*

Gloſa Ibid. A blinde gloſe chalenging both the ſwordes to the Popes hand.

Albeit here is to be noted by the way, touching the life and ſtory of Cyprian that this Cyprian was not he, whome the narration of Nazianzen ſpeaketh of (as is aboue mentioned) who from Arte Magicke was conuerted to bee a Chriſtian, which Cyprian was a Citizen of Antioche, and afterward Biſhop of the ſame Citie, and was Martyred vnder Diocletian. Where as this Cyprian was Byſhop of Carthage, and died vnder Valerianus, as is ſayd, &c. By the decrees of Gratiã. Diſt. x. Quoniam. it appeareth moreouer that there was alſo a third Cyprian in the time of Iulianus the Emperour Apoſtata, long after both theſe aforenamed. For ſo giueth the title prefixed before the ſaide Diſtinct. Cyprianus Iuliano Imperatori: the diſtinction beginning. Quoniam idem mediator Dei & hominum homo Chriſtus Ieſus, ſic actibus proprijs, & dignitatibus diſtinctis officia poteſtatis vtriuſque diſcernit, &c. Vpon the which diſtinctiõ the gloſe commeth in with theſe words ſaying: ẏ the popedome, and the ſeate Imperial, haue both one beginning of one that is, Chriſt: who was both Biſhoppe, and king of Kings. And that the ſaid dignities be diſtincted, albeit the Pope notwithſtanding hath both the ſwords in his hand and may exerciſe them both ſome time. And therefore although they be diſtincted, yet in exerciſe the one ſtandeth lineally vnder the other, ſo that the imperiall dignitie is ſubiect vnder the Papall dignitie, as the inferiour is ſubiect vnder the ſuperiour: that as there is one ruler ouer the whole which is God: ſo in the Church is one Monarche, that is, the Pope, to whom the Lord hath committed the power and lawfull right both of the heauenly and terrene dominion. Hæc Gloſa.

A diſtinction of *Gracian* diſproued.

Thus much I thought here to note by the waye becauſe this diſtinction is fathered vpon Cyprian, which is falſe, for this Cyprian was not in the time of Iulian, not by 200. yeares, and ſo likewiſe by the other Cyprian, which died Martyr vnder Diocletian. Of anye Cyprian beſides theſe two, we read not. Neither is it credible, that if there were any ſuch Cyprian, he would euer haue written of any ſuch matter, of the difference and mutuall nede of Chriſtiã Emperours and Chriſten Popes. When as that Emperour being an Apoſtata, neither regarded Chriſt, nor cared for any Pope.

Xiſtus the ſecond Byſhop of Rome Martyr. Sixe Deacons with *Xiſtus* Martyrs.

About this tyme, and vnder the ſame Emperour Valerianus ſuffered alſo Xiſtus, or Sixtus, the ſeconde of that name, Byſhop of Rome, who being accuſed of his aduerſaries, to be a Chriſtiã, was brought with his vj. deacons to the place of execution, where he with Nemeſius & other hys Deacons were beheaded and ſuffered Martyrdome. Laurence in the ſame time being alſo Deacon folowed after complayning to Xiſtus, as one being greued, that he might not alſo ſuffer with him, but to be ſecluded as the ſonne frõ the father. To whom the Biſhop aunſwering againe, declared that within thre daies he ſhould folow after. In the meane time, hee willed him to go home, and to diſtribute his treaſures, if he had any vnto ẏ poore. The iudge belike hearing mentiõ to be made of treaſures to be giuen to the poore, and thinking that Laurence had great ſtore of treaſure in his cuſtody, cõmaunded him to bring the ſame vnto him, according as the diſcourſe of his ſtorye here vnder written, more fully may appeare. Which hiſtory, becauſe it is ſet forth more at large in Prudentius, Ambroſe, and other writers, and containeth in it mo things in it worthy to be noted of the Reader, we haue therfore with the more diligence here inſerted the more ample deſcription of ẏ ſame, to the further admiration of his patience, and God his glory ſhewed in him.

The ſtory and Martyrdome of *Laurente* *Ex Ambroſ. lib. 1 offic. cap. 41. Ex Prudentio. Lib. Periſteph.*

The wordes of *Laurence* to *Xiſtus.*

Now then as order requireth, let vs enter the ſtory of that moſt conſtaunt and couragious Martir of Chriſt S. Laurence, whoſe words and works deſerue to be as freſhe and greene in Chriſtian harts, as is the floriſhing Laurel tree, This thirſty hart longing after the water of lyfe, deſirous to paſſe vnto it, through the ſtraight dore of bitter death, when on a time he ſaw his vigilaunt Shephearde, Xiſtus led as an harmles lambe, of harmefull tyrauntes to his death, cried out with open mouth and hart inuincible, ſaying, O deare father, whether goeſt thou, without the company of thy deare ſonne? Whether haſteneſt thou, O reuerend Prieſt, without thy Deacon? Neuer waſt thou wont to offer ſacrifice without thy miniſter. What cryme is there in me that offendeth thy fatherhod? Haſt thou proued me vnnaturall? Now try ſwete father, whether thou haſt choſen a faithfull miniſter or not. Denieſt thou vnto him the fellowſhip of thy bloud, to whom thou haſt committed the deſtribution of the Lordes bloud? See that thy iudgement be not miſliked, whileſt thy fortitude is liked & lauded. The abaſing of the ſcholer, is the diſgracing of the Maiſter. What? haue we not learned that worthy Maiſters, haue obtained moſt worthy fame, by ẏ worthy actes of their Diſciples and Scholers? Finally Abraham ſacryficed his onely begotten Iſaac. Stoned Stephen prepared the way to preaching Peter, euen ſo father declare thy manifold vertues by me thy ſonne. Offer thou him that proferreth him ſelfe. Graunt that the body of thy ſcholer may be ſacrificed, whoſe mind with good letters thou haſt beautified. Theſe wordes with teares S. Laurence vttered, not becauſe his maſter ſhould ſuffer, but for that he might not be ſuffered to taſt of deaths cup, which he thirſted after.

The anſwere of *Xiſtus* to *Laurence.*

Then Xiſtus to his ſonne ſhaped this aunſwere: I forſake thee not, O my ſonne, I giue thee to wit, that a ſharper conflict remaineth for thee. A feeble and weak old man am I, and therefore run the raſe of a lighter & eaſier death. But luſty and young thou art, and more luſtely, yea more gloriouſly ſhalt thou triumph ouer this tyraunt. Thy time approcheth, ceaſe to wepe & lament, three daies after thou ſhalt follow me. Decent is it, that this ſpace of time come betwene the Prieſt & the Leuite. It may not beſeeme thee O ſweete Pupill, to triumphe vnder thy maſter, leaſt it be ſaid he wanted an helper. Why craueſt thou to be pertaker with me in my paſſion? I bequeath vnto thee the whole inheritaunce. Why requireſt thou to enioy my preſence? let weake ſcholers go before, and the ſtrõger come after, that thoſe without maiſter may get the victory, which haue no neede by maiſter to be gouerned. So Helias left behynde him his beloued Heliſeus. I yeelde vp into thy handes the ſucceſſion of my vertues. Such was their contention, not vnmeete for ſo godly a prieſt, ſo zelous a miniſter, ſtriuing with themſelues, who ſhoulde firſt ſuffer for the name of Chriſt Ieſu.

In tragical hiſtories we haue it mentioned, ẏ through ioy & admiration people claped their handes, whẽ Pylades named himſelfe Oreſtes, Oreſtes, as truth it was, affirmed himſelfe to bee Oreſtes. Pylades wiſhing to die for Oreſtes, Oreſtes, not ſuffering Pylades to loſe his life for his ſake: But neither of them might eſcape death, for both theſe louers were gilty of bloud the one committing the facte the other conſenting. But this our Laurence the Martyr moſt conſtant, was by no meanes enforced to make this profer, ſauing onely by his ardent zeale, and feruent ſpirite, who thirſting after the cup of Maytirdome, had it ſhortly after filled to the hard brymme.

Some ſay that this tyraunt was *Decius* the Emperour, but that cannot be, except *Galienus* or ſome other iudge now was called by the name of *Decius.*

Now let vs draw neare to the fire of Martyred Laurence, that our colde hartes may be warmed thereby. The mercyleſſe tyraunt, vnderſtanding this vertuous Leuite, not onely to be a miniſter of the Sacramentes, but a diſtributer alſo of the Church riches (whereof mention is made before in the wordes of Xiſtus) promiſed to himſelfe a double pray, by the appreſion of one ſilly ſoule. Firſt with the rake of Auarice to ſcrape to himſelfe the treaſure of poore Chriſtians, then with the fiery forke of tyranny ſo to toſſe and turmoyle them, that they ſhould waxe weary of their Chriſtian profeſſion: With furious face, and cruell countenaunce, the greedy wolfe demaunded where this Deacon Laurence had beſtowed the ſubſtaunce of the Church. Who crauing three dayes reſpite, promiſed to declare where the treaſure might be had. In the meane time he cauſed a good number of poore Chriſtians to be congregated. So when ẏ day of his aunſwere was come, the perſecutor ſtraightly charged him to ſtãd to hys promiſe. Then valiant Laurẽce ſtretching out his armes ouer the poore, ſayde: Theſe are the precious treaſure of the church: Theſe are the treaſure in deede, in whom the faith of Chriſt raigneth, in whome Ieſus Chriſt hath his manſion place, what more precious

The true treaſure of Chriſt hys Church.

Iuels can Chriſt haue, thē thoſe in whō he hath promiſed to dwel? For ſo it is written, I was hungry, & ye gaue me to eate: I was thirſty, and ye gaue me to drinke: I was harborles, and ye lodged me. And againe: Looke what ye haue done to the leaſt of theſe, the ſame haue ye done to me. What greater riches can chriſt our maiſter poſſes, then the poore people, in whō he loueth to be ſene? Oh, what toung is able to expreſſe the fury and madnes of the tirants hart? Now he ſtāped, he ſtared, he rāped, he fared as one out of his wit: his eies like fier glowed, his mouth like a bore fomed, his teeth like an helhoūd grinded. Now not a reaſonable man, but a roaryng lion he might be called. Kindle the fire (he cried) of wood make no ſpare. Hath this vyllaine deluded the Emperour? away with him, away with him. Whip him with ſcourges, ierke him with rods: buffet him with fiſtes, braine him with clubs, ieſteth the traitour with the Emperour? Pinche him with fyrie tonges, gyrde him with burning plates, bring out the ſtrongeſt chaines, and the fireforkes, and the grated bedde of yron. On the fire with it, bind the rebell hande and foote, & when the bed is fire hot, on with him: roſt him, broyle him, toſſe him, turne him: On paine of our highe diſpleaſure do euery man his office, O ye tormentors.

Laurence tormented on the fiery gridiron.

The worde was no ſoner ſpoken, but all was done. After many cruell handlings, this meeke lambe was layd I will not ſay on his fyrye bed of yron, but on his ſoft bed of downe. So mightily God wrought with his Martyr Laurence, ſo miraculouſly God tempered his element the fire, not a bed of conſuming paine, but a pallet of nouriſhing reſt was it vnto Laurence. Not Laurence, but the Emperour might ſeeme to be tormented: the one broyling in the fleſhe, the other burning in the hart. When this tryumphant Martir had beene preſſed downe with firepikes for a great ſpace, in the mightie ſpirite of God he ſpake to the vanquiſhed tyraunt:

This ſide is now roſted inough, turne vp O tyraunt great,
Aſſay, whether roſted or raw, thou thinkeſt the better meate.

The ſingular patience of *Laurence* in his paynes.

O rare and vnaccuſtomed patience. O faith inuincible, that not onely not burneſt, but by meanes vnſpeakable doeſt recreate, refreſh, ſtabliſh, & ſtrengthen thoſe that are burned, afflicted and troubled. And why ſo mightilye comforteſt thou the perſecuted? Becauſe through thee they beleeue in gods promiſes infallible. By thee this glorious Martir ouercommeth his torments, vanquiſheth this tyraunt, confoundeth his enimies, confirmeth the Chriſtiās, ſlepeth in peace, raigneth in glory. The God of might and mercy graunt vs grace, by the life of Laurence to learne in Chriſt to liue, and by his death to learne for Chriſt to dye. Amen.

The Martyrdome and end of bleſſed *Laurence*.

Such is the wiſdome and prouidence of God, that the bloud of his deare Saints (like good ſeede) neuer falleth in vaine to the grounde, but it bringeth ſome increaſe: ſo it pleaſed the Lord to worke at the Martirdome of this holy Laurence, that by the conſtant confeſſion of this worthy & valiaunt Deacon, a certaine ſouldiour of Rome beyng therwith compuncted, and conuerted to ÿ ſame faith, deſired forthwith to be Baptiſed of him: for the which he being called for of the iudge, was ſcourged, and afterwarde beheaded. Henr. de Erford.

A Romayne ſouldiour conuerted by *Laurence*, and Martyred.

Dionyſius Byſhop of Alexandria with hys fellowes baniſhed.

Maximus, Fauſtus, Cheremon, a certayne Romayne baniſhed.

Under the ſame Valerianus ſuffered alſo Dionyſius byſhop of Alexandria much affliction and baniſhment, with certaine other brethren, Of the which he writeth himſelfe, & is alledged in the Eccleſiaſticall ſtory of Euſeb. Lib. 7. cap. 11. the wordes whereof tend to this effect: Dionyſius wyth three of his Deacons, to wit, Maximus, Fauſtus, and Cheremon, alſo with a certaine brother of Rome, came to Emilianus then Preſident, who there declared vnto them in circumſtance of words how he had ſignified vnto them ÿ clemencie of his Lords and Emperours: who had graunted them pardon of life, ſo that they would returne to them, & worſhip the Gods and keepers (as he called them) of their Emperie, aſking them what aunſwere they would gyue him thereunto: truſting as he ſaide that they woulde not ſhew themſelues ingrateful to the clemency of them which ſo gently did exhort them. To this Dionyſius aunſweryng, ſaid: Al men worſhip not al Gods, but diuers men diuers gods, ſo as euery one hath in himſelfe a mind or phantaſie to worſhip. But we worſhip not many nor diuers Gods, but onely that one God, who is the creator of all things, & hath committed to our Lords Valerianus and Galienus the gouernmēt of their Empery, making to him our prayers inceſſauntly for their proſperous health and continuance. Then the Preſident ſayde: And what hurt is it, but that you may both worſhip your God, what God ſoeuer he be, and theſe our Gods alſo? For you are cōmaunded worſhip ſuch Gods, as al men know to be gods. Dionyſius anſwered we worſhip none other, but as we haue ſayd. Emilianus the Preſident ſaid: I ſee you are ingratfull men, and conſider not ÿ benignitie of the Emperours, wherfore you ſhal remaine no longer in this City, but ſhal be ſent out to the parts of Libya, vnto a towne called Cephro. For that place by the commaundement of the Emperour I haue choſen for you. Neither ſhal it be lawful for you, to cōuent your aſſemblies, or to reſort, as ye are wont to your burial places. And if any of you ſhal be found out of your places whereunto you are apointed, at your peril be it. And think not contrary, but ye ſhal be watched well inough. Depart therfore to the place as is cōmaunded you. and it foloweth more in the ſaid Dionyſius ſpeaking of himſelfe: And as for me (ſayth he) although I was ſicke, yet hee vrged mee ſo ſtraightly to depart, that he would not giue me one dayes reſpite. And how (ſaith he writing to Germanus) coulde I congregate or not congregate any aſſemblies? And after a few lines it followeth. And yet neyther am I altogether abſent from the corporall ſocietie of the Lordes flocke, but I haue collected them togither, which were in the Citye, being abſent, as though I had bene preſent, abſent in body yet preſent in ſpirit. And in the ſame Cephro, a great congregation remayned with mee, as well of thoſe brethren which followed me out of the City, as alſo of them which were remayning there out of Egypt. And there the Lorde opened to me the doore of his word, although at the firſt entraunce I was perſecuted and ſtoned among them, yet afterward a great number of them fel from their Idoles and were cōuerted vnto the Lord. And ſo by vs the word was preached to them which before were infidels: which miniſtery after that we had accompliſhed there, the lord remoued vs to an other place. For Æmilianus tranſlated vs frō thence to more ſharpe and ſtraighter places of Libya, commaunding vs to meete altogether at a city Mareota, thinking there to ſeparate vs ſeuerallye into ſundrye villages, or thinking rather to take and preuent vs by the way. After we were come thether, it was aſſigned to me (ſaith Dionyſius) to go to Colluthion, which place I neuer hearde of before: which was the more griefe to me, yet ſome ſolace it was to me, that the brethren told me, it was neare to a Citie named Parætonium. For as my being at Cephrō got me the acquaintaunce of manye brethren of Egypt, ſo my hope was that the vicinitie of that place where I ſhoulde be, to the Citie, might procure the familiaritie and concourſe of certaine louing brethren, which would reſort and aſſemble with vs, and ſo it came to paſſe, &c.

The examination of *Dionyſius* before the Preſident.

The conſtant confeſsion of *Dionyſius* and hys Deacons.

Dionyſius baniſhed to Cephro.

Infidels conuerted by *Dionyſius* in hys baniſhment.

Ex Dionyſio contra Germanū. Euſ. lib. 7.

Moreouer the ſaid Dionyſius in his Epiſtle ad Domitium & Dydymū, making mention of them whiche were afflicted in this perſecution of Valerian, recordeth in theſe wordes ſaying: it were ſuperflous (ſaith he) here to recite the names peculiarly of all our brethren ſlaine in this perſecution, which both were manye and to me vnknowne. But this is certaine that there were men, wemen, younge men, maydens, olde wiues, ſouldiers, ſimple innocentes, and of all ſortes and ages of men. Of whome ſome with ſcourginges and fire, ſome with ſworde obtained victorye, and got the crowne. Some continued a great time, and yet haue bene reſerued. In the whiche number am I reſerued hetherto to ſome other oportune tyme knowen vnto the Lord, which ſayth: In the time accepted I haue hearde thee, and in the daye of ſaluation I haue helped thee, &c. Nowe as concerning my ſelfe in what ſtate I am, if thou deſire to know firſt howe I and Caius, and Fauſtus Petrus, and Paulus, being apprehended by the Centurion, were taken away by certayne of the towne of Mareote, I haue declared to you before. Now I and Caius, and Petrus alone are left here included, in a weſt place of Libya, diſtant the ſpace of three daies iourney from Parætonium. &c. And in proceſſe farther he addeth: In the Citie (ſaith he) were certaine priuily which viſite the brethren: of Prieſtes Maximus, Dioſcorus, Demetrius, and Lucius. For they which were more notable in the world, Fauſtinus and Aquilla, do wander abroade in Egipt. Of the Deacons beſides them whō ſicknes hath conſumed, Fauſtus, Euſebius, & Cheremon, are yet alyue. Euſebius hath God raiſed and ſtirred vp to miniſter to the confeſſours lying in bandes, and to burye the bodies of the bleſſed Martirs, not without great perill. Neither doth the Preſident ceaſe yet to this day, cruellye murderyng ſuch as be brought afore him, ſome tearynge with torments, ſome impriſoning and keeping in cuſtody commaunding that no man ſhould come to them, inquyring alſo who reſorted vnto them. Yet notwithſtanding God with chearefulnes and dailye reſorte of the brethren doth comfort the afflicted. Hæc Dionyſius.

Ex Dionyſio ad Domitium & Didimum. Euſ. ibidem.

Martyrs of all ſortes and ages.

Commendation of *Euſebius* the Deacon.

Concerning theſe deacons aboue recited, here is to be noted, that Euſebius afterward was made Biſhop of Laodicia in Syria. Maximus the Prieſt aforeſaide, had the myniſtration of the Church of Alexandria after Dionyſius. Fau-

ſtus

Euſebius the Deacon made Byſhop of *Laodicea*.

Maximus Byſhop of Alexandria.

Fauſtus long preſerued, at laſt a martyr.

ſtus long after continued in great age, vnto the latter perſecution, where he being a very old man at length was beheaded, and died Martyr.

The end & death of *Dionyſius*.

As touching Dionyſius him ſelfe, thus the ſtories report, that he ſuruiuing all theſe troubles and perſecutiõs, by the prouidence of God, continued after the death of Valerian, vnto the xij. yeare of the raigne of Galienus, whiche was about the yeare of our Lord. 268. and ſo departed in peace in great age, after that he had gouerned the Church of Alexandria the ſpace of xvij. yeares, & before that, had taught the ſchole of the ſayd Citie of Alexandria, the terme of xvj. yeares. After whom ſucceeded Maximus, as is aboue ſpecified. And thus much touching the full ſtorie of Dionyſius Alexandrinus, and of other alſo Martyrs and Confeſſours of Alexandria.

Priſcus, Malchus, Alexander, A woeman Martyrs.

In Cæſaria Paleſtine, ſuffered alſo the ſame time, Priſcus, Malchus, and Alexander, the which three dwelling in the countrey, and good men, ſeing the valiaunt courage of the Chriſtians, ſo boldly to venter, & conſtantly to ſtand, and patiently to ſuffer in this perſecutiõ, as men being greued with them ſelues, began to repent & accuſe their ſo great ſluggiſhnes, and cowardly negligence, to ſee other ſo zealous & valiant, & themſelues ſo colde & faint harted, in laboring for the crowne of Chriſtian martyrdome: firſt conſulting and agreing within themſelues, came to Ceſarea, & there ſtepping to the Iudge, declared thẽ ſelues what they were, & obtained the end they came for, being giuen to the wilde beaſts. After which like maner alſo and in the ſame Citye of Ceſarea, a certaine woman whoſe name Euſebius expreſſeth not, who had beene before of the ſecte of Marcion was brought before the Preſident, and likewiſe obtayned the ſame Martyrdome. Euſeb. Lib. 7. cap. 12.

Euſeb. lib. 7. cap. 12.

Three hundreth Martyrs in Carthage. *Ex ſpecul. Vincent. lib. 11. cap. 83.*

Neither was the citie of Carthage all this while free from the ſtroke of this perſecution, if credit ſhould be giuẽ to the ſpeculatiue glaſſe of Vincentius, who cyting out of Hugo, recordeth of 300. Martyrs, of which 300. Martyrs the hiſtory ſaith thus, that the Preſident ſetting before the cooles and incenſe to doe ſacryfice, by a lyme kilne, which was there neere at hand, offred vnto them this condition, either to ſet incenſe to the coales, for ſacrifice to Iupiter, or els to go into the fornace of lyme: wherupon they altogether with a generall motion ſodenly ruſhed into the kilne, and ther with the duſty ſmoke of the lime were ſmothered Vincent. Erford.

Maxima, Donatilla, Secunda, virgines martirs.

In Aphrica alſo in the City of Tuburba, the ſayd Vincẽtius out of the Martyrologe inſerteth mention of thre conſtaunt virgins Maxima, Donatilla, and Secunda, who in the perſecution of this Valerian and Galienus, firſt had giuen for their drinke vinager and gaule, then with ſcourges were tried, after that vpon the gibbet were tormented, & rubbed with lime: then were ſcorched vpon ẏ fiery gridird, at laſt were caſt to the wilde beaſtes, who being not touched of them, finally with the ſword were beheaded, Vincent. Erfor.

Pontius, Martyr.

In Symela a City in Italy, vnder the Alpes, one Pontius beyng there apprehended, by the commaundement of Claudius the Preſident, was hanged firſt vppon the racke, then was caſt to the wilde beaſtes, of whom he being nothing hurt, was after cõmitted to the fire. And finally neither touched therwith, (if the ſtorye of Vincentius be true) was headed by ẏ ryuers ſide, & his body throwne into the floude, where immediatlye the ſame houre, the foreſayde Claudius with his aſſiſtant Anabius, were taken with wicked ſpirits, by whom they were ſo miſerablye vexed, that they byt of their tongues, and died.

Ex Vincet. Lib. 12, cap. 77. Ex Bergomen. lib. 8. Erford. lib. 6. Cap. 17.

Zenon, Martyr.

Zenon alſo Byſhop of Verona, is ſaide alſo in the ſame perſecution to ſuſtayne Martyrdome.

Bergomenſis reproued.

Moreouer in the ſame Citie of Alexandria aforeſayde, Bergomenſis in his 8. booke, writing of the ſtory of Valerianus Emperour, maketh mention of Philippus, biſhoppe of the ſaid ſea of Alexandria, who (as he ſaith) was vnder the ſayd Valerian beheaded. But that is not to be founde in any approued ſtory, nor ſtadeth with the truth of time that any ſuch Philip then was biſhop of Alexandria, or any other except onely Dionyſius. After whom next ſucceeded Maximus, who remained xviij. yeares, and after him Theonas, &c. So that by the auncient recordes of olde writers it appeareth not that Philippus or any other of that name was Biſhop of Alexandria, during this time ſignified by Bergomenſis.

Ex Antoni. part. 1. ca. 6.

Although in ſome other later writers, as Equilinus Antoninus, and Bergomenſis, I finde a certaine hiſtorye of one Philippus, Preſident of Alexandria about the ſame tyme of Valerian and Galienus, elected by the Emperour and Senate of Rome, to gouerne thoſe quarters, where he was at length conuerted to the chriſtian faith, and after made Prieſt or Biſhop, as they ſaye, of Alexandria, but that not to be ſo, the teſtimony of auncient writers doth refell. The hiſtory of this Philippus, witneſſed in our later Chronicles is this: Philippus, being promoted to the Preſidentſhip of Alexandria came downe with his wife Claudia, and his two ſonnes, Auitus, and Sergius, and with his daughter named Eugenia, of the which Eugenia a long hiſtory full of ſtraunge and prodigious miracles is written of Antoninus & other, wherof many things I will cut of, and brieflye touche the effect of the ſtorye, leauing to the iudgement of the reader the credit of mine authors, as he ſhall ſee cauſe.

The ſtory of *Philippus* and *Eugenia.*

Eugenia, Prothus, Hiacynthus, conuerted.

Thys Eugenia daughter of Philippus, being of ſingular beautie, and diligently brought vp by her parentes in ẏ ſtudie of ſcience and learnyng, was by occaſion of hearyng Chriſtians, reduced and brought vp to Chriſtianitye, with two other Eunuches her Schoolefellowes called Prothus and Hiacynthus: wyth whome ſhee takyng counſaile, vppon occaſion, whether to auoyde the daunger of perſecution, or refuſing to marry wyth a Pagane, vnknowne to her parents and fryendes dyd flee awaye, and becauſe the more boldlye ſhee might reſort to heare the readynges of Helenus then an aged Byſhoppe and of others, chaunged her ſelfe into mans apparell, and named her ſelfe Eugenius, vnder the whiche name ſhe was at length admitted vnto a certayne Monaſtery, or a ſocietie of chriſtians in the ſuburbes of Alexandria although I hardly beleeue that any Monaſterye or Chriſtians was then in the ſuburbes of Alexandria permitted, where alſo at the laſt for the excellencye of learnyng and vertue, ſhee was made head of the place. Here by the waye I omit the myracles of the foreſayde Helenus) Byſhoppe as the ſtory ſaith of Hierapolis (howe he caried burning coales in his lap, & how he aduẽtured himſelf to goe in the burnyng fyre, to refell wicked Zereas a Pagane, remaining in the ſame vnburned. Here alſo I omit the careful ſearch of her parents for her, and of the anſwere of the Pythoniſſe againe vnto them, that ſhe was taken vp to the heauen among ẏ Goddeſſes. I omit moreouer the miracles done by ẏ ſayde Eugenia, in healyng the diſeaſes and ſickneſſes of ſuch as came to her, &c. The ſtory proceedeth thus: Among other which were by this Eugenius cured & reſtored, there was a certaine Matrone of Alexandria named Melancia, who after ſhe had vſed the helpe and acquaintaunce of Eugenius ſuppoſing her to be a man, fell into an inordiaate loue, ſekyng by al meanes how to accompliſh the luſt of her concupiſcence. In ſo much that in her daily viſiting of her, at length ſhe began ſecretly to breake her mind, and to entiſe her to her ludenes. Eugenius contrary exhorted her to vertue & honeſty, ſhewing her the miſeries of this life, and the peryll of that folly. Melancia ſeeing that by no meanes ſhee would be allured, nor by force drawen to her deſire, & fearyng moreouer that ſhe in detecting of her would bringe her to ſhame, beginneth firſt to make an outcry of Eugenius, declaring howe ẏ ſhe went about corruptly to deſhonre her, & ſo preſented her accuſation before Philippus ẏ Preſident, as well againſt Eugenius, as alſo againſt the reſt of that company. This matter being heard, and the woman well knowen, the crime began to ſeeme ſuſpitious, and ſo much the more, becauſe it was obiected againſt the Chryſtians. By reaſon wherof Eugenius with her felow Chryſtians was now not only in great hatred, but alſo in daunger of preſent death and deſtruction. Then Eugenius purging her ſelfe & her honeſty, although with ſufficient probation, yet notwithſtanding perceiuing that it coulde take no place, what ſo euer ſhe ſaid, and ſeeing no time now to diſſemble any longer, for the daunger as well of her owne ſelfe, as ſpecially of her brethren which troubled her more: deſired of the Iudge place and time to make manifeſt to him the truth, and ſo ſhewed her ſelfe what ſhe was, and how ſhe was his daughter, the other to be Prothus & Hiacinthus the two Eunuches, her ſchoolefelowes, vtteryng moreouer to him and to her brethrẽ the cauſe of her departyng from them. At the narration whereof Philippus her father, and her two brethren comming to the knowledge of her conceaued no litle ioy, in receauing their Eugenia againe whom they thought had bene loſt. No leſſe gladnes was among the people, to ſee ẏ euidence of the matter ſo plainely to try out the truth of the one, & the falſenes of the other. Wherat ẏ malignant accuſer was wt double ſhame cõfounded, firſt for her diſhoneſty falſly cloked, ſecondly for the vntruth of her accuſation openly detected. Bergomenſis addeth moreouer, ẏ the ſaid accuſer was ſtricken preſently with lightning. Thus Eugenia trying her honeſtly to her parents & friends, not onely was receaued of them againe, but alſo by the grace of the Lord working with her in the ſpace of time did win thẽ to Chriſt. Wherby Philippus the father of her by nature, now by grace was begottẽ of his own daughter to a more perfect life, & whõ once he thought to haue bene loſt, not only he found againe, but alſo wt her found his own ſoule, & his own life, which before he

Eugenia leauing her parentes, chaungeth her ſelfe into mans apparell.

Helenus Biſhop of Hierapolis.

Eugenia accuſed of *Melancia.*

Eugenia knowne of her parentes.

Falſe accuſation conuicted.

Philippus by hys daughter conuerted vnto Chriſt.

Philippus Martyr.

had loſt indede. This Phillippus (ſayth the ſtorye) was made afterwarde Biſhop of Alexandria, and there ſuffered Martyrdome. Concerning whoſe Martyrdome I denye not but it may be true, but that he was byſhop of Alexandria, that cannot be admitted, as is before ſufficiently proued, out of Euſebius and other auncient hiſtoricians.

Baſilla, *Eugenia*, Martyrs.

Lykewyſe it is ſayd, that Eugenia after the Martyrdome of her father, returning to Rome with Prothus, and Hiacinthus, by occaſion ofconuertyng Baſilla (who ſhoulde haue bene maried to a Pagane huſband, and was then beheaded) to the Chriſtian faith, was aſſayled wyth ſundrye kinds of death, firſt being tied to a great ſtone & caſt into Tyber, where ſhe was caried vp from drowning, thē put in the hoate bathes, which were extincted, and ſhe preſerued: afterward by famiſhment in priſon, where they ſaye ſhe was fed at the hande of our Sauior, all which Legendary miracles I leaue to the Reader to iudge of them, as ſhal ſeeme good vnto him. At laſt the ſtory ſayeth, ſhe was with the ſword beheaded, Antonin. Bergom. Ado.

Corrections in the ſtory aboue touched. *Euſeb. lib. 7. Cap. 5.* *Helena* Byſhop of *Tarſus*.

And becauſe in this prent hiſtory mention was made of Helenus whom Antoninus with his fellowes noteth to be the byſhop of Hierapolis, here is to be vnderſtode & obſerued by the way, ỹ as Philippus in the foreſaide hiſtory is falſly ſaide to be byſhop of Alexandria, ſo lykewiſe vntrue it is that Helenus was biſhop of Hierapolis. For by Euſebius it appeareth, Lib. 7. cap. 5. alleadging the wordes of Dionyſius that he was biſhop of Tarus in Cilicia, and had there ouerſight of that Church from the tyme of our Lorde, 254. to the yeare. 274.

{Anno. 262.} *Victor*, *Victorinus*, *Claudianus*, *Boſſa*, Martyrs.

The vj. yeare of Valerianus and Galienus we read in the ſtory of Herfordienſis, cited out of Iſuardus, of Victor and Victorinus, who lying in priſon the ſpace of three yeares with Claudianus and Boſſa his wife, are ſayde to haue ſuſtayned great tormentes, and Martyrdome, for the teſtimony and name of Chriſt. Ex. Iuardo.

Fructuoſus Byſhop of Tarracona in Spayne, with hys 2. Deacons *Augurius*, *Eulogius*, Martyrs. *Ex Pruden. Periſteph.*

Aurelius Prudentius in his booke intituled Periſtephanon, inferreth mention of Fructuoſus Byſhop of Tarracona in Spaine, who with his two Deacons Augurius and Eulogius, ſuffered alſo Martyrdome being burned after ſyxe daies impriſonment, vnder ỹ foreſaid Emperours in this perſecution. The cauſe of their puniſhment was for the profeſſion of Chriſts name. Their Iudge and condemner was Emilianus: Their impriſonment indured ſixe dayes. The kinde of death miniſtred vnto them was fire, wherin they being altogether caſt with their armes bound behind them, their bandes (as Prudentius writeth) were diſſolued, their hands vntouched with the fire, and their bodies remayning whole. The charge of this Iudge vnto the Byſhop was this, that he would worſhip the Gods, whome the Emperour Galienus worſhipped. To whom Fructuoſus the byſhop aunſwering: nay, (ſayde he) I worſhip no dombe God of ſtockes and blockes, whom Galienus doth worſhip, but I worſhip the Lord and maiſter of Galienus, the Father and creator of all times, and his onely Sonne, ſent downe to vs of whoſe flock I am here the Paſtor and ſhepeherd. At this worde Emilianus aunſwering agayne, Nay, (ſaith he) ſay not thou art, but ſay thou waſt. And forthwith commaunded them to be committed to the fyre, where (as is ſayd) their bandes and manicles being looſed, by the fire, they lifted vp their hands to heauen, prayſyng the liuing God, to the great admiration of them that ſtode by, praying alſo that the element which ſeemed to fle from them, might worke his full force vpon them, & ſpedely diſpatche them, which was after their requeſt obtained. In the meane ſpace as they were in the fire, there was a certayne Souldier in the houſe of Emilianus, who did ſee the heauens aboue to open, and theſe foreſayd Martyrs to enter in the ſame, which ſouldiour likewiſe ſhewed the ſight the ſame time vnto the daughter of Emilianus, the preſident who beholding the ſame ſight with the ſouldiour, was a preſent witneſſe of the bleſſedneſſe of them, whom her cruell father had condemned.

Fructuoſus and hys Deacons ſtrengthned in the fire.

The fauour of God toward hys martirs openly declared.

As thys godly Byſhop was preparyng to his death (ſayth Prudentius) the brethren approching to him, brought him drinke, deſiring him with much weeping to receaue & drinke with them, but that he refuſed to do, requiring the moreouer to refrayne their teares. with like readines the brethen alſo were diligent about him to pluck of his ſhoes & hoſe, as he was addreſſing himſelfe to the fire. But neyther would he ſuffer any ſeruaunts helpe in that, wherein he was no leſſe willing as able to helpe himſelf. And thus this bleſſed and fruitefull byſhop Fructuoſus with his two Deacons Augurius and Eulogius, beyng brought to the fire, witneſſed the conſtant confeſſion of the name of chriſt, with the ſhedding of their bloude. Aurel. Prudentins. Ado. Equilinus.

The modeſty of *Fructuoſus*,

The no
ble pla
ot God a
gaynſt
Valerian
the perſe
tor.

And thus farre continued wicked Valerian, in his tyranny againſt the Saintes of Chriſt. But as all the Tyrauntes before, and oppreſſors of the Chriſtians had theyr deſerued reward at the iuſt hand of God, which rendreth to euery man according to his workes: ſo this cruel Valerian, after he had reigned with his ſonne Galienus, ỹ terme of vj. or vij. yeares, and about two yeares had afflicted the Church of Chriſt, felt the iuſt ſtroke of his hande, whoſe indignation before he had prouoked, whereof we haue to witnes Eutropius, Pollio, Sabellicus, Volateranus: For making hys expedition agaynſt the Perſians, whether by the fraude and treaſon of ſome about him, or whether by his owne raſhnes, it is doubtfull: But this is certayne, that he fell into the handes of hys enemies, being about the age of lxx. yeares, where he led hys wretched age in a more wretched captiuitie. In ſo much that Sapores the king of the Perſians vſed him (and well worthy) not for his ryding ſoole, but for hys riding blocke. For whenſouer the king ſhould light vpon hys horſe openly in the ſight of the people, Valerian Emperour quondam, was brought forth in ſteede of a blocke, for the king to tread vpon hys backe, in goyng to hys horſebacke. And ſo continued this blockiſhe butcherly Emperour with ſhame and ſport inough vnto his finall end, as witneſſeth Lætus and Aurelius Victor.

Gods iuſ
puniſhm
to be no

Ex Euſeb. in Sermo ad Conue tum, Sanctoru *Valerian* the perſecuting Emperour, excoriate of the Perſians.

And albeit Euſebius in a certaine Sermon to the Congregation, declareth a more cruell handling of him, affirming that he was ſlaine, writing in theſe wordes: Sed & tu Valeriane, quoniam eandem homicidiorum ſæuitiam erga ſubditos Dei exercuiſti, iuſtum Dei iudicium declaraſti, dum captiuus ac vinctus vna cum ipſa purpura ac reliquo imparatorio ornatu abductus, ac tandem a Sapore Perſarum Rege excoriari iuſſus, ſaleq; conditus, perpetuum infælicitatis tuæ trophæum erexiſti. &c. That is and thou Valerian, for ſo much as thou haſt exerciſed the ſame crudelitie in murdering the ſubiects of God, therfore haſt proued vnto vs the rightuous iudgement of God, in that thy ſelfe haſt bene bound in chaynes, and caryed away for a captiue ſlaue, with thy gorgeous purple, and thy imperiall attire, and at length alſo beyng commaunded of Sapores king of the Perſians to be ſlayne and poudred with ſault, haſt ſet vp vnto al men a perpetuall monument of thine owne wretchednes. &c. Euſeb.

The puniſhment of Cod vpon *Claudius* preſident the Emperour.

The like ſeueritie of God his terrible iudgement is alſo to be noted in Claudius, his Preſidēt, and miniſter of his perſecutions. Of which Claudius, Henricus de Erfordia thus writeth, that he was poſſeſſed and vexed of the deuill, in ſuch ſort, that he byting of his owne tongue in many ſmall peeces, ſo ended hys life. Erford.

Galienus plagued in hys perſecution.

Neither did Galienus the ſonne of Valerian, after the captiuitie of hys father, vtterly eſcape the righteous hand of God. For beſide the miſerable captiuitie of hys father whom he could not reſcue, ſuch portentes ſtraunge, & out of the courſe of nature, ſuch Earthquakes did happen, alſo ſuch tumultes, commotions, and rebellions did followe, that Trebellio doth recken vp to the number of 30. together which in ſundry places all at one tyme tooke vpon them to be tyrantes and Emperours ouer ỹ Monarchie of Rome, by the meanes whereof he was not able to ſuccour hys father, though he would. Notwithſtanding the ſayd Galienus beyng (as is thought) terrified by the exāple of his father, did remoue: at leaſt did moderate the perſecutiō ſtirred vp by the Edictes of Valerian hys father, directing forth hys imperiall Proclamation, the tenor whereof proceedeth after this effect, as is to be ſene in Euſeb. Lib 7. ca. 13. Emperour and Cæſar, Publius Licinius, Galienus, Pius Fortunatus, Auguſtus, vnto Dionyſius, to Pinna, and to Demetrian and to all other the like Biſhops. The bountifull benignitie of my gift, I haue willed and commaunded to be proclaymed through the whole worlde, to the intent that ſuch whiche are deteined in baniſhment for diſcipline ſake, may ſafely returne home agayne, from whence they came. And for the ſame cauſe I haue here ſent to you the example of my reſcript for you to peruſe & to enioy, ſo that no man ſo hardy to vexe or moleſt you. And thys whiche you may now lawfully enioy, hath bene long ſince by me graunted. And therefore for your more warrant in the ſame, I haue committed the examplar hereof to the cuſtody of Aurelianus Cyrenius my chiefe Steward, where you may fet the copy to ſee at your pleaſure.

Peace graunted to the Church. *Euſeb. lib. 7. Cap. 13.*

An other graunt of *Galienus* vnto the Chriſten Byſhops.

This mandate aboue prefixed did Galienus ſent to Dionyſius Alexandrinus, and to other Byſhops as is premiſed. An other reſcript alſo the ſayd Emperour ſent to other Chriſtian Byſhops, permitting to them full libertie to receaue agayne their wonted places, where they were wont to aſſociate together, called of them Cæmiteria.

{An. 263.} *Marinus* Martyr. *Ex Euſeb. lib. 7. ca. 15.*

By this it may appeare that ſome peace was then graūted vnder this Galienus, to the Church of Chriſt: albeit not ſo, but ỹ ſome there were which ſuffered. Among whome was one Marinus mentioned in Euſebius. Lib. 7. This Marinus being a warriour and a noble man in Ceſarea, ſtode

for

Theotechnus Byſhop of Ceſarea.

Marinus animated by the Byſhop to dye.

Euſeb. ibid.

for the dignitie of a certaine order, whiche by all order of courſe, was next to fall vpon him by right, had not the enuious ambitiõ of him yͭ ſhould follow next after hym, ſupplanted him both of office & life. For he accuſed him to be a Chriſtian, and therefore ſayd that he was not to be admytted vnto their offices, which was againſt their Religion. Wherupon Achaius then being iudge examined him of his faith, who finding him to be a chriſtian indede, & conſtantly to ſtand to his profeſſion, gaue him iij. houres to deliberate & aduiſe wyth himſelfe. There was the ſame time in Ceſarea a Byſhop named Theotechnus, otherwiſe called Theodiſtus, who perceiuing him to ſtand in doubtfull delyberation and perplexitie in himſelfe, toke him by the hand & brought him into the houſe or Church of the Chriſtians, laying before him a ſworde (which he had vnder his cloke for the ſame purpoſe) and a booke of the new Teſtament & ſo willed him to take his free choyſe which of them both he would preferre. The ſouldior immediatly without delay ran to the booke of the Goſpell, taking that before the ſword. And thus he being animated by the biſhop, preſented himſelfe boldly before the iudge, by whoſe ſentence he was beheaded, and died a Martyr. Euſeb. ibid.

Aſyrius a rich Senatour and cõfeſſour.

Whoſe body he beyng dead, one Aſyrius a noble Senatour of Rome, and a man very wealthy among the chief of that order, (who the ſame tyme was there preſent at hys Martyrdome) toke vp and bare vpõ his owne ſhoulders, wrapping it in a rich & ſumptuous weede, & ſo honourably committed it to the burial. Euſeb, Lib. 7. cap 16.

Euſe. lib. 7. Cap. 16. The worke of Satan diſapoynted by the prayer of *Aſirous.*

Of which Aſyrius the ſayde author writeth, moreouer this ſtorye, howe that in the foreſayde Citie of Ceſarea, the Gentiles vſed ther, of an aũcient cuſtome to offer vp a certaine ſacrifice by a fountaine ſide, the which ſacrifice by the working of the deuill, was wont ſodainly to vaniſh out of their eies, to the great admiraciõ of the inhabiters by. Aſyrius ſeing this and pittying the miſerable errour of the ſimple people, lifting vp his eies to Heauen, made his praier to almightie God in the name of chriſt, yͭ the people might not be ſeduced of the deuil any lõger: by yͤ vertue of whoſe praier the ſacrifice was ſeene to ſwimme in the water of the fountaine, & ſo the ſtraunge wonder of that ſight was taken away, and no ſuch matter coulde be their wrought any more. Euſeb, Lib, 7. cap. 17.

Euſeb. lib. 7. Cap. 17.

A miracle noted in *Euſeb. lib. 7. cap. 18.*

A miraculous operation of an herbe touching the hemme of Chriſtes picture to heale diſeaſes.

And becauſe mention is made here of Ceſarea, there foloweth in yͤ next chapter of yͤ ſame author, a ſtrange miracle if it be true, which he there reporteth, howe yͭ out of the ſame City was the woman, which in yͤ goſpel came to our Sauiour, and was healed of her bloudy iſſue. Her houſe being in the Citye of Ceſarea, before the dore thereof was ſet vp a certayne pyller of ſtone, & vpon the piller, an Image was made of braſſe, of a woman mekely knelyng on her knes, and holding vp her hands, as one that had ſome ſute. Againſt the which there was an other Image alſo of a man proportioned of the ſame mettall, cũningly engrauen, in a ſhort ſemely veſture, & ſtretching forth his hand to the woman. At the foote of which piller grew vp a certaine herbe of a ſtraunge kind, but of a more ſtraunge operation, which growing vp to the hemme of his veſture, & once touching the ſame, is ſaide to haue ſuch vertue, that it was able to cure all maner of deſeaſes. This picture of the man, (they ſay) repreſented the image of Chriſt. The hiſtory is written in Euſebius, as is ſaid, the credite whereof I referre to the Reader, whether he will thinke it true or falſe. If he thinke it falſe, yet I haue ſhewed him myne author: if he thinke it true, then muſt hee thinke with all that this miraculous operation of the herbe, proceded neither by the vertue of the picture, nor by the praier of the other being both dombe pictures, and engrauen no doubt at that time by the hand of Infidels, but to be wrought by ſome ſecret permiſſion of God his wiſedome, either to reduce the Infidels at that time to the belief of the ſtorye, or to admoniſh the Chriſtians to conſider with them ſelues what ſtrength and health was to be looked for onelye of Chriſt, and no other aduocate, ſeing the dumbe picture engrauen in Braſſe, gaue his efficacie to a poore herbe to cure ſo many diſeaſes. This picture ſaith Euſebius remained alſo to his time which was vnder Conſtantinus the great.

No vertue to be aſcribed to pictures.

Dionyſius Byſhop of Rome.

An. 266.

Felix Byſhop of Rome and Martyr.

Eutichianus Byſhop of Rome and Martyr.

Gaius Byſhop of Rome and Martyr.

As touching the line and order of the Romaine Byſhops hetherto intermitted, after the martirdome of Xiſtus aboue ſpecified, the gouernement of that church was committed next, to one Dionyſius, about the yeare of our Lord, 266. who continued in the ſame the ſpace of ix. yeares, as Euſebius ſaith, as Damaſus recordeth but onely vj. yeares, and two moneths. Of his decretall Epiſtles becauſe ſufficient hath bene ſayd before concerning that matter, I omit to ſpeake. After whom ſucceded Felix, in the firſt yeare of Probus the Emperour, about yͤ yeare of our Lord, 280. who gouerned that church v. yeares, and died as Platina ſaith, a martyr. After him followed Eutychianus, and then Gaius, both martyrs, as the hiſtories of ſome do recorde.

About the time of theſe byſhops, lyued Theodorus byſhop of Neoceſarea, who is otherwiſe called Gregorius Mognus, whome alſo Nicephorus for his myracles, calleth θαυματυργὸν.

Thus Galienus the foreſayd Emperour raygned as is declared, with his father Valerian, vij. yeares, after whoſe captiuitie he ruled the Monarchie, alone about ix. yeares, with ſome peace and quietnes graunted to the Church.

Claudius Emperour.

Anno. 272.

Quintillianus Emperour.

The daies of this Galienus being expired, followed Claudius a quiet Emperour, as moſt ſtories do record. Although Vincentius affirmeth that he was a mouer of perſecution againſt the Chriſtiãs, & maketh mention of 262. Martyrs, which in his time did ſuffer, but becauſe no ſuch record remaineth to be found in Euſebius, who woulde not haue omitted ſome memoriall thereof if it had bene true, therefore I referre the ſame to the free iudgement of the Reader to finde ſuch credite as it maye. This Claudius raigned but two yeares, after whome came Quintilianus, his brother next Emperor, & a quiet Prince, who cõtinued but onely xvij. daies, and had to his ſucceſſor Aurelianus, vnder whome Oroſius in his ſeuenth booke, doth number the ix. perſecution againſt the Chriſtians.

✻ *The ix. Perſecution.*

The ninth perſecution.

Aurelianus Emperour.

A prouerbe. A good Phiſition but he geueth to bitter medicines.

Abſtinence the beſt phiſicke.

The councell of Antioche.

The good beginning of *Aurelian.*

The Emperour altered by wicked counſell.

A notable example of Gods hand ſtopping perſecution.

Ex Euſeb. lib. 7. cap. 30.

No power agaynſt the people of God, except God geue leaue.

HEtherto from the captiuitie of Valerian the Church of Chriſt was in ſome quietnes till the death of Quintilianus, as hath beene declared: After whom Aurelianus the next ſucceſſor poſſeſſed the crowne, who in the firſt beginning of his raigne (after the common maner of al princes) ſhewed himſelfe a Prince moderate and diſcrete, much worthy of commendation, if his good beginning had continued in a conſtant courſe agreeing to the ſame. Of nature he was ſeuere & rigorous in correcting, diſſolute in manners, in ſo much that it was ſaid of him in a vulgare prouerbe, that he was a good phiſition, ſauing that he gaue to bitter medicines. This Emperour being ſicke, neuer ſent for phiſition, but cured himſelfe with abſtinence. And as his beginning was not vnfruitefull to the common wealth: ſo neither was he any great diſturber of the chriſtians: whom he did not onely tolerate in their religiõ but alſo in their counſell, beyng the ſame tyme aſſembled at Antioche, ſemed not to be againſt them. Notwithſtanding in continuance of time through ſiniſter motion and inſtigation of certaine about him (as commonly ſuch are neuer abſent in al places from the eares of princes) hys nature ſomewhat inclinable to ſeueritie, was altered to a playne tyranny, which tiranny firſt he ſhewed beginnyng with the death of his owne ſiſters ſonne, as wytneſſeth Eutropius. After that he proceeded either to moue, or at leaſt to purpoſe perſecution againſt the Chriſtians. Albeit that wicked purpoſe of the Emperour, the mercifull working of God his hand did ſone ouerthrow. For as the edict or proclamation ſhould haue beene denounced for the perſecuting of the chriſtians, and the emperour now ready to ſubſcribe the edict with his hande, the mighty ſtroke of the hand of the lord ſodainly from aboue did ſtop his purpoſe, binding, as a man might ſay, the Emperours hands behinde him: declaryng (as Euſebius ſaieth) to all men, how there is no power to worke any violence againſt the ſeruauntes of God, vnleſſe his permiſſion do ſuffer them, and gyue them leaue. Euſeb. Lib. 7. cap. 30. Eutropius and Vopiſcus affirme, that as the ſaid Aurelianus was purpoſing to rayſe perſecutiõ againſt vs, he was ſodainly terrified with lightening, and ſo ſtopped from his wicked tyranny. Not long after about the fifte or ſixt yeare of hys rayne, he was ſlaine betwene Bizance and Heraclea, an. 278. Thus Aurelianus rather intended the moued perſecution. Neither is there any more then this founde cõcerning this perſecution in auncient hiſtories and records of the Church. Wherfore I marueil the more, that Vincentius collecting out of the Martyrologes, hath comprehended ſuch a great Cataloge of ſo manye martirs, whiche in Fraunce and in Italye (ſayeth he) ſuffered death and torments vnder this Emperour Aurelianus. Wherunto Oroſius alſo ſeemeth to agree, in numbring this to be the ninth perſecution vnder the ſayd Aurelian.

The death of *Aurelianus.*

Anno. 276.

Ex Eutropio.

Tacitus Emperour.

Florianus Emperour.

Next after Aurelianus the ſucceſſion of the impery fell to Publius Annius Tacitus, who raigned but vj. monethes. Him ſucceded his brother Florianus, who raigned but lx. dayes. And after him followed Marcus Aurelius, ſurnamed Probus. Of whome more hereafter (God willing) ſhal appeare.

In the meane time, within the compaſſe of theſe Emperours falleth in a ſtory recorded, of Euſebius, and not vnworthy here to be noted, whereby to vnderſtand the faithfull diligence of good Miniſters, what good it may doe in a common wealth.

Euſebius Deacon of Alexandria.

Anatholius rector of the Vniuerſitie of Alexandria.

Mention is made before of Euſebius the Deacon of Dyoniſius, whom God ſtirred vp to viſite and comfort the ſaintes that were in priſon and bandes, and to burye the bodies of the bleſſed Martyrs departed, not without great perill of his owne life, and after was made biſhop (as is ſayde) of Laodicea. But before he came to Laodicea to be biſhop there, it chaunced, the ſayde Euſebius remaining as yet at Alexandria, the citie to be beſieged of the Romaines, Pyruchius being there captaine. In the which ſiege halfe of the citie did hold with the Romaines, the other half withſtode them. In that part which went with the Romaine captaine was Euſebius, being alſo in great fauour with the captaine for his worthy fidelitie and ſeruice ſhewed. With the other halfe that reſiſted the Romains, was Anatholius, gouernour or moderator then of the ſchole of Alexandria, who alſo was biſhop after the ſayde Euſebius of Laodicea. This Anatholius perceiuing the citizens to be in miſerable diſtreſſe of famine and deſtruction by reaſon of penury and lacke of ſuſtenance, ſendeth to Euſebius beeing then with the Romaines, and certifieth him of the lamentable penurie and perill of the citie, inſtructing him moreouer, what to do in the matter. Euſebius vnderſtanding the caſe, repaireth to the captaine, deſiring of him ſo much fauoure, that ſo many as would flee out of the citie from their enemies, might be licenced to eſcape and freely to paſſe, which was to him eftſoones graunted. As Euſebius was thus labouring with the capitaine, on the other ſide Anatholius for his part laboured with the Citizens, mouing them to aſſemble togither, and perſwading them to geue themſelues ouer, in yeelding to the force and might of the Romaines. But when the Citizens could not abide the hearing thereof: yet (ſayde Anatholius) this I truſt you will be contented, if I ſhal coūſaile you, in this miſerable lacke of things to auoide out of your citie, all ſuch ſuperfluities and vnneceſſary impedimentes vnto you, as olde women, yong children, aged men, with ſuch other as be feeble and impotent, & not to ſuffer them here to periſh with famine, whoſe preſence can do no ſtead to you if they dy, & leſſe if they liue, for ſpending the victuals which otherwiſe might ſerue the that be more able to defend the Citie. The Senate hearing this ſentence, & vnderſtanding moreouer the graunt of the captaine, promiſing them their ſafetie, were well cōſenting therevnto. Then Anatholius, hauing a ſpeciall care to them that belonged to the Church of Chriſt, calleth them together, with the reſt of the multitude, and perſwading them what they ſhould do, and what had bene obteined for the, cauſed them to void the citie, and not onlie them, but alſo a great number of other mo, who perſwaded by him, vnder that pretence, changing themſelues in womens apparell, or faining ſome impotencie, ſo eſcaped out of the citie. At whoſe comming out Euſebius on the other ſide was readie to receiue them, and refreſhed their hungrye and pined bodies, whereby not onelye they, but the whole Citye of Alexandria was preſerued from deſtruction. Euſebius.lib.7. cap.32.

The piety of *Anatholius* and *Euſebius.* to their countrey.

Euſeb. Lib.7. Cap.32.

The Prelates of Rome are cleane contrary to theſe good Prelates.

By this little hiſtorie of Euſebius and Anatholius, deſcribed in the vij. booke of Euſebius.cap.32. and briefly here ſet forth to thee (gentle Reader) thou mayeſt partly vnderſtande the practiſe of the Prelates what it was in thoſe daies in the church, which was then onlie imploied in ſauing of life, and ſuccouring the common weales wherein they liued, as by theſe two godly perſons Euſebius and Anatholius may wel appeare. Unto the which practiſe if we compare the practiſe of our latter prelates of the church of Rome, I ſuppoſe no little difference will appeare.

Marcus Aurelius Probus Emperour. Peace in the Church.

The next Emperour to Florianus (as is ſaid) was Marcus Aurelius Probus, a Prince both wiſe and vertuous, and no leſſe valiant in martial affaires, as fortunate in the ſucceſſe of the ſame. During his time we reade of no perſecution greatly ſtiring in the church, but much quietnes, as well in matters of religion, as alſo in the common wealth. In ſo much that after his great and manye victories, ſuch peace enſued, that his ſaying was, there needed no more ſouldiers, ſeing there were no moe enimies to the cōmon wealth to fight againſt. It was his ſaying alſo, that hys ſouldiers nede not to ſpend corne and victuale, except they laboured to ſerue the common wealth. And for the ſame cauſe he cauſed his ſouldiers to be ſet a worke about certayne mountaynes in Syrmia & in Meſſia to be planted with vines, and not ſo much as in winter ſuffered them to be at reſt, therfore by them at length he was ſlayne, after he had reigned the ſpace of vj. yeres, and 4. moneths, an. 284. Eutrop.

The ſaying of *Marcus Aurelius.*

Souldiours brought vp in idlenes can abide no labour.

Marcus Aurelius ſlayne.

Carus with his two ſonnes Carinus and Numerianus, ſucceeded next after Probus in the Empire, the raygne of which Emperors, continued in all, but iij. yeares. Of the which three firſt Carus, warring agaynſt the Perſians, was ſlayne with lightning. Of Numerianus his ſonne, beyng with his father in his warres againſt the Perſians, we finde much commendation in Eutropius, Vopiſcus, and other writers, which teſtified to him to be a valiaunt warriour, an eloquent orator, as appeared by his declamatiōs and writinges ſent to the Senate. Thirdly, to be an excellent Poet. This Numerianus ſorrowing & lamentyng for the death of hys father, through immoderate weeping fell into a great ſorenes of his eyes, by reaſon whereof he keping cloſe, was ſlaine not long after of his father in lawe, named Aper who trayterouſly aſpiring to the Empire, diſſimuled his death, with a falſe excuſe to the people, aſking for him, ſaying, for the payne of his eyes he kept in from the wind and weather, til at length by the ſtinch of his body being caried about, his death was vttered.

{An. 284.}

Carus with hys two ſonnes *Carinus* and *Numerianus* Emperour.

Carus Emperour ſlayn with lightning.

Correction of a certaine place of *Eutropius, ex editione Frobeniana.*

In the life of this Emperor Carus aforeſaide, written by Eutropius in the later edition ſet forth by Frobenius, I finde (whiche in other editions of Eutropius doth not appeare) that Numerianus the ſonne of this Carus was he that ſlewe Babylas the holye Martyr, whoſe hiſtory before wee haue comprehended. But that ſeemeth not to be like both by the narration of Chryſoſtome, and alſo for that Vrſpergenſis declaryng the ſame hyſtory and in the ſame wordes, as it is in Eutropius, ſaith that it was Cyrillus, whome Numerianus killed, the ſtory whereof is this: What time Carus the Emperour in his iourney going toward the Perſians, remayned at Antioche, Numerianus his ſonne would enter into the church of the chriſtians, to view and behold their miſteries. But Cyrillus their biſhop would in no wiſe ſuffer him to enter into the church, ſaying that it was not lawfull for him to ſee the miſteries of God, who was polluted with ſacrifices of Idoles. Numerianus full of indignation at the hearing of theſe wordes, not ſuffering that repulſe at the hands of Cyrillus, in his fury did ſlay the godlye Martyr. And therefore iuſtly (as it ſeemed) was he himſelfe ſlayne afterward by the hands of Aper.

Cirillus roſiſteth the Emperour,

Cyrillus Byſhop of Antioche, Martyr.

Ex Chroni. Vrſpergen.

Thus Carus with his ſonne Numerianus being ſlaine in the Eaſt partes, as is declared, Carinus the other ſonne raigned alone in Italye, where he ouercame Sabinus ſtriuyng for the Empire, and raigned there with much wyckednes, till they returning home of the army againe from the Perſians, who then ſet vp Diocleſian to be Emperor, by whome the foreſayde Carinus for the wickednes of hys life, being forſaken of his hoſt, was ouercome, & at length ſlayne with the hande of the Tribune, whoſe wyfe before he had defloured. Thus Carus with his two ſonnes, Numerianus and Carinus ended their liues, whoſe raigne continued not aboue three yeares.

Carinus Emperour ſleyne. Adultery puniſhed.

All this meane ſpace we reade of no great perſecution ſtirring in the Church of Chriſt, but was in meane quiete ſtate and tranquilitie, vnto the xix. yeare of the raigne of Diocleſian. So that in counting the time from the latter ende of Valerian, vnto this foreſaid yeare of Diocleſian, the peace of the church which God gaue to his people, ſemeth to continue aboue 44. yeares. During the which tyme of peace and tranquilitie, the church of the Lord did mightely increaſe and floriſh, ſo that the more bodies it loſt by perſecution, the more honor and reuerence it wan daily among the Gentiles in al quarters, both Greekes and barbarous, in ſo much that (as Euſebius in his vij. booke deſcribeth) amongſt the Emperours themſelues, diuers there were which not onely bare ſingular good will and fauor to them of our profeſſion, but alſo did commit vnto them offices & regiments ouer countries and nations, ſo well were they affected to our doctrine, that they priuileged the ſame with liberty and indemnitie. What needeth to ſpeake of them which not only liued vnder the Emperors in libertie but alſo were familiar in the court with the Princes themſelues, entertained with great honour and ſpeciall fauour beyond the other ſeruitures of the court, as was Dorotheus with his wife, children and whole family, highly accepted & aduaunced in the palace of the Emperour: Alſo Gorgonius in like maner with diuers other mo, who for their doctrine & learning which they profeſſed, were with their Princes in great eſtimation. In like reuerence alſo were the biſhops of cities and Dioceſſe, with the Preſidentes and rulers where they liued: who not onely ſuffered the to liue in peace, but alſo had them in great price and regarde, ſo long as they kept themſelues vpright, and continued in God his fauour. Who is able to number at that time the mighty and innumerable multitudes and congregations aſſembling together in euery citie, and the notable cōcurſes of ſuch as dayly flocked to the common Oratoures to pray? For the which cauſe they beyng not able to be contei-

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{An. 289.}

The peace of the Churche from *Valerian* to the tenth perſecution, laſted 44. yeares.

Euſeb. lib.8. cap.1.

Dorotheus, Gorgonius, Chriſtians of great reputation in the Emperours court,

The peaceable ſtate of the Church deſcribed.

ned in their old houſes, had large and great churches, new builded from the foundation, for them to frequent togither. In ſuch increaſement (ſaith Euſebius) by proceſſe of tyme did the church of chriſt grow and ſhout vp daily more and more, profiting and ſpreading through all quarters, which neithr enuie of men coulde infringe, nor any deuill could inchaunte, neither the craftie policie of mans wit coulde ſupplant, ſo long as the protection of God his Heauenlye arme went with his people, keeping them in good order, according to the rule of chriſtian life.

Corruption through much peace and proſperitie crept into the Church.

But as commonly the nature of al men being of it ſelfe vnruly and vntowarde, alwaies ſeeketh & deſireth proſperity, and yet can neuer wel vſe proſperitie, alwaies would haue peace, and yet hauing peace, alwaies abuſeth yͤ ſame: ſo here likewiſe it happened with theſe mẽ, which through this ſo great libertie & proſperitie of life began to degenerate & languiſhe vnto idlenes & delycacy, & one to worke ſpite and cõtumely againſt an other, ſtriuing and contending among thẽſelues for euery occaſiõ, with railing wordes after moſt deſpitefull maner: biſhops againſt biſhops, and people againſt people, mouing hatred and ſeditiõ one againſt an other, beſides alſo curſed hipocriſie and ſimulation with all extremity encreaſing more and more, by reaſon wherof the iudgemẽt of god after his wonted maner, (whiliſt yet the congregatiõ began to multiply) began by a litle and litle to viſite our men with perſecution, fallyng firſt vpon our brethrẽ which were abroad in warfare, but whẽ yͤ toucht yͤ other nothing or very litle, neither did they ſeeke to appeaſe gods wrath, & call for his mercy, but wickedly thinking with our ſelues, that god neither regarded nor would viſit our tranſgreſſions, we heaped our iniquities daily more and more one vpon an other, & they which ſemed to be our paſtors refuſing the rule of piety, were inflamed with mutual contentions on againſt an other. and thus whileſt they were giuen onely to the ſtudye of contentions, threatnings, emulations, mutual hatred, & dyſcord, euery man ſeeking his owne ambition, and perſecuting one another after the maner of tirany: Then, then, I ſay, the Lord according to the voice of Ieremy tooke awaye the beauty of the daughter of Sion. & the glory of Iſraell, fell downe from heauen, neither did he remember the footſtoole of his feete in the day of his wrath. And the Lorde ouerturned all yͤ comely ornaments of Iſraell, & deſtroyed all her gorgeous buildings, and according to the ſaying of the Pſalme, ſubuerted and extinguiſhed the Teſtament of his ſeruaunt, and prophaned his ſanctuary in deſtruction of his churches, and in laying waſt the buildinges thereof ſo that all paſſingers ſpoiling the multitude of the people, they were made an obloquie to al the dwellers about. For he hath exalted the ſtrength of his enimies, and turned away the helpe of his ſword from her, nor ayded her in the battayle, but ceaſed from the purging of her and her ſeate. He ſtroke downe to the ground and deminiſhed her daies and ouer all this poured vppon her confuſion. All theſe things were fulfilled vpon vs, when we ſaw the temples raſed from the top to the ground, and the ſacred ſcriptures to be burnt in the open market place, and the Paſtours of the church to hide themſelues, ſome here, ſome there, ſome other taken priſoners with great ſhame, were mocked of their enimies, whẽ alſo according to the ſaying of the prophet in an other place: Contempt was poured out vpon the Princes, and they cauſed to go eout of the waye, and not to keepe the ſtraite pathe.

Hatred and diſdayne among the Churche men.

Chriſtians perſecuting one an other.

The wrath of God toward hys people.

The x. Perſecution.

The tenth perſecution.

By reaſon whereof (the wrath of God being kindled againſt his church) enſued the tenth and laſt perſecucion againſt the chriſtians, ſo horrible and greeuous, that maketh the pen almoſt to tremble to writ vpon it, ſo tedious that neuer was any perſecution before or ſince comparable to it for the time it continued, laſting the ſpace of tenne yeares together. This perſecution although it paſſed thorow the handes of diuers tyrantes and workers moe then one or two, yet principally it beareth the name of Diocleſiã who was Emperour as is aboue noted, next after Carus & Numerianus. Thys Diocleſian euer hauyng an ambitious minde, aſpired greatly to be Emperour. To whom Druas his Concubine ſayd, that firſt he ſhould kill a wilde Bore before he ſhould be Emperour. Hee taking effect at theſe wordes, vſed much with handes to kill wylde Bores: but ſeeing no ſucceſſe to come thereof, vſed this prouerbe: Ego Apros occido, alius pulpamento fruitur, that is, I kill the Bores, but other doe eate the fleſhe. At length the ſayde Diocleſian beyng nominate to be Emperour, and ſeeyng Aper (who had killed Numerianus the Emperour) ſtanding thereby ſware, to the ſouldiers that Numerianus, was wrongfully killed, and forthwith runing vpon Aper with his ſworde, ſlew him. Vopiſc. After this he being ſtabliſhed in the Empire, and ſeeing on euery ſide diuers and ſundrie cõmotions riſing vp againſt him, which he was not well able himſelfe to ſuſtaine, in the firſt beginning of his raign he chuſeth for his Colleage Maximianus ſurnamed Herculius, Father of Maxentius. Which two Emperours, becauſe of diuers warres that roſe in manye prouinces, choſe to thẽ two other noble men, Galerius, & Conſtantinus, whome they called Cæſars. Of whome Galerius was ſent into the Eaſt partes againſt the Perſians. Conſtantinus was ſent ouer to Britannie to this our country of England, to recouer the tribute. Where he toke to wife Helena the daughter of king Coil, which was a maiden excelling in beautye, and no leſſe famouſly brought vp in the ſtudy of learning of whome was borne Conſtantinus the great.

Diocleſian Emperour.

Eup. Vopiſ.

Aper ſlayne which ſlevv Numerianus.

Anno. 290.

Maximianus, Herculius fellow Emperour with Diocleſian.

Galerius, Conſtantius, Cæſars vnder Diocleſian and Maximinian.

Helena daughter of Coil, maryed to Conſtantius.

All this while hitherto no perſecution was yet ſtirred of theſe 4. princes againſt the church of Chriſt, but quietlye and moderatly they gouerned the common wealth, wherfore accordingly God proſpered their doings and affaires, and gaue them great victories, Diocleſian in Egipt, Maximinian in Aphricke and in Fraunce, Galerius in Perſia, Conſtantinus in England and in Fraunce alſo. By reaſon of which victories Diocleſian and Maximian puſte vppe in pride, ordeyned a ſolemne triumph at Rome, after which triumph Diocleſian gaue commaundement that he woulde be worſhipped as God, ſaying, that he was brother to the Sunne and Moone, and adourning his ſhooes with golde and precious ſtones commaunded the people to kyſſe hys feete.

Pryde in Diocleſian.

And not long after by the iudgement of God, for certaine enormities vſed in the church, aboue touched, began the great and greuous perſecution of the Chriſtians, moued by the ragious cruelty of Diocleſian, which was about the nynteenth yeare of his rayne, who in the Moneth of Marche when the feaſt of Eaſter was nye at hande, commaunded all the churches of the Chriſtians to bee ſpoyled and caſt to the earth, and the bookes of holy ſcripture to be burned.

Cruelty followeth pride.

Anno. 308.

Perſecution agaynſt the chriſtians.

Thus moſt violent edictes and proclamations were ſet forth, for the ouerthrowing as is ſaide, of the Chriſtians temples throughout all the Romane Empire. Neyther did there want in the officers any cruell execution of the ſame proclamations. For their temples were defaced euen when they celebrated the feaſt of Eaſter. Euſeb. lib. 8. cap. 2. And this was the firſt edicte giuen out by Diocleſian, the next proclamation that came forth, was for the burning of the bookes of the holy ſcripture, which thyng was done in the open market place as before: then next vnto that were edictes giuen forth for the diſplacing of ſuch as were Magiſtrats, and that with a great ignominie, & al other whatſoeuer bare anye office. Impriſoning ſuche as were of the common ſorte, if they would not abiure Chriſtianitie, and ſubſcribe to the heathen religion. Euſeb. lib. 8. cap 3. & Nicephorus lib. 7. cap 4. Zonoras alſo in his ſeconde tome. And theſe were the beginning of the Chriſtians euils.

Chriſtian temples deſtroyed. Euſeb. Lib. 8. cap. 2.

Bookes of the ſcriptures burned.

Chriſtian Magiſtrates diſplaced.

Chriſtian ſubiectes impriſoned. Euſeb. Lib. 8. c. 3. Nicepho. lib. 7. cap. 4. Zonoras. tom. 2.

It was not long after but that new edictes were ſent forth, nothing for their cruelty inferiour to the firſt: for the caſting of the elders and biſhops into priſõ, and then conſtraining them with ſundry kindes of puniſhments to offer vnto their Idoles. By reaſon whereof enſued a great perſecutiõ amongſt the gouernors of the church, amongſt whom many ſtood manfully, paſſing through many exceeding bitter torments, neyther were ouercome therwyth, being tormented and examined diuers of them diuerſlye, ſome ſcourged, all their bodies ouer with whips & ſcourges, ſome with racks, raſinges of yͤ fleſh intolerable were cruciated: ſome one way, ſome another way put to death. Some againe violently were drawen to the vnpure ſacrifice, and as though they had ſacrificed, when indeede they did not, were let go. Other ſome neither comming at al to their aultars, nor touching anye peece of their ſacrifices, yet were borne in hand of thẽ that ſtode by, that they had ſacrificed, & ſo ſuffering that falſe infamation of their enymies, quietly went away. Other as dead men were caried and caſt away, being but halfe dead. Some they caſt down vpon the pauement, and trailing them a great ſpace by the legs, made the people beleue that they had ſacrificed. Furthermore other there were which ſtoutly withſtood them, affirming with a loud voice that they had done no ſuch ſacrifice. Of whom ſome ſaide they were Chriſtians, & gloried in the profeſſion of that name: ſome cryed ſaying, that neither they had, nor would euer be pertakers of that idolatry. And thoſe being buffeted on the face & mouth wyth the handes of the ſoldiers, were made to hold their peace, and ſo thruſt out with violence. And if the Saintes did ſeeme neuer ſo little to doe, what the enimies would haue

Byſhops and Elders conſtrayned with tormentes to ſacrifice.

them, they were made much of. Albeit all this purpoſe of the aduerſary, did nothing preuayle againſt the holye and conſtaunt ſeruaunts of Chriſt. Notwithſtanding, of the weake ſort innumerable there were, which for feare & infirmity fell and gaue ouer, euen at the firſt brunt.

At the firſt comming downe of theſe edictes into Nicomedia, there chanced a dede to be done, much worthy of memory, of a Chriſtien, being a noble man borne, whiche moued by the zeale of God, after the proclamation made at Nicomedia was ſet vp, by and by ranne and toke downe the ſame, and openly tare and rent it in peeces, not fearing the preſence of the two Emperours, then being in the citie. For which acte he was put to a moſt bitter death, whiche death he with great faith & conſtancie endured euen to the laſt gaſpe, Euſeb.lib.8,lib.3.&5.

The noble courage and conſtancie of a Chriſtian Martyr.

Euſeb Lib,8. *Cap*.3.4.

After this the furious rage of the malignaunt Emperours, being let looſe againſt the ſaintes of Chriſt procceded more & more, making hauock of gods people through out all quarters of the worlde. Firſt Diocleſian which had purpoſed with himſelfe to ſubuert the whole chriſtian religion, executed his tyranny in the eaſt) and Maximianus in the weſt, But wily Diocleſian began very ſubtilye, for hee put the matter firſt in practiſe in his owne campe, among whom the marſhall of the field, as Euſeb.lib.8.cap.4. affirmeth, put the Chriſtian Souldiers to this choiſe, whether they would obey the Emperors commaundement in that maner of ſacrifice he cōmaunded, and ſo both to keepe their offices, and leade their bands, or els to lay away from thē their armor and weapons. whereunto the Chriſten men couragiouſly aunſwered, that they were not only ready to lay away their armour & weapons, but alſo to ſuffer death if it ſhould with tiranny be enforced vnto them, rather thē they would obey the wicked decrees and commaundements of the Emperour.

Perſecution firſt beginning in the Emperours Campe.

Euſeb.Lib,8. *cap*.4.

A notable religion and fayth in ſouldiours.

There might a man haue ſeene very manye whiche were deſirous to liue a ſimple and poore life: and whiche regarded no eſtimation and honour in compariſon of true pietie & godlines. And this was no more but a ſubtile and wily flattery in the beginning, to offer them to be at theyr owne liberty, whether they would willingly abiure their profeſſion or not, as alſo this was an other, that in the beginning of the perſecution, there were but a few tormented with puniſhment, but afterwarde by little and little hee began more manifeſtlye to braſte out into perſecution: It can hardly be expreſſed with wordes what number of Martirs, and what bloud was ſhedde through all cities and regions for the name of Chriſt Euſebius, in his 8 booke & chap.7. ſaith that he himſelfe knew the worthy Martirs that were in Paleſtina. But in Tire of Phenicia he declareth in the ſame a marueilous martyrdome made, where certayne chriſtians being geuen to moſt cruell wild beaſts were preſerued without hurt of them, to the great admiration of the beholders and thoſe Lions, Beares, and Lybardes (kept hungry for that purpoſe) had no deſire to deuoure them, which notwithſtanding moſt vehementlye raged againſt thoſe by whome they were brought into the ſtage, and ſtoode as they thought without daunger of thē, ſuch were firſt deuoured. But the Chriſtian Martyrs becauſe they could not be hurt of the beaſts being ſlayne with the ſworde, were afterwarde throwen into the ſea. At that time was martyred the Biſhop of Sydon. But Syluanus the Byſhop of Gazenſis with 39. other were ſlayne in the mettall mynes of Phenitia. Pamphilus the elder of Ceſarea being the glory of that congregation, died a moſt worthy Martyr, whoſe both life and moſt commendable martyrdome, Euſebius oftentimes declareth in his 8. booke and 13. chapter, in ſo much that he hath written the ſame in a booke by it ſelfe. In Syria all the chiefe teachers of the congregation were firſt committed to priſon, as a moſt heauye & cruell ſpectacle to behold, as alſo the biſhops, Elders, and Deacons, which all were eſteemed as menquellers, and perpetratours of moſt wicked facts. Euſebius. Lib.8.cap.6, After that we read of an other, whoſe name was Tirannion which was made meate for the fiſhes of the ſea, and of Zenobius which was a verye good Phiſition, which alſo was ſlaine with brickebates in the ſame place. Euſebius. lib.8.cap.13.

Euſeb.Lib.8. *cap*.7.

Martyrs of Tyre in *Phœnicia*.

Pamphilius Byſhop of Ceſarea martyr. *Euſeb. lib*.8. *cap*.12.

Martyrs of Syria. *Euſeb.lib*.8. *cap*.6.

Tirannion Martyr.

Zenobius a Phiſition Martyr.

Furthermore he maketh mention in the ſame place of others which were not tormented to death, but euery day terrified and feared without ceaſing: Of ſome others that were brought to the ſacrifices and commaunded to doe ſacrifice, which woulde rather thruſt their right hande into the fire, then to touch the prophane or wicked ſacrifice, alſo of ſome others that before they were apprehended, would caſt downe themſelues from ſteepe places, leſt that beyng taken they ſhould commit any thing againſt their profeſſiō, Alſo of two virgines very faire and proper, with their mother alſo which had ſtudiouſly brought them vp, euen from their infancy in all godlines, beyng long ſought for and at the laſt founde, and ſtraightly kept by their kepers, whileſt they made their excuſe to do that which nature required, threw thēſelues downe headlong into a riuer, alſo otother two yong maidēs being ſiſters, & of a worſhipfull ſtock, indued with many goodly vertues, which were caſt of the perſecutors into the ſea: and theſe things were done at Antioche as Euſebius in his 8. booke, and 13. chap. affirmeth. But Syluanus the Biſhop of Emiſſa yͤ notable martyr together with certaine others were throwen to the wilde beaſtes. Euſeb.lib.8.cap.13.

Two Virgines with their mother martyrs.

Two other maydens ſiſters martyrs.

Syluanus Byſhop of Emiſſa martyr.

Diuers and ſondry tormentes were the chriſtians in Meſopotamia moleſted with, where they were hāged vp by the feete, & their heads downewards, & with the ſmok of a ſmall fire ſtrangled. And alſo in Capadocia, where the Martirs had their legs broken. Euſeb.lib.8.cap.12.

Martyrs of Meſopotamia.

Euſeb.lib, 8.*cap*.12.

Martyrs of Capodocia.

Henricus de Erfordia maketh mention of the Martyrs of Tharſus in Cilicia as Tharatus, Probus, and Andronicus: But yet the Martirs in the region of Pontus ſuffered far more paſſing and ſharper tormentes, wherof I wil hereafter make mention. Euſebius ibidem. So outragious was the beginning of the perſecution whiche the Emperour made in Nicomedia in Bithinia, as afore is ſaide, that he reſtrained not from the ſlaughter of the children of Emperours, neither yet from ſlaughter of the moſt chiefeſt princes of his court, who a litle before he made as much of, as if they had ben his owne childrē: Such an other was Peter, which among diuers and ſundry tormentes: (among whō he being naked was lefted vp, his whole body being beaten with whips and torne, that a man might ſee yͤ bare bones, and after they had mingled vineger & ſalt togither they poured it vpon the moſt tender parts of his body, & laſtly roſted at a ſoft fire, as a man would roſt fleſh to eate as a victorious Martir ended his life. Dorotheus and Gorgonius being in great authoritie and office vnder the Emperour, after diuers torments were ſtrangled with a halter, which both being of the priuie chamber, to him, when they ſaw & beheld the greuous puniſhment of Peter their houſhold cōpanion: wherfore (ſaid they O Emperour) do you puniſh in Peter that opinion which is in all vs? why is that accounted in him an offence, that all we confes? we are of that faith religion & iudgement yͭ he is of. Therfore he commaunded them to be brought forth, & almoſt with like paynes to be tormented as Peter was, & afterwardes hanged. Euſeb.Rufini Lib 8.cap.6. After whom Anthimus the Byſhop of Nicomedia after he had made a notable confeſſion, & bringing with him a great company of Martyrs, was beheaded. Theſe men being thus diſpatched yͤ Emperour vainly thought yͭ he might cauſe yͤ reſt to do what euer him liſted. To this ende came Lucianus the Elder of the congregation of Antioche, and was martired after hee had made his Apologie before the Emperour. Euſebius.Lib.8. Cap.13.

Martyrs of Tarſus.

Tharatus, *Probus*, *Andronicus* martyrs.

Martyrs of Pontus.

Martyrs of Nichomedia.

Perſecution in Nichomedia exceding.

Peter a moſt valiant and conſtāt martyr.

Dorotheus, *Gorgonius*, Martyrs.

Anthimus Byſhop of Nicomedia with a great multitude of martyrs headed.

Lucianus the elder of Antioche martyr.

Hermanus alſo that monſter, cauſed Serena the wife of Diocleſian the Emperour, to be martyred for the Chriſtian Religion: ſo much did the rage of perſecutiō vtterly forget all naturall affectes. Other Martyrs of Nichomedia doth Nicephorus in hys vii. booke and xiiii. chapter recite, as Eulampius and Eulampia, Agapen, Irenea, Chionia, and Anaſtacia, vnder Illyricus, chiefe officer, were bound hand & foote to a poſt and brent. Vincentius.Lib.12 cap.66. And alſo Euſeb.Lib.8.cap.6. mentioneth ſuch an other like matter full of horror and grief. There aſſembled together in their temple many Chriſtian men to celebrate the memory of the Natiuitie of Chriſt, of euery age and ſorte ſome: There Maximianus thinking to haue bene geuen a very fit occaſion to execute hys tyranny vpō the poore Chriſtians, ſent thether ſuch as ſhould burne the temple, the doores being ſhut and cloſed rounde about. Thether came they with fire, but firſt they commaunded the cryer with a loud voyce to cry, yͭ who ſoeuer would haue life, ſhould come out of the temple, & do ſacrifice vpō the next altar they came vnto of Iupiter, and vnles they would do this, they ſhoulde all be brent with the temple. Then one ſtepping vp in the temple, anſwered in the name of all yͤ reſt with great courage & boldnes of minde, that they were all Chriſtians, & beleued that Chriſt was their onely God & king, and that they woulde doe ſacrifice to him, with his father and holy Ghoſt, & that they were now all readye to offer vnto him. wyth theſe wordes the fire was kindled and compaſſed about the temple, and there were brent of men, women, and children certeine thouſands. There were alſo in Arabia, very manye martyrs ſlayne with axes, as Euſebius. Lib.8. cap. 12. There was in Phrigia a citie, vnto which the Emperour ſent his Edictes that they ſhould doe ſacrifice to the gods, and worſhip Idoles, all which Citizens the Maior himſelfe

Serena wife of *Diocleſian* Emperour Martyr.

Niceph.lib. 7.*cap*.14.

Eulampius, *Eulampia*, *Agape*, *Irene*, *Chionia*, *Anaſtacia*, Martyrs.

Twenty thouſand Martyrs burnt together in one Church.

Martyrs of Arabia.

Euſeb.lib.8. *cap*.12.

Martyrs in a certayne Cittie of Phrigia brent with the whole Cittie.
Euſeb.lib.8. ca.11.6.
Martyrs of Melitina in Armenia.
Euſtratius of a perſecutor made a Martyr.
Ex Nicephoro lib.7. cap.14.

Niceph.lib. 7.c.14.
Oreſtes Martyr.
Eugenius, Auxentius, Mardarius, Peleus, Nilus, Byſhops and Martyrs in Egipt.
Petrus Byſhop of Alexandria.
Fauſtus, Didius, Ammonius, Phileas, Heſichius, Pachiminus, Theodorus, Byſhops and martirs.
The Chriſtian ſouldiours, and Martyrs of Thebes.
The Chriſtian ſouldiours and Byſhops in Antino.
Aſcla, Philemon, Apollonius, Martyrs.
79. Martirs.

ſelfe, the Queſtor, and chiefe Captaine confeſſed that they were all Chriſtians. The Citie vpon this was beſieged & ſet on fire, and all the people, Euſeb.Lib.8.cap.11. In Melitina a region of Armenia, the biſhops and Elders were caſt in priſon. Euſebius eodem cap.6. In Arabzace a region neare adioyning to Armenia Euſtratius was Martyred, as Nicephorus declareth, Lib 7 cap.14. This Euſtratius was yͤ countrey man borne, and very ſkilfull in the Greeke tong, executyng by the Emperours commaundement, the ſhiriffes office at Licia in the Eaſt, which alſo did execution there vpon the Chriſtians, and was a Scribe of great eſtimatiō called Ordinis Ducalis. This man beholding the meruailous conſtancie of the Martyrs, thirſted with the deſire of Martyrdome, for that he had priuily learned the Chriſtian religion. Therfore he not abiding for other accuſers, detected himſelf, and worthely profeſſed that he was a chriſtian, openly execrating the madneſſe and vanitie of the wicked Ethnikes. He therefore being caried away, was tyed vp, beyng firſt moſt bitterly beaten. After that he was parched with fire, beyng put vnto his bowels, and thē baſted with ſalt and vinagre, and laſtly, ſo ſcotched & bemangled with the ſhardes of ſharpe and cutting ſhels, that his whole body ſemed to be all one continual wound, howbeit, by gods great goodnes afterward, it was reſtored to the firſt integritie. After this he was caried away to Sebaſtia, where, wͭ his companion Oreſt he was burned. At that tyme alſo ſuffred Eugenius, Auxentius, Mardarius, Nicepho.Lib.7.cap.14. And in no leſſe wiſe raged this perſecution throughout al Egypt: where Euſebius in his 8. booke, and 13. chapter maketh mention of Peleus and Nilus Martyrs and byſhops in Egypt. But at Alexandria eſpecially were declared moſt notable conflictes of Chriſtian and true conſtant Martyrs that ſuffred: which Phileas the Biſhop of Thumitane deſcribeth as after (God willing) ſhalbe declared. In this perſecution of Alexandria, the principall that then ſuffred was Peter the biſhop of Alexandria, with the Elders of yͤ ſame moſt worthy Martyrs, as Fauſtus, Didius, and Ammonius, alſo Phileas, Heſichius, Pachiminus, and Theodorus, which all were biſhops of the congregations within Egypt, and beſides them, many other both famous and ſingular mē. The whole legion of Chriſtian ſouldiours which lay at Thebes in Egypt, vnder the chriſtian captaine Mauritius, when they would not obey the Emperours commaundement touching the worſhippyng of Images, were tythed to death once, and then againe. And at laſt through the exhortation of Mauritius, dyed altogether like conſtant Martyrs. Vincentius in ſpeculo, Lib 13.cap.2. Likewiſe at Antino diuers Chriſtian ſouldiours, notwithſtanding they were ſeriouſly diſſuaded, ſuffred death together, amongſt whome were Aſcla, Philemon, and Apollonius, ibidem, cap.50. and alſo in yͤ other partes of Aphrica and Mauritania, was great perſecution, as Euſeb.Lib.8.cap.6. Alſo in Sammium, of whiche place Chronicon maketh mention, and Scilia, where were 79. Martyrs ſlayne, for the profeſſion of Chriſt, as writeth Henricus de Erfordia.

The perſecution in Europe.
Euphemia,

Now let vs come vnto Europe, Nicephorus in his vij. booke and xiiij. chap. ſayth, that at Nicopolis in Thracia the Martyrs were in moſt miſerable and pitifull wiſe handled, where Lyſia had the execution thereof. In Chalcedon ſuffred Euphemia, vnder Priſcus the Proconſul. Vincentius, Lib.12.cap.77.

Perſecution in Fraunce.

Victor martyr.
Lucianus Martyr.

Henricus de Erfordia ſayth that at Rome, Iohannes and Criſpus, beyng prieſts, had the execution of Martyrs. And at Boemia Agricola, and Vitalis, Vincentius.Lib.12.cap.49. And at Aquileia the Emperour commaunded euery man to kill the Chriſtians. Vincentius, Lib.eodem cap.58. and amongeſt thoſe Martyrs he maketh mention of Felices, and Fortunatus. Reginus alſo writeth that in other places of Italy the perſecution became great, as at Florentia, Pergamus, Neaples Campania, Beneuentus, at Venuſa in Apulia, and in Thuſsia, and Henricus de Erfordia, ſaith, alſo at Verona. In France doubtleſſe Rectionarus appoynted to that office, played the cruell helhound, of whoſe great cruelty agaynſt yͤ Chriſtiās many hiſtories are full. At Mediolanus ſuffered Victor. And at Maſsilia, Maximianus ſet forth his decree, that either they ſhould all do ſacrifice to the Gods of the Gentils, or els be all ſlayne with diuers kindes of torments. Therfore many Martyrs there dyed for the glory of Chriſt. Antonius & Vincent.lib.12.cap.2. In Beluacus ſuffred Lucian.

The perſecucion in Spayne.
Eulalia, Adula, Vincentius, Sabina, Chriſtina, Lencadia. Martyrs.

18. Martyrs in Spayne.
Rictionarus a notable tyraunt.
The bloud of the Chriſtians made riuers.

Vincentius and Reginus write of many places in Spain, where was great perſecution, as at Emerita, where ſuffred Eulalia, of whom more foloweth hereafter, & Adula, where alſo ſuffred Vincentius, Sabina and Chriſtina. At Toletum ſuffred Lencadia the virgin, at Ceſarea Auguſta, where were put to death, 18. beſide a great number of other Martirs, which ſuffred vnder Decianus the gouernour, which afflicted with perſecution all the coaſt of Spayne, as ſayth Vincentius, lib. 13.cap.123.124.128.130.134 The foreſayd Rictionarus made ſuch perſecution at Treuers neare the riuer of Moſella, that the bloud of chriſtian men that were ſlayne, can like ſmall brookes, and couloured great and mayne riuers. Neyther yet did this ſuffiſe him, but from thence ſent certaine horſemen with his letters, commaunding them to ride into euery place, and charge all ſuch as had taken and apprehēded any Chriſtians, that they ſhould immediatly put them to death. Vincent.Lib.13.cap.136.

Agrippina, Auguſta, Martyrs.

Alſo Henricus de Erfordia, and Reginus make mention of great perſecution to bee at Colonia where Agrippina and Auguſta were martyred, as alſo in the Prouince of Rhetia.

The perſecution in Brittany or England.
Beda de ratione temporum.

Diocleſianus did but dally in the beginning of the perſecution.
Sundry ſortes of tormentes deuiſed agaynſt the Chriſtians.

Euſeb.lib 8. cap.6.7.8.

The woemen of Thebaide, Martyrs.

Euſeb.lib.8. cap.8.

The perſecution in Antioche.

Perſecution in Pontus.

Beda alſo ſayth, that this perſecution reached euen vnto the Britains in his booke De ratione temporum. And the Chronicle of Martinus, and the Noſegay of tyme do declare that all the Chriſtians in Britanny were vtterly deſtroyed. Furthermore, that the kindes of death & puniſhment were ſo great and horrible, as no mans tong is able to expreſſe. In the beginning, when the Emperour by his ſubtletie and wilines, rather dallied then ſhewed his rigor, he threatned them with bands and impriſonment: but within a while when he began to worke the matter in good earneſt, he deuiſed innumerable ſortes of torments & puniſhments, as whippings and ſcourgings, rackings, horrible ſcrapings, ſword, fire, and ſhip boates, wherin a great nūber beyng put, were ſunke & drowned in the bottom of the ſea. Euſeb.Lib 8.cap 6.& 7. Alſo hanging them vpon croſſes, binding them to the bodies of dead trees with their heads donneward, hanging them by the middles vpon gallowſes, til they dyed for hunger, throwyng them aliue to ſuch kind of wilde beaſtes as would deuour them, as Lyons, Beares, Libardes, and wild Buls. Euſeb.Lib.8.cap.8. Pricking and thruſting them in with bodkins and talants of beaſtes till they were almoſt dead, liftyng them vp a high with their heads donneward, euen as in Thebaide, they did vnto the women beyng naked and vnclothed, one of theyr feete tyed and lifted a high, & ſo hanging downe with theyr bodies, which thing to ſee was very pitifull, with other deuiſed ſortes of puniſhments moſt tragicall, or rather tirannicall, and pitiful to deſcribe: as firſt, the bindyng of thē to trees, and to the boughes therof. The pulling & tearing aſunder of their members and iointes, beyng tyed to the boughes and armes of trees. Euſeb.Lib 8.cap.9. The mangling of them with axes, the choking them with ſmoke by ſmall and ſoft fires, the diſmembring of their hands, eares, and feete, with other ioyntes, as the holy Martyrs of Alexandria, ſuffred, the ſcorching and broyling of them wͭ coales, not vnto death, but euery day renued. With ſuch kynde of torments the Martyrs at Antioche were afflicted. But in Pontus other horrible puniſhmentes and fearefull to bee heard, did the Martyrs of Chriſt ſuffer, of which, ſome had their fingers endes vnder the nayles thruſt in with ſharpe bodkins, ſome all to be ſprinckled with boylyng lead, hauing their moſt neceſſary members cut from them, ſome other ſuffryng moſt filthy, intollerable, and indurable tormentes and payne in theyr bowels and priuy members. Euſebius eodem, cap.12.

Perſecution in Alexandria.

The contentes of the Epiſtle of *Phileas* ſent to hys congregation.

Euſeb.lib.8. cap 10.

To conclude, how great the outrage of the perſecution which raigned in Alexandria, was, and with how many & ſundry kindes of new deuiſed puniſhments the Martyrs were afflicted: Phileas, the byſhop of the Thumitanes, a man ſingularly well learned, hath deſcribed in his epiſtle to the Thumitanes, the copy wherof Euſebius hath in his 8. booke & x. chapter, out of the which we meane here briefly to recite ſomewhat. Becauſe (ſayth he) euery man might torment the holy Martyrs as they liſted themſelues, ſome beat them with cudgels, ſome with rods, ſome with whippes, ſome with thongs, and ſome with cordes, and this example of beating was in ſundry wiſe executed, and with much crueltie. For ſome of them hauyng their handes bound behynde their backes, were lifted vp vpon tymber logs, and with certaine inſtruments their members & ioints were ſtretched forth, whereon their whole bodies hanging, were ſubiect to the will of the tormentors, who were commaunded to afflict them with all maner of torments, and not on their ſides onely (like as homicides were) but vpon their bellies, thighes, and legges, they ſcratched them with the talents and clawes of wylde beaſts. Some other were ſeene to hang by one hand vpon the engine, wherby they might feele the more grieuous pullyng out of the reſt of their ioyntes and members. Some other were ſuche ſort bound vnto pillers with their faces turned to the wall, hauing no ſtay vnder their feete, and were violently wayed downe with the payſe of their bodies, that by reaſon of their ſtraight binding, they beyng drawn out, might be more greuouſly tormēted. And this ſuffered they not onely during the tyme of their examination, and while the Shiriffe had to do with them, but alſo the whole day long. And whileſt the Iudge went thus from one to another, he by his authoritie appointed certaine officers to attende vpon thoſe he left,and not to be let downe vntill either through the intollerablenes of the payne,or by the extremitie of cold,they being neare the point of death,ſhould be let downe: and ſo were they haled vpon the ground. And further they were commaunded that they ſhould ſhew not ſo much as one ſparke of mercy or compaſſion vpon vs,but ſo extremely and furiouſly did deale with vs, as though our ſoules and bodies ſhould haue died together. And therfore yet an other torment our aduerſaries deuiſed to augmēt our former plagues. After that they had moſt lamentably beaten them,they deuiſed moreouer a new kinde of racke, wherein they lying vpright, were ſtretched by both the feete aboue the fourth ſtop or hole with ſharpe ſhels or ſhares ſtrowed vnder them, after a ſtrange kind of engine to vs here vnknowen. Other ſome were caſt downe vpon the pauement where they were oppreſſed ſo thicke, and ſo grieuouſly with tormentes, that it is not almoſt to be thought what afflictions they ſuffred.

Straunge kindes of tormentes.

Thus they lying in paines and torments, ſome died therwith, not a little ſhaming and confounding their enemies by their ſingular pacience. Some halfe dead and halfe aliue, were thruſt into priſon, where ſhortly after by paynes and woundes of their bodies they ended their bitter life. Some again beyng cured of their woundes by their indurance in priſon,were more confirmed,who beyng put to the choiſe whether they would come to their curſed ſacrifice, and enioy their wicked libertie, or els ſuſtaine the ſentence of death, did willingly and without delay abide the extremitie, remembring with themſelues what is written in the Scriptures: He that ſacrificeth (**ſayth he**) to ſtraunge Gods, ſhall be exterminate,&c. Item, thou ſhalt not haue any ſtrange Gods beſide me,&c. **Thus much wrote** Phileas **to the Congregation where he was Biſhop, before he receyued the ſentence of death,beyng yet in bandes, and in the ſame exhorteth his brethren conſtantly to perſiſt after his death, in the truth of Chriſt profeſſed.** Euſeb Lib 8.cap.10.

*Euſeb.Lib.8. cap.*10. *Ex Sabellico. Lib.7.cap.9.*

An holy martyr of Nicomedia tormented.

Sabellicus **in his vij.**Ennead. **and viij. booke, ſayth that that chriſtened man,which tore and pulled down the wicked Edict of the Emperour in** Nicomedia,**beyng ſtript and beaten ẏ the bones appeared, and after waſhed in ſalt and vineger,was then ſlaine with this cruell kind of torment. But** Platina **writeth that** Dorotheus **and** Gorgonius **exhorteth him to dye ſo conſtantly.**

But as all their torments were for their horribleneſſe, meruailous and notable, and therewithall ſo ſtudiouſly, deuiſed, & no leſſe greuous and ſharpe: ſo notwithſtāding therwith were theſe Martyrs neither diſmayd, nor ouercome, but rather thereby confirmed and ſtrengthened, ſo merily and ioyfully ſuſtained they what ſo euer was put vnto them. Euſebius **ſayth that he himſelfe beheld and ſawe the huge and great perſecution that was done in** Thebaide, **in ſo much that the very ſwordes of the hangmen and perſecutors beyng blunt with the great and often ſlaughter, they themſelues for wearines ſate downe to reſt them,and other were fayne to take their places. And yet all this notwithſtanding the murthered chriſtians,ſhewed their meruailous readines,willingnes,and diuine fortitude, which they were indued with,with ſtout courage, ioy, and ſmiling,receiuing the ſentence of death pronounced vpon thē, and ſong euen vnto the laſt gaſpe, Hymnes and Pſalmes to God. So did alſo the Martyrs of** Alexandria,**as witneſſeth** Phileas **aboue mentioned. The holy martyrs (ſaith he) keping Chriſt in their myndes, beyng led with the loue of better rewardes,ſuſtained not onely at one tyme, whatſoeuer labour and deuiſed puniſhments they had to lay vpon them: but now alſo the ſecond tyme haue done the ſame, and haue borne all the manaces of the cruell ſouldiors,not onely in wordes,wherwith they threatned them, but alſo whatſoeuer in deede and worke they could deuiſe to their deſtruction, and that with moſt manly ſtomackes, excluding all feare,with the perfection of their inſpeakable loue towards Chriſt, whoſe great ſtrength and fortitude cānot by wordes bee expreſſed. And** Sulpitius **ſayth in the ſecond booke of his ſacred hiſtory, that then the Chriſtians with more greedie deſire preaſed and ſought for Martyrdome, then now they deſire biſhoprikes.**

Euſebius a beholder and a witnes of their ſuffering. The ſwordes blunt,and the hangmen weryed with ſlaughter.

The marueilous conſtancie of the martyrs of God in perſecution and at the tyme of death.

Martyrdome more deſired in the olde tyme, then Biſhoppricks be now.

Although ſome there were alſo, as I haue ſayd, that with feare and threatnings, and by their owne infirmitie, were ouercome and went backe. Euſebius, Lib.8. cap.3. **Amongſt whom** Socrates **nameth** Miletius,Lib.1.cap.6.**and** Athanaſius **in his ſecond Apologie, nameth the biſhop of** Licus **a Citie in little Egypt, whom** Peter **the Biſhop of** Alexandria, **excōmunicated,for that in this perſecution he ſacrificed to the Gentiles Gods. Of the fall** of Marcellinus **the Byſhop of Rome, I will ſpeake afterwardes. For he beyng perſwaded by others, and ſpecially of the Emperour** Diocleſian **himſelfe, did ſacrifice, whereupon he was excōmunicated, but afterwardes he repēting the ſame, was agayne receaued into the congregation, and made Martyr, as** Platina **and the compiler of the booke of the general cōcels, affirme. The number of the Martyrs increaſed daily, ſometymes tenne,ſometymes twenty were ſlaine at once, ſome whiles 30. and oftentymes 60. and otherwhiles a C. in one day,men,women,and children by diuers kindes of death.** Euſebius,Lib 8.cap.9 **alſo** Damaſus, Beda, Oroſius, Honorius **and others do witnes,that there were ſlayne in this perſecution by the names ot Martyrs, within the ſpace of 30.days,17.thouſand perſons, beſide an other great number and multitude that were condemned to the mettall mines and quaries with like crueltie.**

Chriſtians that denyed in this perſecution.

Miletius reuolteth from the fayth,and is excommunicated. *Marcellinus* the biſhop reuolteth and cometh agayne

to the fa

and is m

tyred.

A hund

martyrs

one day.

Euſeb.Li

cap.9.

Seuentee

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Martyrs

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Three hu

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in Alexa

dria.

At Alexandria **with** Peter **the Biſhop, of whom I haue made mention before,were ſlayne with axes** 300. **& aboue,** **as** Sabellicus **declareth.** Gereon **was beheaded at** Colonia Agrippina,**with** 300.**of his fellowes, as ſaith** Henricus de Erfordia. Mauritius **the Captaine of Chriſtian religion, with his fellowes** 6666. Victor **in the citie of Troy now called** Xanthus,**with his fellowes** 360.**were ſlayne, as ſayth** Otto Phrinſigenſis, Lib. 2. cap 45. Reginus **reciteth the names of many other Martyrs,to the number of** 120.

Gereon Martyr.

Mauriti

with 666

Martyrs.

Victor w

360.mar

ſlayne.

And for as much as mention here hath bene made of Mauritius **and** Victor, **the perticular deſcription of the ſame hiſtory I thought here to inſert, taken out of** Ado **& other ſtory writers,as inſueth.**

Mauritius **came out of Syria into Fraunce and Italy, beyng Captaine of the bande of the** Theban **ſouldiours, to the number of** 6660.**beyng ſent for of** Maximianus,**to goe agaynſt the rebellious** Bangandes, **but rather as it ſhould ſeeme by the treaſon of the tirant,which thought he might better in theſe quarters vſe his tiranny vpon the Chriſtians, then in the Eaſt part. Theſe** Thebans **with** Mauritius **the Captaine,after that they had entred into Rome, who were there of** Marcellus **the bleſſed biſhop,confirmed in the fayth, promiſing by othe that they would rather be ſlayne of their enemies,then forſake that faith which they had receaued, who followed the Emperours hoſte through the Alpes euen into Fraunce.At that tyme the** Cæſarians **were incamped not farre from the towne called** Ottodor, **where** Maximianus **offred ſacrifice to his deuils, and called all the ſouldiours both of the Eaſt and weſt to the ſame,ſtraightly charging them by the aultars of his Gods , that they would fight againſt thoſe rebels the** Bangandes, **and perſecute the chriſtian enemies of the Emperors Gods : which his commaundement was ſhewed to the** Thebanes **hoſte, which were alſo incamped about the riuer of Rode,and in a place that was named** Agawne,**but to** Ottodor **they wold in no wiſe come,for that euery man did certainly appointe and perſwade with themſelues rather in that place to dye, then either to ſacrifice to the gods,or beare armour againſt the Chriſtians. Which thing in deede very ſtoutly and valiantly they affirmed, vpon their othe befor taken to** Maximianus **when he ſent for them. Wherwith the tyrant beyng wrathfull and all moued, commaunded euery tenth man of that whole band to be put to the ſworde, whereto ſtriuingly and with great reioyſing they committed their neckes. To which notable thing and great force of fayth,** Mauritius **himſelfe was a great incourager, who by & by with a moſt graue Oration exhorted & animated his ſouldiours both to fortitude & cōſtancie. Which beyng again called of ẏ Emperor,anſwered in this wiſe ſaying:** We are O Emperour your ſouldiours,but yet alſo to ſpeake freely, the ſeruants of god. We owe to thee ſeruice of war, to him innocēcie: of thee we receaue for our trauell, wages: of hym the beginning of lyfe. But in this we may in no wayes obey thee O Emperour,to deny God our author and Lord,and not onely ours,but your Lord likewiſe, will ye,nill ye. If we be not ſo extreemely enforced that we offend him, doubtles as we haue hitherto before, we will yet obey you, but otherwiſe we will rather obey hym then you . We offer here our handes agaynſt any other enemies: but to defile our handes with the bloud of innocentes,that we may not doe. Theſe right hands of ours haue ſkill to fight agaynſt the wicked and true enemies: but to ſpoyle and murder the godly and Citizens, they haue no ſkill at all. We haue in remembraunce how we tooke armour in hand for the defence of the Citizens, and not agaynſt them. We fought alwayes for iuſtice ſake, pietie, and for the health of innocentes. Theſe haue bene alwayes the rewardes of our perils and trauell We haue fought in the quarreil of fayth, whiche in no wiſe we can keepe to you, if we doe not ſhewe the ſame to our God. We firſt ſware vpon the Sacramentes of our God, then afterward to the king: and doe you thinke the ſecond will aduaile vs: if we breake the firſt ¿ By vs you would plague the Chriſtians, to doe which feate we are onely commaunded by you . We are here ready to confeſſe God the author of all thinges, and beleue in hys ſonne Ieſus Chriſt our Lord. We ſee before our eyes our fellowes and partakers of our labours and trauailes, to be put to the ſword, and we ſprinkled with their bloud, of which our moſt bleſſed companions and brethrē,their end and death we haue not bewayled nor mourned, but rather haue bene glad, and haue reioyced

The hiſto

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ioyced thereat, for that they haue bene counted worthy to ſuffer for the Lord their God. The extreeme neceſsitie of death cannot moue vs agaynſt your maieſty, neyther yet any deſpiratiō, O Emperour, which is wont in ventrous affayres to do much, ſhal ſtyre vs agaynſt you. Behold here we caſt downe our weapons, and reſiſt not, for that we had rather to be killed, then kill, and guiltles to dye, then gilty to liue. What ſoeuer more ye will commaūd appoynt and inioyne vs, we are here ready to ſuffer, yea both fire ſword, and whatſoeuer other tormentes. We confeſſe our ſelues to be Chriſtians, we cannot perſecute Chriſtians, nor will do ſacrifice to your deuiliſh Idols.

With which their aunſwer the kyng beyng altogether incenſed and moued, commaunded the ſecond tyme the tenth man of them that were left to be in like caſe murdered. That crueltie alſo beyng accompliſhed, at length whē the chriſtian ſouldiours would in no wiſe condeſcend vnto his mynde, he ſet vpon them with his whole hoſt, both footemen and alſo horſemen, and charged them to kil them all. Who with all force ſet vpon them, they making no reſiſtance, but throwyng downe their armour, yelded theyr lyues to the perſecutors, and offered to them theyr naked bodies.

Mauritius and hys company Martyred.

Victor at the ſame tyme was not of that bande, nor yet then any ſouldiour, but one beyng an old ſouldior, and diſmiſſed for his age. At which tyme he comming ſodainly vpon them as they were bancketting and making mery with the ſpoyles of the holy Martyrs, was bidden to ſit downe with them: and firſt aſking the cauſe of that their ſo great reioyſing, and vnderſtanding the truth therof, deteſted the gueſtes, and refuſed to eate with them. And then being demaunded of them whether happily he were a Chriſtian or no, openly confeſſed and denied not, but that he was a chriſtian, and euer would be. And therupon they ruſhing vpō him, killed him, and made him partner of the like Martyrdome and honour.

The conſtant boldnes of *Victor* in refuſing to eat with the cruell perſecutors, for the whiche he was alſo ſlayne.

Victor Martyr.

Beda in his hiſtory writeth, that this perſecution beyng vnder Diocleſian, endured vnto the ſeuenth yere of Conſtantinus, and Euſeb Lib 8.cap.6 ſayth, that it laſted vntill the x. yeare of Conſtantinus. It was not yet one yeare from the day in which Diocleſian & Maximianus ioynyng themſelues together, began their perſecution, when that they ſawe the number of the Chriſtians rather to encreaſe then to diminiſh, notwithſtanding all the cruelty that euer they coulde ſhew, and now were out of all hope for the vtter rootyng out of them, which thing was the cauſe of their firſt enterpriſe, and had now euen their fill of bloud, and lothed as it were, the ſhedding thereof, they ceaſed at the laſt of theyr owne accord to put any mo chriſtians to death: But yet of a great multitude they did thruſt out their right eyes, and maymed their left legs at the hamme with a ſearing iron, condemning them to the mines of mettals, not ſo much for the vſe of their labour, as for the deſire of afflicting them. And this was the clemencie and releaſe of the crueltie of thoſe Princes, which ſayd that it was not meete that the cities ſhould be defiled with the bloud of citizens, and to make the Emperours highneſſe to bee defamed with the name of crueltie, but to ſhew his princely beneficence and liberalitie to all men. Euſebius, Lib.8.cap 10.

The number of the Chriſtians increaſed for all this perſecutiō.

Diocleſian and *Maximinian* were tyred with perſecution, and gaue vp their kingdome.

Euſe lib.8. cap.10.

When Diocleſianus and Maximianus had raigned together Emperours twenty yeares and one (Nicephorus ſaith xxij. yeares) at length Diocleſian put himſelfe from his imperiall dignitie at Nicomedia, and liued at Salona, Maximinianus at Mediolanum, and led both of thē a priuate life in the 309. yeare after Chriſt. This ſtrange and meruailous alteration gaue occaſion, and ſo came to paſſe, that within ſhort ſpace after, there were in the Romaine commō welth many Emperours at one tyme.

Anno 309.

In the beginning of this perſecution, you heard how Diocleſian beyng made Emperour, toke to him Maximinian. Alſo how theſe two gouerning as Emperours together, thoſe other two Cæſars vnder them, to wit, Galerius Maximinus & Conſtantius the father of Conſtantine the great. Thus then Diocleſian raigning with Maximinian, in the 19. yeare of his raigne, began his furious perſecution againſt the chriſtians, whoſe raigne after the ſame continued not long. For ſo it pleaſed God to put ſuch a ſnaffle in the tyrants mouth, that within two yeares after, he cauſed both him and Maximinian (for what cauſe he knoweth) to geue ouer his Imperial function, and ſo to remayne not as emperours any more, but as priuate perſones. So that they beyng now diſplaced and diſpoſſeſſed, the Imperial dominion remayned in Conſtantius & Galerius Maximinus, which two deuided the whole Monarchie betwene them: ſo that Maximinus ſhould gouerne the Eaſt countreys, & Conſtantius the weſt partes. But Conſtantius as a modeſt Prince, onely contented with the Imperial title, refuſed Italy and Aphrike, contenting himſelf only with Fraunce, Spaine, and Britaine. Wherefore Galerius Maximinus choſe to hym his two ſonnes Maximinus and Seuerus. Likewiſe Conſtantius toke Conſtantinus his ſonne, Cæſar vnder him. In the meane tyme, while Maximinus with his two Cæſars were in Aſia, the Romaine ſouldiours ſet vp for their emperour Maxentius the ſonne of Maximinian, who had before depoſed himſelfe. Againſt whom Maximinus the Emperour of the Eaſt, ſent his ſonne Seuerus, which Seuerus was ſlayne in the ſame voyage of Maxentius. In whoſe place then Maximinus toke Licinius. And theſe were the Emperours and Cæſars, which ſucceeding after Diocleſian, and Maximinian, proſecuted the reſt of that perſecution, which Diocleſian and Maximinian before begun, duryng neare the ſpace of ſeuen or viij. yeares, which was to the yeare of our Lorde, 318. Saue onely that Conſtantius with his ſonne Conſtantinus, was no great doer therin, but rather a maintainer and a ſupporter of the Chriſtians. Which Conſtantius ſurnamed Chlorus for his paleneſſe, was the ſonne of Eutropius, a mā of great nobilitie of the Romaine nation, as Lætus affirmeth. He came of the lyne of Æneas and Claudia the doughter of Claudius Auguſtus. This man had not the deſire of great and mightie dominion, and therfore parted he the Empire with Galerius, and would rule but in Fraunce, Britaine, and Spayne, refuſing the other kingdomes for the troubleſome and difficult gouernment of the ſame. Otherwiſe he was a Prince, as Eutropius maketh deſcription of him, very excellent, ciuill, meeke, gentle, liberall, and deſirous to do good vnto thoſe that had any priuate authoritie vnder him. And as Cyrus once ſayd, that he gaue treaſure inough, when he made his frendes rich: euen ſo it is ſayd that Conſtantius would often tymes ſay, that it were better that his ſubiects had treaſure, then he to haue it in his treaſure houſe. Alſo he was by nature ſuffiſed with a litle, In ſo much, that he vſed to eate and drinke in earthen veſſels (which thing was counted in Agathocles the Sicilian, a great commendation) and if at any tyme cauſe required to garniſh his table, he would ſend for plate and other furniture to his frendes. To theſe vertues he added yet a more worthy ornament, that is, deuotion, loue, and affection towardes the word of God, as Euſeb.Lib.8.cap.13. affirmeth, after which vertues enſued great peace and tranquillitie in all his Prouinces: By which worde he being guided, neither leuied any warres contrary to pietie and chriſtian religion, neither he aided anye other that did the ſame: neither deſtroyed he the churches, but commaunded that the chriſtians ſhould be preſerued and defended, and kept them ſafe from all contumelious iniuries. And when that in the other iuriſdictions of the Empire, the congregatiōs were moleſted with perſecution, as Sozomenus declareth, Lib.1.cap.6. he only gaue licence vnto the Chriſtians to liue after their accuſtomed maner. This wonderfull acte of his followyng, beſides other, doth ſhew that he was a ſincere worſhipper of the chriſtian religion.

The names of the tyrantes.
Diocleſian, *Maximinian* Emperors depoſed.
Gale Maximinus. *Conſtantius* Emperours.
Maximinus *Seuerus*, *Conſtantinus*, *Caſars*

Maxentius, Emperour.
Licinius Caſar.

Anno. 318.

The commendation of *Conſtantius.*

O happy *Conſtantius.*

Euſeb.lib.8. Cap,13.
Conſtantius gratious to the Chriſtians.

Zozomenus.lib. cap.6.

Thoſe which bare the chiefe offices among the Ethnikes, draue out of the emperors court all the godly Chriſtians: wherupon this enſued, that the Emperors themſelues at the laſt, were deſtitute of helpe, when ſuche were driuen away, which dwelling in their courtes, and lyuyng a godly lyfe, poured out their prayers vnto God for ye proſperous eſtate and health both of the Empire & Emperor. Conſtantius therefore mindyng at a certayne tyme to try what ſincere and good Chriſtians he had yet in hys courte, called together all hys officers and ſeruauntes in the ſame, faynyng himſelfe to choſe out ſuch as would do ſacrifice to deuils, and that thoſe only ſhould dwell there & kepe their offices, and that thoſe which would refuſe to doe the ſame, ſhould be thruſt out & baniſhed the court. At this appointment, all the courtiers deuided themſelues into companies. The Emperour marked which were the conſtanteſt & godlieſt from the reſt. And when ſome ſayd that they would willingly do ſacrifice, other ſome openly and boldly denied to do the ſame: Then the Emperour ſharply rebuked thoſe which were ſo ready to doe ſacrifice, & iudged them as falſe traitors vnto God, accountyng them vnworthy to bee in his court, which were ſuch traitors to God, and forthwith commaunded that they only ſhould be baniſhed the ſame. But greatly he commended them, which refuſed to doe ſacrifice and confeſſed God, affirmyng that they onely were worthy to be about a prince, forthwith commaundyng that thenceforth they ſhould be the truſty counſellers and defēders both of his perſon & kingdom, ſaying thus much more, that they onely were worthy to be in office, whome he might make accompt of as his aſſured frendes, and that he meant to haue them in more eſtimation, then the ſubſtāce he had in his treaſurie. Euſebius maketh mention hereof in his firſt booke of the life of Conſtantinus, and alſo Sozomenus in his 1. booke and 6. chap.

Conſtantius proueth who were true Chriſtians in hys Court, and who were not.

Ex Euſeb.de Vita Conſtan. Lib.1.
Ex Zozomeno. lib.cap.6.
Falſe Chriſtians diſcerned from true.

Euſeb.lib de Vita Conſtan.

Maximinus an enemy to the Chriſtians.

With this Conſtantius was ioyned (as hath bene aforeſayd) Galerius Maximinus, a man as Eutropius affirmeth, very ciuill and a paſſing good ſouldior: Furthermore, a fauourer of wiſe and learned men, of a quiet diſpoſition, not rigorous, but in his dronkenneſſe, wherof he would ſone after repent him, as Victor writeth. whether he meaneth Maximinus the father, or Maximinus his ſonne, it is vncertayne. But Euſebius farre otherwiſe deſcribeth the conditions of him in his viij. booke, and firſt chapter. For he ſayth he was of a tyrannicall diſpoſition: The fearefulleſt man that might be, and curious in all magicall ſuperſtition, in ſo much that without the diuinatiõs and aunſweres of diuels he durſt do nothing at al, & therefore he gaue great offices and dignityes to enchaunters. Furthermore that he was an exactor and extortioner of the Citizens, liberall to thoſe that were flatterers, geuen to ſurfeting and riote, a great drinker of wine, and in his furious dronkenneſſe moſt like a mad man, a Ribaud, an adulterer, which came to no City but he rauiſhed virgins & defiled mens wiues. To conclude he was ſo great an idolater, that he built vp Temples in euery City, and repayred thoſe that were fallen in great decay: and he choſe out the moſt worthieſt of his politicall Magiſtrates to be the idols prieſtes, and deuiſed that they ſhould execute that their office with great authority and dignity, and alſo with warlike pompe. But to Chriſtian piety and religion he was moſt incenſiue, and in the Eaſt Churches exerciſed cruel perſecution, and vſed as executioners of the ſame, Pencetius, Quintianus, and Theotechnus beſide others.

The wickednes of *Maximinus* deſcribed.

A terrible plague ſent by God to *Maximinus*.

Notwithſtanding he was at length reuoked from his cruelty by the iuſt iudgemẽt and puniſhment of God. For he was ſodenly vexed with a fatall diſeaſe moſt filthy and deſperate, which diſeaſe to deſcribe was very ſtraunge, taking the firſt beginning in his fleſh outwardly, frõ thence it proceeded more and more to the inward parts of his bodye. For in the priuy members of his body ther happened vnto him a ſuddayne putrifactiõ, and after in the bottome of the ſame a botchy corrupt bile, with a Fiſtula, cõſuming & eating vp his entrals, out of the which came ſwarming forth an innumerable multitude of lice, with ſuch a peſtiferous ſtinche that no man coulde abide him, and ſo muche more, for that all the groſeneſſe of his body by aboundance of meat before he fell ſick, was turned alſo into a fat: which fat now putrified, and ſtincking was ſo vgſome and horrible, that none that came to him coulde abide the ſight therof. By reaſon whereof, the Phiſitions which had him in cure, ſome of the not able to abide the intollerable ſtinch were commaunded to be ſlayne. Other ſome becauſe they could not heale him being ſo ſwollen and paſt hope of cure were alſo cruelly put to death. At length being put in remembraunce that his diſeaſe was ſent of God, he began to forethinke the wickedneſſe that he had done agaynſt the ſayntes of God, and ſo comming agayne to himſelfe, firſt confeſſeth vnto god all his offences, then calling them vnto him which were about him, forthwith commaunded all men, to ceaſe from the perſecutions of the Chriſtians. Requiring moreouer that they ſhould ſet vp his Imperiall proclamatiõs, for the reſtoring and reedyfying of their temples, and that they would obtayne this of the Chriſtians, in their aſſemblies (which without all feare and doubt they might be bolde to make) that they would deuoutly pray to theyr God for the Emperour. Then forthwith was the perſecution ſtayed, and the Imperiall proclamations in euery City were ſet vp, contayning the retraction or countermaund of thoſe thinges which agaynſt the Chriſtians were before decreed, the copy whereof enſueth.

Maximinus killeth hys phiſitions.

Maximinus countermaund in the behalfe of the Chriſtians.

Amongſt other thinges which for the benefite and cõmodity of the common weale we eſtabliſhed, we cõmaunded to reforme all thinges according to the auncient lawes and publicke diſcipline of the Romaines, and alſo to vſe this pollicy, that the Chriſtians which had forſaken the religion of their forefathers ſhould be brought agayne to the right way. For ſuch phãtaſticall ſingularity was amongſt them, that thoſe thinges which their elders had receiued and allowed, they relected and diſallowed; deuiſing euery man ſuch lawes as they thought good, and obſerued the ſame, aſſembling in diuers places great multitudes of people.

Therefore when our foreſaid decree was proclaymed, many there were that felt the penalty therof, and many being troubled therefore ſuffered many kindes of death. And becauſe we ſee yet that there be many which perſeuere in the ſame, which neither geue due worſhip vnto the Celeſtiall Gods neither receiue the God of the Chriſtians; we hauing reſpect to our accuſtomed benignitie, wherewith we are wont to ſhew fauour vnto all men, thinke good in this cauſe alſo to extend our clemencye, that the Chriſtians may be agayne tollerated, and appoynt them places where againe they may meet together, ſo that they doe nothing contrary to publick order and diſcipline. By an other Epiſtle we meane to preſcribe vnto the iudges, what ſhal be conuenient for them to do. Wherefore according as this our bountifull clemencie deſerueth, let them make interceſsion to God for our health, common weale, and for themſelus, that in all places the ſtate of of the common weale may be preſerued, and that they themſelues may be able ſafely to liue within their bondes. *Euſeb. lib. 8. cap. vltimo.*

Euſeb. lib. 8. cap. vlt.

But one of his inferior officers whoſe name was alſo Maximinus, was not well pleaſed when this countermaũd was publiſhed throughout all Aſia, and the Prouinces where he had to do. Yet he being qualified by this example that it was not conuenient for him to repugn the pleaſure of thoſe Princes which had the chiefe authority as Conſtantius and Maximinus, ſet forth of himſelfe no edict touching the ſame: but commaunded his officers in the preſence of others, that they ſhould ſomewhat ſtay from the perſecution of the Chriſtians: of which commaundement of the inferiour Maximinus, each of them gaue intelligence vnto their fellowes by their letters. But Sabinus which then amongſt them all, had the chiefeſt office and dignitie: to the ſubſtitutes of euery countrey, wrote by his letters the Emperours pleaſure in this wiſe.

Sabinus in the fauour of the chriſtians publiſheth the decree.

The maieſtie of our moſt gracious and Soueraigne Lordes the Emperours, hath lately decreed with ſpeciall diligence and deuotiõ, to induce all men to an vniforme life, ſo that they which ſeemed to diſſent from the Romaine cuſtome by a ſtraunge maner of liuing, ſhoulde exhibite to the immortall Gods their due and proper worſhipp, but the wilfull and obſtinate minde of diuers ſo much, and ſo cõtinually reſiſted the ſame, that by no lawfull meanes they might be reuoked from their purpoſe, neither made afraid by any terror or puniſhment. Becauſe therefore it ſo came to paſſe, that by this meanes many put themſelues in perill and ieoperdy: The maieſtie of our ſoueraigne Lordes the Emperours according to their noble pietie, conſidering that it was far from the meaning of their princely maieſties that ſuche thinges ſhould be, whereby ſo many men and muche people ſhould be, deſtroyd, gaue me in charge that with diligence I ſhoulde write vnto you, that if any of the Chriſtians from henceforth fortune to be taken in the exerciſe of their religion, that in no wiſe you moleſt the ſame, neither for that cauſe you doe iudge any man worthy of puniſhment: for that in all this time it hath euidentlye appeared that by no meanes they might be allured from ſuch wilfulneſſe. It is therefore requiſite that your wiſdome write vnto the Queſtors, Captaynes, and Conſtables of euery City and village, that they may know it not to be lawfull for them, or any of them, to do contrary to the preſcript of this commaundement, neither that they preſume to attempt the ſame. *Euſeb. lib. 9. cap. 1.*

Euſeb. lib. 9. Cap. 1.

Perſecution ceaſeth for a time.

The gouernours therefore of euery prouince, ſuppoſing this to be the determinate pleaſure (and not fayned) of the Emperour, did firſt aduertiſe thereof, the ruſticall & Pagan multitude: After that they releaſed and ſet at libertye all ſuche priſoners as were condempned to the mettall mines, & to perpetuall impriſonmẽt for their fayth, thinking therby (where in deed they were deceiued) that the doing thereof would well pleaſe the Emperor. This therfore ſeemed to them as vnlooked for, and as light to trauellers in a darcke night. They gather themſelues together in euery City, they call their Synodes and counſels, & much marueill at the ſodden chaunge and alteration. The Infidels themſelues extoll the onely and true God of the Chriſtians. The Chriſtians receiue agayne all their former libertie, and ſuch as fell away before in the tyme of perſecution, repent themſelues and after penaunce done, they returned agayne to the congregation. Nowe the Chriſtians reioyced in euery Citty, prayſing God with hymnes and Pſalmes. Euſebius ibidem. This was a marueilous ſodaine alteration of the Church, from a moſt vnhappy ſtate into a better, but ſcarce ſuffered Maximinus the Tyraunt the ſame vj. monethes vnuiolated to continue. For whatſoeuer ſeemed to make for the ſubuerſion of the ſame peace (yet ſcarcely hatched) that did he onely meditate. And firſt of all he toke from the Chriſtians all libertie and leaue for them to aſſemble and congregate in churchyardes vnder a certayne colour. After that he ſent certayne Miſcreants vnto the Athenians, to ſollicite them agaynſt the Chriſtians, and to prouoke them to aſke of him as a recompence and great reward, that he would not ſuffer any Chriſtian to inhabite in their countrey: and amongeſt them was one Theotechnus, a moſt wicked miſcreant, an inchaunter, and a moſt deadly enemy agaynſt the Chriſtians. He firſt made the way whereby the Chriſtians were put out of credite, and accuſed to the Emperour, to which end alſo he erected a certayne Idoll of Iupiter to be worſhipped of the inchaunters and coniurers, and mingled the ſame worſhip with ceremonies, full of deteſtable witchcraft. Laſtly, he cauſed the ſame Idoll to geue this ſound out of hys mouth.

The Infidels acknowledge the God of the Chriſtians.

One alteration vpon an other.

The deueliſh practiſe of *Theotechnus*.

The vayne practiſes of the Heathē agaynſt Chriſt and his religion.

month. That is: Iupiter commaundeth the chriſtians to be baniſhed out of the Citie and ſuburbes of the ſame, as enemies vnto him. And the ſame ſentence did the reſt of the gouernors of the prouinces publiſh againſt the Chriſtians, and thus at length perſecution began to kindle againſt them. Maximinus appoynted and inſtituted high prieſtes and biſhops in euery citie to offer ſacrifice vnto Idoles, & inueigled all thoſe that were in great offices vnder him, that they ſhould not onely ceaſe to pleaſure them & to do for them, but alſo that they ſhould with new deuiſed accuſatiōs agaynſt thē, at their pleaſure, put as many to death as by any meanes they might. They alſo did counterfet certayne practiſes of Pilate againſt our ſauiour Chriſt full of blaſphemie, and ſent the ſame into all the Empire of Maximinus by their letters, commaunding that the ſame ſhoulde be publiſhed and ſet vp in euery citie and ſuburbes of the ſame, and that they ſhould be deliuered to yͤ ſcholemaiſters, to cauſe their ſcholers to learne by roate the ſame.

A deuiſed accuſation agaynſt the Chriſtians by harlots.

Maximi. recountermaund grauē in braſſe.

Euſeb. Lib. 9. Cap. 3.

After that one named Præfectus caſtrorum, whome the Romaines do call captaine, allured certaine light womē, partly by feare, and partly by puniſhment, dwelling at Damaſcus in Phenicia, and taken out of the court wherein they were accuſed, that they ſhoulde openly ſay in wryting that they were once Chriſtians, and that they knewe what wicked & laſciuious actes the Chriſtians were wont to execute amongſt themſelues vpon the ſondaies, & what other things they thought good to make more of their own head, to the ſlander of the Chriſtians. The capitaine ſheweth vnto the emperour theer wordes, as though it had bene ſo in deede, and the Emperour by and by commanded the ſame to be publiſhed throughout euery city. Furthermore, they did hange vp in the midſt of euery Citie (which was neuer done before) the Emperours edicts againſt yͤ Chriſtians, grauen in tables of braſſe. And the children in the ſcholes with great noiſe and clapping of handes did euery day reſound, the contumelious blaſphemies of Pilate vnto Ieſus, & what other things ſo euer were deuiſed of the magiſtrates, after moſt deſpitefull maner. Euſeb.lib.8, cap.3.4.5.6.7. And this is the copie of the edict, which Maximinus cauſed to be faſtened to pillers ſtraught, with all arrogant and inſolent hate againſt God and Chriſt.

The copy of the recountermaund made agaynſt the Chriſtians.

Wicked blaſphemy.

The workes of the liuing God falſly imputed to dead ſtockes and Idoles.

Horrible blaſphemy.

The lyke argument of wether & corne, & plenty, made the vnfaithfull Iewes, and alſo make now our faythleſſe Papiſtes.

The weake and imbecil rebellion of mans minde (all obſcuritie and blindneſſe of ignorance ſet aparte, which hetherto hath wrapped the mindes of impious and miſerable men, in the pernitious darkeneſſe of ignoraunce) is now at the length able to diſcerne, that the ſame is gouerned, as alſo corroborated by the prouidence of the immortall gods the louers of vertue: which thing, how acceptable it is to vs, howe pleaſant and gratefull, and howe much proofe the ſame hath declared of your wel diſpoſed willing minds, is incredible to be tolde: Although this was not vnknown before with what diligence and deuotion yee ſerued the immortall Gods, whoſe wonderfull and conſtant faith is not knowen by bare and naked wordes, but by your worthy & notable deeds. Wherefore worthely is your Citie called the habitation and ſeate of the immortall Gods, and by many examples it appeareth that the ſame flouriſheth, and proſpereth by the preſence of the celeſtiall Gods. For beholde, your Citie not regarding your priuate buſineſſes, nor eſteeming that which ſhoulde haue bene for the ſpeciall commoditie thereof, when it perceaued that curſed vanitie to begin againe to creepe, and as a fire negligently quenched, when the dead brandes thereof began to kindle and make a great flame: by and by without delay ye hauing recourſe vnto our pietie, as vnto the Metropolitan of all diuine worſhip and Religion, craued remedie and helpe, which wholeſome minde for your pieties ſake, it is moſt manifeſt that the gods haue indued you with. Therefore hee, euen that moſt mightie Iupiter I ſay, which preſerueth your moſt famous Citie: to that intent he might deliuer and make free your countrey Gods, your wiues and children, your houſholde Gods and houſes, from all deteſtable corruption, hath inſpired you with this wholeſome and willing minde, ſhewing & declaring howe worthy, notable, and healthfull a thing it is to worſhip & to ſacrifice to the immortall Gods. For who is ſo void of reaſon & vnderſtanding, that knoweth not that this thing happeneth vnto vs by the carefull ſtudie of the goodnes of our gods, that the grounde denieth not to geue her timely increaſe, nor maketh fruſtrate the husband mans hope, nor that wicked warre dare ſhew her face vpon the earth, nor that the corruption of the aire is nowe cauſe of peſtilence, neither that the ſea ſwelleth with immoderate windes, neither that ſodaine ſtormes are cauſe of hurtfull tempeſtes. To conclude, that the ground which is as the nurce and mother of all things, is not ſwallowed vp of her deepe chappes and gapings, by terrible earthquake, neither that the hils made leuell with the earth, are not with gaping cliftes deuoured, all which euils and greater then theſe, before this time to haue happened euery mā knoweth. And all theſe miſchiefes came vpō vs for the pernitious errours ſake of the extreeme follie of thoſe wicked men the Chriſtanis, when filthineſſe it ſelfe (as I may call it) ſo occupied their mindes, and ouerranne the worlde. Let them beholde the fieldes nowe all about full of corne, and ouerflowen as it were with eares of corne. Let them vewe the pleaſant medowes clothed with flowers, and moiſtned with ſhowers from heauen, and alſo the pleaſant and temperate weather. Therefore let all men reioyce, that by your pietie, ſacrifices, & worſhipping, the maieſtie of the moſt ſtearne God of battell Mars is appeaſed, & that therfore we enioy pleaſant & firme peace. And how many ſo euer haue left that blind errour and ſtraying of the Chriſtians vnfainedly, and be of a better minde, let them ſpecially reioyce, as men deliuered out of a ſodaine great tempeſt, and from a greeuous diſeaſe, and haue afterward obtained a delectable and pleaſant life. For doubtleſſe, if they had remained in that execrable vanitie, farre of had they bene chaſed from your Citie & ſuburbs of the ſame (according to your deſire) that your Citie by that meanes, according to your commēdable diligence, clenſed from all impuritie and impietie, may offer ſacrifices according to the meaning of the ſame, with due reuerence of the immortall Gods. And that you may perceiue in how good part your ſupplication (yea vnasked and deſired) we are moſt willing and ready to further your honeſt endeuours, and graunt vnto you for your deuotion, whatſoeuer you aske of our magnificence. And that thys thing may be accompliſhed, forthwith aske and haue. And thys thing with all ſpeede, indeuour you to obtaine, which ſhall bee a perpetuall teſtimony of pietie exhibited of your Citie to the immortall Gods, and ſhalbe a preſident to your children and poſteritie, and withall you ſhall obtaine of vs for this your willing deſire of reformation, condygne and worthy rewardes. Euſebius. Lib 9.cap.7.

Euſeb. lib. 9. cap. 7.

Perſecution renued a freſh.

Syluanus Byſhop. *Lucianus* Elder, *Petrus* Byſhop, *Quirinus* Byſhop. *Marcellus* Byſhop, *Tymotheus* Elder, Martyrs.

The perſecution of *Maximinus* the yonger. *Euſeb. lib. 9. cap. 7. Niceph. lib. 7. cap. 44. Ex faciſculo temporum.*

Coſmas, Damianus, Dorothea, with other martyrs. 270. Martyrs.

Gemenianus with 79. Martyrs.

Seuerall kindes of tormentes. *Euſeb. lib. 8. cap. 15.*

Thus came it to paſſe that at the length perſecutiō was as great as euer it was, and the magiſtrates of euery prouince were very diſdainefull againſt the Chriſtians which cōdemned ſome to death, and ſome to exile. Among whom they condemned three chriſtians at Emiſa, in Phenicia, to whom Siluanus the biſhop a very old man, being 40. yeres in the eccleſiaſticall function, was condemned to death. At Nicomedia, Lucianus the elder of Antioche, brought thether, after he had exhibited to the emperour his Apologie concerning the doctrin of the Chriſtians, was caſt in pryſon, and after put to death. In Amaſea a City of Capadocia, Bringes the lieftenaunt of Maximinus, had at that time, the executing of that perſecution. At Alexandria, Petrus a moſt worthy byſhop was beheaded with whome manye other Egiptian byſhops alſo died. Euſeb.Lib.9.cap.7. Nicepho.Lib.7.cap.44. Quirinus the Byſhop Sceſcanius hauing a hannyll tyed about hys necke, was throwne headlong from the bridge, into the flood, and there a long while fleeted aboue the water, and when hee opened his mouth to ſpeake to the lookers on that they ſhoulde not be diſmaied with that his puniſhmēt, was with much a do drowned. Chron.Euſeb. At Rome dyed Marcellus the biſhop as ſayeth Platina, alſo Timotheus the elder, with many other biſhops & Prieſts were martyred. To cōclud many in ſundry places euery where were martyred, whoſe name yͤ booke intituled Faſciculus temporum declareth, as Victorianus, Symphorianus, Caſtorius, with his wife, Caſtulus, Ceſarius, Mennas, Nobilis, Dorotheus, Gorgonius, Petrus, and other innumerable martirs, Eraſmus, Bonifacius, Iuliana, Coſmas, Damianus, Baſilinus with ſeuen others, Dorothea, Theophilus, Theodoſia, Vitalis, Agricola, Acha, Philemon, Hireneus, Ianuarius, Feſtus, Deſiderius, Gregorius, Spoletanus, Agapes, Chionia, Hirenea. Theodora, and 270. other Martyrs, Florianus, Primus and Felicianus, Vitus and Modeſtus, Creſcentia, Albinus, Rogatianus, Donatianus, Pancratius, Catharina, Margareta, Lucia, the virgin, and Antheus the king with many thouſād martirs mo. Simplicius, Fauſtinus, Beatrix, Panthaleon, Georgius, Iuſtus, Leocandia, Anthonia, and other mo to an infinite number, ſuffered martirdome in this perſecution, whoſe names God hath written in the booke of life. Alſo Felix Victor, with his parents Lucia the widow, Gemenianus, with 79 others, Sabinus, Anaſtaſia, Chriſogonus, Felix, and Audactus, Adrianus, Nathalia, Eugenia, Agnes, alſo when ſhe was but 13. yeare old was martyred. Euſeb. in his 8. booke and 15. chap. rehearſeth theſe kinds of tormentes and puniſhmēts, that is to ſay, Fire, wilde beaſtes, the ſword, crucifyinges, the bottome of the ſea, the cutting and burning of mēbers, the thruſting out of eyes, diſmembring of the whole body, hūger, impriſonment, & whatſoeuer other cruelty yͤ Magiſtrates could deuiſe. All which notwithſtanding the godly ones, rather then that they woulde doe ſacrifice as they were bid, manfully endured. Neither were the womē any thing at al behind thē. For they beyng intiſed to the filthy vſe of their bodies, rather ſuffered baniſhmēt, or willingly killed themſelues. Neither yet could the Chriſtians liue ſafely in the wildernes, but were fetched euē frō thēce to death and tormentes, in ſo much that this was a more greeuous perſecution vnder Maximianus, the tyraunt, then

was

Euſeb.Lib.9. cap.6.10.

was the former cruell perſecution, vnder Maximianus the Prince.Euſeb.Lib.9.cap.6.&.10.

The worke of God agaynſt the foreſayd edict.

The proud and blaſphemous proclamation of the Emperour proued falſe and contrary.

And foraſmuch as yee haue hearde the cruell Edict of Maximinus proclaymed againſt the Chriſtians, grauen in braſſe, which he thought perpetually ſhould endure to the aboliſhing of Chriſt & his Religion: Now marke againe the great handy worke of God, which immediatly fel vpon the ſame, checking the proud preſumption of the tyrant, prouing al to be falſe and contrary, that in the braſen Proclamation was contained. For where the foreſaide Edict boaſted ſo much of the proſperitie and plentie of all things in the time of this perſecution of the Chriſtians, ſodenly befell ſuch vnſeaſonable drought with famine and peſtilēce among the people, beſides alſo the warres with the Armenians, that all was founde vntrue that hee had bragged ſo much of before. By reaſon of which famine and peſtilence ẏ people were greatly conſumed, in ſo much that one meaſure of wheat was ſold for two thouſand and fiue hundred peeces of money of Athens coyne, by reaſon whereof innumerable died in the Cities, but many more in the countrey and villages, ſo that moſt part of the huſbād men and countreymen died vp with the famine and peſtilence. Diuers there were which bringing out their beſt treaſure, were glad to geue it for any kinde of ſuſtenāce, were it neuer ſo litle. Other ſelling away their poſſeſſions, fel by reaſon thereof to extreme pouertie and beggary. Certaine eating graſſe, and feeding on other vnholſome herbes, were faine to relieue them ſelues with ſuch foode as did hurt and poyſon their bodies. Alſo a number of women in the Cities, being brought to extreme miſerie and penurie, were conſtrained to depart the Citie, and fal to begging through the cou̅trey. Some other were weake and faint (as Images without breath) wandring vp and downe, & not able to ſtand for feebleneſſe, fel downe in the middle of ẏ ſtreetes, and holding vp their handes moſt pitifull, cried for ſome ſcrappes or fragments of bread to be geuen them, & being at the laſt gaſpe, ready to geue vp the Ghoſt, and not able to vtter any other words, yet cried out that they were hūgry. Of the richer ſort diuers there were, who being weary with the number of beggers and askers, after they had beſtowed largely vpon them, became hard harted, fearing leaſt they ſhould fall into the ſame miſerie them ſelues, as they which begged. By reaſon wherof the market place, ſtreetes, lanes, and alleis lay full of dead & naked bodies, being caſt out and vnburied, to the pitifull & grieuous beholding of them that ſaw them. Wherefore many were eaten of dogges, for which cauſe they that liued fell to the killing of dogges, leaſt they running mad, ſhoulde fall vpon them, and kill them.

Ex Euſeb.lib.9. cap.8.

A terrible hunger among the heathen perſecutors deſcribed.

Peſtilence among the perſecutors.

In like maner the peſtilence ſcattering through all houſes and ages of men, did no leſſe conſume them, eſpecially thoſe which through plēty of vitail eſcaped famine. Wherfore the rich Princes Preſidentes and other innumerable of the Magiſtrates, being the more apt to receiue the infection, by reaſon of their plēty, were quickly diſpatched, and turned vp their heeles. Thus the miſerable multitude being conſumed with famine and with peſtilence, all places was full of mourning, neither was there any thing elſe ſeene, but wailing and weeping in euery corner. So that death, what for famine and peſtilence in ſhort time brake vp and conſumed whole houſholdes, two or three dead bodies being borne out together from one houſe to one funerall,

These were the rewards of the vaine bragges of Maximinus and his Edicts, which he did publiſh in all townes and Cities againſt vs, whē it was euident to al men, how diligent and charitable the Chriſtians were to them all in this their miſerable extremitie. For they onely in all this time of diſtreſſe, ſhewing compaſſion vpō them, trauelled euery day, ſome in curing the ſicke, & ſome in burying the dead, which otherwiſe of their owne ſort were forſaken. Other ſome of the Chriſtians calling and gathering the multitude together, which were in ieopardie of famine, diſtributed bread to them, whereby they miniſtred occaſion to all men to glorifie the God of the Chriſtians, and to confeſſe them to be the true worſhippers of God, as appeard by their workes. By the meanes and reaſon hereof, the great God and defender of the Chriſtians, who before had ſhewed his anger and indignation againſt al men, for their wrongfull afflicting of vs, opened againe vnto vs the comfortable light of his prouidence, ſo that by meanes thereof peace fell vnto vs, as light to them that ſit in darkneſſe, to the great admiration of all men, which eaſely perceiue God himſelfe to be a perpetuall director of our doings, who many times chaſteneth his people with calamities for a time to exerciſe them, but after ſufficient correction, againe ſheweth himſelfe mercifull and fauourable to them which with truſt call vpon him.

The charity of the Chriſtians to the enemyes. Let your light ſo ſhine among men, that they may ſee your good works and glorifie your father which is in heauen.

By the narration of theſe things heeretofore premiſed, taken out of the ſtorie of Euſebius, like as it is manifeſt to ſee, ſo is it wonderfull to marke and note, how thoſe counſailes and rages of the Gentiles, atchieued againſt Chriſt and his Chriſtians, when they ſeemed moſt ſure againſt them, were moſt againſt them ſelues. And whereby they thought moſt to confoūd the Church & Religion of Chriſt, the ſame turned moſt to their owne confuſion, and to the profite and praiſe of the Chriſtians, (God of his marueilous wiſedome ſo ordering & diſpoſing the end of things.) For where the braſen Edict of the Emperour promiſed temperate weather, God ſent drought, where it promiſed plentie, God immediatly ſent vpon them famine and penurie: where it promiſed health, God ſtroke them euen vpon the ſame, with grieuous peſtilence, and with other moe calamities, in ſuch ſort, that the moſt reliefe they had, was chiefly by the Chriſtians, to the great praiſe both of them, and to the honour of our God.

The wiſedome and pollicy of man ouerthrowne in hys owne turne. *Qui comprehendit ſapientes in aſtutia.*

Thus moſt plainely and euidently was then verified the true promiſe of Chriſt to his Church, affirming and aſſuring vs, that the gates of hell ſhall not preuaile againſt his Church builded vpō his faith: as ſufficiently may appeare by theſe x. perſecutiōs aboue ſpecified and deſcribed. Wherein as no man can deny, but that Sathan & his malignaunt world haue aſſayed the vttermoſt of their power and might to ouerthrow the Church of Ieſus: ſo muſt all men needes graunt, that read theſe ſtories, that when Sathan and the gates of hell haue done their worſt, yet haue they not preuailed againſt this mount of Sion, nor euer ſhall. For els what was here to be thought, where ſo many Emperours and tyraunts together, Diocleſian, Maximinian, Galerius, Maximinus, Seuerus, Maxentius, Licinius with their Captaines and officers, were let looſe, like ſo many Lyons, vpon a ſcattered and vnarmed flocke of ſheepe, intending nothing els, but the vtter ſubuerſion of all Chriſtianitie, and eſpecially alſo when lawes were ſet vp in braſſe againſt the Chriſtians, as a thing perpetually to ſtand: what was here to be looked for, but a finall deſolation of the name and Religion of Chriſtians? But what folowed, partly ye haue heard, partly more is to be marked, as in the ſtorie foloweth.

The promiſe of Chriſt verified. Mat.6. the gates of hell ſhall not preuaile agaynſt the Churche builded vpon the fayth of Chriſt,

I ſhewed before how Maxentius the ſonne of Maximinian, was ſet vp at Rome by the Pretorian ſouldiours to be Emperour. Whereunto the Senate, although they were not conſenting, yet for feare they were not reſiſting. Maximinian his father, who had before depriued him ſelfe with Diocleſian, hearing of this, tooke heart againe to him, to reſume his dignitie, and ſo laboured to perſwade Diocleſian alſo to do the ſame: but when he could not moue him therunto, he repaireth to Rome, thinking to wraſt the Empire out of his ſonnes hand: but when the ſouldiours woulde not ſuffer that, of a craftie purpoſe he flieth to Conſtantinus in Fraunce, vnder pretenſe to complaine of Maxentius his ſonne, but in very deede to kill Conſtantinus. Notwithſtāding that conſpiracie being detected by Fauſta the daughter of Maximinian, whom Conſtantinus had maryed, ſo was Conſtantinus through the grace of God preſerued, & Maximinian retired backe. In ẏ which his flight by the way hee was apprehended, and ſo put to death. And this is the end of Maximinian.

The death and end of *Maximinian.*

Now let vs returne to Maxentius againe, who all this while raigned at Rome, with tiranny and wickednes intollerable, much like to an other Pharao or Nero. For hee ſlewe the moſt part of his noble men, and tooke from them their goodes. And ſometime in his rage he would deſtroy great multitudes of the people of Rome by his ſouldiors, as Euſebius declareth, lib.8.cap.14. Alſo hee left no miſchienous nor laſciuious acte vnattempted, but was the vtter enemie of all womanly chaſtity, which vſed to ſend the honeſt wiues whome he had adulterated with ſhame and diſhoneſtie vnto their huſbandes (being worthy Senators) after that he had rauiſhed them. He abſhamed from no adulterous acte, but was inflamed with the inquencheable luſt of deflouring of women. Letus declareth that he being at a time farre in loue with a noble & chaſte gentlewoman of Rome, ſent vnto her ſuch courtiers of his, as were mete for that purpoſe, whome alſo he had in greater eſtimation then any others, and with ſuch was wont to cōſult about matters for the common weale. Theſe firſt fell vpon her huſbande and murdred him within his owne houſe, then when they coulde by no meanes neither with feare of the tyrant, nor with threatning of death pull her away from him: At length ſhe being a Chriſtian deſired leaue of them to go into her chamber, and after her prayers ſhee woulde accompliſh that which they requeſted. And when ſhe had gotten into her chamber, vnder this pretence, ſhe killed her ſelfe.

The wickednes of *Maxentius* deſcribed.

Euſeb.lib. 8.Cap.14.

A ſhameful act of incontinency.

A Chriſtian matron ſlayeth her ſelfe to auoyd the luſt of *Maxentius,* ſelfe. But the Courtiers when they ſawe that the woman taryed ſo long, they being diſpleaſed therwith, brake open the dores, and found her there lying dead. Then returned they and declared this matter to the Emperor, who was ſo far paſt ſhame, that in ſteade of repentance, hee was the more ſet on fire in attempting the like.

A monſter in the likelihoode of an Emperour.

A liuely paterne of an hipocrite

Euſeb. Lib. 8. cap. 15.

He was alſo much addict to the arte Magicall, which to execute, hee was more fitte then the Imperiall dignitie. Alſo ſometime he would rippe women when they were in laboure, and would ſearch the place where the infant lay, being borne a little before. Often he woulde inuocate Diuels in a ſecrete maner, and by the anſweres of them hee ſought to breake the warres, which he knew Conſtantinus and Licinius prepared againſt him. And to the ende hee might the rather perpetrate hys miſchieuous and wicked attemptes, which in his vngracious minde he had conceiued, according to his purpoſe, in the beginning of his raigne he fained himſelf to be a fauourer of the Chriſtians. In which thing doing, thinking to make the people of Rome hys friendes, hee commaunded that they ſhoulde ceaſe from perſecuting of the Chriſtians, and hee himſelfe in the meane ſeaſon abſtained from no contumelious vexation of them, till that he began at laſt to ſhewe hymſelfe an open perſecutour of them: at which time as Zonaras wryteth hee moſt cruelly raged againſt all the Chriſtians thereabouts, vexing them wͭ all maner of iniuries. Which thing he in no leſſe wiſe did, then Maximinus, as Euſe. in his 8. booke and 15. chap. ſeemeth to affirme. And Platina declareth in the life of Marcellus the Biſhop, that hee baniſhed a certaine noble woman of Rome, becauſe ſhee gaue her goodes to the Church.

The Romaines ſend to Conſtantine for ſuccour.

An. 318.

Maxentius feared for hys magicke and ſorcery.

A miracle of a croſſe appearing to *Conſtantine* in heauen.

In hoc Vince.

Euſe. lib. 2. Niceph. lib. 7. cap. 29. Eutropo. lib. 11. Sozom. li. 1. cap. 3. Socrat. lib. 1. cap. 2. Vrſpurgenſ. Chronic. Paul. Diacon. lib. 11.

This viſion reported and teſtified by conſtantine himſelfe to be true.

Thus by the grieuous tyranny and vnſpeakable wickedneſſe of thys Maxentius, the Citizens and Senatours of Rome, being much grieued and oppreſſed, ſent theyr complaintes wyth letters vnto Conſtantinus, wyth much ſute and moſt hearty petitions, deſiring hym to helpe and releaſe their Countrey and Citie of Rome: who hearyng and vnderſtanding theyr miſerable and pitifull ſtate, and grieued therewyth not a little, firſt ſendeth by letters to Maxentius, deſiring and exhorting him to refrayne his corrupt doinges, and great crueltie. But when no letters nor exhortations woulde preuaile, at length pitying the wofull caſe of the Romaines, gathered together hys power and armie in Britayne and Fraunce, wherewyth to repreſſe the violent rage of that tyraunt. Thus Conſtantinus ſufficiently appoynted with ſtrength of men, but eſpecially wyth ſtrength of God, entred hys iourny comming towarde Italie, whyche was about the laſt yeare of the perſecution. Anno 318. Maxentius vnderſtanding of the comming of Conſtantine, and truſting more to his diueliſh Arte of Magike, then to the good will of hys ſubiectes, whych hee little deſerued, durſt not ſhewe himſelfe out of the Citie, nor encounter wyth him in the open fielde, but wyth priuie garriſons laide in waite for him by the waye, in ſundry ſtraightes as he ſhould come. With whom Conſtantine had diuers ſkirmiſhes, and by the power of the Lorde did euer vanquiſhe them and put them to flight. Notwythſtanding Conſtantinus yet was in no great comfort, but in great care and dread in hys minde (approching nowe neare vnto Rome) for the Magicall charmes and ſorceries of Maxentius, wherewith hee had vanquiſhed before Seuerus ſent by Galerius againſt hym, as hath bene declared, which made alſo Conſtantinus the more afrayde. Wherefore being in great doubt and perplexity in himſelf, and reuoluing many thinges in his minde, what helpe he might haue againſt the operatiōs of hys charming, which vſed to cut women great with childe, to take hys diueliſhe charmes by the entrals of the infants, with ſuch other like feates of deuiliſhnes which he practiſed: Theſe thinges (I ſay) Conſtantinus doubting and reuoluing in his minde, in his iourney drawing toward the Citie, and caſting vp his eyes many times to heauen, in the South part, about the going downe of the ſunne, ſawe a great brightneſſe in heauen, appearing in the ſimilitude of a croſſe, wyth certaine ſtarres of equall bigneſſe, geuing this inſcription like Latine letters, IN HOC VINCE, that is: In thys ouercome. Euſeb. De vita Conſtant lib. 2. Nicep. lib. 7. cap. 29. Eutrop. lib. 11. Sozom. lib 1. cap 3. Socrat lib. 1. cap. 2. Vrſpurgenſ. Chronic. Paul. Diacon. lib. 11. Thys miraculous viſion to be true, for the more credite, Euſebius Pamphilus in hys firſt booke De vita Conſtantini doeth witneſſe moreouer, that hee had hearde the ſayde Conſtantinus himſelfe oftentimes reporte, and alſo to ſweare this to be true and certaine, which hee did ſee with his owne eyes in heauen, and alſo his ſouldiours about him. At the ſight wherof, when he was greatly aſtonied, and conſulting with his men vpon the meaning thereof, beholde in the night ſeaſon in his ſlepe Chriſt appeared to him with the ſigne of the ſame croſſe, which he had ſeene before, bidding him to make the figuration therof, and to carie it in hys warres before him, and ſo ſhoulde he haue the victorie.

An admonition concerning the material croſſe not to be worſhipped, but to be a meanes to bring *Conſtantine* to the faith of him whiche was crucified.

¶ Wherin is to be noted (good Reader) that this ſigne of the Croſſe, and theſe letters added withall: In hoc vince, was geuen to him of God, not to induce any ſuperſtitious worſhip or opynion of the Croſſe, as though the croſſe it ſelf, had any ſuch power or ſtrength in it, to obtaine victorie: but onely to beare the meaning of an other thing, that is, to be an admonition to him, to ſeeke and aſpire to the knowledge and faith of him, which was crucified vppon the croſſe for the ſaluation of him, and of all the world, and ſo to ſet forth the glory of his name, as afterwarde it came to paſſe. This by the way, now to the matter.

Conſtantinus with hys army approcheth toward Rome.

Pſal. 7.

Maxentius taken in hys owne trap.

Maxentius beaten in the field.

Maxentius drowned by hys owne bridge.

Pharao a figure of *Maxentius* the laſt perſecutor in Rome.

Pharao and *Maxentius* compared.

The next day following after this nights viſion, Conſtantinus cauſed a croſſe after the ſame figuratiō to be made of golde and precious ſtone, and to be borne before him in ſteade of his ſtandard: and ſo with much hope of victory & great confidence, as one armed from heauen ſpedeth himſelfe towarde his enemie. Againſt whom Maxentius being conſtrained perforce to iſſue out of the Citie, ſendeth al his power to ioyne with him in the fielde beyonde the riuer of Tybur, where Maxentius craftely breaking down ẏ bridge called Pons Miluius, cauſed an other deceitfull bridge to be made of boates and whirries, being ioyned together, and couered ouer with bordes and planckes in maner of a bridge, thinking therwith to take Conſtantine as in a trap. But here it came to paſſe which in the 7. Pſalme is writtē. He digged a pit, and fell therein himſelfe. Let his working returne vpon his owne head, and his vnrighteouſneſſe vppon hys owne pate, which heere in this Maxentius was rightly verified. For after the two hoſtes did meete, hee being not able to ſuſtaine the force of Conſtantine fighting vnder the croſſe of Chriſt againſt hym, was put to ſuch a flight, and driuen to ſuche an exigent, that in retyring backe, for haſt thinking to get the Citie, vppon the ſame bridge which he did lay for Conſtantine, was ouerturned by the fall of hys horſe into the bottome of the floude, and there with the waight of his armour, he with a great part of his beatē men were drowned. Repreſenting vnto vs the like example of Pharao & his hoſt drowned in the red ſea. Who not vnaptly ſeemeth to beare a Propheticall figuration of this Maxentius. For as the children of Iſrael were in long thraldome and perſecution in Egypt vnder tyrantes there, til the drowning of this Pharao theyr laſt perſecutour: ſo was this Maxentius and Maximinus and Licinius the laſt perſecutours in the Romane Monarchie of the Chriſtians, whome thys Conſtantinus fighting vnder the croſſe of Chriſt, did vanquiſhe and ſet the Chriſtians at liberty, who before had bene perſecuted nowe 300. yeares in Rome, as hath bene hetherto in this hiſtorie declared.

Exod. 15. The figure of the old teſtament verefied in the new.

Wherefore as the Iſraelites with their Moſes at the drowning of their Pharao, ſong glorioully vnto the Lorde, who myraculouſly had caſt downe the horſe and horſemen into the ſea: So no leſſe reioycing and exceeding gladneſſe was heere, to ſee the gloryous hande of the Lorde Chriſte fighting with his people, and vanquiſhing hys enemyes and perſecutours.

The glorious and victorious hoſt of Chriſt.

Perſecution in the Weſt ceaſeth for a M. yeares till the time of *Wyckliffe.*

In hiſtories we read of many victories and great conqueſts gotten: yet we neuer read, nor euer ſhal of any victory ſo wholſom, ſo commodious, ſo opportune to mākind as this was, which made an ende of ſo much bloudſhed, & obtained ſo much libertye & life to the poſterity of ſo many generations. For albeit that ſome perſecutiō was yet ſtirring in the Eaſt countreys by Maximinus and Licinius, as ſhall be declared: Yet in Rome and in all the weſt partes, no martyr died after this heauēly victory gotten. And alſo in the Eaſt partes the ſaid Conſtantinus with the ſaid croſſe borne before him, conſequently vpon the ſame ſo vanquiſhed the tyrants, and ſo eſtabliſhed the peace of the church, that for the ſpace of a iuſt M. yeares after that, we reade of no ſet perſecution againſt the Chriſtians, vnto the time of Iohn Wickliffe, when the biſhops of Rome began with fire to perſecute the true members of Chriſt, as in further proceſſe of thys hiſtorie (Chriſt graunting) ſhall appeare. So happie, ſo glorious (as I ſayde) was this victorie of Conſtantine, ſurnamed the great. For the ioy & gladnes wherof, the Citizens who had ſent for him before, with exceding triumph brought him into the citie of Rome, where he wͭ the croſſe was moſt honourably receiued and celebrated the ſpace of vij. dayes together, hauing moreouer in the market place, his image ſet vp, holding in his right hande the ſigne of the croſſe, wͭ this inſcription: Hoc ſalutari ſigno, veraci fortitudinis indicio, ciuitatem noſtram iugo tyranni ereptam liberaui. That is, with this wholeſome ſigne, the true

Euſeb. Lib. 9. Cap. 9.

token of fortitude, I haue reſcued and deliuered our Citie from the yoke of the tyrant. Euſeb lib. 9. cap 9.

Note well theſe thouſand yeares and then read the xx. chap. of the Apoc. Satanas was bound vp for a thouſand yeares. &c.

By this heauenly victorie of Conſtantinus, and by the death of Maxentius no little tranquillity came to the church of Chriſt. Although notwithſtādíng in the Eaſt churches the ſtorme of this tenth perſecutiō was not yet altogether quieted, but that ſome taile thereof in thoſe partes remained for the ſpace of ij. or iij. yeare. But of this we minde to ſpeake (Chriſt willing) hereafter. In the meane ſeaſon, to returne againe to the weſt partes here in Europe, where Conſtantinus then had moſt to doe, great tranquillitie followed, and long cōtinued in the church without any open ſlaughter, for a thouſande yeares together (to the time of Iohn Wickliffe and Waldenſes, as is before touched) by the meanes of the godly beginning of good Conſtantinus, who with his fellow Licinius, being now ſtabliſhed in their dominion, eftſones ſet forth their generall proclamation or edict, not cōſtraining therein any man to any religion, but geuing liberty to all men, both for the Chriſtians to perſiſt in their profeſſion without any danger, and for other men freely to adioyne wyth them, whoſoeuer pleaſed. Which thing was very wel taken, and highly allowed of the Romaines, and al wiſe men. The copie of the Edict or conſtitution here enſueth.

The copie of the Imperial conſtitution of Conſtantinus and Licinius, for the eſtabliſhing of the free worſhipping of God, after the Chriſtian religion.

The copy of the imperiall conſtitution of *Conſtantinus* and *Licinius*. *Euſeb. Lib. 10. cap. 5.*

NOt long agone we weying with our ſelues, that the libertie and freedome of religion ought not in any caſe to be prohibited, but that free leaue ought to be geuen to euery man to doe therein according to his wil and minde, we haue giuen commandement to all men to qualifie matters of religion as they themſelues thought good, and that alſo the Chriſtians ſhoulde keepe the opinions and faith of their religion. But becauſe that many & ſundry opinions by the ſame our firſt licence ſpring and increaſe through ſuch libertie graunted, we thought good manifeſtly to adde thereunto, and make plaine ſuch things, wherby perchance ſome of them in time to come, may from ſuch their obſeruaunce be let or hindered. When therfore by proſperous ſucceſſe, I Conſtantinus Auguſtus, and I Licinius Auguſtus came to Mediolanum, and there ſate in councell vpon ſuch thinges as ſerued for the vtilitie and profit of the common weale, theſe things amongſt others, we thought woulde be beneficiall to all men, yea and before all other things we purpoſed to eſtabliſh thoſe things, wherin the true reuerence and worſhip of God is comprehended, that is, to geue vnto the Chriſtians free choiſe to followe what religion they thinke good, and whereby the ſame ſinceritie and celeſtiall grace which is in euery place receaued, may alſo be embraced and accepted of all our louing ſubiects. According therefore vnto this our pleaſure vpon good aduiſement and ſounde iudgement, we haue decreed, that no man ſo hardy, be denied to chuſe and ſollowe the Chriſtian obſeruance or religion: But that this libertie be geuen to euery man, that he may apply his minde to what religion he thinketh meete himſelfe, whereby God may performe vpon vs all his accuſtomed care and goodneſſe. To the intent therefore you might knowe that this is our pleaſure, wee thought it neceſſary this to wryte vnto you, whereby all ſuch errours and opinions being remooued, which in our former letters (being ſent vnto you in the behalfe of the Chriſtians) are conteyned, and which ſeeme very vndiſcreete and contrary to our clemēcy, may be made fruſtrate & adnihilate. Now therfore firmly and freely we will and commaunde, that euery man haue a free libertie to obſerue the Chriſtian religion, and that without any griefe or moleſtation hee may be ſuffered to doe the ſame. Theſe things haue we thought good to ſignifie vnto you by as plaine wordes as we may, that we haue geuen to the Chriſtians free and abſolute power to keepe and vſe their religion. And for as much as this libertie is abſolutely geuen of vs vnto them, to vſe and exerciſe their former obſeruance, if any be ſo diſpoſed, it is manifeſt that the ſame helpeth much to eſtabliſhe the publike tranquillitie of our time, euery man to haue licence and libertie to vſe and chuſe what kinde of worſhipping he liſt himſelf. And this is done of vs onely for the intent, that we woulde haue no man to be enforced to one religion more then an other. And this thing alſo amongſt others we haue prouided for the Chriſtians, that they may haue againe the poſſeſsiō of ſuch places, in which heretofore they haue bene accuſtomed to make their aſſemblies, ſo that if any haue bought or purchaſed the ſame either of vs, or of any other: the ſame places without either mony or other recompence, forthwith and without delay we will to be reſtored againe vnto the ſayd Chriſtians. And if any man haue obtained the ſame by gift from vs, and ſhall require any recompence to be made to them in that behalf: Then let the Chriſtians repaire vnto the Preſident (being the iudge appoynted for that place) that conſideration may be had of thoſe mē by our benignitie: al which things we will and commaunde, that you ſee to be geuen and reſtored freely, and with diligence vnto the ſocietie of the Chriſtians, all delay ſet apart. And becauſe the Chriſtians themſelues are vnderſtoode to haue had not onely thoſe places wherein they were accuſtomed to reſort together, but certaine other peculiar places alſo, not being priuate to any one man, but belonging to the right of their congregation and ſocietie: you ſhall ſee alſo al thoſe to be reſtored vnto the Chriſtians, that is to ſay, to euery fellowſhip and company of them, according to the decree, whereof we haue made mention, all delay ſet apart. Prouided that the order we haue taken in the meane time be obſerued, that if any (taking no recompence) ſhall reſtore the ſame lands and poſſeſsions, they ſhall not miſtruſt but be ſure to be ſaued harmeleſſe by vs. In all theſe things it ſhall be your part to employ your diligence in the behalfe of the foreſayde companie of the Chriſtians, whereby this our commaundement may ſpeedely be accompliſhed, and alſo in this caſe by our clemencie the common and publike peace may be preſerued. For vndoubtedly by this meanes, as before we haue ſayde, the good will and fauour of God towardes vs (whereof in many caſes we haue had good experience) ſhall alwayes continue with vs. And to the intent that this our conſtitution may be notified to all men, it ſhall be requiſite that the copie of theſe our letters be ſet vp in all places, that men may reade and knowe the ſame, leaſt any ſhould be ignorant thereof.

The conſideration of Gods work in defending hys Chriſtians.

The kinges of the earth haue riſen, and Princes together againſt the Lord, and againſt hys Chriſt. Pſal. 2. No counſell ſtandeth againſt God.

The deſtruction of the cruell Emperours.

Diocleſian dyeth for ſorrow.

The effect of the decree which *Maximinus* made againſt hys wil or ſurecountermaund for feare of C. and L. in the behalfe of the Chriſtians.

The ſurrecountermaunde of *Maximi.* diſſembled.

By theſe hyſtories I doubt not (good reader) but thou doeſt right well cōſider and behold with thy ſelfe the marueilous working of God his mighty power: to ſee ſo many Emperours at one time conſpired and confederate together againſt the Lord and his Chriſt annoynted, whoſe names before we haue recited, as Diocleſian, Maximinian, Galerius, Maxentius, Maximinus, Seuerus, Licinius, who hauing the ſubiection of the whole world vnder their dominion, did bende and extende their whole might and deuiſes, to extirpate the name of Chriſt, and of all Chriſtians. Wherein if the power of man could haue preuailed, what coulde they not doe? or what coulde they doe more then they did? If policie or deuiſes could haue ſerued, what policie was there lacking? If torments or paines of death could haue helped, what cruelty of torment by man could be inuented, which was not attempted? If lawes, edictes, proclamations, wrytten not onely in tables, but ingrauen in braſſe, could haue ſtande, all this was practiſed againſt the weake Chriſtians. And yet notwithſtanding, to ſee howe no counſaile can ſtand againſt the Lorde, note heere how all theſe be gone, and yet Chriſt and his Church doth ſtande. Fyrſt, of the taking away of Maximinian you haue heard, alſo of the death of Seuerus, of the drowning moreouer of Maxentius, inough hath bene ſayde. What a terrible plague was vpon Galerius, conſuming his priuie members with Lice, hath bene alſo deſcribed. Howe Diocleſian the quondam being at Salona, hearing of the proceedings of Conſtantinus, and this his Edict, either for ſorrow died, or as ſome ſay did poyſon himſelfe. Onely Maximinus now in the Eaſt partes remained aliue, who bare a deadly hatred againſt the Chriſtians, and no leſſe expreſſed the ſame wyth mortall perſecution, to whome Conſtantine and Licinius cauſed this conſtitution of theirs to be deliuered: at the ſight whereof, although hee was ſomewhat appaled, and defeated of his purpoſe: yet foraſmuch as he ſaw himſelfe too weake to reſiſt the authoritie of Conſtantinus and Licinius the ſuperiour Princes: Hee diſſembled his counterfeit pietie, as though hee himſelfe had tendered the quiet of the Chriſtians: directing downe a certaine decree in the behalfe of the Chriſtians, wherein hee pretendeth to wryte to Sabinus afore mentioned, firſt repeating vnto him the former decree of Diocleſian and Maximinian in few wordes, with the commandement therein contained touching the perſecution againſt the Chriſtians. After that hee reciteth the Decree which he himſelfe made againſt them, when he came firſt to the imperiall dignitie in the Eaſt part ioyned wyth Conſtantius. Then the Countermaund of an other Decree of his agayne, for the reſcuing of the Chriſtians, wyth ſuch fayned and pretenſed cauſes, as is in the ſame to be ſeene. After that declareth howe he comming to Nicomedia, at the ſute and ſupplication of the Citizens (which he alſo fained, as may appeare before) he applying to their ſute, reuoked that his former Edict, and graunted them that no Chriſtian ſhould dwell within their Citie or territories. Vpon which Sabinus alſo had geuen forth his letters, rehearſing withall the generall recountermaunde ſent forth by him, for the perſecution againe of the Chriſtians. Laſt of all nowe hee ſendeth downe againe an other Surrecountermaund, with the cauſes therein conteyned, touching the ſafetie of the Chriſtians, and tranquillitie of them: Commaunding Sabinus to publiſh the ſame. Which edict of his is at large ſet forth of Euſebius, lib. 9. cap. 9. But this Surrecountermaunde hee then diſſimuled, as he had

Ex Euſeb. Lib. 9. ca. 9.

done in the other before. Howbeit ſhortly after, he making warres, and fighting a battaile with Licinius, wherein hee loſt the victory, comming home againe, toke great indignation againſt the Prieſtes and Prophetes of his Gods, whom before that time he had great regard vnto, and honored: vpon whoſe anſwers he truſting, & depending vpon their enchantments, began hys warre againſt Licinius. But after that he perceaued himſelfe to be deceaued by thē, as by wicked enchaunters and deceauers, and ſuch as had betrayed hys ſafety and perſon, he kylled and put them to death. And hee ſhortly after, oppreſſed with a certaine diſeaſe, glorified the God of the Chriſtians, and made a moſt abſolute law for the ſafety and preſeruation of them, wyth fraunchiſe and liberty: the copy wherof enſueth.

The vnfayned repentaunce and finall decree of *Maximinus* for the chriſtians.

Imperator Cæſar, Gaius, Valerius, Maximinus, Germanicus, Pius, Fortunatus, Auguſtus. It is neceſſary that we alwaies carefully prouide and ſee vnto, the benefite and commoditie of ſuch as be our ſubiectes, & to exhibit ſuch things vnto them, wherby they may beſt obtaine the ſame. But we ſuppoſe that there are none of you ſo ignorant, but knowe and vnderſtand what things make beſt for the profite & commoditie of the common weale, & beſt pleaſe euery mans diſpoſition. But it is meete and conuenient that euery man haue recourſe to that which they haue ſene done before their eyes, and that all ſortes of men conſider the ſame, & beare it in their mindes. When therfore, and that before this time it came vnto our knowledge: vpon the occaſion that Diocleſianus, and Maximinianus, our progenitours of famous memorie, commaunded the aſſemblies and meetings of the Chriſtians to be cut of, there were many of them ſpoyled and robbed of our Officials: which thing we alſo perceiue is now put in practiſe againſt our ſubiectes, that they in like caſe may be ſpoyled of their goods and ſubſtance, which thing chiefly to preuent, is our onely indeuour. By our letters ſent to the gouernours of euery prouince the yere paſt, we ordeined that if any man were diſpoſed to leane vnto the Chriſtian religion, that he might without any iniury done vnto him, accompliſh his deſire, neither to be of any man either let or moleſted: and that he might without any feare or ſuſpition, do whatſoeuer he therein thought good. But now alſo we vnderſtand that there be certaine iudges which haue neglected our commandemēt, and haue put our ſubiectes in doubt, whether that hath ben our pleaſure or not, which thing they did, that ſuch men might be the better aduiſed, how they entred into ſuch religion: wherein they followed their owne phantaſie. To the entent therfore that after this, all ſuſpition, doubt, and feare may be taken away: we haue thought good to publiſh this our edict, whereby it may be made manifeſt to euery man, that it ſhalbe lawfull for all ſuch as will follow that religion, by the benefit of this our graunt and letters patents, to vſe what religion they like beſt. And alſo hereby we graunt vnto them licence to build them Oratories or Temples. And furthermore, that this our graunt may more amply extende vnto them, we vouchſafe to appoynt and ordaine, that whatſoeuer landes and ſubſtance, before belonging and appertaining to the Chriſtians, and by the commandement of our predeceſſors were tranſpoſed to our reuenew and exchequer, or els be in the poſſeſſion of any Citie, by meanes of the franchiſes of the ſame, or els otherwiſe ſold or geuen to any man: all and euery parcell thereof we commaund ſhall be reſtored vnto the proper vſe of the Chriſtians againe, whereby they may all haue in this matter more experience, of our godly deuotion and prouidence. Euſeb. lib. 9. cap. 10.

A large graunt of *Maximinus* to the Chriſtians.

Euſeb. lib. 9. cap. 10.
{An. 319.}
God maketh his enemies to cōfeſſe him.

Maximinus thus being conquered of Licinius, and alſo plagued wyth an incurable diſeaſe in the guts, ſent by the hande of God, was compelled by tormentes and aduerſitie to cōfeſſe the true God, whom before he regarded not, and to write thys Edicte in the fauour of thoſe Chriſtians, whom before he did perſecute. Thus the Lord doth make many times hys enemyes, be they neuer ſo ſterne & ſtout, at length to ſtoupe, & mauger their harts, to confeſſe him, as this Maximinus here did, who not long after, by the vehemencie of his diſeaſe ended his life. Whereby, no mo tyrauntes nowe were left aliue, to trouble the Church, but onely Licinius. Of which Licinius, and of hys perſecutions ſtirred vp in the Eaſt partes, againſt the Saints of God, now remaineth in order of ſtory to proſecute.

The end and death of *Maximinus*.

The perſecution of the church vnder *Licinius*.

This Licinius being a Dane borne, and made firſt Cæſar by Galerius, as is aboue ſpecified, was afterward ioyned with Conſtantinus in gouernement of the Empyre, and in ſetting forth the Edicts, which before we haue deſcribed: although it ſeemeth, all this to be done of him wt a diſſembling minde. For ſo is he in all hyſtories deſcribed, to be a man paſſing all other in deſire of vnſatiable riches, geuen to lechery, haſty, ſtubburne, and furious. To learning hee was ſuch an enemie, that he named the ſame a poyſon and a common peſtilence, and eſpecially the knowledge of the lawes. Hee thought no vice worſe became a Prince, then learning, becauſe hee him ſelfe was vnlearned. Eutropius, Letus, Ignatius. Euſeb. Lib. 8. cap. 13.

An enemy to learning. *Euſeb. Lib. 8. cap. 13.*

There was betweene him and Conſtantinus in the beginning great familiaritie: and ſuch agreement, that Conſtantinus gaue vnto him his ſiſter Conſtantia in Matrimonie, as Aurelius Victor wryteth. Neither woulde any man haue thought him to haue bene of any other Religion then Conſtantinus was of, hee ſeemed in all thinges ſo well to agree with him. Wherupon he made a decree with Conſtantinus in the behalfe of the Chriſtians, as we haue ſhewed. Euſebius, Lib. 9. cap. 9. And ſuch was Licinius in the beginning. But after arming him ſelfe with tyrannie, began to cōſpire againſt the perſon of Conſtantinus, of whom he had receaued ſo great benefites, neither fauorable to the law of nature, nor mindful of his othes, his bloud, nor promiſes. But when hee conſidered that in his conſpiracies he nothing preuailed, for that he ſaw Cōſtantinus was preſerued and ſafely defended of God: And partly being puffed vp wt the victory againſt Maximinus, he began vehemētly to hate him, and not onely to reiect the Chriſtian religion, but alſo deadly to hate the ſame. Hee ſaide he would become an enemy vnto the Chriſtiās, for that in their aſſemblies and meetinges they prayed not for him, but for Conſtantinus. Therefore, firſt by litle and litle and that ſecretely, he went about to wrong and hurt the chriſtians, & baniſhed them his Court, which neuer were by any meanes preiudiciall to his kingdom. Then he cōmaūded that all thoſe ſhould be depriued which were knights of the honourable order, vnleſſe they would do ſacrifice to deuils. Euſeb. lib. 10. cap. 8. The ſame perſecution afterwardes ſtretched he from his court, into all his prouinces, which with moſt wicked and deuiſed lawes hee ſet forth. Firſt, that for no cauſe the Byſhops ſhoulde in any matter communicate together: neither that any man ſhould come at the Churches next vnto them, or to call any aſſemblies, and conſult for the neceſſary matters and vtilitie of the Church.

Euſeb. Lib. 9. Cap. 9.
Licinius an Apoſtata.

The fountayne of Apoſtatie.

Knightes of the order depriued for not doyng ſacrifice.
Euſeb. Lib. 10. Cap. 8.

After, that the men & women together ſhould not come in companies to pray, nor that the women ſhould come in thoſe places where they vſed to preach and read the worde of God, neither that they ſhould be after that inſtructed any more of the Byſhops, but ſhould chuſe out ſuch women amongeſt them as ſhoulde inſtruct them. The thirde moſt cruell and wickedſt of all was, that none ſhould helpe and ſuccour thoſe that were caſt in priſon, nor ſhoulde beſtowe any almes or charitie vpon them, though they ſhoulde die for hunger: and they which ſhewed any compaſſion vpon thoſe that were condemned to death, ſhould be as greatly puniſhed, as they to whome they ſhewed the ſame ſhoulde be. Euſebius libro primo de vita Conſtantini. Theſe were the moſt horrible cōſtitutions of Licinius, which went beyond and paſſed the boundes of nature.

A ſtraight charge agaynſt the relieuing of the impriſoned Chriſtians.

Euſeb. Lib. 1. de vita Conſtantini.

After this he vſed violence againſt the Byſhops, but yet not openly, for feare of Conſtantinus, but priuely and by conſpiracie: by which meanes hee ſlewe thoſe that were the worthieſt men amongeſt the Doctours and Prelates. And about Amaſea and other Cities of Pontus, he razed the Churches euen to the ground. Other ſome he ſhut vp, that no man ſhould come after their accuſtomed maner to pray and worſhip God: and therefore as we ſayde before, his conſcience accuſing him, all this hee did, for that he ſuſpected they prayed for Conſtantinus, and not at all for him. And from this place in the Eaſt parties vnto the Libians, which bordered vpon the Egyptians, the chriſtians durſt not aſſemble and come together for the diſpleaſure of Licinius, which hee had conceaued againſt them. Zozomenus. Lib. 1. cap. 2.

Secret perſecution for feare of *Conſtantinus*.

Zozomenus. Lib. 1. Cap. 2.

Furthermore, the flattering officers that were vnder him, thinking by this meanes to pleaſe him, ſlewe & made out of the way many byſhops, and without any cauſe put them to death, as though they had bene homicides & hainous offenders: and ſuch rigorouſnes vſed they towards ſome of them, that they cut their bodyes into gobbets and ſmall peeces in maner of a Boucher, and after that threwe them into the Sea to feede the fiſhes. Euſeb. Lib. 10. cap. 8. What ſhall we ſpeake of the exiles & confiſcations of good and vertuous men? For he toke by violence euery mans ſubſtaunce, and cared not by what meanes he came by the ſame: But threatned them with death, vnleſſe they would forgoe the ſame. Hee baniſhed thoſe which had committed none euill at all. He commanded that both gentlemen and men of honour, ſhould be made out of the way, neither yet herewith content, but gaue their daughters that were vnmaried, to varlets and wicked ones to be deflowred. And Licinius himſelfe (although that by reaſon of his yeres, his body was ſpent) yet ſhamefully did hee vitiate many women, mens wiues & maids. Euſeb Lib. 1. de vita Conſtantini. Which cruel outrage of him cauſed many godly mē of their owne accorde to forſake their houſes: and it was alſo ſeene that the woodes, fieldes, deſert places and mountaines,

Euſeb. lib. 10. Cap. 8.
The violent wronges of *Licinius*.

Euſeb. lib. 1. de vita Conſt.
The Chriſtians flee into the wildernes.

Hote perſecution renued.
Theodorus.
An other *Theodorus* Byſhop of Tyrus.
A man of Perga.
Nicholaus Byſhop of *Mirorus.*
Gregorius Byſhop of Armenia.
Paulus Byſhop of *Neocæſaria,* with 40. other martyrs.
XL good men and their wiues martyrs.
Amones with xl wiues of xl. men martyrs.
The wicked purpoſe of *Licinius* had he not bene preuented by God and ſlayne by *Conſtantinus.*
Licinius ouercome in battaile by *Conſtantinus.*

were faine to be the habitations, and reſting places of the poore and miſerable Chriſtians. Euſebius.Lib.10.cap,14. Of thoſe worthy men and famous Martyrs, which in this perſecution founde the way to heauen, Nicephorus.Lib.7. cap.10. firſt ſpeaketh of Theodorus, who firſt being hanged vpon the croſſe, had nawles thruſt into his arme pits, and after that his head ſtriken of. Alſo of another Theodorus being the Byſhop of Tyre, the thirde was a man of Perga. Baſilius alſo the Byſhop of Amaſenus, Nicolaus, the Byſhop of Mirorus, Gregorius, of Armenia the great: After that, Paule of Neocæſaria, which by the impious commandemẽt of Licinius had both his hands cut of with a ſearing yron. Beſides theſe were in the Citie of Sebaſtia, xl. worthy men, & Chriſtian ſouldiours in the vehemẽt cold time of winter, ſouſed and drowned in a horſe pond, whẽ Locias as yet, of whom we ſpake before, and Agricolaus executing the Shrieues office vnder Licinius in the Eaſt parts, were aliue: and were in great eſtimation, for inuenting of new and ſtrange torments againſt the Chriſtians. The wiues of thoſe 40. good men, were caried to Heraclea a Citie in Thracia, and there with a certaine Deacon whoſe name was Amones, were (after innumerable torments by them moſt conſtauntly indured) ſlaine with the ſworde. Theſe thinges wryteth Nicephorus. Alſo Zozomenus in his ninth booke & 2. Chapter maketh mention of the ſame Martyrs. And Baſilius in a certaine Oration ſeemeth to intreate of their hiſtory, ſauing that in the circumſtances he ſomwhat varieth. And ſurely Licinius was determined, for that the firſt face of this perſecution fel out according to his deſire, to haue ouerrunne all the Chriſtians: to which thing neither counſell, nor good will, nor yet oportunitie, perchance wanted: vnleſſe God had brought Conſtantinus into thoſe parties, where he gouerned: where, in the warres which hee himſelfe began (knowing right well that Conſtantinus had intelligence of his conſpiracy & treaſon) ioyning battaile with him, was moſt cowardly ouercome.

Diuers battailes betweene them were fought, the firſt fought in Hungarie, where Licinius was ouerthrowen: Then he fled into Macedonia, & repairing his army, was againe diſcomfited. Finally, being vãquiſhed, both by ſea and lande: he laſtly, at Nicomedia, yelded himſelfe to Conſtantine: and was cõmaunded to liue a priuate life in Theſſalia, where at length he was ſlaine by the ſouldiours.

The end and death of the tyrauntes whiche were the authors of this x. perſecution.

Thus haue ye heard, the ende and concluſion of all the vij. tyrants, which were the authors and workers of this x. and laſt perſecutiõ, againſt the true people of God. The chiefe Captaine, and inuentour of which perſecution was firſt Diocleſian, who died at Salena, as ſome ſay, by his owne poyſon. An.319. The next was Maximinian, who as is ſayde, was hanged of Conſtantine at Maſilia, about the yeare of our Lorde.310. Then died Galerius, plagued with an horrible diſeaſe ſent of God. Seuerus was ſlaine by Maximinian, father of Maxentius the wicked tyraunt was ouercome and vanquiſhed of Conſtantine. An.318. Maximinus the vj. tyraunt taried not long after, who being ouercome by Licinius, died, about the yere of our Lord.320. Laſtly, how this Licinius was ouercome by Conſtantine and ſlaine. An. 324. is before declared. Only Conſtantius, the father of Conſtantine being a good and a godly Emperour, died in the third yeare of the perſecution. An.310. and was buried at Yorke. After whom ſucceded after his godly father, Conſtantinus, as a ſeconde Moſes ſent and ſet vp of God to deliuer his people out of this ſo miſerable captiuitie, into libertie moſt ioyfull.

A briefe ſtory of the moſt notable Martirs, that ſuffered in this x. perſecution.

Now remaineth after the end of theſe perſecutors thus deſcribed, to gather vp the names & ſtories of certain particular Martyrs, which nowe are to be ſet forth worthy of ſpeciall memory: for their ſingular conſtancie & fortitude, ſhewed in their ſufferings & cruell torments. The names of all which that ſuffered in this foreſaid tenth perſecution, being in number infinite, in vertue moſt excellẽt, it is impoſſible heere to comprehend: but the moſt notable, and in moſt approued authors expreſſed, we thought heere to inſert, for the more edification of other Chriſtiãs, which may and ought to looke vpon their examples, firſt beginning with Albanus, the firſt Martyr that euer in England ſuffered death for the name of Chriſt.

Albanus, Martyr.

Fruite of hoſpitalitie to be noted.

At what time Diocleſian & Maximinian the Pagan Emperours had directed out their letters with all ſeueritye, for the perſecuting of the Chriſtians: Alban being then an infidell, receiued into his houſe a certaine Clerke, fleeing from the perſecutours hands, whom when Alban beheld, continually both day & night to perſeuer in watching and in prayer: ſodenly by the great mercy of God, he began to imitate the example of his faith & vertuous life: whereupon by litle and litle he being inſtructed by his holeſom exhortation, and leauing the blindneſſe of his Idolatrie, became at length a perfect Chriſtian. And when the forenamed Clerke had lodged with him a certaine time, it was enformed the wicked Prince, that this good man & Confeſſour of Chriſt (not yet condemned to death) was harbored in Albans houſe, or very neare vnto him. Whereupon immediately he gaue in charge to the ſouldiours, to make more diligent inquiſition of the matter. Who as ſoone as they came to the houſe of Alban the Martyr, hee by and by putting on the apparell wherewith his gueſt and maiſter was appareled (that is, a garment at that time vſed, named Caracalla) offered him ſelfe in the ſteade of the other to the ſouldiours: who binding him, brought him forthwith to the iudge. It fortuned that at that inſtant when bleſſed Alban was brought vnto the Iudge, they founde the ſame Iudge at the aulters offering ſacrifice vnto Deuils, who as ſoone as hee ſawe Alban, was ſtraight waies in a great rage, for that hee woulde preſume of his owne voluntary will, to offer him ſelfe to perill, and geue him ſelfe a priſoner to the ſouldiours, for ſafegarde of his gueſt whome he harbored: and commaunded him to be brought before the Images of the deuils whome he worſhipped, ſaying: For that thou haddeſt rather hide & conuey away a rebell, then to deliuer him to the officers, and that (as a contemner of our Gods) he ſhould not ſuffer puniſhment and merite of his blaſphemye: looke what puniſhment he ſhoulde haue had, thou for him ſhalt ſuffer the ſame: if I perceiue thee any whit to reuolt from our maner of worſhipping. But bleſſed Alban, who of his owne accorde had bewrayed to the perſecutors that hee was a Chriſtian, feared not at all the manaces of the Prince, but being armed with ſpirituall armour, openly pronounced that hee woulde not obey his commandement. Then ſayd the Iudge: of what ſtocke or kindred art thou come? Alban anſwered, what is that to you, of what ſtocke ſoeuer I am come of, if you deſire to heare the veritie of my Religion, I do ye to wit that I am a Chriſtian, and apply my ſelfe altogether to that calling. Then ſayd the Iudge, I would knowe thy name, and ſee thou tell me the ſame without delay. Then ſayde hee, my parentes named me Alban, and I worſhip and honour the true and liuing God, which hath created all the worlde. Then ſayd the Iudge fraught with fury, if thou wilt enioy the felicitie of this preſent life, doe ſacrifice (and that out of hande) to theſe mighty Gods. Alban replieth: theſe ſacrifices which ye offer vnto deuils, cã neither helpe them that offer the ſame, neither yet can they accompliſh the deſires and prayers of their ſuppliãts: But rather ſhal they, what ſoeuer they be, that offer ſacrifice to theſe Idoles, receaue for their meede euerlaſting paines of hell fire. The Iudge, when he heard theſe words, was paſſing angry, and commaunded the tormentors to whip this holy Confeſſour of God, indeuoring to ouercome the conſtancy of his hart wͭ ſtripes, which had preuailed nothing with wordes. And when he was cruelly beaten, yet ſuffered he the ſame paciently, nay rather ioyfully, for the Lordes ſake. Then when the Iudge ſaw that he would not with torments be ouercomen, nor be reduced from the worſhip of Chriſtian Religion, he commaunded him to be beheaded.

Albanus firſt conuerted, and by what occaſion.

Albanus offereth himſelfe to death for an other.

The words of the Iudge to *Albane.*

The conſtancy and zeale of *Albane.*

The confeſſion of *Albane.*

The ſuffering and martyrdome of *Alban.*

Superfluous miracles in this ſtory written by *Bede* omitted.

The reſt that foloweth of this ſtory in the narration of Bede, as of drying vp the Riuer, as Alban went to the place of his execution: then of making a welſpring in the top of the hill, and of the falling out of the eyes of him that did behead him (with ſuch other prodigious miracles mẽtioned in his ſtory) becauſe they ſeeme more legẽdlike, then truthlike: againe, becauſe I ſee no great profit, nor neceſſitie in the relation thereof, I leaue them to the free iudgement of the Reader, to thinke of them, as cauſe ſhall moue him.

The legend of *S Alban* diſproued.

The like eſtimation I haue of the long ſtory, wherein is written at large a fabulous diſcourſe of all the doings & miracles of S.Alban, taken out of the Librarie of S.Albans, compiled (as there is ſaide) by a certaine Pagan, who (as he ſayth) afterwarde went to Rome, there to be Baptiſed. But becauſe in the beginning or Prologue of the Booke, the ſayde writer maketh mention of the ruinous walles of the towne of Verolamium, containing the ſtorye of Albanus, and of his bitter puniſhments: which walles were then falling downe for age, at the wryting of the ſayde booke, as he ſaith: Therby it ſeemeth this ſtory to be written a great while after the martyrdome of Alban, either by a Britaine, or by an Engliſh mã. If he were a Britaine, how then did the Latin tranſlation take it out of the Engliſh tounge, as in the Prologue hee him ſelfe doeth teſtifie. If hee were an Engliſhmã, how then did he go vp to Rome for baptiſme, being a Pagan, when he myght haue bene baptiſed amõg the Chriſtian Britaines more neare at home.

But among al other euidences and declarations ſufficient to diſproue this Legendary ſtory of S.Alban, nothing maketh more againſt it, then the very ſtorie it ſelfe: as where he bringeth in the head of the holy martyr, to ſpeake vnto the people after it was ſmitten of from the body. Alſo where he bringeth in the Angels going vp, & comming downe in a piller of fire, & ſinging al the night long. Item in the riuer which he ſayth, S Alban made drie, ſuch as were drowned in the ſame before in the bottome, were founde aliue. with other ſuch like Monkiſh miracles and groſſe fables, wherewith theſe Abbey Monkes were wont in time paſt to deceaue the Church of God, and to beguile the whole world for their owne aduãtage. Notwithſtanding this I write not to any derogatiõ of the bleſſed and faithful martyr of God, who was the firſt that I did euer finde in this Realme, to ſuffer Martyrdome for the teſtimonie of Chriſt. And worthy no doubt of condigne commendation, eſpecially of vs here in this land: whoſe Chriſtian faith in the Lorde, and charitie toward his neighbour: I pray God all we may followe. As alſo I wiſhe moreouer that the ſtories both of him, and of al other Chriſtian Martyrs might haue bene deliuered to vs ſimply as they were, wᵗout the admixture of all theſe Abbeylike additiõs of Monkiſh miracles, wherwith they were wont to paint out the glory of ſuch ſaintes to the moſte, by whoſe offerings they were accuſtomed to receaue moſt aduauntage.

S. Alban the firſt martyr in this realme of England.

The ſtories of the Saintes corrupted with lyes.

As touching the name of the Clearke mẽtioned in this ſtory, whome Alban receaued into his houſe, I finde in the Engliſhe ſtories to be Amphibalus, although the latine authors name him not, who ẏ ſame time flying into Wales was alſo fet from thence againe to the ſame towne of Verolamium, otherwiſe called Verlancaſter, where hee was martyred, hauing his bellie opened, and made to runne about a ſtake, while all his bowels were drawen out, then thruſt in with ſwordes and daggers: and at laſt was ſtoned to death, as the foreſaid legend declareth.

Amphibalus, Martyr. *Flores Hiſtoriarum.* The martyrdome of *Amphibalus.*

Moreouer the ſame time with Alban, ſuffered alſo ij. citizens of the foreſaide Citie of Verlancaſter, whoſe names were Aaron and Iulius: beſide other, whereof a great number the ſame time no doubt, did ſuffer, although our Chronicles of their names doe make no rehearſall.

Aaron, Iulius, Martyrs.

The time of the Martyrdom of this bleſſed Alban and the other, ſeemeth to be about the ſecond or thirde yeare of this tenth perſecution, vnder the tyrãny of Diocleſian, and Maximinianus Herculius, bearing then the rule in England, about the yeare of our Lorde 301. before the comming of Conſtantius to his gouernement. where, by the way is to be noted, that this realme of Britaine being ſo chriſtened before, yet neuer was touched with any other of the nine perſecutions, before this tenth perſecution of Diocleſian & Maximinian. In which perſecution our ſtories and Polichronicon doe recorde, that all Chriſtianitie almoſt in the whole Ilelande was deſtroyed, the Churches ſubuerted, all bookes of the Scripture burned, many of the faithfull both men & women were ſlaine. Among whome the firſt and chiefe ringleader (as hath bene ſayde) was Albanus. And thus much touching the martyrs of Britaine. Nowe from Englande to returne againe vnto other countries, where this perſecution did more vehemẽtly rage: we will adde hereunto (the Lorde willing) the ſtories of other, although not of all that ſuffered in this perſecution (which were impoſſible) but of certaine moſt principal, whoſe ſingular conſtancie in their ſtrong torments are chiefly renowned in latter hiſtories: beginning firſt with Romanus the notable and admirable ſouldiour and true ſeruaunt of Chriſt, whoſe hiſtorie ſet forth in Prudentius, doth thus procede: ſo lamentably by him deſcribed, that it will be harde for any man almoſt with dry cheekes to heare it.

Perſecution in thys realme of Britaine.

Pitiles Galerius with his graunde captaine Aſclepiades violently inuaded the citie of Antioche, entending by force of armes to driue all Chriſtians to renounce vtterly their pure religion. The Chriſtians as god would, were at that time cõgregated together, to whom Romanus haſtely ran, declaring that the wolues were at hande, which woulde deuour the chriſtian flocke, but feare not (ſayde he) neither let this imminẽt perill diſturbe you, my brethren: brought was it to paſſe, by the great grace of God working in Romanus, that olde men and matrones, fathers and mothers, young men and maidens were all of one will and minde, moſt ready to ſhed their bloud in defence of their Chriſtian profeſſion. word was brought to ẏ captaine that the band of armed ſouldiors was not able to wreſt the ſtaffe of faith, out of the hand of the armed congregation: and all by reaſon that one Romanus ſo mightely did encourage them, that they ſticke not to offer their naked throtes, wiſhing gloriouſly to die for the name of their Chriſt. Seeke out that rebell (quod the captaine) and bring him to me that he may aunſwer for the whole ſect. Apprehended he was, & bound as a ſheepe appoynted to the ſlaughter houſe, was preſented to the Emperor: who wᵗ wrathfull countenance beholding him, ſayde: What? Art thou the author of this ſedition? art thou the cauſe why ſo many ſhall looſe their liues? By the gods I ſweare thou ſhalt ſmart for it, and firſt in thy fleſh ſhalt thou ſuffer the paines, whereunto thou haſt encouraged the hearts of thy felowes. Romanus anſwered: Thy ſentence O Emperour I ioyfully embrace, I refuſe not to be ſacrificed for my brethren, and that by as cruell meanes as thou mayeſt inuent: and whereas thy ſoldiors were repelled from the chriſtian cõgregation, that ſo happened, becauſe it lay not in Idolaters and worſhippers of Deuils to enter into the holy houſe of God, and to pollute the place of true prayer. Then Aſclepiades wholy enflamed with this ſtoute anſwere, commaunded him to be truſſed vp, and his bowels drawne out. The executioners themſelues more pitiful in hart then the captaine, ſaid: not ſo ſir, this man is of noble parentage: vnlawful is it to put a noble man to ſo vnnoble a death: ſcourge him then with whips (quod the captaine) with knaps of lead at the ends. In ſtede of teares, ſighs & grones, Romanus ſong pſalmes al the time of his whipping, requiring them not to fauour him for nobilities ſake, not the bloud of my progenitours (ſaid he) but Chriſtian profeſſion maketh me noble. Then with great power of ſpirit he inueied againſt the capitain, laughing to ſcorne the falſe gods of the heathen, with the idolatrous worſhipping of them, affirming the God of the Chriſtians to be the true God that created heauen and earth, before whoſe iudiciall ſeat all nations ſhall appeare. but the wholſome wordes of the Martyr were as oyle to the fire of the captaines fury. The more the Martyr ſpake, the madder was hee, in ſo much that he commaunded the Martyrs ſides to be launced with kniues, vntil the bones appeared white againe. Sorie am I, O captain (quod the Martyr) not for that my fleſh ſhall be thus cut and mangled, but for thy cauſe am I ſorowfull, who being corrupted with damnable errours, ſeduceſt others. The ſeconde time hee preached at large, the liuing God, and the Lorde Ieſus Chriſt his welbeloued ſonne, eternall life through faith in his bloud, expreſſing therewith the abhomination of idolatry, wᵗ a vehement exhortation to worſhip & adore the liuing God. At theſe words Aſclepiades commaunded the tormentors to ſtrike Romanus on the mouth, that his teeth being ſtriken out, his pronunciation at leaſt wiſe might be impeired: The commandement was obeied, his face buffeted, his eye liddes torne with their nailes, his cheekes ſcorched with kniues, the ſkin of his bearde was plucked by little and little from the fleſh, finally his ſeemely face was wholy defaced. The meeke Martyr ſayde: I thanke thee, O Capitaine, that thou haſt opened vnto me many mouthes, whereby I may preach my Lord & Sauiour Chriſt. Looke howe many woundes I haue, ſo many mouths I haue lauding and praiſing God. The captaine aſtoniſhed wᵗ this ſingular conſtancie, commanded them to ceaſe from the tortures. Hee threatneth cruell fire, he reuileth the noble martyr, he blaſphemeth god, ſaying: Thy crucified Chriſt, is but an yeſterdaies God, the gods of the Gentiles are of moſt antiquitie.

The lamentable ſtory of *Romanus* Martyr.

The exhortation of *Romanus* to the chriſtians.

The Chriſtian boldnes of *Romanus.*

The noble patience of *Romanus* in his ſuffering.

The preaching of *Romanus* to the Captaine.

Antiquitie aleadged of the pagans.

Heere againe Romanus taking good occaſion, made a long Oration of the eternitie of Chriſt, of his humane nature, of the death & ſatiſfaction of Chriſt for all mankinde. Which done, he ſayde: geue me a childe (O Capitaine) but ſeuen yeres of age, which age is free from malice and other vices, wherwith riper age is cõmõly infected, and thou ſhalt heare what he will ſay, his requeſt was graunted. A pretie boy was called out of the multitude, and ſet before him. Tell me my babe (quoth the Martyr) whether thou thinke it reaſon that we worſhip one Chriſt, and in Chriſt one father, or els that we worſhip infinite gods? Vnto whom the babe aunſwered: That certainly, whatſoeuer it be, that men affirme to be God, muſt nedes be one: which with one, is one and the ſame: and in as much as this one is Chriſt, of neceſſitie Chriſt muſt be the true God, for, that there be many gods, we children cannot beleue. The capitaine hereat cleane amaſed, ſaid: thou yong villaine & traitor, where and of whom learnedſt thou this leſſon? Of my mother (quod the childe) with whoſe milke I ſucked in this leſſon, that I muſt beleue in Chriſt. The mother was called, and ſhee gladly appeared, the captaine commanded the childe to be horſed vp, and ſcourged. The pitiful beholders of this pitileſſe acte, could not temper thẽſelues from teares: the ioyful and glad mother alone, ſtood by with dry cheekes: yea, ſhee rebuked her ſweete babe for crauing a draught of colde water, ſhe charged him to thirſt after the cup, that the infantes of Bethleem once dranke of, forgetting their mothers milke and pappes, ſhee willed him to remember little Iſaac, who beholding the ſworde wherewith, & the altar wheron he ſhould be ſacrificed, willingly profered his tender necke to the dent of his fathers ſword.

The confeſsion of a childe agaɪnſt Idolatry.

A childe martyred for the teſtimonye of Chriſt.

An example of vertuous education.

A godly mother of a godly childe.

Whileſt this counſel was in geuing, the boucherly torture pluckt the ſkin from the crowne of his head, heare and all. The mother cried, ſuffer my childe, anone thou ſhalt paſſe to him that will adorne thy naked head, with a crowne of eternall glory. The mother counſelleth, the childe is counſelled: the mother encourageth, the babe is encouraged: & receiued the ſtripes with ſmiling countenaunce. The captaine perceiuing the childe inuincible, and himſelfe vāquiſhed, committeth the ſillie ſoule, the bleſſed babe, the childe vncheriſhed, to the ſtinking priſon, commaunding the tormentes of Romanus to be renued and encreaſed, as chiefe author of this euill.

Thus was Romanus brought forth againe to newe ſtripes and puniſhments, to be renued and receiued vpon his old ſores, in ſo much the bare bones appeared, the fleſh all torne away: wherein no pitie was ſhewed, but the raging tyrant puffing out of his blaſphemous mouth, like a madde man theſe wordes, cried out to the tormentors, ſaying:

The cruell wordes of the tyrant.

Where is quod the Captaine, where is your might?
What? are ye not able one body to ſpill?
Scant may it, ſo weake is it, ſtand vpright:
And yet in ſpite of vs, ſhall it liue ſtill?

The Gripe with talent, the dog with his tooth,
Could ſoone ye daſtardes, this corpes rent and teare,
He ſcorneth our gods in all that he doth,
Cut, pricke, and pounce him, no longer forbeare.

Yea, no longer could the tyrant forbeare, but nedes he muſt draw nearer to the ſentence of death: is it painefull to thee (ſayde he) to tary ſo long aliue? a flaming fire doubte thou not ſhalbe prepared for thee, by and by, wherein thou and that boy, thy fellow of rebellion ſhall be conſumed into aſhes. Romanus and the babe were led to the place of execution. As they laide handes on Romanus, hee looked backe ſaying: I appeale from this thy tyrannie, O iudge vniuſt, to the righteous throne of Chriſt that vpright iudge: not becauſe I feare thy cruell torments and mercileſſe handlings, but that thy iudgements may be knowne to be cruell and bloudy. Nowe when they were come to the place, the tormentor required the child of the mother, for ſhe had taken it vp in her armes: And ſhee onely kiſſing it, deliuered the babe. Farewel ſhe ſaid my ſweete childe, and as the hangman applied his ſword to the babes necke, ſhee ſang on this maner.

The Chriſtian childe beheaded for confeſſing of Chriſt.

Nature ouercome of religion.

All laude and praiſe with heart and voice,
O Lorde we yelde to thee:
To whome the death of all thy Saintes,
We know moſt deare to bee.

The innocentes head being cut off, the mother wrapped it vp in her garment, and laide it to her breſt. On the other ſide a mighty fire was made, wherinto Romanus was caſt: who ſayde, ẏ he ſhould not burne: wherewith a great ſtorme aroſe (if it be true) and quenched the fire. The Capitaine gaue in commandement that his toung ſhould be cut out, out was it plucked by the harde rootes and cut of: Neuertheleſſe, hee ſpake, ſaying: hee that ſpeaketh Chriſt ſhall neuer want a tongue, thinke not that the voyce that vttereth Chriſt, hath neede of the tong to be the miniſter. The Capitaine at this, halfe out of his wit, bare in hande that the hangman deceiued the ſight of the people by ſome ſubtile ſleight and craftie conueiance. Not ſo (quoth the hangman) if ye ſuſpect my dede, open his mouth and diligently ſearch the rootes of his tongue. The Captaine at length being confounded with the fortitude and courage of the Martyr, ſtraightly commaundeth him to be brought backe into the priſon, and there to be ſtrangled. Where his ſorowfull life and paines being ended, hee nowe enioyeth quiet reſt in the Lord, with perpetuall hope of his miſerable body to be reſtored againe with his ſoule into a better life: where no tyrant ſhall haue any power: Prudentius in hymnis de coronis Martyrum.

The fire quenched with rayne that ſhoulde burne *Romanus.*

Romanus ſpeaketh after hys tongue was pluckt out.

Romanus after long tormentes ſtrangled in priſon.

Prudent. in hymnis de coronis Martyrum.

The ſtory of *Gordius* a Centurian Martyr.

Gordius was a citizen of Cæſaria, a worthy ſouldiour, and Captaine of an hundreth men. Hee in the time of extreme perſecution, refuſing any lōger to execute his charge did chuſe of his owne accord willing exile, and liued in the deſert many yeares a religious and ſolitary life. But vpon a certaine day when a ſolemne feaſt of Mars was celebrated, in the citie of Cæſarea, and much people were aſſembled in the Theatre to beholde the games: he left the deſert, and got him vp into the chiefe place of the Theatre, and with a loude voyce vttered this ſaying of the Apoſtle: Beholde I am foūd of them which ſought me not, and to thoſe which aſked not for mee, haue I openly appeared. By which wordes he let it to be vnderſtood, that of his owne accorde he came vnto thoſe games. At this noiſe, the multitude litle regarding the ſights, looked about to ſee who it was ẏ made ſuch exclamation. As ſoone as it was knowne to be Gordius, and that the crier had commanded ſilence, he was brought vnto the ſhirife, which at that inſtant was preſent, and ordeined the games. Whē he was aſked the queſtion who he was, from whence, and for what occaſion he came thether, he telleth the truth of euery thing as it was. I am come, ſaith he, to publiſh, that I ſet nothing by your decrees againſt the Chriſtian religion: but that I profeſſe Ieſu Chriſt to be my hope and ſafety. And when I vnderſtood with what crueltie ye handle other men: I tooke this as a fitte time to accompliſh my deſire. The Shirife with theſe wordes was greatly mooued, and reuengeth all his diſpleaſure vpon poore Gordius, commaunding the executioners to be brought out with ſcourges, while gibbet, & whatſoeuer torments els might be deuiſed. Whereunto Gordius anſwered, ſaying, that it ſhoulde be to him an hinderance and damage if hee coulde not ſuffer and endure diuers torments and puniſhments for Chriſt his cauſe. The ſhirife being more offended with this his boldneſſe, commaunded him to feele as many kinde of torments as there were, with all which Gordius notwithſtanding, coulde not be maſtered or ouercome: but lifting vp his eies vnto heauen ſingeth this ſaying out of the Pſalmes. The Lorde is my helper, I will not feare the thing that man can doe to me: and alſo this ſaying, I will feare none euill, becauſe thou Lord art with me.

Gordius of hys accord vttereth hymſelfe to be a Chriſtian.

Gordius brought to examination.

The confeſſion of *Gordius.*

After this, he againſt him ſelfe prouoketh the extremitie of the tormentours, & blameth them if they fauour him any thing at al. When the Shrife ſaw, that hereby he could winne but little, he goeth about by gentlenes and intiſing wordes, to turne the ſtoute and valiant minde of Gordius. He promiſeth to him great and large offers if he wil denie Chriſt: as to make him a Captaine of as many men as any other is, to geue him richeſſe, treaſure, & what other thing ſo euer hee deſireth. But in vaine as the Prouerbe is, pipeth the minſtrell to him that hath no eares to heare, for he deriding the fooliſh madneſſe of the Magiſtrate ſayth, that it lieth not in him to place any in authority, which be worthy to haue a place in heauen. The Magiſtrate with theſe wordes throughly angred and vexed, prepareth him ſelfe to his condemnation. Whom after that he had cōdemned, he cauſed to be had out of the Citie to be brent. There runneth out of the Citie great multitudes by heaps to ſee him put to execution, ſome take him in their armes, & louingly kiſſe him, perſuading him to take a better way and ſaue himſelf, and that with weeping teares. To whom Gordius anſwered, weepe not I pray you for me, but rather for the enemies of God which alwaies make warre againſt the Chriſtians: weepe I ſay for them which prepare for vs a fire, purchaſing hell fire for themſelues in the day of vengeance: And ceaſe of further, I pray you, to moleſt and diſquiet my ſetled minde. Truly (ſaith he) I am ready for the name of Ieſus Chriſt, to ſuffer and indure a thouſande deathes if neede were. Some other came vnto him which perſuaded him to deny Chriſt with his mouth, & to keepe his conſcience to himſelfe. My toung (ſayeth hee) which by the goodnes of God I haue, cannot be brought to denie the author and geuer of the ſame: for with the heart we beleeue vnto righteouſneſſe, and with the toung we confeſſe vnto ſaluation. Many moe ſuch like wordes he ſpake: but eſpecially vttering to them ſuch matter, wherby he might perſwade the beholders to death, and to the deſire of Martyrdome. After all which, with a mery and glad countenance, neuer changing ſo much as his colour, hee willingly gaue himſelfe to be brent. Baſilius in Sermone in Gordium militem Cæſarienſem.

The bolde conſtancy & couragious ſprite of *Gordius.*

Gordius attempted with fayre promiſes and good giftes.

Gordius condemned to be brent.

The aunſwere of *Gordius* to his frēds.

A ſubtile kynde of diſſwaders.

None ought to deny Chriſt with hys mouth, and confeſſe hym with hys hart.

The Martyrdome of *Gordius.*

Ex Baſili. in Ser. in Gordium militem Cæſarienſem.

Not much vnlike to the ſtory of Gordius is the ſtory alſo of Menas an Egiptian, who being likewiſe a ſouldiour by his profeſſion, in this perſecution of Diocleſian forſooke al, & went into the deſert, where a long time he gaue hym ſelfe to abſtinence, watching, and meditation of the Scriptures. At length returning againe to ẏ Citie Cotys, there in the open theatre, as ẏ people were occupied vpon their ſpectacles or paſtimes, he with a loude voice openly proclaimed himſelfe to be a chriſtian, and vpon the ſame was brought to Pyrrhus the Preſident: of whome, he being demaunded of his faith, made thys aunſwere: Conuenyent it is that I ſhoulde (ſayth he) confeſſe God in whome is light and no darkenes, for ſo much as Paule doth teache that with hart we beleue to righteouſnes, with mouth cōfeſſion is giuen to ſaluation. After this the innocent Martyr was moſt painfully pinched and cruciate with ſundrie puniſhments. In all which, notwithſtanding he declared a conſtant heart, and faith inuincible, hauing theſe wordes

Menas Martyr.

Ex Symeon Metaphr. tom.9.

The confeſſion of *Menas.*

in

The words of *Menas*, in hys tormentes. All the world is not to be weyed with one ſoule ſaued.

in his mouth being in the middeſt of his torments. There is nothing in my minde that can be compared to the kingdome of heauen. Neither is al the world, if it were wayed in balance able to be conferred with the price of one ſoule. And ſayd, who is able to ſeparate vs from the loue of Jeſus Chriſt our Lord: ſhal afflictiō or anguiſh? And moreouer (ſaid he) I haue thus learned of my Lord & my king, not to feare them which kill the body and haue no power to kill yͤ ſoule, but to feare him rather, who hath power to deſtroy both bodye and ſoule in hell fire. To make the ſtory ſhort, after manifold tormentes borne of him, and ſuffered, when the laſt ſentence of death was vpon him pronounced which was to be beheaded: Menas being then had to the place of execution ſaid: I giue thee thanks my Lord god, which haſt ſo excepted me to be foūd a partaker of thy precious death, & haſt not giuen me to be deuoured of my fierce enimies, but haſt made me to remaine cōſtant in thy pure faith vnto this my later end: And ſo this bleſſed ſouldiour fighting valiantly vnder the baner of Chriſt, loſt his head, & wan his ſoule. Symeon Metaphraſt. tom. 5. In the which autor there foloweth a long narration of the miracles of this holy man, which here for prolixity I doe omit,

The prayer of *Menas* at his death.

Menas martyred.

Symeon Metaphr. tom. 5.

The ſtory of 40. martirs.

Tormentes brought out to terrifie the Chriſtians.

The couragious boldnes, and Chriſtian confeſſion of theſe 40. martyrs,

Martyrdome and death for Chriſt, preferred before lyfe and riches of this world.

The Martirs in a cold ponde all a winters night,

The Martyrs taken out of the pond were caſt into the fire.

A good mother caring more for the ſoule then for the body of her ſonne.

Ex Baſil. in Serm. de 40. Martiribus.

Baſilius in a certayne Sermon of 40. Martyrs rehearſeth this ſtory not vnworthye to bee noted. There came (ſaith he) into a certaine place (which place he maketh no mention of) the Emperours Marſhall or officer, with the edict which the Emperour had ſet out againſt the Chriſtians, that whoſoeuer confeſſed Chriſt, ſhoulde after manye tormentes ſuffer death. And firſt they did priuily ſuborne certaine which ſhould detect & acuſe the Chriſtians whom they had found out, or had layde wayte for: vpon this the ſword, the gibbet, the wheele, & the whips were brought forth: At the terrible ſight whereof, the harts of all the beholders did ſhake & tremble. Some for feare did flee, ſome did ſtand in doubt what to do: Certaine were ſo terrified at the beholding of theſe engines & tormenting inſtruments that they denied their faith. Some other began the game, and for a time did abide the conflict and agony of Martyrdome, but vanquiſhed at length, by the intollerable paine of their torments, made ſhipwracke of their conſciences, & loſt the glory of their confeſſion. Amōg other xl. there were at that time younge gentlemen all ſouldiers, which after the Marſhall had ſhewed the Emperours Edict, and required of all men the obedience of the ſame, freely & boldly of their owne accord confeſſed themſelues to be Chriſtians & declared to him their names. The Marſhall ſomewhat amaſed at this their boldnes of ſpeach, ſtādeth in doubte, what was beſt to do. Yet forthwith he goeth about to win them with faire words, aduertiſing them to conſider their youth, neither that they ſhoulde chaunge a cruell and vntimely death, for a ſweete and pleaſant life: After that hee promiſeth them money, and honorable offices in the Emperours name. But they little eſteming all theſe thinges breake forth into a long and bolde Oration, affirming that they did neither deſire life, dignitie, nor money, but onelye the celeſtiall kingdome of Chriſt, ſaying further that they are ready for the loue and faith they haue in god, to indure the afflictiō of the wheele, the croſſe, and the fire. The rude Marſhall being herewith offended, deuiſeth a newe kinde of puniſhment. He ſpied out in the middle of the citie a certaine great pond, which lay full, vpon the cold Northren winde, for it was in the winter time, wherein he cauſed them to be put all that night, but they being merry & comforting one another, receiued this their appointed puniſhment, and ſayd, as they were putting of their clothes: we put off (ſaid they) now not our clothes, but we put of yͤ old mā, corrupt with the deceipt of cōcupiſcence. we giue thee thanks (O Lord) that with this our apparell we may alſo put of by thy grace, the ſinfull man: for by meanes of the Serpent we once put him on, and by the meanes of Jeſus Chriſt we now put him of. when they had thus ſaid: they were brought naked into yͤ place where they felt moſte vehement colde: in ſo much that all the partes of their bodies were ſtarke & ſtiffe therewith. Aſſone as it was daye, they yet hauing breath, were brought into the fire, wherin they were conſumed, and their aſhes throwne into the flud. By chaunce there was on of the company more liuely, and not ſo neere dead as the reſt, of whome yͤ executioners takyng pitie, ſaide vnto his mother ſtanding by, that they would ſaue his life. But ſhee with her owne handes taking her ſonne brought him to the pile of wood where yͤ reſidue of his fellowes (crooked for cold) did lie ready to be brent, admoniſhed him to accompliſh the bleſſed iourney he had taken in hand with his companions. Baſil.

Another ſtory of 40.

Martyred in a colde ponde at Sebaſtia.

A lyke hyſtory of 40. Martyres, which were maryed men, we read of in Niceph. & Zozomenus. Lib. 9. cap. 2. which were killed likewiſe in a lake or pond at Sebaſtia, a towne of Armenia, vnder Licinius, if the ſtory be not the ſame with this, Niceph. Zozom.

Cyrus. Ioannes. Athanaſia, with her three daughters. *Theoctiſte, Theodota, Eudoxia*, Martyrs.

The louing care of one Chriſtian toward an other.

Cyrus to doe others good, loſt hys life.

In this felowſhip and company of martyrs can not be left out and forgotte the ſtory of Cyrus: This Cyrus was a Phiſition borne in Alexandria, which fleing into Egipt, in the perſecution of Diocleſianus, and Maximianus, led a ſolitary life in Arabia, being much ſpoken of for his learning and myracles, vnto whoſe company after a certaine tyme did Ioannes, borne in the Citie of Edeſſa, beyond the ryuer Euphrates, ioyne himſelf, leauing the ſouldiers life which before that time he had exerciſed. But whileſt as yet the ſame perſecution raged in a city in Egipt called Canope, there was caſt into priſon for the confeſſion of their fayth, a certayne godly Chriſtian woman, called Athanaſia, and her three daughters, Theoctiſte, Theodota, and Eudoxia: wyth whom Cyrus was well acquainted. At whoſe infirmities he much tearing accompanied with his brother Iohn, came and viſited them for their better confirmation: at which time Lyrianns was chieſe captaine and Lieutenaunt of Egypt, of whoſe wickednes and crueltie, eſpecially agaynſt women and maydens: Athanaſus maketh mention in hys Apologies, and in his Epiſtle to thoſe that lead a ſolitarye life. Thys Cyrus therefore and Ioannes, being accuſed and apprehended of the Heathen men, as by whoſe perſwaſions, the maydens and daughters of Athanaſia contumelyouſly, deſpiſed the Gods and the Emperours religion, & could by no meanes be brought to doe ſacrifice, were after the publication of their conſtaunt confeſſion put to death by the ſworde. Athanaſia alſo and her three daughters being condemned to death. This hiſtory writeth Symeon Metaphraſtes

The ſtory of *Sebaſtian* Martyr.

A worthy example of a captayne to be folowed.

Marcus, Marcellinus, Nicoſtratus with *Zoe* hys wife. *Tranquillinus* with *Martia* hys wife. *Traglinus, Claudius, Caſtor. Tiburtius, Caſtellus*, Martyrs.

Sebaſtian being borne in the part of Fraunce called Gallia Narbonenſis was a Chriſtian, and was Lieutenaunte generall of the vawward of Diocleſian the Emperor, who alſo encouraged many martyrs of Chriſt by his exhortations, vnto conſtancy, and kept them in the faith. He being therfore accuſed to the Emperor, was commaunded to be apprehended, and that he ſhould be brought into the open fielde, where of his owne ſouldiers he was thruſt through the body with innumerable arrowes, and after that hys body was throwne into a iaques or ſinke. Ambroſius maketh mention of this Sebaſtian the martir in his Cōmentary vpon the 118. Pſalme. & Symeon Metaphraſtes amongeſt oher Martyrs that ſuffered with Sebaſtian numbreth alſo theſe followyng: Nicoſtratus wyth Zoe hys wyfe, Tranquillinus wyth Martia his wyfe: Traglinus Claudius, Caſtor, Tiburtius, Caſtullus, Marcus, and Marcellinus wyth other moe.

Barlaam.

What deſire the Heathen had by ſome meanes to allure the Chriſtians to offer ſacrifice.

Baſilius in an other Sermon alſo maketh mention of one Barlaam being a noble and famous Martyr, which abode al the torments of the executioners euen to the point of death, which thing when the tormentors ſawe, they brought him and laid him vpon the altar, where they dyd vſe to offer ſacrifices to their idoles, and put fire & frankenſence into his right hād wherin he had yet ſome ſtrēgth, thinking that the ſame his right hand, by the heate & force of the fire, would haue ſcattered the burning incenſe vpon the aultar and ſo haue ſacrificed. But of that their hope, the peſtiferous tormentors were diſapointed: for the flame eate round about his hand, and the ſame indured euen as though it had bene couered with hote embers, when Barlaam, recited out of the Pſalmes this ſaying: Bleſſed is the Lord my God which teacheth my handes to fight.

Agricola, with hys ſeruaunt *Vitalis*, martyrs.

Ex Ambro. in Serm. ad Virgines.

Vitalis firſt martyred.

To this narration of Baſilius touching the Martyrdome of Barlaam, we will anexe cōſequently an other ſtory of Ambroſe: Hee making a certaine exhortation to certaine virgins, in the ſame Oration cōmendeth the martirdomes of Agricola & Vitalis, who ſuffered alſo in the ſame perſecution vnder Diocleſian and Maximinian (as they ſo affirme) at Bononie. This Vitalis was ſeruaunt to Agricola, who both togyther betweene themſelues had made a compact to giue their liues wyth other Martyrs for the name of Chriſt. wherupon Vitalis, being ſent before of his maiſter to offer himſelfe to Martirdome, fell firſt into the hands of perſecutors, who laboured about him by all maner of meanes to cauſe him to deny Chriſt. which when he would in no caſe do, but ſtoutly perſiſted in the confeſſiō of his faith, they began to exerciſe him with all kinds of tormenes: So vnmercifully that there was no whole ſkinne left in all his body. So Vitalis in the middeſt of the agonie, & painefull torments, after he had in a ſhort praier, cōmended him ſelfe to God, gaue vp his life. After him the tormentours ſet vpon Agricola his Maſter, whoſe vertuous manners & gentle conditions, bicauſe they were ſingularly wel liked and knowen to the enimies, his ſuffering therfore was the longer deferred. But Agricola not abyding the long delay and driuing of, and prouoking moreouer yͤ aduerſaries to quicker ſpeede, at length was faſtned vnto the croſſe and ſo finiſhed his martirdome, which he ſo long deſired, Ambroſ in Exhortatione ad Virgines.

Agricola, deſirous of martyrdome.
Agricola dyed martyr vpon the Croſſe.

No leſſe worthy of commemoration is the lamentable Martyrdome of Vincentius, whoſe hiſtorie here followeth. This Vincentius was a Spaniard, and a Leuite moſt godly and vertuous, who at this time ſuffered Martyrdom at Valence, vnder Dacianus the Preſident, as we may gather by Prudentius in his hymne. Bergomenſis in his ſupplement reciteth theſe wordes concerning his martyrdome, out of a certaine ſermon of S. Auguſtine: Our heart conceiued not a vaine and fruitles ſight (as it were in beholding of lamentable tragedies) but a great ſight & marueilous, certainly, and there with ſingulare pleaſure receiued it, when the paineful paſſion of Victorius Vincentius was read vnto vs. Is there any ſo heauye harted, that will not be moued in the contemplation of this immoueable Martyr ſo manly, or rather ſo godly fighting againſt the craft and ſubtilty of that Serpent, againſt the tiranny of Dacianus, againſt the horrors of death, & by the mightie ſpirite of his God conquering all: But let vs in few wordes rehearſe the degrees of his tormentes though the paynes thereof in many wordes can not be expreſſed. Firſt Dacianus cauſed the Martir to be layde vpon the torture, and all the ioyntes of his body to be diſtended and racked out, vntill they crackt againe. This being done in moſt extreme and cruel maner al the members of his painful and pittiful body were greuouſly indented with deadly woundes. Thirdly (that his dolors & griefes might be augmẽted) they miſerably vexed his fleſh with yron combes ſharpely filed. And to yͤ end the tormentors might vomit out al their vengeãce on the meeke & milde martyrs fleſhe, the tormentors themſelues alſo were vily ſcourged at the Preſidentes commaundement. And leſt his paſſion through want of paines might ſeeme imperfect or elſe to eaſie, they laid his body being all out of ioint, on a grate of iron, which body when they had opened with iron hookes, they ſeared it with fierie plates, with hote burning ſalt ſprinkling the ſame. Laſt of all into a vyle dongeon was this mighty Martir drawen, the floure whereof firſt was thicke ſpredde wyth the ſharpeſt ſhels that might be gotten, his fete then being faſt locked in the ſtockes, there was he left alone without all worldly comfort: but the Lorde his God was with him, the holye ſpirit of God (whoſe office is to comfort the godly afflicted) fulfilled his hart with ioy & gladnes. Haſt thou prepared a terrible racke (O cruell tyraunt, O deuouring Lion) for the Martirs bed: the Lorde ſhall make that bed ſofte and ſweete vnto him. Rackeſt thou his bones and ioyntes al a ſunder, His bones, his ioints, his heares are al numbred. Tormenteſt then his fleſh with mortal woũds: the Lord ſhal poure abũdantly into al his ſores of his oyle of gladnes. Thy ſcraping combes, thy ſharpe fleſhookes, thine whote ſcaring yrons, thy parched ſalte, thy ſtincking priſon, thy cutting ſhelles, thy pinching ſtockes ſhal turne to this patient Martyr to the beſt. Altogether ſhall worke contrary to thine expectation, great plenty of ioy ſhall hee reap into the barne of his ſoule, out of this mighty harueſt of paines that thou haſt brought him into. Yea thou ſhalte proue him Vincentius indede: that is, a vanquiſher, a tryumpher, a conqueror ſubduing thy madnes, by his mekenes, thy tiranny by his patience, thy manifold meanes of tortures, by the manifold graces of God, wherewith he is plentifully enriched.

The cruell martyrdome of *Vincentius*.
Ex Auguſt in Sermon.
The tormentes exerciſed vpon *Vincentius*.
The comfort of the Lord vppon hys Sainctes.

In this cataloge or company of ſuch holy martirs, as ſuffered in this foreſaid tenth perſecutiõ, many mo and almoſt innumerable there be expreſſed in authors, beſide thẽ whom we haue hetherto comprehended, as Philoromus, a man of noble byrth, & great poſſeſſions in Alexandria, who being perſwaded by his friendes to fauour himſelfe, to reſpect his wife, to conſider his children and familie did not onely reiect the counſels of them, but alſo neglected the threates and torments of the Iudge, to keepe the confeſſiõ of Chriſt inuiolate vnto the death, & loſing of his head. Euſeb. Lib. 8. cap. 9 Niceph. Lib. 7. cap. 9. of whome Euſeb. beareth witnes that he was there preſent himſelfe.

Philoromus, Martyr.
Euſeb. lib. 8. cap. 9.
The confeſſion and Martyrdome of *Philoromus*.

Of like eſtate and dignitie was alſo Procopius in Paleſtina, who after his conuerſion brake his images of ſiluer, and golde, and diſtributed the ſame to the pore and after al kinde of torments, of racking, of cording, of tearing hys fleſh, of goring and ſtabbing in, of fiering, at lẽgth had his head alſo ſmitten of, as witneſſeth. Niceph. Lib. 7. cap. 15.

Procopius Martyr.
The tormentes and conſtancie of *Procopius* to death.
Nicephor. lib. 7. cap. 15.

To this maye be ioyned alſo Georgius, a younge man of Capadocia, who ſtoutly inueighing againſt the impyous idolatry of the Emperours, was apprehended, and caſt in priſon, then torne wyth hooked yrons, burnt with hoate lyme, ſtretched with cordes, after that his hands and feete with other members of his body being cut of, at laſt wyth a ſworde had his head cut of. Niceph. ibid.

Gregorius Martyr. The ſundry tormentes of *Georgius*.

With theſe aforenamed adde alſo Sergius, and Bacchius, Panthaleon, a phiſition in Nicomedia, mentioned in Supplem. Lib. 8. Theodorus of the Citie Amaſia in Helleſp. mentioned of Vincentius. Lib. 3. Fauſtus a martyr of Egypt, mentioned of Niceph. Lib. 8. cap. 5. Gereon with 318. fellow martirs which ſuffered about Colour. Petr. de nat. Lib. 9. cap. 49. Hermogenes the Preſident of Athens, who being conuerted by the conſtancie of one Menas, and Eugraphus in their torments, ſuffered alſo for the like faith. Item Samonas, Gurias and Abibus, mentioned in Symeon Metaphraſt. Hieron alſo wͭ certaine of his confeſſors, vnder Maximinus, mentioned in Metaphraſtes. Iudes, and Domuas, who ſuffred with many other Martirs aboue mentioned, at Nicomedia, as recordeth Metaphraſtes. Euelaſius, Maximinus the Emperors officers, whom Fauſta the virgin in her torments conuerted. Alſo Thyrſus, Lucius, Callinicus, Appollonius, Philemon, Aſilas, Leonides, with Arrianus preſident of Thebaide, Cyprianus, likewiſe a Citizen of Antioche, who after he had continued a long time a filthy Magitian, or ſorcerer, at length was conuerted, & made a Deacon then a Prieſt, and at laſt the Biſhop of Antioche, Vincent lib. 12. cap. 120. of whome partly we touched ſomwhat before. Pag. 72. This Cyprian wͭ Iuſtina a virgin ſuffered amõg the martirs. Item, Glycerius at Nicomedia, Felix a miniſter, Fortunatus, Achilleus, Deacons in the citie of Valent. Arthemius of Rome, Cyriacus Deacon to Marcellus the biſhop. Carpophorus Prieſt at Thuſcia, with Abundus his deacõ. Item, Claudius, Syrinus, Antonius, which ſuffered with Marcellinus the Biſhop Sabell Enead. 7. Lib. 8. Cucuſatus, in the citie Barcinona. Felix Byſhop of Apulia, with Adauctus & Ianuarius his prieſts, Fortunatus & Septimus hys readers, who ſuffered in the Citie Venuſina vnder Diocleſian. Bergom. Lib. 8.

Sergius, *Bacchus*, *Panthaleõ*, *Theodorus*, *Fauſtus*, *Gereõ*, with 318. fellowes. *Hermogenes*, *Menas* a man of Athens. *Eugraphus*, *Samonas*, *Gurias*, *Abibus*, *Hieron*, with hys fellowes. *Iudes*, *Dom.*
Eualaſius, *Maximinus*, *Thirſus*, *Lucius*, *Callinicus*, *Apollonius*, *Philemon*, *Aſilas*, *Leonides*, *Arrianus* the Preſident. *Cyprianus*, Byſhop of *Antioche*. *Iuſtina*, *Glicerius*, *Felix* Prieſt. *Fortunatus* and *Achilleus* Deacons. *Carpophorus*, *Abundus* hys Deacon. *Claudius*, *Syrinus*, *Antonius*, *Cucuſatus*, *Felix* Byſhop. *Adauctus*, and *Ianuarius*, *Fortunatus*, *Septimus* Martyrs.

It were to long a trauell or trouble to recite al and ſingular names of them particularly, whom this perſecutiõ of Diocleſian did conſume. The number of whom being almoſt infinite is not to be collected or expreſſed: One ſtorye yet ramayneth, not to be forgotten of Caſsianus, whoſe pitifull ſtory being deſcribed of Prudentius we haue here inſerted, rendring metre for metre as followeth.

The Lamentable ſtory of *Caſsianus* Martyr.
Ex Aurel. Prudentius. lib. periſtephanon.

1 THrough Forum, as in Italy,
I paſſed once to Roome:
Into a Church by chaunce came I,
And ſtoode faſt by a toome.
2 Which church ſometime a place had bene,
Where cauſes greate in lawe:
Were ſcand and tryed, and iudgement giuen,
To keepe brute men in awe.
3 Thys place Sylla Cornelius,
Firſt built: he rayſed the frame:
And called the ſame Forum, and thus,
That City tooke the name.
4 In prayer feruent as I ſtoode,
caſting mine eie aſide:
A picture in full piteous moode,
(Imbrude) by chaunce I ſpied.
5 A thouſand wounded markes full bad,
All mangled, rent, and torne:
The ſkinne appeared as though it had,
Bene iagde and prickt with thorne.
6 A ſcull of pictured boyes did bande,
About that lothſome ſight:
That with their ſharpned gads in hand,
His members thus had dight.
7 Theſe gads were but their pens wherewith,
Their Tables written were:
And ſuch as ſcholers often ſith,
Vnto the ſcholes doe beare.
8 Whom thou ſeeſt heere thus picturde ſitte,
And firmely doſt behold:
No fable is, I do thee witte,
Vnaſkte a Prelate tolde
9 That walkt thereby: but doth declare,
The hiſtory of one,
Which written, would good recorde beare,
What faith was long agone.
10 A ſkilfull ſcolemaiſter this was,
That here ſometime did teach:
The Biſhop once of Brixia as,
And Chriſt full plaine did preach.
11 He knew well how to comprehende,
Long talke in few lynes:

And it at length how to amende,
By order and by times.
12 His ſharpe precepts, and ſterne lookes,
His beardles boyes did feare :
When hate in hart (yet for their bookes)
Full deadly they did beare.
13 The childe that learnes, I doe yee weete,
Termes aye his tutor crule.
No diſcipline in youth ſeemes ſweete,
Count this a common rule.
14 Behold the raging time now here,
Oppreſſing ſore the faith :
Doth perſecute gods children dere,
And all that Chriſt bewraith.
15 This truſty teacher of the ſwarme,
Profeſt the liuing God :
The chiefe good thing, they compt their harme,
Perhaps he ſhakes his rod.
16 What rebels aſke the preſident,
Is he, I heare ſo loude?
Vnto our youth an inſtrument,
They ſay, and low they bowde.
17 Go bring the caytiffe foorth he bids,
And make no long delay :
Let him be ſet the boyes amids,
They doe as he doth ſay.
18 Let him be giuen vnto them all,
And let them haue their will :
To doe to him what ſpite they ſhall,
So that they will him kill.
19 Euen as they liſt let them him fray
And him deride ſo long :
Till wearines prouokes their play,
No lenger to prolong.
20 Let them I ſay then vncontrold,
Both pricke and ſcotch his ſkinne :
To bath their hands let them be bold,
In the hote bloud of him.
21 The ſcholers hereat make great game,
It pleaſeth them full well :
That they may kill and quench the flame,
They thought to them a hell.
22 They binde his hands behind his backe,
And naked they him ſtripe :
In bodkinne wiſe at him they nacke,
They laugh to ſee him ſkippe.
23 The priuy hate that ech one hath,
In hart it now appeares :
They poure it foorth in gally wrath,
They wreake them of their teares.
24 Some caſt great ſtones, ſome other breake,
Their tables on his face :
Lo here thy Latine and thy Greeke,
(Oh barren boyes of grace.)
25 The bloud runnes downe his cheekes and doth,
Imbrue the boxen leames :
Where notes by them were made (though loth)
And well proponed theames.
26 Some whet, ſome ſharpe, their penſeles pointes,
That ſerude to write with all :
Some other gage his fleſh and ioyntes,
As with a pointed nall.
27 Sometimes they pricke, ſometime they rent,
This worthy martirs fleſh :
And thus by turnes they do torment,
This confeſſour a freſh.
28 Now all with on conſent on him,
Their bloudy handes they lay :
To ſee the bloud from limme to limme,
Drop downe they make a play.
29 More painefull was the pricking pange,
Of children oft and thicke :
Then of the bigger boyes that ſtange,
And neere the hart did ſticke.
30 For by the feeble ſtrokes of the one,
Death was denied his will :
Of ſmart that made him wo begon,
He had the better ſkill.
31 The deeper ſtrokes the great ones gaue,
and neerer toucht the quicke :
The welcomer he thought the ſame,
Whom longing death made ſicke.
32 God make you ſtrong he ſaith I pray,
God giue you might at will :
And what you want in yeares I ſay,
Let crueltie fulfill.
33 But whileſt the hangman breatheth ſtill,
and me with you do match :
That weakely worke, yet want no will,
my life for to diſpatch.
34 My griefes waxe great, what groneſt thou now?
Sayd ſome of them againe?
In ſchoole, aduiſed well art thou?
Whom there thou putſt to payne?
35 Behold we pay, and now make good,
as many thouſande ſtripes :
As when with weeping eyes we ſtoode,
In daunger of thy gripes.
36 Art thou now angry at thy bande,
that alwayes cried write, write,
And neuer wouldſt that our right hand,
Should reſt in quiet plyte?
37 We had forgot our playing times,
Thou churle deniedſt vs of :
We now but pricke and point our lines,
And thus they grinne and ſcof.
38 Correct good ſir your viewed verſe,
If ought amiſſe there be :
Now vſe thy power and then rehearſe,
that haue not marked thee.
39 Chriſt pittying this groaning man,
With tormments torne and tyred :
Commaundes his hart to breake euen then,
And life that was then hyered.
41 He yeeldes againe to him that gaue,
And thus he makes exchaunge :
Immortall, for mortall to haue,
That in ſuch payne did raunge.
41 This is ſaith he, that this picture,
Thou ſo beholdſt, Oh geſt :
Of Caſsianus Martir pure,
Doth preach I doe proteſt.
42 If thou Prudence haue ought in ſtore,
In pietie to deale:
In hope of iuſt reward therefore,
Now ſhew thy louing zeale.
43 I could not but conſent, I weepe,
Hys tombe I doe embrace :
Home I returne, and after ſleepe,
This pittifull preface,
44 I write as a memoriall,
For euer to endure :
Of Caſsianus ſcolemaſter,
All others to allure.
45 To conſtancy vnder the croſſe,
Of their profeſſion :
Accompting gaine what euer loſſe,
For Chriſt they take vpon.

Caſsianus Martyr.

No leſſe admirable then wonderfull was the conſtancy alſo of women and maidens, who in the ſame perſecution gaue their bodyes to the tormentes & their liues for the teſtimony of Chriſt, with no leſſe boldnes of ſpirite, the did the men themſelues aboue ſpecified, to whome howe much more inferiour they were in bodely ſtregth, ſo much more worthy of prayſe they be, for their conſtant ſtanding. Of whom ſome examples here we minde (Chriſt willing) to inſerte, ſuch as in our ſtories and Chronicles ſeem moſt notable, firſt beginning with Eulalia, whoſe ſtory we haue taken out of the foreſayd Prudentius as followeth.

In the weſt part of Spaine called Portingall, is a Citty great and populous, named Emerita, wherein dwelt and was brought vp a virgine borne of noble parentage, whoſe name was Eulalia, which Emerita although for the apte ſituation thereof, was both rich & famous, yet more adourned and famous was the renowne therof, by yͤ martyrdome, bloud, and ſepulture of this bleſſed virgine Eulalia. Twelue yeares of age was ſhee and not much aboue, when ſhe refuſed great and honourable offers in mariage, as one not ſkilfull, nor yet delighting in courtly dalliaunce, neyther yet taking pleaſure in purple and gorgeous apparell, or els in precious balmes, or coſtly ornamentes and iuels: But forſaking and deſpiſing all theſe and ſuch lyke pompeous allurements, then ſhewed ſhe her ſelfe moſt buſie in preparing her iourney to her hoped inheritaunce, and heauenly patrimonie. Which Eulalia as ſhe was modeſt and diſcrete in behauiour, ſage and ſober in conditions, ſo was ſhe alſo witty and ſharp in aunſwering her enemies. But when the furious rage of perſecution inforced her to ioyne her ſelf amongeſt Gods Children in the houſhold of faith, and when the Chriſtians were commaunded to offer incenſe and ſacrifice to deuils or dead Gods: Then began the bleſſed ſpirite of Eulalia to kindle, and being of a prompt and ready wit thought forthwith (as a couragious captayne)

Eulalia Martyr.

Ex Arel. Prudentio. lib. periſtephanon.

The chaſte and continent behauiour of *Eulalia.*

Eulalia geueth the onſet, denying to ſacrifice to deuils.

Eulalia kept ſecret by her parentes.

Eulalia diſproueth the Heathen Iudge.

The godly confeſſion of *Eulalia*.

to geue a charge vpon this ſo great, and diſordered a battayle: and ſo ſhe, ſilly woeman, pouring out the bowels of her innocent hart before God, more prouoketh therby the force and rage of her enemies agaynſt her. But the godly care of her parentes, fearing leaſt the willing minde of the Damſel, ſo ready to dye for Chriſtes cauſe, might make her gilty of her owne death, hid her and kept her cloſe at their houſe in the countrey, being a great way out of the Citty. She yet miſliking that quiet life, as alſo deteſting, to make ſuch delay, ſoftly ſtealeth out of the dores (no man knowing therof) in the night and in great haſt leauing the common waye, openeth the hedge gappes, and with werye feete (god knoweth) paſſed through yͤ thorny & bryery places, accompanied yet wͭ ſpirituall garde: & although darke & dreadfull was the ſilent night, yet had ſhee with her the Lord & guider of light. And as the children of Iſrael comming out of Egipt, had by the mightye power of God, a cloudy piller for their guide in yͤ day, & a flame of fire in the night, ſo had this godly virgine, traueling in this darke night, when ſhe fleing & forſaking the place where al filthy idolatry abounded, & haſtened her heauenly iourney, was not oppreſſed with the dreadfull darknes of the night. But yet ſhe before the day appeared in this her ſpeedy iourney, with her ſelfe conſidered & muſed on a thouſand matters, & more. In the morning betime with a bould courage ſhe goeth vnto the tribunall or iudgement ſeat, & in the midſt of them all with a loud voice, crying out ſayde: I praye you what a ſhame is it for you thus raſhely, and without aduiſement to deſtroy and kill mens ſoules, and to throwe their bodies aliue againſt the rocks, and cauſe them to deny the omnipotent god? would you know (O you vnfortunate) who I am? behold, I am one of the Chriſtians: an enimie to your deuiliſh ſacrifices, I ſpurne your idols vnder my feete: I confeſſe God omnipotent with my hart and mouth. Iſis, Apollo, and Venus, what are they? Maximinus himſelfe, what is he? The one a thing of naught, for that they be yͤ workes of mens hands, yͤ other but a caſt away bicauſe he worſhippeth the ſame worke. Therfore friuolous are they both, and both not worthy to be ſet by. Maximinus is a Lorde of ſubſtaunce, and yet he himſelfe falleth downe before a ſtone, and voweth the honor of hys dignitie vnto thoſe that are much inferior to his vaſſals. Why then doth he oppreſſe ſo tirannically, more worthye ſtomacks and courages then himſelfe? He muſt neds be a good guid, and an vpright iudge, which fedeth vpon innocent bloud: and breathing in the bodies of godly men doth rent and teare their bowels, and that more is, hath his delight in deſtroying and ſubuerting the faith.

Eulalia allured with fayre perſwaſions.

Eulalia ſingeth and prayſeth God in her tormente

Eulalia put in the fire. The end and martyrdome of *Eulalia*.

Go to therfore thou hangman, burne, cut, and mangle thou theſe earthly mēbers. It is an eaſie matter to breake a britle ſubſtance, but the inward mind ſhalt not thou hurt for any thing thou canſt do. The pretor thē or iudge wyth theſe words of hers, ſet in a great rage, ſaith, hangmā take her and pull her out by the heare of her head & torment her to the vttermoſt. Let her feele the power of our countrey gods, and let her know what the Imperiall gouernement of a Prince is. But yet, O thou ſturdy girle, faine woulde I haue thee (if it were poſſible) before thou dye, to reuoke this thy wickednes. Behold what pleaſures thou maieſt enioy by the honorable houſe thou cameſt of. Thy fallen houſe and progenie followeth thee to death with lamentable teares, & the heauy nobility of thy kindred maketh dolfull lamētation for thee. What meaneſt thou, wilt thou kill thy ſelf ſo younge a flower, & ſo neare theſe honorable mariages and great dowries that thou mayeſt enioy? Doth not the gliſtering and golden pompe of the bried bed moue thee? Doth not the reuerende pietie of thyne Auncitours pricke thee? whom is it not, but that this thy raſhnes and weakenes ſorroweth? behold here the furniture ready prepared for thy terrible death. Either ſhalt thou be beheaded with this ſword, or els with theſe wild beaſtes ſhalt thou be pulled in peeces, or els yͭ being caſt into the fiery flames ſhalbe (although lamentably bewailed of thy friends and kinſfolks) conſumed to aſhes. What great matter is it for thee I pray thee, to eſcape al this? If thou wilt but take & put with thy fingers a little ſalt & incenſe into the cenſers, thou ſhalt be deliuered from al theſe puniſhmēts. To this Eulalia made no aunſwere, but being in a great furye ſhee ſpitteth in the tirauntes face, ſhe throweth downe the Idoles, and ſpurneth abroad with her feete the heape of incenſe prepared to the cenſers: then without further delay, the hangmen with both their ſtrengthes toke her, & puld one ioynte from an other, and with the talantes of wilde beaſtes, ſcotched her ſides to the hard bones: ſhe all this while ſinging and prayſing God in this wiſe. Beholde, O Lord I will not forget thee: what a pleaſure is it for them O Chriſt that remember thy triumphant victoryes, to attayne vnto theſe high dignities, and ſtill calleth vpon that holy name, al ſtained and embrued with her owne bloude. This ſang ſhe with a bold ſtomacke, neither lamentyngly nor yet wepingly, but being glad and mery, abandonyng from her mind all heauines and griefe, when as out of a warme fountain her mangled members with freſh bloud bathed her white and fayre ſkinne. Then procede they to the laſt and final torment, which was not only the goring and wounding of her mangled body with the yron grat, & hurdle, and terrible harrowing of her fleſh, but burned, on euery ſide with flaming torches her tormented breſts, and ſides: her heare hanging about her ſhoulders in two parts deuided (wherewith her ſhamefaſt chaſtitie and virginitie was couered) reached downe to the ground: but when the cracking flame fleeth about her face, kindled by her heare, and reacheth the crowne of her head: thē ſhe deſiring ſwift death, opened her mouth and ſwalowed the flame, and ſo reſted ſhee in peace.

Ex Pruden

The ſayde Prudentius and Ado, alſo Equilinus adde moreouer, writinge of a white doue iſſuing out of her mouth at her departing, and of the fire quenched about her body, alſo of her body, couered miraculouſly wyth ſnow, with other things more, wherof let euery reader vſe hys owne iudgement.

Agnes martyr.

Straunge and vnneceſſary myracles omitted.

Ex pruden. lib. de Coronis.

Agnes conſtant in the confeſſion of her fayth

Agnes threatned to the brothelhouſe.

Agnes bolde vpon the helpe of Chriſt.

The incontinent eyes of a yonng man beholding *Agnes* ſtrunken out.

As ye haue heard now the Chriſtian life and conſtant death of Eulalia, much worthy of praiſe & commendation: So no leſſe commendation is worthely to be giuen to bleſſed Agnes, that conſtant Damſell and martir of God, who as ſhe was in Rome of honorable parentes begotten, ſo lyeth ſhe there as honorably intombed & buried. Whiche Agnes for her vnſpotted & vndefiled virginitie, deſerueth no greater praiſe and commendation, then for her willing death and martirdome. Some writers make of her a long diſcourſe, more in my iudgement then neceſſary, reciting diuers & ſundry ſtraunge miracles by her done in the proceſſe of her hiſtory, which partly for tediouſnes, partly for the doubtfulnes of the author, (whome ſome father vpon Ambroſe) and partly for the ſtraungenes and incredibilitie therof I omit, being ſatiſfied with that which Prudentius, briefly writeth of her, as foloweth: Shee was (ſayth hee) yong & not mariageable, when firſt ſhe being dedicated to Chriſt, boldly reſiſted the wicked Edictes of the Emperor: leaſt that through idolatry ſhe might haue denied and forſaken the holy faith: but yet firſt proued by diuers and ſundry pollicies to induce her to the ſame, (as now with yͤ flattering and intiſing words of the Iudge, now with the threatnings of the ſtorming executioner) ſtode notwythſtanding, ſtedfaſt in al couragious ſtrength: and willingly offered her body to hard & painful torments, not refuſing as ſhe ſayd, to ſuffer whatſoeuer it ſhould be, yea though it were death it ſelfe. Then ſaid the cruell tyraunt: if to ſuffer paine & torment, be ſo eaſie a matter and lightly regarded of thee & that thou accompteſt thy life nothing worth: yet yͤ ſhame of thy dedicated or vowed virginity is a thing more regarded I know, and eſteemed of thee. Wherfore this is determined, that vnles thou wilt make obeiſaunce to the aultar of Minerua, and aſke forgiuenes of her for thy arrogancy, thou ſhalt be ſent or abandoned to the cōmon ſtewes or brothel houſe. Agnes yͤ virgine, with more ſpirit and vehemency inueieth againſt both Minerua & her verginitie: the youth in ſculs flocke and runne togither, and craue that they may haue Agnes their ludibrious pray: thē ſaith Agnes, Chriſt is not ſo forgetfull of thoſe that be hys, that he wil ſuffer violently to be taken frō them their golden and pure chaſtitie, neither wil he leaue them ſo deſtitute of helpe: he is alwaies at hande and ready to fight for ſuch as are ſhamfaſt and chaſt virgines, neither ſuffereth he his giftes of holy integritie or chaſtitie to be polluted. Thou ſhalt ſayth ſhee, willingly bathe thy ſworde in my bloud if thou wilt, but thou ſhalt not defile my body with filthy luſt for any thing thou canſt doe. She had no ſooner ſpoken theſe wordes, but he commaunded that ſhe ſhould be ſet naked at the corner of ſome ſtreete, (whiche place at that time, ſuch as were ſtrumpets cōmonly vſed, the greater part of the multitude both ſorrowing and ſhaming to ſee ſo ſhameles a ſight, went their wayes, ſome turninge their heades, ſome hiding their faces. But one amongſt yͤ reſt, with vncircumciſed eies, beholding the Damſell, and that in ſuch opprobrious wiſe: behold a flame of fire lyke vnto a flaſh of lightning, falleth vpō him, ſtriketh his eies out of his head, wherupon he for dead falling to the groūd, ſpraulech in the chanel durt, whoſe cōpanions taking him vp, & carrying him away, bewayled him as a dead man. But the virgin for this her miraculous deliuery from the danger and ſhame of that place, ſingeth prayſes vnto God and Chriſt.

There be (ſaith Prudentius) that report how that ſhee

beyng

The young man reſtored agayne to his health by the prayer of *Agnes.*

Agnes deſirous of martirdóe.

The prayer of *Agnes.*

Agnes beheaded.

beyng deſired to pray vnto Chriſt for the partie, that a litle before with fire frō heauen for hys incōtinency was ſtricken was reſtored by their prayer, both vnto hys perfect health & ſight. But bleſſed Agnes after that ſhe had climed this her firſt grieſe and ſtep vnto the heauēly pallace, forthwith began to clime an other: for fury ingendring now, yͤ mortall wrath of her bloudy enemy, wringing his handes crieth out ſaying, I am vndone: O yͧ the executioner draw out thy ſword, and doe thyne office that yͤ Emperour hath appoynted thee. And when Agnes ſaw a ſturdy and cruell fellow (to behold) ſtand behinde her, or approaching neere vnto her with a naked ſword in his hand: I am now glad der ſayth ſhe, & reioyce, yͭ ſuch a one as thou, being a ſtout, fierce, ſtrong and ſturdy ſouldiour art come, then one more feable, weake, & faynt ſhould come, or els any other yong man ſweetly enbalmed, and wearing gaye apparell that might deſtroy me with funerall ſhame. This, euen this is he I now cōfeſſe, yͭ I do loue. I wil make haſt to meet him and will no longer protract my longing deſire: I wil willingly receaue into my papes the length of hys ſword, and into my breſt will draw the force therof euē vnto the hilts: That thus I being maryed vnto Chriſt my ſpouſe, may ſurmount and eſcape all the darckenes of this world, that reacheth euen vnto yͤ ſkyes. O eternal gouernour, vouchſafe to opē the gates of heauen once ſhut vp agaynſt al the inhabitantes of the earth, and receaue (oh Chriſt) my ſoule that ſeeketh thee. Thus ſpeaking and kneeling vpon her knees, ſhe prayeth vnto Chriſt aboue in heauen, that her necke might be the redyer for the ſword, now hāging ouer the ſame. The executioner then with his bloudy hand, finiſhed her hope, & at one ſtroke cutteth off her head, & by ſuch ſhort & ſwift death doth he preuente her of yͤ payne therof.

The hiſtory of *Katherine* martir. All thinges be not true and probable, that be written of Sainctes liues.

Petrus de Natalibus. lib.10.

Katherine reſiſteth the Emperour openly to hys face.

Katherine committed to priſon and comforted by an Aungell.

The tormentes and end of *Katherine.*

I haue oftentimes before complayned that the ſtories of Sayntes haue bene poudered and ſawſed with diuers vntrue additions and fabulous inuentiōs of men, who either of a ſuperſtitious deuotion, or of a ſubtill practiſe, haue ſo mingle mangled their ſtories and liues, that almoſt nothing remayneth in them ſimple and vncorrupt, as in the vſuall Portues wont to be read for dayly ſeruice, is manifeſt and euident to be ſeene, wherein, few Legendes there be, able to abide yͤ touch of hiſtory, if they were truely tried. This I write vpon the occaſiō ſpecially of good Katherine, whome now I haue in hand. In whom although I nothing doubt, but in her life was great holines, in her knowledge excellency, in her death conſtancy: yet that all thinges be true that be ſtoryed of her, neyther dare I affirme, neyther am I bound ſo to thinke: So many ſtrange fictions of her be fained diuerſly of diuers writers, wherof ſome ſeeme incredible, ſome alſo impudent. As where Petrus de Natalibus, writing of her conuerſion declareth, how that Katherine ſleeping before a certaine picture or table of the Crucifixe, Chriſt with his mother Mary appeared vnto her: And when Mary had offered her to Chriſt to be his wife, he firſt refuſed her for her blackenes. The next tyme, ſhe beyng baptiſed, Mary appearing againe, offered her to mary with Chriſt, who then being liked, was eſpouſed to hym and maryed, hauing a golden ring the ſame tyme put on her finger in her ſleep. &c. Bergomenſis writeth thus, that becauſe ſhe in yͤ ſight of the people openly reſiſted the Emperour Maxentius to hys face and rebuked hym for hys crueltie, therfore ſhe was commaunded and committed vpon the ſame to priſon, which ſeemeth hetherto not much to digreſſe from trueth. It followeth moreouer, that the ſame night an angell came to her, comforting and exhorting her to be ſtrong and conſtant vnto the Martyrdome, for that ſhe was a mayd accepted in the ſight of God, and that the Lord would be with her, for whoſe honor ſhe did fight, and that he would geue her a mouth and wiſedome, which her enemies ſhould not withſtand: with many other thinges mo, which I here omit. As this alſo I omit concerning yͤ 50. Philoſophers, whom ſhe in diſputation conuicted, and conuerted vnto our religion, and dyed martyrs for yͤ ſame. Item, of the conuerting of Porphyrius kinſmā to Maxentius and Fauſtina the Emperours wife. At length (ſaith the ſtory) after ſhe proued the racke, and the foure ſharpe cutting wheeles, hauing at laſt her head cut off with the ſword, ſo ſhe finiſhed her martyrdome, about the yeare of our Lord (as Antoninus affirmeth) 310 Symeon Metaphraſtes, writing of her, diſcourſeth the ſame more at large, to whome they may reſort, which couet more therein to be ſatiſfied.

The hiſtory of *Iulitta* Martyr.

Ex Baſil. in Serm.

Iulitta violently ſpoyled of her goodes.

Iulitta once abiured.

Iulitta ſtandeth to the cōfeſſion of her fayth.

A Chriſtian voyce of a true martyr.

The anſwere of *Iulitta.*

Iulitta condemned to the fire.

The words and exhortations of *Iulitta* to woemen about her

Among the workes of Baſill a certayne Oration is extant concerning Iulitta the martyr, who came to her martyrdome (as he witneſſeth) by this occaſion. A certayne auaricious and greedy perſon, of great authoritie, and as it may appeare, the Emperour his deputy, or other like officer, (who abuſed the decrees and lawes of the Emperour agaynſt the Chriſtians, to hys own lucre and gayne) violently tooke from this Iulitta all her goodes, landes, cattell, and ſeruaunts, contrary to all equity and right. She made her pittifull cōplaint to the Iudges, a day was appointed, when the cauſe ſhould be heard. The ſpoyled woman, and the ſpoiling extorcioner ſtode forth together, yͤ woman lamentably declareth her caſe, yͤ man frowningly beholdeth her face. When ſhe had proued that of good right the goods were her owne & that wrongfully he had dealed with her: the wicked & bloudthirſty wretch, preferring vile worldly ſubſtaunce, before the precious ſubſtaunce of a Chriſten body, affirmed her action to be of no force, for that ſhe was as an outlaw in not ſeruing the Emperors Gods, ſince her chriſtian faith hath bene firſt abiured. His allegation was allowed as good and reaſonable. Whereupon incenſe & fire were prepared for her to worſhip the Gods, which vnles ſhe would do, neither the Emperors protectiō, nor lawes, nor iudgment, nor life, ſhould ſhe enioy in that cōmon weale. When this handmaid of the Lorde heard theſe wordes, ſhe ſaide, farwell life, welcome death: farwell ryches welcome pouerty. All that I haue if it were a thouſand times more, would I rather loſe, then to ſpeake one wicked & blaſphemous word againſt God my creator. I yeeld thee thanks moſt harty, O my God, for this gift of grace, that I can contemne & deſpiſe this frayle and tranſitory world, eſteming Chriſtian profeſſion aboue all treaſures. Hence forth whē any queſtion was demaunded, her aunſwere was: I am the ſeruaunt of Ieſus Chriſt. Her kindred & acquaintaunce flocking to her, aduertiſed her to chaunge her minde. But that vehemently ſhe refuſed, with deteſtation of their Idolatry. Forthwith the Iudge, with the ſharpe ſworde of ſentēce not only cutteth of al her goodes & poſſeſſions, but iudgeth her alſo to the fire moſt cruellye. The ioyfull Martyr imbraceth the ſentence as a thing moſt ſweete and delectable. She addreſſeth her ſelfe to the flames, in countenaunce, ieſture, and wordes, declaring the ioy of her hart, coupled with ſingular conſtancy. To the women beholding her, ſententiouſlye ſhee ſpake: Sticke not, O ſiſters, to labour and trauell after true piety and godlines. Ceaſe to accuſe the fragilitie of feminine nature. What? are not we created of the ſame matter, that mē are? Yea, after Gods Image and ſimilitude are we made, as liuely as they. Not fleſh only God vſed in the creation of the woman, in ſigne and tokē of her infirmitie, & weaknes, but bone of bones is ſhe, in token that ſhee muſt be ſtrong in the true and liuing God, all falſe Gods forſaken. Conſtant in faith al infidelity renounced patient in aduerſity, all worldly eaſe refuſed. Waxe wery, (my dere ſiſters) of your liues lead in darkenes, & be in loue with my chriſt, my God, my redeemer, my comforter which is the true light of the worlde. Perſwade your ſelues, or rather the ſpirite of the liuing God perſwade you, that there is a world to come, wherin the worſhippers of idoles and deuils ſhal be tormented, perpetually, the ſeruauntes of the high god ſhalbe crowned eternally. With theſe words ſhe embraced the fire, and ſweetly ſlept in the Lord.

Barbara, Fauſta, Euelatius, Maximinus, Iuliana, Anyſia, Iuſtina, Tecla, Martirs.

There haue bene moreouer beſide theſe aboue recited diuers godly women and faithfull Martirs, as Barbara a noble woman in Thuſcia, who after miſerable priſonmēt ſharpe cordes, & burning flames put to her ſides, was at laſt beheaded. Alſo Fauſta the virgin, which ſuffered vnder Maximinus by whome Euelaſius a ruler of the Emperours palace, and Maximinus the Preſident were both conuerted and alſo ſuffered martirdome, as witneſſeth Metaphraſtes. Item Iuliana a virgine of ſingular beautie in Nicomedia, who after diuers agonies ſuffered likewiſe vnder, Maximinus. Item, Anyſia a mayd of Theſſalonica, who vnder the ſaid Maximinus ſuffred. Metaphr. ibid. Iuſtina which ſuffered with Cyprianus biſhop of Antioche, not to omit alſo Tecla although moſt writers doe accorde that ſhe ſuffered vnder Nero. Platina in vita Caij, maketh alſo mentiō of Lucia, & Agatha. All which holy maides and virgins glorified the Lord Chriſt with their conſtant martirdome in this tenth & laſt perſecution of Diocleſian.

Caius, Marcellinus, Marcellus, Euſebius, Miltiades Byſhops of Rome and martyrs.

Marcellinus denyeth and repenteth.

Ex Lib Concilior & Platina.

During the time of which perſecution theſe biſhops of Rome ſucceded on after another. Caius who ſucceded next after Xiſtᵒ mētioned. pag. 71. Marcellinus Marcellus (of whō, Euſebius in his ſtory maketh no mention) Euſebius, & then Miltiades: al which, died martirs in the tempeſt of this perſecution. Firſt Marcellinus after the Martirdome of Caius was ordeined Biſhoppe, he being brought by Diocleſian, to the Idoles, firſt yeelded to their Idolatry & was ſeene to ſacrifice, wherfore being excommunicated by the Chriſtians, fell in ſuch repentaunce, that he returned agayne to Diocleſian, where he ſtanding to his former confeſſion, and publikely condemning the idolatry of the heathen, recouered the crowne of martirdome: ſuffering with Claudius, Cyrinus, and Antoninus.

Euſeb. in Chro.

Marcellus likewiſe was vrged of Maxentius to renounce his biſhoprick & religion, & to ſacrifice with them to idols. which when he conſtantly refuſed, was beaten with cudgels, and ſo expelled the city. Then he entring into ẏ houſe of Lucina a widow, aſſembled there the cógregation, which when it came to the eares of Maxentius the tiraunt, he turned the houſe of Lucina into a ſtable, and made Marcellus the keeper of the beaſts, and ſo with the ſtinch thereof and miſerable handling was put to death. Euſebius late byſhop of Rome, as Euſeb. in Chron. ſaith .7. monethes: Marianus Scotus ſaith 8. months. Damaſus affirmeth 6. yeares, Sabellicus alledgeth certaine authors that ſay, that he was ſlayne by Maximinianus: but correcteth that himſelfe, affirming that Maximinianus died before him.

Authors diſſent.

Ex Sabel. Enead. 7. Lib. 8.

Miltiades by the teſtimony of Platina, and other that follow him ſat 3. yeares, & 7. moneths, & ſuffred vnder Maximinianus. But that ſemeth not to be true, as both Sabellicus doth rightly note, affirming that the ſame cannot ſtand by the ſupputation of time: Forasmuch as the ſaide Galerius Maximinus raigned but 2. yeares, and died before Miltiades. Alſo Euſebius manifeſtly expreſſeth the example of a letter of Conſtantine written to this Miltiades Byſhop of Rome, playnely conuicting that to bee falſe, which Platina affirmeth.

Sabel. ibid.

A place of *Platina* confuted.

The order and proceeding deſcribed in iudgement agaynſt the Biſhop of Rome.

In the booke collected of general councels among the decretal epiſtles, there is a long tractation about ẏ iudgement and condemnation of Marcellinus: wherof the Mayſters & Patrones of popery, in theſe our daies, take great hold to proue the ſupremacy of the pope to be aboue al generall councels, and that he ought not to be ſubiect to the condemnation of any perſon or perſons, for that there is written: Nemo vnquam iudicauit Pontificem, nec Præſul ſacerdotem ſuum, quoniam prima ſedes non iudicabitur a quoquá. &c. Although this ſentence of Miltiades ſeemeth apparantly to be patched in, rather by ſome Heldibrandus, then by Miltiades: both for that it hangeth with little order of ſenſe, vpon that which goeth before: & againe bicauſe that prima ſedes here mentioned, was not yet ordained nor attributed to the ſea of Rome before the councell of Nice, where the order and placing of byſhops was firſt eſtabliſhed. But to let this ſentence paſſe, yet notwithſtanding the circuſtance & proceding of this iudgement, if it be rightly weyed, maketh very little to the purpoſe of theſe men. Neither is it true that the biſhops of this councell of Sinueſſe, did not condemne Marcellinus: for the wordes of the councell bee plaine. Subſcripſerunt igitur in eius damnationem & damnauerunt eum extra ciuitatem. That is: They ſubſcribed therfore to his condemnation, and condemned him to be expelled out of the citie. Moreouer by ẏ ſaid councell were brought in, the 42. witneſſes againſt Marcellinus. In the ſaide councell the verdit of the ſame witneſſes was demaunded and alſo receiued. Furthermore, Quirinus there, one of the Byſhops openly proteſted, that he would not depart ẏ councell, before the malice of the biſhops were reuealed: what doth al this declare, but that the biſhop of Rome was called there, and did appeare before the iudgement ſeat of the Councell, and there ſtode ſubiecte to their ſentence & authoritie, by the which he was expelled out of the City? As for the wordes of the councell, whereupon our Papiſtes ſtand ſo much. Non enim noſtro, ſed tuo ipſius iudicio cődemnaberis, &c. Item: Tuo ore iudica cauſam tuã. &c. Theſe words import not here the authority of the Romane biſhop to be aboue the councel, neither do they declare what the councell could not do, but what they would and wiſhed rather to be done, that is, that he ſhould rather acknowledge his crime before God & them, with a voluntary yelding of his hart, then that the confeſſion of ſuch an hainous fact ſhould be extorted from him through their condemnatiõ: for that they ſaw to be expedient for hys ſoules health. Otherwiſe their cõdemnation ſhould ſerue him to ſmal purpoſe. And ſo it came to paſſe. For he being vrged of thẽ to condemne himſelfe, ſo did: proſtrating himſelfe and weeping before them, wherupon immediatly they proceded to the ſentẽce againſt him, condemning & pronouncing him to be expelled the city. Now whether by this may be gathered, that ẏ Byſhop of Rome ought not to be cited, accuſed, and condemned by any perſon or perſons, let the indifferent Reader iudge ſimply.

An obiection of the Papiſtes anſwered vnto.

The Byſhop of Rome cyted vp and appeareth before the councell.

The Byſhop of Rome condemned by the Councell.

The decretall Epiſtles and conſtitutions of theſe Byſhops of Rome examined.

The chief ſcope of the conſtitutions decretall, to magnifie the Church of Rome.

As touching ẏ decretal epiſtles, which be intituled vnder the name of theſe foreſaide biſhops: who ſo well aduiſeth them, and with iudgement will examine the ſtile, the time, the argument the hanging togither of the matter, & the conſtitutions in them contained (little ſeruing to anye purpoſe, and nothing ſeruing for thoſe troublous dayes then preſent) may eaſely diſcerne them: either in no part to be theirs, or much of the ſame to be clouted and patched by the doings of other, which liued in other times: ſpecially ſeing al the conſtitutions in them for the moſt part tend to the ſetting vp and to exalt the ſea of Rome aboue al other, Biſhops and churches, and to reduce all cauſes & appeals to the ſaid ſea of Rome. So the epiſtle of Caius beginnyng with the commendation of the authoritie of his ſea, endeth after the ſame tenor, willing and cõmaunding all difficult queſtions in al prouinces whatſoeuer emerging, to be referred to the ſea Apoſtolicall. Moreouer, the greateſt part of the ſaid epiſtle from this place. Quicunque illi ſunt ita obcæcati. &c. to the ende of this periode: Quoniam ſicut ait. B. Apoſtolus Magnum eſt pietatis. &c. is conteyned in the epiſtle of Leo, vnto Leo the Emperour: & ſo rightly agreeth in al poynts with the ſtile of Leo, that euidẽt it is the ſame to be borrowed out of Leo, out of the epiſtle of Caius, or to bee patched into the epiſtle of Caius taken out of Leo.

The Epiſtle of *Caius*.

A great part of the Epiſtle of *Caius*, taken out of the Epiſtle of *Leo*, to *Leo* the Emperour.

Likewiſe the epiſtle of Marcellinus to get more authoritie with ẏ reader, is admixed with a great part of S. Paules epiſtle to the epheſians, worde, for worde. And howe is it like that Marcellinus which died in the 20. yeare of Diocleſian coulde write of conſubſtantialitie of the diuine perſons, when that controuerſie and terme of Conſubſtantialitie, was not heard of in the Church, before Nicene councell, which was 23. yeares after him? But eſpecially the two epiſtles of Marcellus bewray themſelues, ſo that for the confuting therof needeth no other probation, more then onely the reading of the ſame. Such a glorious ſtile of ambition therein doth appeere, as it is eaſie to be vnderſtode, not to proceede either frõ ſuch an humble Martir, or to ſauour any thing of the miſery of ſuch a time. His wordes of hys firſt epiſtle written to the brethren of Antioche, and alleaged in the popes decrees by Gratianus are theſe:

The Epiſtle of *Marcellinus*.

The epiſtles decretall of *Marcellus*.

24. q. 1. Rogamus vos fratres.

We deſire you brethren that ye doe not teach nor conceiue any other thing, but as yee haue receiued of the bleſſed Apoſtle S. Peter, and of other Apoſtles & fathers. For of him ye were firſt of all inſtructed. wherefore you muſt not forſake your owne father and followe others. For hee is the head of the whole Church to whom the Lord ſayd: Thou art Peter and vpon this rocke I will build my church. &c. whoſe ſeate was firſt with you in Antioche: which afterward by the commaundement of the Lord was tráſlated frő thence to Rome, of the which church of Rome I am this day placed (by the grace of god) to be the gouernour. Frő the which church of Rome, neither ought you to ſeparate your ſelues, ſeeing to the ſame church all maner cauſes eccleſiaſticall, being of any importance (Gods grace ſo diſpoſing) are commonded to be referred: by the ſame to be ordered regularly, from whence they tooke their firſt beginning. &c. And followeth conſequently vpon the ſame. And if your Church of Antioche, which was once the 1. wil now yeld her ſelf vnto the ſea of Rome, ther is no other Church els, which will not ſubiect it ſelfe to our dominion: to whom all other Byſhops, who ſo euer liſteth, and as they muſt needes do (according to the decrees of the the Apoſtles and of their ſucceſſors) ought to flee vnto, as to their head, and muſt appeale to the ſame, there to haue their redreſſe, and their protection from whence they tooke their firſt inſtruction and conſecration. &c.

In what chapter or leafe in all the Byble doth the Lord commaund the ſea of *Peter* to be tranſlated from Antioche to Rome.

The church of Rome biddeth the Church of Antioche to yeld vnto her.

whether this be like matter to proceed from the ſpirit of Marcellus that bleſſed martyr, in thoſe ſo dreadfull dayes, I ſay no more, but onely deſire thee (gẽtle reader) to iudge.

The ſecond Epiſtle of *Marcellus* written to *Maxentius*.

In hys ſecond Epiſtle moreouer, the ſayd Marcellus, writing to Maxentius, the bloudy tyraunt, firſt reprehendeth him for his crueltie, ſharpely admoniſhing him howe & what to do: to learne and ſeeke the true religion of God, to mayntayne hys Churche, to honor and reuerence the Prieſtes of God, and ſpecially exhorteth him to charitie, and that he would ceaſe from perſecution. &c. All this is poſſible, and like to be true: but now marke (good reader) what blanched ſtuffe here followed withall: as where hee alledging the ſtatutes and ſanctions of hys predeceſſors, declareth and diſcuſſeth that no byſhop nor miniſter ought to be perſecuted, or depriued of hys goodes. And if they be, then ought the to haue their poſſeſſions and places againe reſtored (by the law) before they were bound (by the law) to aunſwere to their accuſations layd in agaynſt thẽ. And ſo after that, in conuenient tyme, to be called to a councell. The which councell notwithſtanding, without the authoritie of the holy ſea, cannot proceede regularly (albeit it remayne in hys power to aſſemble certayne Byſhops together.) Neyther can he regularly condemne any Byſhop, appealing to this hys Apoſtolicall ſea, before the ſentence diffinite do proceede from the foreſayd ſea. &c. And it followeth after: and therefore (ſayth he) let no Byſhop of what crime ſoeuer he be attached, come to hys accuſation or be heard, but in hys owne ordinary Synode at hys conuenient time: the regular and Apoſtolicalll authoritie beyng ioyned withall. Moreouer in the ſayd Epiſtle writing to Maxentius, hee decreeth that no lay men, or any ſuſpected Byſhop, ought to accuſe Prelates of the Church: ſo that if

The Epiſtle of *Marcellus* to *Maxentius* blanched.

they be either laye men, or men of euill conuerſation, or proued manyfeſt enmies, or incenſed with anye hatred, their accuſations againſt any Byſhops ought not to ſtande. Wyth other ſuch matters moe, concerning the diſpoſition of iudiciall court. Which matter, if Pope *Gregory* the ſeuenth, had written to *Henrye* the third Emperour, or if Pope *Alexander* the third, had written to the Emperour *Fredericus* the firſt: it might haue ſtand with ſome reaſon and opportunity of time. But nowe for Marcellus to write theſe decrees in ſuch perſecution of the Churche, to Maxentius the Heathen and moſt cruell Emperour: howe vnlyke it is to bee true, and howe it ſerued then to purpoſe, the Reader may ſone diſcerne. And yet theſe be the epiſtles and conſtitutions decretal, whereby (vnder the pretenſed title of the fathers) al churches of late time, & al eccleſiaſtical cauſes haue beene, & yet are in this realme of england to this day gouerned, directed, and diſpoſed.

The church of England gouerned by the popes Canõ law without ſufficient ground of antiquitie.

The like diſcuſſion & examination I might alſo make of the other epiſtles that followe of Euſebius and Miltiades, which al tende to the ſame ſcope, that no Prelate or biſhop ought to come to his anſwere (or ad litem cõteſtatam, as the words of their writing do terme it) before they be orderly & fully reſtored again to their poſſeſſiõs. Who moreouer in yͤ ſaid their epiſtles ſtil harpe vpon this key of yͤ ſcripture: Tu es Petrus, & ſuper hanc petram ædificabo eccleſiam meam, Declaring moreouer that this priuiledge of iudging al mẽ and to be iudge of no man, but onely to be left to yͤ iudgement of the Lord: was gyuen to this foreſayd holy ſea of Rome, from tyme of the Apoſtles, & chiefly lefte wͭ Peter the holye key keeper: ſo that although the election of the Apoſtles was equall, yet this was chieflye graunted to Saint Peter, to haue preheminence aboue the reſt. Concluding in the ende hereby. Quod ſemper maiores cauſæ, ſicut ſunt epiſcoporum, & potiorum curæ negotiorum, ad vnam beati principis Apoſtolorum Petri ſedem confluerent: That is: that alwaies all greater cauſes, as be the matters of Byſhoppes, and ſuch other cares of weighty importaunce, ſhould be brought to the ſea of S. Peter, the bleſſed prince of the Apoſtles. &c. Theſe be the wordes of Miltiades and Euſebius, whereby it may partly be ſmelled of him that hath any noſe, what was the meaning of thẽ which forged theſe writings and letters, vpon theſe auntient holy martirs.

The Epiſtles decretall of *Euſebius* and *Miltiades*.

Ex Epiſt. Decretal. Miltiades.

This I cannot but maruell at, in the thirde Epiſtle of Euſebius the biſhop of Rome, that where as Marcellius his late predeceſſor before, in his owne time and remembraunce did fall ſo horribly, and was condemned for the ſame iuſtly to be expulſed the Citie by the counſell of 300. Byſhops: yet notwithſtanding the foreſaid Euſebius in his third epiſtle alledging yͤ place of Tu es Petrus, bringeth in for a profe of the ſame and ſaith: Quia in ſede Apoſtolica extra maculam ſemper eſt Catholica ſeruata religio, &c. That is, for in the Apoſtolicall ſea, alwaies the Catholike Religion hath bene preſerued without any ſpot or blemiſh.

A place of the third Epiſtle decretall of *Euſebius* found vntrue.

But howſoeuer the forgers of theſe decretal Epiſtles haue forgottẽ themſelues, moſt certeine it is that theſe holy biſhops, vpon whom they were and are aſcribed: liued perfect good men, and died bleſſed martirs. Of whom this Miltiades was the laſt among all the Biſhoppes of Rome here in the weſt Church of Europe, that euer was in daunger of perſecution to be Martired, yet to this preſent day.

Miltiades the laſt Byſhop of Rome being in danger of perſecution.

And thus haue ye heard the ſtories and names of ſuch bleſſed Saintes, which ſuffered in the time of perſecution, from the xix. yeare of Diocleſian, to the vij. and laſt yeare of Maxentius with the deathes alſo & plagues deſcribed vpon theſe tormentors, and cruel tiraunts, which were the captaines of the ſame perſecutiõ. And here commeth in (bleſſed be Chriſt) the ende of theſe perſecutions here in theſe weſt Churches of Europe, ſo far as the dominion of bleſſed Conſtantinus did chiefly extend.

The end of theſe perſecutions in all the Weſt Churches.

Yet notwithſtanding in Aſia al perſecution as yet ceaſed not for the ſpace of foure yeres, as aboue is mentioned by the meanes of wicked Licinius. Vnder whome diuers there were holy and conſtant martirs, that ſuffered greeuous torments: as Hermylus a Deacon, and Stratonicus a keeper of the priſon, which both, after their puniſhments ſuſtained, were ſtrangled in the flond Iſter. Metaſth. Alſo Theodorus yͤ Captaine, who being ſent for of Licinius, becauſe he would not come, and becauſe he brake his Gods in peeces, and gaue them to the pore, therfore was faſtned to the croſſe, and after being pearſed with ſharpe pricks or bodkins, in the ſecret parts of his body, was at laſt beheaded. Adde to this alſo Milles, who firſt being a Souldiour, afterward was made biſhop of a certaine Citie in Perſia, where he ſeing himſelfe could do no good to conuert them, after many tribulations and great afflictions among thẽ, curſed the Citie and departed. Which citie ſhortly after by Sapores king of Perſia was deſtroied.

The perſecutiõ vnder *Licinius*.

Hermylus, Straconicus Martyrs. *Theodorus* Captayne, Martyr. *Milles*, martyr.

The kinges of Perſia were commonly called by the name of *Sapores*.

In the ſame countrey of Perſia, about this time ſuffered vnder Sapores the king (as recordeth Symeon Metaſthenes) diuers valiant & conſtant martirs, as Acindymus, Pegaſius, Anempodiſtus, Epidephorus, alſo Symeon Archbiſhop of Seleucia, with Cteſiphon an other biſhop in Perſia, with other miniſters & religious men of that region, to yͤ number of 128. Of this Symeon and Cteſiphon thus writeth Zozomenus lib. 2. That the idolatrous Magitians in Perſia, taking counſaile togither againſt yͤ Chriſtians, accuſed Symeon & Cteſiphõ, to Sapores yͤ king, for yͤ they were gratefull & accepted vnto yͤ Romane Emperor & bewraied to him, ſuch things as were done in yͤ land of Perſia. Wherupon Sapores being moued, toke great diſpleaſure againſt yͤ chriſtians, oppreſſing them with taxes & tributes vnto their vtter impoueriſhing, killing alſo their Prieſtes with the ſword: After that calleth for Symeon the Archbyſhop, who there before the king declared himſelfe a worthy & a valiant captaine, of Chriſts church. For when Sapores had cõmaũded him to be led to ſuffer torments, he neither ſhronk for any feare, nor ſhewed any great humble ſute of ſubmiſſion for any pardon: wherat the king partly marueiling, partly offended, aſked why he did not knele downe, as he was wont before to do. Symeon to this aũſwered, for that ſaith he, before this time I was not brought vnto you in bondes to betray the true God, as I am nowe, ſo long I refuſed not to accompliſhe that which the order & cuſtome of the Realme of me required: but now it is not lawful for me ſo to do, for now I come to ſtand in defence of our Religion and true doctrine. When Symeon thus had aunſwered, the king perſiſting in his purpoſe, offereth vnto him yͤ choiſe, either to worſhip with him after his maner (promiſing to him many great gifts, if he would ſo doe) or if he would not, threatneth to him and to al the other chriſtians within his land, deſtruction. But Symeon neither allured with his promiſes, nor terrified with his threatnings, cõtinued conſtaunt in his doctrine profeſſed, ſo that neyther he could be induced to Idolatrous worſhip, nor yet to betray the truth of his religion. For the which cauſe he was committed into bands, and there commaunded to be kept to the kings pleaſure further knowne.

Perſecution in Perſia.

Acindimus, Pegacius, Anempodiſtus, Epidephorus, Symeon Archbiſhop. *Cteſiphon.* Byſhop, Martyrs.

128. Martirs in Perſia.

The ſtory of *Symeon* Archb. of *Seleucia*.

Ex Sozom. lib. 2. cap. 8. 9. 10.

The worthy anſwere of *Symeon* vnto the king.

The conſtancie of *Symeon*.

It befel in the way as he was going to yͤ priſon, there was ſitting at the kings gate a certaine Eunuche, an olde Tutor or ſcholemaiſter of yͤ kings, named Vſthazares, who had bene once a chriſtian, and afterward falling from hys profeſſion, fell with the Heathen multitude to their Idolatrie. This Vſthazares ſitting at the dore of the kinges pallace, and ſeing Symeon paſſing by led to the priſon, roſe vp and reuerenced the Biſhop. Symeon againe with ſharpe wordes (as the time would ſuffer) rebuked him & in great anger cried out againſt him: which being once a chriſtian, woulde ſo cowardly reuolt from his profeſſion, & returne againe to the Heatheniſh Idolatry. At the hearing of theſe words the Eunuch forthwith braſting out in teares, laying away his courtly apparell, which was ſumptuous & coſtly & putting vpon him a blacke and mourning weede, ſitteth before the court gates weping and bewailing, thus ſaying with himſelfe: wo is me, wyth what hope, wyth what face, ſhall I looke hereafter for my God, which haue denied my god: whẽ as this Symeon my familiar acquantance, thus paſſing by me, ſo much diſdaineth me, that he refuſeth with one gentle word to ſalute me?

The fall of *Vſthazares*.

The fruite of Eccleſiaſticall diſcipline and chaſtiſment.

The repentance of *Vſthazares*.

Theſe things being brought to the eares of the King (as ſuch tale cariers neuer lacke in Princes courtes) procured againſt him no litle indignation. Wherupon Sapores the king ſending for him, firſt with gentle words & courtly promiſes began to ſpeake him faire, aſking him what cauſe he had ſo to mourne, & whether there was any thing in his houſe, which was denied him, or which he had not at his owne will and aſking. Whereunto Vſthazares aunſwering againe ſaide: That there was nothing in that earthly houſe, which was to him lacking, or wherũto his deſire ſtod. Yea would god (ſaid he) O king any other grief or calamitie in al the world, whatſoeuer it were, had happened vnto me, rather thẽ this for yͤ which I do moſt iuſtly mourne and ſorrow. For this ſorroweth me that I am this day aliue, who ſhould rather haue died long ſince, & that I ſee this ſonne, which againſt my hart and mynde, for your pleaſure diſſẽblingly I appeared to worſhip, for which cauſe doublewiſe I am worthy of death. Firſt, for yͤ I haue denied Chriſt. Secondly, becauſe I did diſſemble with you. And incontinent vpon theſe wordes, ſwearing by him that made both heauen & earth, affirmed moſt certainly, that although he had plaied yͤ foole before, he would neuer be ſo mad againe, as in ſteede of the creator and maker of all thinges, to worſhip the creatures which he had made and created. Sapores the king being aſtonied at the ſo ſodaine alteration of this man, and doubting with hymſelfe, whether to be angry with thoſe inchaunters, or with

The aunſwere of *Vſthazares* to the king.

Vſthazares the kinges tutor condemned to be beheaded.

The meſſage of *Vſthazares* To the king.

The cauſe openly cryed, why *Vſthazares* was beheaded.

The end and martirdome of *Vſthazares.*

The martirdome of *Symeon* Archb.

The exhortatiõ of *Symeon* the Archbiſhop to the martyrs at their death, when he alſo hymſelfe ſhould ſuffer.

him, whether to intreat him wyth gentlenes, or wyth rygour, at length in this moode commaunded the ſayde Vſthazares his old auncient ſeruaunt, and firſt Tutor & bringer vp of his youth, to be had away, and to be beheaded: as he was going to the place of execution, he deſired of the executioners, a lyttle to ſtaye, whyle he myght ſende a meſſage vnto the king, which was this (ſent in by certayne of the kings moſt truſty Eunuches) deſiring him that for all the old and faythfull ſeruyce he had done to his Father, & to him, he would now requite him wͭ thys one office agayne, to cauſe to bee cryed openlye by a publike cryer in theſe wordes followyng: that Vſthazares was beheaded not for any trechery or cryme committed againſt the king or the Realme, but onelye for that hee was a Chriſtyan, and woulde not at the Kinges pleaſure denye hys God. And ſo accordyng to hys requeſte it was performed and graunted. For thys cauſe dyd Vſthazares ſo much deſire the cauſe of hys death to be publyſhed: becauſe that as his ſhrynking backe from Chriſt, was a great occaſion to manye Chriſtians to doe the lyke: ſo nowe the ſame hearing ẏ Vſthazares dyed for no other cauſe but only for ẏ religion of Chriſt, ſhoulde learne lykewyſe by hys example to bee feruente and conſtaunt in that which they profeſſe. And thus thys bleſſed Eunuch dyd conſummate hys Martyrdome. Of the which hys Martyrdome, Symeon hearing being in pryſon was very ioyfull, and gaue god thanks. Who in the nexte daye followyng, being brought forth before the Kyng, and conſtantly refuſyng to condeſcende to the Kynges requeſt, to worſhyp viſible creatures, was lykewyſe by the commaundement of the Kyng beheaded, wyth a great number mo, whithe the ſame daye alſo did ſuffer, to the number as is ſayd of an hundreth and more. All whiche were put to death before Symeon, he ſtanding by, and exhortyng them, wyth comfortable wordes: admoniſhing them to ſtande fyrme and ſtedfaſt in the Lord, Preachyng and teachyng them concernyng death, reſurrection, and true pietye, and proued by the Scryptures ẏ to be true which he had ſayde. Declaryng moreouer that to be true lyfe in deede, ſo to dye: and that to be death in deede, to deny or to betray God for feare of puniſhment. And added further, that there was no man alyue, but needes once muſt dye. For ſo much as to all men is appoynted neceſſarelye, here to haue an ende. But thoſe thyngs which after this lyfe followe hereafter, to bee eternall, which neyther ſhall come to all men after one ſorte. But as the condition and trade of lyfe in dyuers men doth dyffer, and is not in all men like: ſo the tyme ſhall come, when all men in a moment ſhall render and receaue accordyng to theyr dooynges in thys preſent lyfe immortall rewardes: ſuch as haue here done well, of lyfe and glory, ſuch as haue done contrary, of perpetual puniſhment: As touching therefore our well doyng, here is no doubte but of all other our holy actions and vertuous deedes, there is no hyer or greater deede, then if a man here looſe his lyfe, for hys Lord God. Wyth theſe wordes of comfortable exhortation, the holye Martyrs beyng prepared, willyngly yeelded vp their liues to death. After whom at laſt followed Symeon, with two other Prieſtes or Myniſters of his Church, Abedecalaas, and Ananias, which alſo wyth him were pertakers of the ſame Martyrdome.

Abedecalaas, Ananias, Martirs.

The ſtory of *Puſices* Martyr.

The free ſpeach and boldnes of *Puſices.*

The cruell martyrdome of *Puſices.*

The daughter of *Puſices* Martyr.

At the ſufferyng of thoſe aboue mentioned, it happened that Puſices one of the Kynges offycers, and ouerſeer of hys Artificers, was there preſent: who ſeeyng Ananias beyng an aged olde Father, ſomwhat to ſhake and tremble at the ſyght of them that ſuffered: O Father (ſayde he) a lyttle moment ſhut thyne eies, and be ſtrong, and ſhortly thou ſhalt ſee the ſight of God. Upon theſe words thus ſpoken, Puſices immediately was apprehended & brought to the King. Who there confeſſing himſelfe conſtantly to be a Chryſtian, and for that he was very bould and hardy before the king in the cauſe of Chriſts faith, was extremely and moſt cruelly handled in the execution of his Martyrdome. For in the vpper part of hys necke they made a hole to thruſt in theyr hande, and pluckt out hys tongue out of hys mouth, and ſo he was put to death. At ẏ which time alſo the daughter of Puſices, a godly virgine, by the malicious accuſation of the wicked, was apprehended & put to death.

A cruell edict of Sapores agaynſt the Chriſtians.

Innumerable martyrs in Perſia.

Azades, a noble co yer Marty

The prou of God to the Chri

The next yeare followyng, vpon the ſame day, when the Chriſtians did celebrate the remembraunce of ẏ Lords paſſion, which wee call good Frydaye before Eaſter (as wytneſſeth the ſayde Zozomenus.) Sapores the king directed out a cruell and ſharpe Edict throughout al his land, condemning to death all them, whoſoeuer confeſſed themſelues to be Chriſtians. By reaſon whereof an innumerable multitude of Chriſtians, through the wicked procuring of the malignant Magitians ſuffered the ſame tyme by the ſworde, both in Citie and in Towne: ſome beyng ſought for, ſome offeryng themſelues willyngly, leaſt they ſhoulde ſeeme by their ſylence to deny Chriſt. Thus al the Chriſtians that could be founde, without pitie were ſlaine and diuers alſo of the kinges owne court and houſholde. Amonge whome was alſo Azades an Eunuche, and whome the Kyng did entirely loue and fauour. Which Aſades after that the King vnderſtode to be put to death, beyng greatly moued with the ſorrow thereof commaunded after that, no Chriſtians to bee ſlayne, but them onely which were the Doctours and teachers of Chryſtian Religion.

Trabula wi her ſiſter, tyrs.

Trabula the ſiſter of Sym on.

Falſe accuſati on falſly be leued.

Trabula and her ſiſter ſawne in ſun der.

The blind charme of th wicked Queene.

Example of maydenly chaſtitie in *Trabula.*

In the ſame tyme it happened that the Queene fell into a certaine diſeaſe: vpon the occaſion whereof the cruell Iewes with the wicked Magicians, falſely and maliciouſly accuſed Trabula, the ſiſter of Symeon, the Martyr, a godly Virgine, with an other ſiſter alſo of hers: that they had wrought pryuie charmes to hurt the Queene, for the reuenging of the death of Symeon. This accuſation beyng receaued and beleeued: innocent Trabula, with the other were condemned, and with a ſawe cut in ſunder by the middle. Whoſe quarters were then hanged vpon ſtakes: the Queene goyng betweene them, thinking thereby to be deliuered of her ſickenes. This Trabula, was a mayde of a ryght comelye beauty, and verye amiable, to whome one of the Magicians caſt great loue, much deſiring and labouryng by gyftes and rewardes ſent into the pryſon to wynne her to hys pleaſure: promiſing that if ſhe woulde applye to hys requeſt ſhee ſhoulde bee deliuered and ſet at lybertye. But ſhe vtterly refuſing to conſente vnto hym, or rather rebukyng him for his incontinent attempt dyd chuſe rather to dye, then to betray eyther the Religion of her minde or the virginitie of her body. Zozom.

Ex eccleſiaſt. Hiſt. Zozom. lib. 2. cap. 13. Perſecution agaynſt the Biſhops and teachers of the church in Perſia.

Acepſimas Byſhop Martyr. *Iacobus* Prieſt Martyr. Example of true Chriſtian charitie and ſinguler piety in *Iacobus.*

Athalas Deacon, *Azadanes* Deacon, *Abdieſus* Deacon, Martyrs. This *Archimagus*, and *magi* (as *Xenophon.* ſayth) was an order of religion among the Perſians, which had the greateſt ſtroke in the land next to the king.

The end and martirdome of *Acepſimas* Byſhop. *Athalas* loſt the vſe of both hys armes beyng pluckt from the ioyntes of his body.

Now forſomuch as the king had cõmaunded that no Chriſtians ſhould be put to death, but onely ſuch as were the teachers and leaders of the flocke: the Magicians and Archmagitians, left no diligence vntried, to ſet forward the matter. Whereby great affliction and perſecutions was among the Byſhops and teachers of the Church, which in all places, went to ſlaughter, eſpecially in the country of Diabenor, for that part of Perſia aboue al other was moſt Chriſtian. Where Acepſimas ẏ Byſhop with a great number of his flocke and clergy, were apprehended and taken: vpon the apprehenſion of whõ the Magicians to ſatiſfie ẏ kings commaundement, diſmiſſed al the reſt, onely depriuing them of their liuing and goods. Onely Acepſimas the biſhop they retayned, with whom one Iacobus a Miniſter or prieſt of his church was alſo ioined: not of any compulſion, but onely as himſelfe ſo deſired and obtained of thoſe Magicians, ẏ he might folow him, & be coupled in ẏ ſame bonds to ſerue the aged byſhop, and to relieue (ſo much as he might) his calamities, and heale his woundes. For he had bene ſore ſcourged before of the Magians, after they had apprehended him, and brought him to worſhippe the ſunne, which thing becauſe he would not do, they caſt him into priſon againe, where this Iacobus was waiting vpõ him. At the ſame time likewiſe Athalis a Prieſt or Miniſter, alſo Azadanes and Abdieſus Deacons were impryſoned, and miſerably ſcourged for the teſtimony of the Lorde Ieſus. After this the Archimagus eſpying his time, complaineth to the king of them, hauing authoritie and commiſſion giuen him (vnles they would worſhip the ſunne) to puniſh them as he pleaſed. This commaundement receyued of the king, the maſter Magus doth declare to thẽ in priſon. But they aunſwered againe plainely, that they would neuer be either betraiers of Chriſt, or worſhippers of the ſunne. Wherupon without mercy they were put to bitter torments. Where Acepſimas ſtrongly perſiſting in the confeſſion of chriſt, endureth to death. The other being no leſſe rent & wounded with ſcourges, yet cõtinued merueilouſly aliue. And becauſe they woulde in no caſe turne from their conſtant ſentence, were turned againe into priſon. Of whome Athalas in the time of his whipping was ſo drawne & rackt with pulling, that both his armes being looſed out of the ioynts, hanged downe from his body: which he ſo caried about without vſe of any hande to feede himſelfe, but as he was fed of other.

Ex Sozo. li. 2. cap. 13. ex Nicepho. Lib. 8. cap. 17. *Barbaſimes, Paulus, Gaddiabes, Sabinus, Mareas, Mocius, Iohannes, Hormiſdas, Papas, Iacobus, Romas, Maares, Agas, Bochres, Abdas, Abieſus, Ioannes, Abram*

Miſerable and almoſt innumerable were the ſlaughters vnder the raigne of this Sapores, of Byſhops, Miniſters, Deacons, religious men holy virgins, and other eccleſiaſticall perſons ſuch as did then cleaue to the doctrine of Chriſt and ſuffered for the ſame. The names of the biſhops beſides the other multitude taken in that perſecution, is recited in Sozom. lib. 2. and in Niceph. lib. 8 cap. 37. in this order following, Barbaſymes, Paulus, Gaddiabes, Sabinus, Mareas, Mocius, Iohannes, Hormiſdas, Papas, Iacobus, Romas, Maares, Agas, Bochres, Abdas, Abieſus, Ioannes, Abramius, Agdelas, Sabores, Iſaac, Dauſas Bicor. alſo with Maureanda his fellow biſhop, and the reſt of his Churches vnder hym, to the number of 250. perſons, which were the ſame time apprehended of the Perſians. &c. Briefly to comprehend the whole multitude of them that ſuffered in that perſecution, the maner of their apprehenſion, the crueltes of their tormẽts, how and where they ſuffered, & in what places it is not poſſible for any hiſtory to diſcharg. Neither are ye Perſians them ſelues (as Zozomenus recordeth) able to recyte them. In ſumme, the multitude and number of thẽ whom they are able to recite by name, commeth to the ſumme of xvj. thouſand men and women.

Aydelas, Sabores, Iſaac, Dauſas, Bicoo, Maureanda with 250. other martirs.

The number of the martirs that ſuffered in Perſia, were 16. thouſand.

Conſtantinus the Emperour writeth to the king of Perſia in the behalfe of the afflicted Chriſtians.

The rumor and noyſe of this ſo miſerable affliction of the Christians in the kingdome of Perſia, comming to the eares of Conſtantinus the Emperour, put him in great heauines, ſtuding and reuoluing with himſelfe, howe to helpe the matter, which in deede was very hard for him to do. It ſo befell the ſame time, that certaine Embaſſadours were then at Rome from Sapores king of Perſia, to whom Conſtantinus did eaſely graunt, and conſent, ſatiſfying all their requeſtes, and demaundes, thinking thereby to obtaine the more friendſhip at the kings handes, that at hys requeſt, he would be good to the Chriſtians to whome he writeth his Epiſtle in their behalfe, and ſendeth the ſame by his meſſengers beginning thus:

The copy and effect of the Epiſtle of *Conſtantine* to *Sapores*.

Diuinam fidem ſeruans veritatis lucem ſortior. Veritatis luce ductus diuinam fidem cognoſco. Per ea igitur, quibus illa res agẽdas confirmat, ſanctiſſimam religionem cognitam reddo, & hunc me cultum doctorem cognitionis ſancti dei habere confiteor. &c. Euſebius. de vita. Conſtantinus. lib. 4. The contentes whereof, briefly do tende to this effect. Declaring vnto him how he ſhould ſtand much beholden to him, if at his requeſt he would ſhew ſome quiet and reſt to the Chriſtians. In whoſe religion there was nothing which he could iuſtly blame. For ſo much as in their ſacrifices they vſe to kil nothing, nor to ſhed no bloud, but only to offer vp vnbloudy ſacrifices, to make their praiers vnto God, who delighteth not in bloud ſhedding, but onely in the ſoule that loueth vertue, and followeth ſuch doctrine and knowledge, which is agreeing to true pietie. And therefore ſuch men as doe leade him and learne ſo to beleue, and to worſhip God, are more to bee commended. Moreouer he aſſureth him to finde God more mercifull to him, if hee woulde embrace the godlye pietye and truth of the Chriſtians. And for example thereof, bringeth in the ſtories of Galienus and Valerianus, who ſo long as they were fauorers of the Chriſtiãs did proſper and floriſh. But as ſoone as they moued any perſecution agaynſt them, it happened to them, as it did to all other Emperors before them, that all went backward with them, as eſpecially might appere by Valerianus, who after he had raged ſo cruelly againſt the Chriſtians, was eftſoones ouercome of the Perſians, the reuenging hand of God falling vpon him, where hee led euer after a miſerable life, in wretched captiuitie. Farther alſo for the more euidẽce of the ſame, inferreth the examples of thoſe Emperors and tyrants in his time, whom he vanquiſhed & ſubdued only by his faith in Chriſt, for the which faith, God was hys helper, and gaue him the victory in many battailes, and tryumph ouer great tyraunts, whereby he hath alſo enlarged the dominiõ of the Romane monarchie from the weſt Ocean, to the vttermoſt parts wel neere of al the Eaſt. To the doing and working wherof, he neither called to him the helpe of any charmer, or diuination of ſouthſayer, nor vſed the killing of any ſacrifice: but onely the following of the croſſe, and prayer made to almightie God, without any other bloudy ſacrifice, was the armour wherewith hee ouercame, &c. And in the end of the Epiſtle addeth theſe words What ioy (ſaith he) what gladnes would it be to my hart, to heare the ſtate alſo of the Perſians to floriſh, as I wiſh it to do, by embracing this ſort of men, the Chriſtians I meane? ſo that both you with them, and they with you in long proſperite may enioy much felicity together as your harts would deſire, & in ſo doing no doubt ye ſhall. For ſo ſhall you haue God, which is the author and creator of all this vniuerſall worlde, to be mercifull and gratious to you. Theſe men therefore I commend vnto you vpon your kingly honour, And vpon your clemency and piety, wherewith you are indued, I commit them vnto you, deſiring you to embrace & receaue them according to your humanitie and benignity, agreing and conuenient to your eſtate: who in ſo doing ſhal now both procure to your ſelfe grace through your faith, and alſo ſhall declare to me a great pleaſure and benefit worthy of thanks.

Of this *Galienus* and *Valerianus* read the pag. 75.

The generall care of godly *Conſtantinus* for all chriſtians in all places.

This Epiſtle wrot Conſtantinus to king Sapores. Such care had this godly Prince for them that beleued in Chriſt not onely in his owne Monarchie, but alſo in all places of the world: neither is it to be doubted but this interceſſiõ of the Emperour did ſomething mittigate the heate of the Perſians perſecution. Although thereof we reade no certaine thing in our hiſtoryes.

Other forrayne perſecutions in Perſia.

Andas Byſhop martir.

Of other troubles and perſecutions we read of, which happened afterward in the ſaid country of Perſia, vnder Iſdigerdes the king, but theſe followed long after about the time of the Emperour Theodoſius. At which time ſuffered Andas their biſhop, and Hormiſda a great noble mans ſõne, and of great reputation among the Perſians: whom whẽ the king vnderſtod to be a Chriſtian, and to deny to turne from his religion, condemned him to kepe his Elephants naked. In proceſſe of time the king looking out, and ſeeing him all ſwarted and tanned in the ſunne, commanded him to haue a ſhirt put on, & to be brought before him. Whome then the king aſked, if he woulde denye Chriſt. Hormiſda hearing this, tare of his ſhirt from his body, and caſt it frõ him ſaying: If yee thinke that I will denye my faith to Chriſt for a ſhirt, haue heere your gift againe &c. And ſo was vpon that expelled the country. Theodor. lib. 5.

The ſtory of *Hormiſda* Martyr. *Ex Theodor. Lib. 5. cap. 39.*

The faythfull conſtancie of *Hormiſda*.

Hormiſda baniſhed the country of Perſia.

Suenes Martir.

An other there was that ſame time, named Suenes, which had vnder him an hundreth ſeruaunts. The king takyng diſpleaſure with him, for that he would not alter from hys religion and godly truth, aſked who was the worſt of all his ſeruaunts. And him the king made ruler of all ye reſt, and coupling him with his maiſters wife, brought alſo Suenes vnder his ſubiection, thinking therby to ſubdue alſo the faith of Suenes, but it was builded vpon a ſure foundation.

The conſtancy of *Suenes*.

Of Beniamin the Deacon thus writeth the ſaide Theoret, in his fift booke, that after two yeares of his impriſonment, at the requeſt of the Romaine Legate hee was deliuered, who afterward contrary to the kings commaundement hee preached and taught the Goſpell of Chriſt, was moſt miſerable excarnificate, hauing xx. ſharpe prickes of reeds thruſt vnder his nayles, but when he did laugh at ye, then in his priuye yarde had a ſharpe reede thruſt in with horrible paine. After that a certaine long ſtalk ragged and thorny being thruſt into his body by the nether part, was forced into him with the horriblenes of the paine, whereof the valiant and inuincible ſouldiour of the Lord gaue out his life. Theodor. ibid. And thus much concerning the martirs and perſecutions among the Perſians, although theſe perſecutions belong not of this time, which came (as it is ſayd) long after the daies of Conſtantinus, about the yeare of our Lorde. 425.

The ſtory of *Beniamin* Deacon and Martyr.

Beniamin tormented.

The martirdome of *Beniamin*.

Likewiſe vnder Iulianus the wicked Apoſtata, certaine there were which conſtanly ſuffered Martyrdome by the Heathen Idolaters, as Emilyanus, who was burned in Thracia, and Domitius, which was ſlayne in hys caue. Theodorus alſo for ſinging of a Pſalme at the remouing of the body of Babylas (whereof mention is made of before pag 60.) being apprehended, was ſo examined with exquiſite torments, and ſo cruelly excruciate from morning almoſt to noone, that hardly he ſcaped with life. Who being aſked afterward of his friendes, howe he coulde abide ſo ſharpe torments, ſaid that at the firſt beginning he felt ſome paine but afterward there ſtode by him a yong man, who as he was ſweating, wiped of his ſweate, and refreſhed him wt cold water, oft times: wherewith he was ſo delited, that when he was let downe from the engine, it greeued hym, more then before. Ruff. lib. 5. cap 36. Theodor. lib. 3. cap. 11. Zozom. lib. 5. cap. 10.

The martirs vnder *Iulianus* Apoſtata.

Aemilianus Domitius Martyrs.

The ſtory of *Theodorus* Martyr. *Ruff. Lib. 5. cap. 36. Theodor. lib. 3. cap. 11. Zozom. lib. 5. Cap. 10.*

A miracle to be noted.

Artemius alſo the captaine of the Egiptian ſoldiours the ſame time loſt his head for his religiõ indede: although other cauſes were pretended againſt him, Theo. Niceph. lib. 10, cap. 11.

Artemius. Martyr.

Adde to theſe moreouer, Euſebius and Neſtabus two brethren, with Neſtor alſo, which for their chriſtianitie were dragged through the ſtreetes, and murdered of the idolatrous people of Gaza. Sozo. Lib. eod. cap. 11.

Euſebius, Neſtabus, brethren. *Neſtor.* Martirs.

Eupſychius, with other men of Ceſarea martyr.

But eſpecially the crueltie of the Arethuſians, a people of Syria, exceeded againſt the Chriſtian virgines, whome they ſet out naked before the multitude to be ſcorned, after that being ſhauen, they couered them with ſwill and draffe woont to be giuen to their hogs, & ſo cauſed theyr bowels and fleſh to be deuoured of the hungry ſwine. This rage & furye of the wicked Arethuſians, Zozomenus ſuppoſeth to come of this, becauſe that Conſtantinns before had broken them from their country maner, of ſetting forth and expoſing their virgins, filthely to whom ſoeuer luſted, and deſtroyed the temple of Venus in Heliopolis, reſtrayning the people there from their filthines and vile whoredome. Sozom. Lib. 5 cap. 10.

Miſerable crueltie agaynſt the Chriſtian virgins of Arethuſia.

The people made to be pluckt from their olde cuſtomes, though it be neuer ſo wicked.

Of the lamentable ſtory or rather Tragedy of Marcus Arethuſius, their Byſhop, thus writeth the ſaid Sozomenus, and alſo Theodoretus in his third booke, in theſe wordes as followe.

The ſtory of *Marcus Arethuſius*.

This Tragedye (ſaith hee) of Marcus Arethuſius, doth require the eloquence and worthines of Æſchilus, and Sophocles, which may, as the matter deſerueth, ſet forth, and beautify his great afflictions. This man at the commaundement of Conſtantinus, pulled downe a certayn temple dedicated to Idols, and in the ſtead thereof built vp a church where the Chriſtians might congregate. The Arthuſians remembring the little good wil that Iulianus bare vnto him accuſed him as a traitour and enimie to him. At the firſt, according as the ſcripture teacheth he prepared him ſelfe to flee. But when he perceiued that there were certaine of his kinſmen or frynds apprehẽded in his ſteed, returning agayne of his owne accord he offred himſelfe to thoſe that thirſted for his bloude. whome when they had gotten as men neither pytiyng his old age & worne yeares, nor abaſhed at his vertuous conuerſation, being a man ſo adourned both with doctrine & maners, firſt ſtrypt him naked, & pittifully beate him, then within a while after, they caſt him into a foule filthy ſinke, & from thence being brought, they cauſed boyes to thruſt him in with ſharpned ſtickes, made for the nonce to prouoke his paine the more. Laſtly, they put him into a baſket, and being annointed with hony, & broth, they hung him abroad in the heate of the ſunne as meate for waſpes and flies to feede vpon. And all this extremity they ſhewed vnto him, for that they woulde enforce him to do one of theſe things (yͭ is either to build vp againe yͤ temple, which he had deſtroied, or elſe to giue ſo much money as ſhould pay for the building of yͤ ſame: but euen as hee purpoſed with him ſelfe to ſuffer & abide theyr greuous torments, ſo refuſed he to doe that they demaunded of him. At the length they taking him to be but a poore man, and not able to pay ſuch a ſumme of mony, promiſed to forgiue him the one halfe, ſo that he would be contented to pay the other halfe. But he hanging in the baſket woũded pitifully with the ſharpned ſticks of boies & children, and all to be bitten with waſpes & flyes, did not only conceale his paine & griefe, but alſo derided thoſe wicked ones and called them, baſe, low, and terrene people, and he himſelfe to be exalted and ſet on high. At length they demaunding of him but a ſmall ſome of money, he anſwered thus, it is a great wickednes to confer one halfe penye in caſe of impietie, as if a man ſhould beſtow the whole. Thus they beyng not able to preuayle againſt him, let hym downe. And leauyng him went their waye, ſo that euery man might learne at his mouth the example of true pietie and faithfulnes.

The true conſcience of *Marcus Arthuſius.*

Great cruelty ſhewed.

Couetouſnes the cauſe of cruelty.

A notable ſaying.

Although the tractation of theſe foreſayd ſtories & perſecutions of Perſia, aboue premiſed, do ſtray ſomwhat out of the order & courſe of time and place, as which came neither in the time of Conſtantine, nor be pertinent to the monarchy of Rome: yet becauſe in this preſent hiſtory we are in hand with the holy martirs and Saintes of Chriſt, for as much as theſe alſo gaue ſuch a faithfull teſtimony of the Lord Ieſus with their bloud, I thought therefore not to paſſe them ouer with ſome teſtimony in this our Catalogue of holy Martirs. And here an end of theſe perſecutions of the primitiue church.

¶ It may peraduenture be marueiled of ſome, reading the hiſtory of theſe ſo terrible perſecutions aboue ſpecified, why God the almighty director of al things, would ſuffer his owne people and faithfull ſeruaunts, beleeuing in his owne and onely begotien ſonne Ieſus, ſo cruellye to bee handled, ſo wrongfully to be vexed, ſo extreemly to be tormented and put to death, & that the ſpace of ſo many yeres together, as in theſe foreſaid perſecutiõs may appeare. To the which admiration I haue nothing to aunſwere, but to ſay with the words of Hierome: Non debemus ſuper hac rerum iniquitate, perturbare videntes, &c. we ought not to be mooued with this iniquitie of things, to ſee the wicked to preuaile againſt the godly: for ſo much as in the beginning of the worlde we ſee Abell the iuſte to bee killed of wicked Cain. And afterward Iacob being thruſt out, Eſau to reigne in his fathers houſe. In like caſe the Egyptians with bricke and tyle, afflicted the ſonnes of Iſrael. Yea and the Lorde himſelfe, was hee not crucified of the Iewes, Barrabas the thief being let go? Time would not ſuffiſe me, to recite, & recken vp how the godly in this world go to wracke, the wicked flouriſhing and preuailing. Hiero. Briefly, howſoeuer the cauſe hereof proceedeth, whether for our ſins here in this life, or how elſe, ſoeuer, yet this is to vs, & may be to all men a ſufficient ſtay, that we are ſure theſe afflictions and perſecutions of God his people in this worlde, not to come by any chaunce, or blinde fortune, but by the prouydent appointment, and forewarning of God. For ſo in the old law by the affliction of the children of Iſraell, he hath prefigured theſe perſecutions of his Chriſtians. So by the words of Chriſtes owne mouth in the Goſpell, he did forwarne his church of theſe troubles to come. Again neither did he ſuffer theſe ſo great afflictions to fall vpon hys ſeruaunts, before that he had premoniſhed them ſufficientlye by ſpeciall Reuelation in the Apocalips of Iohn his ſeruaũt, in the which Apocalips he declared vnto his church before, not onely what troubles were comming at hande toward them, where, and by whome, they ſhoulde come, but alſo in playne number, if the wordes of the prophecye be well vnderſtoode aſſygneth the true tyme, howe longe the ſayde perſecutions ſhoulde continue, and when they ſhoulde ceaſe. For as there is no doubte, but by the beaſt with ſeauen heades, bearing the whoore of Babylon, dronken wyth the bloude of Saintes, is ſignified the Citie of Rome: So in my iudgement, the power of making fortie two moneths (in the thirteene of the Apocalips) is to bee expounded, taking euery Moneth for a Sabboth of yeares, that is, reckonyng for ſeauen yeares a moneth: ſo that forty and two ſuch Sabbots of yeares, being gathered togither make vppe the yeres iuſt, betweene the time of Chriſtes death, to the laſt yeare of the perſecution of Maxentius, when Conſtantinus fyghting vnder the banner of Chriſt, ouercame him, and made an ende of all perſecution, wythin the Monarchye of Rome. The number of which yeares, by playne computation come to 294. to the which 294. yeares, if yee adde the other ſixe yeares, vnder the perſecution of Licinius in Aſia, then it fylleth vp full the three hundreth yeares. And ſo long continued the perſecution of Chriſtes people, vnder the heathen tirants and Emperours of the Monarchie of Rome, accordyng to the number of the fortye two monethes which the beaſt had power to make, ſpecified in the thirteenth of the Apocalips. For the better explication wherof, becauſe the matter, being of no ſmall importance greatly apperteineth to the publike vtilitie of the Church, & leaſt any ſhoulde miſdoubt me herein to follow any priuate interpretation of mine own, I thought good to cõmunicate to the Reader, that, as hath bene imparted to me, in opening theſe miſtycall numbers in the foreſayd booke of Reuelation conteyned, by occaſion as followeth.

Hierony. in Aba cap. 1.

The wicked in this world doe moſt floriſh and preuayle.

Perſecution commeth by no chaunce.

Perſecution of Gods people prefigured and forewarned of God.

The Churche forewarned of Chriſt by ſpeciall reuelation in the Apoc.

The beaſt i the Apoc. expounded.

42. monthe in the Apoc. cap. 13. expounded.

The beaſt had power to make 42. monthes.

The perſecuting tym of the primitiue Church v der the bea laſted 300. yeares. The Iſraelites 300. yeares.

As I was in hand with theſe hiſtories, and therin cõſidered the exceeding rage of theſe perſecutions, the intolerable tormentes of the bleſſed Saintes., ſo cruelly rackt, rent, torne, and pluckt in peeces, with all kinde of tortures paynes and puniſhmentes that could be deuiſed, more bitter then any death it ſelfe, I coulde not without great ſorrow & paſſiõ of minde, behold their ſorrowfull afflictions, or write of their bloudy paſſiõs. wherin much like it happened to me, as did to T. Liuius, who writing of the warres of Carthage, was ſo moued in the writing thereof: Ac ſi in parte aliqua laboris ac periculi ipſe pariter fuiſſet. Further I proceeded in the ſtory, & the hoater the perſecutions grew, the more my griefe with them, & for thẽ encreaſed, not onely pitiyng their wofull caſe, but alſo almoſt reaſoning with God, thus thinking like a foole with my ſelfe, why God of hys goodneſſe would ſuffer hys children and ſeruaunts, ſo vehemently to be cruciated and afflicted. If mortal things were gouerned by heauenly prouidence (as muſt needs be graũted) why did yͤ wicked ſo rage & floriſh, & the godly ſo to go to wrack? If ſinnes deſerued puniſhmẽt, yet neyther were they ſinners alone, & why was their death aboue all other ſo ſharpe and bitter? At leaſt why woulde the Lord ſuffer the vehemency of theſe ſo horrible perſecutiõs to endure ſo long tyme agaynſt hys poore Church, ſhewing to thẽ no certayne determined end of their tribulatiõs, wherby they knowing the appoynted determinatiõ of almighty God, with more conſolatiõ might endure out the ſame. As the Iſraelites in the captiuitie of Babilon had 70. yeares limitted vnto them. And vnder Pharao they were promiſed a deliueraunce out. Alſo vnder the Syrian tyraunte. 62. weekes were abriged vnto them. Onely in theſe perſecutions, I could finde no end determined, nor limitation ſet for their deliuerance. whereupõ much marueiling wͭ my ſelfe, I ſearched the booke of Reuelatiõ, to ſee whether any thing there might be found. where although I well perceaued, the beaſt there deſcribed to ſignifie the Empire of Rome, which had power to ouercome the Saintes: yet cõcerning the tyme & continuance of theſe perſecutions vnder the beaſt, I found nothing to ſatiſfie my doubt. For albeit I read there of. 42. monethes, of a tyme, tymes and halfe a tyme, of 1260. dayes, yet all this by computation cõming but to 3. yeares & a halfe, came nothing neare the lõg continuance of theſe perſecutiõs, which laſted. 300. yeares. Thus being vexed and turmoyled in ſpirite, about the reckening, of theſe numbers and yeares, it ſo happened vpon a Sonday in the morning lying in my bed, & muſing about theſe nũbers, ſodẽly it was anſwered to my minde, as with a maieſtie, thus inwardly ſaying within me: thou foole count theſe monethes by Sabbots, as the weekes of Daniell are counted by Sabbots. The Lorde I take to witnes thus it was. wherupon thus being admoniſhed, I began to recken the 42. monethes by Sabbats, firſt of monethes, that would not ſerue, thẽ by Sabbots of yeres wherin I began to feele ſome probable vnderſtãding. Yet not ſatiſfied herewith, to haue the matter more ſure, eftſones repaired to certaine Merchaũts, of myne acquaintance, rance. Of whom one is departed a true faythfull ſeruaunt of the Lord, the other two be yet aliue, and witnes hereof. To whom the number of theſe foreſayd 42. monethes, being propounded and examined by Sabbots of yeares, the whole ſumme was found to ſurmount to 294. yeres, conteining the full and iuſt tyme of theſe foreſayd perſecutions neither more nor leſſe.

Now this one claſpe beyng opened, the other numbers that follow, are plaine and manifeſt to the intelligent reader to be vnderſtood. For where mention is made of three yeares and a half: of one tyme, two times, & halfe a tyme, alſo of 1260. dayes, all theſe come to one reckoning, & ſignifie 42. monthes, by which monthes, as is ſayd, is ſignified the whole tyme of theſe primitiue perſecutiõs, as here in order may appeare.

The myſticall numbers in the Apocalyps opened.

1. MCCLX. Reuelation. 11.12.

First, where mention is made, Apocal. chap. 11. that the two Prophetes ſhall propheſie 1260. dayes. And alſo that the woman fleing into the deſert ſhall there be fed 1260. dayes: who knoweth not, that. 1260. dayes make three yeares & a halfe: that is, monethes ———— 42

2. Three dayes and a halfe. Reuela. cap. 11.

Secondly, where we read, chap. 11. the bodyes of the two foreſaid Prophets ſhal lye in the ſtreetes of the great citie vnburied, the ſpace of iij. days & a half, and after the ſaid iij. dayes & a half they ſhall reuiue againe, &c. let the houres of theſe iij. dayes and a half (which be 42.) bee reckoned euery day for a Sabboth of yeares, or els euery day for a moneth, and they come to moneths ———— 42

3. A time, tymes and halfe a time. Reuela. cap. 12.

Thirdly, where as in the ſame booke is expreſſed that the woman had ij. wings geuen her to flye vnto the deſert for a tyme, tymes, and halfe a tyme, geue for one time, one yere, or one day: for ij. times ij. yeares, or ij. dayes: for halfe a tyme, halfe a yere, or half a day. And ſo it is manifeſt, that thoſe three yeares & a halfe, mounteth to monthes ———— 42

4. Xlii. monethes or 3. yeares and a halfe. Reuel. cap. 11.

Fourthly, account theſe 42. moneths aforeſaid (which the beaſt had power to make. Apoc. 11.) by Sabbots of yeares, that is, vij yeares for a moneth: or euery moneth for ſeuen yeares, & it amounteth to the ſumme of yeares ———— 294

And ſo haue ye the iuſt yeares, dayes, times, & months of theſe foreſaid perſecutions vnder the beaſt, neither ſhorter nor longer, reckoning from the death of Iohn Baptiſt vnder Herode the Romain king to the ende of Maxentius, and of Licinius, ij. laſt great perſecutors, the one in the weſt the other in the Eaſt, who were both vanquiſhed by godly Conſtantinus. And ſo peace was geuen to the Church, albeit not in ſuch ample wiſe, but that diuers tumultes and troubles afterward enſued, but they laſted not long: & the chief brunt, to ſpeake of theſe Romain perſecutions, which the holy ghoſt eſpecially conſidered aboue all other, in this his Reuelatiõ thus ended, in the time of this Conſtantinus. Then was the great Dragon the deuill, to witte, the fierce rage & power of his malicious perſecuting, tied ſhort for a thouſand yeres after this, ſo that he could not preuaile in any ſuch ſort, but that the power and glory of the goſpel by little and litle encreaſing and ſpreading with great ioy and libertie, ſo preuailed that at length it got the vpperhand, & repleniſhed the whole earth, rightly verifiyng therein, the water of Ezechiel, which iſſuing out of the right ſide of the aulter, the farther it ran, the deeper it grew, till at length it repleniſhed the whole Ocean Sea, & healed all the fiſhes therin. No otherwiſe the courſe of the Goſpell proceeding of ſmall & hard beginnings kept ſtill his ſtreame, the more it was ſtopped, the ſwifter it ranne: by bloud it ſeeded, by death it quickned: by cutting it multiplied, through violence it ſprong, till at laſt out of thraldome and oppreſſiõ it braſt forth into perfect libertie, & floriſhed in al proſperitie, had it ſo bene, that the chriſtians wiſely & moderatly could haue vſed this reſt & libertie, & not abuſed the ſame, forgetting their former eſtate to their own pride, pomp & worldly eaſe, as it came afterward to paſſe, wherof more is to be ſeene & ſaid (the Lord willing) in place & time conuenient.

Ezech. cap. 47.

And thus much touching the propheticall numbers in the Apocalips. Wherein is to be noted and magnified the eternall wiſdome, and hie prouidence of almighty God, ſo diſpoſing and gouerning his church, that no aduerſitie or perturbation hapneth at any time vnto it, which his prouident wiſedome doth not foreſee before & preordaine, neither doth he preordaine or determine any thing, which he doth not moſt truly perform, both foreſeing the beginning of ſuch perſecutions, and limiting the end therof how long to continue and when to ceaſe. In much like ſort we reade in the bookes of Geneſis, how the ſtocke of Iſraell, was. 400. yeares in the lande of Egipte. During the ſpace of which 400. yeares, after the death of Ioſeph, (who beareth a playne figure of Chriſt) they were hardly intreated and cruelly afflicted of the Egiptians, about the ſpace of. 300. yeares, reckning from after the death of Ioſeph, to their deliuerance out of the bõdage of Egipt, ſemblably as theſe Chriſtians, after Chriſtes time ſuffered the like bondage vnder the Romane tyrauntes.

The perſecuted Iſraelites bearing a figure of the perſecuted Church of Chriſt.

Thus much by the way I thought to inſinuate, leaſt any ſhould muſe, or take any offẽce in himſelf, to ſee or read of the Church, ſo long & ſo many yeares to be vnder ſo miſerable & extreme afflictions. Wherin neither chaunce nor fortune, nor diſpoſitiõ of man, hath had any place: but onely the forecounſaile & determination of the Lord ſo gouerned and diſpoſed the ſame. Who not only did ſuffer thẽ to fall, and foreſee thoſe perſecutions before they fell: but alſo appointed the times and yeares how long they ſhould laſt & when to haue an ende. As by the foreſaide. 42. monethes in the 13. and 11. chap. of S. Iohns Apocalips haue beene declared, which monethes conteyning. 294. yeares, if they be rightly gathered, make the full time betweene the firſt yeare of the perſecution of Chriſt vnder the Iewes & Herode, till the laſt yeare of perſecution vnder Licinius, which was from the natiuitie of Chriſt, an. 324. from the fyrſt perſecution of Chriſt, an. 294. as is aforeſaide. After the which yeare, according to the preordinate counſel of God, when his ſeueritie had bene ſufficiently declared vpon his own houſe, it pleaſed him to ſhew mercy againe, & to bind vp Sathan the old ſerpent, according to the xx. chap. of the Reuelation for the ſpace of a thouſand yeares, that is, frõ this time of Licinius, to the time of Iohn Wickleffe, and Iohn Huſſe. During all which time, albeit certaine conflicts and tumults haue bene among Chriſtian byſhops themſelues in the church, yet no vniuerſal murdering perſecutiõ was ſtirring, before the preaching of Iohn Wickleffe, of Huſſe, and ſuch other, as in the further proceſſe of this hiſtory (Chriſt willing and aiding vs) ſhall more appeare hereafter.

From the firſt perſecution of the primitiue Church to the laſt perſecution; 294. yeares.

Vniuerſall perſecution ceaſeth for a 1000. yeares in the Church. Apoc. 10.

From the tyme of *Licinius.* to *Wickliffe* 1000. yeares, Sathan bound vp for a thouſand yeares.

The time of Sathans binding opened.

Thus hauing at large diſcourſed theſe horrible perſecutions paſt, and heauy afflictions of Chriſtian Martyrs, now by the grace of God, cõming out of this redde ſea of bloudy perſecution, leauing Pharao and his hoſt behynde: let vs ſing gloriouſly to the worthy name of our god, who through the bloud of the lambe, after long & tedious afflictiõs at length, hath viſited his people with comfort, hath tyde vp Sathan ſhorte, hath ſent his meeke Moſes (gentle Conſtantine I meane) by whom it hath ſo pleaſed the Lord to worke deliueraunce to his captiue people, to ſet his ſeruants at liberty, to turne their morning into ioy, to magnifie the church of his ſonne, to deſtroy the Idoles of al the world, to graunt life and liberty (and would God alſo not ſo much riches) vnto them which before were the abiectes of all the world: and all by the meanes of godly Conſtantinus, the meeke and moſt chriſtian Emperour of whoſe diuine victories againſt ſo many tyraunts and Emperours perſecutors of Chriſtes people, and laſtly againſt Licinius, an. 324. of whoſe other noble actes & proweſſes of whoſe bleſſed vertues and his happy birth and progeny, part we haue comprehended before, part now remaineth (Chriſt willing) to be declared.

Doxologia.

This Conſtantine was the ſonne of Conſtantius the Emperour, a good and vertuous childe, of a good and vertuous father, borne in Britaine, as ſaith Eutropius whoſe Mother was named Helena, daughter, in deede of King Coilus, although Ambroſius in his funerall Oration of the death of Theodoſius, ſayth was an Inhoulders daughter. He was a moſt bountifull and gracious Prince, hauyng a deſire to nouriſhe learning and good artes, and did oftentimes vſe to read, write, and ſtudy himſelfe. He had marueilous good ſucceſſe & proſperous atchieuing of al things he toke in hand, which then was (and truely) ſuppoſed to procede of this, for that he was ſo great a fauourer of the Chriſtian fayth. Which faith when he had once embraced, he did euer after moſt deuoutly and religiouſly reuerence: and commaunded by eſpeciall commiſſion and proclamations, that euery man ſhoulde profeſſe the ſame Religion throughout al yͤ Romaine Monarchy. The worſhipping of Idoles, whereunto he was addict, by the allurement of Fauſta his wife: in ſo much that he did ſacrifice vnto them: after the diſcomfite of Maxentius in battaile, he vtterly abiured. But Baptiſme he deferred euen vnto his olde age, becauſe hee had determined a iourneye into Perſia, and thought in Iordan to haue beene baptiſed, Euſebius, lib. 4. de vita Conſtantini.

The good qualities of *Conſtantinus.*

The cauſe of all hys proſperous ſucceſſe.

Conſtantine ſometime by meanes of hys wife was an Idolater.

Euſeb. lib. 4. de vita Conſtant.

As touching his naturall diſpoſition and wit, he was

The common ſaying of *Conſtantinus.*

Auguſt. contra. Creſcon epiſt. 49.50.

very eloquent, a good philoſopher, & in diſputation ſharp and ingenious. He was accuſtomed to ſay, that an Emperour ought to refuſe no labor, for the vtilitie of the common weale: yea, & that to aduenture the mangling of hys body for the remedy thereof, but if otherwaies it maye bee holpen to cheriſh the ſame. This Aurelius, Victor, Pomponius, Letus, & Ignatius write of him. And Ælius Lampridius ſaith writing vppon the life of Heliogabalus, that Conſtantinus was woont to ſaye, that an Empire was giuen by the determinate purpoſe of God, that he to whom it was giuen ſhould ſo imploy his diligẽce, as he might be thought worthy of the ſame at the hands of the gyuer. Which ſame ſaiing alſo Auguſtine noteth in his 3. booke againſt Creſconius. epiſt. 49. and 50.

The raygne of *Conſtantinus.*

The effect of ſome of hys conſtitutions.

He firſt entred into the Empire, by the mercifulnes of God minding after long waues of dolefull perſecution to reſtore vnto his church peace and tranquilitie, an. 311. as Euſebius accompteth in his Chronicle. His raigne cõtinued, as Eutropius affirmeth, 30. yeares, Letus ſaith 32. yeares lacking, 2. monethes. Great peace and tranquilitie enioied the Churche vnder the raigne of this good Emperour, which tooke great paine and trauell for the preſeruation thereof. Firſt, yea and that before he had ſubdued Licinius, he ſet forth many edictes for the reſtitution of the goods of the church, for the reuoking of the Chriſtians out of exile, for taking away the diſſenſion of the Doctours out of the Church, for the ſetting of them free from publike charges, and ſuch like, euen as the copies of his conſtitutions here vnder declare, which Euſebius in his 10. booke, and 5. chapter, repeateth in this wiſe.

❧ *The copy of an Epiſtle of Conſtantinus, ſent to his ſubiectes inhabiting in the Eaſt.*

Euſeb. Lib. 10. cap. 5.

The law of nature made perfect, compared with the knowledge of God.

Lithernes the nurſe of ignoraunce, and ignoraunce the enemy to wiſedome.

Tyranny depriueth Emperours.

Bloudy tyrantes make ciuile warres.

Apollo gaue anſwere out of a caue in the ground, that he was diſquyeted by the Chriſtians.

The ſword geuen for to be auenged vpon malefactours.

A great commendation of the chriſtians.

Victor Conſtantinus Maximus, Auguſtus, to our louing ſubiectes inhabiting throughout the eaſt parts, ſendeth greting. The thing it ſelfe, which in the ſure and moſt firme law of nature is conteyned, doth giue vnto all men (euen as God hath ordeyned the ſame) ſufficient perſeueraunce and vnderſtanding, both of ſuch things as man ought to foreſee, as alſo what things preſently he ought to meditate. Neither is there any thing therein to be doubted, of ſuch as haue their mindes directed to the ſcope or marke of perfect vnderſtanding: ſo that the perfect comprehending of ſound reaſon, and the perſeuerance thereof, be compared with the knowledge of God, being the true and perfect vertue. Wherefore let no wiſe man be troubled, although he ſee diuers men of diuers diſpoſitions. For wiſdome which ſpringeth of vertue cannot abide, or acquaint her ſelfe with fonde ideotes, vnles, that (on the other ſide) the malice of peruerſe lithernes prolong her daies, and cauſe the ſame Ideocie to ſuruiue. Wherfore aſſuredly the crowne and price of vertue lieth open vnto all men, & the moſte mightie God ordereth the iudgement of the ſame. I vndoubted as manyfeſtly as poſſible is, will endeuour my ſelfe to teſtifie and confeſſe vnto you al, the hope which is in me. I think verily that the Emperours which before this time haue latelye bene, euen for their tiranny had the Empire taken from them: & my father onelye exerciſing and vſing al meekenes and lenity in his affaires, calling vpon God the father, with great deuotion & humility, hath beene exalted to the ſame. And all the reſt, as men wanting their wits, and in compariſon as ſauage beaſtes, rather did giue themſelues to like cruelty, then vnto any lenitie & gentlenes towards their ſubiects: in which tyranny euery one for his time being nooſeled, vtterly ſubuerted the true and vnfallible doctrine. And ſo great malice was their kindled in their breſtes, that when all things were in peaceable tranquilitie, they made and rayſed moſt cruell and bloudy inteſtine or ciuill warres. It is credibly informed vs, that in thoſe daies, Apollo gaue aunſweres but not by any mans mouth, but out of a cettaine caue & darke place (ſaying) that he was much diſquieted by thoſe that were the iuſt men and liuers vpon the earth, ſo that he could or would not for them, declare a truth of ſuch things as others demaunded: & hereby it came to paſſe that ſuch falſe deuinations were geuen from the golden tables in Apollos temple. And this thing did his propheticall prieſt complayne of, when he tooke vp againe the heare of his head, that other had cõtemptuouſly caſt down, & that the neglecting of his diuination was the cauſe of ſo many euils, amongſt men. But let vs ſee what was the ende hereof: we now boldly & without all feare inuocate & worſhip the omnipotent God. When I was a childe I heard, that he which then was chiefe Emperour of Rome, vnhappy, yea, moſt vnhappy man being ſeduced, and brought into errour, by his ſouldiers, curiouſly inquired who were thoſe iuſt men vpõ the earth that Apollo ment: and one of his prieſts which was nere about him, made anſwere that they were the chriſtiãs. This anſwere hereupon vnto him beyng as delectable, as hony vnto the mouth, drew the ſword giuen vnto him to be a reuenger vpon euill doers and malefactours againſt the profeſſors of the irreprehenſible ſanctimony and relygion. And ſtraight way he gaue forth a commiſſion (to bloudy homicides as I may well cal them) & gaue commaundement to all the Iudges, that they ſhould endeuour themſelues with all the cunning they had to the deuiſing of more greeuouſer, & ſharper puniſhments againſt the poore Chriſtians. Then, then I ſay, a man myght haue ſeene, how greatly the honeſt profeſſors of that religion, were moleſted with cruelty, and daily ſuffered no ſmal iniuries and contumelies, and that alſo they ſuffered and ſuſtained the ſame with ſuch tẽperancy as though they had had no iniuries done vnto them at all. Which temperancie and patience of theirs was the cauſe why the furious citizens were the more madder & raging againſt them. What fires, what tortures, what kinde of torments were there, but they without reſpecte either of age, or ſexe were enforced to feele?

The earth bewayled the martyrs deathes.

The authors of all miſchiefe puniſhed.

Apollos lying oracles the cauſe of ſo many martirs deathes.

Conſtant. prayer.

Conſtant. Fayth confirmed by the myracles of the croſſe.

The clemency of a good Emperour.

A good iudgement.

One religion from the beginning of the world.

The prayer of *Conſtantine* was fulfilled.

Ech thing in their creation preach the very and true God

Then did the earth without doubt, herſelfe bewayle her children and the round worlde which conteineth all things, beyng ſprinkled and imbrued with their bloud made dolefull lamentation for them, and the daye it ſelfe prouoked for to mourne, was made amaſed for them. But what is this to purpoſe. Now the very barbarous nations reioyce for their ſakes which receaued and harboured them, when they were afraid and fled from vs: keping them as it were in moſt louing & amiable captiuity. And they ſaued not onely their liues, but alſo were a defence for their religion. And now alſo the Romaine nation remembreth and hath before there eies this blame and ſpotte, which the Chriſtians that were of that time, worthely gaue vnto them when they by them were baniſhed (as vnfitte members of their common wealth) amongſt the barbarous people. What needeth to make further rehearſall of the mourning lamentation, which the heathen people themſelues throughout all the world, made for the pittifull murther and ſlaughter of them? After this it came to paſſe that they which were authors of all theſe miſchiefes died alſo, and were cõmitted for there reward to the moſt filthy & horrible dungeon of hel. They being ſo intangled with inteſtine and ciuile warres, left aliue neyther name nor kinſmen of their owne: which thing vndoubtedly had not chaũſed vnles the wicked deuinatiõs of Apollos oracles had deceiued & bewitched thẽ. To thee therfore now I pray, oh moſt mightie God, that thou wilt vouchſafe to be mercifull, and pardon all the eaſt parts and inhabitaunts of the ſame, being oppreſſed with preſent calamitie: and that by mee thy ſeruaunt thou wilt of thy goodnes helpe and relieue the ſame. And theſe things raſhly craue I not at thy hands: oh Lord, moſt mighty and holieſt God of all. For I being perſwaded by the onely oracles haue both begone and alſo finiſhed wholeſome and profitable things, and further by the bearing and ſhewing of thine enſigne, haue ouercome a mighty and ſtrong hoſt, and when any neceſſitie of the common weale (to my charge committed) requireth thereunto, (following thoſe ſignes & tokens of thy vertues) I bouldly go forth and fight againſt mine enimies: and for this cauſe haue I ſacrificed my ſoule vnto thee, purified and clenſed both with thy loue and feare. Yea truely, thy name doe I ſincerely loue, and thy power doe I reuerence, which by many tokens and wonders haſt ſhewed and confirmed thereby my beleefe & faith. Therefore will I doe my endeuour, and bende my ſelfe thereunto, that I may redifie thy moſt holy houſe, which thoſe wicked & vngodly Emperours haue with ſo great ruine laid waſt, thy people do I deſire to bring & ſtabliſh, in firme peace & trãquilitie, & that for the publike vtilitie of all the inhabitants of the earth. Thoſe which yet erre & are out of the way, enioy the benefite of peace and quietnes, with, and amongſt the number of the faithful ſort: for I truſt the reſtitution of the like ſocietie, and participation may be a meanes to bring them alſo that erre into the perfecte way of verity. Let no man therfore be greeuous one vnto another but what euery man thinketh beſt that let him doe. For ſuch as are wiſe ought throughly to be perſwaded, that the onely meane to liue holily and as they ſhould doe, whome the ſpirite of God moueth, to take their delight and recreation in reading his holye will. And if others wilfully will go out of the way, cleauing to the Synagogues of falſe doctrine, they maye at their owne perill: as for vs we haue the moſt worthy houſe or congregation of Gods veritie, which he according to his owne goodnes & nature hath giuen vs. And this alſo we wiſh vnto thẽ, that with like participation & common conſente, they may fele wyth vs the ſame delectation of mind. For this our religiõ is neither new nor newly inuented, but is as old as wee beleeue the creation of the worlde to be: and which God hath commaunded to be celebrated with ſuch worſhip as both ſeemed and pleaſed him. But all liuing men are lyers, and are deceiued with diuers and ſundrye illuſions. Thou O God for Chriſt thy ſonnes ſake, ſuffer not this wickednes againe to take roote: thou haſt ſet vp a cleare burning light, that thereby as manye as thou haſt choſen maye come vnto thee. Theſe thy myracles approoue the ſame. It is thy power that kepeth vs in innocencye and fydelitye. The Sunne and the Moone runne their appointed courſe; neyther yet in ranging wiſe, wander the ſtarres to what place of the worlde they liſt themſelues.

The dayes, yeares, monethes, and times, keepe their appoynted turnes The earth abideth firme and vnremoueable at thy worde, and the winde at the time (by thee directed) ſtormeth & bloweth. The ſtreaming waterie floudes, ebbe in time according as they flow. The raging ſea abideth within her bounded limites And for that the Ocean Sea ſtretcheth out her ſelfe in equall length and breadth with the whole earth: this muſt needes be wrought with ſome marueilous workmanſhip of thine owne hand: which thing vnleſſe it were at thy will made and diſpoſed, without all doubt, ſo great difference and partition betweene, woulde or this time haue brought vtter ruine & deſtructiõ, both to the life of man, as to all that belõgeth to man beſide. Which for that they haue ſuch great and huge conflictes amongeſt themſelues, as alſo the inuiſible ſpirites haue: we geue thee thankes, O Lorde moſt mighty God of all Gods, that al mankinde hath not bene deſtroyed thereby. Surely, euen as greatly as thy benignitie and gentlenes, is maniſeſted by diuers & ſundry benefites beſtowed vpon vs: ſo much alſo is the ſame ſet foorth and declared in the diſcipline of thy eternall word, to thoſe that be heauenly wiſe, & apply themſelues to the attainement of ſincere & true vertue. But if any ſuch there be, that litle regard or haue but ſmall reſpect vnto the conſideration thereof: let them not blame or lay a fault in others that do the ſame. For that Phiſicke whereby health is obtained, is maniſeſtly offered vnto all men: now therefore let no man go about to ſubuert that, which experience it ſelfe doth ſhew (of neceſsitie) to be pure and good. Let vs therefore altogether vſe the participation of this benefite beſtowed vpon vs, that is to ſay, the benefite of peace and tranquillitie, ſetting a part all controuerſie. And let no man hurt or be preiudiciall to his fellowe for that thing, wherein he thinketh him ſelfe to haue done wel. If by that, which any man knoweth and hath experience of, hee thinketh he may profite hys neighbour, let him doe the ſame, if not, let him geue ouer, and remit it til on other time. For there is a great diuerſitie betwixt the willing and voluntary embracing of religion, and that whẽ a man is thereunto inforced and coacted. Of theſe things haue I made a more larger diſcourſe, then in deede, the ſcope of mediocritie requireth: eſpecially becauſe I woulde not haue my faith (touching the veritie) to be hid. For that I heare there be ſome, which complaine the olde accuſtomed haunting of their temples, & that the power of ſuch darkeneſſe is cut of and taken away: which thing ſurely I would take in better part, were it not that the violent rebellion of flagitious errour, were ſo fixed in many mens heartes, whereby they thirſt after the vtter ſubuerſion of the common weale and Empire.

The earth ſtayd vp by the power of God.

Who they be that *Conſtant.* accompteth wiſe in deede.

Experience a tryall of the truth.

Conſtantinus neyther for feare diſſembleth hys fayth, neyther through pollicye defaceth Gods glory.

Such was the goodneſſe of this Emperour Conſtantinus, or rather ſuch was the prouidẽce of almighty God toward his Church, in ſtirring him vp: that all his care and ſtudy of minde was ſet vpon nothing els, but onely howe to benefit & enlarge the commodities of the ſame. Neither was it to him inough to deliuer the Church and people of God, from outward vexation of forraine tyrants and perſecutors. No les beneficial was his godly care alſo in quieting the inward diſſentions and diſturbaunce within the Church among the Chriſtian biſhops themſelues, according as we read of Moſes the deliuerer of yͤ Iſraelits, in agreing the brethren together, when he ſaw them at variance. Exod. 2. No leſſe alſo did his vigilant ſtudy extend in erecting, reſtoring, & enriching the Churches of God in al Cities, and in prouiding for the miniſters of the ſame. And therefore wryting to Anilinus his chiefe captaine, declareth his will & minde to him in letters, concerning the goodes whych did appertaine to the Churches of the Chriſtians: that hee ſhoulde procure vigilantly for the ſame: that all ſuche goodes, houſes, and gardens, belonging before to the right of Churches, ſhoulde agayne be reſtored in all ſpeedie wiſe: and that hee therein might be certified with ſpeede. &c.

Conſtantinus compared to *Moſes*, in deliuiring the people, and agreeing them together.

The letter of *Conſtantinus* to *Anilinus* hys captayne.

Moreouer, he writing to the ſaide Anilinus in an other letter, ſignifieth vnto him in this effect: that for ſo much as the contempt of God his reuerent religion, is & hath bene euer the greateſt decay to the name & people of Rome, as contrary the maintaining and reuerencing the ſame, hath euer brought proſperitie to all common weales: Therfore he in conſideration therof, hath taken that order, & geueth to him in charge, that through yͤ prouince, where he hath to doe, which was in Aphrica where Cecilianus was Byſhop, he ſhould there ſee & prouide, that all ſuch miniſters and Clerkes, whoſe vocation was to ſerue in the Church, ſhould be freed and exempted from all publike duties and burdens: whereby they being ſo priuileged, and all impedimentes remoued, which ſhoulde hinder their diuine miniſtration: thereby the cõmon vtilitie of the people might the better flouriſh. &c.

An other letter of *Conſtantine* to *Anilinus.*

The contempt of gods religion, chiefeſt decay of common weales.

Furthermore, the ſayde Conſtantinus in an other letter wryting to Miltiades, Byſhop of Rome, and to Marcus, declareth in his letters to them, howe Cecilianus Byſhop of Carthage, hath ben accuſed vnto him by diuers of his colleages and fellow byſhops. Wherfore his will is, that the ſayd Cecilianus, with x. byſhops his accuſers, with x. other his defendants ſhould repaire vp to him at Rome, where in the preſent aſſiſtance of the foreſayde Miltiades, Rheticus, Maternus, Marinus, and of other their fellowe Colleages, the cauſe of Cecilianus myght be harde, and rightly examined, ſo that all ſchiſme and deuiſion might be cut of from among them: wherein the feruent deſire of Conſtantinus to peace and vnitie, may well appeare.

An other letter of *Conſtantine* to *Miltiades* Byſhop of Rome.

The feruent deſire of *Conſtantinus* to peace and vnitie.

Upon the lyke cauſe and argument alſo, he wryteth to Chreſtus Byſhop of Syracuſa, ſo deſirous to nouriſh peace and concord in the church, that he offereth to him with his vnder Miniſters and three ſeruaunts, hys free caryage to come vp to him vnto the Councel of other biſhops, for the agreeing of certaine matters belonging to the Church.

The letter of *Conſtantine* to *Creſtus* Byſhop of *Syracuſa.*

Hee writeth alſo an other letter to the forenamed Cecilianus Byſhop of Carthage.

To the prouinces likewiſe of Paleſtina & thoſe partes about, hee directeth his Edict in the behalfe of the Chriſtians: for the releaſing of ſuch as were in captiuitie: and for the reſtoring againe of them, which had ſuſtained any loſſe in the former perſecution before, & for the refreſhing of ſuch as heeretofore had bene oppreſſed with any ignominie, or moleſtation, for their confeſſion ſake: declaring in the ſayd Edict, howe that his whole body, life and ſoule, and what ſoeuer is in hym, hee oweth to God, and to the ſeruice of him. &c.

The edicte of *Conſtantinus* to the rulers of the prouince of Paleſtina.

Moreouer an other leter he wryteth to Euſebius, for the edifying of newe Chriſtian Churches, & reſtoring of them whych had bene waſted before by forreine enemies. And after hee had collected the Synode of Nice, for the ſtudie of peace and vnitie of the Church, he wryteth vpon the ſame to Alexander and Arrius. In which hys letters hee moſt lamentably vttered the great griefe of his heart, to ſee and heare of theyr contention and diuiſion: whereby the peace and common harmonie of the Churche was broken, the Synode prouoked & reſiſted, the holy people of the Lorde deuided into partes and tumultes, contrary to the office of good and circumſpect men, whoſe duetie were rather to nouriſh concorde and to ſeeke tranquillity. And though in ſome ſmall poynts and light trifles they did diſagree from other: yet as the example of Philoſophers might teache them, who although in ſome part of a ſentence or peece of a queſtion, ſome might diſſent from other: yet in the vnitie of their profeſſion, they did all ioyne as fellowes together. In like caſe were it theyr duetie in ſuch fruitles queſtions (or rather peeces of queſtiõs) to keepe them in the conceptions of their mindes, in ſilence vnto themſelues, and not to bring them forth into publicke Synodes, to breake therefore from the communion of the reuerent Councell. Declaring moreouer in the ſayde Epiſtle, the firſt origine and occaſion of thys theyr contentious diſſention to ryſe vpon vaine & trifling termes, vile cauſes, and light queſtions, and peeces rather of queſtions: about ſuch matters as neither are to be moued, nor to be anſwered vnto, being moued, more curious to be ſearched, and perillous to be expreſſed, then neceſſary to be inquired, magiſque puerilibus ineptijs, quam ſacerdotum ac cordatorum virorum prudentiæ conuenientia, as he there doth terme them. Wherefore by al maner meanes he doth labour them, doth entreate them, and perſwade them, not onely with reaſons, but alſo with teares and ſighing ſobbes, that they would reſtore againe peace vnto the Church, and quietneſſe to the reſt of his life (which otherwiſe would not be ſweet vnto him) and that they would returne againe to the communion of the reuerent Councell. Who in ſo doing ſhould open his way and purpoſed iourney into the Eaſt partes, which otherwyſe hearing of their diſcorde and diſſention, would be ſorye to ſee with his eyes, that which greeueth him nowe to heare with hys eares: with much more in the ſame Epiſtle contained, but this is the effect of the whole. Euſeb. de vita Conſtant. Lib. 2. Thus much I thought ſummarely to comprehende, whereby the diuine diſpoſition and ſingular gentle nature of this meeke & religious Conſtantine might more notoriouſly appeare to all Princes: for them to learne by hys example, what zeale and care they ought to beare toward the Church of Chriſt, & how gently to gouerne, and how to be beneficiall to the ſame.

The letter of *Conſtantine* to *Euſebius.*

The councell of Nice.

The effect of the letter of *Conſtantine* to *Alexander* and *Arrius. ex Euſeb. de vita Conſtan. Lib. 2.*

Conſtantine ſet forth a ſpectacle to all Princes to follow.

Many other Edicts & Epiſtles wrytten to other places and parties, be expreſſed at large in the ſeconde booke of Euſeb. De vita Conſtantini: wherein the zealous care and Princely beneficence of this noble Emperour toward the Church of Chriſt may appeare. Whereof in a briefe recapitulation ſuch ſpecialities we haue collected as here followeth, and is to be ſeene in Zozo Lib. 1. Cap. 8. 9.

Firſt hee commaunded all them to be ſet free, who ſoeuer for the confeſſion of Chriſt, had bene condemned to ba-

A briefe recapitulation of ſuch benefites as were wrought by *Conſtantine* vpon Chriſtes Church.

niſhment, or to the mines of metall, or to any publike or priuate labour to them inflicted. Such as were put to any infamie or open ſhame among the multitude, hee willed them to be diſcharged from all ſuch blemiſh of ignominie. Souldiours whych before were depriued eyther of theyr place, or put out of theyr wages: were put to their liberty, eyther to ſerue agaime in theyr place, or quietly to lyue at home. Whatſoeuer honour, place, or dignitie had bene taken away frō any man, ſhould be reſtored to them againe. The goods and poſſeſſions of them that had ſuffered death for Chriſt, howſoeuer they were alienated, ſhould returne to theyr heires, or next of kinne: or for lacke of them ſhould be geuen to the Church. Hee commaunded moreouer that onely Chriſtians ſhoulde beare office. The other he charged and reſtrayned, that neither they ſhould ſacrifice, nor exerciſe any more diuinations and ceremonies of the Gentiles, nor ſet vp any Images, nor to keepe any feaſtes of the heathen Idolaters. He corrected moreouer and aboliſhed all ſuch vnlawfull manners and vnhoneſt vſages in Cities, as might be hurtfull any waies to the Church, as the cuſtome that the Egyptians had in the flowing of Nilus, at what time the people vſed to runne together lyke brute beaſts, both men & women, and with all kinde of filthines and Sodomitrie to pollute their Cities, in celebrating the increaſe of that riuer. This abhomination Conſtantine extinguiſhed, cauſing that wicked order called Androgynæ, to be killed. By reaſon whereof the Riuer afterward (through the benefite of God) yelded more increaſe in his flowing, to the greater fertilitie of the ground, then it did before.

Where wickedneſſe is puniſhed there goodnes followeth.

Among the Romanes was an olde lawe, that ſuch as were barren hauing no fruite of children, ſhould be amerced of halfe their goodes. Alſo, that ſuch as being aboue the yeares of xxv. vnmaried, ſhould not be nibred in the ſame priuileges with them that were maried, neither ſhould be heires to them, to whom notwithſtanding they were next in kinde. Theſe lawes becauſe they ſeemed vnreaſonable, to puniſh the defect of nature, or gift of virginitie, by mās lawe, hee abrogated and tooke away. An other order was among the Romanes, that they which made their willes being ſicke, had certaine preſcribed and conceiued wordes appoynted to thē to vſe, which vnleſſe they followed, their willes ſtoode in none effect. This law alſo Conſtantine repealed, permitting to euery man in making his teſtament to vſe what wordes, or what witneſſes he woulde. Likewiſe among the Romaines hee reſtrained and tooke away the cruel and bloudy ſpectacles & ſights, where men were wont with ſwordes one to kill an other. Of the barbarous and filthy faſhion of the Arethuſians in Phœnicia, I haue mentioned before, pag. 104. where they vſed to expoſe and ſet forth their virgines to open fornication, before they ſhould be maried, which cuſtome alſo Conſtantine remoued away. Where no Churches were, there he commaunded new to be made: where any were decayed, he commāded them to be repaired: where any were to litle, he cauſed them to be enlarged, geuing to the ſame great giftes and reuenewes: not onely of ſuch tributes and taxes comming to him from certaine ſundry Cities, which hee transferred vnto the Churches, but alſo out of his owne treaſures. When any Byſhops required any Councell to be had, hee ſatisfied their petitions: And what in their Councels and Synodes they eſtabliſhed, being godly & honeſt, hee was ready to confirme the ſame.

The liberalitie of *Conſtantine* in geuing to Churches.

The armour of his ſoldiours, which were newly come from Gentilitie, he garniſhed with the armes of the croſſe, whereby they might learne the ſooner to forget their olde ſuperſtitious idolatry. Moreouer like a worthy Emperor he preſcribed a certaine forme of prayer in ſteade of a Catechiſme for euery man to haue, & to learne how to pray and to inuocate God. The which forme of prayer is recited in the fourth booke of Euſebius De vita Conſtantini, in wordes as foloweth.

Euſeb. lib 4. de vita Conſtantini.

The forme of prayer appoynted of *Conſtantine* for hys ſouldiours. The ſouldiours prayer.

Te ſolum nouimus Deum, te regem cognoſcimus, te adiutorem inuocamus, abs te victorias referimus, per te victorias inimicorum conſtituimus, tibi præſentium bonorum gratiam acceptam ferimus, & per te futura quoque ſperamus, tibi ſupplices ſumus omnes: Imperatorem noſtrum Conſtantinum, ac pientiſſimos eius filios, in longiſsima vita incolumes nobis ac victores cuſtodire ſupplices oramus, per Chriſtum dominum noſtrum. Amen. In Engliſh.

We knowledge thee onely to be our God, we confeſſe thee onely to be our king, we inuocate and call vpon thee our onely helper, by thee we obtaine our victories, by thee we vāquiſh and ſubdue our enemies, to thee we attribute whatſoeuer preſent commodities we enioy, & by thee we hope for good thinges to come, vnto thee we direct all our ſute & petitions: moſt humbly beſeeching thee to conſerue Conſtantine our Emperour, and his noble childrē in long life to cōtinue, and to geue them victory ouer all their enemies, through Chriſt our Lord. Amen.

In hys owne palace, hee ſet vp an houſe peculiar for prayer and doctrine, vſing alſo to pray and ſing with his people. Alſo in hys warres hee went not without hys tabernacle appoynted for the ſame. The Sonday he cōmanded to be kept holy of all men, and free from all iudiciarie cauſes, from markets, martes, faires, & all other manuall labors, onely huſbandry excepted: eſpecially charging that no Images or Monuments of Idolatry ſhould be ſet vp.

The ſonday appoynted to be kept holy.

Men of the Clergy and of the miniſtery in al places he endued with ſpeciall priuileges and immunities, ſo that if any were brought before the ciuill Magiſtrate, and liſted to appeale to the ſentence of his Biſhop, it ſhould be lawfull for him ſo to doe: and that the ſentence of the Byſhop ſhould ſtande in as great force as if the Magiſtrate or the Emperour himſelfe had pronounced it.

Liberties and priuiledges graunted to the clergy.

¶ But here is to be obſerued & noted by the way, that ye Clerkes & miniſters thē newly creeping out of perſecutiō, were in thoſe dayes, neyther in nūber ſo great nor in order of life, of ye like diſpoſitiō to theſe in our dayes now liuing.

No leſſe care and prouiſion the ſayd Conſtantinus alſo had to the maintenance of ſcholes pertayning to ye Church and to the nouriſhing of good artes and liberall ſciences, eſpecially of Diuinitie: not onely with ſtipends and ſubſidies furniſhing them, but alſo with large priuilegies and exemptiōs defending ye ſame, as by the wordes of his own law is to be ſeene: and read as followeth: Medicos, Gramaticos, & alios profeſſores literarum & doctores legum, cum vxoribus & liberis. &c. In Engliſh: Phiſitions, Gramarians, and all other profeſſors of liberal artes, and Doctors of the law, with their wiues and childrē, and all other their poſſeſſions, which they haue in Cities: we commaund to be freed from all ciuill charges and functions, neyther to receaue forren ſtraungers in prouinces, nor to be burdened with any publique adminiſtration, nor to be cited vp to ciuill iudgement, nor to be drawne out, or oppreſſed with any iniury. And if any man ſhall vexe them, he ſhall incurre ſuch puniſhment, as the Iudge at his diſcretion ſhall awarde him. Their ſtipendes moreouer and ſolaries, we commaunde truely to be payd them, whereby they may more freely inſtruct other in artes and ſciences. &c.

The prouiſion and liberalitie of *Conſtantine* in mayntayning ſcholes.

The priuiledge graunted by *Conſtant.* to vniuerſities and ſcholes.

Ouer and beſides this, ſo farre did hys godly zeale and princely care and prouiſion extend to the Church of Chriſt, that he commaunded and prouided bookes and volumes of the Scripture, diligently and playnly to be written and copied out, to remayne in bublique Churches to the vſe of poſteritie, whereupon writing to Euſebius byſhop of Nicomedia in a ſpeciall letter (recorded in the 4. booke of Euſebius, De vita Conſtant.) he willeth him with all diligence to procure 50. volumes of parchment well bound and cōpacted: wherein he ſhoulde cauſe to be written out of the ſcripture in a fayre legeable hād, ſuch things as he thought neceſſary and profitable for the inſtruction of the Church. And alloweth him for that buſines two bublique Miniſters. Alſo writeth concerning the ſame, to the generall of hys army, to ſupport and further hym with ſuch neceſſaries, as thereunto ſhould appertayne. &c.

The prouident care of *Conſtant.* to haue the ſcripture in Churches. *Ex Euſeb. lib. 4. de vita Conſtant.*

¶ In vewing, peruſing, and writing this ſtory, and in conſidering the Chriſtian zeale of this Emperour, I wiſh that eyther this our Printing and plety of books had bene in his dayes: or that this ſo heroycal hart toward Chriſtes Religion, as was in this ſo excellent Monarche, might ſomething appeare in inferiour Princes raigning in theſe our Printing dayes. &c.

A wiſh of the author admonitory to Princes.

The liberal hand of this Emperor, borne to do al men good, was no leſſe alſo open and ready towarde the needie pouertie of ſuch, which either by loſſe of parents, or other occaſions were not able to helpe them ſelues: to whom he commaunded and prouided dew ſubuention both of corne and raiment to be miniſtred out of his owne coffers, to the neceſſary reliefe of the poore men, women, children, orphanes, and widowes. Euſeb. de vita Conſtant. Lib 4.

The liberalitie of *Conſtant.* towardes the poore and needy.

Finally, among al the other monuments of his ſingular clemencie and munificence, this is not to be pretermitted: that through all the Empire of Rome and prouinces belonging to the ſame, not only he diminiſhed ſuch taxes, reuenewes, and impoſtes, as publickly were comming to him, but alſo clearely remitted and releaſed to the contributers, the fourth part of the ſame.

Conſtant. remitteth the fourth part of hys rentes and reuenewes.

This preſent place would require ſomthing to be ſayd of the donation of Conſtantine: whereuppon as vpon their chiefeſt anchor holde, the Byſhops of Rome doe grounde theyr ſupreame dominion and right, ouer all the politicall gouernement of the weſt partes, & the ſpiritual gouernement of all the other Seas and partes of the world. Which

Deuotion of *Conſtantine.*

donation to be falſly fained and forged, and not to procede from Conſtantine, many arguments might heere be inferred, if laiſure from other matters would ſuffer me.

Reaſons and argumentes prouing the donation of *Conſtantine* to be falſefied.

1. Firſt, for that no ancient hiſtory, nor yet Doctour maketh any mention thereof.

2. Naucleurs reporteth it to be affirmed in the hyſtorie of Iſidorus: but in the olde copies of Iſidorus no ſuch thyng is to be founde.

3. 3. Gracianus the compiler of the decrees, reciteth that decree, not vpon any auncient authoritie, but only vnder the title of Palea.

4. 4. Gelaſius is ſayd to geue ſome teſtimony therof, in Diſt. 15. Sancta Romana, but that clauſe of the ſaid diſtinction touching that matter, in the olde ancient bookes is not extant.

5. 5 Otho Phriſingenſis, who was about the time of Gracian, after hee hath declared the opinion of the fauourers of the Papacie: affirming this donation to be geuen of Conſtantine, to Silueſter the Pope: induceth conſequently, the opinion of them that fauour the Empire, affirming the contrary.

6. 6. How doth thys agree, that Conſtantine did yeelde vp to Silueſter all the politicall dominion ouer the weſt, when as the ſayd Conſtantine at hys death, deuiding the Empire to his three ſonnes, gaue the weſt part of the Empire to one, the Eaſt part to the ſecõd, the middle part to the third?

7. 7. How is it like that Theodoſius after them, being a iuſt and a religious Prince, would or could haue occupyed the Citie of Rome, if it had not bene his right, but had belonged to the pope, & ſo did many other Emperors after him?

8. 8. The phraſe of this decree being conferred to the phraſe and ſtile of Conſtantine, in his other Edictes and letters aboue ſpecified doth nothing agree.

9. 9. Seeing the papiſts themſelues confeſſe that the decree of this donation was writtẽ in Greeke, how agreeth that with truth: when as both it was written not to the Gretians, but to the Romanes, and alſo Conſtantine himſelfe for lacke of the Greeke toung, was faine to vſe the Latine toung in the Councell of Nice?

10. 10. The contents of this donation (who ſoeuer was the forger thereof) doeth bewray it ſelfe. For if it be true which there is confeſſed, that he was Baptiſed at Rome of Silueſter, & the iiij. day after his baptiſme this patrimonie was giuen (which was before his battaile againſt Maximinus or Licinius, An. 317. as Niceph. recordeth) howe then accordeth this wyth that which followeth in the donation, for him to haue iuriſdiction geuen ouer the other iiij. principall ſeas of Antioch, Alexandria, Conſtantinople and Hieruſalem? when as the Citie of Conſtantinople was not yet begun, before the death of Maximinus or Licinius, and was not finiſhed, before the xxviij. yere of the raigne of Conſtantine, an. 339. or if it be true, as Hierome counteth, it was finiſhed the xxiij. yere of his raigne, which was the yere of our Lorde 334. long after this donation by their owne accõpt.

11. 11. Furthermore, where in the ſayde conſtitution is ſayd that Conſtantine was baptiſed at Rome of Silueſter, & therby was purged of Leproſie: the fable thereof agreeth not with the trueth of hiſtorie: for ſo much as Euſebius, lib. 4. De vita Conſtantini, Hieronymus in Chron. Ruffin. lib. 1. cap. 11. Socrates, lib. 1. cap. 39 Theodor. lib. 1. cap. 31. Sozomenus, lib 2. cap. 34. doe altogether conſent that hee was Baptiſed not at Rome, but at Nicomedia: and that moreouer, as by theyr teſtimonie doth appeare, not of Silueſter but of Euſebius biſhop of Nicomedia, not before his battaile againſt Maximinus, or Licinius, but in the xxxj. yeare of his raigne, a litle before his death.

12. 12. Againe, where as Conſtantine in this donation appoynted him to haue the principalitie ouer the other iiij. Patriarchall Seas: that maketh Conſtantine contrary to himſelfe. who in the Councell of Nice afterwarde agreed with other biſhops, that al the iiij. patriarchal ſeas ſhould haue equall iuriſdiction, euery one ouer his owne territorie and precinct.

13. 13 In ſumme, briefly to conclude: who ſo deſireth more aboundantly to be ſatiſfied touching this matter, let hym read the bookes of Marſilius Patauinus, intitled: defenſor pacis, An 1324. of Laurẽtius Valla, An. 1440. of Antoninus archbiſhop of Florence, who in hys hyſtorie, plainely denieth the tenour of thys donation to be founde in the old bookes of the decrees. Of Cuſanus Cardinalis. Lib. 3. Cap. 2. wryting to the Councell of Baſil, Anno 1460. Of Æneas Syluius in Dialogo, of Hier. Paulus Cattalanus, An. 1496. of Raphael Volateranus, An. 1500. of Lutherus, An. 1537. &c. all which by many and euident probations, diſpute and proue this donation taken out of a booke De geſtis Syluestri, and tranſlated (as they faine) by one Bartholomeus Picernus, out of Greke into Latine: not to procede from Conſtantinus, but to be a thing vntruely pretenſed, or rather a fable imagined, or els to be the deede of Pipinus or Charles, or ſome ſuch other, if it were euer the deede of any.

Commendation of *Conſtantine*, the Emperour.

And thus haſt thou (beloued Reader) briefly collected the narration of the noble actes and heauenly vertues of thys moſt famous Emperour Conſtantine the great: a ſingulare ſpectacle for all Chriſtian Princes to beholde and imitate, and worthy of perpetuall memorie in all congregations of Chriſtian Saintes. whoſe feruent zeale & pietie in generall, to all cõgregations, and to all the ſeruants of Chriſt was notable: but eſpecially the affection and reuerence of hys heart toward them was admirable, whych had ſuffered any thyng for the confeſſion of Chriſt, in the perſecutions before, them had hee principally in price and veneration, in ſo much that hee embraced and kiſſed theyr woundes and ſtripes, and their eyes, being put out. And if any ſuche Byſhops or any other Miniſters brought to hym any cõplaints one againſt an other, (as many times they did) he would take theyr bils of complaint, and burne them before theyr faces: ſo ſtudious and zealous was hys mind to haue them agree, whoſe diſcord was to hym more griefe, then it was to themſelues. All the vertuous actes and memorable doings of this diuine & renowmed Emperour to comprehende or commit to hyſtorie: it were the matter alone of a great volume: wherfore contented with theſe aboue premiſed, becauſe nothing of him can be ſayde inough, I ceaſe to diſcourſe of him any further.

Conſtantine kiſſed the woundes of them that ſuffered for Chriſt.

Conſtantine burneth the bils of complayntes, and breaketh ſtrife among the Byſhops.

One thyng yet remaineth not to be omitted, wherein (as by the way of a note) I thought good to admoniſh the learned Reader, ſuche as loue to be conuerſant in reading of auncient authors: that in the Eccleſiaſticall hyſtorie of Euſebius, where in the latter ende of the booke, is added a certaine Oration, Ad cõuentum Sanctorum, vnder the name of Euſebius Pamphilus, here is to be vnderſtãd, that the ſayd Oration is wrongly intituled vpon the name of Euſebius, whych in very truth is the Oration of Conſtantinus hymſelfe. For the probation whereof, beſide the ſtile and matter therein contained, and tractation heroycall) liuely declaring the religious vaine of Conſtantine) I alledge the very teſtimonie of Euſebius himſelfe in his fourth booke De vita Conſtantini, where he in expreſſe wordes not onely declareth that Cõſtantine wrote ſuch an Oration intituled Ad Conuentum Sanctorum, but alſo promiſeth in the end of hys booke, to annexe the ſame: declaring moreouer what difficultie the interpretors had, to tranſlate the ſame from the Romaine ſpeeche, to theyr Grecian toung. Euſebius de vita Conſtantini. Lib. 4 pag. 211.

Note, that the oration *ad conuentum ſanctorum* is wrongly aſcribed to *Euſebius*, which in deede is the oration of *Conſtantine*.

And here an end of theſe lamentable & doleful perſecutions of the primitiue Church, during the ſpace of the 300. yeres frõ the paſſion of our Sauiour Chriſt, til the cõming of this Conſtantinus, by whom, as by the elect inſtrumẽt of God, it hath ſo pleaſed his almighty maieſty, by his determinat purpoſe to giue reſt after lõg trouble to his church, according to that S. Cyprian declareth before, pag. 68. to be reueled of God vnto his Church: that after darkenes and ſtormy tempeſt ſhould come peaceable calme, & ſtable quietnes to his church, meaning this time of Conſtantine now preſent. At which time it ſo pleaſed the almightie, that the murdering malice of Sathan ſhould at length be reſtrained, and he him ſelfe to be tied vp for a thouſande yeares, through his great mercie in Chriſt, to whome therfore be thankes and praiſe now and for euer. AMEN.

Looke aboue *pag. 68. Col. 2. line. 52.*

Satan bound vp for a M. yeares.

The ende of the firſt Booke.

THE SECOND BOOKE, CONTAINING the next 300. yeares following, with ſuch things ſpecially touched, as haue happened in England, from the time of king Lucius, to Gregorius, and ſo after to the time of king Egebert.

By theſe perſecutions hytherto in the Booke before precedent, thou maieſt vnderſtand (Chriſtian reader) how the furie of Sathan and rage of men, haue done what they could to extinguiſh the name and religion of Chriſt. For what thing did lacke, that eyther death coulde doe, or torments coulde worke, or the gates of hell coulde deuiſe: all was to the vttermoſt attempted. And yet all the furie and malice of Sathan, al the wiſedom of the world, & ſtrength of men, doing, deuiſing, practiſing what they could: notwithſtanding the religion of Chriſt (as thou ſeeſt) hath had the vpper hand. which thing I wiſh thee greatly (gentle reader) wiſely to note, and diligently to ponder, in cōſidering theſe former hiſtories. And becauſe thou canſt not conſider them, nor profit by them, vnles thou do firſt read & peruſe them: let me craue therfore thus much at thine handes, to turne & read ouer the ſaid hyſtories of thoſe perſecutiōs aboue deſcribed: eſpecially aboue all the other hyſtories of this preſent volume: for thy eſpeciall edification, whych I truſt thou ſhalt finde not vnworthy the reading.

A petition to the reader, diligently to read ouer the former booke of the x. perſecutions.

Nowe becauſe the tying vp of Sathan geueth to the Church ſome reſt, & to me ſome leiſure to addreſſe my ſelfe, to the handling of other ſtories: I minde therefore (Chriſt willing) in thys preſent booke, leauing a while the tractation of theſe generall affaires, pertaining to the vniuerſal Church: to proſecute ſuch domeſticall hyſtories, as more neare concerne this our country of England & Scotland, done here at home: beginning firſt with king Lucius, with whome the faith firſt begā here in this Realme, as the ſentence of ſome writers doth hold. And for ſomuch as here may riſe, yea and doth riſe, a great cōtrouerſie in theſe our Popiſh daies, cōcerning the firſt origine & planting of the faith in this our Realme: it ſhall not be greatly out of our purpoſe, ſomewhat to ſtay & ſay of this queſtion, whether the Church of England firſt receiued the faith from Rome or not. The which, although I graunt ſo to be, yet being ſo graunted, it little auaileth the purpoſe of them whiche woulde ſo haue it: for be it ſo, that England firſt receaued the Chriſtian faith and Religion from Rome, both in the time of Eleutherius theyr Byſhop. 180. yeares after Chriſt: and alſo in the time of Auſten, whome Gregory ſent hether 600. yeares after Chriſt: yet their purpoſe followeth not thereby, that we muſt therefore fetche our Religion from thence ſtill, as from the chiefe welhead and fountaine of all godlines. And yet as they are not able to proue the ſecond, ſo neither haue I any cauſe to graunt the firſt: that is, that our Chriſtian faith was firſt deriued from Rome, which I may proue by vj. or vij. good cōiectural reaſons. wherof the firſt I take of the teſtimony of Gildas, our coūtreyman, who in his hiſtory affirmeth plainly, that Britaine receaued the Goſpell in the time of Tiberius the Emperour, vnder whome Chriſt ſuffered. Lib. De victoria Aurelij Ambroſij. And ſayth moreouer, that Ioſeph of Arimathie after diſperſion of the Iewes, was ſent of Philip the Apoſtle frō France to Britayne, about the yeare of our Lord. 63. and heere remained in this land al his time: and ſo with his fellowes, laide the firſt foundation of Chriſtian faith amōg the Britayne people. whereupon other preachers and teachers comming afterward confirmed the ſame, and increaſed it.

The firſt planting of Chriſtē fayth in England.
Queſtion.

Whether Chriſtian Religion in this Realme came firſt from Rome.

Aunſwere.
1.
Gildas.

2. The ſecōd reaſon is out of Tertullian, who liuing neare about, or rather ſomewhat before the time of this Eleutherius, in hys booke Contra Iudæos, manifeſtly importeth the ſame: where the ſayde Tertullian teſtifying how the Goſpel was diſperſed abroad by the ſound of the Apoſtles, & there reckening vp the Medes, Perſians, Parthiās, and dwellers in Meſopotamia, Iewry, Cappadocia, Pōtus, Aſia, Phrigia, Egypt, Pamphilia, with many mo, at length cōmeth to the coaſts of the Moorians, and al the borders of Spayne: with diuers natiōs of Fraunce, & there amongſt all other reciteth alſo the partes of Britayne, whyche the Romaines could neuer attaine to, and reporteth the ſame now to be ſubiect to Chriſt, as alſo reckeneth vp the places of Sarmatia, of the Danes, the Germanes, the Scithiās, with many other prouinces and Iles to him vnknowen: in all which places, ſayth he, raigneth the name of Chriſt, which now beginneth to be commō. This hath Tertullian. Note here, how amōg other diuers beleuing nations, he mentioneth alſo the wildeſt places of Britaine to be of the ſame number. And theſe in his time were Chriſtened, who was in the ſame Eleutherius time, as is aboue ſayd. Then, was not Pope Eleutherius, the firſt whych ſent the Chriſtian fayth into this Realme, but the Goſpell was heere receiued before hys time, eyther by Ioſeph of Arimathia, as ſome Chronicles recorde, or by ſome of the Apoſtles or of their ſcholers, which had bene heere preaching Chriſt, before Eleutherius wrote to Lucius.

2.
Ex Tertul. contra Iudæos.

3. My thirde probation I deduct out of Origen, Home. 4. in Ezechielem, whoſe wordes be theſe: Britāniam in Chriſtianam conſentire religionem. whereby it appeareth that the faith of Chriſt was ſparſed here in England before the daies of Eleutherius.

3.
Ex Origen hom. 4. in Ezechi.

4. For my fourth probation I take the teſtimony of Bede, where he affirmeth that in his time, and almoſt a thouſand yeare after Chriſt, here in Britayne: Eaſter was kept after the maner of the Eaſt Church, in the full moone: what day in the weeke ſoeuer it fell on, and not on the Sonday, as we do now. wherby it is to be collected, that the firſt preachers in this land, haue come out from the Eaſt part of the world, where it was ſo vſed, rather then from Rome.

4.
Ex Beda.

5. Fiftly, I may alledge the wordes of Nicephorus, Lib. 2. cap 40. where hee ſayeth, that Symon Zelotes did ſpreade the goſpel of Chriſt to the weſt Oceane, and brought the ſame vnto the Iles of Britayne.

5.
Ex Niceph. Lib. 2, cap. 40.

6. Sixtly may be added here alſo the words of Petrus Cluniacenſis, who wryting to Bernard, affirmeth that ẏ Scots in his time did celebrate their Eaſter, not after ẏ Romane maner, but after the Greekes. &c. And as the ſaid Britains were not vnder the Romane order in the time of this Abbot of Cluniake: ſo neither were they nor woulde be, vnder the Romane legate, in the time of Gregory: nor would admit any primacy of the biſhop of Rome, to be aboue thē.

6.
Ex Pet. Cluniacenſi. ad Bernardum.

7. For the ſeuenth argument, moreouer I may make my probation by the plaine wordes of Eleutherius, by whoſe Epiſtle wrytten to king Lucius, we may vnderſtande, that Lucius had receaued the faith of Chriſt in his lande, before the king ſent to Eleutherius for the Romane lawes: for ſo the expreſſe wordes of the letter do manifeſtly purport, as hereafter followeth to be ſeene. By all which coniectures, it may ſtand probably to be thought, that the Britaynes, were taught firſt by the Grecians of the Eaſt Church, rather then by the Romaines.

7.
Ex Epiſt. Eleutherij. ad Lucium.

Peraduenture Eleutherius might helpe ſomething, eyther to conuert the king, or elſe to encreaſe the Faith then newly ſprong among the people: but that he preciſely was the firſt, that cannot be proued. But graunt he were, as in deede the moſt part of our Engliſh ſtories confeſſe, neither will I greatly ſticke with them therin: yet what haue they got thereby, when they haue caſt all their gaine? In fewe wordes to conclude this matter, if ſo be that the Chriſtian faith and religiō was firſt deriued from Rome to this our nation by Eleutherius, then let them but graunt to vs the ſame faith and religion, which then was taught at Rome: and from thence deriued hether by the ſayd Eleutherius, and we wil deſire no more. For then neither was any vniuerſal Pope aboue all Churches and Councels, whych came not in before Bonifacius time, whych was 400. yeres after: neither any name or vſe of the Maſſe, the partes whereof how and by whom they were compiled, here after in this booke following appeareth to be ſeene. Neither any ſacrifice propiciatorie for the ſcouring of Purgatory was then offered vpon halowed altars, but onely the Communion frequented at Chriſtian tables: where oblations and gifts were offered, as well of the people, as of the Prieſtes to God: becauſe they ſhould appeare neither emptie nor vnkinde before the Lord, as we may vnderſtand by the time of

What difference betweene the late church of Rome, from the old Church of Rome, and in what matters.

of Cyprian. Neither was then any tranſubſtãtiation heard of, which was not brought in before a thouſand yere after. Neither were then any images of Saints departed, ſet vp in Churches, yea a great number of the Saints worſhypped in this our time, were not as yet borne, nor the Churches wherein they were worſhipped, were yet ſet vp: but came in long after; eſpecially in the time of Irene & Conſtans the Emperour. Likewiſe neyther Reliques nor peregrinations were then in vſe. Prieſtes Mariage was then as lawfull, and no leſſe receiued as now: neither was it condemned before the dayes of Hildebrand, almoſt a thouſande yeares after that. Their ſeruice was then in the vulgare toung, as witneſſeth Hierome. The Sacrament miniſtred in both kindes, as wel to lay men, as to Prieſtes; the witnes wherof is Cyprian. Yea, and that temporal men which would not then communicate at Eaſter, whitſontide, and Chriſtenmaſſe: were not coũted for Catholiks, the Popes owne diſtinction can teſtifie. In funeralles, Prieſtes then flocked not together, ſelling trentals and diriges for ſweping of Purgatorie: but onely a funeral cõcion was vſed, with Pſalmes of praiſes, & ſongs of theyr worthy deedes: and Alleluya ſounding on high, which did ſhake the gilded ſeelings of the temple, as witneſſeth Nazianzene, Ambroſe, and Hierome, &c.

De conſecrat. Diſt. 2.

In the Supper of the Lord, & at Baptiſme, no ſuch ceremonies were vſed, as now of late hath bene intruded, in ſo much that as in this ſtory is ſhewed hereafter, both Auſten and Paulinus Baptiſed then in Riuers not in halowed fountes, as wytneſſeth Fabianus. The Portuis of Sarum, of Yorke, of Bangor, with Mattens and Euenſong of the day: againe neither the orders and religions of Monks & Friers, were not yet dreamed of, to the ſpace almoſt of a thouſand yeares after, &c. So that, as I ſayde, if the Papiſtes woulde needes deriue the faith & religion of this Realme, from Rome: then let them ſet vs & leaue vs there, where they had vs: that is, let them ſuffer vs to ſtand content wᵗ that faith and religion, which then was taught & brought from Rome by Eleutherius (as nowe we differ nothing frõ the ſame) and we wil deſire no better. And if they wil not, then let the wiſe Reader iudge, where the fault is, in vs or them which neither themſelues will perſiſt in the antiquitie of the Romiſh religion, whych they ſo much bragge of, neither will they permit vs ſo to do.

Fabianus. cap. 119. & 120.

And thus much by the way, to ſatiſfie the foreſayd obiection: whereby we may haue now a more ready paſſage into the order and courſe of the Hyſtorie. Beyng therefore graunted vnto them, whych they ſo earneſtly ſticke vpon, that the Chriſtian faith and Religion of this Realme was brought from Rome, firſt by Eleutherius, then afterwarde by Auſten: thus wryteth the Chronicles of that matter.

Eleutherius Byſhop of Rome.

About the time and yeare of the Lord. 180. king Lucius ſonne of Coilus, which builded Colcheſter, king of the Britaines, who then were the inhabiters & poſſeſſors of thys land (which now we Engliſhmen call England) hearing of the myracles & wonders done by the Chriſtians at that time in diuers places (as Monumetenſis wryteth) directed hys letters to Eleutherius Byſhop of Rome, to receaue of him the Chriſtian faith. Although about the computation of the yere and time: great difference there is in authours, when this ſhoulde be. Nauclerus ſayth it was An. 156. but that cannot be, forſomuch as Eleutherius was not yet Byſhop by the ſpace of 20. yeres after that. Henricus de Erfordia ſayth, it was An. 169. in the 19. yere of Verus Emperor, but that agreeth not with approued hyſtories: which all conſent, that Verus raigned not 19. yeres, and if he had, yet that yeare commeth not to the yere of our Lord. 169. but to the yere. 181. Some other ſay, that Eleutherius was made Byſhop, in the 6. yeare of Commodus, which was the yeare of our Lorde. 186. but that ſeemeth to goe to farre, but let the authours agree as they can. Let vs returne to Eleutherius the good Byſhop, who hearing the requeſt of thys king, & glad to ſee the godly towardnes of his wel diſpoſed mind: ſendeth him certaine teachers & preachers, called Fugatius, or by ſome Faganus, and Damianus, or Dimianus: which conuerted firſt the king and people of Britaine, and Baptiſed them wᵗ the Baptiſme and Sacrament of Chriſtes faith. The Temples of Idolatry and all other Monuments of Gentilitie they ſubuerted, conuerting the people frõ theyr diuers & many gods to ſerue one liuing God. Thus true religion with ſincere faith increaſing, ſuperſtition decaied, wᵗ al other rites of Idolatrie. There were thẽ in Britaine 28. head Prieſtes, which they called Flamines, & 3. Archprieſts among them, which were called Archflamines: hauing the ouerſight of their maners, & as Iudges ouer the reſt. These 28. Flamines they turned to 28. Biſhops. And the 3. Archflamines, to 3. Archbyſhoppes, hauyng then theyr ſeates in three principall Cityes of the Realme: that is, in London, in Yorke, and in Glamorgantia, videlicet, in Vrbe legionum, by wales. Thus the Countreys of the whole Realme, being deuided euery one vnder his owne Biſhop, and all things ſetled in a good order: the foreſaide king Lucius ſent againe to the ſayd Eleutherius, for the Romane lawes: thereby likewiſe to be gouerned as in Religion nowe they were framed accordingly. Unto whome Eleutherius againe wryteth, after the tenour of theſe wordes enſuing.

Auſten. 2. The ſayth of Chriſt brought into this Realme. *Lucius* firſt chriſtened king of the Brittaines.

Ex Monumetenſi & alijs.

Faganus, Damianus.

28. Byſhops within this Realme. 3. Archb.

The Epiſtle of Eleutherius Biſhop of Rome, ſent to king Lucius.

Ex Vetuſto codice regum antiquorum. The Epiſtle of *Eleutherius* to king *Lucius.*

Anno. 169. a Paſsione Chriſti ſcripſit Dominus Eleutherius Papa Lucio Regi Britanniæ, ad correctionem Regis & procerum regni Britanniæ, and ſo forth, as foloweth in Engliſh.

Yee require of vs the Romane lawes and the Emperours, to be ſent ouer to you: which you may practiſe & put in vre wythin your Realme. The Romane lawes, & the Emperours, we may euer reproue, but the lawe of God we may not. Yee haue receaued of late through Gods mercie in the realme of Britaine, the lawe and faith of Chriſt: ye haue with you within the Realme both the parties of the Scriptures. Out of them by gods grace, with the Coũcel of your realme, take ye a law, and by that lawe (through gods ſufferance) rule your kingdome of Britayne. For you be Gods Vicare in your kingdome, according to the ſaying of the Pſalme. *Deus iudicium tuum Regi da, &c.* That is. O God geue thy iudgement to the King, and thy righteouſnes to the kings ſonne. &c. He ſayd not the iudgement & righteouſnes of the Emperor, but thy iudgement and iuſtice: that is to ſay, of God. The kinges ſonnes be the Chriſtian people & folke of the Realme, which be vnder your gouernement, and liue and continue in peace within your kingdome, as the Goſpel ſayeth: like as the henne gathereth her chickẽs vnder her wings, ſo doth the king his people. The people and folke of the Realme of Britayne be yours, whome if they be deuided ye ought to gather in concord and peace: to call them to the faith and lawe of Chriſt, and to the holy church, to cheriſh and maintaine them, to rule and gouerne them, and to defende them alwaies from ſuch as would do them wrõg, from malicious men and enemies. A king hath his name of ruling, and not of hauing a Realme. You ſhalbe a king while ye rule wel, but if you do otherwiſe, the name of a king ſhall not remaine with you, & you ſhall loſe it, which God forbid. The almightie God graunt you ſo to rule the Realme of Britayne, that you may raigne wyth him for euer, whoſe Vicar ye be in the Realme.

The king, Gods vicare within hys owne kingdome.

After this maner, as you haue heard, was the Chriſtiã faith either firſt brought in, or els confirmed in this realme of Britayne, by the ſending of Eleutherius, not wᵗ any croſſe or proceſſion, but onely at the ſimple preaching of Fagane and Damian, through whoſe miniſterie this realme & Iland of Britaine was eftſoones reduced to the faith & lawe of the Lord, according as was prophecied by Eſay, as wel of that, as other Ilands mo, where he ſayth, chap. 42. he ſhall not faint, nor geue ouer till hee hath ſet iudgement in earth, and Ilands ſhal waite for hys lawe. &c. The faith thus receiued of the Britaynes cõtinued among them and floriſhed the ſpace of 216. yeres, till the cõming of the Saxones: who then were Paganes: whereof more followeth hereafter to be ſayde, the Lorde Chriſt aſſiſting thereunto. In the meane time ſomthing to ſpeake of this ſpace before, which was betwixt the time of Lucius, and the firſt cõming in of the Saxones: firſt is to be vnderſtanded, that all this while as yet the Emperors of Rome had not receiued the faith, what time the kings of Britaine, & the ſubiects thereof, were cõuerted now, as is ſayd, to Chriſt: for the which cauſe much trouble and perturbation, was ſought againſt them, not onely here in Britayne, but through all parts of Chriſtendome by the Heathen infidels. In ſo much that in the perſecution onely of Diocleſian & Maximinian raigning both together within one moneth xvij. thouſand martyrs are nũbred to haue ſuffered for the name of Chriſt, as hath bene hetherto in the booke before ſufficiently diſcourſed.

Eſay. 42.

Thus therefore although the foreſayd Lucius, the Britaine king, through the mercifull prouidence of God, was then Chriſtened and the goſpel receaued generally almoſt in all the land: yet the ſtate thereof as wel of the Religion, as of the common wealth, coulde not be quiet, for that the emperors & nobles of Rome were yet infidels, & enemies to the ſame: but eſpecially for this cauſe, the cauſe ſo happening, that Lucius the Chriſten king died without iſſue: for therby ſuch trouble & variance fel amõg the Britaines (as it happeneth in al other Realmes, namely in this our Realme of England when ſoeuer ſucceſſion lacketh) that not onely they brought vpon them the Idolatrous Romaines, & at length the Saxons: but alſo inwrapped them ſelues in ſuche miſerie and deſolation, as yet to thys day amongeſt them remayneth. Such a thyng it is (where a Prince or a King is in a kingdome) there to lacke ſucceſſion, as eſpecially in this caſe may appere. For after yͤ death

H. Huntendon. Lib. 1

What incommoditie commeth by lacke of ſucceſſion.

of Lucius, when the Barons and Nobles of the land could not accord wtin themſelues vpon ſucceſſion of the crowne: ſtept in the Romaines, & got the crowne into their owne hands, wherupon followed great miſery and ruine to the realme: for ſometimes the Idolatrous Romaines, ſometimes the Britaynes raigned and ruled, as violence and victorie would ſerue, one king murderyng an other, till at length the Saxones came and depriued them bothe, as in proceſſe hereafter followeth to be ſeene.

In the meane ſeaſon touching the ſtory of king Lucius, here is to be reproued the fable of ſome wryters falſely faining of him, that he ſhoulde after hys Baptiſme receaued, put of all his kingly honor, and forſake the land & be made a preacher: who after long trauaile in preaching and teaching, in Fraunce, in Germany, in Auguſta, & in Sueuia, at length was made Doctor and Rector of the Churche of Curcak: where (as this fable ſayeth) he ſuffered Martyrdome. But this phãtaſie of whomſoeuer it firſt did ſpring, diſagreeeth from all our Engliſh ſtories: who with a full conſent do for the moſt part cõcord in this, that the ſaid Lucius, after he had foũded many Churches, and geuen great riches and liberties to the ſame: deceaſed with great tranquillitie in his owne lande, and was buried at Gloceſter, the 14. yeare after his Baptiſme, as the booke of Flores Hiſtoriarum, doeth counte, which was the yeare of our Lorde (as he ſayeth) 201. and reckeneth his conuerſion to be. An. 87. In ſome I finde hys deceaſe to be the fourth, & in ſome the tenth yeere after his Baptiſme, and holde that he raigned all the ſpace of lxxvij. yeares, and thus much concerning king Lucius.

The deceaſe of King *Lucius. Ex Floriſlego.*

Now to proceede in order of the ſtorie, briefly to touch the ſtate of the foreſaid land of Britayne, betwene the time of king Lucius, and the entring of the Saxones, who were the kings thereof: and in what order they ſucceeded, or rather inuaded one after an other, this Catalogue heere vnder written will ſpecifie.

Ex Beda Polycro, monumetenſi.

Lucius,	a Britayne.
Seuerus,	a Romaine.
Baſsianus,	a Romaine by the father.
Carauſius,	a Britayne.
Alectus,	a Romaine.
Aſclepiodotus,	a Britayne.
Coilus,	a Britayne.
Conſtantius,	a Romaine.
Conſtantinus,	a Britayne by the Mother, named Helena, who being ẏ daughter of Coel, & maryed to Conſtantius, father of Cõſtantinus, is ſaid to make the walles firſt of London, alſo of Colcheſter, muche about the yere of the Lorde, 305. and borne in Britayne.
Octauius,	a Gewiſſian.
Maximinianus,	a Romaine borne, but hys mother a Britaine.
Gratianus,	a Romaine.
Conſtantinus,	a Britayne by the mother.
Conſtans,	a Romaine by the father.
Votigerus,	a Gewiſſian or Bri.
Vortimerus,	a Brit.
Vortigernus.	againe.

Kinges of Britaine from the time of Lucius till the cõming of the Saxons.

An. D. 390. Secund fab. Bed.
An. 433. fab.
An. 443.
An. 448.
An. 464.

By this table may appere a lamentable face of a common wealth ſo miſerably rent and diuided into two ſortes of people, differing not ſo much in cõtrey, as in religion. For when the Romaines raigned: ſo were they gouerned by the Infidels. when the Britaynes ruled, ſo they were gouerned by Chriſtians. Thus what quietneſſe was or could be in the Church, in ſo vnquiet and doubtful dayes, it may eaſely be conſidered.

Albeit, notwithſtanding al theſe foreſayd Heathen rulers of the Romaines, which here gouerned, yet (God be praiſed) we read of no perſecution, during all theſe x. perſecutiõs aboue mentioned, that touched the chriſtian Britaynes, before the laſt perſecution onely of Diocleſian, and Maximianus Herculius, whych here then exerciſed much crueltie. Thys perſecution, as it was the laſt among the Romane Chriſtians, ſo it was the firſt of many & diuers that followed after in thys Churche and Realme of England: wherof we will here after intreate (Chriſt willing) as order of the matter ſhall leade vs. In the meane tyme this rage of Diocleſian as it was vniuerſally through all the churches in the world fierce & vehement: ſo in this realme of Britayne alſo it was ſo ſore, that as all our Engliſh Chronicles do teſtifie, and recorde, all Chriſtianitie almoſt in the whole land was deſtroied: Churches were ſubuerted, all bookes of the Scripture burned, many of the faythfull both men and women were ſlaine. Among whom the firſt and chiefe was Albanus, then Iulius, Aaron, and Amphibalus. Of whome ſufficiently hath bene ſayde before. what were the other, or howe many they were that ſuffered beſide, ſtories make no rehearſall. And thus much therof.

The Brittaynes neuer touched with any perſecution before the time of *Diocleſian.*

Nowe as concerning the gouernement of theſe aboue named kinges of Britayne, although I haue little or nothing to note, which greatly appertaineth to the matter of this Eccleſiaſticall hyſtorie: yet this is not to be paſt ouer: firſt how in the order of theſe kings commeth Conſtantinus the great & worthy Emperor, not onely a Britayne borne by hys mother Helina being kyng Coilus daughter, but alſo by the helpe of the Britaynes army (vnder the power of God) whych the ſayde Conſtantine tooke wyth hym out of Britain to Rome: obtained with great victory, peace and tranquilitie to the whole vniuerſall Church of Chriſt: hauing iij. legions wt him out of this realme, of choſen & able ſoldiors. wherby the ſtrẽgth of the lãd was not a litle impaired & indangered, as afterward in this ſtory foloweth.

Conſtant. the great, borne and bred in Brittayne.

The cauſe how this Realme of Brittaine was firſt weakened.

After him likewiſe Maximian following his ſteppes, tooke wyth him alſo (as ſtories recorde) all the power and ſtrength whych was left: and whatſoeuer he could make, of able and fighting men, to ſubdue Fraunce: beſides the garriſons whych he had out wyth him before, ſending for mo to the number of C. M. ſouldiors at once, to be ſent to hym out of Britayne into Fraunce. At whych time alſo Conanus his partener being then in Fraunce, ſent ouer for virgins from Britaine to the number of xi. M. who with Vrſula, the Prince Dionets daughter being ſhypped ouer, many periſhed in the ſea: ſome were taken of the infidels, marching vppon the borders, wyth whome becauſe they wold not be polluted, all were deſtroyed, being miſerably diſperſed (ſome one way, ſome an other) ſo ẏ none eſcaped.

Brittayne ſpoyled of ſouldiours.

Vrſula, with a xi. thouſand virgins.

Thus poore Britayne being left naked and deſtitute on euery ſide, as a maimed body wtout myght or ſtrength: was left open to hys enemyes, not able to ſuccour it ſelfe, without helpe of forreine friendes. To whome they were then conſtrained to flie, eſpecially to the Romains to whõ the Britaynes ſent this worde or meſſage. Ætio ter Conſuli gemitus Britannorum. Repellunt nos Barbari ad mare. Repellit nos mare ad Barbaros. Hinc oriuntur duo funerum genera, quia aut iugulamur, aut ſubmergimur. But the Romains then began to forſake them, whereby they were in nearer danger to be oppreſſed by Gwanus and Melga, had not Gwetelinus the Archbyſhop of London made ouer to leſſer Britayne, and obtayning theyr helpe, had brought Conſtantinus the kings brother, to reſcue his countrey againſt the infidels. Thys Conſtantinus was brother to Aldroenus king of litle Britayn, and father to Conſtans, Aurelius Ambroſius, & Vter, who after raigned kings in Britayne.

Guetelin Archb. of London.

Ex Chro co. Mon metenſi. Conſtantinus. Conſtans, Aurelius, Ambroſius, Vter Pendragon.

Thus by the meanes of the good Archbyſhop and Conſtantinus, the ſtate of the Religion and Realme of Britayne was in ſome meane quiet & ſafetye, during the time of the ſayd Conſtantine and of the good Archbiſhop. But as the Realme of Britayne almoſt from the beginning was neuer without ciuill warre, at length came wicked Vortigerne, who cruelly cauſing Conſtans his Prince to be murdred, ambitiouſly inuaded the crowne: who then fearing the other two brethren of Conſtans, whych were Aurelius & Vter, being then in litle Britayne: did ſend ouer for the aide of the Saxons being then infidels, and not onely that: but alſo maried with an infidell, the daughter of Hengiſt called Rowen. whereupon the ſayde Vortigerne not long after, by the ſayd Hengiſt and the Saxones was with like trayterie diſpoſſeſſed of his kingdome, & the people of Britayne driuen out of their countrey, after that the Saxons had ſlaine of their chiefe Nobles & Barons at one meeting, ioyning together ſubtiltie with crueltie, to the number of CC.lxxi. ſome ſtories ſay CCCC.lx. This wicked acte of the Saxones, was done at Almiſbury, or at a place called Stonehenge, by the monument of which ſtones there hanging, it ſeemeth that the noble Britaynes there were buried.

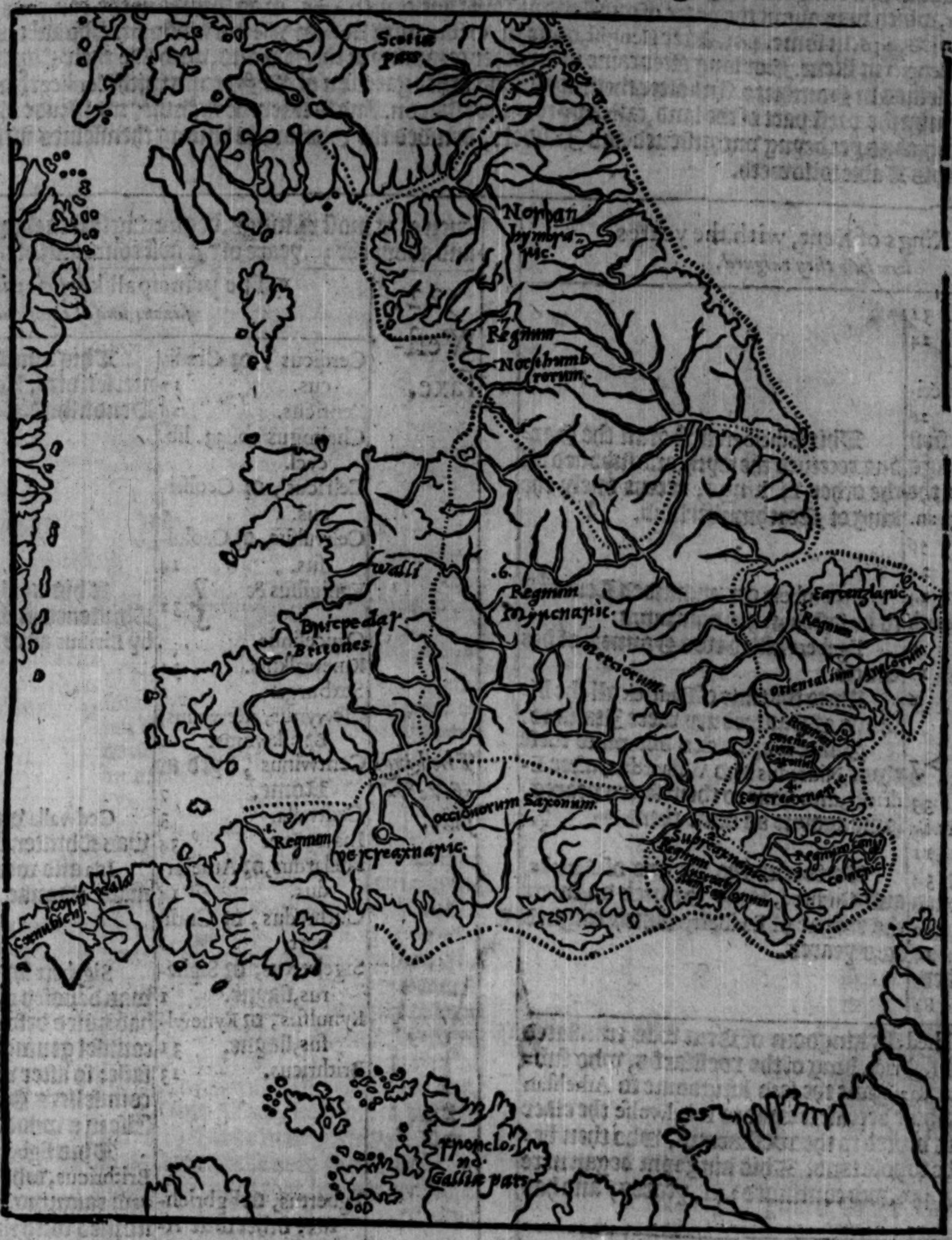
The Saxons ſent for to Brittayne. Kyng *Conſtans* ſlayne by *Vortigerne.*

Hengiſt and *Horſa* Captaynes of the Saxons.

A wicked murther of the Saxons.

This fabulous Storie of the welſhemen, of bryngyng theſe ſtones from Ireland by Merlyn I paſſe ouer. Some ſtoryes record that they were ſlaine being bid to a banket, other do ſay that it was done at a talke or aſſembly, where the Saxons came with priuie kniues contrary to promiſe made, with the which kniues they geuing a priuie watchword, in their Saxones ſpeache, neme your ſexes) ſlewe the Britaynes vnarmed: and thus farre concerning the hiſtorie of the Britaynes. As this great plague could not come to the Britaynes without Gods permiſſiõ, ſo Gildas ſheweth in hys Chronicle, the cauſe thereof, wryting thus: Quòd Britones propter auaritiam & rapinã Principum, propter iniquitatem & iniuſtitiam Iudicum, propter deſidiam prædicationis Epiſcoporum, propter luxuriam & malos mores populi, patriam perdidiſſe. &c.

A deſcription of England, as it was deuided in the Saxones time into vij. kingdomes.



Scotiæ pars
Norþanhymbraric
7 Regnum Northumbrorum
Walli
6 Regnum Myrcnaric
Merciorum
Brytpealas Britones
Eastenglaric Regnum
Orientalium Anglorum
Regnum Orientalium Saxonum
4 Eastseaxnaric
Occidentorum Saxonum
1 Regnum Westseaxnaric
Cornwealas
Cornubia
Suþseaxnaric Regnum Australium Saxonum
Regnum Cantwaric
Francland Galliæ pars

The entring and raigning of the Saxons.

THis was the comming in firſt of the Angles or Saxones into this realme, being yet vnchriſtened and infidels: which was about the yeare of our Lord, as William Malmeſbury teſtifieth. CCCC. lxix. the Captaines of whō were Hengiſtus and Horſus. Although the ſayd Hengiſt and Saxones at their firſt comming, for all their ſubtile working and cruell attempt, had no quiet ſetling in Britayne, but were driuen out diuers times by the valiantneſſe of Aurelius Ambroſius, and his brother Vter aboue mētioned, who raigned after that among the Britaynes: yet notwithſtanding they were not ſo driuen out, but that they returned againe, and at length poſſeſſed all, driuing the Britaynes (ſuch as remained) into Cambria, whych we call nowe Wales. Hengiſtus, as ſome Chronicles recorde, reigned. 43. yeares, and died in Kent. Galfridus in ſuo Britannico ſayeth: that he was taken in warre by Aurelius Ambroſius, and beheaded at Coningeſburgh, after he had raigned xxxix. yeare.

Aurelius and *Vter.* ſonnes to *Conſtantinus.*

Ex Gaufrido.

Ex Alfrido in ſuo Britannico.

After the death of Hengiſt, hys ſonne Oſca, raigned xxiiij. yeres leauing his ſonne Octa, to whoſe reignē with hys ſonne Ymenricus, hyſtories doe attribute liij. yeares, who alſo were ſlaine at length by Vter Pendragon, Polichroni. Lib. 5. cap. 4.

Ex Policron. lib. 5. cap. 4.

The Saxones after they were ſetled in the poſſeſſion of England, diſtributed the Realme among themſelues, firſt in ſeuen partes: euery part to haue his king, that is: The firſt to be the king of Kent. The ſecond to be king of Suſſex and Southerye, holding hys Palace at Chiceſter. The thirde king was of weſtſexe. The fourth king of Eſſex. The fift king was of the Eaſtangles, that is, of Cambridgeſhire, Northfolke, and Southfolke. The vj. king of Merceland, or Mercia, and in his kingdome were cōteined the Counteſſes of Lincolne, Leyceſter, Huntyngdon, Northampton, Oxford, Darby, Warwike. &c. The vij. king had all the countries beyond Humber, and was called king of Northumberland.

Seuen kings ruling in England.

Of theſe ſeuen kingdomes, although they continued not long, but at length ioyned all in one, comming all into the poſſeſſion & ſubiection of the weſtſaxons: yet for the ſpace they cōtinued (which was in continuall trouble & warres among themſelues) thys is the race and order of them, as in this Table particularly followeth to be ſeene.

A Table deſcribing the ſeuen kingdoms of the *Saxons, raigning here in England.*

IN the tyme of Vortiger aboue mentioned, began the raigne of the Saxons in this land, the which comming out of 3. ſoꝛtes of the Germaine people (to witte) the Saxons, the Iutes and Angles, repleniſhed the land, of them called now Anglia. Of whom firſt Hengiſtus raigned in Kent, which countrey of Kent he had obtayned by Rowen his daughter, of king Vortiger, which was about the yeare of our Loꝛd as ſome doe count, 476. oꝛ as I finde in the computation of our Engliſh Tables, 456. in ſome, 463. After Hengiſt, came in Octha, with Eoſa, oꝛ Yſſe his kinſman: who afterward ſucceded the ſayd Hengiſt in Kent. Not long after came in an other company of the Saxons, with Elle their Captaine, which planted themſelues in Southſexe. And after them agayne an other garriſon of the Saxons with Cerdice their Captain, which did occupy the weſt part of the land, called by them weſtſaxon. And ſo likewiſe the other multitude of the Saxōs after them, which as yet beyng vnchꝛiſtened and Infidels, deuided the whole land among themſelues into vij. kingdoms, as in this Table followeth.

456.
Kent.
The kings of Kent.

¶ The Kings of Kent, with the yeares *how long they raigned.*

Hengiſtus, ſlaine.	31	
Eoſa, oꝛ Yſſe.	24	
Ocha, oꝛ Octha.		
Emenricus, oꝛ Emericus.	26	
Ethelbertus, the firſt of yͤ Saxon kings that receyued the fayth by Aug. an. reg. 35.	56	This Ethelbert firſt of all the Saxons receiued the fayth, and ſubdued all the other vj. kings, except onely the king of Noꝛthumberland.
Edbaldus.	24	
Ercombertus.	24	Ercombert commaunded Lent firſt to be faſted in his dominion.
Egebertus, or Edbrieth ſlayne.	9	Egebert killed two Sonnes of his Vncle.
Lotharias ſlayne.	12	
Eadrichus.	6	Vnto the time of Eadrick all the biſhops of Canterbury were Italians.
Nidredus. Wilhardus.	7	Some Chꝛonicles doe place theſe two, Nidredus and Wilhardus, after Edricke, and geue to them ſeuen yeares, ſome agayne do omit them.
Withredus.	33	
Egfertus, oꝛ Edbert.	23	
Ethelbert.	11	
Alricus.	34	Betweene the raygne of Alricke, and Cuthred, ſome Stoꝛies do inſert the raigne of Eadbert, which raigned two yeares.
Eadbertus, ſurnamed Pren.	2	
Cuthredus.	18	
Baldredus, expulſed.	81	

In the raigne of this Baldred the kingdom of Kent was tranſlated to Egbertus, otherwiſe called Egbrict, king of the weſtſaxōs, who ſubduing the foꝛeſaid Baldred, an. 832. gaue the ſaid kingdome to Athelſtan his younger ſonne. After whoſe deceaſe it came to Ethelwolfe the elder ſonne of Egbrict, and ſo was vnited to the weſtſaxons, who then began to be the Monarch of the whole land. This kingdom began nere about the yeare of our Loꝛd, 456, and continued 342. yeares, and had xv. kings.

478.
South-ſaxe.
Now called Suſſex.
The kings of Suſſex.

¶ The Kings of Southſaxe, with the *yeares of their raigne.*

Elle, oꝛ Alle.	31	
Ciſſa.		Of this Ciſſa came Cicceſter, which he builded, and where he raigned.
Nancanleus, oꝛ Nancanleodus.		This Nathanleod ſeemeth by ſome old ſtoꝛies to be a Bꝛitaine, & the chief Marſhall of king Vter, whome Porth the Saxon ſlew.
Porth.		This Porth a Saxon, came in at the hauen, which now is called of him Poꝛthmouth.
Ethelwelſus.		Becauſe I find but little mention of theſe two I thinke it rather like to bee the ſame Ethelwold oꝛ Ethelwaldus, which after followeth.
Redwallus.		
Condebertus.		Of Condebertus and Ethelred I find no mention but in one table only, ſuppoſing therfoꝛe that the true names of theſe were Ercombertus and Egebertus, which were kings of Kent the ſame tyme, and peraduenture might then rule in Suſſex.
Ethelredus, oꝛ Ethereus.		
Adelwood, oꝛ Ethelwaldus, ſlayne.		This Adelwold was the firſt kyng of Suſſex Chꝛiſtened, and as Fabian ſaith, the iiij. king of the Southſaxōs: as other ſay the vij. ſo vncertain be the hiſtoꝛies of this kingdom.
Adelbrich, oꝛ Berethunus, ſlayne.	5	
Adhumus.	15	

This kingdome endured yͤ ſhoꝛteſt ſeaſon of all other, and ſooneſt paſſed into other kingdoms, in the dayes as ſome wꝛite of Iue king of weſtſaxe, and ſo endured not aboue an hundꝛed & twelue yeres vnder ſeuen oꝛ at moſt xj. kings, beginning firſt in the yeare of the Loꝛd, 47 and about the 30. yeare of the firſt comming of the Saxons.

522.
Weſt-ſaxe.
The kings of Weſt-ſaxe.

¶ The principall kingdome of the Weſt-*ſaxons, and of their raignes.*

Cerdicus, oꝛ Credicus.	17	This kingdome contained Somerſetſhire, Barkſhire, Doꝛſetſhi Deuonſhire, Coꝛnewall, &c.
Kenricus.	26	
Chelingus 30. 33. lib. cycl.		
Celricus, oꝛ Ceolſricus.	5	
Celwulſus, oꝛ Ceolulſus.	14	
Kynigilſus & Quicelinus.	32	This Kynigilſus was firſt Kyn Chꝛiſtened in that pꝛouince, conuert by Birinus after made Monke,
Kinewalkins.	31	
Sexburga.	1	
Eſcwynus, Aſcwynus, oꝛ Elkwinus.	2	
Centwinus, dyed at Rome.	7	
Cedwalla.	3	Cedwalla went to Rome, and th was Chꝛiſtened and dyed.
Ina, oꝛ Iue.	35	Ina alſo went to Rome, and w made Monke.
Edelardus, oꝛ Athelardus.	14	
Cuthredus, oꝛ Cuthbert.	16	
Sigebertus, oꝛ Sigherus, ſlayne.	1	Sigebert foꝛ his pꝛide and crueli was depoſed of his people. And as h had killed befoꝛe one of hys faythfu counſel geuing him wholeſome coũſaile: ſo after was he ſlayne of yͤ ſam counſellers Swynard, as he hid him ſelfe in a wood.
Kynulfus, oꝛ Kynewlfus, ſlayne.	31	
Brithricus.	13	
Egbertus, oꝛ Egbrichtus, otherwiſe Athelbert, oꝛ Athelbrich, &c.	37	This Egbert was firſt expelled by Brithricus, who after returning again and raigning, was much deryded and ſcoꝛned with mocking rimes foꝛ a coward of Bernulfus king of Mercia. At lẽgth the ſayd Egbert ſubdued hym firſt, then all the reſt, to his kingdome: cauſing the whole land to be called no moꝛe Bꝛitayne, but Anglia. Concerning the other kings after him in tha Loꝛdſhip hereafter followeth.

This Egebert ſubdued all the other ſeuen kingdomes, and firſt began the Monarchie of all the Saxones, which after by Alured was perfected, as hereafter followeth (the loꝛd willing) to be declared. This kingdom of the weſtſaxons began the yere of grace, 522. & as it ſubdued all the other, ſo it did the longeſt continue, til about the comming of William Conqueroꝛ, which is about the tyme of 554. yeares.

547.
Noꝛ-thum-berlãd.

¶ The Kings of Noꝛthumberland, with *the yeares of their raigne.*

Ida.	12	This Ida of his wife had vj. children, Adda, Elricus, Oſmerus, Theodledus, of concubines other 6.

After Ida the kingdome of Noꝛthumberland was deuided into two pꝛouinces, Deyꝛa and Bernicia.

Alle, oꝛ Elle, Deirorum.	30	This Alle was the ſonne of Iſſe, raigned in Deyꝛa, 30.
Adda, Bernicorum.	7	

Some Chꝛonicles ſet vnder Adda, to raigne in Bernicia theſe kings, Glappa oꝛ Claſpa, Theonulfus, oꝛ Huſſa, oꝛ Theowalnus, Frihulfus, Theodoricus.

Alricus, oꝛ Alfricus Deirorum.	5	This Alfricus was the ſonne of Ida and raigned fiue yeares.
		This Ethelfridus was he that ſlew the monkes of Bangoꝛ, to the number of

The kings of Northūberland.

Ethelfridus Bernicorū.		of 1200. whyche came to praye for the good ſucceſſe of the Brittaynes, and by hys wife Accan, the daughter of Elle, had vij. ſonnes, Eaufridus, Oſualdus, Oſwius, Oſlacus, Oſmundus, Oſa, Offa. Flor. Hiſtor.
Edwinus, Northumberland, ſlaine.	17	Thys Edwinus was the firſt of the Northumberland kings, whych was conuerted and Chriſtened by Paulinus Byſhop of London.
Oſricus Deirorum, ſlaine.		These two are put out of the cace of kings, becauſe they reuolted frō the Chriſtian faith, and were both ſlayne miſerablye by Cedwalla a Brittayne, which then raigned in Northumberland, and in Mercia.
Eaufridus Bernicia, ſlaine.		
Oſwaldus, Northumberland, ſlaine.		This Oſwaldus, called S. Oſwald, fought with Cedwalla, & Penda with a ſmall army, and by ſtrength of prayer vanquiſhed thē in the field. He ſent for Ædanus into Scotlād to preach in hys coūtry, & as he preached in Scottiſh, yͤ king expoūded in Engliſh. He was a great geuer of almes to yͤ poore. Of his other actes more appeareth hereafter.
Oſwius, Northumberland.	28	This Oſwius fighting againſt Penda, vowed to make his daughter Elfred a Nonne, geuing wyth her. 12. Lordſhips, to build 12. Monaſteries. vj. in Bernicia. vj. in Deira.
Oſwinus raigned together with Oſwius in Deira ſlaine.	7	The ſame Oſwius in the beginning of hys raigne toke one Oſwinus the ſonne of Edwyne to be his partener ouer the countrey of Deyra. Afterward cauſing him to be killed, toke to hym an other called Edelwald, the ſonne of Oſwalde. Of thys Oſwynus more followeth hereafter to be declared.
Egfridus, Northumberland. ſlayne.	15	Thys Egfrid marryed Etheldrida, who being xij. yeares maried to hym, could after, by no meanes be allured to lye with him, but obtaining of him licence, was made Nunne, & then Abbes of Elye. She made but one meale a day, & neuer weare linen. At laſt the ſame Egfrid fighting againſt yͤ Scots, was ſlayne in the fielde by a trayne of the Scots, faining themſelues to flee.
Alridus, Notthumberland, ſlaine.	20	Of this Alfride, Bede in his hiſtorie teſtifieth that he was exactly and perfectly ſeene in the holy Scriptures, & recouered much that hys predeceſſors had loſt before. Bed. lib. 4. cap. 24. Some ſay he raigned not 18. yeares.
Oſred', Northumberland, ſlaine.	11	Oſred began his raigne being but viii. yeares old, and raigned the ſpace of x. yeares.
Kenredus, North.	2	
Oriſcus, North.	20	Some affirme that Oriſcus raigned but xi. yeares.
Celulfus, Northumb. made a Monke.	9	This Celulf after he had raigned. 8. yeares was made a Monke. To hym Beda wrote his ſtorie.
Egbertus, or Eadbertus, Northumberlād, Monke.	21	
Oſulfus, Northumber. ſlaine.	1	
Mollo, or Ethelwold, North.	11.	Mollo by the ſubtil traine of Altredus was made away, whych Altredus alſo himſelfe after he had raigned x. yeres, was expulſed by his owne people.
In ſome Chronicles vj. yeeres.		
Altredus, Northum. expulſed.	10	In ſome Chronicles this Altredus raigned but viij. yeares.
Ethelbertus, or Edelredus, Northumberland, expulſed.	5	
Alſwoldus, Northumberland ſlaine,	11	
Oſredus.		
Ethelbertus, or Adelwaldus, North. ſlaine.	16	

¶ After this Ethelbert, tht kingdome of Northumberland ceaſed the ſpace of xxv. yeares, till Egbertus King of the weſtſaxons ſubdued alſo them, as hee did the other Saxons to his dominion. After the whych Egbert king of the weſtſaxons ſucceeded in Northūberland hys ſonne.

Ethelwolfus. Ethelbaldus.
Ethelbertus. Ethelredus. } Kings of weſtſaxons, raigning in Northumberland.

In the tyme of thys Ethelredus there were two vnder Kinges in Northumberland Ella, and Osbright, whom the Danes ouercame and raigned in theyr place, whose names were theſe.

Exbertus. Gurthed.
Richſi. Guthrid.
Egebert. } Danes.

¶ After the raigne of theſe foreſayd Danes, the kingdome of Northumberland came into the hands of the weſtſaxons, in the time of Athelſtane and his brother Edmundus. It began firſt. An. 547. and ſo endured. 409. yeares. It contained Yorkeſhyre, Notinghamſhyre, Darbiſhyre, the Byſhopricke of Dyrham, Copeland and other.

(561)

Mercia.

¶ The kings of Mercia, or Merceland with the yeares of their raigne.

The Kinges of Mercia.

Grida, or Creodda.	35	
Wibba.	20	
Ceorlus.	10	
Penda, ſlaine.	30	Penda ſlew in battaile Edwyne and Oſwald kinges of Northumb. Alſo Sigebert, Edrike, and Anna, kinges of the Eaſtangles. Alſo he drove out Kenwalkins king of the weſtſaxons.
Peda, or Weda, ſlayne by his wife.		Under Peda, and Wlferus, Chriſtes faith was receiued in thoſe parts, they being conuerted by Finianus Biſhop. The ſame Peda raygned in a part of Mercia, with hys brother Wlferus, which were both the ſonnes of Penda.
Wlferus.	29	This Wlfer' by his wife Ermeburg had iii. daughters, Milburg, Mildrith, and Mildgith, holy virgines.
Adelredus, or Ethelred, made Monke, 30 or.	19	This Adelredus, or Ethelredus was Monke of Bardney, whoſe ſiſters were Kynedrid, and Kynſwith, holye virgines.
Kenredus made alſo Monke at Rome.	5	
Ceolredus, or Kelredus.		In the tyme of this Ceolred was Guthlake otherwiſe called S. Guthlake, the Popiſh Eremite of Crouland.
Ethelbaldus, ſlaine.	41	Under Ethelbaldus dyed Beda. Ethelbald gaue that all churches ſhould be free from all exactions and publike charges.
Bernredus.	1	This Bernred for his pride & ſtoutnes toward his people, was by thē depoſed, & the ſame yeare by the iuſt iudgement of God burned. Hiſtor. Carienſ.
Offa.	39	Offa cauſing or cōſenting to the death of good Ethelbert king of the Eaſtangles, peaceably comming to mary his daughter, for repentaunce cauſed the Peter pence firſt to be geuē to Rome, and there did his penaunce.
Egfredus.	1	
Kenulphus, ſlaine, or. 16.	20	
Kenelmus, murthered		This Kenelme beyng of vii. yeares of age, was wickedly ſlayne after hee had raygned vi. monethes.
Ceolwolfus expulſed, 1. or 3.		
Bernulphus, ſlaine.	3	
Ludecanus, ſlaine.	2	This Ludicane after the 2. yeare of his raigne was ſlayne of Egbert, king of the weſtſaxons, by whome the reſt of the Saxons were alſo ſubdued.
Some Chronicles here inſert Milefred'.		
Wilafius, or Withlacus beheaded.	12	

¶ This Withlacus in the beginning of his raigne was vanquiſhed by Egfrid king of weſtſaxe, to whome hee became tributarie wyth hys ſucceſſours here following.

Berthulfus. 12 Celuſtus. 1
Buthredus. 20 Elfredus. 1 } ¶ Some wryters ſay that theſe kinges were ſubdued by the Danes.

After this Elfride the kingdome of the Mercians was tranſlated vnto the weſtſaxons, in the latter time of king Alfred, or in the beginning of Edwardus Senior, and ſo was adioyned to the weſtſaxons, beginning. An. 561. It endured the ſpace of 250. yeares, til about the latter end of Aluredus, by whome it was ioyned to the kingdome of weſtſaxons. This kingdome ſtretched out to Huntingtonſhire, Hertfordſhire, Glouceſterſhire, worceter, warwick, Lichfield, Couentry, Cheſter, Darbiſhire, Staffordſhire, Shroſebury, Oxforde, Buckingham Dorceter, Lincolne, Leceſter. &c.

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Eaſtſaxons.

¶ The kings of the Eaſtſaxons, with the yeares of their raigne.

Erchwinus.	35	
Sledda.	17	
Sebertus, or Sigebertus.	14	This Sebertus nephew to Ethelbert king of Kent amōg theſe kings was firſt Chriſtened by Mellitus, whych made the Church of Paules.
Sexredus, and Sewardus, brethren ſlaine.	7	Sexred, & Seward, and Sigebert, expelled Mellitus the Biſhop, becauſe he would not miniſter to them the ſacramētal bread, they being not baptiſed.

The kings of the Eaſt ſaxons.

Sigebertus paruus.	23	This Sigebertus Paruus with his brother Sebertus were ſlayne of Kynegilſus and Swithelinus his brother, by the iuſt iudgement of God, for they reuolted againe from their Faith, and expelled Mellitus Biſhop of London.
Segebertus Bonus, or Sibertus, ſlaine.		This Segebertus Bonus or Sibertus, much reſorting to Oſwy, king of Northumberland, by his perſwaſion was brought to Chriſtiã baptiſme, baptiſed of Finianus Biſh. to whõ alſo was ſent Cedde with other miniſters to preache & to baptiſe in hys country. At laſt he was ſlaine of his mẽ about him, vſing to much to ſpare his enemies, & to forgeue their iniuries that repented. Flor.
Swythelinus.	14	
Sigherius, ſonne of Segebertus Paruus.		This Sigherius and Sebbi firſt fell to Idolatry, then through the meanes of Wolferus King of Mercia, were reduced, & at laſt Sebby became a Monke.
Sebbi Sonne of Sewardus, which was made a Monke.		
Sigehardus, and Suefridus, brethren.	8	
Offa.	5	Offa after hee had raigned a while, became a Monke at Rome.
Selredus, or Colredus, ſlaine.	38	
Swithredus,		

Thys Swithredus was ſubdued vnto Egbert King of weſtſaxons, Albeit London remained vnder the Mercians to the time that they alſo were ſubdued to the weſtſaxons. This kingdom began. An. 561. and ſo continued till the time of Egbertus. Some ſtories ſay it continued to the time of Edward ſonne of Aluredus, about the cõming of the Danes, and contained vnder it the Lordſhip of Midleſex and London. The Metropolitane ſea of this prouince of Eſſex was London, where the famous Church of S. Paul was builded by Ethelbert king of Kent, and Sigebert king of Eſſex, whõ Ethelbert had lately before turned to Chriſtes faith: wherof the firſt biſhop was Mellitus, the ij. byſhop was Ceddus, yͤ third came in by Simonie, whoſe name was Wine. Malmesb. de vitis Pont. After him was Erkenwaldus, of whom writeth Bede, that he being diſeaſed in hys legges that he could neither go nor ride, yet would be caried about in a litter to preach in his Dioces. &c. Although W. Malmeſb. wryting of the Byſhoppes of London in his booke De vitis Ponti. ſayth that Mauritius firſt the kings Chauncelor, then Byſhop there, did firſt begin this ſo large and famous building of the Church of S. Paul in London: which worke after him Richardus his ſucceſſour did proſecute, beſtowing al the rents of his Biſhopricke vpon the ſame, and yet was ſcarſly ſeene: yet herein may be anſwered peraduenture, that the Church builded before by King Ethelbert, and king Sigebert, myght be ouerthrowen by the Danes, and afterward was reedified by theſe Biſhops aboue mentioned.

(561)

¶ The kinges of the Eaſtangles, with the yeares of their raigne.

Eaſtangles.

The kings of the Eaſt angles.

Vffa, or Vlfa,	30	Of thys Vffa the people of Northfolke were then called Vſkyns.
Titulus, or Titila.	13	
Redwaldus.	12	Redwaldus firſt was conuerted in Kent: afterwarde through the wicked perſwaſion of his wife and other, ioyned Idolatry with Chriſtianitie.
Erpwaldus, or Corpwaldus, ſlaine.	38	Notwythſtanding his ſonne Erpwaldus through the meanes of Edwyn king of Northũberland, was brought to the perfect faith of Chriſt, & therein faithfully did continue.
Sigebertus, or Sibrect firſt a mõke ſlaine.	3	Thys Sigebert made hym ſelfe a Monke, and afterwarde brought out to fighte agaynſt Penda, wyth a white ſticke in hys hande, was ſlayne in the field.
Egnicus, or Egricus, ſlaine.	3	
Anna, ſlaine.	3	The daughters of Anna were Sexburga, Ethelberta, and Saint Etheldreda.
Adelhere, or Adelredus, ſlaine.	2	
Adelwoldus, or Ethelbaldus	9	
Adulphus.	25	
Elkwoldus.	12	
Beorna.	26	
Ethelredus, ſlaine.	52	This Ethelredus for hys holineſſe & godly vertues is counted for a Saint, he innocently comming to Offa kyng of Mercia to marrie wyth Althrid hys Daughter, by the ſiniſter ſuſpicion of Offa, and wicked counſaile of Kineſwina his wife, was cruelly put to death in yͤ houſe of Offa. For the which cauſe Offa afterward repenting went to Rome, where he made him ſelfe a Monke.
Ethelbritus, ſlaine,	5	

¶ After this ſinfull murther of Ethelbert, the kingdome of Eaſtangles during the time of certaine yeares, was in great trouble and deſolation, vnder diuers kings and tyrants, ſometime the king of weſtſaxe, ſomtimes of Kent, or of Mercia, hauing dominion ouer them, till the comming of S. Edmund, whych was the laſt King there ruling vnder the weſtſaxons.

S. Edmund, Martyred.	16	

¶ After the death of S. Edmund, being ſlaine of the Infidel Danes, the kingdom remained with the Danes. 50. yeares, till at length Edward King of the weſtſaxons, expulſed the Danes, and ioyned it to hys kingdome. It began about the yere of our Lord. 561. and continued neare about 377. yeares. Fabian numbreth but 12. kinges, but in other I finde moe.

The Metropolitane ſea of this prouince of Eaſtangles, which was firſt at a towne called Dunnoke, or Dũwich (which in time paſt hath bene a famous & populous towne wt a maior & 4. bailifs, & alſo diuers Pariſh Churches, & hoſpitals, whereunto great priuiledges by diuers kings haue bene graunted, whych towne is nowe fallen into ruine and decay, and more then half conſumed by the eating in of the Sea, as alſo greatly impoueriſhed by loſſe of the Hauen, which heretofore hath flouriſhed wyth diuers tall ſhippes belonging to the ſame (the inhabitantes therof being not able of them ſelues to repaire it wythout the helpe of other good people,) where the firſt biſhop was Felix, a Burgundian, who ſate there 14. yeres. After this, vnto the time of Egbert King of weſtſaxe, thys prouince was euer ruled by two Biſhops, wherof the one had hys ſea at Dunnoke, now called Dunwich. The other at Hemaham, where 12. ſate, one after an other. From thence it was tranſlated to Thetford, where ſate three Biſhops. At laſt by Byſhoppe Herbert it was remooued to Norwich, where he erected a Monaſterie of Monkes.

This Dunwich lyeth vpon the ſea ſide in Suffolke.

And thus ſtandeth the order and race of the Saxon kinges, raigning together wyth the Britaines in thys Realme. Nowe foloweth the deſcription of the Britayne kings, raigning with the Saxons in like mauer.

Although the miſerable Britaines thus were depriued of their land, by the cruel ſubtilty of the Saxons, yet were they not ſo driuẽ out or expulſed, but that a certaine kingdom remained amõg them, in ſome part of the lãd, namely about Cornewall, and the partes of Cambria, which is deuided in two partes, Southwales, called Demetia, and Northwales called Venedocia. The ſayd Britaines moreouer through the valiant actes of their kings, ſometimes raigned alſo in other countreis, diſplacing the Saxons, & recouering againe their owne: ſomtimes more, ſomtimes leſſe, till the time of Carecius, when as the Britaines being depoſed by Godmundus, (whoſe help they themſelues ſent for out of Irelande, agaynſt Carecius theyr wicked King) vtterly loſt their land and kingdome: being thence driuen vtterly into wales and Cornewale, the yere of our Lorde 570. What the order of theſe kings was, what were theyr actes, their names, and times when they raigned: in this briefe table vnder wrytten is expreſſed. Wherein firſt is to be premoniſhed that Conſtantinus ſecundus had three childrẽ, to wit, Conſtans, whych was made a Monke in winchester, and after made a king: the ſeconde was Aurelius Ambroſius: the thirde was Vter Pendragon. This being premiſed, we wil now enter the deſcription of our Table, beginning with Vortigernus.

¶ *A Table declaring the Kings of Britayne, which raigned together with the Saxones, after their comming into this land.*

Kinges of Britaine whiche here raigned in the time of the Saxones.

Vortigernus.	Conſtantinus 3.
Vortimerius.	Aurelius.
Vortigernus, againe.	Conanus.
Aurelius Ambroſius.	Vortiperius.
Vter Pendragon.	Malgo.
Arthurus.	Carecius.

Here is to be vnderſtand that theſe Britaine kings aboue mentioned, did not ſo raign here in this land, frõ the time of Vortigerne, that they had the full poſſeſſion and gouernement ouer all the whole realme: but only ouer parcels or partes, ſuch as by force of armes, they could either

Example what it is to let in ſtraunge nations.

Maryage with Infidels what deſtruction it worketh.

The ſecond returne of *Engiſt.* into Brittayne.

The diſſembling words of the Saxons to deceaue the Brittaynes.

Neme your ſexes, the watche-word. All the Nobilitie of the Brittaynes deſtroyed in one day. The king raunſomed. The Saxons enter poſſeſsion of the land. The Chriſtian Brittaynes perſecuted of the Infidel Saxons.

hold or win from the Saxons: which cõming in daily and growing vpon thẽ, did ſo repleniſh the land wͭ multitudes of them, that ẏ Britains at lẽgth were neither able to hold ẏ which they had, nor to recouer that which they loſt: Leauing exaple to al ages & countreis, what it is, firſt to let in forreine nations into their dominion, but eſpecially what it is for Princes to ioyne in mariage with infidels: as this Vortiger did wͭ Hengiſtus daughter, which was the mother of al this miſchief: geuing to the Saxons not only ſtrẽgth, but alſo occaſion and courage to attempt that whych they did. Neyther was this vncõſidered before of the Britaine Lords and Nobilitie: who worthely being therewͭ offended, iuſtly depoſed their king, & inthroned Vortimerus hys ſonne in his roume. By the which Vortimer being a puiſſant prince, the Saxons were then repulſed and driuen againe into Germany, where they ſtayed a while till the death of Vortimer whome Rowen daughter of Hengiſtus cauſed traiterouſly to be poyſoned. Then Vortiger being again reſtored to his kingdome, through the entreatie of Rowen hys wife, ſent into Germanie againe for Engiſt, who eftſoones making his returne, came in wyth a nauie of 300. ſhippes wel appointed. The Nobles of Britain hearing this, prepared them ſelues to the contrary ſide in all forceable wiſe to put them of. But Engiſt through Rowen hys daughter ſo laboured the king: excuſing himſelfe, and ſaying that he brought not the multitude, to worke any violence eyther againſt him or againſt his cõtrey, but only thinking that Vortimer had yet bene aliue, whom he minded to impugne for the kings ſake, and to take hys part. And nowe for ſo much as he heareth of ẏ death of Vortimer hys enemie, hee therefore committeth both himſelfe & his people to his diſpoſition, to appoint how few or how many of thẽ he wold to remaine within his land: the reſt ſhould returne. And if it ſo pleaſed the King, to appoynt day & place, where they might meete and talke together of the matter, both he and his would ſtande to ſuch order as the king with his counſaile ſhould appoynt. With theſe faire words the king and his nobles (wel contented) did aſſigne to them both day & place, which was in the towne of Ambry: where he ment to talke with them, adding thys condition wͭ all, that eche part ſhoulde come without any maner of weapon. Engiſt ſhewing him ſelfe well agreed thereto, gaue priuy intelligence to his ſide, that eche man ſhould cary wͭ him ſecretely in his hoſe a long knife, wͭ their watch worde alſo geuen vnto them whẽ they ſhould draw their kniues: wherwith euery Saxon ſhoulde (and ſo did) kill the Britayne, wyth whõ he talked, as is aboue declared. The Britaine Lords being ſlayne, the Saxons toke Vortigerne the King, and bound him: for whoſe raunſome they required to be deliuered to them the Citie of London, Yorke, Lincolne, Winchester, wͭ other the moſt ſtrongeſt holdes within the land. Which being to them graunted, they begin to make ſpoile & hauocke of the Britaine nation, deſtroying the Citizens, plucking downe Churches, killing vp the Prieſtes, burning the Bookes of the holy Scripture, leauing nothyng vndone that tyrannie could worke, whych was about the yeare of our Lorde. 462. The King ſeeing thys miſerable ſlaughter of the people fled into wales.

{An. 462.}

Aurelius Ambroſius returneth into Brittayne.

Aurelius crowned king of Brittayne.

Vortigerus burned in hys tower.

This whyle Aurelius Ambroſius, & Vter Pendragon brethren to king Conſtans aboue mentioned, whõ Vortigerne wickedly cauſed to be killed, were in little Britayne. To whome the Britaynes ſent worde, deſiring theyr ayde in helping their countrey. Aurelius vnderſtanding the wofull ſtate of the Realme, ſpeedeth hym ouer to ſatiſfie their deſire, and to reſcue (what in him was) their neceſſitie. Who at his firſt commyng eftſones being crowned for theyr king, ſeeketh out wicked Vortigerne, the cauſe of all thys trouble and murder of king Conſtãs hys brother. And finding him in wales in a ſtrong tower, wherein he had immured him ſelfe, ſetteth hym and his caſtell on fire. That done he moued his power againſt the Saxons, wͭ whom, and wyth Elle Captaine of the Southſaxons (who then was newly come ouer) he had diuers conflicts.

Horſus ſlayne. *Engiſt* taken in the field. The counſel of *Eldadus* Byſhop of Gloceſter.

Our Engliſh old Chronicles make record that Horſus the brother of Engiſt was ſlaine before in the time of Vortimer. The ſame alſo doe recorde, that thys Engiſt was taken priſoner in the fielde, fighting againſt Aurelius Ambroſius: who then cõſulting with his Nobles and Barons, what was to be done with him: the Byſhop of Gloceſter, called Eldadus, ſtanding vp, gaue this counſaile, ſaying: that if all men would deliuer him, yet he with his owne hãds wold cut him in peeces, alleaging the exaple of Samuel againſt Agag King of the Amelechs, taken by King Saul in the field: whome the ſayde Samuel cauſed to be cut in peeces. Euen ſo (ſaith he) do you to this Agag here: that as he hath made many a woman widow, and without childre: ſo his mother mai be made this day of him like wiſe. And ſo was Engiſt taken out of the Citie by Eldo Conſull or Maior of Glouceſter, and there was beheaded: if truth or credit be to be geuen to theſe our old Britaine ſtories: wherof I haue nothing certainly to pronoũce, but that I may ſuſpect the truth therof, which was about the yeare of our Lord. 490. Henr, Hunting. Galfr. cum alijs.

Engiſt beheaded.

{Anno. 490.}

Ex Henr. Huntingtonenſi. Galfrido. Ex Chronico quodã Carienſi.

The vncertainty of our old Brittayne ſtoryes.

Ex hiſtoria Cariana, Aurelius Ambroſius Brit. kyng.

A certaine auncient written hiſtory I haue in Latine, compiled in the. xiiij. yeare of king Richard the ſeconde, and by him cauſed to be writtẽ as the title declareth: whych becauſe it beareth no name of the author: I cal it by the name of him of whom I borowed thys booke, wyth many other likewiſe without name, Hiſtoria Cariana. This hyſtorie recordeth that Hengiſtus dyed in Kent the xxxii. yeare of hys raigne: which if it be true, then is it falſe that he was taken at Cunynburgh, and ſlaine in the North. Thys Aurelius Ambroſius before mentioned, is thought of Polidorus Vergilius citing the authoritye of Bede, to deſcende of the ſtocke of the Romaines: whych as it is not vnpoſſible to be true: ſo this is certaine by the full accord of al our old wrytten ſtories, that both the ſayde Aurelius, and his brother Vter Pendragon being the ſonnes of Conſtantinus, brother to Andoenus king of litle Britaine, were nurſed and brought vp in England, in their tender age, and inſtructed by Guitelinus Archbyſhop of London, and after the murder of Conſtans their elder brother, were conueied from hence to litle Britaine: whereby it is manifeſt that they were borne in thys land, and though their father were a Romaine as Polydorus pretendeth, yet lyke it is that they were Britains borne, and had a Britaine to their mother.

{Anno. 497.}

Vter Pendragõ. Brit. Kyng.

Remember the wordes of *Gildas.* 633. *hiſt. Caria.*

The Chriſtian Brittaynes perſecuted by the Heathen Saxõs.

After the death of Aurelius, who (as the ſtorie ſayeth) was poyſoned by the crafty meanes of Paſcentius, ſonne of Vortigerus (ſuborning one, vnder the weede of a Monke to play the Phiſicion, and ſo to poyſon him) next ſucceded hys brother Vter, ſurnamed Pendragon, about the yeare of our Lord. 497. who fighting againſt Octa and Coſa, toke them and brought them to London there to be kept. But they breaking out of pryſon returned into Germanie for more aid. In this meane time daily recourſe was of Saxons, with great companies cõming out of Saxonie: with whom the Britains had diuers & ſundry conflictes, ſometimes winning, ſometimes loſing. Not long after Octa & Coſa, renuing their power in Germany, in all moſt ſpeedy haſt did returne againe, and ioyne with the other Saxons againſt the Britaines. Heere began the ſtate of miſerable Britaine daily more and more to decay, while the idolatrous Saxons preuailed in number and ſtrength againſt the Chriſtian Britaines: oppreſſing the people, throwing downe Churches and Monaſteries, murdering the Prelates, ſparing neither age nor perſon, but waſting chriſtianity almoſt through the whole realme. To theſe miſeries it fell moreouer that Vter their king was ſicke & could not come out. Notwithſtanding being greeued with the lamentable deſtructiõ of his people, cauſed his bed to be brought into the campe, where God gaue him victorie: Octa & Coſa there being ſlaine. After this victorie in ſhort ſpace Vter died of poyſon (as is ſayde) put into a fountaine of water, whereof the king was wont to drinke, about the yeare of our Lorde. 516. Flor. Hiſt.

{Anno. 516.}

King *Arthur.*

The tales of King *Arthur.*

Conſtantinus. 3. *Aurelius. Conanus. Vortiporius. Malgo. Carecius.* Kings of Brittayne.

About which time and yeare, came in Stuph and Wigarius two nephewes of Certhice king of weſtſaxons, wyth their companies ſo violently vpon the Britains, that they of the weſt part of the realme, were not able to reſiſt them. Then the merciful prouidence of almighty God, raiſed vp for them King Arthure, the ſonne of Vter: who was then crowned after him and victoriouſly raigned. To thys Arthure the old Britaine hiſtoryes do aſcribe xii. great victories againſt the Heathen Saxons: whoſe notorious & famous conqueſts, mẽtioned in the Britain ſtories, I leaue them as I finde them: referring them to the credite of their authors in whom they are found. Notwithſtanding as I do not thinke contrary, but God by the foreſayde Arthure, gaue to the Britaines ſome ſtay and quietnes during his life, and certaine of his ſucceſſours: ſo touching certaine of great victories & conqueſts, not onely ouer thys land, but alſo ouer all Europe, I iudge them more fabulous, then ẏ any credite ſhould be geuen vnto them, more worthy to be ioyned with the Iliades of Homere, then to haue place in any Eccleſiaſticall hyſtorie. After Arthure next King of the Britaines, was Conſtantinus the third. After him Aurelius Conanus. Then Vortiporius, after whome followed Malgo, noted in ſtoryes to be a Sodomite. And after hym the laſt King of the Britaines, was Carecius, all geuen to Ciuill warre, execrable to God & man. Who being chaſed out by the Britains thẽſelues, the land fell to the poſſeſſion of the Saxons: about the yere of our Lord. 568. by whom all the Clergy and the Chriſtiã miniſters of the Britaines, were then vtterly driuen out: In ſo much that Theonus Archbi

The Archb. of London and the Archbiſhop of Yorke flee into Wales.

ſhop of London, & Thadeoſeus Archbiſhop of Yorke, ſeeing theyr Churches all waſted, and Pariſhes diſperſed, wyth their cariages and monumẽts: left theyr ſeas in Britaine, and fled into Cambria, which we nowe call Wales. Touching which matter, and touching alſo the cauſe of this deſolation & ruine of the Britaines kingdom, the firſt fountaine & origin therof partly before is declared, where was ſhewed in the time of Cõſtantinus Magnus and Maximinian, pag. 108. howe theſe noble Princes with other moe, achieuing their venturous affaires in other countreis, toke in them great multitudes & armies out of Britaine: through the occaſion whereof, the land was greatly empaired and depriued of his moſt chiefe and principall nobles, being caried away to ſerue in forreine warres. Whyche was no ſmall cauſe, why the realme of Britaine (being ſo waſted) was the leſſe able to helpe it ſelfe againſt theyr enemyes. Although this was not the chief occaſion, but other cauſes there were greater, wherfore God by his iuſt iudgement, ſuffered this plague and ouerthrow to fall vpon that people, as here out of an olde author, and partly out of Gildas, as I haue found it, ſo I thought to annexe it in hys owne wordes, firſt in Latine, then afterwarde Engliſhing the ſame, for the more credite of that which ſhalbe alleaged, in tenour as foloweth.

Ex hiſtoria quadam Carienſi.

The cauſes of the deſtruction of the Brit. declared.

Nobiliores totius regni prædictos duces ſequuti fuerunt & ignobiles remanebãt, qui cum vicem nobilium obtinere cœpiſſent, extulerunt ſe vltra quod dignitas expetebat. Et ob affluenciã diuitiarum ſuperbi cœperunt, tali & tantæ fornicationi indulgere, qualis nec inter gentes audita eſt. Et, vt Gildas hiſtoricus teſtatur, non ſolùm hoc vitium ſed omnia quæ humanæ naturæ accidere ſolent, & præcipue quod totius boni euertit ſtatũ, odium veritatis, amor mendacij, ſuſceptio mali pro bono, veneratio nequitiæ pro benignitate: exceptatio Sathanæ pro angelo lucis: vngebantur reges, non propter dominium, ſed qui cæteris crudeliores eſſent. Si quis verò eorum mitior, & veritati aliquatenus propior videretur, in hunc quaſi Britanniæ ſubuerſorem omnia odia, telaq; torquebantur. Omnia quæ Deo placebant & diſplicebant æquali lance inter eos pendebantur. Et non ſolùm hoc ſeculares viri, ſed & ipſe grex domini, eiuſq; paſtores ſine diſcretione faciebant. Non igitur admirandum eſt degeneres tales patriam illam amittere quam prædicto modo maculabant.

In Engliſh thus.

In Engliſh thus: The nobles of this realme folowing the Princes and Captaines aboue named: by the reaſon therof the vulgare and raſcall ſorte remained behinde at home. Who when they had gotten the roumes and places of the nobles, they aduanced them ſelues aboue that their dignitie required. And through their aboundãce of riches, they ſurpriſed wyth pride, began to fal into ſuch & ſo great fornication, as was neuer heard of euen among the Gentiles. And as Gildas the Hyſtoriographer witneſſeth, not into vice only, but alſo into al maner of wickednes, wherto mans nature is inclined: and eſpecially into that which is the ouerthrow of al good eſtates, the hatred of the truth, loue of lies, imbracing of euil in ſtead of goodneſſe, regarding of miſchiefe in ſtead of vertue, receauing of the deuill in ſtead of an Angell of light. They annoynted kings not ſuch as could wel rule a common wealth, but thoſe which exceded all other in cruelty. And if any might be perceaued to be ſomewhat more humble or meeke, or to be more inclined to fauour the trueth then the reſidue, him did euery one hate and backbite as the ouerthrower and deſtroyer of Brittayne. All thinges whether they pleaſed or diſpleaſed God, they regarded alyke. And not ſecular men onely did this, but alſo the congregation of the Lorde and their Biſhops and teachers without any difference at all. Therefore it is not to be marueiled, that ſuch people ſo degenerating and going out of kinde ſhould loſe that countrey, which they had after this maner defiled.

And thus much hetherto concerning the hiſtory of the Britaines, till, by the grace of Chriſt, the order of time ſhal bring vs heereafter to the treatiſe of Cedwalla and Calwalladrus. Nowe remaineth, in returning againe to the matter of the Saxons, to diſcourſe particularly, that which before in the table aboue we haue ſommarely comprehended.

This Be beyng a Chriſtian was mar vnto E-thelbert vpon the condition that ſhe ſhould be ſuffered enioy he religion.

Ethelbert kyng of Kent.

Oſwald king of Northumberland.

Edwin king of Northumberland.

Sigebert of Eaſtangles.

Sebert or Sexbricth of Eſſex.

The firſt building the Church of Paules London.

Ethelbert king of the Eaſtangles.

In this order and raſe of the Saxon kings, aboue ſpecified which had thus thruſt out the Britones, & now deuided their land in ſeuen kingdomes: as there were many noughty and wicked kings (whoſe pernicious examples, being all ſet on warre and bloudſhed, are greatly to be deteſted and eſchued of all true godly Princes) ſo ſome there were againe (although but fewe) very ſincere & good. But none almoſt from the firſt to the laſt, which was not either ſlaine in warre, or murdered in peace, or els conſtrained to make him ſelfe a monke. Such was the rage then and tyranny of that time. Whether we ſhuld impute it to the corruption of mans nature, or to the iuſt iudgement of Gods hand, ſo diſpoſing the matter, that as they had violently & falſely diſpoſſeſſed the Britons of their right: ſo they moſt miſerably were not onely vexed of the Danes, and cõquered at laſt by the Normãs: but alſo more cruelly deuoured them ſelues, one warring ſtill agaynſt an other, till they were neyther able to helpe them ſelues, nor yet to reſiſt others. Of thẽ which are noted for good among theſe Saxon kings, the firſt and principal is Ethelbertus, or Ethelbrict the firſt king of Kent aboue ſpecified, who by the meanes of Auſten, and partly through hys wife, named Berda, firſte receiued and preferred the Chriſtian faith, in al this land of the Engliſh Saxons, wherof more foloweth hereafter to be ſaid (the Lorde ſo permitting) as place and oportunitie ſhall require. The next place I geue to Oſwaldus of Northumberland, who not onely did hys endeuour in furthering the faith of Chriſt amongſt his people: but alſo being king, diſdained not himſelfe to ſtande vp and interprete to his nobles & ſubiectes the preaching of Aidanus, preaching Chriſt to them in his Scottiſh language. In the ſame cõmendation alſo, like as in the ſame line, commeth hys vncle Edwin, king of Northumberlãd, a good Prince, and the firſt receauer of Chriſtes faith in that land, by the meanes of his wife, and Paulinus Byſhop. Adde to theſe alſo Sigebert, firſt Chriſtened king of the Eaſtangles, & Sebert, firſt Chriſtened king of Eſſex: of whome the one was a great furtherer of Religion, & ſetter vp of ſcholes: ẏ other which is Sebert or Sexbricth, was newew to Ethelbert of Kent, vnder whom he ruled in Eſſex. By the which Ethelbert, in the time of the ſayd Sebert the Church of Paules was builded at London, and Chriſtian faith much enlarged. &c. Of the ſame name there was alſo an other Ethelbert King of the Eaſtangles, a good Prince: who by the aduiſe of his counſaile perſwaded to mariage (though againſt his wil) went peaceably to King Offa for deſpouſage of Athilride hys daughter, wher the good king meaning innocẽtly through the ſiniſter and deuiliſhe counſaile of king Offa hys wife, was ſecretely beheaded and made away. Whereupon Offa through repentance thereof, made the firſt Peter pence to be geuen to S. Peters church in Rome.

Peter pence ho they firſt came vp be payd Rome.

Kenel king of the Mercians.

S. Edmu king of Eaſtangl.

In the Cathologue of theſe good kinges is alſo to be numbered Kenelmus king of the Mercians, and Edmundus king of the Eaſtangles: of the which ij. the firſt was falſely & abhominably circumuented & beheaded, by the meanes of his cruell ſiſter and hys tutor, as he was in his hunting at Corfcaſtle. The other whych is called king Edmund the Martyr, was ſlaine at Bury, or as ſome wryte at the Caſtle of Haleſdon by the Danes: vpon what occaſion, hiſtories do vary. The author of Flores Hiſtoriarũ ſayeth, it was by reaſon of one Lothebrocus a Dane: who being of the kings bloud, & being with his Hawke on the ſea ſide in a litle boat, was driuen by force of weather into the coaſt of Northfolke, wher he being preſented to king Edmũd, was retained in his Court with great fauour: til at length one Bericke the kings Fawkner, enuying and deſpiting hym, for his great dexteritie in that facultie, priuily did murder him in a wood. This being at laſt ſpied (as murder lightly will come out) Bericke was ſet in Lothbrockes boate alone without all tackling, to be cõmitted vnto the Sea: and as it chãced ſo, was driuen into Denmarke, who there being ſeene in Lothbrockes boate, was ſtraitly examined of the partie. He then to excuſe himſelfe, falſly ſayd he was ſlaine by the cõmandement of the king. Vpõ the occaſion wherof Inguar and Hubba ſonnes to the ſayde Lothebroke gathering an army of Danes, inuaded firſt Northũberland: after that burſting into Northfolke on euery ſide, ſent thys meſſage to king Edmund after this tenor: Signifying that king Inguar the victorious Prince (dreade both by ſea and lande) as he had ſubiect diuers other landes vnder him, ſo arriuing now to the coaſts of Northfolke, where he intẽdeth to winter: chargeth and commaundeth him to deuide with him his olde treaſures, and his fathers riches, and ſo to rule vnder him: which if he would not do, but wold cõtemne his power ſo ſtrõgly furniſhed wyth ſuch an army, he ſhould be iudged as vnworthy both of kingdom & life. &c. The king hearing this meſſage, not a little aſtonyſhed therat, calling his cõſaile about hym, conſulted wͭ them, eſpecially with one of his Biſhops, being then his Secretarie, what was beſt to be done: who fearing the kinges life, exhorteth him by wordes & diuers examples to agree to the meſſage. At this a while the king holding his peace, at length thereto made aunſwere againe in theſe wordes, ſaying: Go (ſaith he) tel your Lord, and let him know that Edmundus the Chriſtened King, for the loue of this temporal life, wil not ſubiect him ſelfe to a Pagane Duke, vnles before he become a Chriſtiã, &c. The meſſenger taking his anſwere was not ſo ſoone out of the gates, as Inguar meeting him and bidding him to be ſhort in declaring hys anſwere, cauſed all the kings garriſon to be ſet round about.

The meſſage of *Inguar* to Kyng *Edmund.*

Some

The martirdome of K. *Edmund* in Northfolke.

Some ſay that the king flying to Thetforde, there pitcht a field with the Danes, but the Danes preuailing, the good king from thence did flie to the Caſtle of Halesdon aboue mentioned: where he beyng purſued of the Danes was there taken, and at length being bounde to a ſtake, there, of the raging Danes was ſhot to death. And thus much for the good kings.

A Queſtiō, Whether kings which made themſelues Monkes did well in ſo doing or not.

Now as concerning thoſe kinges which made them ſelues Monks (which in number be vij. or viij.) although the example be rare & ſtraung, and much commēded of the chroniclers of that time: yet I cannot raſhly aſſent to their cōmendation, albeit the caſe therof is no matter of our hiſtory. Firſt in altering their eſtate from kings to monkes, if they did it to finde more eaſe, and leſſe trouble thereby: I ſee not howe that excuſe ſtandeth with the office of a good man, to chaunge his publike vocation, for reſpect of priuat commodity. If feare of ieoperdy & daunger did driue them therunto: what praiſe and commendation they deſerue, in ſo doing let the monkiſh hiſtories iudge what they lyſte: me ſeemeth ſo much prayſe as they deſerue in prouiding their owne ſafetie, ſo much they deſerue againe to be diſcōmended in forſaking the common welth. If they did it (as moſt like it is) for holineſſe ſake, thinking in that kinde of life to ſerue and pleaſe God better: or to merite more toward their ſaluaciō then in the eſtate of a king, therin they were far deceaued: not knowing that the ſaluation which cōmeth of God, is to be meaſured & eſteemed, not by mans merits, or by any perfectiō of life or by differēce of any vocation more of one then another, but only by the free grace of the goſpell, which freely iuſtifieth all them, that faythfully beleeue in Chriſt Ieſu. But here will be ſaide againe peraduenture, in the ſolitary life of Monkery, be fewer occaſions of euils, then in kings courtes, wherefore that lyfe ſerueth more to holines, & more is to be preferred then the other. To this I aunſwere, to auoid the occaſions of euill is good where ſtrength lacketh to reſiſt. But otherwyſe, where ducty & charge bindeth to tary, there to auoyde the occaſiōs of euil, where rather they are to be reſiſted: rather declareth a weakenes of the man, thē deſerueth any praiſe. As it is truely ſaide of Tullie: Out of Aſia, ſaith he, to liue, a good life, is no godamercy: but in Aſia where ſo great occaſiōs of euils abound, there to liue a good mā that is praiſe worthy. With the like reaſon I may infer, if a man be called to be a king, there not to chaunge the vocation for voiding of occaſions, but rather to reſiſt occaſions, & to keepe his vocation, declareth a good & perfect man. But of theſe bymatters hetherto ſufficient.

Aunſwere. Where vocation byndeth to tary there not to flye but to reſiſt the occaſions of euill, it is a good mans part.

These things now thus premiſed, concerning the order & raigne of kinges, as is aboue prefixed: conſequently it remaineth to enter the tractation of ſuch thinges, as in the time and raigne of the foreſaide kings happened in the Church: firſt putting the Reader againe in minde of the former perſecutions within the realme, partly before touched in the time of the Britaine kinges, which ſpeciallye were three or foure before the comming of Auſten into Englande.

Foure perſecutions in Brittany before the comming of Auſten into England.

The perſecution of *Diocleſian* about the yeare of our Lord. 210.

1. The firſt was vnder Diocleſian, and that not onely in England but generally throughout al the Romaine Monarchie, as is aboue ſpecified. In this perſecution Albanus Iulius, Aaron, with a great number moe of other good Chriſtian Britanes, were martyred for Chriſtes name.

The perſecution of *Gnauius* and *Melga*,

2. The ſeconde perſecution or deſtruction of Chriſtian faith, was by the inuading of Gnauius and Melga, whereof, the firſt was captaine of the Hunnes, the other of ẏ Pictes. Theſe two tyraunts, after the cruell ſlaughter of Vrſula, and other. 11000. noble virgines, made their rode into Brytaine hearyng the ſame to be deſtitute of ẏ ſtrength of men. At what time they made miſerable murder of Chriſtes Saints, ſpoiling & waſting Churches, without mercy either of women or children, ſparing none.

The perſecution of *Hengiſt* in Brittayne.

3. The third perſecution came by Hengiſt, and the Saxones: who likewiſe deſtroied and waſted the chriſten congregations within the lande, like raging wolues fleeyng vpon the ſheepe, & ſpilling the bloud of Chriſtians, til Aurelius Ambroſius came, and reſtored againe the Churches deſtroyed.

The fourth deſtruction of Chriſten fayth in Brittayne by *Gurmūdus*. an 595. This *Gurmundus*, as ſome ſtories record, leauing hys kingdome at home to hys brother ſayd he would poſſeſſe no kingdome, but which he ſhould win with his ſword

4. The fourth deſtruction of Chriſten faith & Religion was by Gurmundus a Pagan king of the Africanes: who ioyning in league with the Saxons, wrought much greuaunce to the chriſtians of the land. In ſo much that Theonus Byſhop of London, and Thadioceus Biſhop of Yorke, with the reſt of the people ſo many as were left, hauing no place wherin to remaine with ſafety, did flee ſome to Cornwall, and ſome to the mountaines of wales about the yere of our Lord 550. and this perſecution remained to the time of Ethelberd king of Kent, an. 589.

In the raigne of this Ethelbert, which was then the 5. king of Kent, the faith of Chriſt was firſt receaued of the Saxons or Engliſhmen, by the meanes of Gregory biſhop of Rome, in maner and order as here foloweth, out of old hiſtories collected and recorded.

King *Lucius* dyed 428. before the comming of *Auſten*.

The computatiō of times concerning the continuaunce and decay of Chriſtes Goſpell betweene the Brittaynes and the Saxons.

Firſt then to ioyne the order of our hiſtory together: The Chriſtē faith firſt receiued of king Lucius, endured in Britaine till this time, neare vpon the ſeaſon of CCCC. yeares and odde: when by Gurmundus Africanus, (as is ſaide) fyghting wyth the Saxons againſt the Brytaynes, it was neare extinct in all the land, duryng the ſpace about fortie foure yeares. So that the firſt ſpringing of Chriſtes Goſpell in thys lande, was an. 180. The comming of the Saxons was. an. 449. or an. 469. The comming of Auſten, was an. 596. From the firſt entring in of the Saxons to their complet conqueſt, and the driuing out of the Brytanes (which was aboute the latter time of Gadwalader) were 240. yeares. In ſumme from Chriſt to Lucius were, 180. yeares. The continuaunce of the goſpel frō Lucius to the entring of the Saxons was 302. yeares. The decay of the ſame to the entring of Auſten, was. 143. yeares which being added together make from Lucius to Auſten. 445. from Chriſt to Auſten they make 598. yeares. In this yeare then. 598. Auſten being ſent from Gregory came into England: the occaſion wherupon Gregory ſent him hether was this.

{ Anno. 598. }

Beda Polychronicon. li. 5. ca. 8. 6. Maleſburienſis de regib. Henr. Huntington lib 3. Fabianus, part. 5. cap. 119. Liber bibliotheca tornalenſis.

In the daies of Pelagius Byſhop of Rome, Gregory chauncyng to ſee certayne chyldren in the market place of Rome (brought thether to be ſould out of England) being faire and beautifull of viſage, demaunded out of what coūtrey they were: and vnderſtanding they were Heatheniſh out of England, lamented the caſe of ẏ land being ſo beautifull and Angelicall, ſo to be ſubiecte vnder the Prince of darknes. And aſking moreouer out of what prouince they were it was aunſwered, out of Deyra, a part of Northſaxons: wherof as it is to be thought, that which we now cal Deyrham taketh his name. Then he alluding to the name of Deyra, theſe people (ſaith he) are to be deliuered de Deira, which is from Gods wrath. Moreouer vnderſtanding the kings name of that prouince to be Alle (aboue mentioned) alluding likewiſe to his name: there (ſaith he) ought Alleluia to be ſong to the liuing God. Whereupon beyng moued and deſirous to go and helpe the cōuerſion of that country, was not permitted of Pelagius and the Romanes for that time to accompliſh his deſire. But afterwarde being Biſhop himſelfe next after Pelagius, he ſent thether the foreſaide Auſten with other preachers neere about to the nūber of xl. But by the waye, howe it happened I cannot ſaye: As Auſten with his company were paſſing in theyr iourney, ſuch a ſodaine feare entred in their harts (that as Antonius ſaith) they returned all. Other write that Auſten was ſent backe to Gregory againe, to releaſe them of that viage ſo daungerous and vncertaine, amongſt ſuch a barberous people: whoſe language neither they knewe, nor whoſe rudenes they were able to reſiſt. Thē Gregory with pithy perſwaſions confirming and comforting him, ſent him againe with letters both to the Biſhop of Arelalenſis, willing him to helpe and aide the ſaid Auſten, and his company in all whatſoeuer his neede required. Alſo other letters he directed by the foreſaid Auſtine, vnto his fellowes, exhorting them to go forward boldly in the Lords work, as by the tenour of the ſaid Epiſtle here followyng maye appeare.

Deyrham in Northumberland.

Epiſcopus Arelalenſis.

Ex Henr. Huntingtonenſi. li. 3.

The Epiſtle of *Gregory* to them whiche went to preach in England.

Gregorius ſeruus ſeruorum Dei, ſeruis Domini noſtri. Quia melius fuerat bona non incipere, quam ab ijs quæ cœpta ſunt cogitatione retrorſum redire, &c. In Engliſhe. Gregory the ſeruaunt of Gods ſeruaunts, to the ſeruaunts of the Lord. Foraſmuch as it is better not to take good things in hande, then after they be begon, to thinke to reuolt backe from the ſame againe therefore now you may not nor cannot (deare children) but with all feruent ſtudy and labor, muſt needes go forward in that good buſines, which through the helpe of God you haue wel begunne. Neither let the labor of your iourney, nor the ſlanderous tongues of men appalle you, but that with all inſtaunce and feruency yee proceede, and accompliſh the thing which the Lorde hath ordeyned you to take in hande: knowing that your great trauell ſhalbe recompenſed with rewarde of greater glorye hereafter to come. Therefore as we ſende here Auſten to you againe, whom alſo we haue ordeined to be your gouernour, ſo doe you humblye obey him in all thinges, knowing that it ſhall be profitable ſo for your ſoules, whatſoeuer at his admonition yee ſhall doe. Almighty God with his grace defend you and graunt me to ſee in the eternall country the fruite of your labour, that although I can not labour as I woulde wyth you, yet I may be found pertaker of your retribution, for that my will is good to labour in the ſame felowſhip with you together. The Lord God keepe you ſafe, moſt deare and welbeloued children. Dated the x before the Calendes

The Biſhop of Rome calleth the Emperour hys Lord.

of Auguſt, in the raigne of our ſoueraigne Lord Mauritius moſt vertuous Emperour, the. xiiij. of his Empire.

Auſten and hys company commeth to England.

Thus they emboldened & comforted through the good wordes of Gregory, ſped forth their iourney till they came at length to the Iſle of Thenet: lying vpon the Eaſt ſide of Kent. Neare to the which landing place, was then the Manor or palace of the king, not farre from Sandwiche (Eaſtward from Caunterbury) which the inhabitauntes of the Iſle, then called Richbourgh: whereof ſome part of the ruinous walles is yet to be ſene. The king then raigning in Kent, was Ethelbert, as aboue appeareth, the fifte King of that prouince: who at that time had Maried to wyfe a French woman beyng Chryſtened, named Berda: whom he had receiued of her parents vpon this conditiō, that he ſhoulde permitte her with her Biſhop committed vnto her, called Lebardus, to enioye the freedome of her fayth and Religion: by the meanes whereof he was more flexible, and ſooner induced to embrace the preachyng and doctrine of Chriſt. Thus Auſten beyng arryued ſent forth certayne meſſengers and interpreters to the Kyng, ſygnifying that ſuch a one was come from Rome, bryngyng with hym glad tydinges to him and all his people, of lyfe and ſaluation eternally to reygne in heauen, with the onely true and lyuing God, for euer: if he would ſo willingly harken to the ſame, as he was gladly come to preache and teach it vnto him.

Ethelbert King of Kent.

What goodnes commeth, to haue a good and godly wife.

The King, who had heard of this Religion before by meanes of his wife, within a few daies after commeth to the place where Auſten was to ſpeake with him: but that ſhoulde be without the houſe, after the maner of his lawe. Auſten againſt his coming, as ſtories affirme, erected vp a banner of the crucifixe (ſuch was then the groſenes of that tyme) and preached to him the word of God. The Kyng aunſwering againe ſaith in effect as followeth: the words be very faire that you preach and promiſe. Neuertheleſſe, becauſe it is to me vncoth and new, I can not ſoone ſtarte away from my country law wherwith I haue bene ſo lōg inured and aſſent to you. Albeit yet notwithſtanding for y^t^ ye are come, as ye ſaye, ſo farre for my ſake: ye ſhall not be moleſted by me, but ſhall be rightwell intreated, hauing al thinges to you miniſtred neceſſarye for your ſupportatiō. Beſydes this, neither doe we debarre you, but to haue free leaue to preach to our people and ſubiects to conuert, whō ye may to the faith of your Religion.

The kinges anſwere to *Auſten*.

The king ſtaieth vpon olde cuſtome.

When they had receaued this comfort of the king, they went with proceſſion to the Citie of Dorobernia, or Caunterbury, ſingyng Alleluya with the Letanie, which then by Gregory, had beene vſed at Rome in the time of the great plague reigning thē at Rome, mentioned in old hiſtories. The wordes of the Letany were theſe: Deprecamur te Domine in omni miſericordia tua, vt auferatur furor tuus & ira tua a ciuitate iſta, & de domo ſancta tua: quoniam peccauimus. Alleluya. That is, we beſeech thee O Lorde in all thy mercyes, that thy fury and anger maye ceaſe from this Citie, & from thy holy houſe for we haue ſinned. Alleluya. Thus they entryng in the Citie of Dorobernia, the head Citie of all that dominion at that time, where the king had gyuen them a manſion for there abode: there they contynued preaching and baptiſing ſuch as they had conuerted in the eaſt ſide of the Citty in the old church of S. Martine (where the Queene was wont to reſorte) vnto the time that the kyng was conuerted himſelfe to Chriſt. At length when the king had wel cōſidered the honeſt conuerſation of their life, and moued with the myracles wrought through gods hand by thē, he heard them more gladly, and laſtly by their wholſome exhortations, and example of godly life he was by them conuerted and chriſtened in the yeare aboue ſpecified. 586. and the 36. yeare of his reigne. After the King was thus conuerted, innumerable other daily came in, & were adioyned to the Church of Chriſt: whom the King did ſpecially embrace but cōpelled none: for ſo he had learned that the faith and ſeruice of Chriſt ought to be voluntary, and not coacted. Then he gaue to Auſten a place for hys Byſhops ſea at Chriſtes Church in Dorobernia, & builded the Abbey of Saint Peter and Paule, in the Eaſt ſide of the ſayde Citie, where after Auſten, and all the Kinges of Kent were buried, and that place is now called S. Auſten.

The Letany of *Auſten*.

Miracles wrought by God for the conuerſion of the land.

Auſten made Archbiſhop.

In this while Auſten ſailed into Fraunce to the Byſhop Arelatenſis, called Ethereus: by him to bee conſecrated Archbiſhop, by the commaundement of Gregory, & ſo was. Alſo the ſaid Auſten ſent to Rome, Laurentius one of his cōpany, to declare to Gregory how they had ſped, and what they had done in Englande: ſending withall to haue the counſaile and aduiſe of Gregory, concerning ix. or x. queſtions, whereof ſome are partly touched before.

The tenour of his queſtions or interrogations, with the aunſweres of Gregory to the ſame: here follow in Engliſh briefly tranſlated.

The queſtions of Auſten Archbyſhop of Caunterbury ſent to Gregory, with the aunſwere agayne of Gregory to the ſame.

The firſt interrogation.

Ex decretis Grego-ry primi, concil. tom. 2.

1. Interrogation.

My firſt queſtion (reuerende father) is concerning Byſhops, how they ought to behaue themſelues towarde their clarks Or of ſuch oblations as the faithfull offer vpon the altar: what portions or diuidentes ought to be made thereof.

The aunſwere.

The aunſwere.

How a Biſhop ought to behaue himſelfe in the Congregation, the holy ſcripture teſtifieth which I doubt not but you know right well, eſpeciallye in the Epiſtles of S. Paule to Timothie: wherein he laboureth to informe the ſayd Timothe, how to behaue his conuerſation in y^e^ houſe of the Lord. The maner is of the ſea Apoſtolike, to warne and charge all ſuch as be ordeined Biſhops, of all their ſtipend or that which is giuen, to make foure pertitiōs. One to the Biſhop for hoſpitalitie, and receauing commers in. An other to the Clergy. The third to the pore. The fourth to the repairing of Churches. But becauſe your brotherhode inſtructed with rules of Monaſticall diſcipline, cānot liue ſeparated from your clerkes about you, therfore in the Engliſh Church (which nowe through the prouidence of God is brought to the faith of Chriſt) you muſte obſerue this inſtituion, concerning your conuerſation, which was in the firſt Fathers in the begynning of the prymitiue Church, among whom there was not one which counted any thing to be his owne proper, of all that he did poſſeſſe: but all was common among them.

Diſtribution of Churche goodes.

The ſeconde interrogation.

2. Interrogation.

I deſire to know and to be inſtructed, whether Clerkes that cannot containe, may marry. And if they do mary whether then they ought to returne to the ſecular ſtate againe or no?

The aunſwere.

The aunſwere.

If there be any Clerkes out of holy orders, which can not conteine, let them haue their wiues, and take their ſtipends or wages without. For we read it ſo written of the foreſayd fathers, that they deuided to euery perſon, according as their worke was. Therfore as concerning the ſtipend of ſuch, it muſt be prouided and thought vpon. And they muſt be alſo holden vnder Eccleſiaſticall diſcipline, to liue a godly cōuerſation: to employ themſelues in ſinging Pſalmes, & to refraine their tongue, hart and body (by the grace of God) from all things vnſeemely, and vnlawfull. As for the vulgar and common ſort, which lyue after the common condition of men: to deſcribe what partitions to make, what hoſpitalitie to keepe, or what workes of mercy to exhibite to ſuch, I haue nothing to ſaye but to giue (as our maiſter teacheth) in all our deedes of mercy, of that which aboundeth. Of that (ſaith he) whiche aboundeth or is ouerplus, gyue almes, and beholde all thinges bee cleane vnto you.

The gloſe vppon the 12.q.1. Po rag. Si qu, ſayth tha this nowe holdeth not, and al ledgeth extrau. [illegible] comming ca. lib. Whereby note how the Popes decrees be repugnant to themſelues. *Luke. 11.*

The thyrd interrogation.

3. Interrog.

Seing there is but one faith, how happeneth it then, the ceremonies and cuſtomes of Churches to bee ſo diuers. As in the Church of Rome there is one cuſtome, and maner of Maſſe & and the French Church hath an other?

The aunſwere.

The aunſwere.

The cuſtome of the Church of Rome, what it is you know: wherin ye remēber that you haue bene brought vp frō your youth: but rather it pleaſeth me better, that whether it be in the church of Rome, or in any Frēch Church where ye finde any thing that ſeemeth better to the ſeruice and pleaſing of God: that ye chuſe the ſame: and ſo inſerte & bring into the Engliſh Church (which is yet new in the faith) the beſt & pikedſt thinges choſen out of many Churches: for things are not to be beloued for y^e^ place ſake, but the place is to be beloued for the things that be good: wherfore ſuch thinges as be good, godly, and religious: thoſe choſe out of all Churches, and induce to your people, that they may take roote in the mindes of Engliſhmen.

Note and thy ſaying of *Gregory*.

The fourth interrogation.

4. Interrogation.

I praye you what puniſhment iudge you for him, that ſhall ſteale or pylfer any thing out of the Church.

The aunſwere.

The aunſwere.

This your brotherhod may ſoone diſcerne, by the perſon of a theefe, how it ought to be corrected. For ſome there be which hauing ſufficient to liue vpon yet doe ſteale. Other there be which ſteale of meere neceſſity: wherfore conſidering the qualitye & difference of the crime, neceſſarye it is that ſome be corrected by loſſe of goodes, ſome by ſtripes ſome other more ſharply, and ſome more eaſly: yea, & whē ſharper correction is to be executed, yet that muſt be done with charity, and with no fury: for in puniſhing offenders this is the cauſe and ende wherefore they are puniſhed, bicauſe they ſhould be ſaued & not periſh in hell fire. And ſo ought diſcipline to procede in correcting the faithfull, as doe good Fathers in puniſhing their children, whom both they chaſten for their euill, and yet being chaſtened, they looke to haue them their heires, and thinke to leaue them all they haue, notwithſtanding they correct them ſometimes in anger. Therefore this charitie muſt be kepte in mind. And in the correction there is a meaſure to be had, ſo that the mind neuer do any thing without the rule of reaſon. Ye adde moreouer with what recompence of meaſure thoſe things ought to be required againe which be ſtollen out of Churches. But God forbid that the Church ſhould euer require againe with increaſe, that which is loſt in outwarde thinges, and to ſeeke her gaine by endamaging other.

The fift interrogation.

5. Interrogation.

Item, whether two brethen may mary two ſiſters, beyng far of from any part of kindred?

The aunſwere.

This in no part of ſcripture is forbidden, but it may well and lawfully be done.

The ſixt interrogation.

6. Interrogation.

Item, to what degree of kyndred may the matrimony of the faythfull extende with their kindred, or whether [illegible] it lawfull to marry with the ſtepmother and her kinſfolkes?

The aunſwere.

The aunſwere. In what degree of kindred a man may marry.

A certaine terrene law amongſt the old Romaines doth permit, that either brother or ſiſter, or the ſonne & daughter of two brethren may marry together. But by experyence we learne, that the iſſue of ſuch mariage doth neuer thryue, nor come forewarde. Alſo yͤ holye law of God forbiddeth to reueale the turpitude of thy bloude or kindred.

Wherefore neceſſary it is, that in the third or fourth degree the faithfull may lawfully marry, for in the ſeconde as being vnlawfull, they muſt needes refraine. To be coupled with the ſtepmother is vtterly abhominable, for it is written in the law. Thou ſhalt not reueale the turpitude of thy Father. Forſomuch then as it is ſo written in yͤ law and they ſhall be two in one fleſh: the ſonne then that preſumeth to reueale then the turpitude of his ſtepmother, which is one fleſh with his Father, what doth he then but reueale the turpitude of his owne father. Likewiſe it was forbidden and vnlawfull to mary with thy kinſwoman, which by her firſt Mariage was made one fleſh with thy brother. For the which cauſe Iohn yͤ Baptiſt alſo loſt hys head, and was crowned a Martyr. Who though he dyed not for the confeſſion of Chriſt: yet for ſo much as Chriſt ſaith: I am the truth, therfore in that Iohn Baptiſt was ſlayne for the truth, it may be ſayd his bloud was ſhedde for Chriſt.

By this rule the mariage of Kyng *Henry* with Queene *Katherine Dowager*, was vnlawfull.

The ſeuenth interrogation.

7. Interrogation.

Item, whether ſuch as be ſo coupled togither in filthy and vnlawfull matrymony ought to be ſeparated and denied the partaking of the holy Communion.

The aunſwere.

The aunſwere.

Becauſe there be many of the nation of Engliſh men which being yet in their infidelitie, were ſo ioyned & coupled in ſuch execrable mariage: the ſame comming now to faith, are to be admoniſhed hereafter to abſtaine from the like, & that they know the ſame to be greuous ſinne. That they dread the dreadfull iudgement of God, leaſt for their carnall delectation, they incurre the tormentes of eternall puniſhment. And yet notwᵗſtanding they are not to be ſecluded therefore from the participation of Chriſtes body & bloud, leſt we ſhould ſeme to reuenge thoſe things in them which they before their baptiſme, through ignoraunce did commit. For in this time the holy Church doth correct ſome faultes more feruently, ſome faultes ſhe ſuffereth againe through manſuetude and mekenes, ſome wittingly and willingly ſhe doth wink at, and diſſemble: that many times the euil which ſhe doth deteſt, through bearing and diſſembling ſhe may ſtop & bridle. All they therfore which are come to the faith, muſt be admoniſhed that they cōmit no ſuch offence. Which thing if they doe, they are to be depriued of the Communion of the Lords body & bloud. For like as in them that fall through ignoraunce, their default in this caſe is to be tollerate: ſo in them againe it is ſtrōgly to be enſued, which knowing they do nought, yet feare not to commit.

A diſcrete ſaying of *Gregory* to be noted.

The eight interrogation.

8. Interrog.

Item, in this I deſire to be ſatiſfied, after what maner I ſhould deale or do with the Biſhops of Fraunce, and of Britaines.

The aunſwere.

The aunſwere.

As touching the Biſhops in Fraunce, I geue you no authoritie or power ouer them. For the Biſhop of Arolas, or Orliance hath by the olde tyme of our predeceſſours receiued the Palle, whome now we ought not to depriue of hys authoritie. Therefore when your brotherhoode ſhall goe vnto the Prouince of Fraunce, what ſoeuer yee ſhal haue there to doe with the Byſhop of Orliance, ſo do, that he looſe nothing of that which he hath found and obtayned of the auncient ordinaunce of our forelders. But as concerning the Biſhops of Brittayn, we commit them all to your brotherhoode, that yͤ ignoraunt may be taught the infirme by perſwaſion may be confirmed, the wilful by authoritie may be corrected.

25. q. 2. cap. in Gallearum.

The ninth interrogation.

9. Interrog.

Whether a woeman being great with childe, ought to be baptiſed, or after ſhe hath children, after how long time ſhe ought to enter into the Church. Or els that which ſhe hath brought forth, leaſt it ſhould be preuented with death, after howe many dayes it ought to receaue Baptiſme. Or after howe long tyme after her childebyrth is it lawfull for her huſband to reſorte to her? Or els if ſhe be in her monthly courſe, after the deſeaſe of women, whether then ſhe may enter into the Churche, and receaue the Sacrament of the holy Communion? Or els her huſband after the lying with hys wife, before he be waſhed with water, whether is it lawfull for him to enter the Church, and to draw vnto the miſtery of the holy Communion? All which thinges muſt be declared and opened to the rude multitude of Engliſhmen.

The Aunſwere.

The aunſwere.

The childing or bearing woman, why may ſhe not be Baptiſed: ſeeing that the fruitfulnes of the fleſh is no fault before the eyes of almighty God. For our firſt parentes in Paradiſe, after they had tranſgreſſed: loſt their immortallitie by the iuſt iudgement of God which they had take before. Then, becauſe almighty God woulde not mankinde vtterly to periſh becauſe of hys fall (although he loſt nowe hys immortallitie for hys treſpaſſe) yet of hys benigne pietie, left notwithſtanding to hym the fruit and generation of iſſue. Wherefore the iſſue and generation of mans nature, which is conſerued by the gift of almighty God, how can it be debarred from the grace of holy Baptiſme?

As concerning the churching of women after they haue trauailed: where ye demaund after howe many dayes they ought to goe to the Church, this you haue learned in yͤ old law, that for a man child. 30. dayes, after a womā child. 66. dayes be appoynted her to keepe in. Albeit this you muſt take to be vnderſtād in a miſtery. For if ſhe ſhould yͤ houre after her trauayle enter into the Churche to geue thankes, ſhe committed therein no ſinne. For why the luſt and pleaſure of the fleſh, and not the trauaile and payne of the fleſh is ſinne. In the coniunction of the fleſhe is pleaſure, but in the trauaile and bringing forth of the child is payne & gronyng. As vnto the mother of all it is ſayd: In ſorrow thou ſhalt trauaile. Therefore if we forbid the woman after her labour to enter the church, thē what doe we els but count yͤ ſame the puniſhment geuen vnto her, for ſinne? Therefore for the woeman after her labour to be baptiſed, eyther that whiche ſhee hath trauailed foorth (if preſent neceſſitie of death doth ſo require) yea in the ſelfe ſame houre, eyther ſhee that hath brought foorth, eyther that which is borne in the ſamehoure when it is borne, to be baptiſed we doe not forbid.

The Churching of woemen.

He ſpeaketh here after the cuſtome of the tyme.

Moreouer, for the man to company with his wife, that he muſt not: before the child that is borne be wayned. But now there is a lewd and naughty cuſtome riſen in the conditiō of maryed folks, that mothers do contemne to nourſe their owne children, which they haue borne, but ſet them to other woemen out to nourſe: whiche ſeemeth onely to come of the cauſe of incontinency. For while they will not contayne themſelues, therefore they put from them their children to nourſe. &c.

Mothers that nurſe not their owne Children reprehended.

As concerning the woman in her menſtruous courſe whether ſhe ought to enter the Churche? To this I aunſwere: ſhe ought not to be forbid. For the ſuperfluitie of nature in her ought not to be imputed for any fault, neyther is it iuſt that ſhe ſhold be depriued of her acceſſe to the Church, for that which ſhe ſuffereth agaynſt her wil. And if the woeman did well, preſuming in touching the Lords coate in the tyme of her bloudy iſſue: why then may not that be graunted vnto all woemen infirmed by the fault of nature, which is commended in one perſon done in her infirmitie? Therefore to receaue the miſterie of the holy communion, it is not forbidden them. Albeit if ſhe dare not ſo farre preſume in her great infirmitie, ſhe is to be prayſed: but if ſhe do receaue, ſhe is not to be iudged. For it is a point of a good minde in ſome maner to knowledge hys ſinnes there, where is no ſinne: becauſe manye times that is done without fault, which commeth of fault. As when we be hungry, we eate without fault, notwithſtanding it commeth by the fault of our firſt father to vs that wee are hungrye, &c.

Where ye aſke, if a man after the company with hys wyfe, may reſort to the Church or to the holy Communion, before he be purged with water. The law giuen to the old people, commaunded that a man after the companye wyth his wife, both ſhoulde be purified with water, and alſo ſhould tary the Sunnes ſet before he came to the congregation. Which ſeemeth to be vnderſtand ſpiritually: for then moſt true it is, that the man companieth with the woman, when his minde through delectation is ioyned to vnlawfull concupiſcence in his hart and cogitation. At what time, before the ſaid fire of concupiſcence ſhall be remoued, let the perſon thinke himſelfe vnworthye the entraunce to the congregation, through the viciouſnes of his filthy will. But of this matter ſondry nations haue euery one their ſondry cuſtomes: ſome on way & ſome an other. The auncient maner of the Romanes frō our forefathers, hath beene, that in ſuch caſe, firſt they purged themſelues with water, then for a little they abſtaine reuerently, and ſo reſort to the Church. &c.

After many other wordes debated of this matter, thus he inferreth: but if any perſon not for voluptuouſnes of the fleſh, but for procreation of children, do company with his wife, that man concerning either the comming to the Church, or the receauing the miſteries of the Lords body & bloud, is to be left to his owne iudgement: for he ought not to be forbid of vs to come, which when he lieth in the fire will not burne. &c.

There is an other queſtion alſo to theſe adioyned, with his aunſwere likewiſe to the ſame, concerning pollutions in the night, but I thought theſe at this preſent to our engliſh eares, ſufficient.

To returne now to the ſtory againe, Gregory after he had ſent theſe reſolutions to the queſtions of Auſten, ſendeth moreouer, to the Church of Englande moe coadiutors, and helpers, as Mellitus, Iuſtus, Paulinus, and Ruffianus, with bookes and ſuch other implemēts as he thought neceſſary, for the Engliſh Church. He ſendeth moreouer to the foreſaide Auſten a palle with letters wherein he ſetteth an order betweene the two Metropolitane ſeates, the one to be at London the other to be at Yorke. Notwithſtanding he graunteth to the ſayde Auſten during his lyfe to be the onely chyefe Archbyſhop of al the lande: and after hys tyme, then to returne to the two foreſaide ſeats of London and Yorke, as is in ẏ ſame letter conteined, the tenour whereof here followeth in hys owne wordes as enſueth.

❧ The copie of the Epiſtle of Gregory, ſent to Auguſtinus into Englande.

Reuerendiſſimo & ſanctiſ. fratri Auguſtino coepiſcopo, Gregorius ſeruus ſeruorum Dei. Cum certum ſit, pro omnipotente Deo laborātibus ineffabilia æterni Regis præmia reſeruari, nobis tamen eis neceſſe eſt bonorum beneficia tribuere, vt in ſpiritualis operis ſtudio ex remuneratione valeant multiplicius inſudare: and ſo forth as followeth here in Engliſh.

TO the reuerende and vertuous brother Auguſtine, his felow Byſhop, Gregorius the ſeruaunt of the ſeruaunts of God. Although it be moſt certaine that vnſpeakeable rewardes, of the heauenly king, be laide vp for all ſuch, as labour in the wordes of almighty God, yet it ſhall be requiſite for vs, to reward the ſame alſo with our benefites, to the ende, they may be more encouraged, to go forward in the ſtudy of their ſpirituall worke. And for aſmuch now, as the new church of Engliſhmen is brought to the grace of almightie God, through his mightie helpe, and your trauayle, therefore we haue graunted to you the vſe of the palle, only to be vſed at the ſolemnitie of your Maſſe: ſo that it ſhall bee lawfull for you to ordaine twelue Biſhops, ſuch as ſhal be ſubiect to your prouince or dition. So that hereafter alwaies the Byſhop of the Citie of London, ſhall be ordeyned and conſecrate by his owne proper Synode: and ſo to receaue the palle of houour frō the holy and Apoſtolike ſeate, wherein I here (by the permiſsion of God) doe ſerue. And as touching the Citie of Yorke, we wyll ſende alſo a Byſh. thether, whō you may thinke meet to ordayne. So that if that Citie with other places bordering thereby, ſhall receiue the word of God, he ſhall haue power likewiſe to ordayne twelue byſhops, and haue the honour of a Metropolitane: to whō alſo if God ſpare me life, I entend by the fauour of God, to ſende a palle: this prouided, that notwithſtanding he ſhal be ſubiect to your brotherly appointment. But after your deceaſe, the ſame Metropolitane, ſo to be ouer the Byſhops whom he ordereth, that he be in no wiſe ſubiect to the metropolitane of Londō after you. And here after betwixt theſe two Metropolitanes, of London, & Yorke, let there be had ſuch diſtinction of honour, that hee ſhall haue the prioritie, which ſhall in time firſt bee ordeyned: Wyth common counſell, and affection of hart, let them go both together, diſpoſing with one accord, ſuch things as be to be done, for the zeale of Chriſt. Let them forethinke and deliberate together prudently, and what they deliberate wiſely, let them accompliſh concordly, not gerryng, nor ſwaruing, one from the other. But as for your part, you ſhall be indued with authoritie, not onelye ouer thoſe Byſhops, that you conſtitute, and ouer the other conſtituted by the byſhop of Yorke. But alſo you to haue all other Prieſtes of whole Brytaine, ſubiect to our Lord Ieſus Chriſt: to the ende that through your preaching and holines of life, they may learne both to beleeue rightly and to liue purely, and ſo in directing their life, both by the rule of true faith and vertuous maners, they may attaine, when God ſhall call them, the fruition and kingdome of heauen. God preſerue you in health reuerend brother: the x. before the Kalend. of Iuly, in the raygne of our ſoueraigne Lord Mauritius, moſt vertuous Emperour.

Gregory calleth th Empero hys Lord.

Beſides this, the ſaid Gregory ſendeth alſo an other letter to Mellitus, concerning his iudgement what is to bee done with the idolatrous temples and Phanes of the Engliſhmen newly cōuerted, which Phanes he thinketh not beſt to plucke downe, but to conuert the vſe thereof, and ſo let them ſtand. And likewiſe of their ſacrifices and killyng of Oxen, how the ſame ought to be ordered, and howe to bee altered: diſputing by the occaſions therof, of the ſacrifices of the old Egiptians, permitted of God vnto the Iſraelits the ende a[illegible]e thereof being altered. &c.

A letter of Gregory. to Melli

He ſendeth alſo an other letter to the foreſaid Auſten, wherein he warneth him not to be proude or puft vp, for the miracles wrought of God by him, in conuertyng the people of Englande, but rather to feare and tremble, leaſt ſo much as he were puft vp by the outward work of miracles, ſo much he ſhoulde fall inwardly through the vayne glory of his hart: and therfore wiſely exhorteth him to repreſſe the ſwelling glory of hart, with the remembraunce of his ſinnes rather againſt God, whereby he rather hath cauſe to lament, then to reioyce for the other. Not all the elect of God (ſaith he) worketh miracles, and yet haue they their names written in the booke of life. And therefore he ſhoulde not count ſo much of thoſe miracles done, but reioyſe rather with the Diſciples of Chriſt, & labor to haue his name written in the booke of life, where al the electe of God be contained, neither is there any ende of that reioycing. And whatſoeuer miracles it hath pleaſed god by him to haue beene done, he ſhoulde remember they were not done for him: but for their conuerſion, whoſe ſaluation god ſought thereby, &c.

A letter of Gregory Auſten.

Item, he directed an other Epiſtle to king Ethelbert, as is expreſſed at large in the Chronicle of Henry Huntyngton, Lib. 3. in the which Epiſtle, firſt he praiſed God, then commendeth the goodnes of the king, by whom it pleaſed god ſo to worke ſuch goodnes of the people. Secondly exhorteth him to perſiſt and continue in the godly profeſſion of Chriſtes faith, and to be feruent and zealous in the ſame: in conuerting the multitude, in deſtroying the temples and works of idolatry, in ruling and gouerning the people in all holines & godly conuerſation, after the godly example of the Emperour Conſtantinus the great. Laſtly, cōforting him with the promiſes of lyfe and reward to come, wyth the Lord that raigneth and liueth for euer: premoniſhyng him beſides, of the terrours & diſtreſſes that ſhall happen (though not in his dayes) yet before the terrible daye of Gods iudgement: wherfore he willeth him alwaies to be ſollicitous for his ſoule, and ſuſpectfull of the houre of hys death, and watchfull of the iudgement, that he may be alwaies prepared for the ſame, when that iudgement ſhall come. In the ende he deſireth him to accept ſuch preſentes as giftes which he thought good to ſende vnto him from Rome, &c.

A letter of Gregory to King E thelbert.

Auſten thus receyuing his palle from Gregory, as is aboue ſaid, and now of a Monke beyng made an Archbyſhop, after he had baptiſed a great part of Kent: hee after made two Archbyſhops or Metropolitanes, by the commaundement of Gregory, as witneſſeth Polychronicon, the one at London, the other at Yorke.

An. 600.

Polycrō. lib. 5. ca. 9. Fab. part. 5. ca. 119.

Mellitus, of whō mention is made before, was ſent ſpecially of the Eaſtſaxons in the prouince of Eſſex, where after he was made Biſhop of London, vnder Sigebert kyng of Eſſex: which Sigebert together with his vncle Ethelbert, firſt built the church and minſter of ſaint Paule in Londō, and appointed it to Mellitus for the byſhops ſea, Auſtē (aſſociate with this Mellitus and Iuſtus through the help of Ethelbert) aſſembled and gathered togither the Byſhops & Doctours of Britaine in a place, which taking the name of the ſayd Auſten, was called Auſtens Oke. In this aſſēbly he

Archbiſhops of London & of York made by Auſten.

Mellitus Byſhop of London.

The Brittaynes and Scottes vſed not the rites of Rome.

Abbey of Bangor. *Ex libro Iornalenſi. Fabiano & alijs.*

Ethelfride king of Northumberland.

Brockmayl Conſul of Cheſter.

The monaſtery of Bangor.

Galfridus Monumetenſis. Polychron. Lib. 5. cap. 10. Liber bibliotheca Iornalenſis. Gu Malmeſberienſis. lib. 1 de. Reg. Fabian part. 5. cap. 109. 120.

A pittifull ſlaughter of vnarmed Monkes of Bangor.

Whether *Auſten* or the Brittaynes in this caſe were more to blame.

he charged the ſayd Byſhops, ẏ they ſhould preach wͭ him ẏ word of God to the Engliſhmen, & alſo that they ſhould among themſelues reforme certayne rytes and vſages in their church, ſpecially for keping of their Eaſtertyde: baptiſing after the maner of Rome, and ſuch other lyke. To theſe the Scotes and Brytons woulde not agree refuſing to leaue the cuſtome, which they ſo long time had contynued, wythout the aſſent of them all which vſed the ſame. Here the ſtories both of Bede, Ceſtrenſis in Polychron. Huntyngtonenſis, Iornalenſis, Fabianus and other moe, write of a certaine miracle wrought vpon a blinde Engliſhe man: whom when the Britons could not helpe, Auſten kneeling downe and praying, reſtored the blynde man to ſight before them all: for a confirmation (as theſe authours ſaye) of hys opinion in keeping of Eaſter. But concerning the credite of this miracle, that I leaue, to the authours of whom I had it. Then Auſten gathered an other Synode, to the which came ſeauen Byſhops of Brytons, with the wiſeſt men of that famous Abby of Bangor. But firſt they tooke counſell of a certayne wyſe and holye man amongeſt them, what to doe: and whether they ſhoulde be obedient to Auſten or not. And he ſaide: if he be the ſeruaunt of god agree vnto him. But howe ſhall wee knowe that, ſayde they? To whom he aunſwered againe: If he be meeke and humble of hart, by that know that he is the ſeruant of god. To this they ſaid againe: & how ſhal we know him to bee hũble & meeke of hart? By this quoth he [illegible] ſeing you are ẏ greater number, if he at your comming [illegible] your Synode riſe vp, & courteouſly receaue you, p[illegible] him to bee an humble and a meke man. But if he ſhall contemne and deſpiſe you (being as ye are) the greater part, deſpiſe you him agayne. Thus the Brytaine Byſhops entring into the Counſell, Auſten after the Romiſhe maner keeping hys chaire would not remoue. Whereat they being not a little offended, after ſome heate of words, in diſdain & great diſpleaſure departed thence. To whõ then Auſten ſpake: and ſaid, that if they would not take peace with their brethren, they ſhould receaue war with their enimies: And if they diſdained to preach with them the way of life to the Engliſh nation, they ſhould ſuffer by their handes the reuenge of deth. Which not lõg after ſo came to paſſe by the meanes of Ethelfride king of Northumberlande: who being yet a Pagan, and ſtirred with a fierce fury againſt the Britanes came with a great army againſt the city of Cheſter: where Brocmayl the Conſull of that Citie, a fryend and helper of the Britaines ſide, was readye with his force to receaue him. There was at the ſame time at Bangor in wales an exceding great Monaſtery, wherin was ſuch a number of Monkes, as Galfridus with other authors doe teſtifie that if the whole company were deuided into ſeuen parts in euery of the ſeuen parts were conteined not ſo few as 300. Mõkes: which al did liue with the ſweat of their browes, and labor of their owne hands, hauing one for their ruler named Dinoe. Out of this Monaſtery came the Monks to Cheſter to pray for the good ſucces of Brocmayl, fighting for them againſt the Saxons. Thre daies they cõtinued in faſting and praier. When Ethelfride the foreſaide king, ſeing them ſo intent to their praiers: demaunded the cauſe of their comming thether in ſuch a cõpany. When he perceaued it was to pray for their Conſull, then (ſaith he) although they beare no weapon, yet they fight againſt vs, & with their praiers & preachings they perſecute vs. Wherupon after that Brocmayl, being ouercome did flee awaye, the king commaunded his men to turne their wepons againſt the ſely vnarmed Monkes: of whome he ſlewe the ſame time, or rather Martired. 1100. onely fiftie perſons of that number did flee and eſcape awaye with Brocmayl: the reſt were all ſlaine. The authors that write of this lamentable murder, declare & ſaye howe the foreſpeaking of Auſten, was here verefied vpon the Britanes: which becauſe they would not ioine peace with their frends, he ſaid ſhould be deſtroied of their enimis. Of both theſe parties, the reader may iudge what he pleaſeth: I can not ſee but both together were to be blamed. And as I cannot but accuſe the one, ſo I cannot defend the other. Firſt Auſten in this matter can in no wiſe be excuſed, who being a monke before, & therfore a ſcholer & profeſſor of humilitie: ſhewed ſo litle humilitie in this aſſembly, to ſeuen Byſhops & an Archbiſhop, cõming at his cõmaundement to the Counſell, that he thought ſcorne once to ſtirre at their comming in. Much leſſe would his Phariſaicall ſolemnity haue girded himſelfe, & waſhed his brethrens feete, after their trauaile, as Chriſt our great maiſter did to his Diſciples: ſeyng his Lordſhip was ſo hie, or rather ſo heauy, or rather ſo proude, that coulde not finde in his hart to giue them a little mouing of his body to declare a brotherly & humble hart. Againe the Britaynes were much, or more to blame, who ſo much neglected their ſpirituall duety, in reuenging their temporal iniury: that they denyed to ioyne vnto their helping labour, to turne the Idolatrous Saxons to the way of lyfe and ſaluatiõ. In which reſpect all priuate caſes ought to geue place, and to be forgotten. For the whiche cauſe, although lamentable to vs, yet no great meruaile in them, if the ſtroke of gods puniſhment did light vpon thẽ: according to the wordes of Auſten, as is before declared. But eſpecially the cruell king, in this fact, was moſt of all to blame, ſo furiouſly to flee vpon them, which had neither weapõ to reſiſt him, nor yet any will to harme him. And ſo likewiſe the ſame or like, happened to himſelfe afterward. For ſo was he alſo ſlayne in the field by Chriſtian Edwine, who ſucceeded him: as he had ſlayne the Chriſtians before, whiche was about the yeare of our Lord. 610. But to returne to Auſten agayne, who by report of authors was departed before this cruelty was done: after he had baptiſed and chriſtened x. thouſand Saxons or Angles in the weſt riuer, that is called Swale, beſide Yorke on a Chriſtẽmaſſe day: perceauing hys end to draw neare, he ordayned a ſucceſſor named Laurentius to rule after him the Archbiſhops ſea of Dorobernia. Where note by the way Chriſtian Reader, that wheras Auſten baptiſed then in riuers: it followeth, there was then no vſe of fontes. Agayne, if it be true that Fabian ſayth, he baptiſed x. thouſãd in one day: the rite thẽ of Baptiſing at Rome was not ſo ceremoniall, neither had ſo manye trinkets at that tyme, as it hath had ſince, or els it could not be, that he coulde baptiſe ſo many in one daye.

Laurentius Archbiſh. after *Auſten.*

Baptiſing in riuers, not in fontes.

Baptiſing among the old Romaines was not vſed with ſo many ceremonyes as ſince.

In the meane ſeaſon, about this time departed Gregory Byſhop of Rome: of whom it is ſayd, that of the number of al the firſt Biſhops before him in the primitiue time, he was the baſeſt: of all them that came after him, hee was the beſt. About whiche tyme alſo dyed in Wales, Dauid Archbiſhop firſt of Kayrleion, who then tranſlated the ſea from thence to Menenia, and therefore is called Dauid of Wales. Not long after this alſo, deceaſed the foreſayd Auſten in England after he had ſet there xv. or xvi. yeares: by the which count we may note it, not to be true that Henry Huntington and other doe witneſſe, that Auſten was dead before that battaile of Ethelfride agaynſt the Mõkes of Bãgor. For if it be true that Polycronicon teſtifieth of this murder, to be done about the yeare of our Lorde. 609. and the comming of Auſten firſt into the Realme, to be an. 596. then Auſten enduring xvi. yeares could not be dead at thys battell. Moreouer Galfridus Monumetenſis declareth, concerning the ſame battell, that Ethelbert the king of Kent, beyng (as is ſayd) conuerted by Auſten to Chriſtes fayth: after he ſaw the Britaynes to diſdayne and deny their ſubiection vnto Auſten, neyther would aſſiſt him in preaching to the Engliſh nation: therefore ſtirred vp he the foreſayd Ethelfride to warre agaynſt the Brittaynes. But that ſeemeth rather ſuſpicious then true, that he being a Chriſten king, eyther could ſo much preuayle with a Pagan Idolater, or els would attempt ſo farre to commit ſuch a cruell deede. But of vncertayne things I haue nothing certainly to ſay, leſſe to iudge.

{Anno. 604.}

S Dauid in Wales, otherwiſe called *Dewy.*

Computation of tyme examined.

Galfridus Monumetenſis.

About this preſent tyme aboue prefixed, which is 610. I read in the ſtory of Ranulphus Ceſtrenſis, the writer of Polychronicon, of Iohn the Patriarche of Alexandria who for his rare example of hoſpitalitie and bountifulnes to the poore: I thought no leſſe worthy to haue place amongeſt good men, then I ſee the ſame now to be followed of few. This Iohn (beyng before belike a hard and ſparing man) as he was at hys prayer vpon a tyme (it is ſayd) there appeared to him a comely virgine hauing on her head a garland of Oliue leaues: which named her ſelfe mercy, ſaying to him and promiſing that if he would take her to wife, he ſhould proſper well. This, whether it were true or not, or els inuented for a moralitie, I would wiſh this floriſhing damſell ſo to be maryed to moe then to this Iohn, that ſhee ſhould not liue ſo long a virgine now as ſhe doth, becauſe no man will marry her. But to returne to his Patriarch, who after that day (as the ſtory recordeth: was ſo merciful and ſo beneficiall, eſpecially to the poore and needy, that he counted them as hys mayſters, and himſelf as a ſeruaunt and ſteward vnto them. This Patriarch was wont commonly twiſe a weeke to ſit at hys doore all the day long, to take vp matters, and to ſet vnitie, where was any variaunce: One day it happened, as he was ſitting all the day before hys gate, and ſaw no man come, lamented that all that day hee had done no good: To whome his Deacon ſtanding by, aunſwered agayne, that hee had more cauſe to reioyſe, ſeeing he had brought the Citie in that order and in ſuch peace, that there needed no reconcilement amongeſt them. An other time as the ſayd Iohn the Patriarche was at the Seruice and reading the Goſpell

{Anno. 610.}

Poly. lib. 5. cap. 10.

A ſtory of *Iohn Patriarch* of Alexandria.

Mercy may liue a mayden, for no man will marry her.

This *Iohn* was ſo bountifull in geuing that he aſſayd to ſtriue in a maner with the Lord, whether the Lorde ſhould geue more or he ſhould diſtribute more of that whiche was geuen.

in the church, the people (as their vſed maner is) went out of the church to talke and iangle: he perceauing that, went out likewiſe, and ſat amongſt them: wherat they marueyling to ſee him do ſo. My children ſaid he, where the flocke is, there ought the ſhepherd to be: wherefore either come you in, that I may alſo come in with you, or els if you tary out, I will likewiſe tary out together with you, &c.

The actes of *Gregory* the firſt.

As touching the actes and deedes of Gregory aboue mentioned, how he withſtood the ambitious pryd of Iohn, Patriarche of Conſtantinople, which woulde be the vnyuerſall Prieſt, and onely chiefe Byſhop of all other: declaring him to be no leſſe then the forerunner of Antichriſt, that woulde take that name vppon him: howe and wyth what reaſons he aunſwered againe the letters of the Emperor Mauritius in that behalfe, ſufficient relation is made thereof in the firſt entry and beginning of this booke. This Gregory among manye other thinges induced into the Churche (the ſpecialties whereof hereafter ſhall followe Chriſt willing more at large) fyrſt beganne and brought in thys title among the Romaine Biſhoppes, to be called Seruus ſeruorum Dei: putting them in remembraunce thereby both of their humblenes, and alſo of their duetie in the Churche of Chryſt. Moreouer as concerning his acte for the ſole lyfe of Pryeſtes fyrſt begonne, and then broken againe. Alſo concerning the order of Gregoryes Maſſe boke, to be receaued in all churches, hereof who ſo liſteth to read more, ſhall fynde the ſame in other places hereafter, namelye when wee come to the tyme of Pope Adrian the firſt.

Whereupon the Romaine Byſhops vſe in their ſtile, *Seruus ſeruorū Dei.*

After the death of Gregory, aboue mentioned, firſt came Sabinianus, who as he was a malicious detractor of Gregory & of his works, ſo he continued not long, ſcarſe the ſpace of two yeares. After whom ſucceded next Bonifacius the 3. which albeit he reigned but one yeare, yet in yͤ one yeare he did more hurt then Gregory, with ſo great labours, and in ſo many yeres could do good before: for that which Gregorye kept out, he brought in, obtaining of Phocas the wicked Emperour for him and his ſucceſſours after him, that the ſea of Rome aboue al other churches ſhould haue the preeminence: and that the Biſhop of Rome ſhould be the vniuerſall head, through all Churches of Chriſt in Chriſtēdome: alleadging for him this friuolous reaſon, that S Peter had and left to his ſucceſſours in Rome the keyes of byndyng and looſing, &c. And thus began firſt Rome to take an head aboue all other Churhes, by the meanes of Boniface the 3. who as he lacked no boldnes nor ambitiō to ſeeke it, ſo neither lacked he an Emperour fit and meete to gyue ſuch a gift. Thys Emperours name was Phocas a man of ſuch wickednes and ambitiō moſt lyke to his owne Biſhop Boniface, that to aſpire to the Empire, he murthered his owne maiſter and Emperour Mauritius, & his children. Thus Phocas coming vp to be Emperour, after this deteſtable vilanie done: thinking to eſtabliſh his Empire with friendſhip and fauour of his people, & eſpecially with the byſhop of Rome: quickly condeſcended to al hys petitions, & ſo graunted him (as it is ſayd) to be that he would, the vniuerſall and heade Biſhop ouer all Chriſten Churches. But as bloud commonly requireth bloud againe, ſo it came to paſſe on the ſaid Phocas. For as he had cruellye ſlayne the Lorde and Emperour, Mauritius, before, ſo he in lyke maner (of Heraclius the Emperour ſucceedyng hym) had his hands and feete cut of, & ſo was caſt into the Sea. And this wicked Phocas which gaue the firſt ſupremacy to Rome, loſt his owne. But Rome would not ſo ſoone looſe his ſupremacy once giuen, as yͤ gyuer loſt his life: for euer ſince frō that day it hath holden, defended, and maintained the ſame ſtill, and yet doth to this preſent day, by al force & policy poſſible. And thus much concerning Boniface, whō, by the words of Gregory, we may well call the runner before Antichryſt. For as Gregory brought into their ſtile, Seruus ſeruorum Dei, ſo this Boniface brought into theyr heades, firſt Volumus ac mandamus: Statuimus ac præcipimus. That is, we will and commaunde, we enioyne and charg you. &c.

Sabinianus biſhop of Rome.

Bonifacius 3. Byſhop of Rome.

How Rome began firſt to take an head aboue other churches.

Phocus traitor and murderer of hys Emperour.

Bloud reuenged with bloud.

Volumus ac mandamus: Statuimus ac præcipimus brought in by *Boniface* the third.

Mention was made a little before of Ethelbert kyng of Kent, and alſo of Ethelfride king of Northſaxone or Northumbria. This Ethelbert hauing vnder his ſubiection al the other Saxon kinges, vnto Humber, after he had fyrſt receaued himſelfe, and cauſed to be receaued of other, the Chriſtian faith by the preaching of Auſten, being cōfirmed afterward in the ſame faith, amōg other coſtly dedes, with the helpe of Sigebert kyng of Eſſex his nephew, then reigning vnder him, began the foundation of Paules Church within the Citie of London, & ordained it for the Biſhops ſea of Londō. For the Archbiſhops ſea which before tyme had bene at Londou, was by Auſten and this Ethelbert at the praier of the Citizens of Dorobernia tranſlated to the ſaid Citie Malmeſberiēſis Lib. de pontific. Wherfore ſuch authors as ſay that Paules was builded by Sigebert, ſay not amiſſe: which Sigebert was yͤ king of Eſſex, in which prouince ſtandeth the Citie of London. This Ethelbert alſo founded the Church of Saint Andrewe in the Citie of Dorubres in Kent, nowe called Rocheſter, of one Rot, diſtaunt from Dorobernia, 24. miles. Of this citie, Iuſtus was biſhop ordained before by Auſten. Moreouer the forenamed Ethelbert, ſtyrred vp a dweller or Citizen of London to make a Chappell or church of Saint Peter in the weſt end of Lōdon, then called Thorny, nowe the Towne of Weſtminſter, which Church or Chappell was after by Edward the confeſſour inlarged or newe builded: laſtly of Henry the 3. it was newly agayne reedified and made as it is nowe a large Monaſterye. &c. After theſe Chriſtian and worthye actes this Ethelbert when he had reigned the courſe of lvj. yeares chaunged thys mortall life about the yeare of our Lorde 616. whome ſome ſtories ſay to be ſlaine in a fyghte betweene him and Ethelfride king of Northſaxons.

Fabian. cap. 120.

Ethelbert and *Sigebert* builders of Paules Church.

The Archbiſhops ſe tranſlated from London to *Dorobern*

Malmeſberienſis lib. de pontif. H. Huntington, lib. 3.

This *Edward* was the third of that name before the Conqueſt.

The Monaſtery of Weſtminſter.

An. 616.

In the meane time the foreſaid Ethelfride king of Northumberland, after the cruell murther of the Monkes of Bangor, eſcaped not long vnpaied his hire, for after he had raigned. 24. yeares he was ſlaine in the fielde of Edwine, who ſucceded in Northumberland after him.

Bloud reuenged with bloud.

This Edwyne being the ſonne not of Ethelfride, (as Galfridus Monumetenſis ſaith) but rather of Alla (as Giraldus Gambrenſis, ſemeth to witnes more truely) was firſt a Panim or id[illegible]e: afterward by Paulinus was Chriſtened and the firſt [illegible]ſtened king in Northōberland. The occaſion of which his calling or conuerſion, as is in ſundry ſtories contained, was this.

Edwine firſt Chriſtened king in Northumberland.

Giraldus Gambrenſis.

Edwine being yet a Pagane, maryed the daughter of Ethelbert king of Kent, called Edelburge a Chriſtian womā, otherwiſe called Tace. But before this mariage, Edwyne beyng yet young, Ethelfride the king, conceyuing enuy agaynſt him: perſecuted him ſo ſore, that he was forced to flee to Redwaldus king of Eaſtangles, as in the table of the kings is expreſſed. The which Redwaldus what for feare, what with bribes being corrupted of Ethelfride, at length priuily had intēded to haue betrayed Edwyne. But as gods will was, Edwyne hauing warning thereof by a ſecrete frynde of his, was moued to flee and to ſaue himſelfe beyng promiſed alſo of his friendes to bee ſafely conueyed away, if he would thereto agree. To whome Edwyne ſaid, whether ſhall I flee which haue ſo long fleene the handes of myne enymies, through all prouinces of the Realme? And if I muſt nedes be ſlayne I had rather that he ſhould doe it, then an other vnworthy perſon. Thus he remaynyng by himſelfe alone & ſolitarie, ſitting in a great ſtudy, there appeared vnto him ſodainely, a certaine ſtraunger, to hym vnknowne, and ſaide, I knowe well the cauſe of thy thought and heauines. What wouldeſt thou giue him that ſhould deliuer thee out of this feare, & ſhould recōcile king Redwald to thee againe? I woulde gyue him (ſaide Edwyne) al that euer I coulde make. And he ſaide agayne: And what if he make thee a mightier king, then was anye of thy Progenitours? Hee aunſwered againe as before. Moreouer, (ſaith he) and what if hee ſhewe thee a better kind and way of life, then euer was ſhewed to any of thine aunceters before thee: wilt thou obey him & doe after his counſell? Yea (ſaid Edwyne) promiſing moſt firmely, wyth al his hart ſo to do. Thē he laying his hand vpon his head when (ſaid he) this token hapneth vnto thee: then remember this time of thy tribulation, & the promiſe which thou haſt made, and the word which now I ſay vnto thee. And with that he uaniſhed out of his ſight ſodainely. After this ſo done as Edwyne was ſitting alone by him ſelfe penſiue and ſad: his foreſaid friend, which moued him before to flee commeth to him, bidding him be of good chere, for the hart (ſaid he) of king Redwaldus which had before intended thy deſtruction, was nowe altered through the counſell of the Queene, and is fully bent to keepe his promiſe wyth you, whatſoeuer ſhall fall thereupon. To make the ſtory ſhort Redwaldus the King (although Fabian following Henry Huntyngton) ſaith it was Edwyne) with al conuenient ſpeed aſſembled an hoſt: wherwith he ſodainly comming vpon Ethelfride, gaue battaile vnto him aboute the borders of Mercia, where Ethelfryde king of Northumberlande, alſo with Reyner Redwaldus ſonne was ſlaine in the fielde. By reaſon wherof Edwyne (his enimies now being deſtroyed) was quietly placed in the poſſeſſiō of Northumberlād. All this while yet Edwyne remained in his old Paganiſme, albeit his Queene being (as is aboue declared) king Ethelbertes daughter a Chriſten woman, with Paulinus the byſhop, ceaſed not to ſtirre and perſwad the king to chriſtian fayth. But he taking counſell with his nobles and counſellers vpon the matter, was hard to be wonne. Then the

The order and maner of the conuerſion of *Edwine*, to the faith of Chriſt.

The trouble of *Edwine.*

The maruelous calling of *Edwine.*

Edwine miraculouſly deliuered.

W. Malmeſburienſis. lib. de. Reg.

This Queene was *Edelburga*, daughter to King *Ethelbert* the Chriſtened King of *Kent.*

Lord, who deſpoſeth all things after his purpoſe, to bring al good things to paſſe, ſent an other trouble vpon him, by meanes therof to cal him. For by affliction God vieth commonly to call them whom he wil ſaue, or by whom he wil worke ſaluation vnto other. So his diuine wiſdome thinketh good to make them firſt to knowe themſelues, before they come to know him, or to teach him to other: ſo it was with Paule, who was ſtriken downe, before hee was lyfted vp, with Conſtantinus Edwynus and many moe. Howe long was Ioſeph in priſon before he bare rule? How hardly eſcaped this our Queene nowe being (Queene Elizabeth) by whō yet notwithſtanding it hath pleaſed god to reſtore this his goſpel now preached amongſt vs? In what conflictes and agonies inwardly in his ſpirite was M. Luther before he came to preach the iuſtification of Chriſt openly? And ſo be all they moſt commonlye, which come to anye liuely feeling or ſenſible working of Chriſt the Lord.

God calleth commonly by affliction and trouble

But to returne to Edwyne againe. The occaſion of hys trouble was this: Quicelinus with Kynegilſus his brother, Kings of weſtſaxons (as aboue is mentioned in the table of the Saxon kings) conſpiring the death of Edwyne now king of Northumberland: vpon enuy and malice ſent vpon an Eaſter day, a ſwordman named Emner, priuelye to ſlay the ſaid Edwyne. This ſwordman or cutthrote came to a Citie beſide the water of Darwent in Darbiſhire, there to waite his time, and laſtly founde the king ſmallye accompanied, and intēded to haue runne the king through with a ſword inuenemed. But one Lilla the kinges truſtye ſeruaunt, diſgarniſhed of a ſhield or other weapon to defēd his maiſter, ſtart betwene the king & the ſword, and was ſtrikē through the body and died, and the king was woūded with the ſame ſtroke. And after he wounded alſo the third which was a knight, & ſo was taken, and confeſſed by whom he was ſent to worke that treaſon. The other knight that was ſecondly wounded died, and the king lay after long ſicke, or he were healed.

An other daunger of *Edwyne.*

{An. 627.}

Polycron. lib.5.ca.12.

Hen. Hunt. lib.3.

Fabianus parte.5.

A part of a truſty ſeruaunt.

After this, about whitſontide the king being ſcantlye hole of his wounde, aſſembled his hoſt, intending to make againſt the king of weſtſaxons: promiſing to Chriſt to be Chriſtened, if he would giue him the victory ouer his enimies. And in token therof cauſed his daughter borne of Edelburge ÿ ſame Eaſter day when he was woūded, named Eufled to be baptiſed: with xii other of his familye, of Paulinus. Thus Edwyne proceded to the battel againſt Quiceline and Kynegilſus with his ſonne Kenwalcus and other enimies, who in the ſame battell being al vanquiſhed & put to flight, Edwyn through the power of Chriſt returneth home victorer. But for all this victory & other things gyuen to him of God, as he was in wealth of the worlde, forgat his promiſe made, and had little mind therof, ſaue only that he by the preaching of Paulinus forſoke his maumentry. And for his excuſe ſaide that he might not clearly deny his olde lawe, which his forefathers had kept ſo long, and ſodeinly to be Chriſtened without authority and good aduiſe of his counſaile.

Edwyne forgetteth hys promiſe to Chriſt.

Proſperitie forgetfull.

Olde cuſtome in matters of religion, not to be followed, but onely truth.

Old cuſtome letteth *Edwyne* to be Chriſtened.

About the ſame ſeaſon Pope Boniface the 5. ſent alſo to the ſayd Edwyne letters exhortatory, wyth ſundrye preſentes from Rome to him, and to Edelburge the Queene. But neither would that preuaile. Then Paulinus ſeyng the king ſo hard to be conuerted, poured out his praiers vnto God for his cōuerſion: who the ſame time had reuealed to him by the holy ghoſt, the oracle aboue mentioned, which was ſhewed to the King, when hee was with Redwaldus king of the Eaſtangles. Wherupon Paulinus comming afterward to the king, on a certaine day, and laying his hād vpon the kings head, aſked him if he knew that tokē. The king hearing this & remembring wel the token, was ready to fall downe at his feete. But Paulinus not ſufferyng that, did lift vp hym againe, ſaying vnto him: behold, O king, you haue vanquiſhed your enimies, you haue obteined your kingdome, now performe the third, which you haue promiſed, that is to receaue the faith of Chriſt, and to be obedient to him. Wherupon the king conferryng with his Counſell, & his nobles, was baptiſed of the ſaid Paulinus at Yorke, with many of his other ſubiectes with hym: Inſomuch that Coyfi the chiefe of the Prelates of his olde maumentry armed him ſelfe wyth hys other Idolatrous Biſhops, and beſtrode good horſes, which before by their old law they might not do, nor ride but onely a Mare: & ſo deſtroied al the altars of the maumentrye, & their temple of Idoles, which was at Godmundham, not far from Yorke, and this was the xi. yeare of his raigne.

A miracle of God in the conuerſion of kyng *Edwyne.*

The part of a godly biſh. exemplified in *Paulinus.*

Edwyne baptiſed.

He was baptiſed in S. *Peters* Church at Yorke which he firſt cauſed to be made of woode, which after by S. *Oſwald* was builded of ſtone.

{An. 628.}

From that time forth, during the life of Edwyne which was the terme of vj. yeares moe, Paulinus chriſtened, continually in the riuers of Gweny, & Swala, in both prouinces of Deira, and in Bernicia, vſing the ſaid riuers for his fountes, and preached in the ſhire of Linceſey, where he builded alſo a Church of ſtone at Lincolne.

Note *Paulinus* chriſtened in riuers.

In this time was ſo great peace in the kingdome of Edwyne after his conuerſion, that a womā laden with gold might haue gone from the one ſide of the ſea to the other, and no man moleſt hir. Moreouer by the hye waye ſydes, through al his kingdom he cauſed by euery wel or ſpryng to be chayned a diſh, or bole of braſſe to take vp water, for the refreſhyng of ſuch as went by the way, which boles of braſſe there remained ſafe, that no man touched them, during all the life of the ſaid Edwyne. Such was then the tender care and ſtudy of Chriſten Princes, for the refreſhing of their ſubiectes. But that was then the Braſen worlde, which now is growne to yron and leade, called Ætas ferrea or rather plumbea.

What true iuſtice of a good Prince may do in a realme.

Great peace and trueth among the people in the dayes of *Edwyne.*

This Edwyne, who firſt brought in the fayth in the North partes continuing after his Baptiſme, vj. yeres, at length was ſlaine in battell by Cedwalla, king of the Britaines, and by wicked Penda, king of the Mercians, wyth his ſonne alſo Offricus in the field called Hatfield.

{Annō. 634.}

This Paulinus was the firſt Archbyſhop of Yorke, and as he was of Iuſtus Archbyſhop of Caunterbury, ordained Archbyſhop of the ſea of Yorke, ſo he againe after the diſceaſe of Iuſtus, ordained Honorius to be Archbyſhop of Caunterbury.

Archbiſhop of Canterbury and Yorke, the one ordayneth the other.

Paulinus after the death of godly Edwyne, ſeing vnmerciful Cedwalla or Cedwallon with his Britaines, and wycked Penda wͭ the Idolatrous merciās, to ſpoile the land in ſuch ſort, as they made no ſpare neither of age nor ſexe, nor Religion, was compelled to fle with Edelburg the Queene and Euflede her daughter, by water into Kent: where the ſaid Archbiſhop Paulinus remained Biſhop of Rocheſter, the ſpace of xix. yeares. And ſo the Churche of Northumberland lacked a Byſhop for the ſpace of xxx. yeares after. Notwithſtanding he left there one Iames his Deacon, a good man, who continued their baptiſing and preaching, in the North parts, till that peace being recouered, & the number of the faithfull increaſing, the church came againe to his ſtay. Hunting. Lib.3.

Ex Flor. hiſt.

Iames a godly Deacon.

A Deacon then might baptiſe.

By the meanes of this Edwyne Erpwaldus King of the Eaſtangles ſonne to Redwaldus aboue mentioned, was reduced to Chriſtes faith.

Erpwaldus otherwiſe named *Corpwaldus*, Kyng of Eaſtangles conuerted to the fayth of Chriſt.

After the deceaſe of Edwyne and his ſonne Offrike, both ſlayne in battell, reigned Oſricus and Eufridus the one in Deyra, the other in Bernicia. Oſricus was the ſonne of Elfricus which was brother to Ethelfride. Eaufridus, was the eldeſt ſonne of Ethelfride (for Ethelfride had three ſonnes to wit, Eaufridus, Oſwaldus, & Oſricus. These two kinges of Deſyra and Bernicia, Oſricus, and Eaufride, beyng fyrſt Chriſtened in Scotlande: after being kinges returned to their old idolatry, & ſo in the yeares following were ſlaine one after the other, by the foreſaide Cedwalla, and wycked Penda, as is in the table aboue expreſſed.

After whō ſucceded in Northumberlaad, the ſeconde ſonne of Ethelfride named Oſwaldus, hauing rule on both the Prouinces as well Deyra, as of Bernicia. Whereof when the foreſaide Cedwalla, (or Cadwallo) the Brytayne king had vnderſtanding: who before had made hauoke of the Saxons and thought to haue rooted them vtterlye out of England: he ſent king Penda wͭ a mighty hoſt of ÿ Britaines, thinking to ſlea alſo Oſwald, as he had before ſlaine his brother Eaufride, and King Edwyne before them. But Oſwald when he was warned of the great ſtrength of this Cadwal, and Penda made his prayes to God, and beſought him meekely of helpe to withſtand his enimie: for the ſaluation of his people. Thus after Oſwald had prayed for the ſauing of his people, the two hoſtes met in a fielde named Deneſburne, ſome ſay Heuenfield, where was faught a ſtrōg battell. But finally the armye and power of Penda, & Cedwall, which were farre exceeding the number of Oſwaldus hoſt, was chaſed and moſt part ſlaine by Oſwaldus, after he reigned ouer the Britanes xxij. yeares leauing after him a ſonne, whom Gaufridus called Cadwaladrus, the laſt king of the Britanes.

S. Oſwalde kyng of Northumberland.

{Anno. 636.}

Galfridus.

Malmeſberienſis.

Polycro.

Hiſtoria iornalenſis.

Fabian.

Strength of prayer ouercommeth armyes.

Penda beaten in the field.

The commendation of king *Oſwalde.*

Of this Oſwald, much praiſe and commendation is written in authors, for his feruent zeale in Chriſtes Religion, & mercifull pitty toward the poore, with other great vertues moe. As touching the miracles of S. Oſwald, what it pleaſed the people of that time to reporte of him, I haue not here to affirme: This I find in ſtories certaine, that he being well and vertuouſly diſpoſed to the ſetting foorth of Chriſtes faith and doctrine, ſent into Scotlande for a certeine Biſhop, there called Aidanus, which was a famous preacher. The king what time he was in Scotland banyſhed, had learned the ſcotiſh toung perfectly: wherfore as this Aidanus preached in his ſcotiſh toung to the Saxons, the king himſelfe interpreting that which hee had ſaid, diſdayned not to preach & expounde the ſame to his nobles &

King *Oſwalde* diſdayned not to expound and preach the goſpell to hys people.

ſubiects in the Engliſh toung.

The goodnes and charitie of *Oſwald* toward the poore.

Hiſtoria iornalenſis.
Polycronicon. lib.5.cap.12.

Kinigilſus King of the Weſtſaxons, conuerted to Chriſtes fayth.

Ex Polycron. lib.5.cap.13.
Fabian part.5.
Landes geuen to Wincheſter.

Moreouer, toward the poore and needy, his pitty & tendernes was ſuch, being notwithſtanding of ſo highe & Princely calling: that vpon a time being then Eaſter day, he ſitting with the ſaide Aidanus at meate and ſerued after the maner of kings in ſiluer, there commeth to him one of the ſeruitures bringing him word, that there was a great multitude of poore people ſitting in the ſtrete, which deſired ſome almes of the king. Hee hearing this, commaundeth not only the meate prepared for his owne table to be caried vnto them, but alſo taking a Siluer platter whiche ſtode before him, brake it in peeces and ſent it among thē: And ſo relieued his pore ſubiectes, not onely with ẏ meate of his table, but with his diſhes alſo. Aidanus the Byſhop ſeing this and marueiling therat, taketh him by the hand, wiſhing and praying in this wiſe. This hand, ſayth he, I pray God may continue and neuer putrifie. what the ſtories ſay more concerning this hand of Oſwald, I ented not to medle farther then ſimple, true, and due probalitie will beare me out. In thoſe dayes and partly by the meanes of the ſaid Oſwald Kynigilſus king of the weſtſaxons was cōuerted to Chriſtes faith, eſpecially through the godly labor of Berinus which was ſent by Pope Honorius to preach in England, and was then made Biſhop of Dorcheſter. To whom Quicelinus brother of Kynigilſus after he had alſo receiued baptiſme of the ſaid Berinus gaue to him ẏ ſayd Citie to make there his ſea. And as Guydo witneſſeth the ſaid Quicelinus gaue after to the Byſhop of wincheſter, ſeauen myles compaſſe of land, to builde there the Byſhops ſea, the which was accompliſhed and finiſhed Kenwalkus hys ſonne.

Malmeſberienſis lib.de pontifi. Angl.
Ceſtrenſis.lib.5.
Hiſt.Iornalenſis.

Hunting.lib.3.
Berinus walking on the ſea with lye and al.

Of this Berinus Malmeſbery, Polychronicon, with dyuers other writers do report, a thing ſtraunge and myraculous which if it be a fable as no doubt it is, I cannot but marueil that ſo many authors ſo conſtantly agre in reporting and affirming the ſame. The matter is this: this Berinus being ſent as is ſaid, by Honorius to preach in Englād promiſeth him to trauell to the vttermoſt borders therof, and there to preach the Goſpell, where the name of Chriſt was neuer heard. Thus he ſeting forward in his iourney paſſeth through Fraunce, and ſo to the ſea ſide, where hee found a paſſage ready, and the winde ſerued ſo faire, that he was called vpon in ſuch haſt, that he had no leyſure to remember himſelfe to take all things with him, which hee had to cary. At length as he was on the ſea ſailing and almoſt in the middle courſe of his paſſage, remembred himſelfe of a certaine relique left behinde him for haſt: which Honorius had giuen him at his comming out. Malmeſberienſis calleth it Corporalia. Hiſtoria Iornalenſis calleth it Pallulam ſuper quam Corpus Chriſti conſecraret, which wee call a Corporas or ſuch a like thing, and what els encloſed with in it I can not tell. Here Berinns in great ſorow coulde not tell what to doe, if he ſhould haue ſpoken to the Heathen mariners, to turne their courſe backe againe, they woulde haue mocked him, and it had bin in vaine. wherfore as ẏ ſtories write, he boldly ſteppeth into the Sea, and walkeyng on fote back again, taketh to him that which was left behind, & ſo returneth to his company againe, hauing not one thred of his garments wette. Of his miracle, or whether I ſhould cal it a fable rather, let the reader iudge therof, as he thinketh, becauſe it is not written in the Scripture we are not bound to beleeue it. But if it were true, it is then thought to be wrought of god not for any holines in the man: or in the Corporas, but a ſpeciall gifte for the conuerſion of the heathen, for whoſe ſaluation God ſuffereth oft many wonders to be done. This Berinus being receiued in the ſhip againe with a great admiration of the Marynors, beyng therewyth conuerted and Baptyſed: was driuen at laſt by the weather, to the coaſt of the weſtſaxōs, where Kynigilſus and his brother Quicelinus aboue mentioned did raigne. which two kinges, the ſame time by ẏ preaching of Berinus were conuerted, and made Chriſten men, with the people of the country, being before rude and barbarous. It happened the ſame time when the forſaid kings ſhoulde bee chriſtened, that Oſwaldus (mentioned a little before) king of Northumberland, was thē preſent, and the ſame day maried Kynigilſus his daughter, and alſo was godfather to the king.

Oſwaldus godfather and ſonne in lawe to *Kinigilſus*, and all in one day.

Kyng *Oſwald* ſlayne in the field.
{ Anno. 643. }
Penda King of Mercians ſlayne.
Oſwy King of Northumberland.

Thus Oſwald after he had reigned ix. yeares in ſuch holines and perfectnes of life, as is aboue ſpecified, was ſlayne at length in the field called Marfield, by wicked Penda, king of the Mercians, which Penda, at length after all his tyranny was ouercome and ſlaine by Oſwy brother to Oſwald, next king after Oſwald of Northumberland, notwithſtanding he had thryſe ẏ people which Oſwy had: this Penda being a Panim had iij. ſonnes Wolferus, Weda, and Egfridus. To this ſeconde ſonne Weda, Oſwy had before time maried his daughter, by conſent of Penda hys father. The whiche Weda by helpe of Oſwy was made Kyng of Southmercia, the which Lordſhip is ſeuered from northmercia by the ryuer of Trent. The ſame Weda moreouer, at what time he maried the daughter of Oſwy, promiſed to him that he would become a chriſten man, which thing he performed after the death of Penda his Father, but afterward within iij. yeares of his reigne, he was by reaſon of his wife ſlaine: And after him the kingdome fell to Wolferus the other brother, who beyng wedded to Ermenilda, daughter of Ercomber kyng of Kente, was ſhortlye after Chriſtened, ſo that he is accounted the firſt chriſtened king of Mercia. This Wolferus conquered Kenwalcus Kyng of Kent, and gat ẏ Iſle of wight, which after he gaue to Sigbert King of Theaſtangles, vpon condition he would be Chriſtened. And thus the Eaſtangles, which before had expulſed Mellitus there biſhop, as is declared recouered againe the Chriſtian faith vnder Sigbert their King, who by the meanes of the foreſayd Wolferus was reduced and Baptiſed by Finanus the Byſhop.

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fayth of
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Wolfer
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Mercia.

The Eaſ
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the Chri
an fayth.

Oſwy and
Oſwyne,
fellow
kinges in
Northum
berland.

But to returne againe to Oſwy, from whom we haue a litle digreſſed, of whom we ſhewed before how he succeded after Oſwald in the prouince of Bernicia, to whom alſo was ioyned Oſwynus hys coſin, ouer the Prouince of Deyra, and therwith his felow, Oſwy, raigned the ſpace of vij. yere: this Oſwyne was gentle, & liberal to his people and no [illegible]ſſe deuout towarde God: who vpon a time had giuen to Aidanus the biſhop aboue mentioned, a Princely Horſe with the trappers, & al that appertained therto: becauſe he ſhould not ſo much trauel on foote but ſome tyme eaſe himſelfe withall. Thus Aidanus the Scottiſhe Byſhop as he was riding vpon his kingly horſe, by the way meteth him a certaine poore man aſking and crauing hys charitie. Aidanus hauing nothing els to giue him: lighted down, and giueth to him his horſe trapped and garniſhed as he was. The King vnderſtanding this, & not contented therwith, as he was entring to dinner with the ſayd Aidanus what ment you father Byſhop, (ſayd he) to giue away my horſe I gaue you, vnto the begger? Had not I other horſes in my ſtable that might haue ſerued him well inough, but you muſt giue awaye that which of purpoſe was pickt out for you among the chiefeſt? To whome the Biſhop made aunſwere againe ſaying or rather rebuking the king, what be theſe wordes (O king ſaide he) that you ſpeake? why ſet you more price by an horſe, which is but the fole of an horſe, then you do by him which is the ſonne of Mary, yea which is the ſonne of God? He ſaid but thys when the king forthwith vngirding his ſword frō about him (as he was then newly come in from hunting) falleth downe at the feete of the Biſhop, deſiring him to forgiue him that, and he would neuer after ſpeake word to him, for any treaſure he ſhould afterward giue away of his. The Biſhop ſeing the king ſo mekely affected, hee then takyng him vp, & chering him againe with words, began ſhortly after to weepe & to be very heauy, his miniſter aſking the cauſe therof, Aidanus aunſwered in his ſcottiſh language ſaying to him: I weepe ſaith he for that this king cannot liue lōg. This people is not worthy to haue ſuch a Prince as he is to raigne among them. And ſo as Aidanus ſayd, it came to paſſe. For not long after Oſwy the king of Bernicia diſdaining at him, when Oſwyne either being not able or not willing to ioyne with him in Battaile, cauſed hym traiterouſly to be ſlaine. And ſo Oſwy, with his ſonne Egfride raigned in Northumberland alone.

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H Hunti
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lib.9.
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Oſwyne
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{ An.
651.

In the time & alſo in the houſe, of this Oſwy king of Northūberland, was a certaine man named Benedict, who was the bringer vp of Bede from his youth, & toke him to his inſtitution, whē he was but ſeuen yere old, & ſo taught him during his life. This Benedict, or Benet, deſcending of a noble ſtocke and rich kinne & in good fauour with Oſwy: forſoke ſeruice, houſe, and al his kindred to ſerue Chriſt, & wēt to Rome (where he had bene in his life time v. times) and brought from thence bookes, into Monaſteries, wyth other things which he thought then to ſerue for deuotion. Thys Bennedict ſurnamed Byſhop, was the fyrſt that brought in the arte and vſe of glaſing into this lande. For before that, glaſſe windowes were not knowen, either in churches, or in houſes.

Benedic
Benet th
bringer v
of *Bede*.
The vſe o
glaſing fi
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to this
Realme.

In the raigne of the foreſaid Oſwye and Egfride hys ſonne, was Botulphus Abbot: which builded in the Eaſt part of Lincolne an Abbey. Alſo Aidanus, Finianus, & Colmannus, with iij. Scottiſh Biſhops of Northumberlande holy men, held with ẏ Britaines, againſt the Romiſh order, for the keeping of Eaſter daye. Moreouer Cutbertus Iarumannus, Cedda, and Wilfridus liued the ſame time, who as I iudge to be Byſhops of an holy conuerſation, ſo I thought it ſufficient here only to name them. As touching

Botulp
Aidan
Finian
Colma
Cutber
Iarum
Cedda
Wilfri

their miracles wherfore they were made Saintes in the Popes calender, ſeing they are not written in the Goſpel, nor in my Crede, but in certaine old chronicles of that age ſo they are no matter of my faith: notwithſtanding as touching there conuerſation, this I read, and alſo do credite, that the Clergy both of Britaine & Englande at that time, plied nothing that was worldly, but gaue thē to preching and teaching the word of our Sauiour, and followed the life that they preached, by giuing of good enſample. And ouer that, as our hiſtories accord, they were ſo voyd of couetouſnes, that they receiued no poſſeſſions or territories as was forced vpon them.

O quanta mutatio!

Beda. lib. 4. cap. 5. Hunting. Polycr. Iornalenſis. Fabia.

An. 664.

About this ſeaſon or not much before, vnder the raigne of Oſwy & Oſwyne, kynges of Northumberlande, an other Synode or Councell was holden againſt the Brytaines and the Scottiſh biſhops, for the ryght obſeruyng of Eaſter, at Sternehalt. At what time Agilbertus Byſhop of weſtſaxons came to Northumberlande, to inſtytute Wilfride, Abbot of Rypon, where this queſtion for Eaſter day began to be moued. For Colmannus then Byſhop of Northūberland followed not ẏ cuſtome of Rome, nor of the Saxons: but followed the Brytaynes, and the Scottiſh Biſhops, his predeceſſors in the ſame ſea before. Thus on the on ſide was Colmannus the Archbyſhop of Yorke and Hilda the Abbes of Sternhalt: which alleaged for them the doinges and exambles of their predeceſſours, both godly and reuerend byſhops: as Aidanus, Finianus, Archbiſhops of that ſea of Yorke before them, and diuers moe. who had vſed alwaies to celebrate the Eaſter, from the xiiij. day of the firſt moneth, till the xxviij. of the ſame. And ſpecially for that S. Iohn ẏ Euangeliſt at Epheſus, kept and obſerued that day, &c. On the otherſide was Agilbert biſhop of weſtſaxons, Iames the Deacon of Paulinus aboue mentioned: Wilfride Abbot of Ripon: and King Alfride Oſwyes ſonne, with his Queene, holding on the ſame ſide. The full contentes of which diſputation here followeth, according as in the ſtory of Beda at large is deſcribed: with their reaſons and argumentes, on both ſydes as inſueth, &c.

Controuerſie about Eaſter day.

Ex Beda. lib. 2. cap. 23.

The queſtion of Eaſter, and of ſhauing, and other Eccleſiaſticall maters being moued, it was determined that in the Abbey which is called Streneſhalch, of the which Hilda a deuout woman was Abbes: a conuocation ſhould be had and this queſtion there determined. To the which place came both the kinges, the father and the ſonne. Byſhop Colman with his clergy of Scotland. Aigelbert wyth Agathon and Wilfride Prieſtes, Iames and Roman were on their ſides. Hilda the Abbes with her company was on the Scottiſh part. And the reuerend Byſhop Cedda was appointed Prolocutor for both parties in that Parliament. King Oſwye begā firſt with an Oration: declaring that it was neceſſary for ſuch as ſerued one God, to liue in one vniforme order, and that ſuch as loked for one kingdome in heauen ſhould not differ in celebration of the heauenly ſacraments, but ſhould rather ſeeke for the true tradition & follow the ſame. This ſaid, he commaunded his Byſhop Colman to declare what the rite and cuſtome was in thys behalfe that he vſed, and from whence it had the originall. Then Colman obeying his princes cōmaundement, ſayd: the Eaſter, which I obſerue I receaued of my aunceſtors that ſent me hether a Biſhop. The which, all our forefathers being men of God, did celebrate in like maner, & leſt it ſhould be contēned or deſpiſed of any man, it is manifeſtly aparant, to be ẏ very ſame, which ẏ holy Euangeliſt S. Iohn (a diſciple eſpecially beloued of the Lord) did cuſtomably vſe, in al churches and congregations, where he had authoritie. When Colman had ſpoken manye thinges to this effect, the king cōmaunded Aigelbert to declare his opinion in this behalfe, and to ſhew the order that he then vſed, from whence it came & by what authoritie he obſerued the ſame. Aigelbert requeſted the king, that his ſcoler Wilfride, a Prieſt, might ſpeake for him: in as much as they both with the reſt of his clergy, were of one opinion herein: and that the ſaid Wilfride coulde vtter his minde better and more plainely in the Engliſhe toung, then he himſelfe could. Then Wilfride at the kings cōmaundements, began on this ſort and ſayd: The Eaſter which we keepe, wee haue ſeene at Rome, whereas the holye Apoſtles, Peter, & Paule, did liue and teach, did ſuffer and were buried. The ſame alſo is vſed in Italy, and in Fraunce: the which coūtries we haue traueled for learning, and haue noted it to be celebrated of them all. In Aſia alſo and in Aphricke, in Egipt and in Greece, and finally in all the world, the ſame maner of Eaſter is obſerued, that we vſe: ſaue onelye by theſe here preſent with their accomplices, the Pictes & the Britanes: with the which two (& yet not altogither agreeing) they condeſcend & ſtriue fooliſhly in this order againſt the vniuerſal world. To whom Colman replied, ſaying, I maruel you wil cal this order foliſh, that ſo great an Apoſtle as was worthy to lie in the Lordes lap, did vſe, whom all ẏ world doth wel know to haue liued moſt wiſely: and Wilfride aunſwered, god forbid that I ſhould reproue S. Iohn of folye who kept the rites of Moſes law according to the letter (the Churche being yet Iewiſhe in manye pointes) and the Apoſtles not as yet able to abdicate al the obſeruations of the law before ordained: as for example ẏ could not reiect Images inuented of the Diuel, the which all men that beleue on Chriſt ought of neceſſitie to forſake, and deteſt: leaſt they ſhould be an offence to thoſe Iewes that were amongſt the Gentiles. For this cauſe dyd S. Paule Circumciſe Timothie, for this cauſe did hee ſacrifice in the temple, and did ſhaue his head with Aquila and Priſcilla, at Corinth. all which thinges were done to none other purpoſe, then to eſchue the offēce of the Iewes. Hereupon alſo ſaid Iames to Paule, thou ſeeſt brother howe many thouſand Iewes do beleue & all theſe be zealous (notwithanding) of the law. Yet ſeing the Goſpell is ſo manyfeſtly preached in the worlde, it is not lawfull for the faithfull to bee Circumciſed, neither to offer ſacrifice of carnall things to God. Therefore Iohn according to the cuſtome of the law, the xiiij. day of the firſt moneth at euening, did begin the celebration of the feaſt of Eaſter, nothing reſpecting whether it were celebrated in the Sabboth, or in any other feriall day. But Peter when hee preached at Rome, remembring that the Lord did ariſe from death on the firſt day after the Sabboth giuing thereby an hope to ẏ world of the reſurrection, thoughht good to inſtitute Eaſter on ẏ day, & not after the vſe and precepts of the law (that was) the xiiij. day of the firſt moneth. Euen ſo Iohn looking for the Moone at night if it did ariſe, & the next day after were Sonday, which was then called the Sabboth, then did he celebrate the Eaſter of the Lord in the euening like as wee vſe to do euē at this day. But if Sonday were not the next day after the xiiij. day, but fel on the xvi. day, or xvij or on any other day vnto the xxi: he taried alwayes for it, and did begin the holy ſolemnitie of Eaſter, on the euening nexte before ẏ ſabboth. And ſo came it to paſſe that Eaſter, was alwaies kept on the Sonday, and was not celebrated but from the xv. day vnto the xxi. Neither doth this tradition of the Apoſtle breake the law, but fulfilled the ſame. In the which it is to be noted, that Eaſter was inſtituted frō the xiiij. day of the firſt moneth at euening vnto the xxi. day of the ſame moneth at euening, the which manner all S. Iohns ſucceſſours in Aſia, after his death did follow, and the Catholike Church throughout the whole worlde. And that this is the true Eaſter, and onely of all Chriſtians to be obſerued, it was not newly decred: but confirmed by ẏ Councell of Nice, as appeareth by the Eccleſiaſticall hiſtory. wherupon it is manifeſt that you (Colman) do neither folow the example of S. Iohn as ye thinke, nor of S. Peter whoſe tradition you do willingly reſiſt, nor of ẏ church nor yet of the goſpel, in the celebration of Eaſter. For S. Iohn obſeruing Eaſter according to the preceptes of the law kept it not on the firſt daye after the Sabboth. But you preciſely keepe it, onely on the firſt day after the Sabboth. Peter did celebrate Eaſter from the xv. daye of the moone to the xxi. day, but you keepe Eaſter from the xiiij. vnto the xx. day, ſo that you begin Eaſter oftentimes the xiij. day at night: of which maner neither the law nor the Goſpell maketh any mention. But the Lord in ẏ xiiij. day either did eate the olde paſſouer at night, or els did celebrate the ſacraments of the new Teſtament in the remēbraunce of his death and paſſiō. You doe alſo vtterly reiect from the celebration of Eaſter the xxi. daye, the whiche the law hath chiefly willed to be obſerued. And therfore as I ſaide in the keeping of Eaſter, you neither agree wyth S. Iohn, nor with Peter, nor with the lawe, nor yet with the Goſpel. Then Colman againe aunſwered to theſe things, ſaying. Did then Anatholius a godly man and on much cōmended in the foreſaid Eccleſiaſticall hiſtory, agaynſt the law & the Goſpell: who writeth that the Eaſter was to be kept frō the xiiij. day vnto the xx: or ſhal we thinke that Columba our reuerend father, and his ſucceſſors being mē of God, who obſerued the Eaſter, after this maner, did againſt the holye Scripture: where as ſome of them were men of ſuch godlines and vertue as was declared by their wonderful miracles. And I hereby (nothing doubting of their holines) do endeuor to fallow their life, order, & dyſcipline. Then ſaide Wilfride, it is certaine that Anatholius was both a godly and a learned man, and worthy of great commendation, but what haue you to do with him, ſeyng you obſerue not his order: For he following ẏ true rule in keping his Eaſter, obſerueth the circle of xix. yeares. The which either you know not, or if you do, you cōtemne the

A diſputation betweene the Romayne Biſhops and the Scottiſh biſhops for the day of Eaſter and other ceremonyes.

The king beginneth.

Colman ſpeaketh.

Wilfrido replyeth.

Vniuerſality alledged.

Colman agayne ſpeaketh.

Wilfride replieth.

Why Paule circumciſed Timothy.

Example of Peter alledged, but no proofe brought thereof.

Peter and Iohn did not agree in the celebrating of Eaſter.

In the counſell of Nice no ſuch matter appeareth.

Colman agayne aunſwereth.

Wilfride replyeth.

common order obſerued in the vniuerſal church of Chriſt. And moreouer the ſaide Anathollus doth ſo count the xiiij. day in the obſeruation of Eaſter, as he confeſſeth the ſame to be the xv. day at night, after the maner of the Egiptiās. and likewiſe noteth the xx. day to be in the feaſt of Eaſter, the xxi. in the euening: the which diſtinctiō that you know not, by this may appeare, for that you keepe the Eaſter on the xiiij. daye before the full Moone. Or otherwiſe I can aunſwere you touching your father Columba, and his ſucceſſors, whoſe order you ſay you follow, moued therto by their miracles on this wiſe: that the Lorde will aunſwere to many that ſhall ſay in the day of iudgement, that in his name they haue propheſied & caſt out deuils, & haue done many miracles. &c. that he neuer knew thē. But God forbid that I ſhould ſay ſo of your fathers, bicauſe it is much beter to beleue wel of thoſe we know not, then ill. wherevpō I deny not, but they were the ſeruaunts of God and holy men, the which loued the Lord of a good intēt, though of a rude ſimplicitie. And I thinke that the order whiche they vſed in yͤ Eaſter, did not much hurt them, ſo long as they had none amongſt them that could ſhew thē the right obſeruation of the ſame, for them to follow. For I thinke if the truth had beene declared vnto them, they woulde as well haue receiued it in this mater as they did in others. But you and your felowes if you refuſe the order of the apoſtolicall ſea, or rather of the vniuerſal Church, which is confirmed by the holy ſcripture, without al doubt you doe ſinne: and though your forefathers were holy mē, * what is their fewnes being but a corner of an Ilelād, to be preferred before the vniuerſall Churche of Chriſt dyſperſed throughout the whole world? And if Columba your father (& ours alſo being of Chriſt) were mighty in miracles, is he therefore to bee preferred before yͤ Prince of the holy Apoſtles? to whom the Lord ſaid, thou art Peter, and vpon this rocke will I builde my Church, and the gates of hell ſhal not preuayle againſt it, & I will giue thee the keyes of the Kingdome of heauen?

The aucthoritie of men is not to be ſticked vnto, for their doyng of myracles.

The example of them that follow not, for lack of teaching excuſeth not them which being taught will not follow.

Yea ſir, *Suffragia eccleſiæ non numeranda ſunt ſed ponderanda. Aug.*

Wilfride hauing thus ended his argument, the kyng ſaid to Colman: Is it true that the Lord ſpake theſe things to S. Peter? And Colman aunſwered yea. Then ſayde the King: Can you declare any thing that the Lorde gaue to Colum. Colman aunſwered no. Then quoth the king doe both of you agree and conſent in this matter, without any controuerſie, and that theſe wordes were principally ſpoken to Peter, and that the Lord gaue him the keyes of the kingdome of heauen? And they both aunſwered yea. Then concluded the king on this wiſe: for almuch as S. Peter, is the dore keper of heauen. I will not gaineſay him: but in that I am able, I will obeye his orders in euery point leaſt when I come to the gates of heauen, he ſhut them againſt me.

The king concludeth.

Upon this ſimple & rude reaſon of the king, the multitude eftſoones conſented: and with them alſo Cedda was contented to giue ouer. Onely Colmanus the Scot, beyng thē Archbiſhop of Yorke, in diſpleaſure left the Realme, & departed into Scotlande, carying with him the bones of Aidanus, Bed. Lib.3. cap. 25. And thus much concerning this matter of Eaſter.

Mobile mutatur ſemper cum principe vulgus.

After the deceaſe of Oſwy, Egfride his ſonne was King after him in Northumberland xv. yeares. By this Egfride Cutbert was promoted to the Biſhopricke of the Ile of Farne. And Wilfride which before had bene Archbiſhop of Yorke, was diſplaced through the meanes of Theodore Archbiſhop of Canterbury: and Cedda poſſeſſed that ſea, Wilfride when he was put out, went to Rome & complained of him to Agathon the Biſhop, and was well allowed in ſome things. But the king and Theodorus had there ſuch Proctors and frindes, that hee returned without ſpeeding of hys cauſe. wherfore he returned into the Southſaxons and builded an Abbey in Sileſey, and preached vnto the Southſaxons xv. yeares. The king of the Southſaxons at that time, Ethelwold, to whom he declared a little before, that Wolferus king of the Mercians, gaue the Ile of wight vpon condition, that he would be Chriſtened, and ſo was baptiſed by Berinus: the ſayd Wolfer being his Godfather and ſonne in law, both in on day. wherfore Wolferus now being licenſed by Ethelwod the king, preached vnto his nobles & people of Southſexe, and conuerted thē to Chriſt. In yͤ time of whoſe baptiſing the raine which before they lacked three yeares together, was giuen them plentifully: whereby their great famine ſlaked, and the country was made frutefull, which before was dried vp with barēnes: In ſo much that as in ſome ſtoryes is ſaid, the people penured with famine, would go. xl. together, vpon the rocks by the ſea ſide, and taking handes together would throw themſelues downe to the ſea. Moreouer, where they lacked before the arte of fiſhing, the forſaide Wilfride taught them how with nets to fiſh,

Egfride or *Edfride* of Northumberland.

Malmeſber. Huntingt. Fab. cap.135.

Wilfride Archbiſhop of Yorke.

Southſaxons conuerted to Chriſten fayth.

H Huntingt. Lib.3.

And thus by proceſſe haue we diſcourſed from tyme to tyme how and by what meanes the Idolatrous people were induced to the true fayth of Chriſt: of whome theſe Southſaxons with the Ile of wight was the laſt.

The Ile of Wyght la conuerted to Chri

After Egfride who was ſlaine in the ſtraightes of Scotland, next ſucceeded Alfride his brother, and baſtarde ſonne to Oſwy, & raigned xviij. or xix. yeres in Northumberland. This Alfride reſtored againe the foreſaid Wilfride to the ſea of Yorke, whom his brother had before expelled, & put in Cedda. Notwithſtanding, the ſame king within v. yeares after, expulſed the ſaide Wilfride againe and ſo went he to Rome. But at length by Oſrike his ſucceſſour was placed againe, the Archbiſhop of Yorke: and Cedda was ordayned by Theodorus Byſhop of Mercia. The which prouince of Mercia, yͤ ſaid Theodorus Archbiſhop of Canterbury by the authoritie of the Synode holdē at Hatfield, did after diuide into fiue biſhopryckes: that is, one to Cheſter, the ſecond to worceter, the third to Lichfield, yͤ fourth to Cederna, in Lindeſey, the fift to Dorcheſter, which was after tranſlated to Lincolne.

Alfride Kyng of North

Wilfride reſtored a gayne to the ſea of Yorke.

Mercia deuided into v. byſhopprickes.

Neare about this time, in the yeare of our Lord, 666. yͤ deteſtable ſect of Mahumet, begā to take ſtrēgth & place: Although Polychronicon differing a little in yeares, accounteth the beginning of this ſect ſomwhat before: but yͤ moſt diligent ſearchers of thē which write nowe, refer it to this yeare, which wel agreeth with the number of yͤ beaſt, ſigned in the Apocalips. χξϛ, That is. 666. Of this Mahumet came the kingdome of Agarenes (whome hee after named Saracenes) to whom he gaue ſondry lawes, patched of many ſectes & religions togither, he taught thē to pray euer to the South: And as we keepe the Sonday, ſo they keepe the friday, which they call the day of Venus. He permitted them to haue as many wiues as they were able to maintaine: to haue as many concubines as they liſt: to abſtaine from vſe of wyne, except vppon certaine ſolemne daies in the yeres: to haue & worſhip onely one God omnipotent: ſaying that Moſes & the Prophetes were great men, but Chriſt was greater, and greateſt of all the Prophets, as being borne of the virgine Marye by the power of God, without mans ſeede: and at laſt was taken vp to heauen, but was not ſlaine: but an other in his likenes for him, with many other wicked blaſphemies in his law cōtained. At length this kingdome of yͤ Saracenes beganne to be conquered of the Turkes, & in proceſſe of time wholy ſubdued to them.

The wicke ſect of Mahumet. Apoc.13. An. 666.

Ex Polychron. Ex Girald Cambrenſ. Ex Stephano Cantuarienſi.

But now to returne again to the time of our Engliſh Saxons. In this meane ſeaſon Theodorus was ſent from Italy into England by Vitellianus the Pope, to bee Archbyſhop of Caunterbury, & with him diuers other monks of Italy, to ſet vp here in Englād Latine ſeruice, Maſſes, ceremonies, letanies, with ſuch other Romiſhe ware, &c. This Theodorus being made Archbiſhop and Metropolitane of Canterbury began to play the rex, placing & dyſplacing the byſhops at his pleaſure. As for Cedda & Wilfride Archbiſhops of Yorke he thruſt them both out, vnder the pretence, that they were not lawfully conſecrated, notwithſtanding they were ſufficientlye authoriſed by theyr kinges, and were placed againſt their willes. wherfore Wilfride as is before touched went vp to Rome, but could haue no redres of his cauſe: yet to ſhew what modeſty this Wilfride vſed againſt his enimie, being ſo violently moleſted as he was, becauſe the wordes of his complainte are expreſſed in W. Malmeſbery, I thought here to expreſſe the ſame both for the commendation of the partie, and alſo for the good example of other, in caſe any ſuch be, whome good examples will moue to well doing. This Wilfride therefore hauing ſuch iniury and violence offered vnto him by the handes of Theodore: although he had iuſt cauſe to doe his vttermoſt, yet in proſecuting his complaint, how hee tempered himſelfe: what wordes of modeſtie he vſed, rather to defende his innocencie, then to impugne his aduerſary, by this his ſuggeſtion offered vp to the Byſhop of Rome, may appeare: whoſe words in effect were theſe: Quid autem acciderit, vt Theodorus ſanctiſs. Archiepiſcopus (me ſuperſtite in ſede) quam, licet indignus diſpenſabam: abſque conſenſu cuiuſlibet Epiſcopi ex ſua autoritate (mea humilitate non acquieſcente) ordinauit tres Epiſcopos: omittere magis quam vrgere, pro eiuſdem viri reuerentia, cōdecet. Quem quidē, pro eo quod ab hac Apoſtolicæ ſedis ſummitate directus eſt, accuſare non audeo, &c. In Engliſh. Howe it chaunceth that Theodorus, the moſt holy & reuerend Archbiſhop (my ſelfe being aliue in the ſea, which I though vnworthy did rule and diſpoſe) hath of his own authority, without the cōſent of any biſhop (neither hauing my ſimple voice agreing to the ſame) ordained iij. Biſhops: I had rather paſſe ouer in ſilence, then to ſtir any farther therin, becauſe of the reuerence

Theodorus Archbiſh. of Cant.

Gu. Malmeſberienſis. lib.1. de geſtis pontifi. Anglorum.

rence

Bede.lib.4. cap.22.

rence of that man, and no leſſe thought I it my duetie ſo to doe. The which man for that he hath beene dyrected by the authoritie of this ſea Apoſtolicall, I wyll not nor dare not here accuſe, &c. Thus the cauſe of the ſayd Wilfride, albeit it was ſufficiently knowne in the Court of Rome, to be well allowed for iuſt and innocent, yet it was not then redreſſed. In ſuch eſtimation was this Theodorus then among ẏ Romaines. Vpon this controuerſie of theſe two Biſhops I may wel here inter ẏ wordes of W. Malmeſbury, not vnworthy in my minde, to be noted, whiche be theſe in his Latine ſtory. Vbi videri & doleri poteſt humana miſeria, quod videlicet quantum libet, quis ſanctitate polleat, non ad plenum peruicaces mores exuat, &c. That is: In the whiche Theodore, ſaith hee, the weake and miſerable infirmitie of man, may be ſene and alſo lamented, conſidering, that although a mã be neuer ſo holy, yet in the ſame man is ſome thing, whereby it may be perceaued, that hee hath not vtterly put of all his ſtubburne conditions, &c.

Gul.Malmeſb.lib.de geſtis pontiſi. Anglorum. Lib.1. Polichron. lib.5.ca.19.

An. 680.

Bede.lib.4. cap.21.

In the time of this Theodorus, and by the meanes of hym, a prouincial Synode was holden at Thetford, mentioned in the ſtorye of Bede: the principall contents wherof were theſe.

1. First that Eaſter day ſhoulde bee vniformely kept and obſerued through the whole Realme, vpon one certayne daye videlicet prima, 14. Luna menſis primi.

2. Secondly, that no Byſhop ſhould entermedle within the Dioces of an other.

3. Thirdly, that monaſteries conſecrated vnto GOD, ſhould be exempt and free from the iuriſdiction of the byſhops.

4. Fourthly that the Monkes ſhould not ſtray from one place (that is) from one Monaſtery to another, without ẏ licenſe of his Abbot: alſo to kepe the ſame obedience which they promiſed at their firſt entryng.

5. Fiftly, that no Clergyman ſhoulde forſake his owne Byſhop, and to be receaued in any other place, wyth out letters commendatory of his owne Byſhop.

6. Sixtly, that forraine Byſhops & Clergimen cõming into the Realme, ſhould be content onely with the benefite of ſuch hoſpitality, as ſhould be offered thẽ: neither ſhould entermedle any further within the precinct of any biſhop, without his ſpeciall permiſſion.

7. Seuenthly, that Synodes prouinciall ſhould be kept within the Realme at leaſt once a yeare.

8. Eightly, that no Biſhop ſhoulde preferre himſelfe before an other, but muſt obſerue the time and order of hys conſecration.

9. Ninthly, that the number of Byſhops ſhould be augmented, as the number of the people encreaſeth.

10. Tenthly, that no mariage ſhould be admitted, but that which was lawfull, No inceſt to be ſuffered: neyther any man to put away his wyfe for any cauſe, except onelye for fornication, after the rule of the Goſpell. And theſe bee the principall chapters of that Synode. &c.

In the next yere following was the ſixt general councell kept at Conſtaunce, whereat, this Theodore was alſo preſent vnder Pope Agatho, where Mariage was permitted to Greeke prieſts, and forbidden to the Latin. In this Councell the Latine Maſſe was firſt openly ſaide by Iohn Portuenſis the Popes Legate, before the Patriarche and Princes at Conſtantinople, in the temple of S. Sophy.

An. 705.

After the deceaſe of Alfride king of Northumberlande (from whom he was digreſſed) ſucceded his ſonne Oſredus, raigning xi. yeares. After whom raigned Kenredus 2. yeares. And next Oſricus after him. xi. yeares.

Oſredus, Kenredus. Oſricus, Kinges of Northumberland.

The kingdome of Brittaine ceaſeth.

Iua, or Iue, King of Weſtſaxõs.

Polycron. lib.5.cap.21.

In the time and raigne of theſe 4. kings of Northumberland, king Iua reigned in weſtſaxe: who ſucceding after Cadwalder, the laſt king of the Britaines, began his reigne about the yeare of the Lorde. 689. and raigned with great valiauntnes ouer the weſtſaxons, the tearme of xxxvij. yeares. Concerning whoſe actes and wars mayntayned againſt the Kentiſh ſaxons, and other kinges: becauſe I haue not to entermedle withal, I referre the reader to other Chroniclers.

S.Cuthlake a popiſhe Sainct.

Crowland the curteous.

Lying miracles.

About the ſixt yeare of the raigne of this Iua or Iue, Polychronicon, & other make mentiõ of one Cuthlacus, whõ they call S.Cuthlake a confeſſour, who about the 24. of hys age, renouncing the pompe of the world, profeſſed himſelf a Monke in the abby of Repindon, and the third yeare after went to Crowlande, where he led the life of an Anker. In the which Ile and place of his buriyng was builded a faire Abbey, called afterward for the great reſort and gentle entertainment of ſtraungers, Crowlande the courteous: but why this Cuthlake ſhould be ſaincted for his doinges, I ſee no great cauſe, as neither doe I thinke the fabulous miracles reported of him to be true: as where the vulgare people are made to beleeue, that he encloſed the deuill in a boyling pot, and cauſed wicked ſpirits to erecte vp houſes, with ſuch other fables and lyſing miracles, &c.

What ſtraunge ſightes this Brithwalde, or Drithelm, did ſee after hys death, read the ix. booke of Henr. Huntington.

Among which lying miracles alſo maye be reckened that, which the ſtories mention in the xi. yeare of the raigne of Iua, to be done of one Brithwalde or Drithelmus: who being dead a long ſeaſon, was reſtored to lyfe againe, & told many wonders of ſtraunge things that he had ſeene, cauſing thereby great almes & deedes of charitie to bee done of the people, And ſo ẏ diſpoſing of his goods giuen in iij. partes went to the Abbey of Mailros, where he continued the reſt of his life.

King Etheldred made Abbot of Bardney.

Moreouer, about the xvj. yeare of the ſaide Iua Etheldred king of Mercia, after he had their raigned. 30. yeares, was made a Monke: and after an Abbot of Bardney.

Adelmus, Gu. Malmeſb. lib.5.de pontifi.

And about the xviij. yeare of the raigne of Iue, died the worthy and learned biſhop Aldelmus, firſt Abbot of Malmeſbery, afterward biſhop of Schirborn: of whõ William Malmeſbery, writeth plenteouſly, with great commendation, and that not vnworthelye as I ſuppoſe: eſpecially for the notable praiſe of learning and vertue in him aboue the reſt of that time (nexte after Bede) as the great number of bookes and Epiſtles and Poemes by him ſet forth, will declare. Although concerning the miracles which the ſayd author aſcribeth to him, as firſt in cauſing an infant of ix. daies old to ſpeak at Rome, to cleare pope Sergius, which was then ſuſpected the father of the ſaid child. Alſo in hanging his cauſule vpõ the ſunne beames. Item, in making whole the altar ſtone of Marble, brought from Rome. Item in drawing a length one of the timber peces, which wente to the building of the temple in Malmeſbery. Item, in ſauing the Mariners at douer. &c. As concerning theſe and ſuch other myracles, which William Malmeſbery, to hym attributeth, I can not conſent to him therein, but thynke rather the ſame to be Monkiſhe deuiſes, forged vpon their Patrons, to maintaine the dignitie of their Houſes. And as the Authour was deceaued (no doubt) in beleuing ſuch fables himſelfe: ſo maye he likewiſe deceaue vs, through the dexteritie of his ſtyle, and fyne handling of the matter, but that later experience hath taught the worlde nowe a dayes more wiſedome, in not beleuing ſuch practiſes: this Aldelmus was Byſhoppe of Schyrborne, which ſea after was vnited to ẏ ſea of winton. In which Church of wincheſter the like miracles alſo are to be read of Byſhop Adelwod, and S. Swithune, whom they haue canonized likewiſe for a Saint.

Lying miracles.

Malmeſbery commended for hys ſtile.

Lying miracles reproued.

Aldelme Byſhop.

Swithune, Biſhop of Winc.

Bedo.lib.5. cap.23.

Ex hiſtoria Iormalenſi de regibus Northumb.

Moreuer neare about the xxv. yeare of Iue, by the report of Bede S.Iohn of Beuerley, which was then Byſhop of Yorke died, and was buried at the porche of the Minſter of Deirwod or Beuerley. In the which portch it is recorded in ſome Chronicles, that as the ſaid Iohn vpon a time was praying, being in the portch of S. Michaell in Yorke: ẏ holy Ghoſt in the ſimilitude of a Doue ſat before him vpon the altar, in brightnes ſhining aboue the ſunne. This brightnes being ſene of other, firſt commeth one of his Deacons running vnto the portche: who beholding the Biſhop their ſtanding in his praiers, and all the place repleniſhed with the holy ghoſt, was ſtrokẽ with the light therof, hauing al his face burnt, as it were with hote burning fire. Notwithſtanding the Biſhop by and by cured the face of his Deacon againe, charging him as the ſtorye ſaith, not to publiſhe what hee had ſeene duryng hys lyfe time. &c. which tale ſemeth as true, as that we read about the ſame time done of S. Egwyne, in Polychron Abbot of Eueſham, and Byſhop of worceſter (then called Wyctes:) who vpon a time when he had fettered both his feete in yrons faſt locked, for certaine ſinnes done in his youth, and had caſt the key therof in the ſea: afterward a fiſh brought the key againe into the ſhip, as he was ſayling homeward from Rome.

S.Iohn of Beuerlay.

Anno. 717.

An nother lying fable of Sainct Eguyne.

Ranulphus in Polychro.lib.5. cap.23.

Beda.lib.5.de geſtis.Angl. Polycron.lib.5. cap.17.

But to leaue theſe Monkiſhe phantaſies, and returne into the right courſe againe of the ſtory. In ẏ time of this foreſaide Iue, began firſt the right obſeruing of the Eaſter day to be kept of the Pictes, and of the Britaines. In the obſeruation of which day (as is largely ſet foorth in Bede, and Polychron, Lib.5 cap,17. and 22.) three thinges are neceſſary to be obſerued, the full Moone of the firſt Moneth, that is of the month of March: Secondly, the Dominical Letter: Thirdly, the Equinoctiall day, which Equinoctiall was wont to be counted in the Eaſt church, and eſpecially among the Egiptians, to bee about the 17. daye of Marche. So that the full Moone either vppon the Equinoctiall day, or after the Equinoctiall day being obſerued the next dominicall day following that full moone, is to be taken for Eaſter day. Wherin is diligetly to be noted two thinges. Firſt the fulnes of the Moone, muſt be perfectly ful, ſo that it be the beginning of the third weke of ẏ moone which is the 14, or 15, day of the moone. Secondly, is to be

A generall rule ſeruing for the obſeruation of Eaſter day.

This rule of Eaſter ſeemeth to be taken out of noted, that the ſaid perfect fulnes of the moone beginnyng the thirde weeke, muſt happen either in the very euening of yͤ Equinoctial day, or after the Equinoctial day. For els if it happen either on the Equinoctiall day before the euening, or before the Equinoctial day, then it belongeth to yͤ laſt moneth of the laſt yeare, and not to the firſt moneth of the firſt yeare, and ſo ſerueth not to be obſerued.

the booke of *Numer.* And they going out of Rameſſe the 15. day of the firſt moneth, the next day after held their Eaſter. &c.

This rite and vſage in keping Eaſter day being receiued in the Latin church, began now to take place amōg the Pictes & Britaines, through the buſie trauaile of Theodorus Cuthlacus, but namelye of Elbert the holy Monke, as they terme him: and of Colfrid Abbot of Sirwin in Northumberlande, which wrote to Narcanus, or Naitonus the King of Pictes, concerning the ſame: who alſo among other thinges writeth of the ſhauen crownes of Prieſtes, ſaying: that it was as neceſſary for the vow of a Monke, or degre of a Prieſt, to haue a ſhauen crowne for reſtrainte of their luſtes: as for any Chriſten man, to bleſſe him againſt ſpirits, when they come vpon him. Bede Lib. 5. The coppy of which letter as it is in Bede, I haue here annexed, not for any great reaſon therin conteined, but only to delite yͤ Reader with ſome paſtime, in ſeing the fond ignorance of that Monkiſh age: the copy of the letter thus proceedeth.

Why prieſtes crownes were ſhauen. *Bede de. geſt. lib. 5.*

¶ *Of the ſhauing of Prieſtes, out of the fift booke of Beda the xxi. chap.*

Concerning the ſhauing of Prieſts (wherof you wryte alſo vnto me) I exhort you that it be decently obſerued according to the Chriſtian faith. we are not ignorant that the Apoſtles were not al ſhauen, after one maner, neither doth the Catholicke Church at this day agree in one vniforme maner of ſhauing, as they do in faith, hope, and charity. Let vs conſider the former time of the Patriarches, and we ſhall finde that Iob (an example of patience) euen in the very point of his afflictions, did ſhaue his head: and he proueth alſo: that in yͤ time of his proſperitye, he vſed to let his heare grow. And Ioſeph an excellent Doctour & executor of chaſtity, humilitie, pietie and other vertues: whē he was deliuered out of priſon & ſeruitude was ſhauen: wherby it appeareth that whilſt he abode in priſō he was vnſhauen. Behold both theſe being men of god did vſe an order in the habite of their body one contrary to the other, whoſe conſciences notwithſtanding within did wel agree in the like grace of vertues. But to ſpeake truely and frely the difference of ſhauing hurteth not ſuch as haue a pure faith in the Lord, & ſincere charity, towardes their neighbor: eſpecially for that there was neuer any controuerſie amongſt the Catholike fathers about the diuerſitie thereof, as there hath beene of the difference of the celebration of Eaſter and of faith. But of all theſe ſhauinges that wee fynde either in the Churche or els where: there is none in mine opinion ſo much to be followed & embraced, as that which he vſed on his head, to whō the Lord ſaid, thou art Peter, and vpon this rocke I will builde my Church and the gates of hel ſhall not preuaile againſt it, & I will gyue thee the keyes of the kingdome of heauen. And contrarywiſe there is no ſhauing ſo much to be abhorred and deteſted as that which he vſed to whom the ſame S. Peter ſaid, thy money bee with thee to thy deſtruction, becauſe thou thinkeſt to poſſeſſe the gift of God by thy money, therefore thy part nor lot is not in this worde. Neither ought we to bee ſhauen on the crowne onely becauſe Saint Peter was ſo ſhauen, but becauſe Peter was ſo ſhauen, in the remembraunce of the Lords Paſſion: therfore we that deſire by yͤ ſame Paſſion to be ſaued, muſt weare the ſigne of the ſame paſſion with him vpon the top of our head which is the higheſt part of our body. For as euery Church that is made a Church by the death of the Sauiour, doth vſe to beare the ſigne of the holy croſſe in the front: that it maye the better by the defence of that banner, bee kept from the inuaſions of euill ſpirits: & by the often admonition thereof, is taught to crucifie the fleſh, with the concupiſcence of the ſame: In like maner it behoueth ſuch as haue yͤ vowes of Monkes and degrees of the Clergy, to bind them ſelues with a ſtraiter bit of continencie for the Lords ſake. And as the Lord bare a crowne of thorne on his head in his paſſion, wherby he toke & caried away from vs the thornes and prickes of our ſinnes: ſo muſt euery one of vs by ſhauing our heads, patiently beare and willinglye ſuffer, the mockes and ſcorners of the worlde for his ſake: That wee may receaue the crowne of eternall life, which God hath promiſed to all that loue him, & ſhall by ſhauing their corporal crownes beare the aduerſity, & contemne the proſperity of this worlde. But the ſhauing which Symon Magus vſed, what faithful man doth not deteſt together with his magicall arte? The which at the firſt apparance hath a ſhew of a ſhauen crowne, but if you marke his necke, you ſhal finde it curtailed in ſuch wiſe as you will ſay it is rather meete to be vſed of the Symoniſtes then of the Chriſtians. And ſuch (of fooliſhe men) be thought worthye of the glory of the eternall crowne, whereas indede for their yll liuing they are worthy not only to be depriued of the ſame but alſo of eternall ſaluation. I ſpeak not this againſt thē that vſe this kinde of ſhauing, & liue Catholikely in fayth and good workes, but ſurely I beleeue there be diuers of them be very holy and godly men. Amongſt the which is Adamnan, the Abbot and worthy Prieſt of the Columbians: who when he came Embaſſadour from his country vnto king Alfride deſired greatly to ſee our Monaſtery: where he declared a wonderful wiſedowe, humilitie and Religiō both in his maners and wordes. Amongeſt other talke I aſked him why he, that did beleue to come to the crown of life yͭ ſhould neuer haue end, did vſe contrary to his belief a definite Image of a crowne on his head. And if you ſeke (quoth I) the felowſhip of S. Peter, why doe you vſe the faſhion of his crowne whom S. Peter did accurſe, and not of his rather with whom you deſire to liue eternally? Adanā anſwered ſaying: you know right well brother though I vſe Symons maner of ſhauing, after the cuſtome of my country, yet doe I deteſt & with all my heart abhorre hys infidelitie. I deſire notwithſtanding to imitate the footeſteps of the holy Apoſtle as far forth as my power wil extend. Then ſaid I: I beleeue it is ſo. But then is it apparaunt you imitate thoſe thinges which the Apoſtle Peter did frō the bottom of your hart, if you vſe the ſame vpon your face that you know he did. For I ſuppoſe your wiſedome vnderſtandeth that it is right decent, to differ in the triming your face or ſhauing, frō his whom in your hart you abhorre. And cōtrariwiſe as you deſire to imitate the doings of him whom you deſire to haue a * mediator betweene God & you, ſo it is meete you imitate the maner of his apparell and ſhauing. Thus much ſaide I, to Adamnan, who ſeemed then well to like our Churches: in ſo much that he returning into Scotland, reformed many of his churches there, after our celebratiō, albeit he could not do ſo amongſt the Monks, with whom he had ſpecial authority. He endeuoured alſo to haue reformed their maner of ſhauing if he had bene able. And nowe (O King) I exhort your maieſtie to labor together with your people (ouer whom the King of Kinges and Lorde of Lordes hath made you gouernor, to imitate likewiſe in all theſe points the Catholicke and Apoſtolical churches. So ſhall it come to paſſe that in the end of this your temporall kingdome yͤ moſt bleſſed prince of the Apoſtles ſhall opē you the gates of the heauenly kingdome together with the other elect of god. The grace of the eternal king preſerue you moſt derely beloued ſonne in Chriſt long time to reigne ouer vs to the great tranquility of vs all.

The copy of a Monkiſh letter of *Colfride* to King *Naiton* for the ſhauing of Prieſtes crownes.

How proueth he that the Apoſtles *Iob* and *Ioſeph* were ſhauen. Much ſayd, nothing proued.

Diuerſitie of rites hurteth not the Church. See how theſe ſhauelinges would father their ſhauing vpon *Peter*, which is neyther found in Scripture, nor in any approued ſtory, but onely in paynted clothes.

Why Prieſtes and Monkes be ſhauen in the crowne. The ſhauing of the crowne what it repreſenteth. How doth the ſigne of the croſſe defend Churches from euill ſpirites, when it cannot keepe them from euill Prieſtes?

If ſhauing of the crown doth teach men patience in ſuffering how commeth it that we ſee none more waſhpiſh and irefull then theſe ſhorne generations, of Monkiſh vipers.

Simon Ma-gus ſhauen as he ſayth.

The difference betweene the ſhauing of *Peter* and *Simon Magus.*

In outward habite chriſtians ought not to reſemble wicked doers.

*There is but one mediator betweene God and man Chriſt Ieſus.

The Scottiſh monkes and the Engliſhe monkes differed in their ſhauing.

If *Peter* ſhall let in the elect of God into heauen, Chriſt then ſerueth in little ſtede.

When this letter was read before king Nayton wyth other of his learned men, and diligentlye tranſlated into his proper language, he ſemed to reioyce very much at the exhortation therof, inſomuch as riſing vp from among his noble men, he kneled on the ground and gaue God thankes that he had deſerued to receaue ſo worthye a preſente out of England, & ſo cauſed it forthwith by publike proclamation to be writen out, learned, & obſerued throught out all the prouinces of the Pictes, defacing the errours that had bene vſed there by the ſpace of 700. and 4. yeares. For all the miniſters of the altar & all Monkes, were ſhauen, on the crowne. And al the people reioiced for the new dyſcipline of the moſt bleſſed Prince of the Apoſtles, S. Peter which they had receaued.

¶ By this monkiſh letter aboue prefixed, voide of all Scripture, of all probation & truth of hiſtory, thou maieſt note gentle Reader: howe this vaine tradition of ſhauen crownes hath come vp, & vpon how light and trifling occaſion: which in very deede was none other but the dreaming phantaſies of Monkes of that tyme, falſely grounding vpon the example of Peter: when by no olde monument of any auntient record they can euer proue, either Peter or Symon Magus to haue bene ſhauen. Moreouer in the ſaid leter alſo is to be noted, how the Scottiſh Clergy at that ſeaſon, did weare no ſuch Prieſtly crownes, as our Engliſh Churchmen then did.

A note to admoniſh the reader.

But to cut of this matter of ſhauing, more worthy to be laught at thē to be ſtoried, let vs now againe returne whereas we left at king Iue, of whom W. Malmesbery, and Fabian in his chronicle do record that whē the foreſaide Iue had ruled the weſt ſaxons by yͤ tearme of 37. yeares, by the importunate perſwaſion, and ſubtile policie of his wife Ethelburga, was allured to go to Rome, & there to be made a Monke, which Ethelburga after ſhe had a long tyme laboured

Fabia. ca. 141. *Guliel. Malmeſb. de. Reg.*

{An. 734.}

Ethelburge the Queene perſwadeth her husbād to be a monke.

vouted him to leaue the world, and could not bring about her purpoſe: vpon a ſeaſon when the king and ſhe had reſted them in a faire pallace richly behanged, & were vpon the morow thence departed: ſhe by her commaundement cauſed the pallace to be repleniſhed with all kinde of filth & dong, and hogs and vile beaſts therin to be layd, as wel in the chambers as other houſes of office. And in theyr owne chamber where they did lye, there was a Sow laid with her yong pigs. And when ſhe knew that this palace was thus deformed, being a certain ſpace out of the town, ſhe beſought the king to viſite the ſaid pallace. And when ſhe had brought him therunto, ſhe ſaid to him: I pray you my Lord behold now this houſe, where are now the rich tappets and clothes of gold & ſilke, and other rich apparel, that we left here this other day? And where be the delicacies & pleaſant ſeruitors, and coſtly diſhes, that you and I lately were ſerued with? Be not all theſe paſſed & gone? My Lord (ſaith ſhe) in like maner ſhall we vaniſh away, as ſodainly as you ſee theſe worldly things bene paſſed. And our bodies which now be delicately kept, ſhal fal and turne into the filth of the earth. wherefore haue in mynde my wordes that before tyme to you I haue often ſhewed & told, and buſie you to purchaſe that palace that euer ſhal endure in ioy without tranſmutation.

The crafty head of a woman.

King *Iue* reſigning hys kingdome, went to Rome and became a Monke.

By meane of theſe wordes and other, the Queene turned ſo the kings mynd, that ſhortly after he reſigned the gouernance of his kingdom vnto Ethelardus his nephew: & for the loue of Chriſt tooke vpon him the habite of a poore man. And ſetting apart all the pompe & pride of this wicked world, aſſociated himſelf in the felowſhip of poore men, and trauailed to Rome with great deuotion, when he had bene king of weſtſaxons, as before is ſayd 37. yeares. After whoſe departing, the foreſaid Ethelburga his wife, went vnto Barking 7. miles from London, where in the Nunry of Barking before of Erkenwald founded, ſhe continued & ended the reſt of her life, when ſhe had bene Abbes of the place a certaine time. The ſaid Malmesbery in his ſtory alſo teſtifieth, that this Iue was the firſt king that granted a peny of euery fire houſe through his dominion to be paid vnto the Court of Rome, which afterward was called Romeſcot, or Peter pence, & long after was paid in many places of England.

Ethelburga the Queene made Nūne of Barking.

Peter pence firſt graunted and payd to Rome.

The lawes made by King *Iue* to his people.

This Iue, like as for his time, he was worthy and valiaunt in his actes: ſo was he the firſt of the Saxon kings (that I read of) which ſet forth any lawes to his country: the reherſall of which lawes, to the number of 80. & odde, were not vnprofitable here to be inſerted together with other lawes of the weſtſaxon kings after him, before the tyme of William Conquerour: in caſe it were not for the length & prolixitie of this preſent volume. And thus much concerning the raigne of king Iue, king of weſtſaxons by the way. Now to repaire againe to the courſe of Northumberland kings ſomething intermitted.

Celulphus King of Northumberland.

Bede.

Next vnto the foreſaid Oſricus, folowed Celulſus, whom he had adopted, brother to Kered aboue ſpecified. This Celulſus as he was himſelfe learned, ſo were in his tyme diuers learned mē then floriſhing in England, among whō was Beda, who vnto the ſame king Celulſus offred his ſtory intituled Anglorum Hiſtoria, not onely to be ratified by his authoritie, but alſo to be amended, as Malmesburienſis writeth by his knowledge and learnyng.

{An. 729.}

The life of *Bede*, briefly deſcribed.

And for as much as I haue here entred into the mention of Bede, a man of worthy and venerable memory, becauſe of the certifiyng of the truth of that man: and for that I ſee all writers (as touching his life) do not agree, ſome ſaying that he was no Engliſhman borne: I thought ſo much to report of him, as I finde by his owne words teſtified of himſelfe in the latter end of his eccleſiaſtical hiſtory of England, offred to the ſaid Celulſus aboue mentioned the wordes of whom be theſe.

Thus much by the helpe of God, I Bede the ſeruant of Chriſt, and Prieſt of the Monaſtery of Peter and Paule at Wire, haue compiled and digeſted concerning the Britain hiſtory. And ſo the ſame Bede proceding further in his narration, declareth that he being borne in the territorie of the ſayd Monaſtery, beyng of the age of vij. yeares, was committed of his parents and friends, to the tuition and conducation of Benedict (of whom aboue relation is made) and of Celfride Abbots of the foreſaid Monaſtery. In the which place or Monaſtery he continuyng, from that tyme forth, all his lyfe long, gaue hymſelfe and all his whole ſtudy to the meditating of holy ſcripture. Whatſoeuer tyme or laiſure he had frō his daily ſeruice in the church, that he ſpent either in learning, or in teaching, or writing ſomthing. About xix. yeares of his age, he was made Deacon, the xxx. yeare of his age he was made prieſt. From the which time to the age of 59. yeares, he occupied himſelf in interpreting the workes of the auncient fathers for his owne vſe, and the neceſſitie of others: and in writing of treatiſes, which came in all to the number of 37. volumes, which he digeſted into 78. bookes.

This *Benedict* maiſter to *Bede*, was the firſt that brought in the vſe of glaſſe windowes into England. Alſo the ſayd *Benet* broght from Rome with him *Iohn* the Archaunter, who firſt taught in England to ſing in the quire after the maner of Rome.

The number of the workes and bookes written by *Bede*.

Some ſay that he went to Rome, either there to defend his bookes to be conſonant to catholike doctrine: either els if they ſhould be found faulty, to amend & correct the ſame, as he ſhould thereto be commaunded. Albeit the reporter of this his life dare not certainly affirme that euer he was at Rome: but that he was inuited and called thether to come: both it is manifeſt in ſtories, and alſo this Epiſtle of Pope Sergius doth ſufficiently proue, declaryng moreouer in what price and eſtimation Bede was accompted, as wel in the court of Rome, as in other places beſides. The Epiſtle of Sergius ſent to Celfride, thus proceedeth, in tenour and forme as followeth in Latin.

The Epiſtle of Pope Sergius ſent to Celfride, Abbot of Wire Abbey, requiring Bede to be ſent vp to him to Rome for the fame of his worthy learning.

An Epiſtle of Pope *Sergius*.

Sergius Epiſcopus ſeruus ſeruorū Dei, Celfrido religioſo Abbati. Sal. Quibus modis ac verbis clementiam Dei noſtri, atq; inenarrabilem prouidentiam poſſumus effari, & dignas gratiarum actiones pro immenſis eius circa nos beneficijs perſoluere qui in tenebris & in vmbra mortis poſitos ad lumen ſcientiæ perducit? Et infra Benedictionis gratiam: quam nobis per præſentem portatorem tua deuota miſit religio, libenti & hilari animo ſicuti ab ea directa eſt nos ſuſcepiſſe, cognoſce. Oportunis igitur ac dignis amplectandæ tuæ ſollicitudinis petitionibus, arctiſsima deuotione ſatisfacientes: hortamur Deo dilectam religioſitatis tuæ bonitatem, vt quia exortis quibuſdam Eccleſiaſticarum cauſarum capitulis, non ſine examinatione longius innoteſcendis, opus nobis ſunt ad conferendum artes literaturæ, ſicut decet Deo deuotum auxiliatorem ſanctæ matris vniuerſalis Eccleſiæ obedientem deuotionem huic noſtræ exhortationi non deſiſtas accommodare: ſed abſque vlla immoratione religioſum Dei famulum Bedam, venerabilem Monaſterij tui Præſbyterum, ad limina Apoſtolorū principum dominorum meorum Petri & Pauli amatorum tuorum ac protectorum, ad noſtræ mediocritatis conſpectum non moreris dirigere: Quem, ſatisfaciente domino ſanctis tuis precibus, non diffidas proſpere ad te redire (peracta præmiſſorum capitulorum cum auxilio Dei deſiderata ſolennitate.) Erit enim vt confidimus etiam cunctis tibi creditis profuturum, quicquid Eccleſiæ generali claruerit per eius præſtantiam impartitum &c.

The famous learning of *Bede*.

So notable and famous was the learning of this foreſayd Bede, that the Church of Rome (as by this letter appeareth) both ſtood in need of his helpe, and alſo requireth the ſame, about the diſcuſſing of certaine cauſes and controuerſies appertaining to learning. Moreouer the whole Latin church at that time, gaue him the maiſterie in iudgement and knowledge of the holy Scripture. In all his explanations his chiefeſt ſcope and purpoſe did euer driue, to inſtruct and informe his Reader ſimplely and without all curiouſnes of ſtile, in the ſincere loue of god, & of his neighbour. As touching the holynes and integritie of his life, it is not to be doubted: for how could it be, that he ſhould attend to any vicious idlenes, or had any laiſure to the ſame, who in reading & digeſting ſo many volumes, conſumed all his whole cogitations in writing vpon the ſcriptures: for ſo he teſtifieth of himſelfe in the 3. booke vpon Samuel, ſaying in theſe wordes. If my treatiſes and expoſitions, ſaith he, bring with them no other vtilitie to the Readers therof: yet to my ſelfe they conduce not a little in this, that while all my ſtudy and cogitatiō was ſet vpon them, in the meane while of the ſlipperie intiſements and vayne cogitations of this world I had little mynd. Thus in this trauail of ſtudy he continued til the age of 62. yeres. At length drawyng to his latter end, beyng ſicke vij. wekes togither beſides other occupiyngs of his mynde, and other ſtudies which he did not intermit: he tranſlated alſo the goſpell of S. Iohn into Engliſh. At length with great comfort of ſpirite departed this lyfe, pronouncyng many comfortable ſayings to them that ſtood about him, vpon the Aſcenſion day, the ſame yeare when Nothelmus was inſtituted Archbiſhop of Caunterbury. And thus much concernyng the ſtory of Bede.

Bede commended for integritie of lyfe.

{Anno. 735.}

S. Iohns. Goſpell tranſlated into Engliſh by *Bede*.

Celulfus of a King made a Monke.

This Celulfus king of Northumberland afore mentioned, after he had raigned viij. yeares was made a Monke in the Abbey of Farne, otherwiſe called Lindeſfar, or holy Iland: where by his meanes licence was geuen to the monkes of that houſe to drinke wyne or ale, which before by the inſtitution of Aidanus aboue mentioned, dronke nothing but milke and water. After whom ſucceded Egbert his coſin, brother to Egbert (the ſame tyme beyng biſhop of Yorke) which brought againe thether the palle that hys pre-

Egbert Kyng of Northumberland.

predeceſſors had forgone, ſince the tyme that Paulinus had left the ſea, & fled to Rocheſter, as is before declared. The ſaid Egbert alſo erected a noble Library in Yorke, whoſe example I would other biſhops now would follow.

About the beginning of the raigne of this Egbert, was Cutbert Archbiſhop of Caunterbury: who collected a great Synode of Biſhops and Prelates, in the yere of our Lord, 747. in the month of September, neare to the place called Cloneſho. In the which Synode aſſembled, theſe decrees were enacted.

Anno. 747.

Ex Malmeſb. lib. de geſtis pontifi. Anglo. *Cutbert.* Archbiſhop of Caunterbury.

1. Firſt, that Biſhops ſhould be more diligent in ſeing to their office, and in admoniſhing the people of their faults.
2. That they ſhoulde liue in a peaceable minde together, notwithſtanding they were in place diſſeuered a ſunder.
3. That euery Biſhop once a yere ſhould go about al the Pariſhes of his Dioces.
4. That the ſaid Biſhops euery one in his dioces ſhould moniſh their Abbots & monks to liue regularly: and that Prelates ſhould not oppreſſe their inferiors, but loue thē.
5. That they ſhould teach the Monaſteries which the ſecular men had inuaded, and coulde not then be taken from them, to liue regularly.
6. That none ſhould be admitted to orders, before his life ſhould be examined.
7. That in Monaſteries the reading of holy Scripture ſhould be more frequented.
8. That Prieſts ſhould be no diſpoſers of ſecular buſines.
9. That they ſhould take no mony for baptiſing infants.
10. That they ſhoulde both learne and teache the Lordes Prayer and Crede in the Engliſh toung.
11. That all ſhould ioyne together in their miniſtery after one vniforme rite and maner.
12. That in a modeſt voice they ſhould ſing in the church.
13. That all holy and feſtiuall dayes ſhould be celebrate at one time together.
14. That the Sabboth day be reuerently obſerued & kept.
15. That the vij. houres Canonical euery day be obſerued.
16. That the Rogation dayes both the greater and leſſer ſhould not be omitted.
17. That the feaſt of S. Gregory, and S. Auſten our Patron, ſhould be obſerued.
18. That the faſt of the foure times ſhoulde be kept and obſerued.
19. That Monkes and Nunnes ſhould go regularly apparelled.
20. That Byſhops ſhould ſee, theſe decrees not to be neglected.
21. That the Churchmen ſhould not geue them ſelues to dronkenneſſe.
22. That the Communion ſhould not be neglected of the Churchmen.
23. Item, that the ſame alſo ſhould be obſerued of the laye men, as time required.
24. That lay men firſt ſhoulde be well tried, before they entred in Monkerie.
25. That almes be not neglected.
26. That Byſhops ſhould ſee theſe decrees to be notified to the people.
27. They diſputed of the profite of Almes.
28. They diſputed of the profite of ſinging Pſalmes.
29. That the Congregation ſhoulde be conſtitute, after their habilitie of their goodes.
30. That Monkes ſhould not dwell among lay men.
31. That publike prayer ſhould be made for kinges and Princes.

The rogation dayes had not then that ſuperſtition in them as they had afterward.

Boniface an Engliſh man Archb. of *Mentz.*

Theſe decrees and ordinaunces beyng thus among the Biſhops concluded: Cutbert the Archbiſhop, ſendeth the copy therof to Boniface, whiche Boniface otherwiſe named Winfride an Engliſh man borne, was than the Archbiſhop of Mentz, and after made a Martyr, as the Popiſh ſtories terme him.

Ethelwold kyng of Merceland.

This Boniface being, as is ſayd, Archbiſhop of Mentz in the time of this foreſayd Synode, wrote a letter to Ethelbald king of Merceland: which Ethelbald was alſo preſent in the ſame Synode, of whome Bede maketh mention in his hiſtorie, calling him proude Ethelbald, and the greateſt of the Saxon kinges in his time. Firſt this Ethelbald after the departing of Ceolulphe into his Monkerie, inuaded and ſpoiled the countrey of Northumberland. Moreouer he exerciſed mortall and horrible warre a long ſpace wyth Cudred, otherwiſe of ſome named Cutbert, King of weſtſaxons. Furthermore he with other Saxon kings, ſo impugned the Britains, that from that time they neuer durſt prouoke the Saxons any more. At length the ſaid Cudred refuſing the intollerable exactions of proud Ethelbald, doth incounter with him in battaile: where notwythſtanding the great power that Ethelbald had to him adioyned, of the Mercians, of the Eaſtſaxons, of the Eaſtangles, and of Cantuarites: yet the ſaide Cudred through Gods power, and the meanes of a certaine valiant warriour called Edelhim a Conſul, ouerthrewe the pride of Ethelbald, after a ſore and terrible cōflict. which Ethelbald notwithſtanding repairing his power againe the next yeare after, renued battaile with the foreſayd Cudred. In the which battaile Ethelbald after hee had raigned xli. yeares in Mercia, was ſlaine by one Beornered, who after raigned in that dition but a ſmal tyme. For Offa nephew to the ſayd Ethelbald expulſed the ſayd Beornered, and ſucceeded king in that prouince of Mercia, where he raigned xxxix. yeares, of whom more followeth hereafter (the Lord Jeſu ſpeeding therein our purpoſe) to be declared as place and time ſhal require. In the meane ſeaſon not to forget the letter before mentioned of Boniface Archbiſhop of Mentz, ſent vnto thys Ethelbald: I thought the ſame not vnworthy here to be inſerted (at the leaſt the effect thereof) not ſo much for the authors ſake, as for that ſome good matter peraduenture may be picked thereout, for other Princes to behold & conſider.

Edelhim a ſtrong a valiaunt warriour. Pride ou throwne.

❧ *The copy and tenor of the Letter of Boniface Arch*biſhop of Mentz, and Martyr of God (an Engliſhman) *ſent to Ethelbald king of Mercia, freely and yet charitably ad*moniſhing him of his adulterous lyfe, and oppreſſion *of Churches.*

A letter of *Boniface,* otherwiſe called *Winfride* ſent to kyng *Ethelbald.*

Regi & filio chariſsimo, & in Chriſti amore cæteris regibus Anglorum præferendo Ethelbaldo, Bonifacius Archiepiſcopus legatus Germanicus Romanæ Eccleſiæ perpetuam in Chriſto charitatis ſalutem. Confiſtemus coram Deo, qui nouit an verè atque ex animo dicam: Quando proſperitatem veſtram, & fidem, & bona opera audimus, lætamur. Quando autem aliquid aduerſum vel in euentu bellorum, vel de periculo animarum de vobis cognoſcimus, triſtamur. Audiuimus enim quòd eleemoſinis intentus, furta & rapinas prohibes, & pacem diligis, & defenſor viduarum & pauperum es, & inde gratias Deo agimus. Quòd verò legitimum matrimonium ſpernis, ſi pro caſtitate faceres, eſſet laudabile. Sed quia in luxu & adulterio & cum ſanctimonialibus volutaris, eſt vituperabile, & damnabile. Nam & famam gloriæ veſtræ, coram Deo & hominibus confundit, & inter idololatras cōſtituit, quia templum Dei violaſti. Quapropter fili Chariſſime pœnitere, & memorare oportet, quàm turpe ſit, vt tu qui multis gentib⁹, dono dei, dominaris, ad iniuriā eius ſis libidinis ſeruus. Audiuimus præterea quòd optimates penè omnes gentis Merciorum, tuo exemplo legitimas vxores deſerant, & adulteras & ſanctimoniales conſtuprent. Quod quàm ſit peregrinum ab honeſtate, doceat vos alienæ gentis inſtitutio. Nam in antiqua Saxonia, vbi nulla eſt Chriſti cognitio: ſi virgo in materna domo, vel maritata, ſub coniuge fuerit adultera, manu propria ſtrangulatam cremant, & ſupra foſſa ſepultæ corruptorem ſuſpendunt, aut cingulo tenus (veſtibus abſciſſis) flagellant eam caſtæ matronæ, & cultellis pungunt. Et de villa in villam miſſæ occurrunt nouæ flagellatrices: donec interimant. Inſuper & vinuli, quod eſt fœdiſsimum genus hominum, hunc habent morem vt mulier viro mortuo, ſe in rogo cremantis pariter arſura præcipitet. Si ergo gentiles Deum ignorantes, tantum zelum caſtitatis habent: quid tibi conuenit fili Chariſsime, qui Chriſtianus & rex es? Parce ergo animæ tuæ: Parce multitudini populi tui pereūtis exemplo tuo: de quorum animabus redditurus es rationem. Attende & illud, quid ſi gens Anglorum (ſicut in Francia, & Italia, & ab ipſis Paganis nobis improperatur) ſpretis legitimis matrimonijs per adulteria deficit: naſcituraq; ſit ex ea commixtione gens ignaua & Dei contemptrix, quæ perditis moribus patriam peſſundet: ſicut Burgundionibus & prouincialibus, & Hiſpanis contigit, quos Saraceni multis annis infeſtarunt propter peccata præterita? Præterea nunciatum eſt nobis, quòd multa priuilegia Eccleſiarum & monaſteriorum auferens, ad hoc audendū duces tuos exemplo prouoces. Sed recogita quæſo quàm terribilem vindictam Deus in anteriores reges exercuit, eiuſdem culpæ conſcios, quam in te arguimus. Nam Celredum prædeceſſorem tuum ſtupratorem Sanctimonialium, & eccleſiaſticorum priuilegiorum fractorem, ſplendidè cum ſuis comitibus epulantem ſpiritus malignus arripuit: & ſine confeſsione & viatico, cum diabolo ſermocinanti, & legem Dei deteſtanti animam extorſit. Oſredum quoq; regem Deiorum & Bernicorum, earundem culparum reum, ita effrenatum regem egit: vt regnum & iuuenilem ætatem contemptibili morte amitteret. Carolus quoq; princeps Francorum monaſteriorum multorum euerſor, & Eccleſiaſticarū pecuniarum in vſus proprios commutator, longa tortione, & verenda morte conſumptus eſt. Et mox infra: Quapropter fili Chariſsime, paternis & obnixis precibus deprecamur, vt non deſpicias conſilium patrum tuorum, qui pro Dei amore celſitudinem tuam appellare ſatagunt. Nihil enim bono regi ſalubrius, quàm, ſi talia commiſſa cum arguuntur, libenter emendentur. Quia per Salomonem dicitur: Qui diligit diſciplinam, diligit ſapientiam. Ideo, fili Chariſsime, oſtendentes conſilium iuſtum, conteſtamur

Nihil factum quod non factum prius.

& obſecramus per viuentem Deum & per filium eius Ieſum Chriſtum, & per ſpiritum ſanctum, vt recorderis quàm fugitiua ſit vita præſens; & quam breuis & momentanea delectatio ſpurcę carnis: & quam ignominioſum ſit, vt breuis vitæ homo mala exempla in perpetuum poſteris relinquat. Incipe ergo melioribus moribus vitam cōponere, & præteritos errores iuuentutis corrigere: vt hic coram hominibus laudem habeas, & in futuro æterna gloria gaudeas. Valere celſitudinem tuam, & in bonis moribus proficere optamus.

The corrupt lyfe of Nunnes noted.

In this Epiſtle here is to be ſeene and noted, firſt the corruption and great diſorder of lyfe, which alwayes from tyme to tyme hath bene found in theſe religious houſes of Nunnes, whoſe profeſſed vow of coacted chaſtitie, hath yet neuer bene good to the Church, nor profitable to the common wealth, and leaſt of all to themſelues. Of ſuch yong & wanton widowes, S. Paul in his tyme complayneth, 1. Tim. 5. which would take vpon them the wilfull profeſſion of ſingle lyfe, which they were not able to perform, but falling into damnable luxurie deſerued worthily to be reprehended. How much better had it bene for theſe laſciuious Nunnes not to haue refuſed the ſafe yoke of chriſtian matrimonie, then to intangle themſelues in this their ſuperſtitious vow of perpetuall maidēhood, which neither was required of them, nor they were able to keepe.

The popiſh actes and doynges of *Boniface* Archbiſhop of *Maguncе*.

Secondly, no leſſe are they alſo to be reprehēded, which maintayned theſe ſuperſtitious orders of vnprofitable Nunnes and of other religions: In the number of whom was this forеſayd Boniface otherwiſe called Winfride, who although in this epiſtle doeth iuſtly reprehend the vicious enormities both of ſecular, and of religious perſons: yet he him ſelf is not without the ſame or rather greater reprehēſion, for that hee gaue the occaſion thereof in maintaining ſuch ſuperſtitious orders of ſuch laſciuious Nunnes and other religions, & reſtraining the ſame from lawful mariage. For ſo we finde of him in ſtories that hee was a great ſetter vp & vpholder of ſuch blinde ſuperſtition, and of all Poperie. who being admitted by Pope Gregory the ſecōd, Archbiſhop of Maguncе, and indued wt full authoritie legantine ouer the Germanes, brought diuers countreys there, vnder the Popes obedience: held many great Coūcels, ordained Biſhops, builded Monaſteries, canoniſed Saints, commaunded reliques to be worſhipped, permitted religious fathers to cary about Nunnes with them a preaching. Amongſt all other he founded the great monaſtery of Fulda in Germany of Engliſh monkes: into the which no women might enter, but only Lieba, & Tecla, two Engliſh Nunnes. Item, by the authoritie of ye ſaid Archbiſhop Boniface, which he receiued frō Pope Zacharie, Childericus king of Fraunce, was depoſed from the right of his crowne: and Pipinus betraier of his maiſter was cōfirmed, or rather intruded in. From this Boniface proceeded that deteſtable doctrine which now ſtandeth regiſtred in the Popes decrees, Diſt. 40. cap. Si Papa which in a certaine Epiſtle of his, is this. That in caſe the Pope were of moſt filthy liuing, and forgetfull or negligent of himſelfe, and of the whole chriſtianitie, in ſuch ſort, that he led innumerable ſoules with him to hell: yet ought there no man to rebuke him in ſo doing. For he hath (ſaith he) power to iudge all men, and ought of no man to be iudged agayne.

The Monaſtery of *Fulda* in Germany, builded by *Boniface*.

Childericus The French king depoſed, and *Pipinus* intruded.

Diſt. xl. cap Si Papa.

Images in Churches ſubuerted by Emperours, mayntained by Popes.

Philippicus for holding agaynſt Images, loſt hys Empyre & his eyes.

The author of the booke called the dialogues of *Gregory*.

Memoriall of reliques, offring and ſacrifice for the dead brought into the maſſe Canon.

The Popes feete firſt kiſſed of the Emperours.

In the tyme of this Archbiſhop, Pope Gregory the ſecond, alſo Gregory the third, and Pope Zachary, and before theſe alſo Pope Conſtantine the firſt: wrought great maiſteries againſt the Greeke Emperours, Philippicus, & Leo, and others, for the maintaining of Images to be ſet vp in Churches. Of whom Philippicus loſt both his Empire and alſo his eyes. Leo for the ſame cauſe likewiſe was excommunicate of Gregory the third. This Gregory the third (ſo farre as I can coniecture) was he that firſt wrote the foure bookes of Dialogues in Greeke, falſely bearyng the name of Gregory the firſt, which bookes afterward Zachary hys ſucceſſour tranſlated out of Greeke into Latin. Item, the ſame Gregory the third, firſt brought into the Maſſe Canō, the clauſe for reliques beginning, Quorum ſolemnitates hodie in conſpectu, &c. Item, brought into the ſayd Canon the memoriall, the offring, and ſacrifice for the dead: Lyke as Zachary brought in the Prieſts veſture and ornaments: & as the foreſaid Conſtantinus alſo was the firſt that gaue his feete to be kiſſed of the Emperours. But turne agayne into the courſe of our Engliſh ſtory.

Segebert king of Weſtſaxons.

In the tyme of this Egbert king of Northumberland, Sigebert or Sigbert raigned in Weſtſaxony: a man of ſo cruell tyranny to his ſubiectes (turning the lawes & cuſtoms of his forefathers after his owne will and pleaſure) that when he was ſomewhat ſharpely aduertiſed by one of his nobles, an Earle called Combranus, to chaūge his maners, and to behaue him more prudently toward his people, he therfore maliciouſly cauſed him to be put to cruell death: whereupon, the ſayd king Sigebert continuing in his cruell conditions, by his ſubiectes conſpyring agaynſt hym, was put from his kingly dignity: and brought into ſuche deſolation, that wandring alone in a wood without comfort, was there ſlayne euen by the ſwineheard of the ſayd Earle, whom before he had ſo wrongfully murdered, as partly is aboue touched: whereby is to be ſeene, the cruell tyranny of Princes neuer to proſper well, without the iuſt reuenge both of God and man.

Sigebert ſlayne.

Cruell tyranny with like cruelty reuenged.

Kenulphus king of Weſtſaxons.

{ Anno. 748. }

This Sigebert being ſlayne, in his place ſucceeded Kenulphus, in the yeare of our Lord 748. who with the agreemēt of the Weſtſaxons was one of the chiefe doers againſt Sigebert his Maiſter: This Kenulphus kept ſtronglye his Lordſhip agaynſt Offa; and agaynſt the power of all hys enemies: till at length, after that he had raigned, as Fabian ſayth 31. yeares, he reſorting to a paramour which he kept at Merton, was there beſet & likewiſe ſlayne by the trayn and meanes of a certayne kinſman of the foreſayd Sigebert, named Clito or Cliton, in reuengement of king Sigebertes death.

Murder reuenged with murder.

Offa King of Mercia.

Moreouer in the raigne of the foreſayd Egbert kyng of Northumberland, and in the viij. yeare of Kenulphus king of Weſtſaxons: Offa after he had ſlayne the tyraunt Beoruredus, which before had ſlayne Ethelwald kyng of Mercia, and Uncle to this foreſayde Offa: raigned King of that Prouince.

Of this Offa are told many notable deedes, which becauſe they concerne rather politicall affaires, and doe not greatly appertayne to the purpoſe of this eccleſiaſtical hiſtory, I omit here to recite. As his warres and victories againſt Egbert & the Northumbres, as alſo againſt Etheldred king of Eaſt Angles. Item, againſt Egbert king of Kent, otherwiſe called Wren, whom Fabian ſaith he tooke priſoner, & led him bound with him to Mercia. Malmeſbury witneſſeth otherwiſe, this to be done not by Offa, but by Kenulphus, as Chriſt willing hereafter ſhall appeare. After theſe victories Offa had ſuch diſpleaſure vnto the Citizens of Canterbury, that he remoued the Archbiſhops ſea, and landes of Lambrith Archbiſhop of Caunterbury (by the agreement of Pope Adrian) vnto Lichfield. He alſo chaſed the Britaines or Welchmen into Wales, and made a famous dyke betwene Wales and the vtter bonds of Mercia or middle England, which was called Offditche. And builded there a Church which long tyme after was called Offekyrke. This Offa alſo married one of his daughters to Brightricus that was king of Weſtſaxons. And for that in his tyme was variance betwene him and the Frenchmen, in ſo much that the paſſage of merchants was forbidden: therfore he ſent Alcuinus a learned man, vnto Charles the great, then king of France, to common the meanes of peace: which Charles had after that, ye ſaid Alcuinus in great fauour and eſtimation, and afterward made him Abbot of Turonia in Fraunce.

An vntruth noted in the ſtory of *Fabianus*.

The primacy of Canterbury remoued to Lichfield.

Lambrith Archbiſhop of Cant.

This *Alcuinus* is commended for hys learning nex to *Adelmus* and *Bede* aboue all Saxons.

Ethelbert king of Eaſtangles wrongfully murdered by *Offa*.

About the latter tyme of the raigne of Offa, kyng of Mercia: Ethelbert beyng then kyng of Eaſtangles (a learned and a right godly Prince) came to the Court of Offa: prouoked by the counſell of his Nobles, to ſue for the mariage of his daughter, wel accompanied like a prince, with his men about him. Wherupon, the Queene conceiuyng a falſe ſuſpicion, and fearing that which was neuer minded: that Ethelbert with his company vnder the pretence and made matter of mariage, was come to worke ſome violence againſt her huſband, and the kingdom of Mercia, ſo ſhe perſwaded with king Offa: and certaine of her counſel that night: that the next day followyng, Offa cauſed him to be trayned into his pallace alone from his company, by one called Guymbertus: who tooke him and bound him, & there ſtroke of his head, which forthwith he thē preſented to the king & Queene. And thus the innocent king Ethelbert was wrongfully murthered, about the yeare of our Lord, 793. but not without a iuſt reuenge at Gods hand. For as the ſtory recordeth, the foreſayd Queene worker of this villanie, liued not iij. monthes after: and in her death was ſo tormented, that ſhe was fayne to bite and rent her tong in pieces with her owne teeth. Offa vnderſtanding at length the innocencie of this king, and the haynous cruelty of his fact: gaue the teth part of his goods to holy church and to the church of Hereford, in remembraunce of this Ethelbert, he beſtowed great landes. Moreouer, builded the Abbey of S. Albons, with certayne other monaſteries beſide. And ſo afterward he went vp to Rome for his penāce, where he gaue to the Church of S. Peter a peny through euery houſe in his dominion, which was called commōly Romeſhot, or Peter pence, payed to the Church of S. Peter: and there at length was transformed from a king to a monke, about the yeare of our Lord. 794. with Kenredus

The vayne ſuſpicion and wicked counſell of a woeman.

Ex hiſtoria Iornalenſi & Malmeſberienſi.

Cruell murder reuenged.

Offa and *Kenredus* of Kinges made monkes at Rom.

king of Northūberland aboue mentioned, although ſome ſtoryes deny that he was a Monke.

Egfretus King of Mercia.

After Offa king of Mercia, when he had raigned xxxix. yeares ſucceded his ſonne Egfretus, who raigned but foure monthes: of whome thus writeth the foreſayd Alcuinus: Non arbitror quòd nobiliſsimus iuuenis Egfretus, propter peccata ſua mortuus ſit: Sed quia pater ſuus, pro confirmatione regni eius multum ſanguinem effudit, &c. That is: This noble yong man died not ſo much for offences of his owne, as for that his father had ſpilled much bloud, to confirme him in his kingdome.

Alcuinus Oſbet to patritio.

The fathers fault puniſhed in the childe. *Egbert* King of Kent taken priſoner.

Next to which Egfretus, ſucceded Kenulphus in the ſaid kyngdome of Mercia, which Kenulphus keping and retaining the hatred of Offa his predeceſſor againſt the Cantuarites, made warre againſt them: where he toke Egbert their king otherwiſe called Wren, whom he bound and led priſoner to Mercia. Notwithſtanding, ſhortly after being mollified with princely clemency in the towne of Winchcombe, where he had builded the ſame tyme a church: vpō the day when he ſhould dedicate the ſame in the preſence of xiij. biſhops, and of Cutbert, whom he had placed in yͤ ſame kingdom of Canterbury before, and x. Dukes, and many other great eſtates. Kyng Kenulphus brought the ſayd Egbert king of Kent out of priſon into the Church, where he enlarged him of impriſonment, and reſtored hym to his place agayne. At the ſight whereof, not onely Cutbert the foreſayd king reioyced, but alſo all the eſtates and people beyng there preſent, made ſuch an exclamation of ioy and gladnes, that the church, (and not onely the Church, but alſo the ſtreetes) range withall. At which tyme ſuch bountifulnes of gifts and iewels was then beſtowed, that from the higheſt eſtate to the loweſt, none departed without ſomthing geuē, according as to euery degree was thought meete. Although Fabian referreth this ſtory to king Offa, yet cauſes there be, why I aſſent rather to Malmesbury and to Polychronicon, which attribute the ſame to Kenulphus the ſecond king of Mercia, after Offa.

A princely example of clemency in a noble king.

The Church of Winchcombe builded by K. *Kenulphus.* *Egbert* King of Kent releaſed out of priſon.

A place of *Fabian* doubted.

A little before in ſpeaking of certain biſhops of Rome, mention was made of Pope Conſtantine the firſt, Pope Gregory the ſecond, Pope Gregory the third, & of Pope Zachary, which depoſed Childerike, & ſet vp Pipinus the French king, &c. Next after this Zachary, in order followed Pope Stephen the ſecond, to whom the foreſayd Pipinus to gratifie agayne the ſea of Rome for this their benefite ſhewed to him, gaue and contributed to the ſaid ſea of Rome, the exarchat or Princedome of Rauenna, the kingdome of the Lombardes, and many other great poſſeſſions of Italie, with all the Cities thereto adioyning vnto the borders of Venice. And this donation of Pipine, no doubt if the truth were rightly tried, ſhould be found to be the ſame, which hitherto falſly hath bene thought to be the donatiō of Conſtantine. For els how could it be, that the exarchate of Rauenna could belong all this while to the Emperours of Conſtantinople, if Conſtantine before had geuen it and all Italy from the Empire to the ſea of Rome?

Pope *Steuen* the ſecond.

The donation of *Pipinus* falſely taken to be the donation of Conſtantine.

To this Pipinus, as witneſſeth Polychronicon, was ſent firſt into France, the inuention of the Organs out of Grecia, by Conſtantine Emperour of Conſtant. 757.

Ex polycr. lib. 5. cap. 25.

Next to this Stephen the ij. ſucceded Paule the firſt, who following his predeceſſors, thundred out great excōmunications againſt Conſtantinus the Emperor of Conſtantinople, for abrogating and plucking downe Images ſet vp in Temples. Notwithſtandyng this Conſtantine neglecting the Popes vaine curſes perſeuered in his bleſſed purpoſe, in deſtroying Idolatry till the end of his lyfe. Then came to be Pope, Conſtantinus the ſecond a lay man, and brother to Deſiderius the king of Lombardy: for the which cauſe he was ſhortly depoſed, and thruſt into a monaſtery, hauing his eyes put out.

Pope *Paule* the firſt. Images agayne mayntayned by the Pope agaynſt the Emperour. A lay man pope who was depoſed, and had hys eyes put out.

In whoſe ſtead ſucceded Stephen the iij. who ordained that after that, no lay man ſhould be Pope: condemnyng moreouer the councel of Conſtantinople the vij. for hereticall, becauſe in that councell the worſhipping of Images was remoued and condemned. Contrary to the which Councell, this Pope not only maintained the filthy Idolatry of Images in Chriſtian Temples, but alſo aduaunced their veneration, commaunding them moſt Ethnically to be incenſed, &c. At this tyme Carolus Magnus called Charles the great a little before mentioned, began to raign, by whom this Pope cauſed Deſiderius the Lombard king, to be depriued.

Pope *Steuen* the third. The counſell of Conſtantinople the 7. condemned of the Pope, for condemning Images. The pope alſo ordayned *Gloria in Excelſis* to be ſong in the maſſe at S. *Peters* altar by the Cardinals.

Then in this race of Popes, after this Stephen the iij. commeth Hadrianus the firſt, who likewiſe followyng the ſteps of his forefathers the Popes, added and attributed to the veneration of Images more then all the other had done before, writing a booke for the adoration and the vtilitie proceding of them, commaundyng them to be takē for lay mens Calenders, holdyng moreouer a Synode at Rome againſt Felix, and all other that ſpake againſt the ſetting vp of ſuch ſtockes and Images. And as Paul the firſt, before him made much of the body of Petronilla S. Peters daughter: ſo this Hadrian clothed the body of S. Peter all in ſiluer, and couered the aulter of S. Paule with a Palle of gold. This Pope Hadrian was he, whome we declared in the former part of this treatiſe, to ratifie and confirme by reuelation the order of S Gregories Maſſe, aboue the order of S. Ambroſe maſſe, for vnto this time which was about the yeare of our Lord, 780. the Liturgie of S. Ambroſe was more vſed in the Italian churches. The ſtory whereof, becauſe it is regiſtred in Durandus, Nauclerus, and Iacobus de Voragine, I thought here to inſert the ſame, to this eſpeciall purpoſe, for the Reader to vnderſtand the tyme, when this vſuall Maſſe of the Papiſts began firſt to be vniuerſall & vniforme, & generally in churches to be receaued. Thus it foloweth in the ſtory by the foreſayd authors ſet forth. Iacobus de Voragine in the life of Pope Gregory the firſt telleth a tale concernyng this matter.

Pope *Hadrian* the firſt. Images agayne mayntayned by the Pope to be mens Kalenders.

The body of S.Pet clothed i ſiluer.

The order of the Romiſh maſſ book wh it came i

Ex Dur do Nau ro. Iac Voragin in Vita. Greg.

In tymes paſt (ſaith he) when the ſeruice which Ambroſe made, was more frequented and vſed in Churches, then was the ſeruice which Gregory had appointed, the biſhop of Rome then called Adrian, gathered a Councell together: in the which it was ordained, that Gregories ſeruice ſhould be obſerued and kept vniuerſally: which determination of the Councell, Charles the Emperor did diligētly put in executiō while he ran about by diuers Prouinces, & inforced all the Clergy, partly with threatnings, and partly with puniſhments, to receiue that order. And as touching the bookes of Ambroſe ſeruice, he burnt them to aſhes in all places, and threw into priſon many prieſts that would not conſent and agree to the matter. Bleſſed Eugenius the Biſhop comming vnto the Councell, found that it was diſſolued iij. dayes before his comming. Notwithſtanding through his wiſedome, he ſo perſwaded the Lord Pope, that he called agayne all the Prelates that had bene preſent at the Councell, and were now departed by the ſpace of three dayes. Therfore when the Councell was gathered agayne together, in this all the fathers did conſent and agree, that both the Maſſe bookes of Ambroſe and Gregory ſhould be layd vpon the aulter of bleſſed Peter the Apoſtle, and the church dores diligently ſhut, and moſt warily ſealed vp with the ſignets of many and diuers biſhops. Againe, that they ſhould all the whole night geue themſelues to prayer, that the Lord might reueale, open & ſhew vnto them by ſome euident ſigne or token, which of theſe two ſeruices he would haue vſed in the Temples. Thus they doing in all pointes as they had determined, in the morning opened the church dores, and founde both the Myſſals or Maſſe bookes open vpon the aulter: or rather, as ſome ſay, they found Gregories Maſſe booke vtterly plucked aſunder one piece from an other, and ſcattered ouer all the church. As touching Ambroſe booke, they only found it open vpō the aulter in the very ſame place where they before laid it. This miracle Pope Adrian like a wyſe expounder of dreames, ſaith, that as the leaues were torne and blown abroad all the church ouer, ſo ſhould Gregories booke be vſed throughout yͤ world. Wherupō they thought themſelues ſufficiently inſtructed and taught of God, that the ſeruice which Gregory had made, ought to be ſet abroad & vſed throughout the world, and that Ambroſe his ſeruice ſhould onely be obſerued and kept in his owne church of Mediolanum, where he ſometyme was biſhop.

Et tamen ipſis commentum placet. Terent.

Note well the practiſ of Prelat in planting their popi maſſe.

Thus haſt thou heard (brother Reader) the full and whole narration of this miſticall miracle, with the Popes expoſition vpon the ſame, which ſemeth to be as true, as that which Daniell ſpeaketh of, how the Idoll Bell did eate vp all the meate that was ſet before him all the night, Daniel, 14. Concerning the which miracle, I need not admoniſh thee to ſmell out the blind practiſes of theſe night crowes, to blind the world with forged inuentiōs in ſtead of true ſtories. Albeit to graunt the miracle to be moſt true & vnfallible, yet as touching the expoſition therof, another man beſide the Pope, percaſe might interprete this great miracle otherwiſe, as thus: That God was angry with Gregories booke, and therfore rent it in pieces, and ſcattered it abroad, and the other as good, lay found vntouched, and at the leaſt ſo to be preferred. Notwithſtanding, whatſoeuer is to bee thought of this miracle with the expoſition therof, thus the matter fell out, that Gregories ſeruice had only the place, and yet hath to this day in the greateſt part of Europe, yͤ ſeruice of Ambroſe beyng excluded. And thus much touching the great act of Pope Adrian, for the ſetting vp of the Maſſe. By the relation wherof, yet this knowledge may come to the Reader, at leaſt to vnderſtand, how that commonly in chriſten nations abroad, as yet no vniforme

Gregories maſſe taketh place in Europe.

forme order of any Miſſall or Maſſe booke was receiued, as hath bene hetherto diſcourſed.

Carolus Magnus beneficiall to the ſea of Rome.

Rex Chriſtianiſſimus intituled to Fraunce.

Now from the Popes to returne againe to the emperours from whence we digreſſed, like as Pipinus the father of Charles (as hath bene before ſufficiently told) had geuen to the ſea Papall all the princedome of Rauenna, with other donations and reuenewes, & landes in Italy: ſo this Carolus following his fathers deuotion, did confirme the ſame, adding moreouer therunto, the Citie and dominion of Venice, Hiſtria, the Dukedome Foroiulienſe, the dukedom Spoletanum and Beneuentanum, and other poſſeſſions moe, to the patrimonie of S. Peter, making him the Prince of Rome and of Italy. The Pope agayne to recompence his ſo gentle kindnes, made him to be intituled moſt Chriſten king, and made him Patricium Romanum Moreouer ordeined him onely to bee taken for Emperour of Rome. For theſe and other cauſes moe, Carolus bare no little affection to the ſayd Adrian aboue all other Popes: as may well appeare by this letter of Carolus Magnus ſent to king Offa, what tyme the ſaid Offa (as is aboue prefixed) ſent to hym Alcuinus for entreatie of peace: wherunto the foreſayd Carolus aunſwereth agayne to the meſſage of Offa in a letter, the contents wherof be theſe.

The tenour of a Letter ſent by Carolus Magnus to king Offa, anſwering to his requeſt concerning the intreatie of peace betwene them.

A letter of Charles the great ſent to king Offa.

Carolus Rex Francorum & Longobardorum, Patricius Romanorum viro venerando, & fratri chariſſimo Offæ Regi Merciorum Salut. Primò gratias agimus omnipotenti Deo, de Catholicæ fidei ſinceritate, quam in veſtris laudabilibus paginis reperimus exaratam. De peregrinis verò qui pro amore Dei, & ſalute animarum ſuarum, beatorum Apoſtolorum limina deſiderant adire, cum pace ſine omni perturbatione vadant. Sed ſi aliqui religioni non ſeruientes, ſed lucra ſectantes inueniantur inter eos, locis opportunis ſtatuta ſoluant telonia. Negociatores quoque volumus vt ex mandato noſtro patrocinium habeant in regno noſtro legitime. Et ſi in aliquo loco, iniuſta affligantur oppreſſione, reclament ſe ad nos, vel noſtros iudices, & plenam iuſtitiam iubemus fieri. Cognoſcat quoque dilectio veſtra quòd aliquam benignitatem de Delmaticis noſtris vel pallijs ad ſingulas ſedes Epiſcopales regni veſtri vel Ethelredi direximus, in eleemoſinam Domini Apoſtolici Adriani, deprecantes vt pro eo intercedi iubeatis, nullam habentes dubitationem beatam illius animam in requie eſſe, ſed vt fidem & dilectionem oſtendamus in amicum nobis chariſſimum. Sed & de theſauro humanarum rerum, quum Dominus Ieſus gratuita pietate conceſſit aliquid per Metropolitanas ciuitates: Direximus veſtræ quoque dilectioni vnum baltheum, & vnum gladium & duo pallia ſerica, &c.

How the Pope heareth the cry of poore widowes and Orphanes

The cauſe why this Carolus writeth ſo fauorablye of Adriã partly is touched before, partly alſo was, for yͤ Carolomane his elder brother being dead, his wife called Bertha with her two Children came to Adrian, to haue them confirmed in their fathers kingdome: whereunto the Pope to ſhew a pleaſure to Carolus would not agree: but gaue the mother with her two children, & Deſiderius the Lombard king with hys whole kingdome, hys wife and Children, into the handes of the ſaid Carolus, who led them with him captiue into Fraunce, and there kept them in ſeruitude during their lyfe.

The Empire tranſlated from Greece to Fraunce.

Thus, Carolus Magnus beyng proclaymed Emperour of Rome, through the preferment of Adrian, and of Pope Leo the third which ſucceeded next after him, was the Empire tranſlated from the Grecians about the yeare of our Lord 801. vnto the Frenchmen: where it continued about 102. yeares till the comming of Conradus and hys nephew Otho, which were Germaynes: and ſo hath continued after them amõg the Almanes vnto this preſent time. This Charles builded ſo many Monaſteries as there be letters in the row of A.B C. he was beneficiall chiefly to Churchmen alſo mercifull to the poore, in hys actes valiaunt and triumphaunt, ſkilde in all languages, he held a counſell at Francford, where was condemned the Councell of Nice and Irene, for ſetting vp and worſhipping Images. &c.

Concerning which Councell of Nice, & thinges there concluded and enacted (becauſe no man ſhal thinke, the deteſting of Images to be any new thing now begon) thus I finde it recorded in an auncient written hiſtory of Roger Houeden, called Continuationes Bedæ. His wordes in Latin be theſe: Anno 792. Carolus Rex Francorum miſit Sinodalem librum ad Britanniam, ſibi à Conſtantinopoli directum. In quo lib. Heu, proh dolor, multa inconuenientia, & veræ fidei contraria reperiuntur, maximè quòd pene omnium orientalium Doctorum non minus quàm 300. vel eo amplius Epiſcoporum vnanimi aſſertione confirmatum ſit, imagines adorari debere: Quod omnino Eccleſia Dei execratur. Contra quod ſcripſit Albinus Epiſtolam ex autoritate diuinarum ſcripturarum mirabiliter affirmatam, illamq; cum eodem libro ex perſona Epiſcoporum ac principum noſtrorum, Regi Francorum attulit. Hæc ille. That is. In the yeare of our Lorde, 792. Charles the Frenche King ſent a booke contayning the actes of a certeine Synode, vnto Brittayne, directed vnto hym from Conſtantinople. In the which booke (lamentable to behold) many thinges inconuenient, & cleane contrary to the true fayth are there to be found: eſpecially for that by the common conſent of almoſt all the learned biſhops of the Eaſt Church, not ſo few as 300. it was there agreed that Images ſhould be worſhipped. which thing the church of god hath alwayes abhorred. Againſt which booke Albin' wrote an Epiſtle ſubſtantially grounded out of the authoritie of holy Scripture. which Epiſtle with the booke, the ſayde Albinus in the name and perſon of our Biſhops and Princes, did preſent to the French king.

Images written agaynſt, as contrary to the true fayth.

This *Albinus* was *Alcuinus* aboue mentioned.

The Biſhops and Princes of England againſt Images.

King *Egbert* made a monke.

Anno. 757.

And thus much by the way of Romiſh matters: now to returne agayne to the Northumberland kings where we left at Egbert. which Egbert as is before declared, ſucceded after Ceolulphus after he was made Monke. And likewiſe the ſayd Egbert alſo followyng the deuotion of hys vncle Ceolulphus, and Kenredus before him: was likewyſe ſhorne monke after he had raigned 20. yeres in Northumberland, leauing his ſonne Oſulphus after him to ſucceede: about which tyme, and in the ſame yeare when Ceolulphus deceaſed in his Monaſtery, which was the yeare of our Lord, 764. diuers Cities were burnt with ſodaine fire, as the citie of wenta, the citie of London, the citie of Yorke, Doaceſter, with diuers other townes beſides. Roger Houeden. Lib. Contin. poſt Bedam, who the firſt yeare of hys raigne, which was the yere of our Lord, 757. beyng innocently ſlayne, next to him followed Mollo, otherwiſe called Adelwald, who likewiſe beyng ſlayne of Alcredus after hee had raigned 11. yeres departed. After, Alcredus whẽ he had raigned 10. yeres, was expulſed out of his kingdom by his people. Then was Ethelbert otherwiſe named Edelred the ſonne of the foreſayd Mollo receaued kyng of Northumberland. which Ethelbert, or Adelred in like ſort after he had raigned v. yeares, was expulſed. After whome ſucceeded Alfwold, who likewiſe when he had raigned 11. yeres, was vniuſtly ſlaine. So likewiſe after him his nephew, and the ſonne of Alcredus named Oſredus raigned one yeare & was ſlayne. Then the foreſayd Ethelbert the ſonne of Mollo after 12. yeares baniſhment, raigned agayne in Northumberland the ſpace of foure yeares, and was ſlayne: the cauſe wherof (as I finde in an old written ſtory) was that forſaking his old wife, he maried a new. Concerning the reſtoring of whõ Alcuinus writeth in this maner: Benedictus Deus qui facit mirabilia ſolus. Nuper Edelredus filius Edelwaldi de carcere proceſſit in ſolium, & de miſeria in maieſtatem, cuius regni nouitate detenti ſumus ne veniremus ad vos, &c. And afterward the ſame Alcuinus againe ſpeaking of his death, writeth to king Offa, in theſe wordes: Sciat veneranda dilectio veſtra, quod Do. Carolus amabiliter & fideliter ſæpe mecum locutus eſt de vobis, & in eo habetis fideliſſimum amicum. Ideo & veſtræ dilectioni digna dirigit munera, & per Epiſcopales ſedes regni veſtri, ſimiliter & Edelredo Regi, & ad ſuas Epiſcoporum ſedes direxit dona. Sed heu Proh dolor, donis datis, & Epiſtolis in manus miſſorum, ſuperuenit triſtis legatio per miſſos qui de Scotia per nos reuerſi ſunt, De infidelitate gentis, & nece Regis. Ita Carolus retracta donorum largitate in tantum iratus eſt contra gentem illam, vt ait, perfidam & peruerſam, & homicidam dominorum ſuorum, peiorem eam paganis eſtimans, vt niſi ego interceſſor eſſem pro ea quicquid eis boni abſtrahere potuiſſet, & mali machinari, iam feciſſet, &c.

Oſulphus, *Mollo*, otherwiſe called *Adelwold*. *Alcredus* or *Aluredus*. *Ethelbert* otherwiſe named *Adelred* or *Eardulphe*. *Alfweld*. *Oſredus*, *Adelred*, agayn kinges of Northumberland.

Anno. 764.

The kingdom of Northumberland ceaſeth.

Northumberland kingdome ceaſeth.

Thus as you haue heard, after the raigne of king Egbert, before mentioned, ſuch trouble and perturbatiõ was in the dominion of Northumberland: with ſlaying, expulſing, and diſpoſing, their kings one after an other, that after the murdering of this Edelred aboue ſpecified, none durſt take the gouernemẽt vpon him, ſeing the great danger thereupon inſuing. Inſomuch that the foreſayd kingdome did lye void and waſte the ſpace of xxxiij yeares together, after the terme of which yeares this kingdome of Northumberland, with the kingdomes alſo of the other Saxons beſides, came all together into the handes of Egbert king of the weſtſaxons and his progeny: which Monarchy began in the yeare of our Lord. 827. and in the 28. yeare of the raygne of the ſayd Egbert: whereof more ſhall be ſayd (Chriſt willing) hereafter. Of this troubleſome & ragious time of Northumberland people, ſpeaketh alſo the ſayd learned man Alcuinus otherwiſe called Albinus, in

Alcuinus otherwiſe called Albinus.

The troubles of the kingdome of Northumberland deſcribed by Alcuinus.

the ſame country borne: writing out of Fraūce into England, and complaynyng of the ſame in diuers his letters, as firſt to Offa, where he thus writeth. Ego paratus eram cū muneribus Caroli regis ad vos venire, & in patriam reuerti· Sed melius viſum eſt propter pacem gentis meæ, in peregrinatione remanere, neſciens quid feciſſem inter eos, vbi nullus ſecurus eſſe, vel in ſalubri conſilio proficere poteſt. Eccleſia ſancta a Paganis vaſtata, altaria periurijs fædata, monaſteria adulterijs violata, terra ſanguine dominorum & principum fædata, &c. Moreouer the ſayd Alcuinus writing to the foreſayd Edelred a little aboue mentioned, after the ſame tenor reporteth: Ecce Eccleſia ſancti Cuthberti ſacerdotum Dei ſanguine aſperſa (omnibus ſpoliata ornamentis) locus, cunctis in Britannia venerabilior, Paganis gentibus datur ad deprædādum. Et vbi primùm poſt deceſſum S.Cuthberti ab Eboraco, Chriſtiana religio in noſtra gente ſumpſit exordium: ibi miſeriæ & calamitatis cæpit initiū, &c. Item, writing to Oſbert a noble piere of the Mercians, complaynyng on the ſame maner, ſayth: Regnum noſtrum Northumbrorum penè perijt, propter inteſtinas diſſentiones, & fallaces coniurationes, &c.

Item, in another place the ſayd Alcuinus writing to Adelard Archbiſhop of Caunterbury, complayneth moreouer: Hoc dico propter flagellum, quod nuper accidit partibus inſulæ noſtræ, quæ prope trecentis & quadraginta annis à parentibus inhabitata eſt noſtris. Legitur in libro Gildæ ſapientiſsimi Britonum, quòd ijdem Britones propter auaritiam & rapinam principum: propter iniquitatem & iniuſtitiam iudicum: propter deſidiam prædicationis Epiſcoporum: propter luxuriam & malos mores populi: patriam perdidere. Caueamus hæc eadem vitia noſtris temporibus inoleſcere, quatenus benedictio diuina nobis patriam conſeruet in proſperitate bona, quam nobis miſericordiſsima pietate perdonare dignatus eſt, &c.

Ex Hiſtoria Malmeſberiēſi.

How it rayned bloud in Yorke.

{Anno. 780.}

Brigthricus K. of Weſtſaxons.

Edelburga daughter to Offa, poyſoned her huſband.

Wickednes reuenged.

Ouer and beſides the ſame author Alcuinus writyng to the foreſayd Edelred king of Northumberland, maketh record of a ſtraunge ſight which he himſelfe did ſee the ſame time in ÿ citie of Yorke, to raine bloud: wherof, his wordes which he wrote concerning the ſame, to the ſaid king Edelred be theſe. Quid ſignificat pluuia ſanguinis, quam quadrageſimali tempore in Eboraco ciuitate, quæ caput eſt totius regni in Eccleſia beati principis Apoſtolorum, vidimus de borealibus partibus domus, (ſereno aëre) de ſummitate minanter cadere? Nonne poteſt putari, à borealibus partibus venire ſanguinem ſuper terram? That is: what ſignifieth the rayne of bloud which in tyme of Lent in the Citie of Yorke, the chiefe Citie of that dominion, and in the church of S. Peter the chiefe of the Apoſtles, we our ſelues did ſee to fall from the Church top (the element being cleare) out of the North partes of the temple, &c. This wondrous ſight teſtified by Malmeſburienſis, is thought of Fabian to happen in the ſecond yere of the raigne of Brigthricus (as with the tyme doth well agree) which was the yeare of our Lord, 780. & is thought of ſome expoſitors to betoken the comming of the Danes into this land, which entred ſhortly after about vij. yeres, in the 9. yeare of the raigne of Brigthricus king of the Weſtſaxons. Which Brigthricus in defence therof, ſent forth hys Steward of his houſholde with a ſmall companie which ſhortly was ſlaine: but by the ſtrength of the ſayd Brigthricus and the other Saxon kings, they were compelled to voyd the land for that time, which was, An. 790. To this Brigthricus king Offa, as is aforeſaid, gaue his daughter Ethelburga to wife, by whom he at length was impoyſoned, beſides certaine other of his nobles: vpon whom, the ſaid Queene before hym had practiſed the ſame wickedneſſe. Who then after that, fledde ouer to Charles the great into Fraunce, where ſhe beyng offred for her beautie to marrie either to him, or to his ſonne, becauſe ſhe chuſed rather his ſonne, married neither the one nor yet the other: but was thruſt in a Monaſtery, where ſhe then playing the harlot with a Monke, was expulſed from thence, and ended her lyfe in penury and miſery.

Irene.

{Anno. 784.}

Images reſtored agayne by Irene at Conſtantinople.

The ſecond councell at Nicea.

The wickednes of Irene condingly rewarded.

In the meane tyme while this Edelburga was thus workyng her feates in England: Irene Empreſſe of the Greekes, was as buſie alſo for her part at Conſtantinople. Who firſt through the meanes of Pope Adrian, tooke vp the body of Conſtantine Emperour of Conſtantinople, her owne huſbands father. And when ſhe had burned the ſame, ſhe cauſed the aſhes to be caſt into the ſea, becauſe he diſanulled Images. Afterward raigning with her ſonne Conſtantine the 6. ſonne to Leo the 4. (whome alſo we declared before to be excommunicate for taking away Images) beyng at diſſention with him, cauſed him to be taken & laid in priſon. Who afterward through power of frends beyng reſtored to his Empire againe, at laſt ſhe cauſed the ſame her owne ſonne to bee caſt in priſon, and his eyes to be put out ſo cruelly, that within ſhort ſpace he dyed. After this the ſayd Irene Empreſſe, with the counſaile of Theraſius Biſhop of Conſtantinople, held a Councell at Nicea, where it was decreed that Images ſhould agayne be reſtored to the church: which Councell, after was repealed by an other Councell holden at Franckford by Charles the great. At length ſhe was depoſed by Nicephorus (who raigned after) and was expulſed the Empire: who after the example of Edelburga aboue mentioned (condignely puniſhed for her wickedneſſe) ended likewiſe her lyfe in much penurie and miſerie.

Kenelmus king of Mercia innocently ſlayne.

Celulphus, Ceolulphus, Bernulphus kings of Mercia.

The kingdome of Mercia ceaſeth.

About the tyme when the foreſayd Brigthricus was impoyſoned by Edelburga his wife, died alſo king Offa, which was about the yeare of our Lord, 795. or as ſome ſay, 802. After which Offa (as is aforeſayd) ſucceeded Egfert, then Kenelphus, after whom ſucceeded Kenelmus his ſonne, who in his yonger age was wickedly murthered by his ſiſter Quindreda, and Aſkebertus, about the yeare of our Lorde, 819. And in the Church of Winchecombe was counted for an holy Martyr. After him ſucceded his vncle Ceolulphus, whom Bernulphus in the firſt yeare of his raigne expulſed and raigned in his place. Who likewiſe the third yeare of his raigne was ouercome and expulſed by Egbert kyng of the Weſtſaxons, and afterward ſlayne by the Eaſtangles. And the kingdom of Mercia alſo ceaſed, and came into the handes of the Weſtſaxons.

Hetherto I haue brought, as thou ſeeſt (good Reader) the confuſed and turbulent raignes of theſe vij. Saxon kings, who after the expulſion of the Britaines, ruled and raigned aſunder in ſundry quarters of this land together, vnto this preſent tyme of Egbert king of the Weſtſaxons. By whom it ſo pleaſed God to begin to reduce and vnite all theſe ſcattred kingdomes into one monarchicall forme of dominion. Wherfore, as in the foreſayd Egbert beginneth a new alteration of the common wealth here in this land among the Saxons: ſo my purpoſe is (the Lord willing) with the ſame Egbert to enter a new beginnyng of my third booke, after a briefe recapitulation firſt made of ſuch things as in this ſecond booke before, are to be collected and noted, eſpecially touching the monaſteries builded, the kings which haue entered the life and profeſſion Monaſtike: alſo Queenes & Queenes daughters, which the ſame tyme profeſſed ſolitary life in monaſteries, which they or their auncetors had erected.

✠ *The concluſion of the ſtory precedent, concerning the ſeuen kingdoms of the Saxon kings aboue mentioned.*

Vniuſt dealinges of men iuſtly rewarded.

And thus haſt thou (gentle Reader) concerning the vij. kingdoms of theſe Saxons, ruling altogether in England, the courſe and order of their doings briefly deſcribed and diſcourſed vnto thee, in ſuch order, as the matter beyng ſo intricate, in ſuch confuſion & diuerſitie of things incident together, would permit: followyng eſpecially in this ſtory hitherto, the line of the Northumberland kings as the other ſtories moſt folow the line of Weſtſaxō kings. The which ſeuen kingdoms of theſe ſayd Saxones, after they had vnruely expulſed and chaſed out the Britaines from their land, like as they neuer were in quietnes amōg themſelues, raigning thus together till the tyme of this Egbert: ſo alſo after the raigne of Egbert, the whole realme beyng reduced into one regimēt, no leſſe were they impugned & afflicted by the Danes continually frō tyme to time, till the laſt conqueſt of William the Normand. Thus it pleſeth (God euer) lightly to reuenge with bloud, bloudy violence, and the vniuſt dealings of men, with iuſt and lyke retribution. But of this let the chriſtian Reader conſider, as Gods grace ſhall worke in him. In the meane tyme we, as much as in vs did lye, ſatiſfiyng the part of an Hiſtorician, haue thus hetherto ſet forth and declared concerning theſe vij. foreſayd kingdoms: firſt the names and lineall deſcent of the kings ſeuerally by themſelues, as by the table precedent may appeare, then what were the doings and actes of the ſame. How firſt being Pagans, they were conuerted to the chriſtian faith: what things in their time happened in the church, how many of them, of kings were made monkes: how deuout they were then to holy church and to the churchmen, and eſpecially to the church of Rome. But the churchmen then were much otherwyſe in lyfe, then afterward they declared themſelues to bee. Through which deuotion of the ſaid kings, firſt came in, the Peterpence or Romeſchots in this Realme, as by Iue firſt in his dominion, then by Offa in his Lordſhip, & afterward by Adelwulph brought in and ratified through the whole Realme: where alſo is to be noted, that by the foreſayd Kings and Queenes of the ſayd Saxons, the moſt part of the greateſt Abbais & Nunneries in this realme, were firſt begun and builded, as partly the names of ſome here follow to be ſeene.

Paules Church.

Firſt the Church or Minſter of S. Paule in London, was founded by Ethelbert king of Kent, and Sigebert kyng of Eſſex, about the yeare of our Lord. 604.

The firſt aultar and croſſe ſet vp in England.

The firſt croſſe and aulter within this realm was firſt ſet vp in the North partes in Heuenfield, vpon the occaſion of Oſwald king of Northumberland, fighting againſt Cadwalla, where he in the ſame place ſet vp the ſigne of the croſſe, kneelyng and praying there for victory, Polychron. lib 5. cap. 12. An. 635.

The church of Wincheſter.

The Church of Wincheſter was firſt begon and founded by Kingilſus king of Mercians, hauing 9. myles about it: after finiſhed by his ſonne Kewalcus, where Wyne, of engliſhmen was firſt biſhop, An. 636. Guliel. Malmeſb. Lib. De geſtis pont. Ang.

The church of Lincolne.

The Church of Lincolne firſt founded by Paulinus Biſhop, An. 629.

The church of Weſtminſter.

The Church of Weſtminſter began firſt by a certayne Citizen of London, through the inſtigatiō of Ethelbert king of Kent, which before was an Jle of thornes, Bed. An. 614.

The ſcholes at Cambridge.

The common ſchooles firſt erected at Cambridge by Sigebert king of Eaſtangles, An. 636.

Abbey of Knouiſburgh.

The Abbey of Knouiſburgh builded by Furceus the Heremite, An. 637.

Malmeſb.

The monaſterie of Malmeſbery by one Meldulfus a Scot, about the yeare of our Lord, 640. Afterward inlarged by Agilbert biſhop of Wincheſter.

Abbey of Glocceſter.

The Monaſterie in Glocceſter, firſt builded by Oſricus King of Mercia, as Ceſtrenſis ſayth. But as William Malmeſb. writeth, by Vlferus, and Etheldred brethren to Kineburga Abbeſſe of the ſame houſe, An 679.

Mailroſe.

The monaſtery of Mailroſe by the floud of Twide by Aidanus a Scottiſh biſhop.

Heorenton.

The Nunnery of Heorenton by Heui, who was the firſt Nunne in Northumberland, Bede, Lib. 4. cap. 1.

Heteſey.

The Monaſtery of Heteſey by Oſwy Kyng of Northumberlād, who alſo with his daughter Elfred, gaue poſſeſſions for twelue monaſteries in the partes of Northūberland, An. 656.

The monaſtery of S. Martin at Douer.

The monaſterie of S. Martine in Douer, builded by Whitred king of Kent.

Leſtingey.

The Abbey of Leſtingey by Ceadda (whom we call S. Cedd) through the graunt of Oſwald, ſonne to S. Oſwald, King of Northum. An. 651.

Whitbie. This Hilda was firſt conuerted to the fayth by Paulinus a godly and learned woman, out of her Monaſtery came fiue Byſhops Doſa, Eatha, Oſiford, Ioannes, Wilfride.

The Monaſtery of Whitby called otherwiſe Strenhalt by Hilda daughter to the nephew of Edwyne Kyng of Northumberland, An 657.

Hacanos.

Item an other monaſtery called Hacanos, not far from the ſame place builded by the ſayd Hilda the ſame yeare.

Abington.

The Abbey of Abbington builded by Ciſſa Kyng of Southſex, An. 666.

Ioanno at Lincolne.

Item an Abbey in the Eaſt ſide of Lyncolne, called Ioanno, by S. Botulph, Polychro. Lib. 5. cap. 16. An. 654.

Ely Abbey.

The monaſtery in Ely founded by Etheldred or Edeldrida daughter of Anna king of Eaſtangles, and the wyfe of Elfrid king of Northumb. An. 674.

Chertiey.

The Monaſtery of Chertſey in Southrey, founded by Erkenwald biſhop of London, an. 674 throwen down by the Danes, after reedified by king Edgar.

Berkyng.

Item the Nunnery of Berking edified by the ſayd Erkenwaldus biſhop of London about the ſame tyme.

Peterborough.

The Abbey of Peterborough called otherwiſe Modehamſtede founded by King Ethelwald King of the Mercians, An. 675.

Bardney.

Bardney Abbey by Etheldredus King of the Merciās, An. 700.

Glaſtonbery.

Glaſtonbury by Iua king of the Weſtſaxons, and after repayred and enriched by King Edgar, an. 701.

Cameſey.

Rameſey in the tyme of king Edgar by one Ailwinus a noble mā, an. 973. King Edgar builded in his tyme 40. monaſteries, who raigned, an. 901.

Winburne.

The Nunnery of Winburne builded by Cuthburga ſiſter to Ingilſus, king Iua his brother, an. 717.

Sealeſey.

The Monaſtery of Sealeſey by the Jle of Wight, by Wilfridus biſhop of Yorke, an. 678.

Wincombe.

The Monaſtery of Wincombe by Kenulphus Kyng of the Mercians, an. 737.

S. Albones.

S. Albanes builded by Offa, King of the Mercians. Anno. 755.

Euſham. Ripon. Echelinghey. S. Shafteſbury.

The Abbey of Euſham by Egwinus Byſhop. An. 691.

Ripon in the North by Wilfridus Biſhop. An. 709.

The Abbey of Echelinghey, by king Aluredus, an. 891.

The Nunnery of Shafteſbury by the ſame Aluredus, the ſame yeare.

Two thinges to be wiſhed in them, that firſt builded Monkiſhe Monaſteries.

The article of free iuſtification not knowne.

Thus ye ſee what monaſteries in what tyme began to be founded by the Saxons kings, newly conuerted to the Chriſtian fayth, within the ſpace of 200. yeares: who, as they ſemed then to haue a certain zeale & deuotion to godward, according to the leading & teaching that then was: ſo it ſemeth againe to me, two things to be wiſhed in theſe foreſayd kings. Firſt, that they which began to erect theſe monaſteries and celles of Monkes and Nunnes, to lyue ſoly and ſinglely by themſelues out of the holy ſtate of matrimony: had foreſeene what daunger & what abſurd enormities might and alſo did thereof enſue, both publikely to the Church of Chriſt, & priuately to their own ſoules. Secondly, that vnto this their zeale & deuotion had bene ioyned like knowledge & doctrine in Chriſtes goſpell, eſpecially in the article of our free iuſtification by the faith of Ieſu Chriſt. Becauſe of the lacke wherof, as wel the builders & founders therof, as they that were profeſſed in the ſame, ſeeme both to haue run the wrong way, & to haue bene deceiued. For albeit in them there was a deuotion & zeale of mynd, that thought well in this their doyng, which J will not here reprehend: yet the end and cauſe of their deedes & buildings cannot be excuſed, beyng contrary to the rule of Chriſtes Goſpel, for ſo much as they did theſe things ſeeking thereby merites with God, and for remedy of theyr ſoules, and remiſſion of their ſinnes, as may appeare teſtified in their owne recordes, wherof one here J thought to ſet forth for probation of the ſame. Read this Charte (if it pleaſe thee gentle Reader) of king Ethelbald his donation, & charter giuen to churches and religious perſons, which Ethelbald was the builder (as is ſayd) of Peterborough, the wordes of his record and inſtrument be theſe.

❧ *The donations and priuiledges granted and geuen by King Ethelbald, to religious men of the Church.*

Ex Cronicis Guliel. Malmeſb. Lib. 1.

PLerumq; contingere ſoleſit, pro incerta temporum viciſsitudine, vt ea quæ multarum fidelium perſonarum teſtimonio conſilioq; roborata fuerint: fraudulenter per contumaciā plurimorum, & machinamenta ſimulationis, ſine vlla conſideratione rationis, periculoſè diſſipentur, niſi autoritate literarum (teſtamento Chyrographorum) æternæ memoriæ cōmittantur. Quapropter, ego Ethelbaldus Rex Merciorum, pro amore cæleſtis patriæ, & remedio animæ meæ, ſtudendum eſſe præuidi: vt eam per bona opera liberam efficerem in omni vinculo delictorum. Quoniam enim mihi omnipotens Deus per miſericordiam clementiæ ſuæ, abſque vllo antecedente merito, ſceptra regiminis largitus eſt: ideo libenter ei, ex eo quod dedit, retribuo. Huius rei gratia hanc donationem, me viuente, concedo, vt omnia monaſteria & Eccleſiæ regni mei, à publicis vectigalibus, & operibus, & oneribus abſoluantur: niſi inſtructionibus arcium, vel pontium quæ nulli vnquam proſunt. Præterea habeant famuli Dei, propriam libertatem in fructibus ſiluarum & agrorum, & in captura piſcium, ne munuſcula præbeant vel regi, vel principibus, niſi voluntaria. Sed liberi Deo ſeruiant, &c.

By the contentes hereof may well be vnderſtand (as where he ſayth, pro amore cæleſtis patriæ, pro remedio animæ, pro liberatione animæ, & abſolutione delictorum, &c.) how great the ignoraunce and blindeneſſe of theſe men was: who lacking no zeale, onely lacked knowledge to rule it withall: ſeeking their ſaluation not by Chriſt onely, but by their owne deſeruings and meritorious deedes. Which J recite not here to any infamy or reprehenſiō of them, but rather to put vs in minde and memory, how much we at this preſent are bound to God, for the true ſincerity of his truth: hidden ſo long before to our forefathers, and opened now to vs by the good will of our God, in his ſonne Chriſt Jeſu. This onely lamenting by the way, to ſee them to haue ſuch works, and to lacke our fayth: and vs to haue the right fayth, and to lacke their workes. And this blinde ignoraūce of that age, thus aboue prenoted, was the cauſe not onely why theſe kinges builded ſo many Monaſteries vpon zealous ſuperſtition, but alſo why ſo many of them, forſaking their orderly vocation of Princely regiment, gaue themſelues ouer to Monaſticall profeſſion, or rather wilfull ſuperſtition. Concerning the names and number of which kings that were profeſſed Monkes, is ſufficiently in the ſtorye before declared: the names of whome were ſhewed to be ſeuen or eight, within the ſpace of theſe two hundreth yeres. Such was then the ſuperſtitious deuotiō of kings & Princes in that age: and no leſſe alſo to bee noted in Queenes and kings daughters, with other noble women, of the ſame age and time. The names of whom, it were to long here to recite.

A briefe Cataloge of Queenes and Kinges daughters, which leauing their eſtate were made Nunnes. Hilda.

Erchengoda. Ermenilda. Edelberga. Etheldreda.

As Hilda daughter to the nephew of Edwine king of Northumberland. Abbeſſe of the houſe of Ely. Erchengoda with her ſiſter Ermenilda daughters of Ercombertus king of Kent: whiche Erchengoda was profeſſed in Saint Brigets order in Fraunce. Item Edelberga wyfe and Queene to Kyng Edwyne of Northumberland, and daughter of kyng Anna, which was alſo in

Werburga.
Kynreda.
Kineſwida.
Sexburga.
Elfrida.
Mildreda.
Milburga.
Milguida.
Kineburga.
Elfleda.
Alfritha.
Wulfritha.
Editha.

the ſame houſe of S. Brigit made a Nunne. Item, Etheldreda whō we terme S. Eldride, wife to king Elfride of Northumberland, who beyng maried to two huſbands, could not be obtained to geue her conſent to either of them during the ſpace of 12. yeares, but would needes liue a Virgin, and was profeſſed Nunne at Helings. Werburga was the daughter of Vlferus king of Mercians, & made Nunne at Ely. Kinreda ſiſter of king Vlferus and Kinſwida her ſiſter, were both Nunnes profeſſed. Sexburga daughter of kyng Anna king of Mercians, and wyfe of Ercombert kyng of Kent, was Abbeſſe at Ely. Elfrida daughter of Oſwy kyng of Northumberland, was Abbeſſe of Whitney. Mildreda, Milburga, and Milguida, all three daughters of Merwaldus king of weſt Mercians, entred the profeſſion and vow of Nuniſh virginitie. Kineburga, wife of Alfride king of Northumberland, and ſiſter to Ofricus king of Mercians, and daughter of king Penda, was profeſſed Abbeſſe of the Monaſtery in Gloceſter. Elfleda, daughter of Oſwy king, and wyfe of Peda, ſonne of king Penda, likewiſe incloſed her ſelf in the ſame profeſſion and vow of Romiſh chaſtitie. Likewiſe Alfritha wyfe to king Edgar. And Editha daughter to the ſayd Edgar, with Wolfrith her mother, &c. All which holy Nunnes with diuers mo, the Romiſh catholikes haue canoniſed for Saintes, and put the moſt part of thē in their Calender, and onely becauſe of the vowe of chaſtitie ſolemnly profeſſed. Concerning the which chaſtitie, whether they kept or no, little I haue to ſay againſt them, and leſſe to ſweare for them. But whether they ſo kept it or not, if this gift of chaſtitie which they profeſſed, were geuen them of God, ſmall prayſe worthy was it in them to keepe it: If it were not geuen them, I will not ſay here of them ſo much, as hath bene ſayd of ſome other, which ſufficiently haue painted out to the world, the demeanour of theſe holy votaries. But this will I ſay, that although they kept it neuer ſo perfectly, yet it is not that which maketh ſaints before God, but only the bloud of Chriſt Ieſus, and a true fayth in him.

Likewiſe remayneth, that as we haue declared the deuotion of theſe noble women, which profeſſing Monaſtick lyfe, haue caſt of all worldly dignitie and delightes: ſo we ſhould alſo intreate of ſuch noble men, who among the Saxon kings in lyke zeale of deuotion, haue geuen ouer themſelues from the world (as they thought) to the contemplatiue life of Monkiſh profeſſion. The names of whō as in the Catalogue of the Saxon kings before is deſcribed, be theſe, to the number of ix.

A Table of ſuch Saxon Kings, as were after made Monkes.

Kinges made Monkes.

1. Kynigilſus, king of weſtſaxons.
2. Iue, king of weſtſaxons.
3. Ceolulfus, king of Northumberland.
4. Eadbertus, king of Northumberland.
5. Ethelredus, king of Mercia.
6. Kenredus, king of Mercia.
7. Offa, king of Eaſtſaxons.
8. Sebbi, king of Eaſtſaxons.
9. Sigebertus, king of Eaſtangles.

Of whiche kynges and their doynges, what is to be iudged, looke gentle Reader before. pag. 133.

By theſe hiſtoryes it is apparaunt: what mutations, what perturbations, and what alteratiō of ſtate hath bene in this Realme of Britayne, firſt from Brittaynes kings, to Romaines, then to Britaynes agayn, afterward to the Saxons. Firſt to vij. altogether raigning, then to one. &c. And this alteratiō not onely happened in ẏ ciuile gouernment, but alſo followed in the ſtate Eccleſiaſtical. For as in the Britaynes tyme the Metropolitan ſea was in Londō: ſo in the Saxons time after the comming of Auſten, it was remoued to Cāterbury, the Catalogue and order of which Metropolitanes, from the tyme of Auſten to Egbertus, is thus, as in the hiſtory of Malmeſberienſis deſcribed.

¶ The names and order of the Archbiſhops of Caunterbury, from Auguſtine, to the tyme of king Ethelbert.

1.	Auguſtinus.	16.
2.	Laurentius.	5.
3.	Mellitus.	5.
4.	Iuſtus.	3.
5.	Honorius.	25.
6.	Deus dedit.	10.
7.	Theodorus.	22.

¶ Hitherto from Auguſtine all the Archbiſhops of Caunterbury were Italians and forreiners.

8.	Berctualdus English.	37
9.	Tacuinus.	3
10.	Nothelinus.	5
11.	Cuthbertus.	17
12.	Breguinus.	3
13.	Lambrihtus, or Lambertus.	27
1	Ethelardus.	13
15.	Vlfredus.	28
16.	Fegeldus.	3 m.
17.	Celnochus.	41

In his tyme the Monaſterie of S. Martin was builded in Dorobernia, by Witredus & hys brother, kings of Kent.

This Cutbert after his death forbad all funerall exequies or lamentation for him to bee made. William Malm. De vitis, Lib. 1.

In his tyme king Offa tranſlated the Metropolitane ſea from Caunterbury to Lichfield by the graunt of Pope Adrian, beyng ouercome with Apoſtolicall arguments, as ſayth Flores Hiſt. that is with money.

This Ethelardus by his Epiſtles to Pope Leo, obtayned the Metropolitane ſea agayne to Cāterbury.

Duryng the courſe of theſe 17. Archbiſhops of Cant. in Rome paſſed in the meane tyme 34. Popes, of whome partly heretofore we haue declared.

And thus much touching the tyme of the ſeuen kingdomes of the Saxones, rulyng together in Englande, from the raygne of Hengiſt, vnto Egbert, the firſt Kyng and Monarche of the whole lande, after the expulſion of the Britaynes.

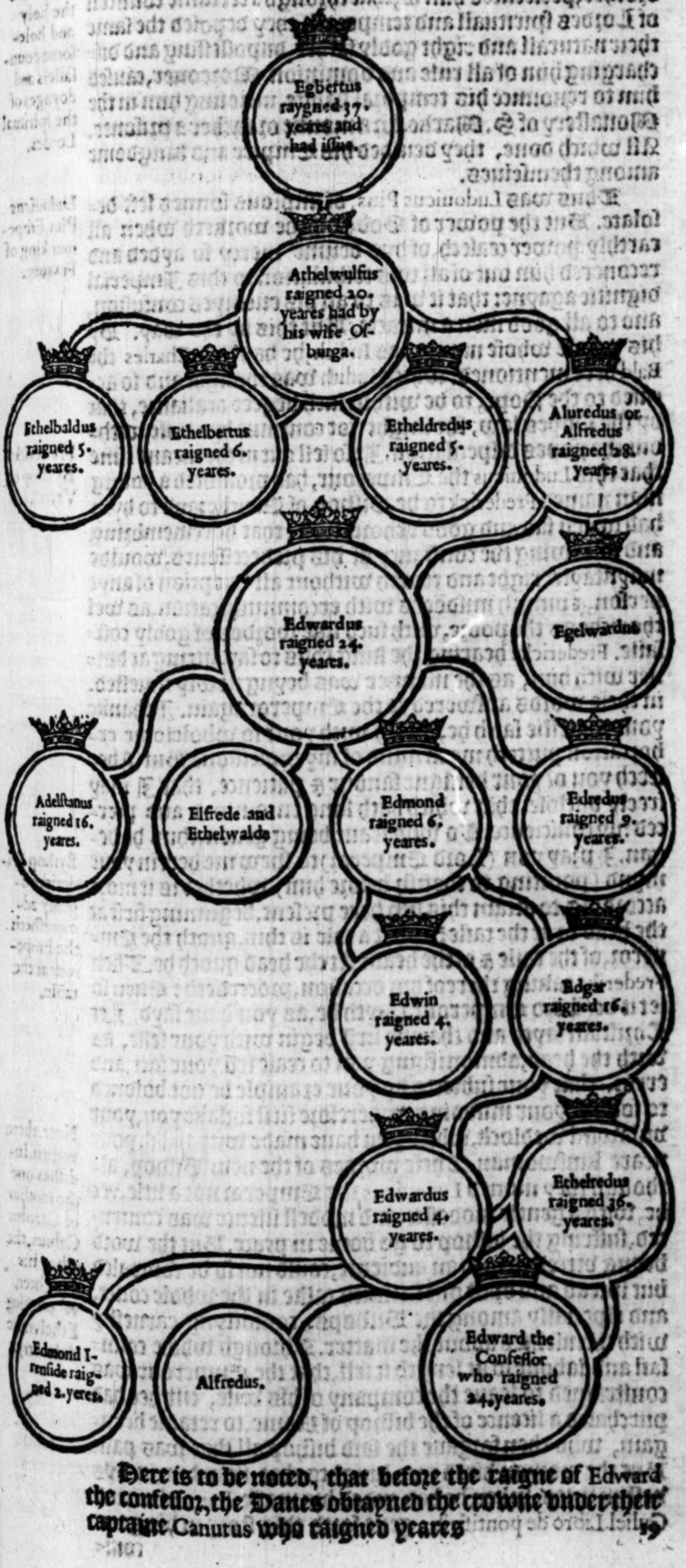
NOw remayneth (by the grace of Chriſt) in the next booke followyng, to proſecute the order of ſuch kings as principally raigning alone, had this realme in their poſſeſſion: from the tyme of Egbert king of weſtſaxons, to the comming of William Conqueror the Normand, comprehending therin the reſt of the next 300. yeares, with the actes & ſtate of Religion, as in that ſpace was in the Church: wherin may appeare the declining tyme of the Church, and of true Religiō, preparing the way to Antichriſt, which not long after followed. For here is to be noted, that during yet this meane tyme, Sathan (as is ſayd) was bound vp from his raging and furious violence, counting from the tyme of Conſtantinus, to the next looſing out of Sathan, which was foretold by the Reuelation of S. Iohn aboue mentioned, to be a thouſand yeares, wherof by the order of the hiſtory (Chriſt graunting) more ſhall be ſayd hereafter.

The ende of the ſecond Booke.

THE THIRD BOOKE CONTEINING THE *next 300. yeares, from the raigne of King Egbertus, to the tyme of* William Conquerour.

NOW remayneth likewiſe as before I did in deſcribing, the diſcent and diuerſitie of the ſeuen kings altogether raigning and ruling in this land, ſo to proſecute in like order the lineal ſucceſſion of them, which after Egbert king of weſtſaxones, gouerned and ruled ſoly, vntill the conqueſt of William the Normand: firſt expreſſing their names, & afterward importing ſuch acts as in their tyme happened in the Church worthy to be noted. Albeit, as touching the actes and doyngs of theſe kings, becauſe they are ſufficiently and at large deſcribed, and taken out of Latine writers into the Engliſh tong by ſondry authors, and namely in the ſtory or Chronicle of Fabian. I ſhall not ſpende much trauaile therupon, but rather referre the reader, to him or to ſome other: where the troubleſome tumultes betwene the Engliſhmen and the Danes at that tyme may be ſeene, who ſo liſteth to read them. Onely the Table of their names and raigne, in actes done vnder their raigne, I haue compendiouſly abridged; vſing ſuch breuitie, as the matter would ſuffer.

¶ *A Table of the Saxon Kings, which ruled alone from King Egbert,* vnto William Conquerour.


Egbertus raygned 37. yeares and had iſſue.
Athelwulfus raigned 20. yeares had by his wife Oſburga.
Ethelbaldus raigned 5. yeares.
Ethelbertus raigned 6. yeares.
Etheldredus raigned 5. yeares.
Aluredus or Alfredus raigned 28. yeares
Edwardus raigned 24. yeares.
Egelwardus
Adelſtanus raigned 16. yeares.
Elfrede and Ethelwalde
Edmond raigned 6. yeares.
Edredus raigned 9. yeares.
Edwin raigned 4. yeares.
Edgar raigned 16. yeares.
Edwardus raigned 4. yeares.
Ethelredus raigned 36. yeares.
Edmond Irenſide raigned 2. yeres.
Alfredus.
Edward the Confeſſor who raigned 24. yeares.

Here is to be noted, that before the raigne of Edward the confeſſor, the Danes obtayned the crowne vnder their captaine Canutus who raigned yeares 19

Haraldus Harefoote, ſonne of Canutus.	4
Hardeknoutus ſonne of Canutus.	2
Edwar. the confeſſor, an engliſhmã, ſonne of Ethelred.	24
Haraldus ſonne of Erle Godwine an vſurper.	1
William Conqueror a Normand.	

¶ *King Egbertus.*

Egbert king of the Weſtſaxons, afterward Monarke and king of the whole Realme.

IN the raigne of Brigthricus a litle before mentioned, about the yere of grace 785. there was in his dominion a noble perſonage, of ſome called Egbert, of ſome Ethelbert, of ſome Athelbright, who being feared of the ſame Brigthricus, becauſe he was of a kingly bloud, & nere vnto the crowne, was by the force & conſpiracie of the forenamed Brigthricus, chaſed & purſued out of the land of Britain into Frãce, where he endured till the death of the ſayd Brigthricus. After the hearing whereof, Egbert ſped him ſhortly out of Fraunce, vnto his countrey of weſtſaxe, where he in ſuch wiſe behaued himſelfe, that he obteined the regiment and gouernance of the aboueſaid kingdom.

In this tyme came in the Danes, firſt into the North partes and were driuen out agayne.

{Anno. 807.}

Example what it is to deſpiſe other. Example of patience.

Bernulphus king of Mercia aboue mentioned, with other kings, had this Egbert in ſuch deriſion, that they made of him diuers ſcoffing geſtes, and ſcorning rimes, at which he ſuſteined for a time. But when he was more eſtabliſhed in his kingdome, & had proued the mindes of his ſubiects and eſpecially God working withall: he afterward aſſembled his knights, and gaue to the ſaide Bernulphus, a battaile in a place called Elinde, in the prouince of Hampton. And notwithſtanding in that fight was great oddes of number, as 6. or 8. againſt one, yet Egbert (through the might of the Lord which giueth victory as pleaſeth him) had the better and wan the field: which done he ſeaſed that Lordſhip into his hand. And that alſo done, he made war vpon the Kentiſh ſaxons, and at length in likewiſe, of them obtained the victory. And as it is in Polychronicon teſtified, he alſo ſubdued Northumberland, and cauſed the kings of theſe three kingdomes to liue vnder him as tributaries or ioyned them to his kingdome. Ex Flor. Hiſt. This Egbert, alſo wan from the Britons or welſhmẽ, the town of Cheſter, which they had kept poſſeſſion of, till that daye. After theſe & other victories, he peaceably enioying the land, called a Councell of his Lords at wincheſter, where by their aduiſes he was crowned king & chief Lord ouer this land. which before that day was called Britaine: but thẽ he ſent out into all coaſts of the land his commaundements and cõmiſſions, charging ſtraightly ỷ from that day forward the Saxons ſhould be called Angles, and the land Anglia.

{Anno. 826.}

Of this victory went a prouerb, *Riuus cruore rubuit, ruina reſtitit, fœtore tabuit.*

This land firſt called *Anglia.*

{Anno. 833.}

Danes now the ſecond tyme entred in this land.

About the 30. yeare of the raigne of Egbert, the heatheniſh people of the Danes, which a little before had made horrible deſtruction in Northumberland, & eſpecially in ỷ Iſle of Lindeſfarne, where they ſpoyled the Churches, and murthered the miniſters, with men, women, and children, after a cruell maner, entered now the ſecond tyme with a great hoſt into this land, and ſpoyled the Iſle of Shepy in Kent, or nere to Kent, where Egbert hearing therof, aſſembled his people and met with them at Carrum. But in that conflict ſped not ſo well as he was wont in tymes before, but with his knights was compelled to forſake the field. Notwithſtanding in the next battail, the ſayd Egbert with a ſmall power ouerthrew a great multitude of them, and ſo droue them backe. The next yeare following, the ſayd Danes preſuming vpon their victory before, made their

Anno. 834.

Fabian. cap. 158.

Rog. Houed. Lib. 5. cap. 1.

returne again into the land weſtward, where ioining with the Britaines, by the helpe and power of them, they aſſayled the landes of Egbert, & did much harme in many places of his dominion, and els where, ſo that after this day, they were continually abiding in one place of the realme of england or other, till the time of Hardeknutus, laſt king of the Danes bloud, ſo that many of them were maried to Engliſh women, and many that now be, or in times paſt were called Engliſhmen, are deſcended of them. And albeit that they were many and ſundry times driuen out of the land, & chaſed from one countrey to an other, yet that notwithſtãding, they euer gathered new ſtrengthes and power, that they abode ſtill within the land.

England fiue tym s plagued by other natiõs.

Ex Rog. Houed. Lib. 5.

And thus (as by the ſtoryes appeareth) this troubleſome land of Britaine, now called England, hath bene hetherto by v. ſundry outward nations plagued. Firſt, by the Romains, then by the Scots & Pictes, 3. by the Saxons, 4. by the Danes, of whoſe outragious crueltye & hoſtilitie, our Engliſh hiſtories do moſt exclayme & complayne: fiftly by the Normanes, which I pray God be the laſt.

Thẽ it followeth in the ſtory, that the time of this perſecution of the foreſayd Paganes and Danes continuing, king Egbert when he had ruled the weſtſaxons, and ouer the more part of England, by the terme of xxxvij. yeares, dyed, and was buried at wincheſter, leauing to his ſonne Ethelwolfe his kingdome, which firſt was Byſhoppe of wincheſter (as Houeden recordeth) and after vpon neceſſity made king, leauing withal and pronouncing this ſaying to his ſonne: Fœlicem fore, ſi regnum, quod multa rexerat induſtria, ille conſueta genti illi non interrumperet ignauia.

✽ *King Athelwolfus.*

Anno. 837.

Athelwulfus, the ſonne of Egbert, in his former age had entred into the order of Subdeacon, and as ſome other ſay was made Byſhop of wincheſter. But afterward being the onely ſonne of Egbert was made king through the diſpenſation (as Fabian ſayth) of Pope Paſchalis, but that can not be: for Paſchalis then was not Byſhopp: ſo that by the computation of tyme, it ſhould rather ſeeme to be Gregory the 4. This Athelwulfe (as being himſelf once nuſeled in that order) was alwayes good and deuoute to holye Church and religious orders. In ſo much that he gaue to them the tythe of all his goods and landes in weſtſaxons, with liberty and freedome from all ſeruage and ciuil charges. whereof, his charte inſtrument beareth teſtimony after this tenour proceeding: much like to the donation of Ethelbaldus king of Mercians, aboue mentioned.

A place in Fabian to be amended.

Guliel. Lib, de geſtis pont. Anglor. ſayth this Pope was Leo iiij.

✽ *The Priuiledges and donations geuen by king Ethelwulfus to the Clergie.*

Anno. 844.

Priuiledges and temporalties graunted to the Church by king Ethelwulfe.

REgnante Domino noſtro imperpetuum. Dum in noſtris temporibus per bellorum incendia, & direptiones opum noſtrarum, nec non & vaſtantium crudeliſsimas depredationes hoſtiũ, barbarum, paganarumq́; gentium, multiplices tribulationes ad affligendum vſque ad internecionem, tempora cernimus incumbere periculoſa. Quamobrem, ego Ethelwulfus Rex occidentalium Saxonum, cum conſilio Epiſcoporum & principum meorum, conſilium ſalubre, & vniforme remedium affirmaui: vt aliquam portionem terrarum hæreditariam, Deo & ſanctæ Mariæ, & omnibus ſanctis iure perpetuo poſsidendam concedam, ſcilicet partem terræ meæ, vt ſit tuta & immunis ab omnibus ſecularibus ſeruicijs, nec non regalibus tributis maioribus & minoribus ſiue taxationibus, quod nos dicimus Wittereden: ſitq́; libera omnium rerum, pro remiſsione animarum & peccatorum noſtrorum, ad Deo ſoli deſeruiendum, ſine expeditione, & pontis conſtructione, & arcis munitione: vt eo diligentiùs pro nobis ad Deum preces ſine ceſſatione fundant, quo eorum ſeruitutem in aliqua parte leuigamus, &c.

Ex Flor. Hiſt.

Pro remiſ. Note the blinde ignoraunce and erroneous teaching in thoſe dayes.

Hereby may it appeare, how when the Churches of England, began firſt to be indued with temporalties and lands: alſo with priuileges & exemptiõs enlarged. Moreouer (and that which ſpecially is to be conſidered & lamented) what pernicious doctrine was this, wherewith they were led: thus to ſet remiſſion of their ſinnes, and remedy of their ſoules: in this donation and ſuch other deedes of their deuotion, cõtrary to the information of Gods word, and no ſmall derogation to the Croſſe of Chriſt?

Theſe thinges thus done within the Realme, then the ſayd Ethelwulfus the king, taking his iourney to Rome, with Alured his youngeſt ſonne, committed him to the bringing vp of Pope Leo the iiij. where he alſo reedified the Engliſh ſchole at Rome: which being founded by king Offa, or rather by Iue king of Mercians (as in the flowers of Hiſt. is affirmed) was lately in the tyme of king Egbert his father, conſumed with fire. Farther and beſides, this king gaue and graunted there vnto Rome, of euery fire houſe a peny to be payd through his whole land, as king Iue in his dominion had done before. Alſo he gaue & graũted yearely to be payd to Rome. 300. markes, that is to the mainteining of the light of S. Peter. C. markes: to ẏ light of S. Paul. C. markes: to the vſe of the Pope alſo an other hundreth. This done, returning home through Fraunce, maried their Iudith the daughter of Carolus Caluus, ẏ Frẽch king: whom he reſtored afterward, contrary to the lawes of weſtſaxons, to the title and throne of a Queene. For before, it was decreed among the weſtſaxons (by the occaſion of wicked Ethelburga, who poiſoned Brigthricus her owne huſband) that after that, no kinges wife there ſhould haue the name or place of a Queene.

Peter pence through the whole Realme graunted to Rome.

Money beſtowed to burne day light.

And forſomuch as I haue here entred into the mention of Iudith, daughter of Carolus Caluus: the occaſion thereof putteth me in memory, here to inſert by the way a matter done, although not in this Realme, yet not impertinent to this eccleſiaſticall hiſtory. And firſt to deduct the narration hereof from the firſt originall. The father of this Carolus Caluus, whoſe name was Ludouicus, firſt of that name, called Pius king of Fraunce, had two wiues: whereof by the firſt, he had iij. ſonnes, Lothary, Pipin, and Lewys. Which iij. ſonnes vnnaturally and vnkindly, cõſpiring againſt their father, and his ſecond wife, with her ſonne, their youngeſt brother, perſecuted him ſo, that through a certaine councell of Lordes ſpirituall and temporall, they depoſed the ſame their naturall and right godly father, diſpoſſeſſing and diſcharging him of all rule and dominion. Moreouer, cauſed him to renounce his temporal habite, incloſing him in the Monaſtery of S. Marke, for a monke or rather a priſoner. All which done, they deuided his Empire and kingdome among themſelues.

Note here the holy and holeſome counſailers and doynges of the ſpiritual Lordes.

Thus was Ludouicus Pius, of impious ſonnes left deſolate. But the power of God, whiche worketh when all earthly power ceaſeth, of hys deuine mercy ſo ayded and recouered him out of all this tribulation to this Imperial dignitie agayne: that it was to all his enemyes confuſion, and to all good men a miracle. But this by the way. By his 2. wife whoſe name was Iudith, he had this Charles the Bald here mentioned. which Iudith was thought and ſo accuſed to the Pope, to be within ſuch degree of aliance, that by the Popes law, ſhe might not continue hys wife without the popes diſpenſation. It ſo fell out in the meane time that this Ludouicus the Emperour, had promoted a young man named Frederick to be Biſhop of Vtricke and to hym had geuen ſad and good exhortation, that he remembring and following the conſtancy of his predeceſſours, woulde mayntayne right and trueth without all exception of anye perſon, & puniſh miſdoers with excommunication, as wel the riche as the poore, with ſuch like wordes of godly counſaile. Fredericke hearing the king thus to ſay, ſitting at dinner with him, as the manner was beyng newly inueſted, in theſe words anſwered to the Emperor again. I thanke your maieſtie ſaith he, which with your ſo wholeſome exhortation putteth me in mind of my profeſſion. But I beſeech you of your benigne fauour & patience, that I may freely diſcloſe, that which hath long encombred and pierced my conſcience. To whõ leaue being geuen, thus he began. I pray you (Lord Emperor) to ſhew me herein your mynd (pointing to the fiſh before him) whether is it more according, to attain this fiſh here preſent, beginning firſt at the head or at the taile? what a tale is this, quoth the Emperor, of the taile & of the head: At the head quoth he. Then Frederike taking thereof his occaſion, proceedeth: Euen ſo let it be (Lord Emperour) ſayth he, as you haue ſayd. Let Chriſtian fayth and charitie firſt begin with your ſelfe, as with the head, admoniſhing you to ceaſe frõ your fact, and error, that your ſubiects by your example be not boldned to follow your miſdoing. wherefore firſt forſake you, your vnlawful wedlock, which you haue made with Iudith your neare kinſwoman. Theſe wordes of the new Biſhop, although they moued Ludouicus the Emperor not a litle, yet he, with a gentle modeſtie, and modeſt ſilence was contented, ſuffring the biſhop to go home in peace. But the word beyng vttered in ſuch an audience, could not ſo be concealed but ſpread and braſt out in much talke in the whole court, and eſpecially among the Biſhops, conſultyng earneſtly with themſelues about the matter. Through whoſe counſail and labour ſo at length it fell, that the Emperour was conſtrained to leaue the company of his wife, till hee had purchaſed a licence of the biſhop of Rome, to retaine her again, who then forgaue the ſaid biſhop all that was paſt. But the woman hired two knights that ſlew him in hys veſtimentes, when he had ended his maſſe. Ranulphus, and Guliel. Libro de pontificib, geue forth this ſtory in his great com-

Ludouicus Pius, Emperour king of Fraunce.

Fredericke Byſhop of Vtricke.

Byſhop Fredericke openly admoniſheth the Emperour at the table.

Note, there were ii. Iudithes one the mother of Carolus Caluus, the other his daughter, whom king Ethelwulfe did marry.

Friderické Byſhop of Vtricke iudged of ſome a Martyr.

Example of the women more ready to reuenge then the man.

commendation to dye a Martyr. whereof I haue not to iudge, nor here to pronoũce: but that rather I think him to be comended in his dying, then the women for her killing.

And forasmuch as mention hath bene made of Ludouicus Pius, here is to be noted, that in Fraunce then was vſed of Prieſtes and Churchmen, precious and ſhewing veſture, and golden, and rich ſtaring girdles, with rings and other ornamentes of golde. wherefore the ſayd Lewes purchaſed of the Biſhop of Rome a correctiõ, for all ſuch as vſed ſuch diſordinate apparell, cauſing them to weare browne and ſad colours, according to their ſadnes. Fab.

Of this Lewes the Papiſtes doe fayne, that becauſe he conuerted certayne of their Church goodes and patrimonie to yͤ wages of his ſouldiours, his body (ſay they) was caryed out of his tombe by deuils, and was no more ſeene.

Swithinus Biſhop of Wincheſter.

And thus a little hauing digreſſed out of our courſe, now let vs returne out of Fraunce into England agayne: kyng Ethelwulfus, who comming from Rome by the coũtrey of Fraunce, was now returned agayne into his own dominion, where he continued not long after.

This Ethelwulfus, had eſpecially about him two Biſhops, whoſe counſell he was moſt ruled by, Swythinus Byſhop of wincheſter, and Adelſtanus Byſhop of Syreborne. Of the which two, the one was more ſkilfull in tẽporall and ciuill affayres touching the kings warres, and filling of hys coffers, and other furniture for the king. The other (whiche was Swythinus) was of a contrary ſorte, wholly diſpoſed and enclined to ſpirituall meditation, and to miniſter ſpirituall coũcel to yͤ king: who had ben ſcholemaiſter to the king before. wherein appeared one good cõdition of this kings nature, among his other vertues, not onely in following the preceptes and aduertiſementes of his old ſchoolemaiſter: But alſo in yͭ he like a kinde & thãkfull pupille did ſo reuerence hys bringer vp, and old ſcholmaiſter (as he called him) that he ceaſed not, till hee made hym Byſhop of wincheſter, by the conſecration of Celnoch then Archbiſhop of Canterbury. But as concerning the miracles which are read in the Churche of wincheſter, of this Swythinus, them I leaue to be read together with the Iliades of Homere, or tales of Robenhood.

Example of a kind ſcholer to hys ſcholemayſter.

Monkiſhe miracles fayned of Swithinus.

Pope Leo iij.
Stephen. iiij.
Paſcalis i.
Eugenius. ij.
Valentinus. j.
Gregory. iiij.

A generall Synode at Aquiſgraue.

Euerye Church to haue ſufficient to finde hys owne Prieſtes.

Pretious garmentes of ſcarlet or, other riche colour forbidden men of the Clergy.

Great families not lawfull for men of the Clergy.

Ringes and gold in their ſhoes forbidden.

The feaſt of all Sainctes firſt ordayned.

This Gregory the fourth here in this preſent Chapter aboue mentioned: was the third pope which ſucceeded after Paſchalis the firſt, being but. 4. yeares betwixt them, which Paſchalis ſucceeded after Steuen the 4. who followed after Leo the 3. next Pope vnto Hadrian aboue in our hiſtory mentioned, whereas we intreated of Charles the great. From the tyme of that Hadrian the firſt, vnto Pope Hadrian the 3. The Emperours had ſome ſtroke in the election (at leſt in the confirmation) of the Romaine Pope. Notwithſtanding, diuers of thoſe foreſayd popes in the meane time began to work their practiſes to bring that purpoſe about. But yet all their deuiſes could take no full effect, before the ſayd Hadrian the iij. as hereafter (Chriſt willing) ſhalbe declared. So that the Emperours all this while bare ſome rule in chuſing the Popes, and in aſſembling generall Councels. wherfore by the commaundement of Ludouicus the Emperour, in the tyme of this Gregory the iiij. a generall Synode was commenſed at Aquiſgraue, where it was decreed by the ſayd Gregory and his aſſiſtaunce: firſt that euery Church ſhould haue ſufficient of his owne proper landes and reuenewes, to finde the Prieſtes thereof: that none ſhould need to lacke or go about a begging. Itẽ that none of the Clergy of what order or degree ſoeuer he be, ſhould vſe any veſture of any precious or ſcarlet coulour. Neither ſhall weare ringes on their fingers, vnleſſe it be when Prelates be at Maſſe, or geue their conſecrations. Item that Prelates ſhould not keepe to great portes or families, nor keepe great horſe, vſe dice, or harlots. And the Monkes ſhould not exceed meaſure in glotony or riot. Item that none of the Clergye being either annoynted or ſhauen: ſhould vſe either golde or ſiluer in their ſhooes, ſlippers, or girdles, like to Heliogabalus. By this it may be coniectured, what pompe and pride in thoſe daies was crept into the Clergy. Moreouer, by the ſayd pope Gregory the 4. at the commaundement of Ludouicus Emperour, the feaſt of all Saintes was firſt brought into the Church.

Pope Sergius. ij.

When the Popes names began the firſt to be altered.

Agnus thriſe ſong at the Maſſe.

The hoſte deuided in three partes.

After this Pope, came Sergius the ſecond which firſt brought in the altering of the Popes names, becauſe hee was named before os porci, that is, Swines ſnout: which alſo ordayned the Agnus thrice to be ſong at the Maſſe, and the hoaſt to be deuided into three partes.

Pope Leo the 4.

After him, was Pope Leo the iiij. to whom this kyng Ethelwulfus (as in this preſent chapter is aboue ſpecified) did commit the tuition of his ſonne Alured. By this Pope Leo, it came in, and was firſt enacted in a Counſell of hys, that no Biſhop ſhould be condemned vnder 72. witneſſes, according as ye ſee in the witneſſes, at the condemnation of Stephen Gardiner, orderly practiſed.

No Byſhop by the Popes law to be condemned vnder 72. witneſſes.

The golden croſſe firſt borne before the pope.

Item contrary to the law of Gregory the iiij. his predeceſſor: this Pope ordayned the croſſe (all ſet with golde & precious ſtone) to be caried before him, like a Pope.

And here next now followeth & commeth in, the whore of Babylon (rightly in her true colours by the permiſſion of God and manifeſtly without all tergiuerſation) to appeare to the whole world: and that not onely after the ſpiritual ſenſe, but after the very letter, and the right forme of an whore in deed. For after this Leo aboue mentioned, the Cardinals proceeding to their ordinary electiõ (after a ſolemne Maſſe of the holy Ghoſt, to the perpetuall ſhame of them & of that ſea) in ſtead of a mã Pope, elected an whore in deed to miniſter Sacraments, to ſay maſſes, to geue orders, to conſtitute Deacons, Prieſts, and biſhops, to promote Prelates, to make Abbots, to conſecrate Churches and altars, to haue the raigne and rule of Emperors and kings: And ſo ſhe did in deede, called by name Ioan. the 8. This womans proper name was Gilberta (a Dutch woman of Magunce) who went with an engliſh monke out of the Abbey of Fulda in a mans apparell vnto Athens, and after through her dexteritie of wit and learning, was promoted to the Popedom, where ſhe ſate two yeres & 6. monthes. At laſt openly in the face of a general proceſſion, fell in labour & trauail of child, & ſo died. By reaſon whereof, the Cardinals yet to this day do auoid to come nere by that ſtreete where this ſhame was taken. By Benedictus the iij. who ſucceeded next in the whoriſh ſea, was firſt ordained (as moſt writers record) the Dirge to be ſayd for the dead. Albeit before him, Gregory the iij. had done in that matter, worthily for his part already.

A woman Pope called Ioan. viij.

The Church of Rome after their Maſſe of the holy Ghoſt may erre.

Pope Benedictus. iij.

Dirge for the dead.

Pope Nicolas the firſt.

After him ſate Pope Nicholas the firſt, who enlarged the Popes decrees with many conſtitutions, equallyng the authoritie of them, with the writings of the Apoſtles. He ordayned that no ſecular Prince, nor the Emperour himſelf, ſhould be preſent at their Councels, vnles in matters concerning the fayth: to the end that ſuch as they iudged to be heretikes, they ſhould execute and murther. Alſo, that no lay men ſhould ſit in iudgement vpon the clergy men, or reaſon vpon the Popes power. Item that no Chriſtian Magiſtrate ſhould haue any power vpon any Prelate, alledging that a Prelate is called God. Item that all Church ſeruice ſhould be in Latine: yet notwithſtanding, diſpenſing with the Sclauonians, and Polonians, to retaine ſtill their vulgar language. Sequences in the Maſſe were by him firſt allowed. By this Pope, Prieſtes began to be reſtrained and debarred from marrying: whereof Hulderike Biſhop of Auſbrough (a learned & an holy man) ſending a letter vnto the Pope, grauely and learnedly refuteth and reclaimeth against his vndiſcreet proceedings touching yͤ matter. The copy of which letter, as I thought it vnworthy to be ſuppreſſed, ſo I iudged it here worthy & meete for the better inſtruction of the Reader, to bee inſerted. The wordes whereof here follow out of Latine into Engliſh tranſlated.

The mariage of prieſtes begon to be forbiddẽ.

* A learned Epiſtle of Hulderike biſhop of Auſbrough, ſent to Pope Nicholas the firſt, prouing by probations ſubſtantiall, that Prieſtes ought not to bee reſtrayned from Mariage.

Anno. 867.

A letter written to Pope Nicolas concerning Prieſtes not to refrayne from Mariage.

NIcolao Domino & patri, peruigili ſanctæ Romanæ Eccleſiæ prouiſori, Huldericus ſolo nomine Epiſcopus, amorem vt filius, timorem vt ſeruus. Cum tua (O pater & Domine) decreta ſuper clericorum continentiam, &c.

¶ The ſame in Engliſh.

Hulderike biſhop onely by name, vnto the reuerend father Nicholas the vigilant prouiſor of the holy church of Rome: with due commendation ſendeth loue as a ſonne, and feare as a ſeruaunt. Vnderſtanding reuerend father your decrees which you ſent to me concerning the ſingle lyfe of the Clergy, to be far diſcrepant from all diſcretiõ, I was troubled partly with feare, partly with heauineſſe. With feare, (for that, as it is ſayd) the ſentence of the paſtor, whether it be iuſt or vniuſt, is to be feared.

For I was afrayde for the weake hearers of the Scripture (which ſcarſely obey the iuſt ſentence of their Paſtour) much more deſpiſing this vniuſt decreement, through the onerous and importable tranſgreſſion of their Paſtor, ſhould ſhew themſelues diſobedient. With heauines I was troubled, and with compaſsion: for that I doubted how the members of the body ſhould doe (their head being ſo greatly out of frame.) For what can be more greuous or more to be lamẽted, touching the ſtate of the church then for you, being the Biſhop of the principall ſeat, to whom appertaineth the regiment of the whole church, to ſwarue neuer ſo little, out of the right way? Certes, in this you haue not a little erred, in that you haue gone about to conſtraine your Clergy to ſinglenes of life, through your imperious tiranny: whom rather ye ought to ſtirre vp to the continency of mariage. For is not this to be counted a violence and tiranny to the iudgement of all wiſe men: when a man is compelled by your decrees to doe that which is againſt the inſtitution of the Goſpell, and the proceeding of the holy Ghoſt? Seyng then there be ſo many holy examples both of the olde and new Teſtament, teachyng vs (as you know) due information: I deſire your patience not to thinke it greuous for me to bryng a few here out of many.

Prieſtes Mariage in the olde law permitted, in the new law not forbidden.

Firſt in the olde law, the Lord permitteth mariage vnto the Prieſtes, which afterward in the new law, we doe not read to bee reſtrayned, but in the Goſpel thus he ſayth: There bee ſome Eunuches which haue gelded themſelues for the kingdome of heauen, but all men do not take this word, he that can take it, let him take it. Wherſore the Apoſtle ſayth, concerning virgins I haue no commaundement of the Lord, but onely I geue counſell. Which counſaile alſo all men do not take, as in the commaundement of the Lord before, but many there be, falſe diſſemblers and flatterers, goyng about to pleaſe men and not God, whome we ſee vnder a falſe pretence of continencie, to fall into horrible wickedneſſe: Some to lye with their fathers wiues, ſome to bee Sodomites, and not to abhorre to play the beaſtes with bruite beaſtes. And therfore, leaſt through the infection of this wicked peſtilẽce, the ſtate of the Church ſhould too much go to ruine: therfore he ſayd, becauſe of fornication, let euery man haue his owne wyfe. Touching which ſaying, our falſe hypocrites falſly do lye, & ſaine: as though onely it pertayned to the laitie, and not to them. And yet they themſelues ſeming to be ſet in the moſt holy order, are not afrayd to abuſe other mens wiues, and as we ſee with (weeping eyes) all they do outrage in the foreſayd wickednes.

The inconuenience of ſingle life.

Theſe men haue not rightly vnderſtanded the Scripture, whoſe breſtes while they ſucke ſo hard (in ſtead of milke) they ſuck out bloud. For the ſaying of the Apoſtle: let euery man haue his own wiſe: doth except none in very deede, but him onely which hath the gifte of continency, prefixing with himſelfe to keepe and to continue hys virgine in the Lord. Wherfore (O reuerend father) it ſhalbe your part to cauſe & ouerſee, that whoſoeuer, either with hand or mouth, hath made a vowe of continencie, and afterward would forſake, either ſhould be compelled to keepe his vowe, or els by lawfull authoritie ſhould be depoſed from his order.

The ſaying of the Apoſtle, let euery one haue hys own wiſe.

And to bring this to paſſe, ye ſhall not onely haue me, but alſo all other of my order, to be helpers vnto you. But that you may vnderſtand, that ſuch which know not what a vowe doth meane, are not to be violently compelled thereunto: heare what the Apoſtle ſayth vnto Timothie. A Biſhop (ſayth he) muſt be irreprehenſible, the husband of one wife. Which ſentence, leaſt ye ſhould turne and apply onely to the Church, marke what he inferreth after: he that knoweth not (ſayth he) to rule his owne houſeholde and familie, how ſhould he rule the Church of God? And likewiſe the Deacons (ſayth he) let them be the husbandes of one wyfe, which haue knowledge to gouerne their owne houſe and children. And this wyfe, how ſhe is woont to bee bleſt of the Prieſt, you vnderſtand ſufficiently: I ſuppoſe, by the decrees of holy Silueſter the Pope.

To theſe and ſuch other holy ſentences of the Scripture, agreeth alſo, he that is the writer of the rule of the Clergy, writing after this maner. A Clarke muſt be chaſte and continent, or els let him be coupled in the bandes of Matrimony, hauing one wyfe. Wherby it is to be gathered, that the Biſhop and Deacon, are noted infamous and reprehenſible, if they be deuided in mo women then one: otherwiſe, if they do forſake one vnder the pretence of Religion, both they together, as well the Biſhop as the Deacon bee here condemned by the Canonicall ſentence, which ſayth: Let no Biſhop or Prieſt forſake his owne wife, vnder the colour and pretence of Religion. If he doe forſake her, let hym bee excommunicate. And if he ſo continue, let hym bee diſgraded. Saint Auguſtine alſo, a man of diſcrete holyneſſe, ſayth in theſe wordes: There is no offence ſo great or grieuous, but it is to auoyd a greater euill.

This Decree is contrary to the Biſhops and Prelates in Queene Maryes tyme.

Furthermore, we read in the ſecond booke of the Tripartite hiſtory: That when the Councell of Nice, goyng about to eſtabliſh the ſame decree, would enact that Biſhops, Prieſts, and Deacons, after their conſecration, either ſhould abſtaine vtterly from their own wiues, or els ſhould be depoſed. Then Paphnutius (one of thoſe holy Martyrs, whom the Emperor Maximus had put out the right eie, & hockt their left legs) riſing vp amongſt thẽ, withſtood their purpoſed decreement: confeſsing Mariage to be honourable, and calling the bed of matrimony to be chaſtitie, and ſo perſwaded the Councell from making that law, declaring thereby what occaſion might come to themſelues & their wiues of fornication. And thus much did Paphnutius (being vnmaried himſelf) declare vnto thẽ. And the whole Councell commending his ſentence, gaue place thereto, & left the matter freely without cõpulſion, to the will of euery man, to do therein as he thought.

Notwithſtanding there be ſome, which take S. Gregory for their defence in this matter, whoſe temeritie I laugh at, & ignorance I lament, for they know not, being ignoraunly deceiued, how daungerouſly the decree of this hereſie was (being made of S. Gregory) who afterward well reuoked the ſame, with condign fruit of repentaunce.

For vpon a certaine day as he ſent vnto his fiſhpond to haue fiſh, and did ſee more then ſixe thouſand infants heades brought vnto him, which were taken out of the ſame pond or mote: did greatly repent in himſelfe the decree made before, touchyng the ſingle lyfe of Prieſts, which he confeſſed to be the cauſe of that ſo lamentable a murther. And ſo purging the ſame with condigne fruite of repentaunce, altered agayne the things which he had decreed before, commending that counſaile of the Apoſtle, which ſayth: It is better to marry then to burne. Adding moreouer of himſelf thereunto, and ſaying: It is better to marry, then to giue occaſion of death.

More then 6000 heads of infantes found in the Popes mote through the wicked decree of the ſingle lyfe of prieſtes. Let Prieſtes note well the ſaying of Gregory.

Peraduenture if theſe men had read with me this, which ſo happened: I thinke they would not be ſo raſh in their doing and iudging, fearyng at leaſt the Lordes commaundement: Doe not iudge, that ye be not iudged. And S Paule ſayth: Who art thou that iudgeſt an other mans ſeruant? Either he ſtandeth or falleth to his owne maiſter, but he ſhall ſtand, for the Lord is mighty and able to make him ſtand. Therfore let your holynes ceaſe to compell and enforce thoſe, whom onely ye ought to admoniſh: leaſt through your owne priuate commaundement (which God forbid) you be found contrary, as well to the olde Teſtament, as to the new. For as S. Auguſtine ſayth to Donatus: this is onely that we do feare in your iuſtice, leſt (not for the conſideration of chriſtian lenitie, but for the grieuouſnes and greatneſſe of tranſgreſſions committed) you be thought to vſe violence in executyng puniſhment of that which onely we do deſire you (by Chriſt) not to do. For tranſgreſsions are ſo to be puniſhed, that the lyfe of the tranſgreſſours may repent. Alſo an other ſaying of Auguſtine we would you to remember, which is this: *Nil nocendi fiat cupiditate, omnia conſulendi charitate, & nihil fiat immaniter, nihil inhumaniter.* That is: Let nothing be done through the greedines of hurting, but all things through the charitie of profiting: Neither let any thing be done cruelly, nothing vngently. Item of the ſame Auguſtine it is written. In the feare and name of Chriſt I exhort you, which of you ſoeuer haue not the goods of this world be not greedy to haue them. Such as haue them, preſume not to much vpon them. For I ſay, to haue them is no damnation, but if ye preſume vpon them, that is damnation, if for the hauing of thẽ ye ſhal ſeeme great in your owne ſight, or if ye do forget the cõmon condition of man through the excellencie of any thing you haue. Vſe therfore therin due diſcretion, tempered with moderation, the which cup of diſcretion is drawen out of that fountaine of the Apoſtolike preaching which ſayth: Art thou looſe frõ thy wife? Do not ſeeke for thy wife. Art thou bound to thy wife? Seke not to be looſed from her? Where alſo it followeth, Such as haue wiues, let them be as though they had them not, and they that vſe the world, let them be as not vſing it.

Auguſt. ad Donatum.

Note well the ſaying of Auſten.

Auguſt.

Item concerning the widow he ſayth: Let her marry to whõ ſhe wil, only in the Lord. To marry in the Lord, is nothing els but to attempt nothing in cõtracting of matrimony, which the Lord doth forbid. Ieremy alſo ſaith: Truſt not in the words of lies, ſaying, The temple of the Lord, the temple of the Lord, the temple of the Lord. The which ſaying of Ieremy, Hierome expounding, ſaith thus: this may agree alſo, & be applied vnto ſuch virgins, which brag & vaunt their virginitie with an impudent face, pretending chaſtitie, when they haue an other thing in their conſcience, and know not how the Apoſtle defineth the virgin, that ſhe ſhould be holy in body, and alſo in ſpirit. For what auayleth the chaſtitie of the body, if the mind inwardly be defloured? Or if it haue not the other vertues, which the prophetical Sermon doth deſcribe? The which vertues, for as much as we ſee partly to be in you, and becauſe we are not ignorant, that this diſcretiõ (although neglected in this part, yet in the other actiõs of your life to be kept honeſtly of you) do not diſpaire, but you wil alſo ſoone amend the little lacke which is behind. And therfore with as much grauitie as we can, we ceaſe not to call vpõ you, to correct and amend this your negligẽce. For although according to our common calling, a biſhop is greater then a Prieſt, yet Auſten being leſſe then Hierome (notwithſtãding the good correctiõ proceeding frõ the leſſer to the greater) was not to be refuſed or diſdained, eſpecially when he which is corrected, is found to ſtriue againſt the truth to pleaſe mẽ. For as S. Auſten ſaith, writing to Boniface: the diſputatiõs of all mẽ, be they neuer ſo Catholick or approued perſõs: ought not to bee had in ſtead of the Canonicall Scriptures. So that we may diſprooue or refuſe (ſauing the honor & reuerence which is due vnto thẽ) any thing that is in their writings: if any thing there be found, contrary to trueth: and what can be found more contrary to the trueth then this? When as the trueth him ſelfe ſpeaking of continency, not of one onely, but of all men together, (the number onely excepted of them which haue profeſſed continencye) ſayth: He that can take, let him take: the which ſaying, theſe men (mooued, I cannot tell by what occaſion) doe turne and ſay: he that cannot take, let him be accurſed. And what can bee more fooliſhe amongeſt men, then when anye Byſhoppe or Archdeacon, runne themſelues headlong into all kinde of luſt, to adultery

What it is to marry in the Lord.

What a virgine is by the diffinition of the Apoſtle.

Auguſt. ad Bonifaciũ.

and inceſt, and alſo Sodomitry: yet ſhame not to ſay, that the chaſte mariage of Prieſtes doe ſtincke before them. And as voyde of all compaſſion of true righteouſneſſe, doe not deſire or admoniſh their Clerkes, as their fellow ſeruauntes to abſtayne, but commaund them and enforce them as ſeruauntes, violentlye to abſtayne: Vnto the whiche imperious commaundement of theirs or counſell (whether you will call it) they adde alſo thys fooliſhe and filthy ſuggeſtion, ſaying: that it is more honeſt, priuily to haue to doe with many women, then apertly in the ſight and conſcienſes of many men, to bee bounde to one wife. The whiche truely they would not ſay, if they were eyther of hym, or in him, which ſaith, wo to you Phariſeis which do all thinges before men. And by the Pſalmiſt: becauſe they pleaſe men, they are confounded: for the Lord hath deſpiſed them. Theſe be the men, who rather ought to perſwade vs, that we ſhould ſhame to ſinne priuily in the ſight of him, to whē all things be open, thē to ſeeme in the ſight of men for to be cleane. Theſe men therfore, although through their ſinful wickednes, deſerue no counſell of godlines to be giuen thē: yet we not forgetting our humanitie, ceaſe not to giue them counſell by the authoritie of Gods word, which ſeketh al mens ſaluation, deſiring thē by the bowels of charitie, & ſaying with the wordes of Scripture: Caſt out thou hypocrite firſt the beame out of thine owne eye, and then thou ſhalt ſee to caſt out the mote of the eye of thy brother.

The abſurde ſaying and contrary doing of papiſtes.

Auguſt ad Donatum.

Moreouer, this alſo we deſire them to attend, what the Lord ſaith of the aduouterous woman: which of you that is without ſinne let hym caſt the firſt ſtone againſt her. As though hee would ſay, if Moſes bid you, I alſo bid you. But yet I require you that be the competent miniſters and executors of the law: Take heede what yee adde thereunto, take heede alſo I pray you, what you are your ſelues: for if (as the Scripture ſaith) thou ſhalt well conſider thy ſelfe, thou wilt neuer defame or detract an other.

Gregorius.

Auguſt.

Moreouer it is ſignified to vs alſo, that ſome there be of them, which (when they ought like good ſhepherds to giue their liues for the Lordes flocke) yet are puffed vp, with ſuch pride: that without all reaſon they preſume to rent and teare the Lords flocke, with whippings and beatings, whoſe vnreaſonable dooynges Saint Gregory bewailing, thus ſaith: Quid fiat de ouibus quando paſtores lupi fiunt? That is, what ſhall become of the ſheepe when the paſtors themſelues be Woolues? But who is ouercome but he which exerciſeth cruelty? Or who ſhall iudge the perſecutor, but he which gaue patiently his backe to ſtripes? And this is the frute which commeth to the Church by ſuch perſecutors, alſo which commeth to the clergy, by ſuch deſpitefull handling of their Byſhoppes or rather Infidels. For why may ye not call them Infidels, of whome Saint Paule thus ſpeaketh and writeth to Tymothie? that in the latter dayes there ſhall certaine depart from the faith, geue heede to ſpirits of errour and doctrine of deuils, of them that ſpeake falſe through hypocriſie, and hauing their conſciences marked with an hote yron, forbidding to marry, and commaunding to abſtaine from meates. &c. And this is if it be well marked, the whole handfull of the darnell and cockell growing amongeſt the corne: this is the couente of all madnes, that whiles they of the Clergye, be compelled to relinquiſh the cōpany of their own lawful wiues: they become afterward fornicators and adulterers with other women, and wicked miniſters of other ſinnefull filthineſſe. Theſe bee they which bring into the Church of God this hereſie (as blinde guides leading the blinde) that it might be fulfilled which thē Pſalme ſpeaketh of: as foreſeeing the errors of ſuch men, & accurſing thē after this maner, let their eyes be blinded that they ſee not, & bow down alwais their backe. For as much then (O Apoſtolical Sir) as no man which knoweth you, is ignorant, that if you, through the light of your diſcretion had vnderſtanded and ſeene, what poyſoned peſtilence, might haue come into the Churche thorough the ſentence of this your decree: they would neuer haue conſēted to the ſuggeſtions of certaine wicked perſons. Wherefore we counſell you by the fidelitie of our due ſubiection, that wyth all diligence, you would put away ſo great ſlāder from the Church of God: and through your diſcret diſcipline, you will remooue this Phariſaicall doctryne from the flocke of God: ſo that thys onely Sunanite of the Lords (vſing no more adulterous huſbāds) do not ſeparate the holy people, and the kingly Prieſthoode from her ſpouſe which is Chriſt, through an vnrecouerable diuorſement: ſeing that no man without Chaſtitie (not only in the virgines ſtate, but alſo in the ſtate of matrimony) ſhall ſee our Lord, who with the father and the holy ghoſt, lyueth and raigneth for euer, Amen.

Note well the ſaying of Auſten.

2.Tim.3.

What it is to marry in the Lord.

What a virgine is by the diffinition of the Apoſtle.

Auguſt ad Bonifaciū.

Inuenitur hec Epiſtola in vetuſtis mēbranaceis libris (teſtāte Illyrico in Catologo) Meminit eiuſdem Epiſtola Aeneas Syluius, in

¶ By this Epiſtle of Byſhop Huldericke, aboue prefixed, the matter is plaine (gentle Reader) to conceiue, what was then the ſentence of learned men, concerning the mariage of miniſters, but that here by the way, the Reader is to be admoninished. that this Epiſtle which by errour of the writer is referred to pope Nicholas ỹ firſt, in my mind is rather to bee attributed to the name and time of Nicolas the 2. or 3.

After this pope Nicolas ſucceded Hadrianus.2. Ioannes ix. Martinus.ij. After theſe came Hadrian the third and Stephē the v. By this Hadrian it was firſt decred, ỹ no Emperour after that time ſhould intermedle or haue any thing to do in the election of the Pope. And thus began the Emperors fyrſt to decay, and the Papacie to ſwell and ryſe aloft. And thus much concerning Romiſh matters for this time.

ſua peregrinatione, & Germania deſcriptione.

Pope Hadrian the ſecond. Iohn.9. Martine ij. Hadrian.iij. Steuen.v.

Then to returne where we lefte, touching the ſtorye of King Ethelwolfe. About the latter ende of his reigne, the Danes which before had inuaded the Realme, in the time of king Egbert, as is aboue declared: now made there reentre againe, with 33. ſhippes arriuing about Hamſhyre: through the barbarous tyranny of whō, much bloudſhed and murther happened here among engliſhmen, in Dorcet ſhire, about Pourtchmouth in Kent, in Eaſtangle, in Lindeſey, at Rocheſter, about London, and in weſtſexe, where Ethelwolfe the king was ouercome, beſides diuers other vnder kings and dukes, whome the Danes dayly approching, in great multitudes in dyuers victories had put to flight. At length king Ethelwolfe, with his ſonne Ethelbaldus, warring againſt them in Southrey, at Oclea, draue them to the ſea, where they houering a ſpace, after a while braſt in againe with horrible rage and crueltie, as hereafter (Chriſt willing) ſhall be declared, ſo much as to our purpoſe ſhall ſerue, profeſſing in this hiſtory, to write not of matters externe and politike, but onely pertaining to the Church. The cauſe of this great affliction ſent of God vnto this realme thus I found expreſſed and collected in a certayne olde wrytten ſtorye, which hath noe name: the wordes of which writer, for the ſame cauſe as he thought to recite them, writing as he ſaith (ad cautelam, futurorum) I thought alſo for the ſame here not to be omitted, albeit in all partes of his commendation I doe not fully with him accorde. The wordes of the writer be theſe,

Ex vetuſto exemplo hiſtoria Cariana. W.C.i.

In Anglorum quidem Eccleſia primitiua, religio clariſſime, reſpēduit: ita vt Reges & Reginæ et Principes ac Duces, Conſules, & Barones &c.

In Engliſh thus.

In the primitiue Church ſaith he of the Engliſhmen, Relygiō did moſt clerely ſhine, in ſo much that kings Queenes, Princes and Dukes, Conſuls, Barons, and Rulers of Churches, incenſed with the deſire of the kingdome of heauen, laboring and ſtryuing among themſelues to enter into Monkery, into voluntarye exile and ſolitary life, forſoke all and followed the Lord. Where in proceſſe of time, all vertue ſo much decayed among them, that in fraude and trechery none ſeemed like vnto them: Neither was to them any thing odious or hatefull but pietie and iuſtice Neither any thing in price or honor, but ciuill warre and ſheddyng of innocent bloud. Wherfore almighty God ſent vpon them pagane and cruell nations, like ſwarmes of Bees, which neyther ſpared women, nor children, as Danes, Norwagians, Gothes, Sueuians, Vandals, and Freſians. Who from the beginning of the reigne of king Ethelwolfe till the comming of the Normandes, by the ſpace neere of 230. yeares, deſtroyed their ſinfull land from the one ſide of the ſea, to the other, from man alſo to beaſt. For why? they inuading England oft times, of euery ſide, went not about to ſubdue and poſſeſſe it, but onely to ſpoyle and deſtroy it. And if it had chanced them at any time to be ouercome of Engliſhmen, it auailed nothing, when as other nauies ſtill with greater power in other places were ready vpon a ſodaine and vnawares to approche vpon them, &c. Hiſtoria Cariana.

The cauſe of Gods wrath, wherby the Realme of England was ſcourged by the Danes.

Thus farre haue ye the wordes of mine author, declaring the cauſe, which prouoked Gods anger, whereunto may be adioyned the wickednes, not onely of them but of their forefathers alſo before them, who falſely breaking the faith and promiſe made wyth the Britanes, did cruellye murther their nobles, wickedly oppreſſed their cōmons, impiouſly perſecuted the innocent Chriſtians, iniuriouſly poſſeſſed their land and habitation: chaſing the inhabitaunts out of houſe and country, beſides the violent murther of the Monkes of Bangor, and diuers foule ſlaughters againſt the poore Brytaines, who ſent for them to be their helpers. Wherefore, Gods iuſt recompence fallyng vpon them from that time, neuer ſuffered them to be quiet from forreine enimies, till the comming of William the Normande, &c.

Moreouer, concerning the outward occaſiōs giuē of the Engliſhmens partes, mouing the Danes firſt to inuade the Realme, I find in certain authors two, moſt eſpecially aſſigned. The one iniuſtly giuē, & iuſtly take. The other not giuen iuſtly, and vniuſtly taken. Of the which two, the firſt was giuen in Northumberland, by meanes of Oſbryght, reigning vnder king of Weſtſaxons, in the North partes. This Oſbright vppon a time iourneying by the way, turned into the houſe of one of his nobles called Bruer. Who hauing at home a wife of great beautie (he beyng

An other cauſe rendred, why England was ſcourged of the Danes.

The firſt entring of the Danes. *Ex hiſtoria Iornalenſi.*

Example, what miſchiefe commeth by adultery.

yng abſent abrod) the king after his dinner (allured wyth the excellency of her beautie) tooke her to a ſecret chamber, where he forceablye contrarye to her will did rauiſhe her, whereupon ſhe being greatly diſmaied, and vexed in her minde, made her moone to her huſband returning, of thys violence and iniury receaued. Bruer conſulting with his frindes, firſt went to the king, reſigning to his hands, all ſuch ſeruice and poſſeſſions which he did hold of him: that done tooke ſhipping and ſailed into Denmarke, where he had great friends: and had his bringing vp before. There making his mone to Codrinus the king, deſired his aide in reuenging of the great vilany of Oſbryght againſt him and his wife. Codrinus hearing this, and glad to haue ſome iuſt quarell to enter that land: leuied an army with al ſpede: & preparing all things neceſſary for the ſame, ſendeth forth Inguar and Hubba two brethren, his chief Captaines, with an innumerable multitude of Danes into England. who firſt arriuing at Holderneſſe, there brent vp the country, & killed without mercy both men, women, and childrē, whō they could lay hads vpon. Then marching toward York, entred their battaile, with the foreſayde Oſbryght, where he with the moſt part of his armye was ſlaine. And ſo the Danes entred the poſſeſſion of the Citie of Yorke. Some other ſay, and is by the moſt part of ſtorye writers recorded, that the chiefe cauſe of the comming of Inguar & Hubba with the Danes, was to reuenge king Edmund reygnyng vnder the weſtſaxons ouer the Eaſtangles in Northfolke and Southfolk: for the murdering of a certaine Dane being father to Inguar and Hubba which was falſelye imputed to king Edmund. The ſtory is thus told.

Codrinus king of Denmarke.

Inguar and Hubba captaynes of the Danes.

An other cauſe of the comming of the Danes.

Lothbroke father to Inguar, and Hubba.

A certaine noble man of the Danes of the kings ſtock called Lothebrocus father to Inguar and Hubba entring vpon a time with his hauke into a certaine ſchaffe or cockebote alone: by chaunce through tempeſt was driuen with his hauke to the coaſt of Northfolke named Rodhā, where he being found and detained was preſented vnto the king. The king vnderſtanding his parentage, & ſeing his caſe: entertained him in his court accordingly. And euery daye more and more perceiued his actiuities, and great dexteritie in hunting & hauking, bare ſpeciall fauour vnto him. In ſo much that the kinges faukener, or maiſter of game, bearing priuy enuy againſt him, ſecretly as they were hūting together in a woode, did murther him, & threw him in a buſh. This Lothebroke, being murthered, within two or three daies began to be miſſed in the kinges houſe: of whō no tidings could be heard, but onely by a dogge or ſpaniel of his, which continuing in the wood with the corps of his maiſter, at ſondry times came and fauned vpon the king: ſo long that at length they folowing the traſe of the hound were brought to the place where Lothebroke laye. Whereupō inquiſition made, at length by certeine circumſtances of words and other euidences, it was knowne how & by whom he was murthered, that was by the kings hunteſman named Berike. Who thereupon being conuicted, was ſet into the ſame bote of Lothebroke, alone and without any takeling to driue by ſeas, either to be ſaued by the weather or to be drowned in the deepe. And as it chaunced Lothebroke from Dennemarke to be driued to Northfolke, ſo it happened that from Northfolke he was caried into Denmarke. Where the bote of Lothebroke being well knowen, hands were laid vpon him, & inquiſition made of the party. In fine in his torments, to ſaue himſelfe, he vttered an vntruth of king Egmund, ſaying, that the king had put him to death in the country of Northfolke. Wherupon grudge firſt was conceiued, thē an army appointed, & great multitude ſent into England, to reuenge that fact: where firſt they arriuing in Northumberland, deſtroyed (as is ſayd) thoſe parties firſt. From thence ſayling into Northfolke they exerciſed the like tyranny there, vpon the inhabitāts thereof, eſpecially vpon the innocent prince, & bleſſed marter of God, king Edmund. Cōcerning the farther declaration wherof, hereafter ſhal follow (Chriſt our Lord, ſo permitting) more to be ſpoken, as place and obſeruation of time and yeares, ſhall require.

What miſerable enuy worketh.

Murther will out.

K. Ethelwulphe deceaſeth.

In the meane ſeaſō, king Ethelwulphe in this chapiter here preſently touched, when he had chaſed yͤ foreſaid Danes (as is aboue rehearſed from place to place, cauſing thē to take the Sea, he in the meane while departeth him ſelfe both from land and life: leauing behinde him foure ſons, which reigned euery one in his order, after the diſceaſe of their father. The names of whom were Ethelbaldus, Ethelbrightus, Ethelredus, and Aluredus.

¶ King Ethelbalde.

King Ethelbald the eldeſt ſonne of Ethelwulfe, ſucceeding his father in the prouince of weſtſaxe: and Ethelbright in the prouince of Kent: reigned both togither, the terme of v. yeares, one with the other. Of the which two, Ethelbald, the firſt left this infamie, behinde him in ſtoryes, for marrying and lying with his ſtepmother, wife to hys owne father named Iudith. After theſe two ſucceded Ethelred, the thirde ſonne, who in his time was ſo encombred with the Danes, bruſting in on euery ſide: eſpeciallye about Yorke, (which Citie they then ſpoyled and brent vp) that he in one yeare ſtoode in ix. battailes againſt them, w the helpe of Alured his brother. In the beginning of thys Kinges reigne, the Danes landed in Eaſt Englande, or Northfolke & Southfolke. But (as Fabian writeth) they were compelled to forſake that country, and ſo toke again ſhipping, and ſayled Northward, and landed in Northūberlande: where they were met of the Kinges then there reigning, called Oſbright, and Ella, which gaue to them a ſtrong fight. But notwithſtanding the Danes, with help of ſuch as inhabited the country, wanne the City of York, and helde it a certaine ſeaſon as is aboue foretouched.

{An. 857.}

King Ethelbald.
K. Ethelbright.

{An. 867.}

King Etheldred.
Yorke burned by the Danes.

In the reigne of this Ethelred, the Northumberlanders rebelling againſt the king, thought to recouer again the former ſtate of their kingdome out of the weſtſaxons hand, by reaſon of which diſcord (as happeneth in al lāds where diſſention is) the ſtrength of the Engliſhe nation was thereby not a litle weakned, and the Danes the more thereby preuailed.

What diſcord doth in a commō wealth.

{An. 870.}

About the latter time of the reigne of this Etheldred. which was about the yeare of our Lord. 870. certayne of the foreſaide Danes being thus poſſeſſed of yͤ north country: after their cruel perſecution and murther done there, (as partly is touched before) tooke ſhipping frō thence, intending to ſaile toward the Eaſtangles, who by the way vpon the ſea, met with a flot of Danes: whereof the Captaines or leaders were named Inguar & Hubba. Who ioyning altogether in one counſel, made al one courſe, & laſtly landed in Eaſt England, or Northfolke, & in proces of time came to Thetford. Thereof hearing Edmund, then vnder king of that prouince: aſſembled an hoſt, that gaue to them battaill. But Edmund and his company was forced to forſake the field, & the king with a few perſons fled vnto the caſtle of Framingham, whō the Danes purſued. But he in ſhort while after, yelded himſelfe to the perſecution of the Danes: aunſwering in this maner to yͤ meſſēger, that told him in the name of Inguar Prince of the Danes: which moſt victoriouſly (ſaith he) was come with innumerable legions, ſubduing both by ſea and land manye nations vnto him: & ſo now arriued in thoſe parts, requireth him likewiſe to ſubmit himſelf, yelding to him his hid treaſures, and ſuch other goods of his aunceters, and ſo to reign vnder him, which thing if he would not do, he ſhold (ſaid he) be iudged vnworthy both of life & reigne. Edmūd hearing this proud meſſage of yͤ Pagane, conſulted wyth certayne of his fryends: and amongeſt other, with one of his biſhops being thē his Secretary, who ſeyng the preſent daunger of the king: gaue him counſell to yeeld to the conditions. Upon this the king pauſing a little with himſelf, at length rendred this aunſwere: Bidding the meſſenger go to tell his Lord in theſe words. That Edmūd a chriſtian king, for the loue of temporall life, will not ſubmitte himſelfe to Pagane Duke, vnleſſe he before woulde bee a Chriſtian. Incontinent vpon the ſame, the wicked & crafty Dane approching in moſt haſty ſpeede vpon the King, encountred with him in battell (as ſome ſay) at Thetford: where the king being put to the worſe, & pittieng the terrible ſlaughter of his men: thinking with himſelfe rather to ſubmit his owne perſon to daunger, then his people ſhould be ſlaine did flye (as Fabian ſayth) to the Caſtle of Framingham: or (as my author writeth to Haleſdō, now called S. Edmundeſbury, where this bleſſed man, being on euery ſide cōpaſſed of his cruel enimies, yelded himſelf to their perſecution. And for that he would not reny or deny Chriſt and his lawes, they therfore moſt cruelly bound him vnto a tree, & cauſed him to be ſhot to death: and laſtly cauſed his head to be ſmitten from his body, & caſt into the thicke buſhes. Which head and body at the ſame time was by his frendes taken vp, and ſolemnely buried at the ſayd Haleſdon, otherwiſe now named S. Edmunds bury. Whoſe brother named Edwoldus (notwithſtanding of ryght, the kingdome fell next vnto him) ſetting a part the lyking & pleaſure of the world, became an Hermite at the Abbey of Cerum, in the Countrey of Dorſet.

S. Edmund king of Eaſtangles.

The meſſage of the Danes to K. Edmund.

The aunſwere of S. Edmund.

The perſecution and death of S. Edmund king of the Eaſtangles.

K. Edmund Martyr.

After the Martirdome of this bleſſed Edmund, when the cruell Danes had ſufficiently robbed and ſpoyled that country: they toke agayne their ſhippes, and landed in Southrey, & continued their iourney till they came to the towne of Reading, & there wan the towne with the caſtle where (as Cambrenſis ſaith) within three dayes of their thether comming, the foreſayde Inguar and Hubba Captaines

Redyng taken of the Danes.

Inguar and Hubba ſlayne.

taines of the Danes, as they went in purchaſing of theyr prayes or booties: were ſlaine at a place called Engleſelde. which Princes of the Danes thus ſlaine, the reſt of them kept whole together, in ſuch wiſe that ẏ Weſtſaxons might take of them none aduantage. But yet within fewe dayes after the Danes were holden ſo ſhort, that they were forced to iſſue out of the caſtle, & to defend them in plain battaile. In the whiche (by the induſtry of king Ethelred and of Allured his brother) the Danes were diſcomfited, & many of them ſlaine: which diſcomfort made them flie againe into the caſtle, and there kept them for a certain time. The King then committing the charge of them to Ethelwolde Duke of Baroke or Barkſhire, ſo departed. But whē the Danes knew of the kings departure, they brake ſodeinly out of their hold, and tooke the Duke vnprouided, & ſlewe him, and much of his people. And ſo adioyning thē ſelues with other that were ſcattered in the country, enbattelled them in ſuch wiſe, that of them was gathered a ſtrōg hoſt.

Duke Ethelwold ſlayne.

Oſrike king of Denmark landeth in England.

As the tidings hereof was brought to king Etheldred, (which put him in great heauines) word alſo was brought the ſame time of the landing of Oſrike, king of Denmarke: who with aſſiſtence of the other Danes had gathered a great hoſt, and were enbattelled vpō Aſhdowne. To this battaile king Ethelred with his brother Alured (forced by great neede) ſped them ſelues to withſtand the Danes. At which time, the king a litle ſtaying behind being yet at his ſeruice, Alured which was comen before, had entred already into the whole fight with the Danes: who ſtrake together with huge violēce. The king being required to make ſpeede (hee being then at ſeruice, and meditations) ſuch was his deuotion: that he would not ſtirre out one foote, before the ſeruice was fully cōplete. In this meane while, the Danes ſo fearſly inuaded Alured and his mē, that they wanne the hill: and the Chriſten men were in the valley, and in great daunger to looſe the whole fielde. Neuertheleſſe through the grace of God, and their godly manhoode, the king comming from his ſeruice, with his freſh ſouldiours recouered the hill of the infidels: and ſo diſcōfited the Danes that day, that in fleing away not only they loſt the victory, but moſt part alſo of them their liues. In ſo much that their Duke or king Oſride or Oſege, and fiue of their Dukes, with much of their people were ſlain, and the reſt chaſed vnto Reding towne.

Ex Guliel. Malmeſberienſi. Ex hiſtoria Iornalenſi. Ex Fabiano & alijs.

Inuocation and prayer, profitable in tyme of battayle.

The Danes ouerthrown at Aſhdon.

After this, the Danes yet reſembled their people, and gathered a new hoſt, ſo that within xv. dayes, they mete at Baſingſtoke, and there gaue battaile vnto the king, & had the better. Then the king againe gathered his mē, which at that field were diſparkled, and with freſh ſouldiours to them accompanied, mete the Danes within two monethes after at the towne of Merton, where hee gaue to them a ſharpe battaile: ſo that much people were ſlaine as well of the Chriſten, as of the Danes, but in the ende, the Danes had the honour of the fielde, and king Ethelred there was wounded, and therefore faine to ſaue himſelfe.

Another battayle fought with the Danes.

Another battayle fought with the Danes at Merton.

After theſe ij. fields thus won by the Danes, they obtained great circuit of groūd, and deſtroyed man & childe, that would not yeld to them. And Churches and temples they turned to the vſe of ſtables, & other vile occupations.

Thus the king beſet with enemies on euery ſide, ſeing the land ſo miſerably oppreſſed of the Danes: his knights and ſoldiours conſumed: his owne land of Weſtſaxons in ſuch deſolation: he being alſo wounded himſelf: But eſpecially for that he ſending his commiſſions into Northumberland, into Mercia, and Eaſtanglia, could haue of them but ſmal or litle comfort (becauſe they through wicked rebellion, were more willing to take the part of the Danes, then of their king) was ſore perplexed therewithall, as the other Kinges were both before him and after him, at that time. So that, as Malmeſbury witneſſeth, magis optarēt honeſtum exitium, quàm tam acerbum imperium. That is, They rather wiſhed honeſtly to die, then with ſuch trouble and ſorrow to reigne. And thus this King not long after deceaſed, when he had reigned, as Fabian ſayth viij. yeres, as Malmeſbury wryteth, but v. yeares. During which time of his reigne, notwithſtanding hys ſo great troubles and vexations in martiall affaires, (as is in ſome ſtories mentioned) he founded the houſe or college of Chanōs at Exeter, and was buried at the Abbey of Winborn or Woborn. After whoſe deceaſe, for lacke of iſſue of his body, the rule of the land fel vnto his brother Alured.

What diſcord and rebellion doth in a realme.

The death of Etheldred.

The Abbey of Excester founded.

*King Alured otherwiſe called Alfrede.

{An. 872.} Alured K. of England.

AMong the Saxon kinges hetherto in this hiſtorie afore mentioned: I finde fewe or none to be preferred (or almoſt to be compared) to this Alured, or Alfrede for the great and ſingulare qualities in this king worthy of high renowne and commendation. Whether we behold in him the valiant actes, and manifold trauailes which he continually from time to time ſuſtained againſt his enemies in warres, during almoſt all the time of his raigne, for the publicke preſeruation of his people: Or whether we conſider in him, his godly and excellent vertues, ioyned with a publicke and tender care, and zealous ſtudy, for the common peace and trāquility of the weale publike: appearing as wel in his prudēt lawes by him both carefully ſet forth, and with the like care executed, as alſo by his own priuate exerciſes touching the vertuous inſtitution of his life. Or whether we reſpect that in him, which with equall praiſe matcheth with both the other before: That is, his notable knowledge of good letters, with a feruēt loue and Princely deſire, to ſet forth the ſame through all his Realme (before his time being both rude and barbarous) All whych his heroical properties, ioyned together in one Prince, as it is a thing moſt rare, and ſeldome ſeene in Princes now a daies: ſo I thought the ſame the more to be noted and exampleſide in this good king. Therby either to moue other rulers and Princes in theſe our daies, to his imitation: or els to ſhew them what hath ben in times paſt, in their anceters, which ought to be, and yet is not founde in them. Wherefore of theſe three partes to diſcourſe either part in order, firſt we wil enter to entreat of his actes and painefull trauailes ſuſtained, in defence of the Realme publicke: againſt the raging tyrannie of the Danes, as they be deſcribed in the Latin hiſtories of Rog. Houeden, and Huntington: whome Fabian alſo ſeemeth in this part ſomewhat to follow. King Alfred therfore, firſt of al the Engliſh kings, taking his crowne and vnction at Rome of Pope Leo (as Malmeſberienſis and Polycronicō do recorde) in the beginning of his raigne, perceauing his Lordes & people much waſted and decaied, by the reaſon of the great warres of Ethelred, had againſt the Danes: yet as well as he coulde, gathered a ſtrength of men vnto him, and in the ſecōd moneth that he was made King, he met with the Danes beſide Wylton, where hee gaue to them battaile. But being farre ouermatched, through the multitude of the contrary part, was put there to the worſe: although not wythout a great ſlaughter of the Pagane army. Which army then of the Danes, after that victorie, by compaction made wyth King Alfrede, to depart out of his dominion of Weſtſaxe: remoued from Reading to London, where they abode all that winter. Where Halden their king, taking truſe wyth Burhered, King of Mercians, the next yeare followinge voyded thoſe partes, and drewe to Lyndeſey: in robbing and ſpoyling the townes and villages as they went, and holding the common people vnder their ſeruage. From thence after to Repyngdon: where they ioyning wyth the three other Kings of the Danes (called Surdrim, Oſketel, and Hamond) grewe thereby in mighty force and ſtrength. Who then deuiding their armie in two partes, the one halfe remained wyth Halden in the countrey of Northumberland: the reſidue were with the other three kings, wintering and ſoiourning all the next yeare at Grantbrige, which was the fourth yeare of King Alfred. In the which yeare King Alfred his men had a conflict on the Sea, with ſixe of the Danes ſhippes, of which one they tooke, the other fled away. In this yeare went Rollo the Dane into Normandie, where hee was Duke thirtie yeare, and afterwarde was Baptiſed in the faith of Chriſt, and named Robert The foreſayde armie of the three Dane Kinges aboue mētioned frō Grantebryge, returned again to Weſtſaxonie, and entred the Caſtle of Warham: where King Alfrede with a ſufficiēt power of men, was ready to aſſault them. But the Danes ſeeing his ſtrength durſt not attēpt with him, but ſought delaies, while more ayd might come. In the meane ſeaſon they were conſtrayned to intreat for truce: leauing alſo ſufficient pledges in the Kinges hand, promiſing moreouer vpon their othe, to voyde the country of the Weſtſaxons. The king vpon the ſurety let them go. But they falſely breaking their league, priuely in the night brake out, taking their iourny toward Exceter. In which iourny, they loſt vi. ſcore of their ſmall ſhips, by a tempeſt at Sandwych (as Henry Huntington in hys ſtorye recordeth.) Then kyng Alfrede followed after the horſmen of the Danes, but coulde not ouertake them, before they came to Exceter, where he tooke of thē pledges and fayre promiſes of peace, and ſo returned. Notwithſtanding the number of the Pagāes did dayly more and more increaſe, in ſo much (as one of my authors ſayth) that if in one day 30. thouſand of them were ſlayn, ſhortly after they increaſed double as many agayne. After this truce taken with King Alfrede, the Danes then voyded to the land of Mercia, whereof part of that kingdome they kept themſelues, part they committed to one Ceolulphus: vppon condition

that

Ex Rog. Houedeno. H. Hunting. Polychronicon. Fabiano.

Burhered being expulſed hys kingdome went to Rome and there dyed in the Engliſhe houſe.

Rollo a Dane firſt Duke of Normandy.

that he ſhould be vaſſall to them, and at their commaundement, with his people at all times.

Anno. 879.

King Alfrede flyeth into a deſert wood.

Etheling which is to ſay the Ile of Nobles.

A ſwineheard made Byſhop of Wincheſter.

The next yere inſuing, which was the vij. yeare of the raigne of Alfred, the Danes, who nowe hauing all the rule of the Northpart of Englande, from the riuer of Tames, with Mercia, London, and Eſſex: diſdained that Alfrede ſhoulde beare any dominion on the other ſide of Tames ſouthward. whereupon the foreſayde three Kings with all the force and ſtrength they coulde make, marched towarde Chippenham in weſſexe, with ſuch a multitude, that the king wͭ his people was not able to reſiſt them. In ſo much that the people which inhabited there, ſome fled ouer the ſea, ſome remained with the king, diuers ſubmitted themſelues to the Danes. Thus King Alfrede being ouerſet wͭ multitude of enemies, and forſaken of hys people, hauing neither lād to hold, nor hope to recouer that which he had loſt: withdrew himſelfe wͭ a fewe of his nobles about him, into a certaine wood countrey in Somerſetſhire, called Ethelyng: where he had right ſcant to liue with, but ſuch as he and his people might purchaſe by hunting and fiſhing. This Edelyng or Ethelyng or Ethelyngſey, ſtandeth in a great Marreſſe or More, ſo that there is no acceſſe vnto it, without ſhip or boate: and hath in it a great woode called Selewood, and in the midle a litle plaine, about of two acres of ground. In which Ile is veneſon, and other wilde beaſtes, with foule and fiſhes, great plenty. In this wood, King Alured at his firſt comming, eſpied a certaine deſerte cotage of a poore Swynarde, keeping ſwine in the woode, named Dunwolphus: of whome the King then vnknowen was entertained and cheariſhed, with ſuch poore fare as he and his wife could make him. For the which, King Alfrede afterwarde, ſet the poore Swinarde to learning, and made him Biſhop of wincheſter.

In the meane ſeaſon, while King Alfrede accompanied with a few, was thus in the deſert wood, waiting the euent of theſe miſeries: certaine ſtories recorde of a poore beggar, which there came and aſked hys almes of the King. And the night folowing he appeared to the King in hys ſleepe: ſaying his name was Cutbert, promiſing (as ſent frō God, vnto him for his good charitie) great victories againſt the Danes. But to let theſe dreaming fables paſſe, althoughe they be teſtified by diuers authours, both Wilielmus Lib. de Reg. Polychronicon, Rog. Houeden, Iornalenſis, and other mo. Notwythſtanding the king in proceſſe of time, was ſtrēgthened and cōforted more, through the prouidence of God: reſpecting the miſerable ruine of the Engliſhmen. Firſt the brother of King Haldene the Dane before mentioned, comming in with xxiij. ſhips, landed about Deuonſhire: where by chaunce being reſiſted by a buſhment of king Alfredes men (who for their ſafegarde there lay in garyſon) were ſlaine to the number of 1300. men, and their enſigne called the Rauen was taken. Houedenus in hys booke of Continuationis wryteth, that in the ſame cōflict both Inguar and Hubba were ſlain among the other Danes. After this, King Alfrede being better cheared, ſhewed him ſelfe more at large: ſo that daily reſorted to him, men of wiltſhyre, Somerſetſhyre, and Hamſhyre, till that hee was ſtrongly accompanied.

Henr. Hunting. lib. 5. de. Hiſtor. Angl.

Inguar and Hubby ſlayne.

A bold aduenture or attempt of king Alfrede, ventring himſelf into the tentes of the Danes.

Ex Fabiano.

Then the King put himſelfe in a bold and dangerous venture (as wryteth Wilelmus Lib. de Reg. Polychron. and Fabian which followeth them both) for he apparelling him in the habite of a Minſtrell (as hee was very ſkilfull in all Saxon Poemes) with his inſtrument of Muſike, entred in the tentes of the Danes, lying then at Eddendime: and in ſhewing there his interlude and ſongs, eſpied all theyr ſlouth and ydlenes, and heard much of their counſell. And after returning to hys companie, declared vnto them the whole manner of the Danes. Shortly vpon the ſame, the King ſodainly in the night fell vpon the foreſaid Danes, & diſtreſſed and ſlewe of them a great multitude, chaſed them from that coaſt. In ſo much that through hys ſtrong & valiaunt aſſaultes vpon his enemies, out of his tower of Edelyng newly fortified: he ſo encōbered them, that he clearly voyded the countrey of them, betweene that and Selwodes. His ſubiectes eftſones, hearing of theſe hys valiaunt victories, and manful deedes, drewe to him daily out of all coaſts. who through the helpe of God, and their aſſiſtāce, helde the Danes ſo ſhort, that he wanne from them wincheſter, & diuers other good townes. Briefly, at lēgth he forced them to ſeeke for peace: the which was concluded vpon certaine couenaunts. whereof one and the principal was, that the forenamed Gutrum their King ſhoulde be Chriſtened. The other was, that ſuche as woulde not be Chriſtened, ſhould depart and voide the countrey.

Gutrum the Prince of the Danes was Chriſtened.

King Gutrum named Athelſtane.

Upon theſe couenants, firſt the ſayde Gutrum the Daniſh Prince cōming to wincheſter, there was Chriſtened with xx. of his greateſt Dukes or Nobles, To the whyche Gutrum King Alured being hys Godfather at hys Baptiſme, named hym Athelſtane. who after a certaine ſeaſon that he had feaſted the ſaid Danes: he according to his promiſe before made, gaue vnto theyr King the countrey of Eaſtanglia, containing Northfolke & Suffolke, and part of Cambridſhire. Moreouer (as ſaith Polychron.) he grāted to the Danes that were Chriſtened, the Countrey of Northumberland. So the reſidue that wold not be Chriſtened, departed the land, and ſailed into Fraunce: where, what vexation and harme they wrought, the Chronicles of Fraunce do partly comprehend.

Norfolke & Suffolke geuen to king Gutrum.

The Nunnes of Shafteſbury builded.

The Monaſtery of Etheling.

The new minſter at Wincheſter

King Athelſtane thus hauing the poſſeſſion of theſe countreis, had all Eaſtangles vnder his obedience. And albeit that he held the ſayd prouince as in fee of the king, & promiſed to dwel there as his liege mā: yet that notwithſtanding, hee continued more like a tyrant, by the terme of xi. yeare and died in the xij. yere. During the which ſpace, King Alfrede hauing ſome more reſt and peace, repaired certain townes and ſtrong holds afore by the Danes empaired. Alſo he builded diuers houſes of religiō, as ẏ houſe of Nunnes at Shafteſbury. An other religious houſe at Ethelyng he foūded. Item an other in wincheſter, named the new monaſtery. Item, he endewed richly the Churche of S. Cutbert in Dyrham. He ſent alſo to India, to pay and performe his vowes to S. Thomas of Inde, which he made during the time of his diſtreſſe againſt the Danes.

beſieged of the Danes.

About the xv. yeare of the reigne of Alfred, the Danes returning from France to England, landed in Kent, and ſo came to Rocheſter, and beſieged that City: and there lay ſo long, that they builded a Tower of tymber againſt the gates of the Citie. But by ſtrength of the Citizens, that tower was deſtroyed, and the Citie defended til King Alfrede came and reſcued them. whereby the Danes were ſo diſtreſſed, and ſo nere trapped: that for feare, they left their horſes behind them, and fled to their ſhips by night. But the King, when he was thereof ware: ſent after them and tooke xvi. of their ſhippes, & ſlew many of the ſaid Danes. This done, the King returned to London, & repaired the ſame honorably (as ſayth Houedenus) & made it habitable, which before was ſore decaied and febled by the Danes.

An. 892.

The third yeare after this, which was the xix. yeare of the raigne of king Alfred: the foreſayd Athelſtane the Daniſh king of Northfolke (which by Alfred was Chriſtened before) deceaſed. Not lōg after this, about the xxi. yeare of this kinges reigne, the Danes agayne landed in foure places of this land: which was, in Eaſtinglande: in the North: and in the weſt, in two places. Before the landyng of theſe Danes, it chaunced king Elfred, hearing of the death of King Athelſtane, and of other complayntes of the Danes, was then in Eaſtengland, when theſe tidings came to him.

The Danes driuen from Norfolke.

The Danes returne agayne to Norfolke.

When King Alfrede was hereof aſcertained: forſomuch as ſome of the Danes were landed in that coaſt, thincking with themſelues the further they wēt in thoſe parties, the leſſe reſiſtaunce to haue, and the more ſpeede, as they were wont to haue before: Alfride therefore ſending meſſengers in all haſt to Etheldred Duke of Mercia, to aſſemble to him an hoſt, to withſtand the Danes which landed in ẏ weſt, made forth toward hys enemies there, where hee was in Eaſtanglia, whom he purſued ſo ſharpely, that hee droue them out from thoſe parties. They then landed in kent, whether the king with his people ſped him, and in lyke maner draue the Danes from thence, without anye great fight, ſo farre as in our authors we can ſee. After this, agayne the Danes tooke ſhipping, and ſayled into Northwales, and there robbed and ſpoyled the Britones, & from thence returned by the ſea into Eaſtanglia, with an hundreth ſhips, and there reſted them, for ſo much the king then was gone weſtward.

The Danes driuen out of Cheſter.

The Danes driuen from Lewes.

The fourth hoſt of the Danes, the ſame yeare came to Cheſter, which at length they won, but then, the countrey adioyning preſſed ſo ſore vpon them, and beſieged them ſo long, keeping them ſelues wythin the City, that at the laſt the Danes weryed with the long ſiege, were compelled to eat their owne horſes for hunger. But by appointment, at laſt they gaue ouer the towne, and went about by Northwales to Northumberland, whyche was about the xxiij. yeare of king Alfrede: which Alfrede in the meane while with his hoſt, ſped him thetherward. Thē the Danes, leauing their ſtrong holdes and Caſtles garniſhed with men and vitaile: tooke againe ſhipping, and ſet theyr courſe in ſuch wiſe that they landed in Suſſex, & ſo came to the porte of Lewes: and from thence towarde London, and builded a Tower or Caſtle neare vnto the riuer of Ley, xx. mile frō London. But the Londiners hearing therof, manned out a certaine number of men of armes, who wͭ the aſſiſtence of them of that countrey, put the Danes from that tower:

and after beat it downe to the grōd. Soone after the king came downe thether. And to preuent the daungers that might enſue, commaunded the riuer of Luye to be deuided in iii. ſtreames: ſo that where a ſhyp might ſayle in times before, then a litle boate might ſcantly row. Frō thence the Danes, leauing their ſhippes & wiues, were forced to flie that countrey, and tooke their way againe toward wales, and came to Quadruge neare to the Riuer of Seuerne. where, vpon the borders therof, they builded then a caſtle, there reſting themſelues for a time: whome the King eftſoones wyth his armie purſued. In the meane tyme, the Londiners at Luye taking the Danes ſhippes: ſome of them they brought to London, the reſt they fired. During all theſe three yeres, from the firſt comming of the Danes to Luye, Englande was afflicted with three maner of ſorrowes: with the Danes, wyth peſtilence of men, and morreine of beaſts. The which troubles notwithſtanding, yet the King manfully reſiſted the malice of his enemyes, and thāked God alway, what trouble ſoeuer fel to him, or vnto his Realme, and ſuſteined it wyth great pacience & humilitie. Theſe three yeares ouerpaſt, the next yeare folowing, which was the xxviij. of the reigne of Alfrede: the Danes deuided their hoſte: of whom part went to Northumberland, ſome to Northfolke, part ſailed ouer to Fraunce, ſome other came to weſtſaxe. where they had diuers conflictes with the Engliſhmen, both by lande and eſpecially vpon the Sea: of whome ſome were ſlaine: many by ſhypwracke peryſhed, diuers were taken and hanged, and xxx. of their ſhippes were taken.

The riuer of Luye deuided in three.

3. plagues in England.

An. 897.

The Danes ſhips taken.

Not long after this, king Alfred, when he had reigned xxix. yeares, and vj. monethes, chaunged this mortall life. And thus much (and more peraduēture, then will ſeeme to thys our Eccleſiaſticall ſtorie appertaining) touching the painfull labours and trauailes of this good king: which he no leſſe valiantly atcheued, then paciently ſuſteined, for the neceſſary defence of his Realme and ſubiects.

An. 899.

Now if there be any Prince, who liſteth to ſee and folow the vertuous and godly diſpoſition of this king: both touching the inſtitution of his owne life, & alſo concerning his carefull gouernement of the cōmon weale: thus the hiſtories of him do record. That at what time he being yōg, perceaued hymſelfe ſomewhat diſpoſed to the vice of the fleſh, & thereby letted from many vertuous purpoſes: did not as many young Princes, and Kinges ſonnes in the world be now wont to do: that is to reſolue thēſelues into all kind of carnal licence, and diſſolute ſenſualitie, running and folowing without bridle, whether ſoeuer their licence geuen doth leade them (as therefore not without cauſe the common prouerbe reporteth of them) that Kings ſonnes learne nothing well els, but onely to ride. Meaning therby, that Princes and Kinges ſonnes hauing about them flatterers, whych bolſter them in theyr faultes: onely their horſes geue to them no more, then to any other: but if they ſit not faſt, they wil caſt them. But this young king ſeeing in him ſelfe the inclination of his fleſhly nature, minding not to geue hym ſelfe ſo much as he might take, but rather by reſiſtence to auoid the tentation thereof: beſought God that he wold ſend to him ſome continual ſicknes, in quenching of that vice, whereby he might be more profitable to the publike buſines of the cōmon wealth, and more apt to ſerue God in his calling. Ceſtrenſ. Lib. 5. cap. 1. Fab. cap. 17.

The vertues and godly lyfe of kyng Alfrede deſcribed.

The inclination of nature corrected in K. Alfrede.

The godly petition of king Alfrede.

Then at Gods ordinance, he had the euill called Ficus, til he came to the age of xx. yeres, wherof at length he was cured (as is ſayd in ſome ſtories) by the virgin called Modwen, an Iriſhwoman. After this ſickneſſe being taken away, to him fell an other: which continued with him from the xx. yeres of his age, to xlv (according to his own petition & requeſt made vnto God) wherby, he was the more reclaimed & attempered from other more great incōueniences, and leſſe diſpoſed to that which he did moſt abhorre.

Modwenna.

Moreouer to beholde the bountiful goodnes ioyned wt like prudence in this man: in the ordering & diſpoſing hys riches and rents, it is not vnworthy to be recited. How he deuided his goods in two equall partes: the one apperteining to vſes ſecular, the other to vſes ſpirituall or Eccleſiaſticall. Of the which two principall partes, the firſt he deuided into three portiōs: the firſt to the behoſe of his houſe and family, the ſecond vpon his workmen and builders of his new works. whereof he had great delight & cunning: the third vpon ſtrangers. Likewiſe the other ſecond halfe, vpon ſpirituall vſes, he did thus diuide in foure portions: One to the releuing of the poore: An other to monaſteries: The iij. portion to the ſchooles of Oxforde, for the mainteining of good letters: The iiij. he ſent to foreine Churches, without the Realme. This alſo is left in ſtories written to his commendation, for his great tolerance and ſufferance: that when he had builded the new Monaſtery at wincheſter, and afterward hys ſonne Edward had purchaſed of the Byſhop and the Chapter a ſufficient peece of grounde for certaine offices to be adioyned vnto the ſame, & had geuen for euery foote of ground, mancam auri pleni ponderis (which was as I thynke a marke of golde) or more: yet Alfrede therwithal was not greatly diſcontented to ſee his coffers ſo waſted.

King Alured how he deuided hys goodes in two partes.

Polycron. Lib. 5. ca. 1. Guliel. lib. de regibus.

The liberall hart of king Alfrede.

Ouer and beſides, how ſparing and frugall hee was of time (as of a thing in this earth moſt precious) and howe farre from al vain paſtimes and idlenes he was: this doth well declare, which in the ſtorie of William de Reg. & other wryters is tolde of hym. That hee ſo deuided the day and night in three parts, if he were not let by warres, or other great buſines: that eight houres hee ſpent in ſtudie & learning: and other eight houres he ſpent in praier and almes dedes: and other eight houres he ſpent in his natural reſt, ſuſtenance of his body, and the needes of the realme. The which order he kept duely by the burning of waxen tapers kept in his cloſet by certaine perſons for the ſame purpoſe. Guliel.

How well and godly this king ſpent his tyme.

How ſtudious he was & carefull of the commō wealth and maintenance of publike tranquillitie: his lawes moſt godly ſet forth and diuiſed by him may declare. wherein eſpecially by him was prouided, for the extirping and aboliſhing all theft and theeues out of the Realme. wherby, the Realme through his vigilant care, was brought into ſuch trāquillitie or rather perfection, that in euery croſſe or turning way, he made be ſet vp a golden brouch at leaſt of ſiluer gilded, through his dominiōs: and none ſo hardy neither by day nor night to take it downe: for the more credit wherof, the wordes of the Latin ſtory be theſe: Armillas aureas iuberet ſuſpendi, quæ viantium auiditatem irritarent, dum non eſſent, qui eas abriperent. &c. Guliel. Lib. de Regibus Angl. And no great maruel therein, if the Realme in thoſe dayes was brought in ſuch an order, and that iuſtice then was ſo well miniſtred, when the king him ſelfe was ſo vigilant in ouerſeeing the doings of his iudges and officers. whereof thus alſo we read in the ſaide author teſtified: Iudiciorum a ſuis hominibus factorum, inquiſitor, perperam actorum aſperrimus corrector. i. he was (ſayeth mine author ſpeaking of the king) a vigilant inquiſitor of the doings of his iudges, and a ſtrict puniſher of theyr miſdoinges. Iornalenſis alſo wryting vpon the ſame, thus ſayth: Facta miniſtrorum ſuorum, & potiſsimè iudicum diligenter inueſtigauit, adeo vt quos ex auaritia aut imperitia errare cognoſceret, ab officio remouebat, that is, he did diligently ſearch out the doings of his officers, & eſpecially of his iudges: ſo that if he knewe any of them to erre eyther through couetouſnes, or vnſkilfulnes: them he remoued from their office.

The godly lawes of King Alfrede.

A notable example of thieuery and felony baniſhed thys Realme.

Ex hiſtoria Iornalenſi.

And thus much concerning the valiant actes, and noble vertues of this worthy Prince: whereunto although there were no other ornamēts adioyning beſides: yet ſufficient were they alone to ſet forth a Prince worthy excellent commendation. Nowe beſides theſe other qualities & gifts of Gods grace in him, aboue mentioned: remayneth an other part of his no litle praiſe & commendation, which is his learning and knowledge of good letters: wherof he not onely was excellently expert hym ſelfe, but alſo a worthy mainteiner of ye ſame through al his dominiōs: where before, no vſe of Grammer or other ſciences was practiſed in this Realme, eſpecially about the weſtparts of the lād: there through the induſtrie of this king, ſchooles began to be erected, and ſtudyes to floriſh. Although amōg the Britaynes in the towne of Cheſter in Southwales lōg before that, in kyng Arthurs tyme, as Galfridus writeth: both Grammer, and Philoſophy with other tongues was thē taught. After that ſome writers record, that in the tyme of Egbert kyng of Kent, this Iſlande began to floriſhe with Philoſophy. About which tyme ſome alſo thinke: that the Uniuerſitie of Graūtecheſter, neare to that which nowe is called Cambrige, began to be founded, by Bede: folowing this coniecture therein, for that Alcuinus (before mētioned) which after went to Rome, & from thence to Fraunce in the tyme of Charles the great, where he firſt began the Uniuerſitie of Paris: was firſt traded vp in the exerciſe of ſtudies, at the ſame ſchoole of Graūtecheſter. Beda Lib. III. cap. 18. writing alſo of Sigebert king of Eaſtangles, declareth how the ſayd Sigebert returning out of Fraunce into England (according to the examples whiche hee did there ſee) ordered and diſpoſed ſchooles of learning, through the meanes of Felix then Biſhop: and placed in them maiſters and teachers, after the vſe and maner of the Cantuarites. And yet before theſe times, moreouer is thought to be two ſchooles or vniuerſities within the realme: the one Greek, at ye town of Greglade, which afterward was called Kyrklade: The other for Latine, whiche place was then called Latinclade: afterward Lethelade neare to Oxford.

King Alfrede commended for learning.

When learning firſt began to be ſet vp in England.

Cheſter a place of learning.

The Vniuerſitie of Grauncheſter by Cambridge.

The vniuerſitie of Paris firſt began by iiij. Rabanus, Alcuinus, Claudius, Ioan. Scotus.

Sigebert king of Eaſtangles a ſcepter of Schooles.

Two auncient ſchooles in England, one for Grecke, the other for latine.

But howſoeuer it chãced that the knowledge and ſtudy of good letters being once planted in this realme, afterwarde went to decay: yet King Alfrede deſerueth no little praiſe, for reſtoring or rather increaſing the ſame. After whoſe time they haue euer ſince continued, albeit not continually through euery age in like perfection. But this we may ſee, what it is to haue a Prince learned him ſelfe, who feeling and taſting the price and value of ſcience & knowledge, is thereby not only the more apt to rule, but alſo to inſtruct & frame his ſubiectes, from a rude barbaritye, to a more ciuile congruencie of life, & to a better vnderſtanding of thinges: as we ſee in this famous Prince to happen. Cõcerning whoſe firſt education & bringing vp, although it was ſomewhat late before he entred any letter: yet ſuche was the apt towardneſſe & docilitie of his nature, that being a childe, he had the Saxon Poemes (ſuch as were vſed then in his owne toung) by hart and memory. Who afterward with yeares and time grewe vp in ſuch perfection of learning and knowledge, in ſo much, that as mine author ſayeth, Nullus Anglorum fuerit vel intelligendo acutior, vel in interpretando elegantior. The which thing in him the more was to be marueiled, for that he was xij. yeares of age before he knew any letter. Then his mother, careful and tender ouer him, hauing by chance a booke in her hand, which he wold faine haue: promiſed to geue him the ſame, ſo that he wold learne it. Wherupon he for greedines of the booke, eftſoones learned the letters, hauing to his Scholemaiſter Pleimundus, after biſhop of Canterbury. And ſo daily grew more and more in knowledge, that at length, as mine author ſayth, Plurimam partem Romanæ bibliothecæ, Anglorum auribus dedit, optimam prædam peregrinarum mercium, ciuium vſibus conuertens. That is. A great part of the Latin Librarie hee tranſlated into Engliſh, conuerting to the vſes of his Citizens, a notable pray of forein ware & marchãdiſe. &c. Of which bookes by him and through him tranſlated, was Oroſius: Paſtorale Gregorij. The hiſtorie of Bede: Boëtius de conſolatione Philoſophiæ. Alſo a booke of his owne making and in his owne toung, which in the Engliſh ſpeach he called a hãdbooke, in Greke called it Enchiridion, in Latine a Manuel. Beſides the hiſtorie of Bede tranſlated into the Saxons toung, he alſo himſelfe compiled a ſtory in the ſame ſpeach, called the ſtorie of Alfrede. &c. which both bookes in the Saxons tounge I haue ſeene, though the language I do not vnderſtãd. And as he was learned himſelf excellently well, ſo likewiſe did he inflame all his countrey men to the loue of liberall letters, as the wordes of the ſtorie reporteth, Illos præmijs, hos minis hortando, neminem illiteratum, ad quamlibet curiæ dignitatem aſpirare permittens. That is. He exhorted and ſtirred his people to the ſtudie of learning, ſome with giftes, ſome by threates, ſuffering no man to aſpire to any dignitie in the Court, except he were learned. Moreouer an other ſtorie thus ſayth, ſpeaking of his nobles: Optimates quoq; ſuos ad literaturam addiſcendam in tantum prouocauit, vt ſibi filios ſuos, vel ſaltem ſi filios nõ haberent, ſeruos ſuos, literis commendarent. That is. Alſo his nobles ſo much hee did allure to the embracing of good letters, that they ſet all their ſonnes to ſchoole: or if they had no ſonnes, yet their ſeruauntes they cauſed to be learned. Whereby the common prouerbe may be found not ſo common, as true. Such as is the Prince, ſuch be the ſubiectes. He began moreouer to tranſlate the Pſalter in Engliſh, & had almoſt finiſhed the ſame, had not death preuẽted him. Guliel. de Regib Angl. In the Prologue of the booke intituled Paſtorale Grego. thus hee wryteth: declaring the cauſe why hee was ſo earneſt and diligent in tranſlating good bookes from Latine into Engliſh, ſhewing the cauſe thereof, why he ſo did, as foloweth: Quòd Eccleſiæ in quibus innumeræ priſcæ bibliothecæ continebantur, cum libris a Danis incenſæ ſint: quodq; in tota inſula ſtudium literarum ita abolitũ eſſet vt quiſq; minus timeret capitis periculum, quam ſtudiorum exercitia adire. Qua propter ſe in hoc, Anglis ſuis conſulere &c. That is. The cauſe was, for that innumerable auncient Libraryes which were kept in Churches, were conſumed with fire by the Danes: And that men had rather ſuffer perill of their life, thẽ to follow the exerciſe of ſtudyes: And therefore he thought thereby to prouide before for the people of the Engliſh nation. &c.

Ex hiſtoria Guliel. de Regibus Ang.

Pleimondus teacher to king Alfred, and after Biſhop of Canterbury.

Bookes tranſlated out of latine by K. Alfrede.

None permitted to haue any dignitie in the court except he were learned.

Polycron. lib. 6. cap. 1.

The Pſalter tranſlated into Engliſh by king Alfrede.

The cauſe why the king turned latine bookes into Engliſh.

It is tolde of him both in Polychron Malmeſb. Ironalenſis, and other ſtoryes mo, whereof I haue no names: that he ſeing his countrey (namely weſtward) to be ſo deſolate of ſcholes and learning, partly to profite himſelfe, partly to furniſh his countrey & ſubiectes with better knowledge, firſt ſent for Grimboldus a learned Monke out of Fraunce, to come into England. Alſo ſent for an other learned man out from the partes of Wales, whoſe name was Aſſerion, whome he made Byſhop of Shyreborne. Item out of Mercia, he ſent for Werefrithus, biſhop of Worcetor: to whõ he put the Dialogues of Gregoy to be tranſlated. But chiefly he vſed the Counſell of Neotus, who then was counted for an holy man, and Abbot of a certaine Monaſterie in Cornwal. By the aduiſement of which Neotus, hee ſent for theſe learned men aboue recited: and alſo ordained certaine ſcholes of diuers artes, firſt at Oxforde, and alſo fraunchiſed the ſame with many great liberties. Guliel. Iornalenſ. Fabi. cap. 171. Wherof perhaps the ſchole, now called the new Colledge (firſt then begon of this Neotus) myght take hys name: which (afterwarde peraduenture) the Byſhops of Wincheſter after a larger manner did reed.fie, and inlarge wyth greater poſſeſſions.

Learned men ſent for and placed about the king.

The dialoges of Gregory tranſlated.

Neotus an Abbot.

The ſchole and vniuerſitie of Oxford firſt begonne by King Alfrede.

The newe Colledge in Oxford. Ioan. Scotus.

Moreouer, amõg other learned men which were about king Alfrede: hiſtories make mention of Iohannes Scotus (a godly Diuine, and a learned Philoſopher) but not that Scotus, which nowe we call Duns. For that Iohannes Scotus came after this, many yeares. This Iohannes is deſcribed to be a ſharpe wit, of great eloquence, and well expert in the Greeke toung: pleaſant and mery of nature and cõditions, as appeareth by diuers his doings & aunſweres. Firſt he comming to Fraunce out of his owne countrey of Scotland, by reaſon of the great tumultes of warre, was there worthily intertained: and for hys learning had in great eſtimation of Carolus Caluus the French king, whom he commonly and familiarly vſed euer to haue about him, both at table, and in chamber. Upon a time the King ſitting at meate, and ſeeing ſomething (belike in thys Iohn Scot) which ſemed not very courtly: caſt forth a mery word aſking of him, what difference there was betwixt a Scot, & a Sot. Whereunto the Scot ſitting ouer againſt the King, ſomewhat lower, replied againe ſodainly, rather then aduiſedly (yet merely) ſaying: Menſa tantùm, that is, the table onely: importing thereby himſelf to be the Scot, and ſo calling the king a Sot by craft. Which word howe other princes would haue taken to ſtomake, I knowe not: but thys Charles, for the great reuerẽce he bare to his learning, turned it but to a laughter among his nobles, & ſo let it paſſe.

The aunſwere of Ioannes Scotus to the French king.

An other time, the ſame king being at dinner, was ſerued wyth a certaine diſh of fiſh: wherein, were two great fiſhes, and a litle one. After the king had taken thereof his repaſt, ſetteth downe to Iohannes Scotus the foreſayde fiſh, to diſtribute vnto the other ij. Clarkes ſitting there wyth him: which were two tall and mighty perſons, he himſelfe being but a litle man. Iohannes taketh the fiſh, of the which the two great, he taketh and carueth to himſelf: the litle fiſh he reacheth to the other two. The king perceiuing this his diuiſion thus made, reprehended the ſame. Then Iohannes, whoſe maner was euer to finde out ſome honeſt matter to delite the King, anſwered to him againe, prouing his diuiſion to ſtand iuſt and equal. For here (ſayth he) be two great, and a little, poynting to the two great fiſhes & himſelfe: And likewiſe here again is a litle one and two great, pointing to the litle fiſh, & two great perſons, I pray you (ſayeth hee) what oddes is there, or what diſtribution can be more equall? Whereat the King with his nobles, being much delighted, laughed merely.

At the requeſt of thys Charles ſurnamed Bawld, the Frenche king, this Scotus tranſlated the booke of Dionyſius, intituled De Hierarchia, from Greeke into Latin, worde for worde, quo fit (as my author ſayth) vt vix intelligatur Latina litera, quum nobilitate magis Græca, quam poſitione conſtruitur Latina. He wrote alſo a Booke De corpore & ſanguine Domini, whych was afterward condemned by the Pope In Concilio Vercellenſi.

Ioan Scotus tranſlated *Hierarchiam Dionitij.* from Greeke to Latine.

The ſame Iohannes Scotus moreouer compiled a booke of his own, geuing it a greeke title, περὶ φυσικῶν διαιρεσίων, that is, De naturæ diuiſione. In which booke (as ſayeth my foreſayd author) is contained the reſolution of many profitable queſtions (but ſo) that he is thought to followe the Greeke Churche, rather then the Latine, and for the ſame was counted of ſome to be an hereticke: becauſe in that booke ſome thinges there be, which in all poyntes accorde not with the Romiſh Religion. Wherfore the Pope, wryting to the ſaide king Charles of thys Scotus, complayneth, as in his owne wordes here followeth:

The booke of Ioannes Scotus called περὶ φυσικῶν.

Ioannes Scotus addicted more to the Greeke Churche then the Latine.

Relatũ eſt Apſtolatui noſtro, quòd opus Dionyſij Areopagitæ, quod de diuinis nominibus, & de cæleſtibus ordinibus, Græco deſcripſit eloquio, quidam vir Ioannes (genere Scotus) nuper tranſtulit in Latinum. Quod, iuxta morem Eccleſiæ, nobis mitti, & noſtro iudicio debuit approbari: præſertim quum idem Ioannes (licèt multæ ſcientiæ eſſe prædicitur) olim non ſane ſapere, in quibuſdam frequenti rumore dicatur. &c. That is: Relation hath bene made vnto our Apoſtleſhip, that a certaine man called Iohannes a Scottiſh man, hath tranſlated the booke of Dionyſius the Areopagite: of the names of God, and of the heauenly orders, from Greeke into Latin. Which Booke, according to the cuſtome of the Church, ought firſt to haue

Ioan Scotus accuſed of the pope for an heretike.

bene approued by our iudgement: namely ſeeing the ſayde Iohn (albeit he be ſayde to be a man of great learning and ſcience) in time paſt hath bene noted by common rumour, to haue bene a man, not of vpright or ſounde doctrine, in certaine pointes. &c. For this cauſe the ſayde Scotus, being conſtrained to remoue from Fraūce, came into England, allured (as ſome teſtifie) by the letters of Alured or Alfrede, of whom he was with great fauour entertained, and conuerſant a great ſpace about the king: til at length (whether before or after the death of the king it is vncertaine) he wēt to Malmeſbery, where he taught certaine ſcholers a fewe yeares, by the which Schollers at laſte moſt impiouſly he was murthered and ſlaine with their penknifes, and ſo died, as ſtories ſay, a Martyr, buried at the ſayd monaſtery of Malmeſbury with this Epitaph.

Ioannes Scotus ſlayne by hys owne ſcollers.

Ioan Scotus a Martyr.

Clauditur in tumulo ſanctus ſophiſta Ioannes,
Qui ditatus erat iam viuens dogmate miro.
Martyrio tandem Chriſti condeſcendere regnum
Qui meruit, regnans ſecli per ſecula cuncta.

This Ethelwitha builded firſt the houſe of Nunnes at Wincheſter.

The children of K. Alfrede.

All hys daughters learned.

King Alfrede hauing theſe helpes of learned men about him, & no leſſe learned alſo himſelf, paſt ouer his time not onely to great vtilitie and profite of his ſubiectes, but alſo to a rare & profitable example of other Chriſten kings and Princes, for them to follow. This foreſaid Alfrede had by his wife called Ethelwitha, two ſonnes: Edwarde and Ethelward, and three daughters: Elflena, Ethelgora, and Ethelguida: Quas omnes liberalibus fecit artibus erudiri. That is, whome he ſet all to their bookes and ſtudy of liberall arts: as my ſtorie teſtifieth. Firſt Edward his eldeſt ſonne ſucceded him in the kingdome, The ſecond ſonne Ethelward died before his father. Ethelgora hys middle Daughter was made a Nunne. The other two were married, the one in Marceland, the other to the earle of Flanders. Thus king Alfrede the valiaunt, vertuous and learned Prince, after he had thus Chriſtianly gouerned the realme the terme of 29. yeares & 6. monethes, departed this life. v. Kal. Nou. and lyeth buried at Wincheſter. An Dom. 901. Of whome thys I finde moreouer greatly noted and commended in hiſtorie, and not here to be forgotten, for the rare example thereof touching this Alfrede: that whereſoeuer he was, or whetherſoeuer he went, he bare alwaies about him, in his boſome or pocket, a litle booke cōtaining the Pſalmes of Dauid, and certaine other Oraſons of his owne collecting. wherupon he was continually reading or praying whenſoeuer he was otherwiſe vacant, hauing leiſure therunto. Finally what were the vertues of this famous king, thys litle table here vnder written, which is left in ancient writing, in the remembraunce of his worthy and memorable life: doth ſufficiently, in fewe lines containe.

The deceaſe of King Alfred.

{An. 901.}

In Regem Alfredum, & virtutum illius claram memoriam.

Famoſus, Bellicoſus, Victorioſus: Viduarum, pupillorum, & orphanorum pauperumque prouiſor ſtudioſus, Poetarum Saxonicorum peritiſsimus: Suæ genti Chatiſsimus: Affabilis omnibus: Liberaliſsimus: Prudentia, fortitudine, temperantia, Iuſtitia præditus: in infirmitate, qua continuè laborabat pacientiſsimus: In exequendis iudicijs indagator diſcretiſsimus: In ſeruicio Dei vigilantiſsimus & deuotiſsimus: Angloſaxonum Rex Alfredus, pijſsimi Ethelulfi filius. 29. annis ſexque menſibus regni ſui peractis mortem obijt. Indict. 4. Quinto Kalend. Nouemb. feria quarta, & Wintoniæ in nouo monaſterio ſepultus immortalitatis ſtolam, & reſurrectionis gloriam cum iuſtis expectat. &c.

Moreouer in the Hiſtorie of Henricus Huntingtonenſis, theſe verſes I finde wrytten in the commendation of the ſame Alfrede: made (as I ſuppoſe and as by his wordes appeareth) by the ſayd author, whereof I thought not to defraude the reader: the wordes whereof here follow.

Epitaphium Regis Alfredi.

Nobilitas innata tibi probitatis honorem,
Armipotens Alfrede dedit, probitaſque laborem.
Perpetuumq; labor nomen, cui mixta dolori
Gaudia ſemper erant, Spes ſemper mixta timori.
Si modò victor eras, ad craſtina bella pauebas:
Si modò victus eras, ad craſtina bella parabas.
Cui veſtes ſudore iugi, cui ſica cruore.
Tincta iugi, quantum ſit onus regnare probarunt.
Non fuit immenſi quiſquam per climata mundi,
Cui tot in aduerſis nil reſpirare liceret.
Nec tamen aut ferro contritus ponere ferrum,
Aut gladio potuit, vitæ finiſſe dolores.
Iam poſt tranſactos vitæ regniq; labores,
Chriſtus ei ſit vera quies, ſceptrumq; perenne.

Etheredus, Pleimundus, Athelmus, Vlfelmus, Odo. Archb. of Canterbury.

In the ſtorie of this Alfred, a little aboue, mention was made of Pleimundus Scholemaſter to the ſayde Alfrede, and alſo Byſhop of Caunterbury, ſucceeding Etheredus, there Byſhoppe before him. which Pleimundus gouerned that Sea, the number of xxxiiij. yeares. After Pleimundus ſucceded Athelmus, and ſate xij. yeares. After him came Vlſelmus xiij. yeares. Then followed Odo a Dane borne, in yͤ ſayd Sea of Caunterb. and gouerned yͤ ſame xx. yeares, being in great fauoure with King Athelſtane, king Edmund, and Edwine, as in proceſſe hereafter (Chriſt willing) as place & order doth require, ſhall more at large be expreſſed.

9. Popes in ix. yeares at Rome.

Formoſus firſt Pope.

Ex Chronico Sigeberti.

Schiſmes among the Popes.

As touching the courſe and proceedings of the Romiſh Biſhoppes there: where I laſt entred mention of them pag. 139. I ended wyth Pope Stephen the fifth. After hys time was much broyle, in the election of the Byſhops of Rome: one contending againſt an other: in ſo much that wythin the ſpace of ix. yeares, were ix. Byſhops. Of the which, firſt was Formoſus, who ſucceded next vnto the forenamed Stephen 5. being made pope againſt the mind of certaine in Rome: that wold rather Sergius then deacon of the church of Rome, to haue bene Pope. Notwythſtanding, Mars and money preuailed on Formoſus part. This Formoſus, of whome partly alſo is mentioned in other places, of this Eccleſiaſtical hiſtorie, being before biſhop of Portuake: had in time paſt (I knowe not vpon what cauſes) offended Pope Iohn the viij. of that name. By reaſon whereof for feare of the Pope, he voided away, and left his Biſhopprike. And becauſe hee being ſent for againe by the Pope, woulde not returne: therfore was excommunicated. At length comming into France, to make there his ſatiſfaction vnto the Pope, was degraded from a Byſhop into a ſecular mans habite, ſwearing to the Pope that he would no more reenter into the City of Rome, nor claime his Biſhoprike againe: ſubſcribing moreouer with his owne hand to continue from that time in the ſtate of a ſecular perſon. But then, Pope Martin (the next Pope after Iohn) releaſed the ſaide Formoſus of his othe, and reſtored him againe vnto his Biſhoprike. whereby Formoſus entred not onely into Rome againe, but alſo obtained ſhortly after yͤ papacie. Thus he being placed in the popedome, aroſe a great doubt or controuerſie among the Diuines, of his conſecration, whether it was lawfull or not: ſome holding againſt him, that for ſo much as he was ſolemnly depoſed, degraded, vnprieſted, and alſo ſworne not to reiterate the ſtate Eccleſiaſtical: therefore he ought to be taken no otherwiſe, then for a ſeculare man. Other alledged againe, that what ſoeuer Formoſus was, yet for the dignitie of that order, and for the credite of them, whom he ordered: all his conſecrations ought to ſtand in force, eſpecially, ſeeing the ſayd Formoſus was afterwarde receiued and abſolued by Pope Martin, from that his periury and degradation. &c. In the meane time (as witneſſeth Sigebertus) this Formoſus ſendeth for King Arnulphus for aide againſt his aduerſaries. who then marching toward Rome, was there reſiſted by the Romaines from entring. But in the ſiege (ſayeth the author) the Romaines within ſo playd the Lyons, that a poore Hare (or ſuch a like thing) comming towarde the Citie: the hoſte of Arnulphus followed after with ſuch a maine crie, that the valiaunt Romaines vpon the walles for very feare, (where there was no hurt) caſt themſelues deſperately ouer the walles: ſo that Arnulphus with little laboure ſcaled the walles, and gate the Citie. Thus Arnulphus obtaining the Citie of Rome, reſcueth Pope Formoſus, and beheadeth hys aduerſaries, whome the Pope, to gratifie wyth like recompence againe, bleſſeth and crowneth him for Emperoure. Thus Formoſus ſitting faſt about yͤ ſpace of 4. or 5. yeres followed his predeceſſours: after whoſe time (as I ſayde) within the ſpace of ix. yeares were ix. Biſhops as followeth. But in the meane time concerning the ſtorie of thys Formoſus declared by Sigebert, and many other Chroniclers: this thing woulde I gladly aſke, and more gladly learne of ſome indifferent good Catholike perſon, whyche not of obſtinacie, but of ſimple errour being a papiſt wold aunſwere his conſcience. whether doth he thinke the holy order of Prieſthode, which hee taketh for one of the ſeuen Sacramentes, to be Character indelebilis or not? If it be not indelebilis, that is, if it be ſuch a thing, as may be put of: why then doeth the Popes doctrine ſo call and ſo hold the contrary, pretending it to be indelebile, vnremoueable? If it be in deede, ſo as they teach and affirme, indelebilis character, why then did Pope Iohn, or could Pope Iohn, adnichilate & euacuate one of his vij. Popeholy Sacramentes: making of a Prieſt a non Prieſt, or a layman: vncharactering hys owne order, which is (as he ſayeth) a Character, which in no wiſe may be blotted out, or remoued? Againe,

Character indelebilis.

Whether the pope with hys Cardinals may erre.

how ſoeuer Pope Iohn is to be iudged in this matter, to do either wel or not wel, this word I know, if he did well in ſo diſprieſting and diſcharactering Formoſus, for ſuche priuate offences? If yea, how then ſtādeth his doing wyth his owne doctrine, which teacheth the contrary? If he did not well, how then ſtandeth his doctrine with his doings to be true, which teacheth that the Pope with his Synode of Cardinals can not erre? Moreouer if this Pope Iohn did not erre in his diſordering Formoſus: howe then did Martinus hys ſucceſſoure not erre, in repealing the ſayd doing of hys predeceſſour? Or how did not Pope Formoſus erre hymſelfe, who beyng vnprieſted by Pope Iohn: afterwarde wythout reiterating the Character or order of Prieſthoode, toke vppon hym to be Pope, and made actes and lawes in the Churche? Againe, if Formoſus nowe Pope did not erre, how then did Pope Stephen hys ſucceſſoure afterwarde not erre: who did annihilate the conſecration, and all other actes of the ſaid Formoſus, as erroneous? Or againe, if we ſay that this Stephen with his Synode of Cardinalles did right: then howe could it be, that Pope Theodore, & Pope Iohn the tenth, which came after the foreſayde Stephen, did not plainely erre? who approuing the conſecration of Formoſus: did condemne, and burne the acts Synodale, of Stephen and his Cardinals, which before had condemned Formoſus: according as in ſtorie here conſequently may appeare?

Bonifacius 6. Pope.
Stephen, 6. Pope.
Ex Chroni. Martini pæni tentiarij.
Sigebert.
Ex Polych. & alijs.

After Formoſus had gouerned the Sea of Rome fiue yeres, ſucceded firſt Bonifacius the vj. who continued but 25. dayes, then came Stephen the vj. which ſo enuyed the name of his predeceſſor Formoſus: that he abrogated and diſſolued his decrees: And taking vp his bodye, after it was buried, cut two fingers of his right hande, and commanded them to be caſt into Tiber, & then buried the body in a priuate or laymans ſepulchre.

Pope Theodorus.2.
Pope Iohn.10.
One councell burneth an others decrees.
Pope Benedictus 4.
Pope Leo.5. impriſoned and vnpoped by hys own chaplayne.
Pope Chriſtoferus.1.
Pope Sergius.
Pope Formoſus after hys death beheaded of Pope Sergius.
A falſe fayned myracle vpon the body of Formoſus.
Popiſh miracles not to be credited.
Bearing of candels on Candlemas day how it came vp.

Thus Stephen after he had ſat in the chaire of peſtilēce one yeare: ſucceeded in the ſame chaire, Pope Rhomanus, and ſate iij. mouthes: repealing the actes decreed by Stephen his predeceſſor, againſt Formoſus. Next to whome came Theodorus 2. who likewiſe taking parte with Formoſus againſt the foreſaid Stephē, reigned but 20. dayes. Then ſate Pope Iohn the 10. who did fight and repugne againſt the Romanes. And to confirme the cauſe of Formoſus more ſurely, did holde a Sinode at Rauenna of 74. Biſhops, wt the French king Endo and his Archbiſhops being preſent at the ſame. At the which councel, were ratified all the decrees and doings of Formoſus: and the contrary acts of the Synode of Stephen the vj. were burned. This Pope liued not Pope fully two yeares: after whom ſucceded Benedictus the 4. which kept the chaire three yeares. After whom Leo the 5. was next Pope, who within 40. daies of his papacie, was with ſtrong hand taken & caſt in priſon by one Chriſtopher his own houſhold chaplain, whō he had long norithed before in his houſe. Which thing (ſayeth Platina) could not be done without great conſpiracie and great ſlaughter of men. Which Chriſtofer being Pope about the ſpace of ſeuen monthes, was likewiſe himſelfe hoiſted from his Papall throne by Sergius, like as he had done to hys maiſter before. And thus within the ſpace of 9. yeares, had bene 9. Popes one after an other. Then Sergius after he had thruſt downe Pope Chriſtofer, and ſhorne him Monke into a Monaſterie, occupied the roume 7. yeares. This Sergius a rude man, and vnlearned, very proude and cruell: had before bene put backe from the Popedome by Formoſus aboue mentioned. By reaſon whereof, to reuenge Formoſus againe being nowe in his papacie, cauſed the body of Formoſus, where it was buried to be taken vp: and afterwarde ſet in the Papall ſea (as in his pontificalibus) firſt diſgraded him, then commanded his head to be ſmitten off, wt the other thre fingers that were left (as Sigebertus writeth) which done, he made his body to be throwne into Tiber, depoſing likewiſe all ſuch, as by the ſaid Formoſus before had bene conſecrated and inueſted. This body of Formoſus thus throwne into Tiber, was afterward (as our writers ſay) found & taken vp by certaine fiſhers, and ſo brought into ſ. Peters temple. At the preſence whereof (as they ſay) certaine images there ſtanding by, bowed downe themſelues, and reuerenced the ſame, with lie and all. But ſuch deceiueable miracles of ſtocks and images in monkiſh and frierly tēples, be to vs no newes, eſpecially here in England: where we haue bene ſo inured with the like, & ſo many, that ſuch wily practiſes cannot be to vs inuiſible: though this crownſhorn generation, thinke themſelues to daunce in a nette. But the truthe is, while they thinke to deceaue the ſimple, theſe wily beguily moſt of all deceiue themſelues, as they will finde except they repent. By this Pope Sergius, firſt came vp to beare about candels on Candelmas day: for ẏ purifying of the bleſſed virgine. As though the ſacred conception of Ieſus the ſonne of God, were to be purified as a thing vnpure, and that with candell light.

Pope An ſtaſius,3.
Pope La do.1.
Pope Io 11.
Harlots this time ruled all Rome,
Liuthpra dus.Temi ſis.lib.3,
P.Iohn.1
P.Leo.6.
P.Steph
P.Iohn.1 reſtored.

After Sergius, entred pope Anaſtaſius, in whoſe time the body of Formoſus forenamed, is thought to be foūd of fiſhermen in the riuer of Tiber, & ſo brought, as is ſaid, into the temple to be ſaluted of the images, which thing may quickly be tainted as a lie. For how it is to be thought that the body of Formoſus ſo long dead before, and now lying 7. yeares in the riuer: could remaine whole all that while, that Fiſhers might take it vp, & diſcerne it to be the ſame? After Anaſius had ſate two yeres, folowed Pope Lando, the father (as ſome ſtories think) of pope Iohn, which Iohn is ſayde to be the paramour of Theodora a famous harlot of Rome, & ſet vp of the ſame harlot eyther againſt Lando, or after Lando his father to ſuccede in hys roume. There is a ſtorie writer called Liuthprandus, who wryting de Imperatoribus. Lib. 2 cap. 13. maketh there mention of this Theodora, and Pope Iohn xj. and ſayeth moreouer, that this Theodora had a daughter named Marozia: which Marozia had by pope Sergius aboue mentioned, a ſonne which afterward was Pope Iohn the 12. The ſame Marozia afterward it chāced to marry with Guido Marques of Tuſcia: through the meanes of which Guido and hys frends at Rome, ſhe brought to paſſe that this pope Iohn the 11. was ſmothered with a pillow laid to his mouth, after he had reigned 13. yeares. And ſo the foreſayd Iohn the 12. her ſonne, to ſuccede next after him. But becauſe ẏ clergie and people of Rome did not agre to his election, therfore was Pope Leo the 6. in his place ſet vp. Thus Pope Iohn the ſonne of Sergius and Marozia being deiected, reigned Pope Leo 7. moneths. After him Pope Stephen 2 yeares. Who being poyſoned, then was Pope Iohn the 12. aboue rehearſed, the ſonne of Sergius and Marozia, ſet vp againe in the Papacie, where hee reigned neare the ſpace of 5. yeres. Of the wickedneſſe of this ſtrompet Marozia, howe ſhe maried two brethren, one after the death of the other: And howe ſhe gouerned all Rome, & the whole church at that time, I let it paſſe. Although the latin verſes wherewith the ſayd Liuthprandus, doeth inuey againſt ſuch women as marie two brethren, were neither worthy here to be recited, and perhappes might be further applied then to that Marozia of Rome, but for ſhortneſſe I let them alſo paſſe.

P.Steph.7.
P.Leo.7.
P.Steph.8.
P.Marti
P.Agapetus.2.
Ordo Cluniacenſis beginneth,

After Ioan. 12. followed Pope Stephen three yeares. Pope Leo 3. yeares and 4. monethes. Pope Stephen the eight 3. yeres and 4. moneths. Pope Martine 3. yeres and 6. monthes. After him Pope Agapetus 8. yeres and 6. monethes. About whoſe time or a little before began firſt the order of monkes called Ordo Cluniacenſis, &c.

But nowe to leaue of theſe monſtruous matters of Rome, and to returne againe to our country of England, where we laſt left before.

King Edward the elder.

King Edward the elder.
The Edwardes before the conqueſt.
A compariſon betweene Alfrede, and hys ſonne Edward,
Vſe and long exercile of things maketh perfectnes.
Clyto Ethelwold rebelleth agaynſt K. Edward,

After the reigne of the famous king Alfred, hys ſonne Edward ſucceeded, ſurnamed the elder. Where firſt is to be noted, that before the Conqueſt of the Normandes, there were in England 3. Edwardes, firſt this Edwarde the elder. 2. Edward the martyr. 3. Edward the confeſſor. Whereof hereafter (by the grace of Chriſt) ſhall followe in order, as place ſhall geue to be declared. This Edwarde began his reigne, the yeare of our Lord. 901. and gouerned the land right valiantly and nobly 24. yeares. In knowledge of good letters and learning, he was not to be compared to his father. Otherwiſe, in princely renowne, in ciuile gouernment, and ſuch like martiall proweſſe, he was nothing inferior, but rather excelled him. Through whoſe valiant actes, firſt the princedome of Wales, and kingdom of Scotland, with Conſtantine king thereof were to hym ſubdued. He adioyned moreouer to his dominion the coūtrey of Eaſtanglia, that is, of Norfolke, Suffolke and Eſſex. All Merceland alſo he recouered and Northumberlād out of the hands of the Danes. In all his warres he neuer lightly wēt without victory. The ſubiects of his prouinces and dominions were ſo inured, and hardened in continuall practiſe and feates of warre: that when they hearde of any ennemies comming (neuer tarying for any bidding from the king, or from his dukes) ſtraightwayes they encountred wyth them: both in number, and in knowledge of the order of warre excelling alwayes their aduerſaries. Guliel. de Regi. Ita hoſtes militibus contemptui, Regi riſui erant. To meane, So was the comming and aſſaulting of theyr ennemyes to the people and common Souldiours but a trifle, to the king but a ridicle. Among other aduerſaries which were buſie rather then wiſe, in aſſailing this king: was

An. 904.

was one called Clito Ethelwoldus a yong man, king Edwardes vncles ſonne. who firſt occupying the Towne of Wimborne (taking thence a Nonne wt him, whome then he had maried) fledde by night to Northumberland, to adioyne himſelf vnto the Danes, who was made chiefe king and captaine ouer them. Then chaſed from thence, hee fled ouer into France, but ſhortly returning againe into England, landed in Eaſtengland, where the ſaide Clyto wyth a company of Danes of that countrey gathered vnto him, deſtroied and pilled much of the countrey about Crekinford and Crikeland. And ſo paſſing ouer Thamis after he had ſpoyled the lande there to Bradeneſtocke: returned againe to Northfolke and Suffolke, where he meting with a buſhment of Kentiſh men, which dragged & taried after the maine hoſte of Edwarde, contrary to his commaundement, incloſed them in, and ſlewe the moſte parte of them. Sone after the two hoſtes meeting together, betwene the two diches of S. Edmunds lad, after a long fight, Clyto with many of the Danes were ſlaine, and the remnaunte were conſtrained to ſeeke for peace, which vpon certaine conditions, and vnder a tribute was to them graunted.

An. 913.

In proceſſe, about the 12. yeare of his reygne, the Danes repenting them of their couenants, and minding to breake the ſame: aſſembled an hoſte and met wt the king in Staffordſhire at a place called Totenhall, & ſone after at Wodnefield: at which two places the king ſlew two kings, two erles, & many thouſand of Danes, that occupied the countrey of Northumberland.

Cheſter repayred and enlarged. The Caſtle of Herford builded. Caſtles builded vpon the riuer of Auene, and Ouſe. The townes of Towcetour and wigmore builded. The newe towne of Nottingham builded. Thilwall. Mancheſter repayred.

Thus the importunate rage of the Danes being aſſwaged, King Edwarde hauing nowe ſome leyſure geuen from warres, to other ſtudies: gaue his minde to the building or repairing of cities, townes, and caſtles, that by the Danes were raſed, ſhatred, and broken. As firſt of Cheſter, which citye he double enlarged to that it was before: compaſſing the caſtle within the walles of the ſame, which before ſtood without. That done, the king builded a ſtrong caſtle at Herford in the edge of Wales. Alſo for the ſtrengthening of the Countrey, he made a Caſtle at the mouth of the water of Auene, and an other Caſtle at Buckingham, and the third faſt thereby vpon the riuer of Owſe. Moreouer he builded or reedified the townes of Toweſtor, and Wigmore, & deſtroied the caſtle that the Danes had made at Demeſford. Likewiſe vpon the riuer of Trent againſt the old towne of Notingham, he builded a new towne on the ſouthſide, and made a bridge ouer the riuer, betweene the ſaid ij. townes. Alſo by the riuer of Merce, he builded a citie or towne, in the North end of Mercia, and named it Thilwall, and after repaired the citie of Mancheſter, that ſore was defaced with warre of the Danes.

In this renuing and building of townes and Caſtles for the more fortifying of his Realme: his Siſter Elfleda, daughter of king Alfrede, & maried to the Duke of Mercia (as is afore mentioned) was no ſmall helper. Of this Elfleda it is firmely of wryters affirmed that ſhee being as is ſayde maried to Ethelrede Duke of Mercia, after ſhe had once aſſayed the paines of women in traueling wyth her childe: ſo much ſhee abhorred euer after the embracing of her huſbande, that it ſeemed to her (ſhe ſayde) not ſeemely for a noble womā to vſe ſuch fleſhly liking, wherof ſo gret ſorow and trauaile ſhould enſue. And yet notwithſtāding the ſame Elfleda, for all her delicate tenderneſſe in eſchewing the natural paſſion, which neceſſity geueth to women: ſo hardy ſhe was in warlike daungers, which nature geueth not to women, that fighting againſt the Danes, ſo venturous ſhee was of ſtomacke, that foure of her next knights, which were gardeins of her body, were ſlain faſt by her. This Elfleda among her other noble actes, whereby ſhe deſerued praiſe, was a great helper and ſtirrer vp of her brother Edward: who builded and newly repaired many Caſtels and townes, as Tomworth, beſide Lichfielde, Staffordе, Warwike, Shrowesbury, Watriſbury, Eldiſbury, beſides Cheſter in the forreſt now deſtroyed. Alſo in the North ende of Mercia, vpon the riuer of Merce, a caſtle called Rimcorne, alſo a bridge ouer Seuerne named Brimmiſbury bridge.

Elfleda. Cittyes, Townes, and Caſtles builded by Elfleda.

As touching the lawes and ſtatutes of thys Edwarde, as alſo of his father Alfrede made before him, I omit heere to recorde them for length of matter and waſt of time: yet notwithſtanding, this admonition by the way I thinke good to note: that in thoſe dayes of theſe auncient Kinges reigning in Englande, the authoritie then both of conferring Biſhopprickes, and ſpirituall promotions, and alſo of preſcribing lawes as well to the church men, as to the laitie, and of ordering and intermedling in matters mere ſpiritual, was then in the hands of kings, ruling in the land, and not onely in the hande of the Pope, as appeareth by theſe lawes of Alfred.

The lawes of king Alfred and K. Edward.

Si quis fornicetur cum vxore aliena, &c,
Si quis in quadrageſima ſanctum velum in publico vel in lecto. &c.
Vt Chriſtiani Deum diligant & paganiſmo renuncient. &c.
Si quis Chriſtianitatem mutet. &c.
Si quis ordinatus ſacris furetur. &c.
Si præsbyter ad rectum terminum ſanctum Chriſma. &c.
Si duo fratres, vel cognati cum vna aliqua fornicentur. &c.

By theſe and other ſuch like conſtitutions of King Alfrede, it may appeare: how the gouernaunce and direction of the church in thoſe daies, depended not vpon Monſieur le Pope of Rome: but vpon the kings which here in their time (vnder the Lorde) did gouerne the land. To this alſo the example of King Edwardes time geueth teſtimonie: which Edward wyth Pleimundus (aboue mentioned) Archbiſhop of Canterbury, and with other biſhops in a ſinode aſſembled: aſſigned and elected 7. Byſhops in 7. Metropolitane churches of the realme. which were, 1. Frideſtane. 2. Adelſtane. 3 Werſtane 4. Adelelme. 5. Edulfus 6 Dernegus. 7 Kenulphus. In which election the kings authoritie ſemed then alone to be ſufficient. &c.

Note howe kinges of England in tymes paſt had authoritie in ſpirituall cauſes.

Anno. 925.

The Children of K Edward the elder.

This Edward (as in the beginning was ſayd) reigned 24. yeares. who had three wiues, Egwine, Elfled, and Ethelwide. Of Egwine hee had hys eldeſt ſonne Adelſtane, who next ſucceeded in the kingdom, and a daughter maried after to the duke of Northumberland. Of Elflede, he receiued two ſonnes, and vj. daughters, to witte Ethelward and Edwyne. Ethelward was excellently well ſeene in all knowledge of learning: much reſembling both in countenance and conditions his grandfather Alfrede, and died ſone after his father. Of his vj. daughters, two of them. 1 Elflede and Ethelhilda, were made nonnes. The other foure were maried. Edgina to Charles the French King, in hys fathers time. Ethilda by King Ethelſtane was maryed to Hugo, the ſonne of Duke Robert. Edgitha and Algina, were both ſent to Henricus Prince of Almaines. Of which two ſiſters the ſeconde, the ſayd Henricus, maried to hys ſonne Otho, who was the firſt Emperour of the Almains. The other ſiſter which was Edgitha, the foreſayde Henticus, maried to a certaine Duke about the border of the Alpes, in Italie. Of his thirde wife Ethelwide, he receiued two ſonnes, Edmund, and Edred: which both reigned after Adelſtane. And two daughters, Egburga whome hee made a Nonne, and Eadguina who was married to Ludouicus, Prince of Aquitania in Fraunce. Theſe ſonnes and daughters Kyng Edwarde thus brought vp: Hys daughters hee ſet to ſpinning, and to the needle. Guliel. de Reg. His ſonnes he ſet to the ſtudie of learning, vt quaſi Philoſophi ad gubernandam remp. non iam rudes procederent: that is, to the ende, that they being as firſt made Philoſophers, ſhould be the more expert thereby to gouerne the common wealth.

Prince Ethelwald excellent in learning.

Guliel. de. Regib.

The bringing vp of K. Edwardes Children.

¶ *King Ethelſtane, or Adelſtane.*

King Ethelſtane, or Adelſtane.

Ethelſtane or Adelſtane, after the death of Edwarde hys father: began his reigne in England, and was crowned at Kingſtone. He was a prince of worthy memorie, valyant and wiſe in all his actes, nothing inferiour to hys father Edwarde, In like worldly renowne of ciuile gouernance, ioyned with much proſperous ſucceſſe, in reducing this realme vnder the ſubiection of one monarchie. For he both expelled the Danes, ſubdued the Scottes, and quieted the Welſhmē, as wel in Northwales, as alſo in Cornwale. The firſt enemie againſt this Ethelſtane, was one Elfredus: who, with a faction of ſeditious perſons conſpiring againſt the ſaide Ethelſtane at Wincheſter, continently after the death of hys father, went about to put out his eyes. Notwithſtanding the king eſcaping that daunger through the helpe of God, was at that time deliuered. Elfrede vpon the ſame being accuſed, fled to Rome: there before ye Pope to purge himſelfe by hys othe. Who being brought to the Churche of S. Peter, and there ſwearing (or rather forſwearing) himſelf to be cleare, which in deede was guiltie thereof: ſodenly vpon his othe fell downe, and ſo brought to the Engliſh houſe in Rome, within 3. daies after departed. The Pope ſending worde to king Ethelſtane, whether he would haue the ſayde Eldred buried among Chriſtians or not: at length through the perſwaſions of his friendes and kinſfolkes, it was concluded that he ſhould be buryed in Chriſten buriall. This ſtorie although I finde in no other writers mentioned, but only in the Chronicles of Guliel. Lib. de Regi. yet foraſmuch as it beareth the witneſſe and wordes of the king himſelfe, as teſtified in an old dede of gift, giuen to the monaſtery of Malmeſbury: I thought the ſame the more to be of credite. The wordes of the king procede in this tenor as followeth.

Duke Elfrede ſodenly ſtroken by the hand of God for periury.

Guliel. lib. de Regib. in Vita Ethelſtani.

¶ The copie of an olde writing of king Ethelſtane, teſtifying of the miraculous death of Duke Elfrede, ſodenly ſtroken by the hande of God for periurie.

The copie of an old Cart of K. Ethelſtane.

SCiant ſapientes regionis noſtræ, non has præfatas terras me iniuſtè rapuiſſe, rapinamque Deo dediſſe. Sed ſic eas accepi, quemadmodum iudicauerunt omnes optimates regni Anglorum. Inſuper & Apoſtolicus Papa Romanæ eccleſiæ Ioannes (Elfredo defuncto) qui noſtræ fœlicitati & vitæ æmulus extitit, nequitiæ inimicorum noſtrorum conſentiens: quando me voluerunt (patre defuncto) cœcare in vrbe Wintonia, ſi non me Deus ſua pietate eripuiſſet. Sed denudatis eorum machinamentis, remiſſus eſt ad Romanam eccleſiam, vt ibi ſe, coram Apoſtolico Ioanne iureiurando defenderet. Et hoc fecit coram altare ſancti Petri. Sed facto iuramento, cecidit coram altare, & manibus famulorum ſuorum portatus eſt ad ſcholam Anglorum, & ibi tertia nocte vitam finiuit. Et tunc Apoſtolicus ad nos remiſit, & quid de eo ageretur a nobis conſuluit, an cum cæteris Chriſtianis corpus illius poneretur. His peractis, & nobis renunciatis: optimates regionis noſtræ cum propinquorum illius turma efflagitabant omni humilitate, vt corpus illius per noſtram licentiam cum corporibus poneretur Chriſtianorũ. Noſque flagitationi illorum cõſentientes Romam remiſimus: & Papa conſentiente, poſitus eſt ad cæteros Chriſtianos, quamuis indignus. Et ſic iudicata eſt mihi tota poſſeſsio eius in magnis & in modicis. Sed & hæc apicibus literarum prænotauimus, ne quando aboleatur, vnde mihi præfata poſſeſsio, quam Deo & ſancto Petro dedi, donatur. Nec iuſtiùs noui, quàm Deo & ſancto Petro hanc poſſeſsionem dare, qui æmulum meum in conſpectu omnium cadere fecerunt, & mihi proſperitatem regni largiti ſunt. &c.

Anno. 927.

Northumberland ſubdued to king Ethelſtane. The Scots ſubdued to the king of England. It is more honour to make a king, then to be a king.

In the ſecond yeare of the reigne of King Adelſtane, for an vnitie and a peace to be had betwene the King and the Danes of Northumberlande: hee marryed to Sythericus their king his ſiſter, whereof mention is made before. But ſhortly after, within one yeare this Sythericus died. After whoſe death King Ethelſtane ſeazed that prouince into hys owne hande, putting out the ſonne of the foreſayde Sythericus called Alanus: who wyth his brother Godfridus fledde the one into Irelande, the other to Conſtantine King of the Scottes. And when he had thus accorded with the Danes of Northumberlande, hee ſhortly made ſubiect vnto him Conſtantine King of Scottes. But the ſayde Conſtantine meeked himſelfe ſo lowly to the King, that he reſtored him to his former dignitie, ſaying, that it was more honour to make a king, then to be a king.

A fabulous miracle falſely reported of king Athelſtane.

Not long after, the ſayde Conſtantine King of Scottes did breake couenaunt with king Ethelſtane. Wherefore hee aſſembled his Knights, & made toward Scotland. Where he ſubduing his enemies, and bringing them againe vnto due ſubiection, returned into England with victory. Here by the way in ſome ſtorie wryters (who forgetting the office of hiſtoricians, ſeme to play the Poetes) is written and recorded for a maruell, that the ſayde Ethelſtane, returning out of Scotland into England, came to Yorke, and ſo into the Churche of S. Iohn of Beuerly, to redeeme his knife, which before hee had lefte there for a pledge at hys going forth. In the which place he praying to God & to S. Ihon of Beuerley, that he might leaue there ſome remembrance wherby they that came after, might know, that the Scots by right ſhould be ſubdued to the Engliſh mẽ: ſmote with ſword (they ſay) vpon a great hard ſtone ſtanding nere about the caſtle of Dunbar, that with the ſtroke thereof the ſtone was cut a large elne deepe (with a lie no leſſe deepe alſo, then was the ſtroke in the ſtone.) But of this poetical or fabulous ſtorie, albeit Polychronicon, Fabian, Iornalenſis, and other mo conſtantly accorde in the ſame: yet in Guliel. and Henricus, no mention is made at all. But peraduenture hee that was the inuentour firſt of this tale of the ſtone, was diſpoſed to lie for the whetſtone: wherefore in my minde he is worthy to haue it.

Briſtanus Byſhop.

Anno. 933.

A ridiculous miracle forged vpon Briſtanus Byſhop of Wincheſter.

Of like truth & credite ſeemeth alſo to be this that followeth, about the ſame yeare and time, vnder the raigne of King Ethelſtane, being the viij. yeare of hys raigne, of one Briſtanus Biſhop of Wincheſter, who ſucceeded Frithſtanus in the ſame ſea, and gouerned that Biſhoprike iiij. yeares. This Briſtanus being a deuout Biſhop in prayer and contemplation: vſed much among his ſolitary walkes, to frequent late the churchyard, praying for the ſoules there, and all chriſten ſoules departed. Vpon a time, the ſayde Briſtanus after hys wonted maner proceding in hys deuotions, when he had done, came to requieſcant in pace. Whereunto, ſodainly a great multitude of ſoules aunſwering together with one voyce, ſaid Amen. Of thys miracle, albeit I haue not much to ſay (haſting to other matters) yet this queſtion wold I aſke of ſome indifferent papiſt, which were not wilfull, but of ignorance deceiued: if this multitude, which here anſwered Amen, were the ſoules of them buried in the churchyard or not? If yea, then howe were they in purgatorie, what time they were hearde in that place anſwering Amen? Except we ſhoulde thinke Purgatorie to be in the churchyarde at Wincheſter, where the ſoules were hearde then ſo many anſwering and praying Amen. And yet thys ſtorie is teſtified by the accord of wryters of that time, Guliel. Polychron. Houedenus, Iornalenſis, and other moe. Much like miracles and Prophecies alſo wee reade of Elphegus, which ſucceeded him: but becauſe we haſte to other thiugs let theſe fables paſſe.

A miracle of ſoules aunſwering Amen.

Ye heard a little before, howe king Ethelſtane after the death of Sythericus King of Northumberland, ſeazed that land or prouince into his owne hand, & put out hys ſonne Alanus: who after flying into Scotland, maried the daughter of Conſtantine King of Scots. By whoſe ſtirring and exhortation, he gathered a company of Danes, Scots, and other, and entred the mouth of Humber with a ſtrong nauie of 615. ſhips.

A ſore battaile fought at Brimford.

An other vnlike myracle of K. Athelſtans ſword.

Whereof King Ethelſtane wyth his brother Edmunde hauing knowledge: prepared his army, and at length ioyning in fight with him & his people, at a place called Brimãbruch or Brimford: where he fighting with them from morning to euen, after a terrible ſlaughter on both ſides (as the like hath not bene ſene lightly in England) had the victorie. In which battaile were ſlaine fiue ſmall and vnder kings, with Conſtantine king of Scots: and xij. Dukes with the more part of all the ſtrangers which at that time they gathered to them. Here alſo our wryters put in an other miracle in this battaile: howe king Ethelſtanes ſworde miraculouſly fell into his ſheath through the prayer of Odo, then Archbiſhop of Canterburie.

Odo Archbiſhop of Cant.

Concerning this battaile, I finde in a certaine written Chronicle theſe verſes: which becauſe they ſhoulde not be loſt, I thought not vnworthy here of rehearſall,

Tranſierat quinos, & tres, & quatuor annos,
Iure regens ciues, ſubigens virtute tyrannos:
Cum redit illa Lues Europæ noxia labes.
Iam cubat in terris fera barbaries Aquilonis,
Et iacet in campis pelago pirata relicto,
Illicitas toruaſque minas Analanus anhelans, Analaus.
Bacchanti furiæ, Scotorum rege volente,
Commodat aſſenſum Borealis terræ ſerenum.
Et iam grande tument, iam terrent aera verbis.
Cedunt indigenæ, cedit plaga tota ſuperbis.
Nam quia rex noſter fidens alacriſque iuuenta,
Emeritus pridem detriuerat ocia lenta,
Illi continuis fœdabant omnia prædis,
Vrgentes miſeros iniectis ignibus agros.
Marcuerant totis viridantia gramina campis,
Ægra ſeges votum deluſerat agricolarum.
Tanta fuit peditum, tam barbara vis equitantum,
Innumerabilium, concurſus quadrupedantum.
Exciuit tandem famæ querimonia regem,
Ne ſe cauterio tali pateretur inuri.
Quod ſua barbaricæ ceſsiſſent arma ſecuri,
Nec mora, victrices ducentia ſigna cohortes,
Explicat inuentum vexilla ferocia centum,
Iuncta virum virtus, decies bis milia quina,
Ad ſtadium belli comitantur præuia ſigna.
Hicque ciet ſtrepitus armatorum legiones.
Terruit inſignis venientum fama latrones.
Vt poſita proprias præda repetant regiones.
At vulgus reliquum miſeranda ſtrage peremptum,
Infecit bibulis terris nidoribus auras.
Fugit Analaſus de tot modo millibus vnus &c.

The North Brittaynes brought to tribute.

The South Brittaynes ſubdued.

After thys victorie thus obtained of the Danes and Scottes: King Ethelſtane alſo ſubdued (or at leaſt quieted) the North Brytaines. Whome he conuenting together at Herforde (or there about) forced them to graunt vnto him as a yerely tribute, xx. pound of gold: three hundreth poũde of ſiluer: and of heades of neate xxv. hundred: with haukes and dogs, to a certaine number. This done, he wẽt to Exceter, and there likewiſe ſubduing the South Brytaines about Exceter and Cornewall: repaired the walles of Exceter with ſufficient ſtrength, and ſo returned.

Among theſe victorious and noble actes of this King: One blot there is of him written and noted, wherein he is as much worthy to be reprehẽded, as in the other before to be commended (that is) the innocent death and murther of his brother Edwyne. The occaſion thereof was this: King Edwarde aforenamed their father, in the time of his youth, comming by a certaine village or grange, where he had bene nurſed and brought vp of a child: thought of curteſy to goe ſee howe his nurſe did. Where hee entring into the houſe, eſpied a certaine yong damſel beautifull and right ſeemely attired, Egwina by name. This Egwina before being a poore mans daughter, had a viſion by night, ẏ of her body ſprang ſuch a bright light of the Moone, that the brightnes therof gaue light to the Realme of England. By reaſon wherof, ſhe was taken into the foreſaide houſe, & daintely brought vp in ſtead of their owne daughter: for hope of ſome commoditie to enſue thereby, as afterwarde it came to paſſe. For King Edward (as it is declared) comming into the houſe, and rauiſhed with the beautie of the maiden: begate of her the ſame night this Ethelſtane. Wherefore the ſayd Ethelſtane being thus baſely borne of Egwina, the firſt wife to Edward (as is ſayd) before he was married to her: and fearing his next brother Edwyne, which was rightly borne (eſpecially being ſtirred therunto through the ſiniſter ſuggeſtion of his Butler) did caſt ſuch diſpleaſure to the foreſayde Edwine hys brother, being yet but young, that (notwithſtanding hys innocent ſubmiſſion and purgation made againſt his accuſers) he cauſed him to be ſet in an old rottē boate in the broade Sea (onely with one Eſquier wᵗ hym) wᵗout any tackling or other prouiſion to the ſame. Where the young and tender Prince being diſmaid with the rage of windes and of the floudes, and nowe weary of his life, caſt himſelfe ouer board into the ſea, and ſo was drowned. Notwithſtanding the Eſquire ſhifting for himſelfe as he could, and recouering the body of his maſter, brought it to Sandwich, where it was buried. Which done, the king afterwarde comming to the remembraunce of himſelfe, was ſtroken with great repentaunce the ſpace of vij. yeares together. And at length was reuenged of him that was the accuſer of his brother. This accuſer (as is ſayde) was the kings cupbearer, who (as God the righteous iudge of all things woulde haue it) vpon a certaine ſolemne feaſt, bearing the cuppe vnto the king, chanced in the middle of the floure to ſtumble with one foote, helping and recouering himſelfe with the other, ſaying in theſe wordes: Thus one brother (as ye ſee) helpeth an other. Theſe wordes being thus ſpokē in the hearing of the king, ſo moued his mind, that forthwith he commaunded the falſe accuſer of his brother to be had out to execution. Whoſe iuſt recompence I would wiſh to be a warning to all men, what it is to ſowe diſcorde betwixt brother and brother.

K. Ethelſtane ſeeketh the death of his owne brother.

A note to learne not to ſowe diſcorde betwixt brother and brother.

King Ethelſtane (beſides hys vij. yeares lamentation, for this acte) builded the two Monaſteries of Midletone, and of Michelenes, for hys brothers ſake (or as the ſtories ſay) for his ſoule. Whereby it may appeare, what was the cauſe moſt ſpeciall in thoſe daies, of building monaſteries, to wit, for releaſing the ſinnes both of them departed, and them aliue, which cauſe howe it ſtandeth wyth the grace and veritie of Chriſtes Goſpell, and of his paſſion, let the Chriſten reader trie & examine with himſelfe. This cruell fact of the king towarde Edwyne, cauſed him afterwarde, to be more tender and careful toward his other brethren and ſiſters left in his handes vnmarried. Which ſiſters, as is partly in the Chapter before declared, he richly beſtowed, in great mariages: As one to the king of Northumberlād Sithericus: an other he gaue to Lewes king of Aquitania, the thirde to Henricus Duke of Almaine for hys ſonne Otho: who was the firſt Emperour of the Germanes. Whereby it is to be vnderſtand, that the Empire at this time began firſt to be tranſlated from Fraunce (where it remained about C. yeares and halfe) vnto Germanie where it hath euer ſince continued.

The cauſe of building Abbeyes examined.

Otho firſt Emperour of the Germaines.

The fourth of his ſiſters, being a virgine of ſingulare beuty Hugo ẏ French king required to be geuen vnto him: ſending to King Ethelſtane precious and ſumptuous preſents, ſuch as were not before ſeene in England. Among the which preſents & gifts, beſides the rare odours of ſondry ſauours & fine ſpices: and beſides the precious & coſtly gemmes, namely of Smaradges of moſt redolēt grene, beſides alſo many and great courſers and palfries richly trapped, eſpecially of one iewell (as wryters make mention) which was, a certaine veſſell finely and ſubtilly made of the precious ſtone Onichinus ſo radiantly wrought, ẏ in it appeared the liuely corn growing, and mens images walking. &c. Ouer and beſides was ſent alſo the ſworde of Conſtantine the great, wᵗ the name of the poſſeſſor wrytten in golden letters. Where in the haft of the ſame al beatē in gold, was one of the yron nailes, wherwith our Sauiour on the croſſe was nailed. Of the veritie whereof I am not diſpoſed at thys preſent muche to ſay what I ſuſpect, but that this in the Eccleſiaſticall ſtorie of Euſebius, is euidēt. That two of the foreſaid nailes of Chriſt, was ſpēt on the bridle of Conſtantine: the 3. he caſt into the Sea in a raging tempeſt. Wherfore, if Chriſt were nailed wᵗ 4. nailes, perhappes this naile might be one. If he were nailed but with iij. I ſee not how this ſtorie can ſtand with other ſtories, neither howe this fourth naile can ſtand with truthe. Among the reſt moreouer, was the ſpeare (as is reported) wherwith the ſide of our Sauiour was opened: which alſo the ſayd Conſtātine was wōt to cary in the field againſt his enemies: with a portion likewiſe of the holy croſſe incloſed in Criſtall: Alſo a part of the crowne of thorne in like maner incloſed. &c. Of the whych Reliques, part was geuen to Wincheſter, part to the Church of Malmeſbury, where king Ethelſtane was buried. As this King was indued and enlarged, by the gift of God (the ſetter vp & diſpoſer of all kings) wᵗ great victories of worldly renowne: hauing vnder hys ſubiection both the Scottes, and Britons, and the whole Monarchie of the land: So he deuiſed diuers good and holſom lawes for the gouernment of the ſame, as wel concerning the ſtate of the orders Eccleſiaſticall, as alſo of the ſecular or lay people. Whereby it is to be vnderſtād, that the vſurped power of the biſhop of Rome, did not then extend it ſelfe ſo largely, nor ſo proudly to derogate frō the authority of kings & princes: but that euery one in his owne dominion, had (vnder God, and not vnder the Pope) the doing of all matters within the ſame his dominion contained: whether they were cauſes tēporal, or ſpiritual. As by the decrees and conſtitutions of this king (& alſo of other as well before him, as after him) may euidently be teſtified: as where hee among other lawes, thus ordeineth touching the biſhop, in wordes as folowe.

Precious iewels ſent to king Ethelſtane from the French K.

Concerning one of the nayles wherewith our Sauiour Chriſt was crucified.

Kinges of England gouernors as well in cauſes eccleſiaſtical as temporall.

Extractum ex legib. regis Athelſtani.

Epiſcopo iure pertinet, omnem rectitudinem promouere Dei videlicet, ac ſeculi. In primis, debet omnem ordinatum inſtruere, quid ei ſit agendum iure, & quid hominibus ſecularibus iudicare debeant.

Debet etiam ſedulò pacem & concordiam operari cum ſeculi iudicibus: qui rectum velle diligunt, & in compellationum allegationem edocere, ne quis alij perperam agat, in iureiurando, vel ordalio.

Nec pati debet aliquam circumuentionem iniuſtæ menſuræ, vel iniuſti ponderis. Sed conuenit vt per conſilium & teſtimoniū eius, omne legis rectum, & burgi menſura, & omne pondus ſit ſecundum * ditionem eius, inſtitutum valde rectū: ne quis proximum ſuum ſeducat, pro quo decidat in peccatum.

Et ſemper debet Chriſtianis prouidere contra omnia, quæ prædicta ſunt, & ideo debet ſe de pluribus intromittere: vt ſciat quomodo grex agat, quem ad Dei manum cuſtodire ſuſcepit, ne diabolus eum dilaniet, nec malum aliquod ſuperſeminet. Nunquam enim erit populo benè conſultum, nec dignè Deo conuerſabitur, vbi lucrum impium & magis falſum diligitur. Ideo debent omnes amici Dei quod iniquum eſt eneruare, & quod iuſtum eſt eleuare, nec pati vt propter falſum, & pecuniæ queſtum homines ſe forisfaciant erga verè ſapientem Deum, cui diſplicet omnis iniuſtitia.

Chriſtianis autem omnibus neceſſarium eſt, vt rectum diligant, & iniqua condemnent & ſaltem ſacris ordinibus euecti iuſtum ſemper erigant, & praua deponant.

Hinc debent Epiſcopi cum iudicibus, iudicia dictitare & intereſſe, ne permittant (ſi poſsint) vt illinc aliqua prauitatū gramina pullulent. Et ſacerdotibus pertinet in ſuo Diœceſi, vt ad rectum ſedulò quemcumque iuuent, nec patiantur (ſi poſsint) vt Chriſtianus aliquis alij noceat, non potens impotenti, non ſummus infirmo, non prælatis * ſubditis, non Dominus hominibus ſuis, ſeruis, aut liberis. Et ſecundum * ditionem, & per menſuram ſuam, conuenit per rectum, vt neceſſaria * ſerui operentur ſuper omnem ſcyram cui * præeſt.

Et rectum eſt vt non ſit aliqua menſurabilis virga longior quàm alia, ſed per * Epiſcopi menſuram omnes inſtitutæ ſint, & exequatæ per ſuam * diœceſin. Et omne pondus conſtet ſecundum dictionem eius, & ſi aliquid cōtrouerſiarum interſit, diſcernat Epiſcopus.

Vniuſcuiuſq; Domini proprium eſt & neceſſe, vt ſeruis condeſcendat, & compatiatur, ſicut indulgentius poterit: Quia Domino Deo viuenti ſunt æque chari ſeruus, & liber. Et omnes vno & eodem pretio redemit, & omnes ſumus Deo neceſſariò ſerui: Et ſic iudicabit nos, ſicut antè iudicauimus eos, in quos poteſtatem iudicij in terris habebimus. Et ideo opus eſt vt eis parcamus qui nobis parere debent & tunc manutenebimur in Dei omnipotentis proprio iudicio. Amen.

** alias dicti*

** alias minoribus.*

** alias ſcriftes dictatum.*

** alias ſerui tiſtimentales.*

** Gelcus in ſunt.*

** alias ſcriftes menſuram.*

** in ſua ſcryſtſcyra.*

A lawe how that maiſters ought to condiſcend and beare ſomtime with their ſeruauntes.

The law of king Ethelſtane concerning tythes.

The ſayde Ethelſtane beſides, preſcribed other conſtitutions alſo, as touching tithes geuing: where hee ſayeth and proclaimeth. Ego Ethelſtanus Rex, conſilio Vlſelmi Archiepiſcopi mei & aliorum Epiſcoporum, mando præpoſitis omnibus in regno meo, in nomine Domini & ſanctorum omnium, vt inprimis reddant de meo proprio decimas Deo, tam in viuente capitali, quàm in mortuis frugibus terræ: & Epiſcopi mei ſimiliter faciant de ſuo proprio, & Aldermanni mei & præpoſiti mei, &c. That is, I Ethelſtane King, charge and commaund all my officers through my whole Realme, to

Tythes.

geue tithes vnto God of my proper good, as wel in liuing cattel, as in the corne and fruites of the groūd, and that my Byſhops likewiſe of their proper goods, and mine Aldermen, and my officers and headmen ſhal do the ſame. Item this I wil: that my Biſhops & other headmen doe declare the ſame, to ſuche as be vnder their ſubiection, & that to be accompliſhed at the terme of S. Iohn the Baptiſt. Let vs remember what Iacob ſaid vnto the Lord: Of all things that thou geueſt to me, I wil offer tithes vnto ẏ Lord. &c. Alſo what the Lord ſayeth in the Goſpel of S. Mathewe. To him that hath, it ſhalbe geuen: and he ſhall aboūd. We muſt alſo cōſider how terribly it is written in bookes, that if we will not offer our tenths, from vs ix. partes ſhall be taken away, and only the x. part ſhalbe left vs. &c. And in the ſame place, after that he hath aſſigned ẏ Churchrightes to be paide in the place, whereto they belong: it followeth thus. Facite etiam vt mihi mea propria cupiatis, quæ mihi poteritis recté acquirere. Nolo vt aliquid mihi iniuſtè cōquiratis. Sed omnia veſtra concedo vobis eo tenore, quo mihi mea ſimiliter exoptetis. Cauete ſimul & vobis, & eis quos admonere debetis, ab ira Dei, & tranſgreſsione mea.

The K. woulde vſurpe no mans goodes wrongfully.

Among his other lawes & ordinances, to the nūber of xxxv. diuers things be comprehended pertaining as well to the ſpirituall, as alſo to the temporall iuriſdiction.

The law of K. Ethelſtane concerning ſealons ſtealing aboue xii. d.

Out of the lawes of this King, firſt ſprang vp the attachement of theeues, ſuch as ſtoale aboue xij. pence, and were aboue xij. yeares old, ſhould not be ſpared.

Epitap. in Ethelſt. Sol illuſtrauit biſſeno ſcorpion ortu. Cum regē cauda percuſsit ille ſua.

And thus much briefly concerning the hiſtorie of King Ethelſtane, & things in his time done: who reigned about the ſpace of xvj. yeares. And becauſe he died without iſſue, therfore after him ſucceeded his brother Edmund, the yere of our Lord. 940. who reigned vj. yeares.

❧ *King Edmund.*

Anno. 940. Edmundus kyng of England.

Edmund the ſonne of Edwarde the elder, by his thirde wife (as is declared) and brother of Ethelſtane, being of the age of xx. yeares, entred his raigne: who had by hys Queene Elgina, two ſonnes, Edwyne, and Edgarus, ſurnamed Pacificus, which both reigned after him, as followeth. This Edmund continued his reigne vj. yeares & a halfe. By him were expulſed the Danes, Scottes, Normandes, and all foreine enemies out of the land. Such Cities and Townes which before were in the poſſeſſion of ſtrangers: as Lyncolne, Nottingham, Derby, Stafforde, and Leycetour, he recouered out of their hands. Thus the realme being cleared of foreine power, for a time: then the king ſet his ſtudy and mind in the redreſſing and maintaining the ſtate of the Church: which all ſtoode then in building of Monaſteries, and furniſhing of Churches, eyther with newe poſſeſſions, or in reſtoring the olde which were taken away before. In the time of thys Edmund, thys I find in an old written ſtory, borowed of W. Cary: a citizen of London, a worthy treaſurer of moſte worthy Monuments of antiquitie. The name of the author I can not alledge: becauſe the booke beareth no title, lacking both the beginning, and the latter end. But the words therof faithfully recited, be theſe: Huius regis tempore, facta eſt diſperſio Monachorum Euſhmenſis cœnobij, cum ſubſtitutione Canonicorum per Althelmum, & Vlricum laicos, & Oſulphum Epiſcopum. &c. That is: In the time of this King, there was a ſcattering or diſperſion made of the Monkes out of the Monaſtery of Euſham, and Canons ſubſtituted in theyr place: through the doing of Athelmus, & Ulricus lay men, and of Oſulfus Byſhop. &c.

Ex hiſtoria Carsona.

Monkes put out of Euſham, the yeare of our Lord. 941.

The difference betweene Monkes and prieſtes.

Where, as concerning this matter betwene Monkes and other of the clergie, firſt it is to be vnderſtande: that in the realme of England, heretofore before the time of Dunſtane: the Byſhops ſeas and cathedrall churches were repleniſhed with no monkes, but wyth prieſtes and canons (called then clerks or men of the clergy) After this beginneth to riſe a difference or a ſect betwixt theſe two parties, in ſtraitneſſe of life and in habite: ſo that they which liued after a ſtraiter rule of holines, were called monkes, & profeſſed chaſtitie: that was, to liue from wiues, (for ſo was chaſtitie then defined in thoſe blinde daies) as though holy matrimony were no chaſtitie, according as Paphnutius did well define it in the councel of Nice. The other ſort whych were no monkes but prieſts or men of the clergy called, liued more free from theſe monkiſh rules and obſeruances: and were then commōly (or at leaſt lawfully) maryed, and in theyr life and habite, came nearer to the ſecular ſorte of other chriſtians. By reaſon wherof great diſdaine & emulation was among them: in ſo much that in many Cathedral churches, where as prieſts were before, there monks were put in. And contrary, ſometime where as Monkes were intruded, there prieſts and canons againe were placed, and monkes thruſt out: wherof more ſhal appere hereafter (by the grace of Chriſt) when we come to the lyfe of Dunſtane. In the meane time, ſomething to ſatiſfie the cogitation of the reader, which peraduenture either is ignorant, or els would know of the firſt cōming in of monks, into this realme and Church of England in the Saxones time: this is to be noted, according as I finde in old Chronicles, namely in the latine hiſtory of Guliel. de geſtis pontificum Angl. recorded, touching the ſame. That about thys time of king Edmund or ſhortly after, when hardnes and ſtraitneſſe of life, ioyned with ſuperſtition, was had in veneration, and counted for great holineſſe: Men therefore, either to winne publique fame with men, or merites with God, gaue themſelues to lead a ſtraite life: thinking thereby, the ſtranger their conuerſation was, and farther from the common trade of vulgar people, the more perfect to be toward God and mā. There was at that time (and before that) a monaſtery in France named Floriake, after the order and rule of Benedict: from the which Monaſterie did ſpring a great part of our engliſh mōks. Who being there profeſſed, and afterward returning into England, did cōgregate men daily to theyr profeſſion. And ſo, partly for ſtrangeneſſe of theyr rule: partly for outwarde holineſſe of their ſtrait life: partly for the opinion of holineſſe that many had of them, were in great admiration: not onely with the rude ſort, but with kinges and princes: who founded their houſes, maintained their rules, and enlarged them with poſſeſſions. Among the which order of monks comming from Floriake, eſpecially was one Oſwaldus, firſt a monke of Floriake, then biſhop of Wirceter and of Yorke: a great patrone and ſetter vp of monckery. Touching the which Oſwaldus, William in his booke, De pontific. writing of his hiſtorie, hath theſe wordes: Familiaris per id temporis Anglis conſuetudo fuit, vt ſi qui boni afflati eſſent deſiderio, in beatiſsimi Benedicti monaſterio cænobialem ſuſciperet habitū: a quo, religionis huiuſce manauit exordium, &c. That is, It was a common cuſtome at that time amōg Engliſh men, that if any good men were well affected or minded toward religiō, they went to the Monaſterie of bleſſed S. Benedict in France, and there receiued the habite of a Monke: Wherupon the firſt origine of this religion began, &c. But of this Oſwald biſhop of Yorke, and Dunſtane biſhop of Canterburie, and Ethelwold biſhop of Wincheſter, howe they repleniſhed diuers Monaſteries, & Cathedral Churches with Monkes: and howe they diſcharged maryed Prieſtes and Chanans out of their houſes, to plante in Monkes in their celles: more ſhall be ſpoken (by the grace of Chriſt) heereafter. Nowe let vs returne againe to the matter where we left, of king Edmund: who beſides his noble victories againſt his enemies, and recouering the Cities aboue expreſſed into his own hāds: did alſo ſubdue the prouince of Cumberland. And after he had put out the eyes of the two ſonnes of Dunmail king of Cumberland, he committed the gouernance therof to Malcolinus king of Scots: vpon promiſe of his truſtie ſeruice & obedience, when the king ſhould ſtande in any neede of him. In the time of this king, Dunſtane was not yet Archbi. of Canterbury, but onely Abbot of Glaſtenbury: of whom many fabulous narrations paſſe among the wryters, importing more vanity then verity. Wherfore this is one of the firſt: what time Edgarus called Pacificus was borne, Dunſtane being the ſame time Abbot of Glaſtenbury (as the monkiſh fables dreame) heard a voyce in the ayre of certaine Angels ſinging after this tenour, and ſaying: Nowe peace commeth to the church of England in ẏ time of this child and of our Dunſtane, &c. This I thought to recite, that the chriſtian reader might the better pōder wyth himſelfe, the impudent and abhominable fictions of this Romiſh generation. Out of the ſame mīnt alſo haue they forged, how the ſayd Dunſtane ſhould heare the aungels ſing the Kyrieeleyſon, vſed to be ſong at euenſong in the church. Guliel de pontif. lib. 1. Which is as true as that the Harpe hanging in a womans houſe, played by it ſelfe the tune of the Antheme, called Gaudent in coelis, &c. What would not theſe deceiuers faine in matters ſomething likely, whych in thinges ſo abſurde and ſo inconuenient, ſhame not to lie and to forge ſo impudently & alſo ſo manifeſtly? Through the motion of this Dunſtane: King Edmund builded and furniſhed the monaſterie of Glaſtenbury, & made the ſayd Dunſtane Abbot thereof.

Chaſtitie wrōgly defined. Holy mariage by the definition of Paphnutius is chaſtitie.

Monkes how they differed from Prieſtes, and how they firſt began in England.

Guliel. de pontif. li. 3.

The monaſtery of Floriake.

Oſwaldus Byſhop of Yorke a great patron of Monkery.

Guliel. lib. 3. de pontif.

The origin of monkery how it firſt began in England.

Dunſtane Abbot of Glaſtonbury.

The ſonnes of King Edmund.

The impudent vanitie of the Popes Churche in forgyng falſe myracles.

Guliel. lib. 1. de pont.

The monaſtery of Glaſtonbury.

Dunſtane Abbot of Gloſtanbury.

The Abbey of Gloſtenbury was firſt builded by K. Ine, by the counſell of Adelmus, after beyng deſtroyed by the Danes.

Concerning the ende and death of this King, ſundrye opinions there be, Alfridus and Marianus ſay: that while this King Edmund endeuored hymſelfe to ſaue his ſewer from the daunger of his enemies, which would haue ſlaine him at Pulcherchurch: the king in parting of the fray was wounded, and died ſhortly after. But Guliel. de Regibus. lib. 2. ſayeth, that the king being at a feaſt at Pulcherchurch

Guliel. lib. 2. de Regib.

vpon the day of S. Auguſtine, eſpied a fellon ſitting in the hall, named Leof, whom he before for his fellony had exiled. And leaping ouer the table did flie vpon him, & plucked the thiefe by the haire of the head to the ground. In which doyng, the fellon with a knife wounded the king to the death, and alſo with the ſame knife wounded many other of the kings ſeruants, and at length was all to hewen, and died forthwith.

The lawes of king Edmunde touching as well the ſtate ſpirituall as temporall.

By the lawes of king Edmund (ordeyned and ſet forth, as well for the redreſſe of church matters, as alſo of ciuile regiment) it may appeare, that the ſtate both of cauſes temporal & likewiſe ſpiritual, appertained then to ẏ kings right (the falſe pretenſed vſurpatiō of the biſhop of Rome notwithſtanding) as by theſe lawes is to be ſeene: where he by the aduiſe of his lordes and biſhops, did enact & determine concerning the chaſtitie & pure life of eccleſiaſticall miniſters, and ſuch as were in the orders of the Church, wͭ the penalties alſo for them which tranſgreſſed the ſame.

Item, for tithes to be payd of euery chriſtian man, and for the church fees, and alme fees, &c.

Item, for deflouring of womē profeſſed, which we call Nunnes, &c.

Item, for euery biſhop to ſee his churches repaired, of his owne proper charge, and boldly to admoniſh the king whether the houſes of God were well maintayned, &c.

Item, for flying into the church for ſanctuary, &c.

Item, concerning caſes and determinations ſpouſall, or matrimoniall, &c.

All which conſtitutions declare, what intereſt kings had in thoſe days in matters as wel eccleſiaſtical as other, within their dominion, and that not only in diſpoſing the ordinances and rites, ſuch as appertained to the inſtitutiō of the church: but alſo in placing and ſetting Biſhops in their ſeas, &c.

Vlſtanus Archbiſhop of Yorke, Odo Arch. of Canterbury.

In the tyme of this Edmund, was Vlſtanus Archb. of Yorke, and Odo Archbiſhop of Canterbury, which Odo beyng a Dane borne (as is before touched) was promoted to that ſea by king Ethelſtane, for that (as they ſay) hee being firſt biſhop of Wiltone, & preſent with kyng Ethelſtane in the field againſt Analaſus before mentioned, what tyme the ſaid Ethelſtane had loſt his ſword, he through his interceſſion vp to heauen, did ſee a ſworde from heauen, come downe into the ſheath of the kyng. Whereof relation beyng made to the kyng by the foreſayd Byſhop, Ethelſtane vpon the ſame was ſo affected toward Odo, that not onely he counted him for a Patrone of his life, but alſo made him Primate of Canterbury after the deceaſe of Vlfelmus. This Odo was the firſt from the commyng of the Saxons, till his tyme which was Archbiſhop of Canterbury being no mōke. For all the other before him were of the profeſſion of Monkes, of whō a great part had bene Italiās vnto Berctualdus. Notwithſtanding this Odo, beyng alſo a ſtranger borne, after he was elected into the biſhopricke, to aunſwer to the old cuſtome of others before him, ſayled ouer into France, and there at Floriake (after the vſuall maner aboue mentioned of Engliſhmen) receiued the profeſſion and habite of monkiſh religion, as ſayth my foreſayd author. And like as the ſayd Odo firſt beyng no monke, was made Archbiſhop of Canterbury. So alſo Vlſtanus the ſame tyme, beyng biſhop of Yorke and of Worceſter, differed from diuers his predeceſſours before him in profeſſion and in habite: of whome the forenamed author thus writeth in his iij. booke, ſpeaking of Vlſtanus qui ſanctitate diſcrepabat & habitu, that is, he differed in ſanctimonie and in habite. Whereby is to be collected, that in thoſe dayes was a difference in habite & garment, not only betwene monkes & biſhops, but alſo betwene one Biſhop and an other. Albeit what difference it was yet, I do not finde. But I returne agayne to Odo, who by the deſcription of his maners, might ſeeme not to be the worſte that occupied that place, were it not that our lying hiſtories faining falſe miracles vpon him (as they do of other) make him in deede to ſeeme worſe then he was. As where they imagine that he ſhould ſee from heauen a ſworde fall into the ſcabberd of king Ethelſtane. Itē, where he ſhould couer and defend the church of Canterbury with his praiers from raine. And alſo where he ſhould turne the bread of the aulter (as the writer termeth it) into liuely fleſhe, & from fleſh into bread againe, to confirme the people which before doubted in the ſame. Where note agayn (good Reader) that albeit this miracle were true, as no doubt it is vntrue: yet is it to be noted, ẏ in thoſe dayes was a great doubt among engliſhmen of the popiſh ſacrament, & that tranſubſtantiatiō was not receiued into the chriſtiā creed. The like iudgement is to be geuē alſo of that, where our Engliſh writers teſtifieng of the ſame Odo, ſay that hee ſhould propheſie long before of Dunſtan, to be his ſucceſſor in the church of Canterbury. But to let theſe fantaſies and idle ſtories paſſe, this which we find of Odo, his owne writing is certain, that the ſaid Odo in the raigne of kyng Edmund, had a ſynode commenſed of the chiefe Prelates and mē of the clergy in his time, to whom he directed this letter here followyng: the copy whereof I thought to expreſſe, for the Reader to ſee what zelous care raigned in Archbiſhops then toward the Church of the Lord. The wordes of his epiſtle proceed in this tenour.

Guliel. de pont. lib. 1. Polycron. lib. 6. ca. 6.

Odo made monke at Floriake, after he was Archb. of Căterbury. Guliel. de pont. lib. 1.

Guliel. lib. 3. de pont. Ebor.

The difference of habite and garmentes among men of the Church.

Falſe and lying myracles noted vpon Odo.

A note to the reader.

Tranſubſtantiation not yet receaued.

¶ *The letter or an Epiſtle of Odo Archbiſhop of* Caunterbury, ſent to the other Biſhops *and men of the Clergy.*

The letter of Odo Archb. to the prelates.

Mirabili cunctipotentis polorum præſulis clementia opitulante: Ego Odo, eccleſiæ Saluatoris Domini noſtri Ieſu Chriſti Archiepiſcopus, Douernienſis ciuitatis Metropolitanus, coepiſcopis fidei catholicæ compagatoribus ſpirituali charitatis rigore meis confratribus. Præſentium proſperitatem æthereiq; decoris beatitudinem, &c.

The ſame in Engliſh.

By the deuine grace of God, I Odo of the church of our lord and ſauiour Ieſus Chriſt, Archbiſhop & Metropolitane of the citie of Douer, to my fellow biſhops, and fellow planters of the catholike fayth, and my fellow brethren in the ſpirituall bonde of charitie, with greeting, wiſh proſperitie in this world preſent, & in the world to come felicitie. If it were ſo, or by any meanes could be, that all the riches of this world were layd before myne eyes, ſo that I beyng Emperour had all things vniuerſally vnder my ſubiection, all thoſe things gladly would I geue, yea and my ſelfe alſo would offer willingly for the health of your ſoules, as which alſo do deſire and truſt likewiſe my ſelf to be ſtrengthened with the feruencie of your holyneſſe, as appertaynyng to thoſe things wherin the Lord our God hath ſet vs to be workmen, &c.

And after a few other wordes of like effect, wherein he doth declare the heauy burden of his office, it followeth after this maner.

Wherfore moſt humbly and one vnworthy, but yet a deuout fellow brother of yours, I beſeech and exhort your holines: that you will not ſhew your ſelues cold and negligent in the cure and regiment of ſoules, ſo that in the tyme of the fearefull iudgement, the Lord doe not complaine of you, ſaying, my ſhepeheards did not feed my flocke, but they fed thēſelues And agayne they were princes of my flocke, and I knew not of it. But rather let vs take heede, and be diligent ouer the houſhold of the Lord, ouer which he hath ſet vs to be the leaders: to geue them meate & true meaſure of corne in tyme conuenient: that is to ſay, wholeſome doctrine. And although vpon myne owne demerites or worthineſſe I do not preſume to comfort or exhort any man: but as one beyng vnworthy & faultie in tranſgreſſions innumerable, am glad, and ſtand in neede, rather to be ſtrenghthened by your brotherly admonitions: yet for the auncient authoritie of my predeceſſors as of Auguſtine, of happy memory, and alſo of all other ſaintes by whoſe induſtrie the rule of chriſtianitie did firſt floriſh and ſpring from this Metropolitane ſea, vnto all quarters of England. Therefore I haue thought good to direct vnto you theſe my letters to the profit of you all: eſpecially, for that our renowmed & princely king Edmond, with all his people doth ioy to folow that which he heareth in you, and of you: and alſo, forſomuch as all his ſubiectes which be vnder his Imperiall dominion, doe loue and delight to follow moſt ioyfully, the fame and report of your ſincere conuerſation, &c.

Elſinus Archb. of Caunt. elect.

This Odo continued biſhop the ſpace of 20. yeres. After whom Elſinus was elected and ordained by the kyng to ſucceede through fauour and money: but in goyng to Rome for the Popes palle, in his iourney through the Alpes, he decayed and died for cold. Whereupon ſucceeded Dunſtane, as in tyme and place (by the leaue of Chriſt) followeth to be declared.

S. Edmundeſbury.

This Edmund gaue to S. Edmund the Martyr before mentioned, the towne of Bedricheſworth, which is now called S. Edmondeſbury, with great reuenues and lands appertaynyng to the ſame. But concerning the friuolous miracles which our Monkiſh ſtorywriters here fayne of this good Edmund, by the way (or rather out of the way) I let them paſſe.

The children of King Edmund.

Anno. 946.

And thus much concerning the raign of king Edmūd, who after he had raigned vi. yeres and halfe, was ſlaine as is ſayd at Pulcherchirch, and buried at Glaſtenbury of Dunſtane: leauing behynd him two children, Edwine & Edgar, by his wife Elgina. But becauſe the foreſaid children were yet yong & vnder age, therfore Edrede brother to king Edmund, and vncle to the children, gouerned as Protector about the ſpace of 9. yeres and halfe, til Edwine the eldeſt ſonne came to age. This Edrede with great moderation, and fidelitie to the young children, behaued himſelfe

Edrede gouernour of the Realme.

Dunſtane made byſhop of Wircceter and after of London.

ſelfe during the tyme of his gouernement. In his tyme, Dunſtane was promoted through the means of Odo the Archbiſhop, from Abbot of Glaſtenbury, to be Biſhop of Wircceter, and after of London. By the counſayle of this Dunſtane, Edrede was much ruled, and to much thereto addicted: In ſo much that the ſayd Edrede is reported in ſtories to ſubmit himſelfe to much fond penance, and caſtigations inflicted to him of the ſaid Dunſtane. Such zelous deuotion was then in princes, and more blynd ſuperſtition in biſhops. And here agayn is an other miracle as fantaſticall as the other before, forged of Dunſtane. That whē that Edrede beyng ſicke, ſent for Dunſtane to be hys confeſſor by the way: Dunſtane ſhould heare a voyce declaring to him before, that Edrede was already departed, at the declaring wherof Dunſtans horſe fel immediatly dead vnder hym, with lye and all.

With lye and all.

✻ *King Edwine.*

K. Edwyne.

Anno. 955.

Edwine the eldeſt ſonne of king Edmund afore mētioned, after his vncle Edrede, began his raigne about the yere of our Lord, 955. being crowned at Kingſton by Odo the Archbiſhop of Caunterbury. Of this Edwine it is reported of diuers writers, that the firſt day of his coronation, ſitting with his Lordes, brake ſodainly from them & entred a ſecrete chamber, to the company of a certaine woman, whom he inordinately retained (being as ſome ſay an other mans wife) whoſe huſband he had before ſlayne, as other ſay being of his aliance, to the great miſlikyng of hys Lordes, and eſpecially of the Clergy. Dunſtane was yet but Abbot of Glaſtenbury, who following the king into the chamber, brought him out by the hand, and accuſed him to Odo the Archbiſhop, cauſing him to be ſeparate from the company of the foreſayd partie, by the which Odo, the king was for his fact ſuſpended out of the Church. By reaſon whereof the king beyng with Dunſtane diſpleaſed, baniſhed him his land, & forced him for a ſeaſon to flee to Flanders where he was in the monaſtery of S. Amandus. About the ſame ſeaſon the Monaſticall order of Benedict Monkes or blacke monkes (as they were called) began to multiply and encreaſe here in England. In ſo much, that where before tyme other prieſtes & Canons had bene placed, there monkes were in their roumes ſet in, and the ſecular prieſts (as they then were called) or Canōs put out, But king Edwine for the diſpleaſure he bare to Dunſtan, did ſo vexe all the order of the ſaid monkes, that in Malmeſbury Glaſtenbury, & other places mo, he thruſt out the monkes, and ſet in ſecular prieſtes in their ſtead.

The king ſuſpenſed by the Archbiſhop. K. Edwyne an enemye to Monkes.

Monkes put out, and ſecular prieſtes placed in their roomes.

Notwithſtanding it was not long, but theſe prieſtes and Canons were agayne remoued, and the ſaid monkes in their ſtead reſtored, both in the foreſayd houſes, and in diuers other Churches Cathedrall beſides, as in the next ſtory of Kyng Edgar (Chriſt willyng) ſhall at more large appeare.

The death of K. Edwyne.

In fine kyng Edwine beyng hated by reaſon of certaine his demeanours, of all his ſubiectes (eſpecially the Northumbrians and Mercians) was by them remoued from his kingly honour, and his brother Edgar in his ſteade receiued: ſo that the Riuer of Thamis deuided both theyr kingdomes. which Edwine after he had raigned about the terme of foure yeares departed, leauing no heyre of hys bodye. wherefore the rule of the lande fell vnto Edgar his younger brother.

¶ *King Edgar.*

Anno. 959.

K. Edgar called Pacificus.

Edgar the ſecond ſonne of Edmund, and brother to Edwine being of the age of xvj. yeares, began his raygne ouer the realme of England, in the yeare of our Lord, 959. but was not crowned till 14. yeares after: the cauſes wherof here vnder follow (Chriſt willing) to be declared. In the beginning of his raigne he called home Dunſtane, whome king Edwine before had exiled. Then was Dunſtane, which before was Abbot of Glaſtenbury, made biſhop of Worceſter, & then of London. Not long after, this Odo the Archbiſhop of Cant. deceaſeth, after he had gouerned yͤ Church 24. yeares. After whom Brithelinus biſhop of Wincheſter, firſt was elected. But becauſe he was thought not ſufficiēt to furniſh yͤ roome: Dunſtane was ordained Archb. and the other ſent home agayne to his old Church. where note by the way, how in thoſe dayes the donatiō and aſſignyng of eccleſiaſticall dignities remayned in the kings hand, onely they ſet their palle frō Rome, as a token of the Popes confirmation. So Dunſtane beyng by the kyng made Archb. toke hys iourny to Rome for his palle of Pope Iohn the 13. which was about the beginning of the Kings raygne. Thus Dunſtane obtaynyng his palle, ſhortly after his returne agayne from Rome, entreateth King Edgar, that Oſwaldus (who, as is ſaid, was made monke at Floriake, and was nephew to Odo late biſhop of Cant.) might bee promoted to the biſhoprike of Worceſter, which thyng to him was granted. And not long after, through the means of the ſayd Dunſtane, Ethelwoldus (whom ſtories doe ſayne to be the great patrone of Monkery) firſt Monke of Glaſtenbury, thē Abbot of Abbendon, was alſo made Byſh. of Wincheſter. Of this Ethelwold, Gulielmus libro de geſtis pōtificum recordeth, that what tyme he was a Monke in the houſe of Glaſtenbury, the Abbot had a viſon of him which was this. How that there appeared to him in hys ſleepe a certayne great tree, the branches wherof extended through out all the foure quarters of the Realme, which branches were al couered with many little Monkes coules, where, in the top of the tree was one great maiſter coule, which in ſpreading it ſelfe ouer the other coules, incloſed all the reſt, which maiſter coule in the tree top, myne Authour in the interpretation applyeth to the lyfe of this Ethelwold. Of ſuch prodigious fantaſies, our monkiſh hiſtories bee full, and not onely our hiſtories of England, but alſo the Heathen hiſtories of the Gentiles be ſtuffed with ſuch kynd of dreames of much like effect.

Dunſtane made Byſh. of Worceter, and of London.

Ex hiſt. Rog. Houenden.

Spirituall liuinges geuen by the king, and not by the Pope.

Oſwaldus byſhop of Worceter and after of Yorke. Ethelwoldus byſhop of Wint. a great maintayner of Monkery.

An. 963.

Ex Guliel. Malmeſburienſ. de geſtis pontif. Ang.

Monkiſhe dreames.

Of ſuch a lyke dreame we read of the mother of Ethelſtane, how the Moone did ſpring out of her wombe, & gaue light to all England. Alſo of king Charles the Emperour, how he was led by a threed to ſee the torments of hel. Likewiſe of Furceus the Heremite mentioned in the third booke of Bede, who ſawe the ioyes of heauen and the 4. fires that ſhould deſtroy the world: the one of lying, for breakyng our promiſe made at Baptiſm. The ſecond fire was of couetous. The third of diſſention. The fourth was of the fire of impietie and wrongfull dealing. Item, in like ſort of the dreame of Dunſtane, and of the ſame Ethelwold, to whom appeared the three biſhops, Briſtanus, Birinus, and Swithinus, &c. Itē, of the dreame of the mother of this Ethelwold, who beyng great with him, did ſee a golden Egle flee out of her mouth, &c. Of the dreame likewiſe, or the viſion of Kyng Edgar concerning the falling of the two apples, and of the pots, one being full of water, the other empty, &c. Alſo of king Edward the Confeſſor, touching the ruine of the lande by the conqueſt of the Normands. We read alſo in the hiſtory of Aſtiages, how he dreamed of Cyrus. And likewiſe of many other dreames in the bookes of the monkes, & of the Ethnike writers. For what cannot either the idle vanitie of mans head, or the deception of the lying ſpirite worke by man: in foreſhewing ſuch earthly euentes as happen commonly in this preſent world? But here is a difference to be vnderſtood betwene theſe earthly dreames, ſpeaking of earthly things, and matters of humaine ſuperſtition, & betwene other ſpiritual reuelations ſent by God touching ſpirituall matters of the Church, pertaynyng to mans ſaluation. But to our purpoſe, by this dreame, and by the euent which followed after, it may appeare how & by what meanes the multitude of Monkes began firſt to ſwarme in the Churches of England (that is) in the dayes of this Edgar, by the meanes of theſe three Biſhops, Dunſtane, Ethelwold and Oſwold. Albeit Dunſtane was the chiefeſt ring leader of this race, yet Ethelwold beyng now Biſhop of Wincheſter, & Oſwald biſhop of Worceſter, were not much behind for their partes. By the inſtigation and counſail of theſe three aforeſaid, king Edgar is recorded in hiſtories to build either new out of the ground, or to reedifie monaſteries decayed by the Danes, mo then xl. As the houſe of Ely, Glaſtenbury, Abington, Burgh by Stamford, Thorney, Ramſey, Wilton, Wenton, Winchcombe, Thamſtock in Deuonſhire, with diuers other moe. In the ſettyng vp and building of the which, the foreſayde Ethelwold was a great doer and a founder vnder the king. Moreouer, through the motion of this Dunſtane and his fellowes, kyng Edgar in diuers great houſes and Cathedrall Churches, where Prebendaries and prieſtes were before, diſplaced the prieſts, and ſet in Monkes. wherof we read in yͤ chronicle of Rog. Houeden, in wordes and forme as followeth: Hic namq; Ethelwoldus Regem cuius eximius erat conſiliarius, ad hoc maximè prouocauit, vt clericos à Monaſterijs expelleret, & monachos ſanctimonialeſq; in eis collocaret, &c. That is, Ethelwold biſhop of Wincheſter, who was then one of the kings cōſaile, did vrge the K. chiefly to expel Clerks out of Monaſteries, and in their rowmes to beſtow Monks and Nunnes, &c. whereunto accordeth likewiſe Hiſtoria Iornalenſis, containing the like effect in theſe wordes: Hoc anno Ethelwoldus Wint. & Oſwaldus Wygornenſis Epiſcopi, iuſſu Regis Edgari (clericis de quibuſdam maioribus Eccleſijs expulſis) Monachos inſtituerunt, aut de eiſdem clericis & alijs monachos in eiſdem fecerunt. Gulielmus alſo writing of the tyme of Dunſtane, maketh the matter ſomwhat more plain

Dreames not neceſſary to be regarded. Difference of dreames.

How and whē monks firſt began to ſwarme in England. Dunſtane, Ethelwold, Oſwald, three ſetters vp of Monkiſhe religion.

40. Monaſteries builded and repayred by K. Edger.

Prieſtes thruſt out of Cathedrall houſes, and monkes ſet in.

Roger. Houeden lib. Continuationum, poſt Bedā. Chronicon Iornalenſe. Gulielm. de geſtis pontifi. lib. 1.

where he ſayth: Itaq; clerici multarum Eccleſiarum data optione, vt aut amictum mutarent, aut locis valedicerent, melioribus habitacula vacuefacientes. Surgebant itaque in tota inſula, religioſorum monaſteria, cumulabâtur mole pretioſi metalli ſanctorum altaria, &c. Thus the ſecular prieſts being put to their choiſe, whether to chaunge their habite, or to leaue theyr roumes, departed out of their houſes, geuing place for other better men to come in. Then the houſes & Monaſteries of Religious men through all the Realme, went vp apace, &c.

After the kings mynd was thus perſwaded and incited by theſe biſhops to aduance Monkery, then Oſwaldus biſhop of worceſter, & alſo made Archbiſhop of Yorke, after the deceaſe of Oſkitellus, ſui [illegible] compos effectꝰ (as Houeden writeth) hauing his ſea in the cathedrall Church there of S. Peter, began firſt with faire perſwaſions to aſſay the myndes of the Canons and prieſts, whether they could be content to change their profeſſion, and to be made monks, or no: which when he ſaw it would not take effect, he practiſed this pollicie with thē. Nere to the ſaid Church of S. Peter, within the churchyard he erected an other Church of our Lady, which when he had repleniſhed wͭ Monkes, there he continually frequented, there he kept, there he ſat, and was euer there conuerſant. By reaſon wherof, the other church was left naked and deſolate, and all the people gathered there where the biſhop was. The prieſts ſeyng themſelues ſo to be left and neglected both of the Biſhop and of the people, to whome nothing remayned but ſhame and contempt, were driuen of ſhame either to relinquiſh the houſe (ſuch as would not enter the Monkiſh profeſſion) or els to become monkes, ſuch as had nothyng els to ſtay vpon. After the like ſuperſtition (although not after the ſame ſubtletie) did Ethelwold alſo driue out the Canons and prieſts from the new Monaſtery in wincheſter, afterward called Hida, and placed his monkes. So in Orford and in Mildune, with diuers other places moe: the ſecular Prieſts with their wiues were expelled to geue place to Monkes. The cauſe wherof is thus pretended in certaine ſtory writers, whom I ſee alſo Fabian to folow, for that the prieſts and Clerkes were thought ſlack and negligent in their Church ſeruice, and ſet in Vicares in theyr ſtead, while they liued in pleaſure, and miſpent the patrimony of the Church after their owne luſt. Then king Edgar gaue to the Vicars the ſame land which before belonged to the Prebendaries, who alſo not long after ſhewed themſelues as negligent as the other. wherfore king Edgar (as mine authors write) by the conſent of Pope Iohn, 13. voyded clerely the prieſts, and ordained there monkes. Although certaine of the nobles, and ſome of the Prelates were therewith not well contented, as in the chapter following, may partly appeare.

Oſwald Byſhop of Wyrceter. and Archb. of Yorke. The pollicy of Oſwald in driuing out prieſtes to place in Monkes.

An. 969.

Guliel. lib. 3. de. Geſt. pontif. Chr. Iornalenſe. in Vita Edgari.

Prebendaries and Prieſtes ſlacke in their duety.

Prieſtes voyded of Cathedrall Churches, and monkes ſet in.

But for ſo much as we haue entred into the mention of Monkes & Nunnes, and of their profeſſion, which I ſee ſo greatly in our Monkiſh ſtories commended: leſt perhaps the ſimple Reader may be deceiued thereby, in hearing the name of monkes in all hiſtories of tymes to be ſuch an auncient thing in Chriſtian life (euen frō the primitiue church after the Apoſtles tyme) both commonly recited and well receiued: therfore to helpe the iudgement of the ignorant, and to preuent all errour herein, it ſhall not be vnprofitable in followyng the preſent occaſion here geuen (by way of a little digreſſion) to entermedle ſomewhat concerning the originall inſtitution of monkes, what they were in the old tyme, which were called Monachi, wherin the monkes of the primitiue tyme, did differ from the Monkes of the middle time, and from theſe our Monkes now of this latter age. Moreouer, wherein all theſe three do differ from Prieſts (as we call them) and frō men of the clergy. wherfore to aunſwer to the ſuperſtitious ſcruple of ſuch, which alledge the old antiquitie of the name and title of monks: firſt I graunt, the name and order of Monkes to be of old continuance, during neare from the tyme of 300. yeares after Chriſt. Of whom diuers old authors do record, as Auguſtinus, Hieronymus, Baſilius Magnus, who was alſo himſelf one of the firſt inſtitutors and commenders of that ſuperſtition. Chryſoſtomus, Nazianzenus, Euagrius, Sozomenus, Dionyſius, and diuers other. In the number of theſe monkes (which then were deuided into Heremites or Anachorites and into Coenobites) were Antonius, Paulus, Ioannes, wyth diuers other recluſes. Among the which was Hierome, Baſile, Macarius, Iſidorus, Pambus, Nilammon, Simeon, with infinite other, both in Paleſtina, Syria, Thebaide, Meſopotamia in Egypt, in Africa and Scythia. In ſo much that Caſsianus, Lib. 2 cap. 4. de Canon. Noctur. orat. maketh mention of a certaine Monaſtery in Thebaide, wherin were aboue 5000. monks, vnder the gouernment of one Abbot. And here alſo in England mention is made before of Bangor, wherein were two thouſand & two hundred Monkes vnder one mans ruling, in the yeare of our Lord, 596. wherby it appeareth that Monkes were then, and 200. yeares before in the primitiue tyme of the Church. But what monks theſe were, is to be conſidered. Such as either by tiranny of perſecution were driuen into ſolitary and deſert places, or els ſuch as not conſtrained of any, but of their owne voluntary deuotion (ioyned with ſome ſuperſtition among, for the loue they had to ſpirituall contemplation, and for hatred of the wicked world) withdrewe themſelues from all company, either hauyng nothyng to themſelues proper, or els all things common with other. And all theſe were then nothing els but lay men. Of which lay men there were two ſundry ſortes, one of the vulgare & common people, which onely were pertakers of the Sacraments, the other in folowing a Monaſticall kynde of lyfe, were called Monkes (beyng nothing but lay men) leadyng a more ſeuere and ſtraighter trade of lyfe, then the other, as may ſufficiently appeare by Auguſt. Lib. de moribus Eccleſiæ cap. 13. Item, Lib. de operibus Monachorum. Item Epiſtola ad Aurelium. Alſo by Hierome ad Heliodorum, writing theſe wordes: Alia Monachorum eſt cauſa, alia clericorum. Clerici paſcunt oues, ego paſcor, &c. That is, One thing pertaineth to Monkes, an other thing to them of the Clergy. They of the Clergy feede their flocke. I am fed, &c. Et ex Dionyſio. Alſo the ſame appeareth likewiſe by the 4. Canon of the Councel of Chalcedone, where it is prouided, Ne Monachi ſe Eccleſiaſticis negocijs immiſceant. That is, That Monkes ſhould not intermedle with matters of the Church. &c. Et Leo Epiſtola 62 vetat Monachos & laicos, etſi ſcientię nomine glorientur, admitti ad officium docendi & concionandi.

The difference order, and inſtitution of Monkes examined.

Two ſortes of Monkes in the primitiue Church.

Caſſianus. lib. 2. cap. 4. de canon. Noctur. orat.

Two ſortes of lay men. Monkes in the olde tyme were no other but lay men, leading a ſtricte lyfe.

Auguſt. de. mor. eccleſia. Hierom. ad Heliodor. Dionyſius. Concilium Chalced. Can. 4.

Monkes forbidden to intermeddle with matters eccleſiaſticall.

By theſe foreſayd authors alledged, it is euident: that Monkes in the former age of the church, albeit they lyued a ſolitary life, yet they were then no other but only lay mē, differing from prieſts, & differing from the other monkes, which ſucceded them afterward in the middle age of the Church, and that in iij. pointes. Firſt, they were tyed and bound to no preſcript forme eyther of diet or apparel, or any thing els, as we may ſee teſtified by the wordes of S. Auguſtine, which be theſe: Neq; inter hæc nemo vrgetur in aſpera, quæ ferre non poteſt: Nulli quod recuſat imponitur. Nec ideo contemnitur à cæteris, in quod eis imitandis ſe fatetur inualidum. Meminerunt enim quantoperè commendata ſit in Scripturis charitas. Meminerunt omnia munda mundis, &c Nō quod intrat in os coinquinat hominem, ſed quod exit. Itaq; non reijciendis generibus ciborum, quaſi pollutis, ſed concupiſcentiæ perdomandæ, & dilectioni fratrum retinendæ, inuigilat omnis induſtria. And Sozomenus, Lib 3. cap. 16. ſpeaking of the Monkes of the ſame time, which in cities had ſeuerall manſions frō other, ſayth: Alij in turba ciuitatum conuerſabantur, ſic ſeipſos gerentes, vt nullius momenti viderentur, & à multis nihil differrent, &c. i. Some liued in cities, ſo behauing themſelues, as ſeeming nothing worth, and they differed nothyng from the multitude, &c. The ſecond point wherin they were diſcrepant from the latter Monkes: was, in that they remained no other but in the order of lay men (onely beyng of a ſtraighter lyfe then the reſt) and had nothing to do in matters & charges Eccleſiaſticall. which was afterward broken, by Pope Bonifacius the 4. as followeth more (the lord willing) to be ſene and ſayd. Thirdly, the foreſaid monkes of that age (albeit the moſt part of them liued ſole & ſingle from wiues) yet ſome of them were maried: certes none of them were forbidden or reſtrayned from mariage. Of ſuch as were maried, ſpeaketh Athanaſius in Epiſtola ad Dracontium, qui ait ſe nouiſſe & Monachos & Epiſcopos coniuges & liberorum patres, &c. That is, which ſayth that he knew both Monkes and Biſhops maried men, and fathers of children, &c.

Monkes differing frō Prieſts. Monkes in the primitiue tyme differyng from Monkes in the ij. age of the Church.

Auguſt de inſtitutis monachorum.

Zozomen lib. 3. cap. 16.

Monkes of the primitiue time were no clerks, but mere lay men.

Monkes of the old tyme ſome marryed, none reſtrayned from mariage.

Athanaſius epiſtola ad Dracō.

And yet the ſaid Monkes of the old tyme, though they were better then the other which folowed them, yet al that notwithſtanding, ſuperſtitiō with them and among them begā then to creepe into the church, through the crafty ſubtilty of Sathan, and all for the ignoraunce of our free iuſtification by faith in Ieſus Chriſt. Examples to declare the vaine and prodigious ſuperſtitiō of theſe Monaſticall ſort of men, which examples do not lacke: if laiſure rather did not lacke to bring them in. But ij. or iij. ſhal ſuffice for many, which I purpoſe (the Lord willing) here to inſerte: to the intent the mind of the godly reader may the better conſider and vnderſtand, how ſoone after the tyme of Chriſt and his Apoſtles, the doctrine of chriſtian iuſtification began to be forgotten, true religion turned to ſuperſtition, & the price of Chriſtes paſſion to bee obſcured through the vayne opinion of mens merites, &c. A certaine Abbot named Moſes thus teſtifieth of himſelfe, in the Collations of Caſſianus, that he ſo afflicted himſelfe with much faſting and watching, that ſometymes for ij. or iij. dayes together, not

Superſtition crept in with monkery. The ignoraunce of our free iuſtification by Chriſt, is the cauſe of all ſuperſtition.

Ex Caſſia cap. 17 collat. 2.

Examples declaring the blinde ſuperſtition of the

Monkes of the olde tyme.

not onely he felt no appetite to eate, but alſo had no remembraunce of any meat at all, and by reaſon thereof was driuen alſo frō ſleepe. In ſo much, that he was cauſed to pray to God, but for a little refreſhing of ſleepe to be geuen him ſome piece of the night. In the ſame author, mention is made of a certaine old man an Hermite, who becauſe hee had conceiued in himſelfe ſuch a purpoſe neuer to eat meat without he had ſome gueſt or ſtrāger with him, ſometyme was conſtrained to abſtaine v. daies together vntil Sonday, while he came to the Church and there brought ſome ſtranger or other home with him.

Caſſianus lib. de ſpiritu Gaſtrimarg. cap. 40.

Two other examples yet more will I adde out of the ſaid Caſſianus, to declare how the ſubtiltie of Sathan, thorough ſuperſtition and falſe colour of holynes, blindeth ÿ miſerable eyes of ſuch which rather attend mens traditions, then the word of God. In the xl. chap. of the ſayd author in his booke de Gaſtrimargia, is told of a certain Abbot named Ioannes, in the deſert of Scythia, who ſent ij. of hys Nouices with figs vnto one that was ſicke in the wildernes 18. miles off from the Church. It chaunced theſe two yong Nouices miſſing the way, wandered ſo long in the wild foreſt or wildernes, and could not find the Celle, that for emptines and wearines they waxed faint & tired. And yet rather would they die then taſt the figs committed to them to cary, and ſo dyd, for ſhortly after they were found dead, their figges lying whole by them.

Superſtition.

Caſſian. lib. 6. cap. 2.

An other ſtory he alſo reciteth of two Monaſticall brethren, who making their progreſſe, in the deſert of Thebaide: purpoſed with thēſelues, to take no ſuſtenance, but ſuch as the Lord ſhould miniſter himſelfe vnto them. It happened, as they were wandering deſolate in the deſert, and faynting almoſt for penury, certayne Mazices, a kinde of people by nature fearce and cruel: notwithſtanding, being ſodenly altered into a new nature of humanitye, came forth and of their owne accord offered bread vnto them. Which bread the one thankfully receaued, as ſent of God. The other as counting it ſent of man and not of God, refuſed it, and ſo for lacke periſhed.

Hereunto might I alſo annexe the ſtory of Mucius, who to declare his obedience, did not ſticke at the commaundement of his Abbot, to caſt his ſonne into the water, not knowing whether any were appointed there ready to reſcue him from drowning, ſo far were the Monkes in thoſe dayes drowned in ſuperſtition. What is this, but for mans traditions and commaundements, to tranſgreſſe the commaundement of God, which ſaith: Thou ſhalt do no murther. Thou ſhalt not tempt the Lord thy God? What man is ſo blynd, that ſeeth not by theſe & infinite examples mo: what pernitious ſuperſtition hath begun by reaſon of this Monkery, almoſt from the beginnyng to creepe into the Church? Wherfore I cannot marueil inough, ſeeyng that age of the Church, had in it ſo many learned and famous Doctors, who not onely did approue and allow theſe monaſticall ſectes of life: but alſo certaine themſelues were the authors and inſtitutors of the ſame, yea and of mens traditions made the ſeruice of God. In number of whome may be reckoned Baſilius Magnus, & Nazianzenus, who with immoderate auſteritie did ſo plucke downe themſelues, that when they were called to the office of Biſhops, they were not able to ſuſtaine the labour therof.

Monkery mother of ſuperſtition and hipocriſie.

Baſilius Magnus.
Nazianzenus.

Monkes of the middle and latter age of the church deſcribed.

After theſe foreſayd monkes of that tyme aboue recited, followed other Monkes of the middle age of the Church: who as in multitude, ſo alſo in ſuperſtition increaſing, began by little and little from their deſolate dens in the vaſte wildernes, to approch more neare to great towns, where they had ſolemne Monaſteries founded by Kinges and Queenes, and kings daughters, and other rich Conſuls, as is partly before touched. And the cauſes alſo touched withall, for the which they were firſt founded, as theſe: pro remedio animæ meæ, pro remiſſione peccatorum meorum, pro redemptione peccatorū meorum, & pro ſalute regnorum, quiq; meo ſubiacent regimini populorum. In honorem glorioſæ virginis, &c. For all theſe impious, and erroneous titles, and cauſes, we finde alleaged in ſtoryes, as in Malmeſberienſis, Iornalenſis, Henricus, and other moe. In which hiſtories I alſo note, that the moſt part of theſe foreſayd monaſteries were erected firſt vpon ſome great murther, either by war in the field, or priuately committed at home: as ſhall well appeare to them which read the bookes whom I haue alledged. But to returne to our Monks agayn, who (as is ſayd) firſt began to creepe from the cold field into warme townes and cloyſters: from townes, then into citties, and at length from their cloſe cellers and citties, vnto Cathedrall Churches (as here appeareth by this ſtorye of King Edgar) where, not onely they did abound in wealth and riches (eſpecially theſe Monkes of our latter tyme) but much more did ſwimme in ſuperſtition, and Phariſaicall hipocriſie, beyng yoked and tied in all their doings, to certaine preſcript rules and formal obſeruances: in watching in ſleeping, in eating, in riſing, in praying, in walkyng, in talking, in looking, in taſting, in touching, in handling, in their geſtures, in their veſtures, euery mā apparailed, not as the proper condition of other would require, nor as the ſeaſon of the yeare did ſerue, but as the coacted rules & order of euery ſect did inforce them. The number of which ſectes was infinitely diuers: ſome after Baſilius rule, went in white: ſome after Benets rule in blacke: ſome Cluniacēſis, firſt ſet vp by Otho in the tyme of this King Edgar, wearing after the rule of Benets order: ſome after Hieroms rule leather girdled and coped aboue their white coate: ſome Gregorians copper coloured: Some de valle vmbroſa, graye Monkes: Some Grandimontenſes, wearing a coate of mailes vpon theyr bare bodyes, with a black cloake thereupon: Some Ciſtercianes, who had white rochets on a blacke coate: Some Celeſtines, all in blew, both cloake, coule, and cap: Some Charter Monkes, wearing heare-cloth next their bodyes: Some Flagellants, going barefoot in long white linnen ſhirtes, with an open place in the backe, where they beat themſelues with ſcourges on the bare ſkinne euery day, before the peoples eyes, till the bloud ranne downe: ſaying that it was reuealed to them by an Angell, that in ſo ſcourging themſelues, within 30. dayes and 12. houres, they ſhould bee made ſo pure from ſinne, as they were whē they firſt receiued baptiſme: ſome ſtarred Monkes: Some Ieſuites, with a white girdle & a ruſſet coule. Briefely, who can recken vp the innumerable ſectes and diſguiſed orders of their fraternities? Some holding of S. Benet, ſome of S. Hierome, Some of S. Baſill, Some of S. Barnard: Some of S. Bridget: Some of S. Bruno: Some of S. Lewes: as though it were not enough for Chriſten men to holde of Chriſt onely: ſo ſubiect were they to ſeruile rules, that no part of Chriſten liberty remayned among them. So drowned and ſunck in ſuperſtition: that not onely they had loſt Chriſtes religion, but alſo almoſt the ſenſe and nature of men. For where men naturally are and ought to be ruled by the deſcrete gouernment of reaſō, in all outward doynges, wherein no one rule can ſerue for all men: the circumſtaunce of tyme, place, perſon, and buſines being ſo ſundry and diuers. Contrary, among theſe, not reaſon but onely the knock of a bell, ruled all their doinges: their riſing, their ſleeping, theyr praying, their eating, their comming in, their going out, their talking, their ſilēce, & altogether like inſenſible people, either not hauing reaſon to rule themſelues, or els as perſons vngrateful to God, neyther enioyning the benefite of reaſon created in them, nor yet vſing the grace of Chriſtes libertie, whereunto he redemed them.

Cauſes of the founding of monaſteries and Nunneries tending to the derogation of Chriſtes paſſion and Chriſtian fayth.

Moſt part of monaſteries were builded vpon ſome murther.

The order of Mon Cluniack, by Otho vp in King Edgars time.

Monarchi flagellan

Monkes are ſubiect and ruled by the knocke of a bell.

Thus thou ſeeſt (gentle Reader) ſufficiently declared, what the monkes were in ÿ primitiue tyme of the Church, & what were the Monkes of the middle age, and of theſe our latter dayes of the church. Whereunto ioyne this withall, that where the Monkes of elder tyme (as is ſayd) were meere lay men and no ſpirituall miniſters. Afterward Bonifacius the 4. made a decree, an. 606. that Monkes might vſe the office of preaching, of Chriſtening, of hearing confeſſions, & alſo of aſſayling them of their ſinnes, &c. So thē monkes, who in the beginning were but lay men, and no ſpirituall miniſters, forbidden by the generall Councell of Chalcedon (as is aboue related) to intermeddle with matters eccleſiaſticall: afterward in proces of time did ſo much incroch vpon the office of ſpirituall miniſters, that at lēgth the Prieſts were diſcharged out of their Cathedrall churches, & monkes ſet in their places. Becauſe that Monkes in thoſe dayes leading a ſtraighter lyfe, and profeſſing chaſtitie, had a greater countenance of holynes amōg the people, then the Prieſts, who then in the dayes of king Edgar had wiues (at leaſt ſo many as would) no law forbidding them to the contrary, till the tyme of Hildebrand, now called Gregory the 7. whereof more ſhall be ſayd (Chriſt willing) in the booke next followyng.

Monkes made ſpirituall miniſters contrary to the old decrees and cuſtoms of the Church.

Prieſtes in King Edgars tyme had wyues.

And thus much by the way as touching the order and profeſſion of Monkes. Nowe to turne in agayne from whence we digreſſed (that is) to the matter of kyng Edgar, who followyng the counſaile and leading of Dunſtane, and the foreſayd Ethelwold Biſhop of Wincheſter, was ſomewhat thereby inclined to ſuperſtition. But otherwyſe of his owne nature, well geuen to all vertues and princely actes worthy of much commēdation, and famous memory. So excellent was he in iuſtice, and ſharpe in correctiō of vices (as well in his magiſtrates, as other ſubiectes) that neuer before his dayes was leſſe felony by robbers, nor leſſe extortion or bribery by falſe officers. Such Prouinces & lordſhips as were not yet come vnder the kings ſubiection, he vnited and adioyned to his dominion. And

The worthy actes of K. Edgar.

The Kings good iuſticiarie. England reduced into one full and perfect monarchie.

ſo

Edgerus Rex Pacificus.

King Edgar and King Alfrede compared together.

A note for men of nobilitie to marke.

A notable example of a prince to admoniſhe all princes what to do.

ſo made one perfect monarchy of the whole realme of England, with all the Iſlelands and borders about the ſame. Such as were wicked, he kept vnder, he repreſſed thẽ that were rebels, the godly he maintayned, he loued the modeſt, he was deuout to God, and beloued of his ſubiects, whom he gouerned in much peace and quietnes. And as he was a great ſeeker of peace, ſo God did bleſſe hym with much aboundaunce of peace and reſt from all warres: ſo that as the hiſtory recordeth of hym, Nullas inſidias domeſticorum, nullum exterminium alienorum ſenſerit, for the which he was called Pacificus. He neyther taſted of any priuy treſon among his ſubiectes, nor of any inuaſion of forayne enemies. So ſtudious he was of the publike profite of hys Realme, and fruitfull in his gouernment, that as the ſayd ſtory teſtifieth of him, Nullus ferè annus in Chronicis præterijt, quo non magnum & neceſſarium patriæ aliquid fecerit: No yeare paſſed in all the tyme of his raigne, wherein he dyd not ſome ſingular and neceſſary commoditie for the common wealth, &c. A great mainteyner he was of Religion and learning, not forgetting herein the foreſteps of Kyng Alfred his predeceſſor. Among his other princely vertues this chiefly is to be regarded, that where as other princes commonly in much peace and quietnes, are wont to grow into a diſſolute negligence of life, or obliuiõ of their charge committed vnto them. This king in continuance of peace (that notwithſtanding) kept euer with him ſuch a watch, & a vigilant ſeueritie ioyned with a ſeemely clemency, that I cannot here but recite the witneſſe of our ſtory writers, teſtifiyng of his diligent care ouer the common wealth: which was ſo great, Vt nullum cuiuſcunq; dignitatis hominẽ, leges eludere impunè permitteret i. That he would ſuffer no man of what degree of nobilitie ſo euer he were, to dally out his lawes without condigne puniſhment, &c. And followeth more in the ſame author. Nemo eius tempore priuatus latro, Nemo popularis prædo, niſi qui mallet in fortunas alienas graſſari propriæ vitæ diſpendio, &c. In all his tyme there was neither any priuy picker nor open thiefe, but he that in ſtealing other mens goods, would venter and ſuffer (as he was ſure) the loſſe of his owne lyfe, &c. Guliel. de Reg.

Wolues firſt driuen out of Englend.

Moreouer, as the ſtudious induſtrie of this Prince was forward in all other points, ſo his prudent prouiſion dyd not lacke in this alſo, in driuing out the deuouring & rauening wolues, throughout all his land. Wherein he vſed this pollicie, In cauſing Ludwallus Prince or Kyng of Wales, to yelde to him yearely by way of tribute, 300. wolues. By meanes whereof, within the ſpace of 4. yeres after in England and Wales, might ſcantly be founde one wolfe alyue.

The prouiſion of kyng Edgar in keeping the ſeas.

A notable example in a prince, for all good princes to marke and to follow.

The deuiſe of K. Edgar to auoyde dronkennes.

This Edgar among other of his politike deedes, had in readines 3600. ſhips of warre, to ſcoure the Seas in the Sommer tyme, whereof 1200. kept the Eaſt ſeas, as many to defend the Weſt ſide, againe, as many on the Southſeas to repulſe the inuaſion of forayne enemies. Moreouer, in winter ſeaſon, the vſe and maner of this vertuous Kyng was this: During all the tyme of his life, to ride ouer the land in progreſſe, ſearching and inquiring diligently (to vſe here the wordes of mine author.) Quomodo legum iura, & ſuorum ſtatuta decretorum obſeruarentur: & ne pauperes à potentibus præiudicium paſſi opprimerentur. That is, How his lawes and ſtatutes by him ordeined were kept, & that the poore ſhould ſuffer no preiudice or be oppreſſed any maner of wayes by the mightier, &c. Briefly, as I ſee many things in this worthy prince to be commended, ſo this one thing in him I cannot but lament, to ſee him like a Phenix to flee alone, that of all his poſteritie ſo few there bee that ſeeke to keepe him company. And although I haue ſhewed more already of this king, then I thinke will wel be folowed, yet this more is to be added to the worthines of his other acts. That where as by the multitude of the Danes dwelling in diuers places of Englãd, much exceſſiue drinking was vſed, whereupon enſued dronkennes, and many other vices, to the euill example and hurt of his ſubiects: he therfore to preuent that euill, ordeined certaine cuppes with pinnes, or nailes ſet in them, adding therunto a law, that what perſon dranke paſt that marke at one draught, ſhould forfaite a certaine peny. Whereof one halfe ſhould fall to the accuſer, and the other half to the ruler of the borough or towne, where the offence was done.

Viij. kinges do homage to K. Edgar.

The Glory of king Edgar reprehended.

Wherein kinges ought to glory.

It is reported of this Edgar by diuers authors, that about the 13. yere of his raign, he being at Cheſter, 8. kings (called in hiſtories Subreguli) to wit, petykings, or vnderkings, came & did homage to him. Of whom the firſt was the king of Scots, called Kinadius: Macolinus of Cumberland. Mackus or Maſcuſinus king of Moniæ, and of diuers other Ilands, & all the kings of Wales, the names of whõ were Duſuall, or Dunewaldus, Sifreth, Huwall, Iacob, Vikyll, Inchell. All which kings after they had geuen their fidelitie to Edgar: the next day following (for a pompe or royaltie) he entred with theſe aforeſaid kings into the riuer of Dee. Where he ſitting in a boate toke the rule of the helme, and cauſed theſe 8. kings, euery perſon taking an ore in hys hand, to row him vp and downe the riuer to and from the Church of S. Iohn vnto his palace agayne, in token that he was maiſter and Lord of ſo many prouinces: whereupõ he is reported to haue ſayd in this maner: Tunc demum poſſe ſucceſſores ſuos gloriari, ſe Reges Angliæ eſſe, cum tanta prærogatiua honorum fruerẽtur. But in my mynd this king had ſayd much better, if he had rather ſaid with S. Paule, Abſit mihi gloriari, niſi in cruce Domini noſtri Ieſu Chriſti.

K. Edgar a ſuperſtitious vpholder of Monkery.

Ex Edmero.

And thus ye haue heard hetherto touching the cõmendation of king Edgar, ſuch reportes as the old Monkiſh writers thought to beſtow vpon him, as vpon the great patron of their monkiſh religion, who had builded ſo many monaſteries for them, as were Sondayes in the yeare, (as ſome ſay) or, as Edmer reporteth, but 48.

Vices noted in King. Edgar.

King Edgar circumuented by one of hys own counſell.

Now on the other ſide, what vices in him were raigning, let vs likewiſe conſider, according as we find in the ſayd authors deſcribed, which moſt write to his aduancement. Whereof, the firſt vice is noted to be crueltie, as well vpon others, as namely vpon a certaine Erle being of his ſecret counſaile called Ethelwold. The ſtory is this, Ordgarus Duke of Deuonſhire, had a certaine daughter named Elfrida, whoſe beautie beyng highly commended to the king, he being inflamed therwith, ſent this forſaid Ethelwold (whom he eſpecially truſted) to the partie, to ſee and to bring him word againe, & if her beautie were ſuch as was reported, willing him alſo to make the match betwene them. Ethelwold wel viewing the partie, and ſeing her beautie nothing inferior to her fame, and thinking firſt to ſerue his owne turne, tolde all things contrary to the king. Whereupon the king withdrawing his mynd otherwiſe, in the ende it came to paſſe that Ethelwold hymſelfe did marry her.

Cruelty in king Edgar noted.

Not long after, the king vnderſtanding further by the complaints and rumors of certayne, how he was preuented and beguiled, ſet a faire face vpon the matter before Ethelwold, and merily ieſting with hym, tolde hym how he would come and ſee his wyfe, & in deed appointed the day when he would be there. Ethelwold the husband perceauing this matter to go hardly with hym, made haſt to hys wife, declaring to her the comming of the king, and alſo opening the whole order of the matter how he had done, deſired her of all loue, as ſhe would ſaue his life, to diſgrace & deforme her ſelfe with garmentes and ſuch attyre, as the king might take no delighting in her. Elfrida hearing this what did ſhe, but contrary to the requeſt of her husband, & promiſe of a wife, againſt the kings commyng trimmed her ſelfe at the glaſſe, & decked her in her beſt aray. Whom when the king beheld, he was not ſo much enamoured in her, as in hatred with her husband who had ſo deceaued him. Whereupon the king ſhortly after making as though he would goe to hunt in the foreſt of Harwood, ſent for Ethelwold to come to him vnder the pretence of huntyng, & there ran him thorow and ſlew him. After this the baſtard ſonne of Ethelwold comming to him, the king aſked hym how he liked that hunting. Who aunſwered againe, that which pleaſeth the king, ought not to diſpleaſe him. For the death of which Ethelwold, Elfrida afterward builded a Monaſtery of Nunnes in remiſſion of ſinnes.

Great detriment happening in this Realme by King Edgar.

W. Malmeſb.

An other fault which Malmeſbury noteth in hym, was the comming in of ſtrangers into this land, as Saxones, Flemmings, & Danes, whome he with great familiaritie retained, to the great detriment of this land, as the forſaid ſtory of Malmeſbury recordeth, whoſe wordes be theſe. Vndè factum eſt, vt fama eius per ora omnium volitante, alienigenæ, Saxones, Flandritæ, ipſi etiam Dani huc frequenter annauigarent, Edgaro familiares effecti: quorum aduentus magnũ prouincialibus detrimentum peperit. Inde meritò iureq; reprehendunt eum literæ, &c. That is, wherby it happened, that diuers ſtraungers out of forayne countreys, allured by hys fame, came into the land, as Saxones, Flemmings, and Danes alſo, all which he retained with great familiaritie. The comming of which ſtraungers wrought great dammage to the realme, and therfore is Edgar iuſtly blamed in ſtories, &c. with the which reprehenſion all the Saxone ſtories alſo do agree.

The incontinent life of King Edgar.

Editha baſe daughter of Wilfrede the kinges lemman.

The third vice to him obiected, was his incontinent & laſciuious luſt in deflouring maides, as firſt of a Dukes daughter being a Nunne, and a virgin named Wilfrida, or Wilfrude, of which Wilfride was borne Editha, a baſtard daughter of Edgar. Alſo of an other certaine virgin in the town of Andeuar. Who was priuily conueied into his bed by this meanes. The laſciuious king commyng to Andeuar, not farre from Wincheſter, and thinking to haue his pleaſure of a certayne Dukes daughter, of whoſe beautie he heard much ſpeaking, commaunded the mayde to bee brought vnto him. The mother of the virgine grieued to haue her daughter made a concubine, ſecretly by night cōueyed to the kings bed in ſtead of her daughter, an other mayden of beauty and fauour not vncomely: who in the morning riſing to her worke, and ſo beyng knowen of the king what ſhe was, had graunted vnto her of yͤ king ſuch libertie and freedome, that of a ſeruant ſhe was made miſtreſſe both to her maiſter, and alſo to her miſtreſſe. Ex Mat. Pariſ. lib. de Regib.

Edward borne in baſtardie of Elflede. King Edwardes concubine.

An other concubine he had alſo beſides theſe aforeſaid, which was Egelfleda or Elfleda, called Candida yͤ white daughter of duke Ordmere (as Guliel. Malmeſb. recordeth) ſhe beyng alſo a profeſſed Nunne, of whom he begot Edward in baſtardy. For the which he was enioined by Dūſtane 7. yeares penance. After which penance beyng complete, then he tooke to him a lawfull wyfe (as Malmeſbury ſayth) Elfritha, the mother of Edmund and Ethelred, or otherwiſe called Egelred, whereof more ſhall be ſayd (the Lord willing hereafter.

King Edgar a great mayntayner of monkery.

Ouer and beſides all theſe vices noted and obiected to king Edgar in our monkiſh ſtorywriters, I alſo obſerue another no leſſe, or rather greater vice then the other afore recited, which was blynd ſuperſtition and idolatrous mōkery brought into the church of Chriſt, with the wrongfull expulſing of lawful maried prieſts out of their houſes. Whereupon, what inconueniences enſued after in this realm, eſpecially in the houſe of the Lord, I leaue it to the conſideration of them which haue heard of the deteſtable enormities of theſe religious votaries. The occaſiō whereof, firſt and chiefly began in this Edgar through the inſtigation of Dunſtane and his fellowes, who after they had inueigled the kyng & had brought him to their purpoſe, they cauſed him to call a Councell of the Clergy, where it was enacted and decreed, that the Canons of diuers Cathedral churches, Colleginars, Perſons, Vicars, Prieſts and Deacons, with their wiues and childrē, either ſhould geue ouer that kind of life, or els geue roume to Monkes, &c. For execution of which decree, two principall Viſitors were appointed, Athelwold or Ethelwold, biſhop of Winchester, and Oſwold biſhop of Worceſter, as is partly before touched. Oſbernus in vita Dunſtani, Malmeſb. De vit. pontif. Rog. Houed.

K. Edgar ſeduced by Dunſtane and Ethelwold biſhop of Wincheſter.

Ex Oſberno in vita Dunſtani Fol. 27. Malmeſb. Houeden & alijs.

And thus much concerning the hiſtory of king Edgar and of ſuch things as in his tyme happened in the church. Which Edgar after he had entred into the partes of Britannie, to ſubdue the rebellion of the Welchmen, and there had ſpoiled the coūtrey of Glamorgan, & waſted the country of Ono within x. dayes after, when he had raigned the ſpace of xvj. yeares, died, and was buried at Glaſtenbury, leauing after him two baſtards, to witte, Editha and Edward, and one ſonne lawfully begottē, named Ethelred, or otherwiſe by corruption called Egelred: For Edmund the elder ſonne died before his father.

The death of K. Edgar.

Ye heard before how king Edgar is noted in all ſtories to be an incontinent liuer in defloURing maydes and virgines. Of which virgins iij. notoriouſly are expreſſed in authors, to witte, Wlſtrude or Wlfride: The ſecond, was the dukes maid at Andeuar, nie to Wincheſter: The third, was Elflede mother of Edward, for the which Elflede he was ſtayd and kept backe from his Coronation by Dunſtane Archbiſhop of Cant. the ſpace of 7. yeares, and ſo the ſayd kyng beginning his raigne in the 16. yeare of his age beyng the yeare of the Lord, 959. was crowned at his age 31. An. dom. 974. as is in the Saxon Chronicle of Worceſter church to be proued. For the more euident declaration of which matter concerning the coronation of the kyng, reſtrained, and the preſumptuous behauiour of Dunſtan againſt the king: and his penance by the ſayd Dunſtane enioyned, ye ſhall heare both Oſborne, Malmeſb. and other authors, ſpeake in their owne wordes as followeth, Perpetrato itaq; in virginem velatam peccato, &c. After that Dunſtane had vnderſtanding of the kings offence perpetrated with the profeſſed Nunne, and that the ſame was blaſed amongſt the people, with great ire and paſſion of mynde he came to the king. Who ſeing the Archb. comming, eftſones of gentlenes aroſe from his regall ſeate towards hym, to take him by the hand, and to geue him place. But Dunſtan refuſing to take him by the hand, and with ſterne countenance bending his browes, ſpake after this effect of wordes (as ſtories import) vnto the king: You that haue not feared to corrupt a virgine mayde handfaſt to Chriſt, preſume you to touch the conſecrated handes of a biſhop? you haue defiled the ſpouſe of your maker, & thinke you by flattring ſeruice to pacifie the friend of the bridegrome? No ſir, his frend will not I be, which hath Chriſt to his enemy, &c. The king terrified with theſe thundring wordes of Dunſtan, and compuncted with inward repentance of his crime perpetrated, fel down with weping at the feete of Dunſtane. Who, after he had rayſed him vp from the ground againe, began to vtter to him the horriblenes of his fact, and finding the king redy to receiue whatſoeuer ſatiſfaction he would lay vpon him, enioyned him this penance for 7. yeres ſpace, as followeth: That hee ſhould weare no crowne all that ſpace, that he ſhould faſt twiſe in the weeke, he ſhould diſtribute his treaſure left to him of his aunceſters, liberally vnto the poore, he ſhould build a Monaſterie of Nunnes at Shaftſbury, that as he had robbed God of one virgine through his tranſgreſſion, ſo ſhould he reſtore to him many again in tymes to come: Moreouer, he ſhould expell Clerkes of euil life (meaning ſuch prieſts as had wiues and children) out of churches, and place Couents of Monkes in their rowme, &c.

Ex Chronico Saxonico Eccleſia Wigornenſis.

Ex Oſberno in vit. Dunſtani.

Dunſtane refuſeth to take the king by the hand.

The wordes of Dunſtane to K. Edgar.

Penaunce enioyned to K.Edgar by Dunſtane.

It followeth then in the ſtory of Oſborne, that whē the 8. yeres of the kings penance were expired: Dunſtan calling together all the pieres of the Realme, with Biſhops, Abbots, and other eccleſiaſticall degrees of the Clergy, in the publike ſight of all the multitude, ſet the crowne vpon the kings head at Bathe, which was the 31. yeare of hys age, and the 13. yeare of his raigne, ſo that he raigned only but 3. yeares crowned king. All the other yeares beſides, Dunſtan belike ruled the land as he liſted. Furthermore, as touching the ſōne of the ſayd Elfled, thus the ſtory writeth: Puerum quoq; ex peccatrice quondam progenitum, ſacro fonte regeneratum lauauit, & aptato illi nomine Edwardo in filium ſibi adoptauit. i. The child alſo, which was gotten of the harlot, he baptiſed in the holy fountaine of regeneration, and ſo geuing his name to bee called Edward, did adopt him to be his ſonne, &c. Ex Oſberno.

K. Edward raygned but three yeares crowned king.

Elflede proued a Nūne and Edward her ſonne a baſtard.

By the which narration of Oſberne, agreing alſo with the ſtory of the Saxon booke aboue mentioned, is conuinced a double vntruth or error, eyther negligently ouerſeen or of purpoſe diſſembled in our latter Monkiſh ſtorywriters, as in Malmeſbury, Math. Pariſ. Math. Weſtm. & other mo. Who to conceale the fault of king Edgar, or to beare with Dunſtans fact, in ſetting vp Edward for the maintenance of their monkiſh order, firſt doe falſly affirme, that Editha the daughter of Wlfride was borne after Edward, & that for her this penance was enioyned to king Edgar, which neither is, nor can be ſo, as in proceſſe hereafter (the Lorde willing) ſhall appeare.

Errours in Malmeſbery, and certayne other Monkes ſtoryes.

The 1. error. The kinges penaunce not enioyned for Edith but for Edward.

Secondly, they are deceiued in this, that they affirme king Edgar to haue two wiues, and that Elfleda the mother of Edward was not a profeſſed Nunne in deede, but diſſembled ſo to be, to auoid the violēce of the king: whereas in deede the truth of the ſtory both geueth her to bee a Nunne, and her ſonne to be baſe, and ſhe her ſelfe neuer to be maried vnto the king.

The 2. error. Elflede the mother of Edward proued to be a profeſſed Nunne.

Now, forasmuch as we haue hitherto entred mention of Elfleda and Editha, alſo of Wlfrede and Dunſtane, here would not be let paſſe to ſpeake ſomething of their lying miracles, falſly forged to the great ſeductiō of chriſten people by ſuperſtitious Monkes, who cared not what fables and lyes they brought into the church, ſo they might haue the vantage of poore mens purſes and oblations. And firſt here commeth in the fabulous myracles wrought at the tombe of Elfleda the kings concubine, which W. Malmeſb. in theſe verſes expreſſeth:

The lying myracles of Elflede, Dunſtane and Editha reproued.

Nam nonnullis paſſa annis morborum moleſtiam,
Defecatam & excoctam Deo dedit animam.
Functas ergo vitæ fato beatas exuuias.
Infinitis clemens ſignis illuſtrauit Deitas.
Inopes viſus & auditus ſi adorant tumulum.
Sanitati reſtituti probant ſanctæ meritum.
Rectum greſſum refert domum, qui acceſſit loripes.
Mente captus redit ſanus, boni ſenſus locuples.

Idolatrous worſhipping the tumbe of Alflede.

The Engliſh of which verſes is needeleſſe here to bee recited. Briefly, the effect is this: That both the blynde, deafe, halte, and ſuch as be mad, receiue their health agayne, if they worſhip the tombe of this Elfleda, &c.

The like fainings and monſtrous miracles we reade alſo in chronicles of doting Dunſtane, drowned in all ſuperſtition, if he were not alſo a wicked ſorcerer: Firſt, how he beyng yet a boy, chaſed away the deuil, ſet about with a great company of dogs, and how the Angels did open the church dore for him to enter. Then how the Lute or Harpe hanging vpon the wall, did ſing or play without any finger theſe wordes: Gaudent in coelis animæ ſanctorum, qui Chriſti veſtigia ſunt ſequuti, & qui pro eius amore ſanguinem ſuum fuderunt: ideo cum Chriſto regnabunt in æternum. Item where a certayne great beame or maiſterpoſt was moued out of the place: he with making the ſigne of a Croſſe, ſet it in right frame agayne. Moreouer, how the ſayd Dunſtane being tempted vpon a tyme of the deuil with the cogitation

The idle phantaſies and forged myracles of Dunſtane.

A doubt whether Dunſtane was a ſorcerer.

Dunſtane a poſt-ſetter.

gitation of women, caught the deuill by the noſe with a whote paire of tongs, and helde him faſt. Item, how ofte heauenly ſpirits appeared to him, and vſed to talke with him familiarly. Item, how he propheſied of the birth of king Edgar, of the death of king Egelred, of the death of Editha, and of Ethelwood biſhop of Wincheſter. Alſo how our Lady with her fellowes appeared viſibly to hym, ſinging this ſong: Cantemus Domino ſociæ, cantemus honorem. Dulcis amor Chriſti perſonet ore pio. Agayne, how the Angels appeared to him, ſinging the Hymne called Kyrie Rex ſplendens, &c. And yet theſe prodigious fantaſies with other mo, are written of him in Chronicles, and haue bene beleued in Churches.

Dunſtane caught the deuill by the noſe with an hote payre of tonges. Our Lady appeareth to Dunſtane. What maruell if certayn bookes and epiſtles be falſly intituled to the Doctours whē the papiſtes ſhame not to aſcribe other mens verſes alſo to the virgin Mary her ſelfe.

Among many other falſe and lying miracles, forged in this corrupt tyme of Monkery, the fabulous or rather filthy legēd of Editha were not to be ouerpaſſed, if for ſhame and honeſty it might well be recited. But to caſt the dyrt of theſe Pope holy monkes in their owne face, which ſo impudently haue abuſed the church of Chriſt, and ſimplicitie of the people with their vngratious vanities, let vs ſee what this miracle is, & how honeſtly it is told. Certayne yeres after the death of Editha, ſaith Will. of Malmeſ. which yeres Capgraue in his new Legend reckoneth to be thirtene, the ſaid Editha & alſo S. Denys holding her by the hand, appeared to Dunſtan in a viſion, willing and requiring him that the body of Editha in the church of Wilton, ſhould be taken vp & ſhrined, to the entent it might be honored here in earth of her ſeruants, according as it is worſhipped of her ſpouſe in heauen. Dunſtan vpon this, comming from Saliſbury to Wilton, where Editha was interred, commaunded her body to be taken vp with much honor & ſolemnitie. Who there in opening her tombe (as both Malmeſ. and Capgraue with ſhame enough recorde) found all the whole body of this Editha cōſumed to earth, ſaue only her thombe, her belly, & the part vnder the belly. Wherof the ſaid Editha expounding the meaning, declared that her thombe remained ſound, for the much croſſing ſhe vſed with the ſame. The other partes were incorrupted for a teſtimony of her abſtinence, and integritie, &c. Ex Malmeſ. & Capgrauo. What Sathan hath ſo enuied the true ſinceritie of chriſtian faith and doctrine, ſo to contaminate the ſame with ſuch impudent tales, ſuch filthy vanities, & Idolatrous fantaſies as this? Such Monkes with theyr deteſtable houſes, where Chriſtes people were ſo abhominably abuſed and ſeduced to worſhip dead carcaſes of men and women, whether they deſerued not to bee raſed, and pluckt downe to the ground, let all chaſte Readers iudge. But of theſe matters enough and to much.

A foule filthy Monkiſh myracle in the ſtory of Editha. An other dreame of Dunſtane.

Ex W. Malmeſberienſi & Capgrauo in legenda noua.

¶ Here followeth the Epitaphe written by Henricus Archdeacon of Huntington, vpō the prayſe and commendation of king Edgar.

The death of K. Edgar.

An Epitaph commendatorie of king Edgar, written by H. Huntington.

Autor opum, vindex ſcelerum, largitor honorum,
 Septiger Edgarus regna ſuperna petit.
Hic alter Salomon, legum pater, orbita pacis,
 Quod caruit bellis, claruit inde magis.
Templa Deo, templis monachos, monachis dedit agros,
 Nequitiæ lapſum, iuſtitiæq; locum
Nouit enim regno verum perquirere falſo,
 Immenſum modico, perpetuumq; breui.

Among his other lawes, this king ordained that the Sonday, ſhould be ſolemniſed from Saterday at ix. of the clocke, till Monday morning.

Sonday firſt halowed from ſaterday at ix. of the clocke, to monday morning.

King Edward called the Martyr.

An. 975.

The ſtory of king Edward.

Ex Simone Durham.

After the death of Edgar no ſmal trouble aroſe amōgſt the Lordes and Biſhops for ſucceſſion of the crowne: the principall cauſe wherof roſe vpon this occaſion, as by the ſtory of Symon of Durham, and Roger Houeden, is declared. Immediately after the deceaſe of the king, Alferus Duke of Mercia, and many other nobles, which held with Egelrede or Ethelrede the onely right heyre and lawfull ſonne of Edgar, miſliking the placing and intrudyng of Monkes into churches, & the thruſting out of the ſeculare Prieſtes, with their wiues and children out of their auncient poſſeſſions, expelled the Abbots and Monkes, and brought in againe the foreſayd prieſtes with theyr wyues. Againſt whom, certayne other there were on the contrary part, that made reſiſtance, as Ethelwine Duke of Eaſtangles, Elfwoldus his brother, and the Erle Brithnothus, ſaying in a councell togither aſſembled, that they would neuer ſuffer the religious Monkes to be expulſed and driuen out of the Realme, which held vp all Religion in the land, and therupon eftſones leuied an army, whereby to defend by force the Monaſteries, ſuch as were within the precinct of Eaſtanglia.

Contention amongſt the Lordes about the putting in of Monkes.

In this hurly burly amongſt the Lordes about the placing of Monkes and putting out of Prieſts, roſe alſo the contention about the crowne, who ſhould be their king: the biſhops and ſuch lordes as fauoured the Monkes, ſeeking to aduance ſuch a king as they knew would inclyne to their ſide, ſo that the lordes thus deuided, ſome of them would haue Edward, and ſome conſented vpon Egelred the lawfull ſonne. Then Dunſtane Archb. of Cant. & Oſwold Archb. of Yorke, with other their fellowbiſhops, Abbots, and diuers other Lordes and Dukes aſſembled in a councell together. In the which councell Dunſtan cōmyng in with his croſſe in his hand, & bringyng Edward before the Lords, ſo perſwaded them that in the ende Edward by Dunſtans meanes was elected, conſecrated, and annointed for theyr kyng.

Contention amongſt the Lordes for chuſing the king.

Edward the baſtarde made K. and the right heyre put backe.

And thus haſt thou (good Reader) the very truth of this ſtory, according to the writing of authors of moſt antiquitie which liued nereſt to that age, as Oſberne and others, which Oſberne liuyng in the dayes of William Conquerour, wrote this ſtory of Dunſtan through the motiō of Lanfrancus, and alledgeth or rather tranſlateth the ſame out of ſuch Saxon ſtories as were writtē before his tyme. Beſides which Oſberne, we haue alſo for witneſſe hereof, Nic. Trinet, in his Engliſh ſtory written in French, and alſo Ioannes Pariſ, in his French ſtory written in the Latine tong, where he plainly calleth Edward, non legitimum filium, that is, no lawfull ſonne. Whereunto adde moreouer the teſtimony of Vincentius and Antoninus, who in playne termes likewyſe report the ſame.

Ex Oſberno. Nic. Triuet. Ioan. Pariſ. Vincentio. Antonino.

Nowe hauing layd the foundation for the truth and ground of this matter, let vs come to examine how truely our latter writers do ſay, which write that Editha, and not Edward was the child for whom Dunſtane enioined to the king 7. yeares penaunce, and alſo how truely they report Edward to be a lawfull heyre, and Elflede to bee a lawfull wyfe to king Edgar.

Editha proued not to be the childe for whom King Edgar was enioyned penance.

For firſt touching Editha, this is confeſſed by the ſayd writers themſelues, that ſhe was of good yeares, at what tyme Edgar her father was enioyned his penaunce. After the which ſeuen yeares of his penaunce expyred, he lyued at the moſt but iij. yeares and a halfe. Which ſeuen yeares and 3. yeares and a halfe, make in all but x. yeres & a halfe. But now the ſaid authors themſelues do graunt, that ſhe was made Abbas by her father, he beyng then alyue. And how can this then ſtand with her Legend, which ſayth that ſhe was not leſſe then 15. yeares of age? By which accompt it muſt needes fall out, that ſhe could not be ſo little as v. yeres old, before the birth of that chyld for whom the kyng did penaunce.

And thus much touching Editha. Now in like maner, to conſider of the tyme of Edward. Firſt, this by all writers is graunted, that he was ſlayne in the 15. yeare of his age. Which yeares do well agree to that chyld which king Edgar begate in baſtardy, & for the which he did hys penance. For the more euidence whereof, let vs come to the ſupputation of yeares in this ſort.

The yeares of Editha and Edward, caſt by the ſupputation of Legendes and ſtories.

Firſt, the penaunce of the king, after the byrth of this child, laſted 7. yeres. Then the king after the ſame lyued 3. yeres & a halfe. After whoſe death Edward raigned other 3. yeres and a half, which in all make the full ſumme of 14. yeres. About the count of which age, the ſaid Edward goyng on his 15. yeres, by their owne reckoning was ſlaine.

And thus haue ye by manifeſt demonſtration proued by the right caſting of the yeres, after their owne graunt & reckoning, that Editha daughter of Wilfride in no caſe can be the child which was borne after Edward, & for whom the king was enioyned penance, but that Edward rather was borne after Editha, and was the childe for whom the penance was enioined, contrary to the opinion commonly receiued in the church, which for ignorance of ẏ ſtory hath hetherto holden Edward to be an holy Martyr, and right heyre vnto the crowne. Which error and opinion, how it firſt ſprang and by whom, albeit it pertaine not to my ſtory to diſcuſſe, yet were it no hard matter to coniecture.

King Edward called martir proued to be a baſtard.

Firſt, after that Dunſtane and Oſwolde, wyth other Biſhops, Abbots, and certayne Lordes & Dukes of that faction, for the maintenaunce of Monkery, had aduaunced Edward to be king againſt Queene Alfrith mother of Ethelred, & Alferus duke of Mercia, and certaine other Nobles, which held with the contrary ſide of the Prieſtes agaynſt the Monkes. In proceſſe of tyme the monkes that came after to write ſtories, perceiuing Dunſtane to be reputed in the Church of Rome for an holy Saint, and the ſayd king Edward for an holy Martyr, and partly alſo to bolſter vp their owne religion of Monkery ſo muche as they could: to the intent therfore they would ſaue the credite both of Dunſtane and of the kyng, and eſpecially bea-

The cauſe perpended why thys ſtory of K. Edward is ſo falſely corrupted in Monkiſh ſtories.

ring fauour to their owne religion, and partly that the reputation of the church of Rome ſhould not be diſteined by opening ỹ truth of this matter, either did not ſee, or would not confeſſe herein what they knew, but rather thought beſt to blanch the ſtory, and colourably to hide the ſimple truth thereof, making the people falſly beleue, that Elfleda the mother of Edward was wife to king Edgar, and Edward to be lawfully borne, and alſo that Editha was born after Edward, & to be the child for which the king was enioyned penance. All which is falſe and cõtrary both to the order of tyme aboue declared, and alſo to the plaine wordes of Malmeſbury, which ſpeaking of king Edgars laſt concubine, ſayth in plaine wordes: Dilexit vnicè, integram lecto vni deferens fidem, quoad legitimam vxorem accepit Elſthridé, filiam Ordgari. That is, he had a concubine whom he loued entirely, keping true faith of his bed to her alone, vntil the tyme he maried for his lawfull wife Elfride the daughter of duke Ordgare, &c. wherby we haue to vnderſtand that whatſoeuer concubine this was which Malmeſbury ſpeaketh off, certaine it is, that Edgar liued in whoredome till tyme he maried his lawfull wyfe. Furthermore, and finally to conclude, beſide theſe arguments and allegations aboue recited, let this alſo be perpended, how the ſaid Dunſtan with his complices, after the killing of king Edward, leauing the right heyre of the crowne (which was Ethelred) went about, as Capgraue and their owne Legend cõfeſſeth, to ſet vp Editha the other baſtarde to poſſeſſe the crowne, but that ſhe more wiſe then her brother Edward, refuſed the ſame. wherby what is to be thought of the doyngs of Dunſtane, and what ſhould be the cauſe why hee preferred both Edward and Editha to the crowne rather then the lawfull heyre, I leaue to all indifferent Readers therof to iudge.

Malmeſb. in lib. de Regibus.

Dunſtane ſuborneth Editha the baſtard to take the crowne from the right heyre.

Ex Capgrauo in Vita ſancta Editha.

After that Dunſtane and his felowes had thus ſet vp Edward for their king, they were now where they would be, ſuppoſing all to be ſure on their ſide, and that they had eſtabliſhed the kingdom of Monkery for euer, through the helpe of the young king, and the Duke of Eaſtangles, and certaine other nobles whom they had drawn to their part. Howbeit this matter paſſed not ſo wel with them, as they hoped. For ſhortly after the coronation of this yong king, Alferus duke of Mercia, who folowed much the deedes of the Queene with other great men, ſtoutly ſtanding on the contrary ſide, droue out the Monkes from the Cathedrall churches, which king Edgar before had ſet in, and reſtored agayne the Prieſts (as Ranulphus ſayth) with their concubines: but in the hiſtorie of the Librarie of Iornall, I find it plainly expreſſed with their wiues. The wordes of the very author be theſe: Alferus princeps Merciorum, cæteriq; plures, eiectis monachis de magnis monaſterijs, quos rex Edgarus nuper inſtituerat, clericos cum vxoribus reduxerunt: That is, Alferus duke of Mercia, with other great men mo, droue out the Monkes from the great monaſteries, whom king Edgar had there ſet in before, & reſtored againe the prieſts with their wyues.

Duke Alpherus.

Prieſtes with their wiues reſtored.

Hiſtoria Iornalenſis in Vita Edgari.

Wherby it doth euidently appeare, that prieſts in thoſe dayes were maried and had their lawfull wiues. The like before that in king Inas tyme is plaine, that Biſhops then had wiues and children, as appeareth by the words of the lawe then ſet forth, extant in the hiſtory of the ſaid Iornalenſis, which be theſe: Si quis filiolum alterius occidat vel patrinum, ſit ſimile cognationi, & creſcat emendatio ſecundum Weram eius Regi, ſicut cognationi. Si de parentela ſit qui occidit eum, tunc excedat emendatio patrini, ſicut manbota Domini. Si Epiſcopi filiolus ſit, ſit dimidium hoc, &c. And thus much by the way for Prieſtes wyues and their children.

Byſhops and Prieſtes in thoſe dayes, maryed in England.

Iornalenſ. de Ineo Rego.

Now to the purpoſe agayne of our matter, which is to declare how the Duke and Nobles of England expulſed the Monkes out of the Monaſteries after the death of kyng Edgar. Whereof let vs heare what the Monkiſh ſtory of the Abbey of Crouland recordeth. Monachis de quibuſdam Monaſterijs eiectis, clerici ſunt introducti, qui ſtatim monaſteriorum maneria ducibus terræ diſtribuebant, vt ſic in ſuas partes obligati, eos contra monachos defenſarent. Tunc de monaſterio Eueſhamenſi, monachis expulſis, clerici fuerant introducti. Terræq; tyranni de terris Eccleſiæ præmiati ſunt, quibus Regina nouercali nequitia, ſtans cum clericis in regis opprobrium, fauebat. Cum monachis autem Rex, & ſancti Epiſcopi perſiſtebant. Sed tyranni fulti Reginæ fauore & potentia, ſuper monachos triumphabant. Multus inde tumultus in omni angulo Angliæ factus eſt. Ex Chronico Ingulphi Abbatis de Crouland, &c. That is, The Monkes beyng expelled out of certayne Monaſteries, the Clarkes agayne were brought in, who diſtributed the Manors or Fermes of the ſayde Monaſteries, to the Dukes and Lordes of the land, that they beyng obliged to them ſhould defẽd them againſt the Monkes. And ſo were the monkes of Eueſham thruſt out and the ſeculare Clarkes placed, & the landes of the church giuen to the Lordes, with whom the Queene, the Kings ſtepmother holding the ſame time, toke part alſo with the ſayd Clerkes againſt the king. On the contrary part ſtood the king & the holy biſhops, taking part with the monkes. Howbeit, the lordes & peeres of the Realme ſtaying vpon the fauour and power of the Queene, triumphed ouer the monkes, &c.

Ex Chronico Ingulphi Abbatis de Crowland.

Great bu nes in the land about placing Monkes and diſplacing Prieſtes.

Thus as much ado there was through all quarters of the realme, about the matter among the Lordes, ſo aroſe no leſſe contention betwene the prieſts & monkes of England. The Prieſtes complaynyng to the Kyng and Dunſtane, layd for themſelues that it was vncomely, vncharitable, yea and vnnaturall, to put out an old knowen dweller for a new vnknowen: and that God was not pleaſed, that to be taken from the aunceient poſſeſſor which by God was geuen him, neither that it could be to any good man accepted, to ſuffer any ſuch iniury to be done, leaſt peraduenture the ſame thing wherein he was preiudiciall to an other, might after reuert & redound vpon himſelf at length. The monkes on the other ſide, layd for their part, ỹ Chriſt allowed neither the old dweller, nor the new commer, nor yet looked vpon the perſon, but who ſo would take ỹ croſſe of penaunce vpon him, and follow Chriſt in vertuous liuing, ſhould be his diſciple.

A controuerſie betweene Prieſtes and Monkes.

Prieſtes mariage noted for an olde cuſtome in England.

The obiection of prieſts agaynſt the Monkes.

Guliel. de Regib. lib.

The anſwere of Monkes agaynſt the Prieſtes.

These & ſuch other were the allegations of the monkes. But whether a monkes coule or a wiueles life, make a ſufficient title to enter into other mens poſſeſſiõs or no, I referre it to the iudgemẽt of the godly. The troublous cares in mariage, the neceſſary prouiſion for houſe keepyng, the vertuous bringing vp of children, the daily helping of pouertie and bearing of publike charges, with other manifold perturbations and combraunces daily incident to the ſtate of matrimony, might rather appeare to godly wyſe men, to come nearer to the right croſſe of penance, then the eaſie & loytring idlenes of monkery. In the end, vpõ this controuerſie was holden a Councell of Biſhops, & other of ỹ Clergy. Firſt, at Reading or at Wincheſter as Guliel. ſaith, where the greater part both of the nobles & commõs iudged the prieſtes to haue great wrong, and ſought by all meanes poſſible, to bring thẽ agayne to their old poſſeſſions and dignities. Iornalenſis here maketh rehearſall of an Image of the Crucifixe, or a roode ſtanding vpon the frater wall, where the Councell was holden. To this roode Dunſtane requireth them all to pray, beyng belike not ignorant of ſome ſpiritual prouiſiõ before hand. In the middeſt of their prayer the roode, or els ſome blind monke behynd him in a trunke through the wall, is reported to ſpeak theſe words: Abſit hoc vt fiat, abſit hoc vt fiat: iudicaſtis benè, mutaretis non benè. In remembraunce whereof, theſe verſes were written vnder the roodes feete.

Maryed mens liues compared with the lyfe of Monkes.

An. 977.

A vayne miracle of Dunſtanes roode tha ſpake.

Humano more crux præſens ædidit ore.
Cœlitus affata, quæ perſpicis hic ſubarata.
Abſit vt hoc fiat, vt cætera tunc memorata.

Of this Dunſtanicall, or rather Satanical oracle, Henricus maketh no mention, nor Ranulphus, nor yet Houedenus, nor Fabian in their hiſtories. Gulielmus in his booke de Regibus, reporteth it but by hearſay, in theſe wordes ſaying: Aliæ literæ docent, &c. Wherfore the leſſe it ſeemeth to be of credite. Albeit if it were of credible truth, yet it proueth in this matter nothing els, but Dunſtan to be a Sorcerer, as Polydorus Virgilius, alſo himſelfe ſeemeth to ſmell ſomething in this matter.

An. 979.

Here lacked a Thomas Cromwell to try out falſe iugling.

Notwithſtanding for all this, yet the ſtrife ceaſed not. In ſo much that a new aſſembly of the Clergy and other, was appointed after at a place called the ſtreete of Calue, where the Councell was kept in an vpper lofte. In this Councell many grieuous complaints were obiected (as Malmeſburienſis ſaith) againſt Dunſtane. But yet he kept his opinion, and would not remoue from that which hee began to maintaine. And while they were there in great contention and argument which way ſhould be admitted and allowed, (if it be true that in the ſtories is written) ſodenly the ioyſes of the loft failed, & the people with the nobles fell downe, ſo that certaine were ſlaine, & many hurt. But Dunſtane (they ſay onely, ſtanding vpon a poaſt of the ſollar, which remained vnbroken) eſcaped without dãger. Which thing, whether it ſo happened to portend before the ruine of the Realme and of the nobles (as Henry Hunting. doth expoũd it) which after enſued by the Danes, or whether it was ſo wrought by Dunſtanes ſorcerie (as was not vnpoſſible) or whether it were a thing but fained of the monkiſh writers, and not true, all this I leaue to the Readers, to thinke therein what them liketh. The ſtories ſay further, that vpon this the matter ceaſed, and Dũſtan had all his will.

An other aſſembly called at Calue.

Dunſtane an enemy to Prieſtes wiues.

A ſodayne fall of the people at the councell of Calue.

Henricus. lib 5. Guliel. Ranulph. Iornalenſis. Fabian.

These things thus done at Calue, it hapned not long

after

The horrible wickednes of the Queene the mother.

after the ſame, that king Edward, whom the writers deſcribe to be a vertuous and a meeke prince, much pitifull & beneficiall to the poore, about the iiij. yeare of hys raigne, came vpon a ſeaſon from hunting in the foreſt alone, without the company of his ſeruaunts, to the place in the weſt countrey, where Alfrith his mother, with her ſonne Egelred did lye. when the Queene the mother was warned of his comming by her men, anone ſhe calleth a ſeruaunt of hers, which was of her ſpeciall truſt, opening to hym all her conceiued counſaile, & ſhewyng him all pointes how & what to do for the accompliſhing of her wicked purpoſe. which thing ſo done, ſhe made towards the king, and receaued him with all curteſie, deſiring him to tary yͤ night. But he in like curteſie excuſed himſelfe, and for ſpeede deſired to ſee his brother, and to drinke, vpõ his horſe ſitting, the which was ſhortly brought.

K. Edward trayterouſly murdered by hys ſtepmother and her ſeruant.

K. Edward found dead, and buried, not knowne to be king. Coref Caſtle.

The body of king Edward after three yeares honorably taken vp and tranſlated to Shafteſbury.

Two Nunneries founded vpon murther.

And while the cup was at his mouth, the ſeruaunt of the Queene (before informed) ſtrake him in the body with a long two edged dagger. After the which ſtroke the king tooke the horſe with the ſpurres, and ran toward the way, where he ſuppoſed to meete with his company. But he bled ſo ſore, that with faintnes he fell from hys horſe, hys one foote beyng in the ſtyrrup. By reaſon whereof, he was drawen of his horſe ouer fieldes and landes, till he came to a place named Coryſgate, where he was found dead. And for that, neither the maner of his death, nor yet he himſelfe, for the king was knowen, was buried vnhonourably at the towne of Warham, where the body remayned yͤ ſpace of iij. yeares, and then after was taken vp by Duke Alfere aboue mentioned, and with pompe and honor accordingly, was remoued to the Minſter of Shafteſbury, and there beſtowed in the place called Edwardſtow. Many tales runne (moe perchaunce then be true) concerning the finding and taking vp of his body, which our moſt common hiſtories aſcribe to myracles and great wonders, wrought about the place where the king was buried. As firſt how a poore woman borne blynde, receyued her ſight by the meanes of S. Edward, there where he did lye. Alſo how a piller of fire from heauen, deſcended ouer the place of his buriall. Then how the foreſaid Queene Alfrith taking her horſe to goe to the place, was ſtopped by the way, that neither her horſe could be driuen by any meanes, nor ſhe her ſelfe on foote was able to approch neare to the place where the corpes of S. Edward was. Furthermore, how the ſayd Queene in repentaunce of her facte, afterward builded two Nunneries, one at Ameſbury by Saliſbury, the other at Werewell, where ſhe kept her ſelfe in continuall repentaunce all the dayes of her lyfe. And thus as ye haue heard, was this vertuous yong king Edward murthered when he had raigned almoſt iiij. yeares, leauing no iſſue behynd him, whereby the rule of the land fell to Egelredus his brother.

An. 979.

Three Edward kinges before the conqueſt.

¶ But here by the way is to be noted (vpon the name of this Edward) that there were three Edwardes before the conqueſt. The firſt, was kyng Edward the Senior. The ſecond, king Edward the Martyr, which was this kyng. The third, was king Edward called the Confeſſor, whereof hereafter ſhall follow (Chriſt willyng) to be declared.

Continuation of the romiſh Biſhops or Popes.

Pope Iohn xiii. a wicked Pope.

Liuthprandus. lib. 6.

As merry as pope Iohn, Prouerb.

Pope Iohn. xiii. depoſed.

In the order and courſe of the Romain Biſhops, mention was made laſt of Agapetus the ſecond. After whome next ſucceded Pope Iohn xiij. of whom Dunſtane Archbiſhop of Canterbury, receiued his palle, as in the ſtory of King Edgar is before mynded. This Pope is noted to be very wicked and infamous, repleate from his firſt bringing vp with abhominable vices: a whoremaiſter, an adulterer, inceſtuous, libidinous, a gameſter, an extorcioner periured, a fighter, a murtherer, cruell, and tyrannous. Of his Cardinals, ſome he put out their eyes, from ſome he cut of their tongues, ſome their fingers, ſome their noſes, &c. In a generall councell before the Emperour Otho, the firſt of that name (who was the firſt Emperour of the Germaines) after the Empire was tranſlated out of Fraunce to Germany by Pope Agapetus (as is aboue hiſtoried) theſe obiections were articulate agaynſt hym. Firſt, that he neuer ſayd hys ſeruice, that in ſaying hys Maſſe he did not communicate, that he ordained Deacons in a ſtable, that he committed inceſt with two of hys ſiſters, that playing at dice, he called for the Deuill to helpe, that for money he made boyes Biſhops, that he defloured Virgins and ſtrangers, that of the palaice of Laterane he made a Stewes, that he lay with Stephana his fathers concubine, likewiſe with Ramera and with Anna and her neeſe, that he put out the eyes of the biſhop Benedict, that he cauſed houſes to be ſet on fire, that he brake open houſes, that he dranke to the deuill, that he neuer croſſed himſelfe, &c. For the which cauſes (and worthily) he was depoſed by the conſent of the Emperour with the Prelates, and Pope Leo was ſubſtitute in his place. But after hys departing (thorough the harlots of Rome and their great promiſes) the ſaid Pope Iohn was reſtored agayne to his place, and Leo (ſet vp by the Emperour) was depoſed. At length about the tenth yere of the Popedome of this Iohn he beyng found without the citie with another mãs wife, was ſo wounded of her huſband, that within viij. daies after he dyed.

Pope Iohn reſtored.

Pope Iohn wounded in adultery.

Pope Benedictus. 5.

Pope Leo. 8.

The election of the Byſhop of Rome geuen to the Emperour.

The donations of Carolus Magnus and Otho to Rome.

After him, the Romains elected Pope Benedictus the fift, without the conſent of the Emperour. Whereupon the ſayd Otho the Emperour beyng not a little diſpleaſed for diſplacing of Leo, whom he had before promoted, and for the chuſing alſo of Benedict, came with his army, and laid ſiege to Rome; and ſo ſet vp Pope Leo agayne, the viij. of that name. which Leo to gratifie his benefactor agayne, crowned Otho for Emperour, and intituled him to be called Auguſtus. Alſo the power which Carolus Magnus had geuen before to the Clergy and people of Rome: this Leo by a ſynodall decree graunted to the emperor and hys ſucceſſors: that is, touching the election of the Byſhop of Rome. The Emperor againe reſtored to the ſea of Rome, all ſuch donations and poſſeſſions, which either Conſtantinus (as they falſly pretend) or which Carolus Magnus tooke from the Lombards, and gaue to them.

Pope Iohn. 14.

Pope Iohn 14. caſt into priſon.

The cruell reuenge of the pope.

Chriſtening of belles firſt began.

After Pope Leo had raigned a yeare and iij. moneths, ſucceded Pope Iohn the 14. agaynſt whom (for holding with the Emperor) Petrus the head captaine of the Citie, with two Conſuls, xij. Aldermẽ, and diuers other nobles, gathering their power together, layd hands vpon him, in the Church of Laterane, and clapt the Pope in priſon, 11. months. The Emperour hearing this, with all ſpeede returned with his army agayne to Rome, who after execution done vpon the authors and chief doers of that fact, among other committed the foreſayd Petrus, to the Popes arbitrement. whom [illegible] cauſed firſt to be ſtript naked, then his beard beyng ſhauen, to be hanged by the haire a whole day together, after that to be ſet vpon an Aſſe (his face turned backward, and his hands bound vnder the aſſes tail) and ſo to be led through the Citie, that all men might ſee him: that done, to be ſcourged with rods, and ſo baniſhed the Citie. Thus ye ſee, how the holy father followeth the iniunction of the Goſpell: Diligite inimicos veſtros, Loue your enemies, Luke. 6. &c. From this Pope proceded firſt the Chriſtening of bels, an. 971.

Pope Benedictus. 6.

Pope Benedict ſlayne in priſon.

After him followed Pope Benedictus the ſixt, who in like maner was apprehended by Cynthius a Captayne of Rome, & caſt in priſon, where he was ſtrãgled, or as ſome ſay, famiſhed to death.

Pope Donus. 2.

Pope Bonifacius. 7.

Two Popes together.

Pope Iohn. 15.

Pope Iohn ſlayne.

Pope Boniface drawne through the ſtreetes of Rome.

Then came Pope Donus the ij. After whom Bonifacius the vij. was Pope: who likewiſe ſeeing the Citizens of Rome to conſpire agaynſt him, was conſtrained to hide himſelfe, And ſeeing no place there for hym to tary, tooke the treaſure of S. Peters Churche, and ſo priuily ſtale to Conſtantinople. In whoſe ſtead the Romaines ſet vp P. Iohn the xv. Not long after: Boniface returning agayne from Conſtantinople, by hys money & treaſure procured a garriſõ or company to take his part: By whoſe meanes the foreſayd Pope Iohn was taken, his eyes put out, and ſo throwne in priſon, where he was as ſome ſay famiſhed: ſome ſay he was ſlayne by Ferrucius. Neither did Boniface raigne many dayes after, but ſodenly dyed: whoſe carkaſe after hys death was drawne by the feete through the ſtreetes of Rome, after the moſt deſpitefull maner of the people ſhriking and exclayming againſt him. an. 976.

Pope Benedictus. 7.

Otho ſecond Emperour.

Gilbertus a Necromanſer made Archb.

Next pope after him was Benedictus the vii. by yͤ conſent of the Emperour Otho the 2. and raigned xix. yeares. In the tyme of this pope: Hugh Cappet, the French king, tooke Charles (the right heyre to the crowne) by the treaſon of the Biſhop of Laon, and when hee had impriſoned him, he alſo committed to priſon Arnoldus Archbiſhop of Raynes, and placed in hys rowme Gilbertus a monke of Floriake (a Nicromanſer) who was ſchoolemaiſter to D. Robert the kinges ſonne. But this pope Benedictus, calling a Councell at Remis, reſtored the ſayd Arnoldus agayne: and diſplaced Gilbertus: which after by the help of Otho was made Archbiſhop of Reuenna, and at length was Pope, as in proceſſe hereafter (Chriſt graunting) ſhalbe declared.

Pope Iohn the 16.

Pope Iohn the xviii.

Pope Gregory the v.

After Benedictus ſucceded in the ſea of Rome Pope Iohn the xvi. & dyed the viij. month of hys Papacy. Next to whom came Iohn the xvii. And after him Gregory the. v. in the yeare of our Lord. 995. This Gregory (called before Bruno) was a Germane borne, and therefore yͤ more malaced of the Clergy & people of Rome. Whereupõ, Creſcẽtus with the people and Clergy, conuenting agaynſt yͤ ſayd Gregory: ſet vp Pope Iohn the xviij. Gregory vpon

Pope Iohn the viii. Two Popes together in Rome.

Pope Iohn had his eyes put out, and ſo put to death.

the ſame, ſped himſelfe in all conuenient haſt to the Emperor, Otho the iij. in Germany. who hearing the complaint of Gregory, and vnderſtanding his wrongs, ſet forward with his army well appointed, to Italy: gate the Citie, & there tooke both Creſcentius the Conſull, and Iohn the Pope. which Iohn firſt hauing his eyes put out, was depriued after of his life. Creſcentius the Conſul was ſet vpon a vile horſe, hauing his noſe and eares cut off, and ſo was led through the Citie, his face beyng turned to the horſetayle, & afterward hauyng his members cut off, was hanged vpon a gibbet.

Pope Gregory reſtored.

Vii. electours of themperors ordayned in Germany, and who they be.

Pope Gregory thus being reſtored to his former ſtate, raigned iiij. yeares in his Papacie, (although Marianus Scotus and Martinus ſay, that he ſate but ij. yeares) &c. During the which time he aſſembled a councell in Rome: where, he to ſtabliſh the Empire in his owne country (by the conſent and counſail of Otho) ordeined vij. Princes of Germany, to be electors of the Emperor: which order, yet to this day remaineth. what be the names of theſe vij. electors, and what is their office, thus I finde in theſe verſes expreſſed.

Ex Chronico. Martini.

Maguntinenſis, Treuerenſis, Colonienſis.
Quilibet Imperij fit cancellarius horum.
Et Palatinus Dapifer, Dux portitor enſis.
Marchio præpoſitus cameræ, Pincerna Bohemus.

These vij. he ordained to be electors, 3. biſhops, 3. princes (to wit) the Palatine, the duke of Saxonie, the Marques Brandenburgh. To whom was added alſo the king of Boheme to geue the odde voice, if the euen voices could not agree. This conſtitution being firſt begon, an 997. was after eſtabliſhed in Germany by Otho the Emperour, the yeare of the Lord, 1002. And thus much by the way, or rather digreſſion, concerning the rages and tumultes of the Romiſh church. Now to our matter agayne.

✤ *King Egelred, or Elred.*

King Egelred.

Anno. 979.

The life of Egelred.

Anno. 981.

The coronation of Egelred.

The prophecie of Dunſtane as monkiſhe ſtoryes geue it.

KIng Edward thus being murthered as is aforeſayd, the crowne fell next to Egelrede his yonger brother, & ſonne to king Edgar by the foreſayd Queene Alfrith, as we haue declared. This Egelred had a long raigne geuen of God, which dured the terme of 38. yeares, but very vnfortunate, and full of great miſeries. And he himſelf (by the hiſtories) ſeemeth to be a Prince, not of the greateſt courage to gouerne a common wealth. Our Engliſh ſtories writing of him, thus report of his raigne: That in the beginning, it was vngracious, wretched in the middle, and hatefull in the latter end. Of this Egelred it is read, when Dunſtane the Archbiſhop ſhould chriſten him, as hee dyd hold him ouer the Fonte, ſomething there happened, that pleaſed not Dunſtan: whereupon he ſware, per ſanctā Mariam, iſte ignauus homo erit. i. By the mother of Chriſt he will be a Prince vntoward and cowardlike, Chron. de Croulād. I finde in William of Malmeſbury, Lib. 2. de Regi. That this Egelred beyng of the age of x. yeares, when he heard hys brother Edward to be ſlayne, made ſuche ſorow & weping for him, that his mother falling therewith in a rage, tooke waxe candles (hauing nothing els at hand) wherwith ſhe ſcourged him ſo ſore (well neare till he ſwounded) that after the ſame, he could neuer abide any waxe candles to burne before him. After this, about the yeare of our Lord, 981. (the day of his coronation beyng appoynted by the Queene, the mother, and the nobles) Dunſtan the Archb. of Cant. (who firſt refuſed ſo to doe) with Oſwald Archb. of Yorke, were enforced to crowne the king. And ſo they did at Kingſtō. In doing wherof, the report of ſtories go, that the ſaid Dunſtane ſhould ſay, thus propheſieng vnto the king: that for ſo much as he came to the kingdome by the death of his brother, and through the conſpiracie of the wicked conſpirators and other Engliſhmen: they ſhould not be without bloudſheding and ſword, till there came a people of an vnknowen tongue, and ſhould bring them into thraldome, neither ſhould that treſpaſſe be clenſed without long vengeaunce, &c.

In the Chronicles of Crouland, I finde theſe wordes, Quoniam aſcendiſti ad thronum tuum, per mortem fratris tui, quem occidit mater tua, propterea audi verbum Domini, hoc dicit Dominus. Nō deficiet gladius de domo tua, ſæuiens in te omnibus diebus vitæ tuæ, & interficiens de ſemine tuo, & de gente tua, vſque dum regnum tuum transferatur in regnum alienum: Cuius ritum & linguam gens tua non nouit, nec expiabitur, niſi longa vindicta, & multa ſāguinis effuſione peccatum matris tuę, & peccatum virorum peſſimorum, qui conſenſerunt conſilio eius nequam, vt mitterent manum in Chriſtum Domini, ad effundendum ſanguinem innocentem. Chron. de Crouland.

The Danes recourſe to England.

Houeden, lib. continuationum.

London conſumed with fire.

The king warred againſt the Byſhop of Rocheſter.

An. 990.

The bloudy flixe and hote feuers reigned in this land.

Not long after the coronation of this king, a cloud was ſeene throughout the land, which appeared the one halfe like bloud, and the other halfe like fire. And changed after into ſondry colours and vaniſhed at the laſt in the morning. Shortly after the appearaunce of this cloud, in the iij. yeare of his raigne, the Danes arriuing in ſondry places of the land, firſt ſpoyled Southhampton, either ſlaying the inhabitants, or leading them captiue away. Frō thence they went to the Iſle of Thanet, then they inuaded Cheſter, from thence they proceeded to Cornwall and Deuonſhire, & ſo to Suſſex: where, in thoſe coaſtes they did much harme, and ſo retired to their ſhips agayne. Roger Houeden writing hereof, ſayth: that London, the ſame tyme (or as Fabian ſayth) a great part of London, was conſumed with fire. About this tyme fell a variance betwene the foreſayd Egelred, and the biſhop of Rocheſter: In ſo much, that he made warre againſt him, and beſieged the Citie. And notwithſtāding that Dunſtan required the king, ſending him admoniſhment to geue ouer, for the ſake of S. Andrew, yet continued he his ſiege, till the biſhop offred him an hundreth pounds of gold, which he receaued, and ſo departed. The Danes ſeing the diſcord that then was in the realme, and ſpecially the hatred of the ſubiectes againſt the kyng: roſe againe, and did great harme in diuers places of England: In ſo much, that the king was glad to graunt them great ſummes of mony for peace to be had. For the aſſurāce of which peace, Analeffe captaine of the Danes, became a chriſten man, and ſo returned home to his countrey, & did no more harme. Beſides theſe miſeries before recited, a ſore ſicknes of the bloudy flixe, and hote feuers fell among the people, wherof many died, with a like morraine alſo among the beaſtes. Moreouer, for lacke of iuſtice, many thieues, rioters and bribers were in the land, with much miſerie and miſchiefe.

The death of Dunſtane. Ethelgarus, Elfricus, Siricus, Elphegus, Archb. of Canterb.

About the xi. yeare (ſome ſay the ix. yeare) of this kings raigne, died Dunſtan. After whom ſucceded Ethelgarus, or as Iornalenſis writeth, Stilgarus. After him Elfricus, as affirmeth Guliel. lib. 1. de pontif. But as Polydorus ſayth, Siricius. After him Elfricus came, but Siritius after the mynd of William, Lib. 1. But Polydorus ſayth Aluritius, thē Elphegus, &c.

An. 995.

The Byſhops ſea of Dyrham.

About the ſame tyme in the yeare of our Lord, 995. Aldunus Biſhop, tranſlated the body of S. Cuthbert from Cheſter (which firſt was in a Northren Iland thē at Rocheſter) to Durelme or Dunolme. wherupon the biſhops ſea of Dureſme firſt began.

London beſieged of the Danes.

The Danes ſpoyled the land.

Great tribute leuied of the Engliſhmen. Dane gelt.

Not long after the death of Dunſtane, the Danes agayne entred England, in many and ſondry places of the land: In ſuch ſorte, that the kyng was to ſeeke, to which coaſt he ſhould go firſt to withſtand his enemies. And in concluſion, for the auoyding of more harme, he was compelled to appeaſe them with great ſummes of mony. But when that money was ſpent, they fell to new robbyng of the people, and aſſailing the land in diuers places, not only about the countrey of Northumberland, but alſo beſieged the Citie of London at the laſt. But being frō thence repulſed by the manhood of the Londoners, they ſtrayd to other countreys adioyning, as to Eſſex, Kent, Suſſex, and Hampſhire, burnyng and killing where ſo euer they wēt, ſo that for lacke of a good head or gouernour, many things in the land periſhed. For the king gaue himſelfe to the vice of lecherie, and polling of his ſubiects, and diſinherited mē of their poſſeſſions, and cauſed them to redeeme the ſame agayne with great ſummes of money, for he payed great tribute to the Danes yerely, which was called Danegelt. which tribute ſo increaſed, that from the firſt tribute of x. M. poūd, it was brought at laſt in proceſſe of v. or vj. yere, to xl. M. pound. The which yearely (during to the comming of S. Edward, and after) was leuied of the ſubiects of this land.

The ſorrowfull affliction of the Engliſh nation.

What diſſention and diſcorde doth amōg the nobles in a realme.

To this ſorow moreouer, was ioyned hunger & penury among the commōs: in ſo much that euery one of thē was conſtrained to plucke & ſteale from other. So that, what for the pillage of the Danes, and what by inward thieues and bribers, this land was brought into great affliction. Albeit, the greateſt cauſe of this affliction (as to me appeareth) is not ſo much to bee imputed to the kyng, as to the diſſention among the Lordes themſelues, who thē did not agree one with another. But when they aſſembled in conſultation together, eyther they did draw diuers ways, or if any thing were agreed, vpon any matter of peace betwene the parties, ſoone it was broken againe: or els if any good thing were deuiſed for the preiudice of ẏ enemy, anone the Danes were warned therof by ſome of the ſame counſaile. Of whom, the chiefe doers were Edrike Duke of Mercia, and Alfrike the Admirall or captain of the ſhips, who betrayed the kings nauy to the Danes. wherefore the kyng apprehending Alfagarus ſonne of the ſaid Alfrike, put out his eyes, and ſo did he after to the two ſonnes of Duke Edrike in like maner.

The pride and wretchednes of the Danes toward the Engliſhmen.

Lord Dane.

Lurdaine.

The Danes thus preuaylyng more and more ouer the engliſh men, grew in ſuch pride & preſumption: that when they by ſtrength, cauſed the huſbandmen to eare and ſowe the land, and to do all other vile labour belongyng to the houſe, they would ſitte at home, holding the wiſe at theyr pleaſure, with daughter and ſeruaunt. And when the huſbandman came home, he ſhould ſcantly haue of his own, as his ſeruants had, ſo that the Dane had all at his will & fill, faring of the beſt, when the owner ſcantly had his fill of the worſt. Thus the common people beyng of them oppreſſed, were in ſuch feare and dread, that not onely they were conſtrained to ſuffer them in their doings, but alſo glad to pleaſe them, & called euery one of them in the houſe where they had rule, Lord Dane. which worde after (in proceſſe of tyme, when the Danes were voyded) was for deſpite of the Danes turned of the engliſh men to a name of opprobry, that when one Engliſh man would rebuke an other, he would for the more part call him Lurdaine.

Anno. 1000.

Henric Archidiac. lib. 6.

The firſt ioyning betweene the Norm. and Engliſhe men.

King Egelred marieth Emma the Dukes daughter of Normandy.

Richard Duke of Normandy.

The Danes by ſecret cōmiſsion ſlayne in euery towne of England.

And thus hitherto (through the aſſiſtaunce of Chriſt) we haue brought this hiſtory to the yere of our lord, 1000. During now & continuing theſe great miſeries vpon this Engliſh natiō, the land being brought into great ruine by the grieuous tribute of the Danes, and alſo by ſuſtainyng the manifold villanies and iniuries, as wel by them as by other oppreſſions within the realm. This yere which was the yeare of our ſauiour 1000. This Egelred through the counſail of certain his familiars about him, in the 21. yeare of his raigne, began a matter which was occaſion eyther geuen by the one, or taken by the other, of a new plague to enſue vpon the Saxōs, who had driuen out the Britaines before. That was in ioyning with the Normans in mariage. For the king this yere aboueſaid, for the more ſtrēgth (as he thought) both of him and the realm, maried Emma the daughter of Richard Duke of Normandy. which Richard was the third Duke of the Normains, and the firſt of that name. By reaſon of which mariage, king Egelred was not a little enhaunſed in his owne mynd: and by preſumption thereof, ſent ſecret & ſtraight commiſſions to the rulers of euery towne in England, that vpon S. Brices day at a certayne houre appointed, the Danes ſhould bee ſodenly ſlayne. And ſo it was performed, which turned after to more trouble.

Suanus K. of Denmarke ariſeth in England.

Exeter beat down.

Norwiche ſpoyled and waſted by the Danes.

Anno. 1004.

A tribute payd to the Danes of xxx. M. pound to haue peace.

After that tidings came into Denmarke of the murder of thoſe Danes. Anone after, Suanus king of Denmarke with a great hoſt and nauy, landed in Cornewall: where, by treaſon of a Norman named Hugh, which by fauour of Queene Emma, was made Erle of Deuonſhire: The ſayd Suanus toke Exceter, & after beat downe the wals. From thence proceding further into the land, they came to wilton and Shireborne, where they cruelly ſpoyled the countrey and ſlew the people. But anone Suanus hearing that the king was comming to him with the power of his land, toke his ſhips & ſet about to Norfolke: where, after much waſting of that countrey, and ſpoyling the citie of Norwich, and burning the towne of Thetford, and deſtroying the countrey thereabout, at length Duke Vlkatel met him and beat him, & ſlew many of the Danes. wherfore, Swanus for that yeare returned to Denmarke, and there made great prouiſion, to reenter the land againe the next yeare following. And ſo did, landing at Sandwich about the 25. yere of the raign of king Egelred, & there ſpoiled that countrey. And as ſoone as he heard of any hoſte of engliſhmen comming toward him, then he toke ſhipping againe. So that when the kings army ſought to meet him in one coaſt, then would he ſodainly land in an other. And when the king prouided to meete with them vpon the ſea, either they would fain to flee, or els they would with gifts blynd the Admirall of the kings nauy. And thus wearied they the engliſhmen, & in concluſion brought them in extreme and vnſpeakable miſery. In ſo much that the King was fayne to take peace with them, & gaue to king Suanus 30000. pound. After which peace thus made, Suanus returned agayne to Denmarke.

The perſecution of Turkillus a Dane.

Euill counſell about a king what hurt it doth.

But this peace continued not long. For the yeare next following, king Egelred made Edricus aboue mētioned, Duke of Mercia, which was ſubtile of witte, gloſing and eloquent of ſpeach, vntruſty, and falſe to the king and the Realme. And ſoone after one Turkillus (a Prince of the Danes) landed in Kent with much people, and there dyd ſuch harme, that the Kentiſhmē were faine to make peace with great gifts, and ſo thence departed. But this perſecution of the Danes (in one country or other in England) neuer ceaſed, nor the king did euer geue to them any notable battaile. For when he was diſpoſed to geue them battail, this Edricus would euer counſaile him to the contrary, ſo that the Danes euer ſpoyled and robbed, and waxed rich, and the engliſh men euer poore and bare.

The ſecond returne of Suanus into England.

The perſecution of Suanus king of Danes.

Caunterbury beſieged.

Treaſon of a falſe Deacon.

Caunterbury takē and brent.

The tything of the Monkes of Caunterbury.

A cruell murther of the Danes.

Elphegus the Archb. of Cāt. ſtoned to death.

After this Suanus beyng in Denmarke, and hearing of the increaſe of hys people in England, brake hys couenaunts before made, and with a great army and nauie in moſt defenſable wyſe appoynted, landed in Northumberland proclaimyng himſelfe to be king of this land. where, after much vexation, when he had ſubdued the people, and cauſed the Erle with the rulers of the countrey to ſweare to him fealtie: he paſſed by the riuer of Trent to Gainſburgh, and to Northwatlyng ſtreete, and ſubduyng the people there, forced them to geue hym pledges: which pledges he committed with his nauy vnto Canutus hys ſonne to keepe, whyle he went further into the lande. And ſo with a great hoſte came to Mercia, killing and ſlaying. Then he toke by ſtrength wincheſter, and Oxford, & dyd there what him liked. That done, he came toward London, and hearing the king was there, paſſed by the Riuer Thamis, and came into Kent and there beſieged Canterbury, where he was reſiſted the ſpace of 20. dayes. At lēgth by treaſon of a Deacon called Almaricus (whom the Biſhop had preſerued from death before) wanne it, and toke the goods of the people and fired the Citie, and tythed the Monkes of S. Auguſtines Abbey (that is to meane, they ſlew ix. by cruell torment, and the tenth they kept aliue as for their ſlaues.) So they ſlew there of religious men, to the number of 900. perſons: of other men, women, & childrē, they ſlew aboue 8000. And finally, whē they had kept ẏ Biſhop Elphegus in ſtraight priſon the ſpace of 7. monethes, & becauſe he would not cōdeſcend to geue vnto thē 3000. pound: After many villanies vnto hym done, they brought him to Greenewich, & there ſtoned him to death.

Anno. 1013.

King Egelred driuen to the ile of Wight, from thence to Normandy.

The vertue of Chriſten mens prayer.

The death and end of Suanus.

Kyng Egelred in the meane tyme, fearing the ende of this perſecution, ſent his wyfe Emma with his ij. ſonnes Alphred and Edward, to the Duke of Normandy, with whom alſo he ſent the biſhop of Londō. The Danes proceeded ſtill in their fury and rage: and when they had won a great part of weſtſaxonie, they returned againe to London. whereof hearing the Londiners, ſent vnto them certayne great giftes and pledges. At laſt the king about the 35. yeare of his raigne, was chaſed vnto the Iſle of wight, & with a ſecret company, he ſpent there a great part of the winter. And finally, without cattaile or comfort ſailed into Normandy to his wyfe. Swanus beyng aſcertayned thereof, (inflamed with pride) reared exceeding impoſitions vpon the people. And amōg other he required a great ſumme of mony of S. Edmunds lands, which the people there claiming to bee free from kings tributes, denied to pay. For this Suanus entred the territory of S. Edmūd, and waſted, and ſpoyled the countrey, deſpiſing the holy Martyr, & manacing alſo the place of his ſepulture. wherfore the men of that countrey fearing his tiranny, fell to prayer and faſting, ſo that ſhortly after Suanus dyed ſodenly, crying and yelling among his knightes. Some ſay that he was ſtriken with the ſword of S. Edmund, wherof he dyed the 3. day after.

The Abbey of S. Edmundeſburie builded.

In feare wherof, Canutus his ſonne which ruled as king after his father, graunted them the freedome of all their liberty, and moreouer ditched the land of the ſayde Martyr with a deepe ditche, and graunted to the inhabitaunts thereof, great freedomes, quityng them from all taſke or tribute. And after builded a Church ouer the place of his ſepulture, and ordained there an houſe of Monkes, and endued them with rich poſſeſſions. And after ẏ tyme it was vſed, that kings of England when they were crowned, ſent their crownes for an offring to Saint Edmūds ſhrine, and redeemed the ſame agayne afterwardes with a condigne price.

King Egelred returneth into England. Canutus cutteth of the noſes and handes of hys pledges.

Canutus taketh Weſtſaxon.

when king Egelred heard of the death of Suanus, he made prouiſion & returned into england. Of whoſe ſodain comming Canutus being vnprouided fled to Sandwich, And there cutting of the noſes and handes of the pledges, which his father left with him, ſayled into Denmarke: who the next yere returned againe with a great nauy, and landed in the South country. wherfore the eldeſt ſonne of king Egelrede called Edmond Ironſide: made prouiſion with the ayd of Edrike Duke of Mercia to meet him. But Edrike fayning himſelfe ſicke came not, but deceiued him. For as it was after proued, Edrike had promiſed his allegeance to Canutus. By reaſon wherof, Canutus entred ẏ country of weſtſaxon, & forced the people to be ſworn vnto him, and to geue him pledges. In this ſeaſon, king Egelred being at london, was taken with great ſicknes, & there dyed: and was buried in the Northſide of Paules church behind the quire, after he had raigned vnproſperouſly 36. yeares: leauing after him his ſayd eldeſt ſonne Edmond Ironſide, and Alphred, and Edward which were in

Normandy, ſent thither before as is aboue reherſed. This Egelred although he was miſerably impugned and vexed of his enemies, yet he with his counſail gaue forth wholſome lawes. Whereof this is one parcell conteinyng good rules and leſſons, for all Iudges and Iuſtices to learne and follow.

A leſſon for all Iudges and Iuſtices.

Brybes.

Euill Iudges worſe in a common wealth, then bloudy enemies.

Wicked officers.

Agaynſt wicked Iudges.

Omnis iudex iuſtus miſericordiam & iudicium liberet in omnibus, vt inprimis per rectam ſcientiam, dicat emendationẽ ſecundum culpam, & eam tamen admenſuret propter indulgentiam. Quædam culpæ reputantur à bonis iudicibus, ſecundũ rectum emendandæ Quædam per Dei miſericordiam condonãdæ. Iudicia debent eſſe ſine omni haderunga, quod non parcatur diuiti alicui, vel egeno, amico, vel inimico ius publicum recitari. Nihil autem iniuſtius eſt, quàm ſuſceptio munerſi pro iudicio ſubuertendo: Quia munera excæcant corda ſapientum, & ſubuertunt verba iuſtorum, Dominus Ieſus dixit: In quo iudicio iudicaueritis iudicabimini. Timeat omnis iudex ac diligat Deum iudicem ſuum, ne in die iudicij mutus fiat, & humiliatus ante oculos iudicis cuncta videntis. Qui innocentem opprimit, & dimittit noxium pro pecunia, vel amicitia, vel odio, vel quacunq; factione, opprimetur ab omnipotente iudice. Et nullus Dominus, nulla poteſtas, ſtultos aut improbos iudices conſtituãt, quia ſtultus per ignauiam, improbus per cupiditatem vitat, quam didicit veritatem. Grauiùs enim lacerãtur pauperes à prauis iudicibus, quàm à cruentis hoſtibus. Nullus hoſtis acerbior, nulla peſtis efficacior quàm familiaris inimicus. Poteſt aliquoties homo fuga, vel defenſione vitare prauos inimicos. Non ita poſſunt iudices, quoties aduerſus ſubditos malis deſiderijs inflammantur. Sæpe etiam boni iudices habent malos vicarios & miniſtros nephãdos: quorum reatibus ipſi domini conſtringuntur, ſi non eos coerceant, & à rapacitate cohibeant. Quia dominus & miniſter ſeculorum ait: Non ſolùm malè agentes, ſed omnes conſentientes digni ſunt æterna morte. Sæpe etiam praui iudices iudicium peruertunt, vel reſpectant & non finiunt cauſam, donec voluntas eorum impleatur. Et quando iudicant, non opera, ſed munera conſiderant. Impij iudices, iuxta verbum ſapientum, ſicut rapaces lupi veſpere nil reſiduant vſque mane, id eſt, de præſenti ſolum vita cogitant, de futura nihil conſiderant. Malorum præpoſitorum mos eſt, vt quicquid poſſunt, auferant: & vix neceſſarium parum quid relinquant ſuſtentationi. Iracundus iudex non poteſt attendere rectam iudicij ſatiſfactionem. Nam per furoris excœcationem, non perſpicit rectitudinis claritatem. Iuſtum iudicium, vbi non perſona conſideratur. Scriptum eſt: Non attendas perſonam hominis in iudicio, nec pro aliquo facies, vt à vero declines, & iniuſtè iudices. Suſceptio muneris eſt dimiſſio veritatis. Ex hiſtoria bibliothecæ Iornal.

A wicked Iudge depoſed and depriued by the king.

Of this king Egelred I find noted in the booke of Rog. Houed. that he depoſed and depriued from all poſſeſſions, a certayne Iudge or Iuſticer named Walgeatus, the ſonne of one Leonet, for falſe iudgemẽt and other proud doings, whom notwithſtanding he loued aboue all other.

Edmund Ironſide a Saxon, and Canutus a Dane, Kings together in England.

Anno. 1016.

Edmund Ironſide ſunne of Egelred, king.

Canutus ſonne of Swanus, king.

The battayles betweene Edmundus and Canutus.

After the death of Egelred, variaunce fell betwene the Engliſhmen for the election of their king. For the citizens of London with certayne other Lordes: named Edwyne the eldeſt ſonne of Egelred (a yong man of luſty and valiant courage) in martial aduẽtures, both hardy & wiſe, and could very well endure all paynes. Wherfore he was ſurnamed Ironſide. But the more of the Lordes, fauoured Canutus the ſonne of Swanus: eſpecially the Abbots Biſhoppes, and men of the ſpiritualtye which before had ſworne to his father. By meanes whereof, betwene theſe two martial princes were fought many great battels, firſt in Dorſetſhyre, where Canutus was compelled to flie the field. And after that they fought an other battayle in Worceterſhire, ſo ſore, that none could tell, who had the better: but either for wearines or for lacke of day, they departed one from the other, and on the next morow fought againe: but then Canutus was compelled to forſake the field. After this they met in Mercia, & there fought agayne, where Edmond (as ſtoryes ſay) by the treaſon of that falſe Edrick Duke of Mercia (whom he before had receiued to fauour) had the worſe. Thus many great conflicts there were betwene theſe 2. princes. But vpon a ſeaſon, when the hoſts were redy to ioyne, and a certayne time of truce taken before battayle: a knight of the party of Edmond ſtode vp vpon a high place, and ſayd theſe wordes.

A witty oration to ſtay bloud betweene 2. armyes.

Daylye we dye, and none hath the uictorye: And when the knightes be dead on either part, then the Dukes compelled by need ſhall accord: or els they muſt fight alone. And this kingdome is now ſufficient for 2. men, whiche ſome time ſufficed, 7. But if the couetouſneſſe of Lordſhip in theſe twayne be ſo great, that neither can be content to take part and liue by the other, nor the one vnder the other · then let them fight alone, that will be Lordes alone. If all men fight ſtill: at the laſt all men ſhall be ſlayne, and none left to be vnder their Lordſhip, nor able to defend the king that ſhall be, agaynſt ſtraunge enemies and natiõs.

Two k fight ha to hand,

These wordes were ſo well allowed of both the hoſtes and Princes: that both were content to try the quarrel betwene thẽ two onely. Then the place & time was appointed where they both met, in ſight of both hoaſtes. And whẽ either had aſſayd other with ſharpe ſwordes and ſtrokes: firſt by the motion of Canutus (as ſome write) haſtelye they were both agreed, and kiſſed each other to the comfort of both hoſtes. And ſhortly after they agreed vpon partition of ẏ land: & after that, during theyr liues they loued as brethren. Soone after, a Sonne of wicked Edricus, by the minde (as appeared afterward) of his father: eſpied, when king Edmond was at the draught: & with a ſpeare (ſome ſay with a long knife) thruſt him into the fundamẽt, whereof the ſayd Edmond ſhortlye after dyed, after that he had raigned two yeres. He left behinde him two ſonnes, Edmond and Edward, whom Edricke the wicked Duke, after the death of their father, tooke from theyr mother (not knowing yet of the death of Edmond her huſband) & preſẽted them to king Canutus, ſaluting him in theſe wordes: Aue Rex ſolus. Thus Canutus after the death of Edmond Ironſide, was king alone of the whole realme of englãd. And afterward by the aduiſe of his counſayle, he ſent the foreſayd ſonnes of Edmond Irõſide, to his brother Swanus king of Sueueland to be ſlayne: who abhorring that deed, ſent them to Salomon king of Hũgary, where Edmond being maried to the kings daughter dyed. Edward was maried to Agatha daughter of his brother Henry the 4. Emperour.

The wic murther of king Edmund,

Two so of Edm Yronſide,

Flattery fidelitie vntruth English Lordes,

When Canutus was ſtabliſhed in the kingdom, he called a parliament at London, where (among other things there debated) it was propounded to the biſhops, Barõs, and Lordes of the parliament there preſent, whether that in the compoſitiõ made betwene Edmund and Canutus, any ſpeciall remembraunce was made for the children, or brethren of Edmund, for any partition of any part of the land. Whereunto the engliſh Lordes falſly flatteryng with the foraine kyng, and ſpeaking againſt their own myndes, as alſo againſt their natiue countrey, aunſwered and ſayd nay. Affirming moreouer with an oth (for the kings pleaſure) that they to ẏ vttermoſt of their powers, would put of the bloud of Edmund, in all that they might. By reaſon of which anſwer and promiſe, they thought (many of thẽ) to haue purchaſed with the king great fauour. But by the iuſt retribution of God, it chaunced farre otherwiſe. For many of them, or the moſt part (ſuch eſpecially as Canutus did perceiue to be ſworne before tyme to Edmund, & his heyres: and alſo conſidering that they were natiue engliſhmen) he miſtruſted and diſdained euer after. In ſo much, that ſome he exiled, a great ſort he beheaded, & ſome by Gods puniſhment died ſodainly. Among whom wicked Edricke alſo the traytour (although with hys ſugred wordes he continued a while in the kings fauour) at lẽgth eſcaped not condigne reward for his deceiuable dealyng. For (as the hiſtory of Iornalẽſis recordeth) as the king was in his palace beyond Thames, this Edricke (beyng belike accuſed, or els ſuſpected of the king before) comming vnto him, began to reckon vp his benefites & labours beſtowed for his ſake. Firſt, in forſaking and betraying Egelred, then in ſlaying king Edmund his ſonne, with many ſuch other deedes moe, which all for his ſake he had done. Well ſaith the king, thou haſt here rightly iudged thy ſelfe, and worthily thou ſhalt dye, for ſlaying thy naturall Prince, & my ſworne brother. And ſo commaunded him to be bound immediatly hand and foote, & to be throwen into Thames. Some ſtories ſay, that when he had ſaluted the king with Aue rex ſolus, and ſhewed him the ſlaying of Edmund, Canutus (promiſing that he would make him therfore higher then all the lordes of the realme) commaunded his head to be ſtriken off, & to be ſet vpon London bridge, and hys body to be caſt in the towne ditche. And thus with ſhame ended he his wretched life, as al they commonly do, which with like diſſimulatiõ ſeeke the deſtruction of their Prince and of their countrey.

False v faythfulnes and vnco ſtant mu bilitie in Engliſhe Lordes we rewarded.

Duke Edrike the falſe trayto and murtherer of hi king, worthely rewarded for hys wicked falſhode.

The end of pernicious traytours.

The brother of Edmund Yronſide, baniſhed, reconciled, and laſtly ſlayne.

Edmund and Edward two ſonnes of

This Canutus (ſhortlye after the death of king Edmond, by the counſayle of Edricke) exiled Edmond, being brother to king Edmund, called Rex ruſticorum: the king of Choorles. But afterward, he was reconciled agayne to the kinges fauour: and laſtly ſlayne by certayne of the Kinges Secretaryes or Seruauntes. Alſo, through the counſayle of the ſayd Edricke, and of Emma his wife he ſent the two Sonnes of Edmond Ironſide (Edmond

and

Edmund Yronſide ſent out to be ſlayne.

and Edward) to his brother Suanus king of Denmark, to be ſlaine, as is aboue ſayd.

Canutus K. of Denmarke. Canutus maryeth Emma, wife before of Egelred. Lawes of K. Edgar.

In this meane time, Suanus king of Denmarke, brother to Canutus, died. wherfore that land fel to Canutus: which anon after ſailed thether, and toke thereof poſſeſſion. And after he had ſet it in an order, he retourned into England, and maried Emma, late wife before of Egelred: and by her had a ſōne called Herdeknight or Hardeknoutus. Moreouer this Canutus aſſembled a Parliament at Oxford: where it was agreed, that Engliſhmen & Danes ſhould holde the lawes made by king Edgar, becauſe they were thought ſo good & reſonable aboue any other lawes.

Thus the Danes being in England, began by little & little to be Chriſten men. And Canutus went to Rome, & ſo returning againe to England, gouerned that lande the ſpace of 20. yeares, leauing after him two ſonnes, Harold & Hardeknoutus: which Hardeknoutus was made king of Denmarke in his fathers time.

Harold Harefoot K. of Englād a Dane.

Harold (called Harefoote, for his deliuernes and ſwiftnes) ſonne to Canutus by Elgina his firſt wife: began his raigne ouer England, an. 1039. Of him is little left in memory, for he raigned but 4. yeres, ſaue that he baniſhed his ſtepmother Emma, & tooke her goods & iewels from her.

Anno. 1039.

Hardeknout king laſt of the Danes that reigned in England. Erle Godwyn.

The miſerable wretchednes of Godwyn agaynſt the Normands. The Normandes tythed: and yet the tenthes retithed agayn. Alfredus ſonne of Egelred right heyre of the crowne, tormented with cruell death. The cauſe expended, why God ſuffered this land to be conquered by the Normannes. Example of Gods righteous iudgement.

Hardeknoutus, being king of Denmarke, and ſecond ſonne to Canutus by his laſt wife Emma, was next King of England. In the time of theſe Daniſh kings, there was one Godwyn an earle in England, which had bene before in great fauour with Canutus, for his actes done in Denmarke againſt the Northwegians: and afterward maryed yͤ ſiſter (ſome ſay the daughter) of Canutus. This Godwyn was of a cruell and ſubtill wit, as he declared no leſſe by the two ſonnes of king Egelred: For when theſe two aforeſaid (whoſe names were Alfride, and Edward) came from Normādie into England, to viſit their mother Emma, and brought wt them a great company of Normands: this Godwine (hauing a daughter called Godith, whome he thought to marry to Edward, & ſet him vp to be King, to bring his purpoſe about) vſed this practiſe: yͭ is, to perſwade king Hardeknout, & the Lordes not to ſuffer thoſe Normandes to be within the realme for ieopardie, but rather to puniſh them for example. By which meanes he gat authoritie to order the matter himſelfe: wherefore he mette them on Guild downe, and there moſt wretchedly murthered, or rather Martyred the moſt number of the Normandes, and that innocently. For as Swanus before had tithed the Monkes of Canterburie: ſo hee with the cruell cōpany of engliſh ſoldiors, ſlew ix. of the ſaide Normands and ſaued the x. And yet paſſing the furie of Swanus (as not contented with that tiranny) he tithed againe the ſayde tithe, and ſlew euery x. knight, and that by cruel tormēt, as winding their guts out of their bodies, as writeth Ranulphus. And among other, put out the eyes of the elder brother Alfridus, and ſent him to an Abbey of Elie: where he being fed wyth breade and water, endured not long after. Of ſome writers it was recorded, that he was there ſlayne wyth the forenamed torment, and Edward was conueied by ſome other to his mother. who fearing the treaſon of Godwine, ſent him ſoone ouer the ſea to Normandy againe. This cruell facte of Godwine and his men againſt the innocent Normandes, whether it came of himſelfe, or of the kings ſetting on: ſeemeth to me to be the cauſe, why the iuſtice of God, did ſhortly after reuenge the quarell of theſe Normands, in conquering & ſubduing the engliſh nation by william Conqueror, and the Normandes which came with hym. For ſo iuſt and right it was, that as the Normandes comming with a naturall Engliſh Prince, were murthered of Engliſh men: ſo afterwarde the Engliſhe men ſhoulde be ſlaine and conquered by the Normandes, comming with a forraine King being none of their naturall countrey.

The death of K. Hardeknout.

Then it followeth in the ſtorie that this king Canute or Hardeknout: when he had reigned ij. yeres (being mery at Lambeth) ſodainly was ſtriken dombe, & fell downe to the ground, and within 8. daies after died, without iſſue of his body. who was the laſt that raigned in England of the bloud of the Danes.

The ſonnes of Erle Godwyn.

This foreſaid Godwine, had by the daughter of Canutus his wife, but one ſonne which was drowned. Of hys ſeconde wife he receiued vj. ſonnes, to wit, Suanus, Harold, Toſtius, wilmotus, Sirthe, or Surth, and Leofricus, with one daughter called Goditha, which after was maried to king Edward the Confeſſor.

The ſtory of Alfred repeated.

Taken out of the engliſh ſtory or chronicle compiled of certayne engliſhe Clerkes.

Concerning the ſtory of this Alfred, I find it ſomthing otherwiſe reported in our engliſh chronicles: that it ſhuld be after the death of Hardeknout: foraſmuch as the Earles & Barons after his death, aſſembled and made a councell, that neuer after, any of the Danes bloud ſhould be king of England, for the deſpite that they had done to engliſh mē. For euermore before, if the Engliſh men and the Danes, had happened to mete vpō a bridge, the engliſh men ſhuld not ſo hardy to moue a foote, but ſtande ſtill, till the Dane were paſſed forth. And moreouer, if the Engliſh men had not bowed downe their heades to doe reuerence vnto the Danes, they ſhould haue bene beaten and defiled. For the which deſpites and villanie, they were driuen out of the land after the death of Hardeknout, for they had no Lorde that might maintaine them. And after this maner auoided the Danes England, that they neuer came againe.

The Erles and Barons, by their common aſſent and counſaile: ſent vnto Normandy for theſe two brethren, Alphred and Edward: intending to crowne Alphred the elder brother, & to make him king of England. And to thys the Earles and Barons made their othe: but the Earle Godwine of weſtſaxe (falſly and traiterouſly) thought to ſlea theſe two brethren, aſſone as they came into Englād, to that intēt to make Harold his ſonne king: which ſonne he had by his wife Hardeknoutes daughter that was a Dane. And ſo this Godwine went priuily to Southampton, to meete there with the two brethren at their landing. And thus it fell, that the meſſengers that went (ſaith mine author) into Normandie, found but onely Alphred the elder brother. For Edward his younger brother was gone to Hungarie, to ſpeake wyth his coſin the outlaw, which was Edward Ironſides ſonne.

Alfred or Alured ſonne of K. Egelred.

When Alfrede had heard theſe meſſengers and perceiued their tidings: he thanked God, and in all haſt ſped him to England, arriuing at Southampton. There, Godwin the falſe traitor (hauing knowledge of his comming) welcommed & receaued him with much ioy: pretending to lead him vnto London, where the Barons waited for to make him king. And ſo they together paſſed forth towarde London. But when they came to Guild downe, the traitor cōmanded all his men to ſlea all that were in Alphredes cōpany, which came wt him from Normandie. And after that to take Alphrede, & to lead him into the Iſle of Ely, where they ſhuld put out both his eyes: and ſo they did. For they ſlew all the company that were there, to the number of xij. Gentlemen, which came wt Alfrede from Normandie: and after that they tooke Alphrede, and in the Iſle of Ely they executed their commiſſiō. That done, they opened his body, tooke out his bowels, ſet a ſtake into the grounde, and faſtened an end of his bowels therunto, & with needles of yron they pricked his tēder body, therby cauſing him to go about the ſtake, till that all his bowels were drawen out. And ſo died this innocent Alphred or Alured, being the right heire of the crowne: through treaſon of wicked Godwyne. when the Lordes of Englande heard thereof, and how Alphred, that ſhould haue ben their king, was put to death through the falſe traitor Godwyne, they were wonderous wroth: and ſware betwene God and them, that he ſhould die a worſe death then did Edrith which betrayed his Lord Edmund Ironſide: and wold immediatly haue put him to death, but that the Traitour fledde thence into Denmarke: and there helde him iiij. yeares and more, and loſt all his landes in England.

Ex hiſtoria ignoti autoris.

An other Latin ſtory I haue (bearing no name) which ſaith that this comming in of Alphred & the Normandes: was in the time of Harold Canutus ſōne. And how Godwyne (after he pretended great amitie to them) ſodenly in the night came vpon them at Gilford: And after he had tithed the Normandes: ſent Alfrede to Harold at London, who ſent him to the Iſle of Ely, and cauſed his eyes to be put out,

Gunilda wife to Henricus the Emperour.

And thus much of Canutus: and of his ſonnes, Harold and Hardecanutus. Beſides theſe ij. ſonnes Canutus had alſo a daughter named Gunilda: maried to Henricus the Emperour. Of whome ſome write, that ſhe being accuſed to the emperor of ſpouſebrech, and hauing no champion or Knight that woulde fight for her (after the maner of that cōtrey) for trial of her cauſe: a certaine litle dwarf or boy, whom ſhe brought with her out of England (ſtirred vp of God) fought in her cauſe againſt a mighty bigge Germain of a monſtrous greatneſſe: which ſelie dwarfe, cutting by chaūce the ſinews of his leg, after ſtroke him to the groūd, and ſo cut of his head, and ſaued the life of the Queene, if it be true that Gulielmus and Fabianus reporteth.

Canutus went to Rome. The hoſpitall builde at Rome for Engliſh pilgrimes. Rome ſhote confirmed by Canutus.

The Cathedral Churche of Wincheſt. inritched by Canutus.

S. Benets in Norfolke builded.

Of this Canutus it is ſtoried, that he folowing muche the ſuperſtition of Achelnotus Archbiſhop of Cant. went on pilgrimage to Rome: and there founded an hoſpital for Engliſh pilgrimes. He gaue the Pope pretious gifts, and burdened the land with an yerely tribute called the Rome ſhote: he ſhrined the body of Berinus, & gaue great lands and ornaments to the Cathedrall Churche of wincheſter: he builded S. Benets in Northfolk, which was before an

Hermitage. Alſo S. Edmundes bury, which king Ethelſtane before ordeined for a Colledge of Prieſts, he turned to an Abbey of monkes of S. Benets order.

Bury Abbey turned to Monkes.

Henricus Archdeacon of Huntyngton, Lib. 6. maketh mention of thys Canutus, as doeth alſo Polidorus, Lib. 7. That he after his comming from Rome, walking vppon a time by the porte of Southhampton. (But as Polydorus ſayeth) and Fabian affirmeth the ſame, that it was by Thames ſide at London. when his flatterers comming about him, began to exalt him vp with high wordes, calling him a king of all kings (moſt mighty) who had vnder his ſubiection both the people, the land, and alſo the ſea. Canutus reuoluing this matter in his minde (whether for pride of his heart exalted, or whether to trie and refell their flattering words) cõmaunded his chaire of eſtate to be brought to the ſea ſide, at what time it ſhould begin to flowe. Polydore ſayth, that no ſeate was brought, but ſitting vpon his garments being folded together vnder him: there charged and commaunded the floudes ariſing & comming toward his feete, that they ſhoulde not touch neither him, nor his clothes. But the water keeping his ordinary courſe, came nearer and nerer: Firſt to his feete, and ſo growing higher began to waſh him welfauoredly. wherewith the king abaſhed & partly alſo afeard ſtarte backe: and looking to his Lordes: Loe (ſayth he) ye call me ſuch a mighty king & yet can I not commaunde backe this litle water to ſtay at my worde, but it is ready to drowne me. wherfore all earthly kings may know, that all their powers be but vaine: and that none is worthy to haue the name of a king, but he alone: which hath all things ſubiect to the power & authoritie of his word: which is the Lord of heauen & earth: the creatour aboue of all thinges: the father of our Chriſt and Lorde: who with him for euer is to be glorified: him let vs worſhip and extoll for our king for euer. After this (as hiſtories witnes) he neuer ſuffred the crowne to come vpon his head, but went to wincheſter (or as ſome ſay, to Canterbury, but both thoſe may be true) for his going to Cãterbury, was to acknowledge yͭ there was a Lorde much higher, & of more power then he himſelfe was, and therewithal to render vp his crowne for euer. with that, Egelnothes Archbyſhop of Canterbury: informed him of the image of the Crucifix before mẽtioned, which diſſolued the matter betweene maried Prieſts and life of Monkes, and did many other myracles moe, being then at wincheſter. wherewith the King prouoked to go to wincheſter to the rode, there reſigned vp hys regall Crowne, and made the rode king ouer all the land.

Flatterers and clawbackes about Princes.

Canutus chargeth the ſea to ſtand backe, but it would not be.

A leſſon notable for kinges and Princes.

God onely the king of all kings and Lord of Lordes.

The kinges crowne put on a roode.

Here is alſo to be noted in this Canutus, that although (as is ſaid) he cõdeſcended in the beginning of his raigne, vpon king Edgares lawes: yet after in proces of time, hee ſet forth peculiar lawes of his own. Among which, diuers there be that concerne as well cauſes Eccleſiaſticall, as alſo temporal. whereby it may appeare, that the gouernmẽt of ſpirituall matters not to depende then of the Biſhop of Rome: but to appertaine to the lawfull authoritie of the temporall Prince, no leſſe then of matters and cauſes temporall. As for example by theſe ordinaunces of the foreſayd Canutus, may be well conſidered as here folowe. Pecunia ſepulturæ iuſtum eſt vt aperta terra reddatur. Si aliquód corpus a ſua parochia deferatur in aliam, pecunia ſepulturæ. &c. In Engliſh.

Kinges of England haue as much right in cauſes ſpirituall as temporall.

Certaine lawes of K. Canutus for the ordering of matters eccleſiaſticall.

It is mete and right that in funerals, money be geuen for opening the earth.

If any body, or corſe, be caried from his owne Pariſhe into an other: the money of the buriall ſhal pertaine by the law to his owne Pariſh Church.

All ordinaunces and ceremonies of God, let them be obſerued, as neede in all things requireth.

Vppon the Sonday, we forbid all publique fayres or markets, all Synodes or conuenticles, huntinges, or any ſuch ſeculare actions, to be exerciſed, vnleſſe vrgent neceſſitie compell therunto.

Let euery Chriſtẽ man prepare himſelf thriſe a yere to approche to the receauing of the Lords body: ſo to eate the ſame as not to his iudgemẽt, but to his wholſome remedy.

If a miniſter of the altare doe kill any man, or haue intangled himſelfe in any notorious crime, let him be depriued both from his order and dignitie.

If any maried woman (her huſband being aliue) haue committed adultery & be proued with the ſame: to her opẽ ſhame in the world, let her haue her noſe and eares cut of.

Adultreſſe woman to looſe their eares and noſes.

Let euery widow after the death of her huſband: ſo remaine ſole xij. monethes: or if ſhee marrye, let her looſe her ioynter.

And heere an ende of the Daniſh kyngs. Nowe to the Engliſh kings againe, whoſe right line cõmeth in againe in Edward here following.

King Edward called the Confeſſor.

For ſo much as God of his mercye and prouidence, who is onely the maker of heires: thought it ſo good, after the wofull captiuitie of this Engliſhe nation, to graunt now ſome reſpite of deliuerance, in taking away the Daniſh kings without any iſſue left behind them: who reigning here in Englãd, kept the engliſh people in miſerable ſubiection, about the ſpace of xxviij. yeares, and that from their firſte landing in the time of King Brightricus: waſting and vexing this land, the terme of cc. lv. yeres: Now their tiranny here comming to an ende, the next election & right of the crowne fell (as appertained) to Edwarde the yonger ſonne of king Egelred and Emma, a meere Engliſhman: who had bene now long baniſhed in Normandy, as is aboue declared. A man of gentle and ſoft ſpirite: more appliable to other mens cõſailes, then able to truſt to his owne: of nature & condition ſo geuen from al warre and bloudſhed: that being in his baniſhment, he wiſhed rather ſo to continue all his life long in that priuate eſtate, then by warre or bloudſhed to aſpire to any kingdome. This Edward, after the death of Canutus the ſeconde, or Hardecanute, being ſent for of the Lordes into Normãdie to take poſſeſſion of the Realme, although he ſomething miſtruſted the vnconſtant and fickle heads of Engliſhmẽ (yet hauing ſufficient pledges laid for him in Normandie) came ouer, with a few Normands accompanied: and not long after was crowned at wincheſter. an. 1043. by Edſius then Archbiſhop of Cant. And not long after that, he maried Goditha, or Editha daughter of Earle Godwyne: whome he entreated after ſuch ſort, that he neither put her from his bed, nor yet delt with her fleſhly. whether it were for hate of her kin (as moſt like it was) or for loue of chaſtitie, it remaineth vncertaine. But moſt writers agree, yͭ he continued his lyfe without offence with women: for the which he is highly exalted among our ſtory writers and called holy king Edwarde. After he had thus taken vpon him the gouernement of the realme, he guided the ſame wͭ much wiſedome and iuſtice, the ſpace of 24. yeres, lacking two monethes: from whome iſſued (as out of a fountaine) much godlineſſe, mercy, pitie, and liberalitie towarde the poore: gentlenes and iuſtice toward all men: and in all honeſt life he gaue a vertuous example to his people. He diſcharged the Engliſhmen of the great tribute called Danegelt, which before time was yerely leuied to the great impoueriſhing of the people. Hee ſubdued the Scottes and welſhmen, which in their borders began to rebell againſt him. In much peace he continued his reigne, hauing no forreine enemie to aſſault him: Albeit, as ſome Chronicles do ſhewe, certaine Danes and Norgwaines there were, which entended to ſet vpon Englande: But as they were taking ſhipping, there was brought to them firſt one bowle, then an other, of meede or methe, to drinke vpon a bon viage. Thus one cup comming after an other: after drinke came dronkennes, after dronkennes folowed iangling, of iangling came ſtryfe: and ſtrife turned vnto ſtripes. whereby many were ſlayne, and the other returned to their home agayne. And thus the mercifull prouidence of the Lord diſpatched that iourny.

{ Anno. 1043. }

King Edward the confeſſour.

England afflicted by the Danes the ſpace of 255. yeares.

K. Edward crowned.

Holy king Edward a virgine in maryage.

Methe in Greeke ſignifieth dronkennes.

In the time of this Edward: Emma his mother, was accuſed to be familiar with Alwyn the Byſhop of wincheſter: vpon which accuſation (by counſayle of Earle Godwyn) he tooke from her many of her iewels, and cauſed her to be kept ſomedele more ſtraightly in yͤ Abby of warwel, and the Byſhop committed to the examination of the clergy. Polydore ſayth, they were both in priſon, at wincheſter: where ſhe ſorrowing the defame both of her ſelfe and of the Byſhop, and truſting vpon her conſcience, deſireth them of iuſtice, offering her ſelfe ready to abide any lawfull triall: yea although it were with the ſharpeſt.

Then diuers of the Byſhops made labour to the king for thẽ both, and had obtayned, had not Robert thẽ Archbiſhop of Cant. ſtopped the ſute. who not well contented with their labour ſayd vnto them: My brethren how dare ye defend her which is no woman but a beaſt? ſhe hath defamed her owne ſonne the king, and taken her lecherous leman the Byſhop. And if it be ſo, that the woman will purge the prieſt, who ſhall then purge the woman that is accuſed to be conſenting to the death of her ſonne Alphred: and procured venim to the poyſonyng of her ſonne Edward? But whether ſhe be giltie or giltles: if ſhe will goe barefooted for her ſelf foure ſteps, and for the Biſhop fiue, continually vpon ix. plough ſhares fire hote: then if ſhe eſcape harmeles, he ſhalbe aſſoyled of this challenge and ſhe alſo.

Accuſation of the Archbiſh. againſt Emma, the kinges mother.

To this ſhe graunted, the day was appointed at which day, the king and a great part of his nobles were preſent, except onely Robert the Archbiſhop. This Robert had

bene

Falſe accuſation purged by hote yron.

A ſtraunge thing if it were true, and without falſe conueyance.

bene a monke of a houſe in Normandie, & an helper of the king in his exile: and ſo by the ſēding for of the king, came ouer and was made firſt Biſhop of London, after Archbiſhop of Cant. Then was ſhe led blindfield vnto the place betwene two men, where the yrons lay brenning hot, and paſſed the ix. ſhares vnhurt. At laſt ſayde ſhee, good Lorde when ſhal I come to the place of my purgation. Whē they then opened her eyes, and ſhee ſawe that ſhee was paſt the paine, ſhe kneeled downe geuing God thankes.

Then the king repented (ſayeth the ſtory) and reſtored vnto her, that he had before taken from her, and aſked her forgeuenes. But the Archbyſhop fled into Normandie.

Great ſnow and mortalitie in England.

Neare about this time, about the x. yere of his raigne: fell paſſing great ſnow, from the beginning of Ianuary, to the 17. day of Marche. After which inſued a great mortalitie of men, morrian of cattel, & by lightning the corne was wonderfully blaſted and waſted.

Variaunce betweene the king and Godwyn.

Godwyn with hys v. ſonnes outlawed. Godwyn reconciled to the king vpon pledges geuen.

Not lōg after this: a certaine Earle of Bologne, who had married king Edwardes ſiſter, came into Englande: through the occaſion of whom: when execution ſhould be done vpon the citizens of Douer, for a fray betwene them, and the Earles men: variance happened betweene Kyng Edward and Earle Godwyne. Who perceauing that he could not wiſtand the kings malice, (although he gathered a great company to worke therein what he could) fled into Flanders, & was outlawed with his 5. ſonnes. King Edward repudiated his wife, the daughter of the ſayde Godwine: but the ſecond yere after, by mediators he was recōciled to the king againe, and called from baniſhment: And for his good a bearing, he gaue for pledges his two ſōnes, Byornon, and Toſtius, which were ſent to the Duke of Normandy there to be kept.

William D. of Normandy came into England to king Edward.

During the time of the outlawry of Godwyn: William Baſtard Duke of Normandy, came with a goodly company into England to ſee king Edwarde, & was honorably receaued. To whom the king made great cheare, & at hys returne inriched him with great gifts and pleaſures. And there (as ſome wryte) made promiſe to him, that if he died without iſſue, the ſaid William ſhould ſucceede him in the kingdome of England.

Marianus Scotus, whē he liued.

The end and death of vngodly Godwyn.

Ex Iorna. Malmeſberienſi. Polydor. Fabiano & alijs.

Gods iuſt puniſhment vpon Godwyn, for the murthering of Alphred. Periurie plagued.

In this kinges raigne liued Marianus Scotus the ſtory writer. As concerning the end of erle Godwin, yͤ cruell murderer of Alphred, and of the Normandes: although diuers hiſtories diuerſly do vary: yet in this the moſt part do agree, that as he ſate at the table with king Edward at Winſor, it happened one of the cupbearers one of erl Godwins ſonnes to ſtumble and recouer againe, ſo that he did ſhed none of the drinke: wherat Godwin laughed, & ſayd, howe the one brother had ſuſtained the other. With whych wordes the King calling to minde his brothers death that was ſlaine by Godwine: beheld the erle (ſaying) ſo ſhould my brother Alphred haue holpē me, had not Godwin ben. Godwine then fearing the kinges diſpleaſure to be newly kindled, after many words in excuſing himſelfe, ſayde: So mought I ſafely ſwalow this morſel of bread as I am giltles of the deede. But aſſone as hee had receiued the bread, forthwith he was choked. Then the king commanded him to be drawne from the table, & ſo was cōueyed by Harolde his ſonne to Wincheſter, and there buried.

Edward the outlawe ſonne of Edmund Yronſide ſenr for to England.

Anno. 1056.

The death of Edward, ſonne of Edmond Yronſide.

William Duke of Normandy admitted heyre to the crowne.

About the 13. yere of this kings reigne, the ſayde King Edward ſent Aldred biſhop of Worceter to the Emperour Henricus the 4. praying him, that he would ſend to yͤ king of Hungary, that his coſin Edward ſonne of Edmund Ironſide, might come to England: for ſo much as he intended to make him King after him, which was called Edward outlawe. The which requeſt was fulfilled, ſo that he came into Englande with his wife Agatha, and with hys children, to witte, Edgar Adeling, Margarete, and Chriſtina. But the yeare after his returne into the realme, thys Edwarde deceaſed at London, and was buryed at Weſtminſter: or as Iornalenſis ſayeth, at Paules church in London. After whoſe deceaſe, the King then receaued Edgar Adeling his ſonne, as his owne childe: thinking to make him his heire. But fearing partly the vnconſtant mutabilitie of the Engliſhmen, partly the pride and malice of Harold the ſonne of Godwine, & of other (perceauing therby, that he could not bring that his purpoſe ſo wel to paſſe) directed ſolemne Embaſſadors vnto Williā Duke of Normandy, his kinſman: admitting & aſſigning him to be hys lawfull heire, next to ſucceede after him to the crowne.

The enuy and diſcorde of brethren.

Vngracious children of a wicked father.

After the death of Godwin, Harolde his ſonne waxed ſo in the kings fauour: that he ruled the moſte and greateſt cauſes of the realme, and was lieſetenant of the kings army: who with his brother Toſton or Toſtius (ſent by the king againſt the Welchmen) ſubdued their rebellion. But afterward, ſuch enuie grewe betwene theſe ij. brethren, for that Toſtius ſaw his brother Harold ſo greatly aduanced in the kings fauour, that at Herford, the ſaid Toſtius ſlew all his brothers men. Whom when he had cut in pieces, he poudered their quarters and mangled parts, in barrels of ſalt, vinegre, wine, and other liquors. That done, he made a power againſt his brother Harold (being king) with the aide of certaine Danes and Norgaines, and fought a battail with him in the North, as after ſhal follow (God willing) to be ſeene. So vngracious were theſe wicked children of Erle Godwin: that if they had ſene any faire manſion or maner place, they woulde ſlay the owner thereof, withall his kinrede, and enter the poſſeſſion thereof themſelues.

A place of Polydorus Virg. examined.

Harold taken of the Normands.

Harold promiſeth Duke William to marry hys daughter, and to keepe the realme for hys behoofe.

At length it came in the minde of this Harolde to ſaile ouer the ſea (as Polydore ſayth) into Normandie to ſee hys brother Wilnotus, as alſo his coſin Hacus, whom yͤ king had ſent thither to be kept for pledges, as yet heard before. Polydore ſayth theſe pledges were Toſto & Byornon, but that can not be, for Toſtius was then in England. But as Henricus Archdeacon of Huntington ſayeth, his iourney was into Flāders, as ſemeth more like. For it is not to be thought, that Harold who was a doer in yͤ cruell murther of Alphred, and of the Normanes: wold venter into Normandy, & therefore more like it is, that his ſailing was into Flaunders. But as the ſtorie procedeth, he being in the courſe of his ſailing, was weather driuen by tempeſt into the prouince of Pountith, where he was taken as a priſoner, and ſent to Duke William of Normandy. To whome he was made to ſweare, that he in time following ſhoulde marry his daughter: and that after the death of King Edward, he ſhould kepe the land of Englande to his behoue, according to the will & minde of Edward (after ſome writers) and ſo to liue in great honor & dignity next vnto him in the realme. This promiſe faithfully made to the Duke, Harold returneth into Englād (with his coſin Hacus the ſonne of his brother Suanus being deliuered vnto him.) But Wilnotus brother of Harold, the duke kepeth ſtil for performance of the couenāts. Thus Herold I ſay, returning home, ſheweth yͤ king al that he had done in the foreſayde matters. Wherewith the King was well contented. Wherby it may be gathered, that king Edward was right wel willing, that Duke William ſhould reigne after hym, and alſo ſemeth not vnlike, but that he had geuen him his promiſe therunto before.

Erle Leofricus euer true and faythfull to hys prince.

How Couentry was made free.

Godina wiſe to Leofricus.

The Abby of Couentry builded by Leofricus.

Among all that were true and truſty to king Edward of the engliſh nobility, none had like commendatiō as had Leofricus erle of Mercia and of Cheſter. This Leofricus purchaſed many great liberties for the towne of Couētry, and made it free of all maner things, except onely of horſe. Which fredom there was obtained by meanes of his wife Godina, by riding (as the fame goeth) after a ſtrāge maner through the towne. This Leofricus with his wife Godina, builded alſo the abbey of Couentrie, & indued the ſame with great lands and riches.

Edward the outlaw.

Edgar Edeling.

Margaret Queene of Scottes.

Matilde Queene of England.

Dauid King of Scots.

You hearde a little before, of the comming ouer of Edward called the outlaw, ſonne of king Edmund Ironſid: whom king Edward had purpoſed to haue made king after him. But ſone after his comming ouer, he deceaſed at London. This Edwarde had by his wife Agatha, a ſonne & a daughter called Edgar Adelyng, & Margaret. Which Margaret being maried afterward to the king of Scots, was the mother of Matild or Maude Quene of England and of Dauid king of Scots. &c.

The death of King Edward.

Weſtminſter repayred.

This vertuous & bleſſed king Edwarde, after he had reigned 23. yeres, and 7. moneths, died and was buried in the monaſtery of Weſtminſter, which he had greatly augmented & repaired, but afterward was more inlarged after this form which it hath now, by Henry the third, ſōne of king Iohn.

Guliel. Malmeſber.

Ex Iornalen.

Ex Hiſtoria Richardi. 2. iuſſu compoſita.

They that write the hiſtorie of this King, heere make mention of a dreame or reuelation that ſhoulde be ſhewed to him in time of his ſicknes: how, that becauſe the peeres & biſhops of the realme were ſeruantes not of God, but of the deuil: God wold geue this realm to the hād of others. And the king deſired vtterannce to be geuen him, that hee might declare the ſame to the people, whereby they might repent. It was anſwered againe, that neither would they ſo do, or yet if they did, it ſhould be geuen to an other people. But becauſe it is a dreame, I let it paſſe.

The lawes of K. Edward.

Diuers lawes were before in diuers countreis of this realme vſed, as the lawe firſt of Dunuallo Molmucius, wͭ the lawes of Mercia called Mercenelega: then the lawes of Weſtſaxone kinges, as of Iue, Offa, Alfred, &c. whyche was called Weſtſaxenelaga. The thirde were the lawes of Canutus & of Danes called Danelaga. Of all theſe lawes which before were diuerſly in certain particuler countreis vſed and receiued: this Edward compiled one vniuerſal & cōmō law for al people through the whole realm, which were called K. Edwardes lawes: which lawes being gathered out of the beſt and chiefeſt of the other lawes, were ſo iuſt, ſo equall, and ſo ſeruing the publike profite & weale of all eſtates: that mine authors ſay: the people long after did rebell againſt their heads and rulers, to haue the ſame lawes againe (being taken from them) and yet coulde not obtaine them.

Ex Mathæo pariensi.
William Conquerour ſworne to K. Edwardes lawes, yet went from it.

Furthermore, I read and find in Math. Pariſ. that when Will. Conquerour at his comming in, did ſweare to vſe & practiſe the ſame good lawes of Edwarde, for the common lawes of this realme: afterward (being eſtabliſhed in his kingdome) he forſwore himſelfe, & placed his owne lawes in their rowme, much worſe and obſcurer then the other were. &c.

Notwithſtanding among the ſaid lawes of Edward, and in the firſt chapter and beginning therof, this I finde among the auncient recordes of the Guildhal in London. The office of a King, with ſuch other appurtenaunces as belong to the realme of Britaine: ſet forth and deſcribed in the latine ſtile, which I thought here not vnmete to be expreſſed in the Engliſh tong, for them that vnderſtande no Latine. The tenor and meaning wherof thus followeth.

¶ *De iure & appendijs regni Britanniæ, & quod ſit officium Regis.*

REx autem quia vicarius ſummi Regis eſt, ad hoc eſt conſtitutus, vt regnum terrenum & populum domini, & ſuper omnia ſanctam eius veneretur eccleſiam & regat, & ab iniurioſis defendat, & maleficos ab ea auellat & deſtruat, & penitus diſperdat. Quod niſi fecerit, nomen regis non in eo conſtabit. Verùm, Papa Ioanne teſtante, nomen regis perdit, cui Pipinus & Carolus filius eius nec dum reges, ſed principes ſub rege Francorum ſtultò ſcripſerunt quærentes: ſi ita permanere deberent Francorum reges, ſolo regio nomine contenti. A quo reſponſum eſt, illos decet vocare reges, qui vigilanter defendunt, & regunt Eccleſiam Dei & populum eius, &c. In Engliſh thus.

Ex libro Reg. antiquorum in prætorio Londinenſi.
The office of a king deſcribed in the lawes of K. Edward.

A king the vicare of God in earth.

The king becauſe he is the vicar of the hieſt king, is appointed for this purpoſe: to rule the earthly kingdom, and the lords people, and aboue al things, to reuerence his holy church: to gouerne it, and to defende it from iniuries: to plucke away wicked doers, and vtterly to deſtroye them. Which vnleſſe he doe, the name of a king agreeth not vnto him, but he loſeth the name of a King, as witneſſeth Pope Iohn: to the which Pope, Pipinus & Carolus his ſonne (being not yet kings but princes vnder the French King being not very wiſe) did write, demaunding this queſtion, whither the kings of France ought ſo to continue hauing but onely the name of a king. Vnto whome Pope Iohn anſwereth againe, that it was conuenient to cal thē kings which vigilātly do defend and gouerne the church of God and his people, following the ſaying of King Dauid the Pſalmograph. He ſhal not dwel in my houſe which worketh pride. &c. Moreouer, the king by right & by his office, ought to defend & conſerue fully & wholy in all ampleneſſe wᵗout diminution, all the lands, honors, dignities, rights, and liberties of the crowne of his kingdome. And further to reduce into their priſtine ſtate, all ſuche thinges as haue bene diſperſed, waſted and loſt, which appertaine to hys kingdome. Alſo the whole and vniuerſall lande wyth all Iſelands about the ſame vnto Norwey and Denmarke, be appertaining to the crowne of his kingdome, and be of the appurtenances and dignitie of the King: making one monarchie and one kingdome, which ſomtime was called the kingdom of Britains, and now the kingdom of England: ſuch bonds and limites as is aboueſaid, be appointed and limited to the name of this kingdome.

The limits of the kingdome of England how farre they doe extend.

The office of a king farther deſcribed.

Moreouer, in the foreſaid lawes of this king Edward, it followeth in the ſame booke where the foreſaid Edward deſcribing the office of a King, addeth in theſe wordes. A king ſayth he, ought aboue al things to feare God: to loue and to obſerue his commaundements: and cauſe them to be obſerued through his whole kingdome. He ought alſo to kepe, cheariſh, maintaine, & gouerne the holy church wᵗin his kingdome, with al integritie and liberty, according to the conſtitutions of his aunceſtors and predeceſſors: and to defend the ſame againſt all enemies, ſo that God aboue all things be honored, & euer be before his eies. He ought alſo to ſet vp good lawes and cuſtomes, ſuch as be wholeſome and approued: ſuch as be otherwiſe, to repeale them, and thruſt them out of his kingdom. Item, he ought to do iudgement and iuſtice in his kingdome, by the counſell of the nobles of his realme. All theſe things ought a King in his own perſon to do, taking his othe vpon ẏ Euangeliſt, and the bleſſed reliques of ſaintes, ſwearing in the preſence of the whole ſtate of his realme (as well of the temporaltie as of the ſpiritualtie) before he be crowned of the Archbyſhops & Biſhops. Three ſeruants the king ought to haue vnder him as vaſſals: fleſhly luſt, auarice, and greedie deſire. Whom if he kepe vnder as his ſeruants and ſlaues, he ſhal reigne wel and honorably in his kingdom. Al things are to be done with good aduiſement and premeditation: and that properly belongeth to a king. For haſtie raſhnes bringeth all things to ruine, according to the ſaying of the Goſpell: Euery kingdome deuided in it ſelfe, ſhall be deſolate. &c.

Three ſl and ſer. uauntes a king oug to haue v der hys ſu iection.

After the duetie and office of Princes thus deſcribed, conſequently followeth the inſtitution of ſubiects, declared in many good & neceſſary ordinaunces, very requiſite and cōuenient for publique gouernment. Of the which lawes William Conquerour was cōpelled, thorough the clamor of the people to take ſome: but the moſt parte he omitted, contrary to his owne oth at his coronation, inſerting and placing the moſte of his owne lawes in his language: to ſerue hys purpoſe: and whych as yet to this preſent day in the ſame Normande language do remaine. Nowe (the Lorde willing) let vs procede in the ſtorie, as in order followeth.

❧ *King Harold.*

Anno 1066.

Harold laſt K. of Saxons.

HArolde the ſeconde ſonne of Earle Godwine, and laſt king of the Saxons: notwithſtanding that diuers of the nobles went with Edgar Adeling, the next heire after Edmund Ironſide: yet he through force and might contemning the young age of Edgar, and forgetting alſo his promiſe made to duke William, toke vpon him to be king of England, An. 1066. when Harolde Harefager, ſonne of Canutus, king of Norway & Demark, heard of the death of king Edward, he came into England with 300. ſhippes or mo: who, then ioyning wᵗ Toſtius, brother to the ſayde Harold king of England, entred into the North partes, & clamed the land after the death of Edwarde. But ẏ Lords of the countrey aroſe and gaue them battail, notwithſtanding the Danes had ẏ victory. And therfore Harold king of Englād prepared toward them in all haſt, & gaue them an other ſtrōg battel, and there had the victory, where alſo Harold the Dane was ſlaine, by the hand of Harold king of Englande. And Toſtius was alſo ſlaine in the battell. After this victorie, Harold waxed proude & couetous: and would not deuide the praies to his Knightes that had deſerued it, but kept it to himſelfe whereby he loſt the fauour of many of his knights and people.

Harold king of Denmarke and Toſtius ſlayne.

In this meane time William Duke of Normādy, ſent Ambaſſades to Harolde king of Englande, admoniſhing him of the couenauntes that were agreed betweene them: which was, to haue kept the land to his vſe after the death of Edwarde. But becauſe that the daughter of Duke William (that was promiſed to Harolde) was dead: Harolde thought him thereby diſcharged, and ſayd, that ſuch a nice fooliſh promiſe ought not to be holden (concerning an others land) without the conſent of the Lordes of the ſame: and eſpecially for that hee was thereunto, for neede or for dread compelled.

The Pope ſendeth a banner to Duke W. vpon bone viage into England.

Vpon theſe anſweres receaued, Duke William, in the while that the meſſengers went and came: gathered his knightes, and prepared his nauie, and had the aſſent of the Lordes of his lande to aide and aſſiſt him in his iourney. And ouer that ſending vnto Rome to pope Alexander, cōcerning his title & viage into england: the pope cōfirmeth him in the ſame, and ſent vnto him a banner, willing him to beare it in the ſhip, wherein himſelfe ſhould ſaile. Thus Duke William, being puruеied of al things cōcerning his iourney: ſped him to the ſea ſide, and tooke ſhipping at the hauen of S. Valery: where he taried a lōg time, or he might haue a conuenient winde. For the which his ſouldiours murmured (ſaying) it was a woodneſſe, & a thing diſpleaſing God, to deſire to haue an others mans kingdome by ſtrength, and namely whē God was againſt it in ſending contrary wind. &c. At the laſt the winde ſhortly after came about, and they tooke ſhipping with a great cōpanie, and landed at Haſtings in Suſſex.

Duke William landeth at Haſtinges.

Three cauſes why Duke William entred England.

For three cauſes Duke William entred thys lande, to ſubdue Harold. One was, for that it was to him geuen by king Edward his nephew. The ſecōd was to take wreke, for the cruell murther of his nephewe Alfrede, King Edwardes brother, and of the Normands, which deede he aſcribed chiefly to Harolde. The thirde was, to reuenge the wrong done to Robert Archbiſhop of Canterbury, which was exiled by the meanes & labour of Harold, in the time of king Edward.

Thus, while Harold was in the North: Duke William made ſo great ſpede that he came to London before the King: out of which he was holden, till he had made good ſurety, that he & his people ſhould paſſe through the Citie without tarying: which promiſe he well obſeruing, paſſed the bridge, and went ouer vnto Suſſex. From whence he ſent a Monke vnto Harold, & profered to him three maner of wayes. 1. Either to render to him the poſſeſſion of the land, and ſo to take it againe of hym vnder tribute, raigning vnder him. 2. or els to abide and ſtand to the Popes arbitrement betwixt them both: or thirdly to defende hys quarel in his own perſon againſt the Duke, and they two onely to trie the matter by dinte of ſworde, wythout any other bloudſheding.

Three conditions offered to Harold by D. William.

But Harold refuſed all theſe offers, ſaying: it ſhould be tried by dinte of ſwordes, & not by one ſworde. And ſo gathered his people, & ioyned battaile with the Normands, in the place where afterwarde was builded the Abbey of Battaile in Suſſex. In the beginning of which fight the engliſhmen kept them in good array, like to vanquiſhe the Normandes. wherefore Duke william cauſed hys men to geue backe, as though they fled: wherby the engliſhme followed faſt and brake their array. Then the Normaues fiercely geuing a charge vpon them, in cōcluſion obtained the victorie, through the iuſt prouidence of God. where king Harolde, who before had murdered Alfrede the true heire of the Crowne, with his company of Normandes ſo cruelly: was now wounded of the Normandes, in the left eye with an arrow, and therof incontinent died: although Gerardus ſayeth, hee fled away to Cheſter, and liued after that a Monke in the monaſterie of S. Iames. whyche is not like, but rather that he was there ſlaine, after that he had raigned nine moneths, and was buried at waltham (which proueth that he died not at Cheſter) and ſo was he the laſt that raigned in England of the bloud of Saxons: the which continued (to recken from Hengiſtus his firſte raigne in Kent) by the ſpace of 591. yeres. And if it be reckened from the yeares of the weſtſaxons, then it endured the ſpace of 565. yeres.

The fight betweene Harold and Duke William,

K. Harold ſlayne,

This william Duke, and king Edward, were by the fathers ſide, couſin germaines remoued. For Richard the firſt of that name, which was the thirde duke of Normandy after Rollo: was father to Duke Richard the ſecond of that name, & brother to Emma mother to king Edward. which Duke Richarde the ſeconde, was father to Duke Robert, this Duke williams father.

The conſanguinitie betweene K. Edward and William Conquerour,

Albeit in this matter, other ſome may gather otherwiſe and better, perchance, yet if I may ſay what I thinke, verely I ſuppoſe, that there is no conſanguinitie ſo muche here the cauſe, why God of hys vnknowen iudgementes ſuffered the Normandes here to preuaile: as was rather the cruell murder of Alfred, & of the innocent Normands, wrought by the cruel deſpight of Harold and the engliſhmen, as is before declared. The which merciles murther, God here iuſtly in this conqueſt recompenſed.

Murther iuſtly recompenſed.

Now remaineth alſo to theſe forein affaires of kings & Princes, to adde ſomthing likewiſe concerning the continuation of the Archbiſhops of Caunterburie, beginning there where we laſt left: that is with Elphegus, whome we declared a little before to be ſtoned by the Danes at Grenewich. After which Elphegus next ſucceded Liningus, after him Egelnothus alſo aboue mentioned. Then Robertus a Normand, a great doer (as is declared) about king Edward, and a faithfull counſailer vnto him: but he abode not long. After whom, Stigandus inuaded the ſea (as they report) by ſimony: being both Archbiſhop of Cāt. Byſhop of wincheſter, and alſo Abbot in an other place. wherin he cōtinued a great ſpace, gathering and heaping goodes together, till at length Duke william clapt him in priſon, and there kept him: placing in his romme, Lancfrācus a Lombard borne, of whom more ſhall follow (Chriſt willing) hereafter to be declared.

Archbiſhops of Caunterb,

Liningus, Egelmothus. Robertus. Stigandus,

¶ Although the Church of Chriſt, and ſtate of religion firſt founded and grounded by Chriſt and his Apoſtles, did not continually altogether remaine in his primatiue perfection, wherein it was firſt inſtituted: But in proceſſe of time, began from better to worſe, to decreaſe & decline into much ſuperſtition & incōuenience: partly through the comming in of Mahumet, partly through ẏ increaſe of wealth and riches, partly through the decreaſe of knowledge & diligence in ſuch as ſhould be the guides of Chriſtes flocke: yet the infection & corruption of that time (though it were great) did not ſo abounde in ſuch exceſſiue meaſure, as afterwarde in the other latter times nowe following, about the thouſand yeares expired after Chriſt: whereof we haue to intreat, Chriſt ſo permitting. About the which time and yeare came Silueſter the ſeconde of that name, who next ſucceeded after Gregorie the v. before mentioned. pag. 159. and occupied the ſea of Rome about the yere of our Lorde 1000. lacking one or two.

The decay of the Church,

Pope Silueſter, 2,

This Silueſter was a Sorcerer, which after the ſorte of them, that worke by familiars (as they cal them) and by cōiuration, cōpacted with the deuil, to be made pope. And ſo he was (through the operation of Sathan) according to his requeſt. which thing ſome hiſtories ſay, he did greatly repent before his death. But for a more ample declaration hereof, I will bring in the wordes of Ioannes Stella, a Venetian, tranſlated from Latin into Engliſh, cōcerning the ſaid Silueſter: to the entent that our inchaunters and ſorcerers now a dayes (wherof there be to many in England) may the better through his example be admoniſhed. The words of Stella be theſe, agreeing alſo with the narration of Benno, Platina and many other. Silueſter the ſecond of that name, being Pope, and a Frenchman, called Gibertus: ſate in his Papacie iiij. yeares, one moneth and viij. dayes. He entred into his Papacie, through wicked & vnlawfull meanes: who from his youth being a monke, and leauing his monaſterie, gaue himſelf wholy to the deuill, to obtaine that which he required. And firſt comming to Hiſpalis a City in Spayne, there applied his booke and profited there in ſomuch, ẏ he was made Doctour, hauing amongſt his auditours, Otho the Emperours ſonne, and Robert the French King, Lotharius Archbyſhop of Senon, with diuers other moe. By whoſe aduauncement he was promoted, firſt Biſhop of Rheme, afterward Biſhop of Rauenna, and at laſt through the operation of Sathan, was exalted to the Papacy of Rome, vpon this condition, that after his death, he ſhould geue himſelfe to the deuil, by whoſe procuremēt, he came to that promotion. Vpō a certaine time he demanded an anſwer of the deuill, how long he ſhould enioy his Popedome? to whom he anſwered againe: vntill thou ſay Maſſe in Ieruſalem thou ſhalt liue. At length the iiij. yeare of his Popedome, ſaying Maſſe at Lent time, in the temple of the holy croſſe being called then Ieruſalem, there he knewe the time was come, when hee ſhould die. wherupon being ſtroke with repentance, confeſſed his fault openly before the people: deſiring al men to cut his body al in peeces (being ſo ſeduced by deceits of the deuil) & ſo being hewen in peeces, they woulde lay it vpon a cart, and bury it there, where ſoeuer the horſes wold cary it of their accorde. And ſo the ſaying is to be, that by the prouidence of God (whereby the wicked may learne yet hope of remiſſion wt God, ſo that they will repent them in their life) the horſes of their own accord ſtaid at the church of Laterane, and there he was buried: wheras commonly by the ratling of his bones within the tomb, is portended the death of Popes as the common reporte goeth. Thus much out of Ioannes Stella, concerning Silueſter. By whō our ſorcerers and inchanters, or magicians may learne to beware of the deceitfull operation of Sathan: who, at the ende deceiueth and fruſtrateth al them, that haue to do with him: as the ende of all ſuch doth declare commonly, which vſe the like art or trade. The Lorde and God of al mercye, through the ſpirite of Ieſus our redemer, diſſolue ẏ works of Sathan, and preſerue the hartes of our nobles, and of al other Engliſhmen from ſuch infection. Amen.

Silueſter the. 2. a foule ſorcerer.

Ioannes Stella.
Platina.
Petrus Præmōſtratenſis.
Nauclerus.
Antoninus.
Robertus Barnus.
Ioannes Baleus.

Ex Ioan Stella.

An admonition for ſorcerers and wicked coniurers.

After Silueſter ſucceded Ioannes xix. by whom was brought in (as Volateran ſayth) the feaſt of all ſoules, an. 1004. through the meanes and inſtigation of one Odilo Abbot of Cluniake, to be celebrate; next after the feaſt of all Saintes. This Monke Odilo, thinking that Purgatory (as he heard) ſhould be in the mount Aetna: dreamed vpō a time in the countrey of Sicile, that he by his Maſſes had deliuered diuers ſoules from thēce: ſaying moreouer, that he did heare the voyces and lamētations of deuils crying out, for that the ſoules were taken frō them by the Maſſes & Dirges funerall. Ex Bakenthorpo. in prolo. 4. Lib. Sentent. And not lōg after him came Iohn the xx. and Sergius the iiij. After whom ſucceded Benedictus the viij. then Iohn the 21. who being promoted by art magike of Theophilact his nephew, Gratianus, Brazutus and other Sorcerers brought in firſt the faſt of the eue of Iohn Baptiſt and S. Laurēce. After him followed pope Benedictus the 9. likewiſe aſpiring to his Papacy, by like magike, practiſing inchauntmentes and coniuration in woodes, after horrible maner. who reſiſting the Emperor Henricus 3. ſonne to Conradus, and placing in his rowme Petrus the king of Hungarie wyth this verſe. Petra dedit Romam Petro, tibi Papa coronam: Afterward for feare of Henricus preuailing in battaile, hee was faine to ſell his ſeate to his ſucceſſoure Gratianus, called Gregorius vi. for 1500. poundes. At which time were 3. Popes together in Rome, raigning & raging one againſt an other. Benedictus ix. Silueſter 3. & Gregorius vi. For the whych cauſe Henricus ſurnamed Niger, the Emperour, comming to Rome, diſplaced theſe 3. monſters at one time, placing for them, Clemens 2. and

The feaſt of all ſoules brought into the church.

Benedictus the 9.

Gregorius the 6.

A conſtitution no pope to be choſen but by the confirmation of the Emperour.

Pope Clemens the. 2.

Pope Damaſus the 2.

thereupon inacting, that there ſhould no biſhop of Rome henceforth be choſen, but by the conſent and confirmation of the Emperour. which conſtitution though it was both agreable & alſo neceſſary for publike trāquillitie of that citie, yet the Cardinals would not ſuffer it long to ſtand, but did impugne it afterward by ſubtile practiſe and open violence, as in proceſſe (the Lord permitting) ſhal appeare, in the time of Henricus the 4. and 5. In the time of this Clement, the Romanes made an othe to the Emperour, concerning the election of the Byſhops, themſelues to entermeddle no farther therein, but as the aſſent of the Emperour ſhould goe with all. Howbeit the Emperour departing thence into Germanie againe, by and by they forgote their othe, and within 9. monethes after poyſoned the Biſhop. which fact ſome impute to Stephen his ſucceſſour, called Damaſus 2. Some impute it to Brazutus, who (as hiſtories record) within 13. yeares poyſoned 6. popes, that is, Clemens 2. Damaſus. 2. Leo. 9. Victor. 2. Stephanus 9. Nicolaus the 2.

Pope Leo the 9.

Thus Clement being poyſoned, after him ſucceded Damaſus 2. neither by conſent of the people, nor of the emperour elected: but by force and inuaſion, who alſo within 23. daies being poiſoned. An. 1049. much contention and ſtriuing began in Rome about the Papal ſeat. wherupon the Romans, through the counſel of the Cardinals, ſent to the foreſaid Emperor, deſiring to geue them a biſhop, and ſo he did, whoſe name was Bruno an Almain, and biſhop of Collen, afterwarde called Leo 9. This Bruno being a ſimple man and eaſie to be led with euil counſel, comming from the Emperour towards Rome in his pontificall apparell like a Pope: meeteth him by the way the Abbot of Cluniake, and Hildebrand a monke. who ſeing him ſo in his pontificalibus, begā to rate him, laying to his charge, that he would ſo take his authoritie of the Emperour, and not rather of the Clergy of Rome & the people thereof, as other his predeceſſors were wont to doe: and ſo counſelled him, to lay downe that apparel, and to enter in wᵗ his own habite, till he had hys election by them. Bruno following their counſel, and confeſſing his fault before the Clergie of Rome, obtained their fauor, and ſo was nominate Leo 9. wherby Hildebrand was made a Cardinall, & put in high rowme. Under this Pope Leo were two Councels, one kept at Vercellis, where the doctrine of Berengarius againſt the reall ſubſtance in the Sacrament was firſt condemned, although Berengarius yet recanted not, whych neuertheleſſe was done after in the Councel of Laterane, vnder Nicolas 2. An. M. lx. The other was kept at Moguntia, where amongſt many other decrees was enacted, prieſts to be excluded and debarred vtterly from mariage. Item, that no lay men might geue benefice, or biſhoprick, or any ſpirituall promotion. &c.

Concilium Moguntinum.
Nauclerus Crantz.

This Leo, being at Wormes wᵗ the Emperour vpon Chriſtmas day, did excommunicate the ſubdeacon becauſe in reading the Epiſtle, he did it not in the Romane tune, he being there preſent. The Archbiſhop moued therewith, departed from the altare (being then at Maſſe) ſaying, he woulde not procede no farther in his ſeruice, vnleſſe hys ſubdeacon were reſtored. wherupon the Pope cōmāded him to be releaſed, & ſo they went forward in their ſeruice.

Alb. Cranz. Saxo. lib. 4. Cap. 45.

Pope victor the 2.

Concilium Florentinum.

After the death of Leo, whom Brazutus poyſoned the firſt yere of his popedome. Theophilactus did ſtriue to be Pope: but Hildebrand to defeat him, went to the emperor, (partly alſo being ſent by yͤ Romanes for feare of the Emperours diſpleaſure) who aſſigned an other biſhop, a Germaine, called Victor 2. This Victor hauing a Councell at Florence, depoſed diuers Biſhops and Prieſtes, for ſimony and fornicatiō. For ſimony, in that they toke of ſecular men their dignities for money: for fornication, in that contrary to their Canon, they were maried. &c. The 2. yeare of his papacie and little more, this Pope alſo followed his predeceſſours being poyſoned by the foreſaide Brazutus, through the procurement of Hildebrand and his maiſter.

Pope Stephan the ix.
The Church of Millan firſt brought vnder the Church of Rome.
The Emperour accuſed of hereſie.
Hildebrand ſent in commiſſion for ſimonie.

Here now began the Church and Clergie of Rome, to wring out of the emperours hand the election of the pope: electing Stephen the 9. for pope, contrary to their oth and to the Emperours aſſignement. Here was the Churche of Millan firſt brought to obedience of the Romiſh Church, by this Stephanus the 9. biſhop of Rome. who alſo ſhamed not to accuſe the Emperor Henry (of whom mention is made before) of hereſy: for miniſhing the authority of the Romane ſea. So this was their hereſie at that time, not to maintaine the ambitious proceedings of the Romiſh prelate. And ſimonie they called this, to take & enioy any ſpirituall liuing at a ſecular mans hand. wherefore Stephen hearing this ſimonie to raigne in diuers places, namely in the Churches of Burgundy and Italy, ſent forth the Cardinal Hildebrand to reforme the matter: who was no leſſe earneſt in that kinde of commiſſion to help the matter forwarde.

Hildebrand beginneth to ſturre.

Pope Benedictus.

Pope Nicolaus the 2.
Two Popes together at Rome.
Pope Benedict vnpopeth himſelfe.

In the meane time Stephanus yͤ pope, taking of Brazutus cup fel ſick. Hildebrand hearing that, applieth home wᵗ all poſt ſpeede. So being returned to Rome, aſſembleth all the companies and orders of the Clergy together, making thē to ſweare: that they ſhould admit none to be Byſhop, but which ſhould be appointed by the publike cōſent of them altogether. This being done, Hildebrande taketh his iorney to Florēce (belike to fetch the biſhop of Florēce) to ſtal him biſhop: the clergy ſwearing to him, that no biſhop ſhuld be ordained before his returne againe. But the people of Rome not ſuffering the election to ſtand ſo long, after the death of Stephan: elected one of their owne citie, called Benedictus the 10. Hildebrand hearing of this, was not a little offended: wherefore returning to Rome wyth one Gerhardus biſhop of Florēce, cauſed yͤ clergy to procede to a newe election, ſaying: that Benedictus was not lawfully called but came in by force & bribing. But yͤ clergie not daring to attempt any new election at Rome, wēt to Sene, and there elected this Garhardus biſhop of Florence, whome Hildebrande brought with him. So were 2. popes in Rome together: But Garhardus named Nicolaus 2. holding a councel at Sutrium, through the helpe of Duke Godfride and Guibert, and other biſhops about Italie, cauſed the other Pope to be depoſed. Benedictus vnderſtāding them to be ſet againſt him through yͤ means of Hildebrand, vnpoped himſelf, and went to Velitras, liuing there more quietly thē he ſhuld haue done at Rome.

The gloſe of the popes decrees refuted.

Concilium Laterani.
Anno. 1059.
Diſt. 23. cap. In no.

Here is to be touched by the way, the error of the gloſe vpon the 23. diſt. which falſly alledgeth out of the Chronicles, yᵗ Benedictus 10. which ſucceded Stephen, was depoſed: after whō came Ioannes biſhop of Sabine for money, & he againe depoſed. Benedictus was then reſtored, and after diſplaced againe, and then Ioannes Archdeacon ad portam latinam, was made Pope, and he againe depoſed by the Emperor, and all this wᵗin one yere. which hiſtory neither is founde in any Chronicle, nor agreeth vpon any Benedictus, ſaue only that Benedictus 9. was depoſed, & then reigned 3. popes together, Benedictus 9. Siluester 3. & Gregorius 6. which before was called Ioannes ad portam latinam, whome the Emperor depoſed (all three together.) But that Benedict neither was the 10. neither did hee ſucceede pope Stephen, as the gloſe recordeth. Nicolas thus being ſet vp without the minde both of the emperour, & of the people of Rome, after his fellow Pope was driuen away: brake vp the Synode of Sutrium, & came to Rome, where he aſſembled an other councel, called concilium Lateranum. In which councel firſt was promulgate the terrible ſentence of excommunication mentioned in the decrees, & beginneth: In nomine Domini noſtri. &c. The effect whereof is this. Firſt, that he after a ſubtile practiſe (as farre and as plainly as he durſt ſpeake) vndermindeth the Emperours iuriſdiction, and transferreth to a few Cardinals, and certaine Catholike perſons, the full authoritie of chuſing the Pope. Secondly, againſt all ſuch as do creepe into the ſeat of Peter, by money or fauoure wᵗout the full conſent of the Cardinals: he thundreth with terrible blaſts of excommunication, accurſing them and their children with deuils, as wicked perſons to the anger of almighty god, geuing alſo authoritie and power to Cardinals, with the Clergie and laitie, to depoſe all ſuch perſons, and cal a councel general, whereſoeuer they wil againſt them.

A terrible curſe of Pope Nicolaus.

Berengarius driuen to recantation.

Item, in the ſayde Councell of Laterane, vnder Pope Nicholas the ſeconde, Berengarius Andegauenſis, an Archdeacon was driuen to the recantation of his doctrine, denying the reall ſubſtance of Chriſtes holy body and bloud to be in the Sacrament, otherwiſe then ſacramentally and in myſterie.

Tranſubſtantiation brought into the Church.

In the ſame councell alſo was hatched & inuented, the new found deuiſe and terme of Tranſubſtantiation.

Nauclerus, Platina. Eneas Sil.

Potentia papæ Coactiua ſtandeth not with the Goſpell.

It were to long heere to declare the confederation betwixt this Nicholas, and Robertus Guiſcardus: whome this pope (cōtrary to all right and good law, diſplacing the right heire) made Duke of Apulia, Calabria, Sicilia, and captain general of S. Peters lands: that through his force of armes and violence, he might the better ſubdue all ſuch as ſhould rebell to his obedience, and ſo did. Nowe let all men iudge & vnderſtand (which be godly wiſe) howe this ſtandeth wᵗ the doctrine of Chriſt, the example of Peter, or the ſpirit of a chriſten biſhop, by outward armes & violēce to conquer chriſten men & countreis, vnder the obedience of a biſhops ſea. Thus Pope Nicolas the 2. well anſwering to his Greeke name: by might and force continued 3. yeres and a halfe. But at length he mette with Brazutus cup, and ſo turned vp his heeles.

Anno. 1062.

At the beginning of this Nicolas, or ſomewhat before, Henricus.4. Emperour.

about the yere of our Lorde 1057. Henricus the 4. after the deceaſe of Henrie the 3. was made Emperour being but a childe, & raigned 50. yeres: but not without great moleſtatiō and much diſquietnes, and all through the vngracious wickedneſſe of Hildebrand, as hereafter (the Lord ſo permitting) ſhalbe declared.

Here, by the way commeth to be noted, an exāple, whereby all Princes may learne and vnderſtand, how the pope is to be handled, whoſoeuer loketh to haue any goodneſſe at his hand. If a man ſtand in feare of his curſe, he ſhall be made his ſlaue, but if he be deſpiſed of you, ye ſhalhaue him as you liſt. For the Popes curſe may well be aſſimiled to Domicianus thunder: If a man geue eare to the noiſe and cracke, it ſemeth a terrible thing: but if ye conſider the cauſes and effect therof, it is a moſt vaine ridicle.

The Popes curſe compared to Domicianus thunder.

Aldredus Archbiſhop of Yorke.

In the reigne of this Nicolas, An. 1060. Aldredus Byſhop of worceſter, after ẏ deceaſe of Kinſius his predeceſſor ſhuld be made Archbiſhop of Yorke, who comming to Rome with Toſtius erle of Northumberlād, for his palle (as the maner was) could not obtein it, but was depriued of all his dignitie (for ſome default, I can not tell what) in his aunſwer. And furthermore, after his reuerſion home, was ſpoyled alſo of all that he brought wt him. whereupon he returning againe to Rome with Toſtius the foreſayde Erle, there made his complaint, but could not be heard: til Toſtius, a man of ſtout courage, taking ẏ matter in hand, tolde the Pope to his face, that his curſe was not to be feared in farre countreis, which his owne neighbours, yea & moſt vile vacabonds derided and deſpiſed at home. wherfore he required the Pope, either to reſtore Aldredus again to his goods loſt, or els it ſhould be knowen, that they were loſt through his meanes and ſubtlety. And furthermore, it would come to paſſe, that ẏ king of England hearing this, would debar him of ſ. Peters tribute, taking it for a great ſhame to him & his realme, if Aldredus ſhould come from Rome both depriued of dignity, & ſpoiled alſo of his goods. &c. In fine, the Pope thus perſwaded by the argument of his purſe, was content to ſende home Aldredus with his palle, according to his requeſt.

Toſtius how he perſwaded the Pope.

After the death of Nicholas, the Lombardes being oppreſſed before by pope Nicholas, and brought vnder fear, were the more deſirous, and thought it good to haue a Biſhop of their company: and ſo elected the biſhop of Parmē called Cadolus, to be Pope: ſending to the emperour and deſiring his fauour and ſupportation therein. For the election of the Pope (ſayd they) moſt properly apperteined vnto him.

Cadolus a Lombard made Pope by the Emperour.

The emperor wel pleaſed and content, geueth his good leaue and voice wt al. Hildebrandus, no leſſe a wicked Necromancer, then a ſtoute mainteiner of popiſh liberties againſt good emperors, hearing this: ſetteth vp by a cōtrary faction, an other biſhop, Anſelmus, after called Alexander the 2. Cadolus thus elected by the emperor & the Cardinals, ſetteth forwarde to Rome with a ſufficient army & ſtrength of mē. Alexander alſo no les prepared, there receiueth him with an other army, where they had a great conflict, & many ſlaine on both ſides. But Cadolus as he had the better cauſe, ſo had he the worſe fortune: who being repelled, yet repaired himſelf and came again with a greater power. Albeit, he preuailed not. The Emperor ſeeing this hurly burly: to take vp the matter, ſent thither his embaſſador Otho, Archbiſhop of Colen: who cōming to Rome, beginneth ſharply to chide the pope for taking ſo vpō him without the leaue or knowledge of the emperor, declaring how ẏ election of that ſea ought chiefly to appertein to the right of the emperor, as it hath done for ẏ moſt part in the time of his predeceſſors tofore. But Hildebrande all ſet on wickednes and ambition, and alſo puft vp not a litle, with his late victories: not ſuffering the embaſſador to tel to the end, interrupted him in the middle of his tale, affirming, ẏ if they ſhould ſtand to law and cuſtome, the libertie of that election ſhuld rather belong to the clergy, then to the Emperor. To make ſhort, Otho the embaſſador bearing (belike) more with the Clergie, then with the emperour, was content to be perſwaded: onely required this in the emperors name, a coūcell to be had, to decide the matter: wherat the emperor ſhould be preſent himſelfe. And ſo he was: In the which councel being kept at Mantua, Alexander was declared pope, the other had his pardon graunted. In this councell amongſt many other cōſiderations, was concluded concerning prieſts to haue no wiues: ſuch as haue cōcubines to ſay no maſſe: prieſts children not to be ſecluded from holy orders: no benefices to be bought for mony. Alleluya to be ſuſpended in time of Lent out of the church. &c. This alſo was decreed (which made moſt for Hildebrandus purpoſe) that no ſpirituall man, whatſoeuer he be, ſhoulde enter in any Church, by a ſecular perſone, & that the Pope ſhould be elected onely by the Cardinals, &c. Benno Cardinalis wryteth thus of Alexander, that after he perceiued the frauds of Hildebrande, and of other the Emperours enemies: and vnderſtanding that he was ſet vp and inthroniſed, but onely for a purpoſe: being at his Maſſe, as he was preaching to the people, told them, he wold not ſit in ẏ place, vnleſſe he had the licence of the Emperour. which when Hildebrandus heard, he was ſtroken in ſuche a furie, that ſcarſly he could keepe his handes of him, while Maſſe was done. After the Maſſe being finiſhed, by force of ſouldiours & ſtrength of men he had him into a chamber, and there all to be pomild Pope Alexander with his fiſtes, rating and rebuking him for that he would ſeeke for fauoure of the Emperor. Thus Alexander being kept vp in cuſtody, and being ſtinted to a certaine allowance, as about v. groates a day. Hildebrand incrocheth all the whole reuenues of the Church to him ſelfe, procuring thereby muche treaſure. At length Alexander vnder the miſerable enduraunce of Hildebrand, died at euentide after 11. yeares & half of his popedome. And thus much of Romiſh matters.

Pope Alexander the. 2.

Two battayles betwixt two Popes for S. Peters ſeate.

Concilium Mantuanū.

Alleluya ſuſpended in the time of Lent.

A decree that no ſecular man ſhould geue a ſpirituall promotion.

Benno Cardinalis.

Pope Alexander knockt about the pate by Hildebrand.

These things thus diſcourſed concerning the matters of Rome (now returning againe to our owne country ſtory) the order therof would require to enter againe into the reigne of william Conqueror, the next king following in England. But as a certain oration of K. Edgarus, which ſhould haue bene placed before, chanced in the meane time to come to my hands, not vnworthy to be read: I thought by the way in the ende of this booke, to inſert the ſame (although out of order) yet better I iudge it out of order, then out of the booke.

The oration of king Edgar to the Clergie.

BEcauſe God hath ſhewed his great mercy to worke with vs: it is meete (moſt reuerend Fathers) that with worthy works we ſhould anſwer his innumerable benefites. For we poſſeſſe not the land by our owne ſworde, and our owne arme hath not ſaued vs: but his right hande and his holy arme, becauſe he hath bene delighted in vs. Therfore it is meete that we ſhould ſubmit both our ſelues and our ſoules to him that hath ſubiected all theſe thinges vnder our gouernement: and that we ought ſtoutly to laboure, that they whome he hath made ſubiect to vs, might be ſubiect to his lawes. It belongs to me to rule the lay people with the lawe of equitie, to doe iuſt iudgement betwene man and his neighbour, to puniſh Church robbers, to holde vnder rebelles to deliuer the helpleſſe from the hande of the ſtronger, the needye alſo and the poore from them that robbe them. It belongs alſo to my care to prouide neceſſary things to the miniſters of the Churches, to the flockes of the Monkes, to the company of virgins, and to prouide for their peace and quiet. The examining of all whoſe maners belongeth vnto vs: whether they liue chaſtly, if they behaue themſelues honeſtly towarde them that be without, whether they be diligent at Gods ſeruice, if they be earneſt to teache the people if they be ſober in eating and drinking, if they keepe meaſure in apparell, and if they be diſcreete in iudgement. If ye had regarded theſe thinges with a triall of them (O reuerende fathers, by your leaues I ſpeake) ſuche horrible and abhominable thinges of the Clearkes, ſhoulde not haue come vnto our eares. I omit to ſpeake how their crowne is not broad, nor their rounding conuenient, the wantonneſſe in your life, your pryde in your geſture, the filthineſſe in your wordes, doe declare the euill of the inward man.

Pſal. 43.

Furthermore what negligence is in Gods ſeruice, when ſcarce they will be preſent at the holy vigils? And when they come to maſſe, they ſeeme rather to be gathered to play and laugh, then to ſing. I will tell that, that good men be ſory for, and the euil laugh at. I will ſpeake with ſorrow (if ſo be I may expreſſe it) how they be riotous in banquetings, in chambering dronkennes, and vnſhamefaſtnes: that now clerkes houſes may be thought to be a ſtewes of harlots, and a couent of players. There be dice, there is dancing, and ſinging, there is watching to midnight, with crying and ſhouting. Thus the goods of kinges, the almes of princes, yea (and that more is) the price of that precious bloud is not eſteemed. Haue our fathers thē ſpent their treaſures for this purpoſe? Hath the kinges cofers decayed by taking awaye many reuenues, for this cauſe? Hath the kinges liberalitie geuen landes and poſſeſſions to Chriſtes Churches for this intent, that Clarkes harlots ſhoulde be decked with the ſame? that riotous feaſtes might be dreſſed? that houndes and haukes and ſuch other toyes might be gotten? The ſouldiours crye out of theſe thinges, the people grudge minſtrels ſing and daunce, and yet ye regard it not, ye ſpare it, ye diſſemble it. Where is the ſworde of Leuy, and the zeale of Simeon, whiche killed the Sichemites, and the Circumciſed, which bare the figure of them that defile Chriſtes Churche, with filthy deedes, becauſe they abuſed Iacobes daughter as a harlot? Where is Moyſes ſpirite whiche ſpared not hys owne kinſfolke that worſhipped the head of the Calfe?

Gene. 34.
Exod. 32.

Nume.25.
Actes.5.8.
Deut.33.

Where is Phinies the prieſtes dagger, which pacified Gods anger by his holy zeale, when he killed him that plaied the harlote with the Madianite? Where is Peters ſpirite, by whoſe power couetouſnes is deſtroied, & ſimonical hereſie is condemned? Be earneſt ye Prieſts, be earneſt, to followe the waies of the Lord, & the righteouſnes of our God. It is time to doe againſt them that haue broken the law of God. I haue Conſtantines ſword, and yee haue Peters ſworde in your hands, let vs ioyne right hands, let vs couple ſword to ſword, that the lepers may be caſt out of the tēples, that the holy place of the Lord may be purged, and the ſonnes of Leuie may miniſter in the temple, who ſaid to his father and mother I know you not, and to his brothers I know not you. Goe to diligently I pray you, leaſt we repent to haue done that, that we haue done, & to haue geuen that, that we geue. If we ſhall ſee that to be ſpent not in Gods ſeruice, but on the riotouſnes of wicked men, through vile and corrupt liberty of life for lacke of chaſtiſement: let the reliques of holy ſaintes which they deſpiſe, and the holy altars, before which they play the madde men, mooue you. Let the great deuotion of our ancetours moue you, whoſe almes the madneſſe of the Clearkes doeth abuſe. My great graundfather (as yee know) gaue the tenth parte of all hys landes to Churches and Abbeys. My greate greate graundfather Alfredus of holy memorie, thoughte it not meete to ſpare hys Treaſures, his goodes, no coſtes, nor rentes, that he might enriche the Church. My grandfather the elder, Edward, your fatherhoode is not ignoraunt, howe great things he gaue to the Churches It becommeth you to remember with what gifts my father & his brothers did enrich Chriſtes altars. O father of fathers Dunſtane, beholde I pray thee the eyes of my father looking on thee, from that bright place of heauen. Harken his complaining words, ſounding in thine eares thus pitifully lamenting. O father Dunſtane, thou, thou I ſay, geueſt me counſell to builde Abbaies and Churches, thou waſt my helper and fellow worker in all things. I choſe thee as a ſhepheard and biſhop of my ſoule, and a keper of my maners. Whē did I not obey thee? what treaſures did I preferre in reſpect of thy counſels? What poſſeſsions did I not deſpiſe, if thou badde me? If thou thought meete to geue any thing to the poore, I was ready. If thou thought meete to geue any thing to Churches, I deferred not. If thou complained that Monkes or Clearkes wanted any thing, I ſupplied. Thou ſaideſt that almes laſted for euer, and that there was none more fruitfull then that which was geuen to Abbeis or Churches. For with that, both Gods ſeruaunts are ſuſtained, and that which remaineth is geuen to the poore. O worthy almes. O worthy price of the ſoule. Oh wholeſome remedie for our ſinnes, which nowe doeth ſtincke in the ſweete furres of prieſts lemmans, wherwith they adorne their eares & decke their fingers, apparelling their delicate bodies with ſilke and purple. O father, is this the fruite of mine almes, is this the effect of my deſire, and of thy promiſe? What wilt thou anſwer to this complaint of my fathers? I know, I know, when thou didſt ſee a thiefe, thou runneſt not with him, neither haſt thou put thy portion with adulterers. Thou haſt rebuked, thou haſt exhorted, thou haſt blamed them, but wordes haue bene deſpiſed. Nowe we muſt come to ſtripes of correction, thou haſt here with thee the worſhipfull father Edward biſhop of Wincheſter. Thou haſt the reuerend Prelate Oſwold biſhop of Worceſter, I commit this buſineſſe to you, that both by Biſhoply correction, and the kings authority the filthy liues may be caſt out of the Churches, and they that liue orderly may be brought in. &c.

The ignorance and ſuperſtition of the tyme of K.Edgar noted.

The doctrine of iuſtification vnknowne.

Iuſtification by fayth in Chriſt.

In this Oration of K. Edgar aboue prefixed, 3. things are chiefly to be noted & conſidered, to them ẏ haue iudgements to marke and vnderſtand, to witte: The religious zeale and deuotion of kings, both in geuing to the church, & alſo in correcting the maners of churchmen. 2. Secondly, the diſſolute behauiour and wantonneſſe of the clergie, then abuſing the great donatiōs and patrimonies of princes beſtowed vpon them. 3. Thirdly, the blinde ignorance and ſuperſtition of that time in both ſtates, as well Eccleſiaſtical as temporal, in eſteeming Chriſtes religion chiefly to conſiſt in geuing to Churches, and in maintaining of Monkery, falſly being perſwaded that remiſſion of their ſinnes, & remedy of their ſoules therein did lie in building monaſteries, erecting churches and cloyſters, and in placing monks in the ſame, and ſuch other almes deedes, and workes of deuotion. wherin appeareth how ignorāt that time was of the true doctrine of Chriſtes faith, and of free grace of the Goſpell, which promiſeth life, remedy, and iuſtification, not by any deuout merits of oures, nor by any workes either of the lawe of God, or of the inuentions of man, but onely and freely by our faith vpon Chriſt Ieſus the ſonne of God, in whom only conſiſteth al the promiſes of God. Amen.

Nowe remaineth as in the former booke before, ſo in this likewiſe, to proſecute the order & race of Archbiſhops of Canterbury, as we haue done the race of kings, beginning with Etheredus, who ſucceded next after Celnocke, the ſeuententh Archbiſhop of that Sea mentioned, where we laſt left before, Pag. 131.

The names and order of the Archbiſhops of Caunterburie, from the time of king Egbert to William Conquerour.

18.Ethelredus.	18	
19 Pleimūdus.	29	**This Pleimundus was ſcholemaſter to king Alfrede.**
20.Athelmus.	12	
21.Vlſelmus.	13	
22.Odo.	26.	**By the prayers of thys Oddo, the Monkiſh ſtories ſay, that the ſworde of King Ethelſtane was brought again into his ſcabberd. As touching the Epiſtle of thys Odo, ſent to other Byſhoppes,** vide pag. 151.
23.Elſius, or Elſinus.	1	**This Elſius firſt biſhop of Wincheſter, came to the ſea of Cant. by the commaundement of King Edgar, ſome ſay by bribes, contrary to the mind of Odo. wherupon in the firſt day of hys conſecration, he inſulting vppon the tomb of Odo, with deſpite, ſhortly after wēt to Rome for his pal, where in his iorny vpon the alps he died for colde, in ſo much that his horſes being killed, & he put in their warme bellies, yet could get no heate.** Malmſ.
24 Dunſtan. ¶Polydorus maketh Dunſtane to be the 23.archb.	20.	**Of this Dunſtane many monkiſh miracles be fained, as of the harpe vpon the wall playing by it ſelf,** Gaudent in Cœlis, &c. **of our ladie with her companie appearing to him ſinging,** Cantemus domino ſociæ, Cantemus honorem. Dulcis amor chriſti perſonet ore pio. **Alſo of the Angels ſinging** Kyrieleyſon, &c. **Item, of holding the Deuill by the noſe with a paire of tonges, tempting him with women.** Malmeſ. **Item of ſeeing the holy Ghoſt at his maſſe in likeneſſe of a Doue. Item, in deliuering the ſoule of Edwine from the Deuill. Item, in foreſeeing the death of King Edred, by the death and falling of his horſe. Item, of his mother being great with Duſtane, when all the candels of others went out, her onely candle remained light, & many other like fables, &c.**
25.Ethelgarus.	1	
26.Elfricus.	11	
27.Siricius.	5	**This Siricius was the counſeller to king Egelred, to redeme peace of the Danes, with a great tribute.**
28.Elphegus.	6	**Elphegus becauſe he denied to paye to the Danes a tribute, was ſtoned to death at Greenewich, & of ſome is called a martyr.**
29.Liuingus.	7	
30.Egenoldus.	17	
31.Edſius.	11	
32.Robertus.	2	**This Robertus cauſed Godwine and his ſonnes to be baniſhed, accuſing them of Treaſon. But afterward they being reſtored, he went to Rome, and at his returne died.**
33.Stigandus.	17	**Stigandus being an Engliſhman, in the time of W. Conquerour the Normane, was by the craft of the ſayd William conueied into Normandie, where a while with great honour he was entertained. At length the ſayde William procured ſecreatly the popes letters to depoſe him, that hee might place Lanfrancus in his roume. This Stigandus died at length in priſon.**
34 Lanfrancus.	19	

S.Dunſtanes harpe vpon the wall, faſt by a pinne did hang, Without mans helpe with lye and all, and by it ſelf did twang.

The ende of the thirde Booke.

THE FOVRTH BOOKE CONTEINING
other 300. yeares from William Conquerour, to the tyme of Iohn
Wickliffe, wherein is deſcribed the proude and miſordered
raigne of Antichriſt, beginning to ſtirre in the
Church of Chriſt.

William Conquerour.

WILLIAM Duke of Normandie, ſurnamed Conqueror, baſe ſonne of Duke Robert, the ſixth Duke of Normandie, & nephew vnto king Edward: after the foreſaid victorie againſt Harold & the Engliſhmen obtained, was receiued king ouer the Realme of Englande, not ſo much by the aſſent, as for feare and neceſſitie of time. For els the Londiners had promiſed their aſſiſtance to Edgar Atheling to the vttermoſt of their power. But being weakened & waſted ſo greatly in battailes before, and the Duke comming ſo faſt vppon them, fearing not to make their partie good, ſubmitted themſelues. Whereupon the ſaide William (of a Duke made a King) was crowned vpon Chriſtmas day the yeare of our Lorde 1067. by the handes of Aldredus Archb. of Yorke. Forſomuch as at that time Stigandus Archb. of Canterb. was abſent, or els durſt not, or woulde not come in the preſence of the king. A litle before the comming in of this Duke, a terrible blaſing ſtarre was ſeene, the ſpace of 7. daies, which was the yere before. In record whereof, as well of the conqueſt of the Duke, as of the blaſing ſtarre, theſe verſes yet remaine.

Anno. 1067.

A blaſing ſtarre.

Sexagenus erat ſextus milleſimus annus.
Cum pereunt Angli, ſtella monſtrante cometa.

Which king thus being crowned, did reigne ouer the realme of England the ſpace of 21. yeres, and one moneth, with great ſeuerity & cruelnes, towarde the Engliſhmen, burdening them with great tribute and exactions, which was to pay of euery hide of grounde, containing 20. acres 6. ſhillings. By meane wherof certaine parties of the land rebelled, and ſpecially the citie of Excester. But at laſt William ouercame them, and wan the city and puniſhed them grieuouſly. But for that & for other ſterne deedes of William, diuers of the Lordes departed to Scotland: wherfore he kept the other Lordes that taried the ſtraiter, and exalted the Normanes, geuing to them the chiefe poſſeſſions of the land. And for ſo much as he obteyned the kingdome by force and dent of ſword, he chaunged the whole ſtate of the gouernance of this common weale: and ordeined new lawes at his owne pleaſure, profitable to himſelf, but greuous & hurtful to the people: aboliſhing the lawes of king Edward, wherunto notw̄ſtanding he was ſworn before, to obſerue & maintaine. For the which great commotions and rebellions remained long after among the people, as hyſtories record: to haue the ſayd lawes of king Edwarde reuiued againe.

Tribute.

Rebellion. Erle Marcarus, and Eerle Edwyne, Edgar Atheling, with hys mother, & ij. ſiſters, Margaret, and Chriſtian fled into Scotland.

New king new lawes. King William forſworne in aboliſhing King Edwardes lawes.

Ouer and beſides this, he builded 4. ſtrong caſtles, 2. at Yorke, one at Notingham, another at Lincolne, which garriſons he furniſhed with Normanes.

About the third yere of his reigne, Harold & Canutus ſonnes of Suanus, King of Denmarke, entered into the North countrey. The Normanes wythin Yorke fearing that the Engliſhmen woulde aide the Danes, fired the ſuburbes of the towne, wherof the flame was ſo big, and the winde ſo ſtrong, that it tooke into the city, and brent a great part therof, with the minſter of S. Peter, where no doubt many worthy workes and Monuments of bookes were conſumed. In the time whereof, the Danes by fauour of ſome of the citizens entred the citie, and ſlew more then iij. M. of the Normanes. But not long after King William chaſed them out and droue them to the ſhips, & tooke ſuche diſpleaſure with the inhabitaūtes of that countrey, that he deſtroied the land from Yorke to Durham, ſo that 9. yeres after, the prouince lay waſt and vnmanured, onely except S. Iohns land of Beuerley, & the people therof ſo ſtraitly being kept in penurye by the warre of the king, that (as our Engliſh ſtorie ſayeth) they eate rats, cats, and dogs, and other vermine.

Yorke with the minſter of S. Peter brent.

The north countrey waſted. Horrible famine in the north partes. Slaughter of Northumbland men. Scots ſubdued to K. William.

Alſo in the fourth yeare of this king, Malcolyn king of Scots, entred into Northumberland & deſtroyed the coūtrey, & ſlew there much of the people both of men, women and children after a lamentable ſorte, and tooke ſome priſoners. But within 2. yeares after, king William made ſuch warre vpon the Scottes, that he forced Malcolyn theyr king to doe him homage.

The continuall affliction and diſquietnes of this Realme of England. Fiue conqueſtes which haue bene in this Realme. Romaines, Scots and pictes, Saxons, Danes, Normandes.

And thus much concerning the outwarde calamities of this Realme, vnder this foreine Conquerour. Whych is nowe the fifth time that the ſayd land, with the inhabitaunce thereof hath bene ſcourged by the hande of God. Firſt by the Romaines in the time of Iulius Ceſar. Then by the Scottes and Pictes (as hath bene ſhewed) afterwarde by the Saxons. Againe, the Saxons or Engliſhmen did not enioy the poſſeſſion of Britain with long quiete, but were brought in as much ſubiection themſelues vnder the Danes, as they had brought the Britaines before (and that muche more) in ſo muche that throughe all England, if an Engliſhe man had mette a Dane vppon a bridge, he might not ſtirre one foote, before the Lord Dane (otherwiſe Lurdane) were paſt. And then if the Engliſhe man had not geuen lowe reuerence to the Dane, at hys comming by, he was ſure to be ſharpely puniſhed (wyth more) as aboue hath bene declared. And this ſubiection almoſte continued from the reigne of Kinge Ethelwolfus 230. yeares, till the reigne of king Edwarde. And yet the indignation of God thus ceaſed not: but ſtirred vp ẏ Normandes againſt them, who Conquered and altered the whole Realme after their owne purpoſe, inſomuche that beſides the innouation of the lawes, coignes, and poſſeſſions: there was in no Church of England almoſte anye Engliſh biſhop, but only Normands & forreiners placed through all their Dioces. To ſuche miſerie was this lande then brought vnto, that not onely of all the Engliſh nobilitie not one houſe was ſtanding: but alſo it was thought reprochfull to be called an Engliſh man. This puniſhmēt of God againſt the Engliſh nation, writers do aſſigne diuerſly to diuers cauſes (as partly before is touched) of whō ſome aſſigne this to be cauſe, as foloweth in the wordes of the ſtorie: In primitiua Angliæ Eccleſia religio clariſſimè ſplenduit, ita vt Reges & Reginæ, Duces & Epiſcopi, vel Monachatū, vel exilium pro Dei amore appeterent: proceſſu verò temporis adeo omnis virtus in eis emarcuit, vt gentem nullam proditione & nequitia ſibi parem eſſe permitterent. &c. The meanyng whereof is, that whereas Kings and Queenes, Dukes, and Prelates in the primitiue time of the Engliſh church, were ready for Religion, to forſake either liberty or countrey, and giue themſelues to a ſolitarie life: In proceſſe of time they grew to ſuch diſſolutenes, that they left no other realme like vnto them in iniquity. &c. Againe ſome writing of the viſion of king Edward a litle before the inuaſion of the Normāds: teſtify, how the king reporting of his owne viſion, ſhould heare, that for the great enormitye and miſbehauior of the heade Dukes, Biſhops, and Abbats of the realme: the kingdome ſhould be geuen to the hand of their enemies, after the deceaſe of him, for the ſpace of a C. yeres, and one day. Which ſpace was alſo ſeene by William conquerour, to be a hundreth yeres & fiftie: and that his progenie ſo long ſhould continue. Againe, ſome wryters entreating of this ſo great wrath of God vpon the Engliſhe people, declare the cauſe thereof, as foloweth. Nam ſicut Angl. Britones, quos Deus diſterminare propoſuerat (peccatis ſuis exigentibus) humiliuerant, & a terra Angliæ minus iniuſtè fugauerant: ſic ipſi duplici perſecutione. &c. Like as the Engliſhmen did ſubdue the Britons (whom God propoſed, for theyr deſeruings, to exterminate) and them vniuſtly did diſpoſſeſſe of their land: ſo they ſhould likewiſe be ſubdued and ſcourged with a double perſecution, firſt by ẏ Danes and after by the Normanes. &c. Moreouer to theſe iniuries and iniquities done, and wrought by the Engliſh men

Ex Henr. Hantington. Lib. 6.

Ex hiſtor. Iornalenſ.

England afflicted and ſcourged for iniquitie.

The viſion of K. Edward.

Engliſhmen ſcourged for their vniuſt oppreſſion of the Britaines.

Engliſhmen iuſtly ſcourged for their vniuſt cruelty againſt the Normands.

hetherto recited, let vs adde alſo the cruell villanie of this nation, in murdering and tything of the innocent Normans before: who comming as ſtraungers wyth Alrede the lawfull heire of the Crowne, were deſpitefully put to death. Which ſeemeth to me no little cauſe, why the Lorde (whoſe doings be alwaies iuſt & right) did ſuffer the Normans ſo to preuaile. By the cõming in of the which Normans, and by their quarel vnto the Realme, iij. things we may note & learne. Firſt to conſider and learne the righteous retribution, and wrath of God from heauen, vpon all iniquitie and vnrighteous dealing of men. Secondly, we may thereby note, what it is for Princes to leaue no iſſue or ſure ſucceſſion behinde them. Thirdly, what daungers often do chaunce to Realmes publiquely by foreine mariage with other Princes. &c.

Three thinges in this conqueſt to be noted.
Gods iuſt iudgement.
Lacke of ſucceſſion.
Foreine mariage.

Anno. 1070.

A councell holden at Wincheſter.
Might ouercommeth right.

In the ſame fourth yeare of this king, betwene Eaſter and Whitſontide, was holden a ſolemne councell at Wincheſter of ẏ clergy of England. At the which counſell were preſent two Cardinals, ſent from Pope Alexander 2. Peter, & Iohn. In this counſell the king being there himſelfe preſent, were depoſed diuers biſhops, Abbots, and priors (by the meanes of the king) wout any euident cauſe: to the intent his Normans might be preferred to the rule of the Church as he had preferred his knightes before to ẏ rule of the tẽporaltie, therby to ſtand in more ſurety of the land. Amongeſt whõ alſo Stigandus Archb. of Cant. was put downe, for 3. cauſes againſt him pretended.

Diuers Biſhops, Abbots, and priours depoſed in England.
Stigandus Archb. of Cant. depriued, and the cauſes why.

The firſt was, for that he had holden wrongfully that byſhoprike, while Robert the Archbiſhop (aboue mẽtioned, pag. 156.) was liuing.

The ſeconde was, for that he had receiued the palle of Benedict byſhop of Rome the fifth of that name. Whyche Benedict, for buying his Popedome, had bene depoſed, as is ſhewed before.

The thirde cauſe, for that he occupied the ſaid palle wout licenſe and lawfull autoritie of the court of Rome.

Faire countenaunce not to be truſted.

Then Stigandus wel proued the beneuolence of king William. For where before the king ſeemed in frendly cõtenance to make much of him, and did vnto him great reuerence: then he chaunged all his mildeneſſes into ſternes, & excuſed himſelfe by ẏ biſhops of Romes autority: So that in the ende, Stigandus was depriued of his dignitie, and kept in Wincheſter, as a priſoner during his life. This Stigandus is noted for a man ſo couetous and ſparing, that when he would take nothing of his owne, and ſwearing that he had not a penie, yet by a key faſtned about his necke, was found great treaſours of his vnder the groũd.

A couetous Byſhop.

Thomas made Archb. of York.
Lanfrancus an Italian Archb. of Canterb.

At the ſame time was preferred to the Archbiſhoprike of Yorke, Thomas a Normand, and Chanon of Baion.

At which time alſo Lanfrancus Abbot of Cadomonencie (a Lumbard, and Italian borne) was ſent for, and made Archbyſhop of Cant. betweene which two Archbyſhops about their cõſecration, firſt began a contention, for geuing & taking the othe of obedience, but that contention was at that time appeaſed by the king. And Thomas contented to ſubſcribe to the Archbiſhop of Cant. obedience.

The minſter of Yorke builded.

The geuing of the palle.

Diſt.100. Cap. Priſca.

Diſt.100. cap. Nouit.
Ex Lib. grauaminum nationis Germanica.

Iacobus Archb. of Mentz.

Eneas Siluius writeth to be 50. Biſhoprickes in Germany.

After this it followed within ſhort ſpace, that the ſayde Lanfrancus and Thomas Archbyſhop of Yorke, who firſt builded the minſter of Yorke, & gaue poſſeſſions therunto: came to Rome with Remigius Byſhop of Dorceſter, for their palles, as the maner was: without which, no Archbiſhop nor biſhop could be cõfirmed, although their election were neuer ſo lawfull. This palle muſt be aſked no where but of the Pope or his aſſignes, and that wythin 3. monethes: alſo it muſt be aſked not faintly but mightely: Diſt.C cap.priſca. Which, as it was a chargeable thing to other nations (eſpecially ſuche as were far from Rome) ſo it was no ſmall gaine to the Romiſh ſea, ſo as they did order it: for although at the beginning the palle was geuẽ without money, according to the decree. Diſt.C. or for litle, as percaſe in this time of Lanfrank: yet in proceſſe of yeres it grew to ſuch exceſſe, that where the biſhoprik of Mentz was wonte to geue to Rome but x. M. Florences: afterward it aroſe ſo, that he that aſked to haue his confirmation, coulde not obtaine it, without xx. M. And from thence it exceded to xxv. M. and at length to xxvij. M. Florences: which ſumme Iacobus Archbyſhop of Mentz was preſt to paie, a little before the councell of Baſill: in ſo much that the ſayde Iacobus, at his departing (which was wythin foure yeares after) ſayde, that his death did not ſo muche grieue hym, as to remember hys poore ſubiectes, whyche ſhuld be conſtrained to pay ſo terrible a fine for the Popes palle. Nowe by this what did riſe to the Pope in whole Germanie, containing in it aboue 50. Byſhopprickes, it may be eaſely coniectured. Lanfrancus thus comming to Rome, with the other two Byſhops: he for the eſtimation of his learning, obtained of Alexander two palles, one of honour, the other of loue. Item, he obtained for the other two Biſhops alſo their confirmation. At which time, they being there preſent before Alexander: the controuerſie began firſt to be moued (or rather renewed) for the primacie betwixt the two metropolitanes, that is betwixt the archbiſhop of Canterburie, and Archbiſhop of York, whether of them ſhoulde haue preeminence aboue the other: For Canterburie chalenged to himſelfe prerogatiue and the primacie, ouer whole Britanie, and Irelande: the whiche contention continued a long ſeaſon, betwixt theſe ij. churches, and was often renued in the daies of diuers kinges after this: as in the reigne of Henrie the firſte, betwixte Thurſtinus of Yorke, and Radolphus of Canterburie. And againe in the 27. yeare of the ſayd king, at his ſeconde coronation: for Radolphus woulde not ſuffer the firſt coronation to ſtande, becauſe it was done by the Byſhop of Yorke, without his aſſent. Alſo in the reigne of Henry the ſecond, where Alexander Pope made a letter decretall betwixt theſe ij. Metropolitanes, for bearing the croſſe. An. M.Clix. Alſo an other time, in the raigne of the ſaid king, betwixt Richard of Canterburie, and Roger of Yorke: againe about the yere of the Lord. M.Clxx. when Thomas Becket, hearing the king to be crowned of Roger byſhop of Yorke: complained thereof grieuouſly to Pope Alexander the third. Item an other time. An. M.Clxxvj. betwixt Richard, and the ſayde Roger, whether of them ſhould ſit on the right hande of Cardinall Hugo, in his Councell at London. Moreouer, in the beginning of the reign of king Richard, An. M.Cxc. betwixt Baldwinus of Canterburie, and Godfridus of Yorke. &c.

Now to procede in the ſtory hereof. After this queſtion was brought as is ſaid, to the Popes preſence (he not diſpoſed to decide the matter) ſent them home vnto Englãd, there to haue their cauſe determined. Whereupon they ſpeding thẽſelues frõ Rome, to Englãd an. M.lxx. and the 6. yeare (as is ſayd) of this William: brought the matter before the king and the clergy, at Windſore. Whereas Lancfrank firſt alledging for himſelfe, brought in, from the time of Auſten, to ẏ time of Bede (which was about 140. yeres) how that the Byſhop of Cant. had euer the primacie ouer the whole land of Britaine, and Ireland: how he kept his Coũcels diuers times within the precincts of Yorke: how he did call and cite the Byſhops of Yorke thereto: whereof ſome he did conſtitute, ſome he did excõmunicat, & ſome he did remoue: beſides alſo he alledged diuers priuileges grãted by princes and prelates to the primacie of that ſea. &c.

To this Thomas Archbiſh. of Yorke replieth againe, and firſt beginning with the firſt originall of the Britains Church, declareth in order of time, how the Britanes. &c.

Lucius the firſt king of Britanie chriſtened.
Theonus firſt Archb. of London.

¶ The Britaines firſt poſſeſſioners of this kingdome of Britaine, which endured from Brutus & Cadwalader 2076. yeares vnder an hundreth and ij. Kynges, at length receaued the Chriſtian faith. Anno. Clxij. in the tyme of Lucius their king. Eleutherius Byſhop of Rome, ſent Faganus and Damanus, preachers vnto them, at which time after theyr conuerſion, they aſſigned and ordeined in the Realme 28. Byſhops, with two Archbiſhops Theonus the Archbyſhop of London, and Theodocens Archbiſhop of Yorke. Under thoſe Byſhops and Archbiſhops the church of Britaine was gouerned, after their conuerſion, almoſt. 300. yeares, till at length the Saxons being then infidels, with Hengiſtus their king, ſubdued ẏ Britans by fraudulẽt murder, and inuaded their land: which was about the yere of the Lorde. 440. After this the Britans being driuen into Cambria (which we now cal Wales) the Saxons ouerrunning the land, deuided thẽſelues into 7. kingdomes. And ſo being infidels and Paganes, cõtinued, til the time that Gregory Byſhop of Rome, ſent Auguſtinus, to preach vnto them: which Auſten comming firſt to Douer, being then the head Citie of Kent, called in Latine Dorobernia, and there planting himſelfe, conuerted firſt the king of Kent, called Edilbertus: who had thẽ ſubdued certaine other kings vnto Humber. By reaſon whereof Auguſtine was made Archbiſhop of Douer, by the appoyntment of Gregorius, who ſent him certaine Palles, with his letter from Rome, which before is expreſſed, pa. 158. Which letter being recited, then Thomas expoũding vpon the ſame, beginneth to declare for himſelfe, howe the meaning of Gregory in this letter, was to reduce the new Church of Saxons, or Engliſhmen, to the order that was in the old time among the Britanes: that is, to be vnder 2. Metropolitanes, one of London, the other of York: for ſo the Church was ordered in the time of the Britanes, as is before declared. Notwithſtanding, he geueth to Auſten thys prerogatiue during his life time, to haue authoritie & iuriſdiction, not onely ouer his 12. Byſhoppes, but vpon all other Biſhops and Prieſts in England. And after his deceaſe,

Ex Chron. Sigeberti.

Douer the head citie of Kent.

This was about 150. yeares after the comming of the Saxons.

ceaſe, then theſe 2. metropolitanes, London and Yorke, to ouerſee the whole Clergie, as in times paſt, amongeſt the Britaines: whõ he ioyneth together after the death of Auguſtine, to conſtitute Biſhops, and to ouerſee the Church. And that he ſo meaneth, London to be equall in authoritie with Yorke, it appeareth by 4. argumentes: Firſt, that he wil London to be conſecrate by no Biſhop, but of his own Sinode. Secondly, in that he willeth no diſtinction of honor to be betwixt London and Yorke, but according only, to that as eche of them is elder in time. Thirdly for that he matcheth theſe two together in common coũſell, and with one agreement to conſent together in doing and diſpoſing ſuch things, as they ſhall conſult vpõ in the zeale of Chriſt Ieſus: and that in ſuch ſort, that one ſhould not diſſent nor diſcorde from the other. What meaneth thys, but that they ſhould gouerne together, whome he woulde not to diſſent together? Fourthly, where he wryteth, that the biſhop of Yorke ſhould not be ſubiect to the biſhop of London: what meaneth this, but that the Biſhop of London ſhould be equiualent with the Metropolitane of Yorke, or rather ſuperiour vnto him?

Lancfrancus replyeth.

And thus he expounded the meaning of Gregory, to be in the foreſaid letter. To whom Lancfrancus, againe aunſwereth, that he was not the Byſhop of London, and that the queſtion pertained not to London. Thomas replieth, hauing on his part many fautours, yͭ this priuiledge was graũted, by Gregory, to Auguſtine alone, to haue al other Byſhops ſubiect to him: but after his diſceaſe, there ſhould be equalitie of honor, betwixt London, and York, without all diſtinction of pryoritie ſaue the onely prioritie of time ſhuld make ſuperiority betwene them. And although Auguſtin tranſlated the ſeat from London to Kent, yet Gregory, if his mind had bene, to geue the ſame prerogatiue to the ſucceſſors of Auſten (which he gaue to him) would expreſly haue vttered it in the words of his Epiſtle, writing thus to Auſten. That which I geue to thee Auſten, I geue alſo and graunt to al thy ſucceſſors after thee. But in that, he maketh heere no mention of his ſucceſſors, it appeareth thereby, that it was not his minde ſo to do.

Thomas argueth.

Lancfrancus replyeth.

To this Lancfrancus argueth again. If this authority had bene geuen to Auſten alone, & not to his ſucceſſors, it had bene but a ſmal gift, proceeding from the Apoſtolike ſeate, to his ſpeciall and familiar frend: eſpecially ſeeing alſo that Auſten, in all his life, did conſtitute no Byſhop of Yorke, neither was there any ſuch Biſhop to be ſubiect to him. Againe we haue Priuileges from the Apoſtolike ſea, which confirme this dignitie in the ſucceſſors of Auſten, in the ſame ſeat of Douer. Moreouer, all Engliſhmen thinke it, both right and reaſon, to fetch the directiõ of wel liuing, from that place, where firſt they tooke the ſparkle of right beleuing. Farther, where as you ſay, that Gregory might haue confirmed with plaine wordes, the ſame thing, to the ſucceſſours of Auſten, which he gaue vnto him: all that I graunt: yet notwithſtanding, this is nothing preiudiciall to the ſeat of Canterburie. For, if you know your Logike, that which is true in the whole, is alſo true in the parte: And what is true in the more, is alſo true in the les. Now the Church of Rome is, as the whole, to whome all other Churches be as partes thereof. And as Homo. i. mankinde is Genus i. the general, in a certaine reſpect to al his Indiuidua. i. to all particular perſons, and yet in euery particular perſon lieth the propertie of the generall: ſo in like maner, the ſea of Rome, in a certain reſpect, is the general and the whole, to other churches, & yet in euery particular church is contained the whole fulnes of the whole chriſtian faith. That Church of Rome is greater then all Churches, that which is wrought in it, ought to worke in the leſſe Churches alſo: ſo that the authority of euery chiefe head of the church, ought to ſtand alſo in thẽ, yͭ do ſuccede: vnles there be any preciſe exceptiõ made by name. Wherfore, like as yͤ Lord ſaid, to al biſhops of Rome, the ſame thing, which he ſaid to Peter: ſo Gregory in like maner ſaid to all the ſucceſſors of Auſten, that which he ſaid to Auſten. So thus I conclude, likewiſe as the biſhop of Canterburie is ſubiect to Rome, becauſe hee had his Faith from thence, ſo Yorke ought to be in ſubiection to Cant. which ſent the firſt preachers thether. Now, where as you alledge, that Gregorie would Auſten to be reſident at Lõdon: that is vtterly vncertaine. For how is it to be thought that ſuche a Diſciple, wold do contrary to the mind of ſuch a maſter? But graũt, as you ſay, that Auſten remoued to London: what is that to me, which am not biſhop of London? Notwithſtãding, all this cõtrouerſy ceaſing betwixt vs, if it ſhal pleaſe you, to come to ſome peaceable compoſition with me (all contention ſet apart) you ſhall finde me not out of the way, ſo farre as reaſon and equitie ſhall extend.

The dignitie of Caut. confirmed by priuileges.

Well replyed of an Italian.

If this ſimilitude were formed into a ſilogiſme, neyther were the Maior true. And ſpecially the minor were vtterly falſe.

With theſe reaſons of Lancfranke, Thomas gaue ouer, condeſcending that the firſt of his prouince ſhoulde begin at Humber.

Order taken betwene Lancfrancus Biſh. of Canterbury and Thomas Biſhop of Yorke.

Whereupon it was then decreed, that Yorke from that time, ſhould be ſubiect to Caunterbury, in all matters appertaining to the rites & regiment of the catholike church: So that whereſoeuer within Englãd, Canterbury ſhuld or would hold his Councel, the Byſhop of Yorke ſhoulde reſort thether, with his Byſhops, and be obedient to hys decrees canonicall.

Prouided moreouer, that when the biſhop of Canterbury ſhould deceaſe, Yorke ſhould repair to Douer, there to conſecrate with other, the Byſhop that ſhoulde be elect. And if Yorke ſhould deceaſe, his ſucceſſor ſhould reſorte to Cãterbury, or els, where the byſhop of Cãterbury ſhould appoint, there to receiue his cõſecration, making his profeſſion there wͭ an othe of Canonicall obedience. Thomas being content wͭall, Lancfrancus the Italian triumpheth with no ſmall ioy: and putteth the matter forthwͭ in wryting, that the memory therof might remain to the poſterity of his ſucceſſors. But yet that decree did not long ſtand. For ſhortly after, the ſame ſcar ſo ſuperficially cured, braſt out againe. Inſomuch yͭ in the reigne of king Henrie the firſt. An. Domini 1121. Thurſtinus Archbyſhop of Yorke could not be cõpelled to ſweare to the Archbiſhop of Canterbury: and yet notwithſtanding, by the letters of Calixtus 2. was conſecrate without any profeſſion made to the ſayde Byſhop, wyth much more matter of contention: all which to recite it were too long. But this I thought to commit to hiſtorie, to the intent men might ſee the lamentable decay of true Chriſtianitie amongeſt Chriſten Byſhops: who inflamed with glorious ambition, ſo contended for honor, that without mere forcemẽt of law, no modeſtie could take place.

Of ſuch like contentions among Prelates of the Clergie, for ſuperioritie, we read of diuers in olde Chronicles: as in the hiſtory intituled Chronicon Hirſſeldenſe, where is declared a bloudy conflict, which twiſe hapned in yͤ church of Goſlaria, betwene Hecion biſhop of Hildeſheime, and Wideratus biſhop of Fulda: and all for the ſuperior place, who ſhould ſit next to the Emperour, the Emperour hymſelfe being there preſent, and looking on them, and yet not able to ſtay them.

Thus I haue deſcribed the troublous contention betwene Lancfrancus, & Thomas Metropolitane of Yorke in the daies of Alexander, of which controuerſie and of the whole diſcourſe thereof: Lanfrancus writeth to Pope Alexander beginning thus.

A letter of Lanfrancus ſent to Pope Alexander.

Domino totius Chriſtianæ religionis ſummo ſpeculatori Alex. Papæ. Lancfrancus ſanctæ Dorobernenſis Eccleſiæ antiſtes, debitam cum omni ſeruitute obedientiam. In concilio quod Angliæ per veſtram autoritatem coactum eſt, vbi querelæ Thomæ Archiepiſcopi prolatæ & ventilatæ ſunt, allata eſt Eccleſiaſtica gẽtis Anglorum hiſtoria, quam Eboracenſis Eccleſiæ præsbyter, & Anglorum Doctor Beda compoſuit: and ſo forth in a long proceſſe of wordes which followe. Among whiche in the middle of the epiſtle, ſpeaking of Douer and Canterbury, he hath theſe wordes. Vrbs namque, quæ nunc Cãtuarberia nominatur, antiquis temporibus, ab ipſius terræ incolis Dorobernia vocabatur. &c. with many other wordes in the ſaid Epiſtle, which for breuitie here I ouerpaſſe.

Byſhops ſeates tranſlated into England.

In the ſtory before of king Egelrede, was declared about the yeare of our Lord. M. xvj. how the Biſhoprik of Lindaffarne otherwiſe named holy lande, in the floude of Twede, was tranſlated to Durham: ſo likewiſe in the dayes of this Lancfrancus Archbiſhop of Cant. Anno M. lxxvj. diuers Biſhops ſeates, were altered and remoued from towneſhips to greater Cities. As the Byſhoprike of Seleſe was remoued to Chicheſter, out of Cornewall to Exeter, from Welles to Bathe: from Shyrburne to Saleſbury: from Dorceſter to Lincolne, from Lichfield to Cheſter: which Byſhopricke of Cheſter, Robert being then Byſhop reduced from Cheſter to Couentrie. Likewiſe after that in the raigne of William Ruſus. An. 1095. Herbert Biſhop of Thetford, from thence reduced the ſeat to Norwige. &c.

As concerning Douer and Caunterbury, whether the ſea, was likewiſe tranſlated frõ the towne of Douer to the City of Cant. in the time of Theodorus: or whether Canterbury by old time had the name of Dorobernia (as yͤ letter of Lancfrancus to Pope Alexander, aboue mentioned, doth pretend) I finde it not in hiſtories expreſſely defined. Saue that I read by yͤ words of William being yet Duke of Normandie, charging then Harolde to make a welle of water for the kings vſe in the Caſtel of Dorobernia: that the ſaid Dorobernia then was taken for that which nowe we call Douer: but whether Dorobernia and the Citie of Cant, be both one or diuers, the matter is not great. Not-

Dorobernia and Canterbury takē both for one.

withſtanding this I read in the epiſtle of Pope Bonifacius to king Ethelbert, as alſo to Iuſtinus Archbiſh. Item in the epiſtle of pope Honorius, to biſhop Honorius. Itē, of Pope Vitalianus, to Theodorus: of Pope Sergius to king Ethelred, Alfred, and Adulphus, and to the Biſhops of england. Likewiſe of pope Gregory the 3. to yͤ Biſhops of England. Item of Pope Leo to Atherlard Archbyſhop of Cant. Of Formoſus to the biſhops of England: and of Pope Iohn to Dunſtane, that the name of Dorobernia & of Canterbury indifferently are taken for one matter.

A councell holden at London, and what were the actes thereof.

In this time (and by the procuring of this Lancfrancus) the 9. yere of this king: a councel was holden at London, where among the actes thereof, theſe were the principall things concluded.

1. For the order of ſitting: that the Archbiſhop of Yorke ſhould ſit on the right hand, and the Byſhop of London of the left hand: or in the abſence of Yorke, London ſhoulde haue the right, and wincheſter the left hand of the Archbyſhop of Cant. ſitting in counſell.
2. The ſeconde, that Biſhops ſhoulde tranſlate their ſees from villages into cities: wherupon thoſe ſees aboue named were tranſlated.
3. That Monkes ſhould haue nothing in proper. And if any ſo had, he dying vnconfeſſed, ſhoulde not be buried in the Churchyard.
4. That no Clerke or Monke of an other dioceſſe, ſhould be admitted to orders, or retained without letters cōmendatorie or teſtimoniall.
5. That none ſhould ſpeake in the Cōucel except biſhops and Abbots, without leaue of the Archmetropolitanes.
6. That none ſhould marry within the 7. degree, with any either of his owne kinred, or of his wiues departed.
7. That none ſhoulde either buy or ſell any office wythin the Church.
8. That no ſorcerie nor any diuination, ſhould be vſed or permitted in holy Church.
9. That no biſhop nor abbot, nor any of the clergy: ſhould be at the iudgement of any mans death or diſmembring, neither ſhould be any fautor of the ſayd iudicantes.

Biſhops of England about to driue out Monkes and to place prieſtes agayne in their ſteede.

Moreouer, in the dayes of this Lancfrancus, diuers good biſhops of the realme, began to take part with prieſts againſt the monkes, in diſplacing theſe out of their Churches, and to reſtore the maried Prieſts againe: in ſo much that walkelmus biſhop of wint. had placed aboue 40. canons in ſtede of monkes for his part: but this godly enterpriſe was ſtopped by ſtout Lancfranke the Italian Lombard. This luſtie Prelate ſate 19. yeares, but at latter end, he was not ſo fauored of william Rufus, and died for ſorowe. Although this Italian Franke being Archbiſhop: had litle leiſure to write, yet ſomething he thought to doe, to ſet out his famous learning, and wrote a Booke againſt Berengarius, intituling it: Opus Scintillarum. The olde church of Cant. he plucked downe & builded vp the new.

Opus Scintillarum Lanfranci.

Anno, 1074.

Hildebrandus ſeu Gregor.7. Hildebrand the cauſe of all this ſtoutnes and pride in prelates.

After the death of Pope Alexander aboue mentioned, next to him folowed Hildebrād ſurnamed Gregory the 7. This Hildebrand as he was a ſorcerer, ſo was he the firſt and principal cauſe of all this perturbation that is nowe & hath bene, ſince his time in the Church: by reaſon that through his example, all this ambition, ſtoutnes & pride, entred firſt into the church of Rome, & hath euer ſince continued. For before Hildebrandus came to Rome, working there his feates: ſetting vp and diſplacing what Byſhops he liſted: corrupting them with pernicious counſell, and ſetting them againſt Emperors: vnder pretence of chaſtitie deſtroying matrimonie: and vnder the title of libertie, breaking peace and reſiſting authoritie: before this (I ſay) the church of Rome was in ſome order, & biſhops quietly gouerned vnder chriſten Emperors, and alſo were defended by the ſame. As Marcellus, Melciades, and Silueſter were ſubdued, and vnder obedience to Conſtantinus. an. 340. Syricus to Theodoſius. Anno. 388. Gregorius to Mauritius. An. 600. Hilarius to Iuſtinian. An. 528. Adrianus and Leo to Carolus Magnus: An. 801. Paſchalis and Valentius to Ludouicus Pius. an. 830. Sergius 29. vnto Lotharius. An. 840. Benedictus the 3. and Ioannes the 9. vnto Ludouicus ſonne of Lotharius. an. 856. But againſt this obedience and ſubiection Hildebrād firſt began to ſpurne, and by his example taught all other Biſhops to do the like.

The obedience of Biſhops in auncient tyme to Emperours.

What Popes haue done.

In ſomuch, that at length they wrought and brought to paſſe, to be lawful for a fewe curtiſans & Cardinals (contrary to auncient ordinance and ſtatutes decretal) to chuſe what Pope they liſt, without any conſent of the Emperor at all. And where as before it ſtoode in the Emperors gift, to geue and graunt Byſhopriks, Archbiſhopriks, benefices and other Eccleſiaſticall prefermentes within theyr owne limites, to whom they liſt: now the Popes through much wraſtling, warres, and contention, haue extorted al that into their owne hāds, and to their aſſignes: yea, haue pluckt in, all the riches & power of the whole worlde. And not cōtent with that, haue vſurped and preuailed ſo much aboue Emperors: that, (as before) no Pope might be choſen wᵗout the cōfirmation of the Emperor: ſo now no Emperor may be elected wᵗout the confirmation of the Pope, taking vpon them more then Princes, to place or diſplace Emperours at their pleaſure, for euery light cauſe: to put downe, or to ſet vp when, & whom they liſted: as Fridericus Primus, for holding the left ſtirrup of the popes ſadel, was perſecuted almoſte to excommunication. The which cauſe moueth me to ſtraine more diligence here, in ſetting out the hiſtory, actes, and doings of this Hildebrand: from whom, as the firſt patron and founder, ſprang al this ambition & contention, about the liberties & dominion of the Romane church: to the intent, that ſuch as cā not read the Latine hiſtories, may vnderſtand in Engliſh, the original of euils: howe, and by what occaſion they firſt began, and how long they haue continued.

Popes mo then Prin ces.

Frideric primus, ſheut for holding th Popes le ſtirrup.

And firſt howe this Hildebrand hetherto had behaued himſelfe before he was Pope, I haue partly declared. For though he was not yet Pope in name, yet he was there Pope in deede, & ruled the Pope and all their doinges, as him liſted. Item what waies and fetches he had attempted euer ſince his firſt comming to the Courte of Rome, to magnifie and maintaine falſe libertie, againſt true authoritie: what practiſe he wrought by Cōucels, what factions and conſpiracies he made, in ſtirring vp Popes againſt Emperours, ſtriuing for ſuperioritie: and what warres followed therof, I haue alſo expreſſed. Now let vs ſee further (by the helpe of Chriſte) the worthy vertues of this princely prelate, after he came to be Pope, as they remaine in hiſtories of diuers and ſondry writers deſcribed.

Ex Auen no & alij.

The tragicall hiſtorie of Gregorie the vij.

otherwiſe named Hildebrand.

Gregory 7. *Ex Auen no.*

THe words of the latine hiſtorie be theſe: Hactenus pontifices Rom. comitijs curiatis, calatis, a ſacerdotibus, equitatu, plebe, Senatu. &c. In Engliſh: Hetherto the Byſhoppes of Rome haue bene elected by voyces, and ſuffrages, of all ſortes and degrees, as well of the Prieſts and the Clergy, as of the nobilitie, people, and Senate, all conuenting and aſſembling together. And this election ſo I finde to ſtande in force, if ſo be it were ratified and confirmed, by the conſent of Romane Emperors: who had authoritie to call and to aſſemble all theſe, as well, as Byſhops together, vnto councels, as caſe required. Vnder the authoritie and iuriſdiction of theſe Emperours, were contained both in Germany, Fraunce, Italy, and through the whole dominion of Rome, all Patriarches, Biſhops, maſters of Churches and Monaſteries, by the decree of Councels, according to the olde cuſtome of our aunceters, as is declared in a certaine ſtorie, in the life of Carolus Magnus. The holy and auncient fathers (like as Chriſt our Lorde with his diſciples and Apoſtles both taught and did) honoured and eſteemed their Emperours, as the ſupreame poteſtate next vnder God in earth, ſet vp, ordained, elected and crowned of God, aboue all other mortall men, and ſo counted them, and called them their Lords. To them they yelded tribute, and paide their ſubſidies. Alſo prayed euery day for their life. Such as rebelled againſt them, they tooke as rebelles and reſiſters againſt God his ordinance, and chriſtian pietie. The name of the Emperor then was of great maieſtie, and receiued as geuen from God. Then theſe fathers of the Church neuer intermedled, nor intangled themſelues with politike affaires of the common weale: muche leſſe they occupied Marciall armes, and matters of cheualrie. Onely in pouertie and modeſtie, was all their contention with other Chriſtians, who ſhoulde be pooreſt, and moſt modeſt amōgſt them. And the more humblenes appeared in any, the higher opiniō they cōceiued of him. The ſharpe and two edged ſworde they tooke, geuen to the Churche of Chriſt, to ſaue, and not to kill: to quicken, & not to deſtroy: and called it the ſworde of the ſpirite, which is the word of God, the life and light of men, and reuoketh from death to life, making of men, Gods: of mortall, immortall. Farre were they from that, to thruſt out any Prince or Kyng (though he were neuer ſo farre out of the way, yea an Arrian) from his kingdome: or to curſe him, to releaſe hys ſubiects from their oth and their allegeance, to change and tranſlate kingdoms, to ſubuert empires, to pollute themſelues with Chriſten bloude, or to warre with their Chriſtian brethren for rule & principalitie. This was not their ſpirite & maner then, but rather they loued & obeyed their Princes. Again Princes loued them alſo, like fathers and fellow princes with them of the ſoules of men. Now this

The ſtate and maner of the olde Church in tymes pa

Reuerence and obedience in old time geuen to princes.

The maners and vertue of the forefathers deſcribed.

The ambitious preſumption of Hildebrand.

Ex Auentino, qui inuenit in inſtrumentis donationū.

Prieſtes wiues called *preſbiteriſſæ*, in old chapter ſeales.

Hildebrand a mortall enemy agaynſt Prieſtes mariage.

Prieſtes maryage made hereſie.

Ottho Biſhop of Cōſtance.

Gregorius the ſeuenth, otherwiſe named Hildebrandus, truſting vpon the Normains which then ruſled about Apulia, Calabria, and Campania, truſting alſo vpon the power of Machtilda, a ſtout woman thereabout Rome, & partly again, bearing himſelf bold for the diſcord among the Germains: firſt of all other (contrary to the maner of elders) contemning the authoritie of the emperour, inuaded the Cathedrall ſea of Rome, vauncing himſelfe as hauing both the eccleſiaſtical and temporal ſword committed to him by Chriſt, & that fulnes of power was in his hande to bind and looſe what ſo he liſted. Wherupon thus he preſumed to occupy both the regiments, to chalenge all the whole dominion, both of the Eaſt & Weſt church, yea and all power to himſelf alone, abiding none to be equal, much leſſe ſuperior to him, derogating from other, and arrogating to himſelfe their due right and honor, ſetting at light Ceſars, kings, and Emperours, and who raigned but by his owne godamercy? Biſhops and Prelates as his vnderlings, he kept in awe: ſuſpending and curſing, & chopping of their heads, ſtirring vp ſtrife and warres, ſowyng of diſcord, making factions, releaſing othes, defeating fidelitie and due allegeance of ſubiects to their princes. Yea and if he had offended or iniured the Emperour himſelfe, yet notwithſtanding he ought to be feared, as he himſelfe glorieth in a certain epiſtle, as one that could not erre, and had receiued of Chriſt our ſauiour, and of Peter, authoritie to bynd and vnbind at his will and pleaſure. Prieſtes thē in thoſe daies had wiues openly and lawfully (no law forbidding to the contrary) as appeareth by the deede and writings of their chapter ſeales & donations, which were geuen to temples and monaſteries, wherein their wyues alſo be cited with them for witnes, and were called preſbiteriſſæ. Alſo for Biſhops, Prelates, Perſons of Churches, gouernors of the Clergy, maiſters of monaſteries, & religious houſes, all theſe were then in thoſe times in the emperors ordination, to aſſigne by voice or conſent to whom he would. Now theſe two things Gregorius this Pope could not abide. For the which two cauſes onely, was all his ſtriuing and driuing from his firſt beginning, to aboliſh the mariage of Prieſts, and to tranſlate the authoritie Imperiall to the Clergy. For to this ſcope only tended all his labour, practiſes and deuiſes, as appeared before in the councell of Lateran, vnder Pope Nicolas, and alſo in the councell of Mantua, vnder Alexander, making their mariage hereſie, and the other to be ſimonie. And that which before he went about by other, now he practiſeth by hymſelf to condemne miniſters that were maried, for Nicolaitans, and to receiue any ſpirituall regiment of ſecular perſons for ſimonie. Directing forth his letters vpō the ſame to Henricus the Emperour, to Dukes, Princes, Poteſtates, Tetrarkes: namely, to Berchtoldus, to Rodulphus of Swenia, to Whelpho, Adalberon, & their wiues. Item, to biſhops, Archbiſhops, to Prieſts, and to all the people, in the which letters he denounceth them to bee no prieſts, ſo many as were maried, forbidding men to ſalute them, to talke, to eate, to company with them, to pay them tithes, or to obey thē, if they would not be obedient to him. Amongſt all other, he directed ſpecial letters to Ottho biſhop of Conſtance, concerning this matter. But Ottho perceiuyng the vngodlye and vnreaſonable pretence of Hildebrand, would neyther ſeperate them that were maried from their wyues, nor yet forbid thē to marrie, which were vnmaried, &c.

❧ *The copy of the letter of Hildebrand, ſent to the biſhop of Conſtance againſt prieſts mariages.*

Ottho cited to appeare for ſuffering prieſtes with their lawfull wyues.

The Pope diſpenſeth for diſobedience.

Gregorius biſhop, ſeruaunt of ſeruants of God, to the Clergie and laitie, both more and leſſe within the Dioces of Conſtancie, ſalutation and benediction. We haue directed to our brother Ottho your biſhop, our letters exhortatory: wherin we enioined him, according to the neceſſitie of our duetie, by the authoritie Apoſtolicall, that he ſhould vtterly aboliſh out of his Church the hereſie of ſimonie, and alſo ſhould cauſe with all diligence to bee preached the chaſtitie of prieſts. But he neither moued with reuerence of S.Peters precept, nor yet with the regard of his duty, neglected to do theſe things, whereunto we ſo fatherly haue exhorted him, incurring thereby a double offence, not onely of diſobedience, but alſo of rebellion, in that he hath gone and done cleane contrary to our commaundement (yea rather the commaundement of bleſſed S Peter) ſo that he hath permitted his clergy not onely ſuch as had wiues, not to put them away, but alſo ſuch as had none, to take vnto them. Whereupon, we beyng truely informed thereof, and agrieued therewith, haue directed to him an other letter, declaring the motion of our diſpleaſure and indignation. In which letters alſo we haue cited him vp to our Councell at Rome, there to appeare and geue account of his diſobedience, in the audience of the whole Synode. And nowe therefore we thought it beſt to ſignifie this to you (our deare children) whereby in this behalfe we might the better prouide for your health & ſaluation. For if your biſhop ſhall continue ſo obſtinately to repugne aud reſiſt againſt our commaundement, he is not meete to ſit ouer you, &c. Wherfore theſe ſhall be to commaund you, & all them that be obedient to God, and to bleſſed S.Peter, by our Apoſtolicall authoritie, that if this your Biſhop ſhall perſiſt in his obſtinacie, you that be his ſubiects, hereafter geue to him no ſeruice, nor obediēce. For the which thing doyng, we here diſcharge you before God and your ſoules. For if your biſhop ſhall ſeeme contrary to the decreements & iniunctions Apoſtolicall. We through the Apoſtolicall authoritie of S.Peter, diſcharge and abſolue you frō the band of your allegeāce to him. So that if you be ſworne to him, ſo long as he is a rebell againſt God, and the Apoſtolike ſeat, we loſe you from the peril of your othe, that you ſhall not need to feare therein no daunger, &c.

Three thinges enacted by Hildebrand. Here commeth in the vow of chaſtitie.

Ottho biſhop of Conſtance thus being cited, whether he did appeare perſonally himſelfe, I doe not reade. This I read and find, that in the ſayd councel holden at Rome, Hildebrand with other biſhops of Rome, did then enacte amongſt many other, theſe three things moſt ſpecial. Firſt that no Prieſt hereafter ſhould marrie wiues. Secondly, that all ſuch as were married ſhould be diuorſt. Thirdly, that none hereafter ſhould be admitted to yͤ order of prieſthood, but ſhould ſweare perpetual chaſtitie, &c. This cōcell of Rome beyng ended, forthwith the act of Hildebrād, concerning the ſingle life of Prieſts, was proclaymed and publiſhed in all places, and ſtraight commaundement geuen to biſhops to execute the ſame.

✼ *The Copy of his Bull ſent into Italie and Germanie, was this.*

Gregory the Pope, otherwiſe Hildebrand, the ſeruaunt of the ſeruaunts of God, ſendeth the Apoſtles bleſſing to all them within the kingdoms of Italy and Germany, that ſhew their true obedience to S.Peter If there be any Prieſts, Deacons and Subdeacons, that ſtill will remayne in the ſinne of fornication. We forbid them the Churches entrance, by the omnipotent power of God, and by the aucthoritie of S.Peter, till tyme they amend and repent. But if they perſeuere in their ſinne, we charge that none of you preſume to heare their ſeruice For their bleſſing is turned into curſing, and their prayer into ſinne, as the Lord doth teſtifie to vs by his Prophets. I will turne your bleſſing, &c.

The Clergy of Fraunce repugning for deuorcing from their wyues.

The biſhops of France being called vpon daily, with the popes letters, were compelled to obey the decree of the councel, but the reſidue of the clergy manfully and ſtoutly withſtanding the Popes decree, and inforcement of their biſhops would not agree, but repined thereat, & ſayd, that the councell did manifeſtly repugne agaynſt the worde of God, & that the Pope did take from Prieſtes, that whiche both God and nature had geuen them, and therefore that perſon to be an heretike, and Author of a wicked doctrine, which ruled and gouerned not by the ſpirit of God, but by Sathan. The decree and act ſet forth, to tende directly againſt the word of God, and the ſaying of Chriſt: Non omnes capiunt verbum hoc, all men haue not the gift and capacitie of the word. Item, to be againſt the ſound doctrine of S. Paule writing theſe wordes: As concerning virginitie, I haue no commaundement of the Lord, &c. Agayne, he that cannot otherwiſe liue continently, let him marrie. Item, that it was agaynſt the Canons both of the Apoſtles, and of Nicene councell. Moreouer, that it was againſt the courſe of nature whiche he required, that men beyng ſequeſtred from their naturall wiues, and women, ſhoulde be coacted to liue as aungels, that is, to performe that which nature doth not geue. And therefore the biſhop therin did open a pernicious windowe to vncleannes and to fornication. In ſumme, geuing vp their anſwer, thus they concluded, that they had rather geue vp their benefices, then to forſake their naturall and lawfull wiues, againſt the worde of Chriſt. And finally, if maried prieſts could not pleaſe them, they ſhould call downe Angels from heauen to ſerue the Churches. But Hildebrand nothing moued, neither with honeſt reaſon, nor with the authoritie of holy Scripture, nor with the determinatiō of Nicene councell, nor any thing els: followeth this matter, calleth vpon the biſhops ſtil, with his letters and Legats doth ſollicitate their mindes, accuſeth them of negligence and daſtardnes, threatneth them with excommunication, vnles they cauſe their prieſts to obey his decree enioyned them. Whereupon, a great number of biſhops for feare of the Popes tiranny, laboured yͤ matter with their prieſts, by all means poſſible to bereaue them of their accuſtomed matrimony.

Amongſt other the Archbiſhop of Mentz, perceyuing

Byſhop of Mentz.

Ex Lambeyto Scafnabutgenſi. in Hiſto. Germanorum.

The Prieſtes of Germany ſtout agaynſt the popes vnlawfull proceedinges.

this acte of taking away Prieſtes mariage, might breede him no little trouble: talketh with his Clergy gently, admoniſheth them of the Popes minde & decree, and geueth them halfe yeres reſpite to deliberate vpon the caſe, exhorting them diligently to ſhewe themſelues obedient to the Pope and to him, and to graũt with good will that, which at length, will they, nill they, needes they muſt bee forced vnto, and therefore of their owne accord to ſtande, content therewith, leaſt the Pope ſhould be compelled to attempt wayes of ſharper ſeueritie. The time of deliberation expired, the Archbiſhop aſſembleth his clergy at Erpford, the month of October, and there willeth them according to the pontificall decree, either to abiure for euer all matrimony, or els to abrenounce their benefices and Eccleſiaſticall liuings. The clergy agayne defend themſelues, againſt the Popes decree with ſcriptures, with reaſon, with the actes of generall councels, with examples of aunceſtors, by diuers ſtrong arguments, declaring the Popes decree not to be conſonant, nor ought to take effect. But the Archbiſhop ſayd, he was compelled ſo of the Pope, and could not otherwiſe do, but to execute that was enioyned him. The clergy ſeeyng that no reaſon, nor prayer, nor diſputation would ſerue, layd their heads together cõſultyng among themſelues what was beſt to be done. Some gaue counſail not to returne agayne to the Synode. Some thought it good to returne and to thruſt out the Archbiſhop frõ hys ſeat, & to geue him due puniſhment of death for his deſeruing, that by the example of him, other may bee warned hereafter, neuer to attempt that thing any more to the preiudice of the church, and the rightfull liberty of miniſters. After that this was ſignified to the Archbiſhop, by certaine ſpies that were amongeſt them, what the clergy entended to do. The Archb. to preuent and ſalue the matter, ſendeth to the prieſts as they were comming out, certaine meſſengers, bidding them of good hope, and to returne againe to the Metropolitane, and they ſhould haue that ſhould content their myndes. So beyng perſwaded, they come again to the Councel. The biſhop promiſeth he would doe hys indeuour what he could, to reuoke & turne the mind of the Biſhop of Rome from that ſentence, willing them in the meane tyme to continue as they had done in their cure and miniſtery. The next yeare followyng, Hildebrand yͤ ſouldiour of Sathan, ſendeth his Legate (a certaine Biſhop called Curieſis) vnto the Archb. of Mentz, and aſſembled there a Councell. In the which councel, the Archb. againe propoſeth the matter, commaunding all the clergy vnder payne of the Popes curſe, there, perpetually eyther to abrenounce their wyues, or their liuings. The clergy defended their cauſe againe with great conſtancy. But when no defenſion could take place, but all went by tiranny & mere extortiõ, it burſt in the end to an vprore and tumult, where the Legate and the Archbiſhop beyng in great daunger, hardly eſcaped with their lyues, and ſo the Councell brake vp. By this ſchiſme and tumult it followed, that the churches after that in chuſing their prieſts, would not ſend thẽ to the biſhops (the enemies and ſuppreſſors of Matrimony) to be confirmed and inducted, but did elect them within themſelues, and ſo put them in their office, without all leaue or knowledge of biſhops, who then agreed & were determined to admit no prieſts, but ſuch as ſhould take an othe of perpetuall ſingleneſſe, neuer to marrie after. And thus firſt came vp the othe and profeſſion of ſingle Prieſthood. Notwithſtanding, if other nations had followed the like conſtancie & concord of theſe Germain miniſters, the diueliſh drift and decre of this Hildebrand (or rather Helbrand) had bene fruſtrate and auoyded. But this greedines of liuings in weak prieſts, make them to yeld vp their godly liberty to wicked tiranny. Yet this remayneth in theſe Germains to be noted: what concord can doe in repreſſing vnordinate requeſts of euil biſhops, if they conſtantly ſtand to truth, and hold together. And thus much for baniſhing of matrimony. Now let vs proceede to the contentions betwixt wicked Hildebrand, and the godly Emperour. But before by the way of digreſſion it ſhal not be much wide from the purpoſe, to touch a little of the properties of this Pope, as we find them deſcribed in certaine epiſtles of Benno a Cardinall, writing to other cardinals of Rome. which Benno lyued in the ſame tyme of Hildebrand, and detecteth the prodigious actes and doings of this monſtrous Pope.

Single prieſthoode how it began.

Examples of Concorde in prieſtes and miniſters.

Ex Benno Cardinali.

First, declaring that he was a Sorcerer moſt notable, and a Nicromanſer, an olde companion of Silueſter, of Laurentius, and Theophilactus, called otherwiſe Benedictus nonus. Amongſt other Benno Cardinals writeth this hiſtory of him. How vpon a certaine tyme this Gregorius comming from Albanus to Rome, had forgot behynd him his familiar booke of Nicromanſie, which he was wont commonly to cary alwayes with him. Whereupon remembring himſelfe, entered the port of Laterane, he calleth two of his moſt truſty familiars to fet the booke, charging them at no hand to looke within it. But they beyng ſo reſtrayned, were the more deſirous to open it, & to peruſe it, and ſo did. After they had read a little the ſecrets of the Sathanicall booke, ſodenly there came about them the meſſengers of Sathan, the multitude and terrour of whom, made them almoſt out of their wittes. At length they comming to themſelues, the ſpirites were inſtant vpon them to know, wherefore they were called vp, wherfore they were vexed: Quickly (ſaid they) tell vs what ye would vs to do, or els we will fall vpon you, if ye retaine vs longer. Then ſpake one of the yong men to them, bidding thẽ go and plucke downe yonder walles, pointing to certayne high wals there nigh to Rome, which they did in a moment. The yong men croſſing them for feare of the ſpirites (ſcarſe recouering thẽ ſelues) at length came to their maiſter. **And it followeth moreouer in the epiſtle of the ſayd Benno to the Cardinals.**

Pope Hildebrand forſaken of diuers of his Cardinals.

We haue made mention to you before of diuers colledges of the church of Rome, which refuſed to communicate with him. As Leo then Archprieſt of the Cardinals, Benno, Vgobaldus, Iohannes the Cardinal, Peter Chauncellor and Cardinall, beyng all inſtituted before this Hildebrand. Theſe three alſo beyng conſecrated by him, that is, Natro, Innocentius and Leo, forſoke him, curſing the deteſtable errours which he held. In like caſe Theodinus whom he conſtituted Archdeacon, and other Cardinals mo, Ioannes ſurnamed Primicerius, Petrus oblationarius with all that appertayned vnto them, ſauing one onely man. And now when this Hildebrand ſaw that the biſhops alſo would forſake him, he called vnto him the lay men, and made them priuy of his counſail, thinking thereby to ſeparate the biſhops, that they ſhould haue no cõference with the Cardinals. After that he called together thoſe biſhops, and beyng garded with bandes of lay men, he enforced the biſhops partly for feare, and partly for his manacing wordes, to ſweare vnto him, that they ſhould neuer diſagre vnto that, which he would haue done, that they ſhould neuer defend the Kynges quarell, and that they ſhould neuer fauour or obey the Pope, that ſhould in his ſtead be inſtituted. Which thing beyng done, he ſent them by meanes of the Prince of Salernites, into Campania, and thus did he ſeparate them, from the company of the Cardinals, & from the citie of Rome. And not onely the biſhops, but alſo the Prieſts of the citie, and clarkes of inferior orders, as alſo the laye men, he bound by their othes, that at no tyme nor for any cauſe, they ſhould condiſcend vnto the king.

Pope Hildebrand compelleth the Biſhops and prieſtes of Rome to ſweare vnto him.

Pope Hildebrand vnorderly made Pope.

Aſſoone as Pope Alexander was dead, which dyed ſomwhat before night, the ſame day contrary to the Canons, he was choſen Pope of the laymen. But the Cardinals ſubſcribed not to his election. For the Canons preſcribe (vnder payne of curſing) that none ſhould be choſen Pope before the third day, after the burial of his predeceſſours. But he (by finiſter meane thus clyming to the ſeat) remoued the Cardinals of the ſayd ſeat, from being of the counſail. But with what perſons he conſulted night & day, Rome well heard and ſaw. And he now puttyng the Cardinals from hys counſaile, his lyfe, fayth, and doctrine, no man could accuſe or beare witneſſe off: where as in the Canons is commaunded, that in euery place where ſo euer the Pope is, ſhould be with him iij. Cardinals beyng prieſts, & ij. Deacons, becauſe of his Eccleſiaſticall teſtimony and ſtile of veritie, of whiche Canonical decree, looke gentle Reader before. He violently wreſted the ſacred ſcriptures to couer his falſhood, which kynd of Idolatry, how great it is, manifeſtly throughout all the Scripture it appeareth. Contrary to the myndes and counſaile of the Cardinals, and beſides the determinate order of pronouncing iudgement by the Canons, he raſhly did excommunicate the Emperour, beyng in no Synode ſolemnly accuſed before. The ſentence of which excommunication after reherſal of theſe preſents, ſhal alſo be manifeſted (Chriſt willing) to the which excommunication ſaith Benno, none of the Cardinals would ſubſcribe. As ſoone as he aroſe out of hys ſeate papall, to excommunicate the Emperour, the ſame ſeate (beyng made but a little before, with big tymber) ſodainly by the appointment of God was rent and ſhiuered in pieces: ſo that all men might plainly vnderſtand, what, and how great and terrible ſchiſmes: that lubber had ſowne againſt the Church of Chriſt, agaynſt the ſeat of S. Peter: and how cruelly he had diſperſed the chayre of Chriſt, in defilyng the lawes of the Church, ruling by might and auſteritie, in that hys ſo perillous and preſumptuous excommunication.

The Emperour wrongfully excommunicated.

The Popes chaire brake vnder him as he roſe to excommunicate the Emperour

The Pope deuideth the vnitie of the Church.

In the deſcription of the ſame excommunication, he inſerteth thoſe things, wherin he himſelfe erred, when he abſolued the Emperour, being vniuſtly excommunicate, and the biſhops alſo communicating with him, & to the vttermoſt thus cutting & mangling the vnitie of the Church and thoſe that communicated with them, did as much as in him lay to make two churches.

Alſo the ſame bold merchaunt, commaunded that the Cardinals ſhould faſt, to the intent that God would reueale whoſe opinion was better (eyther of the Church of Rome, or of Berengarius) touching the controuerſie of the Lordes body in the Sacrament. And hereby he prooued himſelfe to be a manifeſt Infidell:

for that in the Nicene Councell it is written, he that doubteth is an Infidell.

Further, he ſought after a ſigne to eſtabliſh his fayth, concerning the Article of the Lordes body, as did Gregory to confirme the womans fayth, when the conſecrated bread was tranſubſtantiated into the forme of a fleſhly finger. He alſo ſent two Cardinals (Attones and Cunones) vnto Anaſtaſie, that with the Archprieſt of the ſame Church, they ſhould begin a faſt of three dayes ſpace. And that euery of them (euery day during thoſe iij. dayes) ſhould ſay ouer the Pſalter, & ſing Maſſes, that Chriſt would ſhew vnto them ſome ſuch like ſigne of his body, as he did to the foreſayd Gregory, which thing they could not ſee.

Of this miracle we read in no approued hiſtory.

The Emperour was oftentymes woont to goe to S. Maries church in the mount Auentine to pray. Hildebrand when he had by his eſpials ſearched out, and knew all the doyngs of the Emperour, cauſed the place where the Emperour was accuſtomed (eyther ſtanding, or proſtrate on his face to pray) to be marked, and for money he hired a naughty pact (like himſelfe) to gather and lay together a heape of great ſtones, directly ouer the place, in the vault of the Church, where the Emperour would ſtande, that in throwyng the ſame downe vpon his head, he ſhould ſlay the Emperour. About which purpoſe as the hireling haſted, and was buſie remouing to the place, a ſtone of great hugenes & waight: it broke the planke whereon it lay, and the hirelyng ſtandyng thereupon, both together fell downe from the roofe, to the pauement of the church, and with the ſame ſtone was daſht all in pieces. And after the Romaines had vnderſtanding of the handlyng of this matter, they faſtened a rope to one of the feete of this hirelyng, and cauſed him to bee drawen through the ſtreetes of the Citie three dayes together in example of others. The Emperour notwithſtanding according to his woonted clemencie, cauſed hym to be buried.

The pope hyreth one to ſlay the Emperour.

Iohannes the biſhop of Portua (beyng one of the ſecret counſail of Hildebrand) came vp into the pulpit of S. Peter, & amongſt other things in the hearing, both of the Clergy and people, ſayd: Hildebrand and we haue committed ſuch a fact and ſo horrible, for the which we are all worthy to be burned alyue (meanyng of the Sacrament of the body of Chriſt) which Sacrament, Hildebrand when he thereof inquired a diuine aunſwer agaynſt the Emperour, and would not ſpeake, threw into the fire and burned it contrary to the perſwaſion of the Cardinals, that were preſent and would haue reſiſted the ſame.

Hildebrand caſteth the ſacrament of the Lordes body in the fire, becauſe it woulde geue him no anſwere.

In the ſecond holy day in the Eaſter weeke, when the clergy & the people were aſſembled at S. Peters Church to heare maſſe, after the Goſpell, he went vp into the pulpit as he was in his pontificall attire, and in the preſence of diuers biſhops & Cardinals (a great company both of the Senate and the people of Rome, beyng gathered together) openly preached (among manye other wordes of diuination) that the kyng whoſe name was Henry, ſhould die (without all peraduenture) before the feaſt of S. Peter next enſuyng: or els at leaſt wiſe, that he ſhould bee ſo deiected from his kingdome, that he ſhould not be able any more to gather together aboue the number of vj. knights. This he preached to the biſhops and cardinals, and all that were preſent, crying out of the pulpit in theſe wordes: Neuer accept me for Pope any more, but plucke me from the aulter, if this propheſie be not fulfilled by the day appointed. About the ſame tyme he went about by helpe of priuy murtherers to kill the Emperour, but God preſerued him. And many there were eu͂e at that tyme, which thoght Pope Hildebrand to be guiltie, and to bee the deuiſer of the treaſon, becauſe that then he (before the deed put in execution) preſumed of the death of the kyng, beyng by him falſly propheſied of before, which wordes of his, wounded many mens hartes. And it came to paſſe that Hildebrand by his wordes, was openly condemned in the congregation, which (as is ſayd) gaue iudgement of himſelfe to be no Pope, neither that he would be counted for Pope any longer, but thought to be both a belyer and a traitour, vnleſſe that before the feaſt of S. Peter next comming, the Emperour ſhould dye, or els ſhould bee depriued of all kingly honour: In ſo much he ſhould not be able to make aboue *6.* knights on his part. And thus by the appoyntme͂t of God it came to paſſe that by his owne mouth he was condemned for an heretike.

The Pope a falſe prophet.

The Pope ſeeketh agayne to murther the Emperour.

The Pope by hys own mouth condemned for an heretick.

Thus ſayth the Lord: The prophet which of arrogancie will propheſie in my name, thoſe things I haue not commaũded him, or els will propheſie in the name of other Gods, let him be ſlaine. And if thou ſhall ſay with thy ſelfe, how ſhall I know what thyng it is that the Lord hath not commaunded to be ſpoken? This token ſhalt thou haue to know it by. Whatſoeuer thing the Prophet in the name of God ſhal propheſie, & the ſame come not to paſſe, that mayeſt thou be ſure the Lord hath not ſpoken, but the Prophet hath imagined through the hautineſſe of his owne mynde, & therfore thou ſhalt not be afrayd of him.

When the tyme was expired that Hildebrand in his diuination had ſet, and that neither the king was dead, neither the power of the Empire empayred: and fearing leaſt by the wordes of hys owne mouth he ſhould be reprehended and condemned, ſubtlely turned his tale, ſaying, and perſwading the ignorant people, that he ment not of the body of the king, but of his ſoule, as though the ſoule of the king had loſt all, ſauing *6.* of his knights or ſouldiours, or els had bene dead during that ſpace, and thus by theſe ſleights he beguiled the ignorant people. Againſt ſuch Prophets S. Gregory vpon Ezechiel ſayeth: Betwene true Prophetes and falſe, this difference there is, that true Prophets, if they ſpeake any thing vpon their owne mynd, they be ſoone rebuked, but the falſe prophets, both they tell lies, and not hauyng the ſpirite of truth, they perſeuere in their falſitie.

The Emperour preſerued by the power of God fro͂ the Pope.

A ſuttle ſhift of Hildebrand to ſaue hys lying propheſie.

Ouer and beſide, the ſayd Hildebrand iudged to death 3. men before they were conuict, or els confeſſed their crime wythout the ſentence of any ſecular iudge, and cauſed them to bee hanged vpon a paire of gallowes, ouer againſt the Church of S. Peter in a place called Palatiolum, without any delay or aduiſement, contrary to the lawes, which commaund that euery publike offender ſhould haue 30. dayes ſpace, before he be put to execution. Which thing euen amongſt the Paganes is in vre and obſerued, as teacheth the authoritie of S. Ambroſe, and the Martyrdome of holy Marcelianus and Marcus.

Three perſons before they were conuict, put to execution by Hildebrand agaynſt all law.

He caſt Centius the ſonne of Stephen the Alderman into priſon, beyng before his truſty friend, and in a veſſell being thick ſet with ſharpe nayles, he tormented him to the poynt of death: who after that he was eſcaped, apprehended the ſayd Hildebrand. Of this apprehenſion, before he was ſet at liberty, he openly forgaue all the conſpiratours. Which thing afterwardes, contrary to his fidelitie, he brake and reuenged, & cauſed Centius, to whome he had forgeuen all offences, to be taken, and hanged him, & *v.* of his men vpon the gallowes before S. Peters porch.

Centius taken by the Pope, and put into a barrell of nayles.

The Pope taken of Centius.

Centius executed by the pope contrary to promiſe and fayth.

There was at the apprehenſion of Pope Hildebrand, a certain widowes ſonne, to whom (and others moe for their penaunce) he enioyned a yeares baniſhment. Which tyme beyng explete or run out, the widow in toke͂ of more ample ſatiſfaction, thinking therby to haue appeaſed the mynd of Hildebrand, put a halter about her ſonnes necke, and drawyng her ſonne by the rope to the foot of Hildebrand, ſayd: My Lord Pope at your hands will I receaue agayne my ſonne, which one whole yeare hath endured baniſhment, and other penaunce by your holyneſſe enioyned. Then the ſayd Hildebrand, for that inſtant, becauſe of thoſe which were with him in company (diſſembling his wrath) deliuered her, her ſonne very churliſhly, ſaying, get thee hence woman I bid thee, and let me be in reſt. After this he ſent his officers & apprehe͂ded the widowes ſonne, and gaue commaundement to the Iuſtices, to put him to death, who altogether makyng aunſwer, ſayd, that they could no more condemne or meddle with him, for that hee had for his crime committed, appealed once to the Pope, & abidden the baniſhment, and done the penaunce by him enioyned. Hereupon this glorious Hildebrand beyng diſpleaſed wyth the Iudges, cauſed the foote of the widowes ſonne to be cut off: makyng neyther repentaunce, nor the lawes and ordinaunces to be of any eſtimation with hym. And thus his foote beyng cut off, he dyed within three dayes after with the payne thereof. Many other wicked deedes did this Hildebrand, vpon whom the bloud of the church cryeth vengeance, ſhed by the ſworde (that is) the miſerable trecherie of his tong. For which things (and that iuſtly) the church refuſed to communicate with him. *Hæc Benno.*

The villany of the pope in killing a widowes ſonne whiche before had done hys penance.

✻ *An other Epiſtle of Benno to the Cardinals.*

An other letter of Benno.

To the reuerend fathers of the Church of Rome, and to hys beloued in Chriſt, and to his brethren that ſhall for euer be beloued: Benno the Cardinall of the Churche of Rome, wiſheth faythfull ſeruice, health and communion with the ſeruauntes of the catholicke Church. Of the which communion, diſcipline and power, he vaynely braggeth, ÿ by the preſumption of hys authoritie ſhal vniuſtly bynd or loſe any maner of perſõ. And he doth vniuſtly bynd whatſoeuer he be, that curſeth any man, (being willing to make ſatiſfaction, and bewayling hys boldnes, beyng alſo vnconuict, and not confeſſing the crime) but rather curſing that party in vayne: he curſeth and condemneth himſelf, turning his weapon vpõ his own perſõ to deſtructiõ. O ſtraunge and new found trechery, proceeding from the ſanctuary: nay rather from him whiche as high Prieſt ſeemeth to rule the church, & to be a Iudge ouer the Iudges.

Hildebrand was earneſtly in hand with the Emperor, that he ſhould depriue thoſe Biſhops which came in by ſimonie. The Emperour (thinking as a zelous Prince, that this commiſſion had proceeded from the throne of God) without delay obeyed the ſame, and forthwith without any conſideration, or iudiciall order, depriued certayne Biſhops, and thought that by this his obedience to Hildebrand, he offred an acceptable ſacrifice to God, not knowyng the crafty handling of him. But Hildebrand then agayne placed thoſe, whom the Emperour for ſimonie at his commaundement had before depoſed, and thoſe whom by that meanes he made to beare a hatefull heart to the Empe-

A deuiliſh practiſe of Hildebrand in ſetting the Biſhops agaynſt the Emperour.

Emperour, he reconciled agayne vnto himſelfe in great familiaritie, and by many and great othes taken of thẽ, for their fidelitie towards him, he promoted aboue al the reſt. And thus by theſe prankes, the Imperiall ſeat of the king beyng ſhortly after empaired, & deſtitute almoſt of frends, he craftily purchaſing the friendſhip and fauor of the greateſt princes, the better to bring his matters to paſſe: ſodainly agayne, without any lawfull accuſation, without any canonicall vocation, without all iudiciall order, excõmunicated the Emperor (ſo obedient alwayes vnto him) & ſet the Princes of the Empire all agaynſt him. And notwithſtandyng (as the Apoſtle ſayeth) that no man ought to circumuent his brother in his buſines, as much as in him lay, he rather mortified and killed him, then brotherly corrected him. Thus the Emperor beyng many wayes circumuented: as, excommunicate beſides the canonicall order, and by the conſent and counſail of Hildebrand, ſpoiled of the greateſt part of his Imperiall honour, and ouercharged with great warres and ſlaughters of hys owne ſubiects, in vayne deſired he and ſued for, to haue the Canon read and heard, cauſing him by force and violence at Canuſium, in the preſence of Hildebrand, to accuſe himſelfe by his owne confeſſion.

The Emperour cauſed by Hildebrand to accuſe himſelfe.

Say you now (I pray you) all ſuch as loue iuſtice, and loue not to leane either vpon the left hand, or els the right hand, in the fauour of any perſon. Say your mindes, whether that ſuch a confeſſion beyng inforced vpon neuer ſo poore a man (much leſſe vpon an Emperor) ought at ſuch a tyme to be preiudiciall or not. Or whether he which extorted the ſaine confeſſion, is guilty of the Canon? Or els he, which beyng ſo peruerſly iudged, ſuffered the iniury of a moſt peruerſe iudge? which alſo moſt paciently and publikely ſuffred this violence with lamentable affliction vpõ his bare feete, clothed in thinne garments, in the ſharpe winter, which neuer was vſed, and was three dayes together at Canuſium, made a ſpectacle both of angels and men, and a ludibrious mocking ſtocke to that proud Hildebrand. Neuer truſt me, if that 14. Cardinals, the Archdeacon himſelfe, and he that is called Primicerius, beyng all wiſe and religious men, beſides many other of ỹ clarks of Laterane, to the iudgement and priuiledge of whoſe holy ſeat the whole world is obedient (waying and conſidering his intollerable apoſtaſie) departed not from participating, and refuſed from communicating with him.

The great patience of the godly Emperour.

This glorious Hildebrand & his affinitie by their new authoritie, breaking the decrees of the Calcedone Councel not onely in wordes, but alſo in publike writings haue agreed, that it is tollerable both to baptiſe and communicate beyng out of the church of God, and how blynd theſe men were, and alſo what heretikes they be, their own writings do declare. What a miſchiefe is this (ſaith Benno) they preſume to iudge of the Church, which ſwarme themſelues in all errours, who alſo eſteeme the veritie, but as a lye, and leaſt their poyſoned falſhod both in words & writings ſhould appeare, they haue (like ſubtill poyſoners, the ſooner to deceiue) mixed hony therwithall. A lye ſayth S. Auguſtine, is euery thing pronounced with the intent of deceauing other.

Mēdaciū quid.

It were too long and tedious here to recite all the deteſtable doyngs, and diabolicall practiſes, of coniurings, charmes, and filthy ſorceries, exerciſed betwene hym and Laurentius, & Theophilact, otherwyſe named Pope Benedict the 9. wherof a long narration foloweth in the foreſayd epiſtle of Benno to the cardinals to be ſeen, to whom the reader may repaire, who ſo hath either laiſure to read, or mynd to vnderſtand more of the abhominable partes, and diueliſh actes of this Hildebrand.

Pope Hildebrand a worker of ſorcery and coniuring.

Thus hauing ſufficiently alledged the wordes and teſtimonies of Benno and Auentinus, concerning the actes and factes of this Pope. Now let vs proceed (in the order as followeth in his ſtory) to ſet forth the miſerable vexation which the vertuous and godly Emperour ſuſtayned by that vngodly perſon.

About what time Hildebrand was made Pope, Henricus the 4. Emperour was incombred and much vexed with ciuill diſſention in Germany, by reaſon of certayne greuaunces of the Saxons againſt him & his father Henricus the 3. Whereupon, the matter growyng to ſedition, liues were taken, & great warres enſued, betwixt Otho Duke of Saxony, & Henricus the Emperour. This ſame tyme ſeemed to Hildebrand very opportune, to worke his feates, whoſe ſtudy & drift was euer from the begynnyng to aduaunce the dominion of the Romiſh ſeat aboue al other biſhops, and alſo to make ſubiect the authoritie of the temporall rulers, vnder the ſpirituall men of the Church. And although he went about the ſame long before, by ſubtile traynes and actes ſet forth concernyng Simonie: yet now he thought more effectuouſly to accompliſh his purpoſed intent, after that he was exalted thether where he would be. And therfore now bearing himſelfe the bolder, by the authority of S. Peters throne, firſt he began to purſue the acte ſet out by his predeceſſor as touching ſimonie, curſing and excommunicating, whoſoeuer they were, that receiued any ſpirituall liuing or promotion at lay mens hands, as all ſuch as were the geuers therof. For this he called than Simonie, that vnder that colour he might defeat the temporal poteſtates of their right, and ſo bring the whole clergy at length to the lure of Rome. And foraſmuch as ỹ emperour was the head, thinking firſt to begin with him, he ſendeth for him by letters and Legates to appeare in the councel of Laterane at Rome. But the Emperour buſied in his warres againſt the Saxones, had no layſure to attend to councels. Notwithſtanding Gregorius the Pope, proceedeth in his councel, rendring there the cauſe and reaſon before the biſhops, why he had excommunicate diuers of the clergy, as Herman biſhop of Bamberge, counſellor to the Emperour, and other prieſts mo for Simony. And there moreouer in the ſayd Councell, he threateneth to excommunicate likewiſe the Emperour himſelfe, and to depoſe him from his regall kingdom, vnleſſe he would abrenounce the hereſie of ſimonie, and do penance. The councel being ended, Guibertus Archbiſhop of Rauenna, perſwadeth with one Centius (a Romaine, the captains ſon, whom the Pope had excommunicate) to take the Emperours part againſt the Pope. Who watching his tyme in the temple of S. Mary, vpon Chriſtmas day in the morning, taketh the Pope & putteth him faſt in a ſtrong tower. The next day the people of Rome hearing this, harnes themſelues with all expedition to helpe the biſhop, whom when they looſed out of priſon, they beſieged the houſe of Centius, and pluckt it downe to the ground. His familie hauyng their noſes cut off, were caſt out of the Citie. Centius himſelfe eſcaping, fled to the Emperour. Guibert the Archbiſhop pretending good will to the Pope, departed from Rome, who likewiſe had wrought with Hugo Candidus Cardinall, and with Theobaldus Archb. of Millaine, alſo with diuers other biſhops about Italy, to forſake the Pope and take the Emperors part. Gregory the Pope called Hildebrand, hearing the conſpiracie, layeth the ſentence of excommunication vpon them all, and depriueth them of their dignitie. The Emperor beyng moued (and worthily) with the arrogant preſumption of the proud prelate, calleth together a Councell at Wormes. In which Councell all the biſhops not onely of Saxonie, but of all the whole Empire of Germaines, agree & conclude vpon the depoſition of Hildebrand, and that no obedience hereafter ſhould be geuen to him. This being determined in the Councel, Rolandus a Prieſt of Parmen, was ſent to Rome with the ſentence, who in the name of the councell ſhould commaund Gregory to yeld vp his ſeate, & alſo charge the Cardinals to reſort to the Emperour for a new election of an other Pope. The tenor of the ſentence ſent vp by Rolandus, was this.

Henricus 4. the Emperour.

Much boſt made of Peters throne but his life they let alone.

Hermannus excommunicate of Hildebrand.

Centius.

Hildebrand caſt in the tower.

Guibertus Archbiſhop of Rauenna.

✻ The ſentence of the Councell of Wormes againſt Hildebrand.

FOr ſo much as thy firſt ingreſſe and comming in, hath bene ſo ſpotted with ſo many periuries, and alſo the Church of GOD brought in no little danger, through thine abuſe and newfanglenes. Moreouer, becauſe thou haſt diffamed thine owne lyfe and conuerſation, with ſo much and great diſhoneſty, that we ſee no little perill or ſlaunder to riſe therof: therfore the obediẽce which yet we neuer promiſed thee, hereafter we vtterly renounce, & neuer entend to geue thee. And as thou haſt neither taken vs yet for Biſhoppes (as thou haſt openly reported of vs) ſo neither will we hereafter take thee to be Apoſtolike. Vale.

The counſell of Wormes agaynſt the Pope.

Gregory the Pope tickled with this ſentence, firſt condemneth it in his councell of Laterane with excommunication. Secondarily, depriueth Sigifridus Archbiſhop of Mentz of his dignities, and eccleſiaſticall liuings, with all other biſhops, Abbots and Prieſts, as many as tooke the Emperors part. Thirdly, accuſeth Henricus the Emperour himſelfe, depriueth him of his kingdome and regall poſſeſſion, and releaſeth all his ſubiects of their oth of allegeance geuen vnto him, after this forme and maner.

The councell of Rome agaynſt the councell of Wormes.

Henricus the Emperour excommunicated by Hildebrand.

✻ The tenour of the ſentence Excommunicatorie, agaynſt Henricus the Emperour, by Hildebrand.

O Bleſſed S. Peter Prince of the Apoſtles, bowe downe thyne eares I beſeech thee, and heare me thy ſeruaunt, whom thou

Ex Platina.

haſt brought vp euen from myne infancie, and haſt deliuered me vnto this day from the handes of the wicked, which hate & perſecute me, becauſe of my fayth in thee. Thou art my witneſſe, and alſo the bleſſed mother of Ieſu Chriſt, and thy brother S Paule, fellow partener of thy martyrdome, how that I entred this function (not willingly) but inforced againſt my will: not that I take it ſo as a robbery, lawfully to aſcẽd into this ſeat: but becauſe that I had rather paſſe ouer my lyfe, like a pilgrime or priuate perſon, then for any fame or glory to clime vp to it. I do acknowledge (& that worthily) all this to come of thy grace, and not of my merites, that this charge ouer chriſten people, and this power of binding and looſing is committed to me. Wherefore, truſtyng vpon this aſſurance for the dignitie and tuition of holy church. In the name of God omnipotent, the father, the ſonne, & the holy ghoſt, I do here depoſe Henry, the ſonne of Henry once the Emperour, from his Imperiall ſeat, and princely gouernment, who hath ſo boldly and preſumptuouſly layd handes vpon thy Church. And furthermore, all ſuch as toſore haue ſworne to be his ſubiectes, I releaſe them of their othe, whereby all ſubiects are bound to the allegeaunce of their princes. For it is meete and conuenient that he ſhould be voyd of dignitie, whiche ſeeketh to diminiſh the maieſtie of thy Church. Moreouer, for that he hath contemned my monitions, tending his health and wealth of his people, and hath ſeparate himſelfe from the fellowſhip of the Churche (which he, through his ſeditions, ſtudieth to deſtroy) therefore I binde him by vertue of excommunication, truſting and knowyng moſt certainly, that thou art Peter (in the rocke of whom, as in the true foundation Chriſt) our king hath built his church.

Marke this, ye papiſtes that ſay the Pope cannot erre.

The pope threatneth kindenes of S.Peter.

Quis tulerit gracchos de ſeditione querentes? Iuuen.

The Emperour thus aſſaulted with the Popes cenſure, ſendeth abroad his letters thorough all nations, to purge himſelfe, declaring how wrongfully, & agaynſt all right he was condemned. The princes of Almany partly fearing the cracke of the Popes thunderclap, partly again reioycing that occaſion was renued to rebell agaynſt the Emperour, aſſembled a commencement, where they did conſult and ſo conclude, to elect an other Emperor, and to fall from Henry, vnleſſe the Pope would come to Germany, and he there content to ſubmit himſelfe and obtayne his pardon.

The Saxons take the popes part agaynſt the Emperour.

Wherein is to be conſidered the lamentable affections of the Germains in thoſe dayes, ſo to forſake ſuch a valiant Emperor, and ſo much to repute a vile Biſhop. But this was the rudenes of the world thẽ, for lack of better knowledge. The Emperor ſeyng the chiefe princes ready to forſake him, promiſeth them with an othe, that if the Pope would repayre to Germany, he would aſke forgeuenes.

Vpon this the biſhop of Triers, was ſent vp in commiſſion to Rome, to entreat the Pope to come into Germany. The biſhop (at the inſtance of the Legate, & of the Princes) was content. He entred into Germany, thinking to come to Auguſta. After he was come to Vercellos (the biſhop of that city beyng the Chancellor of Italy, and deſirous to diſturbe peace, for the old grudge he had to the Emperour) falſly perſwadeth with the Pope, that he was certayn, the Emperor was comming with a mighty great army againſt him, counſailing him therfore to prouide betimes for his owne ſafegard in ſome ſtronger place. Whereby the Popes mynde beyng altered, hee retyred backe to Canuſium or Canoſſus, a Citie being ſubiect to Matilda, a Counteſſe of Italy, where he ſhould not need to feare the Emperour.

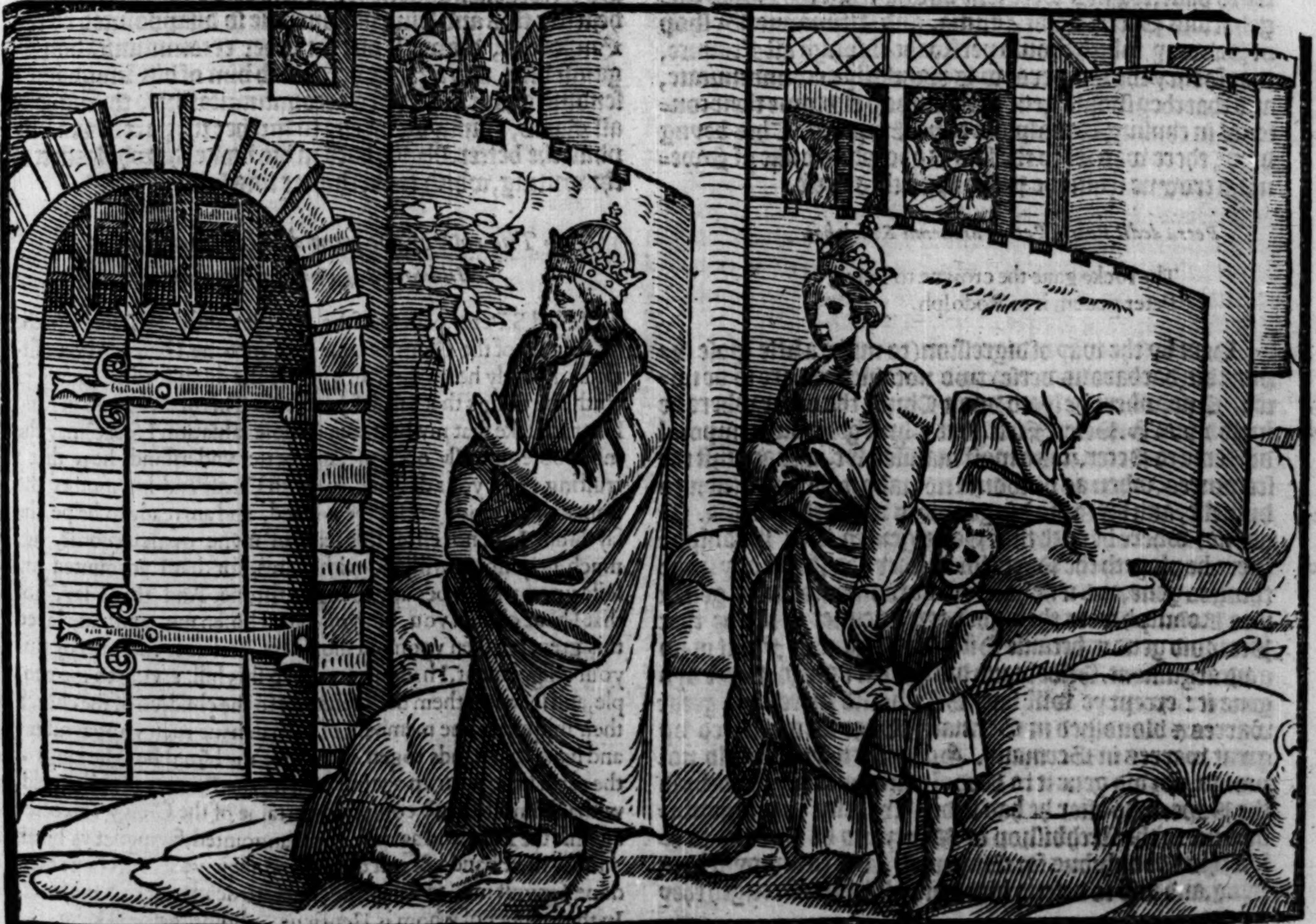
Peace diſturbed through wicked counſell.

Henricus vnderſtanding the falſe feare of the Pope, & of his retire to Canuſium, incontinent (commyng out of Spires with his wife and his young ſonne, in the deepe & ſharp of winter) reſorteth to Canoſſus. All his peeres and nobles had left him for feare of the Popes curſe, neyther did any accompany him. Wherfore the Emperour beyng not a little troubled (laying apart hys regall ornamentes) came barefooted with hys wyfe and childe, to the gate of Canoſſus: where he from morning to night (all the day faſting) moſt humbly deſireth abſolution, crauing to be let in, to the ſpeech of the Biſhop. But no ingreſſe might be geuen him once within the gates. Thus he continuing 3. dayes together in hys petition and ſute: at length anſwer came, that the Popes maieſty had yet no leyſure to talke with him. The Emperour nothing moued therwith, that he was not let into the Citty, patient and with an humble minde abideth without the walles, with no litle greuance and paynefull labour: for it was a ſharpe winter, and all froſen with cold. Notwithſtanding, yet through his importunate ſute, at length it was graunted through the intreating of Matilda the Popes paramour, and of Arelaus Erle of Sebaudia, and the Abbot of Cluniake, that hee ſhould be admitted to the Popes ſpeach. On the 4. day beyng let in, for a token of his true repentance, he yeldeth to the Popes handes, his crowne, with all other ornaments Imperiall: and confeſſed himſelfe vnworthy of the Empire, if euer he doe againſt the Pope hereafter, as he hath done toſore, deſiring for that tyme to be abſolued and for-

A wonderous ſubmiſſion of a valiaunt Emperour to a vile Pope.

Notable patience in a noble Emperour.

❧ *Henricus the Emperour with his wife and chyld, barefoote and barelegd,* waiting on Pope Hildebrand, three dayes, and three nightes, at the gates of *Canuſium, before he could be ſuffred to come in.*



geuen. The Pope anſwereth he will neither forgeue hym, nor releaſe the bande of his excommunication, but vpon conditions. Firſt, to promiſe, that he ſhall be content to ſtand to his arbitrement in the councell, and to take ſuch penance as he ſhall enioyne him, alſo that he ſhall be preſt and redy to appeare, in what place or tyme the Pope ſhall appoint him. Moreouer, that he beyng content to take the Pope iudge of his cauſe, ſhall aunſwer in the ſayd councel to all obiections and accuſations layd againſt him, & that he ſhall neuer ſeeke any reuengement herein. Item, that he (though he be quit and cleared therin) ſhall ſtand to the Popes mynd and pleaſure, whether to haue his kingdom reſtored, or to looſe it. Finally, that before the triall of hys cauſe, he ſhall neither vſe his kingly ornaments, ſcepters, or crowne, nor to vſurpe the authoritie to gouerne, nor to exact any othe of allegeaunce vpon his ſubiects, &c. Theſe things beyng promiſed to the biſhop by an oth, and put in writing, the Emperour is onely releaſed of excommunication. The tenour of the writing is this.

Proud conditions of the Pope.

Pope both accuſer and iudge.

Here the beaſt of the Apocalips appeareth in his colors.

The forme and tenour of the othe, which Henricus made to the Pope.

I Henricus King, after peace and agreement made to the mynde and ſentence of our Lord, Gregorius the 7. promiſe to keepe all couenants and bandes betwixt vs, and to prouide that the Pope go ſafely whereſoeuer he will without any daunger eyther to him or to his retinue. Eſpecially in all ſuch places as be ſubiect to our Impery. Nor that I ſhall at any tyme ſtay or hinder him, but that he may doe that belongeth to his function, where & whenſoeuer his pleaſure ſhalbe. And theſe things I bynd my ſelfe with an othe to keepe. Actum Canoſ. 5. Calend. Februarij. indic. 15.

Thus the matter beyng decided betwixt them after the Popes owne preſcribement, the Emperour taketh hys iourney to Papia. The Pope with his Cardinals, dyd vaunce and triumph with no little pryde that they had ſo quailed the Emperor, & brought him on his knees, to aſke them forgeuenes. Yet notwithſtanding miſtruſting themſelues & miſdoubting tyme, what might befall them hereafter, if fortune ſhould turne, & God geue the Emperour to enioy a more quiete kingdome: therfore to preuent ſuch dangers betime, they ſtudy and conſult priuily with themſelues, how to diſplace Henry clean frō his kingdom. And how that deuiſe might ſafely be conueyed, they conclude and determine to deriue the Empire vnto Rodolphus, a man of great nobilitie amongſt the chiefeſt ſtates of Germany, and alſo to incite and ſtirre vp all other princes and ſubiects (beyng yet free and diſcharged from their othes) againſt Henry, & ſo by force of armes to expulſe the emperour out of his kingdom. To bring this purpoſe the better to paſſe, legates were ſent downe from the Pope. Sigehardus Patriarch of Aquilia, and Altimannus Byſhop of Padway, which ſhould perſwade through all Fraunce, that Henry the Emperor was rightfully excommunicate, and that they ſhould geue to the biſhop of Rome their conſents in chuſing Rodolphus to be Emperor. This beyng done, there was ſet to the ſaid Rodolphus duke of Swenia, a crowne from the Pope with this verſe,

The crafty conſpiracy of the Cardinals agaynſt the Emperour.

Petra dedit Petro, Petrus diadema Rodolpho.

The rocke gaue the crowne to Peter,
Peter geueth it to Rodolph.

The verſe.

Here by the way of digreſſion (to make a litle gloſe vpon this barbarous verſe) two notable lyes are to be noted. One, where he lyeth vpon Chriſt, the other where he lyeth vpon S. Peter. Firſt, that Chriſt gaue any temporal diademe to Peter, it is a moſt manifeſt lye, and againſt the ſcriptures, when as he would not take it, beyng geuen to himſelfe, and sayth his kingdome is not of this world. Agayne, where he ſaith that Peter geueth it to Rodulph: Here he playeth the Poet, for neither had Peter any ſuche thing to geue, and if he had, yet he would not haue geuen it to Rodulph from the right heyre, neither is it true that Peter did geue it, becauſe Hildebrand gaue it. For it is no good argument. Hildebrand did geue it: Ergo, Peter dyd geue it: except ye will ſay, Hildebrand ſtirred vp great warres & bloudſhed in Germany, Ergo Peter ſtirred vp great warres in Germany. So Peter neyther could, nor would, nor did geue it to Rodolphus, but only Hildebrād the Pope: who after he had ſo done, he gaue in commaundement to the Archbiſhop of Mentz and of Collen, to elect this Rodulphus for Emperour, and to annoynt hym kyng, and alſo to defend him with all force & ſtrength they might.

The gloſe vpon the verſe of Hildebrand.

The Pope proued a double lyer.

While this conſpiracy was in hand, Henricus the emperor was abſent, and the Popes ambaſſadors with hym alſo. In the meane ſpace Rodulphus was elected Emperor vnknowing to Henry. Vpō this commeth the biſhop of Strausborough vnto the emperor, certifiyng him what was done. He ſuſpecting & ſeing the ſtomack and doyngs of the Saxōs ſo bent againſt hym, muſtreth his men with expedition, & marcheth forward to defend his right. But firſt ſendeth to Rome (truſting vpon the league betwixt hym and the Pope) and requireth the biſhop to procede with his ſentence agaynſt Rodulphus, for the rebellious inuaſiō of his Imperye. But the biſhop minding nothing leſſe, ſendeth word againe, not to be right to condemne any perſon (his cauſe beyng not heard) thus vnder the pretence of the law, colouring his vnlawfull treatory. Henricus thus diſappointed and forſaken on euery ſide, with his men about him, attempteth battayle againſt Rodulphus. In which battaile, a meruailous great ſlaughter was on both ſides, but the victory on neither part certain. So that both the Captaines yet chalenged the Empire. After the battayle & great murder on both ſides, they ſent to Rome both to know of the Popes determination, to whether of them two, he iudged the right title of the empire to appertayne. The Biſhop commaundeth them both to break vp their armies, and depart the field, promiſing that he ſhortly will call a councell where this matter ſhould be diſputed. In the meane time they ſhould ceaſe from warre. But before the meſſengers returned agayne (their armies beyng refreſhed) they had an other conflict together, but no victory got on either part. Thus both the Captaines beyng weried in warres, the Romiſh beaſt the biſhop which was the cauſe therof, perceiuing whether theſe cruel wars would tend, to the great calamitie not onely of the Germains, but alſo of other nations (truſting to find another way to helpe Rodulphus and his adherentes) ſendeth downe a commiſſion by Ottho Archbiſhop of Treuers, Bernardus Deacon, and Bernardus Abbot of Maſſilia: to whom he gaue in charge that they ſhould call together a Councell or ſitting in Almany, and there to be defined to whether part the Empire ſhould pertayne, by moſt right and publicke conſideration. Promiſing that what they ſhould therein determine, he (looking vpon the matter, through the authoritie of God omnipotent, and of S. Peter, and Sainct Paule) would ratifie the ſame. Moreouer, for that, no let nor impeachment ſhould happen to the Legates by the way, he geueth with them letters, to the princes and nations of Germany. Whereof, the contents be declared briefly in Platina, if any liſt to read them.

The Pope traytor to the Emperour.

Great wars ſtirred vp by the pope.

But the Emperour would not ſo permit the Legates to haue any Councel within Germany, except they would firſt depriue Rodulphus of his kingdome. The Legates conſidering that to be againſt the drift and intention of the Pope, returned agayne frō whence they came. The Pope hearing this and ſeing his purpoſe ſo diſappointed by the Emperour, draweth out an other excommunication againſt him, and agayne bereaueth him of his kingdome: ſending about his letters excommunicatorie, throughout all places, thinkyng therby to further the part of Rodulphus the better. Platina hath in his booke the whole effect of the writing, which tendeth after this ſort.

The copy of the ſecond excommunication of Hildebrand agaynſt the Emperour.

Bleſſed S. Peter, prince of the Apoſtles, and thou Paule alſo the teacher of the Gentiles geue eare vnto me. I beſeech you a little, and gently heare me, for you are the diſciples and louers of truth, the things that I ſhall ſay, are true. This matter I take in hand for truth ſake that my brethren (whoſe ſaluation I ſeeke) may the more obſequiouſly obey me, and better vnderſtand, how that I truſting vpon your defence (next to Chriſt and his mother the immaculate virgin) reſiſt the wicked, and am ready to helpe the faythfull. I did not enter this ſeate of myne owne accorde, but much agaynſt my will, and with teares, for that I accounted my ſelfe vnworthy to occupy ſo high a throne. And this I ſay, not that I haue choſen you, but you haue choſen me, and haue layed this great burthen vpon our ſhoulders. And now where as by this your aſſignement, I haue aſcended vp this hill, crying to the people, and ſhewing them their faults, & to the children of the church their iniquities, the members of Sathan haue riſen vp agaynſt me and haue layd hands together to ſeeke my bloud. For the kings of the earth haue riſen vp againſt me, and the Princes of this world, with whom alſo haue conſpired certaine of the Clergy ſubiectes againſt the Lord, and againſt vs his annointed, ſaying: let vs break a ſūder their bands, & caſt off from vs their yoke. This haue they done agaynſt me, to bring me either to death, or to baniſhmēt. In the number of whom is Henricus, whome they call kyng, the ſonne of Henry the Emperour, which hath lift vp ſo proudly hys

O peſtiferous hipocrite.

The Pope prayeth S. Peter to diſhonor hys king. And S. Peter byndeth the Pope to honour hys king.

Crocodili lachryma.

Scripture well applyed.

A figure called ἀντιμεταβολή.

Cuius contrarium verum eſt. Vim faciunt ſcripturis, vt plenitudinem accipiant poteſtatis.

hornes and heele againſt the church of God, making conſpiracie with diuers other biſhops, both Italians, French & Germains. Againſt the pride of whom, hetherto your authoritie hath reſiſted, who rather being broken then amended, comming to me in Ciſalpina, made humble ſute to me for pardon & abſolution. I thinking nothing els but true repentance in him, receaued him again to fauour, & did reſtore him to the communion only, from which he was excommunicate, but to his kingdome (from which in the Synode of Rome he was worthily expulſed) I did not reſtore, nor to the rentes and fruites therof (that he might returne to the faith againe) that I graunted not vnto him. And that I did for this purpoſe, that if he ſhould deferre to fall to agreement with certaine of his neighbours, whom he hath alwayes vexed, and to reſtore agayn the goods both of the church and otherwiſe, thā he might be compelled by the cenſures of the Church and force of armes therunto Wherby diuers and ſundry biſhops and princes of Germany (ſuch as he had long troubled) being helped by this opportunitie, elected Rodolphus their Duke to be king in the place of Henricus, whom they for his tranſgreſſions had remooued & diſpatched from his empire. But Rodolphus firſt in this matter vſing a princely modeſtie and integritie, ſent vp his meſſengers to me, declaring how he was conſtrained (wild he, nild he) to take that regall gouernment vpon him, albeit he was not ſo deſirous therof, but that he would rather ſhew himſelfe obedient to vs, then to the other that offred him the kingdom, and whatſoeuer our arbitrement ſhould be therin, he would be vnder obedience, both of God and of vs. And for more aſſurance of his obedience, he hath ſent his owne children hither for pledges. Vpon this Henricus began to ſnuffe, and firſt entreated with vs, to reſtraine and inhibite Rodolphus through the paine of our curſe, from the vſurpation of his kingdom. I aunſwered againe, I would ſee whether of them had more right and title thereunto, & ſo ſend our Legates thither vpon the ſame, to know the whole ſtate of the matter, and therevpō I would decide betwixt thē, whither of them had truer part. But Henricus would not ſuffer our Legates to come to take vp the matter, and ſlew diuers both ſecular men, and of the Clergy, ſpoiling and prophaning churches, and ſo by this meanes hath indangered himſelfe in the bandes of excommunication. I therfore truſting in the iudgement and mercy of God, and in the ſupportation of the bleſſed virgin, alſo vpon your authoritie, do laye the ſentence of curſe vpon the ſaid Henricus, & all his adherents: and here againe I take his regall gouernment from him, charging and forbidding all chriſten men that haue bene ſworne vnto him (whom I diſcharge here of their oth) that hereafter they obey him in nothing, but to take Rodolphus to their king, who is elected by many princes of the Prouince. For ſo right it is and conuenient, that as Henry for his pride & ſtubburnnes, is depriued of his dignitie and poſſeſſion: ſo Rodolphus being gratefull to all men, for his vertue and deuotion be exalted to the Imperiall throne & domination.

Let all Papiſtes marke here well the holines of their holy father.

As though he were not ſet vp by you, rather then by them.

The more to blame Emperours to ſuffer you to be ſo ſaucie with them.

Therfore O you bleſſed prince of the Apoſtles, graunt to this, and confirme with your authoritie that I haue ſayd, ſo that all mē may vnderſtand, if you haue power to bynd and looſe in heauen, you haue alſo power in earth to geue & take away Empires, kingdoms, principallities, and whatſoeuer here in earth belongeth to mortall men. For if yov haue power to iudge in ſuch matters as appertain to God: what then ſhould we thinke you haue of theſe inferior & prophane things? And if it be in your power to iudge the angels, ruling ouer proud princes, what then ſhall it beſeeme you to do vpon their ſeruants? Therfore let the kings vnderſtand by this example, & all other princes of the world, what you be able to do in heauen, & what you are with God, that thereby they may feare to contemn the commaundement of holy church. And now doe you exerciſe this iudgement quickely vpon Henricus, whereby all men may ſee this ſonne of iniquitie to fall from hys kingdome, not by any chaunce, but by your prouiſion and onely worke. Notwithſtanding, this I would craue of you, that he being brought to repentance through your interceſſion, yet in the day of iudgement, may finde fauour and grace with the Lord. Actum Romæ. Nonis Martij, indictione, 3.

Nego argumentum.

Confer this clauſe with the hiſtory of the ſtory hereafter following. O double hipocrite.

Furthermore, Hildebrand not yet content with this, interditeth & depoſeth alſo Guibertus Archb. of Rauenna, for taking the Emperors part, commaunding all prieſtes to geue no maner obedience to him, and ſendeth thether to Rauenna an other Archb. with full authoritie.

Guibertus Archbiſhop depriued.

After & vpon this, Henricus & Rodulphus to try the matter by the ſword, coped together in battaile, not without bloudſhed, where Henricus by the fauour of God againſt the iudgement of Hildebrand, had the victory. Rodulphus there greatly wounded in the conflict, was had out of the army, and caried to Hyperbolis, where he commaunded the biſhops & chief doers of his conſpiracy to be brought before him. when they came, he lifted vp his right hand, in which he had taken his deadly wound, and ſayd: This is the hand which gaue the oth and ſacrament vnto Henricus my Prince, and which through your inſtigatiō, ſo oft hath fought againſt him in vaine. Now go and performe your firſt othe & allegeance to your king, for I muſt to my fathers, and ſo dyed. Thus the Pope gaue battaile, but God gaue the victory.

The 4. battell betwixt Henry and Rodulph. Henricus victor.

Rodulphus at hys death repenting. The Pope geueth war but God geueth victory.

Henricus (after his enemy beyng thus ſubdued, and warres being ceaſed in Germany) forgate not the old iniuries receiued of Hildebrand by whom he was twiſe excommunicate, & expulſed from his kingdom, and iij. daies making humble ſute (yea & that in ſharpe winter) coulde find no fauour with him. Beſides that, he incited moreouer & aided his enemy againſt him, wherfore calleth together a councell or aſſembly of diuers biſhops of Italy, Lombardy and Germany at Brixia, an. 1083. where he purged himſelf, & accuſed the biſhop Hildebrand of diuers crimes, to be an vſurper periured, a Necromanſer & Sorcerer, a ſower of diſcord, complaining moreouer of wrongs & iniuries done by the biſhop and church of Rome, in that the church of Rome preferred the biſhop before him, whē that his father being emperor before him, had inthroniſed & ſet in diuers & ſundry biſhops there by his aſſignment, without all other electiō. And now this biſhop contrary to his oth & promiſe made, thruſt in himſelf, without the wil and knowlege of him, being their king and magiſtrate. For in the time of his father Henricus 3. This Hildebrand wyth other, bound themſelues with a corporall oth, that ſo long as the Emperour and his ſonne now beyng kyng, ſhould liue, they ſhould neither themſelues preſume nor ſuffer any other to aſpire to the Papal ſeat, without the aſſent and approbation of the foreſayd Emperours, which now this Hildebrand contrary to his corporal oth had done. wherfore the foreſaid councel with one agreement condēned this Gregory, that he ſhould be depoſed. The tenor of which condemnation is thus expreſſed in Abbate Vrſpergenſi.

Concilium Brixenſe. Anno. 1083.

No Biſhop of Rome to be choſen without the aſſent of the Emperour.

* *The ſentence of the Councell of Brixia, againſt Hildebrand.*

Becauſe it is not vnknown, this biſhop not to be elected of God but to haue intruded himſelfe by fraud and money, who hath ſubuerted all Eccleſiaſticall order, who hath diſturbed the gouernment of the Chriſtian Empery, manaſing death of body and ſoule againſt our catholike & peaceable king, who hath ſet vp & maintayned a periured kyng, ſowyng diſcorde, where concorde was, cauſing debate amongſt friends, ſlāders, & offences amongeſt brethrenne, diuorcementes and ſeparation amongeſt the maried (for he tooke away the mariage of prieſts, as Henricus Mutius witneſſeth) and finally diſquieting the peaceable ſtate of all quiet lyfe: therfore we here in the name & authoritie of God congregate together, with the Legates & handes of 19. Biſhops, the day of Pentecoſt at Mentz, doe proceed in Canonicall iudgement, againſt Hildebrand, a man moſt wicked, preaching ſacriledge and burning, maintaining periury and murthers, callyng in queſtion the Catholike fayth of the body and bloud of the Lord, a follower of diuination and dreames, a manifeſt Necromancer, a Sorcerer, and infected with a Pythonicall ſpirite, and therefore departed from the true fayth, we iudge hym to be depoſed & expelled. And vnleſſe he hearyng this, ſhall yelde and depart the ſeate, to be perpetually condemned. Inacted vij. Calend. Iulij. feria. 5. indictione. 3.

Abbas Vrſpergenſis.

Henricus Mutius.

Note here the Pope iudged and depoſed of the councell.

This being enacted & ſent to Rome, they elected Guibertus Archbiſhop of Rauenna in the place of Hildebrand, to gouerne the Church of Rome, named Clemens 3. But when Hildebrand neither would geue ouer his hold, nor geue place to Clement, the Emperour gathering an army to ſend to Italy, came to Rome to depoſe Gregory, and to place Clement. But Hildebrand ſendyng to Matilda the Counteſſe before mentioned, required (in remiſſion of al her ſinnes) to withſtand Henry the Emperor, and ſo ſhe did. Notwithſtanding Henricus preuailyng came to Rome, where he beſieged the Citie all the Lent, and after Eaſter got it, the Romaines being compelled to open the gates vnto him: ſo he comming to the temple of S. Peter, there placeth Clemēt in his Papacy. Hildebrand ſtraight flieth into Adrians tower with his adherents, where he beyng beſet round about, at length ſendeth for Robert Guiſcardus his frend a Norman, in the mean time, while Robertus collecteth his power, the Abbot of Cluniake, conferryng with Gregory, exhorteth him to crowne Henricus emperor in Lateran. which if he would do, the other promiſeth to bring about, that Hen. ſhuld depart with his army into Germany, whereunto the people of Rome alſo did lykewiſe moue him. To whom Gregory anſwered, that he was content ſo to do (but vpon condition) that the emperor would ſubmit himſelf to aſke pardon, to amend hys fault, and to promiſe obedience. The Emperour not agreyng to thoſe conditions went to Senas, taking Clement, new ſtalled Pope with hym.

The Pope ſeeketh ſuccour of hys paramour. The firſt example to fight for remiſſion of ſinnes, began in Hildebrand.

After the returne of the Emperor, the foreſayd Robert Guiſcardus approching with his ſouldiours, brake in at one

Platina. Nauclerus. Sabellicus. Crantzius. Benno. &c.

of the gates, and ſpoileth the Citie. And not long after deliuereth Hildebrand out of his enemies hands, and caried him away to Campania, where he, not long continuyng, after dyed in exile.

Antoninus writeth, that Hildebrand, as he did lie a dying, called to hym one of his chief Cardinals, bewailing to him his fault & miſorder of his ſpirituall miniſtery, in ſtirring vp diſcord, warre & diſſenſion: wherupon he deſired the Cardinall to go to the Emperor, and deſire him of forgeuenes, abſoluing from the danger of excommunication both him and all his partakers both quicke and dead.

Hildebrand, the firſt author and patrone of all miſrule that followed in Popes.

Thus haſt thou (gentle Reader) the full hiſtory of pope Gregory 7. called Hildebrand, which I haue laid out more at large, & deſire thee to marke, becauſe that frō this Pope (if thou marke wel) ſpringeth all the occaſion of miſchiefe, of pride, pompe, ſtoutneſſe, preſumption & tiranny, which ſince that tyme hath raigned in his ſucceſſours hetherto, in the cathedral church of the Romiſh clergy. For here came firſt the ſubiectiō of the temporal regiment, vnder the ſpiritual iuriſdictiō. And Emperors, which before were their maiſters, now are made their vnderlings. Alſo here came in the ſuppreſſion of prieſts mariage, as is ſufficiently declared. Here came in moreouer the authoritie of both the ſwords ſpiritual & ſecular, into ſpiritual mens hands. So that chriſtian magiſtrates could do nothing in election, in geuing biſhoprikes or benefices, in calling Councels, in hearing & correcting the exceſſes of the clergy, but only the Pope muſt do all. Yea moreouer, no biſhop nor Paſtor in his owne pariſh could excommunicate or exerciſe any diſcipline amongſt his flocke, but onely the Pope chalenged that prerogatiue to himſelfe. Finally, here came in the firſt example to perſecute Emperors & kings, with rebellion & excommunication, as the clergy themſelues hereafter doe teſtifie and witnes in proceeding againſt Paſchalis. Thus theſe notes beyng well obſerued, let vs (by the grace of Chriſt) now repaire again to our coūtry hiſtory of englād.

The death of William Conquerour.

About the death of Pope Hildebrād (or not long after) folowed the death of king William Conqueror, in the yere of our Lord, 1090. after he had raigned in Englād the ſpace of 21. yeares and 10. moneths. The cauſe of his ſicknes and death, is ſaid to be this: For that Phillip the French king vpon a tyme (ieſting ſayd) that king William lay in child bed and nouriſhed his fat belly. With this the foreſaid William hearing therof, aunſwered againe and ſayd, when he ſhould be Churched, he would offer a thouſand candels to hym in Fraunce, wherewithall the kyng ſhould haue litle ioy. Wherupon king William in the month of Iuly (when the corne, fruite, & grapes were moſt flouriſhing) entered into Fraunce, & ſet on fire many Cities and townes in the weſtſide of Fraunce. And laſtly commyng to the Citie of Meaux, where he burning a woman beyng as a recluſe in a wall incloſed (or as ſome ſay, two mē Anachorites incloſed) was ſo feruent and furious about the fire, that with the heate partly of the fire, partly of the tyme of yeare, thereby he fell into ſicknes, and dyed vpon the ſame.

By the life & actes of this king, it may appeare true, as ſtories of him report, that he was wiſe but guilefull, riche, but couetous, a faire ſpeaker, but a great diſſembler, glorious in victory, & ſtrong in armes, but rigorous in oppreſſing whom he ouercame, in leuying of taſks paſſing all other. In ſo much that he cauſed to bee enrolled & numbred in his treaſury euery hide of land, and owner therof: what fruit & reuenewes ſurmounted of euery Lordſhip, of euery townſhip, caſtel, village, field, riuer, & wood, within all the realme of England. Moreouer, how many pariſh Churches, how many liuing cattell there were, what and how much euery Baron in the realme could diſpend, what fees were belonging, what wages were taken, &c. The tenour & contents of which taſkment, yet remaineth in rolles. After this taſking or nūbring, which was the yere before his death, folowed an exceding moreine of cattell, & barennes of the ground, with much peſtilence and hote feuers amōg the people, ſo that ſuch as eſcaped the feuer, were cōſumed with famine. Moreouer, at the ſame ſeaſon among certain other Cities, a great part of the City of London, with the church of Paules was waſted with fire, an 1085.

Peſtilence in England and moreine of beaſtes.

London with the Church of Paules brent.

In hunting and in parkes, the foreſayd king had ſuch pleaſure, that in the country of Southamptō by the ſpace of 30. miles, he caſt downe churches and Townſhips, and there made the new foreſt, louing his Deere ſo dearely, as though he had bene to them a father, making ſharp lawes for the increaſing thereof, vnder payne of looſing both the eyes. So hard he was to Engliſhmen, and ſo fauorable to his owne country, that as there was no Engliſh Byſhop remainyng, but onely Wolſtane of Worceſter, who beyng commaunded of the king and Lancfrank to reſigne vp his ſtaffe, partly for inhabilitie, partly for lacke of the French tongue, refuſed otherwiſe to reſign it, but only to him that gaue it, and ſo went to the tombe of king Edward, where he thought to reſigne it, but was permitted to enioy it ſtil: ſo likewiſe in his daies there was almoſt no Engliſh mā, that bare office of honour or rule.

Wolſtane Byſhop of Worceſter.

In ſo much, it was half a ſhame at that tyme, to be called an Engliſh man. Notwithſtanding he ſome deale fauoured the citie of London, & graunted vnto the Citizens the firſt charter that euer they had, written in the Saxon, with greene waxe ſealed, and conteined in few lynes.

England peaceable frō theeues.

Among his other conditiōs, this in him is noted, that ſo geuen he was to peace and quiet, that any maiden being laden with gold or ſiluer, might paſſe thorough the whole realme, without harme or reſiſtance. This William in his tyme builded two monaſteries, one in England, at Battail in Suſſex, where he wan the field againſt Harold, called the abbey of Battail: an other beſide, named Barmōdſey, in his countrey of Normandy.

The Abbey of battayle.

The Abbey of Barmōdſey.

After the life & ſtory of K. William thus briefly deſcribed, with the acts & order of battail betwene him & K. Harold (although much more might haue bene written of ye matter, if the booke had come ſooner to my hands which afterward I ſawe) now remaineth in the end of his ſtory to deſcribe the names of ſuch Barons & nobles of Normandy, which entered with him into this land, as well of them which were embarked with him, & ſlaine alſo (as appeareth) in the battaile, as alſo of thē who were planted & aduanced by the ſaid Conqueror, in the lands & poſſeſſiōs of Engliſh Lordes, whome he either expulſed or els beheaded. The names of which Normands here folow vnderwritten.

❡ Out of the Annales of Normandie in French, wherof one very Auncient written Booke in Parchment, remayneth in the cuſtody of the writer hereof.

THe day after the battaile, very early in the Morning, Odo biſhop of Bayeux ſong Maſſe for thoſe that were departed. The Duke after that deſirous to know the eſtate of his battaile, and what people he had therein loſt, and were ſlaine, he cauſed to come vnto him a Clarke that had written their names when they were embarked at S. Valeries, and commaunded him to call them all by their names, who called them that had bene at the battaile, and had paſſed the ſeas with Duke William. And hereafter followeth their names.

✿ The names of thoſe that were at the Conqueſt of England.

ODo Biſhop of Bayeulx.
Robert, Conte de Mortaign. Theſe two were brethren to Duke William by their mother.
Baudwin de Buillon
Roger Conte de Beaumont, ſurnamed with the beard, of whom deſceded ye lign of Meullent.
Guillaume Malet.
Le Sire de Monfort, ſur Rille.
Guill. de Viexpont.
Neel de S. Saueur le Viconte.
Le Sire de Fougiers
Henry Seigneur de Ferieres.
Le Sire Daubemare.
Guillaume Sire de Romare.
Le Sire de Lithehare
Le Sire de Touque.
Le Sire de la Mare.
Le Sire de Neauhou.
Le Sire de Pirou.
Rob. Sire de Beaufou
Le Sire Danou,
Le Sire de Soteuille.
Se Sire de Margneuille.
Le ſire de Tācaruille
Euſtace Dābleuille.
le ſire de Māgneuille.
Le Sire de Grantmeſnil.
Guillaume Creſpin.
Le Sire de S. Martin.
Guill. de Moulins.
Le Sire de Puis.
Geoffray Sire de Mayenne.
Auffroy de Bohon.
Auffroy & Maugier de Cartrait.
Guill. de Garennes.
Hue de Gournay, Sire de Bray.
Le Cōte Hue de Gournay.
Euguemōt de l'aigle
Le vicōte de Touars
Rich. Dauuerēchin.
Le Sire de Biars.
Le Sire de Solligny.
Le Bouteiller Daubigny.
Le Sire de Maire.
Le Sire de Vitry.
Le Sire de Lacy.
Le Sire du val Dary.
Le Sire de Tracy.
Hue Sire de Mōtfort
Le Sire de Piquegny
Hamon de Kayeu.
Le Sire Deſpinay.
Le Sire de Port.
Le Sire de Torcy.
Le Sire de Iort.
Le Sire de Riuiers.
Guillaume Moyōne
Raoul Teſſon de Tingueleiz.
Roger Marmion.
Raoul de Guel.
Auenel des Byars.
Paennel du Monſtier Hubert.
Rob. Bertran le Tort

Le Sire de Seulle.
Le Sire de Doriual.
Le Sire de Bretual.
Le Sire de S.Iehan.
Le Sire de Bris.
Le Sire du homme.
Le Sire de Sauchoy.
Le Sire de Cailly.
Le Sire de Semilly.
Le Sire de Tilly.
Le Sire de Romelli.
Mar.de Baſqueuille.
Le Sire de preaulx.
Le Sire de Gonis.
Le Sire de Sainceuille.
Le Sire de Moulloy.
Le Sire de Mõceaulx.
The Archers du Val de Reul, & of Bretheul, & of many other places.
Le Sire de S. Saen, i. de S. Sydonio.
Le Sire de la Riuiere.
Le Sire de Salnatuille.
Le Sire de Rony.
Eude de Beaugieu.
Le Sire de Oblie.
Le Sire de Sacie.
Le Sire de Naſſie.
Le Viſquaius de Chaymes.
Le Sire du Sap.
Le Sire de Glos.
Le Sire de Mine.
Le Sire de Glanuille.
Le Sire de Breançon.
Le Vidam de Partay.
Raoul de Mormont.
Pierre de Bailleul, Sire de Fiſcamp.
Le Sire de Beauſault.
Le Sire de Tillieres.
Le Sire de Pacy.
Le Seneſchal de Torcy.
Le Sire de Gacy.
Le Sire Doully.
Le Sire de Sacy.
Le Sire de Vacy.
Le Sire de Tourneeur.
Le Sire de Praeres.
Guillaume de Coulombieres.
Hue Sire de Bollebec.
Rich. Sire Dorbec.
Le Sire de Bõneboz.
Le Sire de Treſgoz.
Le Sire de Montfiquet.
Hue le Bigot de Maletot.
Le Sire de la Haye.
Le Sire de Brecy.
Le Sire de Mombray.
Le Sire de Saye.
Le Sire de la Ferte.
Bouteuillain.
Trouſſebout.
Guillaume Patric de la Laund.
Hue de Mortemer.
Le Sire Danuillers,
Le Sire Donnebaut.
Le Sire de S.Cler.
Rob. le filz Herneys Duc d'Orleans.
Le Sire de Harecourt.
Le Sire de Creuecoeur.
Le Sire de Deyncourt.
Le Sire de Brimetot.
Le Sire de Combray.
Le Sire Daunay.
Le Sire de Fontenay.
Le Conte Deureux.
Le Sire de Rebelchil.
Alain Fergant Conte de Bretaigne.
Le Sire de S.Vallery.
Le Conte Deu.
Gaultier Giffard cõte de Longueuille.
Le Sire Deſtouteuille.
Le Conte Thomas Daubmalle.
Guill.Cõte de Hoymes & Darques.
Le Sire de Bereuille.
Se Sire de Breaute.
Le Sire de Freanuille.
Le Sire de Pauilly.
Le Sire de Clere.
Touſtan du Bec.
Le Sire de Maugny.
Roger de Montgomery.
Amaury de Touars.

Ouer and beſides the great number of Knights and Eſquiers that were vnder them. In the ſame battail betwene the ſayd william the baſtard, Duke of Normandy on the one part, and King Harold on the other part, there were ſlain on King Harolds ſide of Engliſhmen, 66654. And on Duke williams ſide there were ſlaine, 6013. men, as it is to bee found in the Chronicles of S. Peter of weſtminſter, beſides thoſe that were drowned in the Riuer of Thames.

when as the aboue named and many other great Lordes were ſo called, ſome of them appeared, other ſome did not: For ſome of them were ſlayne there in the field, and others ſo wounded, that they could not come forth to ſhew themſelues. Then gaue the Duke commaundement that the dead ſhould be buried, and thoſe that were ſicke, comforted and eaſed the beſt that myght be, &c.

¶ Out of the Auncient Chronicles of England, touching the *names of other Normands which ſeeme to remayne aliue after the battaile,* and to be aduaunced in the Seignories of this land.

IOhn de Maundeuile.
Adam Vndeuile.
Bernard de Freuile.
Rich.de Rochuile.
Gilbard de Frãkuile.
Hugo de Douile.
Symõd de Roteuile.
R.de Euyle.
B.de Kneuuile.
Hugo de Moruile.
R.de Coleuile.
A.de Waruile.
C.de Karuile.
R.de Roteuile.
S.de Stoteuile.
H.Bonum.
I.Monum.
W.de Vignoum.
K de Viſpount.
W.Bailbeof.
S.de Baleyne.
H.de Marreys.
I.Aguleyne.
G.Agilon.
R.Chamburlayne.
N.de Vendres.
H.de Verdon.
H.de Verto.
C.de Vernon.
H.Hardul.
C.Cappan.
W.de Camuile.
I de Cameyes.
R de Rotes.
R.de Boys.
W.de Waren.
T.de Wardboys.
R de Boys.
W.de Audeley.
K.Dynham.
R.de Vaures.
G.Vargenteyn.
I.de Haſtings.
G.de Haſtank.
L.de Burgee.
R.de Butuileyn.
H.de Malebranche.
S.de Malemain.
G.de Hauteuile.
H Hauteyn.
R.de Morteyn.
R.de Mortimere.
G.de Kanouile.
E.de Columb.
W.Paynel.
C.Panner.
H.Pontrel.
I.de Riuers.
T.Reuile.
W.de Beauchamp.
R.de Beaupale.
E.de Ou.
F.Louel.
S de Troys.
I.de Artel.
Iohn de Montebrugg.
H.de Mounteſerel.
W.Truſſebut.
W.Truſſel.
H.Byſet.
R.Baſſet.
R Molet.
H.Malouile.
G.Bonet.
P.de Bonuile.
S.de Rouile.
N.de Norbec.
I.de Corneux.
P.de Corbet.
W.de Mountague.
S.de Mounfychet.
I.de Geneuyle.
H.Gyffard.
I.de Say.
T.Gilbard.
R.de Chalons.
S.de Chauward.
H.Feret.
Hugo.Pepard.
I.de Harecourt.
H.de Haunſard.
I.de Lamare.
P.de Mautreuers.
G.de Ferron.
R.de Ferrers.
I.de Deſty.
W.de Werders.
H.de Borneuyle.
I.de Saintenys.
S.de Seucler.
R.de Gorges.
E.de Gemere.
W.de Feus.
S.de Filberd.
H.de Turberuyle
R.Troblenuer.
R.de Angon.
T.de Morer.
T.de Roteler.
H.de Spencer.
R.de Saintpuinten.
I.de Saint Martin.
G.de Cuſtan.
Saint Conſtantin.
Saint Leger & Saint Med.
M.de Cronu & de S. Viger.
S.de Crayel.
R.de Crenker.
N.Meyuell.
I.de Berners.
S.de Chumli.
E.de Charers.
I.de Grey.
W.de Grangers.
S de Grangers.
S.Raubenyn.
H.Vangers.
E.Bertram.
R.Bygot.
S.Treoly.
I.Trigos.
G.de Feues.
H.Filiot.
R.Taperyn.
S.Talbot.
H.Santſauer.
T.de Samford.
G.de Vandien.
C.de Vautort.
G.de Mountague.
Tho.de Chambernon.
S de Montfort.
R.de Ferneuaux
W.de Valence.
T.Clarel.
S.de Cleruaus.
P.de Aubemarle.
H de Saint Aruant.
E.de Auganuteys.
S.de Gant.
G.de Malearbe.
H.Mandut.
W.de Cheſun.
I.de Chandut.
R Filz vrs.
B.viconte de Low.
G.de Cantemere.
T.de Cantlow.
R.Breaunce.
T.de Broxeboof.
S de Bolebec.
B Mol de boef.
I.de Muelis.
R de Brus.
S de Brewes.
I.de Lylle.
T.de Bellyle.
I.de Wateruile.
G.de Neuyle.
R.de Neuburgh
H.de Burgoyne
G de Bourgh.
S.de Lymoges
L de Lyben.
W.de Helyoun
H.de Hildrebron
R de Loges
S.de Seintlow
I de Maubank
P.de Saint Malow
R.de Leoſerne
I.de Louotot
G.de Dabbeuyle
H.de Appetot
W.de Percy
H.de Lacy
G de Quincy
E Tracy
R de la Souche
V.de Somery
I.de Saint Iohn
T.de Saint Gory
P.de Boyly
R de Saint Valery
P.de Pinkeni
S.de Pauely
G.de Monthaut
T.de Mountcheſy
R.de Lymozy
G.de Lucy
I.de Artoys
N de Arty
P de Grenuyle
I.de Greys
V.de Creſty
F de Courcy
T de Lamar
H.de Lymaſtz
I de Monbray
G.de Morley
S de Gorney
R.de Courtenay
P.de Gourney
R.de Cony
I.de la Huſe
R.de la Huſe
V de Longeuyle
P.Longeſpye
I.Pouchardon
R.de la Pomercy
I.de Pountz
R.de Pontlarge
R.Eſtraunge
Tho.Sauage.

The firſt byſhop of Saliſbury. Oſmund Biſhop of Sarum. *Ordinale eccleſiaſtici officij. Secundũ vſum Sarum.*

Ex Eulogio hiſtorico. Lib. 3. The vſe and ordinary of Sarum, how and when it was deuiſed.

A little aboue, mention was made of the Biſhops ſea of Shireborne, tranſlated from thence to Saliſbury. The firſt biſhop of Saliſbury was Hermannus a Norman, who firſt began the new church and minſter of Saliſbury. After whom ſucceded Oſmũdus, who finiſhed the worke and repleniſhed the houſe with great liuing, & much good ſinging. This Oſmundus firſt began the ordinarie, which was called Secundum vſum Sarum. an. 1076. The occaſion wherof was this (as I find in an old ſtory booke intituled Eulogium) a great contention chanced at Glaſtenbury betwene Thurſtanus the Abbot, and his couent in the days of William Conqueror. Which Thurſtanus the ſayd William had brought out of Normandy, frõ the Abbey of Cadonum, and placed him Abbot of Glaſtenbury. The cauſe of this cõtentious battaile, was for that Thurſtanus contemning their Quier ſeruice, then called the vſe of S. Gregory, cõpelled his monkes to the vſe of one Williã a monk of Fiſcam in Normandy. Wherupon, came ſtrife & contentions amongſt them: firſt, in wordes, then from words to blowes, after blowes then to armor. The Abbot with his gard of harneſt men, fell vpon the monkes, & draue them to the ſteps of the high aulter: where ij. were ſlayne, viij. were wounded with ſhafts, ſwords & pikes. The monkes then driuen to ſuch a ſtraight & narow ſhift, were compelled to defend themſelues with fourmes and candleſtickes, wherwith they did wound certain of the ſouldiours. One monke there was (an aged man) who in ſtead of his ſhield toke an Image of the Crucifixe in his armes, for hys defence, which image was woũded in the breſt by one of the bowe men, wherby the Monke was ſaued. My ſtory addeth more, that the ſtriker incontinent vpon the ſame fell mad, which ſauoreth of ſome monkiſh addition beſides the text. This matter being brought before the king, the Abbot was ſent agayne to Cadonium, and the monks by the commaundement of the king were ſcattered in farre countreys. Thus by the occaſion hereof, Oſmundus biſhop of Saliſbury, deuiſed that ordinary, which is called the vſe of Sarum, and was afterward receiued in a maner through all England, Ireland and Wales. And thus much for this matter, done in the time of this king William.

Which William after his death, by his wife Matildis or Maulde, left iij. ſonnes, Robert Courtſey to whom he gaue the Duchie of Normandy: William Rufus his ſecõd ſonne, to whom he gaue the kingdome of England: And Henry the third ſonne, to whom he left and gaue treaſor, and warned William to be to his people louing & liberall, Robert to be to his people ſterne and ſturdy.

Example of Gods iuſt iudgment vpon a Byſhop, who being vnmercifull to the poore, was eaten with rattes and myſe.

In the hiſtory called Iornalenſis, is reported of a certain great man, who about this tyme of kyng William, was compaſſed about with Miſe and Rattes, and flying to the middeſt of a Riuer, yet when that would not ſerue, came to the land agayne, and was of them deuoured. The Germaines ſay, that this was a Byſhop, who dwellyng betwene Colen and Mentz, in tyme of famine and dearth, hauyng ſtore of corne and grayne, would not helpe the pouertie crying to hym for reliefe, but rather wyſhed hys corne to be eaten of Myſe and Rattes. Wherefore beyng compaſſed with Miſe and Rattes (by the iuſt iudgement of God) to auoyd the annoiance of them, he builded a tower in middeſt of the Riuer of Rheine (which yet to this day the Dutchmen call Rattes tower) but all that would not helpe: for the Rattes and Myſe ſwamme ouer to hym in as great aboundaunce as they did before. Of whome at length he was deuoured.

❧ William Rufus.

Anno. 1088.

William Rufus.

William Rufus the ſecond ſonne of William Cõquerour beganne his raigne, an. 1088. And raigned 13. yeares, beyng crowned at Weſtminſter by Lanfrancus, who after his coronation releaſed out of priſon, by the requeſt of his father, diuers of the Engliſh Lords, which before had bene in cuſtody. It chaunced that at the death of William Conquerour, Robert Courtſey his eldeſt ſonne was abſent in Almany. Who hearing of the death of hys father, and how William his yonger brother had taken vpon him the kingdome, was therwith greatly amoued, in ſo much that he laid his dukedome to pledge vnto his brother Henry, and with that good, gathered vnto him an army, and ſo landed at Hampton, to the intent to haue expulſed his brother from the kyngdom. But William Rufus hearing thereof, ſent to him fayre and gentle wordes, promiſing him deditiõ and ſubiection as to the more worthy and elder brother, this thing onely requiring, that ſeeyng he was now in place and poſſeſſion, he might enioy it during his life, paying to him yerely iij. thouſand markes, with condition, that which of them ouerlyued the other, ſhould enioy the kingdome. The occaſion of this variance betwene theſe brethren, wrought a great diſſentiõ among the Normaine Lordes and Biſhops, both in England & in Normandy. In ſo much that all the Normain biſhops within the realm almoſt rebelled againſt the king (takyng part with Duke Robert) except onely Lanfrancus, and Wolſtane Biſhop of Worceſter, aboue mentioned an Engliſh man: who for his vertue and conſtancie was ſo wel liked and fauoured of his citizens, that (emboldned wyth his preſence & prayer) they ſtoutly maintained the City of Worceſter agaynſt the ſiege of their enemies, & at laſt vanquiſhed them wyth vtter ruine. But Duke Robert at length by the aduiſe of his counſaile (hearing the wordes ſent vnto him, and wagging his head thereat, as one conceiuing ſome matter of doubt or doublenes) was yet content to aſſent to all that was deſired, & ſo returned ſhortly after into Normandy, leauing the biſhops and ſuch other, in the briers, which were in England taking his part againſt the kyng.

Wolſtane Byſhop of Worceſter.

This Rufus was ſo ill liked of the Normaines, that betwene him and his Lords was oft diſſention. Wherfore (well nere) all the Normains toke part agaynſt him: ſo that he was forced of neceſſitie to drawe to hym the Engliſhe men. Agayne, ſo couetous he was, and ſo vnmeaſurable in his taxes and takings, in ſelling benefices, Abbeys, and Biſhoprickes, that he was hated of all Engliſh men.

Anno. 1091.

The death of Lanfrancus Archb. of Canterb.

In the third yere of this king, died Lancfrancus Archbiſhop of Cant. from whoſe commendation and worthines as I liſt not to detract any thing (being ſo greatly magnified of Polidorus his countreyman) ſo neyther, doe I ſee any great cauſe, why to adde any thing therunto. This I thinke, vnleſſe that man had brought with him leſſe ſuperſtition, and more ſincere ſcience into Chriſtes Church, he might haue kept him in his countrey ſtill, & haue confuted Berengarius at home. After yͤ deceaſe of Lanfranke, the ſea of Cant. ſtode emptie iiij. yeares.

Remigius Byſhop of Lincolne.

Lincolne minſter builded.

Stow Abbey builded.

After the counſaile of Lancfrancus aboue mentioned: wherin was concluded for tranſlating of Biſhops ſeas, from villages into head cities: Remigius biſhop of Dorcheſter, who (as ye heard, accompanied Lancfrancus vnto Rome) remoued his Biſhops ſea from Dorcheſter vnto Lincolne, where he builded the minſter there ſituate vpon an hill within the ſayd citie of Lincoln. The dedication of which church, Robert Archbiſhop of Yorke did reſiſt, ſaying that it was builded within the ground of his precinct. But after, it had his Romiſh dedication by Robert Bloet, next biſhop that followed. By the ſame Remigius alſo was founded the cloiſter or monaſtery of Stow, &c.

Anno. 1092.

Wynchecombe ſteeple brent with lightning. Vi. hundreth houſes blowne down with wynde. The roofe of Bowe Church ouerthrowne.

In the iiij. yeare of this king, great tempeſt fell in ſondry places of England, ſpecially at Winchcombe, where the ſteeple was burned with lightning, the Church walle braſt through, the head and right leg of the Crucifixe, with the Image of our Lady, on the right ſide of the Crucifixe throwen downe, and ſuch a ſtench left in the Church, that none might abide it. At London the force of the weather & tempeſt ouerturned vj. hundreth houſes. In which tempeſt the roofe of Bowe church was whurled vp in yͤ wind, and by the vehemence thereof was pitched downe a great deepenes into the ground.

Robert Bleuet payd v. thouſand markes for hys Biſhopricke.

King William (as ye heard an exceding piller or rauener rather of Church goods) after he had geuen the Biſhoprike of Lincolne to his Chauncellor Robert Bleuet (aboue minded) began to cauil, auouching the ſea of Lincoln to belong to the ſea of Yorke, till the Biſhop of Lincolne had pleaſed him with a great ſumme of money of v. thouſand markes, &c.

Herbert Loſinga Byſhop of Norwiche. *Loſinga. i. adulator.*

Norwiche mynſter builded by Herbert.

And as nothing could come in thoſe dayes without mony from the king, ſo Herbert Loſinga paying to the kyng a peece of money, was made biſhop of Thetford, as he had payd a little before to be Abbot of Rameſey. Who likewiſe the ſame time, remouing his ſea from Thetford to the Citie of Norwich, there erected the Cathedrall Church with the cloiſter in the ſaid citie of Norwich, where he furniſhed the Monkes with ſufficient liuing and rentes of his owne charges, beſides the Biſhops landes. Afterward repentyng of his open and manifeſt ſimonie, he went to Rome: where he reſigned vnto the Popes hands his biſhoprike: but ſo, that incontinẽt he receiued it againe. This Herbert was the ſonne of an Abbot called Robert, for whõ he purchaſed of the king to be biſhop of Wincheſter, wherof runneth theſe verſes.

Filius eſt præſul, pater Abba, Simon vterq;
Quid non ſperemus ſi nummos poſſideamus:
Omnia nummus habet quod vult facit, addit & aufert
Res nimis iniuſta, nummus fit præſul & Abba, &c.

Pope victor the 3.

Pope victor poyſoned in his chalice.

A compariſō betwene Hildebrand Pope of Rome: and Ieroboam king of Iſraell.

The order of Charter monkes began.

Ye heard a little before of the death of Pope Hildebrād, after the tyme of which Hildebrand, the Germain Emperors began to looſe their authoritie and right in the Popes electiō, and in geuing of benefices. For next after this Hildebrand, came Pope Victor by the ſetting vp of Matilda, and the Duke of Normandy, with the faction and retinue of Hildebrand, who likewiſe ſhewed himſelfe ſtout againſt yͤ emperor. But God gaue the ſhrewd Cow ſhort hornes: For Victor beyng poyſoned (as ſome ſay in his chalice) ſate but one yeare and a halfe. Notwithſtanding the ſame imitation and example of Hildebrand continued ſtill in thē that followed after. And like as the kings of Iſrael folowed moſt part the ſteps of Ieroboam, till the tyme of their deſolation: ſo for the greateſt ſort all Popes followed the ſteps and proceedings, of this Hildebrand their ſpirituall Ieroboam, in maintaining falſ worſhip, and chiefly in vpholding the dignitie of the iea, againſt all rightfull authoritie, and the lawful kingdom of Sion. In the time of this Victor, began the order of the Monkes of Charterhouſe, through the meanes of one Hugo biſhop of Gracionople, and of Bruno biſhop of Colen.

Pope Vrbanus 2.

Two Popes in Rome.

The order of Ciſtercian or whyte monkes beganne.

Next to Victor ſate Vrbanus the ij. by whom the acts of Hildebrand were confirmed, & alſo new decrees enacted againſt Henricus the Emperour. In this time were two Popes at Rome, Vrbanus and Clemens iij. whome the Emperor ſet vp. Vnder Pope Vrbane came in the white Monkes of Ciſtercian order, by one Stephen Harding a monke of Shireborne (an Engliſhman) by whom this order had his beginning in the wildernes of Ciſtery, within the prouince of Burgoyne, as witneſſeth Ceſtrenſis. Other write that this Harding was the ij. Abbot of that place, & that it was firſt founded by the meanes of one Robert Abbot of Moliſme in Ciſtercium, a Foreſt in Burgundy, an. 1098. (perſwaded perchance by Harding) and afterward in the yere of our Lord, 1135. it was brought into England by a certaine man called Eſpek, which builded an Abbey of the ſame order called Merinale. In this order yͤ monks did liue by the labour of their hands. They paid no tithes, nor offrings: they weare no furre nor lyning: they weare red ſhoes, their coules white, and coate blacke, all ſhorne ſaue a little circle: they eate no fleſh but only in their iourney. Of this order was Bernardus, &c.

Synodus Romana vel Placentina.

This Vrbanus held diuers Councels: one at Rome, where he excommunicated all ſuch lay perſons as gaue inueſtiture of any Eccleſiaſticall benefice. Alſo all ſuch of the Clergy as abiected themſelues to be vnderlings or ſeruants to lay perſons for Eccleſiaſticall benefices, &c.

Synodus Claromantana.

An other Councell he held at Cleremount in France. where among other things the biſhop made an Oration to the Lords, being there preſent concerning the voiage & recouering of the holy land from the Turkes and Sarazens. The cauſe of which voiage firſt ſprang by one Peter a monke or Hermite, who being in Ieruſalem, & ſeing the great miſery of the Chriſtians vnder the Paganes, made thereof declaration to Pope Vrbane, & was therin a great ſollicitor to all chriſtian Princes. By reaſon whereof, after the foreſaid Oration of pope Vrbane 30000. men (takyng on them the ſigne of the croſſe for their cogniſaunce) made preparation for that voiage, whoſe Captains were Godfrey duke of Loraine with his two brethren, Euſtace, and Baldwine, the biſhop of Pody, Bohemund duke of Puell and his nephew Tancredus, Raymund Erle of S. Egidius, Robert Erle of Flaunders, and Hugh le Graund, brother of Phillip the French king. To whome alſo was ioyned Robert Courthoyſe duke of Normandy, with diuers other noble men, with the foreſayd Peter the Heremite, who was the chiefe cauſer of that voiage.

The viage vnto the holy land. The number that went. The captaynes of thē whiche went to the holy land.

At that tyme many of the ſayd Noble men layed their lands & lordſhips to morgage, for to prouide for the forenamed voiage: as Godfrey duke of Lorayne, who ſold the Dukedome of Boloine to the Biſhop of Eburone for a great ſumme of money. Alſo Robert Courthoyſe Duke of Normandy layd his Dukedome to pledge to his brother William king of England for x. thouſand pounds, &c.

Anno. 1096.

Thus the Chriſtians which paſſed firſt ouer Boſphorus, hauing to their captaine Peter the Heremite (a man perchance more deuout then expert to guide an army) beyng trapped of their enemies, were ſlaine & murthered in great number among the Bulgars, and nere to the towne called Ciuitus.

The actes of the Chriſtians in their viage to win Hieruſalem.

When the nobles and the whole army met together at Conſtantinople (where Alexius was Emperour) paſſing ouer by Helleſpontus goyng to Ieruſalem, they tooke the cities of Nicea, Eraclea, Tarſis, and ſubdued the country of Cicilia, appointing the poſſeſſion thereof to certayne of their Captaines.

Antioch taken of the Chriſtians.

Anno. 1098.

Antioch was beſieged, and in the ix. month of the ſiege it was yelded to the Chriſtians by one Pyrrhus: about which ſeaſon were fought many ſtrong battayles to the great ſlaughter and deſolation of the Sarazens, and not without loſſe of many Chriſtian men. The gouernance of this Citie was committed to Boamund Duke of Puell, whoſe martiall knighthood was often proued in tyme of the ſiege thereof.

The ſlaughter of the Perſian infidels.

And not long after, Corbona, maiſter of the Perſians Chiualry, was vanquiſhed and ſlayne, with an hundreth thouſand Infidels. In which diſcomfiture were taken 15000. camels.

Hieruſalem conquered by the Chriſtians.

Ex Henric. li. 7.

Ieruſalem the 39. day of the ſiege was conquered by the Chriſtians. Robert Duke of Normandy was elect to be king therof. But he refuſed, hearing of the death of king William of Eng. wherfore he neuer ſped in all his affaires well after the ſame. Then Godfrey captaine of the chriſtian army was proclaimed the firſt king of Ieruſalem. At the taking of the City was ſuch a murder of men, that bloud was congeled in the ſtreete the thicknes of a foote. Then after Godfrey raigned Baldwine his brother. After hym Baldwine the ſecond nephew. Then Gaufridus duke of Gaunt, and after him Gaufridus his ſonne, by whom many great battails there were fought againſt the Sarazens and all the countrey thereabout ſubdued ſaue Aſcalon, &c. And thus much hetherto touching the voyage to the holy land. Now to our owne land agayne.

The king of Englands iudgment agaynſt the Pope.

Ex Math. pariſ.

About this tyme (as Matthæus Pariſienſis writeth) the kinge of England fauoured not much the ſea of Rome, becauſe of their impudent and vnſatiable exactiōs, which they required, neither would he ſuffer any of his ſubiectes to go to Rome, alleaging theſe wordes in the author thus expreſſed: Quòd Petri non inhærent veſtigijs, præmijs inhiantes, non eius poteſtatem retinent, cuius ſanctitatem probantur non imitari: that is, becauſe they follow not the ſteppes of Peter, hunting for rewardes, neither haue they the power and authoritie of him, whoſe holineſſe they declare themſelues not to follow, &c.

Decrees of pope Vrbanus.

By the ſame Vrbanus, the ſeuen Houres whiche we call ſeptem horas Canonicas, were firſt inſtituted in the Church.

Ioan Stella.

Item, by this pope was decreed, no biſhop to be made but vnder the name and title of ſome certaine place.

Item, that Mattins and Houres of the day, ſhould euery day be ſayd.

Nauclerus.

Alſo euery Saterday, to be ſayd the Maſſe of our Lady, and all the Iewes Sabboth to be turned to the ſeruice of our Lady, as in the Councell of Turon, to the which ſeruice was appointed the Antheme, Ora pro populo, interueni pro clero, intercede pro deuoto fœmineo ſexu.

Diſt. 31. Eos qui

15. q. 6. Iuratos.

Item, all ſuch of the clergy as had wyues to be depriued of their order.

Item, to be lawfull for ſubiectes to breake their othe of allegeaunce, with all ſuch as were by the Pope excommunicate.

30. *q.* 8. *quod autem.*

Item, not to be lawfull both for huſband and wyfe to chriſten one child both together, with matters many moe.

By the ſame Pope thus many chapters ſtand written in the Canon law. Diſt. 7. Sanctorum, diſt. 31. Eos qui 1. q. 1. Si qui diſt. 56 præſbyterorum, 11. q. 3. quibus 15. q. 6. Iuratos, 16. q. 7. congregatio, 19 q. 2. Statuimus, 23. q. 8 Tributum. 30. q. 4. quod autem &c.

Example of Gods rightfull iudgement in puniſhing cruel murther.

In the 6. yere of this kings raigne, Malcolme king of Scots which foure times before had made great ſlaughter of old & yong in the North partes, as is before ſhewed, braſte into Northumberland with all the power he could make, and there by the right iudgement of God was ſlain with his ſonne Edward, and alſo Margaret his wife, ſiſter to Edgar Adeling aboue mynded, a vertuous and deuout Lady, within 3. dayes after.

Anſelmus made Archbiſhop of Cant.

The ſame yeare he gaue the Archbiſhoprike of Caunterbury (after that he had detayned the ſame in hys owne handes 4. yeares) to Anſelmus Abbot of Becke in Normandie

The ſaying of Anſelme pondered.

This Anſelme was an Italian in the Citie of Auguſta borne, and brought vp in the Abbey of Becke in Normandy: where, he was ſo ſtraight a folower of vertue, that (as the ſtory recordeth) he wiſhed rather to bee without ſinne in hell, then in heauen with ſinne. Which ſaying and wiſh of his (if it were his) may ſeeme to proceede out of a mynde neither ſpeaking orderly according after the phraſe and vnderſtanding of the ſcripture, nor yet ſufficiently acquainted with the iuſtification of a chriſten man. Further, they report him to be ſo farre from ſingularitie: that hee ſhould ſay it was the vice which thruſt the angels firſt out of heauen, and man out of paradiſe.

The vice of ſingularitie.

Of this Anſelme it is moreouer reported, that he was ſo ilwilling to take the Archbiſhoprike, that the kyng had

Anſelme ill willing to take the Archbiſhop prick.

Canterbury firſt geuen to the Archbiſhop wholy.

Strife and contention betweene the king and Anſelmus.

much adoe to thruſt it vpon him: and was ſo deſirous to haue him take it, that the Citie of Caunterbury (which before Lanfrancus did holde but at the kings good wyll and pleaſure) he gaue now to Anſelme wholy, which was about the yere of our Lord, 1093. But as deſirous as yͤ king was then to place the ſayd Anſelme, ſo much did he repent it afterward, ſeeking all maner of meane to defeate hym if he might. Such ſtrife and contention roſe betweene them two for certayne matters, the ground and occaſion whereof, firſt was this.

Anſelme ſtopped from hys conſecration.

Anſelme conſecrated.

Anſelme doth homage to K. William.

After that Anſelmus had bene thus elected to the ſee of Canterbury, before he was fully conſecrate, the king commoned with him (aſſaying by all gentle maner of wordes to entreat him) that ſuch lands & poſſeſſions of the church of Cant. as the king had geuen and granted to his friends ſince the death of Lanfrancus: they might ſtill enioy the ſame, as their owne lawful poſſeſſion, through his graunt and permiſſion. But to this, Anſelme in no caſe would agree. Wherupon the king conceiuing great diſpleaſure againſt him, did ſtop his conſecration a great ſeaſon, till at length in long proces of time, the king enforced by the daily complaintes and deſires of his people and ſubiects for lacke of an Archbiſhop to moderate the church, was conſtrained to admit and autoriſe hym vnto them. Thus Anſelme with much ado, takyng his conſecration, and doyng his homage to the king, went to his ſee of Cant. And not long after, the king ſailed ouer to Normandy.

Vrbanus and Clemens ſtriuing for the papacie.

England fauoured Clemens.

Anſelmus holdeth with Vrbanus.

Anſelme denied leaue to goe to Rome.

Anſelme appealeth from the K. to the Pope.

Anſelme charged for a traytour.

The kinges argument agaynſt Anſelme.

The cuſtome of England, from William Conquerours time not to Appeale to the Pope.

Anſelmus reply againſt the king.

The reaſons of Anſelme to proue the popes authority aboue other kings.

Anſelme here ignorauntly calleth the Pope the vicare of S. Peter, where the Cãnon lawe calleth him but the ſucceſſour of Peter and vicare of Chriſt.

About this time there were two ſtriuing in Rome for the Popedome, as is afore touched. Urbanus & Guibertus. Diuers realmes diuerſly conſenting, ſome to the one, ſome to the other. England taking part with theyr kyng was rather enclined to Guibertus, called Clemens the 3. but Anſelmus did fully go with Urbanus, making ſo hys exception with the king, entring to his biſhopricke. After the king was returned againe from Normandy, yͤ Archbiſhop commeth to him and aſketh leaue to goe to Rome, to fet his palle of Pope Urban: which when he could not at the firſt obtaine, he maketh his appeale from the king to the Pope. Whereat the king beyng iuſtly diſpleaſed, chargeth the Archbiſhop with breach of his feaultie, contrary to his promiſe made: that is, if he, without his licence, would appeale eyther to Urbane or to any other Pope. Anſelme aunſwereth agayne, that was to bee referred to ſome greater councell, where it is to be diſputed, whether this be to breake a mans allegeance to a terrene Prince, if he appeale to the vicar of S. Peter. And here much arguyng and contending was on both ſides. The kings reaſon proceeded thus: The cuſtome (ſayth he) from my fathers time hath bene in England, that no perſon ſhould appeale to the Pope without the kings licence. He that breaketh the cuſtomes of the realme, violateth the power and crowne of the kingdom. He that violateth and taketh away my crowne, is a traitour and enemy againſt me, &c. To this Anſelme replieth agayne: The Lord (ſayth he) eaſilie diſcuſſeth this queſtion, briefly teachyng what fidelitie and allegeaunce we ought to geue to the vicar of S. Peter, where he ſayth: thou art Peter, and vpon this rocke will I build my church, &c. And to thee I wyll geue the keyes of the kingdom of heauen, and whatſoeuer thou ſhalt bynde in earth, it ſhall be bound in heauen, and whatſoeuer thou looſeſt in earth, ſhall be looſed in heauen, &c. Agayne to them all in general, he ſaith: he that heareth you, heareth me, and who deſpiſeth you, deſpiſeth me. And in an other place, he that toucheth you, toucheth the apple of myne eie. On the other ſide, what duety we owe to the king, he ſheweth alſo. Geue (ſayth he) to the Emperour, what belongeth to the Emperour, and to God, geue that to God belongeth. Wherefore in ſuch things as belong to God, I will yeld and muſt yeld by good right and duetie, my obedience to the vicar of S. Peter, and in ſuch thinges as belong agayne to terrene dignitie of my prince, in thoſe I will not deny to him my faithfull helpe and counſell, ſo far as they can extend.

All the Biſhops of the Realme ſtoode of the kinges ſide agaynſt Anſelmus. William Byſhop of Dureſme.

Gualterus the Popes legate commeth to England.

Anſelme could not be remoued by the king. The pope taketh this no fault, for a ſubiect to repugne agaynſt hys king.

Thus haue ye the grounded arguments of this Prelate, to ſtand ſo ſtifly agaynſt his prince, wherunto peraduenture was ioyned alſo ſome piece of a ſtubburne hart. But in this concluſion, none of his fellow biſhops durſt take his part, but were all againſt him: namely, William Biſhop of Dureſme. To whom Anſelme thus proteſteth, ſaying: who ſo euer he were that would preſume to proue it any breach of allegeaunce of feaulty to his ſoueraigne, if he appealed to the vicar of S. Peter, he was ready to aunſwer at all tymes to the contrary: the biſhop of Dureſme aunſwering againe, that he which would not be ruled by reaſon, muſt with force be cõſtrained, &c. The king hauing on his part the agreement of the Biſhops, thought to depriue the Archb. both of his paſtorall ſea, and to expell him out of the realme. But he could not performe his purpoſe, for Anſelme as he was ready to depart the realme, he ſayd: whenſoeuer he went, he would take his office and authoritie with him, though he tooke nothing els. Wherupon, that matter was deferred till a longer tyme. In the meane ſeaſon the king had ſent priuily two meſſengers to Pope Urbane, to intreat him to ſend his pall to the king for him to geue it where he would. Which meſſengers by this time were returned againe, bringing with them from Rome Gualter biſhop of Albane the popes Legate, with the pall to be geuẽ to Anſelme. This Legate firſt landing at Douer, from thence came priuily (vnknowing to Anſelme) to the king, declaring and promiſing, that if Urbane was receyued pope in England, whatſoeuer the king required to be obtayned, he by his priuiledge from the Apoſtolicall ſea would ratifie and confirme the ſame, ſaue onely that when the king required of the Legate that Anſelme might be remoued, the Legate therunto would not agree, ſaying: that was vnpoſſible to be obtained, that ſuch a man as he, beyng lawfully called, ſhould bee expelled without manifeſt cauſe. In concluſion ſo it folowed, that although he could not obtain his requeſt of the Legate, yet yͤ Legate wroght ſo with the king, that Urbane was proclaymed lawfull Pope through all the realme.

The ſtoutnes of Anſelme ſtanding agaynſt hys king.

The maner of bringing in Anſelms palle into Cant.

Then were ſent to Anſelmus certain biſhops to moue and proue his mynd, declaring what charges and paynes the kyng had bene at in his behalfe, to procure the pall for hym from Rome, which otherwyſe would haue ſtood him in great expences, and that all this the king hath done for his ſake. Wherfore it were good reaſon and conueniẽt, that he (to gratifie the king) ſhould ſomething condeſcend to his requeſt againe. But with all this, Anſelme the ſtoute Archbiſhop would not be moued. Wherefore the kyng ſeeyng none other remedy, was compelled to graunt vnto him yͤ full right of his Archbiſhoprike. And ſo yͤ day apointed when the palle ſhould be brought to Canterbury (being caried with all ſolemnitie in a thing of ſiluer) the Archbiſhop with a great concourſe of people, came forth barefoot, with his prieſtly veſtiments, after a moſt goodly maner to meete the ſame. And ſo beyng brought in, was layd vppon the aulter, whileſt Anſelme (ſpreading ouer hys ſhoulders his popiſh veſtiments) proceeded vnto his popiſh maſſe.

An other quarrell of the king againſt Anſelme.

Anſelme agayne appealeth to Rome.

The kinges aunſwere to Anſelme for hys appealing to Rome.

The cuſtome of England, no prelate or noble man to goe to Rome without the kinges ſending.

Thus agreement beyng made betwene the kyng and the biſhop, ſo long as it would hold. It happened the yere following, the kyng with his army entred into Wales to ſubdue ſuch as there rebelled againſt him. After the victory gotten, the king returned home agayne with triumph. To whom Anſelme thought to haue come, to congratulate his proſperous ſucceſſe. But the king preuented hym by meſſengers, laying to the biſhops charge both the ſmal number & euil ſeruice of his ſouldiours ſent to him at hys need. At the hearing hereof, all the hope of Anſelme was daſht, who at the ſame preſent had thought to haue obtayned & done many great matters with the king touching the ſtate of the Church. But here all turned contrary to his expectation. In ſo much, that he was charged againſt the next court of parliament, to make his aunſwer. But he auoided that by appealing to Rome. Wherfore he made his ſute and friendes to the king for liſence to go to the Pope. Unto the which ſute, the king aunſwered agayne, that he ſhould not go, neither was there any cauſe for him ſo to do for that both he knew him to be of ſo ſound a lyfe, yͭ he had done no ſuch offence whereof hee needed to craue abſolution at Rome, neither was there any ſuch lacke of ſcience & knowledge, that he neded to borrow any counſel there. In ſo much (ſayth the kyng) that I dare ſay. Pope Urbane, rather hath to geue place to the wyſedome of Anſelme, then Anſelme to haue neede of Urbane. Wherefore as he hath no cauſe to goe, ſo I charge hym to tary. And if he continue in his ſtubburnnes ſtill, I wil aſſuredly ſeaſon vpon his poſſeſſions, and conuert his Archbiſhoprike vnto my cofers: for that he tranſgreſſeth and breaketh hys fidelitie and obeiſaunce, promiſing before to obſerue all the cuſtomes of my kyngdome. Neyther is it the faſhion in this Realme, that any of my Nobles ſhould goe to Rome without my ſending. And therefore, let him ſweare vnto me, yͭ he ſhall neyther for any greuance, appeale hereafter to the ſea of Rome, or els let him voyde my realme.

The anſwer of Anſelme to the king.

Againſt theſe wordes of the king, Anſelme thinkyng not beſt to reply agayne by any Meſſage, but by worde of mouth, comming himſelfe perſonally to the kyng, placeth himſelfe (after his order) on the right hand of the Prince, where he made his reply vnto the meſſage ſent to hym by the kyng. Where as ye ſay, I ought not to goe to Rome either for lacke of any treſpaſſe, or for aboundance of counſaile and knowledge in me (albeit I graunt to neither of them as true) yet what the truth is therein, I referre it to the iudgement of God. And whereas ye ſay that I promiſed to kepe and obſerue your cuſtomes: that I graunt, but with a condition: ſo farre to keepe them, and ſuch of them to obſerue, as were conſonant to the lawes of God, & ruled with right and equitie. Moreouer, whereas ye charge me with breach of my fidelity and allegeance, for that contrary to your cuſtomes I appeale to the Sea Apoſtolicke (my reuerence and dutie to your ſoueraigntie reſerued) if an other would ſay it, that is vntrue. For the fidelitie and obeiſaunce that I owe to thee (O King) I haue it of the faith and fidelitie of God, whoſe Vicare S. Peter is: to whoſe ſeat I do appeale. Farther, whereas ye require me to ſweare, that I ſhal for no cauſe hereafter at any time appeale to Rome: I pronoūce openly that a chriſtian Prince requireth ſuch an othe of his Archbiſhop vniuſtly. For if I ſhould forſweare S. Peter, I ſhould denye Chriſt. And when I ſhall at any time deny Chriſt, then ſhall I be content and ready to ſtand to my ſatiſfaction of my tranſgreſſion to you, for aſking licenſe to goe to Rome. And peraduenture when I am gone, the goodes of the Churche ſhall not ſo ſerue your temporal deſires and commodities as ye wene for. At theſe wordes of the Biſhop, the king and his nobles were not a little incenſed: defending againe, that in obſeruing the kinges cuſtomes, there was neither condition nor any clauſe put in, either of God or right. No was, ſayde Anſelme? If ſo be that in your cuſtomes was neither mention made of God nor of right, whereof was there mention then? For God forbid that any Chriſtian ſhoulde be bound to any cuſtomes, which goe contrary to God and to right: Thus on both ſides paſſed much altercation betwene thē. At length, the king after many threatning wordes, tolde him he ſhould cary nothing out of the realme with him. Well ſayde the Biſhop, if I may neyther haue my horſe, nor garmentes with me, then will I walke on foote. And ſo addreſſed him toward his iourney (all the other biſhops forſaking him) wherof none would take his part: but if he came to them for their counſaile, they ſayd he was wiſe inough, and needed not their counſaile, as who for his prudence knewe beſt what was to be done, as alſo for his holines was willing and able to proſecute the ſame that he did know. As for them, they neither durſt nor wold ſtand againſt the king their Lord: whoſe fauour they could not lacke, for the peril that might happen both to thēſelues and to their kinrede. But for him becauſe he was both a ſtranger, and void of ſuch worldly corruption in him: they willed him to goe forwarde as he had begon, their ſecrete conſent he ſhoulde haue, but their open voice they woulde not geue him. Thus Anſelmus remaining at Douer 15. daies tarying for winde: at laſt ſped him towarde his paſſage. But his packing being ſecretly knowen in the court: the kings officer (William Warlwaſt) preuented hys purpoſe: ſearching by the kings commaundement al his truſſes, coffers, ſatchels, ſleeues, purſe, napkin and boſome for letters, and for mony, and ſo let him paſſe. Who ſailing into Fraunce, firſt reſted a while at Lions, from thence came to Rome to complaine to Pope Urbane, according to the tenor and forme of a certaine Epiſtle of his, wherin among many other thinges in the ſame Epiſtle conteined: theſe wordes he wryteth to Pope Paſchalis, the third yere after his baniſhment, after the death of Urbane, and a little before the death of the king.

Note the hye reaſons of Anſelm.

The Byſhops left Anſelme alone.

Anſelme flying out of England.

Anſelme ſearched by the kinges officer for letters.

To the Lord and reuerend father Paſchalis, high biſhop:
Anſelme ſeruant of the Churche of Cant. offereth due ſub-
iection from his heart, and prayers, if they can ſtand
in any ſtede. Ex Epiſt. 36. Paulò poſt initium.

I See in Englād many euils, whoſe correction belongeth to me, and which I could neither amend, nor ſuffer without mine owne fault. The king deſireth of me, that vnder the name of right I ſhuld conſent to his pleaſures, which were againſt the lawe and wil of God. For he woulde not haue the Pope receaued nor appealed vnto in Englande, without his commaundement: neither that I ſhould ſend a letter vnto him, or receaue any from him: or that I ſhuld obey his decrees. He ſuffered not a Councell to be kept in his realme, now theſe 13. yeares ſince he was king. In all theſe things, and ſuch like, if I aſked any counſaile, all my ſuffragane Byſhops of his realme, denied to geue me any counſaile, but according to the kinges pleaſure. After that I ſawe theſe and ſuch other thinges, that are done againſt the will and lawe of God: I aſked licenſe of him to goe to Rome, vnto the ſea Apoſtolicall, that I might there take counſaile for my ſoule, and the office committed to me. The king ſayd, that I offended agaynſt hym for the onely aſking of licenſe: And propounded to me, that eyther I ſhould make hym amendes for the ſame as a treſpaſſe (aſſuring hym neuer to aſke this licenſe any more to appeale to the pope at anye tyme hereafter) or els that I ſhoulde quickly depart out of hys land. Wherefore choſen rather to goe out of the land: then to agree to ſo wicked a thing: I came to Rome, as ye know, and declared the whole matter to the Lord Pope. The king by and by (as ſoone, as I went out of England) inuaded the whole Archbiſhoprike, and turned it to hys owne vſe: taxing the monkes onely with bare meate, drinke, and clothe. The king being warned and deſired of the Lord Pope to amend this, he contēned the ſame: and yet continueth in his purpoſe ſtill. And now is the third yere ſince I came thus out of Englande and more. Some men not vnderſtanding, demaund why I did not excommunicate the king. But the wiſer ſort, and ſuch as haue vnderſtanding counſayle me, that I doe not this thing: becauſe it belongeth not to me both to complayne, and to puniſh. To conclude, I was forewarned by my frendes that are vnder the king, that my excommunication (if it ſhould be done) would be laughed to ſcorne and deſpiſed &c.

A fragment or portion of a letter of Anſelme to Pope Paſchalis. *Et ex legenda Anſ. aut Edmero. Ex Epiſtol. Anſelm. 36.*

The king would not haue the pope receaued, nor appealed vnto in England.

Anſelme complayneth of the K. & of hys ſuffragane Byſhops.

The king contemneth the Popes warning.

By theſe here aboue prefixed, appeareth how Anſelme the Archbiſhop comming to Rome, made hys complaynt to the Pope Urbane of the king: and how the Pope writing to the king in the behalfe of Anſelme: hys letters and commaundementes were deſpiſed. And now to our ſtory. In the meane tyme while the popes letters were ſent to the king, Anſelme was byd to wayte about the Pope to looke for an aunſwere backe. Who perceauing (at length) how little the king reputed the popes letters, began to be weary of hys office: deſiring the pope that he might be diſcharged thereof. But the Pope in no caſe woulde thereto conſent, charging hym vpon hys obedience, that whereſoeuer he went, he ſhoulde beare with him the name and honour of the Archbiſhop of Cant. Whereunto, Anſelmus agayne ſayd, hys obedience, he neyther durſt nor woulde refuſe, as who for Gods cauſe, was ready to ſuffer, whatſoeuer ſhould happen (yea though it were death it ſelfe) as he thought no leſſe would follow thereof. But what ſhold we think (ſayth he) is there to be done, where not onely iuſtice taketh no place, but is vtterly oppreſſed? and where as my ſuffraganes not onely doe not helpe (for dread) the righteous cauſe: but alſo for fauour do impugne the ſame. Well (ſayth the Pope) as touching theſe matters, we ſhal ſufficiently prouide for at the next Councell at Baron: where as I will you the ſame tyme and place to be preſent.

When the tyme of the Councell was come, Anſelme among other was called for. Who firſt ſitting in an vtter ſide of yͤ Byſhops, afterward was placed at yͤ right foote of the Pope, with theſe wordes: Includamus hunc in orbe noſtro tanquam alterius orbis Papam. Wherupon the ſame place after hym was appoynted to the ſucceſſours of the ſea of Cant. (in euery general Councel by the decree of Urbane) to ſit at the right foote of the pope. In this Councell, great ſturre and much reaſoning there was agaynſt the Grecians, concerning the matter and order of proceeding of the holy Ghoſt. Where is to be noted that the Greeke Church hath of long tyme diſſented from the Latine church in many and ſondry poyntes, to the number of xx. or almoſt xxix. Articles, as I haue them collected out of the Regiſter of yͤ Church of Hereford. Whereof, lyke as occaſion hereafter may ſerue (God willing) for a further & more ample tractation to be made: ſo here by the waye partly I meane to touch ſome. The firſt is.

Concilium Baronēſe.

Anſelme and hys ſucceſſours of Cant. placed at the right foot of the pope in generall councels.

De proceſſione ſpiritus ſancti.

The difference betweene the greeke Church and the latine.

❧ *Wherein the Greeke Church differeth from the Latine.*

THe firſt article wherein the Greeke Churche altereth from the Latine or Romiſh Church is this, Quòd ſunt extra obedientiam Romanæ eccleſiæ, pro eo quòd eccleſia Conſtantinopolitana non eſt ſubiecta, ſed ei æqualis. 1. Dicunt Dominum Apoſtolicum non habere maiorem poteſtatem, q̄ iiii. Patriarchæ. Et quicquid fit præter ſcientiam eorum per Papam, vel ſine eorum approbatione, nullius eſt valoris &c. In Engliſhe. Firſt they are not vnder the obedience of the Churche of Rome, becauſe that the Church of Conſtantinople is not ſubiect, but equall to the ſame.

2. They hold that the Biſhop of the Apoſtolicke Sea of Rome, hath greater power then the 4. Patriarches. And what ſoeuer the Pope doth beſide their knowledge, or without their approbation, it is of no valor.

3. Item they ſay, what ſoeuer hath bene done or concluded ſince the ſecond generall Councell, is of no full authoritie, becauſe from that time they recount the Latines to be in errour, and to be excluded out of the holy Church.

4. Item Dicunt Euchariſtiam conſecratam per Romanam Eccleſiam non eſſe verum corpus Chriſti. 1. They hold the

Ex Regiſtro eccleſ. Herefordenſis.

The articles and opinions of the greeke Church differing from the Latine Church of Rome.

Euchariſt conſecrated by the Churche of Rome, not to be the very body of Chriſt. Alſo where the Romiſh Churche doth cōſecrate in vnleauened bread, they cōſecrate in bread leauened.

5. Item they ſay, that the Romiſh church doth erre in the wordes of Baptiſme for ſaying, I baptiſe thee, when they ſhould ſay: let this creature of God be baptiſed. &c.

6. They hold moreouer, to be no Purgatory, nor that the Suffrages of the Church do auaile the dead, either to leſſe the paine of them, that be deſtinate to hell, or to increaſe the glory of them that be ordained to ſaluation.

7. Item they hold, that yͤ ſoules out of the bodies departed (whether they haue done good or euill) haue not their perfect paine, nor glory: but are reſerued in a certain place, till the day of iudgement.

8. Item they condemne the church of Rome, for mixting cold water in their ſacrifice.

9. Item they condemne the Church of Rome, for that as wel women as prieſts annoynt children (when they baptiſe them) on both ſhoulders.

10. Item Dicunt panem noſtrum panagiam. i. They call our bread Panagia.

11. Item they blame the Church of Rome, for celebrating their Maſſe on other daies beſide Sondaies, and certaine other feaſtes appoynted.

12. Alſo in this the Greeke Church varieth from the Latine, for they haue neither creame, nor oyle, nor ſacrament of confirmation.

13. Neither do they vſe extreme vnction, or anoyling after the maner of the Romane church, expounding the place of S. James of the ſpirituall infirmitie, and not corporall.

14. Item they enioyne no ſatiſfaction for penance, but onely that they ſhewe themſelues to the Prieſts, annoynting them with ſimple oyle in token of remiſſion of ſinnes.

15. Item onely on maundy Thurſday they conſecrate for the ſicke: keeping it for the whole yeare after, thinking it to be more holy vpon that day conſecrate, then vppon any other. Neither doe they faſt any ſaterday through yͤ whole yeare, but onely on Eaſter euen.

16. Item they geue but onely 5. orders as of Clearkes, Subdeacons, Deacones, Prieſtes, & Byſhops, when as the Romaine Church geueth ix. orders after the ix. orders of Aungels.

My copy here ſeemed to want ſomewhat.

17. Moreouer, the Greciās in their orders make no vow of chaſtitie, alledging for them the 5. Canon of N. *Ego præsbyter vel Diaconus, vxorem cauſa honeſtatis non reijciam. &c. i. I. N. Prieſt or Deacon will not forſake my wiſe for honeſtie ſake.

18. Item, euery yeare the Grecians, vſe vpon certaine dayes to excommunicate the Church of Rome, and all the Latines, as heretickes.

19. Item, among the ſayde Grecians they are excommunicate, that beate or ſtrike a Prieſt. Neither doe their religious men liue in ſuch Prieſtly chaſtitie, as the Romane Prieſts doe.

20. Item, their Emperour among them, doeth ordaine Patriarches, Biſhops, and other of the Clergy, and depoſeth the ſame at his pleaſure, alſo geueth benefices to whō he luſteth, and retaineth the fruites of the ſame benefices, as pleaſeth him.

This article ſeemeth not to be rightly collected, out of the Grecians.

21. Item, they blame the Latine Churche becauſe they eate not fleſh, egges, and cheſe, on Friday, and do eate fleſh on Saterdaies.

22. Item, they holde againſt the Latine men, for celebrating without the conſecrated Churche, either in the houſe or in the field: And faſting on the Sabboth day: And for permitting menſtruous women, to enter into the Church before their purifying: Alſo for ſuffering dogges, and other beaſtes, to enter into the Church.

23. The Grecians vſe not to knele in all their deuotions, yea not to the body of Chriſt (as the regiſter termeth it) but one day in the whole yeare: ſaying and affirming, that the Latines be goates and beaſtes, for they are alwayes proſtrating themſelues vpon the ground in their praiers.

24. The Grecians moreouer permit not the Latines, to celebrate vpon their altars. And if it chaunce any Latine Prieſt to celebrate vpon their altar, by and by they waſhe their altare, in token of abomination & falſe ſacrifice. And diligently they obſerue, that whē ſoeuer they do celebrate, they do but one Liturgie or maſſe vpon one altar or table, that day.

25 Item, they diſſent from the Church of Rome, touching the order and maner, of the proceding of the holy Ghoſt.

These Articles wherein is declared the difference betwene the Eaſt and weſt church, of the Grecians and Romanes, as I found them articulate and collected in an ancient & autentical regiſter of the churche of Herforde: ſo I thought heere to inſerte them, & leaue them to the conſideration of the Reader. Other foure articles moe in the ſame Regiſter be there expreſſed, concerning ſimonie, vſurie not to them forbidden, and touching alſo their Emperour, and how they teach their children to hurt or dāniſy by any maner of way the Latine prieſtes. &c. which articles, for that either they ſeme not truly collected out of their teachings, or els not greatly pertinent to the doctrine of Religion, I ouerpaſſe them. To the purpoſe now of our ſtorie againe.

Anſelme a ſtout champion againſt the Grecians.

When certaine of theſe aboue prefixed, were moued in the foreſaid Councel to be diſcuſſed, namely concerning the aſſertion of proceeding of the holy Ghoſt: and concerning leauened bread in the miniſtration of the Lords Supper. Anſelme, as is aboue ſayd, was called for, who in the tractation of the ſame Articles ſo beſturred him in that councell, that hee well liked the Pope, and them about him, as mine author recordeth. Wherupon, touching the matter of vnleauened bread how indifferētly he ſeemed there to reaſon: and what he writeth to Walerane Byſhop of Nurenburgh, therof ye ſhal heare by a pece of his letter ſent to the ſayd Byſhop, the copie whereof here inſueth.

¶ *Anſelme ſeruant to the Church of Canterburie, to Valtram Biſhop of Nurenburgh. Epiſtola 325. poſt initium.*

A letter of Anſelme ſent to Valtrā Biſhop of Nurenburgh. *Ex Epiſt. Anſel. 325.*

AS concerning the ſacrifice in which the Grecians thinke not as we doe: it ſemeth to many reaſonable Catholike men: that which they do, not to be againſt the Chriſtian faith, for bothe he that ſacrificeth vnleauened and leauened ſacrificeth breade. And where it is red of our Lord (whē he made his body of bread) that he tooke bread and bleſſed: it is not added vnleauened, or leauened. Yet it is certaine that he bleſſed vnleauened bread (peraduenture) not becauſe the thing that was done required that, but becauſe the ſupper in which this was done, did geue that. And wher as in an other place he called himſelfe and his fleſh bread, becauſe that as many as liue tēporally with this bread, ſo with that bread he liueth for euer. He ſayth not vnleauened or leauened, becauſe both alike are breade. For vnleauened & leauened differ not in ſubſtance as ſome thinke: like as a new man afore ſinne, & an olde rooted man in the leauen of ſinne, differ not in ſubſtance. For this cauſe therefore only, he might be thought to call himſelfe and his fleſh, bread, and made his body of breade, becauſe that this breade (vnleauened or leauened) geueth a tranſitorie life: and his bodie of bread, becauſe that this bread (vnleauened or leauened) giueth a tranſitorie life: and his body geueth euerlaſting life, not for that it is either leauened or vnleauened. Although it be a cōmandement in the lawe, to eate vnleauened breade in the paſſeouer, where all things are done in a figure: that it might be declared, that Chriſt whom they loked for, was pure & cleane: and we that ſhould eate his body were admoniſhed to be likewiſe pure from al leauen and malice and wickedneſſe. But nowe, after we are come from the olde figure to the newe trueth, and eate the vnleauened fleſh of Chriſt: that olde figure in breade (of which we make that fleſh) is not neceſſary for vs. But manifeſt it is, to be better ſacrificed of vnleauened then of leauened, &c.

Bread in the communion to be vnleauened is not neceſſary.

To this letter I haue alſo adioyned an other Epiſtle of his to the ſayd Waltrame, appertaining to matters not much vnlike to the ſame effect: wherein is entreated touching the varietie and diuers vſages of the ſacraments in the church. Wherby ſuch as cal and cry ſo much for vniformitie in the Churche, may note peraduenture in the ſame, ſomething for their better vnderſtanding.

¶ *A piece of on other letter of Anſelme to the ſaid Valtram biſhop of Nur.*

To the reverende father and his frend Valtram, by the grace of God the worſhipful biſhop of Nurenburgh, Anſelme the ſeruant of the Church of Canterbury greeting. &c.

Ex Epiſt. Anſel. 327. An other letter.

YOur worſhip complaineth of the Sacraments of the Church, that they are not made euery where after one ſorte, but are handled in diuers places after diuers ſortes. And truelie, if they were miniſtred after one ſorte and agreeing through the whole church, it were good and laudable. Yet notwithſtanding, becauſe there be many diuerſities which differ not in the ſumme of the ſacrament, in the ſtrength of it, or in the faith, nor els can be gathered into one cuſtome: I thinke that they are rather to be borne with in agreement of peace, than to be condemned with offence. For we haue this from the holy fathers, thai if the vnitie of charitie be kept in the Catholique faith, the diuerſitie of cuſtomes hurt nothing. But if it be demanded whereof this diuerſity of cuſtomes doe ſpring: I perceiue no other cauſe thereof, but the diuerſitie of mens wits. Which although they differ not in ſtrength and truthe

Diuerſitie of vſages in the Church to be borne with peace, rather then to be condemned with offēce. Diuers cuſtomes in the Church hurt nothing.

of the thing: yet they agree not in the fitneſſe and comelineſſe of the miniſtring. For that which one iudgeth to be meeter, oftentimes an other thinketh leſſe mete: wherefore not to agree in ſuch diuerſities, I thinke it not to ſwarue frõ the truth of the thing. &c.

Excommunication denounced agaynſt the Grecians. Excommunication bent agaynſt K. William. Firſt breake hys head, and then geue him a playſter.

Then in the ſtory it followeth, after long debating and diſcuſſing of theſe matters in the councell, when they had geuen forth their determination vpon the ſame: And the Pope had blaſted out his thundring excommunications againſt the Grecians, & all that toke their parte: at length was brought in, touching the complaintes and accuſation againſt the king of England. Vpon the hearing whereof, Pope Vrbane with his adherents was ready to proceede in excommunication againſt the king. But Anſelme kneeling before the Pope, after hee had firſt accuſed his King, then after obtained for him longer time to be geuen vpon further triall.

Meſſage betweene the K. and the Pope.

A loude cracke of thunder, but without a thunderbolt.

Thus the councell breaking vp, the Pope returning againe to Rome, directeth downe his letters to the King, commaunding him that Anſelme with all his partakers (in ſpeedy wiſe) ſhould be reueſted againe into his archbiſhopricke, and al other poſſeſſions thereunto appertaining. To this the king ſendeth anſwere againe by meſſengers, who comming to the Pope, declared in the kings behalfe on this wiſe. That the King their maiſter did not a little meruaile, what came in his minde to commaund Anſelme to be reueſted and reſaiſed againe into his former Archbyſhopricke, ſeeing he told him before plainly, that if he went out of England without his leaue, he woulde ſo doe vnto him. Well ſaith the Pope, haue ye no other matter againſt Anſelmus but onely this? No, quod they. And haue ye taken all this trauel (ſayth the Pope) to come hether ſo farre to tell me this, that the Primate of your countrey is therefore ſeaſed and diſpoſſeſſed, becauſe he hath appealed to the ſea and iudgement Apoſtolicall? Therefore if thou loueſt thy Lord ſpede thee home and tell him, if he wil not be excommuned, that he quickly reueſt Anſelme againe, to all ẏ he had before. And leaſt I make thee to be hanged for thy labour, loke to thy terme, and ſee that thou bring me aunſwer againe from him into this citie, againſt the next coũcel the third weeke after Eaſter. The meſſenger or ſpeaker being ſomewhat aſtonied at the hearing of this ſo ragicall aunſwere: thinking yet to worke ſomething for his King & maſter: came ſecretely to the Pope, ſaying that he would conferre a certaine myſterie from his king priuately wyth his holineſſe betwene them two. What myſterie that was or what there paſſed from the king to the Pope & the court of Rome, mine author doth not ſhew. But ſo cunningly ẏ myſterie was handled: that with a full conſent both of the Pope and all the court of Rome, a longer day was geuen (from Eaſter to Michaelmas) and the popes cholericke heate ſo aſſwaged: that when the councel came (which then was holden in S. Peters Church in Rome) albeit great complaintes were then denounced againſt the King: yet ſuch fauour was found, that he toke no harme. Onely the ſentence of excõmunication was there pronounced againſt ſuch lay perſons as gaue inueſture of Churches, and them ẏ were ſo inueſted. Alſo againſt them that doe conſecrate ſuch, or which geue themſelues in ſubiection to lay mẽ for eccleſiaſtical liuings, as is before touched, &c.

A bribing miſtery handled at Rome.

Concilium Romanum. Optimus cauſidicus nummus.

Actes of the councel of Rome.

This Councell being finiſhed, the Archbiſhop ſeeing the vnſtedfaſtneſſe of the Pope (which pleaſed him but a little) toke his iourney to Lions: where he continued his abode a long time, till the death firſt of pope Vrbane, then after of the king.

The hardines or rather raſhnes of K. Wil.

Of this king William, many things be diuerſly recorded, ſome to his commendation, & ſome to his diſcommẽdation: whereof this is one which ſome will aſcribe to hardines, but I rather to raſhnes in him. As this king vpon a time was in his diſport of hunting: ſodenly worde came to him, that Cenourona (a Citie in Normandy) was beſieged. The King without longer tarying or aduiſement, toke the ſtraight way towarde the ſea ſide, ſending to his lordes, that they ſhould followe after. They being come to hys preſence, aduiſed him to ſtaie, till the time his people were aſſembled, but he would not be ſtayed: ſaying, that ſuch as him loued (he knew) wold follow him ſhortly, and ſo went to take ſhip. The ſhipmaſter ſeeing the weather ſo darke and cloudie, was afraide, and counſailed the king to tarrie till the winde did turne about, and the weather more fauourable. But the King perſiſting in his iourney, commaunded him to make all the ſpeede he might for his life (ſaying) that he neuer hearde, that any King yet was euer drowned. And ſo paſſed the ſea in ſafetie, and came to Normandie.

The ſaying of K. Wil. how he neuer knew any K. drowned.

The 13. yeare of his reigne the ſaide king William hauing the ſame time in his hand three byſhoprickes, Cant. Wint. and Sarum: alſo 12. Abbeyes in farme: As he was in his diſport of hunting in the new foreſt, by glaunſing of an arrowe (ſhot of a Knight named Walter Tyrell) was wounded to death: and ſo ſpeachleſſe was caried to Weſtminſter, and there was buried. Where alſo is to be noted, ẏ Richarde the coſen Germaine of K. William, and ſonne to duke Robert his brother, was likewiſe ſlaine in the foreſaid foreſt. See the iuſt hand of god vpon kings, vſurping wrongfully vpon other mennes grounds, as did William Conqueror their father, in making this newe foreſt: plucking downe diuers churches and towneſhips, the cõpaſſe of 30. miles about. Here therefore apeareth, that although men can not reuenge, yet God reuengeth either in thẽ, or in their poſteritie. &c. This king as he alwaies vſed Concubines, ſo left he no iſſue legitimate behinde him. His life was ſuche, that it is harde for a ſtorie that ſhoulde tell truth, to ſay, whether he was more to be cõmẽded, or reproued. Among other vices in him, eſpecially is to be rebuked in him vnmeaſurable and vnreaſonable couetouſnes: in ſo much ẏ he coueted (if he might) to be euery mans heire. This one example of a liberal and princely nature I finde in him: that vpon a time, when a certaine Abbot of a place was deade, there came to his court two Monkes of the ſame houſe: who before had gathered much mony, and made their frendes to the king, and offered large offers either of them to be promoted to that dignitie. There was alſo the third monke of the ſame place, which of meekenes and humility folowed the other two: to the intent that vpon him ẏ the king had admitted for Abbot, he ſhould geue attendance, and as his chaplaine to haue with him returned. The king called before him the two monkes ſeuerally, of whom the either outproffered the other. As the king caſt his eye aſide, he eſpied the third Monke ſtanding by, ſuppoſing that his comming had bene alſo for the like cauſe. Then the King calling him, aſked what he wold do, whether he would geue more then his brethren had offered, to be Abbot. He anſwered to the king, and ſaide: that he neither had (nor woulde if he might) offer any penie for it, by any ſuch vnlawfull meane.

The death of William Rufus.

Walter Tirrell. The new foreſt.

Example of the iuſt hand of God reuenging the faultes of Kinges in their poſteritie.

Couetouſnes noted in king William.

A famous example of bribes refuſed.

Two bribing monkes both diſapoynted.

When the king had well pondered this third Monkes anſwere, he ſaid that he was beſt worthy to be Abbot, and to haue the rule of ſo holy a charge: and ſo gaue vnto him that benefice without taking any penie.

Vrbane excommunicated Henry the 4. Emperour.

Vrbanus B. of Rome (who, as is ſaide ſucceeded after Victor) ruled the Churche of Rome, about the ſpace of 12. yeres: and among his other actes, he excommunicated the Emperor Henricus the fourth of that name, as a man not much deuoute to that ſea of Rome: But yet a worthy and victorious prince he was, in whome albeit ſome vice perchaunce might be noted: yet none ſuch, wherefore any prelate or miniſter of Chriſt, ought to excite his ſubiects to rebell againſt publike authoritie of God appointed. This Emperour Henricus the iiij. was by 4. Popes ſeuerallye excommunicate: firſt by Hildebrand, by Victor, Vrbanus, and Paſchalis. Which excommunicatiõ wrought ſo in the ignorant & blinde hearts of the people, that many (as well of the nobles as of the multitude, contrary to their ſworne alleageance) rebelliouſly conſpired againſt their king and Emperor. In number of whom, among the reſt, was one certaine Earle named Ludouicus: to whom Waltramus biſhop of the Church of Mergburgh (a godly and a faithfull man, as appeareth) doeth write letters of fatherly admonition, exhorting and inſtructing him in the office of obedience. Vnto the which letters he likewiſe doth anſwer againe, by cauilling ſophiſtication, and by mere affection, rather diſpoſed to diſcord, then ſeeking ſinceritie of trueth. And foraſmuch as in theſe two letters, ẏ argument of chriſtian obedience on both ſides is ſo debated by proofes and reaſons, as may be profitable for the Reader to peruſe and vnderſtande: I thought therfore not to defraud the Engliſh reader of the ſame, whereof peraduenture ſome vtility might be taken. The tenour of the Byſhops letter to the Earle here foloweth.

Henry the 4. Emperour, by 4. Popes excommunicated.

Ludouicus erle conſpiring and rebellious agaynſt the Emperour.

¶ *The Epiſtle of Waltramus B. of Mergburgh, to the earle Ludouicus, exhorting to concorde and obedience.*

{ Anno. 1090. }

VAltramus dei gratia id quod eſt, Ludouico sereniſsimo principi, cum inſtantia orationum, ſemetipſum ad omnia deuotiſſimum. Omni regno vtilis eſt concordia, deſiderabilis eſt iuſtitia. &c. In Engliſh.

Ex appendice Mariani Scoti.

Valtrame by the grace of God being that he is: to Ludouike the noble prince, with inſtance of praier offreth himſelfe ſeruiceable to all things. To euery realme concord is a thing profitable, and iuſtice muche to be deſired. For this vertue is the mother of godlines and the conſecration of all honeſtie. Whoſoeuer ſeeking after ciuile diſſention, and incenſeth other to effuſion of bloude:

he

Concorde and iuſt obedience neceſſary in a common wealth.

Diſobedience puniſhed of God.

he is a murtherer, and partaker with him: who euer gaping and thruſting for an others bloud, goeth about ſeeking whom he may deuoure. You therefore, conſidering with your ſelfe (moſte noble Prince) howe God is the God of peace, and not of diſſention (ſo much as in you doth lie) haue peace with all men. God is charity, the deuil is hatred. The whole law and Prophets conſiſt in loue & charitie. He that hateth and maligneth his brother, is a murtherer & hath no part with Chriſt in the kingdome of God. This we read teſtified and proteſted both by him which is the truth himſelfe, & by him which was the ſcholer of the truth: who vpon the breſt of the Lorde (drinking a more full draught of the goſpel) reioyceth the citie of God with aboundance of plentiful floods. In like maner the worthy veſſell of election, who being rapt vp to the thirde heauen (not by man but by reuelation of Ieſu Chriſt) proteſteth alſo, ſaying: let euery ſoule ſubmit himſelfe to higher powers. There is no power ſayeth he, but of God. He that reſiſteth power, reſiſteth the ordinaunce of God. If that be true therefore, which certaine of our frendes do iangle among women, and the vulgare ſort, that we ought not to be ſubdued to kingly power, then is it falſe which the Apoſtle teacheth, that euery ſoule muſt ſubmitte himſelfe vnder power and ſuperioritie. But can the veritie lie? Or do we ſeke for experimẽt of him, who ſpake in the Apoſtle, Chriſt the Lorde? Or do we prouoke the Lorde? Be we ſtronger then he? For what doth he but thinketh himſelfe ſtronger then the Lorde, that reſiſteth the ordinance of God? for there is no power but of God. But what ſayeth the Prophet? Confounded be all they that ſtriue againſt thee O Lorde, and the men which repugne againſt thee, ſhall periſh. Rodolphus, Hildebrandus, Egbertus, with many other Princes, reſiſted the ordinance of God in Henry the Emperour. And lo, euen as they had neuer bene, ſo are they nowe periſhed, & as their end was euil, ſo their begining could not be good.

Gal.

Iohn.

Rom.

Nowe therefore, for ſo much as they which be contrary to vs do earneſtly ſtriue againſt vs with their owne arguments, wheras of right (I dare referre me to your iudgemẽt) we ought to vſe the authoritie of Chriſt & ancient fathers, before that, which our aduerſaries take out of their owne treaſurie. And becauſe I will not refuſe the order of lawe in this behalfe, let it be the ende of the ſtrife: that either I may be openly ſhamed before the people, either els (the victory falling on my ſide) we may winne you to the obedience of our ſoueraigne Lord the Emperour. Alſo take you hede to this ſaying, If any man do preach otherwiſe then that which is preached, let him be of you accurſed. This curſe, I ſay doeth not proceede from any newe prophane authoritie, but is thundered downe from the third heauen. And of them which knowe not the righteouſnes of God, but goe about to ſtabliſh their owne righteouſnes, and therfore be not ſubiect to the righteouſnes of God: I may boldly ſay, let ſuch be accurſed. So may you well ſay, confounded be al they that proudly riſe vp againſt the Lorde. but thy ſeruant (oh Lord) ſhall reioyce, for as thou haſt wel ſaide, without me you can doe nothing, ſo in iudging of the wicked, thou doeſt not condemne the iuſt. Who art thou that iudgeſt another mans ſeruant to his owne Lord whether he doth ſtand or fall?

The anſwere of the Earle Lewes, to Biſhop Waltram.

A rayling aunſwere to the former letter of Byſhop Waltram.

Well ſaid, when ye are not able to withſtand hys wiſedome, call him a foole. Note howe the earle here calleth light darckenes, and darckenes light.

He hath vttered more reaſ then you a able euer aunſwere

Whether e uery powe is to be o beyed or n Oſee. 8.

If euery power which offendeth by ſubiectes, to be caſt out, then hath this Earle ma a fayre ar ment.

How liue theſe Papiſtes deſcribe them ſelues in their own colour.

But Pa iudged th Emperou to be an o dinary power, when he appealed him.

THe Earle Lewys to the Lord Waltram, howſoeuer vnworthy or vnmeete he be for the name. Like as a good man from the good treaſure of the hart bringeth forth good fruit, ſo doeth the euil man from the euil treaſure of the heart bring forth euil fruit. What arrogãcie hath ſo poſſeſſed you, to prouoke my diſpleaſure, with ſuch iniurious contumelies? for in dede, thoſe my good lords and ſpirituall fathers, which ſtrengthen me in the way of righteouſnes: you railingly, call them, bloudy men like vnto Sathan, and the wholeſome leſſons which they teache, you ſay they are but dreames of the common people amongeſt fooliſh women. Hath God any nede of your iudgement that you ſhould ſpeake leaſings for him? Iniquity hath taught your mouth to folow blaſphemous tonges, ſo that wel may the Prophet ſay of you, he would not vnderſtand to do wel, he hath deuiſed wickedneſſe vpon his bed. Although therfore you being altogether froward, haue only ſpoken frowarde things: yet we haue determined to ſet a watche before your mouth, like as if a ſhameles perſon ſhoulde ſtande vp before vs: and the worde of GOD dothe prouoke vs ſaying. Anſwere a foole according to his owne fooliſhneſſe, leaſt hee ſhoulde ſeeme wiſe in his owne opinion. Shall folly ſpeake and wiſedome holde his peace? Shall lies be freely vttered, and trueth compelled to kepe ſilence? Shall darkenes couer the earth, & ſhall not the Lorde ariſe and ſhine? yea rather the light hath lightened the darknes, and darknes hath not comprehended it. In conſideration hereof our harts haue melted, and our zealous meditation hath ſet vs on fire. We therefore ſpeake and crie, and the little foxes which vndermine the Lords vineyards (as much as in vs is) we driue away, fearing the threatning prophecie. You haue not withſtanded our aduerſaries, neither haue you made a bulwarke for the defence of the houſe of Iſrael, that you might be able to ſtand in battaile in the day of the Lorde. Let them heare (I ſpeake not to you which haue eares and heare not, eyes & ſee not, which haue made darke the light that is in you) but let them heare (I ſay) that be wel diſpoſed, and haue eares to heare withall As for you, you haue no vnderſtanding, and if you haue you cloke it. Neither haue you any thing to ſay or to proue, by what reaſon we ſhould be ſubiect to the Lord Henry whome you call Emperour. And yet (as it is giuen vs to vnderſtand) you goe about to perſwade, that of neceſſity we ought to be ſubiect to him, & that by the argumẽt of S. Paule. Let euery ſoule be ſubdued to the higher powers, for there is no power but of God, he therefore that doth withſtande power, doth reſiſt Gods ordinance. The which ſentence of the Apoſtle, we ſay that you do euil conceiue, and therefore euil interprete: for if euery power be of God (as you vnderſtãde) what is meant by that, that the Lord doth ſpeake of ſome by the Prophet? They did raigne and were not made Princes by me, and I knewe them not. If euery power be of God as you take it, what is to be thought of that, that the Lorde doth ſay, If thine eye offende thee, pluck it out, and caſt it from thee. For what is power, but the eie? Certainly, Auguſtine in the expoſition of this ſentence of the Apoſtle, let euery ſoule, &c. doth ſay that if the powers do cõmãd any thing againſt God, then haue them in contempt: but yet neuertheles feare thẽ. Is there any iniquitie with God? Is Chriſt the miniſter of ſinne? God forbid. What ſhal we therfore ſay? doth the Apoſtle preach contrary to the truth? Auguſtinus ſayeth no: one winde filleth many pipes of diuers tunes. Therfore let vs hear the Apoſtle agreeing and expounding himſelfe, and deſtroying his enemie and auenger. There is (ſayeth he) no power but of God. What followeth? He therfore (ſayth he) that doth reſiſt the power, &c. God forbid: doeth nothing followe? But what doeth followe? Thoſe powers which be ordeined of god truely: that is it we look for. O craftie tongue, O heart imagining miſchiefe, O conſuming breath that ſhall not returne, why haſt thou lied to the holy ghoſt? Thine owne conſcience ſhall accuſe thee. Behold the wicked fleeth and no man doth purſue him. Why woulde you ſuppreſſe the truth to the intẽt to deceiue? Why haue you ſtolne away the pith and effect of this ſentence? For if theſe wordes ſhould be taken away from the midſt of the ſentence, it ſhuld lie contrary to it ſelfe, inconuenient and halfe dead. The worde of the Lord is herein fulfilled. He that diggeth a pit for his neighbour, ſhal fall therein him ſelfe. Verely you can neither excuſe you of theft, neither auoid the puniſhment due for the ſame. What (O vnhappy man) what ſhall you anſwer to the iudge, when he ſhall require an accompt of his ſeruaunts whome he putteth in truſt ſeeing you ſhal be ſet before him in the midſt, and prooued a picker of your maiſters treaſure? Wherefore did you not feare the iudgement & executiõ, whẽ as the giltines of offence doth require condigne puniſhment? The Apoſtle through the holy Ghoſt did foreſee that you and ſuch heretikes as you are ſhould ſpring in the Church, which ſhould call good euil, and euil good: and that ſhould put darknes in place of light, and light in place of darknes, which alſo ſhould take occaſion by the ſentences of truth to bring in error: When as he did ſet this before, there is no power but of God: to the intent that hee might take away the coniecture of falſe vnderſtanding, for (ſayeth he) thoſe powers that be, are ordeined of God. Geue therefore an ordinarie power, and we doe not reſiſt, yea we will forthwith doe our homage. But I do maruell (if at the leaſt there remaine in you any one drop of bloud) that you are not aſhawed, to call the Lord Henry a king, or to allow him any ordinarie place.

This is li ly that th Emperou would m his owne wife a co mon harl

Euill will neuer ſay well.

Is this a ſeemely order thinke you to geue place to wickednes, and to make a generall confuſion in mixing good and euill, Gods and mans deuiſes together? Either do you thinke this good order, for man to ſinne againſt his owne body, as (Oh ſhamefull wickednes) to make his owne wife a common harlot, a miſchiefe not heard of at any time ſince the beginning of the world before now: or do you alow this for good order, when as the Lord ſayth, defend the widowes, eſpecially ſuch as require equitie of Iuſtice, and then them to ſend away moſt filthely defiled? Madde Oreſtes doth proteſt him to be out of his wit that will ſay theſe things to be orderly or well done. Vntill this moſt miſerable time, nature hath euer loued ſecrecie, but your king geuẽ vp into a reprobate ſenſe, hath vncouered the priuities of nature, who hath not let to lay abroade all ſhamefaſtneſſe: we wil not ſpeake of other thinges which cannot be numbred, that is to ſay, burning of Churches, robberies, fiering of houſes, manſlaughters, murders & ſuch like, the number whereof he knoweth and not we: for let vs ſpeake chiefly of thoſe things which moſt greue the Church of God. Harken therfore to true & not fained things. Hearken I ſay to matters of earneſt and to no trifles. Euery one that doth ſell ſpirituall dignities, is an hereticke: But the Lord Harry, whom they cal a king, doth ſell both Byſhoprikes and Abbathies: for truely he ſolde for money the Byſhoprikes of Conſtance, Babemberge, Mens. & many others. The Byſhopprikes of Ratisbone, Auguſta, and Straſebrough, he ſold for a ſword: and the Abbey of Fulda for adulterie. And for filthy ſodomitry he ſold the byſhopprike of Mon. A wickednes it is to ſpeake or heare of ſuch a fact. The which things if without ſhame ye wil deny, he is to be condemned by the witnes of heauen and earth: yea and of the ſelie poore idiotes that come from the ſmithes forge. Wherfore the Lord Harry is an hereticke.

For

A zeale, but farre from knowledge.

And when they ſhall ſlay you, they ſhall thinke they doe God great ſeruice. Iohn.16.

Yea true, if he had compelled you to forſake the name of Chriſt, which hee neuer did.

Oh how craftely doth Sathan here ſhape himſelfe to an Angell of light.

For the which moſt wicked euils he is excommunicate from the ſea Apoſtolike, ſo that he may not exerciſe either kingdome or power ouer vs which be Catholicke And whereas you burden vs with hatred of our Brethren, knowe you that we purpoſe not to hate any of affection, but of a godly zeale. God forbidde that we ſhould thinke Harry worthy to be accompted amongſt our chriſtian brethren, who in deede is reputed for an Ethnike and Publicane, in that he refuſed to heare the Church which ſo oft hath reproued him. The hatred of whome we offer vnto God for a great ſacrifice, ſaying with the Pſalmiſt: Lord ſhall not I hate them that hate thee? and ſhall not I triumph ouer thine enemies? I hate them with an inward hatred that be ennemies to me for thy ſake. The truth it ſelfe commending the worthines of this hatred, doth ſay: If any do not hate father and mother, brethren and ſiſters for my ſake, he cannot be my diſciple. We are not therefore iuſtly to be reproued of hatred, which doe geue ouer our owne ſoule to be in the way of God: who in deede are commanded to hate father and mother, and euery affection which doth withſtād vs for walking in the path of God. Hereof it commeth, that we labor withall our ſtudie and endeuour to beware of the enemies of the church, and them to hate. Not for that they be our enemies, but gods. Farther, where you doe perſwade peace to be had with all men: you muſt remember what the Apoſtle doth put before, if it may be. But if it can be that we can haue peace with them, who can be contrary to God? Who doth not know the Lord our Sauiour, to commend not onely peace, when as he ſayth: my peace I geue vnto you, my peace I leaue vnto you? but that he is the peace, as ſayeth the Apoſtle: he is the peace which made of both one: For he calleth him our peace, ſpeaking in commendation of the peace: Thincke not (ſayeth hee) that I came to ſende peace. For I came not to ſend peace, but the ſworde. What is meant by this? Why is peace called a ſword? Or doth peace bid battel? Yea truely, to deſtroy the peace of the deuill. For the deuil hath his peace, whereof the Lord ſpeaketh: When as the ſtrong man keepeth his houſe, he doth poſſeſſe all his ſubſtance in peace. Oh howe mightely doeth the deuil kepe his ſouldiours and his houſe in this time: who with the ſhield of falſhoode, and the helmet of vntruth, ſo doth defend him, that he will not ſuffer either arrow or dart of truth to pearſe him. Neuertheles, our Lord being more ſtrongly armed, & fiercely comming vpon your Giaunt, is able to ouercome him, and to take away his weapons, wherein he putteth his truſt. We are not therfore to be blamed, if we do deteſt that peace, more cruel then any warre The which the truth it ſelfe did reproue, weeping ouer Hieruſalem, and ſaying: Truely, it grieueth me this day to ſee ſinners in peace, being like vnto that peace, wherat the Pſalmiſt was offended. Whereas you condemne Pope Gregory, king Rodolphus, and Marques Eggerbertus, as men that haue died of an vnhappy death, & do magnifie your Lord, becauſe he doth ouerliue them: it doth plainly (forſoth) appeare that you remaine voide of all ſpiritual conſideration. Is it not better to die well, then to liue ill? They be truely happy, who ſuffer perſecution for righteouſnes ſake. by the ſame reaſon may you eſteme Nero, Herod, and Pilate happy, in that they ouerliued Peter, Paul, Iames Apoſtles, & Ieſus Chriſt. What can be ſaid more fooliſh and wicked then this opinion? Wherfore refraine your babling toung from this blaſphemie, leaſt that you place your ſelfe in the number of them, which ſeeing the end of the iuſt to be glorious (themſelues doing late & vnfruitfull penance, bewailing in the anguiſh of the ſpirite) ſhall ſay: Theſe be they whom ſometime we had in deriſion, & laughed to ſcorne: we being out of our wits, thought their liues madnes, and their end to be without honor. Behold howe they be allowed to be amongſt the children of God, and their portion is amongſt the Saints. Wherfore we haue erred from the way of truth, & the brightnes of righteouſneſſe did not ſhine vpon vs. What did our pride auaile vs? And what profit did the boaſting of our richeſſe bring vnto vs? They are all vaniſhed away like a ſhadowe. The which wordes we haue regiſtred vp into perpetual memorie, & we do deſpiſe euery attēpt that ſhal lift vp it ſelf againſt the truth of God. And reioycing in troubles, we may be reproued, put to ſhame and rebuked, yea and finally be ſlaine and killed, but we will neither yeeld, nor be ouercome. And with great triumph will we reioyce in our fathers doings: of whom, you (as a beardles boy, & of ſmal knowledge) haue not rightly conceiued: who in dede deſpiſing Princes cōmandements, haue deſerued euerlaſting reward.

Ex vetuſto chronico.

There is a certaine Chronicle in olde Engliſh meter, which among other matters ſpeaking of William Rufus, declareth him to be ſo ſumptuous & exceſſiue in pompous apparel, that he being not contented with a paire of hoſe of a lowe price which was iij. ſhillings: cauſed a paire to be bought of a marke, whereupon his chamberlaine procuring a paire much worſe then the other before, ſayd:

That they coſtenid a marke, and vnneth he them ſo bought,
Ye belamy (quoth the king) theſe are well bought.

Wherby is to be noted what difference is to be ſeene betweene the hoſe of Princes then, and the hoſe of ſeruingmen now.

Appendix Hiſtoriæ.

Kinges ceaſed in Wales.

After the time of this king William, the name of kings ceaſed in the country of Wales among the Britaines, ſince king Ris. who in the raigne of this king, the yeare of oure Lorde 1093. was ſlaine in Wales. Ex continuatione Roger. Houeden.

King Henry the firſt.

Anno. 1100.

Henry Beuclerk the firſt, king of England.

What learning doth in a prince.

Lawes of King Edward reduced. The meaſure of England made after the length of King Henries arme.

Wanton perſons remoued out of the court.

Ex Math. Pariſ. Flor. Hiſt.

Henry firſt of that name, the third ſonne of W. Conquerour, ſucceeding his brother Rufus: began his raigne in England, the yere of our Lord 1100. who for his knowledge & ſcience in the 7. liberal arts, was ſurnamed Clerke or Beweclerke. In whome may wel appeare, howe knowledge and learning doth greatly conduce, to the gouernement and adminiſtration of any realme or country. At the beginning, he reformed the ſtate and condition of the clergie: releaſed the grieuous paiments: reduced againe king Edwards laws, with emendation therof: he reformed the old and vntrue meaſures, & made a meaſure after ÿ length of his arme: he greatly abhorred exceſſe of meats & drinks: many things miſuſed before his time he reformed: and vſed to vanquiſh more by counſaile then by ſworde. Suche perſons as were nice and wanton, he ſecluded from hys court. This man as appeareth, litle fauoured the vſurped power of the Biſhop of Rome. Soone after he was King, he maried Matilde or Maude: daughter of Malcolin king of Scots, and of Margaret his wife: daughter of Edward the Outlaw, as is before ſpecified: being a profeſſed Nunne in Wincheſter, whom notwithſtanding (wont the popes diſpenſation) he maried by the conſent of Anſelme. By the which Maude he receaued 2. ſonnes, William, and Richard: & 2. daughters, Maude & Mary, which Maude afterward was maried to Henry the v. Emperour. &c.

Example what it is to leaue off the Lordes buſines.

In the ſecond yere of his reigne, Robert his elder brother Duke of Normandy, who being occupied in the Chriſten warres againſt the Turkes, and being elect (as ye heard) king of Hieruſalem, hearing of the death of Rufus, refuſed the kingdom therof. For the which (as is thought) he neuer ſped wel after. Thus the ſaide Robert, leauing of the Lordes buſines, and returning into Normandy, made there his preparation, and came ouer into England, with a great hoſte to chalenge the Crowne. But by mediation of the Lordes it was agreed, that Robert ſhoulde haue yearely during his life iij. M. markes, as was likewiſe promiſed him before, by K. Rufus his brother. And whether of them ouer liued the other, to be others heyre. And thus Robert departed again vnto Normady, to the great diſcontentation of his Lords there. But in few yeares after, the forenamed tribute of iij. M. Markes, through the meanes of Queene Maude, was releaſed to the King his brother. In proces of time, variance falling betwene king Henry, and the ſayd Robert his brother: at length Robert in his warre was taken priſonner and brought ouer into England, & was put into the Caſtel of Cardiffe in Wales, where he continued as priſoner while he liued.

Duke Robert taken priſoner.

The hoſpitall of Bartholomew founded, Rayer, and Richard Whittington founders of S. Bartholomewes, in London.

In this time, as about the iij. yeare of this king: the hoſpitall of S. Bartholomewe in Smithfield was founded (by meanes of a minſtrell belonging to the King) named Rayer, And after was finiſhed by Richard Whittyngton, Alderman and Maior of London. This place of Smithfield was at that day, a lay ſtowe of all ordure or filth, & the place where the felones & other tranſgreſſors of the kings lawes were put to execution.

Diuers ſtrait lawes were by this king prouided, eſpecially againſt theeues and felones: that who ſo were taken in that fault, no money ſhould ſaue him from hanging.

Item, that who ſo did counterfait falſe money, ſhoulde haue both his eyes, and nether partes of his body cut off.

Ex Henr. lib. 7. Anſelmus.

Item, in the ſame Counſell was decreed, an order for Prieſtes to be ſequeſtred from their wiues, whych before were not forbidden, according as the wordes of mine author doe purporte, whoſe wordes be theſe. Anſelmus prohibuit vxores ſacerdotibus Anglorum, ante non prohibitas. Quod quibuſdam mundiſſimum viſum eſt, quibuſdam periculoſum, ne dum mundicias viribus maiores appeterent, in immundicias horribiles ad Chriſtiani nominis ſummum dedecus inciderent. &c. Hen. Hunt.

Item, it was then decreed, that Monkes and Prieſts ſhould beare no rule ouer lay perſons.

Item, it was then decreed, concerning broydering of heare, and wearing of garments.

Item, that the ſecrete contract betwene a yong lad and a yong maid ſhould not ſtand: with other things mo concerning the excommunication of Sodomites. &c.

In the ſtorie of William Rufus before, was declared how Anſelmus Archbiſhop of Canterbury departing out

of

The king ordayned and inueſted Byſhops without the Pope.

of the realme, went vnto the Pope. Who after the death of King William, was ſent for againe by the foreſayde King Henrie, and ſo returned againe, and was at the Councell of the King at Weſtminſter: where the king in the preſence of the Lordes as well temporall as ſpiritual, ordeined and inueſted 2. Biſhops, Roger Biſhop of Saliſburie, & Roger biſhop of Herceford. During which parliament or cōſeel of the king. Anſelmus in his conuocation depoſed and diſplaced diuers Abbots and other Prelates, from their roumes and dignities: either for that they lawfully came not by them, or vprightly did not adminiſter the ſame.

Herbert biſhop of Norwich diuorſing hys prieſtes from their wiues had much a doe.

After this councel, and the other before ſet forth by Anſelmus. Herbert biſhop of Norwich, had much adoe with ẏ prieſts of his dioceſſe. For they would neither leaue their wiues, nor yet geue ouer their benefices. Whereupon, hee wrote to Anſelme the Archbiſhop for counſaile, what was to be done therein. Which Anſelme required him (as he did other mo the ſame time, by wryting) to perſwade the people of Norfolke and Southfolke: that as they profeſſed Chriſtianitie, they ſhoulde ſubdue them as rebels againſt the church, and vtterly to driue both them and their wiues out of the countrey: placing Monkes in their rowmes, as by the Epiſtles of the ſaid Anſelme doth appeare. Whereof certaine parcels ſhall hereafter (by the grace of Chriſt) enſue for the better euidence of this and the other his actes aboue recited.

Anſelmus cruell and fierce agaynſt maryed Prieſtes.
Ex epiſt. Anſel. 176.

The like buſineſſe alſo had Gerarde the Archbiſhop of Yorke, in depriuing the prieſtes of his prouince from their wiues: which thing with all his excommunications and thundrings he coulde hardly bring about. Vpon this ruffeling of Anſelme with maried prieſtes, were riming verſes made to helpe the matter withall, when reaſon coulde not ſerue. Which verſes for the folly therof, I thought here to annexe.

Verſus malè ferati. ex biblio. Ramſey.

O malè viuentes, verſus audite ſequentes,
Vxores veſtras, quas odit ſumma poteſtas:
Linquite propter eum, tenuit qui mortetro phæum,
Quod ſi non facitis, inferna clauſtra petetis.
Chriſti ſponſa iubet, ne præsbyter ille miniſtret:
Qui tenet vxorem, domini quia perdit amorem.
Contradicentem fore dicimus inſipientem,
Non ex rancore loquor hæc, potiùs ſed amore.

{ Anno. 1103. }

About the end of the third yere of this king, which was the computation of our Lord 1103. a variance fell betweene King Henry and Anſelme: the occaſion whereof was this. Ye heard a little before how Henry the foreſaid king had of his owne authority inueſted 2. biſhops, one Roger which was his Chauncelour, biſhop of Saliſbury: and an other Roger biſhop of Herford. Beſides them diuers alſo he inueſted, and diuers other like things tooke he vpon him in the eccleſiaſtical ſtate, which he might lawfully doe, Gods worde allowing wel the ſame: but becauſe it was reſtrained by the biſhop of Rome for him ſo to doe: this Anſelme ſwelled, fretted, and waxed ſo mad, that he woulde neither conſent to it, neither yet confirme them: nor communicate nor talke frendly with them, whome the king had inſtituted and inueſted: but opprobriouſly called them abortiues, or children of deſtruction: diſdainefully rebuking the gentle king as a defiler of Religion and polluter of their holy ceremonies: as witneſſeth Polydorus. With thys vncomely outrage the King was much diſpleaſed (as he myght full well) and required Gerard the Archbiſhop of Yorke, (as he ought him allegeance) to conſecrate them: who wythout delay did ſo, well performing the ſame, ſauing that one William Gifford to whom the king had geuen the Biſhoprike of Wincheſter, refuſed to take his conſecration by the hands of the Archbiſhop of Yorke. For the which cauſe the King worthely with him offended, depriued him both of biſhoprike and goods, and baniſhed him the realme.

A ſtrife betwene K. Henry and Anſelme the Archbiſh. of Cant.

Gifford Biſhop of Wint. refuſeth to be conſecrate by the Archbiſhop of Yorke.

Moreouer, the king required of Anſelmus the Archb. of Canterbury, to do vnto him homage after the maner of his aunceto urs, as witneſſeth Guliel. de geſtis pontif. Anglo. Alſo, it was aſked of the ſayde Anſelme, whether that hee wold be with the king in geuing inueſtures as Lanfrancus his predeceſſor was with his father. To whome Anſelme ſaid, that he promiſed not in any time, that he would enter into this order, to kepe the law or cuſtome of his father, as Lanfrancus did. Moreouer, as cōcerning homage to be done to the King, that he refuſed, alledging the Cenſures of the Popes excommunication: who in his councel of Rome a little before, had geuen foorth open ſentence of excommunication, vpon all ſuch lay perſons (whatſoeuer they were) that ſhoulde from hencefoorth conferre or geue any ſpirituall promotions: alſo vpon them that receiued them at their hands, either yet ſhould conſecrate any ſuche receiuers. Moreouer, he accurſed al them that for benefices or other Eccleſiaſticall promotions, ſhoulde ſubiect themſelues vnder the homage or ſeruice of any great mā, king, Prince, Duke, or Erle of the laitie. For it was vnſeemely (ſayd the Pope) and a thing very execrable: that the hands which were conuerted into ſo high working, as was grāted to no Angell (that is, to create him with their Croſſes, which created all, and to offer vp the ſame before the ſighte of the father, for the ſaluation of the whole world) ſhoulde be brought to ſuch a ſlauerie, as to be ſubiect to thoſe filthye hands, which both day and night are polluted wt ſhamefull touchings, robberies, and bloudſhed. &c. This decree of Pope Urban, Anſelmus alleaging for himſelfe: denyed to ſubiect himſelf to the kings homage, fearing (as he ſaid) the Popes excommunication. Vpō this, meſſengers were ſent to Rome on both partes, vnto the Pope (then Paſchalis) who ſtoutly ſtanding to the ſteps and determinations of Vrbane his predeceſſor, woulde in no caſe yeelde to the kings inueſting.

A ſtrife betwene King Henry and Anſelmus, Archb. of Cant.
Ex Guli. lib. 1. de Geſtis.

A Act of Romain Counc gaynſt la uen to any ſpi promoti

No ſpi perſon vnder ſ ction to lay perſ nage.
Ex Iorna lenſis bib otheca hiſtoria.

Anſelme refuſeth do homa to his Ki

In the meane time while there was long diſputation on both ſides for inueſting: the nobles of the realme cōtended, that inueſtings did belōg to the kings dignity: wherfore the King calling for Anſelmus againe, required him either to do homage to him, or els to voide his kingdome. To whom Anſelmus replying again, required the popes letters to be brought forth: and according to ẏ tenor thereof, ſo the matter to be decided. For now the meſſēgers were returned from Rome with the Popes anſwer, altogether bearing with Anſelmus: Then ſayde the king: what haue I to do with the Popes letters. I wil not forgo the liberties of my kingdome for any Pope. Thus the contention continued betwene them. Anſelmus ſayeth, he would not out of the realme, but depart home to his church: and there ſee who wold offer him any violence, and ſo did. Not long after, meſſage came from the King to Anſelme, requeſting him after a gentle ſort, to repaire to the Kings preſence againe, to ſet an ende of the controuerſie begun: whereunto Anſelme graunted and came. Then were newe Ambaſſadours ſent againe to the Pope, that he woulde ſomething qualifie and moderate (or rather aboliſh) ẏ ſtreitneſſe of the Romaine decree before mentioned. On the part of Anſelmus went two monkes, Baldwinus and Alexander. On the kings behalfe were ſent two biſhops, Robert biſhop of Lichfield, and Herbert biſhop of Norwich, wt the kings letters wrytten vnto the Pope, containing in forme as followeth.

Meſſeng ſent to Rome.
Ex Math Pariſ.
Ex Guliel. lib. 1. de geſtis pon Ang.

The k hath no thing to d with the Popes letters.

Meſſenger ſent agayn to Rome.

Patri venerabili Paſchali ſummo pontifici, Henricus dei gratia rex Anglorum, Salutem. Promotioni veſtræ in ſedem ſanctæ Romanæ eccleſiæ plurimùm congaudeo, petens vt amicitia quæ patri meo cum anteceſſoribus veſtris fuit, inter nos quoque illibata permaneat. Vnde, vt dilectio & benignitas a me videatur ſumere initium, beneficium quod ab anteceſſoribus meis beatus Petrus habuit, vobis mitto: eoſque honores & eam obedientiam quam tempore patris mei anteceſſores veſtri in regno Angliæ habuerunt, tempore meo vt habeatis volo, eo videlicet tenore, vt dignitatis vſus & conſuetudines, quas pater meus tēpore anteceſſorum veſtrorum in regno Angl. habuit: ego, tempore veſtro in eodem regno meo integrè obtineam. Notumq; habeat ſanctitas veſtra quod me viuente (deo auxiliante) dignitates & vſus regni Angl. non minuentur. Et ſi ego (quod abſit) in tanta me deiectione ponerem: optimates mei (imo totius Angl. populus) id nullo modo pateretur. Habita igitur (chariſsime pater) vtiliori deliberatione ita ſe erga nos moderetur benignitas veſtra, ne quid inuitus faciam & a veſtra me cogatis recedere obedientia.

In Engliſh.

The letter of K. Hen the firſt to the Pop

To the reuerende father Paſchal the chiefe biſhop, Henrie by the grace of God, king of England, greeting. For this your promotion into the ſee of the holy Church of Rome, as I am heartily glad: ſo my requeſt is to you, that the frendſhip and amitie, which hath bene tofore betweene my father and your predeceſſours in times paſt, may now alſo betwene vs in like manner continue vndeminiſhed. And that loue and gentlenes may firſt beginne of my part: heere I ſende vnto you that gift that S. Peter had in foretime of my predeceſſors. And likewiſe the ſame honors & obedience, which your predeceſſours haue had in the realme of England before in the time of my father, I will you to haue the ſame in my time alſo: after this forme I meane, and tenour, that the vſage and maner of dignitie and ſuch cuſtomes which my father hath had in this realme of England in the time of your aunceto rs, I in like ample maner alſo nowe in your time, may fully enioy the ſame in this the ſaide realme of England. Thus therefore be it knowen to your holines, that during this life of mine (God almighty abling me to the ſame) theſe aboue named dignities, vſages, & cuſtomes of this realme of England, ſhall in no part be leſſoned. Yea, and if that I (as God forbid I ſhould) would ſo much deiect my ſelfe into ſuch cowardnes: yet my Nobles, yea the whole people of Eng-

Spoken like a king.

land

The king is at a point to leaue the popes obedience.

land in no caſe would ſuffer it. Wherfore (deare father) vſing with your ſelfe a better deliberation in the matter, let your gentleneſſe ſo moderate it ſelfe toward vs, leaſt ye compell me (which I ſhall doe againſt my will) to receade and depart vtterly from your obedience.

At the ſame tearme alſo he ſent an other letter or Epiſtle to the ſayde Pope, crauing of him the palle for Girardus Archb. of Yorke, the forme wherof, here alſo followeth.

Another letter of K. Henry the firſt ſent to the Pope.

Reuerendo & diligendo patri vniuerſali Papæ Paſchali. Henricus dei gratia Rex Anglorum, ſalutem. Amor quem plurimum erga vos habeo, & benignitas quæ multum veſtros actus exornat. &c.

In Engliſh.

To the reuerend and welbeloued father, vniuerſall Pope Paſchalis, Henry by the grace of God, king of England, greeting. The great loue which I beare to you, and the no leſſe gētlenes in you, which not a little beautifieth your doings, miniſtreth to me boldneſſe to write. And where as I thought to haue reteined ſtill this Gerardus with me, and to haue craued your palle for him by letters: yet, notwithſtanding, when his deſire coulde not otherwiſe be ſatiſfied, but woulde needes preſent himſelfe before your preſence, by his owne hart to craue of you the ſame, I haue ſent him vp vnto you. Deſiring your benigne fatherhoode in this behalfe, that he obtaining the palle at your hands, may be ſent home again to me. And thus requiring the aſſiſtance of your prayers, I praye the Lord long to conſerue your Apoſtleſhip.

This ſecond letter of the king in ſending for the Palle, was well taken of all the court of Rome, which (as mine author ſayth) procured ſuch fauor to Girardus archbiſhop of Yorke, and bringer thereof: that no complaint of his aduerſaries afterward could hurt him with the Pope. Notwithſtāding he was accuſed grieuouſly for diuers things, and ſpecially for not ſtanding to the conſecration of Anſelme Archbiſhop of Cant.

A place of Polydorus Virg. found faultie.

Ex Guliel. lib. 1. de pont. Anglo.

Polidorus in his 11. booke of his Engliſh hiſtory, affirmeth, that Anſelmus alſo went vp to Rome with Girardus, about the ſame cauſe. But both the premiſſes, and ſequele of the ſtory argueth that to be vntrue. For what needed the 2. Monks to be ſent vp on Anſelmus ſide, if he had gone vp himſelfe. Againe, howe coulde the Pope wryte downe by the ſaide meſſengers to Anſelme, if he had there bene himſelf preſent? For ſo proceedeth the ſtory by the narration of Malmeſbury and others.

The pope lothe to go agaynſt hys owne profit.

After the Ambaſſadours (thus on both ſides ſent vp to Rome) had laboured theyr cauſe with inſtante ſute, one againſt the other: the pope glad to gratifie the king (yet loth to graunt his requeſt, being againſt his owne profite, and therefore more inclining to Anſelmus ſide) ſendeth downe his letters to the ſayde Anſelme, ſignifying that he woulde not repeale the ſtatutes of his holy fathers for one mans pleaſure: charging him moreouer, not only not to yelde in the cauſe of inueſting, but conſtantly to adheare to yͤ foreſaid decreemēt of Pope Vrban his predeceſſor. &c. Beſides this letter to Anſelme, he directed alſo an other to the king himſelfe: which letter, mine author ſaith, the king ſuppreſſed, and did not ſhewe: onely declaring by word of mouth, what the ambaſſadors had ſaide vnto him from the Pope. Which was, that he permitted vnto him the licence of Inueſting vpon condition, that in other things he would execute the office of a good Prince. &c. To this alſo yͤ teſtimony of the 2. biſhops aboue minded, did accord, which made the matter more probable. But the 2. monkes on the other ſide replied againe, bringeth forth the letter of Anſelme to the contrary. &c. To thē was anſwered againe, that more credite was to be geuen to the degree and teſtimonie of the Biſhops, then to theirs: And as for monkes, they had no ſuffrage nor teſtimonie (ſaide they) in ſecular matters, and therefore they might hold their peace. But this is no ſecular matter, ſayd Baldwine abbot of Rameſey. Whereunto the nobles again of the kings part, anſwered, ſaying: that he was a good man, and of ſuch demeanor, as they had nothing to ſay againſt him, neither ſo woulde if they might: but yet both humane and diuine reaſon taught them ſo, to yelde more credite and confidence to the teſtimonie of 3. biſhops then of 2. monkes. Whereby may well appeare, that Anſelme at that time wēt not with them. Then Anſelmus ſeeing the king and his peres how they were ſet: and hearing alſo the teſtimonie of the 3. biſhops, againſt which he ſaw, he could not preuaile: And alſo hauing yͤ popes ſeale, which he ſawe to be ſo euident on the contrary ſide: made his anſwer again, that he would ſend to Rome, for a more certaintie of truthe. Adding moreouer, that he neyther would nor durſt geue ouer his cauſe, though it ſhould coſt him his life, to do or proceede againſt the determination of the Churche of Rome, vnleſſe he had a perfect warrant of abſolution from thence, for his diſcharge. Then was it agreed by the king and his nobles, that he ſhould not ſend, but go himſelfe to Rome. And much intreatie was made, that he wold take that iorney himſelf, in his owne perſon, to preſent himſelfe to the Pope, for the peace of the Church and of his country. And ſo at the length by perſuaſion was content, went to Rome, and ſpake with the pope. In ſhort time after followeth alſo, the kings Ambaſſador (William Warlwaſt) new elect biſhop of Exetor: who ther pleading on the kings ſide, for the ancient cuſtomes of the realme, & for the kings right of Inueſting. &c. Firſt declared: howe England of a long continuance, had euer bene a prouince peculiar to the Church of Rome, and howe it paied dewly his yerely tribut vnto the ſame. Inferring moreouer how the king, as he was of nature very liberall, ſo alſo of courage a prince ſtout and valiant. Then what a ſhame wold hee thinke it be to him (as it were in deede) if hee, who in mighte and dignitie farre exceeded all his progenitours, ſhould not defend and maintaine the liberties & cuſtomes by them procured? wherefore he deſired the Pope to ſee to the matter, ſo as might ſtande both with the kings honor, and alſo with his owne profite and aduātage: who otherwiſe no doubt, ſhoulde looſe a great peece of money out of the realme, vnleſſe he did remit ſome thing of the ſeueritie of his canons and lawes decretall.

He meaneth beſide the two biſhops Girardus whiche made the third.

Anſelme a deuout chaplaine to the Church of Rome.

Anſelme iournieth agayne to Rome.

The effect of the oration of W. Warlwaſt, at the popes court.

With theſe and ſuch other perſwaſions like to the ſame effect, the court of Rome was well cōtented: agreeing that the kings requeſt ought with al fauor to be graunted. But the Pope & Anſelme ſate ſtill marking their doings. The ambaſſadour ſuppoſing their ſilence to be halfe a yeelding to him, added moreouer and ſayd: that the king, no not for the crowne of his realme, would looſe the authority of Inueſting or admitting his Prelates, within his dominion: Whereunto the proude Pope anſwering againe, braſt out in theſe wordes: Nor I (ſayde he) for the price of his heade (as thou ſayſt) wil loſe the geuing of ſpirituall promotiōs in Englande, and confirming it with an othe (before God ſayth he I ſpeake it) know it for a certaine. &c. Then it followeth in the ſtorie of Malmeſberie: with this word of the P. the mindes of the reſt were chaunged, ſaying: Benedicta ſit cordis tui conſtantia, benedicta oris tui loquela. The kings attourney alſo was therewith daſhed: who notwithſtanding, yet brought to paſſe, that certaine of the Kinges cuſtomes vſed before of his father, were releaſed vnto hym. At the which time, in the ſame court was decreed, that (the king onely, which had inueſted them, being excepted) the other which were inueſted by the king, to be excommunicated: the abſolution and ſatiſfaction of whome was left to Anſelme the archbiſhop.

Ex Guliel. De geſtis pontef. lib. 1.

Ex Math. Pariſ. lib. 3.

A proud anſwere of the pope.

Excommunication abuſed.

Thus Anſelme being dimiſſed from Rome, tooke his iorney toward England. But the ambaſſador pretending to go to S. Nicholas remained behinde, to ſee whether he could winne the popes mind to the kings purpoſe. Which when he ſaw it would not be, he ouertaketh Anſelmus by the way, at Placentia, and opened to him the kings pleaſure. The king (ſayth he) geueth to you in charge and commaundement, that if you will come to England and there behaue your ſelfe to him, as your predeceſſours did to his father, you ſhould be receiued and retained in the Realme accordingly: if not you are wiſe inough (ſayth he) ye know what I meane, and what will followe. &c. And ſo with theſe wordes parting from him, retourned againe to the King. Anſelmus remained at Lions a yeare and a halfe, writing diuers letters to the King, after this effect and wordes as followeth.

Anſelme reſtrayned from comming to England.

Ex Redulph. Londinenſi.

¶ To his reuerend Lord Henry king of England,

Anſelme Archbiſhop of Canterburie, faithful ſeruice with prayers. Epiſt. 224.

A letter of Anſelme to kyng Henry.

ALthough ye vnderſtand by William Warlwaſt what we haue done at Rome: yet I ſhall ſhortly ſhewe you that belongeth to me. When I came to Rome, I declared the cauſe wherefore I came to the Lorde Pope. He anſwered that he woulde not ſwarue from the ſtatutes of his predeceſſours. Furthermore, he commanded me that I ſhould haue no fellowſhip with them that receiued inueſtings of Churches at your hands after the knowledge of this prohibition, except they woulde doe penaunce and forſake that they had receiued, without hope of recouerie, nor that they ſhuld not communicate with the other Byſhoppes that had conſecrated ſuche menne, except they woulde preſent them ſelues to the iudgement of the Apoſtolike ſea. The foreſayde William can be a witneſſe of all theſe things if he will. This William when we departed a ſonder (reconing vp in your behalfe the loue and liberalitie which yee haue had alwayes towardes me) warned mee as your Archbyſhoppe, that I ſhoulde ſhewe my ſelfe ſuch a one; that if I would come into Englande, that I might be wyth you as my predeceſſoure was wyth your Father: and ye might entreate mee wyth the ſame honoure and liberalitie, that youre father entreated my predeceſſor. By which wordes I vnderſtand, that except I woulde ſhewe my ſelfe ſuche a one, you woulde not haue me come into England. For your loue & liberalitie I thanke you: but that I ſhoulde be with you as my predeceſſour was with your father, I cannot do it. For I dare not do homage to you, nor dare communicate with them that take inueſtings of Churches at your hands: becauſe of the foreſaid inhibition made, I my ſelfe hearing it. Wherfore I deſire you to ſend me your pleaſure herein (if it pleaſe you) whether I may returne into England (as I ſayde) with your peace and power of mine office.

The proude ſtoutnes of a prelate in a wrong cauſe.

In the meane while, great buſineſſe there was, & much poſting went to and fro, betwene yͤ king, the archbiſhop, and the Pope, but nothing was done: for neither woulde the Pope agree to the king, neither woulde the King condeſcende to the Archbiſhop. At laſt, the Archbiſhop ſeeing by no meanes he could preuaile againſt the king: thought to reuenge himſelfe by excōmunication, and ſo went about the ſame. The king hauing word thereof by the Counteſſe Adala his ſiſter, deſireth her to come to him to Normādie, and bring Anſelmus with her: whereupon (through the meanes of the Counteſſe) reconcilement was made, & the archbiſhop was reſtored to his former poſſeſſions againe. Only his returne into England was differred, becauſe he would not communicate with thoſe whome the King had inueſted. So yͤ king toke his paſſage ouer into England, and Anſelme made his abode at the Abbey of Becke.

Anſelme about to excommunicate the king.

Reconcilement made betweene the king and Anſelmus.

Then were ambaſſadors againe directed vnto Rome W. Warlwaſt, & Baldwin aboue named Abbot of Rameſey: who at length cōcluded the long controuerſy betwene the king & the Pope, vpon this agreement, that the King ſhould take homage of the Biſhops elect, but ſhoulde not deale with inueſting them by ſtaffe and ring. &c. While the Embaſſadours were thus in their ſute at Rome, diuers complaintes were daily brought from Englande to Anſelme, againſt the Prieſtes and Chanons: who in his abſence, contrary to the late councel holden at London, receiued their wiues vnto their houſes againe, & ſo were permitted by the king, paying him certaine mony for yͤ ſame. Anſelme (the ſore enemie againſt lawfull mariage) agreeued therwith: addreſſeth his letters vnto the King, requiring hym to refraine from any more taking of ſuche exactions: declaring moreouer and affirming, that the offences of all ſuch Eccleſiaſticall miniſters muſt be corrected by the inſtance of Byſhops, and not of lay men. To this the king anſwereth gently againe by letters, tempering himſelfe: howe he purpoſed ſhortly to come ouer into Normandie, and if he had done any thing amiſſe, either in theſe or other things he would reforme it by his obedience.

Ambaſſage to Rome.

Guliel. Malmeſ. lib. 1. de geſtis pontiſi.

Prieſtes receaued their wiues agayne by the Abſence of Anſelme.

The faultes of eccleſiaſticall miniſters long to none but to byſhops to correct, quod Anſelme.

It was not long after (the meſſengers being nowe returned from Rome) but the king as he had promiſed, ſped him into Normādy: whē he warring againſt his brother Robert, brought both him & the Countrey of Normandie at laſt vnder his ſubiection. But firſt meting wͭ Anſelmus at the Abbey of Becke, he cōuented & agreed with him in al ſuch poyntes as the Archb. required. As firſt, that all hys Churches which before were made tributarie vnto King William his brother, now ſhould remaine free from al tribute. Item, yͭ he ſhould require nothing of the ſayd Churches or Prouinces, in the time of the ſeate being vacant. Moreouer, concerning ſuch Prieſtes & Miniſters, as had geuē money to the king for their company wͭ their wiues: it was agreed that they ſhoulde ſurceaſe from all Eccleſiaſtical function, the ſpace of 3. yeeres: and yͭ the king ſhoulde take no more after ſuch maner. Item, that all ſuch goodes, fruites, and poſſeſſions, as had bene taken away before frō the Archbyſhoppricke, ſhould be reſtored at his comming againe into England. &c.

The K. brought vnder the Archbiſhop.

Conditions graunted by the king to Anſelm.

Lawfull matrimony puniſhed.

This Anſelmus the ſtout champion of Poperie & ſuperſtition, after this victorie gotten vpon the King, for the which he ſo long fought: with ioy and triumph ſaileth into England, hauing al his Popiſh requeſts obtained. Where firſt, he flieth like a Lion vpon the maried Prieſts, contrary to the woorde of God, diuorſing and puniſhing that by mans authority, which the eternal and almighty God had coupled. Next he looketh to them, which did holde any Church by farme vnder the king. Againſt Simonie likewiſe, and againſt them that married within the 7. degree, he proceedeth with his full pontificall authoritie.

Anſelme returneth into England.

Prieſtes driuen agayne from their wiues.

{ Anno. 1106. }

Shortly after, as king Henry had finiſhed his warre in Normandy, & with victory returned againe into England, about the 6. yere of his raigne: Anſelme Archbiſhop of Canterbury (by the permiſſion of the king) aſſembled a great Councell at Weſtminſter in London, of the Clergie and Prelates of England.

In the which (by the Byſhop of Romes authoritie) he ſo wrought with the king, that at length, albeit (as the ſtorie ſayth not without great difficultie) it was newly cōfirmed and enacted: that no temporall man after that day, ſhoulde make inueſture with croſſe or with ring, or wyth paſtoral boke. In this Councel ſondry and diuers iniunctions were geuen forth to prieſts and Deacons: as diuers other ſinodall acts alſo by the ſame Anſelme had bene concluded in other Councels before. And becauſe heere falleth in mention of the actes Synodall concluded in the time of this Anſelme: I thought here good to packe them al in one general heape together, as I finde them in Malmeſbur[ie], and in other ſondry authors ſcatteringly recited.

The firſt thing decreed by this Anſelme in his ſynodal Councels, was touching the fault of Simonie: whereby diuers both Byſhops and Abbotes (as is aforeſayd) were at the ſame time depoſed. And lay men forbidden to confer any Eccleſiaſtical promotion.

Ex lib. Gu- liel. de ge- ſtis pont- lib. 1. Ex Iornalen- & alijs.

Alſo it was decreed, that no Byſhop ſhould beare any office in ſecular mens buſineſſe or meetings. And that ſuch ſhould not go apparelled as the lay mē did, but ſhuld haue their veſtures decent, and mete for religious perſons. And that in all places they ſhoulde neuer goe without ſome to beare witnes of their conuerſation.

Prieſtly a- parrell. Archdea- conries to be fa- med.

Item, yͭ no Archdeaconries ſhould be let out to ferme.

Item, that no Archdeacon ſhould be vnder the degree of a Deacon.

Item, yͭ no archdeacon, prieſt, deacon, ſubdeacon, colligener, nor Chanon, ſhould from thence forth mary a wife, nor yet keepe her, if he had bene maried to one before.

Mariage Prieſtes forbidden.

Item, that euery ſubdeacon, being vnder the degree of a chanon (after the profeſſion of chaſtitie, marrying a wife) ſhould be ſubiect to the ſame rule.

Vowe of chaſtitie brought i[n]

They ordeined alſo that a Prieſt keeping cōpany with his wife, ſhuld be reputed vnlawful: and that he ſhuld ſay no Maſſe: and if he ſaid Maſſe, it ſhould not be heard.

They charged that none were admitted to orders from that time forward, from the degree of a ſub deacon, vnleſſe he did profeſſe chaſtitie.

That Prieſtes ſonnes ſhoulde not claime by heritage the benefices of their fathers, as the cuſtome had alwaies bene before.

Benefices not to go [by] heritage. How the[n] was Steu[en] Gardiner Lord Chan- celer in Queene Maries ti[me]

Item, that no ſpiritual perſon ſhould ſit in any ſecular office: as to be procurators or iudges of bloud.

Item, that Prieſtes ſhoulde not reſort to tauernes, or banquets, nor ſit drinking by the fire ſide.

That the garmentes of Prieſtes ſhoulde be of one colour, and that their ſhoes ſhould be decent.

Item, that Monkes or any other of the Clergy (if they forſooke their order) eyther to come againe, or to be excommunicate.

Itē, that mē of yͤ clergy ſhould weare broad crownes.

Item, that no tythes ſhould be geuen, but to yͤ church.

Item, that no Churches or prebends ſhold be bought.

That no new Chapels ſhoulde be made without conſent of the Byſhop.

Prieſtes crownes Tythes. Bying of prebendes. Building of Chappels. Euery Church to finde hys own Prieſt. Abbots to mayntayne no warre. Monkes li- mitted in geuing pe- naunce.

That no Church ſhould be hallowed, before the neceſſary prouiſion were made for the prieſt, and for the Church to be mayntayned.

That Abbots ſhould ſet forth no men to warre, & that they muſt both ſleepe, & eate in the ſame houſe with their monkes, vnleſſe ſome great neceſſitie do let.

Item, that Monkes do inioyne no penaunce to anye man without the knowledge of hys Abbot. And that their Abbots may geue no licence therein, but onely for ſuche perſons whoſe charge they haue of ſoule.

That no monkes ſhould be Godfathers: Nor Nunes Godmothers.

Monkes no Godfathers nor nunnes godmothers.

That Monkes ſhould haue no Lordſhips to ferme.

Item, that Monkes ſhould take no Churches but by the Byſhop, neyther ſhould ſo ſpoyle and oppreſſe yͤ churches geuen to them, with their rentes, that ſufficient were not left for the miniſters of the ſame.

Abbey landes. Impropera- tions reſtreyned.

That priuy contract betwene man and women without witnes ſhould not ſtand, but be fruſtrate if each party doe goe from the contract.

Priuy contractes.

Item, that ſuch as were long heare of the clergy, be ſo rōuded, that part of their eare appeare, and that their eyes be not couered.

Rounding.

Item, that there be no matrimoniall copulation, wͭin the vij. degree of kindered: nor ſo to cōtinue if they be maryed: but the maryage to be broken. And if any being priuy to that inceſt, doe not detect the ſame, he to be giltye of the ſame cryme.

Mariage within the 7. degree reſtrayned.

Item, that no funerall or buryenges be without theyr owne Pariſhe Church, ſo that the prieſt therof do loſe that which to him is due.

Buryinges.

Item, that no man vpon any new fangled raſhnes, do attribute any reuerence or opiniō of holines, to dead mens bodyes: to fountaynes, or to any other thing (as the vſe hath bene in tyme paſt) without authoritie of the Biſhop.

No holines to be geuen to ſhrines and places.

Selling and buying of men.

Item, ỹ no buying and ſelling be vſed hereafter in England of men, as of other cattell.

Sodometry.

Item, after the reſtreint of Prieſts mariage: when filthy Sodomitry begã to come in the place therof, then were they forced alſo, to make an act for that, which was this.

A ſlap with a foxe tayle for ſodomitry.

With a greuous curſe we condemne both them that occupy the vngratious vice of ſodomitry, and them alſo that willingly aſſiſt them, or be wicked doers with them in the ſame: till ſuch time, as they may deſerue abſolution by penance and confeſſion.

So that whatſoeuer he be, that is noiſed or proued to be of this wickedneſſe (if he be a religious perſon) he ſhall, from thence forth be promoted, to no degree of honor: and that which he hath, ſhalbe taken from him.

If he be a lay perſon, he ſhalbe depriued of all his freedome within the land, and be no better then a foreiner.

And becauſe it ſhalbe known, the abſolution of ſuch as be ſecular to belong onely to byſhops, it was therefore enacted: that on euery ſonday, in euery pariſh church of England the ſaid excommunication ſhould be publiſhed. &c.

Ranulph. Ceſtrenſis. lib. 7. Note the prepoſterous proceding of Anſelme in ceaſing the vice of Sodomitry.

But marke in this great matter what followed. For as Ranulphus Ceſtrenſis witneſſeth: this grieuous general curſe was ſoone called backe againe, by the ſute of certaine: which perſuaded Anſelme, that the publication or opening of that vice, gaue kindlings to the ſame in the heartes of lewde perſons: miniſtring occaſion of more boldnes to the to do the like. And ſo to ſtop the occaſiõ of filthie Sodomitry, the publication thereof was takẽ away, but the forbidding and reſtreinement of Prieſtes vnlawfull mariage (which chiefly was the cauſe thereof) remained ſtill. And thus euer ſince, horrible Sodomitry remained in the clergie, both for lacke of mariage more vſed, and for lack of publication, leſſe puniſhed.

Beſides all theſe Synodall acts aboue comprehended, and geuen out by Anſelmus in his Councels before: heere alſo in this preſent Cõucell at Weſtminſter, and in the yere of this king aforeſaid, he alſo directed other newe Iniunctions to the Prieſts.

Penalties and forfaits agaynſt prieſtes that kept their wiues.

Firſt, that they and their wiues ſhoulde neuer more meete in one houſe, neither yet haue dwelling in their territories.

Item, that the Prieſts, deacons, and ſubdeacons, ſhuld keepe no women in their houſe, vnleſſe they were of their next kinne.

Item, for ſuche as had diſſeuered themſelues from the ſocietie of their wiues: yet for ſome honeſt cauſe they had to common with them, they might: ſo it were without doore, and with ij. or iij. lawfull witneſſes.

In the latter dayes ſhall come falſe teachers forbidding mariage, and eating of meates, &c.

Item, if any of them ſhould be accuſed by ij. or iij. witneſſes, and could not purge himſelfe againe by ſixe able mẽ of his owne order (if he be a Prieſt, or if he be a Deacon by iiij. or if he be a Subdeacon by ij.) then he ſhould be iudged a tranſgreſſor of the ſtatutes, depriued of his benefice, & be made infamous, or be put to open reproche of all men.

Item, he that rebelled, as in contempt of this new ſtatute held ſtill his wife, and preſumed to ſay maſſe: vpon the viij. day after (if he made not due ſatiſfaction) ſhould be ſolemnly excommunicated.

Item, all Archdeacons and Deacons to be ſtraightly ſworne, not to wink or diſſemble at their meetings, nor to beare with them for money. And if they would not be ſworne to this, then to loſe their offices without recouery.

Purificatiõ of prieſtes, that had bene maried.

Item, ſuch prieſts as forſaking their wiues, were willing to ſerue ſtill and remaine in their holy order: firſt muſt ceaſe 40. dayes from their miniſtration, ſetting Vicars for them in the meane time to ſerue: and taking ſuch penaunce vpon them, as by their Biſhop ſhould be enioyned them.

Thus haue ye heard the tedious treatiſe of the life and doings of Anſelmus: how ſuperſtitious in his Religion, how ſtubburne againſt his Prince he was, what occaſion of warre and diſcorde he miniſtred by his complaintes (if they had ben taken) what zeale without right knowledge, what feruencie without cauſe he pretended, what paines without profite he tooke. Who if he had beſtowed that time and trauel in preaching Chriſt at home to his flock, which he tooke in gadding to Rome, to complaine of his countrey: in my minde he had bene better occupied. Moreouer, what violent and tyrannical iniunctions he ſet forth of inueſting and other thinges, ye haue heard: but ſpecially againſt the lawfull and godly mariage of Prieſts. Wherin, what a vehement aduerſary he was: here may appeare by theſe minutes or peeces extracted out of his letters, which we haue here annexed in forme and effect as followeth.

✻ A letter of Anſelme.

Anſelme archbiſhop, to his brethren and deareſt ſonnes the Lord prior, and other at Canterburie.

K. Henry permitted prieſtes to haue both churches and wiues.

Ex Epiſt. Anſel. 77. & 377.

Pope Paſchal hath ſo decreed it at Rome. Ergo prieſtes muſt haue no wiues.

AS concerning Prieſts, of whom the king cõmanded that they ſhould haue both their Churches & their women as they had in the time of his father, and of Lanfrancus Archbiſhop: both becauſe the king hath reueſted & reſeazed of the whole Archbiſhopricke: and becauſe ſo curſed a mariage was forbidden in a Cõucel in the time of his father and of the ſaide Archbiſhop: Boldely I command by the authoritie which I haue by my Archbiſhoprike, not onely within my Archbiſhoprike, but alſo throughout England: that all Prieſts which keepe women ſhalbe depriued of their Churches, and Eccleſiaſtical benefices.

✻ A letter of Pope Paſchalis to Anſelme.

✻ Paſchal Biſhop, ſeruaunt of Gods ſeruants, to his reuerend brother Anſelme Archb. of Cant. greeting and Apoſtolical bleſſing.

Ex Epiſt. Anſel. 33.

WE beleue your brotherhode is not ignorãt, what is decreed in the Romiſh Church concerning Prieſts children. But becauſe there is ſo great multitude of ſuch within the Realme of England, that almoſt the greater and better part of the Clerks are reckened to be on this ſide: therfore we commit this diſpenſation to your care. For we graunt theſe to be promoted to holy offices by reaſon of the need at this time, and for the profit of the church (ſuch as learning and life ſhal commẽd among you) that yet notwithſtanding the preiudice of the Eccleſiaſticall decree be taken heede to hereafter. &c.

If profite of the Church may come by prieſtes children, what hurt then were it to the church for prieſtes to haue wiues.

✻ An other letter of Anſelme for Inueſting.

To the reuerend Lord and louing father Paſchal high biſhop, Anſelme ſeruant of Canterbury church, due ſubiection and continual prayers.

Anno. 1105.

AFter that I returned to my biſhopricke in Englande, I ſhewed the Apoſtolicall decree: which I being preſent, heard in the romiſh Councel. 1. That no man ſhould receiue inueſting of churches of the kinges hand, or any lay perſon, or ſhoulde become his mã for it, and that no man ſhoulde preſume to conſecrate him, that did offend herein. When the K. and his nobles, and the biſhops themſelues and other of the lower degree hearde theſe things: they tooke them ſo grieuouſly, that they ſayde: they woulde in no caſe agree to the thing, and that they woulde driue me out of the kingdome, and forſake the Romiſh Churche, rather than keepe this thing: wherefore reuerende father I deſire your counſell by your letter. &c.

K. Henry and hys nobles ready to forſake the romiſhe Church.

✻ An other letter of Anſelme.

✻ Anſelme Archbiſhop to the reuerend Gudulphus Biſhop, and to Ernulphus Prior, and to William Archdeacon of Canterburie, and to all in his Dioces greeting.

WIlliam our Archdeacon hath writtẽ to me, that ſome prieſts that be vnder his cuſtodie (taking againe their women, that were forbidden) haue fallen vnto the vnclenneſſe from the which they were drawne by wholeſome counſel and commaundement: when the Archdeacon would amende this thing, they vtterly deſpiſed with wicked pride his warning and worthy cõmãdement to be receiued. Then he calling together many religious men and obedient Prieſtes, excommunicated worthely the proud & diſobedient, that beaſtly deſpiſed the curſe and were not afraid to defile the holy Miniſterie, as much as lay in them. &c.

A letter of Anſelme agaynſt prieſtes, receauing agayne their wiues.

Ex Epiſt. 37.

Prieſtes excommunicated for receauing agayn their wiues.

Unto theſe letters aboue prefixed, I haue alſo adioyned an other of the ſayde Anſelmus, touching a great caſe of conſcience, of a Monkes whipping of himſelf. Wherein may appeare both the blind and lamentable ſuperſtition of thoſe religious men, and the iudgement of this Anſelmus in the ſame matter.

✻ An other letter of Anſelmus.

✻ Anſelmus Archbiſhop, to Bernard Monke of the Abbey of S. Warburg greeting, and prayer.

A letter of Anſelmus.

Ex Epiſt. 255.

Whether is more merite for a monke to cauſe himſelfe in the chapter to be whipped: or to ſuffer obediently the whippinges of his Abbot.

I Heard it ſayde of your Lorde Abbot that thou iudgeſt it to be of greater merite, when a Monke either beateth himſelfe, or deſireth himſelfe to be beaten of an other: then when hee is beaten (not of his owne will) in the chapter, by the commaundement of the prelacie. But it is not ſo as you thinke. For that iudgement that any man commaundeth to himſelfe is kingly. But that which he ſuffreth by obedience in the chapter is Monkiſh. The one is of his owne will, the other is of obedience, and not of hys owne will. That which I cal kingly, kings & rich proud men cõmãd to be done to themſelues. But that which I call mõkiſh, they take (not commaunding, but obeying) The kingly is ſo much eaſier, by how much it agreeth to the will of the ſufferer. But the monkiſh is ſo much the grieuouſer, by how much it differeth frō the wil of the ſufferer. In the kingly iudgement, the ſufferer is iudged to be his own: In the monkiſh he is proued not to be his own. For although the king or riche man when he is beaten, willingly ſheweth himſelfe humbly to be a ſinner: yet he woulde not ſubmit himſelfe, to this humbleneſſe at any other commaundement, but would withſtand the commander with all his ſtrength. But when a Monke ſubmitteth himſelfe to the whippes humbly in the chapter at the wil of the prelate: the truth iudgeth him to be of ſomuch greater merite, by howe much he humbleth himſelfe more, and more truely then the other. For he humbleth himſelf to God only, becauſe he knoweth his ſinnes. But this man humbleth himſelf to man for obedience. But he is more lowly that humbleth himſelfe both to God and man for Gods cauſe, then he which humbleth himſelfe to God only, and not to Gods commandement. Therfore if he that humbleth himſelfe ſhall be extolled, Ergo, he that more humbleth himſelfe ſhall be more exalted. And where I ſayde that when a monke is whipped, that it differeth from his wil: you muſt not ſo vnderſtande it, as though he woulde not paciently beare it with an obedient wil: but becauſe by a natural appetite, he would not ſuffer the ſorrow. But if ye ſay, I do not ſo much flie the open beating for the paines (which I fele alſo ſecretly) as for the ſhame: know then, that he is ſtronger that reioyceth to beare this for obediēce ſake. Therfore be thou ſure, that one whipping of a monke by obedience, is of more merite then innumerable whippings taken by his owne minde But where as he is ſuch that alwaies he ought to haue his heart ready without murmuring obediently to be whipped: we ought to iudge him then to be of a great merite, whether he be whipped priuily or openly. &c.

The iudgement or concluſion of Anſelme vpon the caſe.
Falſe opinion of merite.

{Anno. 1105.}

And thus much concerning Anſelmus archb. of Cant. whoſe ſtout example gaue no litle courage to Thurſtinus and Becket his ſucceſſors: and other that folowed after to doe the like againſt their kings and princes, as in proceſſe hereafter by the grace of Chriſt ſhall appeare.

Iudges corrupted.

About this time An. 1105. two famous Archbiſhops of Mentz, being right vertuous and wel diſpoſed Prelates: were cruelly and tirannouſly delt withall, and intreated by the B. of Rome. Their names were Harry and Chriſtian. This Harry hauing intelligence, that he was complained of to the pope, ſent a learned man (a ſpecial frend of his) to excuſe him, named Arnolde: one for whome he had much done, and promoted to great liuing and promotiōs. But this honeſt mā Arnold, in ſteede of an excuſer became an accuſer, bribing the two chiefeſt Cardinalles with good gold: by which meanes he obtained of the Pope, thoſe two Cardinals to be ſent as inquiſitors and only doers in that preſent caſe. The which (comming to Germany) ſomoned the ſayd Henry, and depoſed him of his Archbyſhopricke (for all he could doe) either by lawe or iuſtice: ſubſtituting in his place the foreſaid Arnolde, vpon hope (truely) of the eccleſiaſtical gold. Whereupon that vertuous & honorable Henry (as the ſtorie telleth) ſpake vnto thoſe his peruerſe iudges on this wiſe. If I ſhuld appeale vnto the Apoſtolik ſee for this your vniuſt proces had againſt me: perhaps the pope wold attempt nothing any more therein, then ye haue: neither ſhould I win any thing by it, but only toyle of body, loſſe of good, affliction of mind, care of heart, & miſſing of his fauour. Wherfore I do appeale to the Lord Ieſus Chriſt, as to the moſt higheſt & iuſt iudge, and cite you before his iudgement, there to anſwere me before the high iudge. For neither iuſtly nor godly (but by corruption as it pleaſeth you) you haue iudged. Whereunto they ſcoffingly anſwered: Go you firſt, and we wil folow. Not long after (as the ſtorie is) the ſaide Harry died: whereof the 2. Cardinals hauing intelligence, ſayd one to the other ieſtingly: behold he is gone before, and we muſt follow according to our promiſe: and verely they ſayde truer then they were aware off, for win a while they died in one day. For the one ſitting vpon a iakes to eaſe himſelfe, voyded out all his intrails into the draught, and miſerably ended his life. The other gnawing of the fingers off his handes, and ſpitting them out of his mouth (al deformed in deuouring himſelf) died. And in likewiſe, not long after the ende of theſe men, the foreſaid Arnold (moſt horribly) in a ſedition was ſlaine: and certaine daies (lying ſtinking aboue the groūd vnburied) was open to the ſpoyle of euery raſcall & harlot. The Hyſtoriographer in declaring hereof, crieth vpon the cardinals in this maner: O ye Cardinals, ye are ẏ beginning and authors hereof. Come ye hether therefore, come ye hether, and heape and cary vnto your coffers the deuil: and offer your ſelues to him with that money whereof ye haue bene moſt gluttonous and inſatiable.

A terrible example for corrupt iudges to beware.

Pope Paſchalis the 2.

About the ſame time and yeare when king Henry began his raigne, Pope Paſchalis entered his papacie, ſucceding after Vrbanus: about the yeare of the Lorde 1100. nothing ſwaruing from the ſteps of Hildebrand his ſuperiour. This Paſchalis, being elected by the Cardinals, after that the people had cried thriſe, S. Peter hath choſen good Raynerus: He than putting on a purple veſture, & a tiare vpon his head, was brought vpon a white palfray into Laterane: where a ſcepter was geuen him, and a girdle put about him (hauing vij. keyes, with vij. ſeales hanging there vpon) for a recogniſance or token, of his vij. fold power, according to the vij. folde grace of the holy Ghoſt: of binding, looſing, ſhutting, opening, ſealing, reſigning, & iudging, &c. After this Paſchalis was elected Pope: Henricus 4. the foreſaid Emperour (of courage moſt valiant, if the time had ſerued thereto) thought to come vp to Italie to ſalute the newe Pope. But vnderſtanding the Popes minde bent againſt him, he chaunged his purpoſe. In the meane time, Paſchalis to ſhew himſelfe inferior to Hildebrand in no poynt: began firſt to depoſe all ſuch Abbates & byſhops whome the Emperour had ſet vp. Alſo baniſhed Albertus, Theodoricus, and Maginulphus ſtriuing the ſame time for the papacie. I ſpake before of Guibert, whō Henricus the Emperour had made Pope againſt Hildebrād. Againſt this Guibert Paſchalis made out an armie: who being put to flight, not long after departed.

The popes tyrement.

The ſeuenfold power of the pope.

Of Antichriſt, borne and manifeſt.
The biſhop of Fluence martyr.
Sabellicus.
A councell at Trecas.

About the ſame time, An. M. Ci. the biſhop of Fluence began to teach and to preach of Antichriſt then to be borne & to be manifeſt, as Sabellicus teſtifieth: wherupon Paſchalis aſſembling a coūcell, put to ſilence the ſayde biſhop, and condemned his bookes. In this councell at Trecas: prieſtes that were maryed, were condemned for Nicolaitanes. Item, according to the decree of Hildebrand, al ſuch of what degree or eſtate ſoeuer they were (being lay men) ẏ gaue any eccleſiaſticall dignities, were cōdemned of Symonie. Furthermore, the ſtatute of prieſtes tithes, there he renued: coūting the ſelling away therof as a ſinne againſt the holy ghoſt. Concerning the excommunicatiō and other troubles, that Hildebrand wrought againſt Henricus the 4. Emperor: it is declared ſufficiently before. This excommunication, Paſchalis ẏ Pope renued a freſh, againſt the ſaide Henry. And not onely that, but alſo conuenting the Princes of Germanie into a generall aſſemble: ſet vp his owne ſonne againſt him: cauſing the biſhop of Mentz, of Colen, and of Wormes, to depriue him of hys Imperiall crowne, and to place his ſonne Henricus the fift, in his fathers kingdome, and ſo they did. Comming to the place at Hilgeſhem, firſt they required his Diademe, hys purple, his ring, and other ornaments pertaining to the crowne, from him. The Emperor demaundeth the cauſe, being then excommunicate and voide of frendes. They pretending againe (I cannot tell what) for ſelling of Biſhopricks, Abbaies, and other eccleſiaſticall dignities for money: alſo alledging the popes pleaſure, and of other princes. Then required he firſt of the Biſhop of Mentz (and likewiſe of the other two whom he had preferred to their biſhopricks before) aſking them in order, if he had receiued of them any peny for his promoting thē to their dignities. This when they could not deny to be ſo: wel ſaith he, & doe you require me againe with this? With diuers other wordes of exhortation, admoniſhing them to remember their othe & alleageaunce to their Prince. But the periured Prelates, neyther reuerencing his maieſtie, nor moued with his benefites, nor regarding their fidelitie, ceaſed not for this, but firſt plucked from him (ſitting in throne) his crowne imperiall: then diſueſtured him, taking from him his purple & his ſcepter. The good Emperour, being left deſolate and in confuſion, ſayeth to them: Videat deus, & iudicet, that is, let God ſee, and iudge. Thus leauing him, they went to his ſonne, to confirme him in his kingdom, and cauſed him to driue his father out. Who then being chaſed of his owne ſonne (hauing but 9. perſones about him) did flee by the Dukedome of Limburgh, where the Duke being then in hunting, perceauing and hearing of him, made after to folow hym. The Emperor fearing no other but preſēt death (for he had diſplaced ẏ ſame Duke before out of his Dukedome) ſubmitted himſelfe, crauing of him pardon, and not reuengement. The Duke full of compaſſion, & pitying his ſtate: not onely remitted all hys diſpleaſure, but alſo receiued him to his caſtle. Moreouer, collecting his ſouldiours and men of warre, brought him to Colen, and there was well receaued. His ſonne hearing this, beſieged the city of Colen. But ẏ father by night eſcaping, came to Leodium: where reſorted to hym all ſuch as were men of compaſſion and of a conſtant heart. In ſo much, that hys power being ſtrōg enough, he was now able to pitch a field againſt his enemies, and ſo did: deſiring his friends that if he had the victorie, they woulde ſpare hys ſonne. In fine (the battail ioyned) the father had the victorie, the ſonne was put to flight: many being ſlaine on both ſides. But ſhortly after

A tragicall hiſtory of the Pope Paſchalis ſetting the ſonne agaynſt the father.

Ex hiſtoria Helmoldi.

The prelates ſet the ſonne agaynſt the father.

A gratefull example of a good and thankefull Duke.
A naughty ſonne of a good father.

Ex Helmoldo, & Gorfredo Viterbienſi.

The vnkindnes of a proud prelate.

Anno. 1106.

The Emperour v. yeares without buriall.

the battell renued againe: the ſonne preuailed, the father was ouercome, and takē. who then being vtterly diſpoſſeſſed of his kingdome, was brought to that exigent: that comming to Spire, was faine to craue of the biſhop there (whom he had done much for before) to haue a prebende in the Church: and for that he had ſome ſkill of his Booke, he deſired to ſerue in our Ladies quire. Yet coulde he not obtaine ſo much at his hande: who ſwore by our Ladie, hee ſhould haue none there. Thus the wofull emperour (moſt vnkindly hādled, and repulſed on euery ſide) came to Leodium, and there for ſorrowe died, after he had raigned 50. yeares: whoſe body Paſchalis after his funerall, cauſed to be taken vp againe, and to be brought to Spires, where it remained 5. yeres vnburied. Hæc ex Helmoldo.

Anno. 1107.

Henricus Emperour. *Ex Chronico Carionis lib. 3.*

After the deceaſe of this Emperor Henricus the 4. his ſonne Henricus the 5. raigned the ſpace of 20. yeares. Who comming to Rome to be crowned of the Pope, coulde not obtaine before he would fully aſſent to haue this ratified, that no Emperour ſhould haue any thing to doe with the election of the Romaine Byſhop, or with other byſhoppricks. Beſides that (about the ſame time) ſuche a ſturre was made in Rome by the ſayd Byſhop: that if the Emperour had not defended himſelfe, with his owne hands, he had bene ſlaine. But as it happened, the Emperour hauing the victorie: amongeſt many other Romaines (which were partly ſlaine, partly taken in the ſame ſkirmiſhe) he taketh alſo the Pope, and leadeth him out of the Citie: where he indenteth with him vpō diuers conditions, both of his coronation, and of recouering againe his right and title in the election of the Pope, & of other byſhops: wherunto the Pope aſſenting, agreed to all. So the Emperour (being crowned of Paſchalis) returned againe with the Pope to Rome.

The pope taken priſoner.

All the conditions betwene the Emperour & the Pope (ſo long as the Emperour remained at Rome) ſtode firme and ratified. But aſſone as the Emperour was returned againe to Germanie, forthwt the Pope calling a Synode, not only reuoked all that he had agreed to before: but alſo excommunicated Henricus the Emperor, as he had done his father before, reprouing the former priuilegium for prauilegium. The Emperor returning frō Rome to Fraunce, there maried Mathild daughter to king Henry. who then hearing what the Pope had done (agreeued not a little) to all expedition marcheth to Rome, and putteth the Pope to flight: and finally placeth an other in his ſteade. In the meane time the Biſhops of Germanie (the Popes good frendes) ſlept not their buſineſſe, incenſing the Saxons, al that they might againſt their Ceſare: In ſo much that a great commotion was ſtirred vp, and grew at length to a pitcht field: which was fought in yͤ moneth of Februarie, by the wood called, Silua Catularia. An. M. Cxv.

War rayſed vp by the Pope, and his papiſtes.

Peace concluded betweene the Emperour and the P.

The Emperour ſeeing no end of theſe conflictes (vnleſſe he would yelde to the Pope) was faine to geue ouer, and forgoe his priuiledge: falling to a compoſition, not to meddle with matters perteining to the Popes electiō, nor with inueſting, nor ſuch other thinges belonging to the Church, and Church men. And thus, was the peace betwene them concluded and proclaimed, to no ſmal reioyſing to both the armies, then lying by Wormes, neare the riuer of Rine.

Bernardus the Abbot. Bernardine monkes came in.

In the time of this Paſchalis: liued Bernardus, called Abbas Clarauallenſis, An. M. Cviij. of whom ſprang the Bernadine Monkes.

The Citty of Worceſter almoſt all conſumed with fire.

About what time, the city of Worceſter was conſumed almoſt all with fire. An. M. Cix.

Mathildis. Example of the Lordes iuſt retribution and iudgement.

All this while Henricus the Emperour had no iſſue (hauing to wife Mathildis, the daughter of Henricus i. king of England) and that by the iuſt iudgement of God, as it may appeare. For as he hauing a father, perſecuted him by the Popes ſetting on, contrary to the part of a naturall ſonne: ſo Gods prouidence did not ſuffer him to be the father of any childe, naturally to loue him, or to ſucceede him.

Two popes ſtriuing together.

Pope Calixtus the 2.

After the death of Paſchalis, An. 1118. ſucceeded Pope Gelaſius (choſen by the Cardinals) but without the conſent of the Emperour: wherupon roſe no little variance in Rome. And at length an other pope was ſet vp by yͤ Emperour called Gregorius viij. and Gelaſius driuen away into Fraunce, and there died. After whom came Calixtus the ſecond (choſen likewiſe by a fewe Cardinals, wythout the voyce of the Emperour) who comming vp to Rome to enioy his ſeat, firſt ſent his legat into Germanie to excommunicate the Emperour Henricus: who then hauing diuers conflictes with his fellow Pope Gregorius, at lēgth draue him out of Rome. At this time by this occaſiō, great diſputation and controuerſy was betwene the Emperors and the Popes court, whether of them in dignitie ſhoulde excell the other: wherof reaſons and argumentes on both ſides were alleadged, as in the verſes here following are comprehended.

The Pope excommunicateth the Emperour.

¶ *Allegatio Imperatoris contra papam.*

Cæſar lex viua ſtat regibus imperatiua,
Legeq; ſub viua ſunt omnia iura datiua,
  Lex ea caſtigat, ſoluit & ipſa ligat.
Conditor eſt legis neq; debet lege teneri,
Sed ſibi complacuit ſub lege libenter haberi,
  Quicquid ei placuit iuris adinſtar erit.
Qui ligat ac ſoluit deus ipſum protulit orbi,
Diuiſit regnum diuina potentia ſecum,
  Aſtra dedit ſuperis, cætera cuncta ſibi.

¶ *Reſponſio Romanæ curiæ contra Imperatorem.*

Pars quoque papalis ſic obuiat Imperiali,
Sic dans regnare, quòd Petro ſubijciaris,
  Ius etenim nobis Chriſtus vtrumque parit.
Spiritus & corpus mihi ſunt ſubiecta potenter,
Corpore terrena teneo cœleſtia mente
  Vnde tenendo polum, ſoluo ligóque ſolum.
Æthera pandere, cœlica tangere, papa videtur.
Nam dare, tollere, nectere, ſoluere cuncta meretur,
  Qui dedit omne decus lex noua, léxque vetus.
Annulus & baculus quamuis terrena putentur,
Sunt de iure poli, quæ ſignificare videntur.
  Reſpice iura dei, mens tua cedat ei. &c.

In concluſion the Emperor being ouercome ſo much with the vaine reaſons of the Popes ſide, and fearing the dangerous thunderbolt of this curſe (talking in Princes, and perſwaded by his frendes, was faine to condeſcend to the vnreaſonable conditions of the Pope. Firſt to ratifie his election: notwithſtanding (the other pope whō the ſaid Emperour had ſet vp) yet was a liue: Secondly, that he ſhould reſigne vp his right and title in matters pertaining to the election of the Pope, and inueſture of biſhops.

Gregorius brought into Rome by the Pope, his face to the horſe tayle.

Ex Platina, Vincentio, Stella &c.

This being done & graunted, and the writings thereof ſet vp in the Churche of Lateran for a triumphe, of the Emperour thus ſubdued: the pope maketh out after Gregorius his fellow pope, being then in a towne called Sutrium. This Sutrium, being beſieged and taken, Gregory alſo was taken. whom Calixtus the pope, ſitting vpon a Camell (his face to the Camels taile) brought hym in through the ſtreetes of Rome, holding the taile in his hād in ſtede of a bridle: and afterward being ſhorne, was thruſt into a Monaſterie.

The Imber dayes by whom they were brought in and when.

Diſt. 76. cap. Ieiunium.

Amongſt many other acts done by this glorious pope, firſt he eſtabliſhed the decrees of the papall ſea againſt this Emperour. He brought in the 4. quarter faſts, called Imber daies. Diſt. 70. cap. ieiunium.

The order of Monkes, *Præmonſtratēſes.*

By the ſame Calixtus, the order of monkes called Præmonſtratenſes, were brought in.

Scripture clerkly applyed of the pope.

Farther, by him it was decreed to be iudged for adultery, if any perſon (by his life time) had put from him either Byſhopricke or benefice: grounding vpon this Scripture of S. Paule to the Romaines: Alligata eſt vxor legi viri, quamdiu vir eius viuit: eo defuncto, ſoluta eſt a lege viri &c. That is: the wife is bounde to the lawe of her huſbande, ſo long as the huſband liueth: after he is dead, ſhe is looſe frō the law of her huſband. &c.

Prieſtes and miniſters compelled to leaue their wiues.

Item, the ſame Calixtus holding a generall Councell at Rhemis, decreed: that prieſts, deacons, and ſubdeacons ſhould put away their cōcubines and wiues: or els, whoſoeuer was founde to keepe his wife, to be depriued of benefice, and al other Eccleſiaſtical liuings: wherupon a certaine Engliſh writer made theſe verſes following.

O bone Calixte, nunc omnis clerus odit te,
Quondam præsbyteri poterant vxoribus vti
Hoc deſtruxiſti, poſtquam tu Papa fuiſti. &c.

That is word for word.

The hatred of the Clergie, haſt thou good Calixte,
  For ſome times Prieſts might vſe their wiues right,
But that thou haſt reiected, ſince Pope thou waſt elected.

Anno. 1109.

And thus much of Romain matters. Now to our coūtrey ſtory againe. After the death of Anſelme before mentioned (who deceaſſed the yeare of our Lorde. 1109. after he had bene in the ſea 16. yeares) the Churche of Cant. ſtode voyde 5. yeares: and the goodes of the Church were ſpent to the Kings vſe. And when he was prayed to helpe the Church that was ſo long without a paſtor, hys anſwere was: pretending that where his father and brother, had accuſtomed

The Biſhoprick of Ely firſt planted.
Henry firſt Biſhop of Ely.

Anno. 1110.

Trent dyed vp.
An earthquake.
Morayne and peſtilence.
Ex Gualthero. Giſburnenſi.

Anno. 1113.

Wirceter conſumed with fire.

Anno. 1114.

cuſtomed there to ſet the beſt, tried and approued men that might be found: to the entent therfore that he might do the ſame (in chuſing ſuche, which either ſhould equal ẏ former examples of them before, or at leaſt follow their footeſteps as neare as they could) he tooke therein the more time and laiſure. And ſo wyth ſhift of annſwere dalied out the time, while he had filled his cofers wyth the commodities of that benefice. The ſame yeare (after the death of Anſelme) the King conuerted the Abbey of Eley to a Byſhopricke, which before was vnder the Byſhopricke of Lyncolne: placing there Henrie Byſhop of Bangor the firſt biſhop of that ſea. And as of late yeares before this, diuers wonders were ſeene: as ſtarres falling from heauen ſo thicke, ẏ they coulde not be nombred, at the ſetting forth of the Chriſtians to the holy lande: Iornalenſ. A blaſing ſtarre ouer Conſtantinople: A ſpring boyling out bloud (ſene at Finchamſtede in Barkeſhire) three weekes together. An. 1090. Gisburnenſ. After that, the firmament appearing ſo red, as it had bene all on fire: Alſo two ful Moones appearing together, one in the Eaſt, the other in the Weſt (on maundy thurſday) with a blaſing ſtarre in the ſame yeare appearing about the taking of Duke Robert, hauyng a white circle incloſing it, An. 1106. Iornalenſ. Alſo wyth an Eclipſe of the Sunne darkned after that: ſo likewiſe about this preſent yere, An. 1110. was ſeene the floude of Trent, about Notyngham, ſo dryed vp from morning to 3. of the clocke at after noone, that men might go ouer it dryſhodde, Gisburnenſ. Alſo in Shroſbery a great earthquake happened: And after that followed a ſharpe winter, great moraine of beaſtes, and peſtilence of men, as Gualterius Guiſburnenſ. recordeth: Moreouer the ſame author mentioneth that next about the ſame yeare, the like vading of water alſo happened in the floud of Medeway: And in Thamis (betwene the bridge & the tower, and vnder the bridge, frõ midnight to the next euening) was ſo great an ebbe, that an vnnumerable ſorte of people and children waded ouer, ſcarce knee depe in the water, the ſea withdrawing his tide x. miles from his accuſtomed courſe, Rog. Houeden. Gualter. Gisburnenſ. &c. In the which yeare alſo as the ſayde author and Iornalenſ. doe teſtifie, the Citie of Worceter, by caſualtie was conſumed with fire. Alſo the citie of Cheſter. An. 1114. Rog. Houed.

Rodulphus Archbiſhop of Cant.
Thurſtinus Archbiſhop of Yorke.

The next yere following, Rodolphus biſhop of Rocheſter (an Engliſhman) was promoted to be Archb. of Canterb. and Thurſtinus the kings chaplaine was elect archbiſhop of York. who being content to receiue his benediction or conſecration of the ſee of Cant. yet becauſe he refuſed to make his profeſſion of obedience to the ſame See, he was by the king depriued of his dignitie.

Diſſention betweene Thurſtinus of Yorke, and Rodolph Archb. of Cant. for ſubiection.
The letter of Paſchalis to K. Henry.

Then Thurſtin (by the inſtigation of certaine of his clerkes at York) tooke his iorney to Rome: who there making his complaint to Pope Paſchalis, brought with him a letter from the Pope to the King: where among other wordes was conteined as followeth: Audiuimus electum Eboracenſis Eccleſiæ virum, ſapientem & ſtrenuum, ſine iudicio ab Eboracenſi ſequeſtratum eccleſia, quod nimirum diuinæ iuſtitiæ & S.Patrum inſtitutionib aduerſatur. Nos quidem neq; Cant. eccleſiam minui, neque Eboracenſem volumus præiudicium pati, ſed eam conſtitutionem quæ a B.Gregorio Anglicæ gentis Apoſtolo, inter eaſdem eccleſias conſtituta eſt, firmam cenſemus illibatamque ſeruari. Idem ergo electus (vt iuſtitia exigit) ad ſuam eccleſiam omnibus modis reuocetur. Si quid autem quæſtionis inter eaſdem eccleſias naſcitur, præſentibus vtriſque partibus in veſtra præſentia pertractetur. &c.

In Engliſh thus.

Ex Gualthero Giſburnenſi. Ex Gulie. De pontif. Lib. 4. Ex Roger. Houed. Fabia. &c.

We heare and vnderſtand, that the Archbi. elect of the church of Yorke (a diſcrete and induſtrious man) is ſequeſtred from the church of York: which ſtandeth againſt both diuine iuſtice, and the inſtitution of holy fathers. Our purpoſe is, that neither the church of Cãt. ſhould be empaired, nor againe that the church of Yorke ſhould ſuffer any preiudice, but that the ſame conſtitution which was by bleſſed Gregory (the apoſtle of the engliſh nation) ſet and decreed betweene thoſe two churches: ſhould remaine ſtill in force and effect inuiolate. Wherfore, as touching the forſaid elect let him be receaued againe by any meanes (as right and meete it is) vnto his Church. And if there be any queſtion betwene the foreſaid churches, let it be handled and decided in your preſence, both the two parties beyng there preſent, &c.

Anno. 1116.

Aſſemble of the nobles at Saliſbury.

Thurſtine refuſeth to profeſſe ſubiection to the Archb. of Cant.
Thurſtine promiſeth to renounce hys archbiſhopricke.

Upon the occaſion of this letter, a ſolemne aſſemble there was appoynted at Saliſbury, about the hearing of thys controuerſy. The variance betwene theſe two prelates ſtil encreaſed more and more. Radulph Archbiſhop of Can. in no caſe would yeelde nor condiſcend to geue impoſition of handes vnto him, vnleſſe he would make his profeſſion of obedience. Thurſtine againe ſaide he would willingly receiue & embrace his benediction, but as touching the profeſſion of his ſubiection, that he woulde not agree vnto. Then the king declaring his minde therein, ſignified vnto Thurſtin: that without his ſubiection and obedience profeſſed to the Archbiſhop of Cant. he ſhoulde not enioy hys conſecration to be Archbiſhop of York. Wherunto Thurſtin (nothing replying againe) renounced his Archbiſhopricke, promiſing moreouer to make no more claime vnto it, nor moleſt them that ſhould inioy it.

Anno. 1118.

Pope Calixtus breaketh promiſe with the king.
Thurſtine ſacred archbiſhop of Yorke by the Pope agaynſt the kinges minde.

Shortly after this, it happened, that Pope Paſchalis died: After whome (as is aboue rehearſed) ſucceded Pope Gelaſius, which liued not paſt a yere, and died in France. Wherupon, the Cardinals (which then followed the ſayd Pope Gelaſius to Cluniake) created an other Pope of their chuſing, whom they called Calixtus 2. The other cardinals which were at Rome did chuſe an other Pope called Gregorie as mention before is made: About which 2. Popes much ſturre there was in Chriſten Realmes. As this Calixtus was remaining in Fraunce, and there calling a general coũcell at Remis as ye heard before, Thurſtinus the Archbiſhop of Yorke deſired licence of the King to goe to the Councel, purpoſing there to open the cauſe of his Church, which eftſones he obtained: firſt promiſing to the king that he ſhould there attempt nothing that ſhould be preiudiciall to the Church of Cant. In the meane time, the king had ſent ſecret word vnto the Pope, by Radulph and other procurators, that in no caſe he would conſecrate Thurſtinus. Yet (notwithſtanding the faithfull promiſe of the Pope made to the King) ſo it fell out: that the ſayde Pope, through the ſute of his Cardinals, whome Thurſtinus had wonne to him: was inclined to conſecrate him, and gaue him the palle. For this deede the king was ſore diſcontented with Thurſtine, and warned him the entrie of his land.

Concilium Rhemenſe.
Actes of the councell of Rhemes.

In this councell at Rhemis (aboue mentioned) where were gathered 434. Prelates, theſe 5. principal actes were concluded.

1. That no man ſhould either buy or ſell any Biſhoprike, abbotſhip, deanry, archdeaconſhip, prieſthood, prebedſhip, altar, or any Eccleſiaſticall promotion, or benefice, orders, conſecration, church halowing, ſeat or ſtall within ẏ quire, or any office eccleſiaſticall, vnder danger of excommunication, if he did perſiſt.
2. That no lay perſon ſhould geue inueſture of anye Eccleſiaſticall poſſeſſion: or that any ſpirituall men ſhould receaue any ſuch at any lay mans hand vnder payne of depriuation.
3. That no man ſhoulde inuade, take away or detayne the goodes or poſſeſſions of the Churche: but that they ſhould remayne firme and perpetuall, vnder payne of perpetuall curſe.
4. That no Biſhop or Prieſt ſhould leaue any eccleſiaſticall dignitie or benefice to any, by way of inheritance. Adding moreouer that for baptiſme, chriſme, anoyling, or buriall, no mony ſhould be exacted.
5. Item that all prieſts, deacons, and ſubdeacons, ſhould be vtterly debarred and ſequeſtred from company of their wyues and concubines, vnder payne of excluding from al chriſtian communion.

The Actes ſent to the Emperour.
The Emperour agreeth not to the popes inueſting.
The councell deuided.
Ex Rog. Houed.
Henry the Emperour excommunicated.

The actes thus determined, were ſent eftſoones to Hericus the Emperor, to ſee and try, before ẏ breaking vp of the councell, whether he would agree to the canonical elections, free conſecration, and inueſting to ſpiritual perſõs and to other Actes of the ſayd Councell. The Emperour maketh aunſwer agayne, that he would loſe nothing that auncient cuſtome of hys progenitours had geuẽ him. Notwithſtanding, becauſe of the authoritie of the general coũcell, he was content to conſent to the reſidue, ſaue only the inueſting of eccleſiaſticall function to be taken from hym, to ẏ he would neuer agree. Upõ this, at the next returne of the Pope to the Councel, ẏ Emperour was appoynted to be excommunicated. Which thing, when diuers of the Councell did not well like, and therefore did ſeperate thẽſelues from the reſt, the Pope applying agaynſt them the ſimilitude of the 70. diſciples which were offended at the Lord, when he taught them of eating his fleſh and bloud, and therefore deuided themſelues from him. Declaring moreouer to thẽ, how they which gathered not with hym ſcattered, and they that were not with him, were agaynſt him: by theſe and ſuch like perſwaſions reducing them agayne to hys ſide, and ſo by that Councell Henricus the Emperour was excommunicated.

Agreed that England ſhoulde haue no other Legate from

It was not long after, but the Pope came to Giſortium: where, Henry King of England, reſorted to him, deſiring & alſo obtayning of him, that he would ſend henceforth no Legate, nor permit any to be ſent from Rome to England, vnleſſe the king himſelfe ſhoulde ſo require, by

reaſon

Rome, but onely the Archb. of Cant.

England ſpoyled by the popes legates.

reaſon of ſome occaſion of ſtrife, which els could not otherwiſe be decided, by his owne biſhops at home. The cauſe why the king required this of the Pope: was for that certain Romaine legates had bene in England a little before (to witte) one Guido, and an other Romayne named Anſelmus, and another alſo called Petrus, who had ſpoyled the realme of great treaſure, as the cuſtomed maner of the Popes proud Legates is wont to do, Guliel. de pont. lib. 1. Alſo he required of the Pope, that he might vſe & retayne all the cuſtomes vſed before of his forefathers in England and in Normandy.

All the cuſtomes of the Realme graunted of the pope.

To theſe petitions the Pope did eaſily conſent, requiring agayne of the king that he would licenſe Thurſtinus the Archb. aboue minded, to returne with fauour into his realme. But that the king vtterly denied vnles he would profeſſe ſubiectiō to the church of Cant. as his predeceſſors had done before, and excuſed himſelfe by his othe, which he before had made. To this the Pope anſwered againe, that he by his authoritie Apoſtolicall, both might and would alſo eaſily diſpenſe with him for his promiſe or othe. Then the king ſaid that he would talke with his counſail therof, and ſo ſend him an anſwer of his mynd. Which anſwere was this. That for the loue and requeſt of the Pope, hee was content that Thurſtinus ſhould returne his realme, and quietly enioy his prelateſhip, vpon this conditiō that he would (as his predeceſſors did) profeſſe his ſubiection to the church of Canter. Otherwiſe (ſayd he) ſo long as he was king, he ſhould neuer ſit Archb. of the church of York. And thus ended that meting betwene the king of england, and the Pope for that tyme.

Anno. 1120.

The popes letter to the King.

The king compelled to receaue Thurſtinus, for feare of the popes curſe.

Thurſtinus reſtored.

The yeare following after that, which was, an. 1120. the foreſaid pope Caliſtus directeth his letters for Thurſtinus to the king, and to Radulph Archbiſh. of Cant. In which epiſtle, by his full power Apoſtolical, he doth interdict both the church of Cant. and the church of Yorke with all the pariſh churches within the ſame cities, from all diuine ſeruice, from the buriall alſo of the dead, except onely baptiſing of children, and abſolution of them that lie on dieng, vnleſſe within a moneth after the receite of the ſame, Thurſtinus (without any exaction of ſubiection made) were receiued and admitted to the ſea of Yorke, and that the king likewiſe ſhould doubtleſſe bee excommunicated, except he would conſent vnto the ſame. Whervpō Thurſtinus for feare of the Popes curſe, was immediatly ſent for & reconciled to the king, and was placed quietly in his Archiepiſcopall ſee of Yorke.

Anno. 1122.

Wil. Archb. of Cant.

The gray Friers firſt came into England.

Anno. 1125.

Prieſtes payd for their wiues.

Ex Roger. Houed. Et Guliel. Giſburnēſi. Ex Henric. Hunting. lib. 7.

It followed not long after (within two yeares) Radulph Archbiſhop of Cant. departed: in whoſe ſee ſucceded after him Gulielmus de Turbine. About which tyme (in the 27. yeare of the kings raigne) the gray Friers by procuring of the kyng, came firſt into England, and had theyr houſe firſt at Canterbury. About the ſame ſeaſon, or a little before, the kyng called a councel at London, where the ſpiritualtie of England (not knowyng to what purpoſe it was required) condeſcended to the kyng, to haue the puniſhment of maried Prieſtes: by reaſon of which graunt (whereof the ſpiritualtie afterward much repented) the prieſtes paying a certayne to the kyng, were ſuffred to retayne their wyues ſtill, wherby the king gathered no ſmal ſumme of mony, Rog. Houed. Guliel. Giſburnenſ. At this time beganne firſt the foundation of the Monaſtery called Giſburne in Cleueland.

The Abbey of Giſburne builded.

S. Iames hand.

Reading Abbey foūded.

Matilde daughter of K. Henry heyre to the crowne.

Geffry Plātagenet.

Henry 2. borne of Matilde the Empreſſe.

Anno 1130.

The priorie of Norton founded.

Three terrible viſiōs of the king.

Three vowes made of King Henry.

Anno. 1131.

Dane gelt releaſed.

The Church relieued.

Iuſtice rightly adminiſtred.

Biſhoprike of Carlile newly erected by king Henry.

It was aboue touched, how Matild or Maude daughter of king Henry, was maried to Henry the 5. Emperor, who after the deceaſe of the ſaid Emperor her huſband, returned about this preſent time with the Imperiall crowne to her father in Normandy, bringing with her the hand of S. James. For the ioy whereof, the king builded the Abbey of Reading, where the ſayd hand was repoſed. This Matild was receiued by the ſayd councell to be next heyre to the king her father, in poſſeſſion of the Engliſh crowne, for lacke of iſſue male. And ſoone after vpon the ſame was ſent ouer to Normandy, to mary with Geffrey Plantagenet Erle of Angeow, of whō came Henry the ſecond, who (after Stephen) was kyng of England. And about this tyme was alſo founded the priorie of Norton in the Prouince of Cheſter, by one william the ſonne of Nichelle. In the ſtory of Polychron. Iornal. and Polydorus is declared, how the king was troubled greatly with 3. ſundry viſions appearing vnto him by night. The firſt was of a great multitude of huſbandmen of the country, which appeared to flie vpon him with their mattocks and inſtrumēts, requiring of him his debt which he did owe vnto them. In the ſecond, he ſaw a great number of ſouldiors and harneſſed men to come fiercely vpon him. In the third, he ſawe a company of prelates and churchmen, threatning him with their biſhops ſtaues, & fiercly approching vpō him, wherupon (being diſmayd) in all haſt, ran & toke his ſword to defēd himſelf, finding there none to ſtrike: who afterward aſking counſaile concerning theſe viſions, was moniſhed by one of his phiſitions (named Grimbald) by repentance, almes and amendment of life, to make ſome mends to god and to his countrey whom he offended. Which thre vowes thus being made, the next yere after he went to England: where he being vpon the ſeas in a great tempeſt with hys daughter Matild, remembred there his iij. vowes. And ſo comming to the land (for performance of the ſame) firſt releaſed vnto the commons the Dane gelt which his father & his brother before had renued. Secondly, he went to S. Edmondeſbury, where he ſhewed great benefites to the churchmen. Thirdly, he procured iuſtice to be adminiſtred more rightly throughout his realme, &c. Alſo he ordayned and erected a new biſhoprike at Carlile.

The Citie and Paules Church of London burned.

In the 33. yeare of this kinges raigne (as witneſſeth a certayne author) a great part of the citie of London, wyth the Church of S. Paule, was burned with fire in Whitſon weeke.

Honorius the 2.

Mathæus Pariſienſis.

After Caliſtus (whoſe ſtory and tyme is before diſcourſed) ſucceded Pope Honorius, ij. Notwithſtanding that the cardinals had elected another, yet he by the meanes of certain citizens obtained the papacie, an. 1125. About the ſecond yeare of his induction (as is to be red in Math. Pariſ.) there was a certaine legate of his called Ioannes Cremenſis, ſent downe to England, from the Pope for the redreſſe I cannot well tell whereof. But in deede the chiefeſt purpoſe of his commyng (as of all other after hym in thoſe dayes) was to fill their pouches with Engliſh mony, as may further appeare by their procedings. This Legate commyng then with the Popes letters directed both into england & Scotland (after he had well refreſhed himſelfe in Biſhops houſes, and amongeſt the Abbottes) at length reſorted to London, where he aſſembled the whole Clergy together, inquired of Prieſtes concubines (otherwiſe called theyr wiues) & making thereupon a ſtatute in the ſaid Synode of London, after this tenor: Præſbyteris, diaconibus, ſubdiaconibus, & canonicis, vxorum, concubinarum, & omnium omnino fœminarum contubernia: autoritate Apoſtolica inhibemus præter matrem, aut ſororem vel amitam, aut eiuſmodi quæ omnino careant ſuſpitione. Et qui decreti huius violator extiterit (confeſſus vel conuictus) ruinam ordinis patiatur. Inter conſanguineos, ſeu affinitate propinquos, vſque ad ſeptimam generationem, matrimonia contrahi prohibemus. That is, vnto prieſts, deacons, ſubdeacons, and canons, we do vtterly inhibite by authoritie Apoſtolicall, all maner ſocietie and conuerſation with all kynde of women, except onely their mother, ſiſter, or Aunt, or ſuch whereof can ryſe no ſuſpicion. And whoſoeuer ſhall be found to violate this decree (beyng conuict thereof) ſhall ſuſtaine thereby the loſſe of all that he hath by his order. Moreouer, amongſt kindred or ſuch as be ioyned in affinitie, we forbid matrimony, vnto the ſeuenth generation, &c. But ſee how God worketh againſt ſuch vngodly proceedings. The next night after, it happened, the ſame Cardinal (ruffling & reuellyng wyth his concubines) to be apprehended in the ſame vice, whereof he had ſo ſtraightly geuen out precepts the next day before, to the no little ſlaunder and ſhame (as Math. Pariſ doth write) of the whole clergy.

A romiſhe ſtatute concerning prieſtes wiues and Concubines.

Mariage forbid to the ſeuenth degree.

The Popes Legate geuing preceptes of chaſtitie, was found with an harlot.

Lotharius Emperour.

Vnto this tyme liued Henricus the v. Emperor, after he had raigned 20. yeres, dying without iſſue as is before mentioned. Next after Henricus, the Imperiall crowne came to Lotharius Duke of Saxon. an. 1127.

Arnulphus Martyred at Rome.

The hiſtory of Arnulphus.

Certayne hiſtoryes make mention of one Arnulphus in the tyme of this Pope Honorius. ij. Some ſay he was Archbiſh. of Lugdune: as Hugo, Platina, Sabellicus. Trithemius ſayth, he was a prieſt, whoſe hiſtory, as it is ſet forth in Trithemius, I will briefly in Engliſh expreſſe. About this time (ſayth he) in the dayes of Honorius, ij. one Arnulphus Prieſt (a man zelous and of great deuotion, and a worthy preacher) came to Rome, which Arnulphus in his preaching rebuked the diſſolute and laſciuious looſenes, incontinencie, auarice, and immoderate pride of the clergy, prouoking all to follow Chriſt and his Apoſtles in the pouerty rather, and in purenes of lyfe. By reaſon wherof, this man was well accepted, and highly liked of the nobilitie of Rome, for a true diſciple of Chriſt, but of the Cardinals and the clergy no leſſe hated, then fauoured of the other. In ſo much, that priuily in the night ſeaſon they toke hym and deſtroyed him. This his martyrdome (ſayth he) was reuealed to hym before, from God by an Aungell, he beyng in the deſert, whē he was ſent forth to preach, wherupō, he ſayd to them publikely with theſe words: I know (ſayth he) ye ſeeke my lyfe, and know, ye will make me away priuily. But why? becauſe I preach to you the truth, and blame your pryde, ſtoutneſſe, auarice, incontinencie, with your vnmeaſurable greedines in getting and heaping vp riches, therfore be you diſpleaſed with me. I take here heauen and earth to witneſſe, that I haue preached to you, that I was commaunded of the Lord. But you contemne me and your creator, who by his onely ſonne hath redemed you. And no meruaile if ye ſeeke my death beyng a ſinfull perſon preaching to you the truth: when as if S. Peter were here this day, and rebuked your vices (which doe ſo multiply aboue all meaſure) you would not ſpare him neither. And as he was expreſſing this with a loude voyce, he ſayd moreouer: For my part I am not afrayd to ſuffer death for the truth ſake, but this I ſay to you, that God will looke vpon your iniquities, and will be reuenged. You beyng full of all vnpuritie, play the blynd guides to the people committed to you, leading them the way to hell. A God he is of reuengeaunce. Thus the hatred of the Clergy beyng incenſed agaynſt hym for preaching truth, conſpired agaynſt him, and ſo laying priuy waite for hym, tooke hym and drowned him. Sabellicus & Platina ſay, they hanged hym.

Arnulphus Martyr.

In the ſecond Tome of the generall Councels imprinted at Colen, is mentioned a certain booke called Opus tripartitum, written as the author ſuppoſeth, aboue 400. yeres ago, either of this Arnulphus, or iuſt about the ſame tyme. In this booke the writer complaineth of many enormities and abuſes in the Church, First, of the number of holy dayes, declaring what occaſion of vice groweth thereby, accordyng to the common ſaying of whores and naughty women (which ſay) they vauntage more in one holy day, then in 50. other dayes beſides.

Ex Tretimio. A booke called Tripartitum, written 400. yeares agoe.

Number of holy dayes.

Item, complaineth of the curious ſinging in cathedrall churches, whereby many bee occaſioned to beſtow much good tyme, yea many yeres about the ſame, which otherwiſe they might geue to the learning of better ſciences.

Curious ſinging in Cathedrall Churches.

Likewiſe, he complaineth of the rable and multitude of begging Friers and religious men, & profeſſed womē, ſhewyng what great occaſion of idle & vncomely life commeth therof.

The world ouercharged with begging Religions.

Alſo of the vnconſiderate promotion of euill Prelates, and of their great negligence in correcting and reforming the euill demeanour of the people.

Promotion of euill prelates.

Item, of the great wantonnes & laſciuiouſnes in their ſeruants and families, concerning their exceſſiue wearing of apparell.

Superfluitie of apparell in Biſhops families.

Item, complaineth alſo of the outragious and exceſſiue gaynes, that Prelates and other vnder them take for their ſeale, eſpecially of officials, ſcribes & ſuch like, which geue out the ſeale they care not how, nor wherfore, ſo they may gayne money.

Byſhops ſeales abuſed to get mony.

He complaineth in like maner, that prelates be ſo ſlack and negligent in looking to the reſidēts in their benefices.

Non reſidentes in benefices.

Farther lamenteth, for the raſh geuing of benefices to parſons, vicars, and curates, not for any godlines or learning in them, but for fauour or friendſhip, or interceſſion, either els for hope of ſome gayne, whereof ſpringeth this great ignorance in the Church.

Raſh beſtowing of benefices.

After this he noteth in prelates, how they waſt and expend the goods of the church in ſuperfluities or vpon theyr kinſfolke, or other worſe wayes, which ſhould rather be ſpent vpon the poore.

Waſtefull ſpending of the Church goods.

Nextly, in the x. chapter, he cōplaineth for that through the negligence of men of the church (eſpecially of the church of Rome) the bookes and monuments of the old Councels & alſo of the new, are not to be found: which ſhould be reſerued and kept in all cathedrall Churches.

Old bookes of Councels loſt by the negligence of the clerkes.

Item, that many prelates be ſo cold in doing their duties. Alſo reprocheth the vnchaſt and voluptuous demeanor of Eccleſiaſticall perſons by the example of Storkes, whoſe nature is (ſaith he) that if any of their company, leauyng his owne mate, ioyneth with any other, all the reſt flieth vpon him (whether it be he or ſhe) beateth hym, and plucketh his fethers off: what then (ſayth he) ought good prelates to do to ſuch a perſon of their company, whoſe filthineſſe and corrupt life both defileth ſo many, and ſtinketh in the whole Church.

The vnchaſte lyfe of prieſtes condemned by the nature of the ſtorkes.

Againe, forasmuch as we read in the booke of Eſdras, lib 2. cap 9 that he purging Iſrael of ſtrange womē, began firſt with the prieſts: So now likewiſe in the purging & correcting of all ſortes of men, firſt the purgation ought to begin with theſe, according as it is written by the prophet Ezechiel. Begin firſt with my ſanctuary, &c.

Amendment of lyfe ought firſt to begin with the prieſtes.

Moreouer, how that in the tyme of Phillip kyng of Fraunce, the whole Realme was interdited, for that the kyng had but one woman in ſtead of his wife, which was not his wife by law. And againe, ſeyng in theſe our dayes, the king of Portingale hath bene ſequeſtred from his dominion, by the authoritie of the church (beyng thought not ſufficient to gouerne) what then ought to bee ſayd to that Prelate, which abuſeth other mens wiues, virgines, and Nunnes, which alſo is found vnable & inſufficient to take vpon him the charge of ſoules?

The realme of Fraunce interdited.
King of Portingale depoſed.

About the yeare of our Lord, 1118. the orders of the knights of the Rhodes called Ioannites, alſo the order of Templars roſe vp.

The kni of the Rhodes Templar

After Honorius, next in the ſame vſurpation ſucceded Pope Innocentius 2. an. 1130. But as it was with hys predeceſſours before hym, that at euery mutation of newe Popes, came new perturbations, and commonly neuer a Pope was elected, but ſome other was ſet vp againſt him, (ſometymes 2. ſometymes 3. Popes togethey) ſo likewiſe it happened with this Innocentius: for after he was choſen, the Romains elected another pope named Anacletus. Betwixt theſe two Popes was much ado, and great conflicts through the partaking of Rogerius Duke of Sicile, takyng Anacletus part agaynſt Innocentius, vntill Lotharius the Emperour came, who reſcuing Innocentius, droue Rogerius out of Italy. Our ſtories recorde, that king Henry was one of the great helpes in ſetting vp and maintayning this Pope Innocentius againſt Anacletus, Giſburnenſ.

Pope In centius th ſecond.

Hurly b between Popes.

Amongſt many other things this Pope decreed, that whoſoeuer did ſtrike a Prieſt or Clerke beyng ſhauen, he ſhould be excommunicate, and not to be abſolued, but only of the Pope himſelfe.

The pope curſe pro claymed agaynſt that ſtrike any prieſt.

About the tyme of doyng of theſe thynges (beyng the yeare of our Lord, 1135.) king Henry being in Normandy (as ſome ſay) by taking there a fall frō his horſe (as other ſay) by taking a ſurfet in eating Lampries, fell ſicke & died, after he had raigned ouer the realme of England 35. yeres and odde monethes, leauyng for his heyres Matilde the Empreſſe his daughter, with her young ſonne Henry to ſucceed after hym, to whom all the Prelates and Nobilitie of the Realme were ſworne. But contrary to their oth made to Molde in the preſence of her father before: William the Archbiſhop of Cant. and the nobles of the realme, crowned Stephen Erle of Boloyne, and ſiſters ſonne to king Henry, vpon S. Stephens day in Chriſtmas weeke. Which Archbiſhop, the next yeare after dyed: beyng (as it was thought) iuſtly puniſhed for his periury. And many other lordes which did accordingly, went not quite without puniſhment. In like iuſtice of puniſhmēt is numbred alſo Roger biſhop of Saliſbury, who contrary to his othe (beyng a great doer in the coronation of Stephen) was apprehended of the ſame kyng, and miſerably (but iuſtly) exterminned.

The death of K. He Anno. 1135.

Periury iuſtly puniſhed.

A certaine written Engliſh ſtory I haue, which addeth more, and ſaith, that king Stephen (hauing many foes in diuers quarters, kepyng there holdes and caſtels agaynſt him) went then to Oxford, & tooke the Biſhop of Saliſbury, and put a rope about his necke, & ſo led him to the caſtle of Vice (that was his) and commanded them to render vp the caſtle, or he would ſlay and hang their Biſhop. Which Caſtle beyng geuen vp, the kyng tooke the ſpoyle thereof. The like alſo he did to the Biſhop of Lyncolne named Alexander, whom in lyke maner he led in a rope to a Caſtle of the Biſhops, that was vpon Trent, and bad them deliuer vp the Caſtle, or els he would hang their Lord, before the gate. Long it was before the caſtle was geuen vp, yet at length the king obtaining it, there entred and tooke all the treaſure of the Biſhop, &c. Roger Houeden. Fabian alleagyng a certayne olde Author, whom I cannot finde, referreth a great cauſe of this periury to one Hugh Bigot, Steward ſometyme with king Henry. Who immediatly after the death of the ſayd Henry, came into England, and before the ſayd Archbiſhop and other Lordes of the land, tooke wilfully an othe and ſware: that he was preſent a little before the kings death, when king Henry admitted for his heyre (to be king after him) Stephen his nephew, for ſo much as Molde his daughter had diſcontented him. Wherunto the Archbiſhop with the other Lordes gaue to haſty credence. But this Hugh (ſayth he) eſcaped not vnpuniſhed, for he dyed miſerably in a ſhort tyme after. Ex Fabia. Albeit all this may be ſuppoſed rather to be wroght not without the practiſe of Henry biſhop of Wincheſter, & other Prelates (by his ſettyng on) which Henry was brother to King Stephen, &c.

Ex Chro. Anglico incerti autoris.

The Biſho of Sarum and of Lincolne, take priſoners of the king, and led with ropes about their neckes.

Roger. Houed. in vita Steph.
Ex Fabian. In vita. Step.

King Stephen.

Anno. 1136.

Thus when king Stephen contrary to his oth made before to Molde the Empreſſe, had taken vpon hym the crowne (as is aboueſayd) he ſware before the Lordes at Oxford, that he would not hold the benefices that were voy-

K. Stephen.

ded, and that he would remit the Danegelt, with many other things, which after he little perfourmed. Moreouer, becauſe he dread the comming of the Empreſſe, he gaue licence to his Lordes, euery one to build vpon theyr owne ground, ſtrong caſtles or fortreſſes, as them liked. All the tyme of his raigne he was vexed with warres, but eſpecially with Dauid king of the Scottes, with whom he was at length accorded, but yet the Scottiſh king did hym no homage, becauſe he was ſworne to Maude the Empreſſe. Notwithſtanding, yet Henry the eldeſt ſonne to king Dauid, did homage to king Stephen. But he after repentyng thereof, entred into Northumberland with a great hoſt, & burnt and ſlew the people in moſt cruel wyſe, neither ſparing man, woman, nor chylde. Such as were with chylde they ript, the children they toſt vpon their ſpeare pointes, and laying the prieſts vpon the altars, they mangled and cut them all to pieces after a moſt terrible maner. But by the manhood of the Engliſh Lordes and ſouldiours, and through the meanes of Thurſtine Archbiſhop of Yorke, they were met withall, and ſlaine a great number of them, and Dauid their king cōſtrained to geue Henry his ſonne hoſtage for ſuretie of peace. In the meane tyme king Stephen was occupied in the South countreys, beſieging diuers caſtles of diuers Biſhops & other Lordes, and tooke them by force, and fortified them with his knights and ſeruants, to the entent to withſtand the Empreſſe, whoſe cōming he euer feared.

Building of Caſtels in England.

The crueltie of the Scots agaynſt the Engliſhe men.

About the vj. yeare of his raigne, Maud the Empreſſe came into England out of Normandy, & by the aid of Robert Earle of Glouceſter, and Ranulph of Cheſter, made ſtrong warre vpon kyng Stephen. In the ende whereof the kings partie was chaſed, and himſelfe taken priſoner, & ſent to Briſtow, there to be kept in ſure hold. The ſame day whē kyng Stephen ſhould ioyne his battayle: It is ſayd in a certaine old Chronicle before mynded, that he beyng at the Maſſe (which then the biſhop of Lincolne ſayd, before yͤ kyng) as he went to offer vp his taper, it brake in two pieces. And when the maſſe was done, (at what time the Kyng ſhould haue bene houſeled) the Rope whereby the pyxe did hang, did breake, and the pixe fell down vpon the aultar.

{Anno. 1140.}

Maude the Empreſſe came into England agaynſt Steuen.

After this field, the Queene (king Stephens wyfe, lying then in Kent) made great labour to the Empreſſe and her counſail, to haue the kyng deliuered and put into ſome houſe of religion, but could not obtayne. Alſo the Londiners made great ſute to the ſayd Empreſſe, to haue and to vſe agayne S. Edwardes lawes, and not the lawes of her father, which were more ſtraight and ſtrange to them then the other: which when they could not obtayne of her and her counſaile, the citizens of London (beyng therwith diſcontented) would haue taken the Empreſſe. But ſhe hauing knowledge therof, fled priuily from London to Oxford. But then the Kentiſhmen and Londiners taking the kings part, ioyned battaile againſt the Empreſſe: there the foreſayd Robert Erle of Glouceſter, and baſe brother to the Empreſſe was taken. And ſo by exchange, both the King, and Erle Robert were deliuered out of priſon. Then Stephen (without delay) gatheryng to hym a ſtrong army, ſtraightly purſued the foreſaid Matild or Maud, with her friendes, beſieging them in the Caſtell of Oxford. In the ſiege wherof, fell a great ſnow and froſt ſo hard, that a man well laden might paſſe ouer the water. Vpon the occaſion wherof, the Empreſſe (bethinking her ſelf) appointed with her friends & retinue: clothed in white ſheetes (& ſo iſſuing out by a poſtern gate) went vpō the ice, ouer Thames and ſo eſcaped to Wallingford. After this, the king) the caſtle beyng gotten) when he found not the Empreſſe, was much diſpleaſed, and moleſted the countrey about diuers wayes. In concluſion, he purſued the empreſſe & her company ſo hard, that he cauſed them to flee the realme, which was the vi. yeare of his raigne.

King Steuē taken priſoner.

What it is for princes to be hard and ſtraite to their ſubiectes.

K. Stephen and Robert Erle of Glouceſter deliuered by exchaunge.

Ex incerti autoris chronico.

The ſecond yeare after this, which was the viij. yeare of his raigne, there was a parliament kept at Londō. Vnto the which, all the Biſhops of the Realme reſorted, and there denoūced the kyng accurſed (and all them with him) that did any hurt to the Church, or to any miniſter therof. Wherupon the king began ſomwhat to amend his conditions for a certain ſpace: but afterward as my ſtory ſayth, was as euil as he was before: but what the cauſes were, myne author maketh no relation therof, &c. To returne agayne to the ſtory, the Empreſſe compelled (as is ſayd, to flee the realme) returned againe into Normandy to Geffrey Plantagenet her huſband. Who, after he had valiantly wonne and defended the Duchy of Normandy, agaynſt the puiſſance of king Steuen a long tyme, ended his lyfe, leauing Henry his ſonne to ſucceed him in that dukedom. In the meane while, Robert Earle of Glouceſter, and the Earle of Cheſter (who were ſtrong of people) had diuers conflictes with the king. In ſo much, that at a battayle at Wilton betwene them, the king was well nere taken, but yet eſcaped with much payne.

The deceaſe of Geffry Plantagenet.

It was not long after, but Euſtace ſonne to king Stephen, who had maried the French kings ſiſter, made war vpon duke Henry of Normādy, but preuailed not. Soone after, the ſayd Henry Duke of Normandy (in the quarell of his mother Maude) with a great puiſſance entred into England, and at the firſt wan the caſtle of Malmeſbury, then the Tower of London, and afterward the towne of Notingham, with other holdes and caſtles, as of Walyngford and other mo. Thus, betwene him and the king were foughten many battayles, to the great annoyaunce of the realme. During which tyme, Euſtace the kings ſonne departeth. Vpon the occaſion wherof, the king cauſed Theobald (which ſucceeded next after W. aboue mentioned) Archbiſhop of Canterbury, to make meanes for the Duke for peace, which vpon this condition betwene them was concluded, that Steuen during his life tyme ſhould holde the kingdome, and Henry in the meane tyme to bee proclaimed heyre apparant, in the chiefe cities throughout the Realme. Theſe things thus concluded, Duke Henry taketh his iourney into Normandy (king Steuen and hys ſonne William, bringing him on his way) where William the kings ſonne, taking vp his horſe before his father, had a fall and brake his leg, and ſo was had to Canterbury. The ſame yere king Stephen, about October (as ſome ſay for ſorow) ended his life, after he had raigned 19. yeres periuredly.

Henry Duke of Normandy.

Henry entereth into England.

Theobalde Archbiſhop of Cant.

Peace betwene king Steuen, and Duke Henry concluded.

The death of K. Steuen.

As Theobald ſucceeded after William Archbiſhop of Canterb. ſo in Yorke after Thurſtine ſucceeded William, which was called S. William of Yorke, who was poyſoned in his chalice by his chaplaines.

S. William of Yorke.

In the tyme of this kyng, which was the xvi. yeare of his raigne, Theobaldus Archbiſhop of Cant. and Legate to the Pope, did hold a councell at London. In the which councel firſt began new found appellatiōs, from councels to the Pope, found out by Henry Biſhop of Wint. For as the wordes of myne author doe recorde: In Anglia namq́; appellationes in vſu non erant, donec eas Henricus Wint. Epiſcopus dum legatus eſſet, malo ſuo crudeliter intruſit. In eodem namq́; concilio ad Rom. pontificis audientiam ter appellatū eſt, &c. That is, For appellations before were not in vſe in England, till Henry Biſhop of Winchester being thē the Popes Legate, brought them cruelly in, to his own hurt. For in that Councell thriſe appeale was made to the Biſhop of Rome.

In the tyme of king Stephen died Gracianus a mōke of Bononie, who compiled the booke called the Popes decrees. Alſo his brother Petrus Lombardus biſhop of Paris (which is called the maiſter of Sentences) compiled his foure bookes of the ſentence. Theſe two brethren were the greateſt doers in finding out and ſtabliſhing this blynde opinion of the ſacrament, that the only ſimilitude of bread and wyne remayned, but not the ſubſtaunce of them: and this they call the ſpirituall vnderſtandyng of the myſterie. And therefore no meruail if the ſunne in thoſe dayes were ſeene blacke and dimme.

Gracianus the compiler of the popes decrees.

Petrus Lombardus maiſter of the ſentence.

Some alſo affirme, that Petrus Comeſtor, writer of the Scholaſticall hiſtory was the third brother to theſe aboue named.

Petrus Comeſtor.

In the ſame tyme and raigne of the ſaid king Stephen was alſo Hugo ſurnamed De ſancto victore. About yͤ which tyme (as Polychronicon reciteth) liued and died Bernardus Clareuallenſis.

Hugo de ſancto Victore.

Bernardus Clareualenſis.

The author of the hiſtory (called Iornalenſis) maketh alſo mention of Hildegare the Nūne and propheteſſe in Almaine, to liue in the ſame age. Concerning whoſe propheſie agaynſt the Friers: hereafter (by the grace of Chriſt) more ſhalbe ſaid, when we come to recite the order and number of Friers and religious men crept into the Church of Chriſt.

Hildegare.

We read moreouer of one named Ioannes de temporibus, which by the affirmaunce of moſt of our olde hiſtories, lyued 361. yeares (ſeruaunt once to Carolus Magnus) and in the raigne of Stephen, king of England dyed, Polychron. lib 7. Continuator, Henr. Hunt. Iornalenſ in vita Steph. Nicol. Triuet, &c.

Ioannes de temporibus.

In the dayes alſo of this king (and by him) was builded the Abbey of Feuerſham, where his ſonne & he were buried. He builded the monaſtery of Fineryes, & of Fomitance, the caſtle of Walingford, with a number of other Caſtles mo.

During the tyme of the ſayd kyng Stephen, the yeare of our Lord, 1144. the miſerable Iewes crucified a child in the Citie of Norwich, N. Triuet & alij.

The Iewes crucified a chriſten body at Norwich.

Much

The order of the Gilbertines.

Much about the ſame tyme came vp the order of the Gilbertines, by one Gilbert ſonne to Jacoline a knight of Lincolnſhire, &c.

The Lordes prayer and the Creede in Engliſhe.

Mention hath bene made before of certayne Engliſh Councels, holden in the tyme of this kyng, where it was (in one of them vnder Theolbald the Archbiſhop of Canterbury) decreed, that biſhops ſhould lyue more diſcretely, ſhould teach their flocke more diligently, that readyng of ſcriptures ſhould be frequented more vſually in Abbeys: that Prieſts ſhould not be rulers of worldly matters, and that they ſhould learne and teach the Lordes prayer, and Creede in Engliſh, Malmeſb.

Matthaus Parienſis. lib. Chron. 4.

Steuen king of England.

Matth. Pariſienſis writeth, how Stephen king of England in theſe dayes reſerued to himſelfe, the right and authoritie of beſtowyng of ſpirituall liuyngs, and inueſtyng Prelates, an. 1133.

At which tyme alſo, Lotharius the Emperour began to do the lyke in recouering agayne the right & priuiledge taken away from Henricus his predeceſſor, had not Bernardus geuen him contrary counſaile.

Curſing with booke, bell, and candle.

Here came into the Church, the maner of curſing with booke, bell, and candle, deuiſed in the Councell of London holden by William biſhop of Wincheſter vnder Pope Celeſtinus, which ſucceded after Innocentius, an. 1144.

{ Anno. 1138. }

Alſo Lotharius ſucceeded in the Imperiall crowne, Conradus the nephew of Henricus the v. afore mentioned, an. 1138. which only amongſt many Emperors is not found to receiue the crowne at the Popes hand.

Pope Lucius, the ij. warring agaynſt the Senators.

In the dayes of this Emperor (who raigned 15. yeres) were diuers Popes, as Celeſtinus 2. Lucius the 2. Eugenius the 3. at which time the Romaines went about to recouer agayne their former olde maner of chuſing theyr Conſuls and Senators. But the Popes thē being in their ruffe, in no caſe would abide it, wherupon roſe many commotions, with much ciuile warre amongeſt them. In ſo much, that Pope Lucius (ſending for ayde to the Emperour, and he otherwiſe letted at that tyme could not come) armed his ſouldiours, thinking to inuade them or els to deſtroy them in their Senate houſe. But this comming to their knowledge before, the people was all in aray, and ſo much ado was amongſt them. Pope Lucius beyng alſo amongſt thē in the fight (wel pelted with ſtones & blowes) liued not long after. Likewiſe Pope Eugenius after him, an. 1145. (purſuing the Romains for the ſame matter) firſt did curſe them with excommunicatiō. After, when he ſaw that would not ſerue, he came with his hoſt: and ſo compelled them at length to ſeeke his peace, and to take his cōditions which were theſe: That they ſhould aboliſh theyr Conſuls, and take ſuch Senators, as he by his Papall authoritie ſhould aſſigne them.

Spirituall excommunication abuſed in temporall cauſes.

Hadrianus a Pope an Engliſhman.

Then followed Anaſtacius the 4. & after him Hadrianus 4. an Engliſhman, by his name (called Breakeſpere) belonging once to S. Albōs. This Hadrianus kept great ſtirre in like ſort with the citizens of Rome for aboliſhyng their conſuls and Senate, curſing, excommunicating, and warring agaynſt them with all power he could make: to the tyme he remoued the Conſuls out of their office, and brought them all vnder his ſubiection. The lyke buſineſſe and rage he alſo ſtyrred vp againſt Apulia, and eſpecially againſt the Empire, bluſtering and thundering agaynſt Fridericus the Emperour, as (the Lord graunting) you ſhall heare anone after we haue proſecuted ſuch matter, as neceſſarily appertayneth firſt to the continuation of our Engliſh ſtory.

King Henry the ſecond.

{ Anno. 1154. }

King Henry the ſecond.

Thomas Becket chauncellor of England.

Henry the ſecōd of that name, the ſonne of Jeffrey Plantagenet, and of Maude the Empreſſe and daughter of king Henry the firſt, beganne his raigne after king Stephen, and continued 35. yeares. The firſt yeare of his raign he ſubdued Ireland, and not long after, Thomas Becket was made by him Lord Chauncellour of England. This king caſt downe diuers Caſtles, which were erected in the time of king Stephen. He went into the North partes, where he ſubdued William king of Scotland, who at that tyme held a great part of Northumberland vnto new Caſtell vpon Tyne, and ioyned Scotland to his owne kingdome from the South Ocean to the North Iles of Orchades. Alſo he put vnder his dominion the kingdome of Wales, and there let to fall downe many great woodes, and made the wayes playne. So that by his great manhood and policie, the ſeignorie of England was much augmēted with the addition of Scotland, Ireland, the Iles Orchades, Britaine, Poytow, and Guyan. Alſo he had in hys rule, Normandy, Gaſcoyne, Angeow, and Chinon: alſo Aluerne and the Citie of Tholous he wan, and were to hym ſubiect. Ouer and beſides (by the title of his wife Elenore daughter to the Erle of Poytow) he obtained the mounts Pyraine in Spayne: ſo that we read of none of hys progenitours, which had ſo many countreys vnder hys dominion.

{ Anno. 1157. }

In England were ſeene in the firmament two ſunnes, or as it is in Chronica Chronicorum, in Italy appeared thre ſunnes by the ſpace of iij. houres in the weſt, and the yere following, appeared iij. moones, wherof the middle moone had a red croſſe ouertwart the face. wherby was tokened (by the iudgement of ſome) the great ſchiſme, that after fell among the Cardinals for the election of the Biſhop of Rome: or els rather the buſineſſe betwene Fridericus the Emperour and the Popes, wherof partly now incidently occaſiō geueth vs to diſcourſe. After that I haue firſt written of Gerhardus and Dulcinus Nauarēſis, who in their tyme according to their gift, did earneſtly labour & preach againſt the church of Rome, defending and maintainyng, that prayer was not more holy in one place then in an other, that the Pope was Antichriſt, that the Clergy & prelates of Rome were reiect, and the very whore of Babilon prefigured in the Apocalips, &c. Peraduenture theſe had receiued ſome light of knowledge of the Waldenſes. Who at length with a great number of their folowers were oppreſſed and ſlaine by the Pope. And although ſome inconuenient points of doctrine and diſhoneſty in their aſſemblies be agaynſt them alledged of ſome, yet theſe tymes of ours do teach vs ſufficiently, what credite is to bee geuen to ſuch popiſh ſlanders, forged rather vpon hatred of true religion, then vpon any iudgement of truth. Illyricus in his booke De teſtibus referreth the tyme of theſe two, to the yere of our Lord, 1280. but as I find in ẏ ſtory of Robert Guiſburn: theſe ij. about ẏ yeare of our Lord, 1158. brought 30. with them into England, who by the king and the Prelates, were all burnt in the forehead, and ſo driuen out of the Realme, and after (as Illyricus writeth) were ſlayne by the Pope.

Gerhar Dulcin, Preachers agaynſt An tichriſt of Rome.

Ex hiſto Giſburn ſi.

{ Anno. 1158. }

Fredericus Barbaroſſ Emperour.

And now according to my promiſe premiſed, the tyme requireth to proceede to the hiſtory of Fredericus the firſt, (called Barbaroſſa) ſucceſſor vnto Conradus in the Empire, who marched vp to Italy, to ſubdue there certaine rebels. The Pope hearing that, came with his Clergy to meete him by the way, in a towne called Sutrium, thinking by him to find ayd againſt his enemies. The Emperor ſeyng the Biſhop, lighteth of his horſe to receiue hym, holdyng the ſtirrup to the Prelate on the left ſide, when he ſhould haue held it on the right, whereat the Pope ſhewed himſelfe ſomwhat agrieued. The Emperor ſmiling, excuſed himſelfe that he was neuer accuſtomed to holde ſtirrops. And ſeyng it was done onely of good will, and of no duety, the leſſe matter was, what ſide of the horſe he held. The next day to make amends agayne to the Biſhop, the Emperor ſending for him, receiued him, holding the right ſtirrup to the prelate, & ſo all the matter was made whole and he the Popes owne white ſonne agayne.

The pope diſpleaſed, that the Emperou did not ho his right ſtirrup.

The Emperour holdeth the Popes ſtirrup.

The Popes old practiſe in ſetting Princes together by the eares.

After this, as they were come in and ſate together, Hadrianus the Pope beginneth to declare vnto him, how his aunceſtors before him (ſuch as ſought to the ſea of Rome for the crowne) were woont alwayes to leaue behind them ſome ſpeciall token or monument of their beneuolence, for the obtaining thereof, as Carolus Magnus in ſubduing the Lombards, Otho the Berengarians, Lotharius the Normands, &c. Wherfore, he required ſome benefit to proceed likewiſe from him to the church of Rome, in reſtoring agayne the countrey of Apulia, to the Church of Rome. Which thing if he would do, he for his part agayne would do that which appertained to him to do: (meaning in geuing him the crowne) for at ẏ tyme the popes had brought the Emperors, to fetch their crowne at their hands.

Frederike with his princes perceiuing, that vnleſſe he would of his owne proper coſtes & charges fetch in agayn Apulia out of duke Williams hands, he could not ſpeed of the crowne, was fayne to promiſe to all that the Pope required, and ſo the next day after was crowned.

War more gaynefull to the Pope then peace. Warre ſtirred vp by the Pope.

This done, the Emperor returneth into Germany, to refreſh his army and his other furnitures, for the ſubduing Apulia. In the meane while, Hadrianus not thinking to be idle, firſt geueth forth cenſures of excommunication againſt William duke of Apulia. Beſides (not contēt with this) ſendeth alſo to Emanuel Emperor of Conſtantinople, incenſing him to warre againſt the foreſayd William. The duke perceiuing this, ſendeth to the Pope for peace, promiſing to reſtore to him whatſoeuer he would.

But the Pope through the malignant counſaile of his Cardinals, would grant to no peace, thinking to get more by warre. The Duke ſeyng nothing but warre, prepareth himſelfe with all expedition to the ſame. To be briefe, making all his power out of Sicilia, he arriueth at Apulia, & there putteth Emanuell the Emperour to flight. This done, he proceedeth to the Citie Bonauenture, where the Pope with his Cardinals were looking for victory. He planting there his ſiege, ſo ſtraightly preſſed the City, that the Pope & his Cardinals were glad to intreat for peace which they refuſed before. The Duke graunted to their peace vpon certaine conditions: that is, that neyther hee ſhould inuade ſuch poſſeſſions as belonged to Rome, and that the Pope ſhould make him king of both Siciles. So the matter was concluded, and they departed. The biſhop cōming to Rome was no leſſe troubled there about their Conſuls and Senators. In ſo much, that when his curſes and excommunications could not preuayle nor ſerue, hee was fayne to leaue Rome, and remoued to Ariminum.

The pope driuen to entreate for peace.

The Emperor all this while ſitting quietly at home, began to conſider with himſelfe, how the Pope had extorted from the Emperours (his predeceſſours) the inueſting and induyng of prelates: how he had pylled and poled all nations by his Legates, and alſo had bene the ſower of ſeditions through all his Empery, he began therfore to require of all the biſhops of Germany homagium, and othe of their allegeance, commaunding alſo the Popes Legates, if they came into Germany without his ſending for, not to be receiued. Charging moreouer all his ſubiectes, that none of thē ſhould appeale to Rome. Beſides this, in his letters he ſet & prefixed his name before the popes name. Whereupon, the Pope beyng not a little offended, directed his letters to the foreſayd Frederike Emperour, after this tenor and forme as foloweth.

The godly proceedings of Frederick the Emperour agaynſt the pope.

✻ *The copy of Hadrianus the Popes letters,*
to Fredericke the Emperour.

HAdrianus Epiſcopus ſeruus ſeruorum Dei, Friderico Imperatori ſalutem, & Apoſtolicam benedictionem. Cætera vide in priore æditione.

In Engliſh.

A letter of Pope Hadrian, to the Emperour Fredericke.

Hadrian Biſhop, ſeruant of the ſeruants of God, to Friderike Emperour, health and Apoſtolicall benediction. The law of God, as it promiſeth to them that honour father and mother long life, ſo it threatneth the ſentence of death to them that curſe father & mother. We are taught by the word of truth, that euery one which exalteth himſelfe ſhalbe brought low. Wherfore (my welbeloued ſonne in the Lord) we meruaile not a little at your wiſedome, in that you ſeeme not to ſhew that reuerence to bleſſed S. Peter, and to the holy church of Rome, which you ought to ſhew. For why? in your letters ſent to vs, you preferre your owne name before ours, wherin you incurre the note of inſolencie, yea (and rather to ſpeake it) of arrogancie. What ſhould I here recite vnto you, the othe of your fidelitie, which you ſware to bleſſed S. Peter and to vs, and how you obſerue and kepe the ſame? Seyng you ſo require homage and allegeaunce of them that be Gods, and all the ſonnes of the high God, and preſume to ioyne their holy handes with yours, working contrary to vs? Seyng alſo you exclude (not onely out of your churches, but alſo out of your cities) our Cardinals, whom we direct as Legates from our ſide: what ſhall I ſay then vnto you? Amend therefore I aduiſe you, amend: for while you go about to obtayne of vs your conſecration and crowne, & to get thoſe things you haue not. I feare much your honour will looſe the things ye haue. Thus fare ye well.

The Emperours name before the Popes.

❧ *The aunſwer of Frederike the Emperour*
to the Pope.

FRederike by the grace of God, Romaine Emperour, euer Auguſtus, vnto Adrian biſhop of the Romaine church, and vnto all ſuch that bee willing to cleaue vnto thoſe things which Ieſus began to worke and teach, greeting. The law of iuſtice geueth to euery perſon accordingly that which is his. Neither do we derogate from our parents: of whom, according as we haue, receiued this our dignitie of the Imperiall crowne and gouernance: ſo in the ſame kyngdome of ours, we doe render their due & true honour to them againe. And foraſmuch as duety in all ſortes of men is to be ſought out, let vs ſee firſt in the tyme of Conſtantine (Silueſter then being Biſhop of Rome) what patrimony or regalitie hee had of his owne, due to him that he might claime. Dyd not Conſtantine of his liberall benignitie geue liberty, and reſtored peace vnto the church? And whatſoeuer regalitie or patrimony the ſee of your papacy hath, was it not by the donation of Princes geuen vnto them? Reuolue and turne ouer the ancient chronicles (if either you haue not red, or neglected that we do affirm) there it is to be found. Of them which be Gods by adoption, and hold our lord ſhips of vs: why may wee not iuſtly require theyr homage, & their ſworne allegeāce, whē as he which is both your maiſter and ours (taking nothing of any king or any man, but geuing all goodnes to all men) payd toll and tribute for hym & Peter, vnto Ceſar? Geuing you example to do the like. And therfore, ſaith to you and all men: Learne of me, for I am meeke and humble of hart, &c. Wherfore eyther render againe your lordſhips & patrimonies which ye hold of vs: or els if ye finde them ſo ſweete vnto you, then geue that which is due to God, to God: and that which is due to Ceſar, vnto Ceſar. As for your Cardinals, we ſhut them out both of churches and cities. For that we ſee them not preachers, but proylers: not repairers of peace, but rakers for mony, not pillers and vpholders of the church, but polers inſatiable of the world, and moylers of mony and gold. What tyme we ſhall ſee them to be other men (ſuch as the church requireth them to be) members and makers of peace ſhining forth lyke lightes to the people, aſſiſting poore and weake mens cauſes in the way of equitie, &c. Then ſhall they finde vs preſt and ready to relieue thē with ſtipends, and all things neceſſary. And where as you inferre ſuch queſtions as theſe vnto ſecular men (little conducing to religion) you incurre therby no little note and blemiſh of your humilitie (which is keeper of all vertues) and of your manſuetude. Therfore let your fatherhood beware and take heede, leaſt in mouing ſuch matters as ſeme to vs vnſeemely for you, ye geue therby offence to ſuch as depend of your word (geuing eare to your mouth, as it were to an euening ſhower.) For we cannot but tell you of that we heare, ſeing now the deteſtable beaſt of pride, doth creepe into the ſeat of Peter, prouiding alwayes (as much as we may by gods grace) for the peace of the church. Fare ye well.

Upon this, Hadrianus the Pope directeth out a Bull againſt Friderike, excommunicating him with publike & ſolemne ceremonies. Moreouer (conſpiring with William duke of Apulia) ſought all maner of ways to infeſt the emperour, and to ſet all men agaynſt him, eſpecially the clergy. Amongſt many other writing to Hillinus Byſhop of Treuers, to Arnulphus biſhop of Mentz, & to Friderike biſhop of Colen, ſeeketh firſt to make them of his ſide. His Epiſtle to them ſoundeth to this effect.

THe Empire of Rome was tranſferred from the Greekes to the Almains, ſo that the king of Almains could not be called Emperour, before he were crowned of the biſhop Apoſtolicall. Before his conſecration he is a king, afterward Emperour. Whence hath he his Empire then, but of vs? By the election of his princes he hath the name of a king, by our conſecration he hath the name of the Emperour of Auguſt, or of Cæſar. Ergo, by us he raygneth as Emperor. Search ancient antiquities. Zacharias P. promooted Carolus, and made him a great name, that he was made and called Emperour. And after that, euer the king of Almaines was named Emperour and aduocate to the ſee Apoſtolicall, ſo that Apulia (conquered by him) was ſubdued to the biſhop of Rome: which Apulia with the citie of Rome, is ours, and not the Emperours. Our ſeat is at Rome, the ſeate of the Emperour is at Aquis in Arduenna, which is a wood in Fraunce. The Emperour whatſoeuer he hath, he hath it of vs. As Zacharias did tranſlate the Empire frō the Greekes to the Almaines: ſo we may tranſlate it againe from the Almains, to the Greekes. Behold it lyeth in our power to geue it to whom we will, being therfore ſet vp of God aboue Gentiles and nations, to deſtroy and plucke vp, to build and to plant, &c.

A ſeditious and proud letter of the pope to the Biſhops of Germany.

Well bragged and like a Pope.

Scripture well wraſted.

And yet further to vnderſtand the ambitious preſumption of this proud ſee of Rome, it ſo chaunced this Emperour Fridericus at his firſt comming vp to Rome, dyd behold there in the palace of Laterane, a certaine picture brought forth vnto him, how Lotharius the ij. Emperour was crowned of the Pope, with the inſcription of certaine verſes in Latin, declaryng how the foreſayd Emperor cōming to Rome, firſt did ſweare to the city, after was made the Popes man, and ſo of him receiued the crowne. Fridericus offended with this picture, deſired the pope it might be aboliſhed, for that it ſhould be no cauſe of any diſſention hereafter. The Pope vnderſtanding the intent of the Emperor, how loth he was to come vnder ſubiectiō to his ſee, deuiſed by all crafty wayes to bring it to paſſe. And firſt taking his occaſion by the biſhop of Laodicea (beyng thē detained in cuſtody, I cannot tell by whom) ſent diuers and ſharpe letters vnto him. And yet not ſo ſharpe, as proud & diſdainfull. Wherin the firſt ſalutation by his legates, was this in Latine: Salutat vos beatiſſimus pater noſter Papa, & vniuerſitas Cardinalium, ille vt pater, hij vt fratres. That is, our moſt bleſſed father the Pope greeteth you, and the vniuerſall company of the Cardinals, he as your father, they as your brethren. Meaning therby that he ſhould vnderſtād himſelfe to be ſubiect and vnderlying to the Pope, no leſſe then the Cardinals were. Moreouer in his letters obiecting diuers things againſt him, reciteth, how many and great benefites he had receiued of the church of Rome: by the which church he had obteyned the fulneſſe of his honor and dignity, &c. The Emperour with his princes perceiuing whereunto the Pope by his Legates did ſhoot: (beyng

Ex Radeuuico, in appendice Friſingenſi.

See the ambitious preſumption of a proude prieſt.

yng a prince of courage) could not abide ſuch intollerable preſumption of a proud meſſage: whereupon, much contention fell betwene the Legates and the Princes. And of whom then (ſay the Legates) receyueth Ceſar the Emperie, if he take it not of the Pope? with the which word, the Germaine princes were ſo much offended, that had not the Emperour ſtayed them (with much ado) they would haue vſed violence againſt the Legates. But the Emperour not permitting that, commaũded the Legates away, ſtraightly charging them to make no turne by the way to any perſon or perſons, but ſtraight to depart home. And he (to certifie the whole ſtate of the Empire of the truth of the matter) directeth forth theſe letters that follow.

✻ *The tenour of the Emperours letter ſent through all his Empire.*

FOraſmuch as the prouidence of God (whereof dependeth all power both in heauen and earth) hath committed to vs hys annointed, this our regiment and Impery to be gouerned, and the peace of his Churches by our Imperiall armes to bee protected, we cannot but lament and complaine to you with great ſorrow of heart, ſeyng ſuch cauſes of diſſention (the roote and fountaine of euils, and the infection of peſtiferous corruption) thus to riſe from the holy church, imprinted with the ſeale of peace, and loue of Chriſt.

By reaſon wherof (except God turne it away) we feare the whole body of the church is like to be polluted: the vnitie thereof to be broken, and a ſchiſme and deuiſion to be betwixt the ſpirituall and temporall regiment For we beyng a late at Biſunze, & there intreating buſily of matters pertaining as well to the honor of our Empire, as to the wealth of churches, there came Embaſſadors of the ſee Apoſtolicall, declaring they brought a legacie to our maieſtie of great importaunce, redounding to no ſmall commoditie of our honour and Empire.

Who then, the firſt day of their comming, beyng brought to our preſence, and receyued of vs (as the maner is) with honour accordingly, audience was geuen them to heare what they had to ſay. They forthwith bruſting out of the Mammon of iniquitie, hautie pride, ſtoutneſſe and arrogancie, out of the execrable preſumption of their ſwelling hart, did their meſſage with letters Apoſtolicall, whereof the tenor was this: That we ſhould alwayes haue before our eyes how that our ſoueraign lord the Pope gaue vs the Imperiall crowne, and that it doth not repent him, if ſo be it, we haue receiued greater benefites at his hand. And this was the effect of that ſo ſweete and fatherly legation, which ſhould nouriſh peace both of the church and of the Empire, to vnite thẽ faſt together in the band of loue.

At the hearing of this ſo falſe, vntrue, and moſt vaineglorious preſumption of ſo proud a meſſage, not only the Emperors maieſtie, conceiued indignation, but alſo all the Princes (there preſent) were mooued with ſuch anger and rage thereat, that if our preſence and requeſt had not ſtayed them, they could not haue held their hands from theſe wicked prieſts, or els to haue proceeded with ſentence of death againſt them.

Furthermore, becauſe a great number of other letters (partly written already, partly with ſeales ready ſigned, for letters to be written according as they ſhould thinke good to the Churches of Germany) were found about them: whereby to worke their conceiued intent of iniquitie here in our churches, to ſpoile the aultars, to cary away the iewels of the church, and to fley the limmes and plates of golden croſſes, &c. To the intent their auaricious meaning ſhould haue no further power to raigne, we gaue them commaundement to depart the ſame way, they came. And now, ſeyng our raigne and Empery ſtandeth vpon the election of Princes, from God alone, who in the paſſion of his ſonne, ſubdued the world to be gouerned with two ſwords neceſſary. And againe, ſeyng Peter the Apoſtle hath ſo informed the world with this doctrine, ***Deum timete, Regem honorificate***, that is, Feare God honour your king. Therfore, who ſo ſayth that we haue & poſſeſſe our imperiall kingdom by the benefite of the Lord Pope, is contrary both to the ordinance of God, and to the doctrine of Peter, and alſo ſhalbe reproued for a lyer.

Note here a couragious hart in a valiaunt Emperour. An example for all princes to follow.

Note.

Therfore as our endeuour hath bene heretofore to helpe and to deliuer the ſeruile captiuitie of churches out of the hand, and from the yoke of the Egyptians, and to maintayne the right of their liberties and dignities, we deſire you all with your compaſſion to lament with vs, this ſlaundrous and ignominie inferred to vs and our kingdome, truſting that your faithfull good wil which hath bene euer truſty to the honour of this Empire (neuer yet blemiſhed from the firſt beginning of this citie, and of religion) will prouide, that it ſhall haue no hurt through the ſtrange noueltie and preſumptuous pride of ſuch. Which thing, rather than it ſhould come to paſſe, know you this for certaine: I had rather incurre the danger of death, then to ſuffer ſuch confuſion to happen in our dayes.

This letter of Ceſar fretted the Pope not a little, who wrote again to the biſhops of Germany, accuſing the emperor, and willing them to worke againſt him what they could: they anſwer againe with all obedience to the Pope ſubmitting themſelues, and yet excuſing the emperor, and blaming him rather. And exhorted him henceforth to temper his letters and legacies with more gentlenes and modeſtie, the which counſaile he alſo followed, perceiuing otherwiſe, that he could not preuayle,

Much trouble had good Fridericus with this Pope: but much more with the other, that followed. For this Pope continued not very long, the ſpace only of 4. yeres & odde months. About whoſe tyme roſe vp the order of the Hermites by one william once duke of Aquitania, and afterward a Frier. This Hadrianus walking with his cardinals abroad, to a place called Anagnia or Arignanum, (as Volateran calleth it) chaunced to be choked with a flie getting into his throte, and ſo was ſtrangled, who in the latter tyme of his papacie, was woont to ſay, that there is no more miſerable kynd of lyfe in the earth, then to bee a Pope, and to come to the papacie by bloud, that is (ſaid he) not to ſucceed Peter, but rather Romulus, who to raigne alone, did ſlay his brother.

The order of Erem

Anno. 1159.

The ſaying and iudgement of P. Adrianus of the papall ſea.

The popes rather ſucceſſors to Romulus then to Peter.

Pope Alexander the third.

Although this Adrian was bad enough, yet came the next much worſe, one Alexander the 3. of that name. who yet was not elected alone: for beſide him the Emperor wt 9. Cardinals (albeit Sabellicus ſaith but with 3.) did ſet vp another Pope named Victor the 4. Betwene theſe two Popes roſe a foule ſchiſme and great diſcord, and long cõtinued. In ſo much, that the Emperour being required to take vp the matter, ſent for them both to appeare before him, that in hearing them both, he might iudge theyr cauſe the better. Victor came, but Alexander (diſdaining that his matter ſhould come in controuerſie) refuſed to appeare. whereupon the Emperour with a full conſent of his Biſhops and clergy about him, aſſigned and ratified the election of Victor to ſtand, and ſo brought him into the Citie there to be receiued & placed. Alexander (flying into Frãce) accuſed them both, ſending his letters to all chriſtendom againſt them, as men to be auoided and caſt out of all chriſtian company. Alſo to get him frendes at Rome by flattery and mony got on his ſide the greateſt part of the Citie, both to the fauouring of him, and to the ſetting vp of ſuch Conſuls as were for his purpoſe. After this, Alexander comming from France to Sicile, and frõ thence to Rome, was there receiued with much fauour, through the helpe of Phillip the French king.

Alexander curſeth the Emperour.

The Emperour hearing this rebellion and conſpiracie in Rome, remooued wt great power into Italy, where he had deſtroyed diuers great cities. Comming at length to Rome, he required the Citizens that the cauſe betwixt the two Popes might bee decided, and that he which had ẏ beſt right, might be takẽ. If they would ſo do, he would reſtore agayne that which he tooke from them before. Alexander miſtruſting his part, and doubtyng the willes of the Citizens, (hauing ſhippes ready prepared for hym, from william Duke of Apulia) fetcht a courſe about to Venice.

Anno. 1164.

To declare here the difference in hiſtories, betweene Blondus Sabellicus, and the Venetian chronicles, with other writers, concerning the order of this matter, I will ouerpaſſe. In this moſt do agree, that the Pope beyng at Venice, and required to be ſent of the Venetians, to ẏ Emperour, they would not ſend him. wherupon, Fridericus the Emperour ſent thither his ſonne Otho with men and ſhips well apointed, charging him not to attẽpt any thing before his comming. The yong man more hardy then circumſpect (ioyning with the Venetians) was ouercome, & ſo taken was brought into the city. Hereby the Pope toke no ſmall occaſion to worke his feates.

The father to helpe the captiuitie and miſerye of hys ſonne, was compelled to ſubmit hymſelfe to the Pope, and to intreat for peace. So the Emperour commyng to Venice (at S. Markes Church, where the biſhop was, there to take hys abſolution) was bidde to kneele downe at the Popes feete.

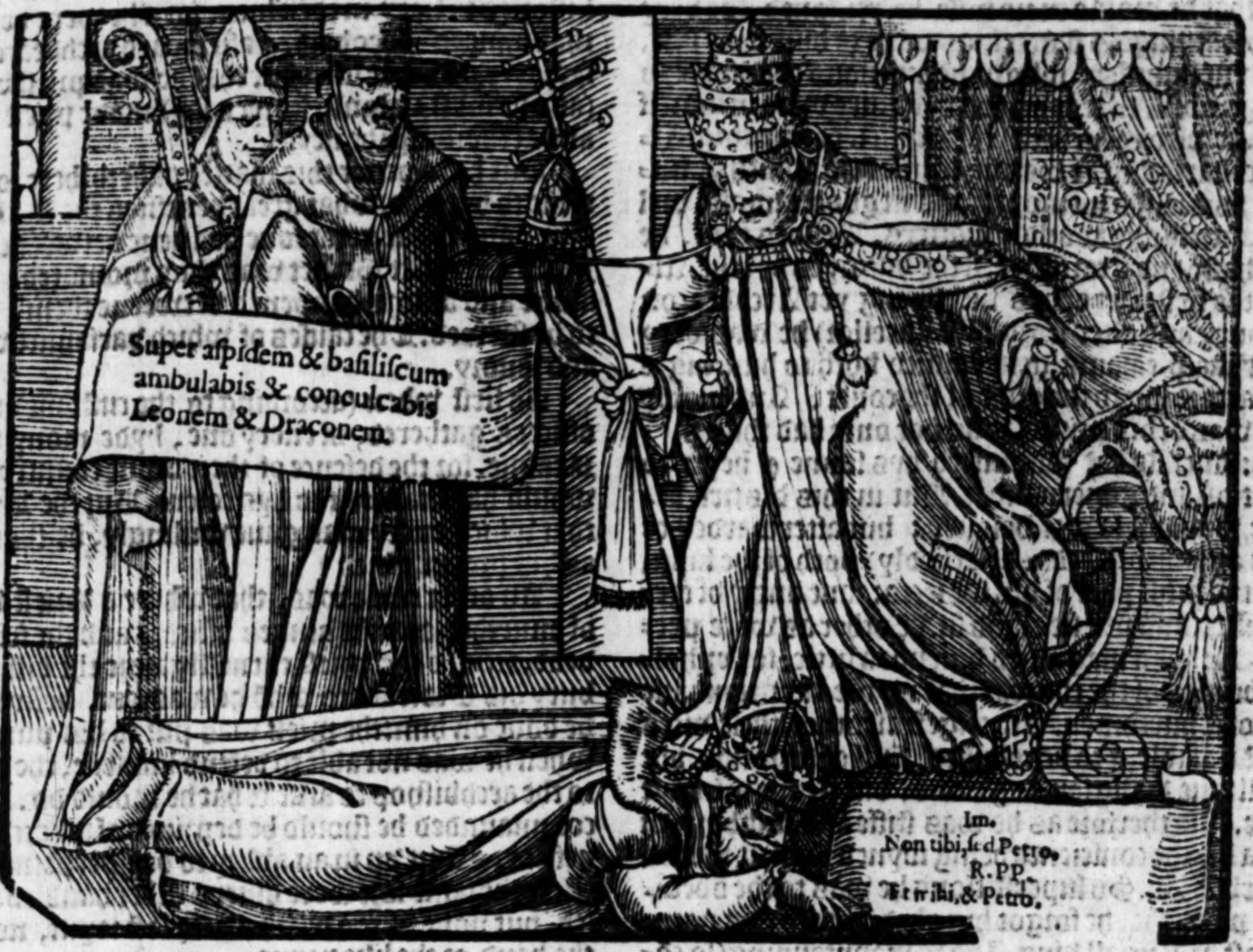
The proud Pope ſetting his foote vpon the Emperors necke, ſayd the verſe of the Pſalme: Super aſpidem & baſiliſcum ambulabis & conculcabis Leonem & Draconem: That is, Thou ſhalt walke vpon the Adder and the Baſiliſke, and ſhalt tread downe the Lion and the Dragon, &c. To whõ the Emperour aunſwering agayne, ſayd: Non tibi ſed Petro, that is, not to thee but to Peter. The Pope agayne, Et mihi, & Petro, both to me and to Peter. The Emperor fearing to geue any occaſion of further quarelling, held hys peace and ſo was abſolued, and peace made betwene thẽ: the conditions wherof were theſe. Firſt, that he ſhould receiue Alexãder, for the true Pope. Secondly, that he ſhould

Holy ſcripture abuſed.

The Pope treading on the Emperours neck.

reſtore

❧ Pope Alexander treading on the necke of Fredericke the Emperour.


Super aſpidem & baſiliſcum ambulabis & conculcabis Leonem & Draconem.
Im.
Non tibi, ſed Petro.
R. PP.
Et mihi, & Petro.

reſtore agayne to the Church of Rome, all that he had taken away before. And thus the Emperour obtaynyng agayne hys ſonne, departed.

Volateran taken with a contradiction.

Here, as I note in diuers writers, a great diuerſitie and varietie touching the order of this matter (of whome ſome ſay that the Emperour campt in Paleſtina before he came to Venice, ſome ſay after) ſo I meruell to ſee in Volaterane (ſo great a fauourer of the pope) ſuch a contradiction who in his 22. booke ſayth yͤ Otto (the Emperours ſonne) was taken in this conflict, which was the cauſe of yͤ peace betweene his father and the pope: And in his 23. booke agayne ſaith, that the Emperour himſelfe was taken priſoner in the ſame battayle: & ſo (afterward peace concluded) tooke his iorney to Aſia & Paleſtina: This P. in the time of his papacie (whiche continued 21. yeares) kept ſundry councels both at Turo & at Lateran, where he confirmed the wicked proceedings of Hildebrand, and other his predeceſſors. As to binde all orders of the clergy to the vowe of chaſtitie, which were not greatly to be reprehended if they would define chaſtitie aright. For who ſo liueth not a chaſte lyfe (ſayth he) is no fit perſon to be a miniſter. But herein lyeth an error full of much blindnes: and alſo peril, to thinke that matrimony immaculate (as S. Paul calleth it) is not chaſtitie, but onely a ſingle life, that they eſteeme to be a chaſte life.

Concilium Lateranenſe.

The clergie bounde to the vowe of chaſtitie.

Papiſtes are not ſo much in promiſing chaſtitie, as in defining chaſtitie.

Now foraſmuch as our engliſh pope holy martyr, called Thomas Becket, happened alſo in the ſame tyme of this pope Alexander, let vs ſomewhat alſo ſtory of him ſo far as the matter ſhall ſeeme worthy of knowledge and to ſtand with truth. To the end that the truth thereof being ſifted from all flattery and lyes of ſuch popiſhe writers as paynt out his ſtory: men may the better iudge both of hym what he was, and alſo of hys cauſe.

✱ *The life and hiſtory of Thomas Becket*
Archbiſhop of Canterbury.

Tho. Becket Archb. at Cant.

Becket no martyr.

IF the cauſe make a Martyr (as is ſayd) I ſee not why we ſhould eſteeme Tho. Becket to dye a martyr, more then any other whome the Princes ſword doth here temporally puniſh for their temporall deſertes. To dye for the Church, I graunt is a glorious matter. But the Church, (as it is a ſpirituall and not a temporal Church) ſo it ſtandeth vpon cauſes ſpirituall, and vpon an heauenly foundation, as vpon fayth, religion, true doctrine, ſincere diſcipline, obedience to Gods cōmandements. And not vpō things pertaining to this world, as poſſeſſions, liberties, exemptions, priuileges, dignities, patrimonies, and ſuperiorities. If theſe be geuen to the Churche, I pray God churchmen may vſe them wel, but if they be not geuen, the church cannot clayme thē: or if they be takē away, that ſtādeth in the princes power. To contend wt Princes for the ſame, it is no matter (in my minde) materiall, to make a martyr, but rather a rebellion agaynſt them, to whom we owe ſubiection. Therfore as I ſuppoſe Tho. Becket to be far frō the cauſe and title of a Martyr (neyther can he be excuſed, from a playne rebell againſt his prince) ſo yet would I haue wiſhed agayne, the lawe rather publikely to haue found out his fault: then the ſwords of men (not biddē nor ſent) to haue ſmitten him, hauing no ſpeciall commandement, neyther of the prince nor of the lawe ſo to doe. For though the indignation of the Prince (as the wiſe Prince ſayth) is death: yet it is not for euery priuate perſō ſtraightwayes to reuenge the ſecret indignation of his Prince, except he be publikely authoriſed thereunto. And thus had bene (as I ſuppoſe) the better way, the lawes firſt to haue executed their iuſtice vpon him. Certes, it had bene the ſafeſt way for the king, as it proued after: who had iuſt matter inough, if he had proſecuted his cauſe agaynſt him. And alſo thereby, hys death had bene without all ſuſpicion of martirdome, neyther had their followed this ſhrining and ſainting of him as there did. Albeit, the ſecret prouidence of God (whiche gouerneth all thinges) did ſee this way percaſe to be beſt, and moſt neceſſary for thoſe dayes. And doubtles (to ſay here what I thinke, and yet to ſpeak nothing agayne charitie) if the Emperours had done the like to the Popes, contending agaynſt them what tyme they had tooke them priſoners: that is, if they had vſed the lawe of the ſword againſt them, and chopped off the heads of one or two, according to their trayterous rebellion: they had broken the necke of much diſturbaunce, whiche long tyme after did trouble the Churche. But for lacke of that, becauſe Emperours hauing the ſword, and the truth on their ſide, woulde not vſe their ſworde: but ſtanding in awe of the Popes vayne curſe, and reuerencing his ſeat for Saint Peters ſake, durſt not lay hand vppon hym: though he were neuer ſo abhominable and trayterous a malefactour. The Popes perceauing that, tooke ſo much vpon them (not as the ſcripture would geue) but as much as the ſuperſtitious feare of Emperors and kings woulde ſuffer them to take: which was ſo much, that it paſt all order, rule, and meaſure. And all becauſe the ſuperior powers (eyther would not, or durſt not) practiſe the authoritie geuen to them of the Lord, vpon thoſe inferiours, but ſuffered them to be their maiſters.

But as touching Thomas Becket, what ſoeuer is to be thought of them that did the acte: the example therof yet bringeth this profite with it, to teach all Romiſh Prelates not to be ſo ſtubborne (in ſuch matters not pertayning to them) againſt their Prince, vnto whom God hath ſubiected them.

Herbertus de boſcham.
Ioan. Charnot.
Alanus Abbot of Tenchbury.
Gulielmus Cantuarienſis.
Tho. Becked deſcribed.

Now to the ſtory, which if it be true that is ſet forth in Quadrilogo, by thoſe foure who tooke vpon thē to expreſſe the life and proceſſe of Thomas Becket: it appeareth by al coniectures that he was a man of a ſtout nature, ſeuere, & inflexible. What perſwaſion or opinion he had once cōceaued: from that he would in no wiſe be remoued, or very hardly. Threatnings & flatterings were to him both one. In this poynt ſinguler, following no mans counſayle ſo much as hys own. Great helpes of nature were in him (if he could haue vſed them well) rather then of learning. Albe it, ſomewhat ſkilful he was of yͤ ciuile law, which he ſtudied at Bononie. In memory excellent good, and alſo wel broken in courtly and worldly matters. Beſides this, he was of a chaſte and ſtraite lyfe, if the hiſtoryes be true. Although in the firſt part of hys life (being yet Archdeacon of Canterbury and after Lord Chauncellor) he was very ciuill, courtlike, pleaſaunt, geuen much both to hunting & hauking, according to the guiſe of the court. And highly fauored he was of his prince, who not only had thus promoted him: but alſo had committed hys ſonne & heyre to hys inſtitution and gouernaunce. But in this his firſt beginning he was not ſo wel beloued: but afterwarde hee was again as much hated (& deſeruedly) both of the king, and alſo of the moſt part of his ſubiects: ſaue onely of certayne Monkes and prieſtes, and ſuche other as were perſwaded by thē: who magnified him not a little, for vpholding the liberties of the church (that is) the licentious life and exceſſe of Churchmen. Amongeſt all other, theſe vices he had moſt notable, & to be rebuked. Full of deuotion, but wythout all true Religion. Zelous, but cleane without knowledge. And therfore as he was ſtiffe and ſtubborn of nature, ſo (a blinde conſcience being ioyned wall) it turned to playne rebellion. So ſuperſtitious he was to the obedience of the pope, that he forgot his obedience to hys naturall and moſt beneficiall king. And in mayntayning (ſo cōtentiouſly) the vayne conſtitutions and decrees of men: he neglected the commaundementes of God. But herein moſt of all to be reprehended, that not onely (contrary yͤ kings knowledge) he ſought to conuey himſelfe out of the realme (being in that place and calling) but alſo (being out of the realme) ſet matter of diſcord betweene the Pope & hys K. and alſo betwene the French king and him: contrary to al honeſty, good order, naturall ſubiection, and true chriſtianitie. Whervpon folowed no little diſquietneſſe after, both to the king and damage of the realme, as here (in proceſſe and in order following by the grace of Chriſt) we will declare. Firſt beginning with the firſt riſing vp of hym, & ſo conſequently to proſecute in order hys ſtorye as foloweth.

What commeth of blinde zeale deſtitute of right knowledge.

The life of Tho. Becket.
Polydorus miſtaketh the mother of Becket.
Ex Roberto Crikeladenſi.
Ex Florilego.

And firſt here to omitte the progenie of him and of his mother named Roſe, whom Polyd. Virgilius falſly nameth to be a Saracen: when in deede ſhe came out of the partes bordering neer to Normandy. To omit alſo the fabulous viſion of his mother, mentioned in Rob. Crikeladenſis, of a burning torche iſſuing out of her body and reaching vp to heauen: his firſt preferment was to the Church of Branfield, which he had by the gift of S. Albons. After that, he entred in the ſeruice of the Archb. of Cant. by whō he was then preferred to be his Archdeacon. And after by the ſayd Theobald was put (as a mā moſt meteſt for his purpoſe) to K. Hen. to bridle the young K. yͭ he ſhould not be fierce agaynſt the clergy: whom in proceſſe of time, the K. made lord Chauncellor, and then he left playing the archdeacon, and began to play the Chauncellor. He facioned his conditions like to the kinges both in waighty matters & trifles. He would hunt with him, and watch the tyme when the Kyng dyned and and ſlept. Farthermore hee began to loue the mery geſtinges of the court, to delight himſelfe wͭ the great laud of mē & prayſe of the people. And yͭ I may paſſe ouer hys houſhold ſtuffe, he had his bridle of ſiluer, & the boſſes of his bridle were worth a great treaſure. At his table and other expences, he paſſed any earle: That on the one ſide, men would iudge him little to conſider the office of an Archdeacon: and on the other ſide would iudge hym to vſe wicked doyngs. He played alſo the good ſouldiour vnder the K. in Gaſcon, and both wan and kept townes. When the K. ſent Thomas being Chancellor home into Englād (ambaſſador with other nobles after the death of the Archb.) he willed Rich. Luci (one of the chiefeſt) to commend in his name, this Thomas to the couent of Cāterbury, that they might choſe him archbiſh. Which thing he did diligētly. The monks ſayd, it was not meet to chuſe a courtier and a ſouldior to be head of ſo holy a company, for he would ſpend (ſayd they) all that they had. Other had this ſurmiſe alſo, becauſe he was in ſo great fauour with the prince, the kinges ſonne, & was ſo ſodenly diſcharged of the Chancellorſhip which he had borne fiue yeares. In the 44. yeare of hys age (on the Saterday in the Whitſonweeke) he was made prieſt, and the next day conſecrated Byſhop.

Diffe
in Chro
cles,

As touching the prieſthoode of this man, I finde the hiſtories to vary in thēſelues, for if he were beneficed, and chaplaine to Theobald, & afterward archdeacon (as ſome ſay) it is no other like, but that he was prieſt before, & not (as our moſt Engliſh ſtoryes ſay) made prieſt in one day, and archbiſhop the next.

But howſoeuer this matter paſſeth, here is in yͤ meane tyme to be ſeene, what great benefites the K. had done for him, and what great loue had bene betweene them both. Now after that Becket was thus promoted, what variaunce and diſcord happened betweene them, remayneth to be ſhewed: The cauſes of which variaunce were diuers and ſondry.

The cau
of varia
recited b
tweene t
king and
Archb.

As firſt when (according to the cuſtome) the Kinges officers gathered, of euery one, hyde mony through the Realme, for the defence of their owne country: the Kyng would haue taken it to hys cofers. But the Byſhop ſayd, that which euery man gaue willingly, he ſhould not coūt as his proper rent.

An other cauſe was, that where a Prieſt was accuſed of murther, and the kinges officers and the friendes of the dead, accuſed the prieſt earneſtly afore the biſhop of Saliſbury his Dioceſan to whō he was ſent, deſiring iuſtice to be done on him: the prieſt was put to his purgation. But when he was not able to defend himſelfe, the Byſhop ſent to the archbiſhop to aſke what he ſhould do. The Archb. commaunded he ſhould be depriued of all eccleſiaſtical benefices, & ſhut vp in an abbey to doe perpetuall penance. After the ſame ſort were diuers other handled for like cauſes, but none put to death, nor loſt ioynt, nor burned in the hand, or the like payne.

The third cauſe was, that where a Chanon of Bruis did reuile the kinges iuſtices: the king was offended with the whole clergy. For theſe and ſuch lyke, the Archbiſhop (to pacifie the kinges anger) commaunded the Chanon to be whipped, & depriued of his benefices for certain yeares. But the king was not content with this gentle puniſhement, becauſe it rather increaſed their boldnes: and therfore he called the Archbiſhop, biſhops, and all the clergy to aſſemble at Weſtminſter. Whē they were aſſembled together: the king earneſtly commaunded, that ſuche wicked Clerkes ſhould haue no priuilege of their Clergy, but be deliuered to the Iaylers, becauſe they paſſed ſo little of yͤ ſpiriturll correction: and this he ſayd, alſo their own Canons and lawes had decreed. The Archbiſhop counſailing wͭ his biſhops and learned men, anſwered probably: and in the end he deſired hartely the kinges gentlenes (for the quietnes of himſelfe and his realme) that vnder Chriſt our new king, and vnder the new law of Chriſt, he would bring in no new kind of puniſhment into his Realm (vpon the new choſen people of the Lord) agaynſt the old decrees of the holy fathers: And oft he ſayd, that he neyther ought nor could ſuffer it. The king moued therwith (and not without cauſe) alledgeth agayne and exacteth the olde lawes and cuſtomes of his graundfather, obſerued and agreed vpō by archbiſhops, biſhops, prelates, & other priuileged perſons: inquiring likewiſe of hym, whether hee would agree to the ſame, or els now (in his raigne) would condēne that which in the raigne of his graūdfather was well allowed. To which lawes & cuſtomes, the ſaid Thomas did partly graunt, and partly not graunt. The copy of the which foreſayd lawes are contayned in the number of xxviii. or xxix. whereof I thought here to recite certain, not vnworthy to be knowne.

✻ *The copy of the old lawes and cuſtomes, whervnto Thomas Becket, did graunt.*

The kin
cuſtom

1. That no order ſhould be geuen to huſbande mennes children and bondmens Childrē, without the aſſent or teſtimoniall of them which be the Lordes of the country where they were borne and brought vp: & if their ſonnes become Clerkes, they ſhall not receaue the order of prieſthoode without licence of their Lordes.
2. And if a man of holy Churche, hold any lay fee in hys hand: he ſhall do therefore, the king the ſeruice that belonlongeth therto, as vpon iuries, aſſiſe of landes, and iudgementes: ſauing onely, at execution doing of death.
3. If any man were the kinges traytour, and had taken the Church: that it ſhould be lawfull to the king and hys officers to take him out.
4. Alſo if any felons goods were brought to holy church, that

Out of a
Engliſhe
Chronicle
as it appe
reth, dra
en out of
French by
Erle Ry
lord Sca

that there ſhould none ſuch keepe therefore euery fellons goodes bene the kinges.

5. That no land ſhould be geuen to the Church, or to any houſe of religion, without the kinges licenſe.

❧ These articles folowing, Thomas agreed not vnto.

1. If that betweene a clerke and a lay man, were anye ſtriuing for Church goodes: they would ye ple ſhould be done in the kinges court.

2. That there ſhould neyther biſhop nor clerke, go out of the land without the kinges licence: And then hee ſhoulde ſweare vpon a booke, he ſhould procure no hurt agaynſt the king nor none of his.

3. If any man were denounced accurſed, and were come agayn to amendment: the king would not that he ſhould be ſworne, but onely finde ſureties to ſtand to that, ye holy Church ſhould award.

4. The fourth, that no man that held of the king in chiefe or in ſeruice, ſhould be accurſed without the kings licence.

5. That all the Biſhoppricke & Abbayes that were vacant, ſhould be in the kings handes, vntill ſuche time that he ſhould chuſe a prelate thereto: and he ſhould be choſen out of the kinges chappels, and firſt before he were confirmed, he ſhould doe his homage to the king.

6. If any ple were to conſiſtory brought, they ſhould appeale from thence to the archdeacon: and from thence to ye Byſhops court: and from the Byſhops court, to the archbyſhops: and from thence to the king, and no further: So that in concluſion the complayntes of holy Church, muſt come before the king and not the pope.

7. That all debtes, that were owing through trouthplyght, ſhould not be pleaded in ſpiritual but in temporal Court.

8. That the Peter pence, which to the Pope were gathered ſhould be taken to the king.

9. If any clerke for felony were taken, and ſo proued: he ſhould be firſt diſgraded, and then through iudgement, to be hanged, or if he were a traytour to be drawne.

❧ Other lawes and conſtitutions made at Claredoun in Normandy, and ſent to England, wherunto Becket and the Pope would not agree. He being then fled out of the Realme.

The lawes of Claredoun.

1. If any perſon ſhall be found to bring from the Pope, or from the Archbiſh. of Canterb. any writing, conteining any indicte or curſſe agaynſt the realme of England: the ſame man to be apprehended without delay, for a traytour, and execution to be done vpon the ſame.

2. That no monke, nor any Clerke ſhall be permitted to paſſe ouer into England, without a paſſport from the king or his Iuſtices: who ſo doth the contrary, that man to be tached and impriſoned.

3. No man to be ſo bould once to appeale to the Pope, or to the Archbiſhop of Canterbury, out of England.

4. That no decree, or commaundement proceeding from ye authoritie of the pope or the Byſhop of Canterbury, to be receaued in Englãd vnder payne of taking & impriſoning.

5. In generall, to forbid any man to cary ouer anye commaundement or precept (eyther of clerke) or layman, to the Pope or to the archbiſhop of Canterbury, vnder payn of impriſonment.

6. If any Biſh., clerke, abbot, or lay man ſhal do contrary to this inhibitiõ: or wil keep the ſentence of interditing: the ſame incontinent to be thruſt out of the land, with all their kinred, and to leaue all their goodes behinde them.

7. All the poſſeſſions, goodes & cattell of ſuch as fauour the pope, or the Archbiſhop of Cãterbury, to be ceaſed and confiſcate for the king.

8. All ſuch of the clergye, as be out of the realme hauyng their rentes and profites out of the land: to be ſommoned and warned through euery ſhyre, within three mõthes to repayre home: eyther els their rentes and goods to returne to the king.

9. That S. Peters pence, ſhould be no more payd to the Apoſtolicall ſee: but to be reſerued diligently in the kinges cofers, and there to be at hys commaundement. Atq; hæc ex Quadrilogo.

10. That the Byſhops of Saliſbury and Norwiche, be at the kings mercy: and be ſomoned by the Sheriffe and bedels, that they before the kings iuſtices, do right to the K. and hys iuſtices: becauſe, (contrary to the ſtatutes of Clarendon) by commaundement they interdicted the land of Hugh Earle, and publiſhed the ſame in their Dioces without licence of the kinges iuſtices.

By theſe and ſuch other lawes and decrees it may appeare that the abolyſhing of the pope, is no newe thing in the realme of England. This onely difference there is, ye the P. being driuen out then, could not be kept out ſo long as now he is. The cauſe is, that ye tyme was not yet come, that antechriſt ſhould ſo fully be reueled. Neither was his wickednes then ſo fully ripe in thoſe dayes, as it hath bene now in our time. Nowe theſe premiſed, let vs returne where we left, to the matter betwixt the king and Thomas becket.

❧ The communication and controuerſie betweene the king and Thomas Becket with hys Clergye.

The king as is aforeſayd, conuenting hys Nobles and clerkes together, required to haue ye puniſhmẽt of certayne miſdoers of the Clergy. But Thomas Becket not aſſenting thereunto: the king came to this poynt: to know whether he would conſent with his clergy, that the cuſtomes then ſet forth in the realme (meaning by the firſt part of thoſe decrees aboue ſpecified) ſhould be obſerued. To which the Archbiſhop conſulting together with hys brethren, geueth aunſwere agayne, that he was contented ye kings ordinaunces ſhould be obſerued, adding this withall, Saluo ordine ſuo: that is, ſauing his order. And ſo in like maner all the other byſhops after, being demanded in order, anſwered wt the ſame addition, Saluo ordine ſuo. Onely Hillarius biſhop of Chicheſter, perceauing the king to be exaſperate with that addition, in ſtede of Saluo ordine, agreed to obſerue them Bona fide. The king hearing thẽ not ſimply to agree vnto him but with an exceptiõ, was mightely offended: who thẽ turning to the Archbiſhop and the Prelates ſayd: that he was not well contented with that clauſe of theirs, Saluo ordine ſuo, which he ſayd, was captious and deceitfull: hauing ſome maner of venime lurking vnder, & therfore required an abſolute graunt of them wtout any exception to agree to the kinges ordinaunces. To this the Archbiſhop anſwered agayne, that they had ſworn vnto him their fidelitie, both life, body, and earthly honor, Saluo ordine ſuo: and that in the ſame earthly honour, alſo thoſe ordinances were cõprehended: and to the obſeruing, they would bynde themſelues after no other forme, but as they had ſworne before. The king with this was moued, & all his nobilitie not a little. As for ye other biſhops, there was no doubt but they would eaſely haue relented, had not the ſtoutnes of the Archb. made thẽ more conſtant then otherwiſe they would haue bene. The day being wel ſpẽt: the king (when he could get no other aunſwere of them) departed in great anger: geuing no word of ſalutatiõ to ye biſhops. And likewiſe, the biſhops euery one to his own houſe departed. The biſhop of Chicheſter (amongeſt the reſt) was greatly rebuked of his fellowes, for chaũging ye exception cõtrary to the voice of al the other. The next day following, the king took from the archbiſhop all ſuch honours & Lordſhips, as he had geuẽ him before, in the tyme that he was chauncellor: wherby appeared the great diſpleaſure of the king agaynſt him and the clergy. Not long after this, the king remouing from London (vnknowing to the biſhops) ſayled ouer to Normandy, whither the biſhop of London called Gilbert (not long after) reſorted to craue the Kinges fauour: & gaue him councell withall to ioyne ſome of ye biſhops on his ſide, leaſt if al were againſt him, peraduenture he might ſooner be ouerthrowne. And thus the greateſt nũber of ye biſhops were by this meanes reconciled agayn to the King: onely the archbiſhop with a few other remayned in their ſtoutnes ſtill. The K. (thinking to try all maner of wayes) when he ſawe no feare nor threates could turne hym: dyd aſſay him with gẽtlenes, it would not ſerue. Many of the nobles labored betwixt thẽ both, exhorting him to relent to the King, it would not be. Likewiſe the archbiſhop of Yorke with diuers other Byſhops and abbots (eſpecially the biſh. of Cheſter) did the ſame. Beſides this his own houſhold dayly called vpon him: but no man could perſwade him. At legth vnderſtãding (partly by them ye came to him) what daunger might happen not onely to himſelfe, but to al the other clergy vpon the kings diſpleaſure: partly conſidering the old loue & kindnes of the king towardes him in tyme paſt, was content to geue ouer to the kinges requeſt: & came to Oxford to him, reconciling himſelfe about the addition, which diſpleaſed the king ſo much. Wherupõ, the king (being ſomewhat mitigate) receiueth him with a more cheerful countenance: but yet not all ſo familiarly as before, ſaying: that he would haue his ordinaunces and proceedinges after ye forme confirmed in the publike audience & opẽ ſight of his Byſhops and all his Nobles. After this the K. (being at

Beckets additiõ. *Saluo ordine ſuo.*

The Biſhop of Chicheſter.

The ſtubberne wilfulnes of T.Becket.

T.Becket relenteth to the king.

Clarendon) there called all his pieres and prelates before him: requiring to haue that performed which they had promiſed, in conſenting to the obſeruing of his grandfathers ordinaunces and proceedings. The archbiſhop ſuſpecting (I cannot tell what) in yͤ kings promiſe, drew backward, & now would not that he would before. At laſt with much a doe he was enforced to geue aſſent. Firſt, came to him the byſhop of Saliſbury and of Norwiche, who (for old matters indangered to the king long before) came weeping & lamẽting to the archbiſhop, deſiring him to haue ſome cõpaſſion of them, & to remit this pertinacy to the king: leſt if he ſo continued (through his ſtoutnes to exaſperate the kinges diſpleaſure) happely it might redound to no ſmall daunger, not onely of thẽ which were in ieoperdy already: but alſo of himſelfe to be impriſoned, and the whole Clergy to be indaungered. Beſides theſe two byſhops, there wẽt to hym other two noble pieres of the realme labouring wͭ him to relent & condiſcend to the kings deſire. If not, they ſhould be inforced to vſe violence, as neither would ſtand with the kinges fame, and much leſſe with his quietnes. But yet the ſtout ſtomack of the mã would not geue ouer. After this, came to him ij. rulers of the temple called Templars: one Richard de Haſt: an other Coſtans de Heuerio with their company: lamenting & bewayling their great peril which they declared vnto him to hang ouer his head: yet neyther with their teares nor with their kneelinges, would he be remoued. At length came yͤ laſt meſſage from the kyng, ſignifying vnto him with expreſſe wordes (and alſo with teares) what he ſhould truſt to, if he woulde not geue ouer to the kinges requeſt.

Becket yeldeth to the king.

By reaſon of which meſſage, he (either terrified or els perſwaded) was content to ſubmit hymſelfe. Whereupon, the king incontinent aſſembling the ſtates together: the Archbiſhop firſt before all other beginneth to promiſe to the king obedience and ſubmiſſion vnto his cuſtome, and that Cum Bona fide leauing out of hys former addition, Saluo ordine, mentioned before: in ſteede whereof he promiſed in Verbo veritatis, to obſerue and keep the kings cuſtomes and ſweare to the ſame. After him the other Byſhoppes likewiſe gaue the like othe. Whereupon, the king commaunded incontinent certayne inſtruments obligatory to be drawne: of yͤ which: the king ſhould haue one: the archbiſhop of Canterbury an other: the Archbiſhop of Yorke the third: requiring alſo the ſayde Archbiſhop to ſet hys hand and ſeale. To the whiche, the Archbiſhop (although not denying but that he was ready ſo to do) yet deſired reſpite in the matter, while that he (being but newly come to hys biſhoppricke) might better peruſe with himſelfe the foreſayd cuſtomes and ordinaunces of the king. This requeſt as it ſeemed but reaſonable, ſo it was lightly graunted: and ſo the day being well ſpent, they departed for that ſeaſon and brake vp.

Saluo ordine left out in the compoſition.

Becket repenteth of hys good deede.

Alanus one of the iiij. writers of yͤ life of this Thomas Becket, recordeth: that the archbiſhop in his viage toward Wincheſter, begã greatly to repẽt that he had done before, partly through the inſtigation of certayne about him, but chiefly of hys croſſebearer, who going before the Archbiſh. did ſharply and earneſtly expoſtulate with him, for geuing ouer to the kings requeſt agaynſt the priuelege & liberties of the Church: polluting not onely his fame and conſciẽce, but alſo geuing a pernitious example to them that ſhould come after, with many like wordes. To make the matter ſhort: the Archbiſhop was ſo touched vpon the ſame with ſuch repentaunce, that keeping himſelfe from al company, lamenting with teares, with faſting, and with muche penaunce macerating and afflicting himſelf, did ſuſpend himſelfe from all deuine ſeruice: and would not receaue comfort, before that (word being ſent to hys holy graundfather the pope) he ſhoulde be aſſoild of him: who tenderyng the teares of hys deare chicken, directed to him letters agayne by the ſame meſſenger which Thomas had ſent vp to hym before. In whiche letters not onely he aſſoyled hym from hys treſpaſſe: but alſo with words of great conſolation did incourage him to be ſtout in the quarrel he tooke in hand. The copy of which letters conſolatory ſent from the Pope to Popiſh Becket, here follow vnder written.

A letter of pope Alexander to T. Becket.

Alexander Byſhop &c. Your brotherhoode is not ignoraunt that it hath bene aduertiſed vs, how that vpon the occaſion of a certayne tranſgreſſion or exceſſe of yours: you haue determined to ceaſe henceforth from ſaying of Maſſe, and to abſtayne from the conſecration of the body and bloud of the Lord. Which thing to doe, how daungerous it is (eſpecially in ſuch a perſonage) and alſo what inconuenience may riſe thereof: I will you aduiſedly to conſider, and diſcreetly alſo to ponder. Your wiſedome ought not to forget what difference there is betwixt them which aduiſedly and willingly doe offend, and thoſe whiche through ignoraunce, and for neceſſitie ſake do offend. For as you reade, ſo muche the more greater is wilfull ſinne: as the ſame not being voluntary is leſſer ſinne. Therefore if you remember your ſelfe to haue done any thing that your owne cõſcience doth accuſe you of, whatſoeuer it be: we cõſell you (as a prudent and wyſe prelate) to acknowledge the ſame. Which thing done, the mercifull and pittifull God, who hath more reſpect to the hart of the doer then to the thing done, will remit and forgeue you the ſame according to his accuſtomed great mercy. And we truſting in the merites of the bleſſed Apoſtles S Peter and Paule doe abſolue you from the offence committed, and by the authoritie Apoſtolicall we releaſe you vnto your fraternitie, counſailing you and commaunding you, that henceforth you abſtayne not (for this cauſe) from the celebration of the Maſſe.

Thys letter with other moe after like ſort, the pope thẽ wrote to him: animating and comforting him in this quarrell ſo neerely pertaining to the popes profite. By the occaſion whereof, Becket toke no ſmall hart and conſolation In ſo much, yͭ thereof ſeemeth to me to proceed, al the occaſiõ yͭ made him ſo ſtout & malipart againſt his prince, as hereafter followeth to be ſeene by his doynges. What yͤ other letters were that the pope wrote vnto hym, ſhortly after (when we come to the appellatiõs made to the pope) ſhall appeare God willing. In the meane ſeaſon (as he ſat thus mourning at home) the king hearing of hym, & howe he denyed to ſet hys ſeale to thoſe ſanctions, which he condeſcẽded to before, tooke no little diſpleaſure againſt him. In ſo much that he (threatning to him and hys, baniſhmẽt & death) began to call hym to reconinges, and to burden hym with paymentes: that all men might vnderſtand that yͤ kings minde was ſore ſet agaynſt him. The Archbiſhop hereupon (whether more for the loue of the pope, or dread of hys prince) thought to make an eſcape out of the realme, and ſo wẽt about in the night (with two or three with hym ſtealing out of hys houſe) to take the ſea priuely. Now amongeſt other the kinges ordinances and ſanctions, this was one: that none of the prelacy or nobilitie without the kinges licence (or of his iuſtices) ſhoulde depart out of the realme. So Becket twiſe attempted the ſea, to flee to the ſee of Rome: but the wether not ſeruing, was driuẽ home agayne, and hys deuiſe for that tyme fruſtrated. After his departure began to be knowne and noyſed abroad, the kinges officers came to Canterbury to ſeaſon vppon hys goodes in the kinges behalfe. But as it chanced the night before their comming, Becket being returned and founde at home, they did not proceede in their purpoſe.

Becket enterpriſing agaynſt the kings lawes to flye out of the realme.

Becket taunted of the king.

Upon this, the Archbiſhop (vnderſtanding the kyng ſore bent agaynſt hym, and the ſeas not to ſerue hym) made haſt to the court, lying then at Woodſtock. Where the king receaued him (after a certayne maner) but nothing ſo familiarly as he was wont: taunting him geſtingly & merily, as though one realme were not able to hold them both. Becket (although he was permitted to go and come at his pleaſure to the court) yet could not obtaine the fauour that he would: perceiuing both in himſelfe, and confeſſing no leſſe to other, how the matter would fall out: ſo that eyther he ſhould be cõſtrayned to geue ouer with ſhame, or ſtoutly ſtand to that which he had ſo boldly taken in hand. The Archbiſhop of Yorke in the meane time (going betweene yͤ kyng and the Archbiſh.) laboured to make a peace & loue betweene them, but the King in no caſe would be reconciled, vnleſſe the other would ſubſcribe to his lawes. So the while, neyther the K. would otherwiſe agree, nor yet the archb. in any wiſe would ſubſcribe: there was a foule diſcorde. Where the fault was, let the reader here iudge betwene thẽ both. The K. (for his regall authoritie thought it much, that any ſubiect of hys, ſhould ſtand agaynſt him. The Archb. agayne (bearing himſelfe bold vppon the authoritie, & eſpecially vpon the letters of the P. lately writtẽ to him) thought hym ſtrong inough agaynſt the king & all hys realme. Againe, ſuch was his quarell for the maintenance of liberties and glory of the Church, that he could lacke no ſetters on, & fauourers in that behalfe, in ſo ſwete a cauſe amongeſt the clergy. Wherfore the Archb. (truſting to theſe thinges) would geue no place, but by vertue of his Apoſtolike authoritie gaue cenſure vpon theſe lawes and conſtitutions of the king: condemning ſome, & other ſome approuing for good and catholicke, as is before declared. Beſides this, there came alſo to the K. Rotrodus Archbiſhop of Rotomage (ſent from the Pope) to make peace betweene the K. and Canterbury. Whereunto the king was well content, ſo that the Pope would agree to ratifie hys ordinaunces. But whẽ that could in no wiſe be obtayned at the Popes handes: then the king beyng ſtopped and fruſtrate of hys purpoſe by reaſon of Beckets Apoſtolike legacie (being legatus a Latere) thought good to ſend vp to the pope and ſo dyd: to obtayne of hym that the ſame authoritie,

Ex Roger Houed. pri. parte hiſtoria continuata poſt Bedam.

toritie of the Apoſtolike Legacy might be conferd to an other after his appointment, which was the Archbiſhop of Yorke. But the pope denied. Notwithſtanding at the requeſt of the kings Clergy, the Pope was content that the king ſhould be Legate hymſelfe: whereat the kyng tooke great indignation (as Houeden writeth) ſo that he ſent the Pope hys letters agayne. Here the Pope was perplexed on both ſides.

The kinge to be the Popes Legate.

If he ſhould haue denied the kyng, that was to hote for him. For the Pope vſeth always to hold in with kings howſoeuer the world ſpeedeth. Agayne, if he ſhould haue forſaken ſuch a churchly chaplen (the cauſe being ſo ſweete, and ſo gainefull) that ſhould haue bene agaynſt himſelfe: what did he thẽ? Here now commeth in the old practiſe of popiſh prelacy, to play with both hands: priuily he cõſpireth with the one, and openly diſſembleth with the other. Firſt, he granted to the kings ambaſſadors their requeſt, to haue the Legate remoued, and to place in that office the Archbiſhop of Yorke, after his owne contentation, and yet notwithſtanding (to tender the cauſe of Tho. Becket) he addeth this promiſe withall, that the ſayd Becket ſhould receiue no harme or damage therby. Thus the Pope craftily conueying the matter betwene them both (glad to further the Archbiſhop for his owne aduantage, and yet lothe to deny the king for diſpleaſure) writeth to the king openly, and alſo ſecretly directeth another letter to Becket: the contents wherof here follow.

The crafty diſſimulation of the Pope.

Alexander the Pope, to Thomas Archb. of Caunterbury.

The popes ſecret letters to Becket.

Although we condeſcending to the kings requeſt, haue graũted the gifte of our legacie after his minde from you, yet let not your minde therby be diſcomforted, nor brought into ſighes of diſpaire. For before that we had graunted that, or gaue oure conſent thereunto: the kings ambaſſadours firmely promiſed in the word of trueth (ready alſo to be ſworne vpon the ſame, if I would haue ſo required) that their letters alſo, which he had obtained, ſhould not be deliuered to the Archbiſhop of York, without our knowledge and conſent therein. This is certaine, and ſo perſwade your ſelf boldly without any ſcruple, doubt or miſtruſt, that it was neuer my minde or purpoſe, nor euer ſhalbe God willing, to ſubdue you or your Church vnder the obedience of any perſon, to be ſubiect ſaue onely to the Biſhop of Rome. And therfore we warne you and charge you, that if you ſhall perceiue the king to deliuer theſe foreſaide letters, which we truſt he will not attempt, without our knowledge to doe, forthwith by ſome truſtie meſſenger or by your letters, you will geue vs knowledge therof: wherby we may prouide vpõ the ſame, both for your perſon, your Churche, and alſo your citie committed to you, to be clerely exempt by our authoritie Apoſtolicall, from all power & iuriſdiction of any legacie.

Vpon theſe letters and ſuch other, as is ſayd before: Becket ſeemed to take all his boldneſſe to be ſo ſtoute and ſturdy againſt his Prince as he was. The Pope (beſide theſe) ſent ſecretly this Chaplaine of hys, and directed an other letter alſo vnto the king: granting and permitting at his requeſt, to make the Archbiſhop of Yorke Legate Apoſtolicall.

The king (after he had receiued his letters ſent from the Pope) beganne to put more ſtrength to his purpoſed proceedings againſt the Archbiſhop: firſt beginning wyth the inferiors of the clergy, ſuch as were offenders agaynſt his lawes, as fellons, robbers, quarellers, breakers of peace, and eſpecially ſuch as had committed homicide and murders, wherof more then an hundred at that time were prooued vpon the clergy (as witneſſeth Guliel. Neuburgẽſis, in his booke de geſtis Anglorum, lib. 2. cap. 16) vrging and cõſtraining them to be arreigned after the order of the lawe temporall, and iuſtice to be miniſtred to them according to their deſerts: as firſt to be depriued, and ſo to be committed to the ſecular hands. This ſeemed to Becket to derogate frõ the liberties of holy church, that the ſecular power ſhould paſſe in cauſes criminall, or ſit in iudgemẽt againſt any eccleſiaſticall perſon. This law, the roiſters (then of the clergy) had picked and forged out of Anacletus & Euariſtus by whoſe falſly alleaged and pretenſed authoritie, they haue deduced this their conſtitution from the Apoſtles, which geueth immunity to all eccleſiaſticall perſons to be free from ſecular iuriſdiction. Becket therfore like a valiãt champion (fighting for his liberties, and hauing the Pope on his ſide) would not permit his clerkes infamed, otherwiſe to be conuẽted, then before eccleſiaſtical iudges, there to be examined & depriued for their exceſſe, and no ſeculare iudge to proceede againſt them. So that after their depriuation, if they ſhould incurre the like offence agayne, then the temporall iudge to take hold vpõ them, otherwiſe not. This obſtinate and ſtubburne rebellion of the Archb. ſtirred vp much anger and vexation in their king, & not only in him, but alſo in the nobles and in al the biſhops (for the greater part) that almoſt he was alone a wonderment to all the realme.

More then an C. murthers done by the clergye.

Guliel. Neuburg. lib. 2. ca. 16.

The Kings wrath daily increaſed more and more againſt him (as no meruaile was) and cauſed him to be cited vp to appeare by a certaine day at the town of Northhampton, there to make anſwer to ſuch things as ſhould be layd to his charge. So when the day was come (all the Pieres and nobles, with the prelates of the Realme vpon the kings proclamation beyng aſſembled in the Caſtle of Northhampton) great fault was found with the Archb. for that he (perſonally cited to appeare) came not hymſelf, but ſent another for him. The cauſe why he came not, Houeden aſſigneth to be this: for that the king had placed his horſe and horſemen in the Archb. lodging (whiche was a houſe there of Chanons) wherwith he being offended, ſent word agayne that he would not appeare, vnleſſe hys lodgyng were voyded of the kynges horſemen, &c. Wherupon (by the publike ſentence as well of all the Nobles, as of the biſhops) all his moueables were adiudged to be confiſcate for the kyng, vnleſſe the kyngs clemency would remit the penaltie. The ſtubburne Archbiſhop agayne (for his part) quarellyng agaynſt the order & forme of the iudgement, complayneth: alleagyng for himſelf (ſeyng he is their Primate and ſpirituall father not onely of all other in the realme, but alſo of the king hymſelfe) not to be conuenient, the father ſo to be iudged of his children, nor the paſtor of his flocke ſo to be condẽned: ſaying moreouer that the ages to come ſhould know what iudgement was done, &c. But eſpecially he complaineth of his fellow biſhops (when they ſhould rather haue taken his part) ſo to ſit in iudgement againſt their Metropolitane, and this was the firſt dayes action.

Becket cited to Northampton.

The Archbiſh. condemned in the Councell of Northapmtõ, in the loſſe of all hys moueables.

The next day following, the king layd an actiõ againſt him in the behalfe of one that was his Marſhall (called Iohn) for certaine iniury done to hym, and required of the ſaid Archb. the repaying agayne of certayne money, which he (as is ſayd) had lent vnto him being Chauncellor, the ſumme wherof came to 500. markes. This mony ẏ Archb. denyed not but he had receiued of the kyng, howbeit (by the way and title of gift as he tooke it) though hee coulde bring no probation thereof. Wherupon, the king required him to put in aſſuraunce for the payment therof: whereat the Archbiſh. makyng delayes (not well contented at the matter) was ſo cald vpon, that either he ſhould be countable to the kyng for the mony, or els he ſhould incur preſent daunger, the king beyng ſo bent againſt hym. The Archbiſhop being brought to ſuch a ſtraite (and deſtitute of his owne ſuffragans) could here by no meanes haue eſcaped, had not v. perſons of their owne accord ſtepped in, beyng bound for him, euery man for one C. markes a piece. And this was vpon the ſecond day concluded.

Becket required to geue an accompt.

The morrow after (which was the third day of the councell) as the Archb. was ſitting below in a certain cõclaue with his fellow biſhops about him conſulting together (the dores faſt locked to them, as the king had willed & commaunded) it was propounded vnto him in the behalfe of the king, that he had had diuers biſhoprikes & Abbarikes in his hand which were vacant (with the fruites and reuenues therof due vnto the king for certaine yeres) whereof he had rendred as yet no accompt to the kyng: wherfore it was demaunded of him to bring in a full and a cleare reckoning of the ſame. This (with other ſuch lyke) declared to all the councel great diſpleaſure to be in ẏ king and no leſſe danger toward the Archbiſhop.

The aduiſe of the biſhops for Thomas Becket.

Thus while the biſhops and prelates were in councell, (aduiſing and deliberating what was to bee done) at length it came to voyces, euery man to ſay his mynd, and to geue ſentence what were the beſt way for their Archb. to take. Firſt began Henry biſhop of Wincheſter, who thẽ tooke part with Becket ſo much as he durſt for feare of the king, who ſayd, he remembred that the ſayd Archb (firſt beyng Archdeacon, and then Lord Chancellor, at what time as he was promoted to the church of Caunterbury) was diſcharged from all bandes and reckonings of the temporall court, as all the other biſhops could not but beare record to the ſame.

The verdite of Wincheſter.

Next ſpake Gilbert biſhop of London, exhortyng and motioning the Archbiſhop that he ſhould cal with himſelf to mynde, from whence the kyng tooke hym, and ſet hym vp, what and how great things he had done for him, alſo

The counſell of the Byſhop of London.

Canterbury.

Wincheſter.

that he ſhould conſider with himſelfe the dangers and perils of the tyme, and what ruine he might bring vpon the whole church (and vpon them all there preſent) if he reſiſted the kings mynde in the things he required. And if it were to render vp his Archbiſhoprike (although it were x. tymes better then it is) yet he ſhould not ſticke with the kyng in the matter. In ſo doing it might happen, the kyng ſeyng that ſubmiſſion and humilitie in him, would releaſe him peraduenture of all the reſt. To this the Archbiſhop aunſwering, well, well (ſayth he) I perceiue wel inough my Lord, whether you tend, & where about you go. Then ſpake Wincheſter, inferring vpon the ſame. This forme of councell (ſayth he) ſeemeth to me very pernicious to the Catholike Church, tending to our ſubuerſion, and to the confuſion of vs all. For if our Archbiſhop and Primate of all England do leane to this example, that euery Byſhop ſhould geue ouer his authoritie and the charge of the flock committed to him, at commaundement & threatning of the prince: to what ſtate ſhall the Church be brought thē, but that all ſhould be confounded at his pleaſure and arbitrement, and nothing to ſtand certaine by any order of lawe, and ſo as the prieſt is, ſo ſhall the people be?

Chicheſter.

Moderate counſell.

Hilarie the biſhop of Chicheſter replieth again to this ſaying: If it were not, that the inſtance and the great perturbation of tyme did otherwiſe require and force vs, I would thinke this counſail here geuen were good to be folowed. But now ſeing the authoritie of our canon fayleth, & cannot ſerue vs, I iudge it not beſt to go ſo ſtraightly to worke, but ſo to moderate our proceedings, that diſpenſation with ſuffrance may win that which ſeuere correction may deſtroy. Wherfore my counſaile and reaſon is, to geue place to the kings purpoſe for a tyme, leaſt (by ouer haſtie proceeding, we excede ſo farre) that both it may redounde to our ſhame, & alſo cannot rid our ſelues out again when we would.

Lincolne.

Much to the ſame end ſpake Robert the biſhop of Lincoln after this maner: Seing (ſayth he) it is manifeſt that the lyfe and bloud of this man is ſought, one of theſe two muſt needes be choſen: that eyther he muſt part with hys Archbiſhoprike, or els with his lyfe. Now what profite he ſhall take in this matter of his Biſhoprike, his life being loſt, I do not greatly ſee.

Exceter.

Next followed Bartlemew biſhop of Exceter, with his aduiſe, who (inclining his counſaile to the ſtate of tyme) confirmed their ſayings before, affirmyng how the dayes were euill and perillous. And if they might ſo eſcape that violence of that raging tempeſt vnder the couer of bearing and relenting, it were not to be refuſed. But that he ſayd could not be, except ſtraight ſeueritie ſhould geue place to tractabilitie, and ſo the inſtance and condition of tyme then preſent, required no leſſe, eſpecially ſeyng that perſecution was not generall, but perſonall and perticular, & thought it more holy and conuenient, one head to run in ſome part of danger, then the whole church of England to be ſubiect and expoſed to inconuenience ineuitable.

The anſwer of Roger biſhop of Worceſter was deuided in a double ſuſpence, neither affirming the one, nor denying the other, whoſe ſaying was this: that he would geue no anſwer on neither part. For if I (ſaith he) ſhal ſay that the paſtorall function & cure of ſoules, ought to be relinquiſhed at the kings will or threatning, then my mouth ſhall ſpeake againſt my conſcience to the condemnation of myne owne head. And if I ſhal geue againe contrary coūſail to reſiſt the kings ſentence, here be they that will heare it, and report it to his grace, and ſo I ſhall be in danger to be thruſt out of the ſinagoge, and for my part to be accōpted amōgſt the publike rebels (with them to be condemned) wherfore neither do I ſay this, nor counſaile that.

Worceſter.

Becket the Archbiſhop replyeth agaynſt the Byſhops.

And this was the conſultation of the Biſhops in that place, aſſembled together by the kings commaundement. Againſt theſe voyces & cenſures of the biſhops Becket the Archbiſhop replyeth agayne, expoſtulatyng and checking them with rebukefull wordes. I perceiue (ſayth he) and vnderſtand ye go about to maintaine and cheriſh but your owne cowardnes, vnder the colorable ſhadow of ſuffrāce: and vnder pretence of diſſembling ſoftnes, to choke the liberty of Chriſtes church. Who hath thus bewitched you, O vnſatiable biſhops? What meane ye? Why do ye ſo vnder the impudent title of forbearing, beare a double heart, and cloke your manifeſt iniquitie? What call ye this bearing to tyme, the detriment of the Church of Chriſt? Let termes ſerue the matter, why peruert you the matter that is good, with vocables & termes vntrue? For that ye ſay we muſt beare with the malice of tyme, I graunt with you, but yet we muſt not heape ſinne to ſinne. Is not God able to help the ſtate and condition of his church, but with the ſinnefull diſſimulatiō of the teachers, of the church? Certes God is diſpoſed to tempt you. And tell me (I pray you) whether ſhould the gouernors of the church put themſelues to dāgers for the church in time of tranquillitie, or in tyme of diſtreſſe? Ye will be aſhamed to deny the contrary but in diſtreſſe. And now then (the church lying in ſo great diſtreſſe and vexation) why ſhould not the good paſtor put himſelfe into perill therfore? For neither do I thinke it a greater act or merite for the auncient biſhops of the olde tyme, to lay the foundation of the church then (with their bloud) then now for vs to ſhed our bloud for the liberties of the ſame. And to tel you plain, I thinke it not ſafe for you to ſwarue from an example, which you haue receiued of your holy elders. After theſe things were ſpoken, they ſate all in ſilence a certayne ſpace, beyng locked in together. At length (to find a ſhift to cauſe the dore to be opened) I will ſayth the Archbiſhop ſpeake with two Earles which are about the kyng, and named them whome they were. Which (beyng called) opened the dore and came in with haſt, thinking to heare ſome thyng which ſhould appeaſe the kyngs mynd. To whom the Archbiſhop ſpake in this maner: As touching and concerning the matters betwene the king & vs, we haue here conferred together. And for as much as we haue them not preſent with vs now, which know more in the matter then we do (whoſe aduiſe we would be glad alſo to followe) therefore we craue ſo much reſpite as to the next day followyng, and then to geue vp our anſwer vnto the king. With this meſſage two biſhops were ſent to the kyng, which was the biſhop of London, and the biſhop of Rocheſter.

A great diſtreſſe growen in the church, becauſe tha Byſhops may not be aboue kings and princes.

London (to helpe the matter, and to ſet quietneſſe as I take it, addyng ſomethyng more to the meſſage) ſayd to the king, that the Archb. craued a litle delay of tyme to prepare ſuch writings and inſtruments, wherin he ſhould ſet forth and declare his mynd, in accompliſhing the kings deſire, &c. Wherfore, two barons were ſent to hym from the king to graunt him that reſpite or ſtay, ſo that he would ratifie that which the meſſengers had ſignified to the kyng. To the which the Archb. aunſwereth, that he ſent no ſuch meſſage as was intimate in his name: but only, that the next day he would come and geue aunſwer to the king, in that which he had to ſay. And ſo the conuocation of the biſhops was diſſolued, and diſmiſſed home: ſo that the moſt part of them that came with the Archb. and accompanied hym before, (for feare of the kings diſpleaſure) ſeuered thēſelues from him. The Archb. thus forſaken and deſtitute (as hys ſtory ſayth) ſent about for the poore, the lame, and the halt, to come in and furniſh his houſe, ſaying, that by them he might ſooner obtaine his victory, than by the other which had ſo ſlipt from him.

Becket deſtitute and forſaken.

On the next day following, becauſe it was ſonday, nothing was done. So the day after (which was the ſecond fery) the Archbiſhop was cited to appeare. But the nyght before (beyng taken with a diſeaſe called paſſio iliaca, the colicke) all that day he kept his bed, and was not able, as he ſayd, to ryſe. Euery man ſuppoſing this to be but a fayned ſickenes, as it ſemed no leſſe, certayne of the chiefe Nobles were ſent to try the matter, and to cite hym to the Court: namely, Rob. erle of Leiceſter, and Reginald Erle of Deuonſhire. To whom the Archb. anſwered, that as that day he was ſo diſeaſed that he could not come, yea though he were brought in an horſelitter. So that day paſſed ouer. The morow after certayne that were about hym, fearyng no leſſe, but that ſome danger would happen to him, gaue him counſaile in the morning to haue a maſſe in the honor of the holy Martyr S. Steuen, to keepe him from ý hands of his enemies that day. When the morrow was come (beyng Tueſday) there came to hym the Biſhops & Prelates, counſailyng and perſwadyng hym couertly by inſinuation (for apertly they durſt not) that he would ſubmit hymſelfe with all hys goodes (as alſo his Archbiſhoprike) to the wyll of the kyng, if peraduenture his indignation by that meanes myght ſwage. Adding moreouer, that vnleſſe he would ſo do, periury would be layd agaynſt hym: for that he beyng vnder the othe of fidelitie to keepe the kyngs lawes and ordinaunces, now would not obſerue them. To this, Becketh the Archbiſhop anſwereth again: Brethren ye ſee and perceyue well how the world is ſet agaynſt me, and how the enemy riſeth and ſeeketh my confuſion. And although theſe things be dolorous and lamentable, yet the thing that grieueth me moſt of all, is this: the ſonnes of mine owne mother be pricks & thornes agaynſt me. And albeit I do holde my peace, yet the poſteritie to come will know and report how cowardly you haue turned your backs, and haue left me your Archbiſhop & Metropolitane alone in this conflict. And how you haue ſittē in iudgemēt againſt me (although vnguilty of crime) now ij. dayes together, and not that only in the ciuil & ſpirituall court,

Becket taken with ſickenes when he ſhould appeale.

A maſſe of S. Steuen to ſaue hym from hys enemies.

Beckets anſwere to the Biſhops.

court, but alſo in the temporal court ready to doe the ſame. But in generall this I charge and command (by the vertue of pure obedience, and in peril of your order) that ye be preſent perſonally in iudgement againſt me. And that yee ſhal not faile ſo to do, I here appeale to our mother (the refuge of all ſuch as be oppreſſed) the church of Rome: and if any ſecular men ſhall lay hands vpon me (as it is rumord they will) I ſtraightly enioyne and charge you in the ſame vertue of obedience, that you exerciſe your cẽſure eccleſiaſtical vpon them, as it becommeth you to doe for a father & an Archbiſhop. And this I doe you to vnderſtande: that though the world rage, & the enemy be fierce, and the body trembleth (for the fleſh is weake) yet God ſo fauoring me, I will neither cowardly ſhrinke, nor vily forſake my flock committed to my charge, &c.

Becket appealeth to Rome.

But the biſhop of London, contrary to this commandement of the archbiſhop: did incõtinent appeale frõ him. And thus the biſhops departed from him to the court, ſaue only two (Henry Wincheſter and Ioceline of Saliſburie, who returned with him ſecretly to his chamber and comforted him. This done, the Archbiſhop (which yeſterday was ſo ſore ſick that he could not ſtirre out of his bed) now addreſſeth him to his maſſe of S. Steuen with all ſolemnity, as though it had bene an hie feſtiual day, with his Metropolitane Pall, which was not vſed but vpon the holy day to be worne, &c. The office of his maſſe began, Sederunt principes, & aduerſum me loquebantur: that is, Princes ſate and ſpake againſt me, &c. (the kings ſeruauntes being alſo there and beholding the matter). For this maſſe, Gilbert biſhop of London accuſed Becket afterward, both for that it was done per artem magicam, & in cõtemptum regis (as the wordes of Houeden purport) that is, both by arte, magike, and in contempt of the king, &c.

London appealeth from the Archbiſh.

A maſſe to charme away perſecutors.

The maſſe being ended, the Archbyſhop (putting of his pall, his miter and other robes) proceedeth to the kings Court: but yet not truſting peraduenture ſo greatly to the ſtrength of his maſſe (to make the matter more ſure) he taketh alſo the ſacrament priuily about him, thinking thereby himſelfe ſufficiently defenced againſt al bugs. In going to the kings chamber (there to attend yͤ kings comming) as he was entring the dore, he taketh from Alexander his croſier, the croſſe with the croſſeſtaffe, in the ſight of al that ſtode by, and carieth it in himſelfe (the other Biſhops following him & ſaying) he did otherwiſe then became him. Amongſt other Robert biſhop of Hereford offred himſelfe to beare his croſſe rather then he ſhoulde ſo doe, for that it was not comely: but the Archbiſh. woulde not ſuffer him. Then ſayde the biſhop of London to him: if the king ſhall ſee you come armed into his chamber, perchaunce hee will drawe out his ſworde againſt you, which is ſtronger then yours: and then, what ſhal this your armour profite you? The Archb. aunſwereth againe: if the kings ſworde do cut carnally, yet my ſword cutteth ſpiritually, & ſtriketh down to hell. But you my lord as you haue plaid the foole in this matter, ſo you will not yet leaue of your folly for any thing I can ſee: and ſo he came into the chamber. The king hearing of his comming and of the maner thereof, taryed not long but came where Becket was ſet in a place by himſelf, with his other Biſhops about him. Firſt, the crier called the prelates and all the lordes of the temporaltie together. That being done, (and euery one placed in his ſeate, according to his degree) the king beginneth with a great complaint againſt the Archb. for his maner of entring into the court: not as (ſayeth he) a ſubiect into a kings court: but as a traitor, ſhewing himſelf in ſuch ſort, as hath not ben ſene before in any chriſten kings court, profeſſing chriſtiã faith. To this, all (there preſent) gaue witnes with the king, affirming him alwaies to be a vain & a proud man, and that yͤ ſhame of his fact did not only redound againſt the prince himſelf, but alſo againſt his whole realme. Moreouer they ſayde that this had ſo happened to the king, for that he had done ſo much for ſuch a beaſt, aduauncing him ſo highly in ſuch a place and roume next vnder himſelf. And ſo altogether with one crie called him traitor on euery ſide, as one that refuſed to geue terrene honour to the king, in keeping (as he had ſworne) his lawes and ordinaunces: at whoſe handes alſo he had receiued ſuch honour and great preferments: and therefore was well worthy (ſayde they) to be hãdled like a periured traitor and rebell. Wherupon, great doubt and feare was what ſhould befall vpon hym. The Archb. of Yorke comming downe to his men ſaid, he could not abide to ſee what the archb. of Cant. was like to ſuffer. Likewiſe, the Tipſtaues and other miniſters of the aſſemblie comming downe with an outcrie againſt him, croſſed them to ſee his hauty ſtubburnneſſe, and the buſines there was about him. Certaine there were of his diſciples ſitting at his feete, comforting him ſoftly, and bidding him to lay his curſe vppon them. Other (contrary) bidding him not to curſe, but to pray and to forgeue them, and if he loſt his life in the quarell of the church and the liberty therof, he ſhould be happy. Afterwarde, one of them named Ioannes Stephani, deſired to ſpeake ſomething in his eare, but could not be ſuffred by the kings Marſhal, who forbade, that no man ſhould haue any talke with him. Then he (becauſe he could not otherwiſe ſpeake to him) wrought by ſigns, making a croſſe, and looking vp with his eies & wagging hys lips, meaning that he ſhoulde pray, and manfully to ſtand to the croſſe. In the meane time commeth to him Bartlemew B. of Exceter: deſiring him to haue regard and compaſſion of himſelf, and alſo of them, or els they were all like to periſh for the hatred of him: for there commeth out (ſaith he) a precept from the king that he ſhalbe taken, & ſuffer for an open rebel, that heereafter taketh your part. It is ſayde moreouer, that Iocelinus B. of Saliſburie, and William B. of Norwich, are to be had to the place of execution for their reſiſting and making interceſſion for the B. of Canterbury. When he had thus ſaide, the Archbyſhop (looking vppon the ſayde Biſhop of Exceter) auoide hence from me (ſayth he) thou vnderſtandeſt not, neither doeſt ſauor thoſe things that be of God.

Becket caryeth with hym the ſacrament going to the king.

Houeden referreth not this ſaiing to the Biſhop of London, but to the Archbiſhop of Yorke.

Becket called traytor of the king and of all hys nobles.

A bliode zeale for the proud liberties of the Church.

Who ſo taketh Beckets part is counted a rebell.

The Byſhop and Prelates then going aſide by themſelues from the other nobles (the king ſo permitting them to do) tooke cõſel together what was to be done. Here the matter ſtoode in a doubtful perplexitie, for either muſt they incur the daungerous indignation of the king, or els with yͤ Nobles they muſt procede in condemnation againſt the archbiſhop for reſiſting the kings ſanctions: which thing neither, they themſelues did fauor. In this ſtraight neceſſitie (they deuiſing what way to take) at length agreed vpon this: that they with a common aſſent ſhoulde cite the Archb. to the ſea of Rome vppon periurie. And that they ſhould oblige and bind themſelues to the king with a ſure promiſe, to work their diligence in depoſing the Archbiſh. (vpon this condition) that the King ſhould promiſe their ſafetie, & diſcharge them from the peril of that iudgement, which was toward them. So all the biſhops obliging thẽſelues thus to the king, went forth to the Archbiſhop: of whom, one ſpeaking for the reſt (which was Hillarie Biſhop of Chicheſter) had theſe wordes: Once you haue bene our Archbiſhop, and ſo long we were bound to your obedience: but nowe for aſmuch as you (once ſwearing your fidelitie to the king) do reſiſt him: neglecting his iniunctions and ordinaunces concerning and appertaining to his terrene honor and dignitie: we here pronounce you periured, neither be we bounde to geue obedience to an Archbiſhop thus being periured. But putting our ſelues and all ours in the popes protectiõ, do cite you vp to his preſence. And vpon the ſame, aſſigned him his day and time to appeare. The Archbiſhop aunſwering againe, ſaid: he heard him wel inough. And vpon this ſendeth vp to Rome in al haſt to yͤ pope, ſignifying to him by letters the whole matter, how and wherefore, and by whome he was cited. To whom the Pope directed againe his letters of comfort (as he had done diuers before) the copie whereof here inſueth.

Becket cited to Rome vpon periury by the Byſhops.

Becket condemned of periurie.

Becket cited to Rome.

Alexander Pope, to Thomas Archb. of Canterburie.

YOur brotherly letters which you directed to vs, & ſuch other matters which your meſſenger by word of mouth hath ſignified vnto vs, we haue diligently heard the reading therof: & therby fully vnderſtand the grieuous vexations and dolorous griefes wherewith your minde is daily encombred: by reaſon wherof, we hearing and vnderſtanding, are not a litle diſquieted in our ſpirit for your ſake: in whoſe proſperities we do both gladly reioyce, & no leſſe do ſorrow in your aduerſities as for our moſt deare brother. You therefore (as a conſtant and wiſe man) remember wyth your ſelfe that which is written: The Apoſtles departed away (reioyſing) from the face of the Councel. &c. With like pacience doe you alſo ſuſtaine that mans moleſtations, and let not your ſpirite be troubled therein more then needeth, but receaue in your ſelfe conſolation: that we alſo together with you, may be comforted in the Lord, who hath preſerued you to the corroboration of his Catholike and Chriſten veritie, in this diſtreſſe of neceſsitie: and from whome alſo it hath pleaſed him to wipe away the blotte of ſuch things which haue bene vnorderly of you cõmitted, & heere to puniſh the ſame through ſundrie afflictions: whereby (in the ſtrait iudgement of God) they might not be called to accoũt hereafter. But hencefoorth let not this much grieue you: neither let your hart be ſo deiect or timerous in the matter (for that you are cited vp to the Apoſtolike ſea) which to vs is both gratefull and accepted. And this we wil you, that if they which haue cited you ſhall chaunce to come: draw not you backe, but folow the appele (if ye pleaſe) and ſpare not (all doubt and delay ſet aparte) for the authoritie of the Church tendring this your conſtancie, may not do that which may put you either in feare, or doubt. But our diligence ſhalbe withall labour and ſtudie, to conſerue the right and preheminence (God willing) of that Church committed to you, ſo muche as in vs lieth (ſauing our iuſtice and equitie) as to one whom in working for the Church, we finde to be both a conſtant and a valiant champion. Further, this I brotherly require you, to repaire vnto the Church of Canterburie: and reteining but a fewe Clerkes about you (ſuch onely as ſerue your neceſſitie) make no excurſes out (as litle as you can) in that countrey: but in this eſpecially I thought to premoniſh you (that in no caſe) neither for fear or any aduerſitie, whatſoeuer may happen: yee be brought to renounce and geue vp the right and dignity of your Church. Written at Sene the vij. before the Kalendes of Nouember.

Becket called to a full accompt.

Ex Rogero Houedeno.

Becket iudged to be layd in priſon.

Ex quadripartita hiſtoria. lib.1 cap.38.

Becket appealeth to the Pope.

Becket thinketh not ſufficient the protection of God without the pope.

As the Archbyſhop was thus cited vp to Rome (ſitting with his croſſe waiting in the Court, neither geuing place to the kings requeſt, nor abaſhed with the clamor of the whole court againſt him calling him traitour on euery ſide, neither following the aduertiſement of his fellow Biſhops) at length the king by certaine Earles and Barons ſent commaundement to him, (Robert Earl of Leceſter doing the meſſage) that he ſhould without delay come & render a full accompt of all things that he had receiued, as the profites and reuenues of the Realme, in the time he was Chauncelor: and eſpecially for the 30000. Markes, for the which he was accõptable to the king. To whom the archbiſhop aunſwereth againe: the king knew, how oft he had made his reckening of thoſe things which nowe were required of him. Farther and beſides, Henry his ſonne and heire of his realme, with all his Barons, and alſo Richard Lucie chief Iuſtice of England, told him: that he was free and quit to God and to holy Church, from al receipts and computations, and from al ſecular exactions on the kings behalfe. And ſo he taking thus his diſcharge at their hãds, entred into his office, and therefore other accompt beſides this he would make none. When this word was brought to the king, he required his Barons to do the law vppon him. Who ſo doing, iudged him to be apprehended, & laide in priſon. This done, the king ſendeth to him Reignalde Earle of Cornewall & Deuonſhire, and Robert Earle of Leyceſter, to declare to him what was his iudgement. To whom the Archbyſhop anſwereth: heare (my ſonne & good Earl) what I ſay vnto you: how much more precious the ſoule is more then the body, ſo much more ought you to obey me in the lord, rather then your terrene king. Neither doth any law or reaſon permit the children to iudge or cõdemne their father. Wherfore, to auoid both the iudgement of the king, of you, and all other: I put my ſelfe only to the arbitrement of the Pope, vnder God alone to be iudged of him, and of no other. To whoſe preſence heere before you all, I doe appeale: committing the ordering of the Church of Cant. (my dignitie, with all other things appertaining to the ſame) vnder the protection of God and him. And as for you my brethren & fellow Byſhops (which rather obey man, then god) you alſo I call and cite to the audience and iudgement of the pope, and depart hence forth from you, as from the enemies of the Catholike Church, and of the authoritie of Apoſtolike ſee.

Becket flyeth out of the court.

Becket chaungeth his name, and is called Derman.

Hiſtories differ ſomething in the order of hys flight.

While the Barons returned with this aunſwere to the king, the Archbiſhop paſſing through the throng, taketh to him his Palfrey (holding his Croſſe in one hande, and his bridle in yͤ other) the courtiers following after and crying: traytor, traytor, tary & heare thy iudgement. But he paſſed on till he came to the vttermoſt gate of the Courte, which being faſt locked there had ben ſtaid, had not one of his ſeruants, called Peter (ſurnamed Demunctorio) finding ther a bunche of keyes hanging by: firſt prooued one key, then an other (till at laſt finding the true key) had opened the gate, and let him out. The archbiſhop went ſtraight to the houſe of Chanons, where hee did lie, calling vnto hym the poore, where they could be found. When ſupper was done, making as though he would go to bed (which he cauſed to be made betwixt two altares) priuely while the king was at ſupper, prepareth his iorny ſecretly to eſcape away: and chaunging his garment and his name (being called Derman) firſt went to Lincolne, from thence to Sandwiche, where he tooke ſhip, and ſailed into Flaunders: and from thence iourneyed to Fraunce, as Houedenus ſayth. All be it Alanus differing ſomething in the order of his flight, ſayth: that he departed not that night, but at ſupper time came to him the biſhop of London, & Chicheſter (declaring to him) that if he would ſurrender vp to the king his two maners of Otforde & Wyngecham, there were hope to recouer the kings fauour, & to haue all remitted. But when the Archbiſhop would not agree therunto (foraſmuch as thoſe maners were belonging to the Churche of Canterburie) the king hearing thereof, great diſpleaſure was taken: In ſo much that the next day, Becket was faine to ſende to the king two biſhops and his chaplein, for leaue to depart the realme. To the which meſſage the king anſwered, that he would take a pauſe therof til the next day, & then he ſhould haue an anſwere. But Becket not tarying his anſwere, the ſame day conueied himſelfe away ſecretely (as is aforeſayde) to Ludouicus the French king. But before he came to the king, Gilbert the biſhop of London, & William the earle of Arundel (ſent frõ the king of England to Fraunce) preuented him: requiring of the ſaid French king (in yͤ behalf of the king of England) that he would not receiue nor retaine in his dominion the archb. of Canterbury. Moreouer (that at his inſtance) he wold be a meanes to yͤ pope, not to ſhewe any familiaritie vnto him. But the King of England in this point ſemed to haue more confidence in yͤ French king, then knowledge of his diſpoſition. For thinking that the French king would haue bene a good neighbour to him (in truſting him to much) he was deceiued. Neither conſidered he to himſelfe inough the maner & nature of the Frenchmen, at that tyme agaynſt the realme of England: who then were glad to ſeeke and take all maner of occaſions to doe ſome act agaynſt England.

The French king ſupporteth Becket agaynſt the king of England.

Ambaſſadours ſent to the pope.

And therefore Ludouicke the French king, vnderſtanding the matter: & thinking (percaſe) therby to haue ſome vauntage againſt the king, and realme of England, by the occaſion hereof: contrary to the kings letters and requeſt: not onely harboreth and cheriſheth this Derman: but alſo (writing to the pope by his Almener and brother) entreateth him (vpon al loues, as euer he would haue his fauor) to tender the cauſe of the Archbiſhop Becket. Thus the kinges Ambaſſadours repulſed of the French king, returned, at what tyme he ſent an other ambaſſage (vpõ the like cauſe) to Alexander the pope thẽ being at Sene in France. The Ambaſſadours ſẽt in this meſſage were Roger archbiſhop of Yorke, Gilbert biſhop of London, Henry Biſh. of Wincheſter, Hilary Biſh. of Chicheſter, Bartholomew byſhop of Exceter, with other doctors & clerkes: alſo William Earle of Arundell, with certayne moe Lordes & Barons. Who comming to the popes court, were friendly accepted of certayne of the Cardinals: amongſt yͤ which cardinals, roſe alſo diſſention about the ſame cauſe: ſome iudgyng the Biſhop of Canterbury, in yͤ defence of the liberties of the Church (as in a good cauſe) to be mayntayned: Some thinking agayn, that he (being a perturber of peace and vnitie) was rather to be bridled for hys preſumption, then to be foſtered & incouraged therein. But the P. partly bearing with his cauſe (which onely tended to his exaltation and magnificence) partly again incenſed with the letters of the French king: did wholy incline to Becket as no maruell was. Wherfore (yͤ next day folowing) the pope ſitting in conſiſtory with his Cardinals, the ambaſſadours were called for, to the hearing of Beckets matter: and firſt beginneth the biſhop of London: next, the Archbiſhop of Yorke: then Exceter: and the other Biſhops, euery one in their order to ſpeake. Whoſe orations being not well accepted of the Pope, and ſome of them alſo diſdayned: the Earle of Arundel perceauing that (and ſomewhat to qualifie and temper the matter to the Popes eares) began after this maner.

The oration of the earle of Arundel to the pope.

ALthough to me it is vnknowen (ſayth he) which am both vnlettered and ignorant, what is that theſe Byſhops heere haue ſayde, neither am I in that toung ſo able to expreſſe my minde as they haue done: yet being ſent and charged thereunto of my Prince, neither can nor ought I but to declare (as well as I may) what the cauſe is of our ſending hether. Not (truely) to contende or ſtriue with any perſon, nor to offer any iniurie or harme vnto any man (eſpecially in this place) and in the preſence here of ſuch a one, vnto whoſe becke and authoritie all the world doth ſtoupe and yeelde. But for this intent is our legacie hether directed, to preſent here before you, and in the preſence of the whole church of Rome, the deuotion and loue of our king and maiſter, which euer he hath had, and yet hath ſtill toward you. And that the ſame might the better appeare to your excellencie: he hath aſſigned & appointed to the furniture of this legacie, not the leaſt, but the greateſt: not the worſt but the beſt and chiefeſt of al his ſubiects: both Archbiſhops, Biſhops, Earles, Barons, with other potentates mo: of ſuch worthines and parentage, that if he could haue found greater in all his Realm, he would haue ſẽt thẽ, both for the reuerence of your perſon, and of the holy Church of Rome. Ouer and beſides this, I might adde to more (which your ſanctitude hath ſufficiently tried and proued already) the true and hartie fidelitie of this our king and ſoueraigne toward you Who (in his firſt entrance to his kingdome) wholy ſubmitted himſelfe, with all that is his beſides, to your will and pleaſure. And truely to teſtifie of his maieſtie howe hee is diſpoſed to the vnitie of the Catholike faith: we beleue there is none more faithful in Chriſt then he, nor more deuout to God, nor yet more moderate in keeping the vnitie of peace whereunto he is called. And as I may be bold this to proteſt for our king & maiſter: ſo neither do I denie the Archbiſhop of Caunterbury, to be a man deſtitute or vnfurniſhed with gifts and ornaments in his kinde of calling: but to be a man both ſage and diſcrete, in ſuch things as to him appertaineth: ſaue onely that he ſeemeth to ſome more quicke and ſharpe then needeth. This blotte alone if it were not, and that the breach betweene our king and him had not ſo happened: both the regiments together, (of the temporaltie & ſpiritualtie) might quietly haue flouriſhed one with the other in much peace and concorde: both vnder a prince ſo worthy, and a paſtor ſo vertuous. Wherfore (the caſe ſo ſtanding as it doeth) our meſſage hether, and our ſupplication to your vigilant prudence is, that (through your fauour & wiſedom) the necke of this diſſention may be broken: and that reformation of vnitie and loue (by ſome good meanes) may be ſought.

The Pope tendereth Beckets cauſe againſt the king.

¶ This oration of his, although it was liked of them for the ſoftneſſe and moderation therof: yet it could not ſo perſwade the Romiſh Biſhop to condeſcende to their ſute and requeſt. Which ſute was, to haue two legates or arbiters to be ſent from his Popiſh ſide into England, to examine and take vp the controuerſie betweene the king and the Archbyſhop. But the pope incenſed (as is ſayd before) would not graunt to their petition: forasmuch as it ſhuld be (ſayeth he) preiudiciall, and tending to the oppreſſion of the archbiſhop to graũt vnto it, he being not preſent. And therefore he willed them to tarrie his comming vp, otherwiſe (he being abſent) he would not (he ſayde in any caſe) procede againſt him. But they (alledging againe their time to be expired appointed them of the king, hauing beſides other lets and cauſes as they alledged) ſayd that they coulde not there waite for the comming of Becket: but retourned backe (their cauſe fruſtrated) without the Popes bleſſing to the king. Within iiij. daies after, Becket commeth to the Popes courte, where he proſtrating himſelſe at his feete, brought out of his boſome a ſcrolle conteining the cuſtomes and ordinances of the king, afore mentioned fol. 207. The Pope receiuing the foreſayd ſcrolle, and reading it in the open hearing of his Cardinals, condemned and curſed the moſt parte of the ſayde decrees of the King, which he called *conſuetudines auitas*, that is, hys grandfathers ordinaunces. Beſides this: the Pope moreouer blameth Becket, for that he ſo much yelded to them at the beginning, as he did: yet notwithſtanding (becauſe he was repentant for his vnaduiſed fact) he was content to abſoil him for the ſame, and the rather becauſe of his great troubles, which he for the liberties of holy church did ſuſteine: and ſo with great fauour for that day dimiſſed him.

Becket cõplayneth of the king to the pope.

Repentance for his well doyng.

The next day (Alexander the Pope aſſembling hys cardinals together in his ſecret chamber) appeareth before them archbyſhop Becket, hauing this oration to the pope and his popelings: which here I thought to ſet out in our vulgare Engliſh tongue (tranſlated out of Latine) to the entent that the poſteritie heereafter may vnderſtand, eyther the vaine ſuperſtition or vile ſlauery of the Churchmẽ in thoſe dayes: who (being not content with their owne naturall Prince and king geuen them of God) muſt ſeeke further to the Pope: thinking no eccleſiaſticall liuing to be geuen, which is not taken at his handes. The wordes of his Oration be ſtoried rightly thus.

¶ *The Oration of Becket, reſigning his Byſhopricke to the Pope.*

FAthers and Lordes, I ought not to lie in any place, much leſſe before God, and in your preſence here. Wherefore with much ſighing and ſorrowe of heart I graunt and confeſſe, that theſe perturbations of the Church of England, be raiſed through my miſerable fault. For I entred into the folde of Chriſt, but not by the dore of Chriſt: for that, not the canonical election did cal me lawfully thereunto, but terrour of publike power droue me in. And albeit I againſt my will tooke this burden vpon mee, yet not the will of God, but mannes pleaſure placed me in the rowme. And therefore no maruell though all things haue gone contrary and backward with me. And as for the reſigning vp againe thereof: if I had ſo done, & geuẽ vp to their hands, the priuiledge of my byſhoply authoritie which I had graunted to me at the commaundement of the king (ſo as my fellow Byſhoppes did inſtantly call vpon me to doe) then had I left a pernicious and daungerous example to the whole catholike Church. By reaſõ wherof, I thought to deferre that vnto your preſence. And now therefore (recogniſing with my ſelfe my ingreſſe not to be Canonicall, and therefore fearing it to haue the worſe end: and againe pondering my ſtrength and abilitie not to be ſufficient for ſuch a charge) leſt I ſhould be found to ſuſteine that roome to the ruine of the flock, to whome I was appointed a paſtor vnworthy: I render vp to your fatherly handes the Archbiſhopprike here of Canterburie, &c. And ſo putting of his ring from his finger, and offering it to the Pope: deſired a Byſhop for the Church of Caunterburie to be prouided: ſeeing he thought not himſelf meete to fulfil the ſame, and ſo (with teares, as the ſtorie ſayth) ended his oration.

Beckets argument: the Pope brought him not in, but the K. Ergo God brought him not in.

And why might ye not (M. Becket) reſigne it as well to his handes of whome ye tooke it?

This done, the Archbyſhop was bid to ſtande a parte. The Pope conferring vpon this with his Cardinals, about the reſignation of Becket what was beſt to be done: ſome thought it beſt to take the occaſion offered, thinking thereby the kinges wrathe might eaſely be ſwaged if the church of Cãterbury were aſſigned to ſome other perſon, and yet the ſayd Becket otherwiſe to be prouided for notwithſtanding. Cõtrary, other againe thought otherwiſe, whoſe reaſon was: If hee (which for the liberties of the church had ventred not onely his goodes, dignitie and authority, but alſo his life) ſhould now at the kings pleaſure be depriued: like as it might be a preſident heereafter to others in reſiſting their king in like ſort (if hys cauſe were maintained) ſo contrariwiſe if it quailed: it ſhoulde be an example to all other heereafter, none to reſiſt his Prince in the like caſe. And ſo, might it redounde not onely to the weakening of the ſtate of the Catholike Churche, but alſo to the derogation of the Popes authoritie. Briefly, this ſentence at length preuailed: and ſo Becket receaueth hys paſtorall office of the Popes hand againe, with commendation and much fauour. But for ſomuch as he coulde not be well placed in England: in the meane while, the Pope ſendeth him with a monkes habite into the abbay Pontiniak in Fraunce: where he remained 2. yeres, from thence he remoued to Senon where he abode 5. yeares. So the time of his exile continued a 7. yeares in all. &c.

A conſultation betweene the Pope and the Cardinals about Beckets matter.

Becket in banishment vii. yeares.

Vppon this, the King being certified by his Ambaſſadours of the Popes aunſwere, howe his fauoure enclined more to Becket then to him: was moued (and worthely) with wrathful diſpleaſure. Who vpon the ſame ſailing frõ England vnto Normandy, directed ouer certain Iniunctions againſt the Pope, and the Archbiſhop of Canterburie, as were recited aboue. Fol. 207. The contents wherof were declared to be theſe.

If any perſon ſhalbe found to bring from the Pope, or from the Archbiſhop of Canterburie. &c.

Of theſe and ſuche other iniunctions Becket ſpecifieth partly in a certaine letter, writing to a frend of his in this maner.

THomas Archbiſhop of Canterburie, to his welbeloued frend. &c. Be it knowen to your brotherly goodnes, that we with al ours heere (by Gods grace) are ſafe and in good health. Hauing a good hope and truſt to your faithfull amitie, I charge you and require you: that either by the bringer heereof or by ſome other, (whome ye know faithfull and truſty to our church of Canterburie, and to vs) you write with al ſpede, what is done. As touching the kings decrees here ſet out, theſe they be: that all hauens and portes ſhoulde be diligently kept: that no letters of the Popes interdict or curſe be brought in. And if religious men bring them in, they ſhall haue their feete cut off: if he be a prieſt or clearke, he ſhall loſe his priuie members: If he be a lay man, let him be hanged: If he be a leper, let him be burned. And if any biſhoppe, for feare of the Popes interdict, will depart (beſides his ſtaffe onely in his hand) let him haue nothing els. Alſo the kings will is: that all ſcholers and ſtudents beyonde the ſeas ſhall repaire home, or elſe loſe their benefices. And if they yet ſhall remaine ſtill, they ſhall loſe the libertie of all returning. Further if any ſuch Prieſts ſhalbe found (that for the Popes ſuſpenſe or interdict, wil refuſe to ſing) they ſhall loſe their priuie members. In ſumme, all ſuch Prieſts as ſhew themſelues rebels to the king, let them be depriued of their benefices. &c.

The kinges decrees.

Beſides theſe and ſuch like iniunctions, it was alſo ſet forth by the Kings proclamation. An. 1166. that all maner of perſons (both men and wemen, who ſoeuer were foũd of the kindred of Thomas Becket) ſhould be exiled wythout taking any part of their goodes with them and ſent to him, where he was: which was no litle vexatiõ to Becket to behold them. Moreouer, for ſo much as he then was lying with Gwarine Abbot of Pontiniacke (to whome the pope as is aforeſaid had cõmended him) therefore the king wryting to the ſame Abbote, required him not to retaine the Archbiſhop of Canterbury in his houſe: for if he did, he would driue out of his realme, all the monks of his order. Whereupon Becket was enforced to remoue from thence, and went to Lewes the French King, by whome he was placed at Senon, and there founde of him the ſpace of fiue yeares, as is aboue mentioned.

Anno. 1166.

Beckets kindred baniſhed.

Theſe monkes were of the Ciſtertian order.

In the meane time, meſſengers went daily with letters betwene the king and the pope, betwene the Pope a-

Becket complayneth of his prince to the Pope.

gaine and him, and ſo betwene the Archbiſhop and other. Whereof if the Reader (peraduenture) ſhalbe deſirous to ſee the copies: I thought here to expreſſe certaine of them, to ſatiſfie his deſire: firſt beginning with the Epiſtle of Becket complaining of his prince, to the Pope in maner and forme as foloweth.

The copie of an Epiſtle ſent of Thomas Becket, to Pope Alexander.

To keepe vnder the pride of prelates is no cauſe ſufficient to vnking a Prince.

If ye meane by ſpiritual things, ſuch as pertaine to the ſpirituall part of man, I graunt, but your liberties be not ſuch as which pertayne to the inward or ſpirituall man but rather are thinges more corporall.

TO your preſence and audience I flee (moſte holy father) that you, who hath bought the libertie of the Church with your ſo great daunger: might the rather attend to the ſame (either being the onely or chiefeſt cauſe of my perſecution) vſing and folowing therein the example of you. It grieueth me that the ſtate of the Church ſhould fall to any decay, and that the liberties thereof ſhould be infringed thorough the auarice of princes. For the which cauſe, I thought to reſiſt betime that inconueniencie beginning ſo to grow. And the more I thought my ſelfe obliged to the ſame my Prince (vnto whome next vnder God, I am moſte chiefly bound) the more boldneſſe I tooke to me, to withſtand his vnrightfull attempts: till ſuch that were on the contrary part (my aduerſaries) preuailed, working my diſquietneſſe, and incenſing him againſt me. Whereupon (as the maner is amongſt Princes) they raiſed vp againſt me citations and ſlaunders, to the occaſion of my perſecution: but I had rather to be proſcribed, then to ſubſcribe. Beſides this, I was alſo called to iudgement, and cited before the king to make anſwere there as a lay perſon, to ſecular accomptes: where as they whome I moſt truſted did moſt forſake me. For I ſaw my fellow brethren the Biſhops, through the inſtigation of ſome, ready to my condemnation. Wherupon all being ſet againſt me, & I thus oppreſſed on euery ſide, tooke my refuge to appeale to your goodneſſe, which caſteth off none in their extremities: being ready to make my declaration before you, that I ought neither to be iudged there in that place, nor yet of them. For what were that (father) but to vſurpe to thēſelues your right? and to bring the ſpiritualtie vnder the temporaltie? Which thing (once begon) may breede an example to many. And therefore, ſo much the more ſtouter I thought to be in withſtanding this matter: how much more prone and procliue, I ſaw the way to hurt: if they once might ſee vs to be faint and weake in the ſame. But they will ſay to me here againe: geue to Ceſar, that which belongeth to Ceſar. &c. But to anſwere againe therunto (albeit we are bou͠d to obey our king in moſt things) yet not in ſuch maner of things, whereby he is made to be no king: neither were they then things belonging to Ceſar, but to a tyrāt. Concerning the which points, theſe Biſhops ſhould (not for me onely, but for themſelues) haue reſiſted the king. For if the extreme iudgemēt be reſerued to him which is able to iudge both body and ſoul: is it not then extreme pride for men there to iudge, which iudge but by themſelues? If the cauſe of the biſhops and of the clergie, (which I maintaine) be right: why be they ſet againſt me? Why do they reprehēd me? For if that I appealed to him, before whome either it was not lawfull, or els not expedient for me to do: what ſeeme they by this, but either to blame me cauſeleſſe, or els to diſtruſt your equity? For me to be conuicted before your holineſſe: it had bene a double confuſion. Or wherein haue I deſerued to be perſecuted of them, for whoſe cauſe I haue ſet my ſelfe to ſtande in their behalfe? And if they had willed, I had preuailed: but it is ill with the head, when he is left of his members and forſaken: as if the eyes ſhoulde take the toung to ſpeake againſt the head. If they had had eyes to haue foreſene the matter, they might vnderſtand themſelues to ſpeake their owne deſtruction: and that the Princes did vſe their helpe, but to their owne ſeruitude. And what ſo great cauſe of hatred had they againſt me, to procure their owne vndoing, in vndoing of me? So, while they neglected ſpirituall things in ſteade of temporall, they haue loſt them both. What ſhoulde I ſpeake more of this, that I repugning them and appealing to your audience (yet notwithſtanding) they durſt preſume to ſtand in iudgement and condemnation againſt me, as children againſt their father? Yea, and not againſt me onely, but againſt the vniuerſall Church of God (conſpiring together with the Prince) being with me offended. And this ſuſpection might alſo as well pertaine to you holy father. But to this they will ſay: that they owe their duety and ſeruice vnto the king, as their Lord: to whom they are bound, vpon their allegeance. To whom I anſwer, that to him they ſtand bound bodely, to me ſpiritually. But to whom ought they rather to ſtand bound, then to themſelues? And were it not better to ſuſtaine the loſſe of corporall, then of ſpirituall things? But here they wil ſay againe: at this time the Prince was not to be prouoked. Howe ſubtily do theſe men diſpute for their owne bondage? Yea, they themſelues prouoke him by their owne exceſſe, miniſtring wings vnto him to fight againſt them, for he woulde haue reſted if they had reſiſted. And when is conſtancie more to be required, then in perſecution? Be not a mans chiefe frendes moſt tried in perſecution? If they geue ouer ſtill, how ſhall they obtaine the victorie? Sometime they muſt needes reſiſt. Condeſcend therefore (holy father) to my exile and perſecution. And remember, that I alſo once was a great man, in the time when it was: and now for your ſake thus iniuriouſly I am intreated. Vſe your rigour and reſtraine them, by whoſe inſtigation the name of this perſecution began. And let none of theſe things be imputed to the king, who rather is to be counted the repairer then the author of this buſineſſe.

Perſe tryeth a true fri but euery cauſe ma keth not a true perſe cution.

Beſides this Epiſtle ſent vnto the Pope: he wryteth alſo an other letter, ſent to the King in Latine: the tenour whereof (he that is diſpoſed to read) may peruſe in our former edition, with the notes adioyned withall.

Beſides which Epiſtle to the king in Latin, he ſent alſo one or two mo, to the ſaid king Henry the ſecond, much after the like rate & ſort. The one thus beginning: Loqui de Deo, liberæ mentis eſt & valdè quietæ. Indè eſt quòd loquar ad Dominum meum, & vtinam ad omnes pacificum. &c. Which Epiſtle, for that I woulde not ouercharge the volume of theſe Hyſtories with to much matter ſuperfluous, I thought here to omit. The other he ſent afterward, whereof the wordes be theſe.

¶ An other letter of Becket, Archbiſhop of Canterburie, ſent to the king.

TO his Lorde and frende Henry by the grace of God, king of England, Duke of Normandy & Aquitane, Earle of Angeow: Thomas by the ſame grace, humble miniſter of the church of Cāterburie (ſometime his temporally, but now more his in the Lord) health and true repentaunce with amendement. I haue long looked for, that the Lord would looke vpon you: and that you would conuert and repent, departing from your peruerſe way: and cutte off from you your wicked and peruerſe counſellours, by whoſe inſtinction (as it is thought) you are fallen into that deepe, whereof the Pſalme ſpeaketh. A ſinner when he commeth to the depth of miſchiefes, is without all care or feare. And albeit, we haue hetherto quietly ſuffred and borne: conſidering and earneſtly looking if there woulde any meſſenger come that woulde ſay: Your ſoueraigne Lorde the king (which nowe a long time hath erred and ben deceiued, and led euen to the deſtruction of the church) through Gods mercy with aboundant humility, doth now againe make ſpeede for the deliueraunce of the Church, and to make ſatisfaction and amendement. Yet notwithſtanding, we ceaſe not (day by day continually) to call vpon almightie God, with moſt humble deuotion: that, that which we haue long deſired for you and by you, we may ſpeedely obtaine with aboundant effect And this is one poynte, that the care of the Church of Canterburie, whereunto God hath preſently appoynted vs (albeit vnworthy) you being K. doeth ſpecially conſtraine me (in that as yet, we are deteined in exile) to write vnto your maieſtie letters commonitorie, exhortatorie, and of correction. But I woulde to God they were fully able to correct leaſt that I be to great a cloker of your outragies (if there be any) as in deede there are: for the which we are not a litle ſorie. I meane ſpecially of them which are done by you in euery place, about the Church of God and the Eccleſiaſticall perſons, without any reuerence either of dignitie or perſon: and leaſt alſo that I appeare negligent to the great danger of my ſoule: for without doubt hee beareth the offence of him which doth commit any offence: who neglecteth to correct that, which an other ought to amend. For it is written not onely they which doe commit euill, but alſo they which conſent therunto are cou͠ted partakers of the ſame. For they verely do cōſent, which when they both might and ought, doe not reſiſt or at the leaſt reproue. For the errour which is not reſiſted is alowed, and the truth whē it is not defended is oppreſſed: neither doth it lacke a priuie note of ſociety in him, which ceaſeth to withſtand a manifeſt miſchief.
1. (2) For like as (moſt noble Prince) a ſmall Citie doeth not diminiſh the prerogatiue of ſo mighty a kingdome as your is: ſo your royal power ought not to oppreſſe or chaunge the meaſure of the religious diſpenſatiō. For it is prouided alwaies by the lawes, that al iudgemēts agaynſt Prieſts, ſhould proceede by the determination of Prieſtes. For whatſoeuer Byſhoppes they are: albeit that they do erre as other men do, (not exceeding in any poynt contrary to the religion of faith) they
3. (3) ought not, nor can in any caſe be iudged of the ſeculare power. Truely, it is the parte of a good and religious Prince, to repaire the ruinous Churches, to builde newe, to honour the Prieſtes: and with great reuerence to defend them (after the example of the godly prince of moſt happy memory.
4. (4) Conſtantinus which ſayd, when a complaint of the Clergy was brought to him. You ſaid he, can be iudged by no ſecular iudge, which are reſerued to the only iudgement of God. And for ſo much as we doe read that the holy Apoſtles and their ſucceſſors (appoynted by the teſtimonie of God) cōmanded that no perſecution nor troubles ought to be made, nor to enuie thoſe which laboure in the fielde of the Lorde: and that the ſtewardes of the eternall King ſhoulde not be expelled and put out of their ſeates. Who then doubteth, but that the Prieſtes of Chriſt

ought to be called the fathers and maiſters of all other faithfull
princes? Is it not a miſerable madneſſe then,if the ſonne ſhoulde
5. go about to bring the (5) father vnder obedience? or the ſcholer
his maiſter? and by (6) wicked bondes to bring him in ſubiection
6. by whome he ought to beleue,that he may be bounde and looſed,
not only in earth,but alſo in heauen? If you be a good and a catholike
king.and will be ſuch a one as we hope, or that we rather
deſire you ſhould be,(be it ſpoken vnder your licence)you are the
childe of the church,and not the ruler of the Church. You ought
7. to learne of the prieſtes,and not to teach them: you ought to (7)
folow the Prieſts in eccleſiaſticall matters, and not to goe before
them, hauing the priuiledge of your power geuen you of God to
make publike lawes: that by his benefites you ſhoulde not be vnthankfull
againſt the diſpenſation of the heauenly order, and that
you ſhoulde vſurpe nothing, but vſe them with a wholeſome diſpoſition.

Wherfore,in thoſe things which contrary vnto that,you haue
(through your malitious counſel,rather then by your own mind)
wickedly vſurped: with all humilitie & ſatisfaction ſpeedily geue
place, that the hande of the moſt higheſt be not ſtretched out againſt
you,as an arrowe againſt the marke. For the moſt higheſt
hath bended his bowe openly to ſhoote againſt him, that will not
confeſſe his offences. Be not aſhamed (whatſoeuer wicked men
ſay vnto you,or that traitors do whiſper in your eare) to humble
your ſelfe vnder the mightie hande of God. For it is he which exalteth
the humble, and throweth downe the proude: which alſo
reuengeth himſelfe vpon Princes: he is terrible,and who ſhall reſiſt
him? You ought not to haue let ſlip out of your memorie, in
what ſtate God did finde you: howe he hath preferred,honoured,
and exalted you: bleſſed you with children: enlarged your kingdome:
and eſtabliſhed the ſame in deſpite of your enemies. In ſo
much,that hetherto(in a maner)all men haue ſayd with great admiration,
that this is he whome God hath choſen. And howe will
you reward (or can you reward)him for all theſe things which he
hath done vnto you? Will you(at the prouocation and inſtaunce
8. of thoſe which are about you: that (8) perſecute the Church and
the eccleſiaſticall miniſters, and alwaies haue according to their
power perſecuted them,rendring euil for good,bringing oppreſſions,
tribulations, iniuries and afflictions vpon the Church and
church men)do the like? Are not theſe they of whome the Lorde
ſpeaketh: he that heareth you heareth me, he that deſpiſeth you
deſpiſeth me, & he that toucheth you toucheth the apple of mine
eie? Verely forſaking al that thou haſt,take vp thy croſſe,that thou
maiſt folow thy God our Lorde Ieſus Chriſt. Yet wil it ſcarſely be
(or not at all) that thou ſhalt appeare a thankefull recompencer
of the benefits receaued at his hand. Search the ſcriptures of ſuch
9. as are learned, and you ſhall vnderſtande: that (9) Saul (albeit he
was elect of the Lord) peariſhed with his whole houſe,becauſe he
departed from the waies of the Lord.

Ozias alſo king of Iuda(whoſe name is ſpoken of and ſpread
ouer all) through the manifould victories geuen him of God, hys
heart was ſo puffed vp to his deſtruction (becauſe the Lorde did
helpe and ſtrengthen him in euery place)that he contemning the
feare and reuerence of the Lord would vſurpe vnto himſelfe, that
which was not his office (that is to ſay, the prieſthoode) & to offer
incenſe vpon the altar of the Lord, for the which he was ſtricken
with a leproſie,and caſt out of the houſe of the Lorde: Manie
other kings and holy men of great ſubſtaunce (becauſe they haue
walked aboue their eſtate in the meruails of the world, preſuming
to rebel againſt God in his miniſteries)haue periſhed: and at the
laſt, they haue founde nothing of their ſubſtance in their power.
Alſo king Achaz(becauſe he did vſurpe the office of Prieſthoode)
was likewiſe ſtriken with a leproſie by God.

Oza alſo (albeit he was not king) yet for ſomuch as he touched
the arke and held it, when it would haue fallen by the vnrulines
of the Oxen (which thing perteined not vnto him, but vnto
the miniſters of the Church) was ſtriken by the wrath of God &
fell downe by the Arke. O king, it is a famous prouerbe: that a
man forewarned by an other mans misfortune, will take the better
heede vnto himſelfe For euery man hath his owne buſines in
hand,when his neighbours houſe is on fire.

Dearely beloued king, God woulde haue the diſpoſing of
thoſe things which pertaine vnto the church, to belong only vnto
prieſts,and not vnto the ſecular power. Do not chalenge vnto
thy ſelfe therefore,another mans right:neither ſtriue againſt him,
by whom al things are ordained,leaſt thou ſeeme to ſtriue againſt
his benefites,of whome thou haſt receiued thy power. For by the
10. common (10) lawes and not by the ſeculare power, and by the
biſhops and prieſts:almighty God would haue the cleargie of the
chriſten religion to be ordered and ruled. And Chriſtian Kings
ought to ſubmit al their doings vnto eccleſiaſtical rulers,and not
to preferre themſelues:for it is written,that none ought to iudge
the biſhops but onely the Church, neither doeth it pertaine vnto
mans law to geue ſentence vpon any ſuch. Chriſtian princes are
accuſtomed to be obedient vnto the ſtatutes and ordinaunces of
the church, and not to prefer their owne power. A prince ought
to ſubmit himſelfe vnto the biſhops, & not to iudge the biſhops:
for there are two things wherwith the world is chiefly gouerned
(that is to ſay) the ſacred authoritie of biſhops and royall power.
(11)In the which,the biſhops charge is ſo much the more waighty, 11.
in that they ſhal at the latter iudgement render accompt,euen
of the kings themſelues. Truely you ought to vnderſtande, that
you depend vpon their iudgement,and can not reduce them vnto
your owne will: for many Biſhops haue excommunicated both
Kinges and Emperours. And if you require an eſpeciall example
thereof,Innocentius the Pope did excommunicate Arcadius the
Emperour,becauſe he did conſent that Iohn Chriſoſtome ſhould
be expulſed from his ſeate: and S. Ambroſe alſo did excommunicate
(12)Theodoſius the great Emperour,for a fault (which ſee- 12.
med not ſo waighty vnto other Prieſtes) and ſhut him out of the
Church: who afterward by condigne ſatisfaction was abſolued.

There are many other like examples for Dauid when he had
committed adulterie and murther, the prophet Nathan was ſent
vnto him by God to reproue him, and he was ſoone corrected.
And the king (laying aſide his ſcepter and Diademe, and ſetting
apart all princely maieſtie) was not aſhamed to humble himſelfe
before the face of the Prophet to confeſſe his faulte,& to require
forgeuenes for his offence: what wil you more? he being ſtricken
with repentance asked mercy, and obtained forgeuenes So likewiſe
you(moſt beloued king and reuerend Lord)after the example
of this good king Dauid (of whom it is ſayde: I haue founde a
man after mine owne heart) with a contrite and humble heart,
turne to the Lorde your God: and take holde of repentaunce for
your tranſgreſsions. For you are fallen and erred in many things;
which yet I kepe in ſtore ſtill,if (peraduenture) God ſhall inſpire
you to ſay with the prophet:haue mercy on me O god,according
to thy great mercye,for I haue ſinned much againſt thee, & done
euil in thy ſight. Thus much I haue thought good to write to you
my deare Lorde at this preſent, paſsing other things in ſilence,till
I may ſee whether my wordes take place in you,and bring foorth
fruits in you worthy of repentance: and that I may heare and reioyce
with them that ſhall bring me worde and ſay: Oh king,thy
ſonne was dead,and is aliue againe,was loſt and is founde againe.
But if you will not heare me: looke where I was wont * before
the maieſtie of the body of Chriſt to pray for you in aboundance
of teares & ſighes: There in the ſame place I will crie againſt you,
and ſay: Riſe vp Lord and iudge my cauſe,forget not the rebukes
and iniuries which the king of England doeth to thee and thine:
forget not the ignominie of thy Church,which thou haſt builded
in thy bloud. Reuenge the bloud of thy ſaintes which is ſpilt: reuenge
(O Lord)the afflictions of thy ſeruants, of whome there is
an infinite number. For the pride of them which hate & perſecute
thee, is gone vp ſo highe, that we are not able to beare them any
longer. Whatſoeuer your ſeruant ſhall do,all thoſe things ſhall be
required at your handes: for he ſeemeth to haue done the harme,
which hath geuen the cauſe thereof. Doubtleſſe,the ſonne of the
moſt higheſt (except you amende and ceaſe from the oppreſsing
of the church and clergie, and keepe your hand from troubling of
them)wil come in the rod of his furie, at the voices of ſuch as cry
to him,and at the ſighes of them that be in bands: when the time
ſhal come for him to iudge the vnrighteouſneſſe of men in equitie
and ſeueritie of the holy ghoſt. For he knoweth how to take away
the breath of Princes, and is terrible among kings of the earthe.
Your deare and louing grace I wiſh well to fare. Thus fare ye well
againe and euer.

Note the iudgement of God againſt this Becket, who was ſlaine at his maſſe making the bodie of Chriſt.

¶Certaine notes or elenches vpon this Epiſtle: which
by the figures you may finde out, and their places.

1. The ſcope of this Epiſtle is this, to proue that biſhops and prieſts ought not to come vnder the court and controlment of temporall power.

2. This ſimilitude holdeth not. For though the ſmalneſſe of a Citie blemiſheth not the prerogatiue of a kingdome: yet the cuilnes and rebellion of a Citie, doth worthely blemiſh his owne prerogatiue.

3. So ſayth the Popes decrees, Diſt. 10. but the Scripture of God importeth otherwiſe. Abiathar the Prieſt was depoſed of king Salomon, not for any hereſie, but for other cauſes. 3. Reg. 1. 2. Jonathas tooke his prieſthoode of king Alexander. And Simon of Demetrius. 1. Mach. 7. Chriſt offered tribute to Ceſar for him and for Peter. Alſo Peter ſayeth: be ye ſubiect to euery humaine creature: and it foloweth, whether it be to the king as to the chiefe. &c. Item Pope Leo ſubmitted himſelfe to Ludouicus the Emperor with theſe words: And if we do any thing incompetently, and do ſwarue from the path of righteouſnes, we wil ſtand to your reformation, or of them whom you ſhall ſend. *2. q. 7. Hoſ.*

4. Notwithſtanding the ſaide Conſtantinus wryting to the biſhops, cõgregated at Tyrus, firſt chideth them, then commãdeth them to reſort vnto his preſence, to haue their cauſe iudged and decided. *Trip hiſt. lib. 3 cap. 7.*

5. The father vnder obedience, &c. If fatherhoode goe by age, I ſuppoſe that king Henry was elder then Becket.

If fatherhode conſiſt in authoritie, I iudge the authoritie of a king, to be aboue the authoritie of an Archbiſhop. If the ſee of Canterburie make the fatherhode: yet had Becket no cauſe to claime fatherhood ouer the king, ſeeing the ſonne ordeined the father (that is) ſeeing the king made him his Archbiſhop, and not he made him his king.

6. By wicked bonds. Al is wicked with the Papiſts, that bringeth them in ſubiection to their Princes.

7. Eccleſiaſticall matters be ſuche, as properly belong to doctrine and deuine knowledge, for the inſtitution of the ſoule, and information of conſcience. In which both Princes and ſubiects ought to followe their paſtors, ſo long as they go truely before them without error, or els not. But what maketh this for the lands & liberties of churchmen?

8. Puniſhment due to malefactors and rebelles, is not to be called perſecution, but due correction.

9. Saule brake the commandement of God and was reiected. Ozias cōtrary to the commandement of God toke the office of a prieſt, and was ſtriken. Oza againſt the expreſſe word of the law put his hand to ye arke, & was puniſhed. But what expreſſe word had k. Hēry, why he ſhould not correct and puniſh rebellious biſhoppes, and wicked prieſts within his owne realme? wherefore theſe ſimilitudes accorde not. As for Achas he was not ſo much puniſhed for taking the prieſts office, as for ſpoyling the temple of the Lord, and offering to Idoles.

10. Common lawes. S. Auguſtin wryting to Boniface, ſayeth thus: Whoſoeuer obeyeth not the lawes of the Emperor (being made for the veritie of God) procureth to himſelfe great puniſhment. For in the time of the prophets, all the kings which did not forbidde and ſubuert all ſuch things as were vſed of the people againſt the law of God, are rebuked. And ſuch as did withſtand them, are commended aboue the reſt. Auguſt.

11. Iſidorus hath theſe wordes. Let temporal princes know, that they muſt render accōpt to God for the church, which they haue at the hands of God to gouerne &c.

12. The caſe of Archadius, Theodoſius, Dauid, & of this king (as touching this mater) hath no ſimilitude. In them was murder: This king doeth nothing, but claime that which is his due. And though by the ſpiritual ſword thoſe kings were reſiſted: yet it argueth not therefore, that the perſons of them which haue the vſe of the ſpirituall ſword, are aboue the perſons of them which haue the temporall ſworde.

Beſides theſe letters of the Archbyſhoppe ſent to the king, the Pope alſo in the ſame cauſe wryteth to the king, beginning after this ſort: Alexander Papa ad Henricum regē. Et naturali ratione, & forma iuris dictante, prouidentiam tuam credimus, edoctam fuiſſe, quòd quanto quis ab aliquo maiora ſuſcepiſſe dignoſcitur, tanto ei obnoxior & magis obligatus tenetur. &c. **The whole tenour of the letter as ye wrote it to the king I would heere expreſſe, but for treating of the tyme & ſtraightneſſe of rowme, hauing ſo many things els in this ſtorie (by the grace of Chriſt) to be comprehended. But the letter tendeth to this effect: to exhort and charge the king to ſhew fauour to Thomas Becket. Where, in the proceſſe of the Epiſtle, it followeth in theſe wordes:** Ea propter ſeueritatem tuam per Apoſtolica ſcripta rogāmus, monemus, & exhortamur in domino: nec non in remeſsionem peccatorum ex parte dei omnipotentis, & beati Petri principis Apoſtolorum antoritate noſtra iniungimus, vt memoratum Archiepiſcopum pro deo & eccleſia ſua & honore tuo, nec non & totius regni tui in gratiam & fauorem tuum recipias. &c. **That is: therfore we deſire you, moniſh and exhort your honor by theſe our Apoſtolical wrytings, and alſo enioyne you vpō the remiſſion of your ſinnes, in the behalfe of almighty God, and of S. Peter Prince of the Apoſtles, by our authoritie, that you will receiue againe the foreſayde Archb. into your fauour and grace, for the honour of God, his Church, and of your owne Realme, &c. Thus you heard the Popes intreating letter: nowe here is an other letter ſent vnto the foreſaid king, wherein he doth manace him, as in the tenor thereof here followeth.**

✠ Biſhop Alexander, ſeruant of the ſeruants of *God, to kyng Henry king of England, health and bleſsing Apoſtolicall.*

How fatherly and gently we haue oft times entreated and exhorted both by Legates and letters your princely honour, to be reconciled againe with our reuerend brother Thomas Archb. of Cant. ſo that he and his may be reſtored againe to their Churches and other poſſeſsions to them appertaining: your wiſdome is not ignorant, ſeeing it is notified and ſpred almoſt throughout all Chriſtendome. For ſo much therefore, as hetherto we coulde not preuaile with you, neither moue nor ſtirre your minde with faire and gentle wordes: it lamenteth vs not a little, ſo to be fruſtrate and deceiued of the hope and expectation which we had conceiued of you. Eſpecially ſeing we loue you ſo dearely, as our owne dearely beloued ſonne in the Lorde, and vnderſtanding ſo great ieopardie to hang ouer you.

But foraſmuch as it written, Cry out and ceaſe not, lift vp thy voice like a trumpe, and declare to my people their wickedneſſe, and their ſinnes to the houſe of Iacob. Alſo for as much as it is in Salomon commaunded, that the ſluggiſh perſon ſhould be ſtoned with the dung of Oxen: we haue thought good therefore, not to forbeare or ſupporte your ſtubburnes any longer againſt iuſtice and ſaluation. Neither that the mouth of the foreſaid Archbiſhop ſhoulde be ſtopped from henceforth any more: but that he may freely proſecute the charge of his office and duetie, to reuenge with the ſworde of Eccleſiaſticall diſcipline, the iniuries both of himſelfe, and of his Church committed to his charge.

And here I haue ſent vnto you two Legates, Petrus de ponte dei, and Bernardus de Corilio, to admoniſh you of the ſame. But if ye wil neither by vs be aduertiſed, nor geue eare to them in obeying: it is to be feared (doubtles) leaſt ſuch things as they ſhall declare to you from vs in our behalfe, may happen & fal vpon you. **Dated at Beneuent, the 9. day before the kalends of Iune.**

To anſwer theſe letters againe: there was an other certain wryting drawne out & directed to the Pope, made by ſome of the Clergy, as it ſeemeth: but not without conſent of the king, as by the title may appeare, inueying and diſprouing the miſbehauior of the Archbiſhop. The tenor whereof here followeth, and beginneth thus.

An anſwere to the Pope.

Answere to the Popes letter.

Time nowe requireth more to ſeeke helpe then to make complaints. For ſo it is nowe that the holy mother Churche (our ſinnes deſeruing the ſame) lieth in a dangerous caſe of great decay, which is like to enſue, except the preſent mercy of the Lord ſupport her.

Fredericke falſly compared to Pharao, but this was to clawe the pope withal.

Such is the wickednes now of ſchiſmatikes: that the father of fathers Pope Alexander (for the defence of his faith, and for the loue of righteouſnes) is baniſhed out of his countrey: not able to keepe free reſidence in his owne proper ſee, by reaſon of the indurate heart of Fredericke the Pharao.

Farther and beſides, the Church alſo of Canterburie is miſerably impaired and blemiſhed, as well in the ſpirituall as in the temporall eſtate: much like vnto the ſhip in the Sea, being deſtitute of their guide, toſſed in the floudes, and wraſteling with the windes, while the paſtor being abſent from his prouince dare not there remain through the power of the king. Who being ouer wiſe, (to the ieoperdie both of himſelfe, his Churche, and vs alſo) hath brought and intangled vs likewiſe with himſelfe in the ſame partaking of his puniſhments and labours: not conſidering howe we ought to forbeare, and not to reſiſt ſuperior powers. And alſo ſheweth himſelfe to vs vnkinde, which with al our affections bear the burden with him of his afflictions, not ceaſing yet to perſecute vs which ſtand in the ſame condemnation with him. For betwixt him, and our ſoueraigne prince, king of Englande, aroſe a certaine matter of contention: wherupon they were both agreed that a day ſhoulde be appoynted, to haue the controuerſie diſcuſſed by equitie and iuſtice.

The day being come, the king commaunded all the Archbyſhops, Biſhops, and other prelates of the Church to be called, in a great and ſolemne frequencie: ſo that the greater and more generall this councell was, the more manifeſt the detection of this ſtubburne malice ſhould appeare and be eſpied,

At the day therefore aboue mentioned, this troubler of the realme and of the Church preſenteth himſelfe in the ſight of our Catholicke king: who not truſting the qualitie and condition of his cauſe, armeth him with the armour of the croſſe, as one which ſhould be brought to the preſence of a tyrant. By reaſon whereof, the kings maieſtie, being ſomething agreeued (yet becauſe hee would be deliuered from all ſuſpition) committeth the matter to the hearing of the Biſhops. This done, it reſted in the biſhops to decide and ceaſe this contention, and to ſet agreement betweene them, remouing all occaſion of diſſention. Which thing they going about: commeth in this foreſayd Archbiſhop, forbidding and commaunding, that no man proceede in any ſentence of hym before the king.

This being ſignified to the kings hearing, his minde was greuouſly prouoked thereby to anger: whoſe anger yet notwithſtāding had bene eaſily ſwaged, if the other woulde haue ſubmitted himſelfe, and acknowledged his default. But he adding ſtubburneſſe to his treſpaſſe, through the quantitie and greatneſſe of his exceſſe, was the author of his owne puniſhment: which nowe by the law ciuill he ſuſtaineth, and yet ſhameth to craue pardone for his deſert, at the kings hande whoſe anger he feared not to ſturre vp, in ſuch a troubleſome time of the perſecution of the Church, greatly againſt the profite of the ſame: augmenting & increaſing therby the perſecution which now the Church lieth vnder. Much

Becket a ſtubburne treſpaſſer, Ergo no martyr.

better it had bene for him to haue tempered himſelf with the bridle of moderation, in the high eſtate of his dignitie: leaſt in exceeding too farre, in ſtraining the ſtraite poyntes of things by ouer much preſumption (peraduenture through his preſumption being not in meane and tollerable things) might fall from higher. And if the detriments of the Church woulde not moue him: yet the great benefits and preferments of riches, and honours ought to perſwade him, not to be ſo ſtubburn againſt the king. But here peraduenture his friend and our aduerſary wil obiect: that his bearing and ſubmitting to the king in this behalfe, were preiudiciall againſt the authority and ſea Apoſtolical: as though he did not or might not vnderſtand, that although the dignity of the Church, ſhould ſuffer a little detriment in that iudgement: yet he might & ought to haue diſsimuled (for the time) to obtaine peace into the Church. He will obiect againe, alleaging the name of father, that it ſoundeth like a poynt of arrogancie, for children to procede in iudgement of cōdemnation againſt the father: which thing is not conuenient. But he muſt vnderſtand againe: that it was neceſſary that the obedience and humilitie of the children ſhoulde temper the pride of the father: leaſt afterwarde, the hatred of the father might redounde vpon the children. Wherefore, of theſe premiſes your fatherhoode may vnderſtand: that the action of this our aduerſary ought to fall downe (as void and of none effect) who only vpon the affection of malice hath proceeded thus againſt vs, hauing no iuſt cauſe nor reaſon to ground vpon.

And forſomuch as the care and charge of all churches (as ye knowe) lieth vpon vs: it ſtandeth vs vpon, to prouide concerning the ſtate of the Churche of Canterbury, by our diligence and circumſpection: ſo that the ſayd Church of Canterbury through the exceſſe of his paſtor, be not driuen to ruine or decay.

By this Epiſtle it may appeare to the Reader therof: that Becket (being abſent from Englande) went about to worke ſome trouble againſt certaine of the Clergy and of the laitie (belike) in excommunicating ſuch as he toke to be his euill willers.

Now to vnderſtand further what his working was, or who they were whom he did excommunicate: this letter (ſent to William Biſhop of Norwitch) ſhall better declare the matter.

A letter of Becket to the B. of Norwitch.

A letter of Becket to the byſhop of Norwych

HE bindeth himſelfe to the penalty of the crime, whoſoeuer receiuing power and authoritie of God, vſeth and exerciſeth not the ſame with due ſeueritie, in puniſhing vice: but (wincking & diſsimuling) doth miniſter boldneſſe to wicked doers, maintaining them in their ſinne. For the bloud of the wicked is required at the hand of the Prieſt, which is negligent or diſſembleth. And as the Scripture ſayth, thornes and brambles grow in the handes of the idle dronkard. Wherfore, leaſt (through our too much ſufferance and diſſembling) the tranſgreſsions of manifeſt euill doers ſhould alſo be laid to our charge, and redound to the deſtruction of the Church through our giltie ſilence: We therfore (following the authoritie of the Popes commaundement) haue laid our ſentence of curſe & excommunication, vpon the Earle Hugo: commaunding you throughout all your Dioceſſe publickely to denounce the ſayde Earle as accurſed: ſo that (according to the diſcipline of the Church) he be ſequeſtred from the fellowſhip of all faithfull people. Alſo, it is not vnknowen to your brotherhoode, how long we haue borne with the tranſgreſsions of the Biſhop of London. Who (amongeſt other his factes) I would to God were not a great doer and fautor of this ſchiſme, and ſubuerter of the right and liberties of holy Church. Wherefore, we (being ſupported with the authoritie of the Apoſtolicke ſea) haue alſo excommunicated him, beſides alſo the Biſhop of Salesbury, becauſe of his diſobedience and contempt: and others likewiſe (vpon diuers and ſundrie cauſes) whoſe names here followe ſubſcribed. Hugo Bernardes ſonne, Radolph of Brocke, Robert of Brocke a clearke, Hugode of S Cleare, and Letardus a clearke of Northfolke, Nigellus of Scacauil, and Richard Chapleine, William of Haſting, and the Frier which poſſeſſeth my Church of Monchote. We therfore, charge and commaunde you by the authoritie Apoſtolicall and ours, and in the vertue of obedience, and in the perill of ſaluation, and of your order: that yee cauſe theſe openly to be proclaimed excommunicate, throughout all your Dioceſſe, and to command all the faithful to auoide their companie. Fare ye wel in the Lord. Let not your heart be troubled, nor feare: for we ſtande ſure thorough the aſsiſtance of the Apoſtolike ſea (God being oure borowe) againſt the pretenſed ſhiftes of the malignant ſorte, and againſt all their appellations. Furthermore, all ſuch as haue bene ſolemnely cited of vs: ſhall ſuſtaine the like ſentence of excommunication (if God will) in the Aſcenſion day: vnleſſe they ſhall otherwiſe agree with me. That is to witte: Geffray Archdeacon of Canterburie and Robert his vicare, Rice of Wilceſter, Richard of Lucie, William Gifferd, Adam of Cheringes, with ſuche other moe: which eyther at the commaundement of the king, or vppon their own proper temeritie, haue inuaded the goods and poſſeſsions either appertaining to vs, or to our clearkes about vs. With theſe alſo we doe excommunicate all ſuche as be knowen eyther with aide or counſel, to haue incenſed or ſet forward the proceeding of our king againſt the liberties of the Churche, and exiling of the innocents. And ſuch alſo as be knowen to impeche or let by any maner of way the meſſengers (ſent either from the Pope, or from vs) for the neceſsities of the Churche. Fare you well againe and euer.

The Biſhop of London excommunicated. This Biſhop was excommunicated becauſe he let in the Deane of Salesbury without the licence of him being then beyōde the ſeas.

Becket a ſtubburne treſpaſſer, Ergo no martyr.

Hetherto haſt thou ſeene (gentle reader) diuers & ſundry letters of Thomas Becket, whereby thou maiſt collect a ſufficient hiſtorie of his doings & demeanor (though nothing els were ſaid further of him) concerning his luſty and hauty ſtomack, aboue that beſeemed either his degree or cauſe which he toke in hand. And here peraduenture I may ſeme in the ſtory of this one man to tary to long, hauing to write of ſo many others better then it; yet for the weaker ſort (which haue coſted him, and yet do count him for a Saint, hauing in themſelues little vnderſtanding to iudge or diſcerne in the cauſes of men) I thought to adde this letter more, wherein he complaineth of his king to a forreine power: doing what in him did lie, to ſtirre for hys owne cauſe mortall warre to the deſtruction of many. For ſuppoſe wrong had bene offred him of his Prince: was it not inough for him to flie? what cauſe had he for his owne priuate reuēge, to ſet potentates in publiſke diſcord? Now hauing no iuſt cauſe but rather offering iniurie in a falſe quarell, ſo to complaine of his prince: what is to be ſaid of this, let euery man iudge, which ſeeth this letter.

¶ *An Epiſtle of Thomas Archbyſhop of* Canterburie to Pope Alexander.

A ſeditious complaint of Becket to the pope againſt his king.

AMantiſsimo patri & D. Alexandro, Dei gratia ſummo pont. Thomas Cant. Eccleſiæ humilis miniſter, debitam & deuotam obedientiam.

In Engliſh thus.

To our moſt louing father and Lord, Alexander by the grace of God biſhop: Thomas the humble miniſter and ſeruaunt of the Church of Canterburie due & reuerend obedience. Long inough and too long moſt louing father haue I forborne, ſtill loking after amendement of the king of England. But no fruite haue I reaped of this my long patience: Nay rather, whileſt that vnwiſely I doe thus forbeare: I augment and procure the detriment and diminiſhing of my authoritie, as alſo of the Church of God. For oftentimes haue I by deuout and religious meſſengers, inuited him to make condigne ſatisfaction, as alſo by my letters (the Copies whereof I haue ſent you) intimate and pronounced, Gods ſeueritie and vengeaunce againſt him, vnleſſe he repent and amende. But he (that notwithſtanding) groweth from euill to worſe: oppreſsing and conculcating the Church and ſanctuarie of God: perſecuting both me & thoſe which take part with me: In ſomuch that with feareful threatning woordes his purpoſe is to terrifie ſuch, as (for Gods cauſe and mine owne) ſeeke any way to relieue and help me. He wrote alſo his letters vnto the Abbot of the Ciſtercian order, that as hee fauoured the Abbacie of that his order (which was in his power ſayde he) he would not accept me into the fellowſhip thereof, nor doe any thing els for me. What ſhould I vſe many woordes? So much hath the rigour and ſeueritie as well of the king as of his officers, vnder our patience and ſufferaunce ſhewed it ſelfe: that if a great number of men yea and that of the moſt religious ſort, ſhould ſhewe vnto you the matter as it is in deede (and that vpon their othe taken) I partly doubt whether your holineſſe woulde geue credite vnto them or not. With heauineſſe of minde therefore I conſidering theſe things, and beholding as well the pearill of the king as of our ſelfe, haue publiquely condemned not onely thoſe pernitious cuſtomes: but all thoſe peruerſities and wicked doings wherby the church of England is diſturbed and brought to confuſion: as alſo the wryting whereby they were confirmed: Excommunicating generally as well the obſeruers and exactours thereof, as alſo the inuentours and patrones of the ſame, with their fauourers, counſailours, and coadiutors whatſoeuer, either of the clergie or laitie: abſoluing alſo, our Biſhops from their othe, whereby they were ſo ſtraightly inioyned to the obſeruation of the ſame. Theſe are the Articles

Goodly articles condemned by Becket.

which in that wryting I haue principally condemned. Firſt that 1.
it is inhibited to appeale vnto the ſea Apoſtolicall, for any cauſe
but by the kings licence. That a biſhop may not puniſh any man
for periurie or for breaking of his troth. That a biſhop may not 2.
excommunicate any man that holdeth of the king in *capite*, or 3.
els to interdicte either their land or offices without the kings li- 4.
cence. That Clerkes and religious men may be taken from vs to 5.
ſecular iudgement. That the king or any other iudge may heare 6.
and decide the cauſes of the church and tithes. That it ſhal not be
lawfull for any Archbiſhop or biſhop to goe out of the realme,
and to come at the Popes call without the kings licence: and di-

uers others ſuch as theſe. Namely alſo I haue excommunicated Iohn of Oxenforde, who hath communicated with the ſchiſmaticke and excommunicate perſone (Reginalde Colonienſis) the which alſo contrary to the commandement of the Lord Pope & ours, hath vſurped the Deanrie of the Church of Saliſburie: and hath (to renew his ſchiſme) taken an oth in the Emperors court. Alſo I haue denoūced & excommunicate Richard of Worceter, becauſe he is falne into the ſame damnable hereſie, and cōmunicated with that famous ſchiſmatike of Colen: deuiſing & forging al miſchiefe poſsible, with the ſchiſmatikes and Flemings to the deſtruction of the church of God, & eſpecially of the Church of Rome, by compoſition made betweene the king of England and them. Alſo Richard de Lucy, and Ioceline de Baliol, which haue furthered the fauourers of the kings tiranny and workers of their hereſies. Alſo Ranulphe de Broc, and Hugo de Sancto Glaro, and Thomas the ſonne of Bernard which haue vſurped the poſſeſsiōs and goods of the Church of Canterbury without our licence & conſent. We haue alſo excommunicated all thoſe which without our licence do ſtretch out their hāds to the poſſeſsions & goods of the church of Caunterburie. The king himſelfe we haue not yet excommunicated perſonally: ſtill waiting for his amendement: whome (notwithſtanding) we will not defer to excommunicate: vnleſſe he quickly amende and be warned by that he hath done. And therefore that the authoritie of the ſea Apoſtolike, and the libertie of the Church of God (which in theſe partes are almoſt vtterly loſt) may be by ſome meanes reſtored: it is meete and very neceſſary that what we herein haue done, the ſame be of your holineſſe ratified and by your letters confirmed. Thus I wiſh your holineſſe long to proſper and flouriſh.

Becket reprehēded for complayning of his king.

Excommunication abuſed in priuate reuenge about lands and poſseſsions.

By this Epiſtle, hee that liſteth to vnderſtande of the doings & quarels of Becket, may partly iudge what is to be thought thereof. Which his doings, although in ſome part may be imputed either to ignorāce of mind, or blindnes of zeale, or humain fragilitie: yet in this point (ſo vilely to complaine of his naturall Prince, for the zeale of the Pope) hee can by no wiſe be defended. But ſuch was the blindneſſe then of the prelates in thoſe daies, who meaſured and eſteemed the dignity and liberty of Chriſtes church by no other thing, then only by goods and poſſeſſions flowing and abounding in the clergy: and thought no greater point of religion to be in the church then to maintaine the ſame. For the which cauſe they did moſt abhominably abuſe chriſtian diſcipline & excommunication of the church at that time: as by this foreſaid Epiſtle may appeare. And what maruaile if the acts and doings of this Archb. ſeeme now to vs in theſe daies both fond and ſtrange: ſeeing the ſuffraganes of his owne church & clergy wryting to him: could not but reprehend him, as in this their Epiſtle tranſlated out of Latin into Engliſh may be ſeene.

An effectuall and pithie letter, full of reaſon and perſwaſion, ſent from all the Suffraganes of the Church of Cant to T. Becket their Archb.

QVa Veſtro (pater) in longinquo diſceſſu inopinata rei ipſius nouitate turbata ſunt: Veſtra ſperabamus humilitate. &c.

In Engliſh thus.

The letters of the Byſhops to Becket.

Suche trouble and perturbations as happened through the ſtrangeneſſe of your departure out of the Realme: we hoped by your humilitie and prudence ſhoulde haue bene reduced againe (Gods grace working with al) into a peaceable tranquillity. And it was no litle ioy to vs, to heare ſo of you in thoſe partes where you are conuerſant, howe humbly you there behaued your ſelfe, nothing vaunſing your ſelfe againſt your prince and king: and to attempt no riſings of wraſtlings againſt his kingdome: but that you bare with much patience the burden of pouertie, and gaue your ſelfe to reading and praier, and to redeme the loſſe of your time ſpent, with faſting, watchings, and teares: and ſo being occupied with ſpiritual ſtudies, to tend and riſe vp to the perfection of vertue, &c. But now through the ſecrete relation of certaine, wee heare (that wee are ſorie of) that you haue ſent vnto him a threatning letter, wherein there is no ſalutation premiſed: In the which alſo, ye pretende no intreating nor prayers for the obtaining of fauour, neither doe vſe any friendly maner in declaring what you write: but manaſing with much auſteritie, threaten to interdict him, & to cut him frō the ſociety of the churche. Which thing if you ſhall accompliſh, with like ſeueritie as in wordes ye threaten to doe, you ſhall not onely put vs out of all hope of any peace, but alſo put vs in feare of hatred and diſcord without meaſure, and without all redreſſe amongeſt vs. But wiſedome will conſider before, the ende of things: labouring and endeuouring to finiſh that which ſhee wiſely beginneth. Therfore your diſcretion ſhall doe wel diligently to forecaſt and conſider whereto ye tend, & what end may enſue therof, & where about ye go. Certes we (for our parts) hearing that we do heare, are diſcouraged from that we hoped for, which before hauing ſome good comfort of tranquilitie to come, are caſt from hope to diſpaire: ſo that while one is drawen thus againſt an other, almoſt there is no hope nor place left to make entreaty or ſupplication. Wherfore, writing to your fatherhoode, we exhort and counſel you by way of charitie, that you adde not trouble to trouble, & heape iniury vpon iniury. But ſo to behaue your ſelfe, that al manaſſes ſet aſide, ye rather geue your ſelfe to patience and humilitie, & to yeld your cauſe to the clemency of God & to the mercy of your Prince: which in ſo doing ſhall heap coales of charity vpon the heads of many. Thus charity ſhalbe kindled, & that which manaſings can not doe (by Gods help and good mens counſel) pitie peraduenture & godlines ſhall obtaine. Better it were to ſuſtaine pouertie with prayſe, then in great promotions to be a common note to all men. It is right well knowen vnto all men, howe beneficiall the king hath ben vnto you, from what baſenes to what dignity he hath aduanced you, & alſo into his owne familiaritie hath ſo much preferred you, that from the North Ocean, to the mount Perineus he hath ſubdued all things to your authoritie: in ſo much that they were amongſt all other accounted for men right fortunate, whoſoeuer coulde finde any fauour with you.

And furthermore, leaſt that your eſtimation ſhould be ouermatched by any nobilitie: he (againſt the minde of his mother, and of his realme) hath placed and ratified you ſubſtantially in eccleſiaſticall dignitie, and aduaunced in this honour wherein ye ſtand: truſting through your helpe and counſaile to reigne more ſafely and proſperouſly. Now, if he ſhall finde diſquietnes, wherin he truſted to haue quietnes: what ſhall al men ſay or think of you? What recompence or retribution ſhall this be thought to be for ſo many and great benefits taken? Therefore (if it ſhal pleaſe you) ye ſhall do wel to fauor and ſpare your fame & eſtimation and to ouercome your lord and ſoueraigne with humilitie and charitie. Whereunto, if our aduertiſement cannot moue you, yet the loue and fidelitie you beare to the biſhop and holy churche of Rome, ought to incline you therunto, & not to attempt any ſuch thing, wherby the troubles of the church our mother may encreaſe: or wherby her dolor may be augmented in the loſſe of them, whoſe diſobedience nowe ſhe doeth bewaile. For, what if it ſo happen through prouocatiō, that the king (whom all his ſubiects & kingdoms obey) ſhould relinquiſh the Pope, which God forbid: and ſhould deny all obedience to him, as he denieth to the king helpe or aide againſt you: what inconuenience would growe thereof? And thinke you, hee hath not great inſtigations, ſupplications, gifts, and many faire promiſes ſo to do? Yet he (notwithſtanding) abideth firme hetherto in the rocke, deſpiſing with a valiāt minde all that the worlde can offer. This one thing feareth vs, leaſt his minde (whome no wordly offers can aſſaile: no glory, riches, nor treaſure can ouerturne) only through indignation of vnkindnes, be ſubuerted. Which thing if it chaunce to happen through you, then may you ſit downe and ſing the ſong of lamentation of Ieremie, and weepe your belly full.

Conſider therefore (if it ſhal pleaſe you) and foreſee well with your ſelfe, this purpoſe of yours (if it proceede) how hurtfull and perillous it wil be: not only to the Pope, & to the holy church of Rome, but alſo to your ſelfe moſt eſpecially. But ſome peraduenture about you (of hauty and high minded ſtoutnes, more ſtoute percaſe thē wiſe) wil not ſuffer you to take this way: but wil giue you contrary counſaile to proue rather and declare what yee are able to do againſt your Lord and Prince, and to practiſe agaynſt him and al his, the vttermoſt of your power and authority: which power and authoritie of yours (to him that offendeth) is fearfull: and to him that will not amende, terrible. Such counſell as this, ſome peraduenture wil whiſper in your eare. But to theſe againe, this we ſay and anſwer for our king, whome notwithſtanding to be without fault, we doe not affirme. But yet alwaies that hee is ready to amend and make ſatisfaction, that we ſpeake confidently and proteſt in his behalfe.

The king (appoynted for the Lords annoynted) prouideth for the peace of his ſubiectes all that he is able: and therefore, to the intent he may conſerue this peace in his Churches and amongſt his ſubiects committed to him: he willeth and requireth ſuch ordinances due to kings, and exhibited to them before time, alſo to be exhibited to him. Wherein, if there hath any contradiction ſprong betwixt him and vs, he (being thereupon conuented and admoniſhed from the Pope by the reuerende Biſhops of London & Herf.) braſt not out in any defiance: but meekely & humbly anſwered, that wherin ſoeuer the church or any eccleſiaſtical perſō can ſhew himſelf grieued, he wold therin ſtād to the iudgemēt of the church of his kingdom. Which alſo, he is ready no les to perform in dede: thinking nothing more ſwete vnto him then to be admoniſhed of his fault (if he haue offended the Lord,) and to reforme the ſame: and not only to reforme and amend his fault, but alſo to ſatisfy it to the vttermoſt, if the law ſhall ſo require him. Wherfore, ſeing he is ſo willing to recōpēce & ſatisfy the iudgemēt of the church in al things appertaining to the church: refuſing no order that ſhalbe takē, but in al thīgs ſubmitting his neck to the yoke of Chriſt: with what right, by what canon or reaſon can you interdict him, or vſe excommunication againſt him? It is a thing laudable & a vertue of great cōmendation in wiſe men:

The cōmen- dation of K. Henry 2. his meeke- nes and mo- deration.

wiſely to goe with iudgement and reaſon, and not to be caried with puffes of haſty violence. Whereupon this is the onely and common petition of vs all: that your fatherly care will diligently prouide for your flocke and ſheepe committed to you: ſo that they miſcary not, or runne to any ruine through any inconſiderate, or to much heady counſell in you: but rather through your ſoftnes and ſufferance, they may obtayne life, peace and ſecurity. It doth moue vs all, that we heare of late to be done by you agaynſt the Byſhop of Saliſbury, & the Deane of the ſame church, (proſperouſly) as ſome men ſuppoſe, againſt whom you haue geuen out the ſentence of excommunication and condemnation, before any queſtion of their crime was: following therein (as ſeemeth) more the heat of haſtyneſſe, then the path of righteouſneſſe. This is a new order of iudgement (vnheard of yet to this day in our lawes and canons) firſt to condemne a man, and then to enquire after of the fact committed. Which order, leaſt ye ſhould hereafter attempt to exerciſe in like maner agaynſt our ſoueraigne and king, or agaynſt vs and our Churches and Pariſhes committed to vs, to the detriment of the Pope, and the holy church of Rome, and to the no little confuſion of vs all: therefore we lay here agaynſt you for our ſelues, the remedy of appellation. And as before, openly in the publicke face of the Church with liuely voyce, we appealed to the Pope for feare of certayne perils that might haue happened: So now agayn in writing, we appeale to the ſame, aſsigning the terme of our appellation, the day of the Lordes Aſcention. Moſt humbly and reuerently beſeching your goodneſſe, that you (taking a better way with you in this matter) will let your cauſe fall: ſparing herein both the labours and charges as well of your ſelfe, as ours alſo. And thus we wiſh you right well to fare (reuerend) in the Lord.

✽ *The reſcript or aunſwere agayne of Thomas* Becket, to all his ſuffraganes, not obeying, but *confuting their counſayle ſent.*

F*Raternitatis veſtra ſcriptum, (quod tamen prudentia veſtra cōmuni conſilio non facile credimus emanaſſe) nuper ex inſperato ſuſcepimus. &c.*

Your brotherly letters ſent (albeit not by the whole aſſent of your wiſedomes written, (as I ſuppoſe) of late I receiued vpon a ſodayne: the contentes whereof, ſeeme to contayne more ſharpeneſſe then ſolace. And would to God they proceeded more of ſincere zeale, of godlineſſ, or affection of charity: then of diſobedience or froward wilfulneſſe. For charity ſeketh not the thinges that be his owne, but which appertayne to Ieſus Chriſt. It had bene your duety (if there be truth in the Goſpel, as moſt vndoubtedly there is) and if you would faythfully haue accompliſhed his buſines, whoſe perſon you repreſent: rather to haue feared him, which can caſt both body and ſoule to hell: then him, whoſe power extendeth no further then to the body, rather to haue obeyed God then man: rather your Father then your Maiſter or Lord: after the example of him who was to his Father obedient vnto the death. Which dyed for vs, leauing vs example to follow hys ſteps. Let vs dye therefore with him, and lay downe our liues for the deliueraunce of his Church, out of the yoke of bondage and tribulation of the oppreſſor: which Church he hath founded, and whoſe libertye he hath procured, with his owne proper bloud: Leaſt if we ſhall do otherwiſe, it may happely fall vpon vs, which is written in the Goſpell: Who ſo loueth his owne life more then me, is not worthy of me. This ye ought to know, that if it be right which your captayne commaundeth: your duety requireth to obey his will: if not, ye ought then, rather to obey God then men.

Scripture in wordes rightly alledged but falſly applyed.

One thing I will ſay (if I may be ſo bolde to tell it vnto you): I haue now ſuffered and abſtayned a long ſpace, wayting if the Lord had geuen you to take a better hart vnto you, which haue turned away cowardly your backes in the day of battayle: or if any of you would haue returned againe to ſtand like a wall for the houſe of Iſrael: at leaſt if he had but ſhewed himſelfe in the field, making but the countenaunce of a warrier agaynſt them, which ceaſe not dayly to infeſt the Lambe of God. I wayted and none came: I ſuffered, and none roſe vp: I held my peace & none would ſpeake: I diſſembled and none would ſtand with me in like ſemblance. Wherefore ſeing I ſee no better towardneſſe in you: thys remayneth onely, to enter action of complaynt agaynſt you, and to cry agaynſt mine enemies. Riſe vp (O Lord) and iudge my cauſe, reuenge the bloud of the church which is waſted and oppreſſed. The pride of them which hate his libertye, riſeth vp euer: neyther is there any that doth good, no not one. Woulde God (brethren beloued) there were in you any minde or affection to defend the libertye of the Churche: for ſhe is builded vpon a ſure rocke, that although ſhe be ſhaken, yet ſhe can not be ouerthrowne. And why then ſeek ye to confoūd me? Nay rather, your ſelues in me, then me in you? A man which hath taken vpon me all the peril, haue ſuſtained all the rebukes, haue ſuſtained all the iniuries, haue ſuffered alſo for you all, to the very baniſhment.

I deny your Minor, M. Becket.

The church of Chriſt cā not be ouerthrowen: Ergo, Bec. ought not to be reſiſted.

And ſo it was expedient one to ſuffer for that Church, that thereby it might be releaſed out of ſeruitude. Theſe thinges diſcuſſe you ſimply with your ſelues and weigh the matter. Attend I ſay dilligently in your mindes for your partes: that God for his part remouing from your eies, all maieſty of rule and impery (as he is no accepter of perſons) may take from your hartes the veile, that ye may vnderſtand and ſee what ye haue done, what ye entend to do, and what ye ought to do. Tell me which of you all can ſay I haue taken from him ſince the time of my promotion, either Oxe or Aſſe: if I haue defrauded him of any peny: If I haue miſiudged the cauſe of any man wrōgfully: Or if by the detrimēt of any perſon I haue ſought my owne gaine, let him complayn & I will reſtore him fourefolde. And if I haue not offēded you, what then is the cauſe that ye thus leaue and forſake me in the cauſe of God?

Seruitude and libertie of the Church wrongfully defined. The wordes of holy ſcripture clarkely applyed.

Why bend ye ſo your ſelues agaynſt me in ſuch a cauſe, that there is none more ſpeciall belonging to the Church?

Brethren ſeeke not to confound your ſelues and the church of God (ſo much as in you is) but turne to me & you ſhalbe ſafe.

Turne to thee? Nay turne thou to the Lord and thou ſhalt be ſaued.

For the Lord ſayth, I will not the death of a ſinner, but rather he ſhould conuert and liue. Stand with me manfully in the warre take your armour and your ſhield to defend me. Take the ſword of the word of the mighty God, that we altogether may withſtand more valiauntly the malignant enemies, ſuch as goe about to take away the ſoule of the church, which is her liberty: without which liberty, ſhe hath no power agaynſt them that ſeeke to incroche to their inheritaunce, the poſſeſsion of Gods ſanctuary. If ye will heare and follow me, know ye that the Lord will be with you, and with vs all in the defence of the libertye of his church. Otherwiſe if ye will not, the Lord iudge betwixt me and you, and require the confuſion of his Church at your handes. Which church (whether the world will or no) ſtandeth firmely in the word of the Lord, whereupon ſhe is builded, and euer ſhall till the houre come that ſhe ſhall paſſe from this world to the Father. For the Lord euer doth ſupport her with his hand.

The ſoule of the Church is the libertie of the Church ſaith Becket.

Wherefore, to returne to the matter: brethren remember well with your ſelues (which thing ye ought not to forget) what daunger I was brought vnto, and the Church of God alſo while I was in England: at my departing out of England, and after my departure from thence: alſo in what daunger it ſtandeth at thys preſent day: But eſpecially at that time, when as at Northampton Chriſt was iudged agayne in my perſon, before the iudgement ſeat of the high preſident. Who euer heard the Archb. of Canterbury (being troubled for iniuries done to him and to his church, and appealing to the Pope of Rome to be iudged, condemned appealed and put to his ſureties, and that of his owne ſuffraganes? Where is this law ſeene or the authority (nay rather peruerſity) of this Canon heard of? And why yet ſhame ye not at this your enormity? Why are ye not confounded? Or why doth not this confuſion worke in you repentaunce, and repentance driue you to due ſatiſfaction before God and men? For theſe and ſuche other iniuries done to God and to his church, and to me for gods cauſe (which with a good conſcience I ought to ſuffer, becauſe that without daunger of ſoule I ought not to diſſemble them) I chooſe rather to abſent my ſelfe for a ſeaſon, and to dwell quietly in the houſe of my Lord, then in the tabernacle of ſinners: vntill the time that (their iniquity be complete) the hartes of the wicked and the congitations of the ſame ſhalbe opened. And theſe iniuries were the cauſe both of my appeale from the king, and of my departure from thence, which ye terme to be ſodaine. But if ye will ſpeake the truth which ye know, it ought no leſſe then to be ſodaine: leaſt (being foreknowne) it might haue bene preuented and ſtopped. And as God turned the matter it happened for the beſt, both for the honor of the king and better ſafety of them, which (ſeeking my harme) ſhould haue brought ſlaunder to the king. If ſuch troubles followed vpon my departing as ye ſay, let them be imputed to him which gaue cauſe: the fault is in the worker, not in the departer: in him that purſueth, not in him that auoydeth iniuries: what would ye more? I preſented my ſelfe to the court, declaring both the cauſes of my comming and of my appeale: declaring alſo the wronges and iniuries done to me & to my Church, and yet could haue no anſwere: neither was there any that layd any thing agaynſt me, before we came to the king. Thus while we ſtood wayting in the court, whether any would come agaynſt me or not, they ſent to my officials: charging them not to obey me in my temporalities, nor to owe any ſeruice to me, or to any of mine. After my appellation made in the Court: my Church was ſpoyled: we (and they about vs) depriued of our goods: outlawed both of the Clergy, and of the layty, men, women, and infantes: the goods of the Church (that is, the patrimony of the crucifix) confiſcate: and part of the mony turned to the kinges vſe, part to your owne coffers. Brother Byſhop of London, if this be true that we here of you: and that to the vſe of your owne Churche, ye conuert this money: we charge you and require you forthwith by vertue of obedience: that within fourtye dayes after the ſight of theſe letters (all delaye and excuſe ſet aſide) ye reſtore agayne within the time aforeſayd: all ſuche gooddes and percelles as you haue taken away. For it is vnmeete and contrarye to all lawe, one Churche to be enriched

Vnbeſeeming wordes of high preſumption.

Chriſt is not iudged in the perſons of any traytor.

Cōſcience made where is none.

But he leaueth out here the maner of his comming to the court and the ſturdines of his behauiour.

riched with the ſpoil of an other church. If ye ſtand vpon the authoritie that ſet you a worke: you muſt vnderſtand, that (in matters concerning the church goods) he can geue no lawfull autoritie, which committeth violent iniurie &c.

Becket ſeemeth here more ſkilfull of his maſſe booke then of the booke of holy ſcripture, either els hee might ſee it no new thing in the old law for kings to depriue prieſtes, and to place whom they would. Kings in the old law did not intermedle with the Prieſtes office in ſome thinges that were forbidden: But yet kinges were officers ouer prieſtes to correct them when they did amiſſe.

What authoritie, and what ſcripture geueth this prerogatiue to Princes vpon Church goodes, which you would attribute to them? What? will they lay for them the remedie of appeale? God forbid It were euill with the Church of God, if when the ſacrilegious extorcioner hath violently inuaded other mennes goodes (eſpecially the goods of the church) he ſhoulde after defend him with the title of appeale &c.

Doe not brethren, ſo confounde altogether the right of the Church and of the temporall regiment: For theſe two are muche differẽt, one borowing his authority of the other. Read the ſcriptures, and ye ſhall finde what and how many kings haue periſhed for taking vpon them the prieſtly office. Therefore, let your diſcretion prouide: leaſt for this your doing, Gods puniſhmẽt light vpon you: which if it come, it will be hard for you very eaſely to eſcape. Prouide alſo and ſee to your king, whoſe fauour ye prefer before the wealth & profit of the Church: leaſt if it happen (which God forbid) that he doth periſh with all his houſe, after the example of them, which for the like crime were plagued. And if yee ceaſe not off from that ye begin: with what conſcience can I diſſemble or forbeare, but muſt nedes puniſh you? let him diſſemble with you who liſt (hauing authoritie ſo to doe, truely I will not) there ſhalbe no diſſimulation found in me. And where you write in your letters, cõcerning my promotion, that it was againſt the voice of the whole realme, & that the church did reclaime againſt it: What ſhould I ſay to you, but that ye knowe right well: the lie which the mouth doeth willingly ſpeake, killeth the ſoule: but eſpecially the wordes of a Prieſtes mouth ought euer to goe with verity. As touching this matter, I appeale to your own cõſciẽce, whether the forme of my election ſtoode not fully with the conſent of them all to whome the election belonged: hauing alſo the aſſent of the prince by his ſonne, & of them which were ſent therto. And if there were ſome that repugned the ſame, hee that was troubled and is giltie, let him ſpeake.

If ye meane of Achas, and Oze in the old teſtament, then we denie your Minor.

Ye ſay moreouer, that I was exalted and promoted from a baſe and lowe degree, to this dignity by him. I graunt that I came of no royall or kingly bloud: yet notwithſtanding, I had rather be in the number of them whome the vertue of the minde, then of birth maketh noble. Peraduenture I was borne in a pore cotage: of poore parentage, and yet through Gods clemencie, which knoweth howe to worke mercie with his ſeruants, and which cheriſheth the humble and low things, to confound the hie and mightie: in this my poore and lowe eſtate, before I came to the Kings ſeruice, I had aboundantly and wealthely to liue withall (as yee know) amongſt my neighbours and frends. And Dauid euen from the ſhepefold, was taken vp and made a king. Peter of a fiſher was made a prince of the church: who for his bloud being ſhedde for the name of Chriſt, deſerued to haue in heauen a crowne, and in earth name & renowne: would to God we could do the like. We be the ſucceſſors of Peter, aud not of Kings and Emperors.

They be the ſucceſſours and ſonnes of ſaints, not that holde the places of ſainctes, but that doe the workes of ſaints. Hierom.

And where ye ſeeme to charge me (by inſinuation) wyth the blot of ingratitude: This I anſwere: there is no offence capitall or infamous, vnleſſe it proceede from the heart and intention. As if a man commit a murther vnwillingly (although he be called a murtherer) yet he is not thereby puniſhable: And ſo, although I owe my duetie & ſeruice with reuerence to my king: yet if I haue forborne him as my Lorde, if I haue warned him, and talked with him fatherly and gently as with a ſonne, and in talking with him could not be heard: If therefore (I ſay) being enforced thereunto, and againſt my wil, doe exerciſe vpon him the cenſure of due ſeueritie: in ſo doing (I ſuppoſe) I make rather with him, then againſt him, and rather deſerue at his hande thanke for my correction, then note or ſuſpicion of vnkindneſſe or puniſhment for the fact. Sometimes a man againſt his will receiueth a benefite: as when neceſſitie cauſeth a mã to be reſtrained from doing that which he ought not: he that doth ſo reſtrain him (though he ſtop him) doeth not hurt him, but rather profiteth him for hys ſoules health. An other thing that defendeth vs from ingratitude, is our father & patron Chriſt. Which, in that he is our father (to whome we as children owe obedience) then are we bounde as children by neceſſitie to obey his commaundement, in warning the euill doer: in correcting the diſobedient: and in brideling the obſtinate: which if we do not, we runne into danger to haue his bloud required at our hands. Ye ſet foorth likewiſe and ſhew, what loſſe we thereby may ſuſtaine of our temporalties. But yee ſpeake no worde of the loſſe of our ſoules.

If the king had bene an adulterer or tyrant againſt the true doctrine or preaching of Chriſt, then might this reaſon ſerue, and God more to be obeyed then mã. Now where did Bec. learne, that the king in his temporall right was not to be obeyed? Take heede, ye marre all, and ye open that dore.

Moreouer, as concerning the departure of the king from the homage of the Church of Rome (which in your letters ye ſeme to pretende, or rather threaten) God forbid I ſay, that the deuotion or faith of our king ſhould euer ſwarue away from the obedience and reuerence of the church of Rome, for any temporal commoditie or incommoditie: which thing to doe is very damnable in any priuate ſubiect, much more in the prince which draweth many other with him: therefore, God forbid, that euer any faithfull man ſhould once thinke ſo hainous a deede. And you according to your diſcretion take heede, leſt the wordes of your mouth infect any perſone or perſons therein: occaſioning them by your wordes to ſuch dangerous and damnable matter: like to the golden cup which is called the cup of Babylon, which for the outwarde golde no man will refuſe to drinke of, but after they haue dronke thereof, they are poyſoned.

And where ye lay to my charge for the ſuſpending out of the reuerende father biſhop of Saliſburie, and for excommunicating of Iohn, Deane of the ſame Churche for a ſchiſmatike (by knowledge and proceſſe had of the matter) to this I anſwere: That both theſe are iuſtly and condignely excommunicate, and if ye vnderſtande perfectly the condition of the matter, and the right order of iudgements, yee will ſay no leſſe. For this ſtandeth with good authoritie (as ye know) that in manifeſt & notorious crimes, this knowledge and order of proceeding is not requiſite Perpende with your ſelues diligently, what the biſhop of Saliſburie did (cõcerning the Deanrie) after that he was prohibited of the Pope & of vs, vnder paine of excommunication: and then ſhall you better vnderſtand (vpon ſo manifeſt diſobedience) ſuſpenſion did rightly followe: as ye read in the decree of S. Clement, ſaying: If they do not obey their Prelates, all maner of perſons of what order ſo euer they be, whether they ſhall be Princes of high or lowe degree, and all other people: ſhall not onely be infamed, but alſo baniſhed from the kingdome of God, and the fellowſhip of the faithfull. As concerning Iohn of Oxford, this we ſay: that excommunication commeth diuers wayes: Some are excommunicate, by the lawe denouncing them excõmuuicate. Some by the ſentence of the Prelate Some by communicating with them which are excommunicate. Nowe, he that hath fallen into this damnable hereſie, in participating with ſchiſmatikes, whome the Pope hath excommunicate: he draweth to himſelfe the ſpot and leproſie of like excommunication. Wherefore, ſeeing hee (contrary to the Popes expreſſe commaundement and ours, being charged vnder paine of excommunication to the contrary) tooke vpon him, the Deanrie of Saliſburie: we haue denounced him, and holde hym excommunicate: and all his doings we diſanull, by the authoritie of the viij. Synode, ſaying. If any man either priuely or apertly ſhall ſpeake or communicate with him that is excommunicated, he draweth vnto himſelfe the puniſhment of like excommunication. And nowe for ſo much as you (brother biſhop of London) which ought to know that ſaying of Gregorie vij. if any biſhoppe ſhal conſent to the fornication of Prieſts, Deacons, &c. within his precinct: for reward, fauour, or peticion, or doth not by authoritie of his office correct the vice, let him be ſuſpended from his office. And againe that ſaying of Pope Leo, which is this: If any biſhop ſhall inſtitute or conſecrate ſuch a prieſt as ſhall be vnmeete and vnconuenient: if he ſcape with the loſſe of his owne proper dignitie, yet he ſhall loſe the power of inſtituting any more. &c.

This Iohn was called a ſchiſmatike, becauſe he tooke part with Reginald Arch of Colen & the Emperour againſt Alexander the Pope.

Clemens decree.

Diuers wayes of excommunication.

The councel ſpeaketh of ſuch which be worthely excommunicated.

This Gregory otherwiſe called Hildebrãd, was he that firſt tooke away prieſtes mariage, condemning all prieſtes for fornicators which had wiues.

Therefore, forſomuch I ſay, as you (knowing this) haue double wiſe offended againſt the ſentence of theſe Canons: we commaunde you, and in the vertue of obedience enioyne you, that if it be ſo: within three monethes after the receite hereof, you will ſubmit and offer your ſelfe to due correction and ſatisfaction to the counſell of our fellowbiſhops, for theſe your ſo great exceſſes: Leaſt other (through your example) runne into the like offence, and we ſhall be conſtrained to proceede againſt you with ſeuerer ſentence.

Finally (in the cloſing vp of your letter) where ye bring in for your appellation againſt me, a ſafegarde for you: which rather in deede is an hinderance to you: that we ſhoulde not proceede againſt the inuaders of the Churche goodes, nor againſt the King in like cenſure, as we haue done againſt the biſhoppe of Saliſburie (as yee ſay) and hys Deane. To this I aunſwere, God forbidde that we haue, or els ſhoulde heereafter proceede or do any thing againſt the king or his lande, or againſt you or your Churches, inordinately or otherwiſe then is conuenient. But what if you ſhall exceede in the ſame or like tranſgreſſion, as the Byſhoppe of Salesburie hath done: thinke yee then your appellation ſhall helpe you from the diſcipline of our ſeueritie, that ye ſhall not be ſuſpended? Marke yee diligently whether this be a lawful appeale, and what is the forme thereof. We knowe that euery one that appealeth, eyther doeth it in his owne name, or in the name of an other, if in hys owne name, either it is for ſome greeuance inferred alreadie, or els for that he feareth after to be inferred againſt him. Concerning the firſt, I am ſure there is no greuance that you can complaine of as yet (God be thanked) that you haue receiued at my hand, for the which you ſhould appeale frõ me: neither haue you (I truſt) any cauſe ſpeciall againſt me ſo to doe. If ye doe it for feare that is to come, leaſt I ſhoulde trouble you and your Churches: conſider whether this be the feare that ought to fall in conſtante men, or whether this be the appeale which ought to ſuſpende or ſtay our power and authoritie that we haue vppon you and your Churches. It is thought therefore, of wiſe men (and we alſo iudge no leſſe) your appeale to be of no force.

Diſcuſſing of a true appellation.

Firſt, for that it hath not the right forme of a perfect appellation, The forme of a true appellation.

tion, and alſobecauſe it is not conſonante to reaſon, and lacketh order and helpe of the lawe.

Furthermore, if your appellation be in an other mans name, either it is for the King (as moſte like it is) or for ſome other. If it be for the king, than ye ought firſt to vnderſtande, that appellations are woont to be made to repell, and not to inferre iniurie: or to releaſe ſuch as be oppreſſed, that they ſhoulde not be oppreſſed any more.

Wherſore, if any man ſhall enter any appellation (not truſting to the ſuretie of his cauſe, but to delay the time, that ſentence be not geuen vpon him) that appellation is not to be receaued. For what ſtate will there be of the Church, if the libertie therof being taken away: the goods of the Church ſpoyled: the biſhops driuen from their places: or at leaſt not receiued with full reſtitution of their goodes: the inuaders and ſpoylers therof, may defend themſelues by appealing, thereby to ſaue themſelues from the penalty of their deſert?

What a ruine of the Church will this be? See what ye haue done, and what ye ſay. Be you not the vicares of Chriſt, repreſenting him in earth? Is it not your office to correcte and bridle ill doers, whereby they may ceaſe to perſecute the Church? And is it not inough for them to be fierce & to rage againſt the church, but that you ſhould take their part, ſetting your ſelues againſt vs, to the deſtruction of the church? Who euer heard of ſo monſtrous doings? Thus it ſhall be heard and ſayde of all nations and countries: that the Suffraganes of the Church of Caunterburie (which ought to ſtande with their Metropolitane vnto death in defence of the Churche) nowe goe about by the kings commaundement ſo much as in them doth lie, to ſuſpend his autoritie: leaſt he ſhuld exerciſe his Diſcipline of correction vppon them that rebell againſt the Church. This one thing I knowe, that you cannot ſuſtaine two ſortes of perſons at once: both to be the appeale makers, and to be appealed vp your ſelues. You be they which haue made the appellation, and you be they againſt whome the appellation is made. Is there any more churches then one, and the body of the ſame? And howe meete were it than, that you being the members of the Churche, ſhoulde holde together with the heade thereof? I am afraide brethren leaſt it may be ſayde of vs: Theſe be the Prieſtes which haue ſayde where is the Lorde? and hauing the lawe doe not knowe the law. Furthermore this I ſuppoſe you (being diſcrete men) are not ignoraunt of: that ſuch as enter any appellation there, are not wont to be hearde: vnleſſe the matter of their appellation either belongeth to themſelues, or except ſpeciall commaundement force them thereunto, or elſe vnleſſe they take an other mannes cauſe vpon them. Firſt, that it belongeth nothing vnto you, it is plaine: for ſo muche as the contrary rather pertaineth to your duetie: that is, to puniſh and to correct all ſuch as rebell againſt the Church. And if he which ſubuerteth the libertie of the Churche, and inuadeth the goodes therof (conuerting them to his owne vſe) be not heard appealing for hys owne defence: much leſſe is an other to be heard appealing for him. Wherefore, as in this caſe neither he can appeale for himſelf, not yet commaund you ſo to do: ſo neither may you receiue the commaundement to appeale for him.

One perſon can not both be the appeale maker, and the partie appealed.

Thirdly, as touching the taking of an other mannes cauſe or buſineſſe vpon you, to this I ſay and affirme: that yee ought in no maner of wiſe ſo to doe, ſpecially ſeeing the matter pertaineth to the oppreſsion of the Church, and whereupon enſueth great damage to the ſame.

Wherfore, ſeeing it neither appertaineth to you, neither ought yee to receiue any ſuch commaundement, nor yet to take vppon you any ſuch cauſe as that is: your appeale is neither to be hard, nor ſtandeth with any lawe. Is this the deuotion and conſolation of brotherly loue which you exhibite to your Metropolitane, being for you in exile? God forgeue you this clemencie. And how nowe? will ye looke for your letters and meſſengers to be gently receiued heere of vs? Neither doe I ſpeake this, as though there were any thing in hande betwixt your part and oures: or that we haue done any thing inordinately againſt the perſon of the king, or againſt his lande, or againſt the perſones of the Church, or intende (by Gods mercie) ſo to doe. And therefore we ſay briefly & affirme conſtantly: that our Lorde the king can not complaine of any wrong or iniurie to be done vnto him, if he (being often called vpon by letters and meſſengers to acknowledge his fault, neither will confeſſe his treſpaſſe nor yet come to any ſatisfaction for the ſame) haue the cenſure of ſeueritie by the Pope and vs laide vpon him. For no man can ſay that he vniuſtly is entreated, whome the lawe doeth iuſtly puniſh. And briefly to conclude, knowe you this for certaine: that extortioners, inuaders, detainers of the Church goodes, and ſubuerters of the liberties therof: neither haue any authoritie of the lawe to maintaine them, neyther doth their appealing defend them. &c.

Though the Popes lawe will not defend them yet the lawe of the ſcripture will and doth.

¶ *A briefe Cenſure vpon the former reſcript* of Becket to his Suffraganes, in the page before *with a generall reſolution of the reaſons therein contained.*

If the king of England had bene an idolater, couetous, an adulterer, an inceſt, a murderer, with ſuch like: than the zeale of this Archbiſhop (threatning the king and ſuch as tooke his part) had deſerued praiſe in this Epiſtle, & the ſcripture would haue borne him out therein. For theſe and ſuche cauſes, ſhould byſhops proſecute the authoritie of the Goſpell againſt all perſones. But the matter ſtanding onely vpon Church goods, libertie (or rather licentiouſnes of Prieſts) making of Deanes, titles of Churches, ſuperioritie, of crowning the king, with ſuch other: to ſtand ſo ſtiffe in theſe, is not to defend the church: but to rebel againſt the king. Againe, if the principles which hee heere groundeth vpon, were true: to witte that the Pope were to be obeied before Princes: that the liberty of Church ſtandeth vpon the immunitie of prieſts exempted from princes lawes: or vpon ample poſſeſsions of the Churche: or that the Popes lawe ought to preuaile in all forreine countreis: and to binde all princes in their owne dominions: or that the ſentence of the Pope & his Popelings, (how, or by what affection ſo euer it is pronounced) may ſtande by the vndoubted ſentence of God: Then all the arguments of this Epiſtle doe proceede and conclude wel. But if they ſtand not ratified vpon gods worde: but tottering vpon mans traditions: Then whatſoeuer he inferreth or concludeth thereupon (his aſſumpt being falſe) can not be true, according to the ſchoole ſaying: One inconuenience being graunted in the beginning, innumerable follow therupon. So in this Epiſtle it happeneth as is aboue noted, that the Maior of this man is true, but the Minor is cleane falſe, and to be denied.

¶ *The letter of Matild the Empreſſe and mother of the king, To Thomas Becket.*

The letter of the Empreſſe to Becket.

My Lord the Pope commanded me (and vpon the forgeuenes of my ſinnes inioyned me) that I ſhould be a mediatour and meanes of peace and concorde betweene my ſonne and you, by reconciling of your ſelfe to him: wherunto (as you know) ye requeſted me. Wherefore, the earneſter and with more affection (as well for the diuine honour as for holy Church) I tooke the enterpriſe vpon me. But this by the way I aſſure you, that the king, his Barons, and counſell, taketh it grieuouſly: that you, whome he entirely loued, honored, and made chiefeſt in al his Realme (to the intent to haue more comfort and better truſt in you) ſhould thus (as the report is) rebell and ſtirre his people againſt him. Yea and further, that (aſmuch as in you lieth) you went about to diſherite him, and depriue him of his crowne. Vpon the occaſion whereof, I ſent vnto you our truſtie and familiar ſeruant Laurence Archdeacon, by whome I pray you that I may vnderſtand your minde herein, and good wil towarde my ſonne: and howe you meane to behaue your ſelfe (if my prayer and petition may be heard of him in your behalfe) toward his grace. But this one thing I aſſure you off, that vnleſſe it be through your great humilitie and moderation (euidently in you appearing) you can not obtaine the fauour of the king. Heerein what you meane to do, I pray you ſende me word by your proper letters and meſſengers.

Anno. 1169.

But to proceede farther in the order of the hiſtorie: After theſe letters ſent to & froe (the yeare of our Lorde 1169) which was the 15. of the raigne of Henry the 2. The King miſdoubting and fearing wyth himſelfe that the Archbyſhop would proceede (or exceede rather) in his excommunication againſt his owne perſon (to preuent yͤ miſchiefe) made his appeale to the preſence of the pope: requiring to haue certaine Legates ſent downe from Rome from the popes ſide, to take vp the matter betwene the Archbiſhop and him: requiring moreouer that they might alſo be abſolued, that were interdicted. Wherupon, two Cardinals (being ſent from Alexander the Pope with letters to the King) came into Normandie: where they appoynted the Archb. to meete them before the King vpon S. Martines day. But the Archb. (neither agreeing wyth the day nor place) delaied his comming to the viij. day after: neyther would any further go then to Griſorſium. Where (the two Cardinals and the Archb. with other biſhops conuenting together) had a certaine intreatie of peace and reconciliation, but came to no concluſion. The cõtents of which intreatie or action (becauſe it is ſufficiently contained in the Cardinals letters, who were called Gulielmus & Otho, written to the pope) it ſhal require no further labour, but to ſhew out the wordes of the letter, where the ſumme of the whole may appeare. The wordes of the letter be theſe.

¶ *The copie of the Epiſtle written and ſent by two Cardinals to the Pope, concerning the matter of the Archbiſhop Becket.*

William, & Otho, Cardinals of the Church of Rome, to Alexander the Pope, &c. Cõming to the land of the K. of Englãd we founde the controuerſie betwixt him and the Archb. of Canterburie, more ſharpe and vehement then we would. For the king and the greater part of them about him ſaid, that the Archbyſhop

Becket ſtirring vp the French king againſt the king of England

had ſtirred vp the French king grieuouſly againſt him. And alſo, the Earle of Flāders his kinſman (who bare no diſpleaſure to him before) he made his open aduerſary, ready to warre againſt him, as is by diuers euidences moſt certaine. Thus when we came to Cadomus firſt to the kings ſpeach, we gaue the letters of your fatherhode to his hands: which after that he had receiued and conſidered (bringing foorth withall other letters receiued from you before, ſomething diuers and altering from theſe which he receiued of vs (was moued & ſtirred with no litle indignation, ſaying: that the Archbiſhop after our departure from you, had receiued of you other contrary letters, by the vertue whereof he was exempted from our iudgement: ſo that he ſhould not be compelled to aunſwere vs. Moreouer the ſaid king to vs added and affirmed (and ſo did the biſhops there preſent teſtifying the ſame) that cōcerning the old and ancient cuſtomes of his progenitors, (wherof complaint was made to you) al that, for the moſt part was falſe & vntrue which was intimate to you. Offering farther to vs, that if there were any ſuch cuſtomes or lawes in his time that ſeemed preiudicial or diſagreeable to the ſtatutes of the Church, he wold willingly be content to reuoke and diſanul the ſame. Wherupon, we with other Archbiſhops, Biſhops, & Abbotes of the land (hearing the king ſo reaſonable) laboured by al meanes we might that the king ſhould not vtterly breake from vs, but rather ſhould incline to vs to haue the matter brought before vs betwixt him & the forenamed Archbiſhop: By reaſon whereof, we directed out our own Chapleins with letters vnto him, appoynting him both time and place where ſafely hee might meete with vs in the feaſt of S. Martin. Neuertheleſſe, he pretending certaine excuſes made his dilatories, driuing of the time from the day of S. Martin to the Octaues following: which thing ſtirred the kings hart more then is to be thought.

A communication betweene Becket and the Cardinalles.

Thus, although we offered to the Archbiſhop ſafe comming, yet when he refuſed to meete vs in the borders of the king: we to ſatisfie his minde, condeſcended to meete him within the land of the French king, in the place where hee himſelfe appoynted: becauſe there ſhoulde be no let in vs whereby to ſtoppe his profite. After we had entred communication, we began to exhort him all that we coulde, to ſubmit and humble himſelfe to his ſoueraigne and king, who had heaped him with ſuch benefits and dignities: wherby matter might be geuen vs to further occaſion of reconciling them together. He being thus moued and exhorted by vs, departed aſide to conſult with his counſell vpon the matter. At length after counſel taken, he commeth againe anſwering in this maner. That he woulde ſubmit and humble himſelfe to the King, Saluo honore Dei, & eccleſiæ libertate, ſalua etiam honeſtate perſonæ ſuæ, & poſſeſsionibus Eccleſiarum: & amplius, ſua & ſuorū in omnibus ſalua iuſticia. That is: Sauing the honour of God, and libertie of the Church: ſauing alſo the honeſtie of his perſon, and the poſſeſsions of Churches: and moreouer, ſauing the iuſtice of him and of all his in all things &c. After which communication had among vs: we moued & required him more inſtantly, tha the wold come to the ſpecialities: whēas yet he had brought nothing in, either which was certaine or particular. Likewiſe we demanded of him, if he would in all ſuch things contained and comprehended in our letters, ſtand & ſubmit himſelfe to our letters, ſo as the king and the biſhops before were contented to doe. To the which he anſwering againe ſaid, that he had receiued from you a commandement, not to anſwere before he and all his were reſtored full to all their poſſeſsions. And then he would ſo procede in the matter according as he ſhould receiue cōmandement frō the ſea Apoſtolicall. Thus, we breaking of cōmunication (ſeeing that he neither would ſtand to iudgement, nor come to conformitie) thought to make relation thereof to the king, and ſo did: declaring that which he had expreſſed to vs: yet not vttering all, but keeping backe a great part of that which we had heard and ſeene. Which when the king and his nobles had vnderſtanding of, affirmed to vs againe: that he therein was cleared ſo much the more, for that the Archbiſhop would not ſtand to their iudgement nor abide theit triall. After much heauineſſe and lamentation of the king, the archbiſhop, biſhops, and abbots of the Realme requiring of vs, whether we had any ſuch power by vertue of our commiſsion, to withſtand him and proceede againſt him: and perceiuing that our authoritie would not ſerue thereunto, and fearing leaſt the foreſaid Archbiſhop (refuſing all order of iudgement) woulde woorke againe diſquietneſſe to ſome noble perſonages of the Realme: and ſeeing our authoritie could not extend ſo far to help them againſt him (taking a conſultation among themſelues) agreed together with one aſſent, to make their appellation to your audience, prefixing accordingly the terme of their appeale.

Beckets addition.

Becket would neither ſtand to iudgement nor triall.

And this is the Epiſtle of theſe two Cardinals ſent to the pope: wherin, may ſufficiently appeare al the diſcourſe and maner of that aſſembly (although particularly euery thing not expreſſed) concerning the talke betwixt the Cardinals and the Archbiſhop. As whē that William (who of the two Cardinals was the more eloquent) amongſt other communication had, reaſoned long wt him concerning the peace of the church: which Becket ſaid he preferred aboue all things. Well then (ſayeth the Cardinall) ſeeing all this contention betwene the king and you, riſeth vpon certain lawes & cuſtomes to be abrogate, and that you regard the peace of the Church ſo much: then what ſay you: will you renounce your Biſhopricke, and the king ſhall renounce his cuſtomes? The peace of the Church now lieth in your handes, either to retaine or to let goe, what ſay you? To whom he anſwereth againe, that the proportion was not like. For I ſaith he (ſauing the honour of my Church and my perſon) can not renounce my Byſhopricke. Contrary, it ſtandeth the king vpon, for his ſoules health and honor, to renounce theſe his ordinaunces and cuſtomes. Which thing he thus prooued, becauſe the Pope had condemned thoſe cuſtomes, and he likewiſe with the church of Rome had done the ſame, &c.

Becket loueth better his biſhopricke then the peace of the church, for all his gaye talke.

¶ The talke betweene the French king, *the king of England, and Becket.*

After the Cardinals were returned: the French king ſeeing the king of England diſquieted and ſolicitous to haue peace (or at leaſt wiſe pretending to ſet agreemēt betweene them) brought the matter to a communication among them. In which communication the French king made himſelfe as vmpeare betweene them. The King of England hearing that the Archb. would commit himſelfe to his arbitrement, was ẏ more willing to admit his preſence. Whereupon, many being there preſent, the Archb. proſtrating himſelfe at the Kings feete, declared vnto him kneeling vpon his knees that he would cōmit the whole cauſe (whereof the diſſention roſe betwene them) vnto his owne arbitrement: adding thereto (as he did before) Saluo honore Dei, that is, ſauing the honour of God. The king, who (as is ſaid before) being greatly offēded at this word: hearing & ſeeing the ſtiffeneſſe of the man ſticking ſo much to this worde Saluo honore. &c. was highly therewith diſpleaſed: Rebuking him with many grieuous wordes as a man proude and ſtubburne, and alſo charging him with ſondry & great benefites beſtowed vpon him, as a perſon vnkinde & forgetting what he had ſo gently done and beſtowed vpon him.

Becket commeth in with his old addition, *Saluo honore Dei.*

Becket charged with vnkindnes.

And ſpeaking to the French king there preſent: See ſir (if it pleaſe you, ſayth the king of England) whatſoeuer diſpleaſeth this man: that he ſayeth, to be contrary to the honor of God. And ſo by this meanes, he will vendicate & chalenge to himſelfe both that is his and mine alſo. And yet notwithſtanding: for that I will not ſeeme to doe any thing contrary or preiudiciall to Gods honor, this I offer him. There hath bene kings in England before, both of greater and les puiſſance then I am: Likewiſe there hath bene biſhops of Cant. many, both great & holy men: what the greateſt and moſt holieſt of all his predeceſſours before him hath done to the leaſt of my progenitors and predeceſſors before me, let him do the ſame to me & I am content. They that ſtoode by hearing theſe wordes of the king, crying all wt one voice: the king hath debaſed himſelfe inough to the byſhop. The Archb. ſtaying a little at this with ſilence: what (ſaith the French king to him) my lorde Archbiſhop, will you be better then thoſe holy men? will ye be greater then Peter? what ſtand you doubting? Here now haue you peace & quietnes put in your owne handes, if ye will take it. To this ẏ Archb. anſwered againe: truth it is (ſayth he) my predeceſſors before me were much both better and greater then I, and of them euery one for his time (although he did not extirpe and cut off all) yet ſomething they did plucke vp and correct which ſeemed aduerſe & repugnant againſt Gods honor. For if they had taken altogether away: no ſuch occaſion then had bene left for any man to raiſe vp this fire of temptation now againſt vs, as is nowe raiſed to proue vs with all: that we being ſo proued wt them might alſo be crowned with them being likewiſe partakers of praiſe and reward, as we are of their labour and trauaile. And though ſome of them haue bene ſlacke, or exceeded in their duetie doing: in that we are not bounde to follow their example.

The kings offer to Becket both charitable and reaſonable.

The words of the French king.

Peter, when he denied Chriſt, we therfore rebuke him: but whē he reſiſted ẏ rage of Nero, therin we cōmēd him. And therfore, becauſe he could not finde in his cōſcience to cōſent vnto ẏ he ought in no wiſe to diſſemble: neither did he: by reaſon thereof he loſt his life. By ſuch like oppreſſions the church hath alwaies growne. Our forefathers & predeceſſors, becauſe they would not diſſemble the name & honor of Chriſt, therfore they ſuffred. And ſhall I, to haue the fauour of one man, ſuffer the honor of Chriſt to be ſuppreſt? The nobles ſtanding by (hearing him thus ſpeake) were greatly agreeued with him: noting in him both arrogancy & wilfulnes, in perturbing and refuſing ſuche an honeſt offer of agremēt, But ſpecially one among the reſt

This maior if it had bin ioyned with a good Minor had made a good argument.

Ex quadrilogo.

was moſt agreeued, who their openly proteſted: that ſeing the Archbiſhop ſo refuſed the counſaile and requeſt of both the kingdome, he was not worthye to haue the helpe of eyther of them: but as the kingdome of Englande had reiected, ſo the kingdome of Fraunce ſhoulde not entertayne him.

Alanus, Herbertus, and certayne other of his Chaplaines that committed to ſtory the doynges of Becket, doe record (whether truely or no I cannot ſay) that the French king ſending for him as one much ſorrowing and lamenting the wordes that he had ſpoken: at the cōming of Becket did proſtrate hymſelfe at his feete: confeſſing his fault in geuing counſel to him in ſuch a cauſe (pertayning to the honor of God) to relent therein & to yeld to the pleaſure of mā: wherfore declaring his repentance, he deſired to be abſolued thereof. So that after this, the French king and Becket were great frendes together: in ſo much, that kyng Henry ſending to the king to entreate him, and deſire him that he would not ſupport nor maintayn his enemy within his Realme: the French king vtterly denyed the kinges requeſte, taking part rather with the Archbiſhop then with him.

Anno. 1170.

Beſides theſe quarrels and grudges betwixt the kyng and the Archbiſhop aboue mentioned: there followed yet moreouer an other, which was this. Shortly after this cōmunication recited betweene the king and Becket: the K. of England returning againe frō Normandy to England (which was the yeare of our Lord. 1170. and the 16. yeare of his raigne) about Midſomer, kept his court of Parliament at weſtminſter, In yͤ which Parliament he (through the aſſent both of the Clergy, and the Lordes temporall) cauſed hys ſonne Henry to be crowned king. which coronation, was done by the handes of Robert Archb. of York with the aſſiſtāce of other biſhops miniſtring to the ſame, as Gilb. of Londō, Goceline of Saliſbury, Hugo of Dureſme and Gualter of Rocheſter. By reaſon wherof Becket of Cant. beyng there neither mentioned nor called for, took no little diſpleaſure: and ſo did Lodouike the French king, hearing that Margaret hys daughter was not alſo crowned wͭ her huſband. wherupon he gathering a great army forthwith marched into Normādy. But the matter was ſoone cōpaſſed by the king of England, who ſending hys ſonne to him in Normandy, intreated there and concluded peace with him: promiſing that his ſonne ſhould be crowned agayne, & then hys daughter to be crowned alſo. But the Archb. not ceaſing his diſpleaſure and emulatiō, ſent vnto the Pope complaining of theſe foure biſhops, eſpecially of the Archb. of Yorke, who durſt be ſo bold in his abſence & without his knowledge or his licence, to intermedle to crowne the king, being a matter proper and peculiar to his iuriſdiction. At the inſtaunce of whom the P. ſent downe yͤ ſentnce of excommunication againſt yͤ B. of London. The other 3. biſhops with the Archb. of York, he ſuſpended: whoſe ſentence and letters thereof, for auoyding prolixitie, I here omit.

The Biſhop of London excommunicated, with foure other Byſhops ſuſpēded.

Beſides theſe foreſayd biſhops excommunicated diuers other clerks alſo of the court he cited to appeare before him by vertue of his large commiſſion whiche he gate from the Pope, to whō they were bound to obey, by reaſon of their benefices, And ſome he commanded in vertue of obediēce, to appeare in payne of forfeting their order and benefices. Of which, whē neyther ſort would appeare, he curſed thē openly. And alſo ſome lay men of the court & the kings familiars: ſome as intruders, and violent withholders of Church goodes, he accurſed: as Richard Lucy, and Iocelin Balliot, and Rafe Brocke which tooke bels and goods that belonged to the Church of Caunterburye, and Hugh Saincteleare, and Thomas the ſonne of Bernard, and all that ſhould hereafter take any church goodes without hys conſent, ſo that almoſt all the court was accurſed eyther by the name, or as pertakers.

This being done, the Archb. of Yorke with the foreſaid biſhops, reſorted to the king with a greuous cōplaint: declaring how miſerably their caſe ſtood, and what they had ſuſtayned, for fulfilling his commaundement. The kyng hearing this, was highly moued as no maruell was. But what remedy. The tyme of the ruine of the Pope was not yet come: and what Prince then might withſtand the iniurious violence of that Romiſh poteſtate?

The cauſe of the kinges wrath againſt Becket.

In the meane ſeaſon the Frenche King for his parte his clergy, and courtiers, ſlackt no occaſion to incite, and ſollicite Alexander the Pope agaynſt the king of England to excōmunicate him alſo: ſeeking thereby and thinking to haue ſome vauntage agaynſt the realme. Neither was the king ignorant of thes, which made him more ready to apply to ſome agreement of reconciliation. At length cōmeth downe from the Pope two Legates (the Archb. of Rhotomage and the Byſhop of Nauerne) with direction and full commiſſion eyther to driue the king to be reconciled, or to be interdicted by the popes cēſures out of the church. The king vnderſtanding himſelfe to be in greater ſtraites then he coulde auoyde: at length (through the mediation of the Frenche king, and of other Prelates and great Princes) was content to yeld to peace and reconciliation with the Archbiſhop whome he receaued both to hys fauour, and alſo permitted and graunted him free returne to his Church agayne. Concerning hys poſſeſſions and landes of the Churche of Canterburye, although Becket made great labour therefore: yet the king (being then in Normandy) would not graunt him, before he ſhould repayre to England, to ſee how he would there agree with hys ſubiectes.

Becket returneth out of baniſhment.

Thus, peace after a ſort concluded betwene the king & him, the Archb. after ſixe yeares of his baniſhment, returned to England: where he was right ioyfully receiued of the church of Cant. albeit, of Henry the yong king he was not ſo greatly welcomed. In ſomuch that comming vp to London to the king, he was returned back to Canterburye and there bid to keepe hys houſe, Roger Houeden maketh mention in hys Chronicle, that the Archbiſhop (vpō Chriſtmas day) did excōmunicate Robert de Broke, for cutting of the tayle of a certayne horſe of hys the day before. In the meane tyme, the foure biſhops before mentioned whom the Archb. had excōmunicate (ſent to him, hūbly deſiring to be releaſed of their cenſure. To whō when the archb. would not graunt clearly and ſimplye, without cautels and exceptions: they went ouer to the king, declaring to him and complayning of their miſerable ſtate and vncurtuous handling of the archbiſhop. wherupō the K. conceaued great ſorrow in hys minde, and diſpleaſure toward the party. In ſo much, that he lamented oft & ſundry times to thē about him, that (amōg ſo many yͭ he had done for) there was none that would reuenge him of his enemy by the occaſion of which wordes, certayne that were about the king (to the number of foure) hearing him thus to cōplayne and lament: addreſt thēſelues in great heat of haſt, to ſatiſfye the agreeued minde and quarrell of their prince. who within foure dayes after the ſayde Chriſtemmas day (ſayling ouer to England, & hauing a forward and a proſperous wynde in their iorney, being in yͤ deepe of winter) came to Caunterbury, where Becket was commaunded to keepe. After certayne aduiſement and conſultation had among themſelues, they preaſed at length into the pallace where the archbiſhop was ſitting with his companye about hym: firſt to aſſay hym with wordes, to ſee whether he would relent to the kinges minde, & come to ſome conformitie. They brought to him (ſayd they) commaundement from the king: whiche whether he had rather openly there in preſēce, or ſecretly to be declared to him, they bad hym chuſe. Then the company being bid to auoyde, as hee ſat alone, they ſayd: you are commaunded from the Kyng beyond the ſea, to repayre to the king here is ſonne, and to do your duety to him: anſwering to him your fidelitie, for your baronage and other things, & to amend thoſe things wherein you haue treſpaſſed agaynſt him, wherupon, the archbiſhop denying to ſweare, and perceauing their intēt, called in his company again, and in multiplying of wordes to and fro, at length they came to the biſhops which were excommunicate for the coronation of the king, whom they commaunded in the kinges name, he ſhoulde abſolue and ſet free agayne. The archbiſhop anſwered, that he neither ſuſpended nor excommunicated them, but the pope: wherfore, if that were the matter that greued them, they ſhould reſort to the Pope, he had nothing to doe with the matter. Then ſayd Reignald, one of the foure: although you in your own perſō did not excommunicate them, yet through your inſtigation it was done. To whom the Archbiſhop ſayd againe: and if the Pope (ſaid he) tendring the iniuries done to me and my Church, wrought this reuenge for me: I confeſſe it offendeth me nothing. Thus then (ſayd they) it appeareth wel by your own wordes, that it pleaſeth you right well (in contempt and contumely of the kinges maieſty) to ſequeſter his biſhops from their miniſtery, who at the commaundement of the king did ſeruice in the coronation of hys ſonne. And ſeeing ye haue ſo preſumed thus to ſtād againſt the exaltation of this our ſoueraigne, our new K. it ſeemeth likely that you aſpired to take his crown frō him, & to be exalted king your ſelfe. I aſpire not ſayd he, to yͤ crown & name of the K. But rather if I had 4. crownes (to geue him more) I would ſet them all vpon him: ſuche good will I doe beare him, that onely (his father the king excepted) there is none, whoſe honour I more tender and loue. And as concerning the ſequeſtring of thoſe Biſhops this I geue you to vnderſtand: that nothing was done in

Ex Rogerio Houedono.

The wordes of the king, which were the cauſe of Beckets death

If the Papiſtes will needes meaſure the ſucceſſe of things by ſeaſons and wether: then muſt they by that reaſon condemne the cauſe of Becket, his aduerſaries hauing ſuch forwardnes of wether in doing their feate.

The talke betwene the foure ſouldiers and Tho. Becket.

that behalfe, without the knowledge & aſſent of the king himſelfe. To whom when I had made my complaynt, at the feaſt of Mary Magdalen, of the wrõg and iniury done to me and my Church therein: he gaue me his good leaue to obtayne at the Popes hand ſuche remedy therein as I could, promiſing moreouer his helpe to me in the ſame. What is this, quoth they, that thou ſayeſt? Makeſt thou the king a trator, and betrayer of the king his owne ſon? that when he had commaunded the biſhops to crown his ſonne, he would geue thee leaue afterward to ſuſpend thẽ for ſo doyng? certes it had bene better for you not to haue accuſed ſo the king of this prodition. The Archb. ſayde to Reignald, that he was there preſẽt at that tyme, and hard it himſelfe. But that he denyed, and ſwore it was not ſo: and thinke you (ſay they) that we the kinges ſubiectes wil or ought to ſuffer this? And ſo approching nearer to hym, ſayd: he had ſpoken inough agaynſt hys own head. Wherupon followed great exclamation and many threatning wordes. Then ſayd the archb. I haue ſyth my comming ouer, ſuſtayned many iniuries and rebukes, concernyng both my ſelfe, my men, my cattel, my wynes, and all other goodes: notwithſtanding, the kinge (writinge ouer to hys ſonne) required hym that I ſhoulde lyue in ſafety and peace: and now beſides all other, you come hither to threaten me. To this Reignald anſwering agayn ſaid: if there be any that worketh you anye iniury otherwiſe then right is, the law is open: why do you not complayn? To whom, ſaid Becket ſhould I complaine? To the yong king ſayd they. Then ſayd Becket, I haue complayned inough if that would helpe, and haue ſought for remedy at the kinges handes, ſo long as I could be ſuffered to come to his ſpeach: but now ſeeing that I am ſtopt from yͤ, neither can find redreſſe of ſo great vexations and iniuries as I haue and do dayly ſuſtayne: nor can haue the benefite of yͤ law or reaſon: ſuch right and law as an archb. may haue that will I exerciſe, and let for no man. At theſe wordes one of thẽ burſting out in exclamation, cryed, he threatneth he threatneth, what, will he interdict the whole realme & vs altogether? Nay yͤ he ſhall not ſayth an other, he hathe interdicted to many already. And drawing more neare to hym, they proteſted and denounced him to haue ſpoken wordes to yͤ ieoperdy of hys own head. And ſo departing in great fury and many high words, ruſhed out of yͤ dores: who by the way returning to the Monkes, charged them in the kings name to keep him forth comming, yͭ he ſhold not eſcape away. What quoth the archb. thinke ye I wyll flee away? Nay neyther for the king, nor any man alyue, will I ſtirre one foot from you. No ſay they thou ſhalt not auoyd, though thou wouldeſt, and ſo thedeparting with many wordes, the arch. followeth them out of the chamber dore crying after them: here, here here, ſhall you finde me, laying his hand vpon hys crowne.

The ſtout heart of Becket.

The name of theſe foure ſouldiours aboue mentioned were theſe. 1. Reignald Bereſõ. 2. Hugh Morteuil. 3. William Thracy, and 4. Richard Brito: who going to harneſſe themſelues, returned the ſame day agayne. But finding the hall dore of the palace of Canterbury ſhut againſt them: they went to an inward backe dore leading into the Orcharde: there brake they vp a window and opened the dore, and ſo iſſued into the place. The Monkes (beyng about Euenſong tyme) had got the Archbiſhop into the Church: who beyng perſwaded by them, cauſed hys croſſe to be borne before hym, and ſo through the Cloyſter (by a doore whiche was broke vp for him) proceeded into the quire. The harneſt men following after, at length came to the Churche doore: whiche doore the monkes woulde haue ſhut agaynſt them, but (as the ſtory ſayth) the Archbiſhop would not ſuffer them. So they approching into yͤ Church, and the Biſhop meeting them vpon the ſtayres, there was ſlayne: euery one of the foure ſouldiors ſtriking him with his ſword into the head. Who afterward flying into the North, at length with much adoe obtayning their pardon of the Pope (through the kinges procurement, as ſome ſtoryes recorde) went to Ieruſalem.

{ Anno. 1171. }

The death of Tho. Becket.

What is to be thought or iudged of Thomas Becket.

Thus you haue heard the life and death of this Tho. Becket: of whom what is to be iudged, let his owne actes and facts declare. And albeit the ſcripture ought to be onely the rule to vs to iudge all thinges by: yet if any ſhall require farther teſtimony (partly to ſatiſfy their minds therin) ye ſhal heare the iudgementes of certayn men, in yeres and tymes almoſt as auncient as himſelf, what they writ, and affirme of him.

What is to be thought whether Thomas Becket dyed a ſainct or not.

And firſt to begin with the teſtimony of one of his owne religion, and alſo not farre (as it appeareth) frõ hys owne tyme: who writing of his martyrdome & myracles, thus teſtifieth of the iudgement and ſentence of diuers cõcerning his promotion and behauiour. The Chronicle being written in lattin, & hauing the name of the author cut out, thus beginneth: Quoniam verò multi.&c. And in the firſt booke, cap. 8. it followith in this maner: Nonnullis tamen id circa promotionem eius viſum eſt minus canonicũ, quòd ad eam magis operata eſt regis inſtantia, quàm cleri vel populi vota. Præſumptionis quoq; vel indiſcretionis fuiſſe notatum eſt, quòd qui remũ tenere vix idoneus videbatur, primum gubernaculi locum ſuſcepit, &c. & mox: magis etiam ſecularia tũ ſapiens, tam ſanctum tantæ dignitatis faſtigium non horrens renuiſſe, ſed vltroneus aſcendiſſe creditus. Aliter dei amicus Moſes &c. With much more as in latine inſueth, whiche for the Engliſhe Reader here foloweth tranſlated. Diuers notwithſtãding there be, which as touching his promotion, ſuppoſe the ſame not to be canonicall. For that it was wrought rather by the inſtance of the king (thinking him to be a man ready and inclinable to his vtilitie) then by the aſſent eyther of the clergy or of the people. Farther it is noted in him for a poynt of preſumption, and lack of diſcretion: for that he beyng ſcarce worthy to take the Ore in hand and play the boteſwane, would take vpõ him to ſit at the healm, and guide the ſhip: namely in that church, where the Couent being in geſture and veſture religious, be wont to haue their prelate taken out of the ſame profeſsion. Where as he, ſcant bearing the babite of a Clarke, and goyng in hys chaunges and ſoft apparell, is more conuerſaunt among the delicate rufflers in the court, ſauoring rather of worldly thinges: not refuſing moreouer without any dread, to clime vp to the high preferment of ſuche an holy dignitie, but rather willingly of hys owne accord, to aſpire vnto it. Moſes, we read did otherwiſe, who beyng the frend of God and ſent of him to cõduct his people Iſraell out of Egipt, trembled at the meſſage, and ſayd. Who am I Lord, that I ſhoulde goe to Pharao: and bring thy people Iſraell out of Egipt? And agayne, I pray thee (ſayth hee) O Lorde: I am nothing eloquent, ſend him whome thou wilt ſend. Likewiſe Ieremias alſo being ſent to the Lord to prophecy agaynſt Ieruſalem, was abaſhed to take the office vpon hym, anſwering agayn with much dread of hart, A, a, a. Lorde I cannot vtter my minde for I am a Childe.

The promotion of Becket iudged not canonicall.

Becket charged with preſumptiõ and lacke of diſcretion.

Ambition noted in Becket, in not refuſing but taking his promotion.

After like maner we reade of the ſaintes of the newe teſtament, wherof many were preferred oftẽtimes to their biſhopriks, and functions of the Churche by meere forcement and compulſion rather of other, then by their owne willes. So was bleſſed Gregory after hys flight, and goyng away, brought backe agayne, and placed in the ſea & chayre of Rome. Likewiſe S. Ambroſe ſore agaynſt hys mynde, who alſo of purpoſe accuſing and confeſſing hys owne defectes, becauſe he would be repealed: yet by the cõmaundement of Valentinian the Emperour was inforced to take the burden vpõ him, which he could by no wiſe ſhake of. S. Martine in like ſorte vnknowing of any ſuch matter: was circumuented by a certayne godly trayne and wile of the Citizens, before he could be brought to hys cõſecration, which he did not ſo much take, as he was thruſt into it, with much penſiuenes and ſorrow of hart. By theſe and ſuch other exãples this Chancellour likewiſe ſhoulde haue rather excuſed himſelfe as vnworthy and vnmeet for that romthe, ſhewing himſelfe more willing to refuſe then to take it. To the which this archbiſhop is iudged to doe cleane contrary, &c. Hæc ex Chronico. Cui tutulus. De paſsione & miraculis beati Thomæ.

Byſhops againſt their wils thruſt into their byſhoprikes.

And although ſcarcely any teſtimony is to be taken of that age (being all blinded and corrupted with ſuperſtitiõ) yet let vs heare what Neuburgenſis an auncient Hiſtoriographer ſayth: who in the dayes of the ſonne of thys K. Henry the ij. proſecuting his hiſtory vnto King Richard the firſt hath theſe wordes: writing of Thomas Becket: Sanè cum pleriq; ſoleant in his quos amant & laudant affectu quodam propenſiori, ſed prudentia parciori, quicquid ab eis geritur, approbare: planè ego in viro illo venerabili ea quæ ita ab ipſo acta ſunt, quum nulla exindè proueniret vtilitas ſed feruor tantùm accenderetur regius, ex quo tot mala poſtmodum pullulaſſe noſcuntur, laudanda nequaquam cẽſuerim, licet ex laudabili zelo proceſſerint: Sicut in beatiſſ. apoſtolorum principe, quòd gentes ſuo exemplo iudaizare coegit: in quo eum doctor gentium reprehenſibilem declaret fuiſſe, licèt eum conſtet Laudabili hoc pietate feciſſe &c. That is in Engliſh.

Ex Chronico Neuburgenſi.

Acta Beckets improbata.

Whereas many be wont, in them whome they loue or prayſe (iudging them more by affection, then prudence) to allow & approue, what ſoeuer they do: yet for me to iudge vpon this reuerend man: verily I think not his doings & acts to be prayſe worthy, or to be allowed. Foraſmuch as therof came no vtilitie but onely the anger and ſtirring vp of the king, whereupon afterwarde ſprong ſo great miſchiefes (although the king that he did, might procede of a certayne laudable zeale) like as in the bleſſed Prince of the Apoſtles, in that he taught the Gentiles by his example to play the Iewes: Paule the doctor of the Gentiles, did declare him therein to be rebukeable: albeit it cannot be denyed, but that he did it of good affection. &c. And in the ſame author, in an other place it followeth to the like effect, in theſe wordes: Literas has in Angliam ad ſuſpenſionem Epiſcoporum præmiſſas ipſe ſequebatur, zelo iuſtitiæ feruidus, verùm an plenè ſecundum ſcientiam nouit Deus: Noſtræ enim paruitati nequaquam conceditur, de tanti viri actibus temerè iudicare. Puto enim quòd in molli ad huc teneraq; regis cōcordia minus prouidè egiſſet, & ea quæ ſine fidei Chriſtianæ periculo tolerari potuiſſent, ratione temporis & cōpēſatione pacis diſsimulanda dixiſſet, iuxta illud propheticum: prudens in tempore illo tacebit, quia tempus malum eſt. Itaq;, quod a venerabli pontifice tunc actum eſt, nec laudandum eſſe iudico, nec vituperare præſumo: ſed dico ſi vel modice in huiuſmodi a ſancto viro per zeli immoderatiorē impetū eſt exceſſū, hoc ipſū eſt ſacræ, quæ cōſecuta noſcitur, igne paſsionis excoctū. Ita quippe ſācti viri vel amādi vel laudādi ſūt a nobis, qui nos illis lōgè impares eſſe cognoſcimus, vt ea, in quibus homines fuerunt, vel fuiſſe noſcuntur nequaquam vel amemus vel laudemus: ſed ea tantū, in quibus eos ſine ſcrupulo imitari debemus. Quis enim eos dicat in omnibus, quæ ab ipſis fiant, eſſe imitabiles? Non igitur in omnibus, quæ faciūt, ſed ſapientèr & cautè debent laudari, vt ſua Deo prærogatiua ſeruetur, in cuius vtiq; laudib⁹ nemo poteſt eſſe nimius, quantumcunq; laudare conetur &c. That is in Engliſh.

The letters which were ſent before for the ſuſpending of the Biſhops, hee purſued with burning zeale of iuſtice but whether according to knowledge, god knoweth it. It is not for my rude and ſlender witte to iudge of the doings of ſuch a perſō. But yet thys I ſuppoſe: that he did not behaue himſelfe ſo circumſpectly as hee ought (conſidering the tyme) and that the concorde betwene him and the king as yet was but ſoft and tender. who for the conſideration of the time, and for the recompēce of peace: might haue forborne or diſſembled ſuch things, which without any perill of Chriſtian religion might be tollerate wel inough according to the prophetical ſaying: A wiſe mā in his time wil keepe ſilence, becauſe ẏ tyme will not ſerue him. wherfore, as the doings of that reuerend Prelate I iudge in that behalfe not to be cōmēded: ſo neither did I preſume to diſcommend them. But this I ſay, that if that holy man through immoderate violence of zeale, did excede in a part therin: the ſame was excocted again and purged by the fire of his ſuffering: which afterward enſued. And ſo far, holye mē are to be loued or praiſed of vs, which know our ſelues much inferiour to their vertues: that in ſuch things wherin they haue bene men & alſo knowne to be men: therein, we neyther hold with them nor commend them, but onely ſuch thinges wherein without all daunger or ſcruple we ought to imitate thē. For who is able to ſay, that they are to be imitated in all that they doe, and therefore are not to be eſteemed and prayſed in al things generally whatſoeuer they do: but conſiderately & with aduiſement: wherin they deſerue prayſe: ſo that the onely prerogatiue in this behalfe be reſerued to God, in whoſe prayſe no man can exceede how feruent ſoeuer he be in his prayſing. &c.

And heare yet more what the ſayde author writeth in the ſame cauſe of the kinges wrath & Beckets faults. Pluſquam 100. homicidia a clericis commiſſa ſub Hen. ij. dicuntur. In quibus plectendis rex aliquanto vehementior. Sed huius immoderationis regiæ, noſtri temporis Epiſcopos tantum reſpicit culpa, quantum ab eis proceſsit & cauſa. Cum enim ſacri præcipiūt canones, clericos nō ſolùm facinoroſos & grauioribus irretitos criminibus, verùm etiam leuiorum criminum reos degradari, & tot millia talium, tanquam innumeras inter pauca grana paleas Eccleſia Anglicana contineat, tamen quam paucos a multis retro annis clericos in anglia contigit officio priuari. Nempe Epiſcopi dū defendendis magis clericorum libertatibus vel dignitatibus quam eorum vitijs corrigendis reſecandiſque inuigilant: arbitrātur obſequiū ſe præſtare Deo & Eccleſiæ, ſi facinoroſos clericos quos pro officij debito canonicæ vigore cenſuræ coercere debeant, contra publicam tueantur diſciplinam. Vndè clerici qui in ſortem domini vocati, tanquam ſtellæ in firmamento cœli poſitæ, vita & verbo lucere deberent ſuper terram, habentes pro impunitate agendi quodcunque libuerit, licentiam & libertatem, neque Deum, cuius iudicium tardare videtur, neque homines poteſtatem habētes reuerentur, cum & Epiſcopalis circa eos ſollicitudo ſit languida, & ſeculari eos iuriſdictioni ſacri eximat ordinis prærogatiua. That is.

More then 100. murders are ſayd to be committed by the Clergy vnder king Henry the 2. In puniſhing of whō the king was ſomewhat to vehement: but the fault (ſayth he) of this immoderate dealing of the king reſteth moſt in the Biſhops of our tyme: for as much as the cauſe thereof proceedeth of them. For where it is decreed and commaūded by the Canon law (concerning the ſpirituall men of ẏ clergy) that not onely ſuch as be notorious, but ſuche as be ſpotted with lighter crimes ſhould be diſgraded: wherof, haue we ſo many thouſandes and whole ſwarmes of ſuch now in England, as innumerable chaffe among the little good grayne? and yet how few do we ſee theſe many yeares in England depriued of their office? For why? the Byſhops while they labour more to mayntayne the liberties and dignities of Church men, then to correct their vices: thinke they do God and the Churche great ſeruice, if they reſcue and defend the enormities of the Church men agaynſt publike diſcipline, whome they ought rather to puniſh by the vertue of the cenſure eccleſiaſticall. whereupon, the Church men: ſuch as be ſorted peculiarly to the Lord, and ought like ſtarres to ſhyne in earth by worde & example, taking licence and libertie to doe what they luſt: neyther reuerence god (whoſe iudgement ſeemeth to tary) neyther men ſet in authoritie: when as both the Biſhops are ſlacke in their charge doyng, and alſo the prerogatiue of their order exempteth thē frō the ſecular iuriſdictiō. &c. And thus much out of Nuburgenſis.

Ex Cæſario Monacho. lib. 8. dialo. cap. 69.

To this matter alſo pertayne the words of Ceſarius the monke, in hys 8. booke of Dialogues cap. 69 about the 48. yeare after the death of Thomas Becket, which was the yeare of the Lord. 1220. whoſe wordes in ſumme come to this effect. Quæſtio Pariſijs inter magiſtros ventilata fuit, vtrum damnatus an ſaluatus eſſet ille Thomas. Dixerat Rhogerius tunc Normānus, fuiſſe illum morte ac damnatione dignum, quòd contumax eſſet in dei miniſtrum regem. Protulit econtra Petrus Cantor Pariſienſis quòd ſigna ſaluationis, & magne ſāctitatis eſſent eius miracula: & quòd martirium probaſſet Eccleſiæ cauſa pro qua mortem ſubierat. &c. In Engliſh.

Whether Tho. Becket be ſaued or damned.

There was a queſtion moued among the maiſters of Paris, whether Tho. Becket were ſaued or damned. To this queſtion anſwereth Roger a Norman: that he was worthy death and damnation, for that he was ſo obſtinate agaynſt Gods miniſter hys K. Contrary, Peter Cantor a Perſian diſputed, ſaying & affirming that his miracles were great ſignes and tokens of ſaluatiō, and alſo of great holines in that man: affirming moreouer that the cauſe of the Church did allow and confirme hys martyrdome, for the which Church he dyed.

If God in theſe latter dayes geueth no miracles to glorifie the glory of his own ſonne: much leſſe wil he giue myracles to glorifie Thomas Becket.

And thus haue ye the iudgement, and cenſure of the ſchole of Paris touching this queſtion, for the ſaincting of Thomas Becket. In which iudgement for ſo much as the greateſt argumēt reſteth in the miracles wrought by him after hys death: let vs therefore pauſe a little vpon ẏ ſame, to try and examine theſe his miracles. In the tryall wherof we ſhall finde one of theſe two to be true, that eyther if they were true, they were wrought not by God, but by a cōtrary ſpirit: of whō Chriſt our Lord geueth vs warning in his goſpell, ſaying: whoſe comming ſhal be with lying ſignes and wonders to deceiue, if it were poſſible, the elect. Math 24. for els we ſhall finde that no ſuche were euer wrought at all, but fayned and forged of idle Monkes and religious bellies for the exaltatiō of their churches, & profit of their powches: whiche thing in deede ſeemeth rather to be true: And no leſſe may appeare by the miracles thēſelues, ſet forth by one of his own Monks & of his owne time, who in fiue ſolemne books hath comprehended all the reuelation, vertues, and miracles of this archb. the which bookes (as yet remayning in the hands of William Stephenſon Citizen of London) I haue ſeen and peruſed: wherein is contayned the whole ſumme of all his miracles to the number of 270, being ſo far of from all trueth & reaſon, ſome ridiculous, ſome monſtrous, vayne, abſurd, ſome alſo blaſphemous & ſome ſo impudēt: that not onely they deſerue no credit (altogether ſauoring of mere forgery) but alſo for very ſhame will abaſh an honeſt penne to write vpō thē. Firſt if miracles ſerue for neceſſity & for infidels: what cauſe or neceſſity was there (in a Chriſtian realme hauing the word of God) for God to worke ſuch miracles after his death, who neuer wrought any in all his life? Thē to conſider the end of theſe miracles: whether do they tend, but onely to bring men to Canterbury, with their vowes and offeringes to enrich the couent?

Liber de miraculis b. thomæ autore monacho quodam Cantuar.

Miracles of Bec. conſidered.

Beſide the nūber of the miracles which be ſayd ſo many, that they loſe theyr owne credit: what diſeaſe is there belonging to man or woman in the curing whereof, ſome miracle hath not bene wrought by this θαυματουργός: as feuers, fiſtula, the gout: tothache: palſey, conſumption, falling ſickneſſe, leproſie, headache, broken armes, maymed legs, ſwelling throates, the rayſing vp of the dead, which haue bene two dayes departed, with infinite other. And as all theſe haue healed (for the moſt part) by one kinde of ſalue (as a certayne panacea) which was, with the water onely of Caunterbury, like as a cunning Smith which ſhould open with one key all maner of lockes: ſo agayne in reading of the ſtory of theſe miracles, ye ſhall finde the matter ſo conueyed, that the power of this dead Saynt, was neuer twiſe ſhewed vpon any one diſeaſe, but euery

Aqua Cantuarienſis.

diuers diſeaſe to haue a diuers miracle.

To recite in order all theſe prodigious reuelatiõs and phãtaſticall miracles, falſely imagined and aſcribed to this archbiſhop: were nothing els, but to write a legend of lies, & to occupy the people with trifles. which, becauſe it perteineth rather to yͤ idle profeſſiõ of ſuch dreaming monks and cloyſterers, that haue nothing els to maintain that religion withal: I will not take their profeſſion out of theyr hands. wherfore, to omit all ſuche vayne & lying apparitions and miracles, as how this angry ſainct (3. dayes after his death) appeared by viſion at the altar in his pontificalibus, commaunding the quere not to ſing, but to ſay this office of his maſſe: Exurge, quare obdormis Domine. &c. which viſion the author himſelfe of yͤ book doth ſay he did ſee. To omit alſo yͤ blaſphemous lye, how in other viſion the ſayd Archbiſhop ſhould ſay: that hys bloud did cry out of the earth to God, more then the bloud of iuſt Abell. Itẽ, in an other viſiõ it was ſhewed to a monk of Lewes, how S. Thomas had hys place in heauen appoynted with the Apoſtles: aboue Stephen, Laurence, Uincent, and al the other Martyrs. whereof this cauſe is rendered, for that S. Stephen. Laurence, and ſuch other, ſuffered only for their own cauſe. But this Th. ſuffered for the vniuerſal church. Item, how it was ſhewed to a certayne young man (Ormus by name) xij. yeares before the death of this Becket: that among the Apoſtles & martyrs in heauen, there was a vacaunt place left, for a certayn prieſt, as he ſayd of England: which was credibly ſuppoſed to be this Tho. Becket. Item, how a certain knightes ſonne being two dayes dead, was reuiued agayne ſo ſoone as he had the water of Caunterbury put in his mouth, & had by his parentes 4. peeces of ſiluer bended, to be offered in Cãterbury in the childes behalfe. All theſe, I ſay, with ſuch other like, to omit (the number wherof commeth to an infinite varietie) onely this one ſtory or an other that followeth ſhall ſuffice to expreſſe the vanitie and impudent forgery of all the reſt.

Singing at the maſſe forbidden by Tho. Becket after his death.

A blaſphemous lye.

Beck. aboue the Martirs in heauen.

A place prepared in heauen for Becket xii. yeares before his death.

In the fourth book of this fabulous author, and in the 3. chap. a miracle is there contayned of a certayn countryman of Bedfordſhire in kinges weſton, whoſe name was Eilwardus: which Eilwardus in his drõkẽnes bruſting into an other mans houſe, which was his debter, took out of his houſe a great whetſtone, & a paire of hedging gloues: The other party ſeyng this value not ſufficient for hys cõdemnation (by the councell of the towneclerk) entred an action of felony agaynſt him for other thinges beſides, as for ſtealing his wimble, his axe, nette, and other clothes. Wherupon, Eilwardus being had to yͤ Iaile of Bedford, and afterward condemned for yͤ ſame: was iudged to haue both his eyes put out, & alſo thoſe members cut of, which nature with ſecret ſhame hath couered. which puniſhmẽt by the malice of his aduerſary being executed vpon him, he lying in great danger of death by bleeding, was cõſayled to make his prayer to this Tho. of Caunterbury. whiche done (ſayth the myracle) appeared one to him by night, in white apparell, bidding him to watch and pray, & put his truſt in God, and our Lady, and holy S. Thomas. In concluſion, the miracle thus fel out: the next day at the euening, yͤ man rubbing his eye lids began to feele hys eyes to be reſtored agayne: firſt in a litle, after in a greater meaſure: ſo yͤ one was of a gray colour, yͤ other was of a black. And here was one miracle rong. After this folowed an other miracle alſo vpon the ſame perſon. For going but the ſpace of 4. myles whẽ his eyes were reſtored, he chaunced (in like maner) to rubbe the place, where his ſecret partes were cut of. And immediately vpon the ſame, his pendẽda (to vſe the wordes of my ſtory) were to him reſtored, Principio parua quidem valdè, ſed in maius proficientia, whiche he permitted euery one to feele, that woulde and ſhamed not to deny. In ſo much that he comming vp to S. Thomas: firſt at London was receaued with ioy of the B. of Dirhã, who then ſending to the burgers of Bedford for the truth of the matter, receaued from thẽ again letters teſtimonial: wherein the Citizens there (ſayth this fabulous feſtiuall) confirmed firſt to the byſhop, thẽ to the couent of Canterbury, the relation of this to be as hath bene told. This one miracle (gentle reader) ſo ſhameleſſe & impudẽt, I thought here to expreſſe, that by this one, thou mighteſt iudge of all yͤ reſidue of his miracles: & by the reſidue thereof mighteſt iudge moreouer of al the filthy wickednes of all theſe lying monks and cloyſterers, which count it a light ſport ſo impudently to deceiue the ſimple ſoules of Chriſtes Churche with trifling lyes and dreaming fables. wherefore, (as I ſayd) if the holy saynting of Thomos Becket, ſtandeth vpon no other thing but vpon his miracles: what credite is to be geuen thereto, & vpon what a weak groũd his ſhrine ſo lõg hath ſtand, by this may eaſily be ſeen. Furthermore, an other fable as notable as this, and no leſſe worthy of yͤ whetſtone, we read in the ſtory of Geruaſius: That Thomas Becket appearing to a certayne prieſt, named Thomas, declared to him that he had ſo brought to paſſe, that all the names of the Monks of the Church of Caunterbury, with the names of the prieſtes and Clerkes, & with the families belonging to that citty and church of Cant. were written in the booke of lyfe, Ex Geruaſ. fol. 6.

An impudent and a lying myracle.

Ex hiſtoria monachi Cantua. de miraculis b. Thoma.

A blaſphemous viſion.

A falſe and impudent myracle.

But whatſoeuer is to be thought of hys miracles, or how ſoeuer the teſtimony of the ſchole of Paris, or of theſe auncient tymes went with him or agaynſt hym: certayn it is, that this Antheme or Collect lately collected & primered in hys prayſe, is blaſphemous, and derogateth frõ the prayſe of him, to whome al prayſe onely and honor is due, where it is ſayd.

Tu per Thomæ ſanguinem quem pro te impendit,
Fac nos Chriſte ſcandere quò Thomas aſcendit. That is.

For the bloud of Thomas, which he for thee did ſpend,
Graunt vs (Chriſt) to climbe, where Tho. did aſcend.

The blaſ mous a theme of Becket. *Tu per Th ma ſangu nem, quẽ pro te im dit: Fa nos Chriſ ſcãdere q Thomas cendit.*

Wherin is a double lye contayned: firſt, that he dyed for Chriſt. Secondly, that if he had ſo done, yet that his bloud could purchaſe heauẽ. which thing, neyther Paul nor any of the apoſtles durſt euer chalẽge to themſelues. For if any mans bloud could bring vs to heauen, then the bloud of Chriſt was ſhed in vayne.

And thus much touching the teſtimony or cenſure of certayne auncient tymes concerning the cauſe of Thomas Becket. In the explication of whoſe hiſtory I haue ſtoode now the longer (exceding peraduenture in ouermuch prolixitie) to the intent that his cauſe beyng fully opened to the world and duely weyed on euery part: mens mindes (therby long deceiued by ignoraunce) might come vnto the more perfect certayntie of the truth therof, and therby to iudge more ſurely what is to be receaued, and what to be refuſed.

Wherby the way is to be noted out of the teſtimony of Rob. Crikeladenſis, which in him I finde: that the Pieres and nobles of this land neere about the king, gaue out in ſtraight charge vpon payne of death, and confiſcating of al their goodes, no man to be ſo hardy to name Tho. Becket to be a martyr, or to preach of hys miracles. &c. Ex Crikeladenſi.

After the death of Thomas Becket, the king fearing yͤ Popes wrath and curſe to be layd vpon him (whereunto Ludouike the French king alſo helped what he could to ſet the matter forward) ſent to Rome the archb. of Rotomage with certayn other biſhops and Archdeacons vnto the P. with hys excuſe, which, the Pope would in no wiſe heare. And after other meſſengers beyng ſent, whome ſome of the Cardinals receaued, it was ſhewed to them that on good Friday (beyng then nye at hand) the pope of cuſtome was vſed to aſſoyle or to curſe, & that it was noyſed, how the king of Englãd with his biſhops ſhould be curſed and his land interdicted, and that they ſhould be put in priſon. After this certaine of the Cardinals ſhewed the pope, that the meſſengers had power to ſweare to the Pope, that the king ſhould obey his puniſhment and penaunce. whiche was taken both of the King and the Archb. of Yorke. So that in the ſame day the pope curſed the deede doers, with ſuch as were of their conſent, eyther that ayded or harboured thẽ. Concerning theſe deede doers it is touched briefly before: how they fled vnto Yorkeſhire lying in Gnarſborough. who after hauing in penaunce to go in their linnen clothes barefoot (in faſting and prayer) to Ieruſalem: by reaſõ of this hard penance are ſayd to dye in fewe yeres after.

The king ſendeth to Rome.

Ex libro notatio hiſtoric manuſcr to I. Ske

The pen of the fou knightes.

The kinges Ambaſſadours lying as is ſaid in Rome: could finde no grace nor fauor a long tyme at the Popes handes. At length with much ado it was agreed, that two Cardinals ſhuld be ſent down to enquire out the matter, concerning them that were conſenting to Beckets death. The king perceauing what was preparing at Rome, neither being yet certayne: whereto the intent of the Pope, & comming down of the Cardinals would tend: in yͤ meane tyme addreſſed hymſelfe with a great power to enter into Ireland, geuing in charge and commaundement (as Houedenus writeth) that no bringer of any brief or letter ſhuld come ouer into England or paſſe out of yͤ realme (of what degree or condition ſo euer he were) without ſpecial licẽce and aſſuraunce to bring nothing that ſhould be preiudiciall to the realme.

Ex Houe no.

This order being ſet and ordained, the king with 400. great ſhippes taketh hys iourney to Irelande: where he ſubdued in ſhort tyme the whole land vnto hym, which at that tyme was gouerned vnder diuers kings to the number of v. Of whome fowre ſubmitted themſelues vnto the ſayd kyng Henry, onely the fifth (who was the kyng of

Ireland ſubdued to England.

Conacta)

Tonacta) deuyſed to be ſubdued, keeping him in woodes and Mariſhes.

Anno. 1172.

In the meane ſeaſon while the king was thus occupied in Ireland, the two Cardinals that were ſent from ẏ Pope (Theodinus and Albertus) were come to Normādy. Vnto whom, the king the next yeare following reſorted, about the month of October, an 1172. But before (during the time of the kinges being in Ireland) the Biſh. of London, and Ioceline b. of Saliſbury, had ſent to Rome, and procured their abſolution from the pope. The K. returning out of Ireland by wales into England, & from thence to Normandy: there made his purgation before the Popes legates, as touching the death of the foreſayd Becket: to the which he ſware he was neither ayding or conſenting, but onely that he ſpoke rigorous wordes againſt hym, for that his knightes would not auenge him againſt the ſayd Thomas. For the which cauſe, this penaunce was enioyned him vnder his othe.

The kings penance for the death of Becket.

Firſt, that he ſhould ſend ſo much to the holy lande, as would find two C. knightes or ſouldiours for the defence of that land.

Alſo, that frō Chriſtmas day next folowing, he ſhould ſet forth hys owne perſon to fight for the holy land ẏ ſpace of 3. yeares together, vnleſſe he ſhould be otherwiſe diſpēſed withall by the Pope.

Item, that if he would make hys iorney into Spaine (as hys preſent neceſſitie did require) there he to fight agaynſt the Saracens: And as long tyme as he ſhuld there abide, ſo long ſpace might he take in prolonging his iorney toward Ieruſalem.

Item, ẏ hee ſhould not hinder nor cauſe to be hindred by hym, any appellations made to the Pope of Rome.

Item, that neyther he nor hys ſonne, ſhould depart or diſſeuer from pope Alexander, or from his catholicke ſucceſſors: ſo long as they ſhould recount him or his ſonne for kinges catholike.

Item, that the goodes and poſſeſſions taken from the Church of Caunterbury, ſhould be reſtored agayne (fully and amply) as they ſtode the yeare before Thom. Becket departed the realme, and that free libertie ſhould be graū to all ſuch as were outlawed for Beckets cauſe to returne agayne.

Item, that the foreſayd cuſtomes & decrees by him eſtabliſhed againſt the Church, ſhould be extinct and repelled (ſuch onely except, ẏ concerned his own perſon) &c beſides other ſecret faſtinges and almes enioyned hym.

Ex quadrilogo.

All theſe former conditions, the king with his ſonne did both agree vnto: debaſing himſelfe in ſuch ſorte of ſubmiſſion before the two Cardinals: by the occaſion wherof, the Cardinall took no little glory, vſing thys verſe of the pſalme: Qui reſpicit terram, & facit eam tremere: qui tangit montes & fumigant. That is, which looketh vpon the earth, and maketh it to tremble: which toucheth the hilles, and they ſmoke &c. Moreouer it is mētioned in hiſtories of the ſayd king: that a little after william king of Scots with hys army had made a rode into ẏ realme, he returning out of Normandy into England, came firſt to Caunterbury: who by the way (ſo ſoone as he came to the ſight of Beckets church, lighting of his horſe and putting of hys ſhoes went barefoote to his tombe: whoſe ſteppes were found bloudy through the roughnes of the ſtones. And not onely ẏ, but alſo receaued further penance by euery mōke of the cloyſter certayn diſcipline of a rod. By whiche ſo great deiection of the K. (if it were true) ẏ mayeſt ſee the blind and lamentable ſuperſtition and ignorance of thoſe daies. If it were pretenſed (as might ſo be in tyme of warre, to get the hartes of the people) yet mayeſt thou learned Reader ſee, what ſlauery kinges and Princes were brought into at ẏ tyme, vnder the popes Clergy. The ſame yeare (as Houeden writeth) which was 1174. the whole citty of Caunterbury, was almoſt al conſumed with fire, and the ſayd minſter Church cleane burnt.

K. Hēry the 2. goeth on pilgrimage with bloudie ſteps to Tho. Bec.

Ex Rogero Houedeno & quadrilogo & alijs.

Anno. 1174.

The citie of Canterbury almoſt conſumed with fire.

Ex Houedeno parte. 1. continuata hiſtoria.

Anno. 1175.

Controuerſie betwene the ſea of Can. & the ſea of York. Archbiſhop of Yorke appealed the Archb. of Canterbury to the byſhop of Rome.

The next yeare inſuing, which was 1175. a conuocation of Biſhops was holden at weſtminſter by Rich. archbiſhop of Cant. In which conuenticle, all the byſhops & Abbots of the prouince of Canterbury and of Yorke being preſent, determined (as it had done a little before in king Henry. 1, dayes, an. 1113.) about the obedience that Yorke ſhould doe to Caunterbury. That is, whether the Archb. of Yorke might beare hys Croſſe in the dioceſſe of Cant. or not: whereof ſomething was touched before in the former proceſſe of this hiſtory. Alſo about the Biſhopricke of Lincolne, of Chichiſter, of worceſter, & of Herford: whether theſe churches were vnder the iuriſdiction of the ſee of Yorke or not, &c. Vpon theſe and other like matters: roſe ſuch controuerſie betweene theſe 2. ſeas, that the one appealed the other to the preſence of the Biſhop of Rome.

In theſe and ſuche cauſes like, howe much better had it bene, if the ſupremacy had remayned more nere in the kinges handes at home, whereby not onely much labour & trauell had bene ſaued, but alſo the great and waſtfull expences beſtowed at Rome, might with muche more fruite and thanke haue beene conuerted to their cures and flockes committed vnto thē, and alſo percaſe their cauſe no leſſe indifferently heard (at leaſt more ſpeedely might haue bene decided) but to the purpoſe again. In this cōtrouerſie diuerſe of ẏ biſhop of Yorks clergy (ſuch as were of Gloceſter, belong to the church of S. Oſwald) were excōmunicate by the Archb. of Cant. becauſe they being ſommoned, refuſed to appeare before hym. &c. At length the ſame yeare which was 1175. there was a Cardinall ſent downe from Rome by the kinges procurement: who ſtudyed to ſet a peace betwene the two archbiſhops. wherupon, this way of agreement was takē (by the meanes of the king) at wincheſter: that as touching the church of S. Oſwald at Gloceſter, the Archbiſhop of Canterb. ſhould ceaſe of hys clayme therof, moleſting the ſee of Yorke no more therein. Alſo ſhould abſolue agayne the Clerkes thereof, whom he had excommunicated before. And as concerning the bearing of the croſſe and all other matters: it was referred to the Archbiſhop of Rhotomage, and of other Biſhops in Fraunce: ſo that for fiue yeares, a league or truce was taken betwixt them, till they ſhould haue a full determination of their cauſe.

The clerkes of S. Oſwald in Gloceſter excommunicated.

Agreement betweene the Archb. of Cant. and of Yorke.

Anno. 1176.

The next yeare following, the foreſayd king Henry the 2. (deuiding the realme of England into 6. partes) ordeyned vpon euery part 3. Iuſtices of aſſiſe. The circuit or limitation of which Iuſtices was thus diſpoſed. The firſt vpon Northfolke, Suffolke, Cantbridſhire, Huntendſhire, Bedfordſhyre, Buckinghamſhire, Eſſex, Hertfordſhire. 2. Vpon Lincolnſhire, Notinghamſhire, Darbiſhire, Stamfordſhyre, warwickſhire, Northamptonſhire, Leiceſterſhire. 3. Vpon Kent, Surrey, Southamptonſhyre, Southſaxe, Barkeſhire, Oxfordſhire. 4. Vpon Herefordſhyre, Glouceſterſhyre, wyrceſterſhyre, Salops ſhyre. 5. Vpon wiltſhyre, Dorcetſhyre, Somercetſhyre, Deuonſhyre, Cornwall. 6. Euerwickſhire, Richmondſhire, Lancaſter, Copland, weſtmarland, Northumberland, Cumberland.

Iuſtices of aſsiſe deuided into vj. circuites.

Ex Epitome Math. Pariſenſis & aliarum hiſtoriarum.

In the which yeare alſo, Richard Archb. of Caunterbury, made 3. Archdeacons in his dioces, where as before there was but one. About which tyme alſo it was graunted by the kyng to the popes legate, that a Clerke ſhoulde not be called before a temporall iudge, except for offence in the foreſt, or for hys lay fee that he holdeth.

A friuolous cōtention betwene the Archb. and the Abbot of Canterbury. Where was here the precept of the goſpel: he that wil be greateſt amōgſt you, let him be an vnderling to other.

Item, that no Archbiſhop or Biſhoprick, nor Abbey ſhould remayne in the kings handes ouer one yeare ẏout great cauſe. It chaunced the ſame yeare, ẏ this was done there was at Canterbury one elected to be Abbot in the houſe of S. Auſten named Albert: who made great labor and ſute vnto the Archbiſhop that he would come to hys Church, and there conſecrate him Abbot of S. Auſtens. To whome the archb. ſent word agayne, that he was not bound to come to him but rather the other ſhould repayre to the Metropolitane church of Caunterbury, there to receiue hys conſecration. wherupon (controuerſie riſing betwene them) the foreſaid new Elect appealed vp to the audience of the Pope, and ſo laboured vp hymſelfe to Rome. where, he ſo handled the matter (by what meanes I cannot tell, vnles with his golden bottle, wherewith he quēched the popes thirſty ſoule, for Abbots neuer trauel lightly without fat purſes to Rome) that with ſhort diſpatche he procured letters from Alexander the pope, to Roger biſhop of worceſter: Signifying to hym, that he had geuen in charge and commaundement to the archb. of Cant. (in the behalfe of hys deare ſonne Albert) that he ſhould conſecrate hym within hys own monaſtery: which monaſtery properly and ſoly without mediation, belonged to the iuriſdiction of Rome, and ſo likewiſe ſhould do to his ſucceſſors after him, without any exaction of obedience of thē. which thing further he ſayd if the archb. woulde refuſe to do, within the terme appoynted: that then he the foreſayd B. of worceſter (ſhould by the authoritie committed vnto him) execute the ſame, al maner of appellatiō or other decree whatſoeuer ſhould come notwithſtāding. This letter being obtayned, the Abbot (that would be) returneth home ſuppoſing with hymſelfe all things to be ſure. The archb. vnderſtanding the caſe, and ſeeing hymſelfe ſo ſtraightly charged, and yet lothe to yeld and ſtoupe to the Abbot, tooke to him pollicy where authoritie would not ſerue: and both to ſaue himſelfe, and yet to diſapoynt the Abbot, he watcheth a tyme when the Abbot was about buſines of hys houſe. And comming the ſame tyme to the monaſtery (as he was cōmaunded to do) with all things appointed, that

The tenor of the popes letter to the Byſhop of Worceſter.

to ſuche a buſines appertayned: called for the Abbot, pretending no leſſe but to geue him his conſecration. The Abbot beyng called for, was not at home. The archb. ſayning hymſelfe not a little agreued at his labour & good wil ſo loſt departed, as one in whome no redy diligence was lacking: if in caſe that the Abbot had bene at home. Whereupon, the Abbot (being thus diſapoynted) was fayne to fill his ſiluer flagon a freſh, & make a new courſe to Rome to hys father the pope, of whome he receiued his conſecration, and ſo came home agayne with as much witte as he went forth: but not with ſo much mony peraduenture as he went withall.

Houedenus Giſburgenſis.

Anno. 1177.

We haue declared a little aboue, pag. 175. touching the actes and doynges of this Pope Alexander the 3. howe he had brought the Emperours head vnder hys foote in S. Markes Church at Venice: at which time and place peace was concluded, and a compoſition made betweene the P. and the ſayd Fredericke the Emperor. Which pacificatiō, Rog. Houedenus, and Gualterus Giſburgenſis, referre to this tyme beyng the yeare of our Lord. 1177. bringing in two ſeuerall letters ſent from the ſayd Pope to Richard Archbiſhop of Canterbury, and to Roger Archbiſhop of York, and Hugh byſhop of Dureſme. Out of the whiche letters (ſo much as ſerueth to our purpoſe) I haue taken and here inſerted.

✻ The letter of Pope Alexander, ſent to Roger Archbyſhop of Yorke, and to the Byſhop of Dureſme.

ALexander, ſeruaunt of the ſeruaunts of God, to his reuerend brethren Roger Archbiſhop of Yorke, and Hugh Byſhop of Dureſme greeting, and Apoſtolicall bleſsing. The obſequy and ſeruice of your kinde deuotion, which hitherto you are knowne to haue geuen, bothe deuoutly and laudably to vs and to the Church: requireth that we ſhould deſcribe to you as to our ſpeciall frendes, the proſperous ſucceſſe of the Churche: and to let you know as ſpirituall children of the Churche, what hath happened to the ſame: For meete it is, conuenient and alſo honeſt, that you whome we haue had ſo firme, and ſure in our deuotion: ſhould now be cheriſhed and made ioyous in the proſperitie of vs, and of the Churche. And about the end of the Epiſtle it followeth thus.

A meeke Emperour & a proude Pope.

The Emperour holdeth the Popes ſtirrup.

The next day following, which was the feaſt of S. Iames (the ſayd Emperour ſo requeſting) we came to the foreſayd Churche of S. Marke, there to celebrate our ſolemne Maſſe: where (as we were comming in the way) the ſayd Emperor met vs without the Church, and placing vs agayne on his right hand, he brought vs ſo into the ſayd Church. After the maſſe was done, placing vs agayn on his right hand, he brought vs to the Church dore. And moreouer, when we ſhould take our palfrey: he held our ſtirrup: exhibiting to vs ſuch honor and reuerence as hys progenitours were wont to exhibite to our predeceſſors. Wherefore theſe ſhal be to incite your diligence and ſtudy towardes vs: that you reioyce with vs and the Church in theſe our proſperous ſucceſſes, and alſo that you ſhall open the ſame effect of peace to other deuout childrē of the church: that ſuch as be touched with the zeal of the houſe of the Lord, may congratulate & reioyce alſo in the Lord, for the great working of peace which he hath geuen. Geuē at Venice in the deepe riuer, the xxvi. of Iuly.

This yeare the contention reuiued agayne, ſpoken of little before, pag. 173. betwene the 2. archbiſhops of York and Canterb. The occaſion whereof was this. The maner and practiſe of the pope is, when he beginneth to lacke money, he ſendeth ſome limitting Cardinall abroad, to fetch his harneſt in. So there came this yeare into Englād (as lightly few yeares were without them) a certayn Cardinall from Rome called Hugo, or as Houedenus nameth him, Hugezun, who would needes keepe a Councell at Weſtm. To this Councel reſorted a great cōfluence (about middle of Lent) of Biſhops, Abbots, Priors, Doctors, & ſuch other of the Clergye. As euery one was there placed in his order, and after his degree: firſt commeth the archb. of Yorke named Roger: who (thinking to preuent yͤ other Archbiſhop) came ſomething ſooner, & ſtraightway placed hymſelfe on the right hand of the Cardinall. Richard yͤ Archbiſhop of Cant. following ſhortly after: and ſeing the firſt place taken vp, refuſeth to take the ſecond: complayning of the Arch. of York, as one preiudicial to his ſea. So, while the one wold not riſe, & the other part not ſit down, roſe no ſmall contention betweene them two. The archb. of Canterb. claymed the vpper ſeate by the preheminence of hys church. Contrary yͤ archb. of York alledged for hym the old decree of Gregory, whereof mētion is made before, pag. 118. By which this order was taken betweene the 2. Metropolitanes of Canterbury and York: that, which of them two ſhould be firſt in electiō, he ſhould haue the preheminence in dignitie, & goe before the other. Thus they contending to and fro, waxed ſo warme in wordes, that at laſt they turned to hote blowes. How ſtrong the Archbiſhop of Yorke was in reaſon and argument I cannot tell: but the Archbiſh. of Cant, was ſtronger at the armes end, whoſe ſeruauntes beeing moe in number (like valiaunt men) not ſuffering their maiſter to take ſuch a foyle: ſo preuailed agaynſt York (ſitting on the right hand of the Cardinall) that they pluckt him downe from the hand, to the foote of the Cardinall vpon the ground: treading & trampling vpon him with their feete, that maruel it was he eſcaped with life. His Caſule, Chimer, and Rochet, were all to be rent and torne from his backe. Here no reaſon woulde take place, no debating would ſerue, no praying could be heard, ſuch clamour and tumulte was there in the houſe among them: much like to the tumulte, which Virgill deſcribeth.

Contention betweene two Archbiſhops who ſhould ſit on the right hand of the Cardinal.

Ac veluti in magno populo, cum ſæpe coorta eſt
Seditio, ſæuitq; animis ignobile vulgus,
Iamq; faces & ſaxa volant, furor arma miniſtrat.

Now, as the firſt part of this deſcription doth well agree, ſo ſome peraduenture will looke agayne, that according to the latter part alſo of the ſame; my Lord Cardinall with ſageneſſe and grauitie (after the maner of the olde Romaynes ſtandyng vp) ſhould haue ceaſed and aleyed the diſturbaunce: according to that whiche followeth in the Poete.

Tum pietate grauem meritis ſi fortè virum quem
Conſpexêre, ſilent, arrectiſq; auribus aſtant:
Ille regit mentes dictis, & pectora mulcet. &c.

But what did the noble Romaine Cardinall? Like a pretty man of hys handes (but a pretier man of hys feete) ſtanding vp in the midſt, & ſeing the houſe in ſuch a broyle, committed himſelfe to flight, and (as Houedenus writeth) abſcondit ſe a facie illorum. The next day after, the Archbiſhop of Yorke bringeth to the Cardinall his Rochet, to beare witnes what iniury and violence he had ſuſtayned: appealing and citing vp the Archbiſhop of Caunterbury with certayne of hys men, to the Biſhop of Rome. And thus the holy counſell (the ſame day it was begon) brake vp and was diſſolued.

The large dominion of K. Henry the 2.

Homage of Scotland in paine of interdiction.

K. Hēry the 2. protector of Fraunce.

K. Henry choſen king of Ieruſalē & refuſed it.

Under the raygne of this K. Henry the 2. the dominion and crowne of England extended ſo farre as hath not bene ſeene in this realme before him, whome hiſtories recorde to poſſeſſe vnder hys rule and iuriſdictiō, firſt Scotland, to whom William king of Scots, with all the lords temporall and ſpiritual did homage, both for them and for their ſucceſſors (the ſeale whereof remayneth in the kyngs treaſury) as alſo Ireland, England, Normandy, Aquitane, Gaunt. &c. vnto the moūtaynes of Pireney, which be in the vttermoſt partes of the great Ocean in the Brittiſh ſea: being alſo protector of Fraunce, to whom Phillip the French king yelded both himſelfe and Realme wholy to his gouernaunce, an. 1181. Moreouer, he was offred alſo to be the king of Ieruſalem, by the Patriarch & maiſter of the hoſpital there: who then being diſtreſſed by the Soldane, brought him the keyes of their Citty, deſiring hys ayd agaynſt the infidels: which offer he thē refuſed, alledging the great charge which he had at home, & the rebelliō of hys ſonnes, which might happen in hys abſence.

Ayde not to be denied to our neighbours the cauſe being godly.

¶ And here, the olde hiſtoryes finde a great fault with the king for hys refuſall, declaring that to be the cauſe of Gods plagues, which after enſued vpon him, by his children: as the Patriarche (in hys Oration, beyng offended with the king) prophecied ſhould ſo happen to him for the ſame cauſe. Which ſtory if it be true, it may be a leſſon to good Princes: not to deny their neceſſary helpe to their diſtreſſed neighbors, eſpecially the cauſe appertayning vnto God.

Ex Polychron.
Ex Giraldo Cambrienſi.

The wiſedome, diſcretion, manhood, and riches of thys Prince was ſo ſpred and renowmed through all quarters: that meſſages came from Emanuell Emperour of Conſtantinople, Fredericke Emperour of Rome, and William Archbiſhop of Treuer in Almayne, & Duke of Saxon, and from the Earle of Flaunders, and alſo from the French K. (vpon determination of great queſtions and ſtrifes) to aſke councell & determination therof, of this K. Henry: as of one moſt wiſe and ſcholemayſter of al wiſedome & iuſtice, to haue ſolutiō of their queſtions & doubts. Moreouer, Alphonſus king of Caſtile, and Sauncius king of Nauerne, being in ſtrife for certayne Caſtels, and other poſſeſſions: ſubmitted them (of their free accord) and by their othe, to abide the award of this king Henry: who ng Henry en arbi-er by two nges.

made councell, and pleaſed them both: whereby it is to be preſuppoſed that this king, to whom other princes did ſo reſort, as to their arbiter & decider of their cauſes either in any doubt or variaunce. Wherefore it may ſeme, the actes of this prince worthy to be remembred as the Engliſh writers do declare.

Among many other thinges in this king notable, this one is to be noted, which though he reigned 35. yeares: and hauing ſuch warres with his enemies yet neuer upon his ſubiectes put any tribute or taxe, nor yet upon the ſpiritualty, firſt fruites, and appropriations of benefices. Whether they were yet unknowne, or els not uſed: And yet his treaſure after his death (weyed by king Richard his ſonne) amounted to aboue nine hundreth thouſand poundes, beſides Iewels, precious ſtones, & houſhold furniture. Of the which ſubſtance eleuen thouſand pound came to him by the death of Roger Archbiſhop of Yorke, who had procured a Bull of the Pope, that if any prieſt dyed within his prouince without teſtament, that he ſhould haue all his goods. And ſhortly after the Archbiſhop dyed, and the king had all his goods: which extended (as is ſaid) to eleuen thouſand pound beſide plate. &c.

he treaſure f K.Henry he 2.

A couetous Archbiſhop.

But as there is no felicitye or wealth in this mortall world ſo perfect, which is not darckened with ſome ſhadow of incommoditie and aduerſitie: So it happened to this king, ÿ among his other princely ſucceſſes: this incommoditie followed him withall: that his ſonnes rebelled & ſtoode in armor agaynſt him, taking the part of the French king againſt their father. Firſt at the coronation of Henry his ſonne, whom the Father ioyned with him as king, he being both Father and king, toke upon him (that notwithſtanding) as but a ſteward: and ſet downe the firſt diſh as Shewer unto his ſonne: renouncing the name of a king. At what time, the foreſayd Archbiſhop of Yorke, ſitting on the right hand of ÿ young king ſayd: Sir ye haue great cauſe this day to ioy. For there is no Prince in the world that hath ſuch an officer this day. &c. And the yong king diſdayning his wordes, ſaid: my father is not diſhonored in this doing. For I am a King and a Queenes ſonne, and ſo is not he. And not onely this, but after he alſo perſecuted his father. And ſo in his youth, whē he had raigned but a few yeares, dyed: teaching us what is the price and reward of breaking the iuſt commaundement of God.

Pride deſtroyeth all.

After him likewiſe Richard his ſonne (who was called Richard Cœur de Lyon) rebelled agaynſt his father: And alſo Iohn his youngeſt ſonne did not much degenerate from the ſteps of his brethren. In ſomuch that this foreſayd Richard (like an unkinde childe, perſecuting and taking part agaynſt his father) brought him to ſuch diſtreſſe of body and minde: that for thought of hart he fell into an ague, and within foure dayes departed, after he had raigned 35. yeares. whoſe corps as it was caried to be buried, Richard his ſonne cōming by ÿ way & meeting it, & beginning for compaſſion to weepe: the bloud braſt incontinent out of the noſe of the king at the comming of his ſonne: geuing therby a certayne demonſtration how he was the onely author of his death.

K.Henry the 2.perſecuted by his ſonnes

The death of K.Henry the ſecond. Howe the kyng being being dead bled at the comming of his ſonne,

After the death and raigne of which king: his children after him (worthely rewarded for their unnaturalneſſe againſt their father) lacking the ſucceſſe which their father had: loſt all beyond the ſea that their father had got before.

And thus much concerning the raign of Henry the ſecond, and the death of Thomas Becket: whoſe death (as is aforeſayd) happened in the dayes of pope Alexander the thyrd: which pope uſurping the keies of Eccleſiaſticall regiment 21. yeares (or as Giſburgenſis writeth, 23. yeares) gouerned the Church with much tumult: ſtriuing and contending with Fredericke the Emperour not ſhaming like a moſt proud Lucifer, to tread with his foote upon the necke of ÿ ſayd Emperour, as is aboue deſcribed pag. 205.

Anno. 1179.

This Pope among many other his actes, had certain Councels (as is partly before touched) ſome in Fraunce, ſome at Rome in Laterā. by whom it was decreed: that no Archbiſhop ſhould receiue the palle, unleſſe he ſhould firſt ſweare. Concerning the ſolemnity of which palle: for the order and maner of geuing and taking the ſame with obedience to the pope, as it is cōteined in their own wordes: I thought it good to ſet it forth unto thee, that thou mayeſt well conſider and underſtand their doings therein.

¶ *The forme and maner how and by what* wordes the Pope is wont to geue the palle vnto the Archbyſhop.

Geuyng of the pall.

AD honorem omnipotentis Dei, & beatæ Mariæ virginis & beatorum Petri & Pauli, & Domini noſtri N. Papæ, & ſanctæ Romanæ Eccleſiæ, nec nō N. Eccleſiæ tibi commiſſæ tradimus tibi pallium de corpore beati Petri ſumptum, plenitudinem pontificalis officij, vt vtaris eo intra Eccleſiam tuam certis diebus, qui exprimuntur in priuilegijs tibi ab Apoſtolica ſede conceſsis.

That is in Engliſh.

To the honor of almighty God, and of bleſſed Mary the virgine, and of bleſſed S. Peter and Paule, and of our Lord Pope N. and of the holy Church of Rome, and alſo of the Church of N. committed to your charge, we geue to you the palle taken frō the body of S. Peter, as a fulnes of the office pontificall, which you may weare within your owne church, upon certaine dayes, which be expreſſed in the priuiledges of the ſayd church, graunted by the ſea Apoſtolicke.

¶ *Notes vpon the ſame.*

¶ To the honour. &c. with what confidence durſt the Pope couple the honor of almighty God, and the honor of Mary, of S. Peter, and of the Pope, and of the Romiſh Church altogether if he had not bene a preſumptuous Luciſer, equalling himſelfe not onely with ſuch Saints, but alſo euen with him which is God alone, to be bleſſed for euer?

Taken from the body. &c. If S. Peters body be not all conſumed, let him ſhew it if he can. If he can not ſhew it, how then is this palle taken from the body of S. Peter? or if he meane it to be of S. Peters owne wearing then belike S. Peter had a godly wardrop of palles, when euery Archbiſhop in all Chriſtendome receiueth from the Pope a diuers palle.

As a fulnes of the office &c. Rather he might ſay, the fulneſſe of his owne purſe, when as Archbiſhops payd ſo ſweetely for it. In ſo much that Iacobus the Archbiſhop of Mentz, as is aboue touched pag. 172. a litle before in the councell of Baſile where the price was wont to be but a thouſand florences, could not obtein it without 26. thouſand florences.

Ex libro grauaminum nationis germanicæ.

Vpon certayne dayes. &c. This difference there was betwene the Pope and other Archbyſhops. For the Pope might weare the palle at all times and in all places at his pleaſure. Archbiſhoppes might not weare it, but vpon certayne dayes, and in their church onely within their prouince. Moreouer, this palle ſhould not be asked but with great inſtaunce, and within three monethes without which palle he is not to be named Archbiſhop, but may be depoſed, hauing it not after three monethes. And the ſame palle muſt alſo be buried with him when he dieth. And when it is geuē, ſome priuiledge muſt be geuen withall, or the olde renued.

* *In like maner proceedeth the othe of euery Byſhop ſwearing obedience to the Pope, in like wordes as followeth.*

The ſolemne oth of Byſhops made to the Pope.

EGo N Epiſcopus N. ab hac hora in antea fidelis & obediēs ero beato Petro, ſanctæque Apoſtolicæ Romanæ Eccleſiæ, & Domino meo D. N. Papæ, ſuiſq; ſucceſſoribus canonicè intrantibus. Non ero in conſilio, ſeu auxilio, cōſenſu, vel facto, vt vitam perdant, aut membrum, ſeu capiantur mala captione. Conſilium verò quod mihi credituri ſunt, per ſe aut per nuncium, ſeu literas eorum, me ſciente nemini pandam. Papatum Romanum & Regalia S. Petri adiutor eis ero ad retinendum & defendendum ſaluo meo ordine, contra omnem hominem. Legatum Apoſtolicæ ſedis in eundo & redeundo honorificè tractabo, & in ſuis neceſsitatibus adiuuabo. Vocatus ad ſynodum veniam, niſi præpeditus fuero canonica præpeditione. Apoſtolorum limina ſingulis trienniis viſitabo, aut per me, aut per meum nuncium, niſi Apoſtolica abſoluar licentia. Poſſeſsiones verò ad menſam mei Epiſcopatus pertinentes non vendam, neq; donabo, neq; oppignorabo, neq; de nouo infeudabo, nec aliquo modo alienabo, inconſulto Romano pontifice, ſic me Deus adiuuet, & ſancta Dei Euangelia.

Saluo meo ord. This was the clauſe that made Becket to be baniſhed and to be ſlaine.

That is in Engliſh.

I N. Biſhop of N. from this houre henceforth, will be faythfull and obedient to bleſſed S. Peter, and to the holye Apoſtolicke Churche of Rome, and to my Lord N. the pope. I ſhalbe in no councell, nor help, either with my conſent or deed: whereby either of them or any member of the may be impayred, or whereby they may be taken with any euill taking. The councell which they ſhall commit to me, either by themſelues or by meſſenger or by their letters, wittingly or willingly I ſhall utter to none, their hindraūce and damage. To the retaining and maintaining the papacy of Rome, and the regalities of S. Peter I ſhalbe an aider (ſo mine order be ſaued) agaynſt all perſons. The Legate of the Apoſtolicke ſea both in going and comming, I ſhal honorably entreat and help him in all neceſſities. Being called to a Sinode I ſhalbe ready to come, unleſſe I be let by ſome lawfull & canonicall impechment. The palace of the Apoſtles euery third yeare I ſhall viſite either by my ſelfe, or my meſſenger, except otherwiſe being licenſed by the ſea Apoſtolicke. All ſuch poſſeſſions as belōg to

And howe be not thoſe Byſhops then periured which at the death of Q. Mary, ſet and let out a great part of their poſſeſsions, frõ their ſucceſſors.

the table and dyet of my Biſhopricke: I ſhall neither ſell, nor geue, nor lay to morgage, nor leiſe out, or remoue away by any maner of meanes, without ỹ conſent & knowledge of the Byſhop of Rome, ſo God help me and the holie Goſpels of God.

A note vpon the ſame.

¶Hereby thou haſt by the way (gentle Reader) to note and conſider among other thinges which here may be vnderſtand, that ſince the time the othe began to be layd and thruſt vpõ Byſhops, all generall Cou̅cels began to looſe theyr libertie. For how could any freedome remayn for men to ſpeake theyr knowledge in redreſſe of things: being by their othe ſo bound to the Pope, to ſpeake nothing but on his ſide, to maintayne the Papacy and the church of Rome in all times and places? Coniecture by thy ſelfe (Chriſten Reader) what is more hereby to be conſidered.

Beſides this it was alſo decreed in the ſayd Councell at Rome of 310. Byſhops, by pope Alexander: that no mã ſhould haue any ſpirituall promotion, except he were of lawful age, and born in wedlock. That no pariſh Church ſhould be voyd aboue 6. moneths. That none within orders ſhould meddle with temporall buſines. That prieſts ſhould haue but one benefice. And that the Biſhop ſhould be charged to finde the prieſt a liuing till he be promoted.

That open vſurers ſhould not cõmunicate at Eaſter, nor be buried within the Churchyard.

That nothing ſhould be taken for miniſtring Sacraments, or burying.

Item, that euery cathedrall church ſhould haue a maſter to teach children freely, without taking any thing for the ſame.

The vowe of chaſtitie layde vpon prieſtes.

In this councell the vow of chaſtitye was obtruded & layd vpon Prieſtes. Thomas Becket alſo, and Bernard were canoniſed for Saintes.

During the raigne and time of this king Henry the ſecond: the City of Norwich was deſtroyd and burnt by the men of Flaunders. Alſo the town of Leceſter. Notingham waſted, and the Burgeſes ſlayne by the Earle of Ferers. The towne of Barwick deſtroyd by the Scots. The king of Scottes was taken in warre by Engliſhmen, an. 1174. The towne of Huntington taken and burned. The towne of Canterbury by caſualty of fire, burnt with all ỹ Churches, ſpecially with the Trinity church, where Becket was worſhipped. an. eod. The yeare of our Lord. 1170 Williã king of Scots with Dauid his brother, and all the Barons of the realm did homage to the king of England. Ireland made ſubiect to England. Decreed in a councell in Normandy, that no boyes or childrẽ ſhould poſſes any benefice. A cou̅cell of Lateran was holdẽ at Rome, where were 33. articles cõcluded. an. 1179. The French king came in pilgrimage to Thomas Becket, the king of England meeting him by the way. an. 1184. After the death of Richard Archbiſhoppe of Caunterbury, who followed after Thomas Becket, ſucceded Baldwinus, who of a Ciſtercian monk being made a byſhop, is ſayd neuer to eat fleſh in his life. To whom a certein poore woman (bare & lean) meeting him in the ſtreet: deſired to know of him whether it were true that was ſayd of him, that he neuer eat fleſh. Which thing when he had affirmed to be true: Nay, ſayth ſhe that is falſe: for ye haue eaten my fleſh vnto the bone. For I had but one cow wherewith I was ſuſtayned, and that hath your Deanes taken from me. True, true ſayd the Biſhop and thou ſhalt haue an other Cow as good as that. &c. Iornalenſ.

Richardus Baldwinus Archb of Canterb.

Moreouer, in the raigne of ỹ ſayd king Henry, about the yeare of our Lord. 1178. I find in the ſtory of Rog. Honeden and other, that in the city of Tholouſe was a great multitude of men and womẽ, whom the popes Commiſſioners, to wit, Peter Cardinal of S. Criſogoim, and the Popes Legate: with the Archbiſhops of Narbone & Byturienſis: Reginald Biſhop of Bathe, Iohn Biſhoppe of Pictauia, Henry Abbot Clareuallẽſis. &c. did perſecute & condẽne for hereticks: Of whom ſome were ſcourged naked, ſome chaſed away, ſome compelled to abiure. Concerning whoſe articles & opinions I haue no firme grou̅d to make any certain relation: for ſo much as I ſee ỹ Papiſtes many times ſo falſe in their quareling accuſatiõs, vntruly collecting mens ſayinges, not as they ment, & meanings, not as they ſayd: but wreſting and depraning ſimple mẽs aſſertions after ſuch a ſubtle ſort as they luſt themſelues to take them. But this I finde how one of the ſayd commiſſioners or Inquiſitors (Henry the Abbot) in a certaine letter of his, writ thus of them: Nam & panem ſanctum vitæ æternæ ſacerdotis miniſterio in verbo Domini conſecratum non eſſe corpus Domini, nouo dogmate contendebat aſſerere. That is: After a new opinion he affirmed, that the holy bread of eternall life, cõſecrated by the miniſtery of the Prieſt, was not the body of the Lord. &c.

In the time of this Alexander ſprong vp the doctrine and name of them: which were then called Pauperes de Lugduno which of one Waldus a chiefe Senatour in Lyons were named, Waldenſes: item Leoniſtæ, & Inſabbatati: about the yeare of our Lord, 1160. or (as Laziardus writeth) an. 1170.

Waldenſes ſeu pauperes de Lugduno, Leoniſtæ, Inſabbatati.

Not long before this time (as is expreſſed aboue) roſe vp Gratianus maiſter of the decrees, & Petrus Lombardus, maiſter of the ſentence, both archpillers of all papiſtry. After whom followed alſo two as euill, or worſe then they, Franciſcus and Dominicus, maintayning blinde hypocriſie, no leſſe thẽ the other maintayned proud prelacy. As theſe labored one way, by ſuperſtition and worldly aduau̅cement to corrupt the ſincerity of Religion: So it pleaſed Chriſt the contrary way, laboring againſt theſe, to raiſe vp therefore the ſayd Waldẽſians, againſt the pride and hypocriſy of the other.

4. Arch pillers of papiſtry.

Thus we neuer ſee any great corruptiõ in the church, but that ſome ſparkle, yet of the true light of the Goſpell, by Gods prouidence doth remayne. Whatſoeuer Doctor Auguſtinus, Reinerius, Siluius, Cranzius with other in their popiſh hiſtories, do write of them (defaming them through miſreport) and accuſing them to Magiſtrates, as diſobedient to orders, rebels to the Catholick church, and contemners of the virgin Mary: Yet they that cary iudgement indifferent, rather truſting trueth then wauering with times, in weying their Articles, ſhall finde it otherwiſe: that they mayntayned nothing els, but the ſame doctrine, which is now defended in the Church. And yet I ſuppoſe not contrary, but as they did with the Articles of Wickliffe, and Hus: ſo the Papiſts did in like maner with their articles alſo, in gathering and wraſting them otherwiſe then they were ment.

The hiſtory of the Valdenſes, concerning their originall, and doctrine, with their perſecutions.

The hiſtory of Waldenſes or Albigenſes.

The firſt originall of theſe Waldenſes came of one Waldus, a man both of great ſubſtance, and no leſſe calling in the City of Lyons: the occaſion whereof is declared of diuers writers, thus to come. About the yeare of the Lord 1160. it chaunced that diuers of the beſt and chiefeſt heades of the City of Lyons, talking and walking in a certayne place, after their olde accuſtomed maner, eſpecially in the Sommer time, conferred and conſulted together vpon matters, either to paſſe ouer time, or to debate thinges to be done. Amongſt whom it chaunced one (the reſt looking vpon) to fall downe by ſodeine death. In the number of whom this foreſayd Waldus there being amongeſt them was one. Who beholding the matter more earneſtly then the other, and terrified with ſo heauy an exãple, being (as is ſayd) a rich man, and Gods holy ſpirit working withall: was ſtroken with a deepe & inward repẽtance whereupon folowed a new alteratiõ, with a carefull ſtudy to reforme his former life. In ſomuch that firſt he began to miniſter large almes of his goods, to ſuch as needed. Secõdly to inſtruct himſelfe and his familye, with the true knowledge of Gods word: Thirdly, to admoniſh all that reſorted to him, by any occaſion, to repentaunce and vertuous amendment of life.

Wherby, partly through his large geuing to the poore, partly through his diligent teaching, & wholeſome admonitions: more reſort of people daily frequẽted about him. Whom when he did ſee ready and diligent to learne, begã to geue out to them certayne rudiments of the Scripture, which he had tranſlated himſelfe into the French tongue. For as he was a man welthy in riches, ſo he was alſo not vnlearned.

Although Laziardus Volateranus, with other: note him vtterly vnlearned, & charge him with ignoraunce, as who ſhould procure other to write and tranſlate for him. By other that haue ſeene his doings, yet remaining in old parchment monuments, it appeareth he was both able to declare and tranſlate the books of ſcripture, alſo did collect the doctors mind vpon the ſame.

The true nature of Antichriſt, neither him ſelfe to further the word nor ſuffer other men to do it.

But whatſoeuer he was (lettred, or vnlettred) the byſhops and prelats ſeing him ſo to intermeddle with ſcriptures, and to haue ſuch reſort about him: albeit it was but in his own houſe, vnder priuate conferẽce: could not abide either that the ſcriptures ſhould be declared of any other, neither would they take the paines to declare it thẽſelues. So being moued to great malice againſt the man: threatned to excommunicate him, if he did not leaue ſo to doe.

Valdus ſeing his doing to be but godly, and their malice ſtirred vp vpõ no iuſt nor godly cauſe: neglecting ẏ threatninges & frettinges of the wicked, ſaid, that god muſt be obeied more then man: to be brief, the more diligẽt he was in ſetting forth the true doctrine of Chriſt againſt the errors of Antichriſt: the more maliciouſly their fierceneſs increaſed. Inſomuch that when they did ſee their excommunication to be deſpiſed, & would not ſerue: they ceaſed not with priſon, with ſword and baniſhment to perſecute, till at length they had driuen both Valdus, and all the fauourers of his true preaching out of the city.

Wherupon came firſt their name, that they were called Valdenſes, or pauperes de Lugduno, not becauſe the would haue all things cõmon amongſt them: or that they profeſſing any wilfull pouerty, would imitate to liue as the Apoſtles did (as Siluius did falſly belie them) but becauſe they being thruſt out both of coũtrey and goods, were cõpelled to liue poorly, whether they would or no. And thus much touching the firſt occaſion and beginning of theſe men, and of the reſtoring and maintayning the true doctrine of Chriſts goſpell, agaynſt the proud proceedings of popiſh errors. Now concerning their articles: whiche I finde in order, and in number to be theſe.

The articles of Waldenſes.

Solis ſacris literis credendum eſſe in ijs, quæ ad ſalutem. &c. That is: Onely the holy Scripture is to be beleued in matters pertayning to ſaluation: and no mans writing, or man beſides.

2. All things to be contayned in holy Scripture neceſſary to ſaluation: and nothing to be admitted in religion, but what onely is commaunded in the word of God.

3. To be one alonely mediator. Other ſaintes in no wiſe to be made mediators, or to be inuocated.

4. To be no purgatory, but that all men either by Chriſt are iuſtified to life: or without Chriſt to be condemned: and beſides theſe two, neither any third or fourth place to be.

5. That all maſſes, namely ſuch as be ſong for the dead to be wicked, and to be abrogate.

6. All mens traditions to be reiected, at leaſt not to be reputed as neceſſary to ſaluation: and therefore this ſinging & ſuperfluous chaunting in the chauncell to be left: conſtrained & prefixed faſts, boũd to dayes & times: difference of meates: ſuch variety of degrees and orders of Prieſtes, friers, monkes, & nunnes: ſuperfluous holidayes: ſo many ſundry benedictions & hallowing of creatures: vowes peregrinations: with all the rabblement of rites & ceremonies brought in by man to be aboliſhed.

7. The ſupremacy of the Pope, vſurping aboue all churches, and eſpecially aboue all politick realmes, & gouernments, or for him to occupye or vſurpe the iuriſdiction of both the ſwordes to be denied neither that any degree is to be receiued in the Church, but onely Prieſts, Deacons, and Biſhops.

8. The communion vnder both kindes to be neceſſary to all people, according to the inſtitution of Chriſt.

9. Item, the church of Rome to be the very Babilon ſpoken of in the Apocalips: And the Pope to be the fountaine of all error, and the very Antichriſt.

*This article ſeemeth to be giuen vp of them in Bohemia lõg after, for indulgences came not in before Bonifacius. 8.

10.* The popes pardons and indulgences they reiect.

11. The mariage of Prieſtes, and of eccleſiaſticall perſons, to be godly and alſo neceſſary in the Church.

12. Such as heare the word of God, & haue a right faith, to be the right Church of Chriſt. And to this Church the keyes of the church to be geuen, to driue away wolues, & to inſtitute true paſtors, to preach the word, and to miniſter the Sacraments.

Theſe be the moſt principall articles of the Valdenſes albeit ſome there be, that adde moe to them: ſome agayne deuide the ſame into moe partes. But theſe be the principall to which the reſt be reduced.

The ſame Valdenſes at length exiled, were diſperſed in diuers & ſundry places: of whom many remayned long in Bohemia, which writing to theyr king Vladiſlaus, to purge themſelues agaynſt the ſlaunderous accuſations of one D. Auguſtine, gaue vp theyr confeſſion with an Apology of theyr chriſtian profeſſion: defending with ſtrong & learned argumẽts, ẏ ſame which now is receiued in moſt reformed churches: both concerning grace, fayth, charitye, hope, repentaunce, and workes of mercy. As for purgatory, they ſay, that Tho. Aquinas is the author thereof.

Thomas Aquin firſt finder of Purgatory.

Ex Orthuino Gratio.

Concerning the Supper of the Lord, their fayth was, that it was ordayned to be eaten, not to be ſhewed & worſhipped: for a memoriall, not for a ſacrifice: to ſerue for the preſẽt miniſtration, & not for reſeruation: to be receiued at the table, not be caryed out of the dores: according to the auncient vſe of the primitiue church, when they vſed to cõmunicate ſitting. And this they proue both by an old chronicle called Chronica geſtorum: as alſo by auncient Origen vpon the third booke of Moſes: bringing in his wordes which be theſe: prouing that this ſacramental bread ought not to be reſerued: Quicunque hunc panem cœnæ Chriſti, ſecunda, vel tertia die ſumpſerit, non benedicitur anima eius, ſed inquinabitur: Propterea Gabaonitæ, quia antiquos panes portauerũt ad filios Iſrael, oportuit eos ligna, ac aquam portare. &c. That is, whoſoeuer receiueth this bread of the Supper of Chriſt vpon the ſecond or iij. day after: his ſoule ſhall not be bleſſed but polluted. Therfore the Gabaonites, becauſe they brought olde bread to the children of Iſrael, it was enioyned them, to cary wood and water. &c.

Chronica Geſtorum.

Origines ſuper tertium librum Moſis.

The ſacramentall bread ought not to be kept or reſerued.

Part of the diſputatiõ betwene Doct. Auſten and Waldenſes.

D. Auſten (of whom mẽtion is made before) diſputing agaynſt them, about this matter of the holy Euchariſt, vrgeth them with this interrogation: whether it be the ſame Chriſt, (preſent in the Sacrament) which is preſent at the right hand of the father? If it be not the ſame Chriſt, how is it true in the Scripture, Vna fides, vnus Dominus noſter Ieſus Chriſtus. One fayth, one Lord Ieſus Chriſt? If it be the ſame Chriſt, thẽ how is he not to be honored and worſhipped here as well as there?

Dilemma. That is a captious queſtion, in conferring on both ſides an inconuenience.

The anſwere of the Waldenſes.

To this the Valdenſes aunſwere againe, and graunt that Chriſt is one, and the ſame with his naturall body in the ſacrament, which he is at the right hand of his Father: but not after the ſame exiſtence of his body. For ẏ exiſtence of his body in heauen is not perſonall and locall, to be aprehended by the fayth and ſpirit of men. In the ſacramẽt the exiſtence of his body is not perſonall or locall, to be aprehẽded or receiued of our bodies, after a perſonal or corporall maner, but after a ſacramẽtal maner: that is, where our bodies receiue the ſigne, & our ſpirit the thing inſignified. Moreouer in heauen the exiſtence of his body is dimenſiue, and complete with the full proportion and quãtity of the ſame body wherewith he aſcẽded: here the exiſtẽce of his complete body, with the full proportion, meaſure & ſtature therof: doth not, neither can ſtand in the ſacramẽt. Briefly, the exiſtence of his body in heauen is naturall not ſacramentall: that is, to be ſene, and not remembred: here it is ſacramentall, not naturall: that is, to be remembred, not to be ſene.

What it is to receiue after a ſacramentall maner.

Naturall.
Sacramentall.

An other *Dilemma* againſt Tranſubſtantiation.

That aunſwere being made to the captious propoſitiõ of D. Auguſtine. The Valdenſes (retorting the like interrogation to him againe) demaund of him to anſwere them in the like obiection: whether it be all on chriſt ſubſtãtially & naturally, which ſitteth in heauen: & which is vnder the formes of bread and wine, and in the receiuers of the Sacrament? If he graunt to be: Then they bid him ſay, ſeing Chriſt is as well in the ſacrament as in heauen, & as well in the receiuer as in the ſacrament, & all one Chriſt in ſubſtance & nature: why then is not the ſame Chriſt as well in the breſt of the receiuer to be worſhipped, as vnder the formes of bread and wine in the ſacramẽt? ſeing he is there after a more perfect maner in man, then in the ſacrament: for in the ſacrament he is but for a time, and not for the ſacraments ſake, but for the mans cauſe. In man he is not for the ſacraments cauſe: but for his owne, and that not for a ſeaſon but for euer: as it is written: Qui manducat hunc panem viuet in æternum, that is: he that eateth this breade ſhall liue for euer. &c.

Moreouer and beſides, ſeing trãſubſtantiation is the going of one ſubſtance into an other: they queſtion againe with him, whether the formes of bread and wine remayning, the ſubſtaũce thereof be chaũged into the whole perſon of our Lord Chriſt Ieſus: that is, both into his body, ſoule, and diuinitye: or not into the whole Chriſt? If he graunt the whole: Then ſay they, that is impoſſible (concerning the diuinity) both to nature and to our fayth, that any creature can be chaũged into the creator. If he ſay, the bread is chaunged into the body and ſoule of Chriſt, not to his diuinity: then he ſeperateth the natures in Chriſt. If he ſay into the body alone, and not the ſoule: then he ſeparateth the natures of the true manhood. &c. And ſo cannot be the ſame Chriſt that was betrayed for vs: for that he had both body & ſoule. To conclude, to what part ſoeuer he would aunſwere: this doctrine of tranſubſtantiation cannot be defended without great incõueniẽce of al ſides.

Eneas Syluius Bohemica hiſtoria de Valdẽſium dogmatibus.

Ouer and beſides, Eneas Syluius writing of theyr doctrine and aſſertions (perchaunce, as he foũd them, perchaunce making worſe of them, then they taught or ment) reporteth them after this maner, which I thought here to ſet out as it is in the Latin.

Romanum præſulem reliquis epiſcopis parem eſſe. Inter ſacerdotes, nullum diſcrimen. Præſbyterum non dignitatem ſed vitæ meritum efficere potiorem. In Engliſh.

The byſhop of Rome to be equall with other biſhops.

Amongſt prieſtes to be no difference of degree. No Prieſt to be reputed for any dignity of his order, but for the worthineſſe of his life.

The ſoules of men departed, either to enter into paine euerlaſting or euerlaſting ioy. No fire of Purgatory to be found. To pray for the dead to be vayne, and a thing onely found out for the lucre of Prieſtes.

The images of God (as of the Trinity and of ſaintes) to be aboliſhed. The halowing of water & palmes to be a mere ridicle. The religion of begging Fryars to be found out by the deuill. That prieſtes ſhould not incroch riches in this world, but rather follow pouerty, being content with their tythes, and mens deuotion. The preaching of the word to be free to all men called thereunto.

That no deadly ſinne is to be tollerate, for whatſoeuer reſpect of a greater commodity to inſue therupon. The cõfirmation which biſhops exerciſe with oyle, and extreme vnction: are not to be counted amongſt the ſacraments of the Churche. Auriculare confeſſion to be but a toy: to ſuffice for euery man to confeſſe himſelfe in his chamber, to God. Baptiſme ought to be miniſtred onely with pure water, without any mixture of halowed oyle. The temple of the Lord to be the wide world. The maieſty of God not to be reſtrayned more within the walles of temples, monaſtaries and chappelles, ſo that his grace is rather to be found in one place then in an other.

The Temple of the Lord that is, the proper habitatiõ wherin God moſt properly dwelleth and worketh.

That is, the verie place maketh not the miniſtration of holy thinges either more or leſſe holy.

Prieſtes apparell ornaments of the high aulter, veſtimentes, corporaces, chalices, patines, and other Churche plate to ſerue in no ſtead. For the difference and reſpect of the very place: to make no matter, where the prieſt doth conſecrate, or doth miniſter to them which do require. To be ſufficient to vſe onely the ſacramentall wordes without all other ſuperfluous ceremonies.

The ſuffrages of ſaintes reigning with Chriſt in heauen, to be craued in vayne, being not able to helpe vs. In ſaying or ſinging the houres and Mattens of the day, the time to be but loſt. A man ought to ceaſe from his labour no day, but onely vpon the Sonday.

The feaſtes and feſtiuals of ſaintes, ought to be reiected. Item, ſuch faſtes as be coacted and inioyned by the Church, haue no merite in them.

These aſſertions of the Waldenſes, being thus articled out by Eneas Siluius, I thought to geue them abroad in Engliſh as they are in Latine: to the intent, that as they are the leſſe to be doubted, being ſet out of a popes pen: ſo we may the better know both them hereby, what they were: and alſo vnderſtand how this doctrine now preached and taught in the Church, is no new doctrine, which here we ſee both taught and perſecuted almoſt 400. yeares agoe. And as I haue ſpoken hetherto ſufficiently concerning theyr doctrine: So now we will briefly ſomewhat touch, of the order of theyr life and conuerſation, as we finde it regiſtred in a certayne olde written booke of Inquiſition.

¶ *Ex Inquiſitorio quodam libello.*

De moribus et conſuetudine Valdenſium.

Modus autem Valdenſium talis eſt.&c. The whole proces commeth to this effect in Engliſh. The maner of the Waldenſes is this: They kneeling vpon their knees, leaning to ſome banke, or ſtay, doe continue in their prayers with ſilence, ſo long as a mã may ſay 30. or 40. times Pater noſter. And this they doe euery day with great reuerence, being amongeſt thẽſelues, & ſuch as be of their owne religion, & no ſtrangers with thẽ, both before dinner & after: likewiſe before ſupper and after: alſo what time they go to bed: and in the morning when they riſe, & at certain other times alſo, as well in yͤ day as in yͤ night. Itẽ, they vſe no other prayer but the prayer of yͤ Lord, & that without any Aue Maria and the Creed, which they affirme not to be put in for any prayer by Chriſt, but only by yͤ church of Rome. Albeit they haue and vſe yͤ ſeuẽ articles of fayth cõcerning the diuinity: and ſeuen articles concerning the humanity, and the x. commaundements, and ſeuen workes of mercy, which they haue compiled together in a cõpendious book, glorying much in the ſame, & therby offer themſelues, ready to anſwere any man for theyr fayth.

Their maner of grace before meate.

Their grace after meate.

Before they go to meate, they haue this grace, Benedicite Korieeleyſon. Chriſte eleyſon. Kyrieeleyſon. Pater noſter: which being ſayd, then the elder amongeſt them beginneth thus in their owne tongue: God which bleſſed the fiue barely loaues and two fiſhes in the deſert, before his diſciples, bleſſe this table & that is ſet vpon it, or ſhalbe ſet vpon it. In the name of the father, of the ſonne, and of the holy Ghoſt. Amen. And likewiſe agayne when they riſe from meat, the ſeniour geueth thankes: ſaying the wordes of the Apocalips: Bleſſing, and worſhip, and wiſedome, & thankeſgeuing, honor, vertue, and ſtrength to God alone for euer and euer, Amen. And addeth moreouer: God reward them in their boſoms, and be beneficiall to all them, that be beneficial to vs, and bleſſe vs. And the God which hath geuen vs corporall feeding, graunt vs his ſpirituall life, and God be with vs, and we alwayes with him. To which they anſwere agayn. Amẽ. And thus ſaying grace, they hold their hands vpward, looking vp to heauẽ. After their meat and grace ſayd, they teach and exhort amongeſt themſelues conferring together vpon their doctrine. &c.

Reinerius a olde inquiſitor againſt Waldenſes.

In their doctrine and teaching they were ſo diligent & painefull, that Reinerius a writer about their time, (an extreme enemy agaynſt them) in a long proces, wherin he deſcribeth their doctrine and teaching, teſtifieth: yͭ he heard of one which did know the party, that a certayne heretick (ſayth he) onely to turne a certaine perſon away from our faith, and to bring him to his, (in the night, and in yͤ winter time) ſwamme ouer the riuer called Ibis, to come to him and to teach him: moreouer ſo perfect they were then in the Scriptures, that the ſayd Reinerius ſayth, he did heare and ſee a man of the cõutry vnlettered, which could recite ouer the whole booke of Iob word by word, without booke: with diuers other, which had the whole new teſtament perfectly by hart.

Pius Videtur locus in laſciuos ſacerdotes.

The power and multitude of Waldenſes.

And although ſome of them, rather merely then vnſkilfully, expounded the wordes of 1. Ioan. Sui non receperunt eum, Swine did not receiue him: yet were they not ſo ignoraunt and voyd of learning, nor yet ſo few in number but that they did mightely preuayle. Inſomuch that Reinerius hath theſe wordes. Non erat qui eos impedire auderet propter potentiam & multitudinem fautorum ſuorum Inquiſitioni & examinationi ſæpe interfui. Et computatæ ſunt 40. Eccleſiæ, quæ hæreſi infectæ fuerunt: ac in vna parochia Cammach fuerunt decem eorum ſcholæ.&c. That is. There was none durſt ſtoppe them, for the power and multitude of their fauourers. I haue often bene at their inquiſition. & examination. And there were numbred 40. churches, infected with their hereſie, inſomuch that in one pariſh of cãmach, were x, open ſcholes of them. &c. Hæc ille.

Waldenſes in all other points ſound, but onely for holding againſt the church of Rome.

Ex Orthuino Gratio.

And the ſayde Reinerius, when hee hath ſayd all he can, in depraung and inpugning them: yet is driuen to confeſſe this of them, where he doth diſtinct their ſect frõ other ſectes and hath theſe wordes: Hæc verò Leoniſtarum ſecta magnam habet ſpeciem pietatis, eò quòd coram hominibus iuſtè viuant, & benè omnia de Deo credant, & omnes articulos, qui in ſymbolo continẽtur. Solam Romanam Eccleſiam blaſphemãt & oderũt. That is. This ſect of Leoniſtes, hath a great ſhew of holyneſſe: in that both they liue iuſtly before men and beleue all things well of God, and holde all the articles conteined in the Creed. Onely they blaſpheme yͤ Romiſh church, and hate it, &c.

Now to touch ſomewhat their perſecutiõs. After they were driuen out of Lions, they were ſcattered into diuers & ſundry places (the prouidence of God ſo diſpoſing) that the ſound of their doctrine might be heard abroad in the world: Some, as I ſayd, went to Bohemia. Many did flie into their prouinces of Fraunce. Some into Lombardy, other into other places, &c. But as the croſſe commonly foloweth the verity & ſincere preaching of Gods word: ſo neither could theſe be ſuffered to liue in reſt. There are yet to be ſeen, the conſultations of Lawiers, Archbiſhops and byſhops of Fraunce, as Narbonenſis, Arelatenſis, Aquẽſis and Albanenſis, deuiſed amongſt themſelues, and yet remayne in writing, for the aboliſhing, & extirping of theſe Waldenſes. written aboue 300. yeres agoe: wherby it appeareth, there was a great number in Fraunce.

The croſſe commonly foloweth the word.

Waldenſes perſecuted more then 300. yeares agoe by Antichriſt.

Beſides, there was a whole councell kept in Theolouſe about 355. yeares to fore, and all agaynſt theſe Waldenſes: The which alſo were condemned in an other cõcell at Rome before that.

What great perſecutions were rayſed vp agaynſt thẽ in Fraunce. by theſe 4. Archbiſhops before mentioned, it appeareth by their writings, whereof I will recite ſome of their words, which towardes the end be theſe: Quis enim eſt ſolus ille peregrinus, qui condemnationem hæreticorũ Valdenſium ignoret a longe retro annis factam, tam famoſam, tã publicam, tot & tantis laboribus, expenſis, & ſudoribus fidelium inſecutam, & tot mortibus ipſorum infidelium ſolemniter damnatorum, publiceq; punitorum tam fortiter ſigillatam. &c. That is: Who is ſuch a ſtraunger, that knoweth not the condemnation of Waldenſes the heretickes, done and paſt ſo many yeres ago: ſo famous, ſo publick, followed vpon ſo great labours, expences, and trauayle of the faythfull, and ſealed with ſo many deathes of theſe Infidelles, ſo ſolemnelye being condemned and openlye puniſhed. Whereby we may ſee perſecution to be no newe thing in the Churche of Chriſte, when Antechriſt ſo long be-

Antichriſt with whom he firſt begā his perſecution.

fore(euen 300.yeares) began to rage agaynſt theſe Waldēſes. In Bohemia likewiſe after that, the ſame called by the name of Thaborites(as Siluius recordeth) ſuffred no litle trouble. But neuer perſecution was ſtirred vp againſt them, or any other people more terrible, then was in theſe latter yeares in Fraunce by the French king, an. 1545. which lamentable ſtory is deſcribed in Sleidan: and hereafter in the proces of this booke, as we come to the order of yeares, ſhall be ſet forth (by the grace of Chriſt) more at large. In the which perſecution is declared in one towne Cabriera to be ſlayne by the Captayne of Sathan (Minerius) eight hūdred perſons at once, without reſpect of women or children of any age: Of whome 40. women (and moſt of them great with childe, thruſt into a barne and the windowes kept with pikes, and ſo fire ſet to them) were all conſumed. Beſides in a caue not farre from the towne Muſſium, to the number of xxv. perſons, with ſmoke and fire were the ſame time deſtroyed: At Merindolum, the ſame tyraunt (ſeing all the reſt were fled away, finding one yong man) cauſed him to be tyed to an Oliue tree, & to be deſtroyed with tormentes moſt cruelly: with much other perſecution as may appeare hereafter, in the hiſtory tranſlated out of Sleidan into Engliſh.

An horrible murther of Chriſts holy martyrs.

Minerius an horrible perſecutor.

But to returne agayne to higher times from whence we digreſſed. Beſides that, Rinerius (aboue mentioned) ſpeaketh of one in the towne of Cheron, a glouer, which was brought in this time to examinatiō, & ſuffred. There is alſo an olde Monument of proces, wherein appeareth, 443. brought to examinatiō in Pomerania, Marchia, and places there about: about the yeare of our Lord 1391.

A Glouer ſuffered martyrdome in Cheron. 443 brought to examination.

And thus much touching the originall doctrine, and the lamentable perſecutions of the Waldenſes: who (as is declared) firſt began about the time of this king Henry the ſecond.

Other incidences happening in the raigne of this Henry the ſecond.

Incidences in the reigne of K. Henry the. 2.

CONcerning the firſt origine of Waldēſes, ſpringing in the daies of this king, is ſufficiently hetherto declared. Now remayneth in like order of time, to ſtory alſo ſuch other incidencies, as chaunced vnder the raigne of the ſayd king, not vnworthy to be obſerued: keeping the order of ẏ time, ſo neare as we may, & as authors do geue vnto vs.

Mary the daughter of king Stephen (being the Abbes of Rameſſey) was maryed in this kinges dayes to Mathew Earle of Bolon, which maryage Thomas Becket did worke agaynſt and did diſſolue: by reaſon whereof he procured him great diſpleaſure with the ſayd Earle &c. an. 1161. Ex Chronico Bibliothecæ Carienſis.

Becket a diſſoluer of mariages.

The ſame yeare a certayne childe was crucified of the Iewes in the towne of Glocester. an. 1161. Iornalenſ. After the ſame maner the wicked Iewes had crucified an other child before in the City of Norwich, in the dayes of Kyng Stephen. an. 1145.

Two children crucified by the Iewes.

A collection was gathered through all England and Fraunce (two pence of euery pound) for the ſuccour of the Eaſt Chriſtians agaynſt the Turkes. an. 1167. Ex eodem,

Babilon was taken and deſtroyed, and neuer ſince repayred, by Almaricus king of Hieruſalem. an. 1170. Ex vetuſto manuſcripto exemplari hiſtoriæ Carienſis.

Babilon vtterly deſtroied.

An. 1173. almoſt all England was diſeaſed with the cough, Ex vetuſto Chron. acephalo. About which yeare alſo William king of Scots was taken in battayle, and impriſoned in England.

Great warre happened in Paleſtina: wherein, the City of Ieruſalem with the croſſe and the king of the City, & other of the temple was taken of the Saraſines, and moſt part of the Chriſtians there either ſlayne or taken. Cruell murther and ſlaughter there was vſed by the Turke, who cauſed all the chief of the Chriſtiās to be brought forth and beheaded before his face. In ſo much that Pope Vrbanus the iij. for ſorrow dyed: & Gregory the viij next pope after him, liued not 2. monethes. Thē in the dayes of pope Clement iij. (newes and ſorrow growing dayly for the loſſe of Paleſtina, and deſtruction of the Chriſtians) K. Henry of England, & Phillip the french king, the duke of Burgundy, the Earle of Flaunders, the Earle of Campania, with diuers other Chriſtian Princes, with a generall conſent: vpon S. Georges day, tooke the marke of the croſſe vpon thē, promiſing together to take their voyage into the holy land. At which tyme the ſtoryes ſay, the king of England receiued firſt the redde croſſe, the French king tooke the white croſſe, the Earle of Flaunders the greene croſſe, & ſo other princes diuerſly, diuers coulors: therby to be diſcerned euery one by his proper croſſe. But king Henry (after the three yeres were expired, in which he promiſed to performe his voyage) ſent to the Pope for further delay of his promiſe, offering for the ſame to erect three Monaſteries. Which thing he thus performed: In the Church of Waltham he thruſt out the ſeculer Prieſtes, and ſet in Monkes for them. Secondly, he repayred agayne & brought in the Nunnes of Ameſbury, which before were excluded for theyr incontinent life. And thus performed he his promiſe made before to the Pope. an. 1173.

The holie croſſe taken with the citie of Ieruſalem, by the Saracens. Perſecution of the Turk againſt the Chriſtians.

A viage againſt the Turkes.

Howe the difference of the croſſes firſt came in amōgſt chriſtian princes

The kings promiſes fulfilled to the Pope.

The king of Scots did his homage and alleagēaūce to the King of England and to his ſonne, and to his chiefe Lordes: promiſing that all the Earles and Barōs of Scotland ſhould do the like with theyr poſterity. Item all the Byſhops and Abbots of the Church of Scotland promiſed ſubiection and ſubmiſſion to the Archbiſhop of Yorke. an. 1175. Nic. Triuet.

King of Scottes doing homage to the king of England.

The Church of Scotland ordered by the church of York.

The cuſtome was in this realme, that if any had killed any Clerke or Prieſt: he was not to be puniſhed with the temporall ſword, but onely excommunicate & ſet to Rome for the Popes grace and abſolution. Which cuſtome in the dayes of this king began firſt to be altered by the procurement of Richard Archbiſhop of Caunterbury, an. 1176. Triuet.

Murtherers could not be puniſhed by the Popes decrees.

London bridge firſt began to be made of ſtone by one Peter Prieſt of Colechurch. an. 1176. Ex Chron. cuius initiū: In diebus ſanctiſ. regis Edouardi. &c. ex Bibliot. Carienſi.

London bridge of ſtone.

S. William of Paris was ſlain of the Iewes on maūdy thurſday, wherefore the Iewes were burned, & he coūted a Saint. an. 1177.

S. William of Paris.

Ireland ſubdued to the crowne of England by thys king. an. 1177. Ex varijs Chron.

Ireland ſubdued to England.

Vnder the raigne of the ſayd king Henry about the 25 yeare of his raigne, Ludouicus the french king (by the viſion of Thomas Becket, appearing to him in his dreame, & promiſing to him the recouery of his ſonne if he would reſort to him at Canterbury) made his iourney into England to viſite S. Thomas at Caunterbury with Phillip Earle of Flaunders: where he offered a rich cup of golde, with other pretious iewels, & a 100. veſſels of wine yearely to be geuen to the Couent of the church of Cāterbury: notwithſtanding the ſayd Phillip in his return from England taking his iourney to Paris, to viſite S. Denis, in the ſame his pilgrimage was ſtrickē with ſuch colde, that he fell into a paſſey, and was benumbed of the right ſide of his body. an. 1178. Iornalenſis & alij.

Pilgrimage to Canterbury ſprang by a lying viſion.

A iuſt reward for an idolatrous viage.

Stephanus Epiſcopus Redomonſis, was wont to make many rimes, and gaudiſh proſe, to delite the eares of the multitude, to whom a litle before his death, this verſe was ſounded in his eare. Deſine ludere temerè, nitere properè ſurgere de puluere. an. 1178. Nic. Triuet.

Albingenſes denyed tranſuſtantiation in the Sacrament of Chriſtes body and bloud, about the city of Tholouſe, alſo that matrimony was not a Sacrament, &c. an. 1178, ibidem.

Tranſubſtantiation gaynſayd.

King Henry ſeparated himſelfe from his wife Alionor, and held her many yeares in priſon, as ſome think for the loue of Roſamūde. Which ſemeth to me to be the cauſe, why God afterward ſtirred all his ſonnes vp to warre agaynſt him, and to worke him much ſorrow. an. 1179. Nic. Triuet. Notwithſtanding the ſayd Alionor was ſhortly after reconciled to him.

Queene Alionor impriſoned.

S. Frideſwide was tranſlated vnto Oxford. an. 1179.

An. 1180. There came to the councell of Pope Alexander, one Piſanus Burgundio, a man very cunning both in Greeke and Latin, which brought and preſented to the counſell the Homelyes of Chriſoſtome vpon the Goſpell of S. Iohn, tranſlated out of Greeke into Latin, and ſayd that he tranſlated likewiſe a great part of his expoſition vpon Geneſis, ſaying moreouer that the ſayd Chriſoſtome had made expoſitions in Greeke vpon the whole olde teſtament, and alſo the new. an. 1180.

Expoſitions made by Chriſ. both of the olde and newe teſtament.

The Monkes of Charterhouſe, firſt entred into this land. an. 1180.

The Charter houſe monkes.

An. 1181. Richard Pech Byſhopp of Couentry, before his death renounced his biſhoprick, and became a Chanō, in the Church of S. Thomas, by Stafford. Ex Chronico peruetuſto, cui initium: In diebus ſanctiſ. Regis. &c.

The Biſhop of Couētry voluntarely renounceth his byſhopricke.

About the latter time of this king Henry, one Hugo (whō men were wont to call S. Hugh of Lincolne) borne in Burgundy, and Prior of the Monks of Charterhouſe, was preferred by the king to the Biſhopricke of Lincoln, who after his death is ſaid to do great miracles, and therfore was counted a Saynt. an. 1186. Flores Hiſt.

S. Hugh of Lincolne.

Baldwinus Archbyſhop of Caunterbury began the building of his new houſe and Church of Lambeth, but by the letters of pope Clement 3. he was forbid to proceed in the building thereof. an. 1187. Triuet.

Lambeth firſt begun to be built.

I do finde likewiſe in ẏ foreſaid written Chronicle re-

K. Henries gift to the Church of Rome for the death of Becket.

maining in the hands of one Williã Cary Citizen of Lõdõ: that this forenamed king Henry yͤ 2. gaue to the court and church of Rome, for the death of Becket 40. thouſand markes of ſiluer. And 5. thouſand marks of gold. an. 1187.

A worthie ſtorie of Sibilla and Guido, in Ieruſalem.

Mention was made a little aboue of Amalrike king of Ieruſalẽ, which deſtroyed Babylon, ſo that it was neuer after to this day reſtored, but lyeth waſt and deſolate: wherein was fulfilled that, which in the Prophets in ſo many places was threatened to Babylõ before. This Amalrike had a ſonne named Baldwin, & a daughter called Sibilla. Baldwine from the beginning of his raigne was a Leoper, and had the falling ſickeneſſe, being not able for feebleneſſe of body (although valiaunt in hart and ſtomacke) to ſatiſfy that function.

Sibilla his ſiſter was firſt maried to one Willermus, Marques of Mõut Ferrat, by whom ſhe had a ſonne called alſo Balwinus. After him ſhe was maried to another huſband, named Guido de Liziniaco, Earle of Ioppe and of Aſcalon. Vpon this befell, that the foreſaid Baldwine the Leoper ſonne of Amalricus, being thus feeble & infirme, as is ſayd: called his nobles together with his mother & the Patriarche, declaring to thẽ his inability, and by the conſentes of them, committed the vnder gouernement of the City to Guido the huſband of Sibilla his ſiſter. But he being found inſufficiẽt or els not lucky in yͤ gouerning thereof: the office was tranſlated to another, named Raimundus Earle of Tripolis. In the meane time the Soldan with his Saraſins mightely preuayled agaynſt the Chriſtiãs, & ouerran the countrey of Paleſtina. In which meane time Baldwine the king departed. Whereby the kingdome fell next to Baldwinus the ſonne of Sibilla by her firſt huſband Willermus. The which Baldwinus being but fiue yeares olde, was put to cuſtody of Raimundus aforeſayd. Who alſo in his minority, before he came to his crowne, dyed: whereby the next ſucceſſion by diſſent fell to Sibilla, the wife of Guido aboue mentioned. To whom the pieres and nobles ioyning together in cõſell, offred to the ſayde Sibilla as to the lawfull heyre to the crowne, to be theyr Queene: with this condition, that ſhe ſhould ſequeſter from her by ſolemne deuorſement the foreſayd Guido her huſband. But ſhe refuſed the kingdõe offered to her on that condition: till at laſt, the Magiſtrats with the nobles ingenerall graunted vnto her, & by theyr othes confirmed the ſame, that whomeſoeuer ſhe woulde chooſe to be her huſband, all they would take and obey as theyr king. Alſo Guido her huſband with like petition among yͤ reſt, humbly requeſted her: that the kingdom not for his ſake, or for his priuate loſſe, might be deſtitute of gouernement. At length ſhe with teares conſenting to theyr entreaty was contented, and ſolemnely was crowned theyr Queene: who after the maner, agayne receiued theyr fidelity by theyr othe. Whereupon Guido without all hope both of wife and kingdome, departed home quietly to his owne. This done, the Queene aſſembling her ſtates and prelates together, entred talke with thẽ about the chooſing of the king, according to that which they had promiſed and ſworne vnto her: and to obey him as theyr king, whom ſhe would name to be her huſbande. Thus, while they were all in great expectation wayting euery man whome ſhe would nominate: The Queene with a loud voyce ſayd to Guido that ſtood amongſt them: Guido my Lord, I chooſe thee for my huſbãd, and yelding my ſelfe and my kingdome vnto you, openly I proteſt you to be the king. At theſe words al the aſſembly being amaſed, wondred that one ſimple woman ſo wiſely had beguiled ſo many wiſe men. And worthy no doubt was ſhe to be commended and extolled for her ſinguler vertue both of faythful chaſtity and high prudẽce: ſo tempering the matter that both ſhe obtayned to her huſband the kingdome, and retayned to her ſelfe agayne her huſband, whom ſhe ſo faythfully loued. an. 1186. Ex Hiſtoria manu ſcripta, cui initium: Rex Pictorum ex Bibliotheca Carienſi mutuata.

A worthie example of a true wife to her huſband.

A worthy example in Guido of a true ſubiect to the common wealth.

A ſingular example of prudence in a princes, and fidelitie in a wife.

As I haue hetherto deſcribed the publick acts of king Henry, ſo now I meane to touch ſomething of his priuat conditions. He was of meane ſtature, eloquent and learned, manly and bolde in chiualry. Fearefull of the mutability and chaunce of warre, more lamenting the death of his ſouldiars dead, thẽ louing them aliue, none more curteous & liberall for the obtayning of his purpoſe: in peace and tranquility none more rougher: ſtubberne agaynſt the ſtubberne: ſometimes mercifull to thoſe whom he had vanquiſhed: ſtraight to his houſeholde ſeruauntes, but liberall to ſtrãgers: publickly of publick thinges liberall, ſparing of his owne: whom once he tooke a diſpleaſure agaynſt, hardly or neuer would he receiue agayne to fauor: ſomewhat lauaſh of his tongue, a willing breaker of hys promiſe, a louer of his eaſe, but an oppreſſor of his nobility: a ſeuere reuenger and furtherer of iuſtice: variable of word, and crafty in his talke: an open adulterer: a nouriſher of diſcord amongſt his children. Moreouer the Papiſtes bearing him (for Thomas Beckets quarell & ſuch like, as may be gathered) no good will: terme him to be an aduerſary of the fayth, the maule and beetle of the church.

Alſo in the Chronicle intituled Scala mundi, I finde of him: that he followeth the ſteppes, maners and conditiõs of Henry the firſt his graũdfather in euery poynt. He preſerued firme peace, & executed ſtraight iuſtice through all his dominions. He loued maruellous well his forreſt: & agayne thoſe that were tranſgreſſors either to his crown or perſon, he moſt ſeuerely puniſhed.

The king admoniſhed to amende his life.

Sonday to be free from bying and ſelling.

Moreouer, in a certayne hiſtory intituled De regibus Angliæ, I finde that this king was ſondry times admoniſhed to reforme and amẽd his life. And firſt by one that was an olde man at the caſtle of Cardif in Wales, at that time of the yeare called Dominica in albis, the eight day after Eaſter. Where alſo, after that he had heard maſſe, and was going to take his horſe: there ſtood a certayne man by him, ſomewhat yelowiſh (his heare being rounded, leane, and illfauoured) hauing on a white coat, and being barefoote, looked vpon the king, and ſpake in this wiſe: good olde king. That done, thus he proceedeth. The king ſaluteth you and his bleſſed mother, Iohn Baptiſt, & Peter: ſtraightly charging you, that vpon the Sundayes throughout all your dominions there be no buying & ſelling or other ſeruile buſineſſe (thoſe onely except, which appertayne to the preparation of meat and drinke) which thing if thou ſhalt obſerue, whatſoeuer thou takeſt in hãd thou ſhalt happely finiſh and bring to paſſe. Then ſpake the king in French to the knight that held his horſe by the bridle: Aſke of this chourle whether he dreamed this or not. And in the meane while that the knight ſhould haue interpreted the kinges wordes and meſſage, he ſpake before, and ſaid. Whether this be a dreame or not, mark wel what day this is: for vnleſſe that thou do theſe things, and amend thy life: ſuch newes ſhalt thou heare within theſe 12. monethes, that will make thee lament and mourne, till thy dying day. And when theſe wordes were ſpoken the man vaniſhed out of his ſight. And within one yeare next after: Henry, Gawfride, and Richard his ſonnes, forſooke him their father, and took part with the Frenchking. The king of Scottes, the Earle of Cheſter, and Earle of Leciter, made an inſurrection agaynſt the king. Many other premonitions were geuen alſo to the king, but all theſe did he little eſteme. The ſecond which did admoniſh him was a certayne Iriſh man, geuing him certayne ſecret ſignes. And thirdly, a certayne knight of Fyndeſey, named Phillip de Eaſterby: ſayling with him ouer into Fraunce, declared vnto the king in Normandy ſeuen articles, which he ſhould amend. Which thing if he wold do, he ſhould raigne ſeuẽ yeares moſt honorably, and ſhould take the holy croſſe from his enemies: or els he, in yͤ fourth yeare ſhould dye in great ignominye. The 3. firſt thinges were theſe, which he at his coronation ſware to obſerue (that is) to defend the Church, to mayntayne good lawes, and to condemne no man to death without iudgement. The fourth was, for the reſtoring of inheritaũce wrongfully takẽ. The fift was in doing iuſtice without reward. The ſixt was of miniſters & officers wages and ſtipẽdes. The ſeuenth was of expelling the Iewes, leauing them ſome money to depart withal. But the king not amẽding his life, there roſe vp agaynſt him 3. ſtrong enemies, that is to ſay his three ſonnes with the Frenchking. But after that the king (forſooth) had gone a pilgrimage to the Martyrs tombe, barfoote: William the king of Scots, the Earles of Cheſter and Leceſter, were taken at Alnewick.

The ſecond and third admonition to the king to reforme his life.

Seuẽ things to be amended.

The kinges victory was falſely imputed to the cauſe of his pilgrimage.

The death K. Henry the 2.

In the 35. yeare of his raigne, being in the Caſtle of Chiuen in Normandy, he dyed: at whoſe death thoſe that were preſẽt, were ſo greedy of the ſpoyle, that they left the body of the king naked, and not ſo much could be foũd as a cloth to couer it: till that a Page comming in, and ſeing the king ſo ignominiouſly to lye, threw his cloke vpõ his nether partes, wherein (ſayth the author) was verified the ſurname, which from his youth he bare, being called Hẽry court Mantill.

¶ King Richard.

Anno. 1189. K. Richard crowned.

IN this yeare of the Lord aboue recited, which was 1189. King Richard the eldeſt ſonne of Henry 2. ſucceeding his Father, entred his crowne: at which time Pope Clement ſate at Rome, ſucceeding after Gregory which dyed a litle before with ſorrow for the loſſe of the holy croſſe.

The kinges reſtraint that no Iew ſhould enter the place nor Church during his coronation.

During the time of whoſe coronatiō it befell, that notwithſtanding the king the day before his coronation, and by publicke edict commaunded both the Iewes and their wiues not to preſume either to enter the church, or els his pallace, during the ſolemnization of his coronation amōgeſt his nobles and Barons: yet (whileſt the king was at dinner) the chiefetayne of the Iewes with diuers other of his Iewiſh affinity and ſuperſticious ſect, agaynſt the kings prohibition (together with other preaſe) entred the court gates. Wherat a chriſtian man being offēded, ſtroke one of them with his hand or fiſt, & bad him ſtand further from the court gate, as the king had geuen in commaundement: whoſe example others alſo following being diſpleaſed agaynſt the Iewes, offered them the like contumely. Other alſo, ſuppoſing that the king had ſo cōmaunded in deed (as vſing the authority of the king) fel vpō all the Iewes that ſtood by without the court gate. And firſt they bet them with theyr fiſtes: but afterward they tooke vp ſtones and ſuch other thinges, as they could get, and threw at them, and bet them therewith. And thus driuing them from the court gates, ſome of them they wounded, ſome they ſlew, and ſome they left for dead.

A Iewe through feare was baptized.

The Iewes in London ſlaine and their houſes ſet on fire.

There was amongſt this number of the Iewes, one which was called the bleſſed Iew of Yorke: which was ſo ſore wounded and beaten with the reſt, that for feare of his lyfe he ſayd he would become a chriſtian: and was in deed of Williā the Prior of the church of S. Mary of York baptiſed: whereby he eſcaped the great perill of death he was in, and the perſecutors hands. In the meane whyle, there was a great rumor ſpred throughout all the City of London, that the king had cōmaunded to deſtroy all the Iewes. Wherupon, as well the Citizens as innumerable people more, being aſſembled to ſee the kings coronation: armed themſelues and came together. The Iewes thus being (for the moſt part) ſlayn, the reſt fled into their houſes: where, for a time through the ſtrōg and ſure building of them, they were defēded. But at length, theyr houſes were ſet on fire, and they deſtroyed therein.

The ſmall regard of nobilitie had in tumults and inſurrectiōs.

A new chriſtian reuolteth to an olde Iewe.

An vnaduiſed anſwere of an Arch.

These thinges being declared to the king, whileſt he with his nobles and Barons were at dinner: he ſendeth immediatly Ranulph de Glanuile, the Lord high Stuard of England, with diuers other noble men to accompany him: that they might ſtay and reſtrayne theſe ſo bold enterpriſes of the Londiners, but all was in vayne. For in this ſo great a tumult, none there was that either regarded what the nobility ſayd, or els any whit reuerēced theyr perſonages: but rather with ſterne looks and threatning wordes, aduiſed them and that quickely to depart. Whereupon, they with good deliberation thinking it the beſt ſo to do, departed: the tumult and inſurrection continuing till the next daye. At which time alſo the king ſending certayne of his officers into the Citty, gaue them in commaundement to apprehend and preſent ſome ſuch as were the chiefeſt of the malefactours: of the which, three were condemned to be hanged, and ſo were. The one, for that he had robbed a Chriſtiās houſe in this tumult: and the other two, for that they fired the houſes to the greate daunger of the City. After this the king ſent for him that from a Iew was conuerted to Chriſtiannitye: and in the preſēce of thoſe that ſaw where he was baptiſed, the king aſked him whether he was become a Chriſtian or not. He aunſwering the king ſayd no: but to the intent he might eſcape death, he promiſed to do whatſoeuer the chriſtians would haue him. Then the king aſked the Archbiſhop of Caunterbury (other Archbiſhops and Byſhoppes being preſent) what were beſt to be done with him: who vnaduiſedly aunſwering ſaid: If he will not be a man of God, let him be a man of the deuill: and ſo reuolted he agayne to Iewdaiſme.

Ex Chron. Weſtm. cuius initium: Aeneas cum Aſcanio, &c.

Then the king ſent his writs to the ſhiriffes of euery country to enquire for the authors & ſtirrers of this outrage. Of whom 3. were hanged, diuers were impriſoned. So great was thē the hatred of Engliſhmen agaynſt the Iewes, that as ſoone as they began to be repulſed in the court the Londiners taking example thereof, fell vpon them, ſet theyr houſes on fyre, and ſpoyled theyr goodes. The country agayne following the example of the Londiners ſemblably did the like. And thus the yeare, which the Iewes tooke to be theyr Iubily, was to them a yeare of confuſion. In ſo much as in the city of Yorke yͤ Iewes obtayning the occupying of a certayne Caſtle for theyr preſeruation, and afterward not willing to reſtore it to the Chriſtians agayne, when they ſaw no other remedye but by force to be vanquiſhed, firſt they offered much mony for theyr liues: when that would not be taken, by the counſell of an olde Iew among them, euery one with a ſharpe razer cut an others throate, whereby a thouſand & fiue hundred of them were at that preſent deſtroyd. Neither was this plague of theyrs vndeſerued. For euerye yeare commonly theyr cuſtome was to get ſome chriſten mans childe from the parentes, and on good Fridaye to crucify him in deſpite of our religion. Ex chron. Weſtm.

A miſerable and deſerued deſtruction of the Iewes.

{ Anno. 1189. }

The couetous greedineſſe of Byſhops noted, in bying great lordſhips.

Sleightes to get money.

King Richard after the death of his father, comming to remembraunce of himſelfe, and of his rebellion againſt hys father, ſought for abſolution of his treſpaſſe, and in part of ſatiſfaction for the ſame, agreed with Phillipp the French King about Eaſter next enſuing to take his voyage with him for the recouerye of Chriſtes patrimonye, which they called the holy land. Wherupon the ſayd king Richard immediatly after his coronation, to prepare himſelfe the better toward his iourny, ſet to ſale diuers of his manors. Wherof Godfrey Lucy then B. of Wint. bought a couple for 2. M. markes, to witte, Wergraue, and Melenge. The Abbot of Bury bought another for a M. markes, called Middleſale. Hugh Puſaz B. of Durhā, bought the Lordſhip of Seggesfield, or Sedberga with the wapintake, and all the appertenaunce thereto belonging. He bought alſo the Earledome of Northumberland. Whome when the king ſhould ſolemnize after the maner of ſecular Earles, merily with a mocking ieſt, loe (ſayd he) of an olde Byſhop I haue made a young Earle. And becauſe the ſayd Biſhop had profeſſed before by a ſolemne vow to viſite the holy land, to be releaſed of his vow, he compounded with the Pope for a great ſumme of mony therefore, and moreouer gaue to the King a thouſand Marks to remayne at home, as chiefe Iuſtice of England. Ouer and beſides, the King ſet out all that he had to ſale, woddes, caſtles, townſhips, Lordſhips, Earledoms, Baronages. &c. ordayning alſo diuers new Byſhops, & not without ſome aduauntage (as appeared) to his purſe: fayning moreouer, his olde ſeale to be loſt, that they which had landes to hold, might be driuen to renew their writinges agayne by the new ſeale, wherby great ſubſtaunce of mony was gayned.

A tenth gathered thorough all England.

K.Philip and K.Richard concluding to trauayle to the holy lande.

Aboue all this, by the commaundement of Pope Clement. 3. a tentth alſo was enacted of the whole Realm, in ſuch ſort as the Chriſtians ſhould make to the king 70000 pound, the Iewes 6000. Ex Geruaſ. fol. 134. King Richard after his coronation ſent certayne Earles and Barons to Philip the French King in the tyme of his parliament at S. Denis, deſiring him to remember his promiſe made for the recouery of Chriſtes holy patrimony out of the Saracens handes. Unto whom he ſent word agayne in the moneth of December, certifying him how he had bound himſelf by ſolemne othe, depoſing vpon the Euangeliſts, that he the next yeare following about the time of Eaſter, had certaynly perfixed to addreſſe himſelfe toward that iourney, requiring him likewiſe not to fayle but to be redy at the terme aboue limitted, appoynting alſo the place where both the Kinges ſhould meet together.

{ Anno. 1190. }

A Northren braule in the Cathedrall church of York, betweene the new Archb. and the Deane.

Henry Deane of Yorke and Bucarde begin ſeruice, not tarying for their Archb.

The Deane and Treaſurer wold not ceaſe euenſong at the archbiſhops commandement

The next yeare then enſued, which was 1190 in the beginning of which yere, vpon Twelfe euen, fel a foule northren brawle, which turned welnere to a fray, betweene the Archbyſhop new elected of the Church of Yorke, and his company on the one ſide, and Henrye Deane of the ſayd Church, with his Catholicke partakers on the other ſide, vpon occaſion as followeth. Gaufridus or Geffray, ſonne to King Henry 2. and brother to King Richard, whom the King had elected a little before to the Archbyſhoprick of Yorke, vpon the euen of the Epiphany, which we call Twelfe day, was diſpoſed to heare Euēſong with all ſolemnity in the Cathedrall church, hauing with him Hamon the Chaunter, with diuers other Canons of the church. Who tarying ſomething long, belike in adourning and attyring himſelfe: in the mean while Henry the Deane, and Bucardus the treaſurer, diſdayning to tary his comming, with a bolde courage luſtilye began theyr holy Euenſong, with ſinging theyr Pſalmes, ruffling of deſcant, and mery piping of Organs. Thus this Catholicke Euenſōg with as much deuotion begon, as to gods high ſeruice proceeding, was now almoſt halfe complete, when as at lenth (they being in the midſt of theyr myrth) commeth in the new elect, with his trayne and gardeuaunce, all full of wrath and indignatiō, for that they durſt be ſo bolde, not wating for him to begin gods ſeruice, and ſo eftſoones commaunded the Quyre to ſtay & holde theyr peace. The Chaunter likewiſe, by vertue of his office, cōmaūdeth the ſame. But the Deane and Treaſurer on the other ſide willed them to proceed, and ſo the ſong on, and would not ſtint. Thus the one halfe crying agaynſt the other, the whole Quyre was in a roare, theyr ſinging was turned to ſcolding, theyr chaunting to chiding, and if in ſtead of the Organes they had had a Drumme, I doubt, they would haue ſolſede by the eares together.

The Archb. beginneth euenſong againe being halfe done before.

The Treaſurer putteth out the candels at euenſong.

The Popes Church can do nothing without candle light

The Deane and Church of York ſuſpended by the Archb. from diuine ſeruice.

At laſt, through the authority of the Archb. and of the Chaunter, the Queare began to ſurceaſe and geue ſilence. Then yͤ newe elect not contented with that had bene ſong before, with certayne of the Quire beganne the Euenſong new agayne. The Treaſurer vpō the ſame cauſed by vertue of his office, the candles to be put out. wherby yͤ euenſong hauing no power further to proceede, was ſtopped forthwith. For like as without the light and beames of the ſun there is nothing but darcknes in all the world: euen ſo you muſt vnderſtand, the Popes church can ſee to do nothing without candle light, albeit the ſun do ſhine neuer ſo cleare and bright. This being ſo the archb. thus diſapointed on euery ſide of his purpoſe, made a greeuous plaint, declaring to the clergy and to the people, what the Deane, and Treaſurer had done, and ſo vpon the ſame ſuſpended both them and the church from all diuine ſeruice, till they ſhould make to him due ſatiſfaction for their treſpaſſe.

The ſtoutnes of the Deane and Treaſurer in not ſubmitting them ſelues to Archb.

The people incenſed againſt the Deane of Yorke and his Canons.

Ex Chron. anonimo cui initium: Anno gratia.

The next day which was the day of Epiphany, when all the people of the City were aſſembled in the Cathedrall church (as theyr maner was, namely in ſuch feaſts) deuoutly to heare diuine ſeruice (as they call it) of the church, there was alſo preſent the Archb. and the Chaunter with the reſidue of the Clergy, loking when the Deane and Treaſurer would come and ſubmit themſelues, making ſatiſfaction for theyr crime. But they ſtill cōtinuing in their ſtoutnes, refuſed ſo to do, exclaiming & vttering contemptuous wordes agaynſt the Archb. & his partakers. which when the people heard, they in a great rage would haue fallē vpon them, but the Archb. would not ſuffer that. The Deane thē & his fellowes perceiuing yͤ ſtirr of the people for feare like prety men were fayne to flye, ſome to the tombe of S. william of Yorke, ſome ran to the Deanes houſe, & there ſhrowded themſelues: whom the Archb. then accurſed. And ſo for that day the people returned home without any ſeruice. Ex veteri Chronico manu ſcripto, cui initium: Anno gratiæ Milleſ.&c.

K. Richard prepareth toward his iourney.

William Biſhop of Ely the kings Chauncellor, & Hugh Byſh. of Durham made chiefe ouerſeers of the Realme in the kinges abſence.

William Byſhop of Ely made the popes Legate in England and Scotland.

After this King Richard preparing to ſet all thinges in an order before his going, committed the whole gouernement of the realme principally to william Biſhoppe of Ely his Chauncellor, & to Hugh B. of Durhā, whom he ordayned to be the chiefe Juſtice of all England in his abſence, the one to haue the cuſtody of the tower, with the ouerſight of all other parts of the land on this ſide of Humber: the other (which was yͤ B. of Durham) to haue charge vpon all other his dominions beyond Humber: Sending moreouer to Pope Clement in the behalfe of the foreſayd william B. of Ely, to be made the Popes Legate through all England and Scotland, which alſo was obtayned. Thus the B. being aduaunced in high authority, to furniſh the king toward his ſetting forth, prouideth out of euery city in England ij. Palfreys, and ij. ſumpters, & out of euery Abbey, one palfrey, and one ſumpter.

Captaines and Conſtables of the kinges nauie appointed.

The long contention between Baldwyn Arch. of Cant. and the Monks of Chriſtes Church.

Archbyſhops of Canterbury commonly were wont to worke the kinges of England much ſorrow.

Kings of England euer carefull about the chuſing of the Archbiſhop and wherefore.

Ex chron. Geruas.

Theſe thinges and other thus ſet in a ſtay, the king according to his former appointment, about the time of Eaſter, ſailed to Fraunce, where the French king and he conferring together, becauſe they could not make redy at that time of Eaſter, concluded to take a longer day, proroging their voyage till after midſommer. In which meane time yͤ king occupying himſelfe in redreſſing & ſtabliſhing ſuch things as further were to be ordred, there determined, that Gaufridus & John his brethrē ſhuld not enter into England in 3. yeres after his departure: Neuertheles he releaſed that band afterward to his brother John. Thē he appoynted the Captaynes & Conſtables ouer his nauy, & ſet lawes to be obſerued in his iourney vpon the ſeas. But eſpecially his care was to make vnity and concord betwene parties that were at variaunce, and to ſet them together at one. At which time the long contētion began alſo to be appeaſed which ſo many yeres had continued betwene Baldwinus Archb. of Cant. and his monkes of Chriſts church. The diſcourſe whereof, although it be ſomewhat tedious to be ſet forth at large being enough to make a whole tragedy, yet to yͤ intent yͤ age now preſent may ſee what great conflictes and diſquietnes, vpō what litle trifles hath bene ſtirred vp, what litle peace & vnity hath bene not onely in this church, but commōly in all other churches, vnder the popes catholicke regiment: I thought it labour not ill beſtowed, ſomewhat to intermeddle in opening to yͤ eyes of the Reader, the conſideration of this matter. wherein firſt is to be vnderſtood that the Archbiſhops of Cant. cōmonly being ſet vp by the pope, eſpecially ſince yͤ time of yͤ conqueſt, haue put the Kinges of this land to much ſorrow & trouble: as appeared by william Rufus & Lanfrāck, and alſo Anſelme. By Henry 1. and Anſelme, King Stephen & Theobald, Henry 2. & Becket. &c For which yͤ Kinges of this land haue vſed the more care & circumſpectiō, to haue ſuch Archbiſhops placed in that ſea, as either ſhould ſtand with them, or at leaſt ſhould not be agaynſt them.

*Or xx. as ſome recke

Jeremy the Prior of Canter. appelleth to Pope Innocent.

Ieremie the Prior depoſed by the Archb.

Ieremie reſtored to his place againe by the Pope.

Conſilium Remenſem. 1140.

Now to the purpoſe of our matter entended. Firſt after Lanfrancus who was Archb. xx. yeares, the ſea ſtanding vacant v. yeares, ſucceded Anſelmus, & ſat 17. yeares. After whom the ſea ſtādyng vacant 4. yeres, ſucceded Radulphus, and continued 9. yeares. Then followed williā, who ſat 12. yeares, and dyed, an. 1137. After whom came Theobaldus in the time of king Stephen. This Theobaldus being no great fauourer of the monkiſh generatiō, fell out with Jeremias Prior of the houſe of Cant. for certaine cauſes betweene them: for which the Archb. taking ſtomack againſt the Prior, would lay the ſentence of interdiction againſt him. The Prior, ſeing that, to ſaue himſelf, made his appeale to Pope Innocent. The Archb. prouoked the more by that, depoſed him from the Priorſhip, and placed one walter in his room. Jeremias notwithſtāding making his complaint and appeal to Rome, obteined letters from the Pope to Henry B. of wint. being the popes Legate: by the vertue wherof, he againſt the hart of yͤ Archbiſhop was reſtored, and walter diſplaced. Neuertheles, the ſayd Jeremy not willing there to continue wͭ diſpleaſure of the Archb, ſhortly after of his owne accord, renoūced his Priority, and walter againe was receiued in hys ſtead. Not long after this followed the generall councel of Rhemes, an. 1140. To yͤ which councell Theobald cōtrary to the commaūdement of the king, would needs reſort, to ſhew his obedience to the pope, wherfore at his returning home again the king tooke ſuch diſpleaſure with him, that within a while after the Archbiſhop was driuen to voyde the realme, and flie into Fraūce: where he by cenſure of interdiction ſuſpended diuers churches, and religious houſes which refuſed to come to the councell, and alſo hearing how the king had ſeized vpon all his goods, he interdicted likewiſe all the kings lands, whatſoeuer belonged to the crown, ſo that the king in concluſion was fain to cōpound with him and fall to agreemēt, which was about the yere. 1148. Ex Geruaſio.

A friuolous ſtrife betwene Theobald Arch. and Silueſter Abbot of S. Auſtens about the place, in what church the Abbot ſhoulde take his conſecration.

Silueſter geeth vp to Rome.

After this in the yeare of our Lord 1151. after the death of Hugh Abbot of S. Auſtens in Cant. Silueſter was elected by the Couent to be their Abbot, in the raigne of K. Stephen. which Silueſter when he came to Theobald yͤ Archb. to make his profeſſion of ſubiction vnto him, and to receiue of him conſecration: the Archb. was contented, ſo that the Abbot would come to chriſtes church in Cant. and there make his profeſſion. But to this Silueſter in no caſe would graūt to take his conſecration there, but els in any other church whereſoeuer the Archbiſhop would, he was contented. wherunto when the Archbiſh. in no wiſe would agre, Silueſter making a great bag of mony, went to Rome, where he obtained of yͤ pope for mony, (for what can not money do at Rome?) letters that the Archbiſhos ſhould conſecrate the Abbot in his own church of S. Auſten, and alſo not exact of him any profeſſion of canonicall ſubiection. whereupon the Archb. was compelled againſt his will, to come to the Abbots Churche, and there at the popes commaundement to conſecrate him ſimply, & without any further profeſſion to be required.

The Monkes of Chriſtes church ſtriue againſt the Monkes of S. Auſtens in Cant. for the honour of their houſe.

Walter Prior of Chriſtes Church appealeth the Archb. vp to Rome.

Silueſter trudgeth againe to Rome.

Silueſter conſecrated Abbot in his own church whether the archb. wold or not.

Then walter Prior of Chriſtes Churche in Cant. ſeing that, and perceiuing how preiudiciall and derogatory the example therof would be to yͤ honor & maieſty of theyr church, through counſell of his brethren, went thither, and notwithſtanding the dores were ſtraitly watched & kept, yet by meanes he at laſt gate in. And as he ſaw the Archb. attired in his Pontificalibus, ready to miniſter conſecration to the Abbot, he ſtepped ſtraighte to the Archb. & eftſoones appealeth him vp to Rome, for the great iniury wrought againſt the church of Cant. forbidding him in the name of him to whom he appeled, not to proceed any further. And ſo this holy conſecration was for the preſēt time ſtayd. For the which Silueſter with a new purſe of mony was faine to trauell & trot againe to Rome. where he complaynyng of the Archb. and accuſing him of contempt to the Pope in not executing the commaundement ſent down, obteineth again new letters with more effectuall charge to the foreſayd Archb. that he without any profeſſion, ſimply ſhould geue to Silueſter his conſecration in his own church: omni occaſione & appellatione remota, all maner of ſtay or let, or appellation to the contrary notwithſtanding, and ſo in concluſion the Abbot contrary to whatſoeuer the Archb. & al the Monks of Cant. would do, was in his own church made Abbot, and had the victory for that time. Notwithſtanding the Archb. left not the matter ſo, but within fiue yeres after obtained of pope Adrian, that Silueſter ſhould make profeſſion of his obedience to the Archb. and ſo did. Ex Geruaſ.

In few yeres after this, dyed king Stephen. an. 1154. and after him Theobald the Archb. an. 1159. after he had ſit 23.yeres. After whom through thinſtant procurement of king Henry the 2. was placed Tho. Becket, the kinges Chaūcellor.an.1162. of whoſe ſturdy rebellion againſt the king, becauſe ſufficient hath bene ſayd before, it ſhall not need to make a double labor now about the ſame.

Petition of kyng Henry to the Prior of Cant. for chuſing of the Archb. & yet coulde not be granted.

Odo Prior of Cant.

After the death of Becket, much adoe there was betwene king Henry and Odo Prior of Cant. about the election of a new Archb. For the king ſeing the Realme ſo oftentimes encombred by thoſe Popiſh Archbiſhops, and fearing leaſt the Monkes of Cant. ſhould elect ſuch an other as would follow the ſteps of Tho. Becket, moſt hūbly with cappe in hand & curteſy of knee, deſired Odo the Prior, that at his requeſt, & for contentation of his minde, ſuch a one might be elected, whom he would appoint (appointing and naming a certayn biſhop, which was a good ſimple man after the kinges liking:) but the Prior diſſēblingly anſwering the king agayne, that he neither could nor would without ẏ conſent of his Couent geue promiſe to any man, in fine contrary to the kinges ſo humble requeſt, agreed to the electiō of an other, which was the prior of Douer, called Richard.an.1173. who continued in ẏ ſeat xi. yeares.

Richarde Prior of Douer elected Archb.of Cant. anno. 1173.

Another friuolous contention betweene Richard Arch. and Roger Abbot of the Auſten Monkes in Cant.about profeſsion of obedience.

And here was renewed againe the like variaunce betwene this Archbyſhop and Roger Abbot of the Auſten monkes in Canterbury as was before mētioned betwene Theobaldus, and Silueſter. For when the ſaid Roger after his election to be Abbot.muſt needes take his cōſecration at the Archbiſhops hand, neither would the Archbyſhop graūt it vnto him vnleſſe he made profeſſion of obediēce, according to the aūcient cuſtome of his predeceſſors: then Roger conſulting with his Monkes, firſt denyed ſo to do but at length was contēted, ſo it might not be done in the Archbiſhoppes Church, but in any other Churche where he would, vnder writing this clauſe withall: Saluis vtriuſq; Eccleſiæ priuilegijs, that is, ſauing the priuileges of both Churches. To this the Archbiſhop ſayd agayn, firſt that he ſhould make his due, & canonicall profeſſion & that he ſhould not come to him with writing or vnderwriting but ſhould ſay in his hart: Salue ſancta parens: or Salue feſta dies: not Saluis priuilegijs, or any ſuch like thing. Wherunto when the Auſten Monkes in no caſe would conſent, nor the Archbiſhop otherwiſe would graunt his benediction: Roger the Abbot was fayn to poſt to Rome, and there to bring the Archb. in hatred in the Court of Rome, made his Abbay tributary to Pope Alexander.

Roger Abbot of Saint Auſtens maketh his houſe tributary to pope Alexander. anno.1177.

The Pope well contented with this, not onely graunteth the Abbot his deſire, but alſo in cōtumely of the archbiſhop dubbeth the Abbot with all ſuch ornaments as to a Prelate apperteined, and ſo in the yeare.1178.ſent home the Abbot triumphantly with his ring and mitre, and other enſignes of victory, with letters alſo to the Archbiſhop inioyning him immediatly vpon the ſight thereof to conſecrate the Abbot in his own Church, & without making any profeſſion. Although with theſe letters the archbiſhop was ſhrewdly preſſed, yet notwithſtanding hys ſtout hart would not ſtoupe for this, but layd his appeale againſt the ſame: and ſo the conſecratiō for that time was ſuſpended.

Roger the Abbot returneth home with tryumph.

Appellation of the archb.

Concilium Lateranum ſub Alexandro Papa.

Roger Abbot of S.Auſt. trauayleth vp againe to Rome.

Then Roger for his more defence, getting the kings letters, trauailed vp the ſecond time to Rome, where greuouſly he complayned to Pope Alexander of the Archbyſhop. At the ſame time a generall councell was ſummoned to be kept at Lateran, where Richard ẏ foreſayd arch biſhop was alſo looked for amongſt other Biſhops to be preſent. Who thē came as farre as Paris, but being there, durſt approch no further, & ſo retyred home again. Whervpon the Pope being offended with his contēpt, without any more delay exalted the Abbot with his own conſecration, and inueſted him with all pompe and glory: howbeit prouiding before that the ſayd conſecration ſhould redoūd to no preiudice agaynſt the liberties of the mother church of Canterbury, and ſo vpon the ſame wrot to the Archbiſhop his letters of certificate, with this additiō annexed, Saluo iure & dignitate Cant. Eccleſiæ, that is to ſay, Sauing the liberties and dignity of the Church of Cant. &c.

Roger Abbot cōſecrated at Rome by the pope.

The houſe of the Auſtē Monkes in Cant.not able to ſhewe for them any deedes or writinges of antiquitie.

After the counſell ended, Roger the Abbot returneth home, although with an empty purſe, yet full of victory & triūph. The Archbiſhop againe thinking to worke ſome greuaunce to the Auſten Monkes, had procured in this meane time letters from Pope Alexander to the Biſhop of Durhā, and Abbot of S. Albons, that they ſhould cauſe the ſayd Roger Abbot of the Auſten monks, to ſhew vnto the Archbiſhop al ẏ old priuiledges of his houſe, which in deed being ſhewed ſeemed to be raſed, & new written, with Bulles of lead not after the maner nor ſtile of that age, nor pretending no ſuch antiquity as ſhould ſeeme to reach frō the time of Auſten, but rather newly coūterfeit.

Ex hiſt. Geruaſij.

Richard the Archb.going toward Rome to complaine of the Abbot, was ſtayed by the kyng.

All this notwithſtanding, the Abbot bearing him bold vpon the Popes fauour, ceaſed not ſtil to diſquiet & ouercrow the Archbiſhop by all wayes he could, in exempting all his Prieſtes and laymen belonging to his iuriſdiction, from the archb. obedience: forbidding alſo that none of his ſhould come to his Chapters or Sinods, nor to feare any ſentence of his curſe or excommunication. Wherupon the Archbiſhop about the month of Nouember the ſame yere ſayling ouer to Normandy where the king was, thought to take his iourney to the pope, to complain of the Abbot: but being ſtayd by the king was not ſuffered to paſſe any further, the king labouring what he could, to bring them to agreement, neuertheleſſe the Pope and his Romaines (ſayth my ſtory) Aurum & argentum magis quàm iuſticiam ſitientes, ſeditiones inter eos & litigia commouebant, that is, caring more for golde and ſiluer, then for iuſtice, ſtill ſtirred coales of ſedition and debate betweene them. Ex Hiſtoria Geruaſij.

A Catholicke practiſe of the Romiſh Court to ſet men together at variance, that they might get their mony.

Trouble in chuſing the Archb. of Cant, after the death of Richard.

The next yere after this inſuing, which was the yeare of our Lord 1184. dyed Richard the Archbiſhop aforeſaid: in the 38. yere of king Henry 2. After whoſe deceaſe much trouble happened about the election of a new Archb. betwene the king and monkes of Canterbury. And now to enter here into the ſtory of Baldwin aboue mētioned, firſt the king ſet to the monks, that they ſhould conſider with themſelues about the election of their Archbiſhop and to be ready agaynſt the time that he would ſend for them to the court. Vpon this the Couent gladly aſſembling together, agreed in themſelues vpon one, whom they thought chiefly to preferre, yet naming foure moe, that if the king would refuſe one, the other yet might ſtand. Now ẏ practiſe in the monkes was, firſt to keepe the election only in their owne handes, as much as they could. And ſecondly euer to geue the election either to ſome Prior or Monk of their own houſe, or to ſome Abbot or Biſhop, which ſome time had bene of theyr company. Wherby as much inconuenience and blind ſuperſtition was bred in the church of England: ſo the ſame diſliked both the king and the Byſhops not a litle.

Monkes of Cant. ſent for by king Henry.2.about chuſing of their Archbiſhop.

Monkes of Cant. partiall in chuſing their Archb.

Monks of Cant. againe ſent for to the kyng about their election.

As this paſt on, the king when he ſaw his time willed the monks of Canterbury, to be cited or ſent for, to vnderſtand what they had concluded in their election. Wherupō the Monkes ſent vp their Prior called Alanus, with certaine other Monks to Reding, where the king thē lay, about the moneth of Auguſt. Who at firſt were curteouſly entertained: but after the king had intelligēce whom they had nominated & elected: they were ſet home agayne with cold cheare, the king willing thē to pray better, and to aduiſe more earneſtly vpon the matter amongſt themſelues. Alanus the Prior, with his felowes thus departed, who comming home, in concluſion ſo concluded amongſt themſelues, that they would remitt no iote of their liberties to the king, without the popes conſent and knowledge. The king vnderſtanding hereof, ſent his Ambaſſadours likewiſe to the Pope, for the fortefying of his cauſe, being in ẏ mean time grieuouſly offēded with the Prior: ſaying: that he was proud & would make archbiſhop whom he liſted, and would be the ſecond Pope in England. &c.

Alanus Prior of Canterbury.

The king offended with the Prior & Monks of Canterbury.

The ſtubburnes of the Monkes againe the king.

The king ſendeth to Rome againſt the Monkes.

The kinges gentle wordes to the Monkes.

Not long after this, as theſe letters were ſent vp to Rome, the king ſent for Alanus the Prior, and moe of the monks, to come to him. Whom he entreateth, deſiring thē in gentle ſpeech, that they would ſhew ſo much gentlenes & fauor to him being their Lord & King as becōmeth hys frendes and ſubiects to doe, as to conferre with the Byſhops of the Realme about this matter, and to take ſome better councel, ſo as might redoūd to Gods glory, his honor, & wealth of the publicke ſtate, with other like words to the ſame effect.

To whom when ẏ Prior agayne had anſwered with thankes & due reuerence, according to the kinges requeſt, the Biſhops and Monks went to confer together about the matter. And firſt, the Biſhoppes marueled why the monks ſhould exclude them out of the election, ſeing they were profeſſed & Suffragans to the ſayd church of Canterbury: Neither is there any Prince, quoth the biſhop of Bathe, that will refuſe our counſell. There be ſome counſels, ſayd the Monkes, whereat you may be called: but as touching ẏ doing of this electiō, it pertaineth nothing vnto you further then to publiſh onely and denounce ẏ party whō we haue choſen, The biſhop of London then aſked, if they had already made any election. No election, ſayd ẏ Prior, as yet, but onely we haue denominate the perſons. Thē haue ye proceeded further, quoth he, thē ye ought, hauing a cōmaundement from the pope not to proceed without vs. And with that was brought forth the popes letter commaunding that within xl. dayes the biſhops of England and the Prior, & Couent of Canterbury ſhould elect

Biſhops of England clayme to haue intereſt in the election of the Archb. of Cant.

The popes letters commaunding the Byſhops of the realme with the Prior and Couent to chuſe the Archb.

an able and fitte perſon to be their Archbiſhop. About the ſcanning of theſe letters was much a doe. The Byſhops ſayd, they were firſt named, & therfore ought to haue moſt intereſt in this election. The Mōks ſaid agayne, that they alſo were not excluded, and required to haue a tranſcript of the letter, wherof much doubt was made.

The king ſeparateth the Byſhops from the Monkes.

The Monkes will loſe no preeminence of their Church.

After long concertation, whē they could not agree, the king comming betwene them both, called away the Byſhops from the Monks, ſuppoſing by ſeparating the one from the other, to draw both parties to his ſentence. But that would not be, for the Monks ſtifly ſtāding to their liberties, would loſe no preeminēce of their church, ſtill alledging how by the auncient priuiledges of the church of Canterbury the Couent ſhould chooſe their Paſtor & Byſhop, and the Prior to publiſh and denoūce the perſō. The Byſhops again replied, that it was their right to appoint their Archbiſhop & Metropolitane, which were Biſhops and Suffraganes, and namely the byſhop of London alſo being Deane of the ſaide church of Canterbury. The king thē as vmpere betwene them, yet fauoring rather the ſide of the Biſhops, deſired them to agree together in peace. Whē that would not preuaile, he ſet the Lord Stuard, and other noble mē to entreat the Prior, to draw to ſome agrement: at leaſt to be contented with this forme of election, which was that the Biſhop of London or ſome other Biſhop ſhould declare the election in theſe wordes.

The forme of election of the Archb. ſet betweene the Byſhops and the Monks of Cant.

We Byſhoppes, and the Prior and Couent of Chriſtes Churche in Caunterbury, with the aſſent of our Lord our Kyng doe chooſe ſuche a perſon to be Archbiſhop.&c. or els thus, that the Prior ſhoulde pronounce forth the election in theſe wordes ſaying: The Byſhoppes of England and I Prior and the Couent of Caunterbury, with the aſſent of our Lord & King do chooſe ſuch a perſon.&c.

The Biſhops & Monks could not agree about the forme of election.

Upon this the Prior ſayd, he would conuent with his Couent. Who with much ado were contēt to graūt to the kinges deſire, but afterward being required to put downe yͤ ſame in writing, that they refuſed to do: yet notwithſtāding relented at laſt to the king. But when the Byſhops made excuſes for the abſēce of theyr felow Byſhops, ſo the matter for that time ſtayd. And the king ſending home the Monkes agayne to their houſe in peace, deferred that buſines to a further day, which was till yͤ firſt day of Decēber cōmaunding the Prior with his felowes the ſame day not to fayle but to be at London about the chooſing of yͤ Archbyſhop.

The election of the Archb. differred to the moneth of December, an. 1184

As the day prefixed came, the Prior with his company were alſo preſent, who geuing attendance all that day and the next day alſo following, ſo were driuen off till the third day after. At lēgth the Lord Stuard with other nobles of the realme, were ſent to them from the king, to declare, that where as the king before had deuided the biſhops frō the Monkes, that they both might haue theyr election by themſelues after the forme of a bill, which was put downe in writing: now the minde of the King was, that the Monks taking an other way, ſhould ioyne with the Byſhops, and ſo hauing the matter in talke together, ſhoulde proceed ioyntly in the election.

The kings meſſage to the Monkes of Can. to agree and ioyne with the Byſhops.

Agaynſt this, many things were alledged by the prior & his mates, complaining much vpon the biſhops, which ſayd that the Byſhops had euer holden with the kings agaynſt the liberties of their Church and Archbyſhops. As firſt they ſtood agaynſt Anſelme, for king William: Then agaynſt Theobalde for king Stephen: After that agaynſt Thomas Becket for king Henry: And after him did ſupplant the election of Richard their Archbyſhop: And now again went about to practiſe and worke againſt this their election preſent. &c. At laſt the Prior with his felows concluding, deſired they might ſpeake with the king himſelfe. Who eftſoones comming to them, willed them as good mē to be contented, and goe talke with the Byſhoppes about the election, promiſing that whō they agreed vpon, he alſo would graunt his aſſent to the ſame. To whom when the Prior agayne had obiected the writinges that before were made: truth it is ſayd the king, ſuch writings were made: but I neither may, nor will go agaynſt the councell of my realme: and therfore agree ſayd he, with my Biſhops and Abbots, and remember, that the voyce of the people is the voyce of God.

The kinges wordes to the monkes of Can.

The Monkes of Cant. compelled againſt their wylles to ioyne with the biſhops touching the election of the Archbiſhop.

Upon this the Prior with his Monkes ſeing no other remedy, went to the Byſhops to confer according to the kinges requeſt about the election. Who then were willed by the biſhops to nominate whom they would, & the Byſhops would likewiſe name theirs. So that whē the Prior with his cōplices had named three after their chooſing, the Biſhops ſaid they woulde nominate but one, & ſo did, which was the Biſhop of Worceſter: willing the Prior to go home, and to cōferre with his Couent about the ſame. To whom ſhortly after the Biſhops ſent certeine Prieſts to ſignify to the Couent, that they, according to the Popes letters, ſhould repayre to the Biſhops concerning the election of the Archbiſhop, alſo to declare moreouer to them, that the perſons whom they had named were good mē, but he whom they had nominated, was a more worthy man, whom they both had nominated & alſo would elect. The Monkes marueiling hereat, ſent two Monkes, with the Arcedeacon of Canterbury to the king.

Byſhops of the real make thei election of the Archb. without t Monkes of Canterbu

This done, immediatly after the returne of the prieſts, the Biſhops cauſed all the bels of the city to be rong, and Te Deum to be ſong for the Archbiſhop new elect. Whereof when the two Monkes brought tidings to the Couent at Canterbury what was done at Londō, they were all in a marueilous dumpe. The king hearing this & perceiuing the ſtifnes of the monks, in all haſte ſēt meſſēgers to Caūterbury with gentle wordes to will the Prior to come to the king, & certify him of the purpoſe of his Monks. Unto whom the Prior eftſoones being come, declareth in the name of the whole Couēt, that in no caſe he nor yͤ Monks would neuer while yͤ world ſtood, agree to that election of the biſhops, vnles the king in his own perſō would come to Canterbury, and there openly before the whole Couēt, proteſt by his own month yͤ forſayd election to be nought and voyd: and ſo returning to London again openly likewiſe before yͤ Clergy & the people would repudiate and reiect the ſame: And furthermore that the partye alſo elected ſhould openly in the ſame place proteſt, & ſay, that he neither would nor ought to take that functiō vpon him, vnles he entred by the conſent of the Prior & Couent of canterbury: And all this to be done in the ſame place where the biſhops had made their election before & ſo peraduenture (ſayd they) at the kinges ſo earneſt ſute and requeſt, they would gratify his will & ratify the ſaid election with the voyces of theyr conſent. To make the ſtory ſhort, after great holde betwene the ſeculare Clergy on the one ſide, & the regular order on the other ſide, and after the kinges indignation agaynſt the Prior, and the ſwounding of the Prior before the king, at length the king to take vp yͤ matter, and to ſaue the Priors life was fayne to performe in hys owne perſon all theſe conditions aboue preſcribed by the Monkes. Ex Geruaſ. fol. 100.

Condi preſcribed to the ki by the m of Cant. f the ratifi tion of the Archb. m by the By ſhops.

Baldwine Biſhop of Worceſter elected Archb. of Cant. an 1184.

And thus haue ye heard the tradgicall election of yͤ biſhop of Worceſter, named Baldwinus made Archbiſhop of Cant. Now what a troubleſome time the ſayd Baldwin had with the Monks, in gouerning yͤ church of Cāt. here followeth likewiſe not vnworthy to be conſidered.

The troubles betwene Baldwine Archbiſhop of Caunterbury and, the Monkes of the ſame Church.

The gre trouble a contentio betweene Baldwi Archb.& Monkes o Cant.

IN the firſt yeare the Archbiſhop ſhewed himſelfe frendly and louing to the Monks: the next yere following he began to appeare ſomewhat rough vnto them. The maner then was of the houſe of Chriſtes Church toward the time of the Natiuitye and of Eaſter, to receiue certayne preſentes or giftes of theyr fermers or tenauntes, whiche the cellarer ſhould take & lay vp. Thoſe preſents the archbiſhop began firſt to intercept from the Monkes, & to beſtow them vpon his ſeculare Clerkes. After this he toke three Churches or benefices (which the Monkes claymed as proper to themſelues) and placed in them 3. of his chaplaines. After this he encroched to his handes certein tenements, reuenewes & victuall belōging before to yͤ monks (as they ſayd) and committed the cuſtody therof to certayn of his own Clerkes and houſholde ſeruaunts.

The mo of Cant. a peale to t pope agai their Arch

Reconcilia tiō betwe the Archb. and the Monkes, which did not lōg hold

The monkes which had borne ſo much with the archbiſhop before ſeing this, could forbeare him no longer, but needes would make their appeale againſt him. The archbiſhop not much regarding yͭ, waxed thereby more fierce agaynſt them, inſomuch that ſuch fermes and tenements, as he before had let alone, now he receiued to his own occupying: wͭ many other greuaunces, wherwith he greatly vexed the Monkes, ſo that 3. Abbots were fayne to come and reconcile the Archbiſhop and the Monkes. Which reconciliatiō was this, yͭ the Monks ſhould let fall their appeale, and the archbiſhop ſhould reſtore again to thē their fermes and tenementes. But as touching the benefices & the preſentes, the archbiſhop ſtill kept thē in his hands for a further triall of their obedience and patience. Neuertheleſſe ſome there were of the auncient monkes, which in no caſe would geue ouer the foreſayd appeale before the archbiſhop made a full reſtitution of all together.

After this agremēt, ſuch as it was, betwene yͤ Monks

The Archb. ſendeth to the Pope.

The Archb. goeth about to plucke downe the pride of the Monkes of Cant.

Baldwine Archb. of Cant. about to build a newe Church on the North ſide of Cant.

and him, the archbiſhop ſoon after ſent vp to Rome one of his chaplaines (to whō he had geuen one of the benefices afore mētioned) partly for cōfirmatiō of his benefice, partly alſo to obtein licence for yͤ archbiſhop to build a church, which he entended to erect of ſecular Prieſts neare to the town of Canterbury. which being obteined of the Pope, the archbiſhop not a litle glad thereof, began now more & more to waxe fierce againſt the monks, not only in taking from them their churches & oblations, but alſo in aggrauating the whole ſtate of their houſe, which he entēded either to ſubuert, or greatly to diminiſh, to pluck down the pride & ſtubbernes of the Monks. wherfore taking with him certaine other biſhops (whom he knew bare no good will to yͤ Monkiſh generatiō) he wēt to yͤ king, declaring how he had a good purpoſe in his minde, to erect a new & a ſolemne Church in the honor of S. Tho. of Cant. of ſecular prieſts or Canons, and therfore deſired of the king, to haue his fauorable licence to the ſame. The king right well perceiuing the purpoſe of the archbiſhop whether it tended: as to yͤ brideling of the ſtifnecked monks, was the more willing to geue aſſent, if he were not alſo the chiefe worker of that matter himſelfe.

The purpoſe of the archb. in building his newe Church at Cant.

The intent of the archbiſhop in planting of that new church was to found there diuers prebends, and to make both the king and euery Biſhop being his Suffragans, prebendaries therof, ſo that euery one of them ſhould cōfer one prebendſhip to the ſame foūdation, minding there to conſecrate Biſhops, to make his Chriſmatory, to celebrate his Sinodes, and to adminiſter all other things belonging to the function of his Sea, and the ſame to be called Hakington Church. The Monkes not ignorant how the Archb. priuily intended the deſolation and ſubuerſion of theyr houſe & liberties, conſulting vpon the matter, determined at length among themſelues to appeale to yͤ ſea of Rome, namely for theſe 3. cauſes againſt the Archbiſh: Firſt for ſpoyling them of their gifts & oblations: Secōdly, for depriuing them of their Churches & benefices: And thirdly for erecting a new foūdation of ſecular Canons to the derogation & ouerthrow to their religious order geuing admonition to the archb. before by their Monks ſet vnto him of this theyr appellation. To whom the Archb. anſwered, that the foundation which he went about, was to no derogation, but rather to the fortification and honor of their houſe. who anſwered agayne that it was & could not otherwiſe be, but to theyr ſubuerſiō. And what ſhould let me then (ſayd the Archb.) but I may builde in myne owne ground what I will? No (ſayd they) no ground of yours, but your ground is our groūd, as all other things that you haue, by right are ours, for ſomuch as you haue them not of your ſelfe, but of the church & for the churches cauſe: all which things haue bene geuē neither to you, nor to the archbiſhops, but to the church of Chriſt: and therefore (ſaid they) al ſuch as appertain vnto vs inwardly and outwardly, with the perſons alſo, & the whole ſtate of our church we ſubmit vnder the popes protectiō: & now here make our appeal to the Sea Apoſtolick, aſſigning alſo the terme when to proſecute the ſame.

Hakyngton Church.

The monkes of Canter. make their appeale againſt Baldwine their Archb.

Three cauſes alledged againſt the Archb. by the Monkes

The monkes of Canter. claime al the the goods of the Archb. to be their owne.

The monkes put themſelues and their houſe in the popes protection.

Appellation agaynſt the Archb.

The Archbiſhop receiuing this appellation, & ſaying that he would anſwere to the ſame either by himſelf or by his reſponſall, ſo within 3. dayes after, which was the 16. of December, he came to Canterbury: where the Monks vnderſtanding how he was in mind to place new ſecular Prieſts in the church of S. Stephen, where the Monkes had ſerued before, came to the Church to ſtoppe the proceding of the archbiſhop by way of appeal. wherof the archbiſhop hauing warning before, deferred that matter till yͤ next day after. On which day the Monks again being ſet by Honorius the Prior into the Church, charged yͤ Archbiſhop in the name of almighty God, & by vertue of theyr appeale made to the Apoſtolick Sea, to ſurceaſe thoſe his doinges, forbidding alſo the Parſon of the Church in no wiſe to ſuffer thoſe ſecular Clerks to be admitted into the Church. All which yet notwithſtanding the Archb. procedeth in his buſineſſe. And firſt placing in his Clerkes he ſuſpendeth the Prior from his adminiſtration. Thē he adiureth the Porters of the gate vpon theyr othe to let none of yͤ Monks paſſe out of the houſe without his licēce. The Monks likewiſe he cōmaūded by vertue of obediēce, not to ſtray any where abroad without his leaue. And further more one of the foreſayd Monks, which ſerued the appeal againſt him, he vtterly baniſhed from that Couent. Vpon this, the day next folowing Honorius the Prior truſting (ſayth the ſtory) on God, and S. Thomas, tooke his way to Rome, ſent in commiſſion by the Couent, to proſecute the appeale agaynſt the Archbiſhop.

Buſines betweene the Monkes and the Archb. for placing ſecular Clerkes in the Church of ſ. Stephēs in Cant.

The Prior of Cant. ſuſpended.

An other garboile betwene the monkes of Cant. & their Archb.

In this meane ſeaſon a new iar began betwene yͤ ſaid Archb. and the Monkes, about their rents and reuenues, which the Archb. would haue committed to the receiuing & keeping of 3. Monkes, but the Supprior Geffray, with the Couent, in no caſe would ſuffer that: wherabout there was a foule ſtirre. The Archb. crauing the ayd of the king firſt had 3. Biſhops ſent downe to him, of Couentry, Norwich and worceſter. who being inſtant with the Monks to ſubmitte their cauſe into the kinges handes, like as the Archb. had done, they vtterly refuſed it, eſpecially ſeing they had already referred the whole ſtate of their cauſe to yͤ determinatiō of yͤ Apoſtolicall ſea. The king ſeing no other remedy came himſelfe with the Archb. into the chapter houſe, where he commaunded firſt the doors to be kept faſt, that none ſhould enter but which by name were called for. Amongſt whō were two Biſhops, to wit, of Norwich, and Durham, and one Petrus Bleſenſis a learned man (whoſe Epiſtles be yet extant in Libraries) a chiefe worker in this matter againſt the Monkes. Then was called in Geffrey the Supprior, with a few other Monks whom he brought with him. The king then firſt talking with the Archb. and his companye, & afterward with the Monkes, labored to entreat them that they would let fall their appeal, and ſo ſtand to the arbitremēt of him and of the Biſhops, concerning the cauſe which was betwene yͤ Archb. and them in trauers.

The k. commeth into the Chapter of Cant.

Petrus Bleſenſis a great doer againſt the Monkes.

The kyng entreateth peace betweene the Monkes and the Archb.

To this the Monkes anſwered, that theſe were good wordes, but ſerued not for that time, for ſomuch as theyr cauſe was alredy tranſlated to the court of Rome, & now was preſently in hearing before the Popes holineſſe: and therfore they could not, ne would that iniury to their lord pope, to refuſe him, and to put the matter to the iudgemēt of any other. Then was it required of the Monkes, that they would put the matter in comprimiſe, in caſe the prior would conſent thereto, vpon this entent, that if the Prior conſented and the Monks not, then ſhould they runne in contempt and diſobedience: or if the Monkes would conſent, and the Prior not, then ſhould the Prior be excluded the Realme. The wily Monkes being not vnprouided of this ſubtlety, made theyr anſwere, that ſeing they had ſent their prior forth in their commiſſion, it ſtood not with their honeſty, to geue any determinate conſēt, without yͤ knowledge and before the returne of the ſayd Prior, vnleſſe the Archb. firſt would promiſe to make full reſtitution of all yͭ he had wrongfully wraſted from thē. when the king could get no other anſwere of the Monks, neither could moue the Archb. to releaſe the ſentence of their ſuſpenſion, vnles they would confeſſe and knowledge theyr fault, he ſo parting from them paſſed ouer into Fraunce.

The Monkes deny to put their matter from the Pope to the kings hearing.

The Monkes excuſe to the kyng.

Not long after this, came a meſſenger frō Rome, bringing letters from Pope Vrbanus to the Archb. wherin yͤ pope conſidering & tendering (as he ſayd) the enorme greuaunces done againſt the Monkes, ſtraightly enioined & commaunded him, within x. dayes after yͤ receiuing thereof, to releaſe the ſentence of his ſuſpenſion againſt yͤ Prior and other of the ſayd Couent, and alſo to retract & reſtore agayne to the Monkes whatſoeuer he plucked from them ſince the time of their appeale firſt made. who in caſe he ſhould deny, or forſlack the doing hereof, commiſſion was geuen to 3. Abbots, of Battaile, of Feuerſham, of S. Auſtens, with ample authority to performe the ſame. &c. The Archb. receiuing theſe letters brought to him by a Monk of the foreſayd houſe, firſt made his excuſe, that the Pope was miſinformed. But the Monkes not contented wyth that excuſe, when they would needs know what anſwere he would make to yͤ Popes nuncio: his anſwere was that he had yet x. dayes geuen him of the pope. In which mean time the Archb. went to Lōdon and there in the church of S. Paul. conſecrated his holy oyle & creame (making one of the Popes 7. Sacraments) which was grieuouſly takē in the church of Cant. At laſt, the x. daies being ended whē the Archb. refuſed to accōpliſh that was in the popes letter enioyned him, the 3. Abbots aforeſayd to execute the Popes commaundement, came at their day aſſigned, to Cant. and there aſſoyled all ſuch as the Archb. before had ſuſpēded, and in the end certified pope Vrbane by letters, what they had done.

The firſt letter of Pope Vrban ſent to Baldwin Archb. of Cant.

The anſwere of the Archb. to the Popes letter.

The Archb. maketh his oyle and creame at London.

Three Abbots aſſoyle the Monkes of their ſuſpenſion.

The Archb. hearing this, within 4. dayes after ſent. 2. of his Clerks, which appealed the 3. Abbots aforeſayd vp to Rome, and he himſelfe in the mean time prepared buſily for the building vp of his church, ſending to al churches in England, vpon releaſement of their ſinnes, to confer to the ſame: and to make the more haſte, for lack of free ſtone, he made vp his building with timber, and ſuch other ſtuff as he could get.

The Archb. appealeth vp the three Abbots to Rome.

The Archbyſhops newe Church made of wood.

The prior Honorius all this while remayned ſtill at yͤ court of Rome, geuing attendaunce vpon the Pope, who hauing intelligēce of the archbiſhops doings, procured an other letter of Pope Vrbane to the whole clergy of England,

A letter of pope Vrban agaynſt the Archb.

land ſtraightly enioyning them, that none ſhould confer to the new fraternity of Baldwin Archbiſhop of Canterbury. To theſe letters the Archbiſh. ſhewed ſuch reuerence, that where before he had planted his chappell of wood and bordes, now he prouided the ſame to be builded of lyme and ſtone.

The archb. meſſengers come to the Popes court

Letters of the kyng, the archb. and of other Biſhops to the Pope.

By this time Petrus Bleſenſis, with other meſſengers of the Archb. ſeing Honorius the Prior to be gone from the court to Fraunce, reſorted to the court of Rome, bringing with them letters of credite from the king, from the Archb. & alſo frõ other Biſhops of the realme: but the pope reading onely the kings letters & the archbiſhops, ẏ reſidue he caſt into a window by, ſaying he would read thẽ at further leiſure. Thẽ the pope geuing audience in his cõſiſtory to heare their cauſe: firſt came in Petrus Bleſenſis with the agents of the Archb. exhibiting their letters and propounding their requeſts to the Pope, which were that reſtitution ſhould be made by the Monkes to the Archb. wherin they had iniuried him: Itẽ that the thinges which had bene graunted before to the Prior in the Court, might be called in againe. Thirdly, that the archb. might haue licence to proceed in building his Colledge of Canons. &c. After this was called in M. Pilleus, the attorney for the Monkes of Cant. who alledging many great thinges againſt the archb. for his contempt and diſobedience to the popes precepts, required that he rather ſhould make reſtitution to the Monks for his iniuries done to them: & alſo that his new foundation of ſecular canons, tending to the ouerthrow of the conuentuall Church of Cant. ſhould be vtterly raſed and throwne down to the ground. Thus betweene theſe two parties pleing & repleing one againſt ẏ other, much hard hold there was. But in concluſiõ for al ẏ kings letters, & for all that the Archb. and Biſhops could do, the matter wẽt on the Monks ſide. So that there was no remedy, but the pope would nedes haue ẏ archbiſhops new building to come down, and the Monks to be reſtored agayne to their full poſſeſſions. The executiõ whereof was committed to the 3. Abbottes aforeſayd, to witte, of Battail, of Feuerſham, of S. Auſtens in Cant. & to Geffrey Supprior of Cant.

M. Pilleus Atturney in the Popes Court for the Monkes of Cant.

Petrus Bleſenſis agent for the Archb. of Cant.

The Pope holdeth on the Monkes ſide againſt the kyng, the Archb. and the Biſhops of the Realme.

The Popes executers commanded by L. Glanuile in the kings name not to proceed againſt gainſt the archbiſhop.

Which things being thus determined at Rome, then Radulph Granuille Lord Stuard of England writing to the ſayd Abbot of Battaile, and to the Supprior and Couent of Cant. commaundeth them in the kings name, and vpon their othe & fealtie geuẽ vnto him, that they nor any of them do proceed in this controuerſy betwene the monkes and the archbiſhop of Cant. before they come and talk with him, there to know further of the kinges pleaſure: & furthermore charging the Couent of Cant. not to enter further in any examinatiõ concerning the archb. matters, and alſo citing the Supprior of the ſayd houſe, to appeare before him at London, at the feaſt of S. Iames the ſame yere, which was 1187. Notwithſtanding he excuſing himſelfe by ſicknes, ſent two Monkes in his ſted, and ſo kept himſelfe at home. To whom commaũdement was geuen that the Monks of Cant. within 15. dayes ſhould ſaile ouer to Normandy to the king, and there to ſhew the tenor and euidences of their priuiledges: And alſo that ſuch ſtuards and Baliſs whom they had placed in their farmes & lordſhips, cõtrary to the wil of the archb. ſhould be remoued. And likewiſe the 3. Abbots in the kings name, were commaunded in no wiſe to execute the popes commaundement agaynſt the archb. Not long after this, the Archb. tooke ſhipping at Douer, and went ouer to the king, where he ordeyned three principall officers ouer the Monkes of Chriſts Church: the Sacriſt, the Cellarer and Chamberlaine, contrary to the will of the Couent, with other greuances mo: wherby the Monks were not a little offended so that vpon the ſame, they made a new appellation to the Pope. Whervpon pope Vrbane, by the ſetting on of Honorius the prior, who was now come agayn to the court, wrote to him another letter after a ſharper and more vehement ſort, to the effect as followeth.

Monkes of Can. commaunded to ſhew their priuileges to the kyng.

Certaine officers put in the houſe of Chriſts Church againſt the Monks wil.

An other appellation of the Monkes againſt the Archb.

The Tenor of Pope Vrbanes letters to Baldwine Archb. of Cant.

The copie of Pope Vrbans letter to the Archb. of Cant.

Vrbanus Epiſcopus ſeruus ſeruorum Dei Baldwino Cantuar. Archiepiſcopo & Apoſtolicæ ſedis Legato, ſalutem & Apoſtolicam benedictionem &c.

In that we haue borne with your brotherhood hitherto, and haue not proceeded in ſuch grieuous maner agaynſt you, as wee might, although being thereto greatly prouoked, the chiefeſt cauſe was this, that we ſuppoſed your hart would haue relented from the oppreſſion of the conuentuall church of Cant. committed vnto you, if not for our reuerence, which you ſeeme to haue contemned more then became you, yet at leaſt for feare of Gods iudgemẽt. For well we hoped, our conſcience perſwading vs to the ſame, that after you had obteined that high ſtate & dignity in the church of England, you would haue bene an example to other of obedience and reuerence to be geuen to the ſea Apoſtolick, of all Eccleſiaſticall perſons. Wherfore at the firſt beginning both of our and alſo of your promotion we did not ſpare to aduaunce and honor you as we haue done few other beſides, thinking no leſſe, but that we had found a faithfull frend of the church, for our honor. Wherein we perceiue now (which maketh vs not a litle to maruell) our expectation greatly deceiued. And whome we well truſted to be a ſure ſtay for the maintenaunce of our eſtate, him now we finde a perſecuter agaynſt vs in our members.

Note how the Pope ſtand all vp on their ho nour.

The Pope expectation deceaued in the Archb. of Cant.

For where as we ſondry times haue written to you in the behalfe of our brethren, and the church committed to your charge, that you ſhould deſiſt from diſquieting them, and not to vexe or diſturbe their liberties, at leaſt for reuerence of vs: you not onely in this, but in other thinges moe (as commonly is reported of you in all places) ſetting at light our letters and appellations made to the Apoſtolicall Sea, what you haue wrought agaynſt them after their ſo manifolde appellations layd vnto vs, and our inhibitions agayn vnto you, we are aſhamed to vtter. But reuolue and conſider in your minde, if ye haue well done, and aduiſe in your owne conſcience what you haue done. We for our part becauſe we may ne ought not with deafe eares to paſſe ouer the clamours of the brethren, and ſuch contempt of the Apoſtolick Sea, although our biddings and warninges geuen to you ſeeme to be all in vayne, yet notwithſtanding we ſend our mandates agayne to your brotherhood, in theſe Apoſtolicall writinges, diſtrictly, and in vertue of obedience commaunding you, that whether ye be preſent in your Church, or abſent, all that notwithſtanding, whatſoeuer you haue done in building of your Chappell (which you to the deſtruction of the Monaſtery of Cant. haue erected) after the time of their appeale made to vs or our inhibition ſent to you, you fayle not of your proper coſtes and charges to demoliſh, vndoing agayne, and making voyde, whatſoeuer ye haue begon and innouated concerning the inſtitution of the canons, and other things belonging to the erection of the ſayd Chappell: accounting moreouer and reputing the place where the Chappell was, to be accuſed and prophane: and alſo that all ſuch whoſoeuer haue celebrated in the ſame place, ſhall ſtand ſuſpended, till the time they appeare before our preſence: Commaunding furthermore, that all thoſe Monkes whom you haue preſumed to remoue from their office or to excommunicate, ſince the tyme of their appeale made, you ſhall reſtore and aſſoyle agayne, rendring alſo and reſtoring all ſuch farmes, manors, tenementes, and oblations, as you after their appeale made, haue inueigled from them: And finally that you innouate nothing touching the ſtate of that Monaſtery, during the time of this controuerſye depending before vs. Geuing you to vnderſtand, that in caſe you ſhall continue in your ſtubberneſſe and rebellion vpon this preſent warning, or differre the execution of this precept 30. dayes after the receiuing herof, we ſhall appoint others to execute the ſame, inioyning alſo your Suffraganes, that as you ſhall ſhew your ſelfe diſobedient and rebelling to vs: ſo they all ſhall refuſe likewiſe to geue any obedience or reuerence vnto you. &c.

Geuen at Ferraria 5. non. Octob.

The Pope expoſtulateth with Baldwin for contempt of his ſea.

The Archb. commanded by the pope to throwe downe the building of his newe Church of his owne coſtes and charges.

The Archb. commanded to reſtore & aſſoyle the Monkes whom he did depriue and excommunicate.

The Archb. threatned by the Pope.

An other letter beſide this, the Pope alſo ſent to the 3. Abbots aforeſayd for the correction of theſe enormities. Likewiſe an other letter was ſent to king Henry 2. wherein the pope enioyneth and requireth him vpon remiſſiõ of his ſinnes, not to diſſemble and beare with the Archb. in his oppreſſion of his Monks, but to help thoſe things to be amended, where he hath treſpaſſed agaynſt them.

The Pope writeth to the Abbots and alſo to the kyng.

These pontificall letters were written an. 1187. the 3. day of Octob. and in the 19. day after, the ſame moneth the ſayd pope Vrbane died. In the which yere, and about the which month, Baldwinus king of Ieruſalem was taken with many noble men of Saladine the Saracen: and Ieruſalem loſt, after it had bene in the poſſeſſion of the Chriſtians, and ſo continued the ſpace of 88. yeres, & 80. dayes, from the time that Godfridus Bolonius did firſt win it from the Infidels.

Pope Vrbane dyeth.

Baldwine king of Ieruſalẽ with many noble taken of the Saracens, & the citie wonne.

After the receiuing of thoſe letters of pope Vrbane aboue ſpecified, both the king and archb. with all ẏ biſhops of ẏ realme wer marueilouſly quailed, glad now to pleaſe, and ſpeake fayre to the Monks, promiſing al things to be done and reſtored to them after the beſt ſort. Neither was the king now and Archb. ſo ſubmiſſe: but the Monkes on the other ſide, were as brag and iocant, being fully aſſured that all now was their own. In the narratiõ of which hiſtory (as it is ſet in Geruaſius at large) this we haue to note by the way in what feare & thraldome kings in thoſe daies were vnder the Pope, who could not be maiſters ouer their owne ſubiectes, but ẏ euery pild Monke, or pelting Prior, vpon vertue of theyr appeale to the Court of Rome, & making theyr houſe tributary to the Pope, was

The king & Archb. glad to agree with the Monkes.

The Monkes got vpper hãd ouer the Archb.

able not onely to match, but to geue checkmate to the beſt king Chriſtened, as not in this ſtory onely may appeare.

The miſerable ſubiection of kings vnder the Pope to be noted.

Calypha is the high Prieſt of the Saracens, ſitting in Damaſcus, vnto whom all the Sultans were ſubiect, as our princes now are to the Pope.

It followeth then in the ſtory of theſe Monkes, that as they were thus in the midſt of theyr ioy and iolity, ſodenly commeth newes of the death of Pope Vrbane their great Calypha, and alſo how that Gregory 8. was placed in his roome, who was a ſpeciall frend & fauourer of the archb. which as it did greatly encourage the king and the Archb. ſo the Monkes on the other ſide were as much diſcomforted, ſo that now all was turned vpſide down. For wheras the king and the archb. before thought they had loſt all, & were glad to compoũd with the monks, and to ſeek their fauour: now were the Monkes an the contrary ſide fayne to crouch to the king, and glad to haue a good coũtenance, who thẽ reſorting to him, and finding him altered both in word and geſture, deſired he would confirme & graũt that which of late before he had promiſed. To whom it was aũſwered againe by the king, that ſeing the archb. had graũted to them their Sacriſt, their Chamberlain, & their Celerar, they ſhould haue no more reſtored of him, neither would he ſuffer the liberties and priuiledges of the archb. to be empayred or take any wrong. And as touching the new Chappell of S. Thomas (ſayd he) whereaboutes ye ſtriue ſo long, with the Canonſhips and other buildings, belonging thereto, the ſame I receiue into my handes, ſo that none ſhall haue any thing to doe therein but my ſelfe. &c. In like maner of the archb. ſuch an other like aũſwere they receiued, & of the biſhops little better. So ẏ monkes ſent away with a flee in their eare, went home agayne out of Normandy vnto their Celle.

The kinges anſwere to the monkes of Cant.

Nowe the Archb. hauing the Monkes where as hee would, wrought them much greuance, but that continued not very long. For within two monthes after & leſſe, died pope Gregory 8. about the 16. day of December folowing. After whom ſucceded Pope Clement 3. who folowing the ſteps of Vrbane, bent all hys power with the Monkes againſt the Archb. ſending diuers precepts and mandates in the yere next following, which was 1188. with an Imperious letter, willing & commanding him to deſiſt from his oppreſſion of the monkes, & to throw downe his new chappel. wherupon the archb. made his appeale and minded to go to Rome: but was called back of the king, being ready to ſaile ouer. In the which yere Honorius the prior died at Rome of the plague, which was ſome help & comfort to the archb. For whom the archb. made Roger Noris Prior, againſt the wils of the Couent. After this about the latter end of the ſame yere, Pope Clement ſent downe his Legate called Radulfus a Cardinal, to Cant. with an other letter more ſharpely written to the ſame effect vnto the Archb. Ex hiſt. Geruaſij.

Pope Gregory. 8. dieth Pope Clement. 3.

Pope Clements letters to the Archb.

Honorius Prior of Cãterbury dyed at Rome.

The ſecond letter of pope Clement to the Archb.

Furthermore, in the yeare next after, which was 1189. he wrote alſo the thirde letter to him. In the which yeare alſo died king Henry 2. After whome ſucceeded king Richarde his ſonne, who ioyning likewiſe with the Archbyſhop, toke his part ſtrongly agaynſt the ſayde Monkes. At laſt, after much a do on both partes, and after great diſturbance, and impriſoning diuers of the Monkes, king Richard preparing his viage toward Ieruſalem, and ſtudying firſt to ſet peace betwene them, conſulted and agreed with the Biſhops and Abbots about a finall concorde in this matter, betweene the Archb. and monkes of Cant. which at length on both partes was made, vpon theſe cõuentions as follow.

K. Henry. 2. dieth.

K. Richard. 1 ioyneth with the Archb.

Agreement betweene the Archb. and Monkes of Cant. vpon what conditions.

1. Firſt, that Roger Noris ſhould be depoſed, whom the Archbiſhop had made Prior againſt their willes. whome the king then at the requeſt of the Archb. promoted to be Abbot of Euſham. 2. Item, that the Archbiſhop ſhoulde plucke down his chappel, which he builded in ẏ ſuburbes of Cant. againſt the mindes of the Monkes. 3. Item, that the foreſaid monks ſhould make profeſſion of their obedience and ſubiection to the Archb. as they had done to hys other predeceſſors before him. 4. Itẽ, as touching al other complaintes and iniuries (except onely the Chappel, and depoſition of Roger Noris the Prior) the monkes ſhould ſtand to the arbitrement of the king, of the Archb. and the Prelates. 5. Item, that the monkes kneeling downe before the king in the Chapter houſe, ſhould aſke the Archb. forgeueneſſe. which being done, they went altogether to the Church, & ſang Te Deum for this reformation of peace. Ex veteri Chronico manuſcripto & ex Geruaſio.

Conditions of peace cõcluded.

Ex libr. anonymo, & ex hiſt. Geruaſij Monachi Cantuarienſis.

The next day after ẏ Archb. comming into the Chapter, reſtored to the Couent their manors & farmes againe: alſo diſcharged the Prior which he had made before, deſiring them likewiſe, that if hee had offended them either in worde or deede, they would from their heart remitte him. This reconciliation being made betwene the Archb. and ẏ couent, then the Archb. going about to diſſolue the building of hys new Church, though he chaunged the place, yet thought not to chaunge his intent, and therefore making exchaunge of landes with the Byſhop and Monkes of Rocheſter, purchaſed of them their ground in Lambeth an. 1191. which done, he came to hys Clerkes whome he had placed to be Canons in his new Colledge of Hakingtõ, and willed them to remoue al their goodes & furniture to Lambeth ouer agaynſt Weſtminſter, where he erected for them an other church, and there placed the ſaid Canõs. About which colledge of Lambeth afterward much trouble likewiſe enſued by the ſtyrring of the ſayd Monkes of Cant. in the time of Hubert the archbiſh. in the reygne of the ſayd King Richard, and in the yeare of our Lord. 1196. Furthermore after the depoſing of Roger Norys Pryor of Cant. aforeſaid, Baldwyn the archb. enforeſaid to graũt them an other Pryor by the aſſent of the king and of the Couent, aſſigned Oſbernus to theyr Pryor, who had takẽ part before with the archbiſh. but the monkes not pleaſed with him, after the death of Baldwine the Archb. remoued hym agayne.

Arch. of Cant. purchaſeth of the B. of Rocheſter lãd in Lambeth to builde his houſe vpon. Baldewin archbiſhop of Cant. buildeth his houſe at Lambeth.

And thus haue you the tedious diſcourſe of this Catholike tragedy, betweene the monkes of Cant. and theyr Archb. ſcarſe worth the rehearſall, Notwithſtanding, thys I thought to geue ẏ reader to ſee, of purpoſe firſt to ſhewe forth vnto the world the ſtout ſturdines of this monkiſhe generatiõ, who profeſſing profoũd humilitie in their coat, what little humilitie they had in their hart, what pride & arrogancie in their conuerſation, and what hipocriſie in theyr religiõ, this one example amongſt a thouſand other may geue ſome experience, Secondly, that the poſteritie nowe may ſee, how little kinges coulde then doe in theyr owne Realmes, for the Pope. And thirdly, to the entent it may more notoriouſly appeare to all readers, what ſtryfe and debate, what diſſention and deuiſion, what little vnity and concord hath alwaies followed the popes Catholicke church, whereſoeuer the corrupt religiõ and vſurped ambition of the pope preuayled. For not to ſpeake onely of this monkiſhe houſe of Cant. what Churche Cathedrall, Collegiate, or Conuentuall, what ſea, Church Monaſtery or Chappell was vnder all the popes gouernement, but euer there happened ſome variance, eyther betweene the king and the archb. as betwene K. William & Lancfranck king Henry 1. and Anſelme, king Stephen and Richard, king Henry 2. and Becket, king Iohn & Stephen Lancton, king Henry 3. and Boniface &c. or els betwene archb. and archb. for making profeſſion, for caryeng ẏ Croſſe, for ſitting on the right hãd of the popes Legate. &c. or els betweene archbiſhops and their Suffraganes, or betweene Archbiſhops and their Couentes, or betweene Byſhops and monkes, betweene Deane and the Chapter, betweene monkes and ſeculer Prieſtes, monkes of one ſorte agaynſt an other, Fryers of one order agaynſt an other, ſtudents againſt Friers, townes men againſt ſcholers. &c. As for example, what diſcord was betweene the archb. of Canterbury, and Richard archbiſh. of York. Betweene Lancfrancus and archb. Thomas, betweene Theobalde archb. of Cant. and Silueſter Abbot of S. Auſtens, betweene Walter of Chriſtes Church, and Silueſter Abbot aforeſaid, betwene William archb. of Cant. and Ieremias Prior of Cant. an. 1144. betweene the monkes of Cant. and Odo their Prior for tranſlating the reliques of Dunſtane, betweene King Stephen and Roger biſhop of Saliſbury, the byſhop of Lincolne, and Roger byſhop of Ely hys ſonne. an. 1138. betweene Pope Innocent, and Anacletus the ſpace of ſeuen yeares, the Cardinals for money (ſayth Gernaſius) ſometyme holdyng with the one, ſometyme with the other, at at laſt the election was determined by a ſore battayle betwene Lotharius Emperour, & Rogerius Duke of Apulia. an. 1137. Alſo betwene pope Innocent. 4. and Fredericke Emperour 2. betweene K. Hẽry 3. and William Rale byſhop of Wincheſter, when the kyng bad the gates of Wincheſter towne to be ſhut againſt hym. an. 1250. betweene Boniface Archbiſhop of Canterb. and Canons of S. Paule. Item, betweene the ſayd Boniface and Monkes of S. Bartholomew, who ſate there in harnes in hys viſitation. an. 1250. betweene the Abbot of Weſtminſter, and monkes of the ſame houſe. an. 1251. Itẽ, betweene the foreſayd William Rale Byſhop of Wincheſter and Boniface archbiſhop of Canterbury for a prieſt of the Hoſpitall in Soutwarke. an. 1252. betweene the ſayde Boniface, and Canons of Lincolne after the death of Robert Groſthead, for geuing of Prebends. an. 1253. betwene the monkes of Couentry, and Canons of Lichfield, for chuſing their byſhop in the time of K. Henry 3.

Three things to be obſerued in this ſtory of Canterbury. Monkes aboue rehearſed.

Hypocriſie in Monkery.

Kinges made ſlaues vnder the Pope.

No concord nor vnitie in Popiſh Churches.

Examples prouing what diſcord and how little vnitie is in the Popes Church.

Ex Math. Pariſ.

And what ſhould I ſpeake of the diſcord, which coſt ſo much money betweene Edmund archbiſhop of Canterb. and the monkes of Rocheſter, for chuſing Richard Wan-

No vnitie in the popes Church.

dout to be their biſhop. an 1238. betwene Robert Groſted Byſhop of Lyncolne, and Canons of the ſame houſe, for which both he and they were driuen to trauaile to Rome, an. 1244. betwene Gilbert byſhop of Rocheſter delegate to archbiſhop Baldwine, and Robert the Popes Legate for ſitting on the right hand of the Legate in his councell at weſtminſter, an. 1190. betwene the Abbot of Bardeney and the ſayd Groſted, about the viſitation of their Abbay. an. 1243. Item betwene the Couent of Canterb. & the ſayd Robert byſhop of Lyncolne. an. 1243. betwene Hugo B. of Durham, and Hubert Byſhop of Sarum: and Geffrey Archbiſhop of Yorke, an. 1189. betwene william Byſhop of Ely the kings Chancellor, & the Canons of Yorke, for not receauing him with proceſſion. an. 1190. betweene the Abbot of weſtminſter, and hys Couent of Blackmonks, whom king Henry the 3. had much adoe to ſtill and agree. an. 1249. Item, betweene the foreſayd biſhop of Lincolne, & the Abbot of weſtminſter. Likewiſe betweene Nicolas byſh. of Durhã, and Iohn Abbot of S. Albones. an. 1246. Alſo betweene Hubert archbiſhop of Canterbury and the monks there for the houſe of Lãbeth. an. 1146. And what a ſtyrre was betwene the preaching Fryers, and the gray Friers mentioned In Math. Pariſ. for ſuperioritie, an. 1243. Alſo betweene the ſayd gray Friars, and the Prelates and Doctors of Paris about ix. concluſions, and condemned of the Prelates to be erroneous.

Concluſions of the Friers condemned for erroneous by the Prelates of Paris.
Ex Mat. Pariſ. fol 167.

1. Concerning the deuine eſſence, that it can not be ſeene of the aungels or men glorified.
2. Concerning the eſſence of the holy Ghoſt.
3. Touching the proceeding of yͤ holy ghoſt, as he is loue.
4. whether men glorified ſhalbe in cœlo Empyreo, or in cœlo Chriſtallino.
5. That the euill Aungell at his firſt creation was euill and neuer good.
6. That there haue bene many verities from the beginning, which were not God.
7. That an angel in one inſtant may be in diuers places.
8. That the euill angell neuer had wherby he might ſtãd. no more had Adam in his ſtate of innocencie.
9. That he whiche hath meliora naturalia, yͭ is to ſay more perfect ſtrength of nature working in him, ſhal haue more full meaſure of neceſſitie to obtayn grace and glory. To the which article the Prelates aunſwering, did excommunicate the ſame as erroneous, affirming, that grace and glory ſhall be geuen according to that God hath elected and predeſtinate. &c. Ex Math. Pariſ. fol. 167.

Contention betweene Friers about the conception of our Ladie.

In like maner betweene yͤ ſayd Dominicke Fryers, & the gray Fryers, what a brawle and tumulte was about yͤ Conceptiõ of our Lady, whether ſhe was without originall ſinne conceaued or not, in the raigne of K. Henry vii. & Kyng Henry viii. an. 1509. Ad moreouer to theſe the 24. haynous ſchiſmes & not ſo few, which happened betwene Pope and Pope in the Churche and Sea of Rome. But what doe I ſtand to recite the deuiſions and diſſentions the popes Church, which is as much almoſt as to recken the ſandes of the ſea? For what Church, Chapter, or Couent was in all that Religion, which either had not ſome variaunce with themſelues, or with others? Upon which continuall ſtrife and variaunce among them, the readers hereof may iudge of them & their religion as pleaſeth thẽ: In the meane time, my iudgement is this: that where ſuch diſſention dwelleth, there dwelleth not the ſpirit of Chriſt.

Continuall variaunce in the Popes church.

Anno. 1190.

King Richard taketh his iourney toward the land of Hieruſalem.

Theſe thinges thus diſcourſed touching the tragicall diſſention betweene Baldwyne archbiſhop and monks of Canterbury. Now to proceed (by the Lords aſſiſtance) in conuocatiõ of our ſtory: After king Richard had thus, as is declared, ſet the monkes and the Archbiſhop in ſome agreement, & had compoſed ſuch thinges as were to be redreſſed within the realme, he aduaunceth forward his iorny, & came to Turon, to meete with Phillip the Frenche king: & ſo after that went to Vizeliace, where the French K. and he ioyning together for yͤ more continuance of their iourney, aſſured them ſelues by ſolemne othe, ſwearing fidelitie one to the other: the forme of whoſe othe was this: That eyther of them ſhould defend and mayntayne the honour of the other, and beare true fidelitie vnto hym, of lyfe, members, and worldly honour, and that neyther of them ſhoulde fayle one the other in their affayres: but the Frenche king ſhoulde ayde the king of England in defending hys land and dominions, as hee would hymſelfe defend hys owne Citie of Paris if it were beſieged: and that Richard King of England likewiſe ſhoulde ayde the French king in defending his land and dominions, no otherwiſe then he woulde defend his owne Citty of Roan, if it were beſieged. &c But how ſlenderly thys othe dyd holde betweene theſe 2. kinges, and by whoſe chiefe occaſion firſt it fell aſunder, the ſequele of the ſtory (the Lord willing) ſhall declare hereafter.

The oth of fidelitie betweene Philip ſecond French king, and king Richard the firſt, going to the holy lãd.

Diſcipline and orders ſet by king Richard for malefactors.

Furthermore touching the lawes and ordinances appointed by the king Richard for his nauy, the forme thereof was this.

1. That who ſo killed any perſon on ſhypbord, ſhould be tyed with hym that was ſlayne and throwne into the ſea.
2. And if he killed him on yͤ land, ſhould in like maner be tyed with the party ſlayne, & be buryed wͭ him in the earth.
3. He that ſhalbe cõuicted by lawful witnes to draw out his knife or weapon, to the intent to ſtrike any man, or yͭ hath ſtrickẽ any to the drawing of bloud, ſhal loſe his hãd.
4. Alſo, he that ſtriketh any perſon with his hand, wͭout effuſion of bloud, ſhall be plunged three times in the ſea.
5. Itẽ, who ſo ſpeaketh any opprobrious or contumelius words, in reuiling or curſing one an other, for ſo oftẽtimes as he hath ſo reuiled, ſhall pay ſo many vnces of ſiluer.
6. Item, a theefe, or felon that hath ſtolne, being lawfully conuerted, ſhall haue his head ſhorne and boyling pitche poured vpon his head, & fethers or downe ſtrawed vpon the ſame, wherby he may be knowne, & ſo the firſt landing place they ſhall come to, there to be caſt vp. &c.

The Frẽ king & kin Rich.cõ to Lyons,

Theſe thinges thus ſet in a readines, kyng Richard ſending his nauy by the Spaniſh ſeas, and by the ſtraytes of Iubaltarie betweene Spayne and Africa, to meet hym at Marſilia, he himſelfe went (as is ſayd) to Vizeliace, to the French King. which two kinges from thence went to Lyons, where the bridge ouer the floud Rhodanus, for preſſe of people brake, and many both men & womẽ were drowned. By reaſon whereof the two. kinges for the combraunce of their traynes, were conſtrayned to deceiuer thẽ ſelues for tyme of their iourny, appoynting both to meete together in Sicilia: and ſo Phillip the French king tooke his way to Genua, & king Richarde to Marſilia, where he remayned 8. dayes, appoynting there his nauy to meet him. Frõ thence croſſing ouer to Genua, where yͤ Frenche king was, paſſed forward by the coaſt of Italy, and entered into Tyber not farre from Rome, where meeting wͭ Octomanus Cardinall and Byſhop of Hoſtia, he did cõplayne greatly of the filthy Symonye of the pope and the Popes Court, for receauing vii. hundred Markes for cõſecrating the Biſhop Cenomanenſis: Alſo a thouſand and fiue hundreth Markes of william Byſhop of Ely for hys office Legatiue. And likewiſe an infinite ſumme of money of the Byſhop of Burdeaux, for acquiting hym when hee ſhould be depoſed for a certayne cryme layd to hys charge by hys Clergye. &c.

K.Richard commeth Marſilia.

K.Richard complaineth of the filthe Symony of the Popes Court,

The vii. day of Auguſt, in the yeare aforeſayd, K. Richard departed out of Marſilia, after he had there wayted viij. dayes for hys nauy, which came not, & ſo hyeryng xx. Gallyes, and x. great Barkes, to ſhip ouer hys mẽ, ſayled by the Coaſt of Italy, and came to Naples, & ſo partly by horſe and wagon, partly by the ſea paſſing to Falernum, came to Calabria, where after that he had heard, his ſhips were arriued at Meſſana in Sicilia, he made yͤ more ſpeed and ſo the xxiii. of September ſent to Meſſana, with ſuche a noyſe of trumpets and ſhalmes, with ſuche a route and ſhewe, that it was to the great wonderment and terrour both of the French men, and all other that did heare and behold the ſight.

K.Richard departeth from Marſilia.

The kyngs ſhips ariue at Meſſana. The comming of ki Richard to Meſſana,

To the ſayd towne of Meſſana the French kyng was come before the xvi. of the ſame month of September, and had taken vp the Pallace of Tancredus K. of Sicilia, for hys lodging. To whom K. Richard after hys arriual eftſoones reſorted, and when the two kings had communed together, immediately the ſame day the Frenche K. tooke ſhypping and entring the ſeas, thinking to ſayle towarde the land of Hieruſalẽ. But after he was out of the hauen, the wynd riſing contrary agaynſt hym returned him back agayne to Meſſana. Then K. Richard (whoſe lodgyng was prepared in the ſuburbes without the City) after he had reſorted agayne, & talked with the French K. and alſo had ſent to Tancredus K. of Sicilia for deliueraunce of Ioane his ſiſter (who had bene ſometymes Queene of Sicilia) and had obtayned her to be ſent vnto hym, the laſt day of September paſſed ouer the floude of Del far, and there getting a ſtrong hold called De la Bagnare, or Le Bamre, and placing therein his ſiſter with a ſufficient gariſon, he returned agayne to Meſſana. The ſecond of October K. Richard wanne an other certayne ſtrong holde called Manaſterium Griffonum, ſituated in the midſt of the Riuer of Del far, betweene Meſſana and Calabria, frõ whence the Monkes beyng expulſed, he repoſed there all hys ſtory and prouiſiõ of victuals which came from England or other places.

The French king lodged in Meſſana

The French king driuen backe aga by the wy to Meſſana

K.Richard obtaineth his ſiſter Ioan que ſometime Scicilia to ſent vnto him.

K.Kichard getteth the monaſtery of Griffon

The Citizens of Meſſana ſeeing that the K. of England had won the Caſtle and Iſland in De la Bagnare, and alſo the Monaſtery of the Griffones, & doubting leſt the king would extẽd his power farther to inuade their citie,

Diſcord betweene the Citizens of Meſſana & the Engliſh armie.

tie, & get if he could the whole Iſle of Sicilia, begā to ſtirre agaynſt the kinges army, and to ſhut the Engliſhe men out of the gates, and kept ther walles agaynſt them. The Engliſhmen ſeing that, made to the gates, and by force would haue broken them open, in ſo muche that the King riding among them with his ſtaffe, & breaking diuers of their heads, could not aſſwage their fiercenes. Such was the rage of the Engliſhmen agaynſt the Citizens of Meſſana. The king ſeeing the fury of the people to be ſuche as he could not ſtay them, tooke boate, & went to the Palace of K. Tancred to talk of the matter with the French king. In which meane tyme the matter was ſo taken vp by the wiſe handling of the auncient of the citty, that both partes laying downe their armour went home in peace.

he king oulde not ay the rage t the peo- ple.

The fourth day of the ſayd month of October came to king Richard the archbiſhop of Meſſana, with two other archbiſhops alſo with the French king, and ſondry other Earles, Barons, and Biſhops, for intreataunce of peace. who as they were together conſulting, & had almoſt concluded vpō the peace, the Cittizens of Meſſana iſſuing out of the towne, ſome went vp vpon the mountaynes, ſome with open force inuaded the manſion or lodging of Hugh Brunne an Engliſh captayn. The noyſe wherof cōming to the eares of the king, he ſodenly breaking of talke with the French king and the reſt, departed from them, & comming to his men, commaunded thē forthwith to arme thē ſelues. who then with certayne of his ſouldiours making vp to the top of a mountayne (which ſeemed to paſſe theyr power to clime) there put the Citizens to flight, chaſing thē down the mountayn, vnto the very gates of yͤ Citie, whom alſo certayne of the kinges ſeruauntes purſued within the City, of whō fiue valiaunt ſouldiours, and xx. of the kings ſeruaunts were ſlayne, the French king looking vpon, and not once willing to reſcue them, contrary to his othe and league before made with the king of England. For the French king with hys men being there preſent, rode in the midſt of them ſafely & without any harme, to and fro, and might well haue eaſed the kinges party, more then he, if it had ſo liked him.

Communi- cation about peace amōg the kings.

A ſkirmiſh betweene the Citizens of Meſſana & the Engliſhmen.

The French Kyng, a bearer with ſtraungers againſt the Engliſh men

This beyng knowne to the Engliſh hoaſt, how theyr fellowes were ſlayn, and the Frenchmen permitted in the city, & that they were excluded, & the gates barred againſt them, being alſo ſtopped frō buying of vittayle and other things, they vpon great indignation gathered themſelues in armes, braſt opē the gates, and ſcaled the walles, and ſo winning the Citty, ſet vp their flagges with the Engliſhe armes vpon the walles. which when the French king did ſee, he was mightely offended, requiring the king of England, that the armes of Fraūce might alſo be ſet vp & ioyned with his. But king Richard to that would in no caſe agree. Notwithſtanding to ſatiſfie hys minde, he was cōtented to take downe his armes, and commit the cuſtodie of the City to the Hoſpitallaries and Templaries of Hieruſalem, till the time that Tancrede king of Sicilia and he ſhould agree together vpon conditions.

Engliſh men winne the City of Meſſana in Sicilia.

Engliſh armes ſet vp at Meſſana.

Theſe thinges being done, the v. & vi. day of October, it followed thē vpō the viij. day of the ſame month of October, that peace among yͤ kings was cōcluded. In which peace firſt king Richard and Phillip the French king, renewed agayne their othe and league before made concerning their mutuall ayd and ſociety during the time of that peregrination. Secondly, peace alſo was concluded betweene king Richard, and Tancred king of Cicilia aforeſayd with the cōditions, that the daughter of Tancreda in caſe (King Richard ſhould die without iſſue) ſhould mary to Arthure Duke of Britaine, the kings nephew, and next heyre to his crown. &c. whereof a formal charte was drawn and letters ſent thereof to Pope Clement being dated the the ix. day of Nouember.

The league renued betweene K. Richard, and the French king.

Peace cōcluded betwene K. Richard, & Tancrede K. of Sicilia.

In this meane time, as theſe two kinges of Fraunce and England were thus wyntering at Meſſana, Fredericke Emperor firſt of that name (the ſame, on whoſe neck Pope Alexander did treade in the Church of Venice, ſaying the verſe of the Pſalme Super aſpidem & baſiliſcum ambulabis &c. whereof read before pag. 205.) and his ſonne Conradus, with a mighty army of Almanus and others, were comming vp likewiſe toward the land of Hieruſalē, to the ſiege of Achon: where by the way the good Emperour, through a great miſchaunce falling of his horſe into a Riuer called Salef, was therin drowned. After whoſe deceaſe Conradus his ſonne taking the gouerment of hys army, came to the ſiege of Achō, in which ſiege alſo he died. Vpon whoſe comming ſuch a dearth followed in the camp whiche laſted two monthes, that a loafe of bread, whiche before there cōming was ſold for i. peny, was afterwarde ſold for iij. pound, By reaſon whereof many Chriſtiā ſouldiours did there periſh through famine. The chiefeſt foode which the princes there had to feede vpon was horſe fleſh.

Fredericke 1. Emperour with his ſonne Conrade come vp toward the ſiege of Achon.

Fredericke the Emperor drowned in a riuer going to the ſiege of Achon.

Diſcord betweene the Citizens of Meſſana & the Engliſh armie.

This famine being ſo miſerable, ſome good biſhops there were in the campe, namely Hubert Biſhop of Saliſbury, with certayne other good Byſhops, who making a generall collection through the whole campe for yͤ poore, made ſuch prouiſion, that in ſuch penury of all things, yet no mā was ſo deſtitute, & needy, but ſomewhat he had for hys relief, till within a fewe dayes after by the mercifull prouidence of God (who is the feeder of all creatures) ſhyppes came vnto them with aboūdance of corne, wine and oyle.

A miſerable famine in the ſiege of Achon.

Gods prouidēce in time of need.

The ſiege of this towne of Achon endured a long ſeaſon, which as it was mightely oppugned by the Chriſtiās, ſo it was ſtrongly defended by the Saracens, ſpecially by helpe of wild fire, which the Latines do call Ignem Græcū, ſo that great ſlaughter there was on both ſides. During the tyme of which ſiege, many noble perſonages & alſo byſhops died, among whō was Conradus the Emperours ſonne, Rādulph Earle of Fougeres, the Earle of Pericio, Robert Earle of Leiceſter, Baldwine archbiſhop of Canterbury with foure Archbiſhops, and diuers other Byſhops and Abbots and Earles and Barons to the nūber of 34. and not ſo few. All this while king Richard & King Phillip of Fraunce, ſtil kept at Meſſana in Sicilia, from the month of September till Aprill, for lacke (I ſuppoſe) of wynde or weather, or els for neceſſitie of repayryng their ſhyppes. In which meane tyme king Richard hearing of Ioachim Abbot of Curacio a learned man in Calabria (who was thē thought to haue yͤ ſpirit of propheſie, & told many thinges of a people that ſhould come) ſent for hym, with whom he & his Biſhops had much conference about the cōming & tyme of Antichriſt. This Ioachim belike in his booke and Reuelations vttered ſome things agaynſt the Sea and pride of Rome: for the whiche he was leſſe fauoured of the popes, & iudged an enemy to their Sea, and ſo by pope Innocent the 3. was condemned wͭ his bookes for an heriticke, in his Idolatrous generall Councell of Laterane. an. 1215. as ye may read in Antoninus.

The ſiege of Achon.

Ignis Græcus, much vſed of the Saracens.

K. Richard conferreth with Ioachim Abbot about the comming of Antichriſt.

Abbas Ioachim condemned in the councell of Laterane, by Innocent. 3.

After this Henricus king of Almanes, ſonne of Fredericke the Emperour hearing of the deceaſe of his father, ſtanding now to be Emperor, firſt reſtoreth to Hen. Duke of Saxonie, and to others, whatſoeuer his father before had takē from them. That done he ſent to Clement & hys Cardinals, promiſing in al thinges to confirme the lawes and dignities of the Church of Rome, if they would graūt hym their aſſent to be Emperor. wherupon pope Clemēt by aduiſe of the Romaines aſſigned him the terme of Eaſter in the next yeare inſuing for his coronation. But before yͤ Eaſter came. P. Clemēt died, after he had ſit 3. yeres and about 4. monthes. After whome ſucceeded Celeſtinus the 3. Of whom more hereafter, God willing.

Henricus ſonne of Fredericke ſtandeth to be Emperour.

Pope Clement dyeth. Celeſtinus 3. Pope.

Anno. 1191.

The time thus paſſing ouer in the month of February, the next yeare following, which was of the Lord. 1191. king Richard ſent ouer hys Galleyes to Naples, there to meet his mother Alinore, and Berengaria the daughter of Sāctius king of Nauarre, whom he was purpoſed to mary. who by that tyme were come to Brundiſium, vnder the conduct of Phillip Erle of Flanders, & ſo proceeding vnto Naples, there found the kings ſhips, wherin they ſayled to Meſſana. In this meane ſpace king Richard ſhewed hymſelfe exceeding bounteous and liberall to all men. To the French king firſt he gaue diuers ſhips: vpō others likewiſe he beſtowed rich rewardes, and of hys treaſures and goodes he diſtributed largely to hys ſouldiours and ſeruauntes about hym. Of whom it was reported that he diſtributed more in one month, then euer any of hys predeceſſors did in a whole yeare: by reaſon whereof he purchaſed great loue and fauour, which not onely redounded to the aduauncement of his fame, but alſo to his ſingular vſe and profite, as the ſequele afterward proued.

The bountifull liberalitie of king Richard.

To proceede then in the progreſſe of king Richard it followeth. In the firſt day of the month of march, he leauing the citty of Meſſana where the Frenche king was, went to Cathnienſium, a City where Tancredus Kyng of Sicilia then lay, where he was honourable receaued, & there remained wͭ king Tancred 3. dayes & 3. nightes. On the fourth day when he ſhould depart, the forſayd Tancredus offered him many riche preſentes in golde and ſiluer, and precious ſilkes, whereof king Richarde woulde receiue nothing, but one little ryng for a token of his good will. For yͤ which king Richard againe gaue to him a rich ſword. At length when K. Richard ſhould take his leaue, king Tancredus would not ſo let him part, but needes would geue him 4. great ſhips, and 15. Galeys: and furthermore, he himſelfe would needes accompanye him the ſpace of two dayes iourney to a place called Tauernium.

King Richard remoueth from Meſſana, and commeth to Cathneys.

The honorable intertainment of king Richard by king Tancredus.

Then the next morning when they ſhould take their leaue, Tancredus declared vnto him yͤ meſſags which the

Philip the frēch king trayterouſly ſeeketh the deſtruction of K. Richard by ſecret letters ſent to the king of Sicilia.

French king a little before, had ſent vnto him by the Duke of Burgundy, the contentes whereof was this: That the king of England was a falſe traytour, aud would neuer keepe the peace that was betweene thē. And if the ſayd Tancredus would warre agaynſt hym, or ſecretly by night woulde inuade him, he with all his power would aſsiſte him, and ioyne with him to the deſtruction of him and all hys army, &c. To whome Richard the king proteſted agayne, that he was no traytour, nor neuer was: and as touching the peace begon betweene them, the ſame ſhoulde neuer be broken thorough hym: neyther could he beleue, that the French king, being hys good Lorde and his ſworne compartiner in that voyage, would vtter any ſuch wordes by him. Which when Tancredus heard, he bringeth forth the letters of the Frenche K. ſent to him by the Duke of Burgundy, affirming moreouer, that if the Duke of Burgundy would deny the bringing of the ſayd letters, he was ready to try with hym by any of hys Dukes. King Richard receiuing the letters & muſing not a little vpō the ſame, returneth again to Meſſana. The ſame day that king Richard departed, ẏ French king cōmeth to Tauernium to ſpeake with Tancredus, & there abode with him that night, and on the morrowe returned to Meſſana againe.

A faithfull part of Tancredus kyng of Sicilia toward kyng Richard.

The firſt occaſion of diſcord betweene the French king and king Richard.

From that tyme king Richard moued in ſtomacke againſt king Phillip, neuer ſhewing any gentle countenāce of peace and amitie, as he before was wont. Whereat the French K. greatly marueiling, and enquiring earneſtly what ſhould be the cauſe therof, word was ſent him again by Phillip Erle of Flaunders, what words he had ſent to the king of Sicilia, & for the teſtimony thereof the letters were ſhewed which he wrote by the Duke of Burgundy, to the king of Sicilia. Which when the Frenche king vnderſtoode, firſt he held hys peace as gilty in his conſcience, not knowing well what to aunſwere. At length turning his tale to an other matter, he began to quarrell with king Richard, pretending as though he ſought cauſes to breake with him, and to maligne him: and therefore he forged theſe lyes (ſayd he) vpon him, and all becauſe he by that meanes would voyde to marry with Alice his ſiſter, according as he had promiſed: Adding moreouer, that if he would ſo do, and would not mary the ſayd Alice his ſiſter, according to his othe, but woulde marry an other, he woulde be an enemy to hym and hys, while he lyued.

K. Richard chargeth the French king with falſehood.

The Frēch king quarelleth with K. Richard about marying his ſiſter.

To this king Richard ſayd agayn, that he could by no meanes mary that woman, for ſo muche as his father had carnall copulation with her, & alſo had by her a ſonne: for proofe wherof he had there preſently to bring forth diuers and ſondry witneſſes to the kings face, to teſtifie with him. In concluſion through counſell and perſwaſion of diuers about the French king, agreement at laſt was made, ſo ẏ king Phillip did acquite king Richard from his bonde of marying hys ſiſter, and king Richard agayne ſhoulde be bound to pay to him euery yeare for the ſpace of v. yeares, two thouſand marks, with certayne other conditions beſides, not greatly materiall in this place to be deciphred. And thus peace beyng betweene them concluded, the 28. day of the ſaid month of March, the Frēch king launching out of the hauen of Meſſana, in the 22. day after in Eaſter weeke came with hys army to the ſiege of Achon.

Cauſes alledged why K. Richard could not marry with the French kinges ſiſter.

Agreement betweene the two kinges, with the conditions touching the ſame.

The French king commeth to Achon.

After the departure of the French king from Meſſana, (king Richard with his army yet remaynyng behynd) arriued Queene Alinor ẏ kings mother, bringing with her Bernegera the king of Nauarres daughter to be eſpouſed to king Richard. Which done, Alinor leauing Bernegera behinde her, departed, taking her iorny toward Rome, to intreate the pope for Gaufrious her other ſonne aboue mētioned, to be conſecrated in the archbiſhoprick of York, beyng before elected by the procurement of king Richard his brother, as ye heard. In which meane time as Queene Alinorie was trauiling toward Rome, Pope Clement aboue mentioned dyed about the 6. day of April, in whoſe roume ſucceeded pope Celeſtinus the 3. Who the next day after hys conſecration, came from Laterane to S. Peters church, wherein the way meeteth him Henricus the Emperor, & Conſtantia his wife, with a great route of armed ſouldiours. But the Romanes making faſt their gates, would not ſuffer them to enter their Citye. Then pope Celeſtine ſtanding vpon the ſtayres before the church dore of ſ. Peter, receiued an othe of the ſayde Henricus king of the Almains (hys army wayting without) that he ſhould defend the church of God, & al the liberties therof, & maintayne Iuſtice, alſo to reſtore agayne the patrimony of S. Peter full and whole, what ſoeuer hath bene diminiſhed therof, & finally ẏ he ſhould ſurrender to ẏ church of Rome agayne, the city of Tuſculanū, &c. Upon theſe conditions and grauntes then the pope took hym to the Church, and there annoynted him for Emperour, & hys wife for Empreſſe, who there ſitting in his chayre pontificall, held the crowne of gold betweene his feete, and ſo the Emperoure bowing downe his head to the popes feete: receaued the crown: and in like maner the Empreſſe alſo. The crowne thus being ſet vpon the Emperours head, the Pope eftſoones wͭ his foot ſtroke it off agayn frō his head vnto the grounde, declaring therby that he had power to depoſe hym againe, in caſe he ſo deſerued. Then the Cardinals taking vp the crowne ſet it vpon his head agayne. Ex veteri Chronico manuſcripto anonimo, De geſtis Richardi regis cui initiū: Anno gratiæ &c. Item ex alio eiuſdem vetuſtatis Chronico manuſcripto, cui initium. Æneas cum Aſcanio.&c.

Berengaria, or as ſome do call her Bernegera daughter to the king of Nauarre brought to be maried to kyng Richard by his mother Alinor.

Pope Celeſtinus 3.

Conditions required of Henricus K. of Almanes before he ſhould be made Emperour by the Pope.

The Pope of Rome in the ful toppe of his pride.

Pope Celeſtine crowneth Henricus the Emperour with his feete.

The Pope ſtriketh of the Emperours cro with his foote.

Not long after the departure of king Phillip frō Meſſana, which was in the month of march, king Richard in April following, about the xx. day of the ſayd month, ſayling frō the hauen of Meſſana, with an 150. great ſhips, & 53 great Galeis wel manned and appointed, took his iorny toward Achon. Who being vpō the ſeas, on good Friday about the 9. houre roſe a mighty Southwinde with a tempeſt, which diſſeuered and ſcattered all his nauy, ſome to one place, and ſome to an other. The king with a fewe ſhips was driuen to the Iſle of Creta, and there before the hauen of Rhodes caſt an anker. The ſhip that caryed the kings ſiſter Queene of Sicilia, and Bernegera the king of Nauarres daughter, with 2. other ſhips were driuē to the Iſle of Cyprus. The king making great mone for the ſhyp of his ſiſter, & Bernegera his wife ẏ ſhould be, not knowing where they were become, after the tempeſt was ouerblowen ſent forth his Galleys diligently to ſearch ẏ reſt of his nauy diſperſed, but eſpecially for the ſhip wherein hys ſiſter was, & the maydē whō he ſhould mary, who at lēgth were founde ſafe and mery at the porte of Limizem in the ile of Cyprus. Notwͭſtanding the ij. other ſhips whiche were in their cōpany before in the ſame hauē, were drowned, with diuers of the kings ſeruants & men of worſhip, amongſt whom was M. Roger, called Malus Catulus, the kings Uice chauncellor, who was founde hauing the kings ſeale hanging about his necke. The king of Cyprus was then Iſakius (called alſo the Emperour of the Griffones) who tooke and impriſoned all Engliſhmen which by ſhipwracke were caſt vpon hys land: alſo inuegled into hys hands the goods & priſes of them whiche were found drowned about his coaſtes, neyther would ſuffer the ſhip wherein the two Ladyes were to enter within the porte.

K. Richard remoueth fro Meſſana to Achon.

K. Richard ouertaken with a tempeſt in the Seas, going to Achon.

Iſakius king of Cyprus a cruell enemy to Engliſhe men.

The tidinges of this beyng brought to king Richard, he in hys great wrath gathering hys Galleys & ſhips together, bordeth the land of Cyprus, where he firſt in gentle wiſe ſignifieth to king Iſakius, howe he with his Engliſhmen, comming as ſtraungers to the ſupportation of ẏ holy land, were by diſtreſſe of wether driuen vppon hys bounds, & therfore with all hūble petiō beſought hym in Gods behalfe, and for reuerence of the holy Croſſe: to let goe ſuch priſoners of his which he had in captiuitie, and to reſtore agayne the goodes of them whiche were drowned, as he deteyned in hys handes, to be employed for the behouſe of their ſoules. &c. And thus the king once, twiſe, & thriſe, deſired of the Emperour. But he proudly aunſwering agayne, ſent the king word, that he neyther woulde let the captiues goe, nor render the goodes of them which were drowned &c.

K. Richard maketh ſute to the king of Cyprus for his ſouldiours in captiuitie.

The diſdainfull & proud anſwere of Iſakius to K. Richard.

When king Richard heard this, how little the Emperour Iſakius made of hys ſo humble and honeſt petition, and how nothing there could be gotten without violent force, eftſoones geueth commaundement through all hys hoaſt, to put themſelues in armour and to follow him, to reuenge ſuch iniuries receiued of that proud and cruell K. of Cyprus, willyng them to put their truſt in God, and not to miſdoubt but the Lorde woulde ſtand with them, and geue them the victory. The Emperoure in the meane tyme with hys people ſtoode warding the Sea coaſtes, where the Engliſhmen ſhould ariue, with ſwords, billes, and launces, and ſuch other weapons as they had, ſettyng boardes, ſtooles, and cheſtes before thē in ſtead of a walle. Howbeit but few of them were harneſſed, and for the moſt part all vnexpert, & vnſkilfull in the feates of warre. Thē king Richard wͭ hys ſouldiours iſſuing out of their ſhips, firſt ſet his bowmen before, who with their ſhotte made a way for other to follow. The Engliſhmen thus winning the land vpon them, ſo fiercely preſſed vpō the Griffones, that after long fighting and many blowes, at laſt the Emperour was put to flight, whom king Richard valiauntly purſued, and ſlue many, and diuers he tooke alyue, and had gone neare alſo to haue the Emperoure, had not the night come on & parted the battaile. And thus K. Richard with much ſpoyle & great victory returning to the Porte towne of Lymizem, whiche the townesmen had lefte for feare, found there great aboundaunce of corne, wyne, oyle,

K. Richard exhorteth his men to fight again Iſakius.

K. Richard ſetteth vpo Iſakius kin of Cyprus.

The battai betwene th Emperour of Cyprus and K. Rich

Iſakius Emperour of the Griffo put to fligh The towne of Lymeſi taken by king Rich.

and vittayles.

The ſame day after the victory got, Ioane the kinges ſiſter, and Bernegera the mayden, entered the Port and towne of Lymeſzein, with L. great ſhips, and xiiij. Galliots: So that all the whole nauye there meeting together were CCLiiij. talle ſhippes, and aboue 60. Galliots. The Iſakius the Emperour ſeeing no way for him to eſcape by the Sea, the ſame night pitched his tentes v. myles of from the Engliſhe army, ſwearing that the third day after he would ſure geue battayle to king Richard. But he preuenting hym before, ſodenly the ſame morning before the day of battayle ſhould be, ſetteth vppon the tentes of the Griffones early, they being vnwares and a ſleepe, & made of them a great ſlaughter, in ſo much that the Emperour was fayne naked to run away: leauing his tentes and pauilions to the Engliſh men, ful of horſes and rich treaſure, alſo with the Imperiall ſtandard, the lower part wherof with a coſtly ſtremer was couered and wrought al with gold. King Richard then returning with victory and triumph to hys ſiſter, and Bernegera, ſhortly after in the moneth of May next following, and the 12. day of the ſayd moneth, maryed the ſayd Bernegera daughter of Rācon king of Nauarre, in the Iſle of Cyprus, at Lymeſzen.

The king of Cyprus againe put to flight.

K. Richard marrieth Bernegera daughter of the king of Nauarre in the Iſle of Cyprus.

The king of Cyprus ſeeing himſelfe ouermatched, was driuen at length to yeld himſelfe with conditions, to geue king Richard xx. thouſand markes in golde, for amendes of ſuch ſpoyles, as he had gottē of them that were drowned: Alſo to reſtore all hys captiues agayne to the king: And furthermore he in hys owne perſon to attende vpon the kyng to the land of Hieruſalem, in Gods ſeruice and hys, with CCCC. horſemen, and v. hundreth footemen: in pledge whereof he would geue to hys handes his Caſtles, and hys onely daughter, & would hold his kingdome of hym. This done, and the Emperour ſwearing fidelitie to king Richard, before Guido king of Ieruſalem, and the Prince of Antioche (who were come thither to king Richard a little before) peace was taken, and Iſakius committed to the warde of certaine keepers. Notwithſtanding ſhortly after he breaking from his keepers, was agayne at defiance with the king. Whereupon K. Richard beſetting the Iland of Cyprus round about with ſhips and Galleyes, did in ſuch ſort preuayle, that the ſubiectes of the land were conſtrayned to yeld themſelues to the K. and at length the daughter alſo of the Emperour, & at laſt the Emperour hymſelfe, whom king Richard cauſed to be kept in fetters of ſiluer and gold, and to be ſent to the City of Tripolis.

Iſakius king of Cyprus yeldeth him ſelfe to king Richard.

The king of Cyprus breaketh conditions with kyng Richard.

King of Cyprus againe ſubmitteth himſelfe, and was kept in golden fetters.

Theſe thinges thus done, and all ſet in order touching the poſſeſſion of the Iſle of Cyprus: the keeping whereof he committed to Radulfe ſonne of Godfrey Lord Chamberlayne, being then the firſt day of Iune, vpon the v. of ẏ ſayd moneth, king Richard departed from the Iſle of Cyprus with hys ſhips and galleyes toward the ſiege of Achon, & on the next morow came to Tyrus, where by procurement of the French K. he was conſtrained by the citizens to enter. The next day after, which was the vi. day of Iune, croſſing the Seas, he mette with a great Barke, fraught with ſouldiours and men of warre to the number of a thouſand and fiue hundreth, which pretendyng to be Frenchmē, and ſetting forth their flagge with the Frenche armes, were in deede Saracens ſecretly ſent with wilde fire & certayn barrelles of vnknowne ſerpentes, to the defence of the town of Achon. Which K. Richard at lēgth perceauing, eftſoones ſet vpō them, and ſo vanquiſhed them, of whō the moſt were drowned, & ſome taken aliue. Which beyng once knowen in the Citty of Achō, as it was a great diſcomfort to them, ſo it was a great helpe to the chriſtians for winning the citty. The next day after, whiche was the vij. of Iune, Kyng Richard came to Achon, which at that tyme had bene long beſieged of the Chriſtiās. After whoſe cōming it was not long, but the Pagans within the Citty, ſeing their walles to be vndermined and towers ouerthrowne, were driuen by cōpoſition to eſcape with life & lymme, to ſurrender the Citty to the two kings. An other great helpe, to the Chriſtians in winning the Cittye was this. In the ſayd Citty of Achon there was a ſecret Chriſtian amōg the Saracens, who in tyme of the ſiege there, vſed at ſondry tymes to caſt ouer the walles into the camp of the Chriſtians certayn billes writtē in Hebrue, Greek, and Latine, wherin he diſcloſed to the Chriſtians, frō time to tyme, the doynges and counſels of the enemies, aduertiſing them how and what way they ſhould work, & what to beware. And alwayes his letters began thus: In nomine patris, & filij, & ſpiritus ſancti. Amen. By reaſon whereof ẏ Chriſtians were much aduantaged in their proceedings. But this was a great heauines vnto them, that neither he would vtter his name, or when the Cittye was got they could euer vnderſtand who he was. Ex Chronico manuſcripto, De geſtis Richardi.

K. Rich. taketh his iourney to Achon.

A thouſand & fiue hundreth Saracens ſent to the reſcue of Achon, vanquiſhed on the ſea by K. Richard.

The Citie of Achon yelded to the Chriſtians.

An honeſt part of a ſecret Chriſtian in the citie of Achō.

To make of a long ſiege a ſhort narration, vpon the 12. day of Iuly the yeare aforeſayd, the Princes and captaines of the Paganes, vpon agreement reſorted to ẏ tent of the Templaries, and to common with the two kinges touching peace, & geuing vp of their city: ẏ forme of which peace was this: That the kings ſhould haue the city of Achon freely, and fully deliuered to thē with all which was therin, and fiue hundreth captiues of the Chriſtiās ſhould be reſtored to them, which were in Achon. Alſo the holye Croſſe ſhould be to thē rendered, and a thouſand Chriſtian captiues, with 2. hundreth horſemen, whoſoeuer they thēſelues would chuſe out of all thē which were in the power of Saladine. Ouer and beſides, they ſhoulde geue to the kings 200. thouſand Byſāts, ſo ẏ they thēſelues would remayne as pledges in the kings hands, for the performāce hereof, that if in xl. dayes theſe foreſayd couenaunces were not accompliſhed, they would abide the kings mercy touching life and limme. Theſe couenaunces being agreed vpon, the kinges ſent their ſouldiours and ſeruauntes into the City, to take a C. of the richeſt and beſt of the City, to cloſe them vp in towers vnder ſtrong keeping, and the reſidue they cōmitted to be kept in houſes and ſtreetes, miniſtring to them according to their neceſſities: to whome notwithſtanding this they permitted, that ſo many of thē as would be baptiſed & receiue the fayth of Chriſt, ſhoulde be free to go whether they would. Whereupon many there were of the Paganes, which for feare of death, pretēded to be baptiſed, but afterward ſo ſoone as they could, reuolted agayne to the Saladine. For the which it was afterward commaunded by the kinges, that none of thē ſhould be baptiſed agaynſt their willes.

The forme of peace concluded betweene the Kings and the Princes of Achon.

Couenaunces made in giuing vp the citie of Achon.

Religion would be taught and not coacted.

The 13. day of the ſayde month of Iuly, King Phillip of Fraunce, and king Richard, after they had obtained the poſſeſſion of Achon, deuided betweene thē, al things therin contayned, as well the people as gold & ſiluer, with all other furniture what ſoeuer was remaynyng in the City: who in deuiding the ſpoile were ſo good caruers to themſelues, ẏ many Knightes and Barons with other ſouldiours, who had there ſuſtayned the whole trauaile 2. yeres together about the ſiege, ſeing the kings to take all to thēſelues and there part to be but little, retracted themſelues without the vttermoſt trench, and there after conſultation had togither, ſent word to the kings that they would leaue and forſake them, vnleſſe they were made partakers alſo of the gaynes, for the whiche they had ſo long trauailed. To whom aunſwere was ſent agayne by the kinges, that their wills ſhould be ſatiſfied. How beit becauſe of lōg differring of their promiſe, many conſtrayned by pouerty departed from them.

The two kinges deuide the citie of Achon, with all the ſpoyle therof betwene themſelues. Cōmonly ſeene, who ſo taketh moſt paynes, their part to be the leaſt.

Many of the Chriſtian ſouldiours for neede were conſtrayned to depart from Achon.

The xx. day of Iuly king Richard ſpeaking with the French king, deſired him that they two with their armies, would binde thēſelues by oth to remayne there ſtill in the lād of Hieruſalē the ſpace of 3. yeares, for the winning and recouering again of thoſe coūtryes. But he would ſweare (he ſayd) no ſuch oth: and ſo the next day after K. Richard with his wife and ſiſter entreth into the citty of Achon, and placed there himſelfe in the kinges Palace: the French K. remaynyng in the houſes of the Templaries, where he cōtinued till the end of ẏ month. So about the beginning of the month of Auguſt, Phillip the Frenche king, after that he and king Richard had made agreemēt betwene Guido and Conradus the Marques, about the kingdome of Hieruſalem, went frō Achon to Tyrus: notwithſtādyng kyng Richard, & al the Princes of the Chriſtiā army with great entreaty deſired him to tarye, ſhewing what a ſhame it were for him to come ſo far, & now to leaue vndone ẏ, for which he came, & on the 3. of Auguſt frō Tyrus departed, leauing his halfe part of the citty of Achon in the handes of the foreſayd Conradus Marques. After whoſe departure the Paganes refuſed to keep their couenaunts made, who neither would reſtore ẏ holy croſſe nor the mony, nor their captiues, ſending worde to king Richard, ẏ if he beheaded the pledges left with him at Achon, they would chop of the heads of ſuch captiues of ẏ chriſtians: which were in their handes. Shortly after this the Saladine ſendyng great gifts to king Richard, requeſted ẏ times limited for beheading of the captiues to bee prorogued: but the king refuſed to take his giftes, and to graunt his requeſt. Wherupō the Saladine cauſed all the chriſtian captiues within his poſſeſſion forthwith to be beheaded: which was the xviij. day of Auguſt. Which albeit K. Richard vnderſtode, yet would not he preuent the time afore limitted for the execution of his priſoners, being the xx. day of Auguſt. Vpō which day he cauſed the priſoners of the Saracens, opēly in the ſight of the Saladines army to loſe their heads: the number of

K. Richard requireth of the French kyng to remaine three yeares with his army, but hee would not.

Chriſtian captiues ſlaine by the Saladine.

The Saracen captiues ſlaine by k. Richard.

whom came to two thouſand and fiue hundreth, ſaue only that certayne of the principall of thē he reſerued for purpoſes & conſiderations, eſpecially to make exchaunge for the holy croſſe, and certayne other of the Chriſtian captiues.

After this king Richard purpoſed to beſiege the Citty of Ioppe. whereby the way betweene Achon and Ioppe, neare to a Town called Aſſur: Saladine with a great multitude of his Saracens, came fiercely agaynſt the kinges rearewarde, but through Gods mercifull grace, in yͤ ſame battayle the kinges warriours acquited them ſo well, that the Saladine was put to flight (whom the Chriſtiās purſued the ſpace of iij. myles) & loſt the ſame day many of his nobles and captaynes, in ſuch ſort (as it was thought) that the Saladine was not put to ſuch confuſion xl. yeares before: and but one Chriſtian captaine called Iames Auernus in that conflict was ouerthrowne. From thence kyng Richard proceeding further wēt to Ioppe and thē to Aſcalon, where he found firſt the city of Ioppe forſaken of yͤ Saracens, who durſt not abide the kinges comming. Aſcalō the Saladine threw downe to the ground, & likewiſe forſooke the whole land of Syria, through all which land the king had free paſſage without reſiſtaunce: neither durſt the Sarazen prince encounter after that with K. Richard. Of all whiche his acheuaunces the ſayd king Richard ſent his letters of certificate as well into England, as alſo to the Abbot of Clara Valle in Fraunce, well hoping that he (God willing) ſhould be able to make his repayre agayne to them by Eaſter next.

Saladine put to flight.

A noble victory by Gods power gotten by Kyng Rich. againſt the Saracens.

K. Richard in poſſeſſion of Syria.

❊ A briefe ſtory of William Byſhop of Ely the Kynges Chauncellour.

The ſtorie of William the proude Byſhop of Ely.

AND nowe to leaue king Richard a whyle in the field, let vs make a ſtep into Englande, and looke a little what is done at home while the king was abroad, and ſo returne to the king agayne. Yee heard before how king Richard at his ſetting forth, committed the gouernement of the realme to Hugo Byſhop of Durham, and to Williā Biſhop of Ely, ſo that to the byſhop of Durham was cōmitted the keeping of the Caſtle of Wyndſore: the other, which was the Biſhop of Ely, had the keeping of yͤ tower of Londō, about which he cauſed a great ditch with a rāpear to be caſt, which is yet remayning. Furthermore to theſe 2. Biſhops, the king alſo aſſigned 4. other chiefe Iuſtices, whiche ioyntly with them ſhould haue the hearyng and ouerſight of all cauſes as well to the clergy as the layty appertaining: to witte, Hugh Bardolfe, William Marſhall, Geffrey Peterſon, and William Bruer. But the byſhop of Ely was the principal, or at leaſt, he that tooke moſt vpon him. Who both was the kinges Chauncellour, and bought with hys money to be the popes Legate through England, Ireland, & Scotlād, as is before ſpecified. Touching the exceſſiue pride and pompe of which Byſhop, hys ruffiings outragious, & fall moſt ſhameful, it would make a long tragedie to diſcourſe the whole circumſtāces at full: Onely to demonſtrate certayne ſpecialties thereof for our preſent purpoſe, it may ſuffice.

Vt iuſtè indicarent clerum & populum, Verba hiſt.

Foure chiefe Iuſtices with two Byſhops appointed ouerſeers of the Realme in the kings abſence.

Firſt, this William called Longchamp being thus aduaunced by the king to be his high Chauncellor, and chiefe Iuſtice of the realme, and alſo the popes Legate, to ſhew abroad the authoritie of his Legatſhyp, began to ſuſpend the Canons, Clerkes, & Vicares of the Church of S. Peter in York, becauſe they receiued him not with proceſſiō: vnder which interdiction he held them, til they were fayne at laſt, both Canons, Clarkes, and Vicares to fall downe at his foote, cauſing al their belles to be let downe out of yͤ ſteple. After this commeth Hugo biſhop of Durham, whō the king ſent home out of Normandy w hys letters, who meeting with the foreſayd William Byſhop of Ely in the towne of Blye, ſhewed hym yͤ kings letters, wherin was graunted to him the keeping of Windſore Caſtle, and to be the kinges Iuſtice from the riuer of Humber, to the borders of Scotland. To the which letters the Chauncellour anſwered, that the kings commaundemēt ſhould be done, and ſo brought him with him to Suwell, where he tooke him and kept him faſt, til he was forced at laſt to ſurrender to him the Caſtle of Wyndſore, & other things whiche the king had committed to his cuſtody, & moreouer was conſtrayned to leaue with the ſayd Chauncellour Henry de Putcaco hys own ſonne, & Gilbert Ley for pledges & hoſtages of his fidelitie, to be true to the king and the realme. And thus the biſhop of Durham being ſet at liberty, went to his town of Houedē. Where after he had made his abode a few dayes, cōmeth thether Oſbert Longchamp yͤ Chauncellours brother, and William Stutiuill, with a great cōpany of armed men ſent by the Chauncellor to apprehend him. But the ſayd Byſhop of Durham putting in ſureties not to depart that towne without the licence of the king & of the Chauncellour, there ſtill remayned, till he got letters to be ſent to the Kyng, ſignifying how he was vſed. Wherupon the king writing his letters from Marſilia to the biſh. of Ely, ſet the ſayd byſhop of Durham free, & confirmed to hym all the poſſeſſions and grauntes that he before had geuen hym.

William Longchamp B. of Ely, Lord Chauncelour, and the popes Legat.

The church and belles of Yorke ſuſpended becauſe the Lord Legate was not ſet in with proceſſion.

Byſh. of Ely getteth the caſtel of Wyndſore from the b. of Durhā.

Hugo Biſhop of Durham vexed by W. Biſhop of Ely.

It is almoſt incredible to think how intemperatly this byſhop and Chauncellor miſuſed himſelfe after the kings departure into Siria in exceſſe of pride, and in cruell exactions and oppreſſions of the kinges ſubiectes. Firſt his felow Iuſtices, whō the king ioyned with him for gouernement of the realme, he vtterly reiected & refuſed to heare their counſaile, reputing none to be equall with him in all the realme. Neither was he contented with the authoritie of a Prelate, but playd both king and prieſt in the realme. All Caſtles, Lordſhips, Abbayes, Churches, and al other appropriations belonging to the right of the king, he claymed to hymſelfe, and by vertue of hys Legatſhip, whē he came to any byſhops houſe, Abbay, Priory, or anye other Religious houſe, he brought with him ſuch a ſuperfluitie of men, horſes, dogges, & hauks, that the houſe was worſe for it 3. yeares after. For commonly he rode neuer vnder a 1500. horſes of Chaplaynes, Prieſtes, and other ſeruing men wayting vpon hym. From the clergy & laytie he tooke away their Churches, their vowſons, their liuinges, and landes, to beſtow vpon hys nephewes, & other wayting Chaplaynes to ſerue hys vayne glory, or els conuerted thē to his own vſe, to mayntaine his pompe & vanitie. In getting and gathering of treaſures he had no meaſure, in miſpending the ſame he kept no order. And that no vyce ſhould be wanting where ſuch auarice taketh roote, the money whiche he wrongfully got, he committed to the banke, to be increaſed by vſury. What wantonnes and laciuiouſnes was vſed in that ſo riotous life, the ſtories do ſhame to declare it. All ruffenly runagates, idle belyes, & light perſons, whereſoeuer he went, hanged vppon hys Court. To increaſe the vaine iolity of this royall Prelate, there was lacking no kynde of Muſicall inſtrumentes & melodious noyſe, to refreſhe belike hys weryed ſenſes ſo much beaten and macerated with continuall labour and ſtudy of hunting, hauking, and gaming: of preaching, and reading I ſhould haue ſayd.

The exceſſiue pride and enormities of W. Biſhop of Ely.

Byſhop of Ely neuer rode vnder a 1500. horſe.

His vanitie.

His vſury.

His riotous and deboiſe life.

Briefly this foreſayd Prelate, bearing the authoritie both of the king and of the pope, kept ſuch a ſtirre in England, that all the whole realme was at hys beck, with cap and knee crouching to him, Neither durſt any man rich or poore diſpleaſe hym. Yea none in all the realme ſo noble or worſhipfull, but was glad to pleaſe him, accounting thēſelues happy if they might ſtand in his fauor. At his table all noble mens children did ſerue and wayte vpon hym, to whome he coupled in mariage his nieces and kinſwomē. And when any that ſtoode wayting before him, durſt once caſt vp hys eyes, or did not demurely looke downward vpon yͤ groūd, he had a ſtaffe in hand with a pricke, wherwith he vſed to prick thē, learning belike by the carter hys father, which vſed at the plough or carte to driue his oxen. Furthermore, as kings vſe to haue their gard about thē, ſo hee becauſe hee woulde not alſo be vngarded, refuſing men of the Engliſh nation, had his wayters and warders moſt of Frenchmen and Fleminges.

The Biſhop of Ely playeth both king & prieſt.

W. Biſh. of Ely garded with Frenchmen & Flemings.

It happened after this, in the yeare 1191. that a great diſcord roſe betwene Iohn Erle of Mortō the kings brother, with other ſtates of the realme, and the ſayd William biſhop of Ely, ſo that vniuerſally they all wrote ouer to yͤ king concerning the miſgouernmēt & enormities of yͤ ſayd Biſhop. Who vnderſtanding of the caſe, ſent from Meſſana into Eng. Walter archb. of Roan, and William Marſhall Earle, vnto the Biſh. of Ely with letters, commandyng him that in all hys doynges he ſhould aſſociate vnto hym the ſayd Archb. of Roan, W. Marcſhall, Geffry Peterſon, W. Bruer, and Hugh Bardolfe aboue mentioned. Who whē they came into England, durſt not deliuer their letters, dreading the diſpleaſure of the Chauncellor: for he deſpiſed all the commaundements of the king, nor would ſuffer any fellow to ioyne with him in hys kingdome.

Anno. 1191.

A generall complaint to the K. of W. Biſh. of Ely.

Of theſe foure aſſociates read the page before.

Hitherto haue you heard of the glorious vanitie of this lordly Legate and Chauncellor of the realme, now ye ſhal heare of his ſhamefull fall, after hys ſhameleſſe exaltation. For ſhortly after this followeth an other breach betweene the ſayd Erle Iohn the kinges brother and hym, about yͤ beſieging of the Caſtle of Lincolne. Concerning yͤ whiche caſtle the ſayde Iohn ſent him word, yͭ vnles he raiſed his ſiege the ſooner frō thēce, he would ſend him away by force of ſword. The biſh. either not able to make his party good, or not daring to reſiſt, thought beſt to fal to ſome compoſition with the Erle, and ſo did. In which compoſition, he

An other diſſention betweene Iohn the kings brother & William Biſh. of Ely.

was contented againſt his wil, by mediation of diuers biſhops and others, to make ſurrender, not onely of the caſtle of Lincolne, but alſo of Notingham, of Tickhill, Walingford & many moe, which were then committed to the cuſtody of ſondry men of worſhip and honour. And thus was that controuerſie agreed, wherein the biſhop of Ely began a little to be cut ſhorter.

An other broyle betweene the Chauncelor and Geffray Archbiſh. of Yorke the kings brother.

It followed then not long after in the ſame yeare, that an other like buſines began to kindle betwene Geffrey the Archb. of Yorke the Kings brother, and the foreſaid glorious biſhop of Ely, vpō this occaſion. Ye heard before how the king at his ſetting out, left order that Earle John and Geffrey his brethren, ſhould not enter into the realme the ſpace of iij. yeres after his departure (howbeit his brother John was ſhortly after releaſed of that bond:) and alſo after that howe K. Richard being at Meſſana, ſent his mother Alinore to the Pope for his brother Geffrey (elected before to the See of Yorke) to be conſecrated Archbiſhop. Whereupon the ſaid Geffrey being conſecrated through licence of Pope Celeſtine by the Archb. of Turon, the ſayde Geffrey ſtreightwaies after his conſecration differred no time, but would nedes come into England. Wherof the biſhop of Ely hauing intelligence, ſent him worde being at Wiſſand in Flaunders not to preſume to aduenture into the realme, contrary to his othe made to K. Richarde before: commaunding moreouer, that if he came, he ſhould be apprehended. All which notwithſtanding the Archb. letted not for all that, but nedes would repaire to his ſea, & ſo arriued at Douer in the moneth of September, where the Chancelours men ſtode on the ſea ſide to apprehend him. But he by changing his apparel and ſwiftnes of his horſe eſcaped their hands, & came to the mōks houſe of Douer. But the Chancelors men whom he ſent to take him, beſet the church of the Monkes round about, ſo that in no wiſe he could auoid their handes.

The cruell handling of Geffray Archbiſh. of Yorke, by the B. of Ely the Popes Legate and Chauncelor of England.

To make the ſtory ſhort, as the archb. on a day, when he had ſaid maſſe was ſtanding at the altar, with his garmēts yet about him, the rude ſouldiors hauing little good manners, & leſſe deuotion, ſpared not boldly to ruſh into yͤ church, and there laid hands vpon the Archb. as he ſtode: toke him, bound him & dragged him through dirt & mire, (and as we vſe to ſay) through thick and thin, and ſo committed him to Mathew Clerke their conſtable to be kept: wherat the people greatly diſdained, ſeeing him that was a kings ſonne, and the brother of a king ſo to be entreated. The hearing whereof when it came to the eares of Earle John his brother, he being not a little offended therwith, ſent to knowe of the Chancelor whether this was his doing or not. To whome when the Chancellor ſent anſwere againe, & ſtoutly confeſſed the fact to be his, then the Earle ſent commandement that his brother ſhould be deliuered, and ſo he was. Who then comming to London, made hys complaint to the Erle his brother, and to other nobles of the realme, of the iniuries done to him by the Chancelor. Wherupon the Erle ſent for the ſaid Chancelor, & appointed a day peremptorie for him to appeare before the whole body of the Counſell, to make anſwere to ſuch iniuries as he had done, both to the Archb. of York, and alſo to the biſhop of Durham aboue mentioned. But the Chancellour driuing of the time with delayes, would neither come nor ſend. Then the Earle with the Biſhops about him, made their iourney towarde London, to haue the matter there handled in greater audience.

Geffray Archb. of Yorke deliuered out of priſō by cōmandement of Earle John his brother.

A skirmiſh betweene the ſeruants of the B. of Ely and the ſeruants of Earle Iohn.

The Chancelor ſeeing that, withdrewe himſelfe from Windſore to the Citie of London. Where by the way it happened that the ſeruants of the Erle and of the Chancelor, meting, did ſkirmiſh together. In which fray one of the Erles family was ſlaine, but yet his men had the better, and the Chauncelor wͭ his men were put to flight, and ſo fled to the tower, where they did hide themſelues. The next day after (which was about the 12. day of October) Erle John the kings brother, and the Archb. of Roan, wͭ all the biſhops, Erles and Barons, and citizens of London aſſembled together in Paules Churche, where many & great accuſations were laid againſt the ſayd Chancelor, ſo that in fine it was agreed in that aſſembly, that the ſayd Chancelor ſhould be depoſed, and in his place was ſubſtitute the Archb. of Roan, according to the tenor of yͤ kings letters ſent from Meſſana, which was, that certaine other perſons ſhould be aſſociated with yͤ Chancelor for the gouernement of the realme, by whoſe counſaile if he woulde not be directed, the Arch. of Roan ſhuld be ſet in his place, and he to be depoſed. The thirde day after this, the Chancelor firmely promiſed, not to depart out of the realme before he had deliuered out of his handes all ſuch caſtles, the keeping whereof he cōmitted to certaine foreiners and ſtrangers, & for aſſurance therof, he gaue his two brethren and Chamberlain for pledges, and ſo went to Canterbury, where he ſaide he would take the croſſe of a Pilgrime, and leaue the croſſe of his Legateſhip.

The nobles aſſembled in counſell againſt the B. of Ely.

The B. of Ely Chauncelour of the realme and Legate depoſed.

The B. of Ely reſigneth his Caſtels.

Now when he was come to the Caſtle of Douer, and there had remained a fewe daies, contrary to his promiſe made, his purpoſe was to take ſhyp, and to paſſe ouer the Seas. And becauſe he durſt not doe it openly, he deuiſed a new kind of diſguiſing, decking himſelfe in the apparell of a woman, and ſo as gouty as he was, wēt to the ſea ſide in his womans weede, hauing in his hand a met yarde, and on his arme a piece of linnen cloth. And thus as hee was ſitting vpon a rocke waiting for his ſhip to come, and to conuey him ouer, a certaine fiſherman eſpying him, and ſuppoſing the ſame to be a harlot, came to him, & ſo with ſtruggling with him, found him, as he was in deede to be a man in likeneſſe of a woman. Whereat he wondred, and began to make an outcry vpon him. But the biſhops ſeruants being not farre off, came rūning and ſtilled him as well as they could.

The B of Ely clotheth himſelf in a womans apparell.

A Fiſherman taketh the B. of Ely to be a woman.

The fiſherman then going to the next village, & there belike declaring what he had ſene, to try out yͤ matter further, came out certain women, who ſeing the linnen cloth hanging at his arme, began to queſtion wyth him of the price of his cloth, & what he would take for it. But to this he would anſwer neuer a worde, but ſmiled vppon them. Whereat they muſing with themſelues, & whiſpering one wͭ an other, at laſt with their hands were ſo bold to plucke downe his muffler, and there by his beard newe ſhauen, found him in deede to be a man, & ſo with a loud exclamation raiſed the village vpon him, and woulde haue fallen vpon him with ſtones. Then came running a great multitude both of men and women, who wondering at him, as birds are wont at an Owle, laid hands vpon him, and pluckt him downe to the ground, hailing & drawing him by the ſleeues and collar of his gowne through ſtones and rocks, whereby he was ſhrewdly hurt. His ſeruants once or twice made out to reſcue their olde maiſter, or new miſtres, but could not for the preace of the people, who beating him with their fiſtes, and ſpitting at him, drewe hym through the whole towne, and ſo with ſhame inough at length laide him in a darke cellar in ſteade of a priſon. Of whom al the country about wondred & cried out. In concluſion Earle John hearing therof, within 8. dayes after ſent word, that they ſhould deliuer him, and let him go.

The B. of Ely in a womans apparell found to be a man.

Bayted of women by the Seas ſide.

Caſt in a darke cellar in ſtead of a priſon.

Set at libertie by Iohn Earle of Morton.

The biſhop then ſet at libertie, ſailed ouer as he could, to Flaunders, where he had but cold welcomming. From thence he went to Paris, where he gaue Mauricius their biſhop 60. Markes of ſiluer, to be receiued in, with proceſſion, & ſo he was. Then returned he into Normandy. But the Archbiſhop of Roan there gaue commaundement, that the Church dores ſhould be locked, and no ſeruice ſayde ſo long as he there remained. The biſhop ſeeing that, directeth his letters and meſſengers to Pope Celeſtine, and alſo to king Richard into Syria, ſignifying to them howe John the erle of Morton and his complices had handled him, and expulſed him out of the realme, requiring that he might be reſtored againe to that was taken from him: and alſo offring himſelfe to be tried by the lawe for that he had done, ſo that if the king ſhould diſlike in any thing that he had done, he was ready to ſatiſfie the kings contentation in all things wherein iuſtly he could be charged.

The B. of Ely giueth lx. markes to be receiued with proceſsion.

The Biſh. of Ely complayneth to the King and the Pope.

Upon this pope Celeſtine inflamed with an Apoſtolical zeale in the behalfe of the ſayd Biſhop of Ely his Legate, wrote a ſharpe and thundering letter to the Archb. biſhops, and prelates of England, commanding them by his authority Apoſtolical, that for ſo much as the iniuries done to his Legate, did redounde to the contumelie of the whole mother church of Rome, they ſhould not faile therfore, but with ſeuere cenſures of the Church, that is, wyth booke, bell, and candle, procede as wel againſt the foreſayd John Erle of Morton, as alſo all other, who ſo euer had, or ſhould attempt any violence or iniury againſt the ſayd his legate B. of Ely, with no leſſe ſeuerity, then if the ſayd iniury ſhould be offred to the perſon of the Pope himſelfe, or any other of his brethren the Cardinals. &c.

The letter of Pope Celeſtine, in the behalfe of the Biſh. of Ely his Legate.

The biſhop of Ely the popes Legate, bearing himſelfe bold vpon the fauour and letters of the Pope which toke his part, writeth to Henry B. of Lincolne, charging & requiring, that he in vertue of obedience ſhoulde execute the Popes ſentence & mandate, in excommunicating all ſuch as were offenders in yͤ behalfe, & there reciteth the names of diuers againſt whome he ſhould procede, as the Archb. of Roan, yͤ B. of Wint. W. Mareſchal, Geffrey Peterſon, Bruer, and Bardolf, the Earle of Saliſbury, the Earle of Mellent, Gilbert Baſſet, the Archdeacon of Oxforde, and eſpecially Hugh B. of Couentry. Alſo M. Benet, & Steuen Ridle, Chancelor to Erle John the kings brother, to

The B. of Ely bold vpon the Popes fauour.

The names of many which ſtoode againſt the B. of Ely appointed to be excommunicated.

the which Earle he reſerued a further day of reſpite, before he ſhould be excommunicate, with a number of other moe beſide theſe. Howbeit the ſaide B. of Ely could finde none to execute this commandement of the Pope. Then they wᵗ a generall conſent wrote againe to K. Richard, complaining of the intollerable abuſes of the ſayd B. his Chauncellor. In like ſort the ſayd Chancellor alſo complaining of them, wrote his letters to the king, ſignifying how Earle Iohn his brother, went about to vſurpe his kingdome, & woulde alſo ſhortly ſet the crowne vpon his owne heade, vnles he made the more ſpede homeward. The king then was buſie in repulſing the Saladine, and prepared to lay ſiege againſt Hieruſalem, and got Sclauonia, with diuers other townes from the Saracens, which was in the yere of our Lord 1192. hauing diuers conflicts in yͤ meane ſpace with the Saladine, and euer put him to the worſe. As the king thus was preparing to lay his ſiege againſt Ieruſalem, the Saladine glad to fall to ſome compoſition wᵗ the king, ſent vnto him, that if he would reſtore to him againe Sclauonia, in as good ſtate as it was when he tooke it, hee would graunt to him, and to all Chriſtians in the lande of Ieruſalem truce for 3. yeres, and offred himſelfe thereunto to be ſworn. The king ſeeing the Duke of Burgundy and the frenchmen to ſhrinke from him, and his owne men to decay, and alſo his mony & health to diminiſh, but eſpecially for that he vnderſtode by the B. of Ely his Chancellor, the French king to ſet vp Iohn hys brother to poſſeſſe his kingdome, being counſailed thereto by the Templaries, tooke the truce offred of the Saracens, & ſo began to draw homeward.

The Biſh. of Ely complayneth to the king of the Earle of Morton his brother.

Anno. 1192.

In this meane whyle much grudge and ſtrife increaſed more and more betwene the B. of Ely, and the archbiſhop of Roan aboue ſpecified, in ſo much that the Archb. being excommunicate, ſent vp his Clerkes to Pope Celeſtine to complaine of the Biſhop. But the Pope euer ſtode in his purgatiõ. At laſt he ſent two of his Cardinals, to wit, Ottomannus Biſhop of Hoſtia, and Iordanus de foſſa noua, to breake the ſtrife betwene the B. of Ely, and the Archbiſhop of Roan.

Strife betweene the B. of Ely & the Archb. of Roan.

Pope Celeſtine ſtandeth in excuſe of the Biſh. of Ely.

After this, king Richard being taken, and in the cuſtody of Henry the Emperor, the B. of Ely reſorting to him, was ſent by him into England to Alinor his mother, and other nobles. who then returning into England againe, not as Chauncelour, nor as Legate (as he ſayde) but as a ſimple plaine Biſhop, ſo by that meanes was receiued. Ex Matt. Pariſ. Et ex alijs incerti nominis manuſcriptis codicibus.

The Biſh. of Ely with the kinges letters commeth again into England.

But of this vaineglorious prelate inough & too much. Nowe to returne againe to Richarde, concerning whoſe worthy actes done abroad in getting of Cyprus, Achon & Ptolemaida in pacifying Ioppe &c. partly is ſpoken of before. Many other valiant & famous actes were by him and the French king atchieued, and mo ſhould haue bene, had not thoſe two kings falling into diſcord, diſſeuered thẽ ſelues: by reaſon whereof Philip yͤ French king returned home againe wythin ſhort ſpace. who being retourned againe eftſones inuaded the coũtry of Normandy, exciting alſo Iohn the brother of king Richard to take on him the kingdome of England in his brothers abſence. who then made league (vpon the ſame) with the French king, and did homage vnto him, which was about the fourth yere of king Richard. who then being in Syria, & hearing thereof made peace with the Turkes for 3. yeres. And not long after, king Richard the next ſpring following returned alſo. who in hys returne driuen by diſtreſſe of weather about the parties of Hiſtria, in a towne called Synaca, was there taken by Limpold duke of the ſame country, and ſo ſold to the Emperor for 60000. markes. who for no ſmall ioy thereof, writeth to Phillip the French king theſe letters here following.

What diſcord doth.

The french king returneth from Paleſtina.

Ann. 1193.
K. Richard returneth from Paleſtina.

The letter of the Emperour to Phillip the French king, concerning the taking of king Richard.

Henricus dei gratia Romanorum Imperator, & ſemper Auguſtus, dilecto & ſpeciali amico ſuo Philippo, illuſtri Francorũ Regi ſalutem, & ſinceræ dilectionis affectum. Quoniam Imperatoria celſitudo non dubitat regalem magnificentiam tuam lætiorem effici, de vniuerſis quibus omnipotentia creatoris noſtri nos ipſos & Rom. imperiũ honorauerit & exaltauerit, nobilitati tuæ tenore præſentium declarare duximus, quòd inimicus imperij noſtri & turbator regni tui Rex Angliæ, quum eſſet in tranſeundo mare ad partes ſuas reuerſurus, accidit vt ventus rupta naui ſua in qua ipſe erat, induceret eum in partes Hiſtriæ, ad locum qui eſt inter Aquileiam & Venetias. Vbi Rex Dei permiſsione paſſus naufragium, cum paucis euaſit. Quidam itaque fidelis noſter comes Maynardus de Gooxce, & populus regionis illius audito quòd in terra erat, & conſiderato diligentiùs qualem nominatus Rex in terra promiſsionis, proditionem & traditionem, & perditionis ſuæ cumulum exercuerat, inſecuti ſunt, intendentes eum captiuare. Ipſo autem rege in fugam conuerſo, ceperunt de ſuis octo milites. Poſtmodum proceſsit Rex ad Burgum in Archiepiſcopatu Salſeburgenſi, qui vocatur Friſorum, vbi Fridericus de Beteſow, rege cum tribus tantùm verſus Auſtriam properante, noctu, ſex milites de ſuis cepit. Delectus autem conſanguineus noſter Limpoldus Dux Auſtriæ, obſeruata ſtrata, ſæpe dictum Regem iuxta Denam in villa vicinori in domo deſpecta captiuauit. Cum itaq; in noſtra nunc habeatur poteſtate, & ipſe ſemper tua moleſtauit & turbationis operam præſtiterit, ea quæ præmiſimus, nobilitati tuæ inſinuare curauimus, ſcientes ea dilectioni tuæ beneplacita exiſtere, animo tuo vberrimam importare lætitiam. Datum apud Ritheountum, V. Kalendas Ianuar.

King Richard thus being traiterouſly, taken and ſold to the Emperor by the duke of Auſtrige for 60000. marks, was there kept in cuſtodie a yeare and iij. monethes. In ſome ſtories it is affirmed, that K. Richard returning out of Aſia, came to Italy with proſperous winde, where hee deſired of the pope to be abſolued frõ an othe made againſt his will, and could not obtaine it. And ſo ſetting out from thence toward England, paſſing by the coũtry of Conradus the Marques, whoſe death (he being ſlaine a little before) was falſely imputed by the French king, to the king of England, and there traiterouſly was taken as is before ſaide by Limpoldus Duke of Auſtrige. Albeit in an other ſtory I find the matter more credibly ſet forth, which ſaith thus that king Richard ſlewe the brother of this Limpoldus, playing with him at cheſſe in the french kings court. And Limpoldus taking his vauntage was more cruel againſt him, and deliuered him, as is ſaid, to the Emperor. In whoſe cuſtody he was deteined, during yͤ time aboue mentioned, a yere and 3. months. During the which time of the kings endurance, the French king in the meane ſeaſon ſtirred warre in Normandy. And Erle Iohn yͤ kings brother made ſtir and inuaded England, but the barons and biſhops of the lande mightely wᵗſtode him. And beſieged him in the Caſtell of windſore, where they tooke from him all the caſtels & munitions, which before hee had got. Thus the Erle ſeeing no hope to preuaile in England, & ſuſpecting the deliuerance of the king his brother made in to France, & kept with the French king. At length it was ſo agreed and concluded with the Emperor, that K. Rich. ſhould be releaſed for 14000. pounds. Of the which mony part ſhould remaine to the duke of Auſtrige, the reſt ſhuld be the Emperors. The ſumme of which money was here gathered & made in England, of chalices, croſſes, ſhrines, candleſticks and other church plate, alſo wᵗ publik contribution of friers, abbeis, and other ſubiectes of the realme. whereof parte was preſently paid, & for the reſidue remaining, hoſtages and pledges was taken: which was about the 5. yeare of his raigne. And then it was obtained of the Pope that prieſtes might celebrate wᵗ chalices of latin and tinne. And ſo was granted & continued long after, which mine author (in his Chronicle entituled Eulogium) doeth teſtifie himſelfe to haue ſeene. At what time this foreſayde mony was paid, and the hoſtages geuen for the ranſom of this king. I haue an old ſtorie that ſaith how the foreſaide duke of Auſtrige ſhortly after was plagued by God with v. ſondry plagues: Firſt with burning of his chief towns. Secondly, with the drowning of x. M. of his menne in a floud happening no man could tell how. Thirdly, by turning all the eares of his corne field into wormes. Fourthly, by taking away almoſt all the Nobles of his lande by death. Fiftly, by breaking his own legge, falling from his horſe, which leg he was compelled to cut off with his own hands, & after died vpon the ſame. who then at his death is ſaid to forgeue K. Richard 50000. Markes, & ſent home the hoſtage, that was with him, ex varijs Chron. The booke intituled Eulogium before mentioned, declareth thus, that the ſayde Limpoldus Duke of Auſtrige fell in diſpleaſure with the biſhop of Rome, and died excõmunicate, the next yeare after. An. 1196.

Confedera-cy of the French kin and Earle Iohn again king Richard.

Earle Iohn beſieged a Wyndſore.

Anno. 1195.

Ex Chron cus titulus Eulogium.

The iuſt p niſhment o God vpon the Duke Auſtrige.

An. 1196.

Thus the ſayde King Richarde being raunſomed, as hath ben declared from the couetous captiuity of the Emperour, was reſtored againe, and made his repaire into Englande. At whoſe returne, Erle Iohn hys brother reſorting to him with humble ſubmiſſion: deſired to be pardoned of his tranſgreſſions. To whom king Richard anſwering againe: would God (ſaith he) this your treſpaſſe, as it dieth with mee in obliuion, ſo it may remaine wyth you in remembraunce. And ſo gentlely forgaue him. And after he had againe recouered his holdes and caſtles, cauſed himſelfe to be crowned againe. whych done, he made hys power agaynſt the French king, and draue hym out of Normandy. After that he turned his viage againſt the Welſhmen, and ſubdued them.

The anſw of k. Richar to his brother.

Anno. 1197.

The next yeare following: which was the 1197. yere of the Lord, Philip yͤ french king brake truce made betwene him and king Richarde, whereuppon the king was compelled to ſaile ouer againe to Normandy to withſtand the malice of his enemy. About which time, my ſtory recordeth of one called of ſome Fulco: ſome ſay, he was the Archbyſhop of Roane called Gualter. This Fulco being then in England, and comming to the kings preſence, ſayde vnto him with great courage & boldnes. Thou haſt O mighty King, three daughters very vicious and of euill diſpoſition: take good heede of them, and betimes prouide for them good huſbandes: leaſt by vntimely beſtowing of the ſame, thou ſhalt not onely incurre great hurt and damage, but alſo vtter ruine and deſtruction to thy ſelfe. To whom the king in a rage ſayde: Thou lying and mocking hypocrite, thou knoweſt not where thou art, or what thou ſayeſt: I thinke thou art mad or not well in thy wittes, for I haue neuer a daughter as all the world knoweth, and therefore thou opē lier get thee out of our preſence. To whom Fulco aunſwered: no, and like your grace I lie not, but ſay truth: for you haue iij. daughters, which continually frequēt your court, and wholy poſſeſſe your perſon: and ſuch iij. whores & naughty packes as neuer the like hath bene heard off. I meane miſchieuous pride, gredy couetouſnes and filthy luxurity. And therfore againe I ſay, O king, beware of them, and out of hand prouide mariages for them, leaſt in not ſo doing, thou vtterly vndoe both thy ſelfe and all the whole realme.

3. daughters of the king noted.

The which his wordes, the King tooke in good parte: with correction of himſelf, & confeſſion of the ſame. wherupon incontinently he called his Lordes and Barons before him, vnto whome he declared the cōmoning and monition of Fulco, who had willed hym to beware of his iij. daughters: pride, auarice, and luxurie, with counſel out of hand to marrie them: leaſt further diſcommoditie ſhoulde enſue both to him and the whole realme, whoſe good coūſell (my Lordes) I entende to follow, not doubting of all your conſents therunto. wherefore here before you all, I geue my daughter ſwelling pride to wife, to the proude Templars: my greedie daughter auarice to the couetous order of the Ciſtercian Monkes, and laſt of all, my filthie daughter luxurie, to the riotous prelates of the Churche, whom I thinke to be very meete men for her: and ſo ſeuerally well agreeing to all their natures, that the like matches in this our Realme are not to be found for them. And thus much concerning Fulco.

Not long after this, it befell that a certaine noble perſonage (Lord of Lemonice in litle Britaine, widomarus by name) found a great ſubſtance of treaſure both of golde and ſiluer hid in the ground: wherof a great part he ſent to king Richard, as chiefe Lorde and Prince ouer the whole countrey. which the king refuſed, ſaying, he would either haue all or none, for that he was the principall chiefetaine ouer the land. But the finder woulde not condeſcende to that. wherefore the king laide ſiege to a Caſtell of hys called Galuz, thinking the treaſure to lie there. But the keepers and warders of the Caſtel, ſeeing themſelues not ſufficient to withſtand the king, offered to him the caſtell, deſiring to depart with life and armour. To this the king woulde in no wiſe graunt, but bid them to reenter the caſtell againe, and to defende it in all the forceable wiſe they coulde. It ſo befell, that as the King with the Duke of Brabant went about the caſtel, vewing the places therof: a ſouldiour wythin, named Bertandus Cordoun, ſtroke the king with an arrow in the arme, whereupon the yron remaining and feſtering in the wound, the king within 9. daies after died: who becauſe he was not content with the halfe of the treaſure that an other man founde, loſt all his own treaſure that he had. The king being thus wounded cauſed the man that ſtroke him, to be brought vnto him, and aſked the cauſe of him, why he ſo wounded him. who anſwered againe (as the ſtorie ſayeth) that he thought to kill rather then to be killed. And what puniſhment ſoeuer he ſhould ſuſteine, he was cōtent, ſo that he might kil him, which had before killed his father and brethren. The king hearing his words, freely forgaue him, and cauſed an hundreth ſhillings to be geuē him. Albeit (as the ſtory addeth) after the death of the king, the duke of Brabāce, after great torments cauſed hym to be hāged. Ex hiſtoria Regis Richardi 2. cui initium. De patre iſtius Bruti. &c. The ſtorie of Giſburne ſayeth, that the killer of king Richarde, comming to the French king, thinking to haue a great rewarde, was commanded to be drawen a ſonder wt horſe, and his quarters to be hanged vp.

He that all would haue, ſhall all forgoe.

Couetous greedines plagued.

The death of k. Richard the firſt.

K. Richard forgeueth him that killed him.

Ex bibliotheca Carienſi. Ex Gualtero Hemyngford, monacho Giſburnenſi.

Vaine feare of purgatory

An other ſtory affirmeth, and Giſburn partly doth teſtifie the ſame, that a litle before the death of K. Richarde: 3. Abbotes of the order Ciſtercian came to him, to whome he was confeſſed. And when he ſawe them ſomewhat ſtay at his abſolution, had theſe wordes: that he did willingly commit his body to the earth, to be eaten of wormes: and his ſoule to the fire of Purgatory there to be tormented til the iudgement, in the hope of God his mercy. Ex Iornalenſ. Giſburn. & alijs.

Ex Iornal. Giſburnenſi. & alijs.

About the raigne of this king, the ſayd Iornalenſis maketh mention of Roger archbiſh. of Yorke, which put out of his Churche the Monkes, and placed for them ſeculare Prieſts: ſaying that he woulde rather wiſh Eccleſiaſticall benefices to be geuen to wanton Prieſts then to abhominable Monkes, & that Thurſtinus did ſinne neuer worſe in al his life, then in building that houſe for monks &c. An other ſtory I haue which ſayth, that this was the Byſhop not of Yorke, but of Couentrie.

Monks put out, and ſecular prieſtes receiued.

The king not long after departed without iſſue: and Iohn his brother reigned after him: in whome, although ſome vices may worthely be reprehēded: eſpecially for his incontinent and too much licentious life, yet was he farre from that deſeruing, for the which he hath bene ſo il reported of diuers wryters: who being led more with affection of Poperie, then with true iudgement and due conſideration, depraued his doings more then the ſincere trueth of the hiſtorie will beare them. Concerning which hiſtorie, after ſo many wryters we thought alſo to beſtowe a little labour: although in this matter we can not be ſo long as I would, and as the matter requireth.

Kyng Iohn.

King Iohn.

After the death of king Richarde called Coeur de Lyon, reigned his brother Iohn Earle of Morton. Afterward the Archbyſhop put the crowne on his head, and ſware him to defend the churche, and to maintaine the ſame in her good lawes, and to deſtroy the euil. And except he thought not in his minde to do this, the Archb. charged him, not to preſume to take on him this dignitie. And on Saint Iohn Baptiſts day next following, king Iohn ſailed into Normandy & came to Roan: where he was royally receiued, and truce concluded betweene him & the French king for a time. And thether came to him the Earle of Flaunders, and all other Lords of Fraunce that were of K. Richards band and frendſhip, and were ſworne vnto him.

Arthur of Britayne.

Not long after this, Philip the French king made Arthur Knight, and tooke his homage for Normandie, Britaine, and al other his poſſeſſions beyond the ſea: and promiſed him helpe againſt K. Iohn. After this King Iohn and the French king talked together wyth theyr Lordes, about one houres ſpace: And the Frenche King aſked ſo much land for himſelf and knight Arthur, that king Iohn would graunt him none, and ſo departed in wrath.

A communication betweene the king of england and the French king.

The ſame yeare, a legate came into Fraunce, and commaunded the King in paine of interdiction, to deliuer one Peter out of priſon, that was elect to a Biſhopricke, and thereupon he was deliuered.

And after that, the Legate came into England, & commaunded K. Iohn vnder paine of interdiction, to deliuer the Archb. which he had kept as priſoner 2. yeares: which the King denied to do, till he had payd him 6000. markes. Becauſe he tooke him in harnes in a field againſt him, and ſware him vpon his deliuerance, yͭ he ſhould neuer weare harneſſe againſt any Chriſten man.

Mariage in the 3. degree forbidden by the pope

Anno. 1200.

This time, diuorce was made betweene K. Iohn and his wife, daughter of the Earle of Gloceſter, becauſe they were in the iij. degree of kinred. And after, by the counſell of the French king, King Iohn wedded Iſabel daughter of the Earle of Anguilla, and then Arthur of Britaine did homage to king Iohn for Britaine and other.

At this time fell ſtrife betwene K. Iohn and Geoffrey the Archbiſhop of Yorke for diuers cauſes: firſt, becauſe he would not ſuffer and permit the Sheriffe of Yorke in ſuch affaires as he had to do for the King within his Dioceſſe. Secondly, becauſe hee did alſo excommunicate the ſayde Sheriffe. Thirdly, becauſe he would not ſaile with him into Normandie, to make the mariage betwene Lewes the French kings ſonne and his niece. &c.

Anno. 1202.

After this, in the yeare of our Lorde 1202. Phillip the French king (in a communication betwene K. Iohn and him) required: that the ſaide K. Iohn ſhould depart with all his landes in Normandy and Pictauia which he had beyond the ſea, vnto Arthur his nephew, and that incontinent, or els he would warre againſt him, and ſo did. For when king Iohn denied that requeſt, the next day folowing, the French king with the ſayde Arthur, ſet vpon certain of his townes and caſtels in Normandy, and put him

to

Nat. Paretti in Vita Ioannis Regis.

Arthur.

to much diſquietnes. But he (the Lord ſo prouiding, which is the geuer of all victory) had ſuch repulſe at the Engliſhmens handes: that they purſuing the Frenchmen in their flight, did ſo follow them to their hold, & ſo enforced vpon them: that not onely they tooke the ſayd Arthur priſoner wͭ many other of the Frenchmen: but alſo gaue ſuch an ouerthrow to the reſt, that none was there left to beare tidings home. This Arthur was nephewe to king Iohn, & ſonne to Geffrey, which was the elder ſonne to Iohn. For king Henry the 2. (to make the matter more euident,) had viij. children: one W. which died in his childhoode: the ſeconde Henry, which died alſo his father being yet aliue: the third Geoffrey Erle of Britain, which likewiſe deceaſſed in his fathers daies, leauing behind him two children, Arthur & Brecca. The fourth, Richard coeur de Lyon King: the v. Iohn now reigning: and 3. other daughters beſides. The ſame Arthur being thus taken in warre, was brought before the King at the caſtell of Faleſie in Normandie: who being exhorted wͭ many gentle words to leaue the French king, and to incline to his vncle, anſwered againe ſtoutly & with great indignation: requiring the kingdom of England withal the other dominions therto belōging, to be reſtored to him as to the lawfull heire of the crowne. By reaſon whereof he (prouoking yͤ kings diſpleaſure againſt him) was ſent to yͤ tower of Roan: where at length (whether by leaping into the ditch thinking to make his eſcape, or whether by ſome other priuy hand, or by what chaunce els: it is not yet agreed vpon in ſtories) hee finiſhed his life. By occaſion whereof, the foreſaide K. Iohn was had after in great ſuſpicion: whether iuſtly or vniuſtly, the Lord knoweth.

Anno. 1203.

Normandy loſt and gotten by the French mē.

The yere folowing, Hiſtoriographers write that king Iohn for lacke of reſcue, loſt all his holdes and poſſeſſions in Normandy, through the force of the French king.

After theſe loſſes, came other troubles vpon him: with other as great or more greater enemies (that is wyth the Pope and hys Popelings) by occaſion of chuſing of the Archb. of Cant. as in this hiſtory followeth by Chriſt hys grace, to be declared.

Anno. 1205.

Striuing for the election of the Archb. of Cant.

The yeare of our Lord 1205. about the moneth of Iuly, Hubert the Archbiſhop of Canterbury deceaſed, whoſe deceaſe after it was in Cant. to the Monks knowen: and afore his body was yet committed to the earth: the yonger ſort of the monkes there gathered themſelues together at midnight, and elected their ſuperior Reignold, and without the kings licence or yet knowledge priuely placed him in the Metropolicall ſeate, ſinging Te deum at midnight. And becauſe the king ſhuld not make their electiō of none effect, they charged him by vertue of his othe to kepe al ſecret by the way, and to ſhew nothing what was done before he came to the pope: but he contrary to his oth, ſo ſone as he came in Flanders opened all abroad the matter, and vttered their counſel: whereupon the monkes being not a litle agreued wͭ him, ſent him priuely to the court of Rome out of hand. The next day, the elder monks ſent to yͤ king: deſiring him of his gracious licence Canonically to chooſe their Archb. The king moſt gently & fauorably graunted their petition: requiring them inſtantly and deſiring, that for his ſake they would ſhewe fauour to Iohn Gray then B. of Norwich, as they did in dede: erecting him into that ſeat of their high primacy. Moreouer, becauſe the authority of kings and princes was then but ſmall in their owne dominion without the Popes conſent, & confirmation to the ſame: he ſent alſo to Rome of his own charges, to haue the foreſaid election ratified by the pope. The ſuffraganes of Canterbury then (being not a litle offended at theſe two elections) ſent ſpeedely to Rome to haue them both ſtopped: for that they, had not bene of counſell with them. And hereupon at the laſt grew a moſt prodigious tumult.

Anno. 1206.

Prelates of the Church had thē money inough belike that they could keepe play at Rome againſt their prince. Which thing cauſed the princes after to ſeeke ſuch meanes to cut them ſhort.

The next yeare after, the ſuffraganes of the prouince of Canterbury on the one ſide, and the Monkes of Canterbury on the other ſide: came afore the Pope wͭ their brawling matter. Firſt the Monkes preſenting Reignold their ſuperiour, deſired that their election might be confirmed. The Suffraganes likewiſe complained that the Monkes wold preſume to chuſe the Archbiſhop without their conſent, and therfore deſired by diuers reaſons the firſt election to be of none effect. The Pope deciding the matter betwene both, pronounced with the Monkes, charging the ſuffraganes and Biſhops, to meddle no more wͭ that election, but to let the monkes alone. The monkes of Cant. nowe hauing the whole election in their owne hands, fell alſo at ſquare among themſelues, the yonger ſort with the elder. The yonger ſort which had choſen Reignolde theyr ſuperior, would that election to ſtand. The elder ſort of the Monks replied againe, ſaying: that the firſt election was done by ſtealth and by night and by the yonger part, alſo without the counſell of other monkes: ouer and beſides it was done wythout the kings licēce or appoyntment, and without the due ſolemnitie therunto belonging.

Anno. 1207.

Diſſention among the Monkes of Cant. about the election of the Arch.

And as concerning our election (ſaid they) it was done in the cleare light of the day, by which it had authoritie in preſence of our liege Lord the king and his counſell being willing to the ſame.

This allegation thus proponed: the ſuffraganes proctour or man of law ſtode forth, & proued the former election to be good, and this latter, to be voyde and of no value, after this ſort. Whether the firſt election (ſaith he) were iuſt or vniuſt, ye ought firſt by the law to haue condemned it, afore ye ſhould haue preſumed to the ſecond, but thus yee did not. Therefore is this your latter doing no election at al: and the firſt therfore is rather to be ratified than yours. When they had thus multiplied talke on both ſides, with many friuolous allegations a long time, and coulde not agree vpon one perſon: Pope Innocent condemned both their elections, cōmaunding them to chuſe Stephen Lāgton, then Cardinal of S. Chriſogone for their Archb. The monkes then anſwered, that they durſt not ſo do, without cōſent of their king, and for that it was preiudiciall to their ancient liberties. The Pope by and by (ſayeth the text) as one in a furie, taking the words out of their mouthes, ſaid thus vnto them. We wil ye to know, that we haue ful power and authority ouer the church of Cant. neither are we wont to tary the conſent of princes: therfore we command you in paine of our great curſe yͭ ye choſe him only whom we haue appoynted.

The pride and tyranny of the Pope.

The Monkes at theſe wordes abaſhed and terrified, though they much murmured in their hearts, yet conſented they all in one, and therupon ſang Te Deum. Only doctour Helias Brantfield withdrew himſelfe from that election, whome the king had ſent for the admiſſion of the Biſhop of Norwich.

Stephen Langton made archb. of Canterbury.

Thus was Stephen Langton (in the high Church of Viterby, by the popes hand) made archbiſhop of Canterbury. From thence forth therefore (ſayth Mathew Paris) the pope could do no leſſe but mightily defend him from al vexation and daunger: conſidering that he was his owne deare dearling, and a childe of his owne creation.

Upon this occaſion, king Iohn conceiued an exceding diſpleaſure againſt the Clergie, and Monkes of Canterb. (as he had good cauſe) they doing ſo many euils againſt his Princely prerogatiue. Without his licence they elected their Archb. and put by the Biſhop of Norwich, whome he had apointed. They waſted a great part of his treaſure for the warres: and to bring all to yͤ deuil, they made Stephen Langton their high Metropolitane, whom he tooke for a greuous enemy vnto the whole realm, being alwais ſo familiar wͭ the French king. Wherefore in his anger hee baniſhed them out of the lād, to the number of 64. for this their contumacie and contempt of his regall power.

The king doth expoſtulate with the Pope for conſecrating Stephen Langton Archb. of Cant.

The monkes of Canterburie thus being expulſed, the king forthwith ſendeth meſſengers to the Pope wyth his letters, wherin he doth ſharply and expreſſely expoſtulate with the Pope: Firſt, for that ſo vncourteouſly he repulſed the election of the biſhop of Norwich, and ſet vp one Stephen Langton, a man vnknowne to him, and brought vp amongeſt hys ennemies a long time in the kingdome of Fraunce, conſecrating him Archb. of Cant. and letting the other goe. Alſo (which is more) it redoundeth to the ſubuerſion and derogatiō of the liberties appertaining to his crowne: for notwithſtāding his conſent paſt (being before of the monks not made priuy, which ſhould ſo haue done) yet he raſhly preſumed to promote and preferre an other. Wherfore, he can not maruaile (he ſayth) enough, that neither the ſayd Pope, nor the Court of Rome doth conſider and reuolue with themſelues, how neceſſary his loue and fauour hath bene alwayes hetherto to the ſea of Rome: & that they conſider not what great profite and reuenewes, hath proceeded hetherto to them out of the realme of Enlād: the like wherof hath not ben receiued out of any other countrey beſides, on this ſide the Alpes. He addeth moreouer and ſayth, that for his liberties he wil ſtande (if neede be) vnto death, neither can he be ſo remoued and ſhaken of from the election of the B. of Norwich, which hee ſeeth to be ſo commodious to him and profitable. Finally, hee thus concludeth, ſaying: that in no caſe in this his requeſt he be not heard, hee will ſo prouide by the ſeas, that there ſhalbe no ſuch gadding & courſing any more ouer to rome ſuffring the riches of the lande no more to be tranſported ouer, whereby he ſhoulde be himſelfe the leſſe able to reſiſt his enemies. And ſeing he hath of his own at home, archbiſhops, biſhops, & other prelates of the Churche (both of Engliſh men & of other) ſufficiently prouided & inſtructed in all kinde of knowledge: therfore he ſhal not nede greatly to seeke for iudgement and iustice farther abroad.

When these came to the Popes intelligẽce, he directeth letters to the king againe in this forme.

The Popes letters answering K. John.

INnocentius P. seruant of the seruants of God, to our welbeloued sonne in Christ, the king of England health, & Apostolicall blessing. Where as we haue written to you heretofore, exhorting and entreating you after an humble, diligent, and gẽtle sort (concerning the Church of Cant.) you haue written to vs againe after a threatning sort and vpbraiding manner: both spitefully and also frowardly. And where, as we more and aboue that oure right and duety required, haue borne and geuen to you: you againe for your part haue geuen to vs not so much as by right & duety you are bound to do. And though your deuotion as you say, hath ben to vs very necessary, yet consider againe that ours also is not a litle opportune & expedient for you. And where as we, in such like cases haue not shewed at any time the like honor to any prince as we haue vnto you: you againe haue so much derogated our honor, as no prince els hath presumed to do besides you alone: pretending certaine friuolous causes & occasions I cãnot tel what, why you would not condescend to the election of Steuen Langton Cardinall of S. Chrysogono, chosen by the Monkes of Cant: for that the said Stephẽ as you say hath ben cõuersant & brought vp amongst your enemies, and his person to you vnknowne. But you knowe what is the prouerbe of Salomon: the net is cast, but in vaine in the sight of the flying birdes, &c.

It is pity but this Pope should be honoured of kinges and princes.

With much other matter in the same Epistle, wherein he falleth into the commendation of Steuen Langton his Cardinall, declaring howe learned he was in the liberall artes, and in diuinitie, in so muche he was prebendated at Paris: also come of an honest stocke and an Englishman borne, and not vnknowen to the king, seeing the king had written his letters thrise to him before. Declaring moreouer in the said letter, how the messengers of the King had specified to him an other cause: which was, for ẏ the mõks of Cant. which had to doe in the election, came not to hym before for his cõsent, declaring moreouer in the said letter, how the said messẽgers of the king, intreated in the kings behalfe: that for so much as the popes letters (wherein the king was commaunded to send his proctors to Rome for the same matter) came not to the kings hande, neither did the Monkes direct any such letters or message to the king to haue his consent: therefore the Pope considering the same, woulde graunt so much for the regarde of the kings honor, that the monkes of Cant. should not procede without the kings assent therein. And for as much, as that hath not bene done as yet, therefore they desired some delay therein to be geuen, sufficient for the doing therof. Whereunto he said, that he had graunted, & fulfilled their request, in sending hys letters and messengers once or twise to the king for the same purpose, although he sayd it was not the maner of the sea Apostolique, (who had the fulnesse of power ouer the Church of Cant.) to waite for Princes consents in such elections, who then could not be suffered to do that which they came for. Wherefore in knitting vp his letter, he thus concludeth in these wordes.

A pitifull case that a king cannot constitute an archb. within his owne realme, who him most liketh.

And therfore seeing the matter so standeth, we see no cause why we should require or tary for the kings fauour, or consent any more therein: but intend so to procede in this matter, neither enclining on the right hand nor on the left, according as the canonicall ordinances of the holy fathers shall direct vs: that is (that al impediments & delaies set aside) so to prouide, that the church of Canterburie be no longer destitute of her pastour. Wherefore be it knowne to your discretion or kingly prudence, that for so much as this election of Stephen Langhton hath orderly & concordely thus proceeded without fraud or disceit, vpon a persone meete for the same: therefore, we will not for no mans pleasure, neither may we without daunger of fame and of conscience, deferre or protract any longer the consummation of the sayde election. Wherefore my well beloued sonne, seeing we haue had respect to your honour, aboue that our right and duetie requireth: studie to honour vs so much as your duetie requireth againe, so that you may the more plentifully deserue fauour, both at Gods hands and ours: least that by doing the contrary, you bring your selfe into such a pecke of troubles, as afterwards you shall scarce rid your selfe of againe. For this know for a certaine, in the end it must needes fall out, that hee shall haue the better, vnto whome euery knee (of heauenly, earthly, and infernall creatures) doeth bowe: whose turne I serue in earth, though I be vnworthy. Therfore settle not your self to obey their perswasions, which alwayes desire your vnquietnesse: whereby they may fish the better in the water when it is troubled: but commit your selfe to our pleasure, which vndoubtedly shall turne to your praise, glory, and honor. For it shoulde not be much for your safetie in this cause to resist God and the Church, in whose quarel that blessed Martyr & glorious bishop Thomas hath of late shed his bloud: especially seeing your father and your brother of famous memorie, then kings of Englande, did geue ouer those three wicked customes into the hands of the Legates of the see Apostolique. But if you yeld your selfe humbly into our hands, we will looke that you & yours shall be sufficiently prouided for, that no preiudice may arise hereupon to you warde. Geuen at Laterane the x. yere of our Popedom.

Note the proceedings of this ambitious pope

Tho. Becket he meaneth.

Princes must be subiect to the pope.

Thus hast thou (Gentle Reader) the glorious letter of the proud Pope: I beseeche thee marke it well. Now to the story.

After this letter was sent out, not long after proceedeth a charge and commaundement, sent into England, vnto certayn bishops there: requiring them by authoritie Apostolicall, that if the sayd kyng would not receaue the sayde Prior of Cant. & his mõkes, thẽ they should interdict hym throughout all hys realme. For the executing whereof 4. Byshops were appoynted by the vsurped power of the popes bulles: namely William B. of London. Eustace B. of Ely, Walter B. of Winchester. and Giles B. of Herford. Which sayd foure bishops went vnto the kyng, and shewed theyr commission from the pope as is abouesayd, willing hym to consent thereto. &c.

Foure byshops appointed to interdict the realme.

But the sayd kyng refused the same, and woulde by no meanes graunt to theyr request. Wherupon the departing from hys grace, went the morow after the Annuntiacion of our Lady, and pronounced the sayd generall interdiction throughout all England: so that the church dores were shutte vp with keyes and other fasteninges, and with walles &c.

England interdicted by the pope.

Now when the king heard of this he begon to be moued agaynst them, and tooke all the possessiõs of the 4. byshops into hys hands: appoynting certayne men to keepe the liuings of the clergy throughout the realme, and ẏ they should enioy no part therof. Which being done, ẏ bishops (seeing the same) cursed all them that kept or should meddle with Church goodes, agaynst the will of them ẏ ought them: and vnderstandyng of all that, that the K. nothing regarded their doyngs, they went ouer sea to the Byshop of Canterbury, & informed hym what had happened. Who hearing the same, willed them againe to returne to Caunterbury and he would come thither to them, or els sed certayne persons thither in hys steed, that should do as much as if he were there himselfe. Then when the bishops heard this, they returned agayne to England, to Caunterbury, which tidings came shortly to the K. that they were come agayne thither. And because he might not hymselfe trauaile to thẽ, he sent theyr Byshops, Earles, & Abbots to intreat them that the archb. Stephen whom he had chosen might be admitted, promising the Prior and all the Monkes of Caunterbury in his behalfe, that he should neuer take any thing of the church goodes, agaynst the will of them that owe them, but would make amendes to them of whom he had taken any such goodes: and that the Church shoulde haue all her fraunchises in as ample maner as in S. Edwardes tyme the Confessor it had.

Discipline of the church abused for priuate reuenge.

When the forme of agreement was thus concluded, it was engrossed of payre Indentures, which the foresayd 4. Byshops, to the one part therof set their seales: & the other part the sayd bishops, Erles & abbots, caried to shew the king. When the K. saw the order therof, he liked it wel: saying he would not agree to make restitution of the church goods. So he sent to the 4. byshops agayne, ẏ they should put out that point of restitution. But they answered stoutly ẏ they would not put out one word. Then the king sent word to the Archb. by the 4. bishops, that he should come to Cant. to speake wᵗ him, and for his safe conduit to come and goe againe at his will: he sent his iustices as pledges, Gilbert Peiteuin, William de la Bereuer, and John Letfitz. Which thing thus done, the Archb. Stephen came to Cant. and the K. (hearing therof) came to Chilham: from whence he sent his treasurer the B. of Winchester to him, to haue him put out of the indentures the clause of restitution aforesaid: who denying to alter any word of the same moued ẏ k. in such sort, that immediatly it was proclaimed throughout england at the kinges commaundement, that all those that had any churchliuing and went ouer the sea, should come agayne into England a certaine day, or els lose their liuings for euermore. And further in that proclamation he charged al Shirifs within the realm, to enquire if any Bishops, Abbots, Priors, or any other churchman (from that day forward) receiued any commaũdemẽt that came from the pope, and that they should take his or their body and bring it before him. And also that they shold take into theyr hands for the kings vse, al the churchlands that were geuen to any man through the Archbishop Stephẽ, or by the priors of Cant. from the time of the election of ẏ Archb. And further charged, that all the woods that were the Archb. should be cut downe and solde.

The inconsiderate stoutnes of the prelates against the king.

Stephen Lãghton stout against his kyng.

The king moued against the Archb. Langton

When

Two legates ſent from the Pope.

When tidings came to the Pope that the K. had thus done, being moued thereby with fiery wrath: ſent to ȳ king two Legates (the one called Pandulph, and the other Durant) to warne him in the popes name that he ſhould ceaſe his doinges to holy church, and amend the wrong he had done to the Archb. of Cant. and to the priors & the monks of Cant. and to all the Clergy of England. And further, ȳ he ſhould reſtore the goods agayne that he had taken of the agaynſt their wil, or els they ſhould curſe the K. by name: & to do this, ȳ pope tooke them his letters in Buls patent. Theſe two Legates comming into England, reſorted to ȳ king to Northhampton, where he held his Parliament, & ſaluting him, ſayd: they came from the Pope of Rome, to reforme ȳ peace of holy church. And firſt ſayd they we moniſh you in the popes behalfe, that ye make full reſtitution of the goods & of the land that ye haue rauiſhed holy church of: and that ye receiue Stephen the Archbi. of Cant. into his dignity, and Prior of Cant. and his monkes. And that ye yelde agayne vnto the Archb. all his landes and rentes without any withholding. And ſir, yet moreouer, that ye ſhall make ſuch reſtitution to them, as the Church ſhall thinkk ſufficient,

Reſtitution required of the king.

Then aunſwered the K. as touching the Prior and his Monkes of Cant. all that ye haue ſaid I would gladly do, and all thing els that ye would ordaine: but as touching ȳ Archb. I ſhall tell you as it lieth in my hart. Let the Archbiſhop leaue his biſhopricke: and if the pope then ſhal entreat for him, peraduenture I may like to geue him ſome other biſhopricke in England. And vpon this condition I will receiue and admit him.

Then ſayd Pandulph vnto the K. holy Church was wont neuer to diſgrade Archb. without cauſe reaſonable: but euer ſhe was wont to correct princes that were diſobedient to her.

What? how now (quoth the K.) threaten ye me? Nay ſayd Pandolph, but ye haue now opely told vs as it ſtandeth in your hart: and now we will tell you what is the popes will, and thus it ſtandeth. He hath wholy interdicted & curſed you, for the wrongs ye haue done to the holye church and to the Clergy. And forasmuch as ye will dwell ſtill in your malice, and will come to no amendement, ye ſhall vnderſtand: that from this time forward, the ſentences vpon you geuen haue force and ſtrength. And all thoſe that with you haue commoned before this time, whether that they be Earles, Barons or Knightes (or any other whatſoeuer they be) we aſſoyle them ſafely from their ſins vnto this day. And from this time forward (of what condition ſoeuer they be) we accurſe them openly: and ſpecially by this our ſentence, that do with you common. And we aſſoyle moreouer Earles, Barons, knightes and all other maner of men of theyr homages, ſeruice, and fealties, that they ſhould do vnto you. And this thing to confirme, we geue playne power to the B. of Wincheſter, and to the B. of Norwich. And the ſame power we geue agaynſt Scotland to the B. of Rocheſter, & of Saliſbury. And in Wales, we geue the ſame power to the Biſhops of S. Dauid, and of Landaffe, and of S. Aſſe.

Sentence of the popes curſe pronounced againſt the king.

Alſo Sir K. (quoth Pandolph) all the kinges, princes and the great Dukes chriſtened, haue labored to the pope to haue licence to croſſe themſelues, and to warre agaynſt thee, as vpon Gods enemy, and winne thy lande, and to make K. whom it pleaſeth the pope. And we here now aſſoile all thoſe of their ſinnes that will ariſe agaynſt thee here in thine owne land.

The Pope author of rebellion and diſobedience of ſubiectes towardes their prince.

Then the K. hearing this, anſwered: What ſhame may ye do more to me then this.

Pandolph agayne: We ſay to you in verbo Dei: that neither you nor any heir that you haue, after this day ſhall be crowned. So the king ſayd: by him that is almighty God, if I had knowen of this thing before ye came into this lād, and that he had brought me ſuch newes: I ſhould haue made you tary out theſe xij. monthes.

Then aunſwered Pandolph. Full well we thought (at our firſt comming) that ye would haue bene obedient to God, and to holy church: & haue fulfilled the popes commaundement, which we haue ſhewed and pronounced to you, as we were charged therewith. And now ye ſay, that if ye had wiſt the cauſe of our comming, ye would haue made vs tary out a whole yere: which might as well ſay, that ye would haue taken a whole yeares reſpite without the popes leaue: But for to ſuffer what death that ye can ordeine, we ſhall not ſpare to tell you all the popes meſſage and will that he gaue vs in charge.

Like maſter lyke man.

In an other chronicle I finde the wordes betwene the King and Pandolph ſomething otherwiſe deſcribed as though the king ſhould firſt threaten him with hanging if he had foreknowen of his comming in. To whom Pādolph againe ſhould anſwer, that he loked for nothing els at his hand, but to ſuffer for the Churches right. Whereupon the K. being mightely incēſed, departed. The K. the ſame time being at Northhampton willed the ſhirifs and bailifs to bring forth all the priſoners there, ȳ ſuch as had deſerued ſhoulde be put to death: to the entent (as ſome thinke) to make Pandolfus afraide. Among whome was a certaine Clerke, who for counterfaiting the kings coyne, was alſo condemned to be hanged, drawn, & quartered. And moreouer, by the king was commanded (therby to anger Pandolfus, the more as may be thought) to be hanged vp hieſt aboue the reſt. Pādolphus hearing therof, notwithſtanding he ſomwhat began to feare leaſt he ſhould be hanged himſelfe, yet wt ſuch courage as he had, he went to the church to ſet out booke, bel, and candle, charging that no man vnder pain of accurſing, ſhould lay hands vpon the cleark. Upon this the K. and the Cardinall departed in no litle anger. And Pandolfe went to Rome, & reported to the pope and the Cardinals what had bene done.

Pandolph worſe af then hu

Then the pope ſummoned al the biſhops, abbots, and clarkes of England to come and repaire to Rome, to conſult what was to be done therein. This councel began the firſt day of October. In the which councel it was decreed by the pope and his aſſembly, that Iohn king of England ſhould be accurſed with all ſuch as helde with him, euery day ſo long as that Councel endured. Albeit this was not yet graunted, that the people ſhoulde be croſſed to fight againſt him, becauſe as yet he had ſhed no bloud. But afterward, the ſayd Pope Innocent ſeeing that K. Iohn by no meanes would ſtoupe vnder his ſubiection, nor vnder the rule of his popiſh ſee, he ſent vnto the French king, vpon remiſſion of all his ſinnes, and of all that went with hym that he ſhould take with him all the power he might, and ſo to inuade the realme of England to deſtroy K. Iohn.

The Popes great curſe.

This occaſion geuen, Pope Innocent yet once againe commanded in paine of his great curſe: that no man ſhuld obey King Iohn, neither yet keepe company with him: he forbad all perſons to eate and drinke with him, to talke with him: to commune or cōſell with him: yea, his owne familiar houſhold to do him any kinde of ſeruice, either at bed or at boord: in church, hall or ſtable. And what folowed therof. The greater parte of them which after ſuch ſort fled from him (by the ordinance of God) of diuers and ſundry diſeaſes the ſame yeare died. And betweene both nations (Engliſh and French) fell that yeare great amitie: but ſecret, ſubtil, and falſe: to the bitter betraying of England. Neither was the pope content onely with this, but moreouer the ſaid Pope Innocent gaue ſentence definitiue (by counſell of his Cardinals) that King Iohn ſhould be put from his ſeat regall and depoſed, and an other put in hys roume. And to the ſpeedie execution thereof, he appoynted the French king Philip, promiſing to geue him full remiſſion of al his ſinnes, & the cleare poſſeſſion of al the realme of England, to him and his heires: if he did either kill him or expell him.

The iuſt puniſhment of God vpon diſobedient ſubiectes.

The Pope founder murtherers.

Anno 1212.

The next yeare, the French king began his attempt in hope of the crowne of England: being well manned wyth the Biſhops, Monkes, Prelates, and Prieſtes, and theyr ſeruauntes to maintaine the ſame: bragging of the letters which they had receiued frō the great men there. But behold the worke of God: the Engliſh nauie tooke 300. of the French kings ſhips well loden with wheat, wine, meale, fleſh, armour, and ſuch other like, meete for the warre: and an 100. they brent within the hauen, taking the ſpoyle with them. In the meane time the prieſts wtin Englande, had prouided them a certain falſe counterfait prophet called Peter Wakefield of Poiz: who was an idle gadder about, and a pratling marchant. This Peter, they made to prophecie lies: rumoring his propheſies abroade, to bring the king out of all credite with his people. They noyſed it daily among the commons of the Realme, that Chriſt had twiſe appeared to this prophet of theirs, in ſhape of a child betwene the Prieſts handes, once at Yorke, another time at Pomfret: and that he had breathed vpon him thriſe, ſaying, peace, peace, peace, and teaching many things which he anone after declared to the Byſhops, and bid people amend their naughty liuing. Being rapt alſo in ſpirit (they ſayd) he beheld the ioyes of heauen, and ſorrowes of hell. For ſcant were there three (ſayeth the Chronicle) among a thouſande that liued Chriſtianly. This counterfeit ſoothſayer propheſied of king Iohn: that he ſhoulde raigne no longer then the aſcenſion day, within the yere of our Lord 1213. which was the 14. yere from his coronation, and this (he ſayde) he had by reuelation. Then was it of him demaunded, whether he ſhoulde be ſlaine or be expelled, or ſhould of himſelf geue ouer the crown: He anſwered, that he coulde not tell. But of this he was ſure (he ſayde) that

French ſhips takē by engliſhmen.

Peter the falſe Prophet.

The falſe prophet foūd a lyar.

neither he, nor any of his ſtock or linage ſhould raign, that day once finiſhed. The K. hearing of this, laughed muche at it, and made but a ſcoffe thereof. Tuſh (ſayth he) it is but an idiote knaue, and ſuch a one as lacketh his right wyts. But when this fooliſh prophet had ſo eſcaped the daunger of the kings diſpleaſure, & that he made no more of it, he gate him abroade and prated thereof at large (as he was a very idle vagabund) and vſed to rattle and talk more then inough: ſo that they which loued the king, cauſed hym anone after to be apprehended as a malefactor, & to be throwen in priſon, the king not yet knowing therof.

Anone after, the fame of thys phantaſticall Prophet went all the realme ouer, & his name was knowen euery where (as fooliſhneſſe is much regarded of people, where wiſdom is not in place) ſpecially becauſe he was then impriſoned for the matter, the rumor was the larger: theyr wonderings were the wantonner: their practiſing the fooliſher: their buſy talks & other idle occupying the greater. Continually from thence (as the rude maner of people is) old goſſips tales went abroad, new tales were inuented, fables were added to fables, and lies grew vpon lyes. So that euery day, new ſlanders were raiſed on the king, and not one of them true: rumours aroſe, blaſphemies were ſpred, the enemies reioyſed, & treaſons by the prieſts were maintained, and what likewiſe was ſurmiſed, or other ſubtiltie practiſed, all was then fathered vpon this fooliſhe prophet. As, thus ſayeth Peter Wakefielde: thus hath hee propheſied: and thys ſhall come to paſſe: yea many times when he thought nothing leſſe. When the Aſcenſion day was come which was propheſied of afore: king Iohn cõmanded his regal Tent to be ſpred abroad in ẏ open field, paſſing that day with his noble counſel and men of honor, in the greateſt ſolemnitie that euer hee did afore, ſolacing himſelfe with muſicall inſtruments & ſongs, moſt in ſight amongſt his truſty frends. When that day was paſt in all proſperity and myrth, his enemies being confuſed, turned all to an allegorical vnderſtanding, to make the prophecy good, and ſayd: he is no longer king, for the Pope raigneth & not he, yet raigned he ſtil, & his ſonne after him, to proue that prophet a lier. Then was the king by his cõſel perſwaded, that this falſe prophet had troubled al the realme: peruerted the hearts of the people, and raiſed the cõmons againſt him. For hys wordes went ouer the Sea by the helpe of his Prelates, and came to the French kings eare, & gaue vnto him a great encouragement to inuade ẏ land; he had not els done it ſo ſodenly. But hee was moſt foully deceiued, as all they are & ſhall be, ẏ put their truſt in ſuch darke drowſy dreames of hypocrits. The king therfore cõmanded that he ſhould be drawen & hanged like a traitor.

The falſe prophet proued a lyer of K. Iohn.

The falſe prophet hanged.

After that, the Popiſh Prelates, Monkes, Chanons, Prieſts. &c. ſawe this their crafty iuggling by their famed prophet would not ſpeed, notwithſtanding they had done no little harme thereby, to helpe the matter more forward, they began to trauail and practiſe with pope Innocent of the one ſide, and with the Frẽch king on the other ſide, beſide ſubtile treaſons, which they wrought win the realme, & by their confeſſions in the eare, whereby they both blinded the nobility and commons. The king thus compaſſed about on euery ſide with enemies, and fearing the ſequele thereof, knowing the conſpiracies that were in working againſt him, as wel by the Pope (in al that euer he might) as alſo by Phillip the French king by hys procurement: and moreouer his owne people, eſpecially hys Lords and Barons being rebelliouſly incited againſt him, as by the Popes curſes and interdictions againſt ſuch as tooke hys part, and by his abſolutions & diſpenſations withal thoſe that would rebel againſt him, commaunding them to detaine from him ſuch homage, ſeruice, duties, debts, and al other allegiance that godly ſubiects owe and are bõde to yeld and giue to their liege lord & prince. Al which things conſidered, the King in the 13. yeare of his raigne, for that the French king began to make ſharp inuaſion vpon him within his own Realme, ſent ſpeedy Embaſſadors to the pope (as to the fountaine of al this his miſchief pretenſed) to worke & intreat his peace and reconciliation with him, promiſing to do what ſoeuer the pope ſhould wil him and commaund him in the reformation of himſelf, and reſtitution of all wrongs done to holy Church, and to make due ſatiſfaction therfore vnto all men that could complaine.

K. Iohn ſubmitteth himſelfe to the Pope.

K. Iohn entreateth for peace with the Pope.

Then ſent the Pope againe into England his Legate Pandulphe wyth other Embaſſadours: the king alſo at Canterb. (by letters as it ſhould ſeeme certified from hys owne ambaſſadors) waited their comming. Where the 13. day of May the king receaued them, making vnto them an othe, that of and for al things wherein he ſtode accurſed, he woulde make ample reſtitution and ſatiſfaction. Vnto whom alſo all the Lords & Barons of England (ſo many as there were w the king attending the Legates cõming) ſware in like maner, and that if the king would not accompliſh in euery thing the othe which he had taken, that then they wold cauſe him to hold and confirme ẏ ſame whether ẏ he wold or not (or by ſtrength) to vſe the authors wordes.

Then ſubmitted the king himſelfe vnto the Court of Rome and to the pope: And reſigning gaue vp his dominions and realmes of Englande & Ireland from him and from his heires for euermore ẏ ſhould come of him. Wyth this condition, that the king and his heirs ſhould take againe theſe two dominions of the Pope to ferme, paying yearely therfore to the Court of Rome a 1000. Markes of ſiluer. Then tooke the King the crowne from hys heade, kneeling vpon his knees in the preſence of all his Lordes & Barons of England to Pandulphe the popes chiefe legate, ſaying in this wiſe. Here I reſigne vp the crowne of the realme of England to the Popes hands Innocent the third, & put me wholy in his mercy and ordinance. Then tooke Pandolphe the crowne of king Iohn, and kept it 5. daies as a poſſeſſion & ſeazon taking of theſe two realmes of England and Ireland. Confirming alſo al things promiſed by his charter obligatorie as foloweth.

K. Iohn ſubmitteth himſelfe and reſigneth his crowne.

The copie of the letter obligatorie that K, Iohn made to the Pope, concerning the yelding vp of the crowne and the Realme of Englande into the Popes hands, for a certaine ſumme of money yearely to be paide.

TO al chriſten people throughout the world dwelling, Iohn by the grace of God K of England, greeting. To your vniuerſitie known be it, that foraſmuch as we haue greeued & offended God & our mother church of Rome: & foraſmuch as we haue neede of the mercy of our Lord Ieſu Chriſt: & we may nothing ſo worthy offer, & cõpetent ſatisfactiõ make to God & to holy church (but if it were our own body) as with our realms of Englãd & of Ireland: Then, by the grace of the holy ghoſt we deſire for to meke vs for the loue of him, that meked him to the death vpon the croſſe. And through counſell of the nobles, earles & Barons we offer & frely graunt to God & to the apoſtles S. Peter & Paul, and to our mother church of Rome, & to our holy father Pope Innocẽt the 3. & to al the popes that come after him, all the realme: patronages of churches of England & of Ireland, with all the appurtenãces, for remiſſion of ſins, & helpe & health of our kings ſoules, & of al chriſtẽ ſoules. So that frõ this time afterward, we wil receiue & hold of our mother church of Rome, as in ferme, doing fealtie to our holy father the Pope Innocent the 3. and to all the Popes that come after him in the maner aboueſayd And in the preſence of the wiſe man Pandolphe the Popes Southdeacon, wee make liege homage, as it were in the popes preſence & we before him were, & that he himſelfe ſhuld haue done al maner things aboueſaid: and therto we bind vs, & all that come after vs & our heires for euermore without any gainſaying to the pope, & eke the ward of the church vacant. And in token of this thing euer for to laſt, we will, confirme, & ordaine, that he be our ſpeciall renter of the foreſaide realmes (ſauing S. Peter pence) in all thing. To the mother church of Rome paying by yere a 1000. markes of ſiluer at 2. times of the yere for al maner cuſtomes that we ſhould do for the ſaide realmes: that is to ſeine, at Michelmas & at Eaſter, that is for England 700. markes and 300. markes for Ireland. Sauing to vs & to our heires, our iuſtices and our other franchiſes. And all theſe things that before ben ſaid, we will that it be firme & ſtable without end: & to that obligation we & all our ſucceſſors, & our heirs in this maner, beth bound: that if we or any of our heirs through any preſumption fal in any point againe theſe things aboue ſayd (and he bene warned and will not right amend him) he ſhall then leſe the foreſaid realmes for euermore: and this charter of obligation and our warrant for euermore be firme and ſtable without gainſaying. We ſhal from this day afterward be true to God & to the mother church of Rome, & to thee Innocent the 3. and to all that commen after thee: and the Realmes of Englande and of Ireland, we ſhall mainteine trewlich in all maner pointes againſt all maner men by our power, through Gods helpe.

The draught of inſtrument obligatory wherein king Iohn reſigneth his kyngdome to the Popes hand. Chriſt was offered a kingdom and would none of it, but the Pope doth not refuſe it.

Upon this obligation, the king was diſcharged the 2. day of Iuly, from that Tirannicall interdiction, vnder which he continued 6. yeares and 3. moneths. But before the releaſement therof, firſt he was miſerably cõpelled (as hath bene declared) to geue ouer both hys crowne & ſcepter to that Antichriſt of Rome, for the ſpace of 5. daies: and his client, vaſſall, feudary, and tenant, to receiue it againe of him, at the handes of an other Cardinall, being bounde obligatorily, both for himſelfe, & for his ſucceſſours to paie yerely (for a knowledge therof) a M. marks, for England & Ireland. Then came they thether, from all partes of the Realme ſo many as had their conſciences wounded for obeying their liege king (as blind Idiotes) and there they were abſolued, euery one of his own biſhop, except ẏ ſpirituall fathers and Eccleſiaſtical ſouldiours, for they were compelled to ſeeke to Rome, as captiues reſerued to the

The vnreaſonablenes of the clergy againſt their naturall Prince.

popes owne fatherhode. In this new ruffeling the King eaſily graunted, that abbots, deanes and curates, ſhoulde be elected freely euery where, ſo ẏ the lawes of the realme were truly obſerued. But againſt that, were the biſhops, alledging their Canonical decrees and rules ſynodal, determining the king therein to haue nothing a do: but only to geue his conſent after that they had once elected. But among this ſhauen rable, ſome there were which conſented not to this wicked errour. A ſort alſo there were of the prelates at that time, which were not pleaſed that ẏ lands interdiction ſhoulde ceaſe, til the king had paid al ẏ which their Clergy in all quarters of the realme had demaunded without reaſon: yea, what euery ſaucie ſir Iohn for hys part demãded, euen to the very breaking of their hedges, the ſtealing of theyr appels, and their other occaſional damages, which grew to an incredible ſumme, and impoſſible to be anſwered. Such was the outragious cruel noyſe of that miſchieuous progenie Antichriſt, againſt their naturall king.

Notwithſtanding, that which is vttered afore concerning the bitter malice of the Clergye againſt their Prince: yet did the Popes Legate, and Cardinall Nicolaus Tuſculanus, much fauor his doings, & allow his procedings. wherfore they reported of him, that he was exceding parcial, & regarded not their matters eccleſiaſtical as he ſhuld haue done, for leauing the accompt of their reſtitutiõs. He went with the kings officers (as the kings pleaſure was) to the Cathedral minſters, abbeys, priories, deanries, and great Churches vacant. And there, for the next incumbent alwaies he appointed two: one for ẏ king, an other for the parties. But vpon him only whome the king nominated, he compelled moſt commonly the election to paſſe: whych vexed them wonderfully. Upon this therefore, they raiſed a new cõſpiracy againſt the kings perſon, by helpe of their biſhops, ſeditious prelates, & ſuch noble men as they had drawen to their parties. we beheld (ſayth Houeden) about the ſame time many noble houſes and aſſemblies deuided in many places: the fathers and the aged men ſtode vpon ẏ kings part, but the yonger ſort contrary. And ſome there were, that for loue of their kindred, and in other ſondry reſpects, forſoke the king again: yea, and the ſame went that time (ſayth he) that they were cõfederated with Alexander the Scottiſh king, and Ieoline the Prince of wales, to worke him an vtter miſchiefe. A councell at Oxforde the Archb. called: where at ſome would not tary, conſidering the confuſion therof: the other ſort (hauing very obſtinate hearts) reuiled the king moſt ſpitefully behind his backe, and ſayd: that from thenceforth he ought to be taken for no gouernour of theirs. Their outragious and franticke clamours ſo much preuailed in thoſe daies, that it grewe to a grieuous tumult, and a moſt perillous commotion.

Anno. 1215.

The councell of Lateran holden by pope Innocent.

In the yeare of our Lorde 1215. as wytneſſeth Paulus Æmilius & other hyſtories: Pope Innocent the third helde a general Synode at Rome, called the councell Laterane. The chiefe cauſes of that councell were theſe: In the daies of this Innocent, hereſie (as he calleth the truth of God, or the doctrine that rebuketh ſinne) began to riſe vp very high, and to ſpread forth his braunches abroad. By reaſon wherof, many Princes were excommunicate as Otho the Emperour, Iohn the king of England, Peter king of Aragon, Raimund the Earle of Tholouſe, Aquitania, Sataloni, and ſuch other like, as is ſaid afore. So that it could be no otherwiſe, ſayth Houeden, but with the ſharp axe of the goſpel (ſo called the pope his excommunications) they ought of neceſſitie to haue bene cut off from the Churche. Therfore was this cõucell prouided, proclaimed, and prelates from al nations therunto called. And to colour thoſe miſchiefes which he then went about: hee cauſed it by hys Legates and Cardinals (very craftie marchauntes) to be noiſed abroad, that his entent was therin only to haue the Church vniuerſally reformed: and the holy land from the Turkes handes recouered. But all this was craft & falſehode, as ẏ ſequele therof hath manifeſtly declared. For hys purpoſe thereby was to ſubdue all Princes, and to make himſelfe rich and wealthy, for there he made this antichriſtian act, and eſtabliſhed it by publicke decree, that ẏ pope ſhould haue from thenceforth the correction of all chriſtian Princes, and that no Emperor ſhould be admitted, except he were ſworne before, and were alſo crowned of him. He ordained moreouer, that whatſoeuer he were that ſhould ſpeake euil of the pope, he ſhuld be puniſhed in hel wᵗ eternall damnation. Conradus, Vrſpergenſis, Hieronimus Marius. He prouided confeſſion to helpe theſe matters: he alowed theyr bread a pixe to couer him, and a bell when hee goeth abroad, and made the maſſe equal with Chriſtes Goſpell.

The Pope to haue iuriſdictiõ of all Churches

Ioãnes Scotus.

In this Councell was firſt inuented and brought in Tranſubſtantiatiõ: of which Ioannes Scotus, whõ we call Duns, maketh mention in his 4. Booke, wryting in theſe wordes. The words of the ſcripture might be expounded more eaſily, & more plainly without tranſubſtantiatiõ. But the church did chuſe this ſenſe, which is more hard, being mooued thereto, as it ſeemeth chiefly: becauſe that of the Sacraments men ought to holde as the holy Churche of Rome holdeth. &c. And in the ſame place maketh mention of Innocentius the third.

Tranſubſtantiation firſt brought in.

Moreouer, in the ſaid Councel was ſtabliſhed and ratified the wretched and impious act, compelling Prieſtes to abiure lawful Matrimonie. whereupon theſe meeters or verſes were made the ſame time againſt hym, whych here folow vnder wrytten.

Non eſt Innocentius, imo nocens verè,
Qui, quod facto docuit, verbo vult delere.
Et quod olim iuuenis voluit habere,
Modò vetus pontifex ſtudet prohibere.
Zacharias habuit prolem & vxorem,
Per virum quem genuit adeptus honorem,
Baptizauit etenim mundi ſaluatorem:
Pereat qui teneat nouum hunc errorem.
Paulus cœlos rapitur ad ſuperiores,
Vbi multas didicit res ſecretiores.
Ad nos tandem rediens inſtruenſq; mores,
Suas inquit, habeant quilibet vxores,
Propter hæc & alia dogmata doctorum,
Reor eſſe melius & magis decorum,
Quiſque ſuam habeat & non proximorum,
Ne incurrat odium vel iram eorum.
Proximorum fœminas, filias, & neptes
Violare nefas eſt, quare nil deceptes,
Verè tuam habeas, & in hac delectes
Diem vt ſic vltimum tutiùs expectes.

Mariage of prieſtes forbidden by Pope Innocent.

Nocent, not innocent, he is that ſeeketh to deface,
By word the thing, that he by deed hath taught men to embrace
Which being now a Biſhop old, doth ſtudy to deſtroy
The thing, which he a young man once did couet to enioy.
Prieſt Zachary both had a wife, and had a childe alſo,
By mean of whõ there did to him great praiſe and honour grow,
For he did baptiſe him, which was the ſauer of mankinde,
Ill him befall that holdeth this new error in his minde.
Into the higher heauens, good Paul was lifted from below,
And many ſecrete hidden things he learned there to know.
Returnde at length from thence to vs, and teaching rules of life,
He ſaid, let eche man haue his owne and onely wedded wife:
For this and other documents of them that learned be,
Much better and more comely eke it ſeemeth vnto me.
That eche ſhould haue hys own alone, & not his neighbors wife,
Leaſt with his neighbour he do fall in hate and wrathfull ſtrife.
Thy neighbours daughters or their wiues, or nieces to defile,
Vnlawfull is: therefore beware, do not thy ſelfe beguile.
Haue thou thine owne true wedded wife, delite in her alway,
With ſafer minde that thou maieſt looke to ſee the latter day.

Now let vs returne to K. Iohn againe, & marke how the prieſts & their adherents were plagued for their humble handlings of his maieſties wil. In ẏ forſaid councel of Laterane, and the ſame yeare, was Steuen Langton the Archb. of Cant. excommunicated of pope Innocent, wᵗ all thoſe biſhops, prelates, prieſts, barons, & cõmons, which had bene of counſail with him in the former rebellion. And when the ſayde Archb. had made inſtant ſute, of him to be abſolued: anone he made him this anſwer wᵗ great indignation. Brother mine, I ſweare by ſ. Peter, thou ſhalt not ſo ſoone at my hande obteine the benefite of abſolution: for why, thou haſt not only done harme to the K. of Englãd, but alſo thou haſt in a great many of thinges iniured the church of Rome here, & therfore thou ſhalt tary my leyſer. The archb. was alſo at ẏ time ſuſpended out of ẏ Church, and commanded to ſay no maſſe at all, neither yet to exerciſe any other eccleſiaſticall office, becauſe he would not at time cõuenient execute the popes curſe vpon ẏ rebellious Barons. with them the ſaid pope had ben ſo depely offended & angred a litle before, ẏ the great charter of the liberties of England (wᵗ great indignation & countenance moſt terrible) he rent and deſtroyed, by ſentence definitiue condemning it for euer. And by and by therupon curſed all the other rebels, with booke, bel, and candle. The greater captaines of them (with the citizens of London) for that aſſay were pronounced excõmunicate by name, & remained ſtill interdicted. They appealed then to the councel general.

Stephen Langhton ſuſpended out of the Church.

Appeale to the generall councell.

Ann. 1215.

In the ſame yere 1215. were thoſe great men alſo ſummoned to appear at Rome in that general Sinode: which would not conſent to their kings expulſion, nor yet tiranical depoſing. Though they were called (they ſayd) therunto by the Archb. of Cant. and others: and required by othe to ſubſcribe to the ſame, yet coulde they not of conſcience do it, becauſe he had humbled himſelfe, and alſo graunted to keepe peace with all men. Thus was the whole realme miſerably then deuided into two factions through malice of the clergie, ſo ſtrifes encreaſed in the lande euery where. Yet were there of the Lordes & gentlemen a great number at that time, that followed the king and alowed his doings. But they which were on the other ſide (not a little ſuſpecting the ſtate that they were in) fled ſpeedely to the French K. Phillip: deſiring him that he would graunt to them his eldeſt ſonne Ludowike, and they would elect him to be their K. and that without much tariance. They beſought him moreouer, that he would ſende with him a ſtrong and mighty power, as were able to ſubdue him vtterly, that they might (they ſaid) be deliuered of ſuch a wicked tyrant. Such was the reporte, that thoſe moſt wicked papiſts gaue their chriſtian gouernor, appoynted to them of God: whome they ought to haue obeyed, though he had bene euill, euen for very conſcience ſake. Rom. 13. And as certaine of the Lordes and Barons were buſie to chuſe the ſayde Ludowike for their king, the Pope ſent thether one Gualo the Cardinal of S. Martin to thoſe raſh and cruel attempts, charging the French king vpon his allegeance, that he with all power poſſible, ſhould fauour, maintaine, and defend king Iohn of England, his feudary or tenant. The French king therto made anſwer, as one not cõtented with that arrogant precept. The realme of Englande ſayd he, was neuer yet any part of S. Peters patrimony, neither is it now, nor yet any time ſhalbe hereafter. Thys ſpake he, for that he was in hope to obtain it for his ſonne, by treaſon of the Barons.

The diſcord betwene the nobles and the kyng.

Gualo Cardinall ſent into Englãd.

No prince or potentate (ſaid Phillip the French king) may pledge or geue away his kingdome: which is (beſide the realme) the gouernment of his whole cōmon wealth, wᵗout the lawful conſent of his Barons, which are bound to defend the ſame. If yͤ pope ſhal introduce or ſet vp ſuch a preſident in chriſtianitie, he ſhall at his pleaſure bring all chriſtian kings, and their kingdoms to naught. I like not this example, in theſe daies begon. I cānot therfore allow this fact of king Iohn of England: though he be my vtter aduerſarie, yet I much lament that he hath ſo endamaged his realme, & hath brought that noble ground and Quene of prouinces, vnder miſerable tribute. The chiefe Lordes and men of his nobilitie ſtãding by, when he vttred theſe wordes (being as it were in a fury) cried with one voyce: By the blud of God, in whom we truſt to be ſaued, we wil ſticke in this article to the loſing of our heads. Let the K. of England do therein what him liketh: no king may put his land vnder tribute, & ſo make his nobility captiue ſeruants. With yͭ came in Ludowike the kings eldeſt ſonne, and ſo ſayd vnto them all there preſent. I beſeeche you, let not my purpoſed iourney: The Barons of England haue elected me for theyr Lorde and king, and I will not ſurely loſe my right: but I wil fight for it euen to the very death, yea ſo long as hart ſhall ſtir within my breſt: and I doubt not but I ſhall well obtaine it: for I haue frendes among them. Hys father the king ſtoode ſtill as he had bene in a dompe, & anſwered neuer a word, but fared as though he had diſſembled yͤ matter. Belike he miſtruſted ſome thing therein, as he might well inough: for all was procured by the prieſtes, that they might liue licentiouſly in all wealth and fredome from the kings yoke.

The French kyng and his ſonne reaſoning about England.

Prelates and prieſtes conſpiring againſt the kyng.

About the ſame time were ſuch treaſons and conſpiracies wrought by the Biſhops, Prieſtes, and Monkes, throughout all the realme, that the king knew not where to become, or finde truſty frendes: he was then compelled by the vncertaintie of his ſubiectes to trauaile from place to place, but not without a great armie of men: looking euery day when his Barons & their confederates would cruelly ſet vpon him. At laſt he came to Douer, and there looked for aide from other quarters, which loued him better then did hys owne people. And thether to him reſorted from Flaunders, Brabant & Holland, on the one ſide: and from Guiane, Gaſcoine, & Poitiers, on the other ſide: and from other countries more, a wonderfull number of men. The report then went, that the pope had wrytten to thoſe countreis, mightely to aſſiſt him for diuers cõſiderations: one was, for that he had both ſubmitted himſelfe, and hys dominion to his protection. An other was, becauſe he had taken on him (a little before) the liuery of the croſſe, to win againe Hieruſalem. The third was, for that he had gotten by him the dominion of England and Ireland, and feared to loſe both, if he ſhould chance to decay. For the ſpace of 3. moneths he remained in the Iſle of Wight, abroade in the aire, to quiet himſelf for a time from al manar of tumults: and led there a ſolitary life, among riuers and watermen: where as hee rather counted to die then to liue, being ſo traiterouſly handled of his Biſhops and Barons, and not knowing howe to be iuſtly aduenged of them. Vppon the Purification day of our Lady therfore, he tooke vpon him the croſſe or viage againſt the Turks for recouery of Hieruſalem: moued therunto rather for the doubts which he had of his people, then for any other deuotion elſe. And thus he ſaid to his familiar ſeruãts: ſince I ſubmitted my ſelfe and my lands, England and Ireland to the church of Rome (ſorow come to it) neuer thing proſpered with me, but all hath gone againſt me.

{ Anno. 1216. }

Walter Gray Archb. of York.

In the next yeare after 1216. was Symon Langton choſen Archbiſhop of Yorke: but that election anon after was diſſolued: for informatiō was geuen to the pope, that the ſaid Simon was brother to Steuē Langton the archbiſhop of Cant. which had bene the occaſion of all the tumults which were that time in England. And the Pope had the more hate vnto him, for that he had brought hym vp of nought, and did finde him at that time ſo ſtubburne: wherefore he placed in hys brothers place Walter Graie, the biſhop of Wincheſter.

Gualo the popes Legate.

In the ſame yere, Gualo the popes legate renued hys great curſe vppon Lewes the French kings ſonne, for vſurping vpon king Iohn. Likewiſe vpon Simon Langton and Geruais Hobruge, for prouoking him to yͤ ſame, and that wyth a wonderfull ſolemnitie: for in that doing hee made all the belles to be rong, the candles to be lyght, the doores to be opened, and the boke of excommunicatiōs and interdictions publikely to be read, committing them wholy to the deuil, for their contumacie and contempt. He alſo commanded the Biſhops and Curates, to publiſhe it abroad ouer al the whole realm, to the terror of al his ſubiects. The ſaid Simon & Geruais laughed hym to ſcorne, and derided much his doings in that behalfe, ſaying: that for the iuſt title of Ludowick, they had appealed to the generall councell at Rome.

Radul. Niger. cap. 43. 44.

The popes curſe laught to ſcorn.

The magiſtrates of London and citizens of the ſame, did likewiſe vilipende and diſdainouſly mocke all that the Pope had there commanded and done. And in ſpight both of him and hys legate, they kept company with them that were excommunicated, both at table and at church, ſhewing themſelues thereby, as open contemners, both of him and his lawes. Ludowicke at London taking himſelfe for king, conſtituted Simon Langton for hys high Chancellor, & Geruais Hobruge for his chiefe preacher. By whoſe daily preachings, as well the Barons, and the Citizens themſelues, being both excommunicated, cauſed all the church dores to be opened, and the ſeruice to be ſong, & the ſaid Ludowicke was in all poynts fit for their handes. About this time, was Pandulphus (then Cardinal) collecting the Peter pence, an olde pillage of the Pope: taking great paines therin. And for his great labours in thoſe affaires of holy Church, & for other great myracles beſides: he was then made biſhop of Norwich, to the augmenting of his dignitie and expenſes.

Pandulphus the Popes collector made biſhop of Norwich.

Mat. Pariſ. Radul. Niger. cap. 47.

The great prouidence of God for the helpe of Englande.

It chaunced about this time, that the Vicount of Melun (a very noble mā of the realme of France, which came thether wyth the Prince Ludowicke) to fall deadly ſicke at London: and alſo moued of conſcience to cal certaine of the Engliſh Barons vnto hym (ſuch as were there appoynted to the cuſtodie of that citie) ſayd vnto them. I lament your ſorrowful caſe, and pitie with my heart the deſtruction yͭ is comming towards you and your countrey. The daungerous ſnares which are prepared for your vtter cõfuſion, are hidden from you: ye do not behold them, but take ye hede of them in time. Prince Ludowicke hath ſworne a great oth, & 16. of his Earles and noble men are of counſel with him, that if he obtaine the crowne of England, he will baniſh all them from ſeruice, & depriue them of lands and goods, as many as he findeth nowe to goe againſt their liege king, and are traitours to his noble perſon. And becauſe yee ſhall not take thys tale for a fable, I aſſure you on my faith (lying nowe at the mercy of God) that I was one of them, which was ſworn to the ſame. I haue great conſcience therof, and therfore I geue you this warning. I pittie poore England, which hath bene ſo noble a region, that now it is come to ſo extreme miſery. And when he with teares had lamented it a ſpace, hee returned againe vnto them, and ſaid: my frends, I counſel you earneſtly, to looke to your ſelues, and to prouide the remedy in time, leaſt it come vpon you vnwares. Your king for a ſeaſon hath kept you vnder: but if Ludowicke preuaile, he will put you from all. Of two extreeme euilles, choſe the more eaſy, and keepe that ſecret which I haue tolde you of good will, with that he gaue ouer and departed this life.

When this was once noyſed among the Barons, they were in great heauineſſe: for they ſaw themſelues betrapped euery way, and to be in exceeding great daunger. And this daily augmented that feare which then came vpō the Barons. They were extremely hated of the Pope and his Legates, and euery weeke came vpon them newe excommunications. Daily detriments they had beſides: in theyr poſſeſſions and goodes, in their lands & houſes, corne and cattell, wiues and children: ſo that ſome of them were driuen to ſuch neede, that they were enforced to ſeeke prayes and booties for ſuſtaining theyr miſerable liues. For looke whatſoeuer prince Ludowick obtained by his warres, either territories or caſtels: he gaue them all to his French men (in ſpight of their heads) and ſaid that they were but traitours, like as they had warning afore, whych greeued them worſt of all. At the laſt, they perceiuing that they in ſeeking to auoid one miſchief were ready to fall into an other much worſe: they began to lay their heads together, conſenting to ſubmit themſelues wholy with al humility, to the mercy of their late ſoueraigne, & natural liege Lord, king Iohn. And for that they were ſomewhat in doubt of their liues for the treaſon afore committed: many of the friendes of them which were of moſt credite wͭ him, made ſute for them. So were a great number of them pardoned, after inſtant great ſuit made for them. I heere omit his recouery of Rocheſter caſtle and citie, wͭ many other dangerous aduentures againſt the foreſayd Ludowicke, both at London, Yorke, Lincolne, Wincheſter, Norwiche & other places els, as things not pertaining to my purpoſe. And now I returne to my matter againe.

Into Suffolke and Norffolke hee conſequently iourneyed, with a very ſtrong armie of men: and there, wyth great miſchiefe hee afflicted them, becauſe they had geuen place & were ſworne to his enemies. After that, he deſtroied the Abbeis of Peterborough & Crowland, for the great treaſons which they alſo had wrought againſt him, and ſo he departed from thence into Lincolneſhire.

Pope Innocent the third dyeth.

In this yeare, about the 17. day of Iuly, died Pope Innocent the 3. and was buried in a citie called Peruſium in Italie: where as hee had trauailed to make a peace betweene the Genouaies and the Pyſes, for his owne commoditie and aduauntage. After hym anone ſucceeded one Cintius, otherwiſe called Honorius Tertius, a man of very great age: yet liued he in the papacy 10. yeres and an halfe & more. When this was once knowen in England: greatly reioyced all they which were king Iohns enemies, ſpecially the prieſts: yet had they ſmall cauſe, as will appeare hereafter. They noiſed it al the realme ouer, that this new Pope would ſet a new order, and not rule al things as the other Pope did: thinking therby that he would haue done all thyngs to their commoditie: but they founde it otherwiſe. For he made al them which were excommunicate, to pay double and treble, ere they could be reſtored againe to their former liuings.

K.Iohn poyſoned by a Monke.

Ex Chronico cui titulus Eulogium.

And in the ſelfe ſame yeare, as king Ihon was come to Swineſtead Abbey, not farre from Lincolne, hee reſted there two dayes: where (as moſt writers teſtifie) he was moſt traiterouſly poiſoned by a monke of that Abby, of the ſecte of the Ciſtercians or S. Bernardes brethren, called Simon of Swinſted. As concerning the noble perſonage of this Prince, this witnes geueth Roger Houeden therein: Princeps quidem magnus erat ſed minus fœlix: atque vt Marius vtramq; fortunam expertus. Doubtles (ſayth he) king Iohn was a mighty prince, but not ſo fortunate as many were. Not altogether vnlike to Marius the noble Romaine, he taſted of Fortune both wayes: bountifull in mercie: in warres ſometime he wanne, ſometime againe he loſt. Munificus ac liberalis in exteros fuit, ſed proditionis cauſa ſuorum deprædator, plus aduenis quam ſuis confidens Hee was alſo very bounteous & liberal vnto ſtrangers, but of his owne people (for their daily treaſons ſake) hee was a great oppreſſor, ſo that he truſted more to foreiners then to them.

Ex Math. Pariſ.

The ſaying of K.Iohn deryding the Maſſe.

Among other diuers and ſundry cōditions belonging to this king, one there was which is not in him to be reprehended but commended rather: for that being far from the ſuperſtition which kings at that time were commonly ſubiect vnto, regarded not the popiſh Maſſe, as in certaine Chronicles wryting of him may be collected: for ſo I finde teſtified of him by Mat. Pariſienſis, that the king vpon a time in his hunting, comming where a very fat ſtag was cut vp and opened (or howe the Hunters terme it I cannot tell) the king beholding the fatneſſe and the lyking of the ſtagge: See ſaith he, how eaſily and happily he hath liued, and yet for all that he neuer heard any Maſſe.

Ex Caxtono. lib.7.

Woe be to you that c good euill and euill good.

Simō Monke abſolued of his Abbot for poyſoning his k

The m dyeth own p

It is recorded and founde in the Chronicle of William Caxton, called fructus temporum, and in the 7. Booke. The foreſayde monke Simon, being much offended with certaine talke that the king had at his table, concernyng Ludouicke the Frenche kings ſonne (which then had entred and vſurped vpon him) did caſt in hys wicked heart, howe he moſt ſpeedely might bring him to his ende. And firſt of all he counſelled with his Abbot, ſhewing hym the whole matter, and what hee was minded to doe. Hee alledged for himſelfe the Prophecie of Cayphas, Iohn 11. ſaying: It is better that one man die, then all the people ſhould periſh. I am well contented (ſayeth he) to looſe my life, and ſo become a Martyr, that I may vtterly deſtroy this tyraunt. With that the Abbot did weepe for gladnes, and much commended hys feruent zeale, as hee tooke it. The Monke then being abſolued of his Abbot for doyng this acte (aforehand) went ſecretely into a garden vppon the backe ſide, and finding there a moſt venemous Toad, he ſo pricked hym, and preſſed him with his penknife: that he made him vomit all the poyſon that was wythin hym. This done, he conueyed it into a cuppe of wine, and with a ſmiling and flattering countenance, he ſayde thus to the King: If it ſhall like your Princely maieſtie, here is ſuch a cuppe of wine, as yee neuer dronke a better before in all your life time. I truſt this waſſail ſhal make al England glad. And with that he dranke a great draught thereof, the king pledging him. The Monke anone after went to the farmerye, and there died (his guts guſhing out of his belly) and had continually from thenceforth three Monkes to ſing Maſſe for his ſoule, confirmed by theyr generall chapter. What became after that of king Iohn, yee ſhall knowe right well in the proceſſe following. I woulde ye did marke well the wholeſome proceedings of theſe holy votaries, howe vertuouſly they obey their kings, whome God hath appoynted: and howe religiouſly they beſtow their confeſſions, abſolutions and maſſes.

The d of K.I

A pri be lo his fa

K. Io ried a ceter.

{ An 12

The king within a ſhort ſpace after (feeling great griefe in his body) aſked for Symon the monke: and aunſwere was made, that he was departed this life. Then god haue mercy vpon me (ſayd he) I ſuſpected as much, after he had ſayd, that al England ſhould therof be glad: he ment now I perceiue then of his owne generation. With yͭ he commanded his chariot to be prepared, for he was not able to ride. So went he from thence to Slaford Caſtel, and from thence to Newerke vpon Trent: and there wͭin leſſe then 3. daies he died. Upon his death bed he much repented his former life, and forgaue all them with a pitifull heart, that had done him iniury, deſiring that his elder ſonne Henrie might be admoniſhed by his example, and to learne by his miſfortunes, to be natural, fauourable, gentle, and louing to his natiue people. When his body was enbaumed and ſpiced (as the maner is of kings) his bowels or intrailes were buried at Cropton Abbey, which was of the ſecte of Premonſtratenſes or Chanons of S. Norbert. His hired ſouldiours, both Engliſhmen and ſtraungers were ſtill about him, and folowed his corpes triumphantly in their armour, till they came to the Cathedrall Church of Worceſter: and there honourably was he buried by Silueſter the biſhop, betwixt S. Oſwalde and S. Wolſtane, 2. Byſhoppes of that Church. He died in the yeare of our Lord 1216. the 19. day of October, after he had raigned in ſuche calamitie, by the ſubtile conueyaunce of his Cleargie 18. yeares 6. monethes, and odde dayes. So ſoone as Kyng Iohn was dead and buryed (as is ſaid afore) the Princes, Lordes and Barons, ſo many as were of his part (as wel of ſtraungers as of them that were borne heere) by counſaile of the Legate Gualo: gathered themſelues together, and all with one conſent proclaimed Henrie his ſonne for their king. Of whome more ſhall followe the Lorde willing) hereafter.

The de K.Iohn

Many opinions are among the Chroniclers of the death of king Iohn. Some of them doe wryte that he died of ſorrowe and heauineſſe of heart, as Polydorus: ſome of ſurfetting in the night, as Radulphus Niger: ſome of a bloudy flixe, as Roger Houeden: ſome of a burning agewe, ſome of a cold ſweat, ſome of eating apples, ſome of eating peares, ſome plummes, &c.

Math. Pariſi. in Vita Iohānis Regis.

Thus you ſee what varietie is among yͤ wryters concerning yͤ death of this king Iohn. Of which wryters, although the moſt agree in this that he was poyſoned by the Monke aboue named: yet Math. Pariſienſis, (ſomething differing from the other) wryting thus concerning his death. That he going frō Linne to Lincolnſhire, and there hearing of the loſſe of hys cariage, & of his treaſures vpon the waſhes, fell in great heauines of minde: in ſo much that he fel therby into a feruēt feuer being at the abbey of Swinſted. This ague he alſo encreaſed through euil ſurfetting & noughty diet, by eating peaches and drinking of new Ciſer, or as we cal it Sider. Thus being ſicke, he was caried from thence to the Caſtel of Laford, and from thence to the good euill and euill good.

Simō Monke abſolued of his Abbot for peyſoning his king

The monke dyeth of his own poiſon.

The death of K. Iohn.

A prince to be louing to his ſubiects.

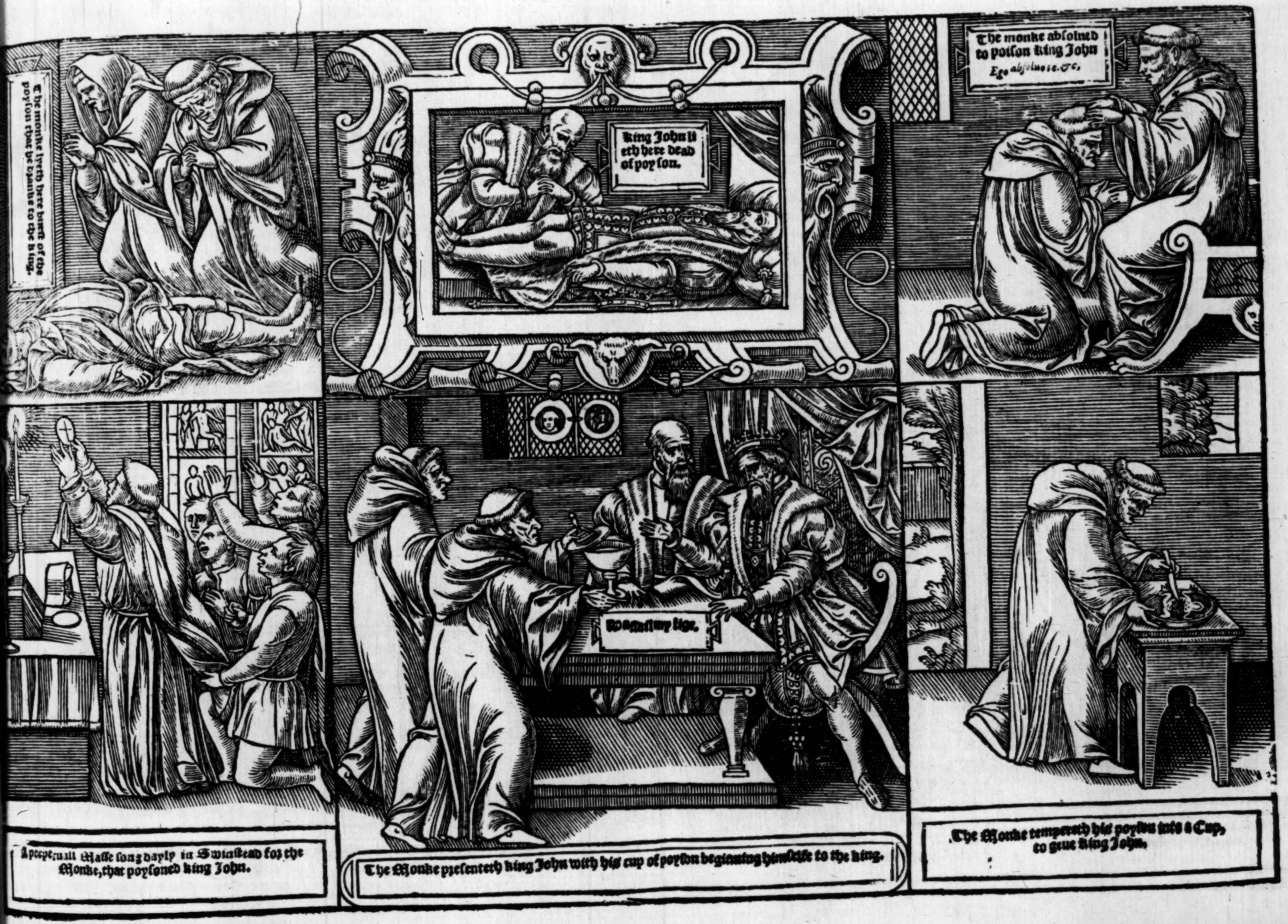
K. Iohn buried at Worceter.

{ Anno. 1216. }

The death of K. Iohn.

The Deſcription of the poyſoning of King Iohn, by a Monke of Swineſtead Abbeye in Lincolneſhire.

Place this in page. 256.


The monke lyeth here burſt of the poyſon that he dranke to the king.
King John lieth here dead of poyſon.
The monke abſolued to poiſon king John
Ego abſoluo te. &c.
Waſſayl my liege.
A perpetuall Maſſe ſong dayly in Swinſtead for the Monke, that poyſoned king John.
The Monke preſenteth king John with his cup of poyſon beginning himſelfe to the king.
The Monke tempereth his poyſon into a Cup, to geue king John.

Caſtell of Newerke: where calling for Henry his ſonne, gaue to him the ſucceſſion of his crowne & kingdom, wryting to all his Lordes and nobles to receiue him for theyr king. And ſhortly after vpō S. Lucies euen, departed this life, being buried at Worceſter. &c.

An other deſcription of kyng Iohns death *Ex hiſtor. Gualt. Hemyngford, Giſburnenſ.*

In Gisburn, I finde otherwiſe, who diſſenting from other, ſayeth: that he was poyſoned with a diſh of Peares which the Monke had prepared for the king therewith to poiſon him. Who aſking the king whether he would taſte of his fruite, & being bid to bring them in, according to the kings bidding ſo did. At the bringing in whereof, ſaith the ſaid ſtory, the pretious ſtones about the K. began to ſwete. Inſomuch ẏ the king miſdoubting ſome poyſon, demanded of ẏ monke, what he had brought. He ſaid: of his fruite, and that very good, the beſt that he did euer taſt. Eate, ſaid ẏ king: and he toke one of the peares, which he did know, and did eate. Alſo being bid to take an other, did eate lykewiſe ſauerly. And ſo likewiſe the third. Then the king refraining no longer, toke one of the poyſoned peares, and

place (as was thought) at that time in the realme. an. 1216. by Swallow the Popes Legate through counſel of all the Lordes and Barons that held with his father king Iohn, to witte, the Biſhop of Wincheſter, Biſhop of Bath, Biſhop of Cheſter, and Biſhop of Worceſter, the Earle Radulph of Cheſter, William Earle Marſhal, William Earl of Pembroke, William Tren Earle of Feres, William de Brner, Serle or Samarike de mal Baron. Theſe were at the crowning of the king at Gloceſter. Many other lords and Barons there were, which as yet helde wyth Lewes the French kings ſonne, to whom they had done their homage before. And immediatly after the crowning of thys king, he held his coūcell at Briſtow at S. Martines feaſt: where were aſſembled 11. Byſhops of England & Wales, with diuers Earles & Barons and knightes of England. All which did ſweare fealtie vnto the king. After which homage thus done to the king, the legate Swalo interdicted Wales becauſe they held with the foreſaid Lewes: and

K. Henry the 3. crowned.

Caſtell of Newerke: where calling for Henry his ſonne, gaue to him the ſucceſſion of his crowne & kingdom, wryting to all his Lordes and nobles to receiue him for theyr king. And ſhortly after vpõ S. Lucies euen, departed this life, being buried at worceſter. &c.

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he firſt aior of Lõ- on.

In the raigne of this king Iohn the citizens of London, firſt obtained of the king to choſe yerely a Maior. In whoſe time alſo the bridge of London was firſt builded of ſtone: which before was of woode. Raſtall.

King Henry the third.

Henry the ird.

After this king Iohn had raigned as ſome ſay 17. yeres, or as ſome ſay, though falſly 19. yeres was (as is aboueſaid) poiſoned & died. Thys king left behinde him 4. ſonnes, and 3. daughters, firſt Henry, ſecond Richard, and he was Earle of Cornwall: Third william of Valentia: Fourth, Guido Diſenay. He had alſo an other ſonne, who afterward was made biſhop. Of his daughters firſt was Iſabel, maried afterward to Fredericke the Emperour. The ſecond named Alinour, maried to william earl Marſhal. The third to Mounfort the Earl of Leiceſter. &c. An other ſtory ſayth that he had but two daughters, Iſabel and Elionore, or as an other calleth her Ioane, which was after Queene of Scotland, Ex Chronico vetuſto Anglic.

e iſſue of g Iohn.

example worthy faithfull aſailour oration he Earle ſhall for g kyng ry. ly ſaid, you per- ed him, perſecu- ye were true mã our own ral king well t Eng- cry out urblind es and ſon.

This king Iohn being deceaſed, which had many enemies, both of Earles, Barons, & eſpecially of the Popiſh Clergie, Henrie hys eldeſt ſonne was then of the age of 9. yeares. At what time the moſt of the Lordes of England did adhere to Ludouike or Lewes ẏ French kings ſonne, whom they had ſent for before, in diſpleaſure of king Iohn to be their king, and had ſworne to him their allegeaunce. Then william Earle Marſhall a noble man, and of great authority, and a graue and a ſound cõſeller, friendly and quietly called vnto him diuers Earles and Barons: and taking this Henry the young prince, ſonne of king Iohn, ſetteth him before them, vſing theſe wordes: Behold (ſaith he) right honourable and well beloued: although we haue*perſecuted the father of this yong Prince for his euil demeanour, & worthely: yet this yong childe, whome here ye ſee before you, as he is in yeres tender, ſo is he pure and innocent from theſe his fathers doings. Wherfore in as much as euery man is charged only with the burthen of his owne workes and tranſgreſsions: neither ſhall the childe (as the Scripture teacheth vs) beare the iniquity of his father: we ought therefore of duetie and conſcience to pardone this young and tender Prince, and take compaſsion of his age, as ye ſee. And now for ſo much as he is the kings natural and eldeſt ſonne, and muſt be our ſoueraigne and king, and ſucceſſor of this kingdom, come and let vs appoynt him our king and gouernour: and let vs remoue from vs this Lewes the French kings ſonne, & ſuppreſſe his people which is a confuſion and a ſhame to our nation, and the yoke of their ſeruitude let vs caſt off from our ſhoulders. To theſe wordes ſpake & anſwered the Earle of Gloceſter. And by what reaſon or right (ſayd he) can we ſo do, ſeeing we haue called him hether, & haue ſworne to him our feaultie.

Math. Pari- ſi. in vita Io- hãnis Regis.

Whereunto the Earle Marſhall inferred againe and ſayd: Good right and reaſon we haue, and ought of duety to do no leſſe, for that he contrary to our minde and calling hath abuſed our affiance and feaulties. Truthe it is, we called him, & ment to prefer him to be our chieftaine and gouernor: but he eftſones ſurpriſed in pride, hath contemned and deſpiſed vs: and if we ſhal ſo ſuffer him, he will ſubuert and ouerthrow both vs and our nation, and ſo ſhall we remaine a ſpectacle of ſhame to all men, and be as outcaſtes of all the world.

Chron. mac. Giſ- nenſ.

At theſe wordes all they, as inſpired from aboue, cried altogether with one voice: be it ſo, he ſhalbe our king. And ſo the day was appoynted for his coronation, which was the day of Simon & Iude. This coronation was kept not at weſtminſter, for as much as weſtminſter ẏ ſame time was holden of the Frenchmen, but at Gloceſter: the ſafeſt place (as was thought) at that time in the realme. an. 1216. by Swallow the Popes Legate through counſel of all the Lordes and Barons that held with his father king Iohn, to witte, the Biſhop of winchester, Biſhop of Bath, Biſhop of Cheſter, and Biſhop of worceſter, the Earle Radulph of Cheſter, william Earle Marſhal, william Earl of Pembroke, william Tren Earle of Ferers, william de Brier, Serle or Samarike de mal Baron. Theſe were at the crowning of the king at Gloceſter. Many other lordes and Barons there were, which as yet helde wyth Lewes the French kings ſonne, to whom they had done their homage before. And immediatly after the crowning of thys king, he held his cõcell at Briſtow at S. Martines feaſt: where were aſſembled 11. Byſhops of England & wales, with diuers Earles & Barons and knightes of England. All which did ſweare fealtie vnto the king. After which homage thus done to the king, the legate Swalo interdicted wales becauſe they held with the foreſaid Lewes: and alſo the Barons & al other as many as gaue help or counſell to Lewes, or any other that moued or ſtirred any war againſt Henry the new king, he accurſed them. All which notwithſtanding, the ſayde Lewes did not ceaſe, but firſt laid ſiege to the Caſtel of Douer xv. daies: when he could not preuaile there, he toke the caſtel of Berkhamſted, and alſo the caſtel of Hartford, doing much harme in the countreis, in ſpoiling & robbing the people where they went: by reaſon wherof, the Lordes and Commons which held wt the king, aſſembled themſelues together, to driue Lewes and his men out of the land. But ſome of the Barõs with the Frenchmen, in the meane ſeaſon went to Lincoln and toke the Citie, and held it to the vſe of Lewes. which being knowen, eftſoones a greate power of the kinges parte made thether, as the Earle Ranolfe of Cheſter, william Earle Marſhal and william de le Brues, Earle of Ferers, wt many other Lords, and gaue battaile vnto Lewes and his party: ſo that in concluſion Lewes loſt the field, and of his ſide were ſlaine the Earle of Perchis, Saer de Quincy Earle of winchester, Henry de la Bohon Erle of Herford, and ſyr Robert le Fizwater, with diuers other moe. Wherupon Lewes for ſuccour fled to London, cauſing the gates there to be ſhut & kept, waiting there for more ſuccour out of France. which aſſone as the king had knowledge off, immediatly ſent to the Maior and Burges of the Citie, willing them to render them and their Citie to him as their chiefe lord and king, promiſing to graunt to them againe all their fraunchiſes and liberties as in times paſt, & to confirme the ſame by his great Charter and ſeale. In this meane time on Bartholmew euen, Euſtace a French Lord, accompanied with many other Lordes and nobles of Fraunce, came with a great power, to the number of a 100. ſhippes, to aide and aſſiſt the ſayd Lewes. who before they arriued, were encountred vppon the ſeas by Richard king Iohns baſtarde ſonne, who hauing no more but 18. ſhippes to kepe the Cinque portes, ſet egerly vpon them, and through Gods grace, ouercame them. where preſently he ſmote of the heade of Euſtace, the reſt of the Frenche Lordes to the number of 10. hee brought with him to the lande, where he impriſoned them in the Caſtell of Douer, and ſlewe almoſt all theyr men that came with them, and ſonke their ſhips in the ſea, onely 15. ſhips (ſayeth ſome of my ſtories) eſcaped away. Ludouike or Lewes hearing this loſſe of his ſhips and men, and miſdoubting his own life for the great miſchief he had done to the realme, ſought meanes by Swalo, and the Archbiſhop of Caunterburie, and by other Lordes, to be at accorde with the king. with whome at length it was ſo concluded and agreed, that for his coſtes and expenſes he to haue a thouſande pounde of ſiluer geuen. Pariſ. ſpeaketh of 15. thouſand markes (which he borowed of the Londiners) that he ſhoulde departe the realme, neuer to returne into England againe, neither he nor none of his.

K. Henry the 3. crowned.

Berkhamſtead and Hartford taken by Lewes.

Lincolne taken by Lewes.

Anno. 1217.

This Euſtace ſome ſay he was a Spanyard.

A noble victory by Gods grace giuẽ to K. Iohns ſonne.

Ex Math. Pariſienſi.

This done, and vppon the ſame, he with all the other Barons ẏ toke his parte, was aſſoiled of Swalo the Legate. And thus peace being confirmed at Merton, Lewes toke his leaue, and being brought honorably to the Sea with the Biſhop of Canterbury & other biſhops, Earles, and Barons, returned home into Fraunce.

Lewes the frẽch kings ſonne driuen out of Englande.

And here ſayth Gisburn. it was truly verified, that was before ſpokẽ of the Frẽch king, father of Lewes: At what time ẏ ſaid Lewes was in Englãd, his father the French king demanded of his meſſengers comming into France, where his ſonne was, and they ſaid at Stamforde: And he aſking againe, whether he had got the Caſtell of Douer, and they ſaid no: Then the father ſwearing by the arme of ſ. Iames: My ſonne (quoth he) hath not one foote in England, as afterward wel proued true. Ex Gisburn.

The anſwere of the French king concerning his ſonne Lewes.

But the chiefeſt help that repelled Lewes & the Frẽch men out of ẏ realme, and that moſt preferred king Iohns ſonne to the crowne, was the ſingular working of Gods hand, whereof mention was made before, pag.250. which was through the confeſſion of a certaine gentleman of the French hoſt (as Florilegus doeth teſtifie.) who lying ſore ſicke at the point of death, & ſeeing no hope to eſcape, was touched in cōſcience for danger of his ſoules health, openly to confeſſe & vtter to the barons of England, what was the purpoſe of ẏ Frenchmen to do: who were conſpired & ſworn together among themſelues, with a priuy compaction, ẏ ſo ſoone as they ſubdued the land, they ſhould thruſt all the chiefe & nobles thereof, into perpetuall exile out of the realme, where out they ſhould neuer returne againe. This, cōming to the eares of the Barons, as is ſaid: gaue them to conſider more with themſelues, whereby many of them were the more willing to leaue Lewes, and apply to their naturall king and prince. Which no leſſe may alſo be an admonition to all times and ages, for Engliſh men to take heede, not to admit or to place foreine rulers into the realme, leaſt perhaps it followe that they be diſplaced themſelues.

Ex Florilego.

An admonition to Engliſhmen not to admit foreine rulers into the realme.

It is a bad wind that bloweth no man profit.

After the happy departure of this Lewes & his French men out of the land, whereby the ſtate of this realme long vexed before, was now ſomewhat more quieted: immediatly Swalo the Legate looking to his harueſt, directeth forth inquiſitors through euery ſhire, to ſearch out all ſuch Biſhops, Abbots, Priors, Canons & Secular prieſtes, of what order or degree ſo euer they were, that with any ſuccor or counſail, did either help, or els conſented to Lewes. For all theſe were exempted out of the charter of pardon & abſolution made before, betweene the king & Lewes. By reaſon whereof no ſmall gaine grewe to the Pope and the Cardinall: for all ſuch were either put out of their liuings and ſent vp to the Pope, or els were faine to fine ſweetely for them. Among whome (beſides a great number of other clerkes, both religious and ſeculare) was Hugo biſhop of Lincolne: who for the recouerie of his biſhoprike, diſburſed 1000. markes to the Pope, and 100. markes to the foreſaid Swalo the Legate, who nowe (as Pariſ. recordeth) by this time had gathered in a faire crop of that, which he did neuer ſowe. Ex Mat. Pariſ. &c.

Money cōming into the Pope and Cardinall. Hugo B. of Lincolne redemeth his Biſhopricke for a1000. marks

Ex Mat. Pariſ. in vita Reg. Henri.3.

Pope innocent the third,

About this ſeaſon, or not much before, died Pope Innocent the 3. in the 19. yere of his popedome: to whoſe cuſtodie, Fredericus the nephewe of Fredericke Barbaroſſa being yet yong, was committed by the Empreſſe his mother, of whom more ſhal follow (the Lord willing) hereafter. After this Innocent, next ſucceeded Pope Honorius the 3. who wryting to yong king Henry in a ſpecial letter, exhorteth him to the loue of vertue, & to the feare of God, namely to be circumſpect with what familiars & reſort, he acquainted himſelfe: but principally aboue al other moniſheth him to reuerence the Churche which is the ſpouſe of Chriſt, and to honor the miniſters therof, in whom Chriſt himſelfe (ſaith he) is both honored or deſpiſed. And this ſemeth the chiefeſt article of that his wryting to him.

Pope Honorius the third.

The effect of the letter of Pope Honorius the 3. to king Henry the 3. *Ex pariſien.*

A ſtraunge tale of pope Honorius if it be true.

Of this Pope Honorius, Abbas Vrſpergenſis, (who liued in the ſame time) reporteth a ſtraunge wonder, more ſtrange peraduenture then credible, which is this: Honorius being prieſt in Rome (whoſe name was then Centius) and procurator to Iacinthus a Cardinal. So it befell, that his maiſter ſent him abroad about Rome, to borowe & procure mony for him againſt his iourny into Spaine: for pope Clement then intēded to ſend the ſaid Iacinthus his Legate vnto Spaine. As this Centius was walking by himſelſe all ſad and ſollicitous to ſpeede hys maiſters meſſage, commeth to him a certain aged and reuerend father, and aſketh him what cauſe he had to walke ſo heauie and carefull. To whom he anſwered againe, and ſignified the occaſion of his buſines, what then he had to doe. Then the old father ſaid to him: Go and returne home again: for thy maiſter ſaith he, ſhall not at this time goe to Spayne. How ſo quoth the other, how is that true? As true (ſayde he) as it is certaine that the pope ſhall die, and the ſayd thy maiſter ſhall be Pope after him. Centius thinking that to be vnlikely, ſayd: he could not beleeue that to be true. To whome the other inferreth againe. So know this, ſaid he, to be as certaine, as it is true that the citie of Ieruſalē this day is taken of the Saracens, and ſhall not be recouered from them, before the time of thy Papacie. And thus ſpeaking, ſayeth Vrſperg. he voided ſodenly away. Ex Abbate Vrſperg. All which ſayth the ſayd author came afterward to paſſe: and were teſtified of the ſame Honorius being pope afterward in his publike ſermons at Rome. All which I graunt may be, and yet notwͭſtanding this fabulous narration may be a piece of the popes old practiſes ſubtilly inuented, to driue men forth to Ieruſalē to fight, &c. Againe, after Honorius (when he had gouerned x. yeres) followed Gregorius the ix. Whiche two popes were in the tyme of this king Henry 3. and of Fredericke the Emperour, of whome we mynde (Chriſt willing) farther to touch, after that we ſhall haue proſecuted more, concerning the hiſtory of kyng Henry and matters of England.

Ex Abbate Vrſperg. in Chronico.

After that it ſo pleaſed the mercifull prouidence of almighty God, to worke this great mercy vpon the ſtock of K. Iohn (which notwithſtanding the vnkinde prelates to their falſe prophetes had declared before, that neuer none ſhould ſucceed in the throne after that K.) and alſo vnto the whole common wealth of the realme, in deliuering them frō the dāgerous ſeruice of Ludouike & the foreſayd Frēchmen. After their departure, the next yeare folowing: anno. 1218. which was the third of this kyngs raigne, the Archbyſhop, S. Lancton and the biſhops, Erles and Barons, reſorted to Londō vnto the kyng at Michaelmas next following: and there held a great parliament, wherein were confirmed and graūted by the king all ẏ franchiſes, which were made & geuē by K. Iohn his father at Ronemedow: and them he confirmed and ratified by his charter, whiche long tyme after, ſayth my author, vnto hys dayes did continue and were holden in England. For the which cauſe, by the nobles and the commons was geuen & graūted agayn vnto the K. ij. ſhillinges for euery plow lād through England. And Hubert of Burgh was made chiefe Iuſtice of Englād, of whoſe troubles more is to be ſaid hereafter. And this was the third yeare of K. Henry, and 50. yeare after the death of Tho. Becket: wherefore the ſaid Becket, the ſame yeare or next following was takē vp and ſhryned for a new S. made of an old rebell. Thether came ſuch reſort of people of England and of Fraunce, that the country of Kent was not ſufficient to ſuſtaine them. Ex hiſtor. De Scales. About the ſame tyme Iſabell the kinges mother was maryed to the Earle of March. And William Marſhall the good Erle dyed, whiche was the gouernour of ẏ king and the realme, not without great lamentation of the people of England. Then was the king committed to the gouernment of Peter B. of Winchester. This noble Erle left behinde him v. ſonnes, and v. daughters.

{ An, 1218

K.Henry firmed the liberties ted by k Iohn.

Two ſhil lings of e ry plough land gra ted to k Henry. T Becket ſ ned.

Ex hiſtor D.Scales.

W.Marſh dieth and was buri at the Te ple.

The yere next inſuing an. 1219. It was ordeined and proclaimed through all the lād, that all aliens & foreiners ſhould depart the realme, and not to return to the ſame agayn: onely ſuch excepted, as vſed trafick or trade of marchaundiſe, vnder the kings ſafe conduct. This proclamation was thought chiefly to be ſet forth for the cauſe to auoid out of the land Faukes de Breute, Phillip de Markes, Engelardus de Ciconia, William Erle Albemarke, Robert de veteri ponte, Brihenne de inſula, Hugo de Bailluel, Robert de Gaugi, with diuers other ſtraungers mo, which kept caſtles and holdes of the kinges agaynſt his will. Of whom the foreſayd Faukes was ẏ principal, who fortefied & held the caſtle of Bedford, which he had by ẏ gift of K. Iohn, wͭ might and ſtrength againſt the K. and his power, nere the ſpace of 3. monthes. Moreouer he went about to apprehend the kings iuſtices at Dunſtable, but they being warned therof, eſcaped all, except Henry Braybrocke, whom he impriſoned in the ſaid caſtle. The K. hearing therof, & cōſulting with his clergy and nobles, made his power againſt the ſame. Which after long ſiege and ſome ſlaughter at length he obteined it, & hanged almoſt all that were within, to ẏ nūber of 97, which was (as Pariſienſ. writeth) about ẏ 7. or 8. yere of his raigne. Faukes the ſame time was in Wales, who hearing of the taking of the caſtle, conueyed himſelfe to the church of Couētry. At length ſubmitting himſelfe to the kings mercy, vpon conſideration of his ſeruice done before to the kings father, was committed to the cuſtody of Euſtace biſhop of London, and afterward being depriued of all his goods, poſſeſſions & tenements within the realme, was forced to perpetuall baniſhment, neuer to returne to England agayne.

{ Anno 1219.

Aliens co maunded out of Eng lande.

Faukes d Breut reb leth aga king He

Here (by the way) I finde it noted in Pariſienſ. that after this foreſayd Faukes, had ſpoyled and raſed ẏ church of S. Paule in Bedford, for the building vp of his Caſtle: the Abbaſe of Helueſtue hearing thereof, cauſed the ſword to be taken from the Image of S. Paule ſtanding in the Church ſo long as he remayned vnpuniſhed. Afterward, ſhe hearing him to be cōmitted to the cuſtody of S. Paule in Londō, cauſed the ſword to be put into the hands of the Image agayne. Mat. Pariſienſ. in vita Henr. 3.

Ex Par enſ.

About this yeare the young king the ſecond time was crowned agayne at Weſtminſter, about which time begā the new building of our Ladye Churche at Weſtminſter. Shortly after Gualo the Legate was called home againe to Rome. For the holy Father (as Math. Parienſ. reporteth) being ſicke of a ſpiritual dropſie, thought this Gualo (hauing ſo large occupying in England) to be able ſomewhat to cure his diſeaſe. And ſo that Legate returned with all

{ Anno. 1220.

K. Henry crowned ſecond t at Weſtm ſter.

hys bagges well ſtuffed, leauing Pandulphe behynde hym to ſupply that Baliwike of hys great graundfather the Pope.

Pope Innocentius. The deedes and decrees of pope Innocent.3.

The lyfe and Actes of pope Innocentius the 3. are partly deſcribed before, how he intruded Stephẽ Langhtõ againſt the kings wil into the archbiſhopricke of Canterbury, ſtirring vp alſo 64. Monkes of the ſame Church of Canterbury, priuily to work agaynſt the king. Moreouer how he did excommunicate the ſayd kyng as a publike enemy of the Church, ſo long as the ſayd King withſtoode his tirannicall doyngs: putting hym and his whole kingdome vnder interdiction, for the ſpace of 5. yeares and 3. monthes. And at length depoſed and depriued hym from hys ſcepter, keeping it in his owne handes for v. dayes. How he abſolued hys ſubiectes from their due obedience & ſubiectiõ vnto hym. How he gaue away his kingdões & poſſeſſions vnto Lewes the Frenche kyngs ſonne, commaunding the ſayd Lewes to ſpoyle hym both of landes & lyfe. whereupon, the K. (being forſakẽ of hys nobles, prelates, & commons) was enforced agaynſt hys will to ſubmit himſelf, and ſware obedience vnto the P. paying vnto him a yearely tribute of a M. markes by yeare, for receauing hys kyngdome agayne, wherby both he & his ſucceſceſſors after him, were vaſſals afterward vnto the P. And theſe were the Apoſtolicall actes of this holy Vicar in the realme of England. Moreouer he condemned Almericus a worthy learned man & a byſhop, for an hereticke, for teaching & holding agaynſt images. Alſo he condemned the doctrine of Ioachim Abbas (whõ we ſpake of before) for heritical. This pope brought firſt into the church the paying of priuate tythes. He ordayned the receauing once a yeare at Eaſter. Vnto the papal decretals he added the decree. Omnis vtriuſq; ſexus. &c. Alſo the reſeruation of the ſacrament, and the goyng with the bell, and light before the Sacrament was by hym appoynted. In the ſayd Counſell of Laterane, he alſo ordayned that the Canon of the Maſſe ſhould be receaued wͭ equall authoritie as thoughe it had proceeded from the Apoſtles thẽſelues. He brought in tranſubſtantiation, looke in the decretals. Titulo 1. De ſumma Trinit & fide Catholica. cap. firmiter credimus.

Almericus condemned. Ioachim Abbas condemned. Priuate riches brought in. Bell and cãdle before the ſacramẽt. Canon of the maſſe authoriſed. Tranſubſtãtiation. Mariage in the 3. degree forbidden.

Item, the ſayd Innocentius the 3. ordayned that none ſhould mary in the third degree, but only in the fourth degree, and ſo vnder.

The pope ſetteth kings and Emperours together by the eares. Philip the Emperour depoſed. Otho the Emperour depoſed.

The ſayd Pope ſtyrred vp Otho agaynſt Phillip the Emperor, becauſe the ſayd Phillip was elected Emperor agaynſt his will. Vpon yͤ occaſion wherof followed much warre and ſlaughter in Germany. And afterward againſt the ſayd Otho, whome he had made Emperour, he ſet vp Fredericke K. of Cicile, and cauſed the archb. of Mayence to pronounce hym excommunicate in all hys titles, and to be depoſed of hys Empire. For the which cauſe the Princes of Germany did inuade hys byſhopricke, ſpoyling and burning hys poſſeſſiõs. The cauſe why the pope ſo did accurſe and depoſe hym, was for that the ſayd Otho did take and occupy cittyes, townes, & caſtles, which the pope ſaid appertayned to hym.

Item, the ſayd pope ordayned that if any prince offended one an other, the correction ſhould appertayne vnto yͤ Pope. In thys Councell of Laterane were Archbiſhops and Primates 61. Byſhops, 400. Abbots 12. Priors and Conuentuals 800. beſides other Embaſſadors, Legates Doctors and Lawyers an innumerable ſort &c.

The councel of Lateran.

Martyrs of Alſatia, to the number of all. 100. burned in one day. Ex Herm. Mutio.

In the hiſtory of Hermanus mutius, we read how in the yeare of our Lord. 1212. in thys popes tyme diuers noble men, and other in the countrey of Alſatia, contrary to the tradition of the Romiſh Popes dyd holde, that euery day was free for eating of fleſh, ſo it be done ſoberly. Alſo that they did wickedly which reſtrayned Prieſts and miniſters from their lawfull wyues, for the which cauſe (as is in the foreſayd author) by this poore Innocentius the 3. and hys byſhops, an hundreth of them in one day were burned and Martyred.

Some other hiſtoryes (as Nauclerus) recordeth alſo, yͭ at the ſame tyme many were in the Cittye of Millaine of the ſayd doctrine, which vſed to ſend collects, vnto the foreſayd ſainctes of Alſatia. Ex Nauclero.

Collectes ſent from the brethrẽ of Millane, to them of Alſatia. Obſeruant Friers begã.

In the cronicle of Gualter Hemingford otherwiſe called Giſburnenſis, it is recorded that in the dayes of this K. Iohn, and pope Innocent, began yͤ two ſectes & orders of Friers, one called the preachers order, or black Fryers of S. Dominike. The other called yͤ Minorites of S. Fraunces. The preachers or blacke Fryers order began of one Dominike a Spaniard, about the parts of Tholous, who after he had laboured 10. yeares in preaching agaynſt the Albingenſes, and ſuch other as did hold agaynſt yͤ churche of Rome: afterward comming vp to the Councell of Lateran with Fulco B. of Tholouſe, deſired of the foreſayd Innocent the 3. to haue his order of preaching Fryers cõfirmed, which the pope a great while refuſed to graunt: at length he had a dreame, that the Church of Laterane was ready to fall. which when he beheld, fearing & much ſorrowing thereat, commeth in this Dominicke: who with his ſhouldiours vnderpropped the church, and ſo preſerued yͤ building therof frõ falling: &c. And right well this dreame may ſeeme verified, for yͤ Fryers haue bene alwayes the chief pillers & vpholders of yͤ popes church. Vpon this, yͤ pope (waking out of hys dreame) called Dominike to him and graunted his petition. And ſo came vp this woluiſh order of the Dominickes. I call it woluiſh, for that hys mother when ſhe was great with this Dominicke, dreamed that ſhe had in her wombe a wolfe, which had a burning torch in his mouth. The which dreame, the preachers of that order do greatly aduaunce, and expounded to their orders glory, as well as they can. Neuertheleſſe, howſoe they expound it: they can make a wolfe but to be a wolfe, and this a woluiſh order. The rule which they follow ſemeth to be taken out of S. Auguſtine, as who ſhould ſay, that Chriſtes rule were not inough to make a Chriſtian man. Their profeſſion ſtandeth vpon 3. principall pointes as thus deſcribed. Charitatem habentes, humilitatem ſeruantes, & paupertatem voluntariam poſſidentes: That is, hauing charitie, holding humilitie, and poſſeſſing wilfull pouerty. Their habite and clothing is blacke.

Dominicke.

Friers vpholders of the popes Church.

The Minorite Friers diſcended from Sainct Fraunces.

The order of the Minors or Minorite Friers deſcended from one Francis an Italian, of the city Aſſiſiũ. This Aſſiſian Aſſe, whõ I ſuppoſe was ſome ſimple and rude Idiot, hearing vpon a tyme how Chriſt ſent forth his diſciples to preach: thought to imitate the ſame in himſelf and his diſciples, and ſo left of ſhoes, had but one coate, & that of a courſe clothe. In ſteade of a latchet to hys ſhoe, and of a girdle: he tooke about him a hempen corde, and ſo appareled his diſciples, teaching them to fulfil (for ſo he ſpeaketh) the perfection of the goſpell, to apprehend pouerty, & to walke in the way of holy ſimplicitie. He left in writing to hys diſciples and followers, hys rule whiche he called Regulam Euangelicam. i. the rule of the Goſpell, as though the Goſpell of Chriſt were not a ſufficient rule to all Chriſten men, but it muſt take hys perfection of Frantick Frãcis. And yet for all that great preſumtion of this Francis, and notwithſtanding this hys rule, ſounding to the derogation of Chriſtes Goſpell, he was cõfirmed by this pope Innocent. Yea and ſuch fooles this Frauncis found abroad, that not onely he had followers of hys doltiſh religion (both of the nobles, and vnnobles of Rome) but alſo ſome there were, which builded manſions for hym & hys Fryers. This Frauncis, as he was ſuperſtitious in caſting all things from hym as hys girdle, girding a corde about him, ſo in outwarde chaſtiſing of himſelfe, ſo ſtraight he was to hys fleſhe (leauing the ordinary remedye appoynted by God) that in wynter ſeaſon, he couered hys body with Iſe and Snow. He called pouerty hys Lady, he kept nothing ouer night. So deſirous he was of Martyrdome, that he went to Syria, to the Souldane, whiche receaued him honourably: wherby it may be thought, that (ſurely) he told him not the truth, as S. Iohn Baptiſt dyd in Herods houſe. For truth is ſeldome welcome in courts and in the world. But it is hard to make a martyr of hym which is no true confeſſor. I will here paſſe ouer the fable, howe Chriſt and hys ſayntes dyd marke hym with fiue woundes. Theſe Franciſcans or beggyng Fryers, although they were all vnder one rule and clothing of S. Frauncis: yet they be deuided in many ſectes, and orders: ſome go on treen ſhoes or Pattins, ſome barefooted, ſome regulare Franciſcanes or obſeruauntes, ſome Minors or Minorites, other be called Minimi, other of the Goſpell, other de Caputio. They all differ in many things, but accord in ſuperſtitiõ & hipocriſie. And forſomuch as we haue here entered into the matter of theſe 2. orders of Friers: by the occaſion hereof, I thought a little by the waye to digreſſe from our ſtory, in reciting the whole catologue or tablement of Monkes, Fryers, and Nunnes, of al ſectes rules, and orders ſet vp and confirmed by the Pope. The names of whome here in order of the Alphabet followe vnder written.

Diuers ſectes of Franciſcans.

The rablement of religious orders.

The table of all religious orders.

AVſtinians, the firſt order.	
Ambroſians two ſortes.	490
Antonies heremites.	324
Auſtines heremetes.	498.
Auſtines obſeruauntes.	490
Armenians ſect.	
Ammonites and Moabites.	
Baſilius order.	384
Benets order.	524
Bernardus order.	1120
Barefooted Friers.	1222
Brigits order.	1370
Beghartes or white ſpirites.	1399
Brethren of Ieruſalem.	1103
Brethren of S. Iohn De Ciuitate blacke Frier.	1220
Brethren of wilfull pouertie.	
Cluniacenſis order.	913
Canons of S. Auguſtine.	1080
Charterhouſe order.	1086
Ciſtercienſis order.	1098
Croſbearers or croſſed Friers.	1216
Carmelites or white Friers.	1212
Clares order.	1225
Celeſtines order.	1297
Camaldulenſis order.	950
Croſſe ſtarred brethren.	
Conſtantino politaniſh order.	
Croſſe bearers.	
Chapter monkes.	
Dutch order.	2216
Dominicke blacke Friers.	1220
Franciſcanes.	1224
Graundmontenſis order.	1076
Gregorian order.	594
Georges order.	1407
Guilhelmites.	1246
Gerundinenſiſh order.	
Galilei or Galileans.	
Heremites.	
Helenes brethren. Humilliati.	1166
Hoſpitall brethren.	
Holy Ghoſt order.	
Ieromes orders two ſortes.	1412.
Iohns Hermites.	
Iuſtines order.	1432.
Iohns order Ioannites. otherwiſe knightes of the Rodes.	380 1308
Inieſuati.	1365
Ieromes heremites.	490
Ioſephes order.	
Iacobites ſect.	
Iames brethrens order.	
Iames brethren with the ſword.	
Indians order.	
Katherine of Senes order.	1455
Keyed Monkes knightes of rhodes.	
Lazarites or Mary Magdalens our Lady brethren.	1034
Lordes of Vngary.	
Minorites. which be deuided into.	Conuentuales. Obſeruauntes. Reformate. Collectane. De Caputio. De Euangelio. Amedes. Clarini, and other.
Minors or Minorites.	1224
Maries ſeruaunts.	1304
Monkes of mount Oliuete.	1046
Marouinies ſect.	
Moronites ſect.	
Monachie and Monache.	
Morbonei and Mereſtei.	
Menelayſh and Iaſoniſh ſect.	
New Chanons of S. Auſten.	1430
Neſtorini.	
Nalharte brethren.	
New order of our Lady.	
Nazarei.	
Paules Hermites.	345
Premonſtratenſis order.	1119
Preacher order, or blacke Friers.	
Peter the Apoſtles order.	1409
Purgatory bethren.	
Rechabites.	
Sarrabaites.	
Sambonites.	1199
Scourgers the firſt ſect.	1266
Souldiours of Ieſus Chriſt.	1323
Scopenites, or Sainct Saluators order.	1367
Specularij or the glaſſe order.	
Sepulchers order.	
Sheere order.	
Swerdes order.	
Starred Monkes.	
Starred Fryers.	
Sclauony order.	
Scourgers the ſecond ſect, called Niniuites.	
Stoole brethren.	
Scotland brethren order.	
Sicarij.	
Sainct Sophis order.	
Templar Lordes.	1110
Templar knightes.	1120
The vale of Ioſophat hys order.	
Vallis vmbroſe.	1400
Waldenſis ſect.	
Wentzelaus order.	
Wilhelmer order.	
White Monks of mount Oliuet.	1406
Zelotes order.	

Thus haſt thou, if thou pleaſe (gentle reader) to know what orders and what ſectes of religion haue bene ſet vp by the pope, the catalogue and number of them all, ſo far as we could ſearch them out: not onely in bookes printed of late in Germany, namely by the reuerend father Martine Luther: but alſo conferred with an other engliſh book which came to our handes, containing the ſame like notes of auncient antiquitie, the number of whiche rablement of religious perſons came to 101. Now as I haue reckoned vp the names and varieties of theſe prodigious ſectes: it commeth to minde conſequently to inferre the prophecie of Hildegardis, as well agaynſt the whole route of Romiſh prelates, and the fall of that Church, as eſpecially agaynſt the begging Fryers and ſuche other vnprofitable bellyes of the Church. Thus Hildegardis is holden of the papiſtes themſelues to be a great Prophetiſſe, whoſe prophecie proceedeth in this maner, firſt agaynſt the Prieſtes and prelates of the Romiſhe Church, as followeth.

✤ The prophecie of Hildegardis, of the ruine of *Rome, and agaynſt the begging Friers.*

Hildegardis a Nonne, and (as many iudged a prophetiſſe) liued in the yeare 1146. In her prophecies ſhe doth moſt greeuouſly reprehend, not only the wicked and abhominable lyfe of the ſpirituall papiſtes: but alſo the cōtempt of eccleſiaſticall office, & alſo the horrible deſtruction of the church of Rome. In a certayne place ſhee hath theſe wordes. And now is the law neglected among the ſpirituall people, which neglecte to teach and doe good things The mayſter lykewiſe and the prelates do ſleep: deſpiſing iuſtice & laying it aſide. In a certayne viſion: the Churche appeared to her in the ſhape of a woman, complayning ẏ the prieſtes had berayed her face with duſt, & rent her coat &c. and that they did not ſhyne ouer the people, neyther in doctrine, neyther in exāple of lyfe: but rather contrariwiſe, that they haue driuen the innocent lambe from them. She ſayd moreouer, that all eccleſiaſticall order did euery daye become worſe and worſe, and that prieſtes did not teache but deſtroy the law of God. And for theſe horrible crimes and impieties, ſhe threatneth and prophecieth vnto them Gods moſt heauy wrath and diſpleaſure, and dolefull puniſhmentes. There is no cauſe why the ſpirituall papiſts ſhould flatter themſelues vpon this: that ſhe promiſed agayne to the miniſters of the Church thoſe good things to follow, lyke as Ioannes de Rupe ſciſſa doth, and other ſuche like prophetes: for they ſay it will come to paſſe, that they muſt repent before the tymes be amēded. By which thing (vndoubtedly) they meane, the godly miniſters in ẏ reformed Churches, which for the moſt part were of the ſpirituall nūber, and yet did forſake the diſhoneſt lyfe, & thoſe wicked idolatries. Now, where as the prieſtes & monks, that is, the whole rable and ſpiritualtie doe account Hildegard for a true prophetiſſe: howe they ought to conſider that by her they are more ſeuerely accuſed: not as by a woman, but as by God hymſelf. And I pray you, what abhomination, unpiety, and idolatry hath bene committed ſince that tyme by the ſpiritualtie? I wil note heare a certaine prophecy of hers, taken out of the common places of Henry Token. becauſe we ſee it manifeſtly fulfilled in our time. She prophecieth of the reformation of religion, and ſayth that it ſhall be moſt godly.

A prophe for the de of the Romiſh church

Then ſhall the crowne of Apoſtolicall honour be deuided, becauſe there ſhalbe found no religion among the Apoſtolicall order, & for that cauſe ſhall they deſpiſe the dignitie of that name, and ſhal ſet ouer them other men and other Archbiſh. In ſo much, that the Apoſtolike ſea of that tyme (by the diminution of hys honour) ſhall haue ſcarſe Rome, and a fewe other Countryes thereabout vnder hys crowne. And theſe thinges ſhall partly come to paſſe by incurſion of warres, and partly alſo by a common counſell, and conſent of the ſpiritual and ſeculer perſons. Then ſhall iuſtice floriſh, ſo that in thoſe dayes men ſhall honeſtly apply themſelues to the ancient cuſtomes and dicipline

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Thus haſt thou, if thou pleaſe (gentle reader) to know what orders and what ſectes of religion haue bene ſet vp by the pope, the catalogue and number of them all, ſo far as we could ſearch them out: not onely in bookes printed of late in Germany, namely by the reuerend father Martine Luther: but alſo conferred with an other engliſh book which came to our handes, containing the ſame like notes of auncient antiquitie, the number of whiche rablement of religious perſons came to 101. Now as I haue reckoned vp the names and varieties of theſe prodigious ſectes: it commeth to minde conſequently to inferre the prophecie of Hildegardis, as well agaynſt the whole route of Romiſh prelates, and the fall of that Church, as eſpecially agaynſt the begging Fryers and ſuche other vnprofitable bellyes of the Church. Thus Hildegardis is holden of the papiſtes themſelues to be a great Prophetiſſe, whoſe prophecie proceedeth in this maner, firſt agaynſt the Prieſtes and prelates of the Romiſhe Church, as followeth.

❧ The prophecie of Hildegardis, of the ruine of *Rome, and agaynſt the begging Friers.*

Hildegardis a Nonne, and (as many iudged a prophetiſſe) liued in the yeare 1146. In her prophecies ſhe doth moſt greeuouſly reprehend, not only the wicked and abhominable lyfe of the ſpirituall papiſtes: but alſo the cõtempt of eccleſiaſticall office, & alſo the horrible deſtruction of the church of Rome. In a certayne place ſhee hath theſe wordes. And now is the law neglected among the ſpirituall people, which neglecte to teach and doe good things The mayſter lykewiſe and the prelates do ſleep: deſpiſing iuſtice & laying it aſide. In a certayne viſion: the Churche appeared to her in the ſhape of a woman, complayning ẏ the prieſtes had berayed her face with duſt, & rent her coat &c. and that they did not ſhyne ouer the people, neyther in doctrine, neyther in exãple of lyfe: but rather contrariwiſe, that they haue driuen the innocent lambe from them. She ſayd moreouer, that all eccleſiaſticall order did euery daye become worſe and worſe, and that prieſtes did not teache but deſtroy the law of God. And for theſe horrible crimes and impieties, ſhe threatneth and prophecieth vnto them Gods moſt heauy wrath and diſpleaſure, and dolefull puniſhmentes. There is no cauſe why the ſpirituall papiſts ſhould flatter themſelues vpon this: that ſhe promiſed agayne to the miniſters of the Church thoſe good things to follow, lyke as Ioannes de Rupe ſciſſa doth, and other ſuche like prophetes: for they ſay it will come to paſſe, that they muſt repent before the tymes be amẽded. By which thing (vndoubtedly) they meane, the godly miniſters in ẏ reformed Churches, which for the moſt part were of the ſpirituall nũber, and yet did forſake the diſhoneſt lyfe, & thoſe wicked idolatries. Now, where as the prieſtes & monks, that is, the whole rable and ſpiritualtie doe account Hildegard for a true prophetiſſe: howe they ought to conſider that by her they are more ſeuerely accuſed: not as by a woman, but as by God hymſelf. And I pray you, what abhomination, impiety, and idolatry hath bene committed ſince that tyme by the ſpiritualtie? I will note heare a certaine prophecy of hers, taken out of the common places of Henry Token. becauſe we ſee it manifeſtly fulfilled in our time. She prophecieth of the reformation of religion, and ſayth that it ſhall be moſt godly.

A prophe
for the dec
of the Ro-
miſh church

Then ſhall the crowne of Apoſtolicall honour be deuided, becauſe there ſhalbe found no religion among the Apoſtolicall order, & for that cauſe ſhall they deſpiſe the dignitie of that name, and ſhal ſet ouer them other men and other Archbiſh. In ſo much, that the Apoſtolike ſea of that tyme (by the diminution of hys honour) ſhall haue ſcarſe Rome, and a fewe other Countryes thereabout vnder hys crowne. And theſe thinges ſhall partly come to paſſe by incurſion of warres, and partly alſo by a common coũcell, and conſent of the ſpiritual and ſeculer perſons. Then ſhall iuſtice floriſh, ſo that in thoſe dayes men ſhall honeſtly apply themſelues to the ancient cuſtomes and dicipline of auncient men, and ſhall obſerue them as the auncient men did. The gloſe agreeth &c.

Theſe things thus premiſed, now will we come to the prophecie of the foreſaid Hildegard concerning the foreſaid begging Friers aboue mētioned: reciting her wordes: not only as they are printed in a book, printed of late in Germany, but alſo as my ſelfe haue ſeene and read, agreeing to the ſame booke word for worde, and yet haue the ſame to ſhew: written in old partchment leaues, in ſuch ſort as the thing it ſelfe moſt euidently declareth a great iniquitie of tyme. The wordes of her prophecie be theſe.

Hildegardis ophecying Friers and ookes.

In thoſe dayes ſhal riſe a ſenceles people, proud, greedy, without fayth, & ſubtile, the which ſhall eate the ſinnes of the people, holding a certayne order of fooliſh deuotion vnder the fayned cloke of beggery: preferring themſelues aboue all other, by their fayned deuotion: arrogant in vnderſtanding, and pretending holines: walking without ſhamefaſtnes, or the feare of God: in inuenting many new miſchiefes ſtrong and ſtout. But this order ſhall be accurſed of all wyſe men, and faythfull Chriſtians: they ſhall ceaſe from all labour, and geue themſelues ouer vnto idlenes: chuſing rather to liue through flattery, and begging. Moreouer, they ſhall together ſtudy, how they may peruerſly reſiſt the teachers of the truth, & ſtay them together wͭ the noble men. How to ſeduce and deceiue the nobilitie, for the neceſſitie of their liuing, and pleſures of this world, for the deuill will graft in them foure principall vices (that is to ſay) flattery, enuy, hipocriſie, and ſlaunder. Flattery, that they may haue large giftes geuen them. Enuy, when they ſee giftes geuen vnto other, and not vnto them. Hypocriſie, that by falſe diſſimulation, they may pleaſe men. Detraction, that they may extoll and commend themſelues, and bacbite others, for the prayſe of men, and ſeducing of the ſimple. Alſo, they ſhall inſtantly preache, but without deuotion or example of the Martyrs: and ſhall detracte the ſecular Princes, taking awaye the Sacramentes of the Church from the true paſtors, receauing almes of the poore, diſeaſed, and miſerable, and alſo aſſociating themſelues with the common people: hauing familiaritie with women, inſtructing them how they ſhall deceiue their huſbandes and friendes by their flattery and deceitfull wordes, and to robb their huſbandes to geue it vnto them: for they will take all theſe ſtolne and euill gotten goodes, and ſay: geue it vnto vs, and we will pray for you, ſo that they being curious to hide other mens faults, do vtterly forget their owne. And alas, they will receaue all thinges, of rouers, pickers, ſpoylers, theeues and robbers, of ſacrilegions perſons, vſurers, adulterers, heretickes, ſchiſmatickes, apoſtataes, whores and baudes, of noble men, periurers, marchantes, falſe iudges, ſouldiors tyrauntes, Princes, of ſuch as liue contrary to the lawe, & of many peruerſe and wicked men, following the perſwaſion of the deuill, the ſweetenes of ſinne, a delicate & tranſitory life, and fulnes euen vnto eternall damnation.

All theſe thinges ſhall manifeſtly appeare in them vnto all people, and they (day by day) ſhall waxe more wicked & hard harted: and whē as their wickednes & deceits ſhal be found out, then ſhall their giftes ceaſe, & then ſhal they goe about their houſes hungry, & as mad dogges looking down vpō the earth, & drawing in their neckes as doues, that they might be ſatiſfied with bread: then ſhall the people cry out vpon them. Wo be vnto you ye miſerable children of ſorrowe, the world hath ſeduced you, and the deuill hath bridled your mouthes, your fleſhe is frayle, and your hartes without ſauour, your mindes haue bene vnſtedfaſt and your eyes delited in much vanitie & folly, your dainty bellies deſire dellicate meates, your feet are ſwift to runne vnto miſchiefe. Remember when you were apparantly bleſſed, yet enuious: poore in ſight, but rich, ſimple to ſee to, but mighty flatterers: vnfaythfull betrayers: peruerſe detracters: holy hipocrites: ſubuerters of the truth: ouermuch vpright: proud, vnſhamefaſt, vnſtedfaſt teachers, delicate martyrs, confeſſors for gayne: meeke, but ſlaunderers: religious, but couetous: humble, but proud: pitifull, but hard harted lyers: pleaſaunt flatterers, peacemakers, perſecuters, oppreſſors of the poore, bringing in new ſectes newly inuented of your ſelues: mercifull thought but found wicked, louers of the world, ſellers of pardons, ſpoylers of benefices, vnprofitable orators, ſeditious conſpirators, dronkardes, deſirers of honours, maintainers of miſchiefe, robbers of the worlde, vnſatiable preachers, men pleaſers, ſeducers of women, and ſowers of diſcord, of whom Moyſes the glorious prophet, ſpake very wel in his ſong. A people without counſell or vnderſtanding: would to God they did know, and vnderſtand and foreſee the end. You haue builded vp on high, and whē you could aſcend no higher, then did you fall euen as Simon Magus, whome God ouerthrew, and did ſtrike with a cruell plague, ſo you likewiſe through your falſe doctrin, naughtines, lyes, detractions, & wickednes, are come to ruine. And the people ſhall ſay vnto them, goe ye teachers of wickednes, ſubuerters of truth, brethrē of the Sunamite, fathers of hereſies, falſe Apoſtles, which haue fayned your ſelues to follow the lyfe of the Apoſtles, and yet haue not fulfilled it in part: ye ſonnes of iniquity, we wil not folow the knowledge of your wayes, for pride and preſumption hath deceiued you, and inſatiable concupiſcence hath ſubuerted your erroneous hartes. And when as you would aſcend higher then was meete or comely for you (by the iuſt iudgement of God) you are fallen backe into perpetuall opprobry and ſhame.

This Hildegardis whoſe prophecie we haue mentioned, lyued about the yeare of our Lord. 1146. as was read in Chronico Martini.

Croſſebearer Fryers.

About the ſame tyme that theſe Franciſcans, and Dominicke Friars began (which are aboue mentioned) ſprāg vp alſo the croſſebearers, or crouched Friers, taking their originall & occaſion of Innocent yͤ third: which Innocent rayſed vp an army (ſigned with a Croſſe on their breſt) to fight agaynſt the Albingenſes, whom the pope and his ſect accompted for heretickes, about the partes of Tholouſe. What theſe Albingenſes were, it cannot be well gathered by the olde popiſh hiſtoryes: For if there were any that did hold, teach, or mayntayne agaynſt the Pope, or his papal pride: or withſtand & gainſay his beggarly traditiōs, rites and religions. &c. the hiſtoricians of that time (for the moſt part in writing them) do ſo reproue and miſreporte them (ſuppreſſing the truth of their articles) that they make thē and paynt them forth to be worſe then Turkes and Infidels. And that as I ſuppoſe, cauſed Mathew Pariſienſis and other of that ſort, to write ſo of thē as they did: Otherwiſe, it is to be thought (and ſo I finde in ſome recordes) that the opinions of the ſaid Albingenſes were ſound inough: holding and profeſſing nothing els, but only agaynſt the wāton wealth, pride, and tyranny of the Prelates: denying the Popes authoritie to haue ground of the Scriptures: neyther coulde they away with their ceremonies and traditions, as Images, Pardons, Purgatory of the Romiſh church, calling them (as ſome ſay) blaſphemous occupyinges. &c. Of theſe Albingenſes were ſlayne (at times) and burned, a great multitude, by the meanes of the Pope, and Symon Eccleſiaſticus with other moe. It ſeemeth that theſe Albingenſes were chiefly abhorred of the Pope, becauſe they ſet vp a contrary Pope againſt him, about the coaſtes of Bugarorum. For the which cauſe, the Byſhop called Portinenſis beyng the popes Legate in thoſe quarters, writeth to the Archbiſhop of Roan and other Byſhops in this wiſe.

Albingenſes.

A letter of the Biſhop Portinenſis concerning the Albingenſes.

Venerabilibus patribus Dei gratia Rothomagenſi Archiepiſcopo & eius ſuffraganeis Epiſcopis. Sal. in Domino Ieſu Chriſto. Dum pro ſpōſa veri crucifixi veſtrum cogimur auxilium implorare, potiùs compellimur lacerari ſingultibus & plorare. Ecce quòd vidimus loquimur, & quod ſcimus teſtificamur. Ille homo perditus qui extollitur ſuper omne quod colitur, aut dicitur Deus, iam habet perfidiæ ſuæ præambulum hæreſiarcam, quē hæreteci Albingenſes Papam ſuum nominant, habitantem finibus Bugarorum & Croaticæ, & Dalmitiæ, iuxta Hungariorum nationem. Ad eam confluunt hæretici Albingenſes, vt ad eorū conſulta reſpondeat. Etenim de Carcaſona oriundus vices illius Antipapæ gerens Bartholomæus, hæreticorum Epiſcopus, funeſtam ei exhibendo reuerentiam, ſedem & locum cōceſsit, in villa que Porlos appellatur, & ſeipſum tranſtulit in partes Tholoſanas. Iſte Bartholomæus in literarum ſuarum vndique diſcurrentium tenore, ſe in primo ſalutationis alloquio, intitulat in hūc modum: Bartholomæus ſeruus ſeruorum. M. ſanctæ fidei ſalutē. Ipſe etiam inter alias enormitates creat Epiſcopos, & Eccleſias perfidè ordinare contendit. Rogamus igitur attentiùs, & per aſpertionem ſanguinis Ieſu Chriſti, & propenſiùs obſecramus, authoritate Domini Papæ qua fungimur, in hac parte diſtrictè præcipientes, quatenus veniatis Senonas in oct. Apoſtorum Petri & Pauli proximè futuris, vbi & alij prælati Franciæ, fauente Domino congregabuntur, parati conſilium dare in negotio prædicto, & cum alijs qui ibidem aderunt prouidere ſuper negotio Albingenſi. Alioqui inobedientiam veſtram. D. Papæ curabimus ſignificari. Datum Apud Plauuium. 6. Nonas Iulij.

For ſomuch as mention is here made of theſe ſuperſtitious ſectes of Fryers, and ſuch other beggerly religions, it might ſeeme not much impartinent, being moued by the occaſion hereof, as I haue done in Hildegardis before: ſo now to annexe alſo to the ſame, a certayne other auncient treatiſe

The blind ignorance of fryers deſcribed.

treatiſe compyled by Geoffray Chawcer by the way of a Dialogue or queſtions moued in the perſon of a certayne vplandiſh and ſimple ploughman of the country. Whiche treatiſe for the ſame, the author intituled Iacke vpland: wherein is to be ſeene and noted to al the world, the blind ignoraunce and variable diſcord, of theſe irreligious religions, how rude and vnſkilfull they are in matters and principles of our Chriſtian inſtitution. As by the contents of this preſent Dialogue appeareth, the wordes wherof in the ſame old Engliſh, wherein firſt it was ſet forth, in this wiſe doe procede. Wherein alſo thou mayſt ſee, that it is no new thing that their blaſphemous doyngs hath by diuers good men in old tyme bene detected, as there are many and diuers other olde bookes to ſhew.

✻ A treatiſe of Geoffrey Chawcer

Intituled Iacke Vpland.

The fruites of Antichriſt.

I Iacke vpland make my mone to very God and to all true in Chriſt, that Antechriſt and his Diſciples (by colour of holines) walking and deceauing Chriſtes Church by many falſe figures: where through (by Antechriſt and hys) many vertues bene tranſpoſed to vices.

Antichriſt his broode.

But the fellieſt folke that euer Antechriſt found, bene laſt brought into the church and in a wonder wiſe: for they bene of diuers ſectes of Antechriſt, ſowne of diuers countreys and kindreds. And all men knowne well, that they be not obedient to Byſhops, ne liege men to kinges: neyther they tyllen, ne ſowne, weden, ne repen, woode, corne, ne graſſe, neither nothing that man ſhould helpe: but onely themſelues their lyues to ſuſtayne. And theſe men han all maner power of God as they ſeyn in heuyn & in yerth, to ſell heuyn and hell to whom that them liketh, and theſe wretches were neuer where to bene themſelfes.

Patience proueth M. Fryer.

And therfore (Frere) if thine order & rules bene grounded on Goddys law, tell thou me Iacke vpland: that I aſke of thee: and if thou be or thinkeſt to be on Chriſtes ſide keepe thy paciens.

The Fryer muſt anſwere according to Gods worde.

Saint Paule teacheth, that all our deedes ſhould be do in charite: and els it is nought worth, but diſpleaſing to God and harme to our owne ſoules. And for that Freres challenge to be greateſt Clerkes of the Churche, and next following Chriſt in liuing: men ſhould for charite aſke thē ſome queſtions, and praye them to grounde their aunſweres in reaſon and in holy write, for els their aunſwere woulde nought bee worth, be it floriſhed neuer ſo fayre and as mehinke men might ſkilfully aſke thus of a Frere.

Friers may better breake Gods law then mans lawe.

1. ¶ Frere, how many orders be in erth: and which is the perfiteſt order? of what order art thou? who made thyne order? what is thy rule? Is there any perfecter rule then Chriſt himſelfe made? If Chriſtes rule be moſt perfite why ruleſt thou thee not therafter? without more why, ſhall a Frere be more puniſhed if he breke the rule that hys patron made, then if he breke the heeſtes that God hymſefe made?

There is but one religion.

2. Approueth Chriſt any more religions then one, that S. Iames ſpeaketh of? If he approueth no more, why haſt thou left his rule and takeſt an other? why is a Frere apoſtata that leuyth his order & taketh an other ſect, ſith there is but one religion of Chriſt.

The Frier more bound to his habite then the man to his wife.

3. Why be ye wedded faſter to your habites then a man is to hys wife? For a man may leaue hys wife for a yeare or two as many men done, and if you leue your abite a quarter of a yeare, ye ſhuld beholden apoſtataſe.

If the habite make the Fryer religious, as his habit weareth ſo doth his religion.

4. Makith your habite you men of Religion or no? If it do, then euer as it wereth, your religion wereth, and after that that your habite is better, your religion is better: and when ye haue liggin it beſide, then lig ye your religion beſide you, and byn apoſtataſe, why bye ye you ſo precious clothes, ſith no man ſeekith ſuch but for vayne glory, as S. Gregory ſayth.

What betokeneth your great hood, your ſcaplery, your knotted girdle, and your wide cope?

5. Why vſe ye all one colour, more then other Chriſten mē do? what betokeneth that ye bene clothed all in one maner clothing?

Holines of all hipocrites conſiſteth in clothing and outward appearāce

If ye ſay, it betokenith loue and charite: certes, then ye be oft hipocrites, whē any of you hateth other, and in that that ye woole be ſayd holy by your clothing.

Why may not a Frere weare cloathing of an other ſect of Freres, ſith holines ſtondeth not in the clothes.

6. Why hold ye ſilence in one houſe more then an other, ſith men ought ouer all to ſpeke the good & leaue the euil?

Why eate you fleſh in one houſe more then in an other? if your rule and your order be perfite, and the patron that made it?

All Fry found

7. Why gete ye your diſpenſatiōs to haue it more eſy: certes, other it ſeemeth that ye be vnperfite, or he that made it ſo hard: that ye may not hold it. And ſeker, if ye holde not the rule of your patrons, ye be not then her Fryers and ſo ye lye vpon your ſelues.

Fryers be dead and qui beggars.

8. Why make ye you as dede men, when ye be profeſſed, and yet ye be not dede, but more quicke beggers then ye were before? and it ſeemeth euill a dede man to goe about and begge.

9. Why will ye not ſuffer your Nouices, heare your coūſels in your chapter houſe ere that they haue bene profeſſed if your counſels byn true and after Gods law?

Graues for dead and not courtly ſes.

10. Why make ye you ſo coſtly houſes to dwell in? ſith Chriſt did not ſo, and dede men ſhould haue but graues, as falleth it to dead men, and yet ye haue more Courtes then many Lordes of England. For ye mowe wenden through the realme, and each night well nigh lyg in your owne courts, and ſo mow but right few Lordes do.

11. Why heyre ye to ferme your limitors, geuing therefore ech yeare a certayne rent, and will not ſuffer one in an others limitation, right as ye were your ſelfes Lordes of countreys.

Friers not the kings liege men. Friers no mēs pra ers.

Why be ye not vnder your Biſhops viſitations, and liege men to our king.

Why aſke ye no letters of brether heds of other mens prayers, as ye deſire that other men ſhoulde aſke letters of you?

If your letters be good, why graunt ye them not generally to all maner of men for the more charitie?

Friers gr ter and be ter thē Go

12. Mow ye make any man more perfite brother for your prayers then God hath by our beleeue? by our baptiſme and hys owne graunt? if ye mow, certes then ye be aboue GOD.

O vnchari table Fri

Why make ye men beleue that your golden trentall ſong of you to take therefore x. s. or at the leaſt. v. s. wole bring ſoules out of hel, or out of purgatory? if this be ſoth, certes ye might bring al ſoules out of payne, and that will ye nought, and then ye be out of charitie.

13. Why make ye men beleue, that he that is buryed in your habite ſhall neuer come in hell, and ye wyte not of your ſelfe whether ye ſhall to hell or no: and if this were ſothe, ye ſhuld ſell your hye houſes to make many habites, for to ſaue many mens ſoules.

Friers ſte lers of me children.

14. Why ſteale ye mens Children for to make hem of your ſect ſith that theft is againſt Gods heſtes, and ſith your ſect is not perfite: ye know not whether the rule that ye bynde hym to, be beſt for him or worſt.

15. Why vnderneme ye not your brethrē for their treſpas after the law of the Goſpell: ſith that vnderneming is the beſt that may be. But ye put them in priſon oft when they do after Gods law, and by Saint Auguſtines rule: if anye did amiſſe and would not amend him, ye ſhould put hym from you.

Shrift and burials we more gai full then ministring of the ſa ments.

16. Why couete ye ſhrifte and burying of other mens pariſhens, and none other Sacrament that falleth to Chriſten folke.

Why buſſy yee not tohere to ſhrift of pore folk as wel as of rich Lords and Ladyes? ſith they mowe haue more plēty of ſhrift fathers then poore folke mow.

Why ſay ye not the goſpell in howſes of bededred men? as ye do in riche mens that mow go to Churche and heare the Goſpell.

Poore m haue no ſoules ſ my fellow Fryer.

Why couete you not to bury poore folke among you? ſith that they bene moſt holy (as ye ſayne that yee beene for your pouerty.)

17. Why will ye not be at her diriges as ye haue bene at rich mens? ſithe God prayſeth him more then he doth other men.

Theſe be they that will not e ter themſelues nor ſuffer other men that would.

What is thy prayer worth? ſithe thou wilt take therefore: for of all chapmen ye nede to be moſt wiſe for dread of ſimonie.

What cauſe haſt thou that thou wilt not preach the goſpell, as God ſayth that thou ſhouldſt? ſith it is the beſt lore and alſo our beleue.

Why be ye euill apayd that ſecular prieſts ſhuld preach the Goſpell? ſith God himſelfe hath bodden hem.

The Frier getteth by *In princip* & yet hateth the Goſpel. Iudas for 30 pence, but the prieſt & Frier for 4. pence ſelleth Chri

18. Why hate ye the goſpell to be preached, ſithe ye be ſo much hold therto: for ye wyn more by yere with In principio, then with all the rules that euer your patrons made, and in this minſtrels bene better then ye, for they contrarien not to the mirthis that they maken, but ye contrarien the Goſpell both in word and deede.

19. Frere, when thou receiueſt a peny for to ſay a Maſſe: whether ſelleſt thou Gods body for that peny, or thy prayer or els thy trauell? if thou ſayeſt thou wolt not trauell for

to ſay the Maſſe, but for the peny, that certes if this be ſoth then thou loueſt to little mede for thy ſoule, and if thou ſelleſt Gods body, other thy prayer: then it is very ſimonie, and art become a chapman worſe then Iudas that ſolde it for thirty pence.

A compariſon betwene Iudas & the Frier.

20. Why writeſt thou her names in thy tables that yeueth the mony? ſith God knoweth all thing: for it ſeemeth by thy writing: that God would not reward him, but thou write in thy tables, God would els forgetten it.

The Frier writeth becauſe God forgetteth.

Why beariſt thou God in honde and ſclaundreſt hym, that he begged for hys mete? ſithe he was Lorde ouer all, for then had he bene vnwyſe to haue begged, and haue no neede thereto?

Frere after what law ruleſt thou thee? where findeſt thou in Gods law that thou ſhouldeſt thus beg?

21. What maner men needeth for to beg?

For whom oweth ſuch men to beg?

Why beggeſt thou ſo for thy brethren?

If thou ſayeſt, for they haue neede, then thou doeſt it for the more perfection, or els for the leſt, or els for the meane. If it be the moſt perfection of all: then ſhould al thy brethren do ſo, and then no man needed to beg but for himſelfe: for ſo ſhould no man beg but him neded. And if it be the leſt perfection, why loueſt thou then other men more then thy ſelfe? For ſo thou art not wel in charitie, ſith thou ſhouldſt ſeeke the more perfection after thy power, liuing thy ſelfe moſt after God: and thus leauing yͤ imperfectiō thou ſhouldeſt not ſo beg for them. And if it is a good meane thus to beg as thou doeſt, then ſhould no man do ſo, but they bene in this good meane, and yet ſuche a meane graunted to you may neuer be grounded on Gods law: for then both lerid and lewd that bene in meane degre of this world, ſhoulde goe about and beg as ye do. And if all ſhoulde doe ſo, certes well nigh all the world ſhould goe about and beg as ye done, and ſo ſhould there be ten beggers againſt one yeuer.

It is better to labour & geue: then to loiter and beg M. Frier.

Why procureſt thou men to yeue thee their almes, and ſayeſt it is ſo needefull, and thou wilt not thy ſelfe wynne thee that mede?

22. Why wilt not thou beg for poore bedred men that bene poorer then any of your ſect: that liggen and mow not goe about to helpe himſelfes, ſith we be all brethren in God, & that bretherhed paſſeth any other that ye or any mā coulde make, and where moſt neede were, there were moſt perfection, either els ye hold them not your pure brethren but worſe: but then ye be vnperfite in your begging?

Why make ye ſo many mayſters among you: ſithe it is agaynſt the teaching of Chriſt and his Apoſtle.

23. Whoſe bene all your rich courtes that ye han and all your rich iuells? ſith ye ſeyne that ye han nought ne in proper ne in common. If ye ſayne they bene the popes? why gether ye then of poore men and Lords ſo much out of the kinges hand to make your pope riche. And ſithe ye ſayne that it is great perfection to haue nought in proper ne in commen? why be ye ſo faſt about to make the Pope that is your father rich, and put on him imperfection? ſithen ye ſayne that your goodes bene all hys, and he ſhould by reaſon be the moſt perfite man, it ſeemeth openlich that ye ben curſed children ſo to ſclaunder your father and make hym inperfect. And if ye ſayne that the goodes be yours, then do ye ayenſt your rule: and if it be not ayenſt your rule, thē might ye haue both plough and cart and labour as other good men done, and not ſo to beg by loſengery, and idle as ye done. If ye ſay, that it is more perfection to beg them to trauell or worch with your hand, why preach ye not openly and teach all men to doe ſo? ſithe it is the beſt & moſt perfite life to the helpe of their ſoules, as ye make children to beg that might haue bene riche heyres.

Friers begge from al men to make the Pope rich.

If it be imperfectiō to be rich, why do the friers deſire to make the Pope vnperfect.

23. Why make ye not your feſtes to poore men and yeueth hem yeftes, as ye done to the rich? ſith poore men han more nede then the rich.

What betokeneth that ye go tweyne and tweyne together? If ye be out of charitie, ye accord not in ſoule.

Why beg ye and take ſalaries thereto more then other prieſtes? ſith he that moſt taketh, moſt charge hath.

24. Why hold ye not S. Frauncis rule and his teſtamēt? ſith Frauncis ſayth, that God ſhewed him this liuing and this rule: and certes if it were Gods will, the Pope might not fordoe it: or els Frauncis was a lyer that ſayd on this wiſe. And but this teſtament that he made, accorde with Gods will: or els erred he is a lyer that were out of charitie, and as the law ſayth, he is curſed that letteth the rightfull laſt will of a dead man. And this teſtament is the laſt will of Frances that is a dead man: it ſeemeth therefore that all his Freres bene curſed.

If Frances order be cōtrary to Chriſt his teſtament, thē is Frances accurſed.

25. Why will ye not touch no coyned mony with the croſſe ne with the kings hed, as ye done other iuels both of gold and ſiluer? Certes if ye deſpiſe the Croſſe or the kinges hed then ye be worthy to be deſpiſed of God and the king: and ſith ye will receiue mony in your harts, and not with your handes, and it ſeemeth that ye holde more holines in your hands than in your hartes, and then be falſe to God.

He that is more holy in hand thē in heart, is falſe to God.

26. Why haue ye exempt you from our kinges lawes, and viſiting of our byſhops more then other Chriſten men that liuen in this realm: if ye be not gilty of traitory to our realme, or treſpaſſors to our Biſhops? But ye will haue the kinges lawes for the treſpaſſe do to you, and ye wyll haue power of other Byſhops more then other prieſtes, and alſo haue leaue to priſon your brethren as Lordes in your courtes more then other folkes han, that bene the kinges liege men.

A ſubiect to exempt him ſelfe from the lawes of his prince ſmelleth of treaſon.

27. Why ſhall ſome ſect of you Freres pay eche a yeare a certayne to her generall prouinciall or miniſter, or els to her ſoueraignes; but if he ſteale a certayne number of children (as ſome men ſayne) and certayne if this bene ſothe, then ye be conſtreined vpon certayne payne to do theft agaynſt Gods commaundement. Non furtum facies.

Friers are forced to be theeues.

28. Why be ye ſo hardy to graunt by letters of fraternitie to men and women, that they ſhall haue part and merite of all your good dedes, and ye witen neuer whether God be apayd with your dedes becauſe of your ſinne? Alſo ye witen neuer whether that man or woman be in ſtate to be ſaued or damned, then ſhall he haue no merite in heuyn for hys owne dedes ne for none other mans. And all were it ſo, that he ſhould haue part of your good dedes: yet ſhuld he haue no more then God woulde geue him after that he were worthy: and ſo mich ſhal ech man haue of Gods yeft without your limitation. But if ye will ſay that ye bene Gods fellowes, and that he may not doe without your aſſent, then be ye blaſphemers to God.

Workes of ſupererogation.

God is the limiter of neede and reward, and not the Frier.

29. What betokeneth that ye haue ordeyned, that whē ſuch one as ye haue made your brother or ſiſter, and hath a letter of your ſeale, that letter mought be brought in your holy chapter, and there be rad, or els ye will not praye for him. And but ye willen pray eſpecially for all other that were not made your brethren or ſiſtren? then were ye not in right charitie: for that ought to be commen, and namely in Ghoſtly thinges.

Friers will not pray, but for them that be of their fraternitie.

30. Frere, what charitie is this to ouercharge the people by mighty begging vnder color of preaching, or praying, or maſſes ſinging: ſith holy writte biddeth not thus, but euen the contrary: for all ſuch ghoſtly dedes ſhuld be done freely, as God yeueth them freely.

31. Frere, what charitie is this to beguile children or they commen to diſcretion, and bynde hym to your orders that byn not grounded in Gods law, againſt her frendes will: ſithen by this folly bene many Apoſtatacs both in will and dede, and many bene Apoſtatacs in her will, during al her lyfe that would gladly be diſcharged if they wiſt how, and ſo many bene Apoſtatacs, that ſhoulden in other ſtates haue byn true men.

Friers doe make Apoſtatacs.

32. Frere, what charitie is this to make ſo many Freres in euery country to the charge of the people: ſith perſons & vicares alone, ye ſecular prieſts alone, ye monkes & Chanons alone, with biſhops aboue them: were inough to the church to doe prieſtes office? And to adde moe then inough is a foule error, and great charge to the people, and this openly agaynſt Gods will that ordayned all thinges to be done in weight, number and meaſure, and Chriſt himſelfe was apayd with 12. Apoſtles and a few diſciples to preach and doe prieſtes office to all the whole worlde, then was it better do then is now at this tyme by a thouſand dele: and right ſo as foure fingers with a thumbe in a mans hand helpeth a man to worch, and double number of fingers in one hand ſhould let hym more: and ſo the more number yͭ there were paſſing the meaſure of Gods ordinaunce, the more were a man letted to worke. Right ſo (as it ſeemeth) it is of theſe new orders that ben added to the church without grounde of holy writte and Gods ordinaunce.

The number of Friers are ſuperfluous & as neceſſary as ten fingers on one hande.

33. Frere, what charitie is this to the people to lye and ſay that ye follow Chriſt in pouerty more then other mē done, and yet in curious and coſtly howſing, and fine and precious clothing, and delicious and liking feeding, & in treaſure and iewels, & rich ornamentes, Freres paſſen Lordes and other rich worldly men: and ſooneſt they ſhold bryng her cauſe about (be it neuer ſo coſtly) though Gods lawe be put abacke.

See ſo faſt the Frier followeth Chriſt in his pouertie.

34. Frere what charitie is this to gather vp the books of holy writte and put hem in treaſory, and ſo empriſon them from ſecular prieſtes and curates, & by this cautell let hem to preach the Goſpell freely to the people without worldly mede, and alſo to defame good prieſtes of hereſie & lyen on hem openly for to let hem to ſhew gods law by the holy goſpell to the Chriſten people?

Friers are the letters of preaching the Goſpell.

35. Frere, what charitie is thys to ſayne ſo much holines

What holynes is in a friers coat

in your bodely clothing (that ye clepe your habite) that many blynd fooles deſiren to die therein more then in an other: and alſo that a Frere that leuith his habite late founden of men, may not be aſſoyled till he take agayne, but is Apoſtata as ye ſeyn, and curſed of God and mā both. The Frere beleueth truth, and patience, chaſtitie, meekenes and ſobriety: yet for the more part of his life, he may ſoone be aſſoyled of his Prior, and if he bring home to his houſe mich goad by the yeare (be it neuer ſo falſly begged & pilled of the poore and nedy people in in countries about) he ſhal behold a noble Frere, O Lord whether this be charitie?

The ſtoutter begger the nobler Fryer.

Why fryers ſo much deſire to haue rich men buryed in their frieries.

36. Frere, what charitie is this to preaſe vpon a riche man, and to entice him to be buryed among you from hys pariſh Church, and to ſuch riche men geue letters of fraternitie confirmed by your generall ſeale, and thereby to beare him in hand that he ſhall haue part of all your maſſes, mattens, preachinges, faſtinges, wakinges, and al other good dedes done by your brethren of your order (both whiles he liuith, and after that he is dead) and yet ye wyten neuer whether your deedes be acceptable to God, ne whether that man that hath that letter be able by good liuing to receiue any parte of your deedes: and yet a poore man (that ye wyte well or ſuppoſen in certaine to haue no good of) ye ne geuen to ſuch letters, though he be a better man to God then ſuch a rich man: neuertheleſſe this poore man doth not retche thereof. For as men ſuppoſen ſuche letters and many other that Freres behotten to men, be full falſe deceites of Fryers: out of all reaſō, and gods law and chriſten mens fayth.

Friers beheſtes are falſe deceits.

37. Frere, what charitie is this, to be Confeſſours of Lordes and Ladies and to other mighty men, and not amend hem in her liuing: but rather as it ſeemeth, to be the bolder to pill her poore tenauntes, and to liue in lechery, & there to dwell in your office of confeſſour for wynning of worldly goodes, and to be holde great by colour of ſuche ghoſtly offices: this ſeemith rather pride of Freres than charitie of God.

Friers deſire to be Lordes and Ladies confeſſors.

38. Frere, what charitie is this to ſayne, that who ſo liuith after your order, liuith moſt perfitely, and next followeth the ſtate of Apoſtles in pouertie and penaunce: & yet the wiſeſt and greateſt clerkes of you, wend or ſed or procure to ẏ court of Rome to be made Cardinals, or biſhops or the popes chaplaines, and to be aſſoyled of the vowe of pouertie and obedience to your miniſters in the which (as ye ſayne) ſtandeth moſt perfection and merite of your orders: and thus ye faren as Phariſeis that ſayen one and do an other to the contrary.

Fryers and Pharites ſay one and doe an other.

Why name ye more the Patrone of your order in your Confiteor when ye beginne maſſe: then other Sayntes, Apoſtles or Martyrs, that holy Churche hold more glorious, then hem? and clepe hem your Patrons and your anowries.

Delemma.

Frere, whether was S. Fraunces in making of hys rule, that hee ſet thine order in, a foole & a lyer, or els wyſe and true? If ye ſayne that he was not a foole, but wiſe, ne a lyer, but true: why ſhewe ye contrary by your doyng? whan by your ſuggeſtion to the pope ye ſayde, that your rule that Fraunces made was ſo harde, that ye might not liue to hold it, without declaration and diſpenſation of the pope. And ſo, by your deede: ne lete your Patrone a foole that made a rule ſo harde, that no man may well keepe: and eke your dede proueth him a lyer, where he ſaith in his rule, that he tooke and learned it of the holy Ghoſt. For how might ye for ſhame pray the Pope vndoe that the holy ghoſt bit, as when ye prayed him to diſpenſe with the hardnes of your order.

Which is the beſt order of Friers.

Frere, whiche of the foure orders of Friers is beſt to a man that knoweth not which is the beſt, but would fayne enter into the beſt, and none other? If thou ſayſt that thine is the beſt, then ſayſt thou that none of the other is as good as thine: and in this ech Frere in the 3. other orders wolle ſay that thou lyeſt, for in the ſelfe maner eche other Freere woll ſay that hys order is beſt. And thus to eche of the 4. orders bene the other three contrary in this poynt: in the which if anye ſayth ſooth, that is one alone, for there may but one be the beſt of foure: ſo followeth it that if each of theſe orders aunſwered to this queſtion as thou doeſt, iij. were falſe, and but one true: and yet no man ſhould wyte who that were. And thus it ſeemeth, that the moſt part of Freeres, byn or ſhould be lyers in this poynt, and they ſhould aunſwere thereto. If you ſay that an other order of the Freres is better then thine, or as good: why tooke ye nat rather therto as to the better, when thou mightſt haue choſe at the beginning: And eke why ſhouldeſt thou be an Apoſtata to leaue thine order, and take thee to that is better, and ſo why goeſt thou not from thine order into that?

Friers neuer agree one with an other.

Frere, is there any perfiter rule of religion than Chriſt Gods ſonne gaue in his Goſpell to his brethren? Or then that religion, that Saint Iames in his Epiſtle maketh mention of? If you ſay yes, then putteſt thou on Chriſt (that is the wiſedome of God the father) vnkunning, vnpower, or euill will: for than he could not make his rule ſo good as an other did his. And ſo he had be vnkunning, that he might not ſo make his rule ſo good as an other man might, and ſo were he vnmighty, and not GOD, as he would not make his rule ſo perfite as an other did his, and ſo he had bene euill willed, namely to himſelfe.

The Fryer thinkes his rule perfiter the Chriſtes, beca[...] be leaue the one and followeth the other.

For if he might, and could, and would haue made a rule perfite without default, & did not: he was not Gods ſonne almighty. For if any other rule be perfiter then Chriſtes, then muſt Chriſtes rule lack of that perfection by as much as the other weren more perfiter, and ſo were default, and Chriſt had fayled in making of his rule: but to put any default or failing in god is blaſphemie. If thou ſay ẏ Chriſts rule, and that religion of that S. Iames maketh mention of, is the perfiteſt: why holdeſt thou not thilke, rule withouten more. And why clepeſt thou the rather of S. Fraunces or S. Dominikes rule or religion, or order, then of Chriſtes rule, or Chriſtes order?

Frere, canſt thou any default or aſſigne in Chriſts rule of the Goſpell (with the which he taught al men ſekerly to be ſaued) if they kept it to her ending? If thou ſay it was to hard, then ſayeſt thou Chriſt lyed: for he ſayd of his rule: My yoke is ſoft, and my burthen light. If thou ſay Chriſtes rule was to light, that may be aſſigned for no default, for the better it may be kept. If thou ſayeſt that there is no default in Chriſtes rule of the Goſpell, ſith Chriſt himſelfe ſaith it is light and eaſy: what neede was it to patrons of Freres, to ad more thereto? and ſo to make an hardar religion to ſaue Fryers, then was the religion of Chriſtes Apoſtles and his diſciples helden and were ſaued by. But if they wolden that her Freres ſaten aboue the Apoſtles in heauen for the harder religion that the kepen here: ſo wold they ſitten in heauen aboue Chriſt himſelf, for they mo and ſtraight obſeruations: than ſo ſhould they bee better then Chriſt himſelfe with miſchaunce.

Dilemma.

Fryers wi[...] ſit in heau[...] aboue the Apoſtles.

Goe now forth & frayne your Clerkes, and grounde ye you in Gods law, & gyf Iack an aunſwere: and when ye han aſſoiled me that I haue ſayd ſadly in truth, I ſhal ſoile thee of thine ordes, and ſaue thee to heauen.

If Freres kun not or mow not excuſe hem of theſe queſtiōs aſked of hem: it ſeemeth that they be horrible gilty againſt God, and her euen Chriſten. For which giltes & defaultes, it were worthy that the order that they call theyr order were fordone. And it is wonder that men ſuſtayne hem or ſuffer hem lyue in ſuch maner. For holy writ biddeth that thou doe well to the meke, and geue not to the wicked, but forbed to geue hem bread, leaſt they be made thereby mightier through you.

After theſe digreſſions, now to returne to the courſe of our ſtory agayne. As Henry this king ſucceeded K. Iohn his father, ſo after Innocent the Pope, came Honorius 3. then Gregorius 9. &c. And after Otho the Emperoure (whom the Pope had once ſet vp, & after depriued agayn) ſucceeded Fredericke the ſecond, as is partly before touched. In the dayes of theſe kinges, popes and Emperors: it were to long to recite al that happened in England, but eſpecially in Germany, betwixt Pope Honorius, Gregorius and Fredericke the Emperour: the horrible tragedy wherof, were inough to fill a whole booke by it ſelfe. But yet we meane God willing, ſomewhat to touche concerning theſe Eccleſiaſtical matters, firſt beginning with this realme of England.

Otho the Emperour ſet vp a[...] depoſed a[...] gaine by [...] Pope.

After that the kingdome of England had bene ſubiected by K. Iohn, as hath bene ſayd, and made tributary to the pope and the Romiſh Church: it is incredible how the inſatiable auarice and greedines of the Romaines did oppreſſe and wring the commons and all eſtates & degrees of the realme, eſpecially beneficed men and ſuch as had any thing of the Church. Who, what for theyr domeſticall charges within the realme, what for the pope, what for the Legates, what for contributing to the holy land, what for relaxations, and other ſubtile ſleightes to get away theyr money, were brought into ſuch ſlauery, captiuitie, and penury, that where as the king neyther durſt nor might remedy their exclamations by himſelfe: yet notwithſtanding by his aduiſe, Symon Mountfort, and the Earle of Leiceiſter, and other noble men (not forgetting what great greuances and diſtreſſes the realme was brought into by the Romaines) thought to worke ſome way, how to bridle & reſtrayne the inſatiable rauening of theſe greedy wolues. Wherefore they deuiſed their letter, geuing ſtraight commandement to the religious men, and to ſuch as had their churches to ferme: that hēceforth they ſhould not anſwere the Romaynes of ſuch fermes and rentes anye more, but ſhould pay the ſayd fermes or rents vnto their own procters appoynted for the ſame purpoſe, as by their writings ſent abroad to byſhops or chapters, & other Eccleſiaſticall houſes, may appeare in this forme and effect as followeth.

A complaint of the nobles of England againſt the couetouſnes of Rome.

TO ſuch and ſuch a byſhop, and ſuche a chapter: all the vniuerſitie and company of them, that had rather dye then to be confounded of the Romaines, wiſheth health. How the Romaines and their Legates haue hitherto behaued themſelues toward you, and other Eccleſiaſticall perſons of this realme of England, it is not vnknowne to your diſcretions, in diſpoſing and geuing away the benefices of the Realme after their owne luſt, to the intollerable preiudice and greuaunce both of you and all other Engliſhmen. For where as the collation of benefices ſhoulde and doe properly belong to you and other your fellow byſhops (Eccleſiaſticall perſons) they thundring agaynſt you the ſentence of excommunication, that you ſhould not beſtow them vppon anye perſon of this Realme, vntill in euery Dioceſſe and Cathedrall Churche within the Realme, fiue Romaines (ſuch as the Pope ſhall name) be prouided for, to the value of euerye man an hundred poundes by yeare. Beſides theſe, many other greuaunces the ſayd Romaniſtes doe inflicte and inferre, both to the Laitie and Nobles of the Realme, for the patronages and almoiſe beſtowed by them and their aunceſtours: for the ſuſtentation of the poore of the Realme, and alſo to the Clergy and eccleſiaſticall perſons of the Realme, touching their liuinges and benefices. And yet the ſayd Romaniſtes not contented with the premiſſes, do alſo take from the Clergy of this Realme, the benefices whiche they haue, to beſtow them vpon men of their owne country. &c.

Wherefore, we conſidering the rigorous auſteritie of theſe foreſayd Romaniſtes, which once comming in but as ſtraungers hether, nowe take vpon them not onely to iudge but alſo to cōdemne vs, laying vpon vs vnportable burdens, whereunto they will not put to one of their owne fingers to moue: laying therfore our heades together vppon a generall and full aduiſe had among our ſelues concerning the ſame, haue thought good (although very late) to reſiſt and withſtand them: rather, then to be ſubiect to their intollerable oppreſsions, & greater ſlauery more hereafter to be looked for. For the which cauſe, we ſtraitly charge and commaund you, as your friendes (going about to deliuer you the Church, the king, and the kingdome from that miſerable yoke of ſeruitude) that you doe not intermedle or take any part, concerning ſuch exactions or rentes to be required or geuen to the ſayd Romaynes. Letting you to vnderſtand for trueth, that in caſe you ſhall (which God forbid) be found culpable herein: not onely your goodes and poſſeſsions ſhall be in daunger of burning, but alſo in your perſons ſhall incurre the ſame perill and puniſhmēt, as ſhall the ſayd Romiſh oppreſſors themſelues.

Thus fare ye well.

Example teaching neuer to take part againſt their king with forreine power.

¶ Thus much I thought here to inſert and notifie cōcerning this matter, for that not onely the greedy and auaritious gredines of the Romiſh church might the more euidently vnto al Engliſhmen appeare: but that they may learne by this example: how worthy they be ſo to be ſerued & plagued with their owne rod, which before would take no part with their naturall king, agaynſt forreine power, of whom now they are ſcourged.

Cardinall Otho Legat

To make the ſtory more playne. In the raygne of thys Henry the third (who ſucceding as is ſaid, after king Iohn his father raygned ſixe and fifty yeares) came diuers Legates from Rome to Englande: Firſt Cardinall Otho ſent from the Pope with letters to the king, lyke as other letters alſo were ſent to other places for exactions of money.

The pope requireth two prebēdſhips in euery cathedrall Church.

The king opening the letters and perceiuing the contentes: aunſwered that he alone coulde ſay nothing in the matter, which concerned all the clergye and commons of the whole Realme. Not long after, a Councell was called at weſtminſter, where the letters beyng opened the forme was this. Petimus imprimis ab omnibus Eccleſijs Cathedralibus duas nobis præbendas exhiberi, vnam de portione Epiſcopi, & alteram de capitulo. Et ſimiliter de Cœnobijs vbi diuerſæ ſunt portiones Abbatis & conuentus: a conuentibus quantum pertinet ad vnum Monachum, æquali facta diſtributione honorum ſuorum, & ab Abbate tantundem. That is: we require to be geuen vnto vs firſt, of all Cathedrall Churches two Prebendes, one for the Byſhops part, one other for the Chapter. And likewiſe of Monaſteryes, where be diuers portions, one for the Abbot, an other for the Couent: Of yͤ Couent, ſo much as appertayneth to one Monke, yͤ portion of the goods beyng proportionly deuided: Of the Abbot likewiſe as muche. The cauſe why he required theſe prebendes was this. It hath bene (ſayth he) an old ſlaunder, and a great complaynt agaynſt the Church of Rome, to be noted of inſatiable couetouſnes, which as ye knowe is the roote of all miſchiefe: and al by reaſon that cauſes be wont commonly not to be handeled, nor to proceed in the Church of Rome without great giftes and expenſe of mony. wherof, ſeyng the pouerty of the Churche is the cauſe, and why it is ſo ſlaundered and ill ſpoken of: it is therefore conuenient, that you (as naturall children) ſhould ſuccour your mother. For vnleſſe we ſhould receaue of you and of other good men as you are: we ſhoulde then lacke neceſſaryes for our lyfe, whiche were a great diſhonour to our dignitie. &c.

Note the cauſe why the pope is compelled to craue money of other countries.

When thoſe petitions and cauſes of the Legate were propounded in the foreſayde aſſembly at weſtminſter on the Popes behalfe (the Biſhops & Prelates of the realme beyng preſent) aunſwere was made by the mouth of maiſter Iohn Bedford on this wiſe: that the matter there proponed by the Lord Legate, in eſpeciall concerning the kyng of England, but in generall it touched all the archbiſhops with their Suffraganes, the Byſhops, and al the prelates of yͤ realm. wherfore, ſeing both the king by reaſon of his ſickenes is abſent, and the Archbiſhop of Caunterbury with diuers other Biſhops alſo were not there: therefore in the abſence of them they had nothing to ſay in the matter, neyther could they ſo doe without preiudice of thē which were lacking. And ſo the aſſembly for that tyme brake vp.

A councell at London called.

Not long after, the ſayd Otho Cardinall De carcere Tulliano, comming agayne from Rome cum autentico plenariæ poteſtatis, indicted an other Councell at London: cauſed all Prelates, Archbiſhops, Biſhops, Abbots, Priors, and other of the clergy to be warned vnto the ſame Councell, to be had in the Church of S. Paules at London, about the feaſt of S. Martin: the pretence of whiche Councell was for redreſſe of matters concerning benefices and religion, but the chiefe & principal was to hunt for money. For putting them in feare and in hope, ſome to loſe, ſome to obtein ſpirituall promotiōs at hys hand, he thought gayn would riſe thereby, and ſo it did. For in the meane time (as Pariſienſis in vita Henrici. 3. writeth) diuers pretious rewardes were offered him in Palfreis, in rich plate and iewels, in coſtly and ſumptuous garments richly furred, in coyne, in vitals. &c. In ſo much that onely the biſhop of wincheſter (as the ſtory reporteth) hearing that he woulde winter at London, ſent him L. fat Oxen, an C. come of pure wheat, 8. tunne of choſen wine, toward hys houſe keeping. Likewiſe other byſhops alſo for their part offred vnto the Cardinals boxe, after their habilitie.

Great rewardes giuen to the Cardinall.

The time of the Councell drawing nye: the Cardinall commanded at the weſt end of Paules Churche an high & ſolēne throne to be prepared, riſing vp to a glorious ſcaffold vpon mighty and ſubſtantiall ſtages ſtrongly builded and of a great height. Thus agaynſt yͤ day aſſigned, came the ſayd archbiſhops, Biſhops, Abbotes and other of the prelacy, both farre and neare throughout al England, weried and vexed with the winters iorny, bringing their letters procuratory. Who being together aſſembled, the Cardinall beginneth his ſermon. But before we come to yͤ ſermon, there happened a great diſcord betweene the 2. archbiſhops of Caunterbury and of Yorke, for ſitting at yͤ right hand and left hand of the glorious Cardinal: for the which the one appealed agaynſt the other. The Cardinall to pacifie the ſtrife betwene thē both, ſo that he would not derogate from eyther of them, brought forth a certayne Bull of the Pope: in the middeſt of which Bull was pictured the figure of the croſſe. On the right ſide of the croſſe ſtoode the image of S. Paule, and on the left ſide, S. Peter. Loe ſaith the Cardinall (holding open the Bull with the croſſe) here you ſee S. Peter on the left hand of the croſſe, and S. Paul on the right ſide, and yet is there betwene theſe two no cōtention. For both are of equall glory. And yet S. Peter for the prerogatiue of his keyes, & for the preheminence of his Apoſtleſhip and Cathedral dignitie ſeemeth moſt worthy to be placed on the right ſide. But yet, becauſe S. Paul beleued on Chriſt, when he ſaw him not, therfore hath he the right hand of the Croſſe: for bleſſed be they, ſayth Chriſt, which beleue and ſee not. &c. And from that tyme forth, the Archbiſhop of Canterbury inioyed the right hand, & the archbiſhop of Yorke, the left. Wherein yet, this Cardinall is more to be commended then the other Cardinall Hugo mentioned a little before, pag. 208. whiche in the like contention betwene theſe Archbiſhops, ran his way.

Contention for ſitting on the right hand of the Cardinall.

Why Saint Paul ſtandeth on the right hand of the popes croſſe Why the archb. of Cant. hath the right hand and the archb. of Yorke the left hande.

Thus the controuerſie ceaſed, and compoſed betweene theſe two: Otho the Cardinall ſitting aloft betweene theſe 2. archbiſhops beginneth his ſermon, taking the theame of the Prophet. In medio ſedis, & in circuitu eius quatuor animalia plena oculis ante & retro. &c. That is.

Note the theam of the Cardinall applyed to

In the midſt of the ſeat, and in the circuit about the ſeat,

God, howe he applyeth it to him ſelfe.
Scripture clerkly applyed.

ſeate, were foure beaſtes full of eyes before and behind. &c. Upon this theme, the Cardinall proceeded in hys ſermō, ſitting like a God in the middeſt. He compared thē about him, to yͤ foure beaſtes about the ſeate, declaring how they ought to haue eyes both before & behind (that is) that they muſt be prouident in diſpoſing of ſecular thinges, and circumſpect in ſpirituall matters, continuing & ioyning wiſely things paſt with thinges to come, & this was the greateſt effect of this Clerkly Sermon. That done, he geueth forth certayne ſtatutes for odering of Churches: as for the dedication of temples, for ſeuen ſacramentes, for geuing of orders, for ferming of benefices, collations and reſignations of benefices and vicarages, prieſtes apparell, & ſingle life, for eating of fleſh in religious houſes, for archdeacons biſhops, proctors, and ſuch other lyke matters. But the chiefeſt intent of all his proceeding was this, yͭ they ſhould be vigilant, prouident, and circumſpect, with all their eyes (both before and behynd) to fil the popes pouch: as appeared not onely by this, but all theyr other trauailes beſides. In ſomuch, that the kyng dreading the diſpleaſures of his commons for the doyngs of the Legate, willed hym to repayre home to Rome agayne: but yet could not ſo be rid of him, For he, receiuing now commaundementes from the Pope: applyed hys harueſt, ſtill glening and raking what ſoeuer he might ſcrape, writing and ſending to Byſhops and archdeacons in this forme and tenour.

A letter of the Cardinal to biſhops and archdeacons.
Cenſure of the Church well applyed.

OTto miſeratione diuina &c. diſcreto viro N. Epiſcopo vel N. Archidiacono ſal. Cum neceſſe habeamus de mandato ſummi pontificis moram trahere in Englia longiorem nec poſsimus proprijs ſtipendijs militare, diſcretionem veſtram, qua fungimur autoritate rogamus, vt procurationes vobis debitas in Epiſcopatu, vel Archidiaconatu veſtro colligi faciatis noſtro nomine diligenter, eas quàm citius poteritis nobis tranſmiſſuri, contradictores per cenſuram Eccleſiaſticam compeſcendo. Prouiſo, quòd quælibet procuratio ſummam 4. mercarum aliquatenus non excedat, & vbi vna Eccleſia non ſufficiet ad procurationem huiuſmodi habendam, duæ pariter vnam ſoluant. Datum. Lond. 15. Kal. Mar. Pont. D. Grego Papæ. 9.

Foure markes to be paide to the Pope of euery procuration.

Note the craftie practiſe of the Romiſh prelats to proyle for money.

And moreouer, note agayn the wicked & curſed traines of theſe Romiſh rakehels: who to picke ſimple mens purſes, firſt ſend out their Friers and preachers to ſtirre vp in al places and countryes men to go fight againſt yͤ Turks. whom, when they haue once bound with a vowe, & ſigne them wͭ the croſſe: thē ſend they their bulles to releaſe them both of their labour, and their vow for mony. As by theyr owne ſtile of writing is here to be ſeene, thus proceeding.

N. Epiſcopus dilectis in Chriſto filijs omnibus Archidiaconis per Dioceſim ſuam conſtitutis ſal. Literas Domini Legati ſuſcepimus in hæc verba. Otto miſeratione diuina. &c. Cum ſicut intelleximus nonnulli cruce ſignati regni Angliæ, qui ſunt inhabiles ad pugnandum, ad ſedem Apoſtolicam accedant: vt ibidem a voto crucis abſolui valeant, & nos nuper recipimus a ſummo pontifice in mandatis, vt tales non ſolùm abſoluere, verùm & ad redimenda vota ſua* compellere debeamus, volentes eorum parcere laboribus & expenſis, fraternitatem veſtram qua fungimur, monemus, quatenus partem prædictam a ſummo pontifice nobis conceſſam faciatis in noſtris dioceſibus ſine mora qualibet publicari, vt prefati cruce ſignati ad nos accedere valeant,* beneficiū ſuper his iuxa formam nobis traditam accepturi. Datum Londini xv. kal. Marc. Pont D N. Papæ Grego. 9.

* Note the ſtile of Rome.

* *Immo maleficium & naufragiū pecuniæ.*

Fredericke the Emperour maried king Iohns daughter.

The fifth part of euery ſpirituall mans liuing geuen to the Pope

The cauſe why the pope was ſo greedy & needy of mony was this: becauſe he had mortall hatred, & waged continuall battaile the ſame time againſt the good Emperour Fredericke the 2. who had to wife king Iohns daughter, and ſiſter to this king Henry thee 3. whoſe name was Iſabell. And therefore becauſe the popes warre could not be ſuſteined without charges: that made the pope, the more portunate to take vp mony in all places, but eſpecially in Englād. In ſomuch that he ſhamed not to require the fifth part of euery eccleſiaſticall mans liuing, as Pariſienſis writeth. And not onely that but alſo the ſayde Pope Gregory (conſenting with the Citizens of Rome) ſo agreed with them: that if they would ioyne with him in vanquiſhing yͤ foreſayd Fredericke, he would (and ſo did) graūt vnto thē, that all the benefices in England which were or ſhould be vacant (namely pertayning to religious houſes) ſhuold be beſtowed at their owne will & commaundement to their children & kinſfolkes. Whereupon it followeth in the forenamed hiſtory, vnde infra paucos dies miſit D. Papa ſacra præcepta ſua Domino Cant. Archiep. Elienſi. & Lincol. & Saliſb. Epiſcopis vt trecentis Romanis, in primis beneficijs vacantibus prouiderent, ſcientes ſe ſuſpenſos a beneficiorum collatione donec tot competenter prouideretur. That is.

Three hundred Romanes to be placed in the beſt benefices of England.

The Pope ſent in commaundement to the Archbiſhop of Cant. and 4. other Byſhops: that prouiſion ſhoulde be made for 3. hundred Romanes in the chiefeſt & beſt benefices in all Englād, at the next voydance. So that the foreſayd Aarchb. and byſhops ſhould be ſuſpēded in the meane tyme frō all collation or gift of the benefice, vntill theſe foreſayd 3. hundred were prouided for: whereupon the Archb. the ſame tyme ſeeing the vnreaſonable oppreſſion of the Church of Englād, left the realme and went into Fraūce.

Petrus Ru beus the Popes ag

A Romiſ ſleight of pope to g Engliſh ney.

Agayne, marke an other as much or more eaſie ſleight of the pope in procuring mony: he ſēt one Petrus Rubeus the ſame tyme, with a new deuiſe, which was this: not to work any thing openly, but priuily to go betwixt Biſhop and Biſhop, Abbot and Abbot &c. telling in theyr eares ſuch a Byſhop, ſuch an Abbot hath geuen ſo muche and ſo much vnto the Popes holines, truſting that you alſo will not be behinde for your part &c. By the meanes whereof it is incredible to thinke what a maſſe of money was made out of the Realme vnto the pope.

At length the foreſayd biſhops, Abbots, and Archdeacons feeling their owne ſmart, came to the king (whoſe father before, they did reſiſt) with their humble ſuite lamētably complaining of the vnmeaſurable exactions of yͤ pope: and eſpecially agaynſt Petrus Rubeus and hys fellowe Otto the Legate, deſiring the K. that ſeing the matter concheth not themſelues alone, but the whole church, and ſeing the valuation of Churches was knowne better vnto their archdeacōs then to themſelues: therfore they deſired a generall calling and talke to be had in the matter. In the Octaues of S. Iohn the Baptiſt, the day and place was aſſigned where they ſhould talke. At which day, and place the Prelates of England conuenting together, durſt not geue any direct denay of that contribution, but after a modeſt ſort did inſinuate certayne acceptions agaynſt yͤ ſame.

Exception alledged f not contributing to th Pope.

1. Firſt they ſay, that for ſomuch as the contribution is demaunded to warre agaynſt hym, who was ioyned to matrimony with their prince, they were not bound ſo to doe.
2. Secondly, for that the ſayd contribution tended to the ſhedding of Chriſten bloud: for ſo the forme of the bill pretended, to fight agaynſt the Emperour.
3. Thirdly, becauſe it was agaynſt the libertie of the Churche: for ſo it is in the bill: that they that woulde not, ſhould be excommunicate.
4. Fourthly, becauſe that when a late they gaue the tenth part of their goods, it was with this proteſtatiō, that they ſhould contribute to the pope no more hereafter.
5. Item, becauſe they had cōtributed before, if they ſhould now contribute againe, it were to be feared leaſt an action twiſe done ſhould grow into a cuſtome, as is in the lawe. Lege nemo &c.
6. Item for aſmuch as they ſhall haue cauſes continually to ſecke to Rome through the Emperours land: it were to be feared, leaſt the ſayd Emperour by the way woulde worke theyr annoyance.
7. Item, becauſe the king hath many enemies abroad, & for his warres hath need of much mony at home: it is not conuenient that the goods of the realme ſhould be alienated out of the Realme.
8. Item, becauſe that coulde not be done without preiudice to the patrones of their churches, not knowing whether their patrons did or would agree vnto the ſame.
9. Laſtly, becauſe they heare ſay, that the generall ſtate of the Church is in daunger: for the whiche they vnderſtand there ſhall be ſhortly a generall Councell, wherein ſuche matters ſhall be determined: and therefore if they ſhoulde contribute nowe, it ſhould be to the hinderance and dammage of the Church.

The Legate and hys fellow hearing theſe allegations, ſeing their owne confuſion were the leſſe importunate.

Not long after this, followed a general Councel at Lions, called by Pope Innocentius 4. in the which Councell the Engliſhe nation did exhibite certayne articles of their greuāces, not vnworthy to be knowne. Grauatur regnum Angliæ eo quòd D. Papa non eſt contentus ſubſidio illo quòd vocatur denarius be. Petri. &c. In Engliſh thus.

Articles e hibited in the counc of Lugdu for the gr uances ſteined by the pope.

The 1. greuance.

1. The kingdome of England is greued that the pope being not contented with his Peter pence, requireth and extorteth from the Clergy great exactions, and (more is like) without the conſent both of the king, and agaynſt the cuſtomes of the realme.

The ſecond.

2. Item, the church and kingdome of England is greued, that the patrons of the ſame, cannot preſent as they were wont into their Churches, for the popes letters. But the churches are geuen to Romaines, which knowe neyther the realme, nor the toung therof, both to the great perill of ſoules and robbing away the mony out of the realme.

The third.

3. Item, it is greued, for that the Pope promiſing by the

tenor of his letters, that in requiring of penſions and prouiſions in the realme of England, he woulde require but onely twelue benefices: now contrary to the tenour thereof, many more benefices and prouiſions are beſtowed away by him.

The fourth.

4. Item, the realme is greeued and complayneth, that in the benefices in Englād, one Italian ſucceedeth an other, the Engliſh men being not onely excluded, but alſo cōpelled (for yͤ determining of their matters) to ſeke to Rome: contrary both to the cuſtomes of the Realme, and alſo to the priuiledges graunted by the popes predeceſſors to the king and kingdome of England.

The fifth. He meaneth percaſe Otho or maiſter Martinus.

5. The fift greuance is, for yͤ oft recourſe of that infamous Legate, by whom both fayth and fidelitie, the auncient cuſtomes of the realme, the authoritie of olde grauntes, ſtatutes, lawes, and priuiledges, are imbeſeled and abrogate: whereby an infinite number in Englande be greeuouſly afflicted and oppreſſed.

The ſixte.

6. The ſayd realme is alſo greued in generall tallages, collections, and aſſiſes, made without the kings conſent, the appellation and contradiction of the kinges Proctors to the contrary notwithſtanding.

The ſeuenth

7. Seuenthly, the foreſayd realme complayneth and is greued: that in the benefices geuen to Italians, neither yͤ old ordinaunces, nor reliefe of the poore, nor hoſpitalitie, nor any preaching of Gods word, nor care of mens ſoules, nor ſeruice in the Church, nor yet the walles of the Churches be kept vp and mayntayned, as the maner & cuſtome of the ſame realme requireth. Ouer and aboue theſe foreſayd greuances, there came moreouer from the pope other freſh letters, charging and commaunding the prelates of England to finde of their proper coſtes and charges, for one whole yeare, ſome ten armed ſouldiours, ſome 5. ſome 15. to be ready at the popes commaundement there, where he ſhould appoynt.

The Babilonicall captiuitie & ſlauery of Englande vnder the Pope.

After theſe and other greuances & enormities of Rome the ſtates of England conſulting together, direct their letters to the pope for reformation therof: firſt the Abbots & Priors, then the byſhops and Suffraganes, after the Nobles and Barons, laſt of all the king himſelfe. But as the prouerbe is, venter non habet aures. ſo the popes purſe had no eares to heare. And as our common ſaying goeth, as good neuer a whit, as neuer the better, ſo went it with the pope. who not long after the ſame, ſent ye for new tallage and exactions to be collected: which thing when it came to the kings eare, he being moued and diſturbed vehemently withall, writeth in this wiſe to the biſhops, ſeuerally to euery one in hys dioceſſe.

The letter of K. Hēry the third to the Byſhops.

Henricus tertius dei gratia. &c. Venerabili in Chriſto N Epiſcopo Salutem. Licet aliàs vobis. &c. In Engliſhe thus.

K. Henry the 3. commaundeth no taxe nor tallage to be ſent to the pope.

Henry tha third by the grace of GOD, to the reuerend in Chriſt byſhop of N. Whereas we haue heratofore written vnto you once. twice, thrice, as well by our priuy ſeales, as alſo by our letters patentes, that you ſhoulde not exact or collecte for the popes behalfe, any tallage or other helpe of our ſubiectes eyther of the Clergy or of the Laity, for that no ſuche tallage nor help, either can or is vſed to be exacted in our realm without the great preiudice of our princely dignitie, which we neither wil nor can ſuffer or ſuſtayne: yet you contemnyng and and vilepending our commaundement, and contrary to the prouiſion made in our laſt Councell at London (graunted and agreed vpon by our prelates, Earles, and Barons) haue that notwithſtanding, proceeded in collecting the ſayd your taxes and tallages. Whereupō we do greatly maruell and are moued (eſpecially ſeeyng you are not aſhamed to doe contrary vnto your own decrees) whereas you and other prelates in the ſayd Councell in this did all agree and graunt, that no ſuch exactions ſhould be hereafter, vntill the returne of our & your Ambaſſadours from the court of Rome, ſent thither purpoſely of vs, and in the name of the whole realme for the ſame, for to prouide redreſſe agaynſt theſe oppreſsions. Wherefore, we ſtraitly will and command you, that from henceforth you do not proceede any more in collecting and exacting ſuch tallages or helps, as you will enioy our fauour, and ſuche poſſeſsions of yours, as within this our Kingdome you haue and hold. And if you haue already procured or gathered any ſuch thing: yet that you ſuffer not the ſame to be tranſported out of our realme, but cauſe it to be kept in ſafe cuſtody, till the returne of the ſayd Ambaſſadors, vnder the payne of our diſpleaſure in doyng of the contrary: and alſo of prouoking vs to extend our hand vpon your poſeſsions, farther then you will thinke or beleue. Moreouer, willing & charging you, that you participate & make common this our inhibition, with your Archdeacons and Officials, which we here haue ſet forth for the liberties of the clergy and of the people, as knoweth God. &c.

The popes ſaying againſt kyng Henry.

At length, the Ambaſſadours whiche were at Rome, came home about the latter end of December, bringing word, that the pope hearing what was done in the Councell of Wincheſter and of the king, was greatly diſpleaſed with him and the realme, ſaying: Rex Anglorum qui iam recalcitrat et frederiſat ſuum habet conſilium, ego verò & meum habeo, quod & ſequar. &c. Whereupon, when the Ambaſſadours began to ſpeake in the kinges behalfe: frō that time, they were halfe counted for ſchiſmatickes, & could no more be heard in yͤ court of Rome. The king hearing this, was maruelouſly incenſed therwith, commaunding by general proclamation through all this realme: that no mā ſhould hereafter cōſent to any taxe or ſubſidie of mony for yͤ court of Rome. when this came to the popes eare, vpon a cruell rage, he directed hys letters to the Prelates of England, charging that vnder paine of ſuſpence or interdiction, they ſhould prouide the ſame ſumme of mony to be collected agaynſt the feaſt of the Aſſumption, the charge being geuen to the Biſhop of Worceſter to be executor of the ſaid curſſe. The king, that lately entended to ſtand to the liberties of the Church: now for feare of the pope, and partly for perſwaſions of the ſayd Byſhop of Worceſter and other Prelates, durſt not ſtand to it, but gaue ouer. Moreouer, the greedy gulfe of the Romiſh auarice waxt ſo vnmeſurable, that at length the pope ſhamed not vpō the cenſure of hys curſſe, to aſke the third part of the Church goodes, and the yearely fruite of all vacant benefices. The chiefe doers and Legates in England, were Otho, Stephanus Capellanus, Petrus Rubeus nuncius, Mag. Martin. & Mag. Marinus, Ioannes Anglicus Epiſcopus Sabinenſis. Of whom to ſpeake further (for that I haue matter much more to write) for this preſent tyme I thinke beaſt to ſurceaſe: leaſt in opening all the deteſtable doyngs and peſtilent workinges of thoſe men, I might perhaps not onely moleſt good eares: but alſo infect the ayre. Yet one thing concerning the ſayd Otho, I cannot well ouerpaſſe.

K. Henry againe reſtraineth the popes taxes.

The pope taketh againſt the king.

The kyng compelled for feare to gyue ouer to the pope.

The pope aſketh the 3. part of the church goods.

A ſtory of Cardinall Otho at Oxford.

This Otho, as he left no place vnſought, where anye vauntage might be got: ſo amongſt all other he came to Oxford. where lying in the houſe of Oſney, he was receaued wt great honor: the ſchollers preſenting him honourably with ſuche diſhes and rewardes as they had, thinking to gratifie the Cardinall after the beſt maner. This beyng done before dinner, & the dinner ended, they came reuerētly to ſee and welcome him, ſuppoſing yͭ they alſo ſhould wt like curteſy agayn of hym be intertayned. As they came to yͤ gate, the porter (being an Italian) with a loud voyce aſketh what they woulde haue. They ſayd they came to ſee the Lord Legate. But Cerberus the porter holding the dore halfe open, with proud and contumelius language thruſt them out, and would not ſuffer them to enter. The Shollers ſeeyng that, by force thruſt open the gate and came in: whome when the Romaynes which were within would haue repelled with their fiſtes, and ſuche ſtaues as they had in their handes, they fell to alarum and by the eares together, with much houing and ſhouing and many blowes on both ſides. In the meane tyme while ſome of the ſchollers ran home for their weapons, their chaunced a poore ſcholler (an Iriſhman) to ſtand at the gate waytyng for hys almes. whom when the mayſter Cooke ſaw at the gate, he taking whote ſkalding water out of the pan where the meate was ſodden: did caſt it in hys face. One of the ſchollers a Welchman, that came wyth hys Bowe and ſhaftes, ſeing that: letteth driue an arrow, and ſhooteth this Nabuzardan (that mayſter of Cokes) cleane through the body, and ſlayeth hym out of hand. The Cooke falling dead: there was a mighty broyle, & a great clamor, throughout all the houſe. The Cardinall hearing the tumult and great noyſe about him, lyke a valiant Romayn runneth as faſt as as he could into the ſteple & there locketh yͤ dores faſt vnto him, where he remained till midnight. The ſchollers in yͤ meane while not yet all pacified ſought all corners about for the Legate, exclayming & crying out: wher is that vſurer, yͤ ſymoniack, that pilier & poler of our liuinges, yͤ proyler and extortioner of our mony which peruerteth our king: and ſubuerteth hys kingdom, enriching himſelfe with our ſpoyles. &c. all this heard the Cardinall, and held his peace. When the night approching had broken vp the field: the Cardinall comming out of his forte, and taking his horſe (in ſilence of the night) was priuily conueyed ouer the riuer toward the king, conueying himſelfe away as faſt he could. After the king heard thys, he ſendeth to Oxford a garriſon of armed men, to deliuer yͤ Romaines which were there hidden for feare of ſchollers. Then was maiſter Odo a lawer, with 30. other ſchollers apprehended, & caryed to Walingford Caſtle: & frō thence had in Cartes to London, where at length through much entreaty of the byſhops) being brought barefoote to yͤ Legates dore, had their pardon, & the Vniuerſitie releaſed of

A skirmiſh betwene the ſcholers of Oxford and the Cardinals men.

The Cardinall runneth away.

Thirtie ſcholers taken and had to priſon.

interdiction. And thus much concerning the Popes Legates in England.

Thus partly you haue heard, & do vnderſtand the miſerable thraldome and captiuitie of this realme of England and the clergy of the ſame: who before refuſed to take part with king Iohn their naturall Prince, agaynſt the forreigne power of the pope: and nowe how miſerably they are oppreſſed and ſcourged of the ſame pope. Whoſe inſatiable extortion & rapacity, did ſo exceede in pilling & poling of this realme long after this, that neyther the K. now could help thẽ, neither could the pope with any reaſonable meaſure be contẽt. In ſo much (as writers record) in the dayes of Sudbury Archb. of Canterbury an. 1360. the pope by hys proctors gat from the Clergy in leſſe then one yeare, more then lx. M. florences, of mere contributiõ: beſides hys other auayles & common reuenues out of benefices, prebendaries, firſt fruites, tributes, Peter Pence, collatiõs, reſeruatiõs, relaxations, & ſuch marchandiſe. &c.

Three ſcore thouſand Florens contributed to the pope in one yeare of the clergie.

Mention was made a little before pag. 231. and 239. of Albingenſes keeping about the City of Tholouſe. Theſe Albingauſes becauſe they began to ſmell the pope, and to controle the inordinate proceedinges and diſcipline of the ſea of Rome: the Pope therefore recounting thẽ as a people hereticall, excited and ſtirred vp, about this preſẽt time & yeare an. 1220. Ludouick the yong French king through the inſtance of Phillip his Father: to lay ſiege agaynſt the ſayd City of Tholouſe, to expugne & extinguiſhe theſe Albingenſes hys enemies. Wherupon Ludouicke (according to his fathers commaundement) reared a puiſſant and a mighty army, to compaſſe about and beſet the forenamed city: and ſo did. Here were the men of Tholouſe in great daunger. But ſee how the mighty protection of God fighteth for hys people, agaynſt the might of man. For after that Ludouicke (as Mathew Paris. teſtifieth) had long weryed himſelfe and hys men in waſte, and could do no good with all their ingines and artilery agaynſt the City: there fell moreouer vpon the French hoſte by the hand of God, ſuch famine, and peſtilence both of men and horſes, beſide the other dayly ſlaughter of the ſouldiours: that Ludouick was enforced to retyre, and with ſuche as were left to returne agayne home to Fraunce from whence he came. In the ſlaughters of whiche ſouldiours beſides many other, was Erle Simon de monti forte, generall of yͤ army, to whõ the landes of the Erle of Tholouſe was geuẽ by the pope, who was ſlayne before the gate of the Citty with a ſtone. And ſo was alſo the brother of the ſayd Symon the ſame time in beſieging a caſtell neare to Tholouſe ſlayne with a ſtone in like maner. And ſo was the ſiege of the Frenchmen agaynſt Tholouſe broke vp. Ex Mat. Par.

Ludouicke the French kyng.

Ludouicke fighteth againſt Albingenſes.

Ludouicke beſiegeth Tholouſe.

The hand of God fighting for his people.

Ex Mat. Pariſienſ. in vita Henrici. 3.

The generall of the army ſlaine.

The ſiege againſt Albingenſes broke vp.

As the ſiege of theſe French men could doe no good againſt the Citty of Tholouſe: ſo it happened the ſame time that the chriſtiãs marching toward the holy land, had better luck by the way in laying their ſiege to a certaine tower or caſtle in Egipt, neare to the city Damieta: which ſeemed by nature, for the ſituation and difficultie of the place, inexpugnable: as which being ſituate in the middeſt of the great floud Nilus (hard by the citty called Damieta) could neither be come to by land, nor be vndermined for the water, nor by famine ſubdued for the neerenes of the citty, yet notwithſtanding, through the helpe of God and policy of man, in erecting ſcaffoldes and Caſtles vppon tops of maſtes, the Chriſtians at laſt conquered it: and after that the Citty alſo Damieta, albeit not without great loſſe of Chriſten people. In the expugnation of this City or forte, among other that there died, was the Lantgraue of Thuring named Ludouicke, the huſband of Elizabeth, whom we vſe to call S. Elizabeth. This Elizabeth (as my ſtory recordeth) was the daughter of the kyng of Hungary, and maryed in Almayne, where ſhe liued with the forenamed Ludouicke Lantgraue of Thuringe. Whom ſhe thorough her perſwaſions prouoked and inceſed to take that vyage to fight for the holy land, where he in yͤ ſame vyage was ſlayne. After whoſe death, Elizabeth (remaynyng a widow) entred the profeſſiõ of cloyſterly religion, & made her ſelfe a Nunne. So growing and increaſing from vertue to vertue, that after her death, all Almayne did ſounde with the fame of her worthy doynges. Mat. Pariſ. addeth this more, that ſhe was the daughter of that Queene, who being accuſed to be naught with a certayne Archbiſhop: was therfore condemned wͭ this ſentence pronounced agaynſt her. Reginam interficere nolite temere bonum eſt: etſi omnes conſenſerint non ego contradico. That is (although it be hard in Engliſh to be tranſlated as it ſtandeth in Latine) To kill the Queene will ye not to feare that is good: And if all men conſent thereunto, not I my ſelfe do ſtand agaynſt it &c. The which ſentence beyng brought to Pope Innocent, thus in poynting the ſentence which otherwiſe ſeemeth to haue a double vnderſtanding, ſo ſaued the Queene: thus interpreting and poynting the ſentence: Reginam interficere nolite, timere bonum eſt: & ſi omnes conſenſerint, non ego. Contradico. That is: To kill the Queene will ye not: to feare, that is good. And if all doe conſent thereto, yet not I: I my ſelfe do ſtand agaynſt it: And ſo eſcaped ſhe the daunger. This Queene was the mother as is ſaid, of Elizabeth the Nunne, who for her holy Nunnyſhenes was canoniſed of the popes church, for a Saincte in Almanie, about the yeare. 1220. Ex Mat. Pariſienſ.

The expugnation of a certaine ſtrong caſtle of Damieta in Egypt by the Chriſtians.

Damieta taken by the chriſtiãs.

The ſtory of S. Elizabeth.

Elizabeth daughter of the kyng of Hungary.

S. Elizabeth prouoketh her huſband to goe and fight for the holy lande.

The mother of S. Elizabeth accuſed of adulterye.

The ſentence of a double meaning.

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ſentence.

Elizabeth
Canoniſ
Saint in Al
mayne.

And this by the way, nowe to proceede farther in the yeares and life of this king Henry. The next yeare following which was an. 1221. the king went to Oxford: where he had ſomething to do with William Earle de Albemarlia, who had taken the Caſtle of Biham: but at laſt for hys good ſeruice he had done in the realme before, was releaſed of the king with all his men, by the interceſſion of Walter Archbiſhop of York, and of Pandolphe the Legate. About which preſent yeare, entred firſt the Friers Minorites, or gray friars into England, and had their firſt houſe at Canterbury: whoſe firſt patron was Franciſcus, which dyed an. 1127. and hys order was confirmed by the pope Honorius 3. an. 1224.

{ Ann.
1221

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About the firſt comming of theſe Dominicke and gray Friers Franciſcane into the Realme (as is in Nic. Triuet teſtified) many Engliſhmen yͤ ſame time entred into their orders. Among whome was Iohannes de ſancto Egideo, a man famouſly expert in the ſcience of Phiſicke and Aſtronomy. And Alexander de Hales both Engliſhmen and great diuines. This Iohannes making hys Sermon ad clerum, in the houſe of the Dominick Fryers: exhorted his auditory with great perſwaſiõs vnto wilful pouerty. And to confirme his wordes the more by hys owne example, in the middeſt of his ſermon he came downe from the pulpite and put on hys Fryers habite: and ſo returning into the pulpite agayne made an end of hys Sermon. Likewiſe Alexander Hales entred the order of the Franciſcanes, of whom remayneth yet the booke intituled De Summa Theologiæ in old Libraries.

Ioannes de
Egidio.
Alexander
de Hales.

Moreouer, not long after by William de longa ſpata, which was the Baſtard ſonne of K. Henry 2. and Earle of Saliſbury: was firſt founded the houſe of the Carthuſian monkes at Heytrope. an. 1222. After whoſe death his wife Ela was tranſlated to yͤ houſe of Hentone in Barkeſhyre, an. 1227. which Ela alſo founded the houſe of Nunnes at Lacockes, and there continued her ſelf Abbes of the place. The Byſhop of London named William, the ſame tyme gaue ouer his byſhopricke: after whom ſucceded Euſtace in that ſea. Flor. hiſt.

Charter
houſe
founded by
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In the towne of Oxforde aboue mentioned, where the king kept his Courte: Symon Langton Archbiſhop of Canterbury held a Councell, where was condemned and burned a certayne Deacon, as Nic. Triuet ſayth, for apoſtaſie. Alſo an other rude country man who had crucified himſelfe, & ſuperſtitiouſly bare about the woundes in his feete & handes, was condemned to be cloſed vp perpetually wͭin walles. Ex Nic. Triuet. About which yeare alſo Alexãder kyng of the Scots maryed Iohanne ſiſter to king Henry.

Two c
ned at a
cell in Ox
ford.

Ex Nic. T
uet.

Not long after, began the new building of the minſter of Saliſbury. Whereat Pandulphus the Popes Legate, layd the fiue firſt ſtones: One for the Pope (ſuche was the fortune of that Churche to haue the Popes ſtone in hys foundation) the ſecond for the yong king Henry: the third, for the good Earle of Saliſbury. The fourth for the Counties: The fift for the Byſhop of Saliſbury. &c. Which was about the ſame yeare aboue mentioned. an. 1221. Ex Chron. Do. Sal.

In the ſame yeare about S. Iames tyde, fell a diſſention betwene the Citizens of London, & men of Weſtminſter, the occaſiõ wherof was this. A certein game betwene theſe two parties was appoynted to try whether parte in wraſtling could ouercome the other. Thus in ſtriuing for maiſtry, ech part contending agaynſt the other (as the maner is in ſuch paſtime) it happened the Lõdiners to get the victory, and the other ſide was put to foyle, but eſpecially the ſtuard of the Abbot of Weſtminſter. Who beyng not a litle confounded therwith, begã to forethinke in his minde how to be reuenged agayne of the Londiners. Wherupõ, an other day was ſet, which was at Lãmas, that the Lõdiners ſhould come agayn to wraſtle: and who ſo had the victory, ſhould haue the belweather, which was the price of the game appointed. As the parties were thus occupied in their play, yͤ ſtuard ſodenly bringeth vpon yͤ Londiners vnwares a company of harneſt mẽ, prepared for the ſame before, & letteth driue at the Londiners. Who at length beyng wounded and greeuouſly hurt, after much bloudſhed were driuen backe agayne into the Citie. This contumely

Diſſention
betwene
the Citiz
of London,
& of Weſtminſter.

thus

Wholſome counſayle of the Maior of London refuſed of wilde heads

Conſtantine executed at London for ryot.

thus beyng receaued, the Citizens egerly ſtroken with ire and impacience, ran to the common bell: and by yͤ ringing thereof, aſſembled their commons together to conſult with themſelues, what was to be done in the caſe ſo contumelious. Wherin, when diuers ſentences were giuen diuerſly Serle the ſame tyme Maior of London (a wiſe & diſcrete man) gaue this counſaile, that the Abbot of Weſtminſter ſhould be talked withal: who if he would rectifie the iniurie done, and ſatiſfie for the harme receiued, it ſhould be to them ſufficient. But contrary, one Conſtantine a great mã then in the Cittie of London, in much heat exciting yͤ people, gaue this ſentence: that all the houſes of the Abbot of Weſtminſter, but eſpecially the houſe of the ſteward, ſhold be caſt downe to the ground. In fine, that which he ſo vnaduiſedly counſailed, was as madly performed: for the furious people, according to his cõſaile ſo did. This tumultuous outrage, as it coulde not be priuye, comming to the knowledge of Hubert de Burgo Lord chief iuſtice of England aboue mentioned, he comming wͭ a ſufficient ſtrẽgth of armed ſouldiours to the City of London, ſet to the Maior & Aldermen of the city to will them to come vnto him. Who ſo obeying his commaundement, required of thẽ the principall beginners of the ryot. To whome Conſtantine there being preſent anſwered, that he woulde awarrant yͤ which was done: ſorrowing moreouer, that they had not done more then they did, in yͤ matter. The iuſtice vpon the ſame his confeſſion, commaunded him with 2. other, wͭout any further tumult to be taken. And ſo, with the ſame two was hãged, offering for his life, xv. thouſand markes. &c.

Hubert lord chiefe iuſtice of England.

Ex Math. Pariſienſi.

The ſayd Hubert Erle of Kent, & Lord chiefe iuſtice, although he was a faythfull & truſty officer to hys prince, & had the whole guiding of the realme in his own hands, the king as yet beyng in hys minoritie: yet afterwarde, what indignation he ſuſtained for this his ſeueritie and other thinges, both of the nobles & of the commons: & how ſharpely he was toſſed and troubled of hys prince, wõder it is to ſee, as in his due place & time (by the Lords leaue) hereafter ſhall appeare. Hæc ex Mat. Pariſienſ.

Diſcord and contention amõg church men.

Ex Math. Pariſ. & ex Florilego.

Whether the monaſtery of Weſtminſter be exempted from the ſubiection of the biſh. of London or not.

And for ſomuch as mẽtion hath bene made of the wrãgling betwene the cõmoners of Londõ & of Weſtminſter: both time & occaſion bringeth me in remembraunce, ſomthing to ſpeake likewiſe of the Eccleſiaſticall conflictes among churchmẽ, nothing inferiour, in my minde, nor leſſe worthy to be noted, then the other. For ſo I read in Mat. Pariſienſ. and in Flor hiſtor. that at what time this wraſling was among the Citizens for the ſheep: the like contẽtion kindled & flamed betweene Euſtace Byſhop of London, & the chapter of Paules on the one ſide: & the Abbot of Weſtminſter with his Couent on the other ſide about ſpirituall iuriſdiction & ſubiectiõ: to wit, whether the monaſtery of Weſtminſter were exempted from the ſubiection & iuriſdiction of yͤ B. of Londõ, or not. Which controuerſie at laſt cõming into compromis was cõmitted to the arbitrement of Stephen Archb. of Canterbury, Phillip Biſhop of Wintcheſter, Thomas of Merton, & Richard prior of Dunſtable. And at length was thus agreed, that the monaſtery of Weſtminſter ſhould be vtterly exempted frõ the iuriſdiction of the biſhop of London. And that Stanes with the appurtenaunce therto belonging, ſhould appertayn to the Monaſtery of Weſtminſter. Alſo, that the Manure of Sunnebury ſhould be due & proper to the Church of S. Paule, and alſo the Church of S. Margarite with all the landes belonging to the ſame, to be exempted from all other iuriſdiction, but onely to the Biſhop of Rome. And ſo was this matter decided. an. 1222. Ibidem Floro hiſtor.

Anno. 1222.

Horrible tempeſt in Englande.

A woman with 8. of her houſholde ſlaine with thunder.

Grantham church burned with lightning.

The ſame yeare, as writeth Mat Pariſienſ. horrible tempeſtes, with ſuch thundring & lightning, & whirlewindes went through all the land, that muche harme was done, Churches, ſteeples, towers, houſes, & diuers trees wͭ the violẽce of winds were blown vp by the rootes. In Warwickeſhyre, a certeine wife with eight other in her houſe were ſlayne. In Grantham the Church was ſet on fire by lightning moſt terrible. With ſuche a ſtincke left there behinde, that no man could after a long tyme abide it. The author addeth, that manifeſt markes of the tempeſt did remayne long after in that Monaſtery to be ſeene. Some alſo write, that firie Dracons and ſpirites were ſeene then flying in the ayre.

Anno. 1223.

Lewes king of Fraunce.

The French king falſe of his promiſe.

An. 1223. Phillip the French king dyed, after whõ hys ſonne Ludouicke ſucceeded in the crown. To whom kyng Henry ſẽding his meſſage, and deſiring him to remember his promiſe and couenaunt made in rendring agayne the landes loſt in Normandy, coulde obtayne nothing at hys hands. Wherupõ Richard Earle of Cornewale, alſo William the kinges vncle Earle of Saliſbury, with diuers other nobles, made ouer into Fraunce: where they recouered Poytiers, & kept Gaſcoine vnder the kinges obediẽce.

Ex Mat. Pariſienſ. Triuet. Flor hiſt.

Anno. 1224.

Wardſhip firſt graunted to the kyng.

In the ſame yeare, or as Fabian geueth, the next following which was. 1224. by the vertue of a certayn Parliament: was graunted of the Lordes and Baronie of the lãd the king and his heyres, to haue the ward and maryage of theyr heyres: which thẽ was called, & after ſo proued, to be Initium malorum, the beginning of harmes.

Ex Giſburnenſi. & aliys.

Magna Charta. Charta de foreſta.

In the ſame yeare, by the count of Giſburne and other writers, the ſaid king holding an other Parliamẽt at Oxford, by the aduiſe of his counſaile & of his clergy: did graũt and confirme vnder his great ſeale, two chartes of the old liberties and cuſtomes of this realme, for euer to be kept & obſerued, the one called Magna Charta: the other Charta de foreſta. The contentes whereof, fully in the forenamed author be expreſſed. For the which cauſe, was grãted agayn by the whole Parliament a Quindecim, or a fifteene of all his ſubiectes as well of lay men, as alſo of the Clergy.

¶ Where is to be noted, yͤ theſe liberties were afterwarde broken, and confirmed agayne by the ſayd king. an. 1236.

The Pope raiſeth warre.

Anno. 1226.

The popes wicked malice againſt the Chriſtian Earle of Tholouſe.

Marke reader the right nature of phariſies ſtriuing for the chiefe place.

The Pope geueth the right poſſeſsions away from the owners.

Reimundus wrongfully diſherited by the Pope.

An. 1226. dyed pope Honorius a great aduerſary againſt Fredericke the Emperor, after whom ſucceded Gregory the ix. more greeuous then hys predeceſſor. In the whiche yeare alſo dyed Ludouick the periured French king, at the ſiege of Auinion. Whom the pope now the ſecond or thyrd tyme had ſet vp to fight agaynſt Reimund the good Erle of Tholouſe, and the herettickes Albingenſis of that country. For ſo the pope calleth all them, whiche hold not in all pointes, with his glorious pride, & vſurped power & vngodly proceedings. The origine whereof was this, as in Mat. Pariſienſ. appeareth. In the daes of Philip the Frẽch king, this Reimundus Earle of Tholouſe was diſdayned of the Pope for holding wͭ the Albingenſes: & therfore by the inſtigation of the pope, the landes of the Earle were taken from him & geuen to Simon Montfort. and inſtrumentes made vpõ the ſame. But when the ſayd Erle Reimundus would not be remoued frõ the right of his poſſeſſions by vnrighteous dealing: then the pope ſetteth Phillip the Frẽch king, to make open war againſt him. Wherupõ, Lewes the Frẽch kings ſonne was ſent with a great power (as is aboue declared) to beſiege the City of Tholouſe. But beyng repulſed from thence, by the merueilous hand of God fighting for hys people, could not preuayle, & ſo returned home, after he had loſt the moſt part of hys army by peſtilence, and other calamitie as hath bene before deſcribed. And thus continued the good Earle ſtill in quyet poſſeſſion, till this preſent time. an. 1226. In the whiche yeare, the pope not forgetting his olde malice agaynſt the Earle, and no leſſe enflamed with inſatiable auarice, directeth downe his Legate maſter Romanus to the partes of Fraunce, for 2. ſeueral purpoſes. One to extirpe the Erle, the other to enlarge his reuenewes. Thus the Legate beyng entred into Fraunce, beginneth to ſummone a Councell, willing the French king with the Archbiſhops, Byſhops, & Clergy of Fraunce to appeare before him at Bitures. To whom eftſoones repayred vi. Archbiſhops with the biſhops & Suffragans of ix. prouinces, to the nũber of 100. beſides the Abbates, Priours, & Proctors of al the couentes of Fraunce, to heare the popes wil & commaundement: but becauſe there was a diſcorde feared to ryſe (ſayth Mathæus) about preheminence of ſitting, for that the Archbiſhop of Lyons challenged the ſuperiour place aboue the Archbiſhop of Sene. Alſo the archbiſhop of Roane, aboue the archbiſhop of Britures, and aboue the Archbiſhop of Narbone. &c. Therfore the ſeſſion was holdẽ there, not in maner and forme of a Councell, but of a certayne parlie, or conſultation. Thus the meke and holy Councel being ſet, & the popes maieſties letters read & declared: appeareth before them Reimund Earle of Tholouſe of the one part. And Simon Mountfort on the other part. Which Symon required to be reſtored vnto him the lands and poſſeſſions of the ſayd Reimund, which the pope & Phillip the French king, had geuen to him & to hys father before: hauing good euidences to ſhew for the ſame, confirmed by the donation of the pope, and of the kyng. Adding moreouer, that the Earle Reimund was depriued and diſherited in the generall Councel at Rome for hereſie, which is called the hereſie of Albingenſes. At leaſt if he might not haue the whole yelded vnto him, yet the moſt part of hys Lordſhips he required to be graunted him.

Reimundus the good Earle of Tholouſe anſwereth for him ſelfe.

To this the Earle Reimund aunſwered agayne, offering himſelfe ready to all duetyes & office both toward the French king, and to the church of Rome, whatſoeuer duety to him did appertein. And moreouer touching the hereſie, wherwith he was there charged: he did not onely there offer himſelfe in that Councell before the Legate but moſt humbly did craue of him, that he would take the paynes to come into euery Citty within hys precinct to enquire of

Albingenſes falſly ſuſpected for hereſie.

euery perſon there the articles of his beliefe: and if he foũd any perſon or perſõs, holding that which was not Catholike, he would ſee the ſame to be corrected and amẽded, according to the cenſure of holy Church to yͤ vttermoſt. Or if he ſhould finde any citty rebelling agaynſt hym, he to the vttermoſt of his might with the inhabitance therof, would compell them to doe ſatiſfaction therfore. And as touching himſelfe, if he had committed or erred in any thing (which he remembreth not to haue done) he offered their full ſatiſfaction to God & Church, as becommed any faithfull chriſten man to doe, requiring moreouer therfore the Legate to be examined of his fayth. &c. But all this (ſayth Mathæus) yͤ legate deſpiſed: neither could the catholike Erle (ſaith he) there find any grace, vnleſſe he would depart from hys heritage: both from himſelfe and from his heires for euer. In fine, when it was required by the cõtrary part that he ſhould ſtand to the arbitrement of xii. peeres of France: to that Reimundus anſwered, that if the French king would receaue his homage, which he was redy at al times to exhibite, he was cõtented therewith. For els they would not (ſayd he) take him, as one of their ſociety & fellowe ſubiect.

The proud vilanie of the Popes Legate.

After much altercatiõ on both ſides about the matter, the Legate willeth euery archbiſhop to call aſide his Suffraganes, to deliberate with them vpon the cauſe: and to geue vp in writing what was concluded. Whiche being done accordingly, the Legate denounceth excommunication to all ſuch as did reueale any peece of that whiche was there concluded, before the pope and the king had intelligence there of.

These things thus in hudder mutter among thẽſelues concluded, the Legate gaue leaue to al proctors of couents and chapters to returne home, onely reteining with him yͤ Archbiſhops, biſhops, and Abbots, & certayne ſimple prelates, ſuch as he might be more bold withall to opẽ, and of thẽ to obtaine the other part of his commiſſiõ: which was in deed to obtein of euery cathedral church 2. prebendſhips one for the biſh. the other for the chapter. And in monaſteries alſo after yͤ like ſort, where the Abbot and the Couent had diuers and ſeueral portions: to require two churches, one for yͤ Abbot, the other for the couent, keeping this proportion: that how much ſhould ſuffice for the liuing of one Monk, ſo much yͤ whole couent ſhould find for their part, and as much the Abbot likewiſe for his. And for ſo muche as he would not ſeeme to demaũd this without ſome color of cauſe, his reaſon was this: that becauſe the Courte of Rome had long bene blotted wͭ the note of auarice, whiche is mother of all euil, for that no man could come to Rome for any buſines, but he muſt ſolfe for the expedition of the ſame: therfore for the remouing away of the occaſiõ of that ſlaunder: the publike helpe of the Churche therefore muſt neceſſarily be required. &c.

Marke reader the practiſe here of prelates, for thy learning.

The proctors and parties thus ſent home by the Legates, merueiling wͭ themſelues why the Biſhops & Abbots ſhould be ſtayd & they ſent home, & ſuſpecting no les but as the matter was in deed: conferred their counſailes together, & deuiſed wͭ themſelues to ſend certain vnto him in the behalfe of all the cathedrall & conuentuall Churches in Fraunce, & ſent to the ſayd Legate the meſſage, to ſignifie vnto him: That they were credibly informed, that he came wͭ ſpecial letters from the court of Rome, for the obteining of certein prebendaries wͭin euery cathedrall and conuẽtuall church. Which being ſo, they much merueiled yͭ he would not in the publike counſaile, make manifeſt to thẽ thoſe letters which ſpecially cõcerned thẽ as much as the others. Wherfore their requeſt was to him in yͤ Lord, that no ſuch offenſiue matter might riſe by him in yͤ Frẽch church: knowing this that the thing which he enterpriſeth could not be brought to effect, without great offence taken, and ineſtimable damage to the Churche of Fraunce.

The clergie of Fraunce anſwering to the legate.

For graunt ſayde they, that certayne will aſſent vnto you, yet their aſſent ſtandeth in no effect, concerning ſuch matters as touch the whole: eſpecially, ſeeyng both the ſtates of the Realme with all the inferior ſubiectes, yea and the king himſelfe, they are ſure, will withſtand the ſame: to the venture not onely of their honour, but of their lyfe alſo, conſidering the caſe to be ſuche, as vpon the offence whereof, ſtandeth the ſubuerſion both of the realme publike, and of the whole Church in generall. Declaring moreouer the cauſe of this feare to riſe hereof, for that in other realmes ſuch communicatiõ hath bene with byſhops & prelates, for the procuring of ſuch prebendſhips, where as neither the prince nor the ſubiectes, were made anye thing priuy therto.

Inferiors euermore bolde to ſpeake in difficult cauſes of trueth, then the rich.

In concluſion, when the matter came to debating with the Legate, the obiections of the inferior parties, agaynſt the cruell exaction, were theſe in briefe effect, as is in Pariſienſ. noted.

The obiections of the clergie of Fraunce against the Popes exaction.

Firſt they alledged their great damages and expences whiche they were like to ſuſtayne thereby by reaſon of the continuall procurators of the Pope, whiche in euery dioceſſe muſt liue not of their owne, but muſt be ſuſteined vpon the charges of the cathedrall Churges, and other churches alſo: and many times they being but procurators wil be found as Legates.

Item, by that meanes, they ſayd great perturbations might enſue to the couentes and Chapters of Cathedrall churches in their elections: for ſo muche as the Popes agents and factors being in euery cathedrall church & chapter houſe, percaſe the pope woulde commaund hym in hys perſon to be preſent at their elections, and ſo might trouble the ſame: in delaying and deferring till it might fall to the court of Rome to geue. And ſo ſhoulde be placed moe of the Popes clientele in the churches of Fraunce, then of the proper inhabitance of the land.

Item, by this meanes they affirmed, that al they in the court of Rome ſhould be richer and ſhoulde receiue more for their proportion, then the king of the realme: by reaſon of whiche aboundaunce of riches, it was like to come to paſſe, that as the worm of rich men is pride: ſo by the meanes of this their riches, the court of Rome would delay & driue of great ſuites, and ſcarſe would take any paynes wͭ ſmall cauſes: the experiment whereof is euident, for that now alſo they vſe to delay their matters whẽ they come wͭ their giftes, and being in aſſuraunce to receiue. And thus ſhould iuſtice ſtand aſide, and poore ſuters dye at yͤ gates of the court of Rome, thus flowing and triumphing in ful aboundance of all treaſure and riches.

Item, for ſomuch as it is mete and conuenient to haue friendes in the court of Rome, for the better ſpeeding of their cauſes: therefore they thought to keepe them needy, whereby their giftes may be the ſweeter and their cauſes ſooner diſpatched.

Item, when as it is impoſſible the fountaine of greedy deſire to be ſtopped, it was to be feared, that eyther they would do that by other, which they were wont to doe by themſelues: or els they ſhould be enforced to geue greater rewardes then before. For ſmal giftes in the ſight of great rich men are not looked vpon.

Item, where he alledged the remouing awaye of the ſlãder which goeth on the court of Rome: By this means rather the contrary were to be feared: wherein they alleaged the ſentence of the verſe, that great riches ſtop not the taking of much, but a mynde contented with a little.

Quòd virtus reddit, non copia ſufficientem.
Et non paupertas ſed mentis hiatus agentem.

Farther they alledged that great riches woulde make the Romaines mad: and ſo might kindle among thẽ ſides and partes taking: ſo that by great poſſeſſions ſedition might follow, to the ruine and deſtructiõ of the city: wherof ſome experiment they had already.

Item, they added that although they woulde condeſcend and oblige themſelues to that contribution, yet their ſucceſſors would not ſo be bound, nor yet, ratifie the bond of theirs.

Laſtly thus they conclude the matter, deſiring him that the zeale of the vniuerſall Churche, and of the Churche of Rome would moue him. For if this oppreſſion of yͤ church ſhould be vniuerſall: it were to be doubted, leaſt any vniuerſall departing might follow from the Church of Rome (which God forbid ſay they) ſhould happen.

God gra ſay we.

The Legate hearing theſe wordes, being therwith ſomthing moued, as ſeemed, thus excuſed himſelf, that he being in the court, neuer agreed in this exaction. And that yͤ letters hereof came not to hym before he was in Fraunce, whereat he ſayd was greatly ſory. Adding this withall, that the wordes of his precept included this ſecret meaning in them, thus to be vnderſtand and taken: ſo farre forth as the Empire and other realmes would agree vnto yͤ ſame. And as for hym, he would ſtirre no more in the matter, before it were proued, what other countryes would ſay and doe therein.

The Ca nall repulſed, and di feyted of hi purpoſe in Fraunce.

And thus much concerning the ſecond part of the blind commiſſion of this Legate, touching his exaction of prebendſhips in euery Cathedrall and conuentuall Churche, wherin as ye heare, he was repulſed. Ex Mat. Pariſ. pag. 62.

Ex Math. Pariſienſ. Pag. 63.

The Pope rayſeth war againſt the Earle & the people of Tholouſe.

Now to returne to the firſt part of his commiſſiõ again which was cõcerning Reimundus yͤ godly Erle of Tholouſe, thus yͤ ſtory proceedeth. That while the legate was in hand with this matter of the popes mony, in the meane ſeaſon certayn preaching Fryers were directed by the ſaid Romannes the Popes Legate, into all France: to incite & ſtirre vp the Frenchmen to take the croſſe vpon them, and to war agaynſt the Erle of Tholouſe, and the people therof whome they accounted then for herettickes. At the preaching wherof, a great number of prelates and lay mē ſigned themſelues to the croſſe, to fight againſt the Tholoſians, being therto induced as the ſtory ſayth, more for feare of the French king, or fauor of the legate, then for any true zeale of iuſtice. For ſo it followeth in the wordes of Pariſ. Videbatur enim multis abuſio, vt hominem fidelem Chriſtianum infeſtarent: præcipuè cum conſtaret cunctis eum in concilio nuper Biturienſi, multis precibus perſuaſiſſe legato, vt veniret ad ſingulas terræ ſuæ ciuitates, inquirens a ſingulis articulos fidei: & ſi quempiam contra fidem iuueniret. &c. i. For to many, ſayeth he, it ſeemeth an abuſe to moue warre againſt a faithful Chriſten man: eſpecially ſeeing in the councell of Bitures (before all men) he intreated the Legate with great inſtance, that he would come into euery Citie within his dominions. And there to require of euery perſon the articles of his faith. Where, if he founde any man to holde any thing contrary to the Catholicke faith, he promiſed a full ſatisfaction to be had thereof according to the cenſure of the Church, to the vttermoſt. &c.

ſtimony the autor the clea- nge Reimun- and of Albin- enſes.

Yet all this notwithſtanding, the proude Legate contemning this ſo honeſt & reaſonable purgation of the earl Reimundus, ceaſes not by all maner meanes, to proſecute the Popes fury againſt him and his ſubiectes, ſtirring vp the king and the French men vnder paine of excommunication, to warre againſt them. Ludouick the French king thus being enforced by the Legate, anſwered againe, that he for his owne ſafety would not atchiue that expeditiō or aduenture againſt the Earle, vnles it were firſt obtained of the Pope, to write to the king of England: commaunding him, that during yͤ time of that expedition, he ſhould inuade and moleſt no peece of his landes and poſſeſſions, which he the ſame preſent time did hold, whether by ryght or by wrōg, or howſoeuer they were holden, while yͤ time of the ſaid warre againſt the heretickes (as they were then termed) did indure: but rather ſhould aide and aſſiſt hym with counſaile and money in that enterpriſe. All which being done and accompliſhed, the French King and the Legate (croſſing themſelues to the field) appoynted a day peremptory, for the French army to meete together at Lions, vnder paine of the popes excōmunication, and wyth horſe and harnes to ſet vpon the Tholoſians, againſt the Aſcenſion day next enſuing.

he vnrea- nable ty- nny of the pe againſt Tholoſ- ans.

xcommu- cation a- ed.

When the Aſcenſion day was come, which was yͤ day peremptory appoynted. The French king hauing prepared at Lyons all things neceſſary for his armie, marcheth forward with a great and mighty hoſte: after whome alſo commeth the Legate, with his Biſhops & Prelates. The number of fighting men in his armie beſides the vitlars and wagoners were 50000. men. The Legate by the way openly excommunicated the Earle of Tholouſe, & all that toke his parte, & furthermore interdicted his whole land. Thus the king came marching forwarde, till he came into the prouince of Tholouſe, & the firſt citie which they came vnto there of the Earles, was Auinion. Which Citie they thought firſt to haue beſieged, and ſo in order after, as they went to haue deſtroied and waſted all the whole prouince belonging to the Earle. And firſt the King demaunded of them to haue hys paſſage through their citie, faining himſelfe in peaceable wiſe for the expedition of his iourny, but to paſſe through the ſame. The Citizens conſulting with themſelues what was to be done, at length gaue aunſwer that they miſtruſted their comming, and ſuppoſed that in deceit they required the entrance of their Citie, and for no neceſſity of their iourney.

wes the ench king Romanus Popes gate, mar- ngagainſt lbingenſes

eimundus, rle of Tho uſe excom unicated.

e citie of uinion be- ged.

The king hereat being much offended, ſware an othe that he would not depart thence till he had taken the citie, & immediatly in thoſe places where he thought moſt mete he began to geue ſharpe aſſaults, withall maner of ſaultable engins: The Citizens againe within, manfully defended themſelues, caſting ſtone for ſtone, and ſhooting ſhot for ſhot, and ſlew and wounded many of the French men. Thus, when they had lōg beſieged the citie and could not winne the ſame: at length vittailes in the French campe began to faile, and many of them died for hunger. For the Earl of Tholouſe as a wiſe man of warre, hearing before of their comming, toke into the Towne, all the prouiſion that was abroade, and left nothing without to ſerue for theyr defence and ſuccour, he plowed vp the fieldes, that there ſhould no ſtouer be found to ſerue their horſes, he put out of the towne all the olde people, & yong children, leaſt they ſhould want vittailes that kept the towne, & before theyr comming ſent them farre away. So that within yͤ towne they had plenty, and without they died for famine: and beſides in ſeeking farre for their forage, many fell into the hands of them that kept the citie, who ſecretly lay in wait for them abroad and ſlewe many of them. Beſides a great number of cattell and horſes died for want of forage: and poore ſouldiours that had no great ſtore of money, died for want of vittailes. By which mortalitie and ſtench both of men and cattel, grew great infection & peſtilence amongſt them, inſomuch that the king himſelfe and alſo the Legate were greatly diſmayed, thinking it to be no litle ſhame as well to the realme of Fraunce, as alſo to Rome, that they ſhoulde ſo depart and breake vp their ſiege. Thus againe thought the ſouldiours, that much better it were for them to ende their liues by battel, then ſo to die like dogges and ſterue: wherfore with one conſent they purpoſed to geue a new aſſaut at the bridge that goeth ouer the floude Rodanus into the towne, to which place they came in ſuch nōber, that either by the debilitye of the bridge, or ſubtiltye of the ſouldiours that kept the towne: 3000. of them wyth bridge and all, fell armed into the violent ſtreame & were drowned. What was there then but ioy and gladnes of the Citizens part, and much lamentation & heauineſſe on the other part. Then ſhortly after, the Citizens of Auinion (when they ſaw a conuenient time whileſt their enemyes were in eating meate) came ſodenly vpon them out of the towne, and ſlew of them 2000. and toke the towne againe with ſafety. But the Legate with his company of prelates (like good men of warre) practiſed none other Martiall feats, but all to be curſed the Earle of Tholouſe, hys Cities, and his people. Ludouicus the king, to auoyde the peſtilence that was in the campe, went into an Abbey not far off, where ſhortly after he died, of whoſe death are ſondry opinions, ſome ſaying that hee was poyſoned, ſome that he died of a bloudy flixe.

ollicie of arre.

Famine and peſtilence in the French campe.

The frēch ſouldiours deſtroied at the ſiege of Auinion.

Lewes the frēch kyng dyeth at the ſiege of Auinion.

Whoſe death notwithſtanding, the Legate thought to kepe ſecret & conceale, till that the towne might be rendered and geuen vp: for he thought himſelf ſhamed for euer, if he ſhould depart before the towne were won: wherfore, after he had encouraged the ſouldiours a freſh, and yet after many ſharp aſſaults could not preuaile: He bethought him how by falſhode he might betray them, and ſent vnto them certaine Haroldes, to will them that they ſhould amongſt themſelues conſult vpon articles of peace, & bring the ſame to their camp, whoſe ſafe conduite they faithfully promiſed and warrāted both of comming and going. And when they had geuen their pledges for yͤ ſame, the meſſengers from the Citizens talked with the Legate: who promiſed them if they would deliuer vp their city, they ſhould haue their liues, goodes, & poſſeſſions in as ample maner as now they enioyed the ſame. But the citizens and ſoldiors refuſed to be vnder the ſeruitude of the French kyng, neither wold ſo deliuer vp their citie, to thoſe of whoſe inſolent pride they had ſo good experiment. After much talke on both ſides, & none like to take effect: the Legate requeſted them and frendly deſired, yͭ he and his Prelates which were about him, might come into their Citie to examine what faith & beliefe they were of, and yͭ he neyther ſought nor ment any other thing therby, but their owne ſafeties, as well of body as ſoule, which thing hee faithfully ſware vnto: for (ſayeth he) the brute of your great infidelitie hath come to the lord popes eare, & therefore deſired he to make true certificate therof. Whereupon the citizens not miſtruſting his faithfull othe and promiſe made to them, graunted entrance to him and the reſidue of the clergy, bringing with them no weapon into the towne. The ſouldiours of yͤ campe as it was agreed before, made them ready: ſo that at the entraunce of the prelates in at the gate, nothing regarding their oth & fidelitie: The other ſodenly were ready, and with violence ruſhed in, ſlew the porter and warders, and at length wanne the city and deſtroied the ſame, & ſlue many of them that were within. Thus by falſhode and policie, when they had got this noble citie, they caried the kings corps to Paris where they buried the ſame. Of the whole number of the French ſouldiours which in this ſiege were deſtroyed by famine, peſtilence, & drowning, be recounted no then 22000. Whereby ſayth the ſtory of Mat. Parienſ. it may euidently appeare the warre was vniuſtly taken in hand. &c. Ex Mat. Pariſienſ.

The falſe dealing of the popes Legate, in betraying the citie of Auinion.

The popes Legate wickedly periured.

Periury of the papiſtes.

The citie of Auinion taken by treaſon and periury of the popes Legate.

The number of the French ſouldiours in this ſiege deſtroyed.

After theſe things finiſhed, and after the funerall of the king celebrated at Paris, it followeth more in the ſayd hiſtory of Parienſ. that the ſayde Legate Romanus was vehemently ſuſpected, & greuouſly infamed to abuſe himſelfe with Blanca the kings mother. Sed impium eſt (ſayeth he) hoc credere, quia æmuli eius hoc diſſeminauerunt. Benignus autem animus dubia in melius interpretatur. i. But it is vngodly to ſuſpect any ſuch thing of him, becauſe his enemies ſo rumored the ſame abroad, but a gentle minde expoundeth things doubtfull in the better part.

The incontinent lyfe of theſe Romiſh prelates to be noted.

To paſſe further to the yere next folowing, which was 1227. of the Lorde: firſt is to be noted, that in thys yeare king Henry beginning to ſhute vp to the 20. yeare of hys age, came frō Reding to Londō, where he began to charge

Anno. 1227.

The kyng claymeth to be freed from gouernours and to be his owne man.

Hubert the iuſtice made Earle of Kent.

The kyng vndoeth and diſſolueth the liberties which before he graunted

Practiſes of princes to ſet in money.

the Citizens of London for old reckonings, namely for geuing or lending 1000. markes to Lewes the French king at his departing out of the Realme, to the great preiudice of him & of his kingdom. For the recompenſe wherof, they were conſtrained to yelde to the king the full ſumme of the like money. That done, he remoued to Oxforde, where he aſſembled a great counſail, there denouncing & proteſting before them al, that he was come to ſufficient age, no more to be vnder tutors & gouernours but to be his own man, requiring to be freed from yͤ cuſtody of other. which thing being proteſted, and contraried forthwith: he, by the counſaile of Hubert the chiefe iuſtice (whome hee made then the Earle of Kent) remoued from his company, the biſhop of winchester, and other vnder whome he was moderated. And immediatly in the ſame counſaile, by the ſiniſter perſuaſion of ſome, doth adnihilate & make void the charters, & liberties before by him graũted, pretending this colour: for that they had bene graunted & ſealed in the time of his minoritie, at what time he had the rule neither of himſelfe, nor of his ſeale. whereupon much muttering & murmuring was among the multitude. who did all impute the cauſe to Hubert the iuſtice. Moreouer it was yͤ ſame time proclaimed, that whoſoeuer had any charter, or gift ſealed vnder the time of the kings minoritie, they ſhoulde come and renew the ſame againe vnder the new ſeale of yͤ king, knowing otherwiſe that the thing ſhould ſtande in no effect. And finally for renewing of their Seales, were taxed not according to their habilitie, but according as it pleaſed the iuſtice and other to leuie them.

The citizens of London freed frõ tole through all England.

Anno. 1228.

Moreouer beſide this generall ſubſidie of the fifteene graunted to the king through the whole Realme, & beſide alſo yͤ contribution of the Lõdiners, diuers other parcels and paiments he gathered through ſeuerall places: as of the Bargeſſes of Northampton he required a 1000. & 200. markes, for his helping of them, and ſo of other likewiſe. All this preparation of money was made toward the furniſhing of his vyage to recouer Normandy. And yet becauſe he would gratifie the Citie of London againe wyth ſome pleaſure: he graunted the citizens therof ſhould paſſe tole free (ſaith Fabian) through all England. And if of any Citie, borough, or towne they were cõſtrained at any time to pay their tole, then the Shyriffes of London to attache euery man cõming to London of the ſayd city, borough, or towne, and him & his goods to withhold, til the Lõdiners were againe reſtored of al ſuch mony paid for the ſaid tole, wͭ all coſtes and damages ſuſteined for the ſame. Ex Fabia.

Ex Fabia. part 7

Seditiõ betwene the Romanes and the Pope.

I declared before, howe after the death of Honorius, ſucceded pope Gregory the 10. betwene the which Gregory & the people of Rome, this yere, fel a great ſedition. In ſo much yͭ about the feaſt of Eaſter, they thruſt the Pope out of the Citie, purſuing him vnto his Caſtel at Viterbium. where alſo they inuaded hym ſo valiauntly, that they chaſed him to Peruſium. Then hauing no other remedie wherewith to reuenge his perſecutors, fiercly did excommunicate them. Ex Mat. Pariſ. pag. 69.

The Popes Church may be iudged by their diſſentions and ſchiſmes.

No peace in the Popes Church.

Heere, by the way, is to be obſerued and conſidered Chriſtian reader, not only by this ſedition, but by ſo many other ſchiſmes, diuiſions, tumults, fightings, braules and contentions, in the Church of Rome from the firſt beginning of the popes vſurped power, & that not only within the Citie of Rome, but vniuerſally almoſt in all Popiſh Monaſteries, Colleges, Churches, and Couents vnder the Pope ſubiected, continually raigning amongſt them, what is to be thought of their religion & holines, hauing ſo litle peace, ſo great diſquietnes, diſſentions, and wrangling amongſt them, as in ſtories both manifeſt it is to behold, and wonderous to conſider.

Diſſention betweene the prior and couent of Durham, & the kyng.

Canonicall election.

The Monkes of Dyrham ſende to Rome agaynſt the kyng.

Appellation to Rome agaynſt the kyng.

Ex Math. Pariſ.

And for as much, I haue entred here into the mention of this ſchiſmatical commotion betwene the pope and his citizens: it followeth moreouer in the hiſtory of Pariſienſis, who maketh relation of a like brawling matter, which befell the ſame yeare & time. An. 1228. betwene the prior and couent of Durham, and this king Henry the 3. vpon this occaſion. After the death of Richard Biſhop of Durham, the Prior and Chapter of the ſaid church, came to the king to obteine licenſe for the electing of their biſhop. The king offered to them one Lucas a Chaplaine of hys, requiring them inſtauntly to elect him for their Biſhop. To this the Monkes anſwered, that they would receaue no man, but by their order of Canonicall election. Meaning belike by their Canonicall election, that is, when as they elect either ſome Monke out of their own company, or els ſome monkiſh prieſt, after their owne liking. Contrary, the king againe ſendeth word vnto them, and bound it with an oth, that they ſhould tary 7. yeares without a Byſhop, vnleſſe they would admit the foreſayd Lucas to that place of that dignitie. All which notwithſtanding, the monkes proceding in their election, refuſed the ſayde Lucas, and preferred an other clerk of theirs, named william archdeacon of worceſter, and him they preſented to the king. But the king bringing in exceptions and cauſes againſt yͤ party, would not admit him. Then the monkes in al haſty ſpede ſent vp to Rome certain of their Couent, to haue their electiõ ratified, by the authoritie Apoſtolicall. On the other ſide the king likewiſe hearing, ſendeth alſo to Rome againſt the Monkes: the Biſhop of Cheſter, and the Prior of Lentonie on his behalfe, to withſtande the purpoſe of yͤ monks. And ſo the matter being trauiſed with great altercation on both ſides, did hang in ſuſpenſe, ſayeth mine author till at length thus it was concluded, betwene both that neither maſter william, nor yet Lucas ſhoulde be taken, but that Richard Byſhop of Sarum ſhould be tranſlated to Durham, and be Byſhop there. An. 1228. ex Mat. Pariſienſ.

An other contention betweene the Monkes of Couentry & the Canons of Lichfield.

Ex Math. Pariſienſ. pag. 68.

The like ſtirre alſo happened, both the ſame yeare and for the like matter, betwene the monkes of Couentry, and the Canons of Lichfield, about chuſing of theyr Byſhop, which of them ſhould haue the ſuperior voyce, in the election of their Prelate. After much a doe, the cauſe at length being hoyſted vp to Rome, had this determination: yͭ the monks of Couentry, and the Church of Lichfield ſhoulde chuſe their Biſhop by courſe, eche part keeping his turne the one after the other: prouided notwithſtãdyng, that the Prior of Couentry ſhould alwaies haue the firſt voyce in euery election, where as the old cuſtome was, ſayth mine author, that the Couent wyth the Prior of Couentry was wont to haue the whole election of the biſhop without the Canons. This was. An. 1228. Ex Pariſienſ. pag. 68.

Stephen Langhton Archb. died. The chapters of the bible first diſtincted by Stephen Langhton.

In the which yeare died Stephen Langton Archb. of Cant. by whome (as is recorded by Nic. Triuet.) the Chapters of the Bible, in that order and number, as we nowe vſe them were firſt diſtincted: The ſayde Langthon alſo, made Poſtiles vpon the whole Bible. The ſame moreouer builded the new hall in the palace of Canterbury.

An other contention and diſſention betwene the Monkes of Canterbury and K. Henry the third.

Obiections laide against the new Archb.

Appealed to Rome.

K. Henry ſendeth to the Pope.

Tithe of all moueable goods in England & Ireland promiſed to the Pope for graunting the kinges ſute.

After the death of thys Langthon, inſued an other variance about the election of the Archbiſhop of Canterbury betwene the monkes of Canterbury and the king. The purturbation wherof as it was no leſſe ſeditious, ſo the determination of yͤ ſame was much more coſtly. After the death of Stephen Langthon, the monkes of Canterbury obtaining licence of the king to procede in the election of a new archbiſhop, did chuſe one of their own ſociety named maſter walter Hemeſham. whom when the monks had preſented to the King, he after long deliberation, began to obiect againſt yͤ election, ſaying: firſt, that the monkes had elected ſuch one as neyther was profitable to hym nor to his kingdom. Secondly, he obiected againſt yͤ party elect, that his father was conuict of felony, & hanged for yͤ ſame. Thirdly, that he ſtode in cauſes againſt his father K. Iohn in the time of the interdict. Moreouer the biſhops his ſuffraganes charged the partie elect, that hee had lien wyth a certaine Nunne, and had children by her: adding farther, that the election of the archbiſhop was without their preſence, which ought not to be. &c. But yͤ archbiſhop againe ſtoutly ſtanding to his electiõ, appealed vp to Rome, and eftſoones taking with him certaine monks, preſented him ſelfe to the popes owne proper perſon, there to ſue his appeale: inſtantly intreating, that hys election might ſtande confirmed by his authority pontificall. But the pope, vnderſtanding that the ſaid election was reſiſted by the king & the biſhops, differred the matter, till he did heare farther of the certeinty therof. The king & the biſhops hauing intelligence that the Archb. with hys monkes were gone to Rome, thought good to articulate the foreſayd obiections aboue alledged in wryting: and ſealing the ſame wyth the ſeales both of the king and of the biſhops to exhibite them to the Biſhop of Rome. The meſſengers of theſe letters were the Byſhop of Rocheſter, of Cheſter, and the Archdeacon of Bedforde maiſter Iohn. &c. who comming to Rome, and exhibiting their meſſage & their letters vnto the Pope (conſideration being had vppon the ſame) were commanded to wait attendance againſt the next day after Aſh wedneſday: then to haue a reſolute anſwer cõcerning the cauſe, which was the 2. day of March, the yere next folowing. videlic. An. 1229. In the meane ſeaſon, the kings proctors ceaſed not wͭ all inſtance to labour the Pope and his Cardinals to be fauorable to the kings ſide. But finding them ſomewhat hard & ſtraite in the matter (as is the guiſe of that Court) they began to miſdoubt their ſpeding. Wherfore conſulting together with themſelues vpon the premiſſes, they came to the Pope, promiſing in the kings behalf, to be geuen and granted to him out of the realmes both of England and Scotland, the tith or tenth part of al the goods within the ſayd Realmes moueable, to ſuſteine his warres againſt the Emperor, ſo that he would incline

O auri ſacra fames. It is pitie the pope will take no bribes.

fauorably to the kings ſute and petition herein. At Dominus Papa (ſayth Parienſ.) qui rebellem Imperatorem ſuper omnia æſtuabat deijcere, tantis promiſsionibus exhileratus trahitur ad conſenſum. That is. But the pope (ſayeth the author) which boyled with deſire aboue all meaſure, to haue the Emperour his ennemie caſt downe: being cheated wyth ſo great promiſes, graunted his conſent to them, who ſitting then in his conſiſtorie had theſe wordes, as here followe.

The Popes anſwere to the election of Walter Archb. of Cant.

No, but whẽ your darling Tho. Becket came, hee was heard without ſuch communications.

There hath come a late to our intelligence, the election of a certaine Monke named Walter, to be Archb. of Cant. whereupon after that we hard and aduiſed as wel thoſe things, which the ſaid Monke hath ſaide for himſelfe, and for his election: as alſo on the contrary ſide, the obiections & exceptions of the biſhops of England alleaging againſt him, and againſt his election: Namely of the biſhop of Cheſter, the biſhop of Rocheſter, and Iohn Archdeacon of Bedforde: We vpon the ſame committed the examination touching the perſon of the man, vnto our reuerende brethren Lorde Cardinall Albany, L. Cardinall Thomas de Sabina, and maſter Peter. And when the foreſaid elect comming before them was asked of them, firſt concerning the Lordes deſcending into hel, whether he deſcended in fleſh, or without his fleſh, he aunſwered not well. Item, being asked touching the making of the body of Chriſt on the aultar, he anſwered likewiſe not ſoundly: Being asked moreouer, howe Rachell wept for her children, ſhee being deade before, hee aunſwered not well. Item, being asked concerning the ſentence of excommunication denounced againſt the order of law, he anſwered not well. Againe being required of matrimonie, if one of the maried parties be an infidel, and do depart, he anſwered therto not well. Vpon theſe articles he was (as is ſayd) diligently examined of the Cardinals, to the which (we ſay) he aunſwered not only not well, but alſo very ill. For ſo much therefore, as the Church of Cant. is a noble churche, and requireth a noble prelate, a man diſcrete and modeſt, and ſuch as ought to be taken out of the boſome of the church of Rome: and foraſmuch as this new elect (whom not onely here we pronounce to be vnworthy, but alſo ſhould ſay more of him, if we would proceede with hym by the rigour of the law) is ſo inſufficient, that he ought not to be admitted to ſuch a roume: we do vtterly infringe, annihilate, and euacuate his election alwaies reſeruing to our ſelues the prouiſion of the ſayd church. *Hæc ex Math. Pariſ. ad verbum.*

The election of Walter Archb. of Cant diſſolued of the Pope for the kings mony.

Richarde chãcelour of Lincolne commended to the Pope to be Archb. of Cant.

Richarde made archb. of Cant. by the Pope without election.

The effect of the Popes letters to the ſuffraganes of Cant. The pope beginneth firſt with a lye. *Ex Math. Pariſ.*

Thus the election of Walter being fruſtrate and diſſolued, the kings procuratours bringing forth the letters of the king, and of the ſuffraganes of the Church of Cant. preſented the ſame vnto the pope for the ratification of Richarde Chancellor of Lincolne, to be appoynted Archb. of Cant. whome they with great commendation of wordes did ſet forth to be a man of profound learning and knowledge: of an honeſt cõuerſation, & which was greateſt of al, yͭ he was a man much for the profite of the church of Rome, as alſo for the realme of England. And thus the ſaide Richard being commended to the Pope by the letters procuratorie of the king and of the biſhops, had the conſent of the pope and of the Cardinals, and ſo was made Biſhop of Cant. before he was elected. Whereupon the ſaide pope Gregory in his behalfe, directeth downe his letters to all and ſingular ſuffraganes of the church of Cant. declaring thus, and beginning firſt with a lie, that for ſo much as by the fulnes of eccleſiaſtical power, the charge of paſtorall office is committed to him in general vpon al churches: he therefore for the ſollicitude he beareth as wel to all other churches in generall, as in ſpeciall to the Metropolitan church of Cant. repudiating and diſanulling the former election of Walter the Monke vpon iuſt cauſes, hath prouided for that See, a man as in all other good giftes perfect and excellent, by the report of them that know him: ſo for that function very fit and commodious: and willeth and cõmãdeth them, and all other by his authority Apoſtolicall, with all deuout reuerence to receiue him, and humbly to obey him, &c. which was An. 1229. Ex Pariſ.

This was a deare archb. of Cant. bought with the tythes of all England.

These things thus finiſhed at Rome, the pope not forgetting the ſweete promiſes made of the Engliſh ſiluer, which he ſo greedily gaped for, omitting neither time nor diligence in all ſpedy wiſe ſendeth to the king of England M. Stephen his own chaplein & truſty Legate, to require & collect the foreſaide tithes of all the moueable goods both of England, Ireland and Wales, which were promiſed to him before, therewͭ to maintaine his warre againſt Fredericke the Emperor. And to the intent he might inflame all chriſtẽ realmes wyth the like hatred which he bare againſt Frederike the Emperor, ſendeth alſo wͭ the ſayde Stephen ſpecial letters ful of manifold complaints and greuous accuſations againſt the ſaid Emperor, whereof more (Chriſt graunting) ſhall be ſhewed hereafter. Upon the comming of this Stephen the legate, the king aſſembled all his erles and barons, wyth the Archbiſhops, byſhops, abbots, priors, templaries, hoſpitalers, parſons & vicares, and other ſuch as held of him in *capite*, to appear before him at Weſtminſter, to heare and to common of the matter. In the aſſembly of whome, the Popes patent letters were brought forth and red, wherein he required yͤ tenths of all the moueables in England, Wales and Ireland, as wel of the clergy as of the laitie, to maintaine his expedition againſt the foreſaid Frederike the Emperor. The which expedition as he pretended to atchieue & to take in hande for the cauſe of the vniuerſall Church, and happely had begon the matter already: and for ſo much, as the richeſſe of the Apoſtolicke See did not ſuffice, for the accompliſhing of ſo great an enterpriſe: he therfore enforced by mere neceſſity, did implore the aide and helpe of all the true obedient and natural chickens of the church of Rome, leaſt the members thereof together with the head ſhould be ſubuerted. Theſe letters of the Pope, to this effect, being openly recited and explaned by the Popes chaplaine, which hee with much more allegation and perſwaſion of words did amplifie to his vttermoſt, the king (ſayth mine author) in whõ al men did hope an helpe to their defence, became then as a ſtaffe of reede. For as much as he had obliged himſelfe to the ſame before, for the election of his archb. now could ſay nothing againſt it, but held his peace. The Earles, Barons, & all the laitie vtterly refuſed ſo to bind their Baronies to the Church of Rome: but the Biſhoppes, Abbots, Priors, wyth other Prelates of the Church, firſt requiring ſpace and reſpite to deliberate for 3. or 4. dayes: at length for feare of the popes curſſe (although they durſt not vtterly wythſtande) had brought to paſſe to haue concluded for a ſumme of money much leſſe, had not Stephen Segraue, one of the kings counſailers, craftily conuented wͭ the Legate: and by ſubtile meanes brought it ſo to paſſe, that the whole tenthes was gathered and paide, to the ineſtimable damage (ſayth Parienſ.) both of the Eccleſiaſticall and Temporall ſtate. The meanes whereof (ſayeth the authour) was this. The Legate ſhewing to the prelates his procuratory letters to collect and gather vp all the foreſayde tenthes in the name and authoritie of the Pope, declared moreouer full authoritie to him graunted by the vertue of hys commiſſion, to excommunicate all ſuch, and to interdicte their Churches, who ſoeuer did gainſtand or go contrary to the ſaid collection. Wherupon by the ſaid vertue legantine, he ſendeth to euery ſhire, his Proctors to gather the Popes money, or els to excommunicate them which denied to pay: and for ſo much as the preſent nede of the pope required preſent help without delay, he ſendeth moreouer to the byſhops & prelates of the Realme, in paine of interdiction forthwith to procure and ſend to him either of theyr owne, or by lone, or vſance, or by what meanes ſo euer, ſo much money in all poſt ſpede, for the preſent vſe of the pope. And after to take vp agayne the ſaid money of the tenthes of euery ſingular perſon, by the right taxing of their goodes. Upon this, the Prelates to auoide the daunger (hauing no other remedy) were driuen to ſel their chalices, cruets, copes, iewels, and other church plate: and ſome to lay to morgage ſuch things as they had, ſome alſo to borowe vpon vſance, to make the money which was required. Moreouer, the ſayd Stephen the Popes chaplaine (as reporteth Pariſ.) brought wͭ hym into England for the ſame purpoſe, ſuch bankers and vſurers, who lending out their money vpon great vſurie, did vnreaſonably pinch the Engliſh people, which marchant vſurers were then called Caurſini. Briefly ſuche ſtraight exaction was then vppon the poore Engliſh men, that not onely theyr preſent goodes were valued and taxed, but alſo the corne yet growing in the field, againſt the next harueſt was tithed, &c. Only the Earle of Cheſter named Ranulphus, ſtood ſtoutly againſt the Pope, ſuffring none within his dominion either lay man or clearke to yeld any tenths to the popes proctors. Ex Math. Pariſ. pag. 74. And thys was the end of the ſtrife betwene the Monkes of Caunterbury, & the king for the election of their Archbyſhop which was about the yeare of our Lord 1229. In the which yere was finiſhed the new Church of Couẽtry, by Alexander biſhop of the ſayd Citie, and partly by the helpe of the king: which Church, Richard his predeceſſor biſhop before him of Couentrie had begon.

The Pope requireth the tenthes of all the moueables in Englande, Wales, and Irelande.

The contentes of the Popes letters, to the kyng.

The falſe pretẽce of the pope vnder the name of the church, wrekyng his owne cankered malice.

The kynges mouth ſtopped.

The Earles and Barons refuſed payment to the Pope.

The prelates in feare of the Popes curſe.

Excommunication abuſed.

The Popes extortion.

Vſurers brought into England by the Pope to ſerue him with money.

Corne vpon the ground tythed to the Pope.

Ranulphus Erle of Cheſter denyeth to paye the Popes tẽths

Anno. 1229.

The Church of Couentry finiſhed.

The popes frẽch army thinking to deſtroy Reimunde is de- by the way.

The French men about thys time againe prepared themſelues towarde Prouince, to warre againſt the foreſayde Reimundus Earle of Tholouſe, and to expulſe him out of his poſſeſſions. And hearing that he was in his Caſtle of Saracene, they made thither all their power, thinking there to encloſe and compaſſe him about: but the erle being priuie of their conſpired purpoſe, ſet for them by the way, appointing certaine buſhments in woodes, not ſo ſecretly as ſtrongly, there to waite and receiue the comming of the Frenchmen, and to geue them their welcome. Thus when the French were entred the woode, the Earle wyth his traine of wel armed and able warriors, ſodenly did flie vppon them vnwares, and gaue them a bitter meeting, ſo that in that conflict 500. of the French ſoldiors were taken, and many ſlaine. Of their ſeruitures to the nũber of 2000. men with their armor were takẽ. Of whom ſome loſt their eyes, ſome their noſes, ſome their eares, ſome their legs, and ſo ſent home. The reſt were caried away priſoners into the caſtel. And to be brief ſaith the hiſtory, thriſe the ſame ſommer, were the Frenchmẽ diſcomfited, put to flight, taken and impriſoned by the foreſayd Reimundus the godly erle. Ex Pariſ. pag. 69. wherin is to be ſene, and to be praiſed, the gracious protection of the Lorde our God againſt the furious papiſts, which is glorious alwaies in hys ſaints.

The inconſtant loue of Princes toward them that be chiefe about them.

¶ The ſame yeare the king being at Porteſmouth, had aſſembled together all his Nobility, Earles, Barons, and knightes of England with ſuch an armye of horſemen and footemen, as hath not ben lightly ſene, thinking to recouer againe the Countrey of Normandie, of Gaunt, and other poſſeſſiõs which king Iohn his father before had loſt. But when the captaines and marſhals of the fielde ſhould take ſhipping, there were not halfe ſhips enough to receiue the hoſt. wherupon the king was vehemently inflamed with anger, laying all the fault to Hubert, the Lorde chiefe Iuſtice (who vnder the King had all the gouernement of the Realme) calling him olde traitour, charging him that hee ſhould be the let of his voyage, as he was before, when hee toke of the French Quene 5000. markes, to ſtay the kings iourney into Normandy. In ſo much the rage of the king was ſo kindled againſt him, yͤ drawing his ſword, he made at him to runne him through, had not the Earle of Cheſter Ranulph ſtopt the king. Hubert withdrew himſelfe away till the kings rage was paſt. This was about the time of Michaelmas, at which time arriued Henry Earle of Normandie in the hauen of Porteſmouth in the month of Octob. who ſhuld haue conducted the king vpon his allegeance & othe into Normandie. But he wͭ other of the kings armie counſailed the king not to take that voyage toward winter, but rather to defer it to the Eaſter next following: wherwith the king was ſtaid and well contented, and pacified againe with Hubert the Iuſtice. &c. Ex Mat. Pariſ.

Fabian recordeth this yeare the liberties and fraunchiſe of the Citie of London to be confirmed by the king, and to euerich of the ſhriues to be graunted two clerkes, and two officers without moe. Ex Fabia.

Anno. 1230.

A ſoden terrour among the people in Paules church by thunder and lightning. Ex Pariſ. Pag. 75.

Then followed the yeare 1230. In which, vpon the day of the conuerſion of S. Paule (as ſayeth Pariſ.) as a great multitude of people for ſolemnitie of the day were congregate in the Temple of S. Paule: the Biſhop then being at hys Maſſe, a ſodaine darkenes wͭ ſuch thickneſſe of clouds fell in the aire, that vnneth one man might ſee an other in the Church. After that followed cracks of thunder & lightning ſo terrible, leauing ſuch a ſent in the Church, that the people loking for domes day, thought no leſſe but that the ſteeple and whole Church woulde haue falne vppon theyr heads. In ſo much that they running out of the church, as people amaſed, fell downe together by thouſands, as men amaſed: not knowing for the time where they were, onely the Biſhop & his Deacon ſtood ſtill at their maſſe, holding the aulter faſt. Ex Pariſ.

Anno. 1231. Richard Archb. of Cant.

The complaint of Rich. Archb. of Cant. againſt Hubert Lord chiefe iuſtice.

Of the death of Steuen Langton, & of the troubleſome election of the next Archbiſhop: alſo of the coſtly & chargeable bringing in of Richard to ſuccede in the roume, which did coſt the whole realme of England the tenths of al their moueables, ſufficient hath bene declared before. Thys Richard being nowe confirmed in his ſeat, came to the King complaining of Hubert the Lord chief Iuſtice, oft mentioned before, for withholding him from the caſtle and towne of Tunbrydge with the appurtenance to the ſame belonging, and other landes of the Earle of Clare late deceaſed: which landes appertained to the right of his ſeat, & to the church of Cant. for the which the ſaid Earle with his aunceters were bound to do homage to him and to his predeceſſors: and therfore required the keping of the foreſaid caſtle, with the demaines therof to be reſtored vnto him. To this the king anſwered againe, that the ſayd Erle did hold of hym in Capite, and that the Caſtles being vacaunt of Earles and Barons with theyr heyres, did belong to hys crowne, till the lawfull age of the ſayd heires. The Archb. when he could get no other anſwer of the king, did excommunicate all ſuch as inuaded the foreſaid poſſeſſions wyth all other that tooke their parte, the king onely excepted. which done, eftſoones ſpeedeth himſelfe to Rome, there to proſecute his ſute before the pope. The king hearing therof, not long after ſendeth vp maiſter Roger Cantelu wyth certaine other meſſengers to Rome againſt the Archb.

The kinges anſwere to Rich. the Archb.

Excommunication abuſed.

Richard the archb. complaineth to the pope of his king and of other matters

Thus Richard the Archb. comming before the Popes preſence, beginneth firſt to complaine of his king, for that he committed all the affaires of the realme to the diſpoſition and gouernement of Hubert his iuſtice, vſing only his counſaile, all his other nobles deſpiſed.

Againſt the ſayde iuſtice moreouer he complained, laying to his charge: Firſt, that he had maried a wife, being the kinſwomã of her whom he had maried before: alſo that the ſaid Hubert the iuſtice did inuade, hold and wrongfully deteine ſuch poſſeſſions as belonged to the ſee & Church of Canterburie.

¶ As touching the wife of this Hubert, heere is to be noted, that he maried the elder ſiſter of the king of Scottes which ſemeth could be of no great kinne to her whome hee maried before.

Farther, he complained of certaine Biſhops his Suffraganes, who neglecting their paſtorall function, did ſit on Checker matters belonging to the King, and exerciſed ſeſſions and iudgements of bloud.

Pluralitie of benefices complained of by the Archbiſh. of Cant.

Ouer and beſides, he complained of beneficed perſons, and clerks within orders, for hauing many benefices, ioyned with cure of ſoule: And that they alſo taking example of the Biſhops, did intermeddle in ſecular matters, and in iudgements of lay men.

Of theſe and ſuch other defaultes, he required redreſſe to be had. The Pope weying and conſidering the cauſe of the Archb. to ſtand vpon right & reaſon (at leaſt wiſe ſeming ſo to his purpoſe) commaunded incontinent his petitions and requeſts to be diſpatched according to iuſtice.

The kings attournies coulde not ſpeede with the Pope. Reſpect of perſon doth much with the Pope. Richard the Archb. in his iourney fro Rome,

Againſt theſe complaints of the Archbiſhop, the kings atturneis alledged and defended, in as much fauour of the king, as they might, but coulde doe no good. Such fauour found the archbiſhop in the popes ſight, being (as the ſtory reporteth) of a comely perſonage, & of an eloquẽt tonge, that he obtained whatſoeuer he aſked. Thus the Archbyſhop with all fauourable ſpeede being diſpatched at Rome after his owne will and deſire, returned homewarde: who in his iourney within 3. daies of his ſetting forth, departed in the houſe of the gray Friers at S. Gemines, and ſo hys cauſe departed with him: who winning his ſute, loſt hys life, for whome it had bene better I ſuppoſe to haue taried at home. And here of him an end, with all his complaintes alſo. Ex Pariſ.

Raffe Neuill B. of Chicheſter elected Archb. of Cant. The King inueſteth the Archb. of Cant. Ex Math. Pariſ.

After the death of this Richarde, the monkes of Cant. (according to the manner) addreſſe them ſelues to a newe election: at which was choſen Radulfe Neuill, Byſhop of Chicheſter, who was the kinges Chauncelor, much commended in ſtories, to be a man faithfull, vpright, and conſtant: which from the way of iuſtice declined neither to the right hand nor to the left. But vpright and ſincere both in word and decde. This Rauffe (thus choſen of the monks) was preſented to the king to be their Archbiſhop, wherewith the king was right well contented, and glad alſo of this election: and forthwith inueſted him for Archbyſhop of the Church of Canterb. But this inueſting of the King was not inough, vnles he ſhould alſo be confirmed by the pope. wherefore, the Monkes ready to take their iourney vnto Rome, came to the newe Archb. requiring hys helpe for their expenſes by the way, and to know what ſeruice he would commaunde them to the Court of Rome. But hee fearing in his mind the ſame not to be without ſome ſcruple of ſimonie & ambition, ſaid he would not geue an halfpenie, and holding vp his handes to heauen, thus prayed, ſaying: O Lorde God, if I ſhall be thought worthy to be called (although in deede vnworthy) to the ſeat & office of this church: ſo be it as thou ſhalt diſpoſe it. But if otherwiſe in this troubleſom office of Chancerie, and this my inferior miniſterie, whereunto I haue bene aſsigned, I ſhall ſeme more neceſſary for this thy kingdome and people: I refuſe not my labour: thy will be done.

A rare example of a good arch

The pray of the arch elect.

Simõ Langh tõ Archb. of Yorke, a malicious backbiter of Radolphus Archb. elect.

The monks beholding the conſtancie of the man, notwͭſtanding they had of him no money, yet refuſed not their trauail and iourny to Rome, to haue their election confirmed by the Popes authoritie. The Pope inquiring of Simon Langhton (brother of Stephen Langhton Archb. of Cant. before mentioned) of the perſon of this man: it was reported againe to him by the ſayde Simon (maliciouſly depraning the good man behind his backe) declaring to the Pope, that he was a courtier, vnlearned, haſty and feruent in his doings, and ſuch one: who if he ſhould be promoted to that dignitie, would go about with the help of the king, and of the whole realme, to remoue and bring the realme of England from vnder the yoke of the Pope, and of the Churche of Rome. And ſo to bereue the See of Rome of the tribute, vnder which king Iohn had once ſubiected himſelfe and his realme, at what time he yelded his crown to the handes of Pandolfus the Legate. &c. with theſe and ſuch other words Simon Langhton falſly and maliciouſly depraued the godly biſhop. The pope hearing wͭ one eare, & crediting what he heard, wͭout farther inquiſition made of the other party accuſed, ſendeth incontinent to yͤ monks

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of Cant. to procede in a new election, and to chuſe them an other Arch. ſuch as were an wholeſome paſtour of ſoules, profitable to the church of England, & deuout to the church of Rome. And thus was the lawfull election of thys good Archb. made fruſtrate, too good peraduenture to ſerue in that place, whereunto he was elected.

After the repulſe of thys Radulphe, the Caunterburie Monkes entring a new election, agreed vpon Iohn their prior, to be their Metropolitane. Who going vp to Rome to haue his election confirmed by the Pope, was 3. dayes together examined of the cardinals. And when they could finde no inſufficiency in him, touching theſe things, wherein they tried him: yet notwithſtanding, the pope finding a fault with his age (he peraduenture being more aged himſelfe) repealed him, for that he ſayd, he was too old and ſimple, to ſuſteine that dignitie. Ex Pariſ.

¶ What was the age of this perſon, I find it not in the authour expreſſed: yet it is to be ſuppoſed, that hee which was able to take that iourney to Rome, and home againe: was not ſo greatly to be cōplained off for hys age, but that he was able ſufficiently to take paines in keping the chaire of Canterburie.

he popes
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nd.

In the former parts of this ſtory proceding, partly before hath bene declared, partly hereafter more ſhal appeare (Chriſt willing) how the Church of England & commons of the ſame was grieued & miſerably afflicted, by the intollerable oppreſſions of the Pope: who through his violent extortion had procured the beſt benefices to be giuen to his Romanes and the chiefe fruites of them to be reſerued to his owne coffers. And what complaints therof haue bene made, ye heard before, pa. 255. But yet no redreſſe could be had. Such was the inſatiable auarice of theſe Romaines rakehels, proiling & polling whereſoeuer they came, wyth their prouiſions & exactions out of meaſure, and neuer ſatiſfied. In ſomuch, that here in England whoſoeuer lackt: their barnes were alwaies full of corne: and what penury ſoeuer pinched the people, they were ſure to haue inough. And theſe inportunate exactions & contributions of theſe Italian harpies: beſide the peterpence, beſide the common tribute, daily more & more increaſed, to the great greuance of the Realme: in ſomuch that the wealth of this land was almoſt cleane ſuckt vp, & tranſlated to the court of Rome. Neither was the king ignorant hereof, but could not help the matter. Wherfore it was deuiſed by ſome of the nobles (as appeareth in the ſtory of Parienſis) this foreſayde yeare, An. 1231. that certaine letters vnder the pretenſed colour of the kings authority, ſhould be ſent abroad: willing & commaunding, that ſuche corne & graine, and other reuenues, as were taken vp for the Pope, ſhould be ſtaied and forth cōming, by a certain day in the ſayd letters appoynted, the which letters are thought to procede chiefly by the means of Hubert Lorde chiefe Iuſtice of England, who then next vnder the king, ruled the moſt affaires of the realme. The wordes and contents of the letters be theſe.

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After diuers & ſondry griefs & oppreſsions which this realm, as you know, hath ſuſtained by the Romaniſts and yet doth: as well to the preiudice of the king himſelfe, as alſo of the nobilitie of the ſame, concerning the aduowſons of their Churches, and about their tythes: who alſo go about to take from the clerks and ſpirituall men their benefices, & to beſtow them vpon their owne nation and countreimen, to the ſpoile and confuſion both of vs and our realm: we therfore by our cōmon conſents haue thought good (although very late) now yet rather, then any lōger to ſuffer their intollerable oppreſsions and extortions, to reſiſt and withſtande the ſame. And by the taking from them their benefices through all Englande, in like maner to cut ſhort and bridle them, as they had thought to haue kept vnder & brideled others: wherby, they may deſiſt any lenger to moleſt the Realme. Wherfore, we ſtraitly charge and commaund you, that as touching the ferming of their churches, or els the rents belōging to them, which either you haue preſently in your hands, or els do owe vnto the ſaid Romaniſts: that from henceforth you be no more accoumptable vnto them, or els pay vnto them from henceforth the ſame. But that you haue the ſayde your rents and reuenues ready, by ſuch a day, to pay and deliuer vnto our procurators thereunto by our letters aſsigned. And that all Abbates and Priors haue the ſame in a readineſſe at the time appoynted, in their owne Monaſteries: and all other Prieſtes, Clerkes, and laimen, at the Churches of the Romaniſts there ready to pay. And farther, knowe ye for certaintie that if ye refuſe thus to doe: that all that you haue beſides, ſhalbe by vs brent and ſpoiled. And beſides, looke what daunger we purpoſe ſhall fall vpon them, the ſame ſhall light vpon your neckes, if you refuſe thus to do. Farewell.

When this was done, they ſent their letters abroad by certaine ſouldiours thereunto appoynted: to the which letters they had deuiſed a new ſeale with two ſwords ingraued, & betwene the ſwords was writtē, Ecce gladij duo, &c. Beholde theſe two ſwordes ready to take vengeance of all thoſe that ſhall wythſtand the forme and order in theſe letters contained.

{ Anno. 1232. }

A Romayne prieſt, Chanon of Paules taken and robbed by ſouldiours.

At that time the 16. day before the Kalends of Ianuary, about the beginning of the yere 1232. there was kept at S. Albons a great conſiſtory of Abbots, Priors, Archdeacons, with diuers both of the nobilitye and clergye by the popes commandement, for the celebration of a diuorce betwene the Countes of Eſſex and her huſband. At the breaking vp of which conſiſtorie, when euery man was about to depart thence. There was a certain clerke whoſe name was Cincius a Romane, and alſo a Chanon of Paules in London: taken by ſome of the ſayde Uniuerſitie not farre off from S. Albons, and was caried away from his company by the ſouldiours. But maiſter Iohn Archdeacon of Norwich a Florentine, hardly eſcaping from that company, gate to London where he hid himſelfe, and durſt not be ſeene. Cintius after 5. weekes, when they had well emptied hys bagges, was ſafely ſent againe without any more hurt to London.

The barnes of a Romane parſon broke vp and the corne diſtributed to the poore.

Not long after this, about the beginning of Ianuarie, the barnes of a certaine beneficed man, a Romane, & perſon of Wingham, being ful of corn, were broke vp by a like company of armed ſouldiours. And the corne brought out to be ſold and geuen away to the poore people. The farmer ſeeing this and not able to reſiſt, complaineth to the ſhirife of the ſhire, of this iniurie done to his maſter, and of breaking the kings peace: whereupon, the ſhirife ſent certaine of his mē to ſee what was done. Who cōming to the emptie barnes, & there finding the foreſaid ſouldiours to them vnknowen, who had ſold away the moſt part of the corne vpon eaſie price, and ſome for charity had geuen to the pouertie of the countrey about: required of them whot they were, that ſo durſt preſume to breake the Kings peace. Whom the other then called ſecretly a part, & ſhewed them the kings letters Patentes (pretending at leaſt the kings name and ſeale) wherin was forbidden that no man ſhuld preſume to ſtoppe or let them in that purpoſe. Whereof the Sheriffes ſeruaunts being certified, quietly returned from whence they came.

The Romanes and Italian parſons in England robbed of their rents and corne.

This comming to the knowledge of Roger byſhop of London, he (wyth the aſſiſtance of other Biſhops) proceedeth in ſolemne excommunication, firſt againſt them that robbed Cintius the Romane: then of them which ſpoyled the barnes of the parſon of Wingham, an other Romaine: thirdly he excommunicated them that forged ẏ letters and ſeale of the king aboue ſpecified.

A general ſpoile of the Romayne parſons in England.

Neither yet for all that, that did ſo ceaſe, but the ſame yeare, about Eaſter next folowing, al the barnes in England, which were in the hands of any Roman or Italian, were likewiſe waſted, and the corne ſolde to the beſt commodity of the poore commons. Of the which, great almoſe was diſtributed: and many times, money alſo wyth corne together was ſparſed for the needy people to gather vppe. Neither was there any, that would or durſt ſtand againſt them. As for the Romaines & Italians themſelues, were ſtricken in ſuche feare, that they hid themſelues in Monaſteries and celles, not daring to complaine of their iniuries receiued: but helde it better, to loſe rather their goods, then to looſe their liues. The authors and workers of thys feate were to the nomber of 80. armed ſoldiours, of whom the principall captaine, was one naming himſelfe W. Wytherſe, ſurnamed Twing.

The popes cholar ſtirred vp againſt England.

A fumiſh vicare of milde Chriſt.

This comming to the Popes knowledge, he was not a little ſtirred therewith, & ſendeth his letters immediatly to the king vppon the ſame: with ſharpe threatnings, and imperious commaundements, charging him for ſuffering of ſuch villany within his realme: ſtraitly enioyning hym vnder paine of excommunication, to ſearche out the doers hereof with all diligence, & ſo to puniſh them that all other by them may take example. Likewiſe, hee ſendeth the ſame charge to Peter biſhop of Wincheſter, and to the Abbot of S. Edmunde, to inquire in the South partes. Alſo to the Archb. of Yorke, and to the biſhop of Durham, and to maſter Iohn Chanon of Yorke a Romaine, to inquire in the North partes for the ſayde malefactors: and after diligent inquiſition made, to ſend vp ẏ ſame to Rome, there needes to appeare before him. &c.

Inquiſitiō made for the ſpoyling of the popes corne.

Thus after earneſtly inquiſition made of all parties, & witneſſes ſworne and examined: many were foūd culpable in the matter, ſome ẏ were factours, ſome that were conſenters, of whom ſome were Biſhops, and Chaplaines to the King: ſome Archdeacons, & Deanes, with other ſouldiours and lay men. Among whom certaine ſheriffes and vnderſheriffs with their ſeruitures vnder them, were apprehended and caſt into priſon by the king. Many for feare fled and eſcaped away, who being ſought for coulde not be

Hubert de Burgo.

Robert Twing, ſpoyled of his benefice by the Romaines.

founde: but the principall of this number (as is aforeſaid) was ſuppoſed to be Hubertus Lord chief iuſtice: who both with the kings letters & his own, fortified the doers thereof, that no man durſt interrupt them. Moreouer in ẏ ſame ſociety of them, which were noted in theſe doings, was the ſame Robert Twing, aboue mentioned, a comely young man and a talle ſouldiour: who of his own voluntary accorde, with 5. other ſeruitures, whome hee tooke wyth him abroad to worke that feat, came to the king: openly proteſting himſelfe to be the author of that deede doing, and ſaid, he did it for hatred of the pope and the Romaines: becauſe that by the ſentence of the biſhop of Rome, and fraudulent circumuention of the Italians, he was bereeued of the patronage of his benefice, hauing no more to geue but that one. Wherefore to be reuenged of that iniurie, he enterpriſed that which was done: preferring rather vniuſtly to be excommunicate for a ſeaſon, then to be ſpoiled of his benefice for euer. Then the King, and other executours of the Popes commandement gaue him counſaile, that ſeeing he had ſo incurred the danger of the Popes ſentence, ſhoulde offer himſelfe to the pope to be abſolued of him againe, and there to make his declaration vnto him, that he iuſtly and canonically was poſſeſſed in that church. The king moreouer with him ſent his letters teſtimoniall vnto the pope, witneſſing with the ſaide ſouldiour, and inſtantly deſiring the Pope in his behalf, that he might with fauor be heard. At the requeſt wherof, Pope Gregory afterward, both releaſed him of the ſentence, and reſtored him to his patronage: wryting to the Archb. of York, that he might againe inioy the right of his benefice in as ample maner, as he did before it was taken from him.

The Byſhops go about to bring Hubert out of the kings fauor.

Hubert de Burgo Lorde chiefe Iuſtice, being one of them which helde againſt the Romiſh Prieſtes, as is afore ſignified: was therfore not a litle noted of ẏ biſhops, who to requite him with like deſpite againe (after their accuſtomed maner of practiſe) went about by ſubtile working, to ſhake him out of the kings fauour. And firſt commeth Peter Biſhop of Wincheſter, to the king greuouſly complaining of certaine about the King, but eſpecially of the foreſaide Hubert the kings iuſtice: in ſo much, that he cauſed him to be remoued from his office, notwythſtãding he had the kings ſeale and wryting for the perpetuity of the ſame, & procured Steuen Segraue to be placed in his function. And after a few daies, the king more and more incenſed againſt hym, called him to a counte of all the treaſure which he was countable for by his exchekers office: alſo of all ſuche debts by him due frõ the time of his father, vnto hys time. Alſo of all the Lordſhips, whych were in the poſſeſſion of William Earle of Pẽbroke, chief iuſtice before him. Item, of the liberties which he did holde at that time, in foreſtes, warrens, ſhires, and other places, how they were kept, or howe they were made away. Of Prices likewiſe: Alſo of loſſes committed through hys negligence: And of waſtes made contrary to the kings profite: of his liberties, howe he did vſe them. Item, of iniuries and damages wrought againſt the clearkes of Rome, and other Italians, and the Popes Legates: for the redreſſe whereof, he woulde neuer adioyne his cõſail, according as appertained to his office, being then chief iuſtice of England. Alſo of ſcutagies, gifts preſents, ſcapes of priſonners. Item, of maritagies which king Iohn cõmitted to his keeping at the day of his death, and which were alſo in his time committed vnto him. To theſe Hubert anſwered, ẏ he had king Iohns owne hand to ſhewe for his diſcharge: who ſo approued his fidelitie, that he neuer called him to any, but clerely diſcharged him from all ſuch counts. Wherunto anſwered againe the Biſhop of Wincheſter, ſaying: the Charter of king Iohn hath no force after the death of him, but that ye may now be called to a reckoning of this king for the ſame.

Obiections laid againſt Hubert, by the kyng.

Note, that with Wint. the kyngs charter is no lõger in force then whileſt he liueth.

Ouer and beſides theſe, other greater obiections were laid to his charge by the King: as for ſending and wryting to the duke of Auſtria, that he might marry hys daughter, to the preiudice of the King and of the Realme, diſſuading that ſhe myght not be geuen to him. Item, for counſailing the king not to enter into Normandie wt his armie which he had prepared for the recouerie of lands there belonging to his right, wherby great treaſure was there conſumed in vaine. Item, for corrupting the daughter of the King of Scottes, whome king Iohn his father committed to his cuſtody, for him to mary. Item, for ſtealing frõ him a pretious ſtone, which had a vertue to make him victorious in warre, & for ſending the ſame to Leoline Prince of Wales. And that by his letters ſent to the ſayde Leoline William Bruces a noble man was cauſed there traitrouſly to be hãged. &c. Theſe wyth other crimes (whether true or falſe) were ſuggeſted to the king againſt the ſayd Hubert by his aduerſaries, wherunto he was required to anſwere by order of law. Hubert then ſeing himſelfe in ſuch a ſtrait, refuſed to anſwer preſently, but required reſpite thereunto, for that the matters were weighty which the king obiected to him, which was graunted to hym till the 14. day of September: but in the meane time, Hubert being in fear of the king, fled from London to the priory of Merton. And thus Hubert, who before for the loue of the king, and defence of the realme (ſayth mine author) had got the hatred of all the nobles of England, now being out of the kings fauor was deſtitute of comforte on euery ſide: ſaue onely that Lucas Archbiſhop of Dubline, wyth inſtant prayers and teares, laboured to the king for him. By this example & many like is to be ſene, howe vnſtable and variable a thing the fauor of mortall & mutable princes is: To teach all ſuch as haue to doe about princes, howe to repoſe and plant their truſt not in man, but in their Lord God: by him to finde help in Chriſt the true Prince of all Princes, which neuer faileth. By like example was Clito ſerued of king Alexander, Ioab of king Dauid, Belliſarius of Iuſtiniane, Harpagus of Aſtiages, Cromwell of king Henry, wt innumerable moe, which in hiſtories are to be found.

Other crimes obiected to Hubert by the king.

Princes
vsur
be tru

When the day was come, that this Hubert ſhould anſwer, keeping among the monks of Merton, he durſt not appeare.

Then was it ſignified to him from the King, that hee ſhould come vp and appeare in the court, there to anſwer to his charge. Wherunto he anſwered againe, that he miſdouted the kings anger, & therfore he did flie to the church as the vttermoſt refuge to all ſuch as ſuffer wrong. From whence he would not ſtirre, till he heard the kings wrath to be mitigated towards him. With this, the king moued & ſore diſpleaſed, directed his letters in all haſt, to the maior of London, commanding him at the ſight therof to muſter and take vp all the citizens that could beare harneis in the Citie, and to bring to him by force of armes the foreſaid Hubert either quicke or dead, out of Merton. Wherupon, the Maior immediately cauſing the great bell to be ronge: aſſembled together the people of Lõdon, and opening before them the kings letters, commaunded them to prepare and arme themſelues in al readines to the executing of the kings will and meſſage.

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againſt
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The king
meſſage
the Mai
of Londo

The Citizens hearing this, were therewith right glad and ready, for they were all in great hatred wyth Hubert: becauſe of the execution of Conſtantine their citizen aboue mentioned, pag. 269. Notwithſtanding, certaine of ẏ citizens, namely Andrew Bukerel, Iohn Trauers & other mo, men of more graue & ſage diſcretiõ (wiſely pondering with themſelues, what inconuenience might riſe heerof) went in haſte to the Byſhop of Wintcheſter, lying then in Southwarke: and waking him out of hys ſleepe, deſired him of his counſaile in that ſo ſodeine and daungerous diſtreſſe: Declaring to him, what perill might thereby enſue as well to the church of Merton, as alſo to the citie, by the fury of the vnordinate & fierce multitude, which wil hardly be brideled from robbing and ſpoiling, neither wil ſpare ſheding of bloud. &c. Vnto whõ againe the bloudy byſhop gaue this bloudy counſaile (ſayth Pariensis.) Daungerous it is (quod he) both heere and there, but yet ſee ẏ you obey and execute the precept of the king, I counſaile you plainely. At the which counſail of the biſhop they being amaſed, went with an euill will about the buſineſſe enioyned. But the people inflamed wt hatred, gladly coueted to be reuenged and to ſhed the bloud of the ſayd Hubert.

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Cruel co
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of Peter
of Wint.

¶ The cauſe why Peter Byſhop of Wint. was ſo cruelly ſet againſt the Iuſtice, was partly for the damages hee had done to the Romane Prieſtes, as is before touched: Partly alſo for the olde grudge, becauſe the king comming to his lawful age before (through the counſail of this Hubert) loſed himſelfe frõ the gouernment of the ſayd B. who had him then in cuſtodie. And thus roſe vp the grudge and diſpleaſure of this biſhop him.

The cau
of diſple
betwee
Hubert a
the biſh
of Wint.

On the next morowe, the Londiners iſſuing out of the citie to the number of xx. M. ſet forth toward the Abbey of Merton, where Hubert was lying proſtrate before the altar, commending himſelfe to God.

Hubert p
ſtrate vpo
the groun
commẽde
himſelfe to
God.

In the meane ſeaſon, while the Citizens were in their iourney, raging againſt the poore erle of Kent: it was ſuggeſted to the king by Radulfe B. of Chicheſter, and Lorde Chauncelor, that it was daungerous to excite vp the vulgare and vnruly multitude, for feare of ſedition: leſt peraduenture, the rude and heady people being ſtirred vp, will not ſo ſoone be brought downe againe, when the K. would haue them. Moreouer, what ſhalbe ſayd (quod he) among the French men and other nations, which of great things loue to make them greater, & of euill things to make them worſe then they are: but thus ieſtingly & mockingly: See what a kind bird is the yong king of England, whych seeketh

Sage coun
ſaile of an
Erle giuẽ t
the kyng.

keth to deuour his old nurſe vnder whoſe wings he had ben brought vp and nouriſhed in his youth. And thus the king by the perſwaſion hereof, chaūging his councell, ſet in all haſty wiſe after the army againe, willing them to retract theyr iourney, and to retire, And thus the Londiners (although much agaynſt their wils) returned home, miſſing of theyr purpoſe. wherein is to be obſerued another notable example of Gods working prouidence. For when ẏ king (ſayth the hiſtory) had ſent by 2. meſſēgers or purſeuants to reuoke and call back again the army of the Londiners, going with gredy mindes to ſhed the bloud of the innocent Iuſtice: One of the meſſengers poſting with all ſpeed poſſible, with the kinges letters, ouertook the army: and comming to the foreward, where the Captains were by vertue of the kings letters ſtaied their courſe and bloudy purpoſe, wherby they could proceed no farther. But the other meſſēger crafty and malicious, who bearing hatred to the ſayd Hubert, rather wiſhing him to be ſlayne, then to be deliuered: lingred by the way of purpoſe (although being commaunded to make haſte) & when he came, went onely but to the middle ſort. More like a meſſēger meet to ſerue a dead mans arrant, then to ſerue the turne of them which be aliue. And ſo in like maner by the iuſt hand of God it fell vpon him. For the ſame meſſenger ſtombling with his horſe, riding but a ſoft or a foote pace, and rather walking then riding: fell down backward from his horſe backe, and there brake his necke and dyed. This mercifull meſſage of the king was, as is ſaid, ſent by the inſtigation of Radulph B. of Chicheſter Lord Chaunceller (a vertuous and a faythfull man) and one that coulde ſkill to haue compaſſion on the miſeries of men. Of whom was declared before, that he being elected Archbiſhop of Canterbury, would not get one halfe peny to theyr expenſes by the way, to geue his election cōfirmed by the Pope: and afterward by the ſayd Pope was defeited and fruſtrated of his election, as relation was made before pag. 274. And thus through Gods prouidēce by the meanes of the kings letters the army returned: and Huberts life (contrary to hys expectation) was preſerued.

The marue- us wor- ng of the ords helpe time of eed, *Iuxta erſum* ſaith he ſtorie: *lulales, alis lum ne lō- ſales. x addita entis Mat. ariſienſi. ag. 81.*

A notable xample of Gods iuſt uniſhment triking with eath him hat ſeeketh he death of n other.

Cōmendati- on of Radulf B. of Chi- cheſter.

After this, the Archbiſhop of Dubline with much labour and great ſute intreated and obteined of the king to graunt vnto the ſayd Hubert reſpite till the twelfe day of Ianuary, to prouide himſelf of his anſwere to ſuch things as were commenſed agaynſt him. Then Hubert truſting to enioy ſome ſafety by the kings permiſſion to him graūted, to breath himſelfe a litle and to walke abroad, took his iourny towardes S. Edmūdeſbury, where his wife was. And paſſing through the countrey of Eſſex, was Inned there in a certaine towne belonging to the biſhop of Norwich. whereof when the king was certified, fearing leſt he would raiſe vp ſome commotion in the Realme: ſēdeth in haſty anger after him Syr Godfred Crancombe knight, with 300. men: commaunding vnder payne of hanging, that they ſhould apprehend him, & bring him to the tower of London. which commaundement to accompliſh, there lacked no haſte. Hubert hauing intelligence of their comming (riſing out of his bed naked as he was) ranne to the chappel ſtanding nere to the Inne, where he holdeth with the one hand the croſſe, with the other hand the Sacramēt of the Lordes body. Then Godfride with his foreſayd armed ſouldiours entring into the Chappell, willed him to come out. which when he would not: with violent hands he drew him out of the Chappell, and taking the Croſſe & Sacrament out of his hands, faſt bound him with fetters and giues vnder the horſe belly, and brought him as they were commaunded, to the Tower. And ſo certifying the king what they had done (who then taried vp waking for them) he reioyced not a little thereat, and went mery to his bed.

The Archb. of Dubline againe maketh interceſsion for Hubert.

Hubert flyeth to the Church for his refuge.

Hubert violētly drawen out of the Church.

Hubert caſt into the tower of Londō

The next morrow following after, Roger Byſhop of London had knowledge, how and in what order he was taken violently out of the Chappell, he commeth to the king blaming him boldely for violating the peace of holy church, and proteſted that vnleſſe the partye were looſed agayne, & ſent to the Chappel from whence he was drawn, he would enter ſentente of excommunication agaynſt all the deed doers,

The kyng blamed for breaking the peace of holy Church.

The king as he did not deny his tranſgreſſion herein, ſo ſendeth him, (albeit agaynſt his will) out of the Tower to the ſaid Chappell agayn & by the ſame ſouldiors which brought him out before. which done, he geueth in ſtraight charge and commaundement vnder payne of hanging to the Shiriffes of Herforde and of Eſſex, that they in theyr owne perſons with the ſtrength of both Shyres ſhoulde watch and compaſſe about the Chappell, and ſee that the ſayd Hubert no wayes might eſcape. which commaundement of the king was accōpliſhed with all diligence. But Hubert took all this patiently, and continued in the chappell praying both night and day, & commending his cauſe vnto the Lord, whom he deſired ſo to deliuer him from that inſtant daunger, as he alwayes ſought the kings honor by his faythfull and truſty ſeruice. And as he continued in his prayer, ſo the king continuing in his rage, commaunded that no man ſhould intreat for him, or make any mention of him in his preſence. Notwithſtanding, yet Lucas Archbiſhop of Dubline, his true and almoſt onely friend, ceaſed not to pray and weepe to the king for hym, deſiring the king at leaſt to intimate to him, what he purpoſed ſhould be done with Hubert. whereunto the King anſwering, ſayd: that of three things one he ſhould chooſe: whether he woulde abiure the Realme of England for euer, or be condemned to perpetuall priſon, or els confeſſe himſelfe openly to be a Traytour. But Hubert hereunto ſayde, that he woulde chooſe none of theſe Articles, as who knew himſelfe neither giltye, nor worthye of anye ſuche confuſion: but to ſatiſfye ſomewhat the minde of the Kyng, he woulde be content to departe the Realme for a ſeaſon; but to abiure the Realme, he woulde not ſo doe.

The Kyng compelled to ſend Hubert againe to his ſanctuary.

Example of a conſtant friend in the time of need.

Three things put to Hubert to chuſe.

In this meane time it befel, that Rannulphus Earle of Cheſter and of Lincoln, one of his soreſt enemies died. Hubertus all this while, remayned in the Chappell incloſed & garded about with the power, as is ſayd, of two ſhires, & ſo continued til at length by the cōmaūdement of the king his two ſeruitours whiche miniſtred to him within the Chappell, were taken from him. Then Hubert ſeeing no other remedy but there to ſterue for famine, offered hymſelfe of his owne accorde to the Shiriffes, ſaying that he would put himſelfe rather in the kinges mercy, then there deſperately to periſh for hunger. And ſo was he takē, and being faſt bound in fetters, was brought agayne & clapped by the Kinges commaundement, in the Tower of London.

Hubert yeldeth himſelfe to the Sheriffes.

Hubert reduced againe to the Tower.

Not long after this, word was brought to the king by certaine, that the ſaid Hubert had muche treaſure lying in the houſe of the new Templaries in London. whereupon the king to try out the trueth thereof ſendeth for the Prior or maiſter of ẏ houſe, who not daring to deny, confeſſed ẏ there was in deed treaſure brought into the houſe, but the quantity and number thereof he could not tell. The King deſirous to ſeaſon vpō the treaſure, required and charged the maiſter with his brethren, with threatning wordes, to bring forth the treaſure to him, ſaying, that it was taken and ſtolne out of his treaſury. But they anſwered againe that the treaſure was committed with truſt and fayth vnto theyr hands: and therfore they would nor ought to let it go out of theyr hands, being truſted withall, without the aſſent of him which committed the ſame vnto them. when the king could get no other anſwere at their hands, neither durſt ſhew any further violēce againſt thē, he ſendeth to Hubert in ẏ Tower, requiring of him the foreſaid treaſures. To whom he aunſwering agayne mildely, yelded both himſelfe, his treaſures & all that euer he had vnto the kings will & pleaſure, & ſo ſending word to the maiſter & brethren of the Temple, willeth them to take al the keyes, and deliuer the goods, with all that there was to the king, who receiuing the ſame, and taking an Inuentory of that which was receiued, cauſed it to be brought to his treaſure, whereof the number both of the plate, of coyne, and of the iewels was of price vnknowen. The enemies of Hub. ſuppoſing thereby to take aduauntage againſt him to bring him to his end came with open complaynt to the king, crying out againſt Hubert, that he was a thief, a traitor, and a robber of the kings treaſure, and therefore by right was worthy to be hanged, and thus cried his accuſers dayly in the kinges eare. But the hartes of kinges (ſayth the wiſe man) are in the handes of the Lord, to be ruled not after mans will, but as it pleaſeth God to direct them. And ſo this king hauing now his will & fill vpon poore Hubert & ſomwhat cōming more vnto himſelfe, anſwered againe in this wiſe: that there was no ſuch need to deale ſo ſtraitly with him, who from the time of his youth firſt ſerued mine vncle King Richard, then my father king Iohn, in whoſe ſeruice, (as I heard ſay) beyond the Seas he was driuen to eat his horſe, Pariſienſ. pag. 81. and in my time hath ſtand ſo conſtantly in defence of the Realme agaynſt forreine nations, who kept the caſtle of Douer agaynſt king Lewes, and vanquiſhed the Frenchmen vpon the Seas, alſo at Bedford, and at Lincolne hath done ſuche ſeruice. And though agaynſt me he hath dealt any thing vntruely, which yet is not euidentlye proued, yet he ſhall neuer be put by me to ſo villanous death. I had rather be counted a king fooliſh and ſimple, then to be iudged a tyraunt or a ſeeker of bloude, eſpeciallye of ſuche as haue ſerued me

Faithfull depoſitaries.

Hubert bereft of all his treaſures.

Anno. 1232.

God ruleth the heartes of kings.

The kings anſwere in defence of Hubert.

A worthy word of a kyng.

and mine aunceſters in many perils ſo daūgerouſly, weying more the few euilles which yet be not proued, then ſo many good deſertes of his euident & manifeſt ſeruice done both to me and to the whole realm. &c. And thus the king ſomewhat relenting to poore Hubert his olde ſeruaunt, graunted vnto him all ſuch landes as he had geuen by K. Iohn his father, and whatſoeuer els he had by his owne purchaſe.

The kings mynd relenteth toward Hubert.

Foure Earles ſureties for Hubert.

Hubert put in the Caſtle of Deuiſis.

Anno. 1233.

Hubert conueyed out of the Caſtle into the Pariſh Church.

Hubert againe taken out of the church, and brought backe to the Caſtle.

Thus Hubert after long trouble, a little cheered wyth ſome peece of comfort, ſet Laurence his truſtye friend that neuer left him, one that belonged to S. Albons, to be hys Stuard and ouerſeer of thoſe poſſeſſions graunted to him by the king. And ſhortly vpon the ſame, after the kinges minde was ſeene thus ſomething to relent, the enuy alſo of the nobles being now partly ſatiſfied: began to turne to mercy. In ſo much that 4. Earles, to witt Earle Richard the kinges brother, william Earle of warrine, Richard Earle Marſhall, and william Earle of Ferrys, became ſureties to the king for him. Vpon whoſe ſurety he was transferred to the Caſtle of Deuizis: where he was vnder the keeping of 4. ſouldiours by them appoynted, hauing the liberty of the Caſtle. But the Byſhopp of wincheſter, who alwayes hunted after the life of Hubert, craftely cōmeth to the king, and deſireth the cuſtodye of that Caſtle, making no mention of Hubert, to the intent that by the keeping thereof, he might the ſooner diſpatch him. Hubert hauing therof ſome inkling, breaketh the matter to two of his ſeruants, who with compaſſion tendering his miſery, watched their time (the kepers being a ſleep) and conueied by night vpon theyr backes, fettered as he was, into the pariſh Church of the Towne, and there remayned wyth him. The keepers when they miſt theyr priſoner, were in great perplexity, and after diligent ſearche finding hym at length where he was in the Churche, with violent force drew him from thence to the Caſtle againe. For the which iniury to the Church, the Biſhop of Sarum, vnderſtanding the order of the matter, commeth to the Caſtle where the keepers were, and required that Hubert ſhoulde be brought againe into the Church, from whence he was taken. which whē the keepers denied to do, ſaying that they would rather he ſhould hang then they: then the Byſhop gaue ſentence agaynſt them of excommunication. which done, he with the Biſhop of London and other Byſhops, goeth immediatly to the king, complaynyng of the iniury done to Hubert, and eſpecially of the contumely agaynſt holye Churche: neither woulde they leaue the King before they had obtayned that hee ſhoulde bee reduced agayne into the Churche, and ſo he was. It was not long after, but the king in great diſpleaſure ſendeth to the Sheriffe of the ſhyre to keepe him well watched in the Churche, till either he came forth, or there periſhed wyth famine.

Hubert deliuered out of priſon and caried into Wales.

It befel in the meane ſeaſon that great diſſention roſe betwene the king and the nobles of the Realme, by reaſon whereof Hubert was taken and caried away by Richard Earle Marſhall into wales, and there remayned till the king at length was reconciled with his nobles, and ſo receiued with the reſt the ſayd Hubert agayne into hys fauour. Ex Math. Pariſienſ. Ex Flor. Hiſtoriarum. Of the which diſſention more ſhall be ſhewed (Chriſt willing) hereafter.

Roger B. of Lōdon goeth to Rome to purge himſelfe before the Pope.

Againſt Vſurers

Vſurers excommunicated and expelled by the Byſhop of London.

Excommunication well vſed againſt vſurers.

As the beginning of this trouble of Hubert firſt ſprang of vexing the Popes barnes: ſo likewiſe Roger biſhop of London ſuſpected for the ſame cauſe, was enforced to trauell vp to Rome, there to purge himſelfe before the Pope. where after much money conſumed, & robbed alſo by the way, he gat nothing els, but loſt his labour, and ſo came home agayne. who then doing the part of a good Biſhop, after his returne from Rome, attempted to expell and exclude out of his Dioces all theſe Italian vſurers called, as is before ſayd Caurſini. Theſe Caurſinites comming with the Popes Legats into England, and lending their money to Religious houſes, to Colleges and Churches, had their debters to them boūd in ſuch ſort, as was much vntageable to them, & much iniurious vnto the other, as in the forme of theyr obligations in the ſtoryes of Mathew Pariſienſ. is largely expreſſed fol. 65. Againſt theſe Caurſinites the Biſhoppe of London being worthely inflamed with zeale of iuſtice, firſt with louing admonition, went about to reclayme them, for the wealth of theyr ſoules, afterward with ſharpe wordes began to charge them. But they neither regarding Chriſtian councell, and deſpiſing the Biſhops threatnings, would not leaue the ſweetneſſe of their occupation. wherfore the Biſhop proceding to the ſentence of excommunication, preciſely and diſtrictly charged them to depart his Dioces. But they agayne being confident & emboldned vpon the popes defence, not onely ſet at light his excommunication, but alſo wrought ſuch wayes with the Pope, that they cauſed the ſayd B. of Lōdon, being both aged and ſickely, to be cited peremptorily to appeare beyond the Seas, there to anſwere to ſuch obiections as they ſhould inferre agaynſt him. And thus the Byſhop minding rather to couer, then to open the faults of the Church, and partly being let with infirmitye & age, was compelled to let the cauſe fall.

The ge viſitation the Pope, through al religiou houſes.

Ex Parien

The gre diuerſitie among all religious orders noted.

And thus much of the popes marchants here in England, which were not ſo buſye here for theyr part, but the Pope the great maiſter of theſe marchaunt vſurers, was as buſy for hys. And although his barnes here in England were deſtroyed, and his banke ſomething decayed, yet he thought to winne it vp an other way: for he proclaimed the ſame yere a generall viſitation through all the religious houſes exempt or not exempt vniuerſally perteyning to his iuriſdiction, where by the cruell dealing of the viſitours, many were compelled to appeale and to trauell vp to Rome, to the great expenſes of their mony, and filling the Popes coffers. But as touching this viſitation, to make ſhort (ſayth the ſtory) it tended not to any reformation ſo much, as to the deformatiō of the vniuerſal order, Dum omnes qui in diuerſis orbis partibus vnicam Benedicti ſecuti fuerant regulam, per nouas conſtitutiones ita inueniantur vbiq; diſcordes, quòd ex omnibus cœnobijs, vel alijs religioſorum Eccleſijs vix duo habeantur in norma viuendi cōcordes. i. while all they, which before through all partes of the world followed onely the rule of Benedict, now through new deuiſed conſtitutions are found in all places ſo deuided & diuers, that of all monaſteryes, and other churches of religion, ſcarſe may two be foūd, which do agree in one rule and inſtitution of life.

Olde ſer tures of the kyng pu and diſca god.

All this while that Hubert aboue mentioned was ſecluded from the king, Peter B. of wincheſter bare all the rule, and aboue al other alone was accepted. This biſhop being in ſuch principall fauor with the king, as by whoſe councell all thinges were adminiſtred, remoued the naturall ſeruitours that were Engliſhmen, out of their offices, and placed other ſtraungers, namely of Pictauia, and of other countryes in theyr roome. Amōg whom was thruſt out william the Vndermarſhall, which ſupplyed yͤ roome of Richard Lord great Marſhall of England: for yͤ which cauſe, the ſayd Lord Richard was mightely offended. Alſo walter Treaſurer of the kinges houſe, was not onely expelled, but alſo merſed at an hundreth pound, & put frō all his holdes and munitions, which he had by the kinges patent graunted to him.

The King forſake nobles a ſticketh to ſtraunger

Moreouer by the counſell of the ſayd Biſhop of wincheſter, all the olde councellers as well Biſhops, as other Earles and Barons, and all the nobles were reiected frō the king in ſuch ſort, that he would heare & folow no mās councell, but onely the ſayd Peter Biſhop of wincheſter, and his coſin Peter de Riuallis. whereby it came to paſſe that all the greateſt holdes and munitions in the Realme were taken from the old kepers and committed to the cuſtodye of the ſayd Peter. Then the Biſhop of wincheſter, to plant and pitch himſelfe more ſtrongly in the kings fauor, adioyned to his felowſhip Stephen Segraue ſucceding in the place of Hubert the iuſtice: alſo Robert Paſſelew, who had the keeping of the treaſure vnder the foreſayd Peter Riuall. So by theſe three all the affayres of the realme were ordred. Moreouer to make theyr party more ſure, by them was prouided, that ſouldiours and ſeruitors from beyond the Sea, as Pictauians and Britans were ſent for, to the number of two thouſand, which were placed partly about the king, partly were ſet in Caſtles & holdes within the Realme, and had the ouerſight and gouernment of Shyres and Baronies, who then oppreſſed the nobles of the land, accuſing them to the king for traytours: whom the ſimple king did lightly beleue, committing to them the cuſtodye of his Treaſures, the ſitting in iudgements, and the doing in all thinges: And when the nobles thus oppreſſed, came to complayn of their iniuries to the king, by the meanes of the Byſhop of wincheſter, theyr cauſe was nothing regarded. In ſo muche that the ſayd wincheſter moreouer accuſed certayne Biſhops alſo to the king, ſo that he did flee and ſhunne them as open traytors and rebels.

Richard E Marſchall admoniſheth the kyng.

Theſe things ſtanding thus out of order, Richard the noble Marſhal of England, with other of the nobles ioyning with him, ſeing theſe oppreſſions and iniuries dayly growing contrary to the lawes and wealth of yͤ realm, came to the king, and blamed him for retayning ſuch peruerſe counſell about him of the Pictauians and other forreners, to the great preiudice of his naturall ſubiects, and of the liberties of the Realme, humbly deſiring and beſeching him, that he with as much ſpeed as might be, would reforme & redreſſe ſuch exceſſes, wherby the whole realme ſeemed to lie in daunger of ſubuerſion. Otherwiſe, if he refuſed to ſee correction therof, he with other peeres and nobles, would withdraw themſelues from his counſell, ſo long as he maintayned the ſocietie of thoſe forreners and ſtrangers about him.

The diſdaynfull anſwere of the B. of Wint. to the nobles.

To this Peter wincheſter aunſwering agayne, ſayde: that the king right wel might cal vnto him what forreners and ſtraungers him liſted, for the defence both of his kingdome and of his crowne: and what number of them he would, as by whom he might be able to bridle his proude and rebellious ſubiectes, and ſo to keepe them in awe and good order. whē the Earle and the nobles could get no other aunſwere of him, in great perturbatiō they departed, promiſing among themſelues, in this cauſe which ſo touched the ſtate of the whole Realme, the would conſtantly ioyne together to the parting of their life.

Wicked counſaile about a kyng.

Petrus de Rupibus B. of Wint. perter of the kyng.

After this, the foreſayd Petrus Biſhoppe of wincheſter with his cōplices, ceaſed not by all meanes to inflame the kinges hart to hatred and contempt of his naturall people, whom they ſo vehemently peruerted, that he coūting them no other then his enemies, ſought by all diligence ye vtter deſtruction of thē: ſending dayly for moe gariſons of the Pictauians, that in ſhort ſpace they repleniſhed welneare the whole land, whoſe defence the king onely truſted vnto: neither was any thing diſpoſed in the Realme, but through the guiding of this Peter, and of the Pictauians.

The king thus garded and ſtrengthened with theſe forreine aliens and ſtraungers, proclaimed a parliamēt to be holden at Oxford, where the nobles were warned to be preſent. They conſidering the indignation of the king conceiued, would not appeare. Agayn they were required the firſt, ſecond, and third time to preſent themſelues. The aſſembly proceeded, but they came not for whom the king looked. In this aſſembly or Parliament, it was playnely told the king by a Dominick Fryer preaching before him, that vnleſſe he remoued from him the Biſhop of wincheſter and Peter Riuall his kinſmā, he ſhould, neither could long enioy peace in his kingdome. This although it was bluntly ſpoken of the Frier againſt the Biſhop: yet this remedy he had: the frier had nothing to loſe. Yet was ther an other Chaplein of the Court, who perceiuing the king ſomewhat mitigated by the former preaching, and after a courtlike dexterity handling his matter, being a pleaſaunt conceited man, thus merely came to the king aſking a queſtion, what was the thing moſt pernitious & daungerous of all other thinges to them that trauaile by ye ſeas? That, ſayd the king, is beſt knowne to ſuche as trauayle in that kinde of trafficke. Nay, ſayth he, this is eaſy to be tolde. The king demaunding what it was: forſooth (quoth he) ſtones and rockes, alluding merely, but yet truely to the Biſhop of wincheſter, whoſe name and ſurname was Petrus de Rupibus. For ſo Petræ in Latine ſignifieth ſtones, & Rupes rockes. Notwithſtanding the king either not perceiuing the meaning, or not amending the fault, again ſignifieth to his nobles to ſpeake with him at weſtminſter. But they fearing ſome trayne to be layd for them, refuſed to appeare: ſending playne word to the king by ſolemne meſſage, that his grace without all delay ſhould ſeclude frō him Peter B. of wincheſter and other aliens of Pictauia, or if he would not, they with the common aſſent of the realme, would diſplace him with his wicked councellours from his kingdome, and haue within themſelues tractation for chooſing a new king.

A mery Apothegma of the kinges Chaplain.

The meſſage of the nobles to the kyng.

The king at the hearing of this meſſage being mightely moued, partly to feare, partly to indignation, eſpecially hauing ye late example of king Iohn his father before his eyes, was caſt in great perplexity, doubting what was beſt to be done. But wincheſter with his wicked councell ſo wrought with the king, that he proceeded with all ſeuerity agaynſt them: In ſo much that in ſhort time the ſparkles of poiſoned coūcell kindling more and more, grew to a ſharpe battayle betweene the king, and Richard Earle Marſhall, with other nobles, to the great diſquietneſſe of the whole Realme. The which warre before was preſignified by terrible thundering and lightning heard al england ouer in the moneth of march, with ſuch aboundaūce of raine and floudes growing vpon the ſame, as caſt down milnes, ouercouered the fields, threw downe houſes, and did much harme through the whole Realme.

Warre raiſed by the kyng againſt his nobles.

Great thunders & flouds in England.

To proſecute here at large the whole diſcourſe of thys warre betwene the king and Earle Marſhall, which continued neare the ſpace of two yeares, to declare all ye partes and circumſtances thereof, what trouble it brought, what damage it wrought to ye whole realm, what traines were layd, what ſlaughter of men, what waſte of whole countryes enſued from wales vnto Shrewſbery, how ye Marſhall ioyned himſelfe with Leolme Prince of walles, how the Pictauians were almoſt all ſlayne & deſtroyd, how the king was diſtreſſed, what forgery wily wint. wrought by the kings letters to entrap the Marſhall & to betray him to the Iriſhmen, among whom he was at length ſlayne, all this I referre to other authors. who at large do entreat of the ſame, as Math. Pariſienſ. Florilegus & ſuch other. This is to be noted and obſerued (whiche rather perteineth to our Eccleſiaſticall hiſtory) to ſee what ſedition and continuall diſquietnes was in thoſe dayes among all Chriſten people almoſt, being vnder the popes Catholick obediēce. But eſpecially to marke the corrupt doctrine then reigning, it is to be marueiled, or rather lamented, to ſee the king and the people then ſo blinded in the principall point and article of their ſaluation, as we finde in ſtoryes, which making mention of a houſe or Monaſtery of Conuertes builded the ſame yeare by the king at London, do expres in playne wordes, that he then did it Pro redemptione animæ ſuæ, & Regis Ioannis patris ſui, & omnium anteceſſorum ſuorum. i. For the redemptiō of his ſoule, of the ſoule of king Iohn his father, & for the ſoules of all his aunciters. &c. Wherby may be vnderſtand in what palpable darknes of blind ignoraunce the ſely ſoules redeemed by Chriſt, were then inwrapped, which did not know nor yet were taught the right doctrine and firſt principles of their redemption. Ex Math. Pariſienſ. pag. 86.

Monaſteries builded *pro redemptione animæ.*

Mention was made a litle before pag. 275. of diſſolning the election of Iohn Prior of Cāterbury, which was choſen by the Monkes to be Archbiſhop of ye ſayd churche of Canterbury, but by the pope was defeited. After whom one Iohn Blūd was elected, who trauelling vp to Rome this yeare an. 1233. to be confirmed of the Pope, was alſo repealed and vnelected agayne, for that it was thought in England, & ſo complayned of to the Pope, that he had receiued of Peter Biſhop of wincheſter a thouſand markes and had another thouſand promiſed him of the ſayd wincheſter. who by his mony thought to make him of his ſide and alſo wrote to the Emperor to helpe forward his promotion in the court of Rome. Notwithſtanding, both he with his geuing, and the other with his taking of bribes were both detected and diſapoynted of theyr purpoſe. For the Pope hating then the Emperour, for the ſame cauſe admitted not the election, pretending the cauſe, for that he was proued to holde to benefices without his diſpenſation. After whom by the commaundement of the Pope one Edmund Chanon of Saliſbury was ordeyned Archbyſhop, and had his Palle ſent to him from the Pope. which Edmunde after for his vertues was Canoniſed of the Popiſhe Monkes there for a Saynte, and called S. Edmund. About which time alſo Robert Groſted was made B. of Lincolne.

Iohn Archb. of Cant. elected by the Chapter, againe vnelected by the Pope.

Corruption of bribes.

Edmund archb. of Canterbury.

Saint Edmund Canonyſed.

Robert Groſted made Byſhop of Lincolne.

This Edmund accompanied with other Byſhoppes, during this trouble betwene the king and his nobles, being in councell at weſtminſter, in the yeare next enſuing, which was 1234. came vttering their minde boldely in the name of the Lord, & declaring vnto the king as became his faythfull ſeruauntes, that his councell which then he folowed, was not ſound, nor ſafe, but cruell and daungerous both to him and to the ſtate of the Realme, meaning the councell of Peter wincheſter and of Peter Riuall, with other adherentes.

Anno. 1231.

Faithfull counſaile of the Byſhops geuen to the kyng.

1. First and in primis, for that they hate and contemne the Engliſh nation, calling them traitours and rebels: and turning the kings heart from the loue of hys naturall ſubiectes, and the hartes of them from hym, as appeareth by the Earle Marſchal and other, ſowing diſcorde among them.

2. Item, by the ſayd Counſaile, to wit, by the foreſaid biſhop and his fellowes, king Iohn the kings father loſt firſt the heartes of his Barons, after that loſt Normandy, and afterward other landes alſo, and in the end waſted all hys treaſure, ſo that ſince that tyme the regiment of England had neuer no quiet after.

3. By the ſayd Counſayle alſo, in their time and memorye, the kingdome of England had bene troubled and ſuſpended, and in concluſion, became tributary, ſhe that was before the Prince of Prouincies: and ſo warre inſuing vpon the ſame, the ſayd Kyng Iohn his father incurred great daunger of death and at laſt was extinguiſhed, lacking both peace of hys kingdome and of his own heart.

4. Item, by the ſayd counſayle the Caſtle of Bedford was kept long tyme agaynſt the king, to the great loſſe both of men & treaſure, beſide the loſſe of Rupella, to the ſhame of the Realme of England.

5. Moreouer, through their wicked counſayle, at this preſent, great perturbation ſeemed to hang ouer the whole realme, for els if it had not bene for their counſayle, and that true iuſtice and iudgement might haue bene miniſtred vnto the kinges ſubiectſ,

The counſaile of Wincheſt. and ſuch other Byſhops about the kyng diſproued for certayne cauſes.

theſe tumultes had neuer bene ſtirred, and the king might haue had his land vnwaſted, and his treaſure vnconſumed.

6. Item, in that fayth and alleageance wherwith they were obliged vnto him, they proteſted vnto him that the ſayd his councell was not a councell of peace, but of deuiſion and diſquietneſſe, to the end that they which otherwiſe by peace could not aſpire, by diſturbing and diſheriting other might be exalted.

7. Item, for that all the caſtles, fortes, munitions, alſo all the offices of the Eſchequer, with all other the greateſt exchetes of the realme were in their handes, of the which, if the king would demaund a count, he ſhould proue how true they were.

8. Item for that neither by the kinges ſeale, nor commaundement, except it bare withall the ſeale of Peter Riuall, almoſt no buſines of any weight could be diſpatched in the realm, as thogh their counted the king for no king.

9. Furthermore, by the foreſayd councell, the naturall ſubiectes and nobles of the realme were baniſhed the Court, which was to be feared would grow to ſome inconuenience both to the kyng and to the Realme, for ſo muche as the king ſeemed more to be on their ſide then they of his, as by many euident coniectures may appeare.

10. Item, it was not well to be taken and liked, the ſayd councell ſtanding of ſtraungers and aliens, to haue in theyr power both the kinges ſiſter, and many other noble mens daughters and other women mariageable, with the kinges wardes and mariages, which they beſtowed and deuided among themſelues, and men of their affinity.

11. Alſo, the ſayd councell regarding neither the lawes, nor liberties of the Realme confirmed and corroborated by excommunication, did confound and peruert all iuſtice. Wherfore it was to be feared they would runne vnder excommunication, and the king alſo in communicating with them.

12. Item, becauſe they kept neither promiſe nor fayth, nor oath with any perſon, neither did obſerue an inſtrument made neuer ſo formall by law, nor yet did feare any excommunication. Wherfore they were to be left for people deſperate, as which were departed from all truth and honeſty.

Excōmunicatiō denounced by the Biſhops againſt the kyng.

These thinges (ſayd the Biſhops) we as your faythfull ſubiects before God, & men, do tell and aduertiſe your grace, deſiring and beſeching you, that you will remoue & ſeclude from you ſuch councell, and as the cuſtome is of all other kingdoms to do, that you will ſo gouern in like maner your kingdome by your owne natural liege people, & ſuch as be ſworne vnto you of your own realm. For thus (ſaid they) in verity we denounce vnto you, that vnles in ſhort time you will ſee theſe thinges reformed, we according to our duety, will proceed by ẏ cenſure of the church agaynſt you, and all other that gaynſtand the ſame: tarying no other thing, but onely the conſecration of this our reuerend Archbyſhop.

The kyngs anſwere to the byſhops.

These wordes of the Biſhops thus ſayd and finiſhed, the king required a little time of reſpite, wherein to aduiſe with himſelfe aboue the matter, ſaying, that he could not in ſuch a ſodeine remoue from him his counſell, before he had entred with them a coūt of his treaſure committed to them, and ſo that aſſemble brake vp.

The pitie of the kyng toward the wife of Hubert.

It followed then after this communication ſo broken vp, that the king reſorted to the parts of Northfolk, where cōming by S. Edmunds bury, where the wife of Hubert ẏ Iuſtice was, he being moued with zeale of pity toward the woman, who very humbly behaued her ſelf to ẏ king, did graunt vnto her 8. manor places, which her huſband before with his mony had purchaſed, being then in the cuſtody and poſſeſſion of Robert Paſſelew, one of the kings new counſellors aboue ſpecified.

Edmund conſecrated Archb. of Cant. which was afterward canoniſed by Pope Innocent the fourth for a Sainct.

It was not long after this, but Edmund the Archbiſhop was inueſted and conſecrated in the church of Caunterbury, who ſhortly after his conſecratiō, about the moneth of April, comming with his Suffraganes to the place of counſell, where the kyng with his Earles and Barons was aſſembled, opened to him the cauſe and purpoſe of his comming & of the other Prelates, which was to put him in remembrance of their former talke had with him at Weſtminſter: denouncing moreouer to him expreſly, that vnles with ſpeed he would take a better way, & fall to a peaceable and godly agremēt wt the true & faithfull nobles of his realme, he incontinent with the other Prelates there preſent, would paſſe with the ſentence of excommunication againſt him, and againſt all them that ſhould be enemies to the ſame peace, & maintainers of diſcord.

Example of excommunication rightly practiſed.

The kyngs promiſe to the Byſhops.

The king after he heard the meaning of the Biſhops, with humble and gentle language anſwered them again, promiſing to condeſcend to them in all things. Wherupon within few dayes after, the king comming to ſome better remembraunce of himſelfe, cōmaunded the forenamed byſhop of Winchester to leaue the court, and return home to his Biſhopricke, there to attend vnto the ſpirituall charge and care of his flocke committed to him. Moreouer he cōmanded Peter Riual the Biſhops coſin (ſome ſtoryes ſay his ſonne) who had then the diſpoſing of all the aſſayzes of the Realme, to render vnto him his caſtles, and to geue a count of all his treaſures, wherof he had the keeping, and ſo to voyd the Realme, ſwearing moreouer vnto him, but for that he was beneficed, and was within orders of the Churche, els he woulde haue cauſed both his eyes to be pluckt out of his head.

Peter Biſh, of Winc. charged the Court.

Peter Riuall called to a count of the kings treaſures.

Pictauians & ſtraungers ſent home by the king into their countrey.

Reconciliation ſought betwene the king and the nobles.

He expelled likewiſe the Pictauians out of the court, and from the cuſtody of his munitions, ſending thē home into theyr coūtry and bidding they ſhould no more ſee his face. And thus the king wiſely diſpatching himſelfe of his wicked counſellers, firſt did ſend Edmund the Archbyſhop, with the biſhops of Cheſter and of Rocheſter, into Wales to Leoline, and to Richard Earle Marſhal and other, to intreat with them of peace. Alſo he receiued to hys ſeruice agayne men of his naturall countrey, to attend about him, offering himſelf willing to be ruled by the counſell of the Archbiſhop and the Biſhops, by whoſe prudēce he truſted his Realme ſhould be reduced agayne to a better quietnes.

Richarde Earle Marſhall fraudulently circumuented and ſlaine in Ireland.

But in the meane time, while theſe thinges were doing in England, the foreſayd Richard Earle Marſhall by the falſhood of the biſhop of Wincheſter and Peter Riuall, forging the kinges letters to the Iriſhmen againſt him, & partly by the conſpiracy of Gilbert de Mariſco, was circumuented by the Iriſhmen in war, and there taken and wounded, was by them through the meanes of his Surgean ſlayne.

Catini ſlaine about Almaine, iudged of the Papiſtes for heretickes.

Great ſlaughter the ſame time was of thē which were called Catini, about the partes of Almaine. Theſe Catini were eſteemed of pope Gregory and the Papiſtes to be heretickes. But what their opinions were I finde it not expreſſed. In Pariſienſ.

Albingenſes ſlaine in Spaine by the Popes ſetting on.

In like ſort the Albigenſes afore mentioned, recounted alſo of the popes flocke to be heretickes, with theyr biſhops, & a great number and company of thē were ſlaine by the commaundemēt of pope Gregory at the ſame time in a certayne playne in Spayne. Ex Ma. Prienſ. fol. 87.

How the Archbiſhop of Canterbury with other two Byſhops, were ſent into Wales for intreatye of peace, ye heard before. At whoſe returne agayne after the time of Eaſter, the king going toward Gloceſter to meet them by the way, as he was in his iourney at Woodſtocke, came meſſengers from Ireland, declaring to ẏ king the death of Richard Earle Marſhall, and the order therof, through ẏ forged letters of Wincheſter and other, whereat the king made great lamētation and mourning, to the great admiratiō of all them that were by, ſaying & complayning, that he left not his like in all the realme agayne.

The K. lamenteth the death of Richard Earle Marſhall.

After this the king proceeding in his iourney came to Gloceſter. Where the Archbiſh. with the other Biſhops comming to the king, declared to him the forme and conditiō of peace which they had cōcluded with Leoline, which was this: If the king would be reconciled before with the other nobles with whom he was confederate, ſuch as the king had baniſhed out of his realm: to the end that the cōcord might be the more firme betweene them. Thus (ſayd they) was Leoline contented, although with much a do & great difficulty, to receiue ẏ league of peace, ſaying & proteſting thus vnto them, that he feared more the kings almoſe, then all the puiſaunce both of him and of all his clergy within England.

The ſaying of Leoline kyng of Wales.

The almoſe of K. Henry more feared thē his puiſaunce.

This done the king there remaining wt the Biſhops, directed his letters to all the exiles and baniſhed Lords & to all his nobles, that they ſhould repayre to him about ẏ beginning of Iune, at Gloceſter, promiſing to thē his full fauour & reconcilement to them and to their heyres, & that they ſhould ſuſpect no fraud therin, they ſhould haue their ſafeconduct by the Archbiſhop and Biſhops.

Peace concluded betwene the king and the nobles.

Hubert Erle of Kent reſtored agayne to the kings fauour.

Wherupon through the mediation of the ſayd Archbiſhop and the Biſhops, firſt commeth to the king Hubert Earle of Kent, offering himſelf to the kings good will and fauor. Whom the king with chearefull countenance receiued and embraced, reſtoring him not onely to his fauour, but alſo to his houſehold & councell, with his liuings and poſſeſſions frō which he had bene diſeiſed before. Thē Hubert lifting vp his eies to heauen, gaue prayſe and glory to God, by whoſe gracious prouidēce he ſo merueilouſly being preſerued frō ſo great diſtreſſes & tribulatiōs, was agayne ſo happely reconciled to the king, and his faythfull frends. After him in like ſort came in Gilbert Baſſet a noble mā, Richard Suard: alſo Gilbert the brother of Rich. Marſhall that was ſlain. Which Gilbert recouered agayn his whole inheritance as wel in England as in Ireland,

Hubert geueth thankes to God.

doing his homage to the king and his ſeruice due for the ſame. To whom alſo was graunted the office of the high Marſhall court, belonging before to his brother Richard.

In the ſame councell or communication continuing then at Gloceſter, the ſayd Edmund Archbiſhop of caunterbury, bringing the forged letters, wherin was betraied the life of Richard Earle Marſhall, ſealed with the kings ſeale, and ſent to the great mē of Ireland, read the ſame openly in the preſence of the king and all the nobles. At the hearing wherof, the king greatly ſorrowing and weeping confeſſed there in truth that being forced by the Biſhop of wincheſter and Peter de Riuallis, he cōmanded his ſeale to be ſet to certayne letters preſented vnto him, but the tenor therof he ſaid & ſware he neuer heard. Whereunto the Archbiſhop aunſwering agayn, deſired the king to ſearch well his conſcience, & ſaid, that all they which were procurers of knowledge of thoſe letters, were gilty of the death of the Earle Marſhall, no leſſe then if they had murdered him with theyr owne handes.

Falſhood & murder commeth out. Kings many times abuſed by wicked counſaile.

Then the king calling a councell, ſent his letters for the biſhop of wincheſter, for Peter Riuall, Stephen Segraue, and Robert Paſſelew to appere and yeld accoūt for his treaſures to them committed and for his ſeale by them abuſed. But the Byſhop and Riuall keeping themſelues in the ſanctuary of the minſter Church of wincheſter, neither durſt nor would appeare. Stephē Segraue who ſuceded after Hubert the Iuſtice and was of the Clergy before, after became a layman, and now hiding himſelf in S. Maryes Church in the Abbey of Leceſter, was turned to a Clerke agayne, Robert Paſſelew couertly hid himſelf in a certain celler of the new tēple, ſo ſecretly that none could tell where he was, but thought he was gone to Rome. At length through the foreſaid Edmund Archbiſhop of Canterbury, meanes was made, ẏ a dilatory day was graunted by the king, for them to aunſwere. At which day firſt appeared Peter de Riuallis, then Stephen Segraue, after him Robert Paſſelew, ech of them ſeuerally one after another ſhewed themſelues, but not able to aunſwere for themſelues like traitors were reproued, and like villanes were ſent away. Ex Mat. Pariſienſ. fol. 91.

The Biſh. of Wincheſter called to his aunſwere.

Peter Riual, Stephē Segraue, Rob. Paſſelew, called to their anſwer

❧ *Variance betwene Pope Gregory* the 9. and the Romanes.

Variance betweene the Pope & Citizens of Rome. The allegation of the Romanes.

WHile peace thus betweene the king and the nobles was reconciled in England, diſſenſion, and variance the ſame time and yere began in Rome, betwene the pope and the Citizens of Rome. The cauſe was, for that the citizens claymed by old cuſtome and law, that the Byſhop of Rome might not excommunicate any Citizen of the citie, nor ſuſpend the ſaid City with any interdiction for any maner exceſſe.

The Popes anſwere.

To this the Pope anſwered agayne, Quòd minor Deo eſt, ſed quolibet homine maior (to vſe the very wordes of mine author) Ergo, Maior quolibet ciue, næ etiam rege, vel Imperatore. &c. that is, that he is leſſe then God, but greater then any man. Ergo, greater then any Citizen, yea alſo greater then king, or Emperor. And for ſo much as he is theyr ſpirituall father, he both ought and lawfully may chaſtiſe his children when they offēd, as being ſubiected to him in the fayth of Chriſt, and reduce them into the way agayn, whē they ſtray out of courſe.

The 2. allegation of the Romanes. The Pope bound to pay to Rome yearely tribute.

Moreouer, the citizens alledge againe for themſelues, that the Poteſtates of the City and Senators do receiue of the Church of Rome yearely tribute, which the biſhops of Rome were bound to pay vnto them, both by new and alſo auncient law. Of the which yerely tribute, they haue bene euer in poſſeſſiō before this preſent time of this pope Gregory 9.

The Pope replyeth.

Hereunto the pope anſwered and ſayd, that although the Church of Rome in time of perſecution, for their defence and cauſe of peace was wont to reſpect the head rulers of the Citty with gentle rewardes, yet that ought not now to be taken for a cuſtom: For that cuſtom only ought to ſtand, which conſiſteth not vpon examples, but vpon right and reaſon.

The 3. cauſe & allegation of the Romanes.

Further and beſides, the Citizens ſayd, that they at ẏ commandemēt of the Senatour would appropriate their countrey with new and larger limits, and infranches the ſame being enlarged with fines and borders.

The Popes anſwere.

To this the pope agayne made anſwere, that certayne Lordſhyps and cities and caſtles be conteined within the compaſſe of the ſayd limites, as the City Viterbium, and Montcaſter, which they preſume to appropriate within their precinct: but to aſcribe to them and vſurp that which perteineth to other, is agaynſt right and iuſtice.

For theſe and ſuch other controuerſies riſing betwene the Pope and the Romaines, ſuch diſſention kindled, that the Pope with his Cardinals leauing the City of Rome, remoued to Peruſiū (as partly before is recited) thinking there to remayne and to plant thēſelues: but the Romans preuailing agaynſt him, ouerthrew diuers of his houſes in the city. For the which, he did excommunicate thē. The Romanes then flying to the Emperour, deſired his ayd & ſuccour: but he, belike to pleaſure the Pope, gathering an army, went rather agaynſt the Romanes. Thē the popes army, whoſe Captaynes were the Earle of Tholonſe (to purchaſe the Popes fauour) and Peter the foreſayd Byſhop of wincheſter (whom the Pope for the ſame had ſent for frō england, partly for his treaſure, partly for his practiſe and ſkill in feates of warre) and the Emperours hoſt ioyned together, and bordering about the Citty of Rome, caſt downe the caſtelles or manſions belonging to the citizens round about the Suburbes, to the number of 18. and deſtroyed all theyr vines and vineyardes about the City. Wherat the Romanes being not a litle offended, braſt out of the Cittye with more heat then order, to the number of 100000. (as the ſtorye reporteth) to deſtroy Viterbium the Popes City, with ſword and fire. But the multitude being vnordered and out of battaile ray, and vnprouided for ieoperdies which by the way might happen, fell into the handes of theyr enemies, who were in wayt for them, and of them deſtroid a great nūber, ſo that on both parts were ſlayne to the vew of 30000. but the moſt part was of the Citizens. And this diſſention thus begun was not ſoone ended, but continued long after.

Excommunication abuſed.

The Pope warreth againſt the Romanes.

A great ſlaughter of the Romanes by the Pope. *Ex Parienſ. Pag. 92.*

By theſe and ſuch other ſtoryes, who ſeeth not, how farre the church of Rome hath degenerated from the true Image of the right Church of Chriſt, which by the rule & example of the Goſpell ought to be a daughter of peace, not a mother of debate, not a reuenger of her ſelfe, nor ſeeker of warres, but a forgeuer of iniuries, humbly and patiently referring all reuenge to the Lord, not a raker for riches, but a winner of ſoules, not contending for worldly maiſterſhip, but humbling themſelues as ſeruantes, and not Vicars of the Lorde, but ioyntly like brethren ſeruing together, Biſhops with Biſhops, Miniſters with Miniſters, Deacons with Deacons, and not as Maſters ſeparating themſelues by ſuperiority one from an other, and briefly communicating together in doctrine and coūſell, one particular church with an other, not as a mother one ouer an other, but rather as a ſiſter Church one with an other, ſeking together the glory of Chriſt, and not their owne. And ſuch was the Church of Rome firſt in the olde aunciēt beginning of her primitiue ſtate, eſpecially while the croſſe of perſecution yet kept the Biſhops and Miniſters vnder in humility of hart and feruent calling vpon the Lord for helpe: ſo that happy was that Chriſtian then, which with liberty of conſcience onely, might holde hys life, how barely ſoeuer he liued. And as for the pride and pompe of the world, ſtriuing for patrimonyes, buying of Biſhopprickes, gaping for benefices, ſo far was this off frō them, that then they had litle leiſure and leſſe liſt yea once to thinke vpon them. Neither did the Biſhoppes then of Rome fight to be Conſuls of the City, but ſought how to bring the Conſuls vnto Chriſt, being glad if the Conſuls would permit them to dwell by them in the city. Neither did they thē preſume ſo hye, to bring the Emperors neckes vnder theyr gyrdles, but were glad to ſaue theyr neckes in any corner from the ſword of Emperors. Thē lacked they outward peace, but abounded with inward conſolation, Gods holy ſpirit mightely working in their harts. Then was one catholicke vnity of truth and doctrine amongeſt all churches, agaynſt errors and ſectes. Neither did ẏ eaſt and weſt, nor diſtance of place deuide the church, but both the eaſtchurch and weſtchurch, the Greekes and Latynes made all one church. And albeit there were then 5. Patriarchall Seas appoynted for order ſake, differing, in regions, & peraduenture alſo in ſome rites one from another, yet all theſe conſenting together in one vnity of catholicke doctrine, hauing one God, one Chriſt, one fayth, one baptiſme, one ſpirit, one head, and lincked together in one bōd of charity, and in one equality of honor, they made altogether, one body, one church, one communion, called one catholicke, vniuerſall, and Apoſtolicall church. And ſo long as this knot of charity and equality did ioyne them in one vnity together, ſo long the church of Chriſt floriſhed and encreaſed, one redy to helpe and harbour another, in time of diſtreſſe, as Agapitus and Vigilius flying to Conſtantinople, were there ayded by the Patriarch. &c. ſo that all this while neither forrein enemye, neither Saracen nor Souldane, nor Sultane, nor Calipha, nor Coraſmine, nor Turke had any power greatly to harme it.

The Church of Rome degenerated from the image of the true Church.

Difference betweene the church of Rome that was, & the church of Rome that is now.

Eaſtchurch. Weſtchurch.

Catholike.

But through the malice of the enemy, this Catholicke

The Schiſme betweene the greeke Church and the Church of Rome. Equalitie mother of concord.

vnity did not lõg continue,and all by reaſon of the biſhop of Rome,who not contented to be like his brethren, begã to extend himſelfe & to claime ſuperiority aboue the other 4.Patriarchall Seas, & all other Churches in the world. And thus as equality amongſt chriſtian byſhops was by pride and ſingularity oppreſſed: ſo vnity began by little & litle to be diſſolued,and the Lordes coat which the ſouldiors left whole,to be deuided. which coat of chriſtian vnity,albeit of long time it had bene now ſeamcript before by the occaſion aforeſayd:yet notwithſtanding in ſome peece it held together in ſome meane agreement,vnder ſubiectiõ to the ſea of Rome, till the time of this pope Gregory the 9.an.1230. at which tyme thys rupture and ſchiſme of the church brake out into a playn deuiſiõ, vtterly diſſeuering the Eaſtchurch from the weſtchurch vpon this occaſion.

The cauſe & occaſion why the Gre.ke Church vtterly brake frõ the Romanes.

There was a certayn archbyſhop elected to an Archbiſhoprick among the Grecians,who comming to Rome to be cõfirmed,could not be admitted vnles he promiſed a very great ſumme of mony. which when he refuſed to do, and deteſted the execrable ſimony of the court of Rome,he made his repayre home agayn to his country vncõfirmed declaring there to the whole nobility of that land, the caſe how it ſtood. For ỹ more confirmation wherof,there were other alſo,which comming lately from Rome,& there had proued the ſame or worſe, came in and gaue teſtimony to his ſaying. wherupon all the church of the Grecians the ſame time hearing this, departed vtterly away from the Church of Rome, which was in the dayes of this Pope Gregory the 9. In ſo much that the Archbiſhop of Conſtantinople comming afterward to the generall Councell at Lyons,there opẽly declared,that where as before time he had vnder him aboue thirty Biſhopricks and Suffraganes,now he had not three, adding moreouer that all ỹ Grecians & certayne other, with Antioche and the whole Empyre of Romania,euẽ to the gates almoſt of Conſtantinople; were gone from the obedience of the Church of Rome. &c. Math.Pariſ.fol.112.&c.fol.186.

Mat.Pariſ. fol.112.

All Grecia gone from the obedience of the church of Rome *Ex Mat.Pariſi. fol.186.*

Germanus Patriarch of Conſtantinople writeth to pope Gregory.9.

By the occaſion of which ſeperation aforeſayd, of the Grecians from pope Gregory, it happened ſhortly after, being the yeare of our Lord.1237. that Germanus Archb. and Patriarch of Conſtantinople,wrote to the ſayd Pope Gregory 9.humbly deſiring him to ſtudy, and ſeeke ſome meanes of vnity, how the ſeameleſſe coat of the Lord Ieſus thus lamentably rent, not with handes of ſoldiours, but by diſcord of Prelates may be healed agayne, offering this moreouer,that if he will take the paines to ſtirre out, he for his part,notwithſtanding his old age & feeble body would not refuſe to meet him in the mid way, to ỹ intent that the truth on both ſides being debated by ỹ ſcriptures the wrong part may be reduced,the ſlaunder ſtopped,and vnity reſourned betwene them.

This requeſt of the Patriarke,as it was both godly & reaſonable ſo it had bene the biſhops part again with like humility to haue condeſcended to the ſame, and glad with all his might to helpe forward the reformation of chriſtian vnity in the church of Chriſt, and ſo to haue ſhewed himſelfe the ſonne of peace But the proud Byſhop of Rome more like the ſonne of diſcord and diſſention,ſtanding ſtill vpon his maieſty,refuſed thus to do, but writing agayne anſwere to his letters with great diſdayn,ſeking nothing els but only how to aduance his ſea aboue all other churches:and not onely that,but alſo ſhortly after ſet forth his preaching Friers to moue all Chriſtians to take the ſigne of the croſſe & to fight agaynſt the Grecians no otherwiſe then agaynſt the Turkes & Saracens:In ſo much that in the Iſle of Cyprus many good men and Martyrs were ſlayne for the ſame,as by the letters of the ſaid Germanus Patriarke of Conſtantinople is to be ſeene.

The pope ſetteth the Weſt church to fight againſt the Eaſt church. *Ex Mat.Pariſi. fol.112.*

The tenour of the which letter to the Pope, with the popes anſwere agayne to him, being long and tedious to read,are extant in the hiſtory of Math.Pariſ.there to be ſene and found fol.111. The ſummary effect whereof notwithſtanding,I thought here briefly to notifye for the ſimple & vnlearned multitude, which vnderſtanding not the Latine, may hereby perceiue the fault of this ſchiſme not ſo much to reſt in the greek church,as in the church of Rome as by the contents of his letter may appeare.

Ex libro Math. Pariſ.manu ſcripto.fol.3. & 111.

The effect of the Patriarch of Conſtantinople his letter to Pope Gregory.9.

The letter of Germanus Patriarch of Conſtantinople to Pope Gregory.9 anno.1237.

IN the which letter the ſayd Germanus Patriarch of Conſtantinople,writing to Pope Gregory,firſt after his reuerend ſalutation and preamble following vpon the ſame, entring thẽ toward the matter,ſheweth the occaſion of his writing, which was by 5. obſeruaunt Friers repayring that wayes, whom he gently receiuing into his houſe,had conference with them touching this diſcord betwene the two Churches,how it might be reduced again to vnity:and afterward perceiuing the ſayd Friers to make theyr iourney towardes to Rome,he thought therefore by thẽ to write his letters. Wherein he firſt lamenting this diuiſion in the houſe of God,and reciting the inconueniences which come therof, by the example of Iuda and Iſrael: Ieruſalem and Samaria:Cain and Abel:Eſau and Iacob:alſo of other ſuch like,both priuate & publicke ſocieties,where brother fighteth agaynſt brother, like as among fiſhes the greater deuoureth the leſſer, he procedeth then further gently to exhort Pope Gregory to the ſtudy of vnity.

He ſhewe[d] the inconuenience of diſcord,

And for ſo much as the Pope had accurſed (belike) thoſe Churches of the Greekes before, he therefore taking his groũd vpon the wordes of S.Paule,Gal.1.where he accurſeth euery ſuch perſon and perſons, whatſoeuer they be either man or Angell of heauen,that ſhall preach any other Goſpell then hath bene preached.&c. willeth the Pope to ſtand with him vpon the ſame ground of the Apoſtles accurſe, ſo that if the ſtroke of that curſe haue light vpon him or his churches, he deſireth him to ſhew the wound, and to helpe to wipe away the bloud, to miniſter ſome ſpirituall emplaiſter to binde vp the ſore, and to ſaue his brethrẽ from periſhing which lay in daunger, according to the ſaying of the wiſe man: A brotherly frend is tried in aduerſity.&c.

Galat.1. Salomon.

But if we (ſayth he) of the Greeke Church be free from the ſtripe of this accurſe of the Apoſtle,and that you Italians & of the Latine Church be ſtricken therewith,and lye thereby in daunger of deſtruction, I truſt that you through ignoraunce and wilfull obſtinacy will not ſo ſuffer your ſelues to be ſeparated from the Lord, but rather will ſuffer a thouſand deathes before, if it were poſſible for a man ſo often to dye.

Whether the Church of the greeks or the popes Church lyeth more vnder the daunger of Gods curſe.

And as touching this great diſcord betwene vs, if either cõtrarietie of doctrine or ſweruing frõ the ancient Canons, or diuerſity of rites receiued of our forefathers be any cauſe thereof, we here take heauen and earth to witneſſe, that we for our partes are ready,and deſire alſo vpon due triall of profound trueth by Gods word and inuocation of the holy Ghoſt to ioyne hands with you, or you to ioyne with vs. But to ſay the very trueth and to tell you playne,this we ſuppoſe, that many mighty and noble potentates would ſooner encline to your obedience, were it not that they feared your vniuſt oppreſſions,your inſatiable exactions,and inordinate oppreſſions wherewith you wring your ſubiectes. By reaſon wherof haue riſen amongſt vs cruell warres, one fighting agaynſt an other,deſolation of Cittyes, Bulles and Interdictions ſet vpon Church dores,diuiſion of brethren,and Churches of the Grecians left without ſeruice,where God ſhould be prayſed. So that now onely one thing lacketh, which I beleue to be predefined and appoynted from aboue long before to vs Grecians, the time,I meane,of martirdome,which alſo now haſteneth faſt vpon vs,that the tribunall of tyrauntes ſhould be opened and the ſeats of torments be ſet,that the bloud of Martyrs ſhould be ſpilled, & we brought to the ſtage of Martyrdome, to fight for the crowne of glory.

The Greekes afrayd of the popes oppreſſions.

The Patriarch of Conſtantinople prophecieth of the martyrdome and ſlaughter of the Grecians.

This that I doe ſpeake, and wherefore I ſpeake it,the noble Iland of Cyprus doth already know and feele, which hath made many new Martyrs, and hath ſeene valiaunt ſouldiours of Chriſt, which of long time before paſſing by water and teares of ſorow, now at laſt haue alſo paſſed through fire, and ſo entred into the heauenly reſt. How ſay you,be theſe good and ſeemely, O holye Pope, the ſucceſſor of S.Peter the Apoſtle? Is this the bidding of that good Peter,the meeke and humble diſciple of Chriſt? Doth he thus inſtruct the Seniors and Elders in his Epiſtle, where he writeth in this wiſe:The Elders which are amõgſt you, I beſeech which am alſo a fellow Elder with them, and witneſſe of the ſufferings of Chriſt, and alſo a partaker of the glory that ſhalbe opened:feed the flocke of God which is amongeſt you,hauing care & ſight ouer it,not of a coaction as compelled agaynſt your willes, but willingly of your owne accord, nor for filthy lukere ſake,but freely and hartily, neither as bearing dominion and Lordſhip ouer the Church, but ſhewing your ſelues as an example to the flocke,and when the chiefe Paſtor ſhall appeare,you ſhall receiue an incorruptible crowne of eternall glory.&c. And this is the doctrine of Peter,as they ſhal ſe, which do not obey it. As for vs the other part of the ſayd Epiſtle is ſufficient. Wherein he willeth thẽ to reioice which are in heauines through manifolde temptations, that the triall of theyr fayth being much more precious thẽ gold that periſheth,and is tryed in fire,may be theyr laud,honour, and glory,at the appearing of the Lord Ieſu.&c. But beare with me I pray you (O holy Father, and of all your Predeceſſors moſt meekeſt)and ſuffer my wordes though the ſeme ſomething ſharpe: for they be ſighings of a ſorrowfull hart.

The popes perſecution in the Ile of Cyprus.

The tyranny and auarice of the pope chaſtened by the word of Saint Peter. 1.Peter.5. 1.Peter.1.

He exhorteth the pope to come and meete with him, that they might conferre togetherabout the vnitie of fayth.

Wherefore gird about your loynes with fortitude,and light vp the candle of your deſcretion, and ſeeke the groat that is loſt, of the vnity,I meane of fayth. And we will alſo with like compaſſion ioyne with your holyneſſe, and will not ſpare this weake body of mine,in pretending any excuſe either of age or lẽgth of the way. For the more laborous the trauell is, the moe crownes it bringeth. And S.Paule ſayth: Euery man ſhall receiue reward according to his trauell.&c.

Neither

The Greeke church ſoūd and ſincere in doctrine.

Neither are we ignoraunt (if it pleaſe your holineſſe) that like as we Grecians for our partes do labour in all reſpectes to keepe and obſerue the ſincerity of true fayth and doctrine, not to erre ne ſwerue in any part or poynt from the ſtatutes of the bleſſed Apoſtles and auncient fathers: ſo the Church likewiſe of old Rome, doth for her part labour alſo (we know well) to follow the ſincere verity of Chriſtian doctrine, and thinketh her ſelfe to erre in nothing, nor to neede any remedye or reformation. And this we know, is the iudgement and ſaying of both the Churches, aſwell of the Greekes, as of the Latines. For no man can ſee any ſpot in his owne face, without he ſtoope downe to the glaſſe, or els be admoniſhed by ſome other, whether his face be blotted or no. Euen ſo haue we many great & fayre glaſſes ſet before vs, firſt the cleare Goſpell of Chriſt, the Epiſtles of the Apoſtles, and diuinitie bookes of auncient writers. Let vs therefore looke in them well. They will ſhew euery mans minde and iudgement, whether he go right or wrong. The God of peace tread downe Sathan ſpeedely vnder our feet. The author of peace confound the ſower of diſcord. He that is the cauſe of all goodnes deſtroy the hater of that which is good, and which geueth cauſe of offence and ſlaunder. And he which is God of all ioy and peace, ſend to vs, whiche are the ſhepheardes of his ſheepe reaſonable, the aungell of peace and meſſenger of great glad tidings, as he did in the Natiuitye of Chriſt, to the ſhepheardes of brute ſheepe and vnreaſonable, and make vs worthy to ſing that ioyfull ſong of Gods prayſe: Gloria in excelſis Deo, & in terra pax, hominibus bona voluntas, and to receiue one an other with an holy kiſſe. The grace of our Lord Ieſus Chriſt, and the peace of God the Father, and the communion of the holy ſpirit be with you alwayes. Amen.

He exhorteth the church of Rome to looke her face in Gods glaſſe, that is, to trye their doctrin by gods word.

¶ *An other Epiſtle of the ſayd Germanus Patriarch of Conſtantinople, and Primate of the Greek Church, to the Cardinals of Rome.*

An other letter of Germanus Patriarch of Conſtantinople to the Cardinalles.

AN other letter the ſayd Germanus Patriarch of Conſtantinople, wrote alſo the ſame time, to the Popes Cardinals, wherin he firſt commending them for theyr wiſedome and counſell, and ſhewing what vtility commeth by good counſell geuing: for ſo much as God (ſayth he) many times that he hydeth from one, inſpireth to an other, ſo that that good thing which by the almighty God is ſonderly diſpenſed to diuers, through common counſell and conference, ſpreadeth to the publicke vtility of many. &c. After this, eftſoones he beginneth to exhort them, that they like charitable miniſters and diſcrete counſellors, will take in hand the ſpirituall armour of God, to caſt downe the ſtoppe & partition walle of the olde diſcord betwene the Greekes and Latine Church, & that they will be a meanes to the Biſhop of Rome, that they which ſo long haue bene diſſeuered by diſſention, may now be conioyned in vnity of peace, in brotherly charity and communion of fayth.

Concerning which matter, I haue (ſayth he) already written to his holyneſſe. And now I beſeech the king of heauen, whiche tooke the ſhape of a ſeruaunt, to helpe his miſerable ſeruauntes: and was exalted vpon the croſſe, to raiſe them vp which were fallen into the profundity of deſolation, that he will vouchſafe to put from your hartes all elation of minde, extolling it ſelfe ouer and aboue the vnity of your brethren and fellow ſeruauntes, and to lighten your conſciences with the true light of vnderſtanding that we may altogether agree in one, & that there be no ſchiſme amongſt vs. Let vs therefore as we are inſtructed, ſo abide in one minde, that it be not ſayd of vs, as it was of the Corinthians before vs: I hold of Paule, I of Apollo, I of Cœphas, and I of Chriſt? but that all we, as we holde the name of Chriſt, and are all called Chriſtians, ſo may alſo abide in that wherein we are inſtructed in one minde, that is, to follow loue and charity in Chriſt Ieſus, hauing alwayes in our hartes the wordes of the Apoſtle, ſaying: One Lord, one Fayth, one Baptiſme.

1. Cor. 1.

And now to be playne with you in that I haue to ſay, I ſhal deſire you not to be offended with me in vttering the trueth as a frend vnto you. The wordes (ſayth Salomon) of a wiſe man telling trueth, be like to nayles which be driuen in deepe. And truth for the moſte parte, breedeth enemies: And therefore though I am partly afrayd, yet will I ſimply confeſſe the trueth vnto you. Certes this diuiſion of Chriſtian vnity amongſt vs, proceedeth of no other cauſe but onely of the tiranny, oppreſſion, and exactiōs of the Church of Rome: which of a mother is become a ſtepdame, and hath put her children from her whome long time ſhe nouriſhed (after the maner of a rauening bird) which driueth her yong from her:) which children how much the more humble and obedient they are to her, the leſſe ſhe eſteemeth them, and treadeth them vnder foot, not regarding the ſaying of the Goſpel: Who ſo humbleth himſelfe ſhalbe exalted.

The tyranny & oppreſsiō of the church of Rome, is the onely cauſe of breaking vnitie betwene the Greeke church and the Latins. Luc. 18.

Let modeſty therefore ſomething temper you, and let the auarice of the Court of Rome, although it can not well out of the fleſh which is bred in the bone, yet ſurceaſe a while, and let vs together condeſcend to the triall of the trueth: which trueth being found out on both ſides, let vs conſtantly embrace the ſame.

The old amitie and concord betweene the Eaſt church and the Weſt.

For why, we haue bene altogether ſome times both Italians and Grecians in one fayth, and vnder the ſame Canons: hauing peace each with other, and defending one an other, and confounding the enemies of the Church. At what tyme many flying out of the weſt partes (whileſt that the tyranny of the heretickes indured) made their concourſe to vs, and were receiued, and part fled vnto you, that is, olde Rome, as to a ſtrong tower of refuge: and ſo receiued they cōfort in both places, and one brother was thus receiued into the boſome of an other, by mutuall loue for their defence.

Agapitus & Vigilius, fled to Conſtantinople for ſuccour.

Then after, when Rome had bene often diſtreſſed by the barbarous and heathen nations, the Grecians were euer ready to reſcue and deliuer them. Did not Agapitus and Vigilius flye vnto Conſtantinople by reaſon of the diſſentions then at Rome, and being honourablye receiued, were here defended vnder our protection? although the like kindenes was neuer yet ſhewed of your part to vs agayne in our like neceſſities. Notwithſtanding wee ought to do good to them alſo that be vngrateful: for ſo doth the Sea participate her ſmoth and calme tides euen vnto the Pirats. And ſo God cauſeth the ſunne to ſhine vpon the iuſt and vniuſt. But (alas for ſorow) what bitter diuiſion is this that hath thus ſequeſtred vs a ſonder? One of vs detracteth an other, ſhonning the company one of an other, as the damnation of his ſoule. What a mortall hatred is this come amongeſt vs? if you thinke we are fallen, then do you help to lift vs vp: and be not to vs as a ſtombling blocke to our bodely ruine, but helpers vnto the ſpirituall reſurrection of our ſoules. So ſhall we acknowledge our ſelues boūd vnto you to geue you condigne thankes accordingly.

Paule rebuketh Peter. Galat. 2.

But if the blame and firſt origine of all this offence proceedeth from Rome, and the ſucceſſours of Peter the Apoſtle: then read you the wordes of S. Paule to the Galathians: ſaying. When Peter came vnto Antioche, I withſtood him in the face, becauſe he was to be rebuked. &c. Howbeit this reſiſtaunce was no cauſe of any diſcord or breach betweene them: but the cauſe rather of further ſearch and profounder diſputations, prouoking temporall agrement. For they were faſt ioyned together in the bond of charity in Chriſt, agreeing in faith and conformity of doctrine ſeparated by no ambition or auarice. In which poyntes would God we alſo were like vnto them. This to vs in our mindes gendreth a great offence, that your gaping ſo greedyly after terrene poſſeſſions, ſcrape together all that you can ſcratch and rake. You heap vp gold and ſiluer, and yet pretend that you be the Diſciples of him which ſayd: gold and ſiluer I haue none. &c. You make whole kingdomes tributary to you, and kings and princes your vaſſals. You augment your mony by vſury, & by feates of marchaundiſe. You vnteache by your deedes, that whiche you teach in wordes.

Actes. 3. He meaneth of the kingdome of England and other mo which were made tributary to the ſea of Rome.

The immoderate auarice of the court of Rome.

Moderate your ſelues therefore with more temperaunce, that you may be an example to vs and to all the world. You ſee how good a thing it is one brother to helpe an other. Onely God alone needeth no helpe or counſell, but men neede one to be holpen one of another. And were it not that I doe reuerence the bleſſed Apoſtle Peter, the chiefe of Chriſtes Apoſtles, the rocke of our fayth, I would here put you in remembraunce how greatly this rocke was ſhaken and remooued from the foundation, at the ſight of a ſeely woman: and Chriſt of his ſecret purpoſe permitted the ſame, which by the crowing of the cock brought him agayne to remembraunce of that which was foretolde him, and rayſed him from the ſlumber of deſperation. Then he being thus waked, waſhed his face with teares, confeſſing himſelfe before God and all the world, to be a true paterne of repentance, which before bare the keyes of the kyngdome, as ſaying thus vnto vs: May not he which falleth, riſe agayne? Oh you whiche are fallen, riſe vp & beholde me, & harken vnto me, trauelling toward Paradiſe. The gates wherof to open I haue receiued power.

Peters faith ſhaken.

Peter an enſample of repentāce.

And thus do I write vnto you, not for any inſtruction, but onely to put you in remēbraunce: for I know how God hath endued you with all wiſedome and knowledge. As Salomon ſayth: Geue onely occaſion to the wiſe, and he will learne wiſedome: Teach the iuſt man, and he will be glad to take inſtruction.

This one thing more I will ſay and ſo make an end. There be great and mighty nations that are of like mind and opinion with vs. Firſt the Ethiopians that inhabite the chiefeſt part of the Eaſt. After that the Sirians: and other moe of greater number the they: and more diſpoſed to vertue, as the Hyberi, Alani, Gothi, Chazari with innumerable people of Ruſsia, and the kingdome of great victory of the Vulgarians. And all theſe are obedient vnto vs as their mother Church, perſiſting hetherto conſtantly in the auncient and true orthodoxaſticall fayth immouable.

Chriſtian countries & nations in the Eaſt parts which are not vnder the Byſhop of Rome.

The God of all holynes which for our ſakes became man, and which onely is the head of his Church and congregation, vouchſafe to gather vs agayne together in vnity, and graunt, that the Grecian church together with her ſiſter church of old Rome may glorify the ſame Chriſt, the prince of peace, by the vnitye of faith, to the reſtitutiō of ſoūd & wholſom doctrine, wherin many yeres agone they haue agreed and were vnited. God graunt vnto you brotherlike charity, and the hand of the moſt mighty God gouern you all (holy Cardinals) till that ioyfully ye arriue in the heauen of

Chriſt onely head of the Church.

of euerlaſting trāquility. The grace of God be with you all. Amē. Ex Math. Pariſienſ. fol. 111.

The Pope proclaymeth war againſt the Greek Church.
The Archb. of Antioch & Cōſtantinople excommunicate the Pope.

Shortly after the ſending of theſe letters, Pope Gregory prepared to ſend men of warre ſigned with the croſſe to fight agaynſt the Grecians. wherupon the Archbiſhop of Antioch, with the ſaid Germanus ſolemnly excommunicated the Pope, after he firſt had excommunicated them, Par. fol. 118. In the meane time by the tenour of theſe letters of the Patriarch ſent to the Pope and to the Cardinals, it is euident to all men that haue eies in their heads, to ſee: firſt how the whole vniuerſall church of Chriſt, frō the eaſt partes to the weſt, in auncient times were altogether vnited in one cōſent of doctrine, & lincked together in brotherly charity, one Church brotherly to helpe an other, both with temporall ayd & ſpirituall councell, as caſe required. Neither was then any one mother Church aboue other Churches, but the whole vniuerſall Churche was the mother Church and ſpouſe of the Lord, to euery faythfull beleuer. Under which vniuerſall Church in generall, were comprehended all other particuler Churches in ſpeciall, as ſiſter churches together, not one greater thē an other, but all in like equality, as God gaue his giftes ſo ſeruing one another, euer holding together the vnity of fayth and Siſterly loue. And ſo long was it and rightlye might ſo be called the catholicke church, hauing in it true vnity, vniuerſality, and free conſent. Unity in doctrine, vniuerſality in cōmunicating and ioyning together of voyces, cōſent in ſpirit and iudgement. For what ſoeuer was taught at Rome touching fayth and ſaluation, it was no other then was taught at Antioch, Siria. &c.

5. Notes to be conſidered.
The firſt Note.

The true Catholike church, where it was, and when.

1. Vnitie.
2. Vniuerſalitie.
3. Conſent.

The ſecond note

Secondly, how in proceſſe of time, through occaſion of the Biſhop of Romes tyranny and violent oppreſſiō, this ring of equality being broken all flew in pieces, the Eaſt church from the weſt, the Greekes from the Latines, and that which was one before, now was made two: vnitye turned to diuiſion, vniuerſality to ſingularity, and free cōſent to diſſention.

The third note.

Thirdly, here is alſo to be noted, after this pitiful breach of equality, how many & what great natiōs departed frō the communion of the Church of Rome, and eſpecialy about this time aboue ſpecified of pope Gregory 9. an. 1230 ſo that both before and after that time many coūcels were holden, and many thinges concluded in the weſtchurche, wherunto the one halfe of Chriſtendome lying in the eaſt partes, did neuer agree: and contrary, many councelles holden with them, which in the Latine church were not receiued. So that the church now as ſhe loſt the benefit of vniuerſall conſent, ſo alſo ſhe loſt the name Catholicke. wherupon this queſtion is to be aſked, that when the coūcell of Lateran vnder Pope Innocent 3. ordeined the doctrine of tranſubſtantiation and auricular confeſſion here in the weſtchurch, without ẏ free conſent of the eaſtchurch whether the ſame doctrine is to be counted Catholicke or not?

The church hath her name of Catholicke, wherby & whē.
whether the doctrine of trāſubſtantiation, made without the free conſent of the Eaſtchurches, be Catholicke or no.
The fourth note

Fourthly, in the departing of theſe churches from the Biſhop of Rome, here alſo is to be noted, that the ſame churches of the Greeks, notwithſtanding they ſequeſtred themſelues and fel out with the church of Rome, and that iuſtly: yet they kept theyr vnity ſtill with theyr God, and retained ſtil the true ὀρθοδοξίαν That is, the true and ſincere doctrine of fayth. ready to debate and try the trueth of their religion by the ſcriptures, as they here in theyr own writings deſire to haue the truth examined, according as ye haue heard. wherefore the church of Rome hath done them open wrong, which being offred ſo gently to try and to be tryed by the trueth of Gods word, not onely would ſtand to no triall, nor abide conference, but alſo hath excōmunicated them as herretickes, whiche appeare here to be more orthodoxaſticall chriſtians, then they themſelues.

The fifth note.
The Church of Rome proued not to be Catholicke.
The procedings of Rome ſtand vpon no free conſent, but are coacted.

Fiftly, theſe things thus ſtanding, then haue we to cōclude that the church of Rome falſely pretendeth it ſelfe to be catholicke. For if the name of Catholicke muſt needes import an vniuerſall conſēt of the whole, how can that be catholick where the conſent of ſo many famous and true chriſtian churches hath bene lacking, & furthermore wher the conſent that hath bene amongeſt themſelues, hath rather bene coacted, then any true or free conſent? which is eaſy to be proued. For let theſe fires and fagottes ceaſe, let kinges and princes leaue to preſſe theyr ſubiects with the popes obedience, but let the ſcripture, and the biſhops alone euery one his own Dioces to gouerne their flock after the rule of Gods word, and how few be there in this weſt end of ẏ world (trow you) ẏ would not doe the ſame that theſe Greciās, Ethiopians, and Syrians haue done before vs? And thus much by the occaſion of this Patriarches letters ſēt to pope Gregory, cōcerning the Grecians.

whoſe doings when I conſider, as I can not but cōmend their wiſedome & iudge their ſtate happy and bleſſed, in ſhaking off from their neckes the miſerable yoke of the popes tyranny: ſo on the other ſide conſidering with my ſelfe the wretched thraldome of theſe our churches here in the weſt part of the world, vnder the biſhop of Rome, I can not tell, whether more to maruell or to lament their pitiful ſtate, who were brought into ſuch oppreſſion & ſlauery vnder him, that neither they could abide him, nor yet durſt caſt him of. So vntollerable were his exactions, ſo terrible was his tyranny, his ſuſpenſions & excommunications much like to a mad mans dagger, drawen at euery trifle, that no chriſten patience could ſuffer it, nor natiō abide it. Again, ſo deep did he ſit in their conſciences, falſly beleuing him to haue the authority of S. Peter, that for cōſcience ſake neither king nor Cæſar durſt withſtand him, much leſſe poore ſubiects once mute agaynſt him. And although his takings and ſpoylings, namely in this realm of england were ſuch, that neither the laity nor ſpiritualty could beare them: yet was there no remedy, beare thē they muſt, or els the Popes ſentence was vpon them, to curſe them as blacke as pitch.

The miſer
ble ſtate o
the Weſt
partes of
chriſtendo
vnder the
Pope.
The Pope
excommu
cations li
to a foole
dagger.
The falſe
perſwaſio
of the po
ſupremacy
cauſe of
much w
chedneſ,

In reading the hiſtoryes of theſe crimes, any good hart would lamēt and rue, to ſee the miſerable captiuity of the people, what they ſuffered vnder this thraldome of the Biſhop of rome, wherof part hath bene ſhewed before, more (God willing) ſhall follow hereafter, and ſome part here preſently I mind to expreſſe.

A briefe table or declaration of the Popes vnreaſonable gatherings, exactions, and oppreſſions in the Realme of England.

A brie
table of th
popes ſpoy
ling & ge
ting of Eng
liſh money
in the day
of K.Hen.3.

AND firſt to begin with the elections of the Byſhops, Abbots, Deanes and Priors within this realme it can not be told what mas of mony grew to the popes coffers thereby, eſpecially in this kinges dayes: for ſo much as in his time lightly no election hapned either of Archbiſhopp Biſhop, Abbot, or any roume of dignity, but when the Couent or Chapter had choſen one to their minde, the king who had maried a ſtranger, and ſought therfore to prefer ſtrangers, would ſet vp an other. By reaſon wherof, whē the other part was fayne to appeale to Rome and there to plead the caſe, no ſmall riuers of engliſh mony beſides expences and trauel by the way, went flowing to the popes ſea. And though the election went neuer ſo cleare, yet the new elect muſt needes reſpect the holy father with ſome gentle reward, and further by his othe was bound euery 3. yeares, either in his owne perſon or by another to viſit Limina Apoſtolorum.

Money co
ming to th
pope by th
election of
Iohn He
ford Abb
of S.Alb

So in the houſe of S. Albones, when John Herford was elected Abbot, their publick electiō was not enough, but for the confirmation of the ſame, the Monkes were fayne to ſend Reynold the Phiſitiō, & Nicholas a Monk, to Rome with a ſufficient bag of mony, through the mediation wherof the election might ſtand, and the new Abbot ſworne euery third yere by himſelf, or another to viſit the dorſels of the Apoſtles.

Eight thou
ſand mark
geuen out o
the Biſho
pricke of
Wint. to th
pope, abou
the electi
of Willia
Rale. anno
1243.

An other ſuch like contention happened betweene the king and monkes of wincheſter about the election of W. Rale: whom the Monkes had choſen, but the king refuſed, willing to place a ſtranger, and therfore ſent to Rome his meſſengers, Theobald a Monke of weſtminſter, and M. Alexāder a Lawyer with no ſmall ſomme of mony: to euacuate the election of the foreſayd W. Rale: Commaunding moreouer, that ẏ gates of wincheſter ſhould be ſhut againſt him, and no man ſo hardy there to receiue him in his houſe. wherupon the ſayd W. being excluded, after he had ſayd his curſe vpon the whole city of wincheſter, made his repayre to Rome, wherefor 8000. Markes being promiſed to the pope, his biſhoprick ſpite of the kings hart, was confirmed and he receiued. Ex Mat. Pariſienſ. fol. 164. & 240.

Read befo
pag. 277.

After the death of Stephen Langhton Archb. of Caunterbury, ye heard before how the monks had elected walter a Monke of Caunterbury. But the king to ſtop that election, ſent vp his Proctors, M. Alexander ſtanes, and M. Henry Sandford biſhop of Rocheſter to the Pope, to euacuate that election, and to place Richard Chauncellor of Lincolne. which Proctors perceiuing at firſt the Pope and Cardinals, how hard & vnwillingly they were therunto, & conſidering how all thinges might be bought for mony, rather then the king ſhoulde fayle of his purpoſe, they promiſed on the kinges behalfe to the pope for mainteining his warres agaynſt Fredericke the Emperour a diſme, or tenth part of all the moueables in the Realme of England and of Ireland. At the contemplation of which

The tenth
part of all
moueables
in England
and Ireland
geuē to the
pope. 1229.

mony the Pope eftſoones thinking to paſſe with the king, began to pick quarrels with the forſayd Gualter, for not anſwering rightly to his queſtions about Chriſtes deſcēding to hell: making of Chriſtes body on the aulter: the weeping of Rachell for her children, ſhe being dead before: about the ſentence of excommunication, and certaine cauſes of Matrimony. His aunſweres wherunto when they were not to the Popes mind, he was therefore put backe, and the kings man preferred, which coſt the whole realm of England and Ireland, the tenth part of their moueable goods. By reaſon wherof, what money was rayſed to the Popes Gazophylacium, I leaue to the eſtimation of the Reader, an. 1229. Ex Mat. Pariſ. fol. 71.

Ex Math. Pariſi fol. 71. b.

And yet for all this the ſayd Richard the coſtly Archbiſhop of Caunterbury, within leſſe then two yeres after, falling out with the king about the caſtle and Lordſhippe of Tunbridge, went and complayned of him to the Pope. In the trauers wherof it coſt the king a great piece of mony beſides, and yet miſt he his purpoſe. In the which iourney the ſayd Archbiſhop in his returne homeward by the way departed. an. 1231.

Mony ſpent at Rome betweene the K.and the Archb.of Cant.

Of the like diſſentiō ye heard before betwene the king and the couent of Durham, for not chooſing M. Lucas the kinges Chaplaine, whom the king offered to be their Biſhop. About the ſute wherof, when much money was beſtowed on both ſides welfauoredly, the pope defeiting thē both, admitted neither M. william nor M. Lucas, but ordeined the Byſhop of Sarum to be theyr byſhop. an. 1228 Ex Pariſ.

The coſtly election of the Byſhop of Durham Read before pag. 276.

Betwene the Monks of Couentry and the canons of Liechfield, roſe another like quarell, which of them ſhould haue the ſuperior voyce in chuſing their biſhop. In which ſute, after much mony beſtowed in the court of Rome, the pope to requallify agayn ech part w ſome retribution for their mony receiued, toke this order indifferētly betwene them, that each part by courſe ſhould haue the chooſing of their biſhop. an. 1228. Ex Pariſ. fol. 68.

Mony comming to the pope for the election of the b.of Couentry and Lichfield.

what buſines fell likewiſe betweene Edmund Archb. of Caunterbury, and the Monkes of Rocheſter, about the electiō of Richard wedoure, to be theyr biſhop? And what was the end? firſt the Archbiſhop was fayne to trauell himſelfe to the Pope: and ſo did the Couent alſo ſend their Proctors. who belike being better moued, weyed downe the cauſe, ſo that the good Archbiſhoppe in that cauſe agaynſt the Monkes: and partly in an other cauſe agaynſt the Earle of Arundell, was condemned of the Pope in a thouſand Markes. whereof the greateſt part (no doubt) redounded to the Popes coffers. an. 1238. Math Pariſienſis. fol. 114.

Edmunde Archbiſh. of Cant.condemned at Rome in a 1000.marks.

After the returning of the ſayd Edmund Archbiſhop of Canterbury agayne from Rome, it chaunced, that the Monkes of Canterbury had elected theyr Prior without his aſſent: for the which he did excommunicate the monks, and euacuate theyr election. Not long after this the popes exactours went about to extort from the churchmen the fiſt part of theyr goods to the Popes vſe fighting then agaynſt the Emperour. This cruell exaction being a great while reſiſted by the Prelates and Clergy, at length the forſayd Archb. thinking therby to get the victory agaynſt the monks, was contented to graunt to the ſayd exaction, adding moreouer of his own for an ouerplus 800. marks whereupon the reſt of the Clergy was fayne to folow after, and contribute to the popes exactors. an. 1240. Ex Mat. Pariſ fol. 132. b.

The fiſt part of all the goods of the clergy granted to the Pope.

In the church of Lincolne (whoſe ſea before the conqueſt was in Dorkeſter, and afterward by williā Rufus tranſlated from thence to Lincolne) roſe a greuous contētiō beweene Rob. Groſted then biſhop, and the canons of the cathedrall church, about theyr viſitation, whether the biſhop ſhould viſite them, or the Deane: which matter being put to arbiters, could not ſo be compoſed; before the B. and the chapter after theyr appeale made to the Pope, went both to Rome, and there after they had well waſted theyr purſes, they receiued at length their aunſwere, but payd full ſweetly for it. an. 1239. Pariſ. fol. 119.

Great expence of money in the court of Rome betweene the B.of Lincoln and the Cathedrall Church.

At what time the Canons of Chicheſter had elected Robert Paſſelew to their biſhop at the kings requeſt, the Archb. with certein other biſhops taking part againſt the kings chaplaine, repelled him and ſet vp Richard witch. Upon this what ſending and going there was to Rome, and what mony beſtowed about the matter, as wel of the kings part, as biſhops, read the ſtory thereof in Mat. Pariſ. fol. 182. 184. 186.

Money waſtfully beſtowed.

Robert Groſted Biſhop of Lincolne (of whom relation was made before) hauing a great care howe to bring the priuiledged orders of religious houſes within his precinct, vnder his ſubiectiō and diſcipline, went to Rome, & there with great labor & much effuſion of mony as the ſtory ſayth, procured of the pope a mandate, wereby all ſuch religious orders were commaunded to be vnder his power and obedience. Not long after, the Monkes not abyding that, (who could ſoone wey downe the Biſhop with mony) ſent theyr factors to the Pope, who with their golden eloquence ſo perſwaded him and ſtirred affections in ſuch ſort, that ſoone they purchaſed themſelues freedome from their ordinary Biſhop. wherof Robert Groſted hauing intelligence, made vp to Rome, and there complayning to the pope, declared how he was diſappoynted and confounded in his purpoſe, contrary to promiſes and aſſurance made to him before. Unto whom Pope Innocent looking with a ſterne countenaunce, made this aunſwere agayne: Brother (ſayd he) what is that to thee? Thou haſt deliuered and diſcharged thine owne ſoule. It hath pleaſed vs to ſhew fauor vnto them. Is thine eie euill, that I am good? And thus was the Biſhop ſent away with a flea in his eare, murmuring with himſelf, yet not ſo ſoftly, but that the Pope heard him ſay theſe wordes: O mony, mony what canſt not thou do in ẏ court of Rome? wherwith the Pope being ſomewhat pinched, gaue this aunſwere agayne: O ye Engliſhmen, Engliſhmen, of all men moſt wretched. For all your ſeeking is how ye may conſume & deuour one an other. &c. anno. 1250. Ex Math. Pariſienſi. fol. 230.

Mony comming to the Pope, betweene the b.of Lincoln & the monks within his Dioces.

How pretely the Pope can take with both handes.

Money may doe much at Rome.

The popes anſwere to Rob. Groſted.

It happened moreouer the ſame yeare, that the ſayd Robert Groſted excommunicated and depriued one Ranulphus a beneficed perſon in his Dioces, being accuſed of incontinency. who after the terme of xl. dayes, refuſing to ſubmit himſelfe, the Biſhoppe wrote to the Shiriffe of Rutland to apprehend him as contumax. which Shiriffe becauſe he deferred, or refuſed ſo to doe (bearing fauour to the party) and being therfore ſolemnly excommunicate by the biſhop, vttered his complaynt to the king. whereat the king taking great diſpleaſure with the Biſhoppe for excommunicating his Shiriffe, and would not firſt make hys complaynt to hym, ſendeth forthwith a ſubſtantiall meſſenger (M. Moneta) ſuch as he was ſure would ſpeed vnto Pope Innocent, by vertue of whoſe wordes the Pope eaſie to be entreated, ſendeth downe a prouiſo to the Abbot of weſtminſter, charging that no Prelate nor Byſhop in the Realme of England ſhoulde moleſt or enter action agaynſt any of the Kinges Bayliffes or Officers, in ſuch matters as to the kinges iuriſdiction appertained. And thus was the ſtrife ended, not without ſome helpe and heape of Engliſh mony, ſo that no winde of any controuerſy here ſtirred in England, were it neuer ſo ſmall, but it blew ſome profite for the Popes aduantage, an. 1250 Ex Pariſ. fol. 231.

Iuſtice peruerted by the popes authoritie for money.

In like maner no litle treaſure grew to the Popes coffers by the election of Boniface the Queenes Uncle a Frenchman to be Archb. of Caut. an. 1243. and of Ethelmare the Queenes brother, to be Biſhop of wincheſter, agaynſt the wils of the Prior and Couent there, an. 1250. beſides many ſuch other excheres, which made England poore, and the Pope rich.

Money cōmyng to the Pope by the election of Boniface archb. of Cant.and of Ethelmare B. of Wint.both ſtrāgers and French men.

I come now ſomething likewiſe to touch briefly of the popes diſpenſations, prouiſions, exactions, contributions and extortions in Englande in this kinges dayes: for to diſcourſe all it is not one booke will holde it.

Symon Montfort Earle of Leceſter had maried Alinore the kinges ſiſter and daughter of king Iohn, who by report of Nonnes, had taken the mantell & ring. wherefore the king and his brother Richard Earle of Exceter, were greatly offended with the Mariage, which ſeing the Earle Simon made a hand of money, and poſting ouer to Rome, after he had talked a fewe wordes in Pope Innocentes eare, the mariage was good enough; and letters ſent to Otho the Popes Legate here, to geue ſentence ſolemnly with the Earle. Notwithſtanding the Dominick Friers and other of the like religious fraternitye, withſtood that ſentence of the Pope ſtoutly ſaying, that the Popes holines was therin deceaued, and ſoules in daunger, that chriſt was ielous ouer his wife, and that it could not be any wiſe poſſible, that a woman which had vowed her mariage with Chriſt could afterward mary with any other, &c. an. 1238. Ex Pariſ. fol. 114.

Mariage with Alinore the kings ſiſter a Nunne, diſpenſed by the Pope for money.

As there was nothing ſo hard in ẏ wide world wherwith the Pope would not diſpenſe for mony; ſo by the ſaid diſpenſations much miſchiefe was wrought abroad. For by reaſon therof, the people truſting vpon the Popes diſpenſation, litle regarded what they did, what they promiſed, or what they ſware. As well appeared by this king Henry. 3. who being a great exactor of the poore cōmons, as euer was any king before him or ſince, and thinking thereby to winne the people ſooner to hys deuotion, moſt

What inconuenience commeth by the Popes diſpenſations.

faythfully promiſed thẽ once or twiſe, and therunto bound himſelfe with a ſolemne othe, both before the clergy and layty, to graunt vnto them the old liberties and cuſtomes as well of Magna charta, as Charta de Foreſta perpetually to be obſerued. wherupon a Quindecim was graunted to the king. But after the payment was ſure, the king truſting by the Popes diſpenſation for a litle mony to be diſcharged of his oth and couenaunt, went from that he had promiſed and ſworne before.

Wilfull periurie mainteined by the Popes diſpenſations.

In like maner the ſayd king an other time, being in need of money, ſigned himſelfe with the croſſe, pretending and ſwearing deepely in the face of the whole parliament, that he would himſelfe perſonally fight in the holy land agaynſt the Saracens. But as ſoone as the mony was taken, ſmall care was taken for performance of his othe, being ſo put in the head by certain about him, that he needed not paſſe of that periurye, for ſo much as the Pope for an hundred pounds or two wold quickly diſcharge him therof, Ex Math.Pariſ.fol.273.

Out of the ſame corrupt ſpring of theſe popiſh diſpenſations, haue proceded alſo many other foule abſurdities. For where many young men were in thoſe dayes; which enioyed benefices, and were no prieſtes: and when by the procurement of Robert Groſted Biſhop of Lincolne the ſayd young men ſhould be forced, whether they would or not, to enter orders, they laying theyr purſes together, ſent to Rome, and obtayned of the Pope a diſpenſation to remayne ſtill as they were, that is, to haue the fruites of benefices to finde them at ſchole or vniuerſity, and yet themſelues neither miniſters to take charge, nor yeelding any ſeruiſe for theyr profites taken. Ex Math.Pariſ.fol.256. Beſides innumerable heapes of enormities moe, proceeding of the Popes diſpenſatiõs, as diſpenſing one man to haue ſundry biſhopricks, to encroch pluralities of benefices to make children Parſons, to legitimate baſtards, with ſuch other like, the particulars whereof, for breuities ſake I do omit to further oportunity.

Enormities which ſpring out of the popes diſpenſations.

The intollerable oppreſſion of the Realme of England,

by the Popes exactions and contributions and other
ſleightes here vſed in the time of K.Henry.3.

The miſerable impoueriſhing of the Realme by the popes prouiſions and contributions.

ALthough theſe emolumentes thus riſing dayly to the Popes purſe by Symony and brybery, by elections & diſpenſations, might ſeeme ſufficient to ſatiſfy his greedy appetite, yet ſo vnſatiable was the auarice of that ſee, that he not yet contented here with, ouer and beſides all this, ſẽt euery yere almoſt ſome Legat or other into this realm to rake for his aduantage. In ſo much that during al this kinges time, the Realme was neuer lightly without ſome of the Popes liegers with all violence exacting and extorting continual prouiſions, contributions, and ſummes of mony to be leaued out of Celles, Abbayes, priors, fruites of benefices, and Biſhopricks, and alſo lay mens purſes, to the miſerable empoueriſhing both of the clergy and temporalty, as hereunder foloweth.

Cardinall Otho Legate in England. The receiuing of Otho the popes Legate into the Realm.

Firſt after Pandulphus, was ſent into this Realme Cardinall Otho, procured by the king without the aſſent of his nobles, to the intent to aſſiſt him in certaine affairs, he had to do. At receiuing of which Legate, great preparaunce was made, many rich and precious giftes in ſcarlet, in plate, in iewels, in mony and palfreyes were geuen him. whom the king alſo himſelfe went as far as the Sea ſide to receiue, bowing downe his head in low courſye to the cardinalles knees. To whom alſo the biſhop of wincheſter for his part gaue toward keeping of his houſe, fifty fat Oxen, a hundred ſemes of wheat, and 8. great veſſels of pure wine. This Legate at his firſt comming beginneth firſt to beſtow ſuch benefices as he foũd vacant, vpon thẽ whom he brought with him without reſpect, whether they were meet, or vnmeet. Ex Pariſ.fol.103.

Anno. 1237.

After this the Pope hearing how the nobles and commons of the Realme began to ſtomacke the Cardinall for his exceſſiue procurations & exactions, ſent for him home: but the king, by reaſon he ſtood in feare of his nobles, and thought to haue a ſtay by the Cardinall agaynſt all occurrentes, entreated him to ſtay while he wrote to the Pope, to obtein further licence for him to tary: & ſo did, notwithout ſome Engliſh mony, ye may be ſure.

Otho the Legate ſeeketh to come into Scotlande. The king of Scottes his anſwere to Cardinall Otho.

In this mean time of vacation, Otho thinking to loſe no time, but to gather alſo ſome crõmes in Scotlãd, made as though he would ſet things there in order, which were in the church of Scotland to be reformed, and ſo commeth to the king of Scots, being then in Yorke with king Henry, to haue leaue to enter. Vnto whom yͤ king thus made anſwere, that he neuer ſaw, to his remẽbrance, any popes Legate in his land, neither was there any ſuch need (God be prayſed) for any ſuch to be ſent for. Matters there were well enough, and needed no helpe of his. And as he could neuer learne either in yͤ daies of his father, or any his predeceſſors, that any ſuch entrance to any Legate was grãted, ſo he for his part would not now begin. But yet notwithſtãding, for ſo much as I heare (ſayd he) that you are a good man, this I tell you before, that if ye will needs aduenture in, do it warely, and take heed to your ſelfe, leſt it happen to you otherwiſe, then I would wiſh: for they be a ſauage and vnruly people, geuen much to murder, & ſhedding bloud, whõ neither I my ſelf am ſcarſe able to bridle, ſo that if they fall vpon you, I ſhal not be able to help you. And how they alſo inuaded me, and ſought to expel me frõ my kingdome, ye heard alate. And therfore I warne you before, take heed by time, what ye thinke beſt to doe. After the Cardinal heard the king ſpeak theſe wordes he pluckt in his hornes, & durſt proceed no further but kept him ſtill by the ſide of king Hẽry. Notwithſtanding ſhortly after, the ſame Legat comming to the borders of Scotlãd, there called the Biſhops to him, & ſo when he had well filled his bagges came back agayne. Ex Mat.Pariſ.fol.106.123.b.

The realm of Scotland hetherto neuer troubled with any popes Legate.

Cardina Otho ped from ing into S land,

It was not lõg after, but licence came from pope Gregory to his Legate. Otho, for his longer abode here in the realm (as welcome as water in the ſhip) with new authority alſo to proceed in the Popes affayres. Who firſt ſhewing to the Biſhops and the Clergy his letters of lõger tarying, required of them, for ſomuch as no mã (ſayd he) warreth of his owne charges, to be ſupported wͭ new procuratiõs, which was to haue of euery able church 4. Markes, and where one Church was not able to reach therto, that other churches ſhould ioine with all, to make the ſaid mony. Notwithſtanding the Biſhops a great while ſtood in deniall therof Pariſienſ.fol. 123.128.132.

Oppreſsi of the chur of England by Cardinal Otho the popes Lega

Beſides he aſſembled together all blacke Monkes of S. Benedictes order, geuing to them ſtrait orders, which ſhortly after for money, he releaſed to them agayne, Pariſienſ.fol 116.119.

Anno 1238.

Moreouer by the ſayd Otho, and other the Popes exactions with ſpeciall Bulles directed downe for the ſame, collation of benefices being taken out of the handes of the patrons, were geuen to light and vile runnagats, cõming from Italy and other places, ſuch as pleaſed the pope and his Legate to beſtow them vpon, to the great preiudice of the auncient liberty and right of the true patrons thereof. Wherupon the Earles and Barons and nobles of the realme addreſſed letters vnto pope Gregory, by Syr Robert Twing knight, for redreſſe of ſuch wrong & iniuries, who otherwiſe ſhould be forced (they ſayd) to inuocate the ſuccour of their king, who both was able and no leſſe was willing according to his duetye (they truſted) to reforme ſuch enormities, and to defend the liberties of his Realm. The tenor of whoſe writing is to be read in Mat.Pariſienſ. fol.128.a.

The nobles of England writ to pop Gregory fo collation o benefices wraſted o of their ha

Petrus Ru beus the popes ca

Not long after the ſame, in the yere of our Lord. 1240 came a new precept from Pope Gregory, by Petrus Rubeus the popes nuncio, to the foreſayd Otho, that all beneficed men in the Clergy as well in England as Fraunce, ſhoulde pay to the Pope the fift part of theyr reuenewes. Wherupon whẽ the Clergy men made their complaint to the king, ſeeking to be relieued by him, the king anſwered them agayne that he neither would, ne durſt ſtãd agaynſt the pope in any caſe, and ſo without al hope of ſuccour ſent them away Pariſienſ.fol.132. Then were the Archbiſhops, Byſhops, Abbats, and Prelates of the Churche cõmaunded to aſſẽble to gether at Reding, there to heare yͤ Popes pleaſure and commaundement, concerning the payment of this fift part. Wherein the end thus the matter, concluded, yͭ the prelates deſired a further time to be geuen them to aduiſe vpon the matter, and for that ſeaſon the aſſembly brake vp. Pariſenſ.122.b. Notwithſtãding at laſt after many excuſes and exceptions layd in by the Clergy, firſt that becauſe the mony was gathered to fight agaynſt the Emperour, they ought not to contribute their mony contrary to the libertyes of the church. Item forſomuch as they had payd a tenth not long before vnto the pope, vpon conditiõ that no mo ſuch paiments ſhould be required of thẽ, much leſſe now the fift part ſhould be exacted of them, becauſe an action twiſe done maketh a cuſtome. Item, ſeing they had oftentimes to repayre to the Court of Rome, if they ſhold giue this mony agaynſt the Emperour, it would turne to their danger comming through his land. Item ſeing their king had many enemies, agaynſt whom they muſt needes relieue the king with theyr mony, they could not ſo do, if yͤ realme were thus impoueriſhed &c. All which excuſes & diuers other moe notwithſtanding, they were cõpelled at lẽgth to conforme themſelues to the popes good pleaſure, through the example geuen of Edmund Archb. of Caun-

All bene- ced men i England c pelled to geue the fi part of the reuenewes to the pop anno.124

Anno. 1240.

Excuſes of the Clerg why they would not contribute the Pope.

terbury who to obtayne his purpoſe agaynſt the Monks of Canterbury (with whom he was then in ſtriſe) began firſt to yeld to the Legats 800. Marks for his part. wherby the reſt alſo were fayne to follow after. Ex Mat.Pariſienſ. fol.132.136.

oo. childrē of Rome placed in benefices in England.

Furthermore the ſame yeare the Pope agreed ſo with the people of Rome, that if they would ayde him agaynſt Fredericke the Emperour, looke what benefices were to be geuē in Englād, the ſame ſhould be at theyr arbitremēt to be beſtowed vpon theyr children. Whereupon cōmaundemēt was ſent to the foreſayd Edmund Archbiſhop, to yͤ biſhops of Lincoln and Sarum, that all collations of benefices within the realme ſhould be ſuſpended till prouiſion were made for 300. children of the Citizens of Rome, to be firſt ſerued. Upon the which ſo miſerable requeſt the ſayd Edmund Archb. of Canterbury for ſorrow to ſee the church ſo oppreſſed departed the Realme, and ſo continued in Fraunce, & dyed at Pontinia. Ex Mat.Pariſi.fol.134.b. which Edmund was afterward made a Saint, and canoniſed by Pope Innocent. 4.

Edmund Archb. of Cant. departeth the realme and dyeth in exile.

Three thouſand pounds to the popes vſe.

Romaynes 23. brought to Englande to be beneficed.

This done, then went Petrus Rubeus the popes nūcio, and Ruffinus into ſcotland, frō whence they brought with them 3000. poundes, to the Popes vſe about allhalowtide the ſame yeare. At which time moreouer cōmeth an other harpax from the Pope to England named Mumclius, bringing with him 23. Romaines here into the Realme to be beneficed. Thus, what by the king on the one ſide, and what by Cardinall Otho, Petrus Rubeus, Ruffinus and Mumclius on the other ſide, poore Englād was in a wretched caſe. Mat.Pariſienſ.fol.137.

An other prety practiſe of the pope to prolle for mony, was this. The foreſayd Petrus Rubeus cōming into religious houſes and into their Chapters, cauſed thē to contribute to the Popes holynes, by the example of this Byſhop and that Abbot, pretending that he & he of their own voluntary deuotiō had geuē ſo much & ſo much, & ſo ſeduced them. Pariſ.fol.134 Alſo the pope craftely ſubborned certeine Friers authoriſed with full indulgence, that whoſoeuer had vowed to fight in the holy land, and was diſpoſed to be releaſed of his vowe, needed not to repayre to Rome for abſolution, but paying ſo much money as hys charges would come to going thether, he reſorting to the ſayd Friers might be aſſoyled at home.

The P. for money releaſeth chriſtiās of their vowe.

Mumelius an other meſſenger of the pope.

The next yeare folowing, which was 1241. came a cōmaūdement Apoſtolicall to the houſe of Peterborow, that they at the Popes contemplation muſt needes graūt him ſome benefice lying in their donation, the fruites whereof at leaſt being worth an hundreth poundes, and if it were more it ſhould be the better welcome, ſo that they ſhoulde be as the fermers, & he to receiue the profites. In fine, the Couent, excuſed themſelues by the Abbot, being then not at home. The Abbot when he came home excuſed himſelfe by the king, being the patron and foūder of the houſe. The king being agreeued with the vnreaſonable rauening of theſe Romaniſtes, vtterly forbad any ſuch example to be geuen. Ex Pariſiēſ.fol.143. But what happened? The Abbot being therfore accuſed to the Pope by one of the Legates, and comming vp about foure yeares after in the time of Pope Innocent, to the Councell of Lyons, was ſo rated and reuiled, & ſo ſhamefully thruſt out of the popes court, that for ſorrow he fell ſicke vpon the ſame, and there died. Pariſienſ.fol.184.

An execrable exaction of the pope vpon the houſe of Peterborough.

Abbot of Peterborough thruſt out of the popes court.

The obligation of kyng Iohns tribute to the pope, burned.

The biſhops of England put their handes and ſeales to the popes bill.

In the time of which councell of Lyons, Pope Innocent 4. (for ſomuch as the inſtrument or obligatiō whereby the realm of England ſtood tributary to the pope, was thought to be burned in the popes chamber, a litle before) brought forth either the ſame, or an other charte like vnto it, whereunto he ſtraitly charged & commaunded euery engliſh Biſhop being there preſent at the councell ſeuerallie to ſet to his hand & ſeale. Which vnreſonable petition of yͤ pope, albeit it went ſore againſt yͤ hartes of yͤ biſhops, yet (ſee in what miſerable ſubiection the pope had all the biſhops vnder him) none of them durſt otherwiſe do but accompliſh the Popes requeſt therein, both to their owne ſhame, & preiudice to the publicke freedome of the Realm. Amongeſt which Biſhops, the longeſt that held out, and laſt that put to his ſeale was the Biſhop of Londō. Which Act when the king and the nobility vnderſtood, they were mightely, and worthely therwith all offended. Ex Pariſienſ. fol.192.an.1245.

Petrus Rubeus, Petrus de Supino, the Popes collectors in England.

After what time Cardinall Otho was ſet for by pope Gregory in all haſte to come to the generall councell, 2. other in his roome here remayned, whoſe names were Petrus Rubeus, and Petrus de Supino. Of whom the one bearing himſelfe for the Popes kinſman, brought out his Billes and Bulles vnder the Popes authority, to ſuch an Abbot or to ſuch a Prior, or to ſuch and ſuch a Biſhop, and ſo extorted from them a great quantity of gold and ſiluer. The other, to wit, Petrus de Supino, ſayled to Ireland, from whence he brought with him a thouſand and 5. hundreth marks to the popes vſe, an. 1241. Ex Par.fol.247.b. All which mony notwithſtanding gotten by both the collectors, in the cariage vp to Rome, about the death of Pope Gregory, happened into the hands of Frederick the Emperor, who cauſed it agayne to be reſtored as neare as he could, to them of whom it was taken. Pariſienſ.fol.151.

A thouſand and fiue hundreth markes brought out of Ireland for the Pope.

M. Martinus an other meſſenger for the Popes money, an. 1244.

After theſe, came in then M. Martinus a new Marchaunt from the new pope Innocent the fourth. an. 1244 armed with full power to ſuſpend all Prelats in Englād from geuing benefices, til the popes kinſmē were firſt preferred. Neither would he take the fruites of any benefice, vnleſſe it were aboue the valne of 30. markes. At his firſt comming he required of prelates & eſpecially of religious houſes to furniſh him with horſes & palfryes, ſuch as wer conuenient for the popes eſpeciall chaplain and Legate to ſit vpon. Alſo with plate, raiment, prouiſion for his kitchin and celler, &c. and ſuch as denied or excuſed, he ſuſpēded, as the Abbot of Malmeſbury, and the Prior of Merton. All prebendes that were voyd he ſought out & reſerued them for the Popes behoofe. Among which was the golden prebend of Sarum, belonging to the Chauncellor of the Queere, whom he preferred to the Byſhopricke of Bathe, and ſo ſeiſed vpon the prebend being voyd, againſt the willes both of the Byſhop and the Chapter. Pariſ.fol. 167.180 Moreouer he brought with him blankes in paper & parchment ſigned in the popes chamber with his ſtamp and ſeale, wherein he might afterward write to whom, and what he would. Pariſienſ.fol.178.b. requiring furthermore of the king in the popes behalf, to help his holines with a contribution to be taxed amongeſt his Clergy, at leaſt of 10000. Markes, Ibid. And to the end that the Pope might win the king ſooner to his deuotiō, he writeth in yͤ kinges behoofe to the nobles and commons of the Realme, that they ſhould not faile, vpon payne of his great curſe, to cōferre ſuch ſubſidy of money to the ſubuention of the king, as he then had demaunded of them, but they ſtood ſtiffe in not graunting to him.

Extortion of the Popes Legate vpon the clergie of Englande.

Contribution of x. M. markes for the Pope.

The pope craftely holdeth with the kyng that the king might holde with him.

Intimation geuen to the king touching the importable oppreſsion of the realme by the Pope.

While the inſatiable auarice of the pope thus made no end in gathering riches and goods together in England, the nobles & Barons, with the community as well of the Clergy as the laity, weying the miſerable ſtate of the Realme, and namely of the church, which now neither had liberty left thē to chooſe their owne miniſters, nor yet could enioy their owne liuings, layd theyr heades together, and ſo exhibited an earneſt intimatiō to yͤ king, beſeching him to conſider the pitifull affliction and oppreſſion of his ſubiectes vnder the popes extortion, liuing in more thraldōe, thē euer did the people of Iſrael, vnder Pharao. Whereupon the king beginning at laſt to looke vp, & to conſider the iniuries and wronges receiued in his Realme through the auarice of the court of Rome, directeth to pope Innocent 4. this letter in tenor as foloweth.

The kinges letter to Pope Innocent. 4.

SAnctiſ. in Chriſto pat. ac Domino Innocentio Dei gratia ſummo pontifici, Henr. eadem gratia Rex Angliæ. &c. Salutem & pedum oſcula beatorum. &c.

K. Henries letter to the Pope.

The kyng offereth to kiſſe the Popes feete.

To the moſt holy father in Chriſt & Lord, Innocēt by the grace of God chiefe Biſhop, Henry by the ſame grace, king of England. &c. greeting and kiſſinges of his bleſſed feet. The more deuout & obſequious the ſonne ſheweth himſelfe in obeying the fathers will, the more fauor and ſupportation doth he deſerue to finde at his fathers handes agayn. This therefore I write, for that where as both we and our realme haue euer and in all things bene hetherto at the deuotion and commaundement of your fatherhood, and that although in ſome certayne affayres of ours and of our kingdome, we haue found your fatherly fauour and grace ſometimes propice vnto vs: yet in ſome thinges agayne, as in prouiſions geuen & graunted to your clerkes of forreine nations, both we and our kingdome haue felt no ſmall detriment. By reaſon of which prouiſions the Church of England is ſo ſore charged and burdened, that not onely the Patrones of Churches, to whome the donations thereof do appertayne, are defrauded of their right: but alſo many other good workes of Charity thereby doe decay, for that ſuch benefices which haue bene mercifully beſtowed vpon religious houſes to their ſuſtentation, are now waſted and conſumed by your prouiſions.

Damage receiued by the pope in the realme of England.

The popes prouiſions.

Wherefore for ſo much as your ſea Apoſtolicke ought to be fauourable to all that be petitioners to the ſame, ſo that no perſō be wronged in that which is his right, we thought therfore to be ſuters to your fatherhood, moſt humbly beſeeching your holines that you will deſiſt and ſurceaſe for a time, from ſuche prouiſions to be exacted. In the meane ſeaſō, it may pleaſe your fatherhood we beſeech you, that our lawes and liberties, (which you may rightly repute none other but your owne) you will receiue to your tuition, to be cõſerued whole and ſound, nor to ſuffer the ſame by any ſiniſter ſuggeſtion in your Court to be violated and infringed. Neither let your holyneſſe be any whit mooued therefore with vs, if in ſome ſuch caſes as theſe be, we do or ſhall hereafter reſiſt the tenour of your commaundementes forasmuch as the complayntes of ſuch which dayly call vpon vs, do neceſſarily enforce vs thereunto, which ought by the charge of this our office and kingly dignity committed to vs of almighty God, to foreſe that no man in that which is theyr right be iniuried, but truely to miniſter iuſtice to euery one, in that which duely to him appertayneth. This letter was ſent, the 28. yeare of the kinges raign Ex Pariſienſ. fol. 172.

The kinges too much in ſubiection to the pope

A man would thinke that this ſo gentle and obedient letter of the king to the Pope, would haue wrought ſome good effect in his Apoſtolicall breſt, to withdraw his prouiſions, and to haue tendered the kings ſo reaſonable and honeſt requeſt: but how litle all this preuayled to ſtop hys inſatiable gredines, and vntollerable extortions & oppreſſions, the ſequele well declareth. For beſides that ſhortlye after the Pope ſent M. Martine with blanks being bulled for contribution of 10000. marks in all haſte to be payd alſo euen immediatly vpon the receiuing of this letter, it followeth in mine author, that the ſayd pope Innocẽt the 4. after all this great ſubmiſſion of the king and ſo manifold benefites and payments yerely out of this Realme receiued, was not aſhamed to take of Dauid prince of north wales, 500. markes by yeare, to ſet him agaynſt the king of England, and exempted him from his fealty and obedience due to his owne liege Lord and king, to whom both he and all other welchmen had ſworn theyr ſubiection before, as by the ſeales and obligations, as wel of that Dauid himſelfe, as other welch Lordes in this behalfe, doth appeare. In Mat. Pariſ. fol. 172.

Ex Mat. Pariſ. fol. 172.

The pope ſetteth Welch men againſt the king of England.

Neither did M. Martinus in the meane while ſleepe his buſines in making vp his market for the popes mony of 10000. markes, but ſtill was calling vpon the prelates and clergy. who firſt excuſing themſelues by the abſẽce of the king and the Archb. of Cant. afterward being called agayne by new letters, made theyr aunſwere by the Deane of Paules their Prolocutor.

Firſt that the pouerty of the Realme would not ſuffer them to conſent therto.

Item, where as they had geuen before a contribution to Cardinal Otho, for paying of the Popes debts & knew the ſaid mony to be employed to no ſuch end as it was demaunded for, more cauſe they had now to miſdoubt, leaſt this contribution, in his hands which was a much more inferiour meſſenger thẽ the Cardinall, would come to the ſame or a worſe effect.

Contribution required of the clergie of England for the pope with their excuſes and reaſons againſt the ſame.

Item, if they ſhould now agree to a new contributiõ, they feared leaſt it would grow to a cuſtom, ſeing that one action twiſe done maketh a cuſtome.

Item, for ſo much as a generall councell is ſhortly loked for, where euery Prelate of the Realme muſt needes beſtow both his trauell and expenſes, and alſo his preſẽce to the Pope, if the Prelates now ſhould be bound to thys taxe, they were not able to abide this burthen.

Item, ſeing it is alleadged, that the mother Church of Rome is ſo farre in debt, reaſon and right it were, that the mother ſo oppreſſed ſhould be ſuſtayned of all her deuout children meeting together in the generall councel, wheras by helpes of many more reliefe might come, thẽ by one nation alone.

Item, laſt of al they alledged, that for feare of the Emperour and his threatnings, they durſt not conſent to the ſayd contribution.

While theſe thinges were thus in talke betweene the Popes prieſt and the clergy of England, cõmeth in Iohn Marſcall and other meſſengers from the king, commaũding in the kings name, that no Biſhop that held his Baronage of the king, ſhould infeſt his leſcode to the court of Rome, which they ought onely to him. &c. Ex Pariſienſ. fol. 139. anno. 1243.

Not long after this, in the yeare of our Lord. 1245. the whole nobility of the Realme by generall cõſent, and not without the kings knowledge alſo, cauſed all the Portes by the Sea ſide to be laid, that no meſſẽger with the popes letters and Buls from Rome, ſhould be permitted to enter the Realme. whereupon ſome were taken at Douer, and there ſtayd. Notwithſtanding when complaint therof was brought to the king by M. Martinus the Popes legate, there was no remedy but the king muſt needs cauſe theſe letters to be reſtored agayne, and executed to the full effect. fol. 185.

The portes of England layd to ſtop the popes letters, yet all would not ſerue

Then the king vpon aduiſe, cauſed a view to be taken through euery ſhyre in England, to what ſumme the whole reuenues of the Romains and Italians amounted, which by the Popes authority went out of England: the whole ſumme wherof was found yerely to be threeſcore thouſãd Markes: to the which ſumme, the reuenues of the whole crowne of England did not extend. Ex Math. Pariſienſ. fol. 185. a.

Sixtie tho land mar yerely go out of Eng land to the Pope & his Italia

The Nobles then vnderſtanding the miſerable oppreſſion of the Realme, being aſſembled together at Dunſtable for certayne cauſes, ſent one Fulco in the name of the whole nobility, vnto M. Martinus the Popes Marchaunt with this meſſage, that he indelayedly vpon the ſame warning ſhould prepare himſelfe to be gone out of the realme, vnder payn of being cut all to pieces. At which meſſage the Legate being ſore agaſt, went ſtraight to the king, to know whether his conſẽt was to the ſame or not. Of whom when he found litle better comfort, he tooke hys leaue of the king, who bad him adue in the deuils name (ſaith M. Pariſ.) and thus was the realme rid of M. Martinus. Ex Mat. Pariſ. 185. b. an. 1245.

M. Martin the Pope legate ſent out of Eng land in the deuils na

As ſoone as Pope Innocent had hereof intelligence by the cõplaynt of his Legate, he was in a mighty rage: And furthermore remembring how yͤ french king & the king of Arragon, not long before had denied him entraunce into theyr land, and being therfore in diſpleaſure with the likewiſe, began in great anger to knit his browes, and ſaid: it is beſt that we fall in agreement with our prince, wherby we may the ſooner bring vnder * theſe little petty kinges, and ſo the great Dragon being pacified, theſe litle ſerpents we ſhall handle at our owne pleaſure as we liſt.

The pope i diſpleaſu with the king of Eng land.

* Iſtos Regu los.

The proud wordes of the pope againſt the French kin and king of England.

After this immediatly thẽ folowed the generall councell of Lions, to the which councell the ſtates and Lordes of the Realme, with the conſent of the communaltye, ſent two Bulles: One conteining a generall ſuplication to the Pope and the councell: the other with the Articles of ſuch greuaunces which they deſired to be redreſſed, whereof relation is made ſufficiently before, pag. 267. The other bill of the Supplication becauſe it is not before expreſſed, I thought here to exhibite for two cauſes: Firſt, that men now in theſe dayes may ſee the pitifull blindneſſe of thoſe ignoraunt dayes, wherein our Engliſh nation here did ſo blindely humble themſelues, and ſtand to the Popes curteſy. whom rather they ſhould haue ſhaken of, as the Grecians did. Secondly, that the pride of the Pope might the better appeare in his coulours, who ſo diſdaynefully, reiected the humble ſute of our Lordes and Nobles, when they had much more cauſe to diſdayne rather, & to ſtampe him vnder their feet. The tenour of the Supplicatiõ was this.

¶ The copy of the Supplication written in the names of all the nobles and commons of England to Pope Innocent the 4. in the generall Councell at Lyons. anno. 1245.

Anno. 1245.

¶ To the reuerend Father in Chriſt Pope Innocent, chiefe Byſhop, the nobles with the whole comminaltye of the Realme of England ſendeth commendation with kiſſing of his bleſſed feet.

OVr mother the Church of Rome we loue with all our hartes as our duety is, and couet the encreaſe of her honour with ſo much affection as we may, as to whome we ought alwayes to flye for refuge, whereby the griefe lying vpon the childe maye finde comfort at the mothers hand. Which ſuccour the mother is bound ſo much the rather to imparte to her childe, how muche more kinde and beneficial ſhe findeth him in relieuing her neceſſitiee. Neither is it to the ſayd our mother vnknowne, how beneficiall and bountifull a geuer the Realme of England hath bene now of long tyme for the more amplifiyng of her exaltation, as appeared by our yerely ſubſidie, whiche we terme by the name of Peterpence. Now the ſayd Church not contented with this yearly ſubſidie, hath ſent diuers Legates for other contributions, at diuers and ſondry times to be taxed and leuyed out of the ſame Realme, al which contributions and taxes notwithſtanding, haue bene louingly and liberally graunted.

The ſupp cation o Lords a commons England t the Pope.

Furthermore, neither is it vnknowne to your fatherhood, how our forefathers like good Catholickes, both louing and fearing their maker, for the ſoules health as well of themſelues as of their progenitours, and ſucceſſors alſo, haue founded Monaſteryes, and largely haue endued the ſame both with their owne proper landes, and alſo patronages of benefices, whereby ſuche religious perſons profeſſing the firſt and chiefeſt perfection of holy Religion in theyr Monaſteries, might with more peace and tranquillitie occupy themſelues deuoutly in Gods ſeruice,

The ſuperſtitious founding of monaſteries in England.

as to the order appertained: And alſo their Clearkes preſented by them into their benefices, might ſuſtaine the other exteriour labours for them in that ſeconde order of religion, and ſo diſcharge and defend them from all haſardes: ſo that the ſaide religious monaſteries cannot be defrauded of thoſe their patronages and collations of benefices, but the ſame muſt touche vs alſo very neare, and worke intollerable griefe vnto our hearts.

And now ſee we beſeche you, which is lamentable to behold, what iniuries we ſuſtaine by you and your predeceſſors, who not conſidering thoſe our ſubſidies and cōtributions aboue remembred, doe ſuffer alſo your Italians and forreiners (whych be out of number) to be poſſeſſed in our Churches and benefices in Englande, pertaining to the right and patronage of thoſe monaſteries aforeſayde: which forreiners neither defending the ſayd religious perſones, whome they onght to ſee to, nor yet hauing the language, whereby they may inſtructe the flocke, take no regarde of their ſoules, but vtterly leaue them of wilde wolues to be deuoured. Wherefore it may truely be ſaid of them, that they are no good ſhepheards, where as neither they know their ſhepe, nor the ſhepe do know the voyce of their ſhepherds, neither do they kepe any hoſpitalitie, but only take vp the rents of thoſe benefices, carying them out of the Realme, wherewith our brethren, our nephewes, and our kinsfolkes might be ſuſteined, who coulde and woulde dwell uppon them, and employ ſuch exerciſes of mercie & hoſpitalitie as their dutie required. Wherof a great nūber now for mere neceſsitie are lay men, and faine to flie out of the realme.

Iniuries receiued in England by the Pope.

Benefices in Englande wickedly giuen a way to Italians.

And now to the entēt more fully to certify you of the truth, ye ſhall vnderſtand that the ſayd Italians and ſtrangers receiuing of yerely rentes out of Englande not ſo little as 60000. Markes by yeare, beſides other auailes and exiſes deducted, doe reape in the ſaid our kingdome of England more emoluments of meere rents, then doth the king himſelfe, being both the tutour of the Church and gouernour of the land.

Three ſcore thouſande markes yerely giuen to Italians out of the church of England.

Italians receiued more in this land of meer rēts then did the kings crown.

Furthermore, where as at the firſt creation of your Papacie, we were in good hope and yet are, that by meanes of your fatherly goodneſſe we ſhoulde enioy our franchiſes, and free collation of our benefices and donatiues, to be reduced againe to the former ſtate: nowe commeth an other greeuance, which we cannot but ſignifie vnto you, preſsing vs aboue meaſure, which we receiue by M. Martinus, who entring late into our lande without leaue of our king, with greater power then euer was ſene before in any Legate, although he beareth not the ſtate and ſhewe of a Legate, yet hee hath doubled the doings of a Legate, charging vs euery day with newe Mandates, and ſo moſt extreemely hath oppreſſed vs: Firſt in beſtowing and geuing away our benefices if any were aboue 30. Markes, as ſoone as they were vacant, to Italian perſons.

Deteſtable dealings of the popes legate in England.

Secondly, after the deceaſe of the ſayd Italians, vnknowing to the patrons, he hath intruded other Italians therein, whereby the true patrons haue bene ſpoiled and defrauded of their right.

Thirdly, the ſaide M. Martinus yet alſo ceaſeth not to aſsigne and conferre ſuch benefices ſtill to the like perſones: And ſome he reſerueth to the donation of the Apoſtolike ſee: And extorteth moreouer from religious houſes immoderate penſions, excommunicating and interdicting who ſo euer dare gainſtand him.

Wherefore, foraſmuch as the ſayde M. Martin hath ſo farre extended his iuriſdiction, to the great perturbation of the whole Realme, & no leſſe derogation to our kings priuiledge, to whome it hath bene fully graunted by the ſee Apoſtolike, that no Legate ſhould haue to do in his land, but ſuch as he by ſpeciall letters did ſend for: we with moſt hūble deuotiō beſeech you, that as a good father will alwaies be ready to ſupport his childe, ſo your fatherhode wil reach forth your hand of compaſsion to releaue vs your humble children from theſe greuous oppreſsions.

Complaint of M. Martin the Popes Legate.

And although our Lord and king, being a Catholicke Prince, and wholy giuen to his deuotions and ſeruice of Chriſt Ieſu our Lorde, ſo that he reſpecteth not the health of his owne body, will feare and reuerence the ſee Apoſtolicke, and as a deuout ſonne of the Church of Rome, deſireth nothing more then to aduance the eſtate and honor of the ſame: yet we which trauaile in his affaires bearing the heate and burden of the day, and whoſe duetie together with him, is to tender the preſeruation of the publike wealth, neither can paciently ſuffer ſuch oppreſsiōs ſo deteſtable to God and man, and greuances intollerable, neither by Gods grace, will ſuffer them, through the meanes of your godly remedies, which we well hope and truſt of you ſpeedily to obteine. And thus may it pleaſe your fatherhode, we beſeche you to accept this our ſupplication, who in ſo doing ſhall worthely deſerue of all the Lords and Nobles, with the whole comminaltie of the Realme of England, condigne and ſpeciall thankes accordingly. Anno 1245. Ex Mat. Pariſienſ. fol. 188.

K. Hēry the third, vſed euery day to heare 3. maſſes by note.

The ſtout wordes of the Lordes to the Pope.

This ſupplication being ſent by the handes of Sir W. Bygot Knight, and W. de Powike Squier, Henrie de la Marre, with other Knightes and Gentlemen, after it was there opened and red, pope Innocent firſt keping ſilence, deferred to make anſwer thereunto, making haſt to procede in hys deteſtable excommunication and curſe againſt the good Emperour Fredericke. The which curſe being done, and the Engliſh ambaſſadours waiting ſtill for their aunſwer, the Pope then told them flatte, they ſhould not haue their requeſt fulfilled. Wherat the Engliſh men departing in great anger away, ſware with terrible othes, that they would neuer more ſuffer any tribute, or fruites of any benefices, namely whereof the noble men were patrones, to be paid to that inſatiable and greedy court of Rome worthy to be deteſted in all worlds. Ex Math. Pariſ. fol. 193.

The ſupplication of the Engliſh nation tooke no place with the Pope.

The Engliſhe Ambaſſadours agreeued with the Pope.

The Pope hearing theſe wordes, all be it making then no aunſwere, thought to watch his time and did. Firſt, incontinent vpon the ſame, during the ſaid Counſel, he cauſed euery Biſhop of England to put his hande and ſeale to the obligation made by king Iohn for the Popes tribute, as is aboue ſpecified. Threatning moreouer, & ſaying, that if he had once brought downe the Emperor Fredericke, he would bridle the inſolent pride of England wel enough.

The Pope in an anger with England.

The Biſhops of England ſet their ſeales to the popes tribute.

After this Councell ended, in the beginning of the next yere following. An. 1246. Pope Innocent came to Cluniake, where was then appoynted a ſecret meeting or colloquie betwene the Pope and Lewes the French king (who was then preparing his voyage to Ieruſalom) in which colloquie the pope ſought al meanes to perſwade ẏ French king, in reuengement of his iniurie, to warre contra Regulum (as he termed him) that is, againſt the weake and ſeule king of England, either to driue him vtterly frō his kingdom, or els ſo dammifie him, wherby he ſhould be conſtrained, whether he would or no, to ſtoupe to the Popes will and obedience: wherin he alſo would aſſiſt him with al the authoritie he could doe. Neuertheleſſe, the French king to this would not agree, firſt for the conſanguinitie that was betwene them (for there 2. Queenes were ſiſters) And alſo for the truce that they had taken. Thirdly, for feare of the Emperour, leaſt he ſhoulde take his part. Item, for that it could not be without the ſpilling of much Chriſten bloud. And laſtly, becauſe he was preparing his voyage to ẏ holy land, where his comming was already looked for. And thus the French king denying the Popes bloudy requeſt, refuſed not onely to enter warre againſt the King and the realme of England, but alſo ſhortly after concluded wyth him longer truce. An. 1246. Ex Math. Pariſ. fol. 196.b.

{ Anno. 1246. }

The pope ſtirreth Lewes the French king to warre againſt the K. of Englande.

Lewes the frēch kyng refuſeth to warre againſt Englande.

Straight vpon the necke of this, followed then the exaction of Boniface Archbiſhop of Canterbury, that he had bought of the Pope: which was, to haue the firſt yeares fruites of all benefices and ſpirituall liuings in Englande for the ſpace of 7. yeares together, vntill the ſumme ſhould come of ten thouſand Markes. Whereat the king firſt was greatly agreeued. But in concluſion, hee was faine at laſt to agree with the Archbyſhop, and ſo the money was gathered. Pariſ. fol. 197.

The firſt yeares fruites for ſeuen yeares gathered of all benefices for the Archb. of Cant.

Ouer and beſides all other exactions, wherewyth the pope miſerably oppreſſed the church of England, this alſo is not to be ſilenced, how the Pope ſending down his letters from the ſee Apoſtolike, charged and commaunded the prelates to find him, ſome 10. ſome 5. and ſome 15. able men wel furniſhed with horſe and harneis, for one whole yere, to fight in the popes warres. And leſt the king ſhuld haue knowledge thereof, it was enioyned them vnder paine of excommunication that they ſhoulde reueale it to none, but to kepe it ſecrete only to themſelues. Pariſ. fol. 200.

The prelates of England charged to find horſe and harnes for Popes warres.

A ſubtile practiſe of the pope.

The pope yet notwithſtanding, partly beyng laboured by ſuters, partly of hys owne mynde thinking good ſomewhat to geue to the king & people of England, as fathers are wont to geue ſomething to theyr babes to play withall to kepe them ſtill, ſent downe this releaſment to the king, ẏ hereafter whenſoeuer any of the popes nephewes or of hys Cardinals were to be beneficed in any church of England, eyther he, or the Cardinals ſhuld firſt make the king priuy therof, and inſtantly craue hys good will in obteining the procuration, or els the ſame to ſtand in no effect. &c. Pariſienſis fol. 202. Howbeit al this ſeemed to be don but of a policy, to get the kings fauour, wherby he might be ſuffered more freely to paſſe with greater exactions, as afterward appeared.

The popes baite layde for more money.

For whē the foreſayd pope Innocent 4. had knowlege the ſame tyme of certayne rich Clerkes leauing great ſubſtaunce of mony, which died inteſtate as of one Rob. Hailes Archdeacō of Lincolne, which died leauing thouſands of Markes and much plate behynde hym, all which becauſe no will was made, came to temporall mens handes: alſo of M. Almarick Archdeacon of Bedford, being ſould worth a great ſubſtaunce when he dyed: and likewiſe of an other M. Iohn Hotoſp Archdeacō of Northampton, who died ſodenly inteſtate, leauing behinde him 5000. Markes, and 30. ſtanding pieces of plate, with other infinite iewels beſides: ſent forth vpō the ſame a ſtatute to be proclaimed in

A new lawe of the pope, to ſeaſon vpon all the goods of clergie men that die inteſtate.

A note of certaine eccleſiaſticall perſons dying in England worth great ſubſtance.

England, that whatſoeuer eccleſiaſtical perſon henceforth ſhould deceaſe in England inteſtate, that is, wythout making his will, all his goodes ſhould redound to the Popes vſe. Pariſ fol 203.

Sixe thouſand markes to be gathered of the clergie of Englande for the Pope.

The king beginneth to withſtand the Pope, but durſt not holde out.

Furthermore, the Pope yet not ſatiſfied with all thys, addreſſeth newe letters to the biſhop of Wincheſter, and to W. biſhop of Norwich, for gathering vp amongſt the clergie, and religious houſes in Englande 6000. Markes to the behouſe of holy mother the Church, without any excuſe or delay, by vertue of obediẽce. Which tallage being greatly grudged of the Clergie, when it came to the kings eare, hee eftſoones directeth contrary letters to all the Prelates and euery one of them, commaunding them vpõ forfeyting their temporalties to the king, that no ſuch ſubſidie of mony ſhoulde be gathered or tranſported out of the Realme. But the Pope againe hearing therof, in great anger wryteth to the prelates of England, that this collection of mony, vpon paine of excommunication and ſuſpenſion ſhuld be prouided, and brought to the new Temple in London, by the feaſt of the Aſſumption next enſuing.

The Pope in a chafe.

The wordes of Ioannes Anglicus Cardinall to the Pope.

The miſerable troubles of chriſtendome.

Of Spaine he meaneth becauſe the king of Aragone a litle before had cut off the tongue of a certaine B. that did reprehend him. *Pariſ.fol.207.*

And furthermore, foraſmuch as he perceiued the Kyng to goe about to gaineſtand his proceedings, taking therat great diſdaine, he was about the ſame time to interdict the whole land. To whome then one of his Cardinals, called Ioannes Anglicus, an Engliſhman borne, ſpeaking for the realme of England, deſired hys fatherhood for Gods cauſe to mitigate his modie ire, & with the bridle of temperance to aſſuage the paſſion of his minde: which (ſayde he) to tell you plaine, is here ſtirred vp to much without cauſe. Your fatherhode (quod he) may conſider that theſe daies be euill. Firſt the holy lande lieth in great pearils to be loſt. All the Greke church is departed from vs. Frederick the Emperour is againſt vs, the mightieſt prince this day in all chriſtendome. Both you and wee which are the peeres of the Churche are baniſhed from the Papall ſea, thruſt out of Rome, yea excluded out of all Italy. Hungary with all the coaſtes bordering about it, looketh for nothing but vtter ſubuerſion by the Tartarians. Germanie is waſted and afflicted with inward warres & tumults. Spaine is fierce & cruell againſt vs, euen to the cutting out of the Biſhops tonges. Fraunce by vs is ſo impoueriſhed, yͭ it is brought to beggerie, which alſo conſpireth againſt vs. Miſerable England being ſo oftẽ plagued by our manifold iniuries, euen much like to Balaams aſſe, beaten and bounſt wyth ſpurres and ſtaues, beginneth at length to ſpeake and cõplaine of her vntollerable griefs & burdens, being ſo wearied and dammified, that ſhee may ſeeme paſt all recouerie. And we, after the maner of Iſmael hating all mẽ, prouoke all men to hate vs. &c. Ex Pariſ.fol.207.

Power giuen to the Biſh. of Worceſter to interdict the land. The K. fayne to relent to the Pope. 288.

For all theſe woordes of Ioan. Anglicus hys Cardinall, the Popes cholerike paſſion could not yet be appeaſed, but forthwith he ſendeth commaundement with full authority to the byſhop of Worceſter, that in caſe the king would not ſpedely ſurceaſe his rebellion againſt his Apoſtolical proceedings, he ſhould interdict his land. So that in concluſion the king for all hys ſtoute enterpriſe was faine to relent at laſt, and the Pope had his money. Anno 1246. Ex Parienſ.fol.204.

Of this diuiſion read before pag. 282.

The Grecians vſed to waſhe their altar, if any latin maſſe had bene ſaide vpon them. *Ex Actis concilij Lateranenſis, cap.4.*

Ye heard before of the Greke churches vnder the Empire of Conſtantinople, howe they ſequeſtred themſelues from the companie of the Romiſh church. In ſo much that Germanus the Patriarche of Conſtantinople, and the Archbyſhop of Antioch did excommunicate the Byſhop of Rome. And after the ſaid Germanus an other Archbiſhop of Conſtantinople at the Councell of Lyons proteſted, that where as before were 30. Suffraganes belonging to that prouince, nowe there were not 3. that helde wyth the Churche of Rome. And thys breache, albeit it chiefly braſt out in the time of Pope Gregory the 9. Anno 1230. to open warre and bloudſhed, yet the ſame had begon, and ſo continued long before, in ſuch ſorte as in the time of the Pope Innocent the thirde, if any Prieſt had ſayd Maſſe in theyr Churches, they woulde waſh the aultare afterwarde: as appeareth by the actes of the Laterane Councell. Capit.4. Wherfore Pope Innocent now (as his other predeceſſors had done before) bearing an old grudge againſt thoſe churches of the Greekes, and neither willing by conference to trie with them, nor able by learning to matche with them, thought by force of armes to ſubdue them, ſent the prouinciall of the gray Friers, with other aſſociates of the ſame order into England with his precept authenticall, containing in it theſe Articles.

Goods gotten by vſury attached for the Pope. Excommunication abuſed.

Vſurariæ prauitas.

1. Firſt, that the ſayd prouinciall, or his Friers ſhould inquire vppon all vſurers beyng aliue, and of all ſuch euill gotten goodes gayned *per vſurariam prauitatem*, ſhould make attachement for the vſe and preparation of this warre agaynſt the Greekes, excommunicatyng all them by diſtrict cenſures of the Church that repugned agaynſt it.

Falſe abſo lution of ſinnes.

2. That all they, which tooke the badge of the Croſſe, for the recouery of the ſayd Empire of the Greekes, or with goodes and cattell would helpe ſufficiently vnto the ſame, ſhould be abſolued of all their ſinnes.
3. Item, that all the goodes left in the Teſtamentes of them that were departed, beyng gotten by vſurie, ſhould be taken vp to the ſubſidie of the Empire aforeſayd, and whoſoeuer repugned agaynſt the ſame, ſhould be excommunicated.

Goods left in dead wils for reſtitution uerted to the Pope. Goods vn bequethed in dead willes conuerted to war agai the Gre Goods yll gotten conuerted to the Pope.

4. Item, that ſuch goodes as in the Teſtamentes of the dead, left or which ſhould be left three next yeares to come, for reſtitution of ſuch goodes as the dead had euill gotten, they ſhould take vp for the ſubſidie of the Empire aforeſayd, excommunicatyng. &c.
5. Item, ſuch goodes as were left to be diſtributed in godly vſes, after the arbitrement of executours, by the willes of the dead, or were not in their willes deputed to any certaine places or perſons named, nor yet were beſtowed by the ſayd executors to the foreſaid vſes, they ſhould collect to the vſe and ſubſidie aforeſaid, and geue certificate to the ſea Apoſtolicke of the quãtitie therof, excõmunicating all repugners and rebellers agaynſt the ſame.
6. Item, that they ſhould diligently enquire of ſuch mens goodes euill gottẽ or euill come by, as were alyue, and them they ſhould attache for the ſubſidie aforeſaid, in caſe the parties which ought to be ſatiſfied for thoſe goodes euill gotten, could not be found, geuyng certificate thereof, aud excommunicatyng. &c.

Abſolution for mon

7. Item, that the ſayd prouinciall or his Friers, ſhould haue full power to abſolue thoſe that were excommunicated, which wittyngly had done any fraude touchyng the collection aforeſayd, ſo that the ſayd perſons did make due ſatiſfaction to the deputies aforeſayd. Ex Math. Parienſ. fol.205.

What man hauing eyes is ſo blinde, which ſeeth not theſe execrable dealings of the Pope to be ſuch, as woulde cauſe any nation in the world, to do as the wiſe Grecians did, and perpetually to abrenounce the Pope, and well to conſider the vſurped authority of that ſea not to be of God. But ſuch was yͤ rude dulneſſe then of miſerable England, for lacke of learning & godly knowledge, that they feeling what burdens were laide vpon them, yet would play ſtill the aſſe of Balaam, or els the horſe of Eſope, whych receiuing the bridle once in his mouth, could afterward neither abide his owne miſerie, nor yet recouer libertie. And ſo it fared with England vnder the popes thraldome: as partly by theſe ſtories aboue hath ben declared, partly by other in like caſe following is to be ſeene.

An vnreaſo nable exacti on of the Pope.

Non obſta

Three ſco thouſande poundes e acted of clergie to paydc to Pope.

For ſo it followeth in the hiſtory of the ſayd Matth. Pariſ. howe the Pope taking more courage by hys former abuſed boldneſſe, & perceiuing, what a tame aſſe he had to ride vpon, ceaſed not thus, but directed a new precept the ſame yeare 1246. to the Prelates of England, commaunding by the authoritie Apoſtolike, yͭ all beneficed men in the realme of England, which were Reſident vppon their benefices, ſhould yeld to the Pope the third part of their goodes, and they which were not reſident, ſhould geue the one halfe of their goods, and that for the ſpace of 3. yeres together: with terrible comminations to all them that did reſiſt: and euer with this clauſe wyth all, Non obſtante, whych was like a key that opened all locks. Which ſumme caſt together was found to amount to lx. M. pounds: which ſumme of mony could ſcarce be found in all England to paie for King Richardes raunſome. Pariſ.fol.207. The execution of this precept was committed to the biſhop of London: who cõferring about the matter with hys brethren in the Church of Paules, as they were buſily conſulting together, and bewailing yͤ inportable burthen of this contribution, which was impoſſible for them to ſuſtaine, ſodainely commeth in certaine Meſſengers from the Kyng: Sir Iohn Lexintune Knight, and M. Laurence Martine the kings chaplain, ſtraightly in the kings name, forbidding them in any caſe to conſent to this contribution, which ſhuld be greatly to the preiudice and deſolation of the whole Realme. Pariſienſ.fol.207.

A Parliament.

Thys being done about the firſt day of December, in the yeare aboueſayde, ſhortly after in the beginning of the next yeare 1247. about Februarie the kyng called a Parliament, where by common aduiſe it was agreed, that certaine Embaſſadors ſhould be ſent to Rome, to make manifeſt to the Court of Rome the exceding greuances of the Realme, deliuering moreouer theſe letters to the Pope in the name both of the Temporaltie and alſo of the Clergie, as here followeth.

❧ An other letter ſent to Pope Innocent 4. in the names of the whole Clergie and comminaltie of England. An. 1247.

letter ſent
the Pope
the name
all the e-
es & com
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realme.

SAnctiſ. Patri in Chriſto ac Do.Innocent.Dei prouidentia ſummo pontifici vniuerſitas cleri & populi per prouinciam Cant. conſtituti deuota pedum oſcula beatorum. Cum Anglicana Eccleſia.&c. To the moſt holy father in Chriſt,and Lord Innocent, by Gods prouidence chiefe biſhop: The whole comminaltie both of the Clergie and laitie within the prouince of Canterbury, ſendeth deuout kiſsings of his bleſſed feete. Like as the Churche of Englande ſince it firſt receiued the Catholicke faith, hath alwayes ſhewed her ſelfe faithfull and deuout in adhering to God and to our holy mother the Church of Rome, ſtudying with all kinde of ſeruice to pleaſe and ſerue the ſame,and thinketh neuer otherwiſe to do,but rather to continue and increaſe as ſhe hath begon:euen ſo nowe the ſame Church moſt humbly proſtrate before the feete of your holineſſe, intirely beſeecheth your clemencie to accept her petition,in ſparing this impoſition of money,which ſo manifold waies for the ſubuention of other nations,by the commaundement of your holines is laid vpon vs:conſidering that not only it is importable, but alſo impoſsible which is enioyed vs. For although our countrey ſometimes yeldeth foorth fruite for the neceſſary ſuſtentation of the inhabitants, yet it bringeth foorth neither gold nor ſiluer,neither were able to bring forth of long time, ſo muche as nowe a daies is required. Which alſo being burdened and ouercharged of late daies with an other ſuch like impoſition, but not ſo great as this, is not able any whit to aunſwere to that which is exacted.

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Furthermore, beſides this commaundement of your holines, there is required of the Clergie a ſubſidie for our temporall king, whoſe neceſsities neither poſsibly we can, nor honeſtly ought to forſake,whereby he may both withſtande the inuaſion of the enemie,and mainteine the right of his patrimonie, and alſo recouer againe that hath bene loſt. In conſideration whereof,we haue directed the bearers heereof to the preſence of your holineſſe with our humble ſupplication, to explane to you the dangers and inconueniences which are like to enſue vpon the premiſſes. Which by no meanes we are able to ſuſteine: although notwithſtanding we know our ſelues by all bonds of charitie to be obliged to your deuotion and obedience. And becauſe our generall communitie hath no ſeale proper,we haue ſigned therefore theſe preſents with the publike ſeale of the Citie of London.&c. Ex Pariſ.fol.209.

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ng of Eng-
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The like letters were ſent alſo vnto the Cardinals to the ſame effect. The Pope vnderſtanding theſe things,and perceiuing that there was no ſtriuing againſt ſuch a generall conſent,and yet loth to forgoe his ſweete harueſt,which he was wont to reape in Englande,craftely deuiſed to ſende this aunſwere againe to the King, much like to the ſame which hee ſent before: which was, that although the Pope in time paſt vpon his owne will and pleaſure to the importable greeuance of the Realme of Englande,hath euery where aud without reſpecte, through the whole lande made his prouiſions,in geuing their benefices vnto his Italians: yet nowe the Lorde be praiſed, that tempeſt (ſayd he) is ouerblowen: ſo that heereafter if the Pope ſhall graunt his prouiſion for any of hys nephewes or of his Cardinals, they ſhall come firſt and make their inſtant ſute vnto the king,without all inforcement, ſo that it ſhall ſtand wholy in the kings free arbitrement to doe herein what hee thinketh good.&c. Pariſ.fol.209.b.

The Pope
falſe in his
promiſe.

This aunſwere of the Pope, all be it it was but a ſubtile ſhift for the time:yet neither did hee long ſtande to that hee had thus promiſed to the King. For ſhortly after, and within fewe dayes vppon the ſame, and in the time alſo of the ſayde Parliament holden at wincheſter, the Pope ſent two Engliſh Friers into the realme, whoſe names were Iohn and Alexander, with full authoritie after the largeſt ſorte, for newe contributions. who firſt pretending lowly ſubmiſſion to the King, while they had leaue graunted to range about the Realme, afterwarde comming to the Biſhops and rich Abbots, ſhewed themſelues forth in theyr full authoritie, in ſuch ſort, as they became rather tyrants then extortioners.

Note the
ſubtle prac-
tiſe of the
pope to get
money.

The Biſhop
of Lincolnes
anſwere to
the Friers
the Popes
meſſengers.

Amongeſt other, comming to Robert byſhop of Lyncolne, who of all other bare a ſpeciall minde to the order of Obſeruauntes, theſe two Friers as proude as Luciſer, bringing forth the terrible Mandate, wyth the Popes Bulles, required, and eke commaunded vnder the Popes mightie curſe, to haue the gathering in his Dioceſſe of vj. thouſand markes. Likewiſe of the Abbot of ſ. Albons they required iiij. hundred Markes, vnder great penaltie, and that in ſhort time to be paide.

The Biſhop although well liking before that order of thoſe Friers, yet ſeeing the impudent behauiour, and more impudent requeſt of thoſe Marchauntes, thus aunſwered to them againe: that thys exaction (ſauing ſayde hee, the Popes authoritie) was neuer heard of before, and neyther was honeſt, nor yet poſſible to be performed: and moreouer was ſuch as did not only concerne him, but the whole publicke ſtate of the Clergie, and of the whole Realme in general, and therfore it ſhould be abſurdly and raſhly done of him to geue them aunſwere heerein, before the king and the reſt of the Counſell, wyth other, to whome the matter generally did appertaine, were made priuie thereunto, &c. and ſo for that time he ſhoke them of. Pariſ.fol.210.

The Abbot of S. Albons maketh great ſute to the Pope for the 400.markes that he ſhould pay. This Iohannes Anglicus was the more fierce againſt the Abbot, becauſe hee receiued him not with ſuch reuerence as hee thought meete for the popes legate.

Furthermore, as touching the Abbot of S. Albones, when he alſo alleged the ſame cauſes, he pretended moreouer that he would appeale, and ſo did, to the Pope and his Cardinals. wherupon immediatly was ſent downe from Pope Innocent, an other Legate called Ioannes Anglicus, an Engliſh Frier and Cardinall, who bringing downe a newe ſpeciall precept to the foreſayde Abbot, cited him eyther to appere at London the morow after S. Giles day, or to diſbourſe to the vſe of the Pope the foreſayde 4. hundreth markes. By reaſon wherof the Abbot was driuen to ſend his Proctors againe, with a newe ſupplication to the Pope at Lyons, who in the ende through great inſtaunce of monyed friendes, agreed with the Abbot for two hundreth markes, beſides hys other charges borne, & ſo was that matter compounded, little to the Abbots profite. Pariſienſ. fol.213.

To recite all damages and greuaunces receiued by the B. of Rome in this realme of England, neither is any hiſtory ſufficiently able to comprehend, nor if it were, vnneth is there any that would beleeue it. Notwſtanding to thoſe aboue declared, thys one I thought to commit likewiſe to memorie, to the intẽt, that they which liue in this age now may behold and wonder in themſelues to ſee in what miſerable ſlauery, paſſing all meaſure, not onely the ſubiects, but kings alſo of this Realme were brought vnto, vnder the intollerable yoke of the popes tyrannie, which in thoſe daies neither durſt any man caſt of, nor yet was able to abide. As by this example enſuing, w infinite other like to the ſame, may appeare.

Example howe this Realme of England was oppreſſed miſerably by the Pope.

In the yeare of our Lorde 1248. after that Pope Innocent the 4. had taken ſuch order in the Realme, that all Prelates of the Churche were ſuſpended from collation of any benefice, before the Popes kinſfolkes and Clearkes of Italy had ben firſt prouided for: It happened vpõ ẏ ſame, that the Abbot of Abingdon had a commaundement from the pope, to beſtow ſome benefice of his Church in all haſt, to a certaine Prieſt of Rome, which the Abbot as an obedient childe to his father the Pope, was preſt and ready to accompliſh accordingly. But the Romane prieſt not contented with ſuch as fell next hand, would tarye his time, to haue ſuch as were principall and for hys owne appetite, hauing a ſpeciall eye to the benefice of the church of S. Helene in Abingdon, which was then eſtemed worth an C. marks by yere, beſides other vailes and commodities belonging to the ſame: the collation wherof the prieſt required by the authoritie Apoſtolicall to be graunted to him.

As thys paſt on, it chaunced at laſt, the incumbent to die, and the benefice to be emptie. which eftſoones being knowen, the ſame day commeth a commaundement, with great charge from the King to the Abbot, to giue the benefice to one Æthelmare the kings brother by the motherſide, who at the ſame time was poſſeſſed wyth ſo many benefices, as the number and value therof was vnknowen. The Abbot heere being in great perplexitie, and not knowing what to doe, whether to gratifie his king, or to obey the Pope, tooke counſell with his friendes. who well adniſing the matter, gaue him counſell rather to preferre the brother of his Prince and patrone, ſo that the king would vndertake to ſtande in his defence againſt the Pope, rather then the Romiſh prieſt, whom alwaies he ſhuld haue lying there as a ſpie and watcher of him, and like a thorne euer in his eye: and ſo the king aſſuring the Abbot of hys vndoubted protection, and indemnitie againſt al harmes, the benefice was conferred forthwyth to the kings brother.

The Romane prieſt not a litle agreued therat, ſpeedeth himſelfe in all haſt to the Byſhop of Rome, certifying him what was done, and partly alſo (as the maner is of men) making it worſe then it was. Uppon whoſe compleint the Pope eftſoones in great anger cited vp the Abbot perſonally to appeare before him, to anſwer to the crime of diſobedience. The abbot truſting vpon the kings promiſe and protection, which neither could helpe him in that caſe, neither durſt oppoſe himſelfe againſt the Pope, being both aged and ſickely, was driuen to trauaile vp to the Court of Rome, in great heauines and bitterneſſe of minde. where in concluſion after much vexation and bitter rebukes, beſides great expenſes, he was faine to ſatiſfie the Pope after his owne will, compounding to giue hym yearely 50. markes in part of making amends for his treſpaſſe of diſobedience. Ex Mat.Pariſienſ.fol 222.

The Abbot of Abbingdõ cited to appeare before the Pope.

The Abbot of Abingdon condemned in 50. markes for denying of an engliſh benefice to an Italian the Popes nephew.

To this alſo may be added an other like fact of the pope

A deteſtable extortion of the pope vſed againſt the priorie of Binham.

as outragious as thys, againſt the houſe of Binham. For when the benefice of Weſtle in the Dioceſſe of Eley was voide by the death of the incumbent, who was an Italian & one of the popes chamber, the donatiō of which benefice belōged to the priorie of Binham, an other Italian which was a baſtard and vnlearned, borne in the City of Ianua, called Herrigetto de Malachana de volta, brought downe the popes letters to M. Berardo de Nympha the Popes agent here in England, with ſtrait charge and full authority, commanding him to ſee the ſayd benefice to be conferred in any caſe to Herrigetto. Yea and though the benefice had bene geuen already, yet notwythſtanding the poſſeſſor therof ſhould be diſplaced, and the ſaid Herrigetto perferred: Yea alſo, non obſtante that the ſayd Pope himſelfe had before giuen his graunt to the king & realme of England, yͤ one Italian ſhould not ſucceede an other in any benefice there, yet for all that the ſaid Herrigetto vpon paine of excommunication, to be placed therin. Ex Pariſ, fol. 240.

The Grecians excuſed & purged in parting frō the Church of Rome.

The miſeries that haue riſen in Englande through ſubiection vnder the church of Rome

And thus much hetherto of theſe matters, through the occaſion of the Eaſt churches and the Grecians, to the entent all men that read theſe ſtories, & ſee the doings of this weſterne Biſhop, may conſider what iuſt cauſe theſe Grecians had to ſeclude themſelues from hys ſubiection, and communion. For what chriſtian communion is to be ioyned wͭ him, which ſo contrary to Chriſt and his goſpel, ſeeketh for worldly dominion, ſo cruelly perſecuteth hys brethren, ſo giuē to auarice, ſo greedy in getting, ſo iniurious in oppreſſing, ſo inſatiable in hys exactions, ſo malitious in reuenging, ſtirring vp warres, depriuing kings, depoſing Emperours, playing Rex in the Church of Chriſt, ſo erronious in doctrine, ſo abominably abuſing excommunication, ſo falſe of promiſe, ſo corrupt in life, ſo voyde of Gods feare: and briefly, ſo farre from all the parts of a true Euangelicall Biſhop. For what ſeemeth he to care for the ſoules of men, which ſetteth in benefices, boyes and outlādiſh Italians: and further, one Italian to ſuccede an other which neither did know the language of yͤ flocke, nor once would abide to ſee their faces. And who can blame yͤ Grecians then for diſſeuering themſelues from ſuch an oppreſſour and gyant againſt Chriſt.

Englād plagued by the Pope when it needed not.

The Pope and court of Rome the principall cauſe of all the publique calamities through chriſtendome.

Whoſe wiſe example if this Realme had then folowed, as they might, certes our predeceſſours had bene rid of an infinite number of troubles, iniuries, oppreſſiōs, warres, commotions, great trauails, & charges, beſides the ſauing of innumerable thouſand of poūds, which the ſayd biſhop full falſely hath raked and tranſported out of thys Realme of ours. But not to excede yͤ bounds of my hiſtory, becauſe my purpoſe is not to ſtande vpon declamations, nor to dilate common places, I will paſſe ouer, leauing the iudgement therof to the further examination of the reader. For els if I liſted to proſecute this argument ſo far as matter would lead me, & truth peraduenture wold require me to ſay, I durſt not only ſay, but could well proue, the Pope & court of Rome to be the only fountain & principal cauſe, I ſay not of muche miſery heere in England, but of all the publicke calamities and notorious miſchiefes which haue happened theſe many yeres through all theſe weſt parts of chriſtendome, & eſpecially of all the lamentable ruine of the church, which not only we, but the Grecians alſo this day do ſuffer by the Turks and Saracens. As whoſoeuer wel conſidereth by reading of hiſtories the courſe of times, and vieweth with all the doings and acts paſſed by the ſaid biſhops of Rome, together with yͤ blinde leading of his doctrine, ſhal ſee good cauſe not only to thinke, but alſo to witnes the ſame. Only one narratiō touching this argument, and yet not tranſgreſſing the office of my hiſtorie, I minde (the Lorde willing) to ſet before the Readers eyes, which happened euen about this preſent time of thys king Henries reigne, in the yere of our Lord. 1244.

The ſicknes of Lewes the frēch Kyng.

The ſuperſtition of the kynges mother.

In the which yeare it chanced, that Lewes the French king ſonne to Quene Blanch, fel very ſore ſicke, lying in a ſwounde or in a traunce for certaine dayes, in ſuch ſorte as few thought he would haue liued, & ſome ſaid he was gon already. Amongſt other, there was with him hys mother, who ſorowing bitterly for her ſonne, and giuen ſomewhat (as cōmonly the maner of women is) to ſuperſtitiō, went & brought forth a peece of the holy croſſe, wyth the crowne and the ſpeare, which peece of the holy croſſe Baldwynus Emperour of Conſtantinople (whome the Grecians had depoſed a litle before for holding with the biſhop of Rome) had ſold to the French king for a great ſumme of mony, and bleſſed him wyth the ſame, alſo laid the crowne, & the ſpear to his body, making a vow wal in the perſon of her ſonne, that if the Lorde would viſite him with health, and releaſe him of that infirmitie, he ſhould be croyſed or marked with the croſſe, to viſit his ſepulchre, and there ſolemnly to render thankes in the lande which he had ſanctified wyth his bloud. Thus as ſhe, with the B. of Parys, and other there preſent were praying, beholde the king which was ſuppoſed of ſome to be dead, began wͭ a ſigh to pluck to his arms and legges, and ſo ſtretching himſelfe, began to ſpeake, geuing thankes to God, who from an high had viſited him & called him from the danger of death. Which as the kings mother, wͭ others there toke to be a great miracle wrought by the vertue of the holy croſſe: ſo the king amending more and more, as ſoone as he was well recouered, receaued ſolemnely the badge of the croſſe, vowing for a freewil ſacrifice vnto God, that he, if the counſaile of his realme would ſuffer him, would in hys owne perſon viſite the holy land: forgettyng belyke the rule of true Chriſtianitie, where Chriſt teacheth vs otherwiſe in the goſpel, ſaying: That neither in this mount, nor in Samaria, nor at Ieruſalem the Lord will be worſhipped, but ſeeketh true worſhippers, which ſhall worſhip him in truth and veritie. &c. An. 1244. Parienſ. fol. 182.

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After thys was great preparaunce and muche a do in Fraunce toward the ſetting forth to the holy land. For after the K. firſt began to be croyſed, the moſt part of the nobles of Fraunce, with diuers Archbiſhops and Byſhops, wͭ Earles, and Barons, and gentlemen to a mighty number, receaued alſo the croſſe vppon their ſleeues. Amongſt whom was the Earle Atrebacenſis the kings brother, the Duke of Burgundy, the Duke of Brabant, the Counteſſe of Flaunders wyth her two ſonnes, the Earle of Britaine with his ſonne, the Earle of Barrēſis, Earle of Sweſſon, Earle of S. Paul, Earle of Druiſ. Earle Retel. with many noble perſons mo. Neither lacked here whatſoeuer the Pope could do, to ſet forward this holy buſines, in ſending his Legates and Friers into Fraunce, to ſtirre the people to folow the king, & to contribute to his iourny. Wherupon was graunted to the King, to gather of the vniuerſall church of France by the popes authoritie, the tenth part of all their goods for 3. yeares ſpace together, vpon thys condition, that the king likewiſe wold graunt to the Pope the 20. part, for ſo many yeares after, to be gathered of the ſayd Church of Fraunce. Which was agreed. An. 1246. Ex Mat: Pariſienſ. fol. 204. b.

Anno
1247.

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Shortly after thys, in the yeare of our Lorde 1247. folowed a Parliament in Fraunce, where the king with his nobles being preſent, there was declared, how the king of Tartarians or Turkes hearing of the viage of the French king, writeth a letter to him, requiring that he wil become hys ſubiect. In the which Parliament, time was prefixed for taking their iourney, which ſhoulde be after the feaſt of S. Iohn Baptiſt, the next yeare inſuing. Alſo they that were croyſed, were ſworne to perſiſt in their purpoſe and ſentence of the popes great curſe denoūced to all them that went from the ſame. Pariſienſ. fol. 211. Furthermore, for the better ſpeede in his iourny, the king through al his realme cauſed it to be proclaimed, that if any marchāt or other had bene iniured at any time by the kings exactours, either by oppreſſion, or borowing of money, let him bring forth his bil ſhewing how or wherein, and he ſhould be recompenſed. At which time William Longſpatha a worthy warriour, with the Biſhop of Worceſter and certain other great men in the Realme of England, moued with the example of the Frenchmen, prepared themſelues likewiſe to the ſame iourney.

Perſwaſi
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viage.

The next yere after thys enſuing, which was 1248. the French king yet ſtill remaining in hys purpoſed iourney, Lady Blanche hys mother, alſo the Byſhop of Paris hys brother, with the Lordes of his counſaile, & other nobles, and his ſpeciall frends aduertiſed him with great perſwaſions, to alter hys minde touching that ſo aduenturous and ſo daungerous a iourney, for that his vow (ſayd they) was vnaduiſedly made, and in time of his ſickneſſe, when hys minde was not perfectly ſtabliſhed: and what ieoperdies might happen at home it was vncertaine, the king of England being on the one ſide, the Emperor on the other ſide, and the Pictauians in the middeſt ſo fugitiue, and vnſtable: and as concerning his vow, the pope ſhuld frendly diſpenſe with him, conſidering the neceſſitie of his realme, and weakeneſſe of his body. Beſides all thys, his mother vppon her bleſſing required him, hys brethren of all loues deſired him to ſtay at home, and not in his perſon to aduēture, other might be ſent in his roume, with no leſſe furniture to atchieue that enterpriſe, and to diſcharge him of his vow, eſpecially ſeeing at yͤ making thereof his ſenſes were feeble, hys body weake, and reaſon through ſickneſſe, and very death almoſt, decaied.

The kings anſwere to his Lordes laying down & takyng vp his croſſe againe.

To whome the K. againe: forſomuch (ſayde he) as you ſay, that for feeblenes of my ſenſes I toke this vow vpon me, loe therfore as you here wil me, I lay downe the croſſe that I toke, and putting his hand to his ſhoulder, tare of the badge of the croſſe, ſaying to the Byſhop, here ſyr I reſigne to you the croſſe wherewͭ I was ſigned. At the ſight whereof there was no ſmal reioyſing to all that were there preſent. To whome the king then both altering his countenance and hys ſpeach thus ſpake: My frendes (ſayde he) whatſoeuer I was then in my ſicknes, now I thāke god, I am of perfect ſenſe, and reaſon ſoūd, and now I require my croſſe again to be reſtored vnto me: Saying moreouer that no bread ſhuld come in his head, before he were recogniſed again with the ſame croſſe, as he was before. At the hearing whereof al there preſent were aſtonied, ſuppoſing that God had ſome great matter to worke, and ſo moued no moe queſtions vnto him.

Ann. 1248.

The French king ſetteth forth in his iourney.

The fifth K. deſireth to reconcile the Pope & the Emperour.

Vpon this drewe nie the feaſt of Iohn Baptiſt, which was the time ſet for the ſetting forth. And nowe being in a readines, the king in few dayes after was entring his iorney. But yet one thing lacked. For the King perceiuing the mortal variance betwene the pope, and good Frederick the Emperour, thought beſt firſt before his going to haue that matter appeaſed, wherby his way both might be ſafer through the Emperours countries, and alſo leſſe ieoperdy at home after hys departure, and therefore vpon the ſame, toke firſt his way to Lyons, where the Pope was, partly to take his leaue, but moſt eſpecially to make recōcilement betwene the Emperour and the Pope.

The Emperour Fredericke purgeth himſelfe to the pope & councell.

The ſubmiſſion of the Emperour.

Where is to be noted by the way, that as touching the good Emperour there was no lette nor ſtaie. Who rather ſought all meanes how to compaſſe the popes fauor, & neuer could obteine it. In ſomuch that before he ſhuld be excommunicated in the Councel of Lyons, he not onely anſwered ſufficiently by Thadeus his atturney, diſcharging himſelfe againſt whatſoeuer crimes or obiections could be brought againſt him, but ſo farre humbled himſelfe to the Pope and the Councell, that for all detriments, damages, loſſes, or wrongs done of hys part, what amendes ſoeuer the Pope could or would require, he would recompence it to the vttermoſt. This would not be taken.

The worthy offer of the noble Emperour.

Furthermore, if the Pope (hee ſayde) coulde not abide his tarying in his owne dominions and Empire, he wold goe fight againſt the Saracens and Turkes, neuer to returne into Europe againe, offering there to recouer lands & kingdomes whatſoeuer did at any time belong to Chriſtendome, ſo that the Pope onely would be contented that Henry his ſonne (which was then nephew to king Henry here in England) ſhould be Emperour after him. Neither could this be admitted.

The Emperour offreth to put in the French king and king of England to be his ſuerties.

Then he offered for trueth of hys promiſe to put in the French king and the king of England to be his Suerties, or els for triall of his cauſe to ſtand to their award and arbitrement. Neither would that be graunted.

The Emperour deſireth to anſwere for himſelfe in the councell.

At leaſt he deſired, that he might come himſelfe and anſwere before the councell. But the proude Pope in no caſe would abide that, ſaying: that he did not yet finde himſelfe ſo ready and meete for Martyrdome, to haue hym to come thether to the Councell: for if he did, he would depart himſelfe. &c. Ex Math.Pariſ.fol.187.An.1245.

The peſtilēt rancour of pope Innocēt 4. againſt Frederike 2. is the cauſe of all this miſchiefe, that to this day we ſuffer by the Turkes.

The beginning of the Turkes victories ouer Chriſtēdom.

This obſtinate rancor and deuiliſh malice of pope Innocent, and hys predeceſſour againſt that valiant Emperor, and againſt the Grecians, what diſturbance and miſchiefe it wrought to the whole Churche, what ſtrength it gaue to the Saracens and Tartarians, howe it empaired Chriſtian concorde, and weakened all Chriſten lands, not only the hoſt of the French king did finde ſhortly after, but chriſtendome euen to this day may and doth feele and rue. Neither can in ſtories be founde any greater cauſe which firſt made the Turks ſo ſtrong, to get ſo much groūd ouer chriſtendom as they haue, then the peſtilēt working of this pope in depoſing & excommunicating this worthy Emperour. For as there was neuer no Emperour of long time, which more victoriouſly preuailed in bridling and keping vnder theſe enemies of Chriſt, or would haue done more againſt them, then the ſaid Fred. if he might haue ben ſuffered: ſo after the depoſing & excommunicating of him, when the French king neither woulde abide at home, as he was counſelled, neither was yet able, wͭout the help of other, to withſtand the force and multitude of the ſayd Saracēs and Tartarians being now ioyned together, neither yet could the Emperour be ſuffered by the pope to reſcue the king, it followed thereof, that the good king being taken priſoner, & all his army deſtroied, the Turkes thereupon got ſuch a hand, and ſuch a courage againſt the Chriſtians, that euer ſince they haue braſt in farther vppon vs, and nowe haue preuailed ſo farre as neither the power of the Pope, nor of all Chriſtendome is able to driue them out, as hereafter by ſequele of ſtory, is further to be declared.

Pope Innocēt 4. would not be recōciled with the Emperour.

In the meane time, to retourne where before we left, when the french king comming thus to the pope at Lions, to entreat for the Emperor, could finde no fauour, he toke his leaue, and with great heauineſſe departed ſetting forwarde on his iourney to Marſilia, and ſo ſailed to the Iſle of Cyprus, where he remained all that winter, ſo that falling into penury and lacke of victuall, he was faine to ſend to the Venetians and other Iſlands by, for helpe of prouiſion. The Venetians gently ſent vnto him 6. great ſhips laden with corne, wine & other victuals requiſite, beſides the reliefe of other Iſlands mo. But eſpecially Fredericke the Emperor vnderſtanding of their want, ſo furniſhed the French campe with all plentie of neceſſaries, that it had aboundance. Whereupon the French king moued with the kindnes of the Emperour, wrote his ſpeciall letters to the Pope in the Emperours behalfe, but the hard heart of the Pope would not relent. Blanchia the Kinges mother in France, hearing what the emperor had done to her ſonne, ſent him moſt hearty thanks, with preſents and rewardes manifold. Math.Pariſ.fol.226.

The French army relieued by the Emperour Fredericke.

The french king again entreateth the pope for the Emperour.

In this meane time about the beginning of October, the French men got Damiata, being the principall forte or holde of the Saracens in all Egypt. An.1249.fol.228. After the winning of Damiata, the Prince and people of the Saracens being aſtonied at the loſſe thereof, offered to the Chriſtians great grounde and poſſeſſions more then euer belonged to Chriſtendome before, ſo that they might haue Damiata to them reſtored again. But the pride of the erle of Artoys the kings brother woulde in no caſe accept the offers of the Saracens, but required both Damiata and Alexandria the chiefe Metropolitane Citie of all Egypt to be deliuered vnto them. The Saracens ſeeing the pride & gredines of yͤ French men, in no caſe could abide it: which turned after to the great detriment of our Chriſtians, as in the ende it proued. Ex Mat.Pariſ.fol.229.

Damiata gotten againe by the Frenchmen.

The pride of the Erle of Artoys.

Firſt, in the Iſle of Cyprus and in the iourney before died the Erle of Palatine, & one of the 12. peeres of Fraunce, alſo the Earle of S. Paul and Bleſſe, who had vnder him 50. enſignes. Which were all after hys death ſcattered abroade and diſperſed. Alſo died Ioannes de Denis a valiant Captaine, wyth many other noble perſonages both men and women, which by altering the aire and diet, there deceaſed. fol.229.

Death of certain of the French captaines in the way.

Anno. 1250.

The next yeare enſuing, which was 1250. about Aſhewedneſday, the French men iſſuing out of their tentes by the City of Damiata, flew vpon the Saracens, which beſieged them, and ſo after a great number of the enemies ſlaine, with victorie and great ſpoyles, returned to theyr tentes againe. Nowe within the Citie of Damiata, was the Queene wyth her Ladies, the Popes Legate, and biſhops, wyth a garriſon of horſemen and footemen for the defence of the Citie ſtrongly appoynted. The next day, the Frenchmen ſuppoſing to haue the like hande of the Saracens, as they had the day before, gaue a freſh aſſault vppon them: but in that cōflict, the Saracens had ſo ſtrongly appoynted themſelues, that the French men loſt tenne times more then they got the day before, & ſo after a great ſlaughter of their men, retired to their tents againe: whereupon the Saracens began to take great harts & courage againſt our men, ſtopping alſo the paſſages round about the Citie of Damiata, that no vitaile could paſſe vnto them. In like maner the Soldan alſo gathering all the galeys about Alexandria and all the lande of Egypt, ſo incloſed the Seas, that no intercourſe ſhould be to them by water. fol.231.

Victory of the Frenchmen ouer the Saracens.

Frenchmen diſcomfited by the Saracens.

At length after long talke and conſultation betweene them on both ſides, the Soldan aduiſed them betime to reſigne to hym the Citie of Damiata, wyth the furniture which they found therein, & they ſhould haue all the countrey about Ieruſalem, with all the captiues of the Chriſtians frendly reſtored vnto them. Wherwith the Chriſtians (ſayde hee) ought to be contented, and to ſeeke no farther, but onely to haue the lande of Ieruſalem, which beyng graunted to them, they ſhuld not encroch into other lands and kingdomes, whereto they had no right. Thys forme of peace, as it liked well the meaner ſorte of the poore ſouldiours and diuers other of the ſage counſaile and nobilitie: ſo the proude Earle of Artoys the kings brother, in no cauſe woulde aſſent thereto, but ſtill required the Citie of Alexandria to be yelded to them. Whych the Egyptians by no meanes would agree vnto.

The Frenchmen again well offered by the Soldā.

The Erle of Artoys & the popes Legate againe refuſe the forme of peace offered.

From that time the French army being compaſſed by ſea and by lande, began euery day more and more to be diſtreſſed for lacke of victual and famine, being driuē to that miſerie, that they were faine to eate their owne horſſes in the Lent time, which ſhould haue ſerued them to other vſes. Neither could any Chriſtian, nor Frederick being depoſed by the Pope, be able to ſend them any ſuccour. Furthermore the more miſeryes yͤ chriſtians were in, the more fiercely did the Saracens preſſe vpon them on euery ſide, deteſting their forward wilfulnes. In ſo much that diuers

Famine & miſery in the French campe.

The Frenchmen eate their horſes in Lent time.

of the Chriſtian ſouldiours not able to abide the affliction, priuely conueyed themſelues, as they coulde, out of the campe, to the Saracens, who were gladly receaued and relieued, and ſome ſuffered ſtill to keepe their faith: Some marrying wiues amongſt them, and for hope of honor did Apoſtatate to their law, and ſo wrought no little harme to the Chriſtians.

The Soldans meſſage, derying the French men.

The Soldan dyeth, a worſe followeth.

The Frenchmen deſire again the peace offered before, & coulde not haue it.

The Soldane being perfectly inſtructed by theſe fugitiues of all things belonging to the kings armie, ſent hym word in deriſion, aſking, where were all hys mattockes, forckes, & rakes, hys ſithes, plowes, and harowes, whych he brought ouer wt him? or why he did not occupie them, but let them lie by hym to ruſt and canker? All thys and much more, the King with his Frenche men were faine to take well in worth. It happened ſhortly after, that thys Soldan died, being poiſoned of his own ſeruants. Which was to the Chriſtians a more heaping of theyr miſeries. For albeit the ſaide Soldan had bene a cruell tyrant to the Chriſtians, yet was he hated of his owne people, whereby his ſtrength was the leſſe: After whom ſucceeded an other much more cruell. Who as he was better loued, ſo hee became muche ſtronger by a generall confederacie of all the Saracens which were in the Eaſt parts, ioyning now together. So that when the Chriſtians deſired nowe to haue the forme of peace before profered, he preciſely denied them. And ſo the Frenche hoſte which at firſt began to be feared, by their pride and ouermuch gredines grew more & more in contempt amongſt their enemies, and now was vtterly deſpiſed.

Victories ouer the Templaries and keepers of Ieruſalem.

Cauſes debated why the Lord did not proſper the Chriſtians fighting againſt the Saracens.

The Popes wars neuer went wel forward againſt the Infidels. Frederike the Emperour curſed of the pope, bleſſed of God. Templaries ſet on by the pope to betray the Emperour.

The Chriſtians thus ſeeing all thinges to goe backeward with them, and how the infidell Saracens daily did preuaile, began to murmure againſt God, and ſome alſo which were wel ſetled before, to ſlacker in their Religion, caſting out theſe wordes of infidelitie: howe is this (ſayde they) that the Lorde hath left vs in whoſe cauſe we fight? how often wythin the time of remembrance, haue we bene confoũded by theſe Saracens and infidels, who with ſheding of our bloud, haue enioyed great ſpoyles & victories? firſt this Citie of Damiata, which we Chriſtians had gotten dearely with effuſion of ſomuch Chriſtian bloud, afterward we were cõſtrained for nought to reſigne vp againe. After that the armie of the templaries, fighting for the holy Temple againſt the Saracens, neare to Antioche, was vanquiſhed, and the ſtandard bearer ſlaine in the fielde. Againe within theſe fewe yeres, our Frenchmen fighting in lyke maner againſt the Saracens at the Citie of Gazara, were put to the worſe, and many afterwarde out of captiuity ranſomed, by Richard duke of Exceter, brother to the K. of England, Henry 3. Then came in the Choſmorins, ſent by the Soldan of Babylon, which by a wile inuaded the chriſtians in yͤ Citie of Ieruſalem, where almoſt all the chriſtian army being in the holy land, were deſtroyed. And now here our moſt chriſtian king together with the whole nobility, is like to be in danger, vtterly to be ouerthrown. And how is it, that the Lord thus ſtandeth againſt vs, and fighteth with them? hath he more regarde of them, then of vs? &c. Mat. Pariſienſ. fol. 231. Such murmuring wordes of an vnſtable faith, many there began to caſt out, as taking diſpleaſure for their ſufferings, but not conſidering on the other ſide what Idolaters they were, what pride and diſcorde was amongſt them, what crueltie and murther they had ſhewed at home in perſecuting the poore Albingenſes, what ſuperſtition they firſt brought out wyth them, with what idolatry they proceded, putting their truſt in maſſes, in the popes indulgences, in worſhipping of images, and praying to ſaintes. And what helpe then coulde they looke for at Gods hand, which had Images in their temples, to fight againſt them which had none? Or what maruell, if the Lord of hoſtes went not with their armie, committing ſuch idolatrie euery day in their pauilions to their Sacramentall bread and wine as they did, and fighting with the ſtrength of their owne merits, and not only by the power of their faith in Chriſt, which is only the victory that ouercommeth the worlde? Iohn 1. and finally hauing in their campe the Legate of him whom the Lord taketh to be his enemie? As by example of Fredericke the Emperour may be wel perceiued who after he was accurſed by pope Gregorie a little before, comming the ſame time in war againſt the Saracens in Paleſtina, Goddes bleſſing wrought ſo mightely with him, yͭ without any bloudſhed he recouered Ieruſalem, and ſet all the countrey about it in great quietnes, till at laſt the popiſh Templaries, which at the popes ſetting on, went about to betray him, to yͤ Soldan of Babylon, & ſo loſt al againe by their owne malicious miſchief that the Emperour before had gotten. Ex Mat. Pariſ.

William Longſpath.

Grudge a
diſdaine b
tweene th
Frẽchem
& the En
liſhe ſo
ours.

But let vs procede further in this holy progreſſe. The French king with his army, ſeeing himſelfe diſtreſſed, and no good there to be done againſt the Soldan of Egypt, after he had ſufficiently fortified the Citie of Damiata, wyth an able garriſon left with the Duke of Burgundie, hee remoued his tents from thence, to go Eaſtward. In whoſe armie alſo folowed William Longſpath (of whom mention was touched before) accompanied wt a piked number of Engliſh warriers reteining vnto him. But ſuche was yͤ diſdaine of the French men againſt this William Longſpath and the Engliſhmen, that they could not abide them, but flouted them after opprobrious maner, wyth Engliſh tailes: inſomuch that the good king himſelfe had much ado to keepe peace betwene them.

A booty
ten by the
Engliſh
diours
Alexand

A ventr
act of Wil
Longſpath.

William Longſpath inriched by Saracens goods.

The originall cauſe of this grudge betweene them, began thus. There was not far from Alexandria in Egypt, a ſtrong fort or Caſtle, repleniſhed with great Ladies, and rich treaſure of the Saracens. The which hold it chaunced the ſaid William Longſpath, with his company of engliſh ſouldiours to get more by good lucke and politicke dexteritie, then by opẽ force of armes, wherby he with his retinue were greatly enriched. When the Frenchmen had knowledge hereof, they being not made priuie thereto, began to conceiue an hartburning againſt the Engliſh ſouldiours, & could not ſpeake well of them after that. It happed againe not long after, that the ſayde William had intelligence of a cõpany of rich Marchants among the Saracens going to a certaine faire about yͤ partes of Alexandria, hauing theyr Camels, Aſſes, and Mules, richly loden with ſilks, precious iewels, ſpices, gold and ſiluer, with cart lodes of other wares, beſides vitaile and other furniture, wherof the ſouldiours then ſtoode in great nede. He hauing ſecret knowledge hereof, gathered all the power of Engliſhmen vnto him that he coulde, and ſo by night falling vpon the Marchants, ſome he ſlew with their guides and conductours, ſome he tooke, ſome he put to flight. The Cartes wyth the driuers, and with the Oxen, and the Camels, Aſſes, and Mules, with the whole cariage and vitailes he tooke and brought with him, loſing in al the ſkirmiſh but one ſouldiour, and 8. of his ſeruitures. Of whome notwithſtanding ſome he brought home wounded, to be cured.

William Longſpath wronged by the French men.

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gainſt Eng
liſhmen.

This being knowen in the campe, forth came yͤ French men, which al this while loytred in their pauilions, & meting their cariage by the way, tooke all the foreſaide pray whole to themſelues, rating the ſayd W. and the Engliſhmen, for ſo aduenturing and iſſuing out of the camp wtout leaue or knowledge of their generall, contrary to the diſcipline of warre. William ſaid againe, he had done nothing, but he would anſwer to it, whoſe purpoſe was to haue the ſpoile deuided to the behooſe of the whole army. When this would not ſerue, he being ſore greued in his mind ſo cowardly to be ſpoyled of that, for which hee ſo aduenturouſly had trauailed for, went to the king to complaine. But whẽ no reaſon nor cõplaint would ſerue, by reaſon of the proud Earle of Artoys the kings brother, which vpon deſpite & diſdaine ſtoode againſt hym, he bidding the king farewell, ſaid he wold ſerue him no lõger. And ſo William de Longſpath, wt the reſt of his company, breaking frõ the Frenche hoſt, went to Achon. Vpon whoſe departure, then ſaid the Earle of Artoys: Nowe is the armie of Frenche men well ridde of theſe tailed people. Which words ſpoken in great deſpite, were euil taken of many good men that heard him. Ex Mat. Pariſienſ. fol. 233. 234.

Babilon in Egypt.

How Dami
ata was tak
of the Chr
ſtians.

The keeper or tribune of Damiata wrongfully put to death by the Sold

Before the ariuing of the French armie in the lande of Egypt, the Soldan of Babylon hauing before intelligence of their comming committed the cuſtodie of Damiata to a certaine prince of his, whom he ſpecially truſted, committing alſo to his brother the keping of Kaira & Babylonia. It folowed now after the taking of Diamata, that the Soldan of Babylon accuſed the Prince which had the cuſtodie thereof, before his nobles, of prodition, as giuing the Citie vnto the Chriſtians. Who notwithſtanding in iudgement did ſufficiently cleare himſelfe, declaring how he was certified that the king would land at Alexandria, and therfore bent all power to preuent the kings ariuall there. But by diſtreſſe of weather, he miſſing of his purpoſe, and the king landing about Damiata, by reaſon therof yͤ city was taken vnprouided, he notwithſtanding wt his company reſiſting as well as they might, till they could no longer, and ſo departed out, curſing, ſaid he, Mahomet & his law. At which wordes the Soldan being offended, commanded him to be had away as a traytor and blaſphemer, and to be hanged, albeit he had ſufficiently purged himſelfe by the iudgement of yͤ court. His brother which was the keper of Kayra and Babylonia, being therewith not a litle agrieued, and bearing a good minde to the Chriſtian religion, deuiſed in himſelfe, how to giue the ſaid city of Kayra with Babylonia to the French king, & ſo in moſt ſecrete wiſe ſent to the king, ſhewing his ful purpoſe and what had happened, and furthermore

The tribune of Kaira deſireth to be Chriſtened.

W. Longſpath ſent for againe, & commeth.

thermore inſtructing the king in all things how and what he ſhould do, & moreouer requiring the Sacramẽt of baptiſme, meaning in deede good fayth, and ſending alſo away all the Chriſtian captiues, which he had with hym in priſon, The king being glad hereof, ſent in al haſt for william Longſpath, promiſing a full redreſſe of all iniuries paſt, who vpon hope of ſome good lucke towardes, came at the kings requeſt, and ſo ioyned with the French power agayne.

✻ *The lamentable ouerthrow and ſlaughter of the* French armey fighting agaynſt the Infidels, through *the ſiniſter councell of the Popes Legate.*

The ſtorie howe the French army was ouerthrowen fighting againſt the Saracens.

The fayre offers of the Soldan to the Frenchmen, if they had had grace to take it.

The pope & his legate cauſe of all this miſchief

TO make the ſtory ſhort, the king ſetting forward from Damiata, directed his iourny toward Kayra, ſlaying by the way ſuch Saracens as there were ſet to ſtop the vitailes from Damiata. The Soldane in the meane tyme hearing of the couragious comming of the French hoſt, as beyng in great hope to conquere all: ſent vnto the king by certayne thet were next about him, offering to the Chriſtians the quyet and full poſſeſſion of the holy land, with al the kingdome of Jeruſalem, and more: beſides other infinite treaſure of gold and ſiluer, or what els might pleaſure them, onely vpon this condition they would reſtore again Damiata, with the captiues there, and ſo would ioyne together in mutuall peace and amitie. Alſo they ſhould haue all their Chriſtian captiues deliuered home, and ſo both coũtries ſhould freely paſſe one to an other wͭ their wares and traficke, ſuch as they liſted to occupy. Furthermore it was alſo firmly affirmed & ſpokẽ, that the Soldan, with moſt of hys nobles were minded no leſſe then to leaue the filthy law of Mahomet, and receaue the fayth of Chriſt ſo that they might quietly enioy their landes and poſſeſſions. The ſame day great quietnes had entred (no doubt) in all Chriſtendome, with the end of much bloudſhed and miſery, had not bene for the pope and hys Legate, who (hauing commaundement from the Pope, that if any ſuch offers ſhould come, he ſhoulde not take them) ſtoutly & frontoſè (as the wordes be of yͤ ſtory) cõtradicẽs, in no wyſe would receaue the conditions offered. Pariſienſ. fol. 233.

The Chriſtians refuſing good offers could not haue them when they would.

A cruell proclamation of the Saracens againſt the Chriſtians.

Thus while the Chriſtians vnprofitably lingered the tyme in debating this matter, the Soldan in the meane tyme got intelligẽce of the compact betwene the Tribune of Kayra, and the French king: whereupon he ſent in all haſt to the Citty of Kayra, to apprehend the Tribune till yͤ truth were fully tryed. which ſeemed to him more aparẽt, for that the Chriſtian priſoners were already deliuered. Hereupon the Soldan being in ſome better hope, and leſſe feare, refuſed that which before he had offered to the Chriſtians, albeit they with great inſtaunce afterward ſued to the Soldan, and could not obteine it. Then the Soldan beyng wholy bent to try the matter by the ſword, ſent to the Eaſt partes for an infinite multitude of ſouldiours, geuing out by Proclamation, that whoſoeuer could bring in any Chriſten mans head, ſhould haue x. talentes, beſides his ſtanding wages. And whoſoeuer brought his right hand, ſhould haue fiue. He that brought his foote, ſhoulde haue 2. talentes for his reward.

The Earle of Artoys with the 3. part of the Chriſten army paſſeth ouer the riuer Nilus.

W. Longſpath.

Victory of the Chriſtians againſt the Saracens

Good counſell giuen but not followed.

After theſe thinges thus prepared on both ſides to the neceſſitie of warre, the king commeth to the great Riuer Nilus, hauing gotten together many boats, thinking by them to paſſe ouer, as vpõ a ſure bridge. On the other ſide the Soldan pitcheth himſelfe to withſtand his comming ouer. In the meane tyme happened a certayne feaſt amongſt the Saracens, in which the Soldan was abſent, leauing hys tentes by the water ſide. whiche beyng foreſeene by a certayn Saracen lately conuerted to Chriſt, ſeruing with the Earle Robert the kings brother, and ſhewing them withall a certayne ſhalow foorde in the Riuer of Nilus, where they might more eaſily paſſe ouer, the ſayd Earle Robert & the Mayſter of the Temple with a great power, eſteemed to the third part of the armey, iſſued ouer the Riuer, after whome alſo followed william Longſpath with hys band of Engliſh ſouldiours. Theſe beyng together ioyned on the other ſide of the water, encountered the ſame day with yͤ Saracens remayning in the tents and put them to the worſe. After this victorye gotten, the Frẽch Earle ſurpriſed with pride and triumph, as though he had conquered the whole earth, would needes forward deuiding hymſelfe from the mayne hoſt, thinking to winn the ſpurres alone. To whome certayne ſage men of the Temple, geuing contrary counſell aduiſed him not ſo to do, but rather to returne and take their whole company with them, and ſo ſhould they be more ſure agaynſt all deceites and daungers, which there might be layd priuely for thẽ. The maner of yͤ people (they ſayd) they better knewe, and had more experience therof then he: Alledging moreouer their weryed bodyes, their tyred horſes, their famiſhed ſouldiours, & the inſufficiency alſo of their number, which was not able to withſtand the multitude of the enemies, eſpeciall at this preſent brunt, in whiche the aduerſaries did well ſee the whole ſtate of their dominion now to conſiſt eyther in winning all, or loſing all: with other ſuch like wordes of perſwaſion. which when the proud Earle dyd heare, being inflated with no leſſe arrogance then ignorãce with opprobrious tauntes reuiled them, calling them cowardly daſtardes, and betrayers of the whole countrey, obiecting vnto them the common report of many, whiche ſayd, that the land of the holy Croſſe might be wonne to Chriſtendome were it not for the rebellious Templaries, with the Hoſpitalaries and their fellowes &c.

The deſpiteful rebukes of Earle Robert to them that gaue him good counſell.

The anſwere of the Templaries to Earle Robert

To theſe contumelious rebukes when the Maiſter of the Tẽple anſwered againe for him and his felowes, bidding him diſplay his enſigne when he would, & where he durſt, they were as ready to folow him, as he to go before thẽ: then began william de Longſpath the worthy knight to ſpeake, deſiring the Earle to geue eare to thoſe men of experience, who had better knowledge of thoſe coũtryes & people, then he had, commending alſo their councell to be diſcrete & wholeſom: & ſo turning to yͤ maiſter of the temple began wͭ gentle words to mitigate him likewiſe. The knight had not halfe ended his talke, when the Earle taking his words out of his mouth began to fume & ſweare, crying out of theſe cowardly engliſhmẽ with tailes. what a pure army (ſayd he) ſhould we haue here, if theſe tailes, & tayled people were purged from it: wͭ other like wordes of great vilany and much diſdayne. whereunto the engliſh Knight aunſwering agayne: well Earle Robert (ſayd he) where ſoeuer you dare ſet your foot, my ſtep ſhall goe as farre as yours: and as I beleue, we go this day where you ſhall not dare to come neare the taile of my horſe, as in the euent it proued true. Ibid. fol. 236.

The worthy anſwere of an engliſh knight to Earle Rob. the kinges brother.

A number of French ſouldiours ſent to Damiata, drowned & ſlaine by the way.

In this meane time, the French king intending to aduaunce forward his army, thought beſt to ſend away ſuch as were feeble and lacked armor, to Damiata by boates. The Soldan hearing therof, prepared a great number of boates to be caryed by wayne and carte to the water ſide, which meeting them by the way, drowned and deſtroyed by wildefire euery one, ſo that of all that company of our chriſtians, of whom ſome were burned, ſome ſlayne, ſome drowned, not one eſcaped aliue, ſaue one onely Engliſhe man named Alexãder Giffard, who although he was ſore woũded in the chaſe in fiue places in his body, yet eſcaped to the French cãpe, bringing word to the king what was done. And this was vpon the water.

The village and caſtle of Manſor aſſaulted by the Frenchmen.

The Frẽchmen diſcomfited at the ſiege of Mãſor.

Earle Roberts army incloſed by the Soldan of Babylon.

The cowardly flying away of the Earle Rob. Earle Rob. the kinges brother drowned.

The manly courage of William Longſpath.

Now vpõ the land, ſeing Earle Robert would needs ſet forward, weening to get all the glory to himſelf before the comming of the hoſte: firſt they inuaded a little village or caſtle, which was not farre of, called Manſor. The coũtrey Bores and paganes in the villages by, ſeing the chriſtians come, ranne out with ſuch a mayne cry and ſhout, that it came to the Soldans hearing, which was nearer then our men did thinke. In the meane while the Chriſtians inuading and entring into the munition incircumſpectly, were pelted and paſhed with ſtones by thẽ which ſtood aboue, whereby a great number of our men were loſt, and the armye ſore maimed and almoſt in deſpayre. Then immediately vpon the ſame cõmeth the Soldan wͭ all hys mayne power, who ſeeing the Chriſtens army to be deuided, and the brother ſeperated frõ the brother, had that which he long wiſhed for, and ſo incloſing them roũd about, that none ſhould eſcape, had wͭ them a cruell fight. Then the Earle began to repent him of hys heady raſhenes, but it was to late, who then ſeing william the Engliſh knight dowtely fighting in the chiefe brunt of the enemyes, cryed vnto hym moſt cowardly to flye, ſeeyng God (ſayd he) doth fight agaynſt vs. To whom the knight anſwering agayne, God forbid (ſayth he) that my fathers ſonne ſhould runne away from the face of a Saracen. The Earle then turning his horſe fled away, thinking to auoid by the ſwiftnes of hys horſe, & ſo taking the riuer of Thaſnis, oppreſſed with harnes, was there ſokẽ and drowned. Thus the Earle beyng gone, the French men began to diſpayre and ſcatter. Then william de Longaſpatha, bearing all the force of the enemies, ſtood agaynſt thẽ as long as he could, wounding and ſlaying many a Saracen, til at length hys horſe being killed, and hys legges maymed, he could no longer ſtand: who yet notwithſtanding as he was downe, mangled their feete and legges, and did the Saracens much ſorow, till at laſt after many blowes & woũds, beyng ſtoned of the Saracens, he yelded hys life. After the death of him, then the Saracens ſetting vppon the reſidue of the army, whom they had compaſſed on euery ſide, de-

W. Longſpath ſlain in battaile.

The Frenchmen ouerthrowne.

noured and deſtroyed them all, in ſo much that ſcarſe one man eſcaped aliue, ſauing two Templaries, one Hoſpitular, and one poore raſcall ſouldiour, whiche brought tydinges hereof to the king.

The ſorowes in the frēch campe for loſſe of their brethren.

These thinges being knowne in the French campe to the king and his ſouldiours, firſt of their drowning which were ſent to Damiata, then of the ruine and ſlaughter of the army, with the kinges brother, by the towne of Manſor, there was no little ſorrow and heauines on euery ſide, with great feare, and doubt in themſelues, what was beſt to doe. At laſt when they ſawe no remedye, but they muſt ſtand manfully to reuenge the bloud of their brethren, thē the kyng with hys hoſt paſt ouer the floud of Nilus, and comming to the place where the battayle had bene, there they beheld theyr fellowes and brethren pitifully lying wͭ theyr heads and hands cut of. For the Saracens for the reward before promiſed by the Soldan or Sultan, to them that could bring the head & hand of any Chriſtian, had ſo mangled the Chriſtians, leauing theyr bodyes to yͤ wilde beaſtes. Thus as they were ſorowing and lamenting the rufull caſe of their Chriſten fellowes, ſodenly appeareth yͤ comming of the Sultan, with a multitude of innumerable thouſandes. Agaynſt whom the French men eftſoones prepare themſelues to encounter, and ſo the battaile being ſtrocken vp, the armyes began to ioyne. But alacke for pitie, what could the Frenchmen here do, their number firſt ſo maymed, their hartes wounded already with feare and ſorow, their bodyes conſumed wͭ penury and famine, their horſes for feeblenes not able to ſerue them? In concluſion, the Frenchmen were ouerthrowne, ſlaine, and diſpatched, & ſeing there was no flying, happy was he that firſt coulde yeld hymſelfe. In which miſerable conflict, the king with his two brethren, and a few that claue vnto him, were taken captiues, to the confuſion of all Chriſten realmes, and preſented to the Soldan. All the reſidue were put to the ſword, or els ſtoode in the mercy of the Saracens whether to be ſlayne, or to remayne in wofull captiuitie.

The heads and handes of the Chriſtians cut off.

The battaile betwene the frēch kyng and the Soldan.

The French army ouerthrowē The pitifull ſlaughter of the Frenchmen. The Frēch king with his two brethren taken captiue by the Soldan.

And this was the end of that ſorrowful battaile, wherin almoſt all the nobilitie of Fraunce was ſlayne, neyther was there one man welneare in all the multitude whiche eſcaped free, but eyther was ſlayne, or taken priſoner. Furthermore, they that were ſlayne or left halfe aliue, had euery one hys head and hand cut off, vppon the Soldans proclamation aboue mentioned.

The Sultan or Soldan, after the taking of the French king, fraudulently ſuborning an army of Saracens, to yͤ number of the French army, with the armes and enſignes of them that were ſlayne, made toward Damiata, where the Duke of Burgundy, with the French Queene, & Odo the Popes Legate, and other byſhops and their garriſons were remaining, ſuppoſing vnder the ſhew of Frēch men to be let in, but the captaynes miſtruſting theyr haſty commyng, and miſdoubting their viſages not like to the French men, ſhut the gates agaynſt them, and ſo returned they fruſtrate of their intent.

The purpoſe of the Soldan was, if he might haue gotten Damiata, to ſend the French king hyer vp in the Eaſt countries to Calipha the chiefe Pope of Damaſcus, to encreaſe the tytles of Mahomet, and to be a ſpectacle or gaſing ſtocke to all thoſe quarters of the worlde. The maner of which Calipha was neuer left to any Chriſten priſoner come out, whoſoeuer came once in his handes. But for ſomuch as the Soldan miſſed hys purpoſe, he thought by aduiſe of counſell, to vſe the kinges lyfe for hys owne aduauntage in recouering the city of Damiata, as in the end it came to paſſe. For although the king at the firſt was greatly vnwilling, and had rather die then ſurrender Damiata againe to the Saracens, yet the concluſion ſo fel out that the king was put to hys raunſome, and the Citty of Damiata was alſo reſigned, which citty being twiſe won, and twiſe loſt by the Chriſtians, the Soldan or Saladine afterward cauſed vtterly to be raſed downe to the ground. The raunſome of the king, vppon condition that the Soldan ſhould ſee himſelfe conducted to Achon (which I take to be Ceſaria) came to 60000. markes. The number of Frenchmen, and others which miſcaryed in that warre by water and by land came to 80000. perſons. Hæc Mat. Pariſi. fol. 237. 238.

Damiata reſigned to the Saracens.

The ſumme of the kynges ranſome.
The number of the French men ſlaine.

And thus haue ye the briefe narration of this lamentable peregrination of Lewes the French kyng. In whiche when the French men beyng once or twiſe well offered by the Soldan, to haue all the kingdome of Ieruſalem, and much more in free poſſeſſion, they not contented with that which was reaſonable and ſufficient, for greedines to haue all, loſt all, hauing at length no more then ther naked bodies could couer, lying dead vpō the ground: & al through the originall cauſe of the Pope and Odo hys Legate. By whoſe ſiniſter meanes and peſtilent pride, not only yͤ liues of ſo many Chriſtians were thē loſt, but alſo to the ſayd Pope is to be imputed all the loſſe of other citties & Chriſtian regions bordering in the ſame quarters: for aſmuche as by the occaſion hereof, the hartes of the Saracens on yͤ one ſide were ſo encouraged, & the courage of the chriſtiās on the other ſide ſo much diſcomfited, that in ſhort ſpace after, both the dominion of Antioch and of Achon, with all other poſſeſſions belonging to the Chriſtians, were loſt, to the great diminiſhing of Chriſtes Church.

The two Soldans at variance about the Frēch kyng.

During the tyme of this good king lying at Achon or Ceſaria, almighty God ſent ſuch diſcorde betwene yͤ Soldan of Halapia, and the Soldā of Babilon, for letting the king ſo eſcape, that the ſayd Soldan or Salidin of Babilon, to winne the king vnto hys ſyde, entred league with him (whome both hys brethren, and all his nobles almoſt at home had forſaken) and remitted hys raunſome, and alſo reſtored vnto hym ſuch priſoners as were, in the ſayde battayle foūd to be aliue. Thus the Lord worketh, where man commonly forſaketh. Math Pariſ. fol. 261.

What miſchiefe hath come to Chriſtēdom & by what meanes.

An other cauſe moreouer, why the ruine of this French army may worthely be imputed to the Pope, is this: for that whē Lewes the French king perceauing what a neceſſary frend and helper Fredericke the Emperour might be to hym in theſe his affayres agaynſt the Saracens, and therfore was an earneſt ſuter for him to the Pope to haue hym releaſed, yet neyther he, nor the king of Englande by any meanes could obtayne it. And although the Emperor himſelfe offred to pope Innocent with all humble ſubmiſſion to make ſatiſfaction in the Councell of Lyons, promiſing alſo to expugne all the dominions of the Saracens and neuer to returne into Europe agayn, and there to recouer whatſoeuer the Chriſtians had loſt, ſo that the pope would onely graūt his ſonne Henry to be Emperoure after him: yet the proud pope woulde not be mollified, but would needes procede agaynſt hym with both ſwordes, that is, firſt with the ſpirituall ſword to accurſe hym, and then with the temporall ſword to depoſe him frō his Emperial throne. Through the occaſion wherof, not onely the French kinges power went to wracke, but alſo ſuch a fire of miſchiefe was kindled agaynſt all Chriſtendome, as yet to this day cannot be quenched. For after this ouerthrowe of the French king and his army, the Chriſtians of Antioch and of other Chriſten regions theraboutes, being vtterly diſcouraged, gaue ouer there holdes and Citties, whereby the Saracens, and after them the Turkes, got ſuch an hand ouer Chriſtēdome, as to this day we al haue great cauſe to rue and lament. Beſides this, where diuers Chriſtians were croſſed to go ouer and helpe the Frenche king, the pope for mony diſpenſed with them to tary ſtill at home.

How Fredericke the Emperor might haue ſerued in good ſtead against the Saracens, but the pope would not ſuffer him.

The tyranny and deuiliſh miſchiefe of the pope againſt the Emperour.

But as I ſayd, the greateſt cauſe was, that the Emperour, whiche coulde haue done moſt, was depoſed by the Popes tyranny, whereby all thoſe Churches in Aſia were left deſolate. As touching the whiche Emperour Fredericke, becauſe we haue diuers and ſundry tymes made mētion of him before, and for that his ſtory is ſtraunge, hys actes wonderous, and his conflictes tragicall, whiche he ſuſtayned agaynſt iiij. or v. Popes one after an other, I thought not out of ſtory in a whole narration to ſet forth the ſame, for the reader to conſider, what is to be iudged of this Cathedrall Sea of Rome, which had wrought ſuch abhominable miſchiefe in the world, as in the ſequele of the ſtory following faythfully tranſlated out of Latine into Engliſh is to be ſeene.

✻ The whole tragicall hiſtory of Fredericke, 2. Emperor, tranſlated out of the Latine booke of Nich. Ciſnerus.

What ho Fredericke came of.

FRedericke the ſecond, came out of the auncient houſe of the Beblines or Gibillines: which Gibillines came of the moſt famous ſtocke of the Frenche king and Emperours.

What fathe and mothe

He had Fredericke Barbaroſſa to hys Graundfather, whoſe ſonne Henricus the 6. was Emperoure after hym: who of Conſtātia, the daughter (or as ſome write yͤ neece) of Roger the firſt, king of Sicile: begate this Fredericke the ſecond.

The time & maner of hi byrth.

This Conſtantia was 50. yeares of age before ſhe was conceaued with him: whom the Emperour Henry 6. to auoyde all doubt and ſurmiſe that of her conception & childing might be thought, and to the peril of the Empeir enſue: cauſed hys regall tent to be pitched abroade in place where euery man might reſort. And when the tyme of his Queenes trauaile approched, Conſtantia (in preſence of diuers Ladyes, and Matrons, and other Gentlewomen of the Empire, a great number was brought a bed and deliuered of this Fredericke: the vii. day before the Calendes of January, in the yeare of Chriſtes incarnation. 1193. who by inheritaunce was king of Naples, Apulia, Calabria, and Sicilia.

Henricus his father ſhortly after he was borne, obtayned of the princes electors, that by their oth to him geuen: they would chuſe his ſonne Fredericke for their Emperor after his diſceaſe, and ſo did, and immediatly called hym Ceſar, being yet but in his cradle.

What patrones hee had.

This Henry when he dyed (which was ſhortly after yͤ birth of Fredericke) committed the protection of him to Conſtantia his wife, to Phillip his brother chiefe gouernour of Hetruria, and to the Byſhop of Rome, then Innocentius the third.

Conſtantia, not long after the death of Henry her husband being ſickely and growing into age, and thereby not ſo well able to gouerne the troubles and vnquiete ſtate of the Empire, reſigned, and willed by her teſtamēt, the ſafety both of her ſonne Fredericke and alſo of his dominions to the protectiō and gouernment of Innocent 3. thinking thereby ſafely to haue prouided. &c.

The conſpiracies of pope Innocent againſt Fredericke during his minoritie. The firſt cōſpiracy.

This pope Innocent. aſſone as he had the protection of the young Emperor & his Segniories: became in ſtead of a patron and protector, to him & to hys dominions both an enemy and cōſpiratour. The examples are many: One is, he perſwaded Sibill the late wife of Tancredus (whō Henry put from the kingdome of Sicile) to recouer yͤ ſame agayne, and that ſhe ſhould thereunto require Phillip the French kinges ayde: whereupō one Waltherus being of noble houſe of the Earles of Brenno, which in yͤ prouince of Barrenceeis had great liuing, and marying with Ateria the eldeſt daughter of Tācredus once king of Sicile (as is said) now by the inſtigation, counſell, & ayd of the french king with the pope (well hoping to recouer the kingdom) entred and inuaded with great power Campania, & Apulia. At which tyme alſo, the ſame worthy protectour Innocentius the third, ſent his legates with letters of excōmunication agaynſt all thoſe that woulde not admit and take the ſayd Waltherus for their king.

The 2. conſpiracy.

An other was, that where the princes Electors and other nobles as before is ſayd had promiſed by their othe to Henricus, that they woulde make Fredericke hys ſonne Emperor after his diſceaſe (whō the Pope ſaw to put their indeuour therunto to bring it to paſſe) abſolued thē all frō the othe which they had taken and geuen for the election of Fredericke the Emperour, as one not content he ſhoulde obtain the ſame. And further, he rayſed ſlaunders and defamations agaynſt Phillip, whom the electors had choſen to gouerne the Empire during the minoritie of Frederick hys nephew.

The 3. conſpiracy.

He wrote hys Epiſtle (which is yet extant) to the Duke Barthold of Zaringia to be Emperor: who, for that he gaue place to Phillip, he went about to procure, yͤ Otho the ſonne of Hēry Leo ſhould be made Emperor, & yͤ the Princes & Lords electors of Germany, wold crown him forthw̄ after the maner of Aquiſgrane.

The 4. conſpiracy.

He depriued al ſuch Biſhops as he knew to fauour Phillip as Emperor, in the defence of hys nephewes right. But Phillip, whoſe cauſe was better, his ſkill in martial affayres greater, & in power & ſtrength mightier: after diuers and great cōflicts the marueilous diſturbaunce and vaſtation of the whole Empire, by Gods helpe put the other to the worſe. All which calamities and miſchiefes Conradus Lichtenanus at that tyme liuing, in his Annales moſt pitifully complayneth of: and accuſeth the Biſhop of Rome and his adherentes to be the chiefe authors and deuiſors of this great and lamentable miſchiefe: as ſuche that for to make themſelues rich by the ſpoyle thereof, ſought by all meanes and deſired the ſame.

The 5. conſpiracy.

Philip ſlain.

Not long after a peace was concluded betwene Phillip & Otho, and Phillip reconciled again to the pope: who within a while after betwene Otho and him was murdered in his chamber and ſlayne. And then was Otho agayn brought to the Imperiall ſeate, and newe elected for Emperour, with the counſell and conſent of this Innocent the thyrd: and ſo continued till that a great variaunce and diſcorde chaunced to ryſe betweene the ſayd Otho & the pope.

Variance betwene Otho & the pope.

Wherupon Innocentius ſoughe by all meanes, howe agaynſt him likewiſe hee might worke miſchiefe and bring him to hys end. The occaſion of this ſodayne chaunge and alteratiō my author maketh no mentiō of, but that Otho (now being of great power) inuaded and deſtroyed theſe dominions of Frederick: as Flamminia, Picenum, Umbria, Hetruria, but chiefly Campania, and Apulia, for that thoſe properly appertayned to the inheritaunce of Fredericke.

Thus you ſee, how firſt by the counſell and conſent of Pope Innocentius and by his inſtigation, beſides his ſecret conſpiracies: this good Fredericke and hys dominions were hurt and indamaged. Then agayne, through his default what damage he ſuſtayned by Otho, who by him and hys meanes was made ſo ſtrong as he was: notwithſtanding the great truſt he was put in for the protection both of Fredericke and his dominions.

What learning and knowledge he was of.

At this tyme. Fredericke was come to the age of xx. yeares: who in hys youth by the prouiſion of Conſtantia his mother, was ſo well inſtructed in letters, and in other artes and vertues ſo imbued: that at theſe yeares there appeared and did ſhyne in hym, excellent giftes both of wiſedome and knowledge.

What vertues he was indued with.

He was excellently well ſeene in the Latine & Greeke tongues, although at that time learning began to decay, & barbarouſnes to encreaſe. He had alſo the Germayn tong the Italian tongue, and the Saracen tongue. He day exerciſed and put in practiſe thoſe vertues which nature had planted in him, as pietie, wiſedome, iuſtice, and fortitude: in ſo much, that well he might be compared and accompted amongeſt the worthieſt and moſt renowmed Emperours hys predeceſſours.

Fred. ſuſpected for his graundfathers ſake.

Fazellus (the hiſtorician of Sicilia in this tyme) writeth, that Fredericus was agayne after this had in great honor and eſtimation with Innocētius: but yet notwithſtanding, he had no ſure confidence in him, for that he had the ſuſpected name of Fredericke hys graundfather often in remembrance, and for that occaſion was much deſirous to haue him farre from Italy.

The coronation of Fredericke.

When Fredericke had gathered his power, he purpoſet to ſet vpon Otho his enemy: of which thing Otho hearing (as he was painfull in trauell) came out of Italy with his army into Germany, thinking to haue met Frederick at the riuer of Rhene, and to haue ſtopped his paſſage: but he was deceiued of his expectation, and Fredericus was crowned as the maner of Aquiſgrane is, before he came.

The death of Otho.

And after that Fredericke in the winter tyme tooke hys iorny to Francofert, and after many meetinges in Norico had, and that Otho was dead, he ſet the Empire in a ſtay and the whole coūtry of Germany he in a maner appeaſed And then with all hys nobles and princes he returned to Rome, and of Honorius the third was with great ſolemnitie conſecrated and called Auguſtus. Whiche Honorius ſucceded Innocentius 3. in the Papall Sea: and was a great helpe to Fredericke (although he loued hym not) in this behalfe, to reuenge hym ſelfe vpon Otho.

The conſecratiō of Fred. the Emperour.

The liberal munificence of Fre. to the pope and church of Rome

After the conſecration of Fredericke the ſecond, he gaue many great and liberall giftes, as well to the Byſhop of Rome hymſelfe, as alſo to the court of Rome beſides. Alſo he gaue & aſſured, by his Charter to the Church of Rome, the Dukedome of Fundanum. For by the vnſatiable couetouſnes of the Romiſh Biſhops, this wicked vſe and cuſtome grew: that vnleſſe the Emperours elect & crowned would geue vnto thē ſuch like great and large giftes: they could not obtayne of them their conſecration or confirmation which for that intent they deuiſed.

Fred. gaue thorough his liberalitie a ſword to cut his owne throte.

Furthermore, Fredericke the Emperour, willing to ſhew himſelfe more bountifull and liberall to the Church: neyther yet to reſtraine any priuiledge that might benefite the ſame, gaue & admitted thoſe cōſtitutiōs which the pope hymſelfe woulde deſire, and are yet extant in theyr ciuill Law: By which hys doyngs he deliuered to their hands a ſworde as it were, to cut his owne throte. For yͤ biſhops of Rome, now hauing euen what they liſted, & all in theyr owne handes: might by the payne of proſcription, bryng what Emperour or king vnder coram nobis that them liſted, and keepe them by their owne lawes, as if it were bound in a certain bands, out of the which they might not ſtart. For whatſoeuer he were, whiche for the diminution of the liberties of the Church were excommunicate, and ſo continued a yeares ſpace: then he ſhould be within the dāger of this proſcript, and ſhoulde not be releaſed before he had made ſatiſfaction, and were admitted by the Pope to the Church and congregation of good men agayn.

The canon of proſcription graunted & confirmed by Fred.

Wherby it came to paſſe, that whatſoeuer Emperour in the gouernement of hys dominions, ſhoulde in any poynt diſpleaſed or doe contrary to the luſt of the Biſhop of Rome: he then as enemy to the church, was excommunicate. And vnleſſe within a yere he were reconciled to them again (by this their principal law) he was in the proſcript. And often it chaunced, that Princes to auoyde the payne of this proſcript, were ready to do what ſoeuer the pope would haue them, and commaund them to doe.

Fred. after his conſecration directeth his prouinces and dominions.

After the conſecration of Fredericke was with great ſolemnitie finiſhed, and that the pope & Churche of Rome in all ample maner (as is partly deſcribed) were gratified, and yet larger conſtitutions to them confirmed: he departed

ted from Rome and went into Italy, there to ſet in order and ſtay the Citties and great townes, for the better tranquillitie of himſelfe and ſafety of his ſubiectes, and from thence into hys owne prouinces and dominions: where he heard of certayne, that began to rayſe and make newe factions agaynſt him. Amongſt whom, were found Thomas and Richard, the brethren of Innocentius the thyrd, Earle of Anaquinos, that held certayn caſtles in the kingdome of Neopolitanes from him by force: whiche caſtles, he beſieged and beate downe, and tooke from them al that he in them found. Richard he tooke, and ſent as a priſoner into Sicilia: but Thomas eſcaped and came ſpeedely to Rome, whither alſo repayred certayn biſhops and others that were conſpiratours againſt Frederick, as alſo ſuch other as the feare of the Emperours lawes, and their own gilty conſciences cauſed to flye: and were (that notwithſtãding) of this Biſhop of Rome Honorius the 3. (to gratifie agayne the liberalitie of the Emperour beſtowed vpon him) vnder hys noſe ſuccored, mayntayned and defended. Which thing when Fredericke vnderſtode, he began to expoſtulate with the Byſhoppe, conſidering the vnſeemlineſſe of that his fact. Agaynſt whom, the Pope on the other ſide was ſo chafed & vexed, that he immediatly without farther delay thundereth out agaynſt him like a tyrant his curſes and excommunications.

The liberalitie of Fred. well recompenſed of Honorius. 3.

Fred. expoſtulateth, the Pope curſeth.

Thomas Fazellus declareth, the deteſtation or defiance to happen betweene thẽ ſomewhat otherwiſe. There were ſayth he, amongſt thoſe which were found traytours to the Emperour certayne Byſhops, whiche fleyng to the pope, requeſted his ayd: wherupon, the pope ſent his Legates to the Emperour, and requeſted him that he would admit and receaue to fauour thoſe Byſhops, which he had baniſhed and put frõ their offices, and that he woulde not intermedle with any Eccleſiaſticall charge wherewith he had not to doe: And ſayd further, that the correction and puniſhment of ſuch matters pertayned to the Byſhop of Rome, and not to him: and moreouer, that the ouerſight of thoſe Churches in that kingdome, from the whiche he had expelled the Byſhoppes, pertayned and belonged to hym.

Wherunto Frederick thus replyeth: That for as much as now 400. yeares and more (from the tyme of Carolus Magnus) all Emperours and kinges in their dominions might lawfully commit to apt and fit mẽ for the ſame, ſuch Eccleſiaſticall functions and charges as within their territoryes and kingdomes fell: That he looked to haue the like priuiliege & authoritie alſo, that other his predeceſſors before hym had. And farther ſayd, that he had the ſame and like authoritie in yͤ Empire that his father Henry, & Fredericke his graundfather, and other his predeceſſours bebefore them had: neyther had he ſo deſerued at the handes of the Church of Rome: eyther of Honorius himſelfe, to be depriued of thoſe priueledges whiche his aunceſters before him had had, and kept. And further, Friderick being chafed and moued with theſe demaundes of the Pope, breaketh forth and ſayth: how long will the Biſhop of Rome abuſe my patience? when will his couetous hart be ſatiſfied? whereunto wil this ambitious deſire grow? with ſuch like wordes more, repeating certayn iniuries and conſpiracies, both agaynſt him and his dominions, as well by Honorius as Innocentius 3. his predeceſſour, as alſo other like iniuries of Pope to hys auncetours practiſed. What man ſayth he, is able to ſuffer and beare this ſo incredible boldnes and intollerable inſolency of ſo proud a Byſhop. Goe ſayth he (vnto the Legates) and tell Honorius, that I will hazarde both the ſeignory of my Empire, and crowne of my kingdome, rather then I will ſuffer him thus to diminiſh the authoritie of our maieſty. Thomas Fazellus Lib. 8.

The Emperour replyeth to the popes demaund.

The Emperour ſpeaketh but reaſon howſoeuer it pleaſeth the pope to take it.

The ſtrife betwene the pope and the Emperour for the election and depriuation of Byſhops.

Nowe, becauſe much diſquietnes and controuerſie hath ariſen (for the moſt part through all Chriſtendome in euery kingdome and realme ſeuerally) for and about the authoritie of chuſing and depriuing of Byſhops (as may be ſeene by the example of this Fridericke) which the pope onely and arrogantly challengeth to himſelfe, and not to appertayne to an other: I thought good not with ſilence to ouerpaſſe but ſomewhat to ſay: and to proue the authoritie of Chriſten kings & princes in this behalfe, to be both ſufficient & good: which thing, not onely by the holy ſcriptures is right eaſie to be done, but alſo by Synodall decrees & councels (diuers and ſondry) to be eſtabliſhed and confirmed may eaſly be proued: as alſo by the auncient cuſtome and maner of the primitiue Church, may further be corroborated and made good.

Autorities, for the election of Byſhops to be in the Princes and their ſubiectes.

Whereunto appertayne certayne places collected and gathered out of the decrees by Gratianus, & ſpecially in theſe canons, 12, 13, 14, 26, 27, 32, and 63. diſtinction. Farthermore, when Chriſten kings and princes began to embrace Chriſt his religion, both for honor and orders ſake it was graunted: that when yͤ people deſired ſuch miniſters as were cõuenient & by them thought meet: yͭ they whiche were then in the eccleſiaſticall function and chiefeſt in authoritie, ſhuld either confirme ſuch as were preſẽted, or els themſelues to place fit men in their churches as neede required. So did the Emperours of Conſtantinople (receiuing the order and maner from Conſtantine the great) vſe and geue the right of Eccleſiaſticall function, with the conſent both of the people, and eccleſiaſtical perſons, & long ſo retayned they the ſame. As Honorious the Emperor vnto Boniface. canon. 8. diſt. 79. & canon. 2. diſt. 97. Alſo of Pelagius and Gregorius Magnus: of the whiche one in the raigne of Iuſtinian the Emperour and Totila gouerning Italy) the other in the tyme of Mauritius the Emperour (when the Lombardes poſſeſſed Italy) were appoynted Byſhops to the Church of Rome. can. 15, 21, 24.

Autorities of election of the Biſh. of Rome to be in the Emperour.

And where, as Gratianus in the beginning of the 96. and 97. diſtinction doth declare, that the reſcript of Honorius the Emperour is voyde and of none effect, for that he determined the election of the biſhop of Rome, cõtrary to the authoritie of the holy canons: when as yet, neither to yͤ ciuill magiſtrate, nor to any of the eccleſiaſticall order cã be read of any licence geuen them for to diſpence withal: each man may playnly ſee and diſcerne his great foly and want of vnderſtanding. As though at yͭ tyme any decrees were made, which ſhoulde debarre Emperours for the conſtituting of yͤ eccleſiaſticall miniſters. Or that it were doubtfull, whether the Emperours at that time had paſt any cõſtitutions touching the cauſes of Eccleſiaſticall diſcipline, and the ſame lawes then put in vre: when yͤ contrary moſt manifeſtly (both by the lawes & hiſtories of that age and time as well of the church as of the Empire) may appeare. And that we need not ſeek farre for the matter: this thing is ſufficiently proued by theſe titles: De ſacroſanctis Eccleſijs Epiſcopis, Clericis, beſides other eccleſiaſticall chapters, & matters touching religion. All which are to be ſeene in the bookes of the principall and chiefeſt conſtitutions, collected and ſet forth by Iuſtinian. Amongſt the whiche, many of the chapiters are ſaid to be accepted and allowed of Honorius & Theodoſius. So in like caſe, the 21. can. in the 63. diſtinction doth declare, that yͤ Grecian Emperours that next inſued after Iuſtinian, did obſerue that maner of ordeining and election of the Biſhop of Rome: although thẽ at that tyme interpellatum erat it was ſomewhat ſporned at. Amongſt whom mention is made of Conſtantinus the fourth which was ſurnamed Pogonatus.

Gratianus in his diſtinction, reproued for the election of biſhops to be in the Pope.

The titles of Iuſtinian for the election.

The Grecian Emperours, electours of Byſhops.

Carolus Magnus in like maner followed theyr ſteps and maner in the ſame, as in the 22. canon, and the ſame diſtinctiõ is declared. And farther it was at a Synodal coũcell in Laterane (Adrian beyng hygh Biſhop where were conuented and aſſembled 153. other Biſhops) decreed: that the power and authoritie of creating the biſhop of Rome, and ordayning of all other prelates & eccleſiaſticall orders, ſhould be in the power and will of Carolus Magnus, as well in Italy as other his dominions and prouinces: and yͭ whoſoeuer was not promoted & allowed by him, ſhould not be conſecrated of any: And that thoſe, which repugned and diſobeyed this decree, ſhould incurre the moſt ſharpe paine of proſcription and publication of law. The worthy example hereof is extãt in the 18. can. and 18. title. Yet notwithſtanding, Stephanus the 4. author of this reſcript agaynſt the ſayd decree and wᵗout the Emperours conſent was made Biſhop of Rome. Who to yͤ intent he might delude yͤ decreed & ſolemniſed penalty, therby to excuſe himſelfe: went into Fraunce to Ludouicus Pius the ſonne of Carolus Magnus, & at Rheimis crowned he him wᵗ the Imperiall diademe. Neither could this Byſhop here ſtay himſelfe, but ſpying the great lenitie of the Emperour, aſſayed to make fruſtrate the foreſayd conſtitution. For hys purpoſe was, & ſo brought it to paſſe, as in the 27. canon and the ſame diſtinction appeareth) that it might be lawful for the Eccleſiaſticall order, with the people and ſenate of Rome (without the authoritie of the Emperour) to chuſe the Byſhop of Rome: reſeruing, that he ſhoulde not be conſecrated without the will and conſent of the Emperour. Thus is it manifeſt, that the Byſhops of Rome themſelues, not regarding but deſpiſing the ſtraite penalty and ſanction of the foreſayd decree of the Laterane Councell: were not onely the firſt that brake the ſame, but alſo by contrary reſcriptes and conſtitutions laboured & endeuoured to extoll & ſet vp themſelues aboue al other.

The election decreed by 153. byſhops in the councell of Laterane to be in the Emperour.

Stephanus the 4. firſt alterer of this election.

The Biſh. of Rome the firſt breaker of the decrees of the councell.

Wherupon, Lotharius afterward being Emperor and nephew to Carolus Magnus, comming into Italy there to diſſolue the cõſpiracy and confederacy of Leo the fourth about the tranſlation of the Empire: renewed & ſtabliſhed

Lotharius renueth the Lateran decree for election of Byſhops.

agayne the Synodal decree of Laterane, touching the iuriſdiction of the Emperour for the election of the Byſhop of Rome and other eccleſiaſticall perſons. And hereof it came, that thoſe Epiſtles were written of Leo in the 16. & 17. canon, and the ſame diſtinction, which alſo as in the 9. canon and x. diſtinction, made a profeſſion, that the ſame Imperiall preceptes ſhould be kept in all ages. This Leo when he was reproued of treaſon and other euils, pleaded his cauſe before Ludouicus the 2. Emperoure of Rome, and ſonne of Lotharius aboue recited 2. q. 7. canon. 40.

tho depo- h Iohn e 14. and tifieth a w decree f election. eo the 5. as inſtitu- d by Otho e Emper. The election nce againe tified to be the Em- perours iu- diction.

But after this as tyme grew on, the biſhops of Rome nothing relinquiſhing their ambitious deſires: Otho the firſt Emperour of that name, depriued and put from the ſea of Rome that moſt filthy and wicked Biſhop Iohn the xiij. both for diuers and ſundry wicked and haynous acts by him committed, as alſo for his great treaſons & conſpiracies agaynſt his royall perſon: and did ſubſtitute in hys place Leo. the 5. who calling a Synode at Laterane in the ſame temple and place where the other before was kept did promulgate a new conſtitution wͭ conſent of the Senate & people of Rome, concerning the Emperours iuriſdiction in the foreſayd election: whiche in the 23. canon is contained and 63. diſtinction. Whereby the old right and power of the Emperour in the election of the Byſhop of Rome and other eccleſiaſticall prelates, was agayne with more ſharper and ſtraighter ſanctiõ confirmed & ratified. Agayn Iohn the 18, whõ Creſſentius the Romayn (vſurping ẏ Imperiall crowne) had made biſhop by the conſet of the people of Rome & the Eccleſiaſticall order: hauing his noſe cut off, & hys eyes put out, & ſo thruſt out of the capitoll: was agayn of Otho 3. eſtabliſhed and made Byſhop. But when as yet notwithſtanding, the Byſhops of Rome would not alter their olde accuſtomed diſpoſition, but wͭ all their induſtry indeuoured to abrogate that iuriſdiction of the Emperor ouer the biſhop of Rome (as people loth to be vnder ſubiection) Henry the 3. (then Leo ẏ 9 beyng conſtituted byſhop) did once agayne ratifie ẏ ſame, and cauſed the byſhop which extolled himſelf before al his fellow biſhops) to ſtoup and geue place to Moguntinus.

Henry the and Leo the 9.

Henry the and Nicholas the 2.

So, after the death of Henry the 3. Emperor, Nicholas the 2. althoughin hys decree (whiche in the firſt canon and 32. diſtinction is recited) gaue the primacie for the electiõ of the biſhop of Rome by the means of the prieſts and people of Rome, vnto the Cardinals: yet he woulde after that, that the prerogatiue therein ſhoulde be reſerued to Henry 4. the young Emperor, from whome the Empire afterward was for a tyme wreſted and taken.

The election hitherto in the Empe- rours and now begin- neth to faile, by Hilde- brand,

But now after this, whẽ Hildebrand which was called Gregory the 7. was Pope: This prerogatiue of the Emperours in their Election, which before in the creatiõ of Alexander the biſh. was neglected and broken: The biſhops of Rome, not onely did ſeeke to diminiſh ẏ authority thereof, but alſo to euacuate, and quite vndoe the ſame. For he, not onely aſpired to that dignitie, without the cõſent and appoyntment of the Emperor: but alſo made reſtraint that no Emperor, king, Duke, marques, Earle, or any ciuile Magiſtrate: ſhould aſſigne and appoynt to any any eccleſiaſticall function and charge, neyther that any of his Prelates ſo hardy, ſhoulde take them at anye of their handes, as q. 16. canon. 7. 9. and 10. may be ſeene.

Henry 4. a- gaine cha- lengeth the election,

Yet notwithſtanding, after that this horrible monſter Hildebrãd was proſcript and thruſt out of the papall ſeat, and Clement 3. put in hys ſtede: Henry agayn challenged hys Imperial prerogatiue of Election. But yet, when the Byſhops which ſucceeded after this Hildebrand & led by hys example, began to derogate from the Imperiall prerogatiue of electiõ: & Hen. on the other ſide by al meanes poſſible, ſought to defend and maintayne the ſame. By the ſubtile fraud & miſchieuous pollicie of the biſhops which ſet the ſonne agaynſt the father, and foũd meanes to ſteale from him the hartes of his nobles and ſubiectes and to ſet them al agaynſt hym, and eſpecially the Princes of Germany: was depoſed and diſappoynted of his purpoſe.

Henry the 5. alſo ſtriueth for the elec- tion & fay- leth,

And although Henry the 5. (cõming to Rome) brought Paſchalis the ſecõd to that poynt, that he both in publique concion, and in writing ſealed, and alſo by othe confirmed, reſtored agayn to the Emperours of Rome ẏ prerogatiue of election, and of geuing of eccleſiaſtical dignities: yet notwithſtanding, after that Henry the Emperour was gone from Rome: Paſchalis the Pope, greatly repenting and ſorrowing that he had done (in allowing and confirming the priuiledges of Emperors through feare) touching the geuing and diſpoſing of eccleſiaſtical functiõs, excommunicated the Emperour: And in a Sinodal councell at Laterane ordayned & decreed, that he ſhould be had & accoũted a wicked enemy, that woulde take any Eccleſiaſticall function or preferment at the handes of a ciuile Magiſtrate, whereupon were made theſe decrees qu. 16. chap. 7. 13. 14. 15. and 16.

Prieſtes ac- curſed that take any be- nefice at the handes of a lay man.

Henry 5. compaſſed by ciuile diſſention for the prerogatiue of election as his father was;

Therfore, when theſe decrees touching the deſignatiõ of biſhops, in ſpight and contempt of the Emperour were practiſed and put in vre: and when that now (eſpecially by the meanes and procurement of the biſhops) inteſtine and ciuile warres begã to ryſe in the Empire: the Emperiall iuriſdiction in this matter was not onely weakened and much debilitate, but alſo in maner vtterly brokẽ and loſt. For when Henry the v. Emperour was ſharpely of Lotharius and his vaſſals the Biſhops, beſet & layd vnto by the prouocation of the pope, and was mightely by the byſhops that tooke his part on ẏ other ſide requeſted & intreated (in hope of publique peace & tranquilitie) that he woulde condeſcend and ſomewhat yeld to the Popes demaundes: He at length (the more was the pity) ẏ he might be reconciled and haue peace with pope Calixtus the 2. In the city of Vangio departed from and with that his prerogatiue or iuriſdictiõ of geuing eccleſiaſtical preferments to the pope and hys prelates, now more then 300. yeares (frõ the time of Carolus Magnus) in the hands of them Emperours of Rome, and vntill this tyme with great fortitude & princely courage, conſerued and kept: which reſignation turned to no ſmall detriment both of the Church of Chriſt, and Chriſtian common wealth.

Henry the 5. re- ſigneth his pre- rogatiue of e- lection.

The electiõ got- ten to the By- ſhops of Rome.

Then firſt and neuer before, obteined the Byſhop of Rome, and quietly enioyed that prerogatiue of election, & beſtowing of benefices: which he ſo long before with ſuche great pollices (now ſecretly now openly, and nowe wyth force) had ſought for. And with what ſufficient and good authoritie Gratianus will proue, that before this tyme the ſame authoritie was geuen to the City of Rome for the election of the pope without the conſent of the Emperor he ſheweth: as in the 29. and 30. Canon, and what good ſtuffe he putteth in the latter, and howe ſubtilly that Papiſticall flatterer or pontifical Paraſite hath forged the ſame: Both Carolus Molineus ſufficiently in diuers places hath noted, and by the obſeruatiõ of tymes may of a meane Hiſtoriographer that hath red the French and Germaine hiſtories, ſoone be eſpied & diſcerned. For firſt, fiue biſhops one after an other ſucceeded this Gregory 4. vpon whome the 29. canon is entituled or fathered: that is, Sergius 2. Iohn 8. Adrian. 2. Iohn. 9. and Adrian the 3. whiche Adrian by force wreſting the authoritie of the electiõ from the people was made pope: When, as the Gregory (ſpecially to be noted) would not take on him the Papacie, before that the Emperour had conſented to his election. After this, Molineus compareth Raphell Volateranus wͭ the 30. canon which agayne is ſuſpected: For why, whẽ Eugenius was biſhop which was the Succeſſor of this Paſchalis, wyth whom Ludouicus Pius is ſayd to haue made a league or paction: The ſame Ludouicus Pius with his ſonne Lotharius together with the helpe of the king of Romaines, at Rome made lawes both to all his ſubiectes in the Empire, as alſo to the Romaines themſelues: ſpeaking nothing of ẏ renuing of the decree made by Lotharius. Then agayn, how could Leo the fourth write to Lotharius and Ludouicus Emperours, that counterfeit or forged decree, beginning with Conſtitutio. &c. when in the ſame mentiõ is made of Henricus Aucupes, & Otho the 1. whiche raigned more then 80. yeares after them, and Leo the 4. biſhop of Rome.

Gracianus foũd a forger of the Canons.

Sergius. 2. Iohn 6. and Adrian 3.

The ſecõd fault founde with Gratianus;

The third fault founde with Gratianus,

Howe ſhameles and impudent Gratianus is in forging the decrees.

Now with what face dare this fõd fellow Gratianus make Otho the firſt to be author of the 31. Canon; when as Otho depriued the ſame Iohn the 12. of the Papacye: And not onely took nothing from the Imperall iuriſdiction concerning the election, nor from the city of Rome, nor any other biſhops ſubiect to the Romain Empire: but added ſomewhat more therunto, as was ſaid before. And yet notwithſtanding, ſo ſhameles & ſenceleſſe was this Gracian, ẏ he durſt obtrude & lay before the reader, ſo manifeſt fraud and euident legerdemaine (fayned and made of hys owne braynes in the compiling of this decree) being ſo neceſſary as he thought for the dominion and primacy of the Romaine Biſhops, in ẏ ſted of good and true lawes: neither fearing that the ſame might be after his dayes reprehended, neither to his great ſhame and diſcredit vnto him attributed. Where alſo by the way is to be noted, that as this graceleſſe Gratianus to pleaſe theſe holy fathers and to erect theyr kingdome, woulde geue ſo impudent an attempt to the blinding and deceiuing of all poſterityes: inſerting for grounded truthes and holy decrees ſuch loude lyes and deteſtable doctrine: what may be thought of the rabble of the reſt of writers in thoſe dayes what attemptes hope of gayne might cauſe them to worke: By whom and ſuch like is to be feared, the falſifying of diuers other good workes now extant, in thoſe perillous tymes writtẽ.

The corrupting of many good workes to be feared.

Thus

The election wreſted frō the Emperour.

What Rome once catcheth, that ſhe keepeth

Thus, when the Biſhops had once wreſted this autoritie out of the Emperours handes: they then ſo fortified & armed thēſelues and their dominion, that although afterwardes Fredericke the firſt, graundfather vnto this good Emperor Fredericke the ſecond, as alſo Ludouicus Boius, and Henricus Lucelburgenſis (as men moſt ſtudious and carefull for the dignities of the Empire: vnfeined louers and maintainers of the vtilitie of the cōmō weale, and moſt deſirous of the preſeruatiō and proſperity of the Church) did all their indeuors with ſingular wiſedome & ſtrength, as much as in them lay, to recouer agayne from the byſhop of Rome this the authoritie of the Imperiall iuriſdiction loſt, moſt cruelly & wickedly abuſing the ſame to the deſtruction both of the Empyre, vndoyng of the cōmon wealth, and vtter ſubuerſion of the Churche of God yet coulde they not be able to bryng the ſame to paſſe in thoſe darck and ſhadowed tymes of peruerſe doctrine and errours of the people, and moſt miſerable ſeruitude of ciuile Magiſtrates.

Not without good cauſe deſired they to noſel the people in ignoraunce.

Euery kyng and prince in their ſeuerall kingdome had alſo till that time the prerogatiue of election.

Hiſpane had the ſame.

Fraunce had the ſame.

The ſame and like priuilege alſo in the election of theyr biſhops & Prelates, and diſpoſing of Eccleſiaſticall offices, as the Emperour of Rome had: euery Prince and king in theyr ſeuerall dominions had the like. For by the decree of the Councell of Toletane, which in the 25. canon and 63. diſtinction is mentioned: the authoritie of creating and chuſing byſhops and Prelates in Hiſpane, was in the power of the king of Hiſpane. The like alſo by the Hiſtories of Clodoueus, Carolus Magnus, Ludouicus nonus, Philippus Auguſtus, Philippus pulcher, Carolus 5. Carolus 6. Carolus. 7. Kinges of Fraunce, is apparaunt and well knowne: that all theſe kinges had the chiefe charge and gouernement of the French Church, and not the byſhops of Rome.

England had the election.

And by our Engliſh hiſtoryes alſo as you heard, it is manifeſt: that the authoritie of chuſing eccleſiaſticall miniſters and byſhops, was alwayes in the kings of Englād, till the raygne of king Henry the 1. who by the labour and procurement of Anſelmus Archb. of Cant. was depriued and put from the ſame.

Germanie had the election.

Alſo the Princes of Germany and electors of the Emperor, till the tyme of Henry the 5. had all euery Prince ſeuerally in his owne dition and Prouince the ſame iuriſdiction and prerogatiue: to geue & diſpoſe eccleſiaſticall functions to their Prelates at theyr pleaſure: and after that it appertayned to the people and prelats together. And how in the raigne of Fridericke, the Prelates gate vnto themſelues alone this Immunitie: Ioannes Auentinus in his 7. booke of the Annales of the Boiores doth deſcribe.

Sicilia had the election.

Alſo it is probable, that the kinges of Sicilia had the ſame facultie in geuing and diſpoſing their Eccleſiaſticall promotions and charge of churches. Andreas de Iſtmia ad 1. conſtit. Neap. nu. 12. And that becauſe Fridericke defended hym againſt the tyranny of the biſhop of Rome, therfore as Fazelius ſayth, he was excommunicated of Honorius. But that Platina and Blondus allege other cauſes wherfore he was excommunicate of Honorius, I am not ignorant: Howbeit, he that will compare theyr writings with others that write more indifferently betweene Honorius and hym: ſhall eaſily finde, that they more ſought the fauor of the Romayn biſhops, then to write a veritie. But now agayne to the hiſtory of Fridericke.

The death of Conſtantia the wife of Fredericke.

Nicholaus Ciſnerus affirmeth, that whileſt Friderike the Emperour was in Sicilia, hys wife Conſtantia dyed at Catrana or Catana. In the meane time, the Chriſtians which was a great nauy ſayled into Egipt and tooke the citie Heliopolis, commonly called Damatia, and long ago named Pelucinum, beyng in good hope to haue dryuen Sultanus yͤ Sowdā out of Egipt: had a great & marueilous ouerthrow, by yͤ conueying of the water of the floude Nilus (which then ouerflowed into their Campe) & were fayne to accord an vnprofitable truce with the Sowldane for certayne yeares, and to deliuer the citty agayne: and ſo departing out of Egipt, were faine to come to Acone and Tyrus, to the no ſmall detriment and loſſe of the Chriſtian army. wherupon, king Iohn ſurnamed Brennus (being king of Ieruſalem) arriued in Italy, and prayde ayd of the Emperor agaynſt his enemies, in whō he had great hope to finde remedy of the euils and calamities before declared and from thence he went to Rome to the Pope, declaring vnto him the great diſcomfite and ouerthrow paſt, as alſo the preſent peril and callamitie that they were in, deſiring alſo hys ayd therin. By whoſe meanes (as Ciſnerus ſayth) the Emperour was reconciled agayne to the Pope, and made friendes together: to whome alſo king Iohn gaue Ioell his daughter in maryage, which came of the daughter of Conradus King of Ieruſalem, and Marques of Mounte Ferrat: with whome he had for dowry, the inheritaunce of the kingdome of Ieruſalem, as right heyre thereunto by her mother. By whome alſo, he after obteyned the kingdome of Naples and Sicill, and promiſed that with as much expedient ſpeede as he might he would prepare a power for the recouery agayne of Ieruſalem, and be there himſelfe in proper perſon: whiche thinge to doe, for that vppon diuers occaſions he deferred (whereof ſome thinke one ſome an other: Honorius) vnto whome he was lately reconciled, purpoſed to haue made agaynſt hym ſome great and ſecrete attempt, had hee not bene by death before preuented, vppon whome were made theſe Verſes.

A great ouerthrow of the Chriſtians in Egypt.

Fredericke and the pope made friendes.

Honorius the pope dyeth before he put his practiſe in vre agaynſt Frederick.

O pater Honori, multorum nate dolori.
Eſt tibi decori viuere, vade mori.

Gregorius as great an enemy to Fred. as Honorius.

After whom ſucceeded Gregorius the 9. as great an enemy to Frederike as was Honorius: whiche Gregory, came of the race whom the Emperor (as before ye heard) condemned of Treaſon which they wrought againſt him. This Gregory was ſcarcely ſetled in hys Papacy, when that he threatned hym that greatly with excommunication, vnleſſe he woulde prepare hymſelfe into Aſia, according to hys promiſe as ye heard before to king Iohn. And what the cauſe was, why the Pope ſo haſtened the iourney of Frederike into Aſia, you ſhall heare hereafter: In effect, he could not wel bring that to paſſe, which in his miſchieuous minde he had deuiſed, vnleſſe the Emperour were farther from him. Notwithſtanding, Fredericke it ſhoulde ſeeme ſmelling a ratte, or miſtruſting ſomewhat (as well he might) alledged diuers cauſes and lets, as lately and truely he dyd to Honorius.

Frede. refuſeth to goe into Aſia at the popes bidding, the pope is angry.

Fazellus a Sicilian writer ſayth, that the ſpecial cauſe of the Emperors ſtay was: for the oathe of truce and peace during certayne yeares, whiche was made betweene the Saracens and Chriſtians as you heard, which tyme was not yet expired.

The cauſe of the ſtay of the Emperours iourney into Aſia.

The ſame alſo Fazellus, writeth thus of king Iohn of Ieruſalē, that when hys daughter was brought to Rome the Emperour and the pope was reconciled together. And being called vp to Rome to celebrate yͤ mariage. P. Gregory (as the maner of thoſe proud prelates is) offered hys right foote vnto the Emperour to kiſſe. But the Emperour not ſtouping ſo low, ſcarcely with hys lippe, touched the vpper part of hys knee and woulde not kiſſe his foote: which thing the pope toke in very euil part and was therwith merueilouſly offended. But for that no oportunitie at that time ſerued to reuenge hys conceiued grudge and old malice, he diſſimuled the ſame as he might for that tyme, thinking to recompence it at the full as tyme would ſerue, and fall out therefore.

The Pope diſſembleth his grudge.

After this, it fortuned that the Emperor hearing how the Chriſtians were oppreſſed by the Souldane in Syria, and that from Arſacida there came a great power agaynſt the chriſten princes: he made the more haſt, and was with more deſire encouraged to ſet forward hys iourny into Aſia. Wherefore, aſſembling the Nobilitie of the Empire at Rauenna and Cremona: he gaue in commaundement to Henry hys ſonne (whō not long before he cauſed to be created Ceſar) that he ſhould perſwade the nobles & Princes of the Empire: that they all, would be ready to put to their helping hands, in furthering this hys iourney and enterpriſe. This writeth Fazellus: howbeit, ſome other affirme that theſe thinges were done in the tyme of Honorius. But how ſoeuer the matter is, this thing is manifeſt: that Fredericke to ſatiſfie the popes deſire, which neuer would lin but by al meanes ſought to prouoke him forward, gaue hym at length hys promiſe: that by certayn time he would prepare an army and fight himſelfe agaynſt thoſe, whiche kept from hym the citty of Ieruſalem (which thing he alſo confeſſeth himſelfe in his epiſtles, and alſo how he deſired, and obtayned of the pieres and Nobility of the Empire, theyr ayd thereunto) as alſo, to haue a appoynted a conuenient tyme when they ſhould be at Brundulium.

The preparation of the viage of Fredericke to Ieruſalem, and ſtaye thereof.

In the meane ſeaſon, he with all hys power and indeuour made haſty and ſpeedy preparation for the warres: he rigged & manned a puiſſant nauy, he had the pyckedſt men and beſt ſouldiours that were in euery country, and made warlike prouiſion & furniture, for euery thing that to ſuch a voiage and expedition appertayned. Neyther was the matter ſlacked, but at that tyme appoynted, great bandes aſſembled & muſtred both of Germaine ſouldiours and others, and vnder theyr Captaines appoynted ſet forth and marched to Brundulium. Theyr generals were, Thuringus and Sigebertus, and Auguſtinus the Byſhop: where they, long tyme lying and attending the Emperours cōming (being let by infirmitie and ſickenes) great peſtilence

The preparation of the Emperours war againſt the Turke.

and

t sick- s in the Emperours army.

The Emperour himſelfe ſicke.

and ſondry diſeaſes moleſted them, by reaſon of the great heate and intemperaunce of that country: and many a ſouldiour there loſt his life, among whome alſo dyed Thuringus one of their Generals. The Emperour, when he had ſomewhat recouered his health, with al his nauy launched out and ſet forwarde to Brunduſium. And when he came to the ſtraites of Poliponences and Creta (being Iſlands lying in the ſea) and there, for lacke of conuenient wynde was ſtayed: ſodenly the Emperour (hys diſeaſes growing vppon him agayne) fell ſicke: and ſending before all or the moſt part of his bandes and ſhippes into Paleſtina, promiſing them (moſt aſſuredly) to come after and follow them ſo ſoone as he might recouer and get neuer ſo litle health: he himſelfe with a few ſhips, returned and came to Brunduſium, and from thence for want of health, went into Apulia.

The Pope excommunicateth the Emperour for ſtaying his viage.

He layeth falſe accuſations to his charge.

The Emperour purgeth himſelfe of thoſe crimes the pope layde againſt him by his letters dedicated to all Chriſten princes.

When tidings hereof came to the Popes eare: He ſent out his thundring curſes and newe excommunications agaynſt the Emperour. The cauſes wherefore, I find noted and mentioned by his owne letters, that is. How that whē he had robbed and taken from Brūduſius, Prince of Thuring, his horſes, hys mony, and other rich furniture of his houſe at the tyme of hys death, hee ſayled into Italy: not for yͤ entent to make warre agaynſt the Turke, but to conuey this pray that he had ſtolne and taken away frō Brunduſius, who neglecting his othe and promiſe which he had made, and feining himſelfe to be ſicke, came home agayn. And that by his default alſo, Damieta was loſt, & the hoſte of the Chriſtians ſore afflicted. Fazelius beſides theſe cauſes ſpoken of before doth write that the pope alledged theſe alſo. That he defiled a certayne Damoſell, which was in yͤ Queenes nurſery: and that he ſlew hys wife when he had whipped her in the priſon, for declaring the miſchieuous acte to her father king Iohn. But all the writers, and alſo Blondus hymſelfe doth declare, that this Ioell died after *the* Publication of the proſcript and excommunication; wherefore, yͤ Pope could not without great ſhame allege yͤ cauſe vpon the death of Ioell: For vndoubtedly the truthe is, that ſhe of her ſonne Conradus dyed in childebed. The Fredericke, to refell and auoyd the foreſayd ſlaunders, ſendeth the byſhop of Brundis, and other Legates to Rome: whom the Pope would not ſuffer to come to his preſence, neither yet to the Councels of the Cardinals to make hys purgation. Wherfore the Emperour to purge himſelfe of the crymes, which the pope did ſo falſely accuſe him of: both to all Chriſten kinges and ſpecially to the Princes of Germany, & all the nobles of yͤ Empire, he writeth hys letters (which are to be ſeene) that thoſe thinges are both falſe and alſo fayned, & of the popes own head inuented. And ſheweth, how that his Embaſſadours with his purgatiō, could not be ſuffered to come to the popes preſēce: alſo doth largly intreat how vnthankfull & vngratefull the Byſhops of Rome were towardes him for the great benefites whiche both he, and alſo his predeceſſors had beſtowed vpon them and the Romaine Church: which letter, for that it is ouer tedious here to place, conſidering the diſcourſe of the hiſtory is ſomewhat long, yͤ ſumme of the purgation is this.

The effect of the Emperours letters

The Emperours purgation.

The Emperours epiſtle beginning thus. *In admirationem & iuſticiā*, and agayne, *Leuate oculos.*

He proteſteth and declareth vniuerſally, that he had alwayes great care for the chriſten common wealth, and that he had determined euen from hys youth, to fight againſt yͤ Turke and Saracens. And for that occaſiō he made a promiſe to the Princes electours of Aquiſgraue, howe that he would take that warre vpon him: Afterward he renewed his promiſe to Rome, when he was cōſecrated of Honorius: Then, when he maryed the daughter of the king of Ieruſalem, which was an heyre of the ſame: And for becauſe that kingdome might be defended & kept from the iniuries of the enemies, & that he fauored it euen as he did his own: he prepared an huge nauy, and gathered together a ſtrong army of men: neither did he neglect any thing that belōged to the furniture of the warre. But when the tyme was come, and his band was gathered together: his ſickeneſſe would not ſuffer hym to be there. And afterward when he had recouered the ſame, and came to Brunduſium, and frō thence without any diſturbance went forthwith to the ſea: he fell into yͤ ſame ſickenes agayne, by the which he was let of hys purpoſe: which thing (ſaith he) he is able to proue by ſufficiēt teſtimony. How the Pope alſo doth lay the looſing of Damieta, and other thinges whiche proſpered not well with him, vniuſtly to hys charge: when as he had made great prouiſion for yͤ ſame iourney both of ſoldiors & other neceſſary thinges. But he yͤ will vnderſtande theſe things more playnely among other Epiſtles of Petrus de Vineis, written in the name of Fridericke, let hym read theſe eſpecially, which begin thus: In admirationem, & iuſticiam & innocentiam: & Leuate oculos. And truely euen as Fredericus the Emperour declareth in his letters, concerning thys matter, all the olde writers of Germany doe accord and agree in the ſame.

A letter of the Emperour to the king of England abſtracted by *Mat. Pariſ.*

Many kingdomes haue experience of the popes practiſes.

The Church of Rome, the mother of miſchief

King Iohns ſubmiſsion to the pope blamed by the Emperour.

Who be the rauening Wolues in ſheepes clothing.

The treaſure of the Church belongeth to the pope.

Math. Pariſienſis alſo briefly collecteth the effect of an other letter which he wrote to the king of England, complayning vnto him of the excommunication of the Pope agaynſt him: Whoſe wordes are theſe. And amongſt other Catholicke Princes (ſayth he) He alſo wrote his letters vnto the king of England, embulled with gold Declaring in the ſame, that the Biſhop of Rome ſo flamed with the fire of auarice and manifeſt concupiſcence: that not being contented with the goodes of the Churche which were innumerable, but alſo that he ſhamed not to bring Princes, Kinges and Emperours to be ſubiectes, and contributors to hym, and ſo to diſherite them and put them from their kingly dignities, And that the king of Englande himſelfe had good experiment thereof, whoſe father (that is to ſay King Iohn) they ſo long held excommunicate till they had brought both him and his dominions vnder ſeruitude and to pay vnto hym tribute. Alſo that many haue experience of the ſame by the Earle of Tholouſe and diuers other Princes, which ſo long held theyr perſons and landes in interdict: till they might bring them into like ſeruitude. I pretermit ſayth he, the Symonies and ſondry ſortes of exactions (the lyke whereof was neuer yet heard) which dayly are vſed amongeſt the eccleſiaſticall perſons, beſides their manifeſt vſury (yet ſo cloked and coloured to the ſimple ſort) that therewithall they infect the whole world. They be the ſugred and embalmed Simoniſtes, the inſatiable horſeleaches or bloudſuckers ſaying, that the Churche of Rome is our mother and nurſe, where as it is in deede the moſt polyng Court in the vniuerſall world, the roote and right mother of all miſchiefe vſing and exerciſing no motherly doings or deeds but bringing forth the right exerciſes of a wicked ſtepdame: makyng ſufficient proofe thereof by her manifeſt fruites to all the worlde apparaunt. Let the Barons of England conſider whether this be true or not, whom Pope Innocent by his bulles with one conſent encouraged to ryſe and rebell agaynſt their ſoueraigne Lord and Prince king Iohn your father, as an obſtinate enemy to the Church of Rome. But after that the king (farre out of ſquare) remembring himſelfe, had crouched vnto him and obliged both himſelfe and kingdome to the Church of Rome, more liker a woman then a man: and that the wiſe Barons whome the Pope had firſt mayntained and ſtirred vp, without all ſhame eyther of the world or feare of God, had done the ſame: ſought howe he might with gaping mouth deuoure and conſume the ſweet fat from thē, whom he had miſerably to death betrayed and diſherited, as the maner of the Romayne Biſhops is. By whoſe greedy auarice it came to paſſe, that England the Prince of prouinces was brought vnder miſerable ſubiection and tribute. Behold the maners and conditions of our Romaine Byſhops: behold the ſnares wherwith theſe prelates do ſeeke to intangle men withall: to wype their noſes of their money: to make their children bondmen: to diſquiet ſuch as ſeeke to liue in peace: being clothed with ſheepes clothing when in deede they be but rauening Wolues, ſending their Legates hither, and thither to excommunicate and to ſuſpend: as hauing power to puniſh whom they liſt: not ſowing the ſeed, that is the word of God to fructifie, but that they may bribe and pole mens purſes, and reape that which they neuer did ſow. Thus commeth it to paſſe, that they ſpoyle the holy Churches and houſes of God, which ſhould be the refuge for the poore, and the manſion houſes of ſainctes, which our deuout and ſimple parentes to that purpoſe builded and ordeined to the refection of poore men and pilgrimes, and to the ſuſtentation of ſuche as were well diſpoſed and religious. But theſe degenerate varlets, whome onely letters hath made both mad and malipert, doe ſtriue and gape to be both kinges and Emperours.

Chriſtes church was builded in humilitie: The popes Church is all ſuperfluitie, Ergo, the popes Church is not Chriſtes Church.

Doubtles the Primatiue Church was builded and layd in pouerty and ſimplicitie of life, and then as a fruitfull mother begate ſhe thoſe her holy children, whom the Catologe of Saintes nowe maketh mention of: and verily no other foundation can be laid of any other Church, then that which is layd by Ieſus Chriſt. But this Church as it ſwimmeth and waloweth in all ſuperfluitie of riches, and doth build and rayſe the frame in all ſuperfluous wealth and glory: So is it to be feared leaſt the walles thereof in time fall to decay, and when the walles be downe, vtter ruine and ſubuerſion follow after. Agaynſt vs, he knoweth that is the ſearcher of all hearts, how furiouſly theſe Catholiques rage and go to work: Saiyng, therefore excommunicating me that I will not take vpon me the iourney I haue promiſed beyond the ſeas: whereas ineuitable and moſt vrgent cauſes and perils, as well to the Churche of God as alſo to the Empire, beſides the annoyaunce of myne infirmitie and ſicknes, do deteine me at home, and ſtay the ſame, but ſpecially, the inſolency of the rebellious Sicilians. For why, neither doo we thinke it ſafety to our Empire, not expedient to the Chriſtian ſtate, that we ſhould now take our iourney into Aſia, leauing behinde vs at home ſuch inteſtine and ciuill warres: no more then for a good ſurgeon, to lay healing plaiſter to a grieuous wounde newe ſtriken with the ſworde, and made. In concluſion, alſo to this he addeth: admoniſhing all the Princes of the world that they would beware and take heede (by their auaricious iniquitie) of lyke perill and daunger to themſelues: Becauſe that as the prouerbe is: It behoueth him to look about, that ſeeth his neighbours houſe on fire. Thus much out of Pariſienſ.pag 69.

An other iourney of the Emperour to Ieruſalem.

But now, that Fredericus the Emperor might in very deed ſtop yͤ ſlaunders of the cruell Pope, which did perſiſt and goe forward ſtill in his excommunication agaynſt him: And that he might declare in the whole world, howe that the laſt yeare he forſlowed not his iourny by his own voluntary will, but by neceſſitie: when he had deuiſed and prepared all thing meet for the warre, and that he had gathered together and leuied a great army of mẽ: He departed from thence to Brunduſium, committing the gouernment of his kingdome to Renaldus the ſonne of Duke Spoletus, and to Anſelmus a Baron of Inſtigenſis and came by ſea to Cyprus with his hoſte.

The Emperour oppreſſed by famine and by prayer myraculouſly relieued.

From Cyprus, the Emperour with his whole nauy ſayled into Ioppa, which City he fortified, for that the paſſages by land were ſtopped and kept of the enemies: And by ſea might he not paſſe nor trauaile, by meanes of yͤ extreme weather and tempeſt: whereby it came to paſſe, that within ſhort ſpace they lacked vitayles and were ſore afflicted with famine. Thẽ fell they to prayer and made their humble ſupplicatiõ to God, with whoſe teares his wrath being appeaſed: the great tempeſt and long cõtinued foule weather ceaſed, whereby (the ſeas now being calme) they had both vitaile great plẽty, and all other neceſſary things for their need, brought vnto them: whereby immediatly it came to paſſe, that both the Emperour & his army as alſo the inhabitauntes of Ioppa were greatly refreſhed and animated: and on the other ſide their enemies being diſappoynted of theyr purpoſe, were greatly diſcouraged. In ſo much, that the king of Egipt who with great power (accõpanied with Scarapho his brother prince of Gaza, and the Prince of Damaſcus their nephew, with many other Dukes and nobles) hauing incamped themſelues within one dayes iourny of Ioppa, thinking to haue beſieged the ſame: were contented vpon the comming of the Emperors Harolds vnto them to intreat of a peace. Wherupon, Embaſſadours were ſent vnto them with the Emperours demaunds right profitable to the Chriſtian common weale. The Saraſens (immediately conſulting vpon the ſame) graunted thereunto: ſo that a peace for x. yeares was concluded, & was confirmed by ſolempne othe on the behalfe of both Princes according to their ſeueral vſages and maner: the forme and condition of which peace, briefly collected are theſe.

A concluſion of a profitable peace during x. yeares betwene the Turkes and the Chriſtians.

Firſt, that Fridericke the Emperour, ſhould be crowned and annoynted king of Ieruſalem, according to the maner of the kinges of Ieruſalem before him.

The articles of the peace agreed vpon.

Secondly, that all the lands & poſſeſſions which were ſituate betwixt Ieruſalem and Ptolomaida, & the greateſt part of Palaſtina, and Cities of Tyrus and Sydon which were in Syria, and al other territories which Baldwinus the 4. at any time had and occupyed there: ſhoulde be deliuered vnto him, onely certayne caſtles reſerued.

Thirdly that he might fortifie and builde what fortreſſes and caſtles he thought good, citties and townes: in all Syria and Paleſtina.

Fourthly, that all the priſoners which were in the Saracens hands, ſhould be raunſomed freely and ſent home: and agayne, that the Saracens might haue leaue without armour to come into the Temple where the Lords ſepulcher is, to pray: and that they ſhould holde and keepe ſtill Chratum, and the kinges mount.

The letters of Fredericke to the princes and pope of his ſucceſſe.

Frideritck now, for that he thought the cõcluſion of this peace to be ſo neceſſary as alſo profitable for al Chriſtians, and had alſo gotten as much thereby, as if the warres had continued he ſhould: he ſent his Legates with letters into the weſt, to all Chriſten kinges, princes, and potentates, as alſo to the biſhop of Rome: declaring vnto them the circumſtance and ſucceſſe of his iourny and warres, as partly ye haue heard: Requiring thẽ, that they alſo woulde praiſe and geue God thankes for his good ſucceſſe and profitable peace concluded: And deſireth the Pope that for as much as he had now accõpliſhed his promiſe, neither that there was any cauſe now wherefore he ſhould be with hym diſpleaſed, that he might be reconciled and obtaine his fauor.

The Emperour crowned king of Ieruſalem.

In the meane ſeaſon, the Emperour with all hys army marcheth to Ieruſalem: where, vppon Eaſter day in the yeare of our Lorde. 1229. hee was with great triumphe & comfort of al his nobles, and alſo the Magiſtrates of that kingdome (onely the Patriarche of Cyprus the kings Legate, and Oliuer the maiſter or captayne of the Temple wͭ his company, excepted) ſolemnly and with great applauſe crowned king.

After this, he reedifieth the Citty and walles thereof which by the Saracens were beaten downe and battered. After that, he furniſheth it with munition, he buildeth vp the Churches and temples that were ruinous, he fortifieth Nazarethum and Ioppen with ſtrong garriſons, vitaile, and all other thinges neceſſary.

Now ſee and behold I pray you, whileſt that Fredericke was thus occupyed in the kingdome of Ieruſalem, what practiſes the Pope had in Italy: Not I warrant you any whit at all carefull in the affayres of the Chriſtian commõ wealth, but ſtudiyng and labouring what miſchiefe and ſpite he might worke agaynſt the Emperour: whom, of a ſet purpoſe he had ſo occupied (partly for hate, and partly to enriche himſelfe) in Aſia and Ieruſalem, ſo farre out of Italy, ye may be ſure. Firſt, he cauſed the ſouldiours whiche the Emperour ſent for out of Germany to the mayntenaunce of the holy warres, to be ſtayde as they paſſed through Italy: letting them of their iourney, and tooke from them, and ſpoyled them of all ſuch prouiſion as they had. And not onely this, but he ſent ſecretly alſo hys letters into Aſia, to thoſe that were of his owne faction: that is, to the Patriarche of Ieruſalem, and ſouldiors that kept the temple and the hoſpitall, intiſing and inciting thẽ to rebell agaynſt the Emperour: whiche thing, Blondus himſelfe that Popiſh Paraſite or hiſtoriographer diſſimuleth or hideth not. But that he furthermore diſſwaded the princes of the Saracens, that they ſhould make no league nor take any truce with Fridericke, neither deliuer vp vnto hym the Crowne and Kingdome of Ieruſalem. Whiche letters as they were manifeſt teſtimonyes of his trecherie and treaſon towardes him whom God had inſtituted and made his liege Lord and ſoueraigne, and mightieſt potentate vpon earth: ſo was it hys will, that he ſhould come to the knowledge therof, and that thoſe letters ſhoulde fall into his handes. And that he kept the ſame letters for the more credible teſtimony thereof: in the ſame his laſt Epiſtle vnto the Chriſtian Princes he proteſteth. The copy of which letter amongeſt his other Epiſtles, you ſhall haue expreſſed.

The firſt and ſecret practiſe of Pope Gregory.9.

Neither were the Popes letters written to that leauened ſecte and factious in vayne. For the Patriarche and his Collegioners which tooke their name of the Temple, did mightely repugne agaynſt Fredericke. They rayſed a tumult in Ptolomaida agaynſt him: they accuſed him and his Legates openly of treaſon: and did malipartly & boldly wſtand the right worthy and good order he made amongeſt them. But as God would, by the helpe of the inhabitantes of Piſa and the Genowayes, and the Dutch ſouldiours: both their falſe accuſations were refelled, and alſo their ſeditious purpoſe & tumult expreſſed. And thys was the cauſe, that when all other men reioyced and were glad of the Emperours coronation, they as wicked confederatours were heauy therefore, and obtrectours of hys worthy laud and fame.

The Emperour withſtandeth the ſecret treaſon which the pope had wrought againſt him at Ieruſalem.

The Pope, when he had thus conſpired agaynſt Fredericke, and had betrayed him to the publicke enemy of all Chriſten men, the Turke: he coulde not diſſemble this hys miſchieuous fact, nor content himſelfe therewith, but that he would deuiſe and practiſe yet an other. For by reaſon of thoſe ſclaunders (whiche a little before I touched) of the death and ſlaughter of hys wife Iola: he incited Iohn Brennus his father in lawe to make warre agaynſt hym, who cauſed the ſubiectes of his Empire to withdraw from him their allegeance, as alſo the inhabitants of Picenum, & inhabitantes of Lumberdy. And thus ioyning themſelues together, craued farther ayd of the Frenche king, whereby they made a great power. That done, they deuided theyr hoſt in two armies, inuading with the one the Empire, & with the other the proper territories and ditions belonging in the inheritaunce of Fredericke: Iohn Brennus and Pandolphe Sanellanus, leading the one (as Generals) into Campania and the kingdome of Naples: and the other (with Iohn Columna Cardinals his Legat, and that Thomas before conuicted of treaſon, being his Lieftenantes) he ſendeth into Picenum.

The ſecond and manifeſt treaſon of the Pope againſt Fredericke.

Brennus Pãdolphus, Iohannes Columna & Thomas the traytor, the Popes generalles and leaders of his hoſte.

Of this treaſon of the Pope agaynſt Fredericus, doth alſo Mat. Pariſ. make mention during hys warres in Aſia. Who (ſayth he) purpoſed to haue depoſed him, and to haue placed alium quem libet filium pacis & obedientiæ loco eius ſubrogare, that is, any other he cared not whom (ſo that he were the childe of peace and obedience) in hys ſteede. And for the more certaintie thereof, the ſaid Mat. Pariſ. pag. 71. repeateth the letter which a certayne Earle of Siria wrote vnto him concerning the ſame, which letter here vnder inſueth word for word.

To the high and mighty Prince Fredericus by the grace of

God Emperour of Rome, and euer Auguſtus and moſt puiſſant king of Sicilia, Thomas Earle of Actran his faythfull and truſty ſubiect in all thing humble ſalutation. After your departure moſt excellent Prince, Gregory the Byſhop of Rome, & publique enemy to your magnificēce, gathering together a great power & hoſt of men, By Iohannes Brennius late king of Ieruſalem and other ſtout captaynes whome he hath made generals of the ſame hys hoſt: As a foreigne enemy inuading your dominions and poſſeſſions of your highnes ſubiectes agaynſt the lawe of Chriſtianitie: hath purpoſed and determined to vanquiſh and ſubdue you with the materiall or temporall ſworde, whome he cannot maiſter and ouercome with the ſpirituall ſworde, he ſayth. For the foreſayd Iohn Brennus gathering out of Fraunce and other prouinces neare adioyning, a great armye: geueth vnto them of the treaſure he hath gotten (by what meanes together I cannot tell) great wages, in hope to recouer and get from you the Empire. And furthermore, the ſame Iohn and others (the captaynes of the ſee Apoſtolicall inuading your land) burne and deſtroy all as they goe, driuing away and taking for their booties, all that they can come by, as well cattell as other thinges: And ſuch as they take priſoners, they conſtrayne by inflicting them with grieuous puniſhementes to raunſome themſelues for great ſummes of money: neither ſpare they man, woman, nor childe, but take and keepe your townes and caſtles, hauing no regarde that you be in the ſeruice of Ieſus Chriſt. And further, if any make mention of your maieſty vnto him, he ſayth there is none other Emperour but himſelfe. Your friends and ſubiectes moſt excellent Prince, much maruell hereupon: yea and alſo the Clergy themſelues of the Empire, doe maruell with what cōſcience or vpon what conſideration, the Biſhop of Rome can doe the ſame, making ſuch bloudy warres and ſlaughter vpon Chriſtian men: eſpecially, ſeeing that Chriſt commaunded Peter, when he ſtroke with the materiall ſworde to put vp the ſame into the ſcabbard, ſaying: all that ſtrike with the ſword ſhall periſh with the ſword Or els by what lawe, he dayly can excommunicate ſuch pirates, burners of mens houſes, and robbers: when he himſelfe is the patron and mayntayner of ſuche himſelfe: hereat, they greatly muſe and maruell. Wherefore moſt mighty and renowmed Emperour, I beſeeche your highnes to cōſider your owne ſafety: for that the ſayd Iohn Brennus hath layde and fortifie, all the portes and hauens with no ſmall company of men and ſouldiours: that if (not knowing therof) your grace ſhold ariue in any of them, the ſame gariſons of his ſhoulde apprehend and take you as a priſoner: whiche thing to chaunce GOD forefend.

Thus whileſt the hoſt of this hoſtile enemy the Pope was encamped in the dominiōs of Fridericke, he receaued the letters which Fridericke by his Legates ſent into Europa as you heard: wherby he vnderſtood the good ſucceſſe he had in Aſia: who not onely tooke no delectation at all therin, but was alſo in a vehement perturbatiō therwith: wherby manifeſtly it may appeare, what was the cauſe & meaning of the Pope, that he was ſo ſolicitous & vrgent to haue Fredericke the Emperour make a voiage into Aſia. Doubtleſſe euen the ſame, that Pelias had whē by hys inſtigation he procured Iaſon with all the choſen youth and floure of Grecia to ſayle into Colchus, to fetch awaye the golden fleaſe: and that by the oportunitie of his abſence he might vſe, or rather abuſe hys power & tyranny: And that Fridericke might either be long afflicted & moleſted in the Aſian warre, or that he might periſh and loſe his life therin, was that he ſought and all that he deſired.

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And when he ſaw, that fortune neither fauored his fetches, nor ſerued to his lōging luſt, he was as a man bereft of his wits, ſpecially at theſe tidings of the proſperous ſucceſſe of ỷ Emperour. He tare and threw his letters on the ground: and with all opprobrious words rebuked & reuiled the Legates for the Emperor their maſters ſake: which thing alſo Blōdus himſelfe denieth not, although he write altogether in the fauour of the Pope. And to the intent that he might couer this his rage and vnbridled fury with ſome cloke & colour of iuſt deſerued dolour: He fayned himſelfe therefore ſo much to miſlike therwith, as though the Emperour therein had onely reſpected his owne priuate cōmoditie, not regarding the vtilitie of the Chriſtians: for ỷ the Saracens had licence (although without armour & weapō) to haue repayre vnto the ſepulcher of Chriſt, & had left for thē ſomewhat neare the ſame an hoſterie or lodging place: For which occaſion ſayth Blondus, his Lord Pope rebuked the Emperours Legates by the name of traytors and ſuch like other opprobrious wordes. Now go to frend Blondus, by what ſtrong argumentes proue you & your Lord Pope, that the peace which the Emperour hath concluded, to be either againſt the Chriſtian common wealth, or that the Emperour was a traytour. But who is it that ſeeth not theſe thinges either by reading of old and auncient writers, or els partly by me that haue gathered & collected the ſame out of diuers monuments and hiſtoryes: & plainly perceaueth not the conſpiracies & treaſons, of your good Lord the Pope ſo notable and filthy, as alſo hys manifeſt ſhame and infamie. What? there be diuers that write, how the Pope commaunded theſe Legates of Fredericke to be made ſecretly out of the way: and alſo how he commanded diuers ſouldiours returning out of Aſia to be ſlayne, to the intēt that none ſhuld heare the report of thoſe good newes which were in Aſia, nor none go thether to tell ỷ fetches he had in hand at home. But I will make report of no more thē of thoſe things which all the writers wͭ moſt conſent agree vpon: This is moſt certayne, that the Pope cauſed this rumour to be ſpread of the death & taking of the Emperor vpon this conſideration, ỷ he might allure vnto him the fidelitie of thoſe Citties in the kingdome of Naples, which yet kept their allegeance vnto Fridericke, of whom they ſhould now hope for no longer refuge. And of that doth the Emperour in hys Epiſtle intituled Leuate oculos, greatly agaynſt him complayne.

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Great are theſe iniuries of the Pope agaynſt Fredericke, and moſt wicked treaſons: but herewith coulde not ỷ cruell and tirannicall mind of him be contented, nor yet his luſt ſatiſfied: but ſo farre exceeded, as ſcarce is credible ỷ it could. For he preſumed not onely to ſet variance betwene Henry (whō Fridericke his Father had cauſed to be made king of Germany) and him: but alſo by his allurementes, cauſed him to become an enemy vnto him. To whō, when his father had aſſigned the Duke of Boioria (named Ludouicus) to be his ouerſeer and coūceller: neyther knew he amongſt all the princes of Germany a man more faythfuller to him in his office and duety, or els more vertuous, or els more grauer & apt to be in authoritie: Henry, fearing leaſt he ſhould vnderſtand & know of theſe ſecret councels which he with his conſpiratours had in hand agaynſt hys father: or that he ſhould vtter the ſame vnto him, or that he ſhould go about to diſſwade him from that he was purpoſed to doe: by authoritie of the court and Senate of Rome, he put him out of office. And this was the fetch of all theyr pollicie: that together and at one inſtaunce (but in diuers and ſondry places farre one from an other) ſharpe & cruell warre might be made agaynſt the Emperour: ſo that hys power being diſtract to the appeaſing of variable contention, might be himſelfe the eaſyer oppreſſed of a few.

The third practiſe of P Gregory againſt the Emperour.

The P. ſetteth the ſonne againſt the father, as a good father of peace.

Henry Ceſar at the popes intiſement putteth from him his truſtie counſailer Ludouicus.

When the Emperour now vnderſtode what ſtyrre the Pope kept in all his dominions in his abſence, and that he had ſomewhat reformed and appeaſed the troubles whiche he ſecretly had wrought him in the kingdome of Ieruſalē thinking to preuent the Popes purpoſe in that he went about, and alſo to confirme the friendſhip towardes him of them, whom in his abſence he found his truſty ſubiects: He left in Aſia Renaldus with his gariſons, commanding all the other bands to be vnder his appointment, and with al ſpeede came foorth certayne Gallyes to Calabria. During the tyme of his there being, which vnlooked for came thether: he aſſembled hys power and made with his frends all the ſpeedy preparation that he might. From thence he went to Barleta, where he taried xx. dayes: to whom came the Duke of Spolitanum with all his gariſons. And ſo frō thence, with al his power he came into Apulia, & remoued Iohn Brennus his father in lawe from the ſiege of Calatia: and within ſhort time by Gods help, recouereth agayn all his holds and dominions there. And from thence going into Campania, he winneth Beneuentum, and as many other townes and holdes as the Pope had there, euen almoſt to Rome, and ſo after that, Umbria and Picena. And now, although the Emperour (being moued therunto vpon good occaſion, & vpon ỷ Popes worthy deſert) had gotten & recouered this ſo likely an entrance vpon the Popes dominions, wherby he might haue reuenged him of all the iniuries done to him: yet notwithſtanding, for ỷ he preferred nothing before the Chriſtian and publique tranquility (for ỷ loue of which he reſtrayning hys wrath ſo vehemētly vrged & kindled) ſēdeth vnto him hys Legates to intreat a peace: declaring vnto him, ỷ if no other conceaued grudge towards him were, then that he ſimuled and pretended: he promiſeth that he would make to him an accompt voluntarely, of all things that euer he had done in his lyfe, and that he would, and was contented to ſubmit himſelfe vnto the Churche: and alſo that for this cauſe he willingly offered vnto him both duety and obſeruaunce. Furthermore to the intreating of this peace and deciding of all controuerſies, he ſent to the Pope eight or x. of the nobleſt and chiefeſt about him, that were Princes and Dukes of the Empire. As Bartoldus the Patriarche of Aquileia, and his brother Otho prince of Dalmatia and Hiſtria, Eberhardus Iuuauenſis, Sigifridus, Reginoburgenſis, Sibbotus Auguſtanus, a worthy Prelate, Leopaldus of Auſtria & Stiria,

The Emperour hearing of the popes practiſes returneth ſecretly out of Aſia.

Iohn Brennus remoued frō the ſiege of Calatia

God proſpereth Fredericke in all his affaires.

Fredericke entreateth for the Popes fauour although hee haue no neede.

and Bernhardus being all Dukes, beſides others of the nobilitie to accompany them.

The Pope refuſeth a peace with the Emperour.

But yet ſo great was the inſolency and pride of ỹ ſtubburne pope, that by no gentlenes or beneficence, he of thoſe Princes could be brought that yeare to the profitable concord of the Church and Chriſtian common weale. O worthy head, ỹ challẽgeth al authoritie to himſelſe in ỹ Church of Chriſt, and in reſpect of his own wilfull reuenge, ſetteth nothing by the health & vtility of all Chriſtendome. Then therfore, when nothing coulde be done in the matter, & the moſt part of theſe noble men departed from Rome: ỹ next yeare after (with much adoe) a peace was made & concluded betwene thẽ, by the helpe and induſtry of Leopoldus of Auſtria, Hermannus capitaine of the Dutch ſouldiors, and the Preſident of Meſſanca,. The pope then abſoluing the Emperour Fridericus of his excommunication, tooke therfore of him an hundreth and twenty thouſand ounces of gold, reſtoring vnto him agayne the titles both of hys Empire, and alſo of his kingdomes. Nowe conſidering ỹ vncurteous dealing of the Pope with Fridericke the Emperour herein: who can ſufficiently muſe & maruell at the vnſhamefaſtnes of Blondus, which hath the face to write, that the Pope (yet notwithſtanding) had delt more gently and curteouſly with Fridericke then was meete, or beſeemed him to do. Who is it that doth not ſee his manifeſt flatery, coulored neyther with reaſon, nor ſecret diſſimulatiõ. But, much more truely, & better writeth Cuſpinianus cõcerning this matter which ſaith, that the Pope doth occupy very profitable marchandiſe, which for ſomuch money ſelleth that he receaued freely paying nothing therfore, if he had receaued it of Chriſt in deed, as he ſayth he had.

The price of the Emperours abſolution.

Vnſhamefull Blondus.

Cuſpinianus pretely girdeth the Pope.

And yet although the Emperour Fridericke, concluded with the Pope this vnprofitable peace for himſelf: yet he performed thoſe things ỹ were agreed vpõ faythfully & diligently. But the Pope, whiche thought it but a trifle to breake his promiſe, woulde not ſtand to the conditions of ỹ peace he made. For by ỹ way to paſſe ouer other things, neither hath he reſtored as he promiſed the cuſtomes in the land of Sicill, neither yet the city Caſtellana, whiche he before the peace cõcluded betwene thẽ did occupy & enioy. And that doth both Fridericke in his Epiſtles teſtifie, and alſo Fazellus in his 8. booke, writing of the affayres of Sicilia. Yet that notwᵗſtanding: Fridericke, for the quietneſſe and vtilitie of the commõ wealth, purpoſed with himſelfe to beare and ſuffer theſe ſmall iniuries. And further ſtudied in all that he might, as well by liberall gifts as otherwiſe, to haue the Pope to be to him a truſty frend. As whẽ the Romanes & other of the Eccleſiaſticall number made warre againſt ỹ Pope for certein poſſeſſiõs which he kept of theirs: he cõming to him at Reate, and as one that tendred the vnity of the church, & thinking to helpe the Pope at his earneſt requeſt in theſe matters: ſet his Legates vnto them, willing them to lay down their armour which agaynſt the Pope they bare. And when ỹ would not ſerue, at the Popes further requeſt & deſire he leuied an army againſt them at his owne charge, and draue them from the ſiege of Viterbium: with other ſuch like aſſured tokens of amitie and frendſhip he ſhewed him. Who notwᵗſtanding, ſo ſoone as the Emperour was departed with a ſmall cõpany which he tooke with him into Sicilia, leauing wyth him the greater and moſt part of his army for the mayntenaunce of his warres: concluded a peace wᵗ the Romaines (vnknowing to the Emperor) whom he had procured to trauell and labour therin with great expenſes: affirming that without his wil and commandement, the Emperour had expelled them, and driuẽ them out of the territories of Viterbiũ. And hereof, doth Fridericke alſo himſelfe make mentiõ in his ſecond and third Epiſtle, where he complayneth of the iniuries of the Popes towardes him.

What beneficence the Emperour vſeth to haue the Popes friendſhip which he ſhall neuer gette.

A well recompenced good turne of the Pope to the Emperour.

Therfore, greater cõmendation had Blondus deſerued if he had written of theſe trecheries of the Pope, then that forgetting himſelfe (as vnto lyers often it chaunceth) in ỹ he writeth both cõtrary to himſelf in the effect of this matter, and contrary to the veritie of Fridericus his hiſtory: which ſayth that the Romaines were incited to theſe new tumultes by his intiſing and ſetting on. As though ſimple men of vnderſtãding, could not both by the offering of his ſonne in hoſtage, by the great preparation of ỹ warres, and by the euent ſpecially of the thing it ſelf gather the cõtrary. But to to impudent will Blondus needes ſhew himſelfe.

Blondus taken with vntruth.

Whileſt that theſe things were done in Italy and Sicilia, great rebellions were moued in Germany agaynſt ỹ Emperour by Henricus Ceſar and Fridericke of Auſtria, hys ſonnes being the chief authors therof. For Henry, being diſapoynted and ſhakẽ of from his Lord Pope and other conſpiratours by reaſõ of the peace betwene his father & him as ye heard: began now to make open chalenge to the Empire. And for that cauſe, he as before is ſayd, put frõ him Ludouicus whom he knew to be vnto the Emperour his father ſo louing and an aſſured frend: who as willingly (perceauing and ſmelling what miſchief he went about) forſooke his court and came to Boioria: who had not there remayned a yeare, but was as he walked abroad at a certayne tyme ſtabbed in with a dagger of one Relhemius & preſently dyed, his ſeruauntes beyng not farre from him. Of whoſe death diuers diuerſly write. Notwithſtanding the ſequell doth ſhewe them to write trulieſt, that affirme the ſayd ſtriker to be ſuborned by Henry Ceſar: who comming vnto him in the habite of a meſſenger, deliuered vnto him certaine letters which he fayned to be ſent frõ the Emperour. And whileſt Ludouicus was in reading the ſame, he ſtrake him in with a dagger and gaue him his mortall wound: & with ſpeed fled vpõ the ſame. After whoſe death ſucceeded in that Dukedome his ſonne Otho, who when ſolempnly according to the maner of the Boiores he ſhold haue bene created, was alſo let by the ſame Henry Ceſar: who forbad the aſſẽbly of the magiſtrates and Citizens of the ſame. They notwitſtanding, neglecting his vniuſt reſtraint created him: wherefore, he firſt beſieged Reginoburgh & with an other company, ſacked, brent, and waſted Boioria: wᵗ many moe ſuch great outragies & rebellions.

The Emperours ſonnes no lõger ſuborned, make manifeſt rebellion againſt their father.

A wicked murther of Henry Ceſar for true and faith ſeruice.

The outrag of H. Ceſar againſt the Emperour his father.

When intelligence was brought of theſe thinges to the Emperour, he ſent his Legates and cõmaunded that both the Ceſar his ſonne and other Princes of Germany which had aſſembled their armies ſhould breake vp and diſperſe the ſame. And becauſe he ſaw and perceaued now manifeſtly that his ſonne made ſo apparant rebellion agaynſt hym, and fearing greater inſurrections to inſue in Germany, he thought good to preuent the ſame with al expeditiõ: wherfore he determined to go in all haſt to Germany with hys army, (from whence he had bene abſent nowe 14. yeares) and hereunto he maketh the Pope priuy. The Pope promiſed the Emperor hereupon, that he would write his letters in his behalfe to all the Princes of Germany: but perſwaded him to the vttermoſt of his power, that he ſhoulde in no caſe go into Germany himſelfe. For why, his conſcience accuſed him that he had written to the nobles of Germany euen from the beginning of his Papacy (for the hate and grudge he had agaynſt the Emperor) that they ſhould ſuffer him, neither any of his heyres to enioy the Empire, & farther had ſtirred them all vp to rebell agaynſt him: and had moued Henry the Emperors ſonne by his bribes and fayre promiſes, to conſpire againſt his father. And to conclude, he was the author & procurer of ỹ conſpiracie which the Lombardes made then agaynſt him: and fearing leaſt theſe things ſhould come now to the Emperours eare, he was greatly troubled and careful. But the Emperour not thinking it good at ſo needefull a time to be abſent: he (all doubt ſet a part) with his ſecond ſonne Conradus, went ſpeedely into Germany. And aſſẽbling there a councell in the City of Nureburgh: Henry Ceſar his ſonne, after hys conſpiracie was manifeſtly detected, which he had in practiſe with the Longoberdes (whereof, the Pope was chiefe autor) was by iudgement and ſentence of 70. Princes, condemned of high treaſon. And being commaunded by hys father to be bound, was as a priſoner brought to Apulia: where not long after in priſon he dyed. In whoſe ſtede, he ordayned Conradus his 2. ſonne Ceſar, by conſent of all the Piers & Princes, Furthermore, by publique commandement he renounced Fridericke Auſtriacus for his ſonne, and for an enemy to the publique weale he cauſed him to be proclaymed. And further, when he ſawe that neither that puniſhment could cauſe him to remember himſelfe and acknowledge his abuſe, the Emperour with a great armye (accompanied with diuers of the noble men of Germany) tooke from him all Auſtria and Stiria, and brought them agayne vnder hys owne obedience and fidelitie.

The Emperour 14. yeares out of Germany.

The Pope feareth that his treaſon ſhould be ſpied by the Emperour going into Germanie.

Henry Ceſar condemned of treaſon, and dyeth in priſon.

Fredericus Auſtriacus proclaymed an open enemy to his father, and diſherited.

The ſame yeare, maryed he his third wife named Iſabell, the daughter of king Iohn of England. Then, when he had ſet Germany in a ſtay and quietnes, he left there Conradus Ceſar hys ſonne: and with hys hoſt returneth agayne into Italy, there to puniſh ſuch as had with Henry his eldeſt ſonne conſpired agaynſt him: whoſe treaſons were all detected at the condemnation of Henry Ceſar hys ſonne, chiefly ſet on by the Pope. When the Pope had vnderſtanding that the Emperour with warlike furniture marched toward Italie: although he fained himſelfe recõciled, and to be a frend to Fredericke, yet was he notwithſtanding to him a moſt ſecrete & infeſtiue enemie. And vnderſtanding, that he brought with him ſuche a power, both of horſmen and footemen, to do execution of ſuch as he vnderſtoode to haue bene conſpirators againſt him in the late tumult and rebelliõ: Thoſe which were faultie herein and giltie (and all other that tooke their partes) hee admoni-

The Emperour maryeth kyng Iohns daughter of Englande.

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The pope againe beginneth to play his part.

ſhed to ioyne thẽſelues together: and that they ſhould furniſh ſtrongly their Cittyes with garriſons: that they ſend for ayde to theyr friendes, and that with all the force they were able, they ſhold prepare them for the warre. The reſt of the Citties alſo in Italy, whether they were the Emperours or his owne, he indeuoureth to make them all hys, and proper to himſelfe.

The Popes embaſſage to the Emperour.

Furthermore, vnto the Emperor he ſendeth his Embaſſadours: to whom, vnder the pretence of nouriſhing a peace, he had geuen ſecret cõmandement: that they ſhould interdict him and his hoſt, ſo ſoone as he came within the borders of Italy. To the preſeruation of which peace, ſaith he, he had (but late ſince) promulgate a ſubſidie to be gathered amongſt the Chriſtians, when he began the holy warre. And alſo to ſay (not by way of intreatie, but cõmaundingly) that what cauſe of controuerſie he had with the Longobardes: the ſame he ſhould commit to him, and ſtand to hys arbitrement. whereunto, the Emperour replying, maketh his Legate this aunſwere.

The Emperour againe vnto the Pope.

Shortly after ſayth he, the peace was made betweene the Pope and me: he called me for a chiefe defence both of yͤ Church and himſelfe, agaynſt the Romaynes which made warre with him: and at his requeſt, with mine owne proper charge I mayntayned that his warre, & gaue his enemies the ouerthrow. And further ſayd, that he ſhould not do well through the pretence of peace, to be a let to him frõ that which both by lawe and right he might and ought to do: But rather ſo he ought to diſpoſe himſelfe, with force to reſtrayne and expell them, which gathered thẽ together as rebels thinking to exclude themſelues from the ſubiection both of him and the Empire. And that, ſuch rebels as both had reſtrained the ſouldiours which the Emperor ſent for when he was in Aſia, & diuers others alſo (which for neceſſary cauſes he had called to hym) they had ſo wickedly delt with & abuſed: He, as they had deſerued, ſhould rather deſire to ſee puniſhed & reformed, then to mayntain them (vnder colour of peace) being ſo wicked and manifeſt euill doers. And touching that he demandeth of hym, that he ſhould commit and deferre ſo great a cauſe wherein the wealth and ſafety of the Empire conſiſteth, to his arbitrement by him to be determined: without eyther aſſignemẽt of any tyme when, or adding thereunto any condition or exceptiõ for not doing the ſame: neither the diminiſhing & impayring the dignitie and regaltie of his Empire conſidered, he could not but maruell: Seing yͭ neither it appertained to his calling and facultie, nor to the benefite or cõmoditie of the Empire. To this effect alſo writeth Fridericke in his laſt Epiſtle to the Pope: the effect whereof amongſt other Epiſtles you may read.

A ſecret cõſpiracie of the pope againſt the Emperour.

And in the ſame his letters he ſheweth, that when the Emperour, at a certaine time had bene with the Pope: At his going away, he requeſted that when he came agayn he would come into Italy, but with his houſhold band and familie: For that, if he ſhoulde come as before he did accuſtome with his army, he ſhould terrifie thẽ ouermuch: amongſt whom ſayth he, you may aſſure your ſelfe to be in great ſafetye, and finde all thinges in reſt and quiet: when quite contrary (as the Emperor for a certainty had tryed) he had there all things ready and prepared for his deſtruction. So that, when he pretended vnto him greateſt frẽdſhip, he was buſieſt in conſpiring his death. The certayne time, when the Pope had this exerciſe in hand agaynſt the Emperor I cãnot ſearch out, neither may it be in his epiſtles vndated, eaſly foũd out: But yͭ of the certainty thereof no man need to doubt, I haue aſſigned you to the Emperours Epiſtle where he maketh mention of the ſame.

The Emperour marcheth into Italie, notwithſtanding the popes forbidding.

The Emperour then, as he had determined proſecuteth his purpoſe & marcheth into Italy: where he brought vnder his ſubiection, thoſe Cities that againſt him rebelled: as Mantua, Verona, Terniſium, Patauium, and others. And then, he afterward ſet vpõ the great hoſt of the Mediolanenſes, the Brixians, the Placentines and other confederators, vnto whom the Popes Legate Georgius Longomantanus had ioyned himſelfe: of whome he tooke 1000. priſoners, and alſo their general being the chief Magiſtrate in the Citty of Mediolanum, and Petrus Tenopolus the Dukes ſonne of Venice, & fiue diuers captaines moe and tooke all their enſignes. And in this battell ſpecially at the recouering of Marchia and Terniſſana he vſed the frendly ayd of Actiolinus.

The Emperour loth to breake the peace, of late concluded.

The Pope now ſomewhat diſmayd at this ouerthrow of his confederates & mates (though not much) began yet ſomewhat to feare the Emperour: & where as before, that which he did he wrought ſecretly and by others, nowe he goeth to worke (with might and mayne) to ſubdue and depriue the Emperour. And although the Emperour ſaw & perceaued what inward hate and mortall malice he bare towardes him: not onely by that he ſo apertly ſtood with his conſpiratours agaynſt him, but alſo that on euery ſide he heard, and from all partes was brought him certain word how greatly he laboured agaynſt him: as to opprobrious wordes, naughty reportes, and ſlaunders, to the intent to pull from him the hartes and fidelitie of his ſubiectes, and make thoſe that were his frends his enemies, neither that he meant at any time to take vp and ceaſe from ſuch euill and wicked practiſes: yet notwithſtanding, for that there ſhuld be no default in him foũd, for the breach of the league and peace betweene them a little before concluded: he ſendeth foure Legates to the Byſhop of Rome which ſhould aunſwere vnto and refute, thoſe criminous obiections whiche he layd vnto him: as alſo make him priuy to hys purpoſe, and what he ment to do, thereby to declare hys innocencie towardes him (in ſuch cauſes) and ſimplicitie.

The pope refuſeth to ſpeake with the Emperours Legates.

The new ſentence of proſcription againſt the Emperour.

The Pope wageth and hyreth 35. Galleyes to ſpoile the coaſts of the Emperor.

The Biſhop, when he vnderſtood theſe Embaſſadours to be not farre of from Rome, & knew the cauſe of their cõming: he thought with himſelfe, that in hearing the excuſe and reaſonable anſwere of the Emperour, perhaps might be prouoked to deſiſt from hys purpoſe, and ſo degenerate from other of his predeceſſours: refuſeth to ſpeake with them, and at the day appoynted pronounceth the ſentence of proſcriptiõ againſt him, depriuing him of all his dignities, honours, titles, prerogatiues, kingdomes & whole Empire. And that he had no occaſion hereunto, as well Pandolphus & Colonutius, as the letters of the Emperour himſelfe do both right well declare. For it may appear, he dedicated as it were himſelf to his vtter ruine and deſtruction, when he did ſollicitate agaynſt Fridericus, Iacobus Tewpolus the Venetian Duke: whom, for the diſpleaſure he took with yͤ Emperor in the impriſoning of his ſonne, was in good hope he ſhould allure vnto him, he being in ſo troublous a time ſuch a comforter & ayder vnto him: that as Blondus writeth, in a certein Epiſtle gratulatory he calleth him Lord of the fourth part of Croatia and Dalmatia, and Lord of the halfe of the Romane Empire. And calling vnto him the Venetian and Genwetian Legates, made a peace betwixt them (whiche for certeine cauſes about their ſea coſtes were at variaunce) and couenaunted with them vpon this condition: that at their publique charges, they ſhould rig and man 35. gallyes, which ſhould ſpoyle and burne all alongſt the Sea coaſtes of the kingdomes and dominions of Fredericke.

The popes edict againſt the Emperour, *Aſcendit de mari bellica beſtia.*

Albertis Behauus the popes one hand.

The P. threateneth to curſe all thoſe that wiſh well to the Emperour.

But the Pope, when he ſaw the good will and fidelitie which the Duke of Venice bare vnto the Emperour, and ſaw alſo what ayd the Emperour had of him, neyther that he was like to wynne him to hys purpoſe: then had he recourſe agayne to his old crafty practiſes & ſubtleties. And further deuiſed, to put forth an Edict at Rome to the vniuerſal Church and people, the beginning whereof is Aſcẽdit de mari bellica beſtia: wherein, he declareth the cauſes wherfore he curſeth and geueth the Emperour to yͤ deuill of hell, & hath deiect him from all his princely dignitie. He in the ſame, accuſeth him of ſo many & ſo huge a heape of miſchiefes, as to nominate thẽ my hart deteſteth. And beſides yͭ, he reſtrayneth his ſoueraigne Lord, & Emperor of the appellatiõ which euery priuat man by law may haue. He ſlaundereth him of treaſon, periury, cruelty, ſacrilege, killing of his kinde, and all impietie: he accuſeth him for an heretike, a ſchiſmatike, and a miſcreant: And to be briefe, what miſchiefe ſo euer the Pope can deuiſe, with that doth he charge him and burden him. All this doth he ſayth the Pope, that when he hath brought our holines, and all the Eccleſiaſticall eſtate to beggary, he might ſcoffe at and deride the Religion of Chriſt, which as a miſcreant he deteſteth. And nowe for that the Pope had a great and ſpeciall truſt in Albertus Behauus of yͤ noble houſe called Equeſtri (as crafty a poſtle as the beſt) as one whom he ſaw ready to leane to his luſt: To him the Pope deliuered two other mandates in ſeueral letters ſealed, in which he commaundeth al Biſhops, Prelates, & other of the Clergy: that they ſhould ſolemnly recite the ſame in their churches in ſteed of their ſermon, that by his decree he had excommunicate Fridericke out of the fellowſhip of Chriſten men: put hym from the procuratiõ or gouernment of the Empire: & that he had releaſed al his ſubiectes of their allegeãce & fidelitie towardes him. And farthermore, chargeth thẽ, & all other Chriſten men vnder the payne of curſing & dãnation, that neither they ſuccour yͤ Emperour, nor yet ſomuch as wiſh him well. Thus he, being the Popes ſpeciall & truſty ſeruiture & made to his hand, cauſed a moſt horrible confuſiõ and Chaos of publique quietnes, as ſhall after appeare.

Amongſt al other noble men of Germany at that time towardes the Emperour, was Otho the gouernour of Rhenus and Duke of Boiora, both moſt ſeruiceable and alſo a Prince of great honour, riches and eſtimatiõ. This prince,both with fayre promiſes & alſo rewards,he entiſed from hym, for that being made by him to beleue, ẏ Ludouicus his father of whō we ſpake before,was by the Emperour murthered and ſlaine. And the ſame Otho againe, cauſed 3. other Princes & Dukes,to reuolte from the Emperour to the Pope, which were neighbours & neare adioyning vnto him:as Vuenceſlaus,and Belus, princes of the Vngarians,and Henry Duke of Polonia. To whom came alſo Fridericus Auſtriacus hys ſonne: who becauſe he was proſcript or outlawed of hys father, and had hys dukedome waſted and brent as you heard,was eaſly won vnto the pope. Theſe gathering a Councell(whē they had thought to haue tranſlated the Empiere vnto the Kyngs ſonne of Denmarke)deſired to haue the popes Legates to be ſent from hym,to the effect of that election.

Otho with diuers other princes of Germany by the popes meane doe forſake the Emperour.

The Emperour was at Pataiuun when theſe newes were brought vnto him,what the pope had done at Rome Therefore he commaunded Peter to Vineis hys Secretary (vpon Eaſter day) to make a Narration to the people,of his great & liberall munificence to the byſhops and church of Rome, & again of the iniuries of them towards hym in recompence thereof: of hys innocencye alſo in that whereof he had accuſed hym: and of the vnſeemelines of ſuch an act or deede:of the right vſe of the eccleſiaſtical cenſure,& of the errours and abuſe of the church of Rome. By which Oratiō of hys, he ſo remoued the cloud from many mens hartes of blynde ſuperſtition, and the conceaued opinion of holines of the church of Rome, and Byſhops of the ſame,and alſo of theyr vſurped power and ſubtill perſwaſion:that both they playnely ſawe and perceaued the vices and filthynes of the Church of Rome and Byſhops of that ſea,as alſo theyr fraudulent deceites and flagitious doynges: moſt vehemently lamenting and complaynyng of the ſame. Albertus maketh mention of certayne Verſes whiche were ſent and written betweene the Byſhop of Rome and the Emperour. The which verſes in the latter of this preſent hiſtory of Fridericke you ſhall finde.

What great good the oration of Peter de Vineis did in the themperors behalfe.

The Emperour moreouer both by hys letters & Legates, geueth intelligence to all Chriſten kynges, to the Princes of hys owne Empire, to the Colledge of Cardinals,and people of Rome: as well of the fayned crymes wherewith he was charged, as alſo of the cruelty of the Byſhop of Rome agaynſt hym. The copy of whiche letter or epiſtle followeth here vnder inſerted.

The Emperour to the Prelates of the worlde.

The Emperours letter to all prelates to bridle the pope and reſtraine him of his will.

IN the beginning and creation of the world: the ineffable foreknowledge and prouidence of God (who aſketh councell of none)created in the firmament of Heauen two lightes (a greater and a leſſe)the greater he created to gouerne the day, and the les to gouerne the night: which two , ſo do their proper offices and dueties in the Zodiake, that although oftentimes the one be in an oblique reſpect vnto the other,yet the one is not enemy to theother: but rather doth the ſuperior , cōmunicate his light with the inferior. Euē ſo, the ſame eternal foreknowledge hath appointed vpon the earth two regimentes: that is to witte, Prieſthoode and kingly power : the one for knowledge and wiſdome, the other for defence. That man,which was made of two partes (ouer wanton and diſſolute) might haue two raignes to gouerne and bridle him withall, that peace thereby and loue might dwell vppon the face of the earth. But alas, the B. of Rome ſitting in the chaire of peruerſe doctrine or peſtilence,that Phariſee anoynted wyth the oyle of iniquitie aboue the reſt of his conſortes in this our time, which for his abhominable pride is fallen from heauen: indeuoureth with his power to deſtroy and vndoe all, and thinketh (I beleeue) to ſtellifie againe himſelfe there from whence hee fell. Hys purpoſe is to darken and to ſhadowe the light of our vnſpotted life, whileſt that (altering the veritie into lies) his Papall letters ſtuft with all vntruthes, are ſent into ſondry partes of the world: of his owne corrupt humor,and vpon no reaſonable cauſe, blemiſhing the ſinceritie of our Religion. The Lord Pope hath compared vs,vnto the beaſt riſing out of the ſea,full of names of blaſphemy, and ſpotted like a Lyberd. But we ſay,that he is that mōſtrous beaſt of whom it is ſayd,and of whome we thus read : And there ſhall come an other red horſe out of the ſea , and hee that ſhall ſit on him,ſhall take peace away out of the earth: let them therefore that dwell vpon the earth deſtroy him. For ſince the tyme of hys promotiō,he hath not ben the father of mercy but of diſcord: A dilligent ſteward of deſolation in ſtead of conſolation: and hath intiſed all the worlde to commit offence. And to take the wordes in right ſenſe and interpretation,he is that great Dragon that dath deceiued the whole worlde : hee is that Antichriſt,of whom he hath called vs the forerunner : he is that other Balaam hired for money to curſe vs:the Prince of darcknes, which hath abuſed the Prophetes. This is the Aungel leaping out of the ſea,hauing his Phials fild with bitternes, that he may both hurt the ſea and the lande : the counterfait Vicar of Chriſt, that ſetteth forth hys owne imaginations. He ſayth that we doe not rightly beleue in the Chriſten fayth, and that the world is deceiued with three maner of deceiuers (which to name God forbid we ſhould open our mouth) ſeeing that openly we cōfeſſe onely Ieſus Chriſt our Lord and Sauiour to be the euerlaſting ſonne of God, coequall with hys father and the holy Ghoſt, begotten before all worldes , and in proceſſe of tyme ſent downe vpon the earth for the ſaluation of mankinde:Conceaued,not by the ſeede of man,but by the holy Ghoſt: which was borne of the glorious virgin Mary, & after that ſuffered and dyed as touching the fleſh: and by hys Godhead the third day, he rayſed from death that other nature which he aſſumpted in the wombe of his mother. But we haue learned,that the body of Machomet hangeth in the ayre and that his ſoule is buryed in hell: whoſe works are damnable & contrary to the law of the moſt higheſt. We affirme alſo,that Moyſes was the faythfull ſeruant of God,and a true teacher of the law: and that he talked with God in mount Sinay,vnto whō the Lord ſayd,Rubrum.&c. By whō alſo God wrought miracles in Egipt, and deliuered the law written to the Iſraelites,& that afterwards with the elect he was called to glory. In theſe and other thinges our enemy and enuier of our ſtate,cauſing our mother the church to accuſe her ſonne,hath written agaynſt vs venemous and lying ſclaunder, and ſent the ſame to the whole worlde. If hee had rightly vnderſtoode the Apoſtles meaning, he woulde not haue preferred his violent will before reaſon,which beareth ſuch ſway with him:neither would he haue ſēt out his Mandates to the ſuggeſtion of thoſe which call light darcknes,and euill good:whiche ſuſpect hony to be gall, for the great good opinion they haue cōceaued of that holy place,which in deed is both weak & infirm,& cōuerteth al truth into falſhood,& affirmeth that to be that is not.

Mā being made of two partes hath two ſeuerall regiments Gods word and the materiall ſworde.

The Apologie of the Emperor to the popes edict. *Aſcendit de mari &c.*

Antechriſt long agone deſcried to the world by the Emperour.

The confeſſion of the Emperours fayth whereof he was accuſed by the pope.

The pope vnder pretence of his holines deceiueth ſimple ſoules and ignorant men.

Truly my opinion (ſo indifferent on euery ſide) ought not in any caſe to be infringed and auerted from the fayth, to ſuch enemies of ſo corrupt a conſcience. Wherefore we greatly are inforced not a little to meruaile,which thing alſo doth much diſquyet vs to ſee:that you which be the pillers and aſsiſtentes in office of righteous dealing,the Senators of Peters Citie,and the principal beames in Gods building:haue not quallified the perturbation of ſo fierce a Iudge:as doth the planets of heauē in their kynd:which to mittigate the paſsing ſwift courſe of the great orbe , or ſphere of heauen, draw a contrary way by theyr oppoſite mouinges. In very deed,our Imperial felicitie hath bene(almoſt euen from the beginning)ſpurned agaynſt, and enueied at of the papall ſee and dignitie: As Simonides being demanded why he had no mo enemies and enuiers of hys ſtate, anſwered and ſayd:*quia nihil faliciter geſsi*:for becauſe (ſayth he) I haue had no good ſucceſſe in any thing, that euer I tooke in hand. And ſo,for that we haue had proſperous ſucceſſe in all our enterpriſes (the Lordes name be bleſſed therefore) eſpecially in the ouerthrow (of late) of our rebellious enemies the Lombardes : to whom in their good quarrell he promiſed life and abſolution and remiſsion of their ſinnes, is the cauſe wherefore this Apoſtolicall biſhop mourneth and lamenteth: And now,not by your councels(I ſuppoſe)he laboureth to impugne this our felicitie,but of hys owne power of bynding & loſing,wherof he glorieth ſo much,he impugneth it. But preſently where power and habilitie wanteth to redreſſe,there doth abuſe take place. We ſee in hym which was ſo mighty a king,and the worthieſt prince amongſt all the Prophetes,to deſire & craue the reſtitution of Gods holy ſpirit,when he had polluted the dignitie of hys office. But the prouerbe is, *Vti indiſſolubilia non ſoluuntur ita inligabilia non ligantur*. As thinges indiſſoluble are not to be loſed, ſo thinges that cannot be bound, are not to be bound. Which thing manifeſtly is proued in him. For why, the ſcriptures of God doe inſtruct men how to liue,they mortifie our ſoules whiche are immortall, and quicken the ſame whiche are dead for want of lyfe. And doubtles, he is able to humble and bring downe thoſe that are vnworthy of dignitie, as much as him pleaſeth, and when him pleaſeth. Doubtleſſe, if the Byſhop of Rome were a true Byſhop indeed,innocent,impolute,and not aſſociate with wicked liuers and euill men,his life ſhould declare him ſo to be. He would not then be an offerer of diſſentious ſacrifice,but a peaceable offerer of loue & charity, & would cenſe, not with the incenſe of griefe & hatred,but with the ſweet ſmelling incenſe of concord and vnity : neither yet would alter ſuum pontificium in maleficium : That is, make of a ſanctified office an execrable abuſe. If he were ſuch a Byſhoppe as he ought to be, he would not wreſt or abuſe the preaching of the word, into the fruite and gayne of his owne diſſention : neither ſhoulde we be accuſed for ſuch an enemy of our mother the true church, as is layd vnto her ſonnes charge by ſuch a Byſhopp. Which true and mother Church,with all reuerence we honour, and benignity embrace,ſo beautified and adourned with Goddes moſt holy Sacraments. Some ſingular perſons notwihſtanding, fayning themſelues to be our brethren by that mother and yet are not, but of a ſtrumpet begot:ſuch I ſay as are ſubiect and ſlaues to corruptible things (putting thē from amongſt vs) we vtterly reiect:

The imperiall dignitie ſpurned at alwayes by the pope.

The anſwere of Symonides applyed.

The Emperor propheſieth of the popes fall.

The Emperour vtterly reiecteth the pope and Church of Rome.

Eſpecially for that iniuries by them done, are not only tranſitorie and mundane, wherwith our maieſtie is ſo moleſted, vexed & greued. Wherefore, we cannot ſo eaſily mitigate our moode, neyther ought we in very dede ſo to do: and therefore are we inforced the more to take the greater reuenge of them. You therefore that are men of graue and deliberate counſail, hauing the excellẽt gift (as from God) of wiſdom and vnderſtãding: Refuſe you that raoring enemie of ours in theſe his proceedings whoſe beginnings are ſo wicked and deteſtable: wiſely comparing things paſt, with thoſe to come. Otherwiſe, you that are vnder our ſubiection, as well of the Empire as other our dominions ſhall feele and perceiue (both of my chiefe ennemie and perſecutour, as alſo of the princes that are his fautors and adherents) what reuenge by ſword Fredericus Auguſtus ſhall take vpon them, God ſo permitting.

The Emperour calleth a parliament or councell to expreſſe the popes malice.

This done, hee denounceth a ſolemne Parliament or councel of al the princes & other nobilitie of the Empire at Aegra: whether came Conradus Ceſar, Moguntinus Preſul, the Saxon Dukes, the Lordes of Brandeburgh, Miſna, Thuringus, and the Legates of all the nobles of Brabant to aid the Emperor. But the princes of Boiemus and Palatinus, being diſſuaded by the legates vnto whom the Auſtrians had ioyned thẽſelues, refuſed to come to the Councel holden at Aegra. And being at their wittes ends not knowing well what they might doe, forſoke at laſt the Emperor, and toke part with the pope and the other conſpirators. Then Fredericus Auſtriacus the Emperors ſecond ſonne (whom he diſherited as ye heard) by the aid of the Boiors and Bohemians, recouered againe the Dukedomes of Auſtria and Styria: putting to flight and diſcõfiting, the Emperors bandes and garriſons which he had there. And although the Cardinals (eſpecially that honeſt man Albertus Boiemus) had allured vnto the pope Otho the duke of Boioria as ye heard, & diuers other noble men of Germanie: yet notwythſtanding, certaine biſhops in Boioria (as Eberhardus Iuuanenſis, and Sigrefridus Seginoburgenſis, being at that time the Emperors Chauncelour, Rudicenis Ratheuienſis, Conradus Friſingenſis and others) left not or yet forſoke the Emperor. All which the foreſayd Albertus not onely did excõmunicate, but alſo by proceſſe ſought to bring them vp to Rome before the pope: Geuing commaundement to their Collegioners and cloyſterers, that they ſhould depriue them of their offices, & chuſe ſuch others in their ſteade as would obey the Pope. All which things the Pope vnderſtanding by Albertus, and of thys their fidelitie to the Emperor, corroborated and confirmed the ſame his doings, commaunding them to chuſe other byſhops in their ſtedes.

The godly Byſhops of Germany are obedient to the kyng and prince.

But the biſhops & prelates with one conſent contemning the popes mandates & writs, and alſo the curſes and threatnings of Albertus, accuſed, reproued, & greatly blamed his temerity & alſo tiranny which he vſurped againſt the churches of Germanie, and eſpecially againſt the good Emperor: that without his conſent he durſt be ſo bolde as to meddle in churches cõmitted to the Emperors gouernment, againſt the old & auncient cuſtomes: and that he had excommunicated the Emperor without iuſt cauſe, yͭ he had condemned the Emperors faithful ſubiects, as enemies to the Church, for ſtanding with their liege and ſoueraigne Prince (which allegiance to violate, without horrible iniquitie they might not) and ſo had ſought to diſquiet them likewiſe in their charges and adminiſtrations, & had alſo in that quarel geuen ſuch defiance to the Emperor. They accuſed and condemned the ſame Albertus alſo, for a moſt impudent impoſtor, and wicked varlet, and for a moſt peſtiferous botch & ſoare of the chriſtian common weale: and giue him to the deuil they do, as a ruinous enemie, as wel of the church as of his owne natural countrey: and further thinke him worthy to haue his reward, with the reſt of the popes purſiuants being the moſt wicked inuentors & deuiſers of miſchief yͭ were in al Germanie. This done, they make relation hereof to the Emperor by their letters: and further, they aduertiſe all the princes of Germanie (eſpecially thoſe which were of the Popes faction or rebellion, & were the fauorers of Albertus) that they ſhould take hede and beware in any caſe of his ſubtill deceites & pernitious deceiuable allurements: nor that they ſhould aſſiſt the pope for al his words againſt the Emperor. And doutles by the counſaile of the high prelate or Archb. of Boioria (whoſe name was Iuuanenſis) and by his induſtry and perſuaſion: Fredericus Auſtriacus was againe reconciled vnto the Emperor his father, from whoſe aide and obedience after that (by no promiſes, threatnings, bribes, nor paines, no nor for the execrable curſes of the Popes owne holy mouth) he would be induced or remoued. But Albertus proſecuteth ſtil his purpoſed miſchief, alluring & inciting by al meanes poſſible (and yͭ not amongſt the worſt but the beſt) frendes to the pope, & enemies to the Emperor: To ſome, he gaue their tithes to fight againſt the Emperor, to other ſome he gaue the gleebe landes of benefices: and to other ſome hee gaue the ſpoile of ſuch colledges and monaſteries as tooke not part with the pope: and to ſome other alſo, he gaue the colleges & monaſteries themſelues. And aſſuredly I finde by Iohannes Auentinus lib.7. annalium Boiorum: yͭ there were certen of the popes owne birdes, that had their eccleſiaſticall tithes taken from them: and other ſome, had the rents and reuenues of their colleges pluckt away by force to the maintenance of the Popes quarel againſt the Emperour. Hereby was there a windowe opened to do what they liſted (euery man according to hys rauening and deteſtable luſt) and all things lay open vnto their gredy and inſatiable deſires. Who liſteth to heare more hereof, let him reade Auentinus in his Booke before noted, and there ſhall he ſee what vaſtation grew therby to the whole ſtate of Germanie, who largely entreateth of the ſame.

The biſhops of Germanie excommunicate the popes legate and Cardinall.

Iuuanenſis the Byſhop, a true ſubiect to his prince.

The paſſage of the pope to maintaine the warre againſt his Lord and maiſter.

While theſe things were thus in working in Germanie, Fredericke leauing in Lumbardie Actiolinus wyth a great part of his hoſte (hee paſſing with the reſt by Apenninum) came to Hetruria and ſet the ſame in a ſtay, after that he had alaide certaine inſurrections there: and from thence to Pyſas, where he was with great amitie and honor receiued and welcomed. This citie was alwaies aſſured and faithfull to the Emperours of Germanie. The Pope vnderſtanding of the Emperours comming into Hetruria, and knowing what power the Emperour had alſo left in Lumbardie, hee with a great army beſiegeth the citie Ferraria, that alwaies loued the Emperour full well: which Citie, when the Popes Legate had aſſauted ſharpely the ſpace of 5. monethes and could not winne the ſame: he deuiſed with hymſelfe to ſende for Salingwerra out of the towne by way of a parlie, promiſing his faith and truth to him for his ſafe returne. Who, by the perſwaſion of Hugo Rambartus, that ſaid without peril he might doe the ſame (being but by way of Parley) was comming to the legate: who preuenting him in his iourney tooke him as priſoner, contrary to his trueth and fidelitie. And thus gate he Ferraria, and deliuered the keping therof to Azones Aſtenſis. And that the Popes Legate thus falſified his trouth, and circumuented the capitaine & olde man Salingwerra: the ſame is confeſſed of the Popes frendly Hiſtoriographers, to be but a Stratagem or warlike pollicie. But to returne againe: About the ſame time alſo the Venetian nauie, at the mount Garganum chaſed 12. galleis of the Emperors which were appointed to the keeping of that coſte, & ſpoiled, brent, and waſted all the region: and farther tooke one of the Emperors great ſhips, being driuen by tempeſt and weather into the hauen Sipontinum, fraught with men and munition.

The pope beſiegeth Ferraria.

The fidelitie of papiſtes learned by this example.

The Emperours Gallies chaſed, and one of his ſhips taken by the pope.

Fredericus againe getting on hys ſide the Lucenſes, the Volateranes, the Genenſes, the Aretines, and diuers Cities beſides in Hetruria to helpe that countrey: came to Piſas and Viterbium, which tooke parte with him. Some ſay, that the names and factions of the Gibellins & Guelphes, ſprang from Fredericke: that by them hee might ſpie and know (hauing recourſe to all the townes and cities in Italie) which tooke part with and fauoured the Pope, and which the Emperour: and called the one by the name of Gibellines, and the other by the name of Guelphes. But for that, both Blondus, and Platina, and ſome others, bring no ſufficient proofe thereof, but onely by ſlender coniecture, I rather cleaue to the opinion of Nauclerus, Hermanus, Antonius, Florentinus, and other ſuch wryters, which ſay: that theſe Guelphes and Gibellines in Italie, tooke their beginning of Cõradus 3. Fredericus his great vncle being Emperour. And that theſe Guelphes were dedicated to the Pope, of Guelphus the yonger brother of Henry the proud: and that thoſe which were called Gibellines were appoynted either of Conradus himſelfe or els of his ſonne, being brought vp in the Lordſhip of Vaiblingen. But to our purpoſe.

The Gibellines and Gwelpes from whence they came.

The Pope, when he vnderſtoode that Fredericke was come to Viterbium, he was very heauy: for that he feared he would come to Rome, the good will of which Citie the Pope much miſtruſted. He therefore cauſed a ſupplication to be drawne, portraying about the ſame the heads of Peter and Paule, & with a ſharpe and contumelious oration he much defaced the Emperour: promiſing them euerlaſting life, & gaue them the badge of the croſſe, as many as would arme themſelues and fight againſt the Emperour, as againſt the moſt wicked enemy of God & the Church. Now when the Emperour marching ſomewhat neare to Rome gates, beheld thoſe whome the Pope had with his goodly ſpectacle of S. Peter and S. Paule, and wyth his alluring oration ſtirred vp againſt him, and marked with the badge of the croſſe to come forth in battell againſt him:

The pope afraid of the Emperors comming into Italy.

The Emperour hangeth all the croſſed ſouldiours.

The Emperour retayneth the Saracens in his warres againſt the Pope.

Diſdaining to be accompted for the enemye of the Church, who had ben therunto ſo beneficial, geuing a fierce charge vppon them, put them ſoone to flight: and as many as hee tooke (cutting off that badge frō them) he cauſed to be hanged. From thēce he marching into Campania & his owne kingdomes: leuied a great maſſe of money, & muſtred new bandes, and augmented his armie: and in theſe bandes he retained the Saracens alſo. And to yͤ intent he might finde the Saracens the more truſtie vnto hym: hee appoynted them to inhabit in a city named Luceria. For which thing, although the Papiſticall wryters doe greatly blame and opprobriouſly write of Fredericke: yet notwythſtanding, Nicholaus Machiuellus doth wryte, that therefore he retained them: leaſt that through the Popes execrable curſes, he ſhould be quite deſtitute of ſouldiours as was Fredericus Barbaroſſa a litle before, his graundfather, when that of Alexander the Pope hee was excommunicated, as ye haue heard.

The effect of a letter ſent by the Emperour to the princes of Germany.

No enemy more hurtfull to the Church of God then is the pope

The Emperour voweth to remoue the pope and put an other more carefull ſhepheard into the church of God.

After this, when the Emperor had greatly afflicted by battaile the Popes Eccleſiaſticall conſorts, ſuch as conſpired with the Pope againſt him: and that he had waſted & deſtroyed Beneuentum, the mount Caſenum, & Sora, for that they toke part with the Pope againſt him: Frederick, when he had manned the City Aquila, marched forth with a great hoſte both of horſemen and footemen to Picenum, that he might vanquiſh his enemyes in Italie. And by the way, he beſieged the ſtrong towne of warre named Aſculinum, which was alſo conuerted to the popes faction and rebellion. He there hauing vnderſtanding what yͤ Popes aſſiſtents had done with the Princes electours and other princes of Germanie, eſpecially with Wenſeſlaus king of Bohemia, and Otho Palatinus: wryteth his letters vnto them. In the which, firſt he ſheweth how that thoſe contumelies and ſpitefull wordes which the Pope bluſtered out againſt him, are light vpon himſelfe: And how the biſhops of Rome haue taken to them of late ſuch hart of grace, and are become ſo loftie, that not only they ſeeke to bring Emperours, Kings and Princes vnder their obedience, but alſo ſeeke howe to be honoured as gods: And ſay, that they cannot erre, neither yet be ſubiect or bounde to any religion: and that it is lawful for them to do al things what they liſt, neither yͭ any accompt is to be ſought or demaunded of their doings, or els to be made of them to any, ſo impudent are they in theſe their affirmations. And further, as Princes they commaund (and that vnder paine of curſing) that men beleue euery thing they ſay, howe great a lie ſoeuer it be. In ſo much that by this couetouſnes of his, all things goe backwarde, and the whole ſtate of the common weale is ſubuerted: neither can there any enemie be founde more hurtfull or perillous to the Churche of God then he. Hee wrote vnto them furthermore, that he (to whom the greateſt charge and dignitie was in the whole common weale appoynted and committed) ſeeing and perceauing to hys great perill, their good harts, willes, & practiſes towardes him: would with all the power and hability that God had geuen him, do his indeuour: that he which in the likeneſſe of the ſhepheard of the flocke, & the ſeruaunt of Chriſt, and chiefe prelate in the Churche, ſheweth himſelfe ſo very a wolfe, perſecutour and tyrant: may be remoued from that place, and that a true & carefull ſhepheard of Gods flocke, may be appoynted in the Church. Wherefore he exhorteth them, that if they deſire the ſafetie and preſeruation of the whole ſtate of the cōmon weale and Empire: that they be vnto him no hinderers, but furtherers of his purpoſe and proceedings: leaſt otherwiſe, they alſo ſhould happē to fall into the ſame ſnare of ſeruitude with the Biſhop of Rome. And further, he gaue them to wit, that if he ſhould aſpire to that hee ſought for (that is to be an Emperour and King ouer kings) yet ſhould that be no ſtay of his inſatiable deſire, but would be as greedy and rauenous as nowe he is. Therefore, if they be wiſe, to withſtand him betimes: leaſt hereafter whē they would it ſhould be to late, neither were able to wͭſtand his tyrāny. The effect of this Epiſtle I toke out of Auētine which more largely dilateth the ſame: who alſo wryteth, that the Emperour (by his legates) ſent the ſame to Wenſeſlaus.

Boiemus relenteth at the Emperours letter.

The practiſe of Otho with the pope againſt the Emperour.

The Pope reſcript da- ſheth all th matter aga

By what meanes Otho attained ſo great poſſeſsions by the Emp. & his Aunceſtors.

Boiemus ſomewhat relenting at this letter, promiſeth to accompliſh the Emperors biddings and precepts: and forthwith gathereth the aſſembly of princes and nobles at Aegra: where, by commō conſent they thinke to renouate wͭ the Emperour a newe league and couenaunt. And furthermore, they finde Otho Boius (which was abſent, and wold not be at this their aſſembly) to be the author of this defection, and an enemy to the common weale. Otho, then ſeing himſelf not able to ſtand againſt Ceſar, and the other Princes with whome he was aſſociate, deſiring aid of the Pope by his letters, came with all ſpeede to Boiemus his kinſman: whome, when he coulde not perſwade vnto him againe, neither he would vnto their parts alſo be wonne: obtaineth notwithſtanding yet thus much at their hands, that the league and couenant (which they were in hand to make with the Emperor) might for a time be deferred, and yͭ an other aſſembly might be made: whereat he alſo would be, and ioyne himſelf with them. Thus had they, who killed (as you heard) his father, bewitched alſo his ſonne: and brought him to be both a rebell and traytor: In the meane ſeaſon, the Pope ſent his reſcript vnto the king of Boiemia and to Otho, tending to this effect: that in no caſe they ſhuld either forſake him, or els the church, to take the Emperours part. And ſomuch preuailed he by the meanes of Bohuſlaus and Budiſlaus (which were the chiefeſt of the Senate regal) and by his faire promiſes and bribes to ſuch as hee before had made to him: that againe at Libuſſa by Boiemus and Boius newe aſſemblies were gathered for the creation of a new Emperor, in deſpite of Auguſtus the Emperour, & Ceſar his ſonne. And whileſt that this was thus in hand, Cōradus Ceſar caſteth Landſhuta the wife of Otho (being abſent) in the teeth for great benefite & poſſeſſions which her huſband had and poſſeſſed by the aunciters of him: and that vnleſſe her huſbād tooke a better way with himſelfe, and ſhewed his obedience to the Emperour his father: that he ſhould not enioy one foote of that lande, which nowe he had by his predeceſſours. The promotion and dignities which Otho had by the aunciters of Conradus Ceſar came thus. Fredericus Barbaroſſa in yͤ yeare of our Lord 1180. at a Parliament holdē at Reginoburgh, condemned Henricus Leo of high treaſon, and depriued him of his dominions of Boiora and Saxonie, and gaue Boiora to Otho Wilteſpachius: for that hee had done him ſo faithful ſeruice in his Italian warres. After that, Ludouicus the ſonne of this Otho, obtained of this Emperour Fredericus the ſeconde, in recompence of his aſſured and truſtie fidelitie the dition of Palatinatum Rheni ſo called: which gaue alſo Agnetes the daughter of Henry Earle of Palatine to Otho hys ſonne in marriage. This Henrie was the ſonne of Henry Leo the traitor: vnto whom Henry the 6. the father of Frederick gaue in mariage Clementia his brothers daughter Cōradus Palatine of Rhenus, & gaue vnto him the keeping of the palace of the ſame. And as touching the inheritaunce of Boiora, that hee had alſo long now poſſeſſed by the heires of Otho Wilteſpachius. But to our purpoſe againe.

The gouernour of Agrippina reuolteth to the Pope.

At the ſame time alſo the gouernor of Colonia Agrippina reuolteth to the Pope: who not long after in a ſkirmiſh beweene Brabantinus & him, was vanquiſhed and taken priſoner. And doubtles, Fredericus Auſtriacus after he was receiued into fauour againe with the Emperor (keeping moſt conſtantly his promiſe and fidelitie renued) during this time, made ſharp warre vpon the Ungarians which tooke part with the Pope, & greatly annoyed them. As theſe things thus paſſed in Germanie: the Emperour, when he had gotten Aſcalum and led his hoſte into Flamminia, hauing Rauenna at his cōmandement: from thence came to Fauentia, which citie neuer loued the Emperour: the circuite of whoſe walles is 5. miles in compaſſe, & pitched his campe rounde about the ſame. And although the ſiege was much hindered by auſteritie of the time & weather (being in yͤ dead time of winter) yet notwithſtanding, through his great fortitude and courage, ſo animating hys ſouldiours in the painfulneſſe of the laborious ſiege, he indured out the ſame: who thought it no little ſhame hauing once made that enterpriſe, to come from thence without any aſſault geuen. And therfore, when nowe the winter (ſo extreme cold & hard) was wel neare ended, and the ſpring time now hard at hand, and by long battery had made the ſame in diuers places ſautable: The citizens (being greatly diſcouraged, & in no hope of the defence therof) ſent their Legates to the Emperor, crauing pardon for their offence, and that he would graūt vnto them their liues, and ſo yelded themſelues vnto his mercy.

The Emperours great lenitie and and clemency, but were merueilouſly enforced.

The Emperour hauing againſt them good and ſufficient cauſe of reuenge: yet for that his noble heart thought it to be the beſt reuenge that might be, to pardon the offence of vanquiſhed men: hee thought it better to graunt them their requeſts, to ſaue the citie and citizens therof, with innumerable people: then by armes to make yͤ ſame his ſouldiours pray, to the deſtruction both of the Citie, and great number of people therein. So doth this good Emperor in one of his Epiſtles Adacta nobis confeſſe himſelf: which Epiſtle, to declare the lenitie and merciful heart of ſo worthy a prince, if that with great & maruellous prouocation and wrongs he had not bene incited, I thought good in yͤ middeſt of hiſtory heere to haue placed. But thus I haue kept you long herein, and yet not finiſhed the ſame, In this ſiege the Emperour hauing ſpent and conſumed almoſt all his treaſure both gold and ſiluer: cauſed other money to be made of leather, which on the one ſide had his Image, & on the other ſide the ſpreade Egle (the armes of the Empire) and made a proclamation ẏ the ſame ſhuld paſſe from man to man for all neceſſaries in ſteade of other money: and therwithal promiſed, that whoſoeuer brought the ſame money vnto hys Eſchequer when the warres were ended, he would geue them golde for the ſame, according to the value of euery coyne limitted: which thing afterward, truely and faithfully he performed, as all the hyſtoriographers do accord.

The Emp. enforced to make his money of leather.

Thus, when the Pope as before is ſayde, had ſtopped his eares and woulde not heare the Emperours Legates that came to intreat for peace, but reiected and deſpiſed his moſt courteous and equal demaundes: neither yet had left any wily pollicy vnattempted or force vnpractiſed, ẏ with his confederates he thought himſelf either able to reuenge or els reſiſt: Hee by his Legates calleth to a Councell at Rome, all ſuch Prelates out of Italy, Fraunce, and England, as he thought to fauor him and his proceedinge: that hereby as his laſt ſhift and onely refuge, he by their helpes might depriue Fredericke of his Empire, as an vtter enemie to God and to the Church. All which things Fredericus hauing vnderſtanding of, & knowing that theſe aſſemblies ſhuld be but to the deſtruction & ſupplanting of him: determined to ſtop and let their paſſages to Rome, as wel by ſea as by lande in all that euer he might. So that, all the paſſages by land being now ſtopped & preuented, he commanded his ſonne Henry with certaine gallies to goe and keepe the coaſtes of Sardinia, which kingdom the Italians cal Entimum: and from thence to Piſas, and with the Piſans to rigge out a nauie to meete with (if it were poſſible) ſuch as ſhoulde come to aide the Pope at Rome. The Popes champions vnderſtanding, that by land they could not ſafely repaire to Rome: they procured of Gallies and ſhippes of Genua (hauing Gulielmus Braccius for their chiefe Capitaine or Admirall) for fortie ſaile their defence: thinking hereby, that if they ſhould fortune to meete with any of the Emperours ſhips or galleis, which ſhoulde lye for them in wait, they ſhould be able to make their part in good, and geue them alſo the repulſe. Encius in like maner and Huglinus (being Captaine and admirall of the Piſan nauie for the Emperour) launched forth to ſea with 40. ſhips and gallies: and betwixt the Iles of Lilium and Mons Chriſti, which lie betweene Liburnium and Corſica, they met with the Genewes ſhips: and ſtraightwaies fierſly began to grapple with them & bourd thẽ, in which fight at lẽgth, were 3. of the Genewes ſhips with boulged and ſonke, and 22. taken and brought away, with all the riches and treaſure in them. In theſe were taken 3. Legates of the Popes, wherof were 2. Cardinals, Iacobus Columna, Otho Marchio, & Gregorius de Romania, (all cruell enemies againſt the Emperour) and many other Prelates moe: beſides a great number of Legates and procuratours of cities, with an infinite number of Monkes & Prieſts, beſide of Genewes ſouldiours 6000. with diuers others.

The pope ſendeth for forren ayde and is preuented.

The Emperour riggeth forth a nauy to the ſea.

A great victory on the ſea againſt the popes confederates by the Emperours nauy

Pandolphus Colonutius in deſcribing the circumſtances of the great loſſe and miſfortune of theſe champions of the Pope by ſea, amongeſt the reſt declareth: that beſides the great pray and bootie which the takers had from them, they alſo founde many wrytings and letters againſt Fredericke, which much holpe him in the defence of thoſe cauſes, wherein they had laboured againſt him. The like miſchance alſo, almoſt about that time happened on the popes ſide, by the Emperours ſoldiours which lay in garriſon at Ticinum, thus. There went forth vpon a time out of Ticinum into the borders of Genewes, certaine bandes to geue them larums in the countrey: which bandes, the ſcuriers of Mediolanum (where lay a great garriſon of the Popes) diſcrying: tolde the Captaine of the towne, that nowe a very opportune and fitte time was to geue an aſſault to Ticinum: for that ſay they, the greateſt part are nowe gone a foraging. Whereupon, they immediatly calling together the captains and ſuch as had charge, ſet their ſouldiours in aray and marched forewarde to Ticinum. And now, when they were come almoſt thether, the Ticinian bandes (whome they thought to haue bene farre a foraging) were returned and met with them, & fierſly gaue a ful charge vpon them: who, being diſmaied at the ſodenneſſe of the matter, fought not long but gaue ouer and fled. In which ſkirmiſh was taken (beſides thoſe ẏ were ſlain) 350. captaines and brought priſoners into Ticinum with all their enſignes with them.

The Emp. obtaineth an other victory by land at Ticinum againſt the pope and his confederates

Newes hereof was brought to the Empero r not long after, who then was remouing from the ſiege of Fauentia as ye heard to the citie of Bononium thinking to haue deſtroied ẏ ſame. But vpon the hearing of theſe good newes, hee altereth his purpoſe, and thinking to haue hereafter a more cõuenient time therunto, leadeth his army towards Rome: and in the way, he reconciled to him the Citie Piſaurum. But Fanum, for that the townes men ſhut theyr gates and would not ſuffer the Emperour to come in, hee tooke by force and deſtroyed. For the Emperour, ſeing that neither by petition made to the pope, nor yet by his lawful excuſation he coulde doe any good with him: thought, that by his ſodaine comming thether, and with feare of the perill imminent, he might be brought to ſome vniformitie, & cauſed to leaue of his accuſtomed pertinacie. And although the Emperor was too ſtrong for him, yet for that he regarded nothing more then ẏ publike tranquillitie of the Empire, and that hee might then take the Tartarian warres in hand: if he could by any meanes conclude, he refuſed not ſo to intreate a peace with him as though he had bene both in force and fortune much his inferiour.

The Emp. thinketh to make the P. atrayde.

Whileſt that this ruffle was betwixt the Empror and the Pope, Ochodarius the Emperour of the Tartarians his ſonne, with a great power & prouiſion made and inuaded the borders next adioyning vnto him, & there wan Roxolanum, Bodolium, Mudanum, with diuers other cities, townes, and villages: deſtroying, waſting, & burning the countreis al about, killing and ſlaying, man, woman and childe, ſparing none of any ſexe or age. At whoſe ſodeine inuaſion, the people being in ſuch feare & perplexitie (hauing no citie, no refuge, nor aide to ſtande in defence for them) were faine to leaue all that euer they had, and diſperſe themſelues into woodes, and flee into mariſhes and mountaines, or where ſoeuer any ſuccoure els, did offer it ſelfe to them. And by this time, the Tartarian hoſte was come as farre as Vratiſlauia, where Henricus of Polonia and the Duke of Sileſia w their army met with them: who for the inequality of the nomber & ſmal ſtrength they were of, had ſoone an ouerthrow, and almoſt all their ſouldiours being ſlaine, they themſelues were taken and put to the ſword. From thence, they came to Morauia, & from thence to the kingdome of Boiemia: which Countrey, while the king kept himſelfe in ſtrong defenced fortes, and durſt not come abroade: he inuaded & deſtroied all Vngary, putting to flight and vanquiſhing Colmannus ẏ brother of Belus the 4. king of Vngary: by whome alſo, was great ſpoyle made in both the Pannonias, Meſiarum, Bulgaria, and Seruia, whẽ Belus the king of Vngary had gottẽ to Pola (which is a citie of Hiſtria) vnto Otho the duke of Dalmatia: He ſent his Legates to Fredericke the Emperour, promiſing that if he would ſend him aid that the Tartarians might be expelled: that Vngary ſhoulde euer after be vnder the iuriſdiction of the Emperour: which thing if he refuſed to do, that then the ſame were in great danger to be ſubiect to the Tartarians, to the no litle peril of the whole Empire. And ſaid further, that the cauſe wherfore he wyth more inſtance required the ſame, was: That ſo many chriſtian men and countreis, made ſuch pitiful lamentation in this their great calamitie & miſerie, & that there was none able to helpe them: which ſayeth he, is as great ſhame as may be to the whole Chriſtian common ſtate and Empire. And alſo ſayde, that if the malice of this barbarous people were not ſuppreſſed, that then he thought they wold make inuaſion vpon the Empire and prouinces of the ſame.

The Turke inuadeth Chriſtẽdome with a great and mightie power.

The vnmercifull crueltie and the great ſlaughter of Chriſten men by the Turke.

The K of Vngarie craueth ayde of themperour for the which he offereth him his lande.

The Emperor, although he thought it very requiſite, that with all conuenient ſpeede this miſchiefe ſhould be remedied and preuẽted: yet notwithſtanding, his great enemie the Pope with hys confederates, was the only let and hinderance therof. For when he ſaw and perceiued that he himſelfe could doe no good, and onely laboured in vaine in ſeeking peace with the Pope: he gaue commaundement to Boiemus and Boius, to intreat and perſuade wyth him: And (conſidering the imminent perill like to enſue by reaſon of ſuch ciuile diſſention to the whole ſtate of Chriſtendom) that he would take vp and conclude a peace, and mitigate ſomewhat his fierce and wrathful moode. Wherfore, when he ſaw furder that nether by that meanes of intreaty, nor any other, the Pope would deſiſt from his ſtubburne and malicious froward purpoſe: He writeth agaıne to the king of Hungarie, ẏ he was right ſory and greatly lamented their miſerable ſtate, & that hee much deſired to relieue the neede and neceſſity he and all the reſt ſtood in. But why that he coulde not redreſſe the ſame, nor ſtande him then in any ſtead, he blamed greatly the biſhop of Rome: who refuſing all intreatie of peace, could not wythout great perill to himſelfe depart out of Italie: leaſt that when he ſhoulde come to the aide of hym (by the Popes miſchieuous imaginations) he ſhuld be in perill of loſing all at home. Notwiſtanding, hee ſent Conradus Ceſar king of Bohemia & other princes more of Germany to reſiſt and withſtãd the

The pope will graunt to haue no peace.

The popes fault that the Turke is not reſiſted.

enemie, as much as in them lay to do. The great army and nomber of ſuch ſoldiours, as ware the croſſe by the Popes aſſignement, deferred their iourney againſt ẏ Tartarians, and had commaundement giuen them by that Albertus (the Popes procurator) to tary and abide at home till they ſhould be called for in battaile to fight againſt the Emperour. This was the louing zeale and affection of the Pope and hys adherentes (to conclude) in this time of calamitie towards the Chriſtian ſtate and common wealth: That he had rather bend his force and reuenge his malice vpon the chriſtian & good Emperour, then either he himſelf to withſtande, or ſuffer and permit by concluſion of any profitable peace: that this moſt bloudy and cruell Tartarian ſhould be let and reſtrained from ſo great hauock, ſpoil, & ſlaughter of the Chriſten men. And yet forſooth theſe mē wil ſeme to haue the greateſt regard of al other to the Chriſtian preſeruation, and thinke to haue the ſupremacie geuen therin: what thing els is this, then manifeſt mockerie and deceiuing of the people? But notwithſtanding, euē in the midſt of this ſpoile and hauocke of Polonia, Bohemia and Hūgaria, was it determined: that at Libuſſa, the princes confederate ſhuld be aſſembled about the depoſing of the Emperour and creation of another.

The Pope had rather fight againſt the Emp. then againſt the Turke.

But nowe, notwiſtanding the prouident foreſight and wiſe pollicie of the Emperour (as you heard before) in reſtraining the paſſages both by the ſea & land, who had ſpeciall regard thereunto, and gaue moſt ſtraight charge that none ſhould paſſe without priuie ſearche and examination, as one hauing ſufficient triall as well in hys owne perſon as by the example of his predeceſſours, what great miſchiefe & diſſention by their Legates euery way ſent out they had procured, both to the Imperial ſtate and dignity, and to the whole cōūtrey of Germanie: yet found they ſuch meanes, and wrought ſuch pollicies, that they had not only ſecrete paſſage and repaſſage with their letters and ſpials into all places of Chriſtendome where they liſted, but alſo ſo laboured the matter and handled the ſame: that the long continued league of amitie betwene the French king and the Emperour, whoſe predeceſſors as alſo they themſelues had many yeares reuerently obſerued in Chriſtian concord & vnitie: was by this ſeditious prelate & arrogant vicar of ſathan, now either vtterly infringed, or els in variable ſuſpence: as by their letters eche to other, and heere vnder enſuing, are to be red and ſeene: which for the more probability of this hiſtory of Fredericke (not being long or greatly tedious) I thought mete here to intext and place.

The Emperor as well in his own perſon, as his predeceſſours haue triall of the Popes ſubtile practiſes.

The Epiſtle of the French King to Fredericke the Emperour touching the impriſoning of certaine Cardinals of Fraunce.

HEtherto noble Emperour, hath the good opinion and great confidence (many yeeres in mutuall loue eſtabliſhed betwixt vs) laſted and continued wel, hoping that no ſuch cauſe ſhuld riſe betwixt vs, to hatch either hatred or other occaſion offenſiue betwene your highnes empire & our kingdō. Eſpecially, ſeeing that al our predeceſsors Kings of France, late of moſt worthy memory (til theſe our daies) haue ben ſo zelouſly affected to the moſt high and regall ſtate of your Empire: As that alſo we, after whom God hath placed ſucceſsiuely to raigne as king, haue ben none otherwiſe minded nor affected towardes the ſame. None otherwiſe alſo on their behalfe, haue the auncient and renoumed Emperours of Rome our neighbours and your predeceſſours ſhewed themſelues towards vs (eche other eſteming the Empire and kingdom of Fraunce as one) and faithfully conſeruing together the vnitie of peace and concord. In ſomuch, that there hath not chaunced betwene them these many yeares, ſo much as one ſparke of diſcorde and diſſention. But this notwithſtanding, we for our parte cannot but greatly maruell, & not without good cauſe are troubled and vexed: That without deſert or any offence, you haue taken the Prelates of our realme vpon the ſea, making their repaire to the ſee Apoſtolicall: to the which, as well by their faith as their obedience they ſtande bounde and are obedient, neither coulde they withſtand the Pope his commandement: theſe haue you impriſoned, and ſo ſtill deteine the ſame. Whereat (we do your maieſtie to wete) we are not wel pleaſed, neither yet take it in ſo good part as you peraduenture thinke we do. For by their owne letters we vnderſtande, they had excogitate nothing preiudicial to your imperiall eſtate and celſitude, although the Pope had proſecuted therein more then became him to doe. Wherefore, ſeeing that there is no cauſe why ye ſhould detaine them: it is meete and becommeth no leſſe your magnificence, but that you reſtore vnto vs and ſet at libertie, the ſaide Prelates of our Realme: wherein alſo you ſhall appeaſe our grudge and kepe vs your friend, which accompt the diſpleaſure you doe to them, as our owne and proper iniurie For why, it were a great diſhonour to our Realme and Kingly eſtate, if we ſhould wincke hereat and ouerpaſſe the ſame with ſilence. Wherefore, if you wil conſider and reſpect the thing that we haue ſayde, we doubt not but that you will releaſe the Biſhoppe of Peneſtrum, with the other Legates and Prelates of the Churche, which you to our preiudice doe detaine. In deſiring of our aide doubtleſſe, we gaue vnto them a manifeſt nay: neither could they obtain in our kingdom any thing at all which, ſeemed to be againſt or preiudiciall to your maieſtie. Let therefore your imperiall prouidēce pōder in the ballance of iuſtice, thoſe things which we wryte vnto you, neither let our lawfull requeſt vnto you, be fruſtrate or made in vaine. For our realme and kingdome of Fraunce is not ſo debilitate or empoueriſhed, that it will be ſpurned at, or troden vnder your feete. Fare ye well.

The great amitie and long cōtinued league betweene the Empyre and kingdome of Fraunce.

The K. not without great allurement of the Pope would to haue written to the Emperour.

Here it ſhould ſeme the Emp. founde the fault of contradiction.

The reſcript of the Emperour to the ſame letter of the king of Fraunce.

OVr Imperiall magnificence hath peruſed your kingly letters: wherein, if we had not founde manifeſt contradiction, they might peraduenture haue obteined at our handes all that they required. But euen as with a little leauen a whole lumpe of dowe is ſowred: ſo a manifeſt vntruth alleaged, hath made the whole argument of your letter both faultie and vnſauerie. It is apparaunt that you wanted the vertue of mediocritie in the concluſion of the ſame your graces letter: For that, they themſelues bewray no leſſe, then we giue you manifeſtly to vnderſtand, & many moe beſides doth know. It is notorious alſo, and to al the world reuealed, in what ſort that Apoſtolical father hath impugned our innocencie, as well with the one ſworde as with the other. And howe, that whileſt we at his commaundement tooke our iourney beyonde the ſeas: the ſame our enemie and hoſtile aduerſarie, inuaded our kingdome of Sicilia: and the ſame not in one place or two, but in diuers & ſondry parts therof hath waſted, ſpoiled, and deſtroied. After this when with great intreatie at our returne from Aſia, we had concluded a peace with him: which with vs at his owne pleaſure he made. And had taken and receiued our deuotion for the ſame, which in ſeruiceable maner we graunted him: The ſayde Apoſtolicall father (that notwithſtanding) hath ſince that time, rather aggrauated his diſpleaſure towardes vs, then any thing at all qualified the ſame: and further hath to our depriuation and ſubuerſion, excogitate and deuiſed againſt vs, all the miſchiefe hee might or hath bene able, no cauſe in all the worlde geuen of vs to prouoke the ſame. And farther hath promulgated to our great defamation and ſhame (as well by his letters as Legates) the ſentence of excommunication againſt vs vnto all nations. Laſtly, hee aſpiring to our imperiall ſtate, and conſpiring our ſupplantation, hath made warre againſt vs, as againſt king Dauid Gods annointed: and hath vnto a priuate Councell for that purpoſe, called all the Prelates he cā get, as one that meaneth to ſet the whole world together by the eares. But ſuch is the maruelous wiſedom of God by whome we liue and raigne, beholding the wicked purpoſe hee went about (confounding the crafty in their craftineſſe) hath geuen into our hands as well your Prelates of the realme of France, as alſo of other regions and prouinces: al which, we impriſon and detaine, as enemies and aduerſaries to our Imperiall crowne and perſon. For where there deſiſted not to be a perſecutor, there hath not wanted alſo a ſufficient withſtander & defender. Let not therfore your kingly highneſſe maruell, although Auguſtus detaineth in priſon your French Prelates, which haue indeuoured themſelues to conſpire and ſo to diſturbe our imperiall eſtate and regiment. Fare ye well.

The Frenche kinges letters contrary to themſelues.

A good Apoſtolicall father with a two handed ſword.

120000. ounces of golde, as before you heard.

The craftie compaſſed in their craftines.

When Fredericke nowe ſaw there was none other remedie, and that in vaine hee laboured to haue peace wyth the Pope, hee proſecuteth his warre to the vttermoſt: and when he had gotten Tudertum and recōciled the ſame, he deſtroyed ẏ towne of Geminum and Marnia. and geueth the ſpoyle of them vnto his ſouldiors: He gently receiued the yelding vp of Siburnum, and waſteth all the countrey rounde about Rome. The Pope heerewith diſmaied and troubled with ſuch as otherwiſe diſſuaded and counſailed him, and that things not ſo well proſpered with him and againſt the Emperour as he wiſhed and deſired: being in diſpaire of obtaining his purpoſe, died for very anger and thought.

Gregory 9. dyeth for thought and curſt heart.

What opinion the Prelates of Germanie at that time had of this Gregory, is extant and to be ſene by the oration of Eberhardus Byſhop of Iuuauence that he made to the nobilitie of Boioria in the Parliament at Reginoburgh, written by Iohannes Auentinus in his 7. booke. Doubtleſſe he not onely brought great and ruinous calamities to the whole Chriſten cōmon weale and alſo Empire: whileſt he ſought thus to depreſſe & bridle the Emperour, & aduance his papal ſea and dignity: but alſo brought into the church of God much horrible impiety, blaſphemy and wickednes, wherof both Blondus, Platina, Baleus and others make mention: And amongſt others that moſt deteſtable Catilene Salue Regina in the which hee attributeth the honour and worſhip onely due to Ieſus Chriſte, vnto the virgine hys mother,

mother. This is he in whoſe name the booke of the Decretals was ſet out, which (to omit yͤ opinion of diuers other learned men) Iohannes Baleus calleth it the ſinke or puddle of fooliſhneſſe and impietie. Doubtleſſe Charolus Molineus a man both of ſingular iudgement in that law, which in tribunall courtes & iudgements is vſed: as alſo in this painteth foorth the decree of this Gregory in his booke of annotations vnto Platina, whoſe wordes thereof are theſe. Certum eſt, multa capita in ijs mutila & decurtata eſſe, vt inuidioſum argumentum lateret. &c. That is, Doubtleſſe, diuers Chapters in the ſame booke of decretals be mangled & vnperfect, that many contentious arguments therein myght lurke. For when the ambitious deſire of raigning lyke kings tooke them, they ſtudied nothing els but how to enlarge and aduance their See and dominion with the Empire it ſelfe and other kingdomes (ofte ſhaken and weakened through cõtention) and this purpoſe and end had they and none other, in al their conſtitutions. The profe wherof, Molineus declareth in his boke de regibꝰ Galliæ & Angliæ. But many moe examples by the Emperors, Princes, and Lords Electours of the Empire may be gathered: wherof to ſpeake, more conuenient place ſhall ſerue hereafter.

Carolus olineus pon the decretals of .Grego- ry 9.

The creation nd death f P.Coeleſtinus.

In the ſteade of thys Gregorie, was placed Cœleſtine borne in Mediolanum amongſt the Caſtellians: who as Blondus declareth, by fained promiſes offred a league wyth Fredericus, and the 18. day after he was created Pope, he alſo died.

he Emperour prepa- eth an army o fight with he Tartari- ns, the Tar- arians flye.

Thus when the author of al this conſpiracy was gon, Fridericus nowe thinking himſelfe free and voyde of that feare which before he had, and durſt not be abſent out of Italy: with all his indeuour lenieth an army and prepareth his furniture and other neceſſaries for the deliuerie of the Chriſtians, ſo mightely oppreſſed as ye heard by yͤ Turke or Tartarians. Who hearing of the comming of the Emperour, left the ſtraight way thorough Hungarie, whyche they came & returned by the riuer of Danubium to Taurica, and ſo through the fennes of Meotida: and by the riuer Tanaum, into Sarmatia Aſiatica. When the Cardinals had nowe a long time protracted the creation of the Pope, and would not agree vpon the ſame: The Emperor put them in remembrance of their duty, and blameth them for their diſagreeing, and exhorteth them to be more carefull for the chriſtian common wealth. His 2. Epiſtles touching this matter are extant. Wherby appeareth that only for the care and deſire of peace he had to the chriſtian vnitie, and ſtate, he did the ſame: and for that (peraduenture) the cardinals refuſed to make peace with him, before they had created a newe Pope. The one for more breuitie I haue omitted, and here the other inſerted.

An Epiſtle Inuectiue of the Emperour vnto the Cardinals, for that they cannot agree vpon the creation of the Pope.

rederick gainſt the Cardinals.

VNto you I write, Oh you children of Ephraim, which euill haue bent your bowes, and worſe haue ſhot your arrowes, filthely turning your backes in the day of battaile. Vnto you I ſpeake, O you children of Belial, and diſperpled flock. You inſenſible people and aſſiſtents of the great iudge. Vnto you I wryte, O you diſſẽtious Cardinals, whõ the world for your deſerts doth hate: for whoſe cauſes the whole world being at variance is euill ſpoken of. Doubtleſſe, I cannot ſpeake vnto you, but to your detractatiõ, becauſe I am worldly and you ſpiritual. I am vnperfect, wherfore I muſt do as the vnperfect worlde doth: neither can the parte be diſſonant to the whole, nor I contrary to my ſelfe that wryteth. Attend ye therfore my rude Epiſtle, wanting the dignity of Rhetoricall ſtile. My prouoked tounge braſteth foorth into wordes before my conceiuing ſpirit hath deliuered the ſame: and ſo not attending to the higher regiment, hath haſtened to expres my words not fully conceiued or premeditate. Thus I ſay, a troubled minde oftentimes doth beget vnordered talke, and vntimely vttereth the ſame. This therfore is, that our heart hath conceiued, that we beleeue and all men confeſſe, that Ieſus Chriſt the mediatour betweene God and man, which came from heauen to make peace vpon the earth, is not deuided and at variaunce, being alſo the maiſter and Lorde of the Apoſtles. But Sathan being deuided in himſelfe, that bluſtering prince is amongeſt you, as thoſe to whome he miniſtreth: He, euen he, the perſwader of diſcorde and diſſention, that mankiller, father of lies, and ſpirite of darkeneſſe, that hath deuided your tonges, and ſet diſſention amongſt your ſelues: Neither ye doe good one to another, nor yet to the world, being by you in ſo perillous a ſtate brought. And the little ſhippe of Peter, which is toſſed vppon the ſea by vehement windes, you nothing regarde: which ſhippe, though it neede not in deede vtterly to feare drowning, yet ſuffereth it by your negligence many great ſtormes and perillous tempeſts. Doubtleſſe, if yee woulde diligently conſider howe the nations and people whome ye were wont to iudge in ſcorne, ſhake their heades at you: euery one of you would be aſhamed of an other. And to ſay the truth, they can not doe too much to detect your ſo deteſtable opprobrie: for whileſt euery one of you aſpireth to the chaire, euery one is at variance with his fellowe: and whileſt one of you cannot agree with another, none is promoted, & whileſt none is promoted, the Cathedrall dignitie vaniſheth: And thus by your diſcorde, the peaceable ſtate and concorde of the Churche is confounded, and the perfection of the faith and Religion whereby yee ſhould liue, periſheth. And ſurely, through your default it periſheth, ſo that where as nature hath placed the ſenſe and vnderſtanding to be: that partly like a monſter remaineth with you, both ſenſeleſſe and headleſſe. And no maruell, for why your hearing is impaired, and that ſounde of the mouth that ſhrilly was heard throughout the whole earth, is vtterly dombe, and become a ſcoffing Eccho. For why, the toundrings of Peter and Paule are now no more heard, the Preachers are become dumme dogges, and are commaunded to ſilence. Perhappes you haue handes readie to receiue, but there be no bribes: For why, thoſe that were wont to come from Saba, and bring golde with them, nowe come no more: ſeeing the Lord is not in the maunger, and the celeſtiall ſhining ſtarre refuſing to be their guide. Moreouer, yee want feete to walke withal, for ſeeing there is no man to geue you ought, you will not remoue one foote for any mans pleaſure. Fie ſhameleſſe people, the leaſt and ſimpleſt beaſt may learne you obedience, for the birdes haue their Captaine, and the ſillie Bee their King, but you will come vnder no gouernment. &c.

Peters ſhip y the diſ- entious Cardinals reatly af- flicted.

Peters ſhrill voyce turned into a ſcoffing Eccho.

The Emperour releaſeth the Cardinalls out of priſon.

The Emperour yet after thys, at the requeſt of Baldwinus, the Emperour of Conſtantinople, who came to Fredericus to Parma, releaſed the Cardinals out of pryſon: thinking therby not onely to gratifie the Emperour Baldwinus, but alſo thinking that therby things would haue the better growne to publique tranquilitie on euery ſide. When the Cardinals were all aſſembled at Augniat they made Sinibaldus a Genues Pope: whome by a contrary name for that he had determined (as I ſuppoſe) to be hurtfull to the common wealth, they called Innocentius the 4. Of which election, when Fredericke vnderſtode, he was well pleaſed therewith: And for that he had in all this troublous time bene his friend, he well hoped yͭ the Chriſtian common wealth, ſhould by him haue ben brought to much peace and cõcord. Wherfore, he ſent both his legates and letters gratulatorie vnto him, letting him to vnderſtand, howe wel it contented and pleaſed him that he was made Pope, & what peace & quietnes therby he promiſeth (as it were to himſelfe) he maketh full relation thereof: offring againe vnto him obſeruaunce, helpe and aide in all things, commẽding his dignitie to the publique ſtate and quietneſſe of the chriſtian common weale and Empire, &c.

Innocentius the fourth created Pope.

The Emperour reioyceth of the popes election but without cauſe why.

Hee alſo wrote hys letters to Otho Duke of Boioria, who a little before was reconciled to the Emperor: that he which was elected pope was a good man, a louer of peace, and ſtudious aſwell for the tranquilitie of the chriſtian cõmon wealth as of the Empire.

The Legates of Fredericke alſo with the furtherance of Baldwinus the Emperor of Conſtantinople, laboured very diligently for yͤ concluſion of the promiſed peace: And to be briefe, euery man was in good hope, and looked for no leſſe. But farre otherwiſe fell the matter out, and contrary to al their expectations. For the Pope (ſet on and incouraged by the Cardinals and other againſt Frederick) ſecretly and amongſt themſelues wrought contrary to that they openly pretended: and not a little diſappoynted both Fredericke and others of their expectation and good opinion they had in the Popes holines. For whileſt the Emperors legates attẽded the anſwer of their peace before promiſed, Raineus the cardinall went ſecretly to Viterbium wyth a certen number of ſoldiors, and toke the towne which before was on the Emperors part.

The Pope taketh Viterbium whileſt the Emperour hoped after peace.

The Emperor hauing vnderſtanding hereof, muſtereth his bandes, and with a ſufficient power entreth the popes dition, againe to recouer Viterbium. But yet, taking this war ſo in hand (not thinking therby to expel al conditions of peace) at yͤ requeſt of certaine of the Cardinals was contented to leaue Viterbium, being furniſhed by the Emperor of warlicke prouiſion before, and came to Aqua. From thence he ſent againe other ambaſſadors to Rome, & wyth them alſo the Emperor of Cõſtantinople with the Erle of Tholouſe, who he thought were able to do much with the pope in yͤ proſecuting of this peace. And although at yͤ time of Eaſter the matter ſemed to haue ben through, and peace concluded, for yͭ his legates had ſworne in the behalfe of the Emperor (and as he willed them) that he wold ſubmit him ſelfe to the Pope. And againe, for that the Cardinals and others, cõmonly called & named him Fridericus the Chriſtian prince, yet all this was no more but for a further fetch

The diſſimulation of the ſubtile Pope Innocent. 4.

and purpoſe. Not for that they ment in dede to cōclude any peace wᵗ him, or to go through therewall, but that through this diſſimulation & likelihood of peace which they vnderſtode the Emperor much deſired: he ſhould ſet free & open the paſſages which he ſtraitly kept yͭ no man could paſſe & come to Rome, whether a great multitude daily reſorted & flocked for religions ſake. But when all came to all, & that the Legates perceiued no concluſion of peace, was ſimply purpoſed on their behalfe: they began to diſpaire of yͤ matter, letting the Emperor ſo to vnderſtande. The Emperor yet notwithſtanding doubted not, but if he might himſelfe ſpeake wᵗ the Pope, he vpon reaſonable conditions, ſhould wel enough accord with him: wherfore, he by his Legates and letters deſired him to appoynt a place where the Emperor might reſort to him. The Pope ſeemed to be contented herewithall, and appoynted a day at Feſcennia where they would talke together, & that the Pope would be there before him, and accept the Emperours comming. But the Pope in this while, had made a confederacy wᵗ the French king againſt Fredericus: who when he knew thoſe 3. gallies to be ready and brought to Centincellas, which he before had ſpoken for vnto the Genewes: ſecretly in the night with his company (haſtening thether in poſt ſpede) toke ſhip, and firſt came to Genua, and from thēce to Lions in Fraunce: where he (calling a Councel) with a loude voyce ſummoneth Fredericke, and appoynting him a day, commanded him there perſonally to plead his cauſe.

The Emperour hath too much confidence in the Pope.

The Pope mocketh the Emperour and goeth to Lyons where he proſcribeth the Emperour.

And yet, although he vnderſtood the ſodeine departing of him out of Italy, made plaine demonſtration of no concluſion or meaning of a peace: and alſo knewe the Councel which the Pope had called, wherein he was himſelfe both plaintife and iudge: and at the ſame councel thoſe which he had by bribes allured, pretēded the deſtruction of the Emperor: with many other ſuch euident demōſtrations, both of his enuious & hatefull heart towardes him: yet the moſt modeſt Emperor vſing the innocency & vprightnes of his cauſe, & as one moſt deſirous of peace and chriſtian cōcord: ſent the Patriarch of Antioch, which lately was come out of Syria, the B. of Panormia, and Thadeus Sueſſanus yͤ preſident of his court (a moſt ſkilful and prudent Ciuilian) to the councell at Lyons: which ſignified vnto them yͭ the Emperor would be there for the defence of his owne cauſe: and for yͭ the day was very ſhort, required a time more cōuenient for him thither to make his repaire. The Emperor alſo, being onward on his way & come as farre as Taurinum, ſent before other meſſengers (as the maſter of yͤ Flemiſh order, & Peter de Vineis) to geue them vnderſtanding of the Emperors comming, and that he wold proroge the day of hearing, till yͭ he might conueniently trauel thether. But for any thing that could be either ſayd or done, or vpon how iuſt cauſe ſo euer required: the pope wold not geue ſo much as 3. dayes ſpace, in the which time the Embaſſadors aſſured them of the Emperours preſence: As though there had bene no common prouiſo for euery man in yͤ caſe, by the lawe to haue vſed vppon any reaſonable let. What ſhould I longer protract the time: when the day by them appointed was come, the Pope wᵗ his confederates (whom for money & bribes he had gotten to that councell) againſt gods law, againſt chriſtian doctrine, againſt both the preſcript of the law of nature and reaſon, againſt the rule of equitie, againſt the order of law appoynted, againſt the cōſtitutions of Emperors, and alſo the decrees of yͤ Empire, without any obſeruation of the law, or graunting dilatory daies, wᵗout probation of any crime, or his cauſe ſuffered to be pleaded vnto, or heard what might be anſwered therein: taking vpon him to be both aduerſarie & iudge, condēned the Emperour being abſent. What more wicked ſentence was euer pronounced, what more crueller fact (cōſidering the perſone) might be committed? Or what thing more brutiſh & beaſtly could haue bene imagined or deuiſed? And yet hereat were theſe byſhops nothing aſhamed: but meaning to leaue their doings in wryting (as an impudent teſtimonie to their poſteritie) eſtabliſhed the ſame for a law to continue.

The Emperour comming to make his apparance before the Pope.

The extremitie of the Pope to the Emperour.

But marke what vengeance God toke vpon this wicked iudge. The wryters of the Annales recorde, that when Fredericus the Emperor, and Conradus his ſonne being Ceſar were both dead: the Pope gaping for the inheritāce of Naples & Sicile, and thinking by force to haue ſubdued the ſame, came to Naples with a great hoſt of men: where was heard in the Popes court manifeſtly pronounced this voyce, Veni miſer ad iudicium Dei. Thou wretch, come to receiue thy iudgemēt. And the next day after, the Pope was founde in his bed dead, all blacke and blewe as though he had bene beaten with bats, as before in the hiſtory of king Iohn is declared.

Vengeance falleth vpon the Pope for his falſe iudgement.

When the Emperor had vnderſtanding of this cruell & tyrannical ſentence of the Pope, paſſed and pronounced againſt him (conſidering his furious purpoſe & mind therein) thought good by hys letters to let all chriſtian princes & potentates vnderſtand, as wel what iniuries & manifolde diſpleaſures hee had ſuſteined by the 4. Popes in all theyr times, as alſo the cruelty and tyranny of this Pope in pronouncing the ſentence of iudgement and condemnation againſt him (paſſing the bounds both of iuſtice, equitie, and reaſon) which letter as he wrote the ſame, here vnder followeth to be ſeene.

The letter of the Emperour to the French King, and other Princes for the ſentence geuen againſt him in the councel of Lyons by the Pope and Cardinals.

ALthough we ſuppoſe not the contrary, but that both by true certificate and common rumour you haue heard of the indifferencie of our cauſe and good handling therof: yet for that more credite is commonly geuen to that the eye ſeeth, then to that the eare receiueth: we thought good to preſent vnto you the naked truth of ſuch things, which the Popes ſucceſsiuely haue put forth, & forged againſt vs. To the peruſing and conſideration of which my caſe and letter, I beſeech your gentlenes amongſt other times of laiſure, you wil ſpie out ſome fit and conuenient time therfore. And all other whatſoeuer that ſhall haue deſire to heare princes councels & affaires, let them in like ſort attentiuely conſider. Firſt, whether our predeceſſours haue bene deſtitute or not of godly zeale, iuſt dealing, & righteouſnes: or whether we may not lawfully reuenge our ſelues being ſo much prouoked, of ſuch euils and iniuries as haue ben wrought againſt vs. Secondly, let them conſider whether Chriſtes vicare doth followe Chriſtes ſteps or not, and whether Peters ſucceſſors do follow his example or not: and alſo, by what law, equitie & right, that ſentence which they haue pronounced againſt vs, may be maintained and allowed. As alſo what name they may iuſtly geue it, and whether that may be ſayde to be a ſentence which is geuen by an vnſufficient iudge or not. For, although we acknowledge that the Lord hath geuen full power in ſpirituall things vnto his Churche: that whatſoeuer the ſame bindeth in earth is bound in heauen, & whatſoeuer the ſame looſeth, is alſo looſed: yet we reade neither by Gods lawe, nor by any lawe of man, that we ought of duetie to be ſubiect vnto him: or that an Empire ought at his pleaſure to be transformed and tranſpoſed: or that he may geue any ſuch ſentence or iudgement to puniſh Princes temporally, and depriue them of their kingdomes. For why, although our conſecration belongeth vnto him by right and cuſtome (as he chalengeth) yet our depoſing and depriuing doth no more belong to him then doth that preſumption belong to any other prelate of other Realmes, which doe conſecrate and annoynt their kings, as the cuſtome and manner is. Or put caſe it were ſo (we nothing hindered thereby) that hee had ſuch power: Hath he that power to the intent to reuenge himſelfe vpon whomſoeuer his malicious minde conſenteth, and without all equitie and law to bring them vnder his iuriſdiction: He hath proceeded of late againſt vs as is ſayd, but not by the order of accuſation: for ſo much as neither was there any ſufficient accuſer, neither went there out any inſcriptiō or proceſſe before. Neither yet by denunciation, for ſo much as there lacked a lawful denoūcer: neither yet by the way of inquiſition, for that there went before it no manifeſt accuſation. But hee peraduenture will ſay, that all things that he layeth againſt vs were manifeſt and notorious, but that do we deny, and nothing to be notorious but that, which may by a ſufficient number of witneſſes be approued & tried. For ſo may euery iudge himſelfe (contemning the order of lawe) affirme what he liſt to be notorious, and thus condemne whom hee liſt. There were againſt vs (as well it may be ſayd in counſell) certaine falſe witneſſes although not many: of whome, the Byſhop of Calin was one, whoſe neare kinſman or nephewe (by our lawes condemned for treaſon to be hanged) maketh alſo to vs an infeſtiue enemie. With ſuch like effect proſecuting the reſt of his Epiſtle, which for breuitie ſake I omit.

This pollicie vſed the Pope to vexe and diſturbe both the countrey of Germany and the whole Empire, and not ſo onely, but alſo vtterly to deſtroy and ſubuert the ſame: by the ruinous decay whereof, the Pope and his Prelates thought to make vp their mouthes. And thus, whileſt that Germanie was nowe newly againe deuided, ſome taking part with Fredericke the Emperour, and Conradus Cæſar his ſonne & other nobles and princes of the Empire: ſome wyth thoſe that ſhoulde by the Popes procurement be the electors of the new Emperour: other ſome, with neither of both, as men not minding nor tending the publique vtilitie, but to ſerue theyr owne purpoſes, armed themſelues: And thus was the publicke peace and quiet brokē and diſturbed, and altogether in tumult and hurleyburley. For whileſt the one part laboured by all force to retaine the dominion by publique and common cōſent firſt to hym committed:

Altogether in hurly burly through the Popes malicious minde.

mitted: the other part in like ſort indeuored themſelues wͭ all their force & power to vſe and occupye the ſame, according to the decree of the biſhop of Rome, & to take it from Fredericke, and thus great conflicts grew on all partes.

Germany ſpoyled by ciuill diſſention through the Popes only practiſe againſt the Emperour.

By theſe ciuill warres, Germany ſuffered no little calamity: In euery place was mā ſlaughter and murder, the country ſpoyled, the townes and villagies ſet on fire and brent, the churches and temples violated & robbed, wherein the huſbād mē had put their goods & ſubſtaunce: houſes were pulled down, the goods deuided, & euery mans cattel driuen away. To conclude, in this turmoyle & cōtentiō of depoſing & chuſing an other emperor, in this factiō of princes, in this liberty of wearing armor, in this licēce of hurting & ſinning: The impudent boldnes of diuers priuate ſouldiors, & eſpecially of ſuch as were yͤ horſemē thē counted yͤ better ſort of ſouldiors, was ſo great: & there vnbridled & vnſatiable deſire in robbing, ſpoyling, and taking of booties, catching & ſnatching al that came to hād, ſo much: that nothing could be ſure and in ſafety that any good mā enioyed. Wherefore a litle before the death of Gulielmus the king, 60. Cityes and Townes which were belonging to Ludouicus Palatinus Duke of Boioria and Rhenus, and Otho his ſonne, and other princes, whoſe names Auentinus in his 7. booke of yͤ Annales of the Boiores maketh mention of: ioyned themſelues in a league for the expelling of theſe rebels & repreſſing of their ſo great iniurious rapines and ſlaughter of men. Of which armye the ſayd Ludouicus being captaine, chaſed & draue the whole rout of thē to the vttermoſt partes of Germany, and puld down and ouerthrew their caſtles and fortreſſes, and euery other place where they had intrenched themſelues.

The robbers and rebels chaſed out of Germany

The fidelitie of Otho to the Emp.

Otho Boius yet notwithſtanding, kepeth his promiſe and fayth moſt conſtantly made before to the emperor Fredericke and Conradus his ſonne. Whereupon, Philippus Iuuauenſis, Albertus and others, calling a councell at Mildorſus (by the Popes commaundement) ſent for Otho vnto them, vnto whom they opened the Popes pleaſure & commaundement. To all which, whē he had heard, Otho aunſwered: I cannot maruell at ſome of you enough, that when as heretofore you perſuaded me to leaue and forſake the part I tooke with the Biſhop of Rome, whome ye your ſelues affirmed to be Antichriſt, & that I ſhould take part with the Emperour: why that you your ſelues will not keepe your fidelity and promiſe made to thoſe good Princes: And ſayd that he perceiued in them a great inconſtancy and leuity, both in their woords and deedes, which now call that wicked, vniuſt, and violent wrong, but lately that they thought equall, iuſt & right. He ſayd further, that they were ouercome with pleaſures, corrupted with ſuperfluitie, wonne with brybes. gaping for honour and eſtimation: & that they neither regarded honeſty, godlynes, nor their duety and office, but ſtudied how to make diſſention and commotions, and longed after warre and bloudy battell.

The anſwer of Otho to the Legates.

He ſayd farther, that for his part he would obey God and his prince to whom he had ſworne fidelity, and that he naught eſteemed the fayned holynes and deteſtable practiſes of ſuch Prelates: He ſayd he beleued in Chriſt and would truſt in his mercy, & that he beleued how thoſe whom they curſed and gaue to the Deuill, were in greateſt fauour with God. Howbeit and notwithſtāding thoſe Prelates tooke in good part this expoſtulation with him, and ſeemed to beare Otho no malice or grudge for that he had ſayd, but to be deſirous of peace and vnity: yet not long after, Otho was curſed as blacke as all the reſt, and counted as bad as the beſt.

Otho excōmunicated for turning from the pope to take the Emperours part.

Albertus the pops champion now in Germany playeth not rex onely amongſt the citizens: But alſo bethought him of a miſchieuous deuiſe agaynſt Conradus Ceſar the Emperours ſonne. When by fraude and ſubtletye he had gotten and taken many of the rich Burgiſes and Citizens of Reginoburgh, which bare the Emperor good will and had ſent them priſoners to Staffum. Conradus ioyning with other noble men of the Empire (after he had ſpoyled and waſted much of his lands and others his cōpanions) draue him ſo neare, that vpon certayne other conditiōs he deliuered agayne the Citizēs. And ſhortly after comming again to Reginoburgh, and being receiued & welcommed into the Colledge of D. Haimeramus: Albertus with certayn of his confederates by the meanes of Vlricus a chief officer of the monks, came in the dead time of the night into the chamber, where the Ceſar with a few other about him did lie: And falling vpon them ſome they tooke, and other ſome they ſlew. & finding no other body in the chambers or lodginges, they thought that Ceſar had bene ſlain amongeſt the reſt. But he hearing the noyſe, forſooke hys bed & hid himſelf vnder a bēch and ſo eſcaped theyr hands. The next day he outlawd or preſcribed the biſhop and his mates, and alſo the monke bailif of treaſon, & ſeaſed vpon all the goodes of the houſe. But at the ſute of the guileleſſe monkes, he releaſed all to them agayne, taking by way of fine 100. pound. Vlricus loſt his office and Albertus thereby to eſcape daunger of puniſhment, tooke vpon him the habit of a Monke, Conradus Hochenfolſeus which was the murderer of theſe men (although he eſcaped the puniſhment of mans hand) yet the vengeaunce of God for yͤ fact, he eſcaped not. For as he rid in the day time abroad, he was ſodenly ſtroken with a thunderbolt and dyed.

Caeſar in daunger by Albertus.

Albertus to eſcape puniſhment taketh the order of monkery.

During all this buſy and contentious time, it may well be gathered, Fredericke the Emperour lay not ſtil, but had his hands ful: who notwithſtāding (by Gods help) ouercōming & ſuppreſſing theſe or greater part of theſe rebellious popiſh tumults, and had done ſtrait executiō (of thoſe eſpecially) that had conſpired agaynſt his perſon: calling a cōſell and ſetting in ſome ſtay the troubleſome affaires of his kingdome, came to Cremona with Fridericus Prince of Antioche, Richardus Erle of Umbria, the gouernor of Flamininia, and Encius king of Sardinia, with a great number beſides of ſouldiors & men of war. And beſids, he took with him (which he ſent for out of euery part) the wiſeſt, moſt vertuous, and beſt learned men that there was: thinking with thē to haue gone himſelfe to Lions to the Pope, and there to haue had with him communication as well concerning the ſentence definitiue, as alſo about the cōcluſiō of any peace, if by any meanes he might. And whē al things was prepared & ready, he took yͤ iourny in hād & came to Taurinū, hauing with him both a great army of ſouldiors & alſo a great cōpany of Legates and Ambaſſadors. From thence ſending his cariages before, within 3. dayes iourny of Lions: he was certified that Parma was taken & kept by the outlawes of diuers & ſundry factions of the Pope: his nere neighbors & frends: as by the popes Legate, and other citizens as of Brixia, Placentia, & ſuch like. Which thing when he vnderſtood, and that the Pope herein was the onely and chiefe doer: he ſaw manifeſtly it ſhould litle preuayle, to attempt any further the thing he went about: & thē at length, whē he ſaw no other remedy putting from him all hope of peace, determined himſelf to the wars with all his force and might. Thus altering his purpoſe & iourny, he took the ſtraiteſt way into Lumbardy: and with an army of 60000. men, he beſieged Parma. And to the intent he might more aptly and nere the town, plant his ſiege and battry, without diſturbāce: firſt he entrēched his campe and fortified the ſame about with bulwarkes & other defencible munition: After that, he cauſed diuers vitailing houſes & tauerns in his cāpe to be ſleightly builded of timber: and without the campe he appointed the place where the market ſhould be kept, & all vitailers reſort that would. He appointed places for their churches & tēples, & in ſeemely maner adourned the ſame: and for yͤ moſt part their tentes were builded with wood, ſo that it was like an other Parma. All which things when he had finiſhed, which was not long in doing: for this happy and proſperous ſucceſſe he called and named it Victoria, & had thought to haue made the ſame to be in yͤ ſtead of the City Parma, which he purpoſed to haue made leuell with the groūd. And in the beginning both there and els where, all thing proſpered well wͭ Fredericke & had good ſucceſſe: for he ſharply layd vnto their charges that defēded & kept the city Parma. And further Robertus Caſtilioneus which was the Emperors lieftenant in Picenū, nere vnto Auximum: diſcomforted the Popes army, & ſlue of them more then 4000. and tooke many ſuch as were of the confederate cities priſoners. And when the factions or cōpanies of the Gibellines and Gwelphes in Florentia were at controuerſy: whē Fredericus of Hetruria came to yͤ Gibellines to whom they had ſent for ayd: The Guelphes therewith diſmayd fled from thence to Bononia, whoſe goods & ſubſtance came all to the Emperors cofers, & Florentia alſo it ſelfe to the Emperors obediēce. But this good ſucceſſe and proſperous fortune laſted not long: for as at a time Fridericus to recreate himſelf (which ſeldom had his health) rod about the fieldes with certaine of his horſemē to hauke & hunt: Many alſo of the Emperors ſouldiors thinking nothing leſſe then of ſuch a matter to be attempted of a many ſtaruclings within the towne Parma, wandred & ranged vnarmed out of their City Victoria about the fieldes. The ſouldiors in Parma hauing this occaſion offered, with all force & ſpeed poſſible entred yͤ Emperors campe or towne Victoria, which being not very ſtrōgly fenced nor hauing gates to ſhut agaynſt thē, was a thing eaſy enough to do. The ſoden ſtraūgenes of the the matter much abaſhed the ſouldiors, & rang out their larū bell. The firſt aſſault was geuen vpō Marcus Malaſpina his charge, whom when the Emperor returning in all haſte foūd to be hard beſet, had thought to haue reſcued him. But whē that was perceiued of the enemy, they bet all their force altogether on yͤ

The Emperour when he had ſomewhat ſuppreſſed theſe tumults came to Cremona.

The Emp. thinketh to goe to Lions to the Pope.

Parma taken and kept by the popes legat and other friendes of his.

The Emp. altereth his iourney from Lions to the ſiege of Parma.

The Emp. named his campe and ſiege about Parma Victoria.

The popes army diſcomfited by the Emperours Lieſtenant at Auximum.

The negligence of the ſouldiers offereth an occaſion to the enemy.

ſide. In ſo much, that yͤ Emperor was inforced to take the trench, leſt he ſhould haue bene of the enemy enuironed, & from thence he retired into the citie or campe where he had thought to haue gathered further aide. But the enemy geuing not ſo much time therunto, with all force entred the citie Victoria. The Emperor now, when the enemies were entred, left the campe & came to Dominum, who when they had killed & ſlaine a great nomber of the Emperors ſoldiors, & had burnt & deſtroied the ſame campe Victoria, came againe to Parma. The Emperor then ſuſpecting this thing to be wrought by treaſon, whereby the enemy had vnderſtanding as wel of the Emperors abſence, as alſo of yͤ negligence of his ſoldiors, impriſoned certaine of the chiefeſt about hym, amongſt whome alſo was Petrus de Vineis. Yet whileſt he was at Dominum gathering together his ſouldiors and reſidue of his bāds: Encius getteth a great victorie of the Manſuanos, who cōming to the reſcue of Parma, loſt 50. of their ſhips and all that they had in them.

The diſcomfiture of the Emp. at the ſiege of Parma.

The Emp. vpon ſuſpition of treaſon impriſoneth diuers of his Captaynes.

After this alſo, Richardus in another conflict in Picenum, diſcomforted the Popes ſouldiors, & ſlewe their captaine Hugolinus, beſides 2000. others ſlaine & taken priſoners. When nowe Fredericus had gathered againe, and new muſtered his bands at Dominum, he marched forth to Cremona: and notwithſtanding, yͭ there he vnderſtode of the good ſucceſſe and victory that Encius had at Rhegium: yet for that he perceiued the defection and backſliding of all or moſt part of Lumbardie from him: he determined to take his iorney into Apulia, and when he had there leuied a ſtrong and ſufficient power, he purpoſed to make hys ſpeedy returne againe into Lombardie. Therefore, in hys iorney through Hetruria into Apulia, he ioyned with hys ſonne Fridericus, which beſieged Capras, and toke the ſame: and led with him diuers of the chiefeſt captains priſoners, and after that ſubduing vnto the obedience of the Empire Miniatum, he came into Apulia.

Capras beſieged and taken of the Emperor.

When newes was brought him thether, that Encius hys ſonne (comming to aide the Mutinenſes againſt the Bononiens) was taken priſoner, two miles of from Mutina: and that in his abſence, the Popes capitaines wͭ their bandes and garriſons went throughout all Lumbardie, Aemilia, Flamminia, and Hetruria, to ſtirre and procure the Cities to reuolt from the obedience of the Emperour: And the ſame, partly working by ſubtile pollicies, & partly by force & ſiniſter meanes to bring them to his purpoſe: determined with himſelf, that with all the force and power he might by any meanes procure and make, to haue begon a freſh & proſecuted this warre to the vttermoſt. Neyther was it to be doubted as Pandolphus Colonucius writeth, but that he would haue wrought ſome meruellous exploit & great attēpt, but that he was of this his purpoſe (whereunto he was both willing & bēt) preuēted by vnlooked for death. For whē he fell into this ague, being at a certaine caſtle of his in Apulia called Florētinū, & ſaw by the extremity thereof, his daies to be ſhort: he remēbred that which was once ſhewed him, how he ſhould die at Florēce. Whereupon, he made and ordeined his teſtament: and when vnto Conradus and other of his children he had geuen and appoynted the great and innumerable maſſe of mony which he had collected & leuied for the maintenance of his wars (and godly purpoſe as it is called) And vnto them alſo had geuen all other his kingdomes & dominiōs (to euery one according to their ages and yeres) departed this wretched and miſerable world.

The Emperour purpoſeth to make ſome great attempt.

The Emp. preuented by death Fred. one of Gods elect.

Pandolphus writeth, that Fredericus was very willing to dye, & as they made certayne report to him which were preſent at his death, that his minde was altogether ſet and bent vpon the heauenly ioy & felicity. Which thing alſo Gulielmus Putranus, Andreas Pandalus, and Manardus the biſhop, being Italian writers do all affirme of whom this laſt writeth, that he aſſuredly beleueth Fredericke to be one of the number of Gods elect.

Sundry opiniōs of the death of Frederick Emp.

The writers notwithſtanding are of ſundry iudgmēts & opinions touching this good Emperours death: Some write that he was traiterouſly poiſoned by his cup bearer, being hyred therunto. Some other, that he was ſtrangled with a pillow of Mãfredo the ſonne of Pherus. But Pandolphus as good a writer as the beſt, maketh no mention of any poyſon that was geuen him, but onely that he died of an ague. The laſt opinion of Manfredus, he manifeſtly refuteth and that there is no maner of lykelihood of the ſame: & further, that the cōtrary is affirmed by diuers other writers that were of that time. He died in the yeare of our Lord. 1268. the 13. day of December, in the 57. yeare of his age, and 37. yeare of his raigne, whoſe corpes was brought to Panormum, and there intombed.

Fredericke had 3. wiues: the firſt was Conſtantia, the daughter of the king of Arragon: of whom he begat Hēry the Duke of Sueuia and king of the Romains: The other Iole yͤ daughter of Iohannes Brennus, king of Ieruſalem, by whom he had the inheritance of Ieruſalē, Naples, and Sicile: of whom he begat Cōradus Duke of Sueuia, king of Ieruſalem & Naples being Ceſar. The third Iſabell the daughter of king Iohn of Englād, by whom he had a ſonne named Hēry, which is ſaid to die in his childhood. This Fredericus had not his peere in Marſhall affayres to be compared vnto him and warlike pollicies amongſt al the princes of that age. A wiſe and ſkilful ſouldiour he was: a great indurer of paynefull labors and trauels: moſt boldeſt in greateſt perils: prudent in foreſight: Induſtrious in all his doinges: prompt & nimble about that he toke in hand: and in aduerſity moſt ſtout & couragious. But as in this corruption of nature, few there be yͭ attain perfection: neither yet is there any prince almoſt of ſuch gouernment and godly inſtitution, both in life & doctrine as is required of them: So neither was this Fredericke, without his fault & humaine fragility. For the writers impute to him ſome fault of concupiſcence, wherwith he was ſtayned and ſpotted. And it appeareth that he was not all cleare therof, for as much as by ſūdry Concubines he had ſundry children: As Encius, the king of Sardinia: Manfredus, the prince of Tarentinū: And Frederick king of Antioche. And this is all that I finde of the deſcription of Fredericke by Colonucius, which he affirmeth to haue gathered out of good & probable authors. But as touching the haynous actes and flagitious deedes, which the Pope burdeneth him withall, and in his ſentence agaynſt hym, maketh mention of: Fredericus not onely purgeth himſelfe therof, but alſo diuers hiſtoriciens (as well Germain writers as Italiās) affirme the ſame to be falſe and of the Popes owne braynes, to do him ſkarre & teene withall, inuēted. Of which matter, thoſe things which Pandolphus (touching the commendation or diſprayſe of Fredericus writeth) I thought good out of Italian, to tranſlate: whoſe wordes be theſe.

The iſſue of Fredericke the Emp.

Fred. a moſt puiſſaunt prince in Marſhall affaires.

Frede. was not without his fault of humane fragilitie.

Albeit the Emperor Fredericus was indued with many goodly giftes and vertues, yet notwithſtanding was he accounted an enemy of the church and a perſecutor of the ſame: of which, both Innocentius the 4. in his ſentence hath pronoūced him guilty, & the ſame ſentence haue other Popes regiſtred in theyr ſixe books of Decretals, and ſtabliſhed the ſame for a lawe, howe that hee ought to be taken for no leſſe. Therefore peraduenture it ſhould not become me to falſifye or call in queſtion that, whiche other haue confirmed, or els to diſpute and argue much of that matter. Yet notwithſtanding as much as his actes & dedes in writing declare, & the books of the chiefeſt authors affirme, as alſo his own Epiſtles do teſtify: I cannot preciſely ſay, whether the biſhops of Rome ſo call him and iudge him therfore: Or els for that, he was ſomewhat to bold in ſpeaking and telling them but the truth, and reprouing the eccleſiaſticall order of their great abuſes. Or els, whether for that, he would haue had them gone ſomewhat more neare the conditions & liues of the auncient fathers of the primitiue Church and diſciples of Chriſt: Or whether for that, he defēded and ſtood with them for the prerogatiue and dignities belōging to the empire or not: Or els, whether they ſtood in feare & awe of the great power he was of in Italy (which thing in deede Gregory the 9. in a certain Epiſtle of his, confeſſeth.) But of theſe things let them iudge and diſcerne, that ſhall read the monumēts and hiſtories of Frederick Truely (ſayth he) when I conſider with my ſelfe that Chriſt (whoſe vicar the Romaine Biſhops boaſt thēſelues to be) ſayd vnto his diſciples: that they ſhould follow him and alſo intimate his example as of their maiſter and teacher: and commaunded them farthermore, how they ſhould not draw the ſword, but put vp the ſame into the ſkaberd: and farther gaue thē in precept that they ſhould not onely forgeue iniuries ſeuē times but 70. times ſeuen times to thoſe that offended them: And when I now compare the liues of the Biſhops of Rome, how neare they follow him whoſe vicar they ſay they be! And conſider ſo manye and greet conſpiracies, treaſons, rebellions, diſloyaltyes, lyinges in wayt, and treacherous deuiſes: So many Legates of the Popes (being Eccleſiaſticall perſons) which will needes be called the ſhepheardes of Chriſtes flocke, to be ſuche warriours and Captaynes of Souldiours in all the partes of Italy, Campania, Apulia, Calabria (being the Emperours dominions) in Picenum, Æmilia, Flamminia, and Lumbardy, to be ſent out againſt him. And alſo when with my ſelfe I meditate, the deſtruction of ſo many great and famous Cities, the ſubuerſion of ſuch common weales, the ſlaughter of ſo many men, and the effuſion of ſo much Chriſtian bloud: And laſtly when I beholde, ſo victorious, proſperous, and fortunate Emperours to be: and ſo many miſerable vnfortunate, and vanquiſhed Popes put to flight: Am perſwaded with my ſelfe to thinke and beleue, that the iudgements of God are ſecret and maruellous, and that to be true which Æneas Siluius, in his hiſtory of Auſtria writeth: That there is no great and maruellous

The words of Pandolphus touching the prayſe and diſpraiſe of the Emp.

Fredericke. The popes church compared with Chriſt his Church as like as blacke and white.

lous ſlaughter, no notorious and ſpecial calamity (that hath happened either to the publick weale, or els to the church of God, of the which the Biſhops of Rome haue not bene the authors. Nicolaus Machiauellus alſo ſayth, that all the ruinous calamities and miſerable chaunces that the whole chriſtian common weale and alſo Italy hath ſuffered: hath bene brought in by the Popes and biſhops of Rome.

Many Epiſtles of Fredericus there be, which he wrote vnto the Biſhops of Rome, to the Cardinals, and to diuers other Chriſtian Princes, all which I haue read· and in them is to be ſeene nothing contrary vnto Chriſtian doctrine, nothing wicked and vngodly, nothing iniurious to the Church of God, nothing contumelious or arrogantly written of Frederick. But in deede I denye not the ſame to be fraught and full of pitifull complayntes and lamẽtatiõs, touching the auaritious ambitiõ of the Eccleſiaſtical perſõs, and pertinacy of the Biſhops of Rome: and that he would receiue and take no ſatiſfactiõ, nor yet excuſe in the defence of the right and priuiledge of the Empire, which he maintained: alſo of their manifold and infinite cõſpiracies which they practiſed both ſecretly and openly agaynſt him: And of the often admonitions which he gaue to the whole multitude and order Eccleſiaſticall, to attend vpon and diſcharge their functions and charges. And who, that farther is deſirous to know and vnderſtand the trueth, and coueteth to ſearch out the renowmed vertues of magnificẽt Princes, let them read the Epiſtle of Fredericke dated to all Chriſtian Princes which thus beginneth: Collegerunt principes, pontifices & Phariſæi concilium: and an other, wherin he perſwadeth the Colledge of Cardinalles to take vp the diſſention betweene the Emperor and the pope, which beginneth: In exordio naſcentis mundi: and alſo an other which thus beginneth: Infallibilis veritatis teſtem: beſides yet an other: Ad Reges & principes orbis Chriſtiani: with diuers other moe wherein may well be ſeene the princely vertues of this ſo worthy a piere: all which Epiſtles collected together in the Latin tongue, the lerned ſort I wiſh to read, whereout they may picke no litle benefit and commodity to thẽſelues: In his Epiſtle laſt recited theſe are his wordes: Non exiſtimetis id me a vobis ideò contendere, ac ſi ex ſententia pontificia priuationis maieſtas noſtra ſit perculſa: Cum enim nobis ſit rectæ voluntatis conſcientia, cumq́; deum nobiſcum habeamus, eundẽ teſtem inuocamus id nos ſpectaſſe, cum totum ordinem Eccleſiaſticum tum præſertim primores, neruis potẽtiæ, dominationiſq́; eorum ſucciſis extirpatiſq́; tyrannidis radicibus ad primitiuę Eccleſię conditionem & ſtatum reuocaremus: That is. Thinke ye not that we ſo earneſtly deſire or craue this peace at your hand, as though our maieſty were terrified with the Popes ſentence of depriuation: When as God (vpon whom we truſt and inuocate) is our witneſſe, and iudge of our conſcience: that when we went about to reforme the Eccleſiaſticall ſtate, but eſpecially the ringleaders of the ſame; and ſhould reſtrayne theyr power and extirpate theyr great tiranny, and reduce the ſame to the ſtate and cõdition of the primatiue Church: we looked for no leſſe at theyr handes. For theſe cauſes peraduenture, thoſe which had the gouernement of the Eccleſiaſticall dignity, decreed and pronounced Fredericke to be an enemy to the Church: which (as I haue ſayd) I leaue others to iudge thereof. **Hitherto Pandolphus Colonutius.**

Deſerued commendation vpon the Epiſtles of Fred.

Fredericke purpoſed with the hazard of the imperiall ſtate to reforme the church of Rome.

And doubtles examples to the contrary doth appere, that Fredericke was no enemy to the church of Rome, for that he both gaue large and great giftes therunto, and alſo franchiſed the ſame with great priuiledges & immunities: which thinges, by his owne conſtitutions, ſtatutes, & cuſtomes may be perceiued and vnderſtood. But rather contrariwiſe, that the Biſhops of Rome moſt filthely recompẽced the ſame his great liberality and princely beneuolẽce again, which he gaue and beſtowed vpõ the ſame, as partly in the diſcourſe of this hiſtory you haue heard: who notwithſtanding, they ſo moleſted and tired him with ſuch & ſo many iniuries as you haue ſeene: he neuertheles, forgiuing and pardoning all the ſame, for the great zeale he had to the common Chriſtian wealth (wherof he more forced, then els of any other thing) ſought by all the meanes he might for to haue peace, although it wer to his own great hindrance. Therfore, ſeing he was of neceſſity by the Biſhops of Rome prouoked to that warr, if he did them any ſkath in reuenge of his Imperiall dignity, let them thank their owne ſelues, which might otherwiſe haue remedied the ſame. Notwithſtanding vpõ this occaſiõ diuers (both Italian and Germany writers, which at that time ſought for fat benefices, and euer ſince euen vnto theſe our dayes haue done the like, by flattery rather to obtaine that which they hunted for, then to beare true and faythfull teſtimony of things as they were in deed) took great occaſiõ to write, and ſclaunder this good Emperour. But let vs paſſe ouer theſe Paraſites and returne to thoſe, which although they themſelues were of that calling, I mean of the Eccleſiaſticall order: yet notwithſtanding, for that they rather preferred the ſtudy of veritye, and to reuerence the trueth before Popiſh authority, & flattering ſeruitude: greatly extolled and commended this good Emperor Fredericke. So did Nicholaus Cuſanus a Cardinall, in his writing affirme this Emperor to be an alter Carolus Magnus, both for hys wiſedome and alſo diligent regard to ẏ common weal. So alſo writeth Ægidius Biturigum the Biſhop, in his books of the inſtitution & bringing vp of a prince, which he wrot to the French king: exhorting him and all others, to take a patterne of this moſt worthy and excellent Prince. In cõmendation of whoſe worthy prayſe and vertue theſe verſes are written on his tombe.

Fre. ſhewed himſelfe no enemy but a friend to the Church of Rome.

Selfe doe, ſelfe haue, the prouerb is.

Hope of gaine allureth many to flatter and to write vntruthes.

Si probitas, ſenſus, virtutem gratia, cenſus,
Nobilitas orti poſſent reſiſtere morti:
Non foret extinctus, Fridericus qui iacet intus.

Wherfore, in as much as it appeareth by the approued writers of whom I haue made mẽtion: who & what maner of prince Fredericke this Emperor was: And for that he diligently labored as wel in the preſeruatiõ of the chriſten common weale, as in the conſeruation of the Imperiall dignity: procured to himſelfe the great hatred and diſpleaſure of ẏ Romain Biſhops (who haue ben, to all the good Emperors for the moſt part vtter foes and enemies) & with what wicked ſlaũders & other iniuries both by thẽ & by their miniſters they cõtinually moleſted him withal: This leſſon ought to be ours: that hauing the ſame in our memory, we imitate & folow his vertues, hating & deteſting the wicked & flagitious doings of thoſe holy fathers ẏ will ſo be called, & Biſhops of Rome: deſiring God that he will ſo guid the harts of all kings & Princes, that they may by his grace aduaunce and ſet forth his glory, and reforme the corrupt & vicious maner and order of ẏ Church to all ſincerity and purity both of life and doctrine.

These verſes which here enſue were ſent and written betwene the Emperor & Pope Innocentius the 4. which for that to the learned are both cõmodious and profitable at the end of this hiſtory I thought good to place.

¶ *Fridericus Imp. Innocent. 4. Papæ.*

Fata mouent ſtellæq́; docent, auiúmq; volatus
Totius ſubitò malleus orbis ero.
Roma diu titubans longis erroribus acta
Corruet, & mundi deſinet eſſe caput.

¶ *Innocent. Papa Frederico Imp.*

Fata ſilent, ſtellæq́; tacent, nil predicat ales:
Solius eſt proprium noſſe futura Dei.
Niteris in caſſum nauem ſubmergere Petri,
Fluctuat: at nunquam mergitur illa ratis.
Fama refert, Scriptura docet, peccata loquuntur:
Quòd tibi vita breuis, pœna perennis erit.
Quod diuina manus potuit, ſenſit Iulianus:
Tu ſuccedis ei, te tenet ira Dei.
Fre. fremit in mundo, de deprimit alta profundo:
Ri. mala rimatur, cuſ. cuſpide cuncta minatur.

¶ *Fredericus Innocentio.*

Fata mouent ſtellæq́; docent auiúmq; volatus
Lapſurum te mox ad ſtigis antra nigræ.
Cymba Petri non eſt, ſed Chriſti, quæ natat vndis:
Fluctuat, at nuſquam mergitur illa ratis.
Fama refert, tua ſcripta docent, peccata nefanda
Interitum oſtendunt, exitiumq́; tuum.
Strangulat Adrianum muſca, annon ira tonantis?
Cogitat & de te ſumere ſupplicium?
Carcere ſuſpendit ſeſe Benedictus, & alter
In ſtupro captus, ſaucius enſe perit.
Siluestrum extinguit Sathan ſceleratior ipſe:
Ergo tuis factis præmia digna feres.
Innocuum te voce notas cum ſis nociturus
Orbi terrarum Chriſtianóq; gregi.

¶ *Fredericus Innocentio de integro.*

Eſſes ſi membrum, non te caput orbis & vrbis
Iactares cum ſis orbis & vrbis onus.
Nunc membrum non es, ſed putre cadauer & vlcus,
Enſe recidendum ridiculúmq; caput.
A Daniele βδέλυγμα, nefaſq́; caputq; malorum
Diceris, a Paulo filius exitij.
Nos ſolum Chriſtum noſtrum caput eſſe, malorum
Totius orbis te caput eſſe facis.
Et caput eſt vnum, quod Paulus dicit vbiq;
Tu vecors balatro, dic mihi quale caput?
Corporis ergo caput monſtroſi monſtra pariſq́;
Monſtra paris monachos, ſcorta nefanda foues.
Eſt tua religio ſtuprum, Ira, ſuperbia, cædes,
Error, deliciæ, fulmina, turpe lucrum.
Ex his ergó liquet Chriſtum te ſpernere: Chriſto

Hoſtem eſſe inuiſum, dedecoriq; Deo.
Rex tandem veniet cœlo delapſus ab alto
Tunc non defendent te, ſacra, miſſa, cruces
Non in ſublimi ſurgentes vertice criſtæ,
Non diploma potens, non tua ſacra cohors.
Nec diadema triplex, nec ſedes ſanguine parta,
Nullus honos ſolij, purpura nulla tui.
Triginta argenteis Chriſtum vendebat Iudas,
Tu Chriſti vendis corpora plura tui.
Corpora tu vendis Chriſti paruo ære, polumq;,
Cæleſtes genios, ſidera, Iura, deos.

Certaine preachers in Sueuia.

Ex Chron. Abs. Vrſperg. Crātz. lib. 8. cap. 10.

As ye haue heard of the iniquity & raging pride of the popiſh church againſt their lawfull Emperor: Now ſhall ye heare (Chriſt willing) how God beginneth to reſiſt and withſtand the corruption of that whoriſh Church, by ſtirring vp certaine faythfull teachers in ſundry coūtries: As in the countrey of Sueuia, about the time of this Emperour. an. 1240. or neare vpon the ſame, where were many preachers mētioned in the Chronicle of Vrſpergēſis, and alſo in Crantzius Lib. 8. cap. 16. & 18. which preached freelye againſt the Pope. Theſe Preachers (as Crantzius ſayth) ringing the Belles, and calling the Barons in Hallis of Sueuia: there preached that the Pope was an hereticke, & that his Biſhops and Prelats were ſimoniacke and heretickes. And that the inferiour Prieſtes and Prelates had no authority to binde and looſe, but were all ſeducers. Itē that no Pope, Biſhop, or Prieſt, could reſtrayne mē from their duety of ſeruing and worſhipping of God. And therfore ſuch cities or coūtries, as were then vnder the Popes curſe, might notwithſtanding lawfully reſort to the receyuing of Sacraments, as well as before. Item that Friers Dominicke, and Franciſcane, did ſubuert the church with their preaching. And as the indulgence of the Pope, & his Popelings was of no regard, ſo that remiſſiō, which they did preach vnto them, they preached it not from the Pope but as from the Lord. And thus much I thought here to recite, whereby it may appeare, how the reſiſting of the Popes vſurped power and corrupt doctrine, is no newe thing in theſe dayes in the Church of Chriſt. &c.

Reſiſtance againſt the Pope no new thing in Chriſtes church

Arnoldus de noua villa condemned of hereſie.

And not long after theſe aforeſayd, roſe vp Arnoldus De noua villa, a Spanyard, and a man famouſly learned & a great writer. an. 1250. whom the Pope with his ſpiritualty condemned among heretickes, for holding and writing agaynſt the corrupt errors of the popiſh Church. His teaching was, that Sathā had ſeduced all the world from the truth of Chriſt Ieſus. Item that the fayth (which then Chriſten men were commonly taught) was ſuch a fayth as ẏ deuils had: meaning belike (as we now affirme) that the papiſtes do teach onely the horicall fayth, which is the fayth Hiſtoriæ non fiduciæ. Itē, that Chriſten people (meaning belike for the moſt part) are led by the pope vnto hel. Item, that all cloyſters are voyd of charity, and damned: And that they all doe falſify the doctrine of Chriſt. Item, that the Diuines do euill in mixting Philoſophy with diuinity. Item, that Maſſes are not to be celebrated. And that they ought not to ſacrifice for the dead. Certaine other opinions there be, which the ſlaundrous ſects of Monks and Friers do attribute vnto him: (but as they are wont in al other to do) rather vpon enuious taking, then of any iuſt cauſe geuen.

Vide librum, de teſtibus Veritatis.

Ioannes Semeca the gloſe writer to the Popes decrees excommunicated.

And as this Arnoldus was condēned, ſo alſo the ſame time Ioannes Semeca, the gloſe writer of the Popes decrees, and Prouoſt of Halberſtate was excōmunicated, & depriued of his Prouoſtſhip, for reſiſting Pope Clement the fourth, gathering certain exactions in Germany. And therfore he appealed from the Pope to a generall councel, and had many great fauorers on his ſide, till at laſt both the Pope and he dyed.

Guilielmus de S. Amore.

Conſequently in this order and number, foloweth the worthy and valiaunt champion of Chriſt & aduerſarye of Antichriſt Guilielmus de S. Amore, a maiſter of Paris, and chiefe ruler then of that Vniuerſity. This Guilielmus in his time had no ſmall a do writing agaynſt the Fryers, & their hipocriſy. But eſpecially againſt the begging friers, both condemning their whole order, and alſo accuſing thē as thoſe that did diſturbe & trouble al ẏ churches of Chriſt by their preaching in churches agaynſt the will of the ordinaries and paſtors, by their hearing of confeſſions, and executing the charges of Curates and paſtors in theyr Churches. All the teſtimonyes of Scripture that make agaynſt Antichriſt, he applyeth them againſt the Clergy of Prelates, and the Popes ſpiritualtye. The ſame Guilielmus is thought to be the author of the booke, which is attributed to the ſchole of Paris, and intituled: De periculis Eccleſiæ. where he proueth by 39. arguments, that Friers be falſe Apoſtles.

The place of the Goſpell expounded, Goe & ſell all & come folow me.

Moreouer, he doth well expound this ſaying of Chriſt (if thou wilt be perfect, go and ſell away all thou haſt, and come follow me) declaring there pouerty to be inioyned vs of Chriſt, non actualem, ſed habitualem: not in ſuch ſort as ſtandeth in outward action, when no need requireth, but in inward affection of hart, when neede ſhall require: As though the meaning & precept of our Lord were not that we ſhould caſt away actually al ẏ we haue, but that when the confeſſion of the name of God & the glory of chriſt ſhall ſo require: that then we be ready to leaue & reliquiſh what things ſoeuer, for ẏ ſake of him. &c. As when he requireth in vs, after like phraſe, ẏ hatred of father & mother, and of our own liues: he biddeth vs not to dihonor father or mother, much leſſe to hate thē: but that thē, when caſe ſhall require, we ſet all thinges behinde the loue of Chriſt. Many other worthy workes he compiled, wherin albeit he vttered nothing but what was truth, yet notwithſtanding he was by Antichriſt & his rable, condemned for an heritick, exiled, & his bookes burnt: whoſe hereticall argumētes as they called them, that thou mayſt better iudge therof, here vnder I thought good to place.

Guliel de S. Amore condemned of the pope for an heretike.

Agaynſt falſe Prophets with ſignes to know them by in theſe his wordes do follow. For becauſe theſe ſeducers ſayth he, name thēſelues to be Apoſtles: and that they are ſent of God to preach, to abſolue & diſpēſe with the ſoules of men, by meanes of their miniſtery. Read the ſaying of ẏ Apoſtle in his ſecond Epiſtle to the Corinthians, the xi. chap. For ſuch Apoſtles are ſubtle and crafty workemen, diſguiſing themſelues to be like the Apoſtles of Chriſt: Therfore, we mean to ſhew ſome certaine infallible tokēs and probable, by the whic falſe Apoſtles may be diſcerned from the true preachers and Apoſtles of Chriſt.

The 1. ſigne and token to knowe a falſe Fryer & Prophet by.

The 1. ſigne or marke is, that ſuch as be true preachers do not enter into ſimple womens houſes ladē with ſinne and take them as it were captiue, as many of the falſe preachers do: as in the ſecond Epiſtle of S. Paule to Timothy the 3. chapter is manifeſt, ſaying: Of thoſe ſortes are they, which enter into womens houſes. &c. Therfore thoſe preachers which come into womens houſes, to the intent they may take thē captiue, be not true preachers, but falſe Apoſtles.

True Preachers do not deceiue men with painted flattering wordes.

The 2. ſigne and token is, that thoſe that be true preachers do not deceiue ſimple men with painted and flattering wordes, whereby they preferre their owne traſh and traditions, as all falſe Prophets do, as in the laſt Chapter to the Romaines appeareth, ſaying: By their pleaſaunt & ſugred talk. and by their bleſſing and croſſing they deceiue and beguile the hartes of innocent men and women. Glo. with gay glorious words they extoll & ſet forth their traditions, wherby they deceiue ſimple mē. Very greatly doe they deceiue the ſoules of ſimple men, which cauſe them to enter into theyr ſect, which they terme Religion. And they which before led a noughty life, by reaſō of their ignorance or ſimplicity: after their entrance, become ſubtle falſe deceiuing hipocrites, entring together with the reſt into poore mens houſes: yea & oftentimes become worſe then the other. wherupō Mat. 22. wo be vnto you Scribes & Phareſeis, hypocrits which go about. &c. Therfore they which do this, are no true meſſengers but falſe Apoſtles.

Signe 3. is, that true Apoſtles take in good part when they be reproued.

The 3. ſigne is, that the true Apoſtles if they be reproued, ſuffer the ſame patiently. 2. Cor. 12. ſaying: the tokens of my Apoſtleſhip are accompliſhed among you, in all patience & ſufferance, meaning that patience, which pertayneth to the maners of the preachers. Therfore they which ſuffer not correction or puniſhment, be no true Apoſtles, but rather ſhew themſelues to be no Chriſtians at all 1. Cor. 12. No man can ſay that Ieſus is the Lord, but by the holy ghoſt. Gloſſa. It is meet that chriſtians ſhould be hūbled, to the intēt that they may ſuffer themſelues to be reproued, and not to be holden vp with yea and nay. And alſo ſuch men do ſhew themſelues to be carnall, and not ſpirituall at all, although they fayne themſelues to be ſpirituall. Gal. 3. Therefore am I become an enemye vnto you? Notwithſtanding the Gloſſa ſayth: no carnall man will be reproued although he erre. wherefore, thoſe preachers which ſuffer not coroection, ſeeme not to be true Apoſtles, but falſe Prophets.

The 4. ſigne is, that true preachers commend not themſelues.

The 4. ſigne is, that true Apoſtles commend not them ſelues. 2. Cor. 4. For we dare not ioyne our ſelues, nor yet compare our ſelues vnto others which commend & boaſt many of theyr actes, when God alloweth none of them at all: Alſo true preachers although they be in deede prayſe worthy for theyr good deſertes: In the conſciences of men are they prayſe worthy, & not to the outward ſhew alone. 2. Cor. 3. we commend our ſelues ſayth the Apoſtle to the conſciences of all men: Then they do not commend them ſelues in cōpariſon of other, wherfore the gloſe ſaith vpon the ſame place: thoſe that deſerue no commendation but in compariſon of other, do chalenge to thēſelues other mens deſertes and prayſe: wherefore in the ſecond Epiſtle of S. Peter the laſt chapter it is ſayd. Euen as our welbeloued brother Paule according to the wiſedome that God hath geuen vnto him, hath written vnto you: Gloſſa. The chiefeſt of the Apoſtles hath here forgotten his papall authoritye, and alſo his keies that were deliuered vnto him: For he is aſtonied as it were at the great wiſedom geuen vnto his brother Paule. For in deede it is the maner of the elect children of God, to be more in loue with the vertues of other men, then with their owne: wherefore in the ſecond chap. to the Philipp. is writtē. Let thoſe that are ſuperiors eſteeme of themſelues in all humility. They therefore that do the contrary, ſaying that their ſtate or doings be better then other mens, although they be preachers, yet are they no true Apoſtles, in deed but falſe prophets.

Signe 5. is, that true preachers neede no letters cōmendatorie.

The 5. ſigne is, that true Apoſtles neede no letters of commendation: nor yet deſire to haue themſelues prayſed of men: as in the 2. Cor. 3. chap. the Apoſtle ſayth, we neede not the letters of commendatiō of any man: that is to ſay of falſe prophets.

Signe 6. is, that true Apoſtles preach not vnles they be ſent.

The 6. ſigne is, that true Apoſtles, doe not preach vnleſſe they be ſent, as in the 10. chap. to the Rom. how ſhall they preach vnleſſe they be ſent; Gloſſa. There be no true Apoſtles but thoſe that be ſent. For they haue no neede of Signes which are true witnes bearers, but thoſe that be not ſent and do preach, are falſe prophets.

Signe 7. is when thoſe falſe prophets preach that were neuer ſent.

The 7. ſigne is, for as much as falſe Prophets haue their authority in their owne names: wherfore, in the 2. Epiſtle of S. Paul to the Cor. it is written. For we dare not boaſt of our ſelues or make compariſon, Gloſſa. That is to ſay, with thoſe that be falſe prophets: not taking their authority frō God, but vſurping the ſame deſirous to beare rule, clayming in their owne name their authority. And therfore although peraduenture by preſumption they ſay that they are ſent of God, as all hereticks wil ſay: yet notwithſtanding, vnleſſe they ſhal proue theyr ſending, either by ſpirituall prophecy as Iohn Baptiſt did, ſaying: I am the voyce of a cryer in the deſert: As out of the prophet Eſay in the firſt chapter of S. Iohns Goſpell is alledged: Or els by myracles, as Moyſes did which turned his rod into a Serpent, and againe from a Serpent to a rod, as in the 7. chap. of Exodus: they ought for to be excommunicated, till ſuch time they ceaſe from preaching: Yet notwithſtanding, a miracle ought not to be a ſufficiēt teſtimony, of theyr ſending, for as much as they be done oftentimes and that of euill and wicked men. 1. q. 1. we may perceiue towards the end. But miracles ought to be ſuſpected, for as much as our Sauiour ſayth in the 23. of Mathew. Then ſhall falſe prophets ariſe, &c. Therfore, they which do chalenge authority in their owne name, for as much as they haue not theyr authority from God, they are not true Apoſtles but falſe preachers.

Signe 8. is, that falſe prophetes pretende great holines in ſuperſtition.

The 8. ſigne is, that falſe Prophets pretending great wiſedome and holynes to be in ſuperſtition, haue named theyr owne traditions to be religion, the which are rather to be counted ſacrilege or Church robbery, and doe vſurpe vnto themſelues the due deſerts of other men by boaſting and bragging among ſtraunge & vnknowen people. wherfore, the Apoſtle ſpeaking of falſe Prophets in the 2. chap. to the Col. ſayth: According to the precepts of men, which hauing a face of wiſedome conſiſt in ſuperſtition, interlaced with humility. Gloſe. That is to ſay, mingled with fained religion that it might be called religion, when in very deede, it is nothing els but ſacrilege, becauſe it is cōtrary to all authoritye: that is contrary to God himſelfe, that any man ſhould deſire to haue gouernment of a multitude without publicke commaundement, as in Deuteronomii 23. chap. Thou haſt entred into thy neighbors vineyarde. Gloſe. that is to ſay, into the Church of an other Biſhop. May a man warne & admoniſh others, or els correct that congregation which is not lawfull for him to gouern, nor yet to take ſo great a charge vpon him? no. And that it is not lawfull to enter into an other biſhops Dioces, it is apparant: becauſe it is not lawfull for the Archbiſhopp ſo to doe. To this effect appertayneth that which is red. 6. q. 3. And alſo it is written 9. q. 2. through out. Therefore thoſe preachers which agaynſt God and his diuine Scriptures do call their owne traditions religiō, are not are Apoſtles but falſe Prophets.

Signe 9. is, that when they neyther preach nor miniſter, yet liue vpon other mens labours.

The 9. ſigne is, by the authority which they haue. For as much as they be no preachers of ẏ goſpell or miniſters of the Sacraments, yet they will liue by the Goſpell, and not by the labour of theyr owne handes, againſt the text in the 2. Theſſ. 3. neither haue we eaten any mans bread for nought, or of free coſt, Gloſſa. Then, thoſe falſe Prophetes ought much more to liue by theyr labour, which haue not that authoritye which we ought to haue, that is to ſay to liue by the Goſpell. And S. Auguſtine ſpeaketh of this more expreſſely in his booke *De opere monachorum*, by theſe words, Thoſe our brethren do clayme to themſelues (very raſhly as me thinketh) that they haue any ſuch authority, to liue by the Goſpell. If they be preachers of the Goſpel, I graunt that in deed they haue ſuch authority: if they be miniſters of the aultar, if they be diſpoſers of the Sacraments: they cannot well but take to thēſelues this authority, as alſo manifeſtly to chalenge the ſame, if at the leaſt they haue not where with all to ſuſtayne this preſent life, without labour of their handes. &c. As though he woulde haue ſayd, if they be not ſuch maner of men, then haue they no authority to liue by the Goſpell. Therefore thoſe preachers, which haue not authority to liue by the Goſpell, or els miniſter the Sacraments, becauſe they haue no cōgregation wherby to take charge of ſoules, yet for al that wil needs liue vpon the Goſpell, they be no true Apoſtles but falſe Prophets.

Signe 10. is, that falſe prophets take that to them which pertayneth to the worde of God.

The 10. ſigne is, that falſe teachers, reioyce more to be commēded themſelues, then the word of God to haue the commendation & prayſe. But they that are true preachers and Apoſtles, are farre otherwiſe minded as to the Theſſ. 2. not ſeeking the prayſe of men. &c. And herin he toucheth thoſe falſe Prophets, which deſire rather to be commēded themſelues, then that the word of God which they preach ſhould haue the commendatiō, but he is an Apoſtle which not ſeeking the glory of this preſent world, but for the glory to come, doth abaſe himſelf to the intēt that ẏ preaching and word of God might be commended and exalted. They therfore which deſire to haue prayſe & to be commended of others, rather then that the word of God ſhould haue the prayſe, to be no true Apoſtles but falſe Prophets.

Signe 11. is, that falſe prophets doe preach for gaine and not for Gods cauſe.

The 11. ſigne is, that true Apoſtles do preach onely for Gods cauſe, and for the health of ſoules, and for no tēporal gayne as in the 2. Cor. 4. ſaying, we preach not our ſelues. &c. Gloſe. Our preaching tendeth not to our glory and gayne, but onely to the glory of Chriſt. But the preaching of Chriſt by thoſe that are falſe Prophets, tendeth to the contrary. wherupon in the Phil. 1. is ſayd: whether it be vpon occaſion geuē, or els for the verities ſake, let Chriſt be preached. &c. Gloſe. Falſe prophets doe preach the Goſpell vpon ſome occaſion, as either by ſeeking ſome commodity at the hands of mē, or els becauſe of getting goods, honor, or prayſe among men. which notwithſtanding, that they be ready and willing as it ſhould ſeeme to beare and ſuſtaine iniuryes: yet they ſeek not ſo much the health of him to whom they preach, as in very deed they do their owne commodity and gaine. wherupon. 2. Cor. 12. Gloſſe. Becauſe I ſeeke not the thinges that be yours; that is to ſay, not your treaſure as gold & ſiluer, but onely you your ſelues. Gloſſe. For otherwayes it could by no meanes be gathered, that they ſhould vnderſtand him to ſpeake or meane of theyr ſubſtaunce, becauſe he more eſteemeth them then theyr mony, to the intent that they might vnderſtand his great good will toward them. Therfore theſe euill and naughty preachers which preach for worldly gayn, or honor, or els for the prayſe & cōmendation of men, be no true Apoſtles but falſe Prophetes. But it may be aſked, how ſhall men vnderſtand when theſe good fellowes preach for their owne vayne glory ſake? It may be aunſwered thus, when they preach before they be called, as in the 2. Cor. 11. whoſoeuer boaſteth let him boaſt and reioyce in the Lord. Gloſſe. which thing to doe, cannot he by any meanes, that hath not his authority from God. For if any ſuch Prophet preach, he ſeeketh his owne glory: and that may eaſely be perceiued. Becauſe he is not called of God he hath no ſuch authority of him, that is to ſay, of his Church or congregation, as to the Heb. 7. No man taketh to himſelfe anye dignity, but he that is called of God as Aaron was. The Gloſſe. He is called of God that it is lawfully choſen of the congregation.

Signe 12. is, that falſe prophets doe counterfaite to loue where they hate.

The 12. ſigne is, or token of a falſe prophet is: Becauſe ſuch Prophets do counterfait themſelues to haue greater care, and loue to mens ſoules, then thoſe that be theyr very gouernors & paſtors haue, although they haue no charge at all of them, agaynſt whom the Gloſe ſpeaketh, and the 1. Theſſ. 2. we are become meek and louing towardes you, euen as the nurſe which geueth her child ſucke. Gloſſe. A woman nurſeth other mens children for wages & not for loue alone, but ſhe geueth her own ſuck of very loue without reſpect of mony. Therfore thoſe preachers which faine themſelues, to haue a greater loue & affection to the ſoules of men, then they that haue the charge ouer them, ſeeme not to be true Apoſtles. The Apoſtles ſtudye not for eloquēce nor for the curious placing of their words, but falſe

Prophets do them both. As in the 2. Cor. 11. If the ſimple and vneloquēt man. &c. Gloſſe. The Apoſtles were not eloquent, but falſe Prophets are ful of curious eloquence. Alſo vpon the ſame an other Gloſſe. The Corinthiās were led away from the Goſpell by ouer nice eloquence, the 2. Cor. 7. Let vs ſhew our ſelues before all men as the miniſters of God. Gloſſe. The miniſters of God, do not flatter as falſe Prophets do. And for this occaſion thoſe that be true Apoſtles haue not theyr abiding in princes Courtes, and noble mens houſes, knowing this ſaying of Chriſt in S. Mathewes Goſpel. Behold thoſe that are clothed with ſilkes, dwell in kinges Courtes. And therefore true Apoſtles are not conuerſaunt in Princes Courtes and noble mens houſes. Gloſſe. Hard & ſtrait life with the preaching of the Goſpel loueth not to come neare Princes pallaces, and noble mens houſes. Often times it commeth to paſſe that Courtiers are found great flatterers. Therfore thoſe preachers that haue their abode in Courtes, or that in any other place do vſe to flatter, are no true Apoſtles but falſe Prophets.

Signe 13. is, that falſe prophets doe circumuent men to haue their goods, and care for nothing els.

The 13. ſigne is, that true Apoſtles or meſſengers, doe not circumuent or ſubtlely goe about to deceiue men, that they ſhould geue vnto them their goods: either in their life time or els at yͤ time of theyr death: as in the 2. Cor. 7. We haue falſly deceiued no man. Gloſſe. By the ſubtle and deceitfull getting away of your ſubſtāce as falſe Prophets do, which get away from you thoſe things that be yours, vnder pretence of great frēdſhip. Alſo Mat. 22. Wo be vnto you Scribes & Phariſeis you hipocrites which ſpoile widowes houſes, by your long prayers: which mean nothing els by your ſuperſtition, but that you may ſpoyle & robbe the people as in Luke. 20. which deuour widowes houſes, by diſſembling of your long prayer. Gloſſe. The which make ouer long prayers, to the intent they may ſeeme more deuout, & that they may get both mony & great cōmendation of all ſuch as be ſicke and troubled with the burden of theyr ſinnes: whoſe prayers be turned into ſin, which neither are profitable for themſelues nor any other. But rather ſhall haue for making thoſe prayers greater damnatiō, for as much as by the ſame they deceiue others. For by this that they receiue and take both golde and ſiluer, it appeareth that they preach not for ſoule healthes ſake, but onely for filthy lucre and gayne ſake. Math 10, Be ye poſſeſſoures neither of gold nor ſiluer. Gloſſe. If they then haue theſe thinges, they can not ſeeme, or be thought to preach for the health of yͤ ſoule, but for lucres ſake. And ſo ſayth Hierome vpon the Prophet Malachy. Becauſe ſome Prophets tooke mony, theyr Prophecy became diuinatiō: that is to ſay, theyr prophecy appeared not to be prophecie but diuination, or inchauntment: that is, that ſuch prophecy proceedeth not frō God, but from the deuill. And this appeared in. 1. q. 1. hauing this beginning Nunquā diuinatio. &c. Therfore theſe preachers which circumuēt and beguile men, to the intēt that they ſhould geue them their goods, either in their life time or after theyr death: are not true Apoſtles but falſe Prophets.

Signe 14. is, that falſe prophets can not abide to haue the trueth preached.

The 14. ſigne is, that falſe Prophets, when any verity is preached, which for the moſt part they are not acquainted with all, or that touched them: then begin they to chaſe and barke againſt the ſame, wherupō the Apoſtle in the 3. chapter to the Philippiās ſaith: behold the dogges. Gloſſa. Vnderſtand you that they are not dogs by nature, but by their vſage & conditiōs, barking agaynſt the truth, which they were neuer acquainted with. And ſo he cōpareth thē right well to dogges, becauſe dogs folow rather cuſtome, then reaſon: So falſe Apoſtles do keepe the cuſtome of the law, & do bite and barke againſt the truth, as though they were without the gift of reaſon. And alſo in the ſecōd epiſtle to Timothy, the 4, chapter, ſaying: They get them inſtructors according to theyr owne deſires. Gloſſa. Which may teach them what things they themſelues are willing to heare, becauſe the truth ſeemeth nothing pleaſant vnto them. Therfore, thoſe preachers which barke agaynſt the late reuealed truth, which toucheth thē very neare & therfore cauſe the ſame to be hidden & kept vnder: are not true Apoſtles, but falſe prophets.

Signe 15. is, that falſe prophets do inforce them to heare that are not willing to heare.

The 15. ſigne is, that the true Apoſtles doe not enforce any to receiue or heare them, which be vnwilling therunto: but ſend them away rather, leaſt they ſhould ſeeme to ſeek after ſome earthly and tranſitory thing. Math 10 Who ſoeuer will not receiue you, get you out of that Citty, and ſhake the duſt from off your feet. &c. Gloſſa That you may thereby ſhew, that the deſire of earthly thinges hath no power in you. Therfore, thoſe preachers which wraſtle & ſtriue as it were to that intent they would be receiued and heard, are no true Apoſtles: For as muche as the Apoſtle ſayth. Corint. 11. If any man appeare among you to be one contentious or full ſtrife: ſuch cuſtome haue we none nor yet the congregation of Chriſt.

Signe 16. is, falſe prophets doe cauſe princes to hate and puniſh them that will not heare them.

The 16. ſigne is, that the Apoſtles did not procure the indignation of thoſe princes with whom they were eſteemed and regarded, againſt ſuch perſons as would not receiue them and heare thē, according as we read in the life of Simon and Iude the Apoſtles: The chiefe ruler being very angry, commaūded a very great fire to be made, that the biſhops might be caſt into the ſame, & all other which went about to defame the doctrine of yͤ Apoſtles of Chriſt: But the Apoſtles fell downe before the Emperor, ſaying: We beſeech you ſyr, let not vs be the authors or cauſers of this deſtruction or calamity? Nor that we which are ſent to be the preſeruation of men, and to reuiue thoſe that are dead through ſinne, may ſeem to be killers of thoſe that be aliue. Therefore, thoſe preachers which ſeeke to ſtirre vp the diſpleaſure of Princes agaynſt them. (whoſe fauours now they enioy) that will not receiue and heare them, or rather whom they themſelues hate, are no true Apoſtles but falſe Prophets.

Signe 17. is, that falſe prophets do not knowe neyther what God hath done, nor yet will doe as true prophets do.

The 17. ſigne is, that the Apoſtles of Chriſt haue not onely the knowledge of thoſe things which God hath already done, but alſo of thoſe thinges which he will hereafter doe, as in the Apoc. 5. The beaſtes were full of eyes both behinde and before. Gloſe. Obtaining the knowledge of thoſe thinges which God had done, as alſo what he would do hereafter in the end of the world. Therfore thoſe that ſay they know not the perils of the church in the latter time which are prophecied afore: or that they care not for them, or els if they know thē not, they haue not eyes behinde and before, be no true Apoſtles. Therefore, what time as they call themſelues Apoſtles, they are falſe prophets.

Signe 18. is, that falſe prophets doe preach for money & are not to be diſcerned frō Wolues.

The 18. ſigne is, that true Apoſtles do not deſire the riches and goods of them to whom they preach, wherby they are diſcerned from wolues, that is to ſay, from falſe Prophets. Act. 20. I haue deſired no mans golde nor ſiluer: Gloſe. By this are wolues diſcerned, for they deſire ſuche thinges. And agayne in the ſame place: For thoſe thinges which I had neede of, and to thoſe which were with me theſe handes haue miniſtred. Gloſe. This example alſo of labouring, is a ſpectacle for Biſhops wherby they are diſcerned from wolues. For ſuch as aſke or beg of thoſe to whom they preach, or ſet any other to aſke or beg in theyr names: do ſeeme to commit ſimony: Like Gyezi, of whom it is red in the third booke of kinges the fift chapt. that craued certaine apparell of Naaman the Sirian, to whome his maiſter Elizeus had reſtored the benefit of health. Notwithſtanding, he had gotten thoſe garments, vnwitting to his maiſter. Whereupon Gregory Nazianzenus ſayth 1. q. 1. Qui iſti debetur. But ſome man perhaps will ſay: can not the preacher aſke money or money worth of thoſe to whō he preacheth? Or at yͤ leaſt, may not he beg? To this may be anſwered. If the preacher by authority preach and doth feed his flocke as a true paſtor with the food of Gods word, he may take money or money worth: but then it is not begging or crauing, but it is by authoritye: as the ſecond to Timothy the ſecond chapter: It is meete that the huſband man that tilleth the ground, ſhould firſt and afore other receiue the commodity of his encreaſe. Gloſe. He putteth the vertuous preacher out of doubt, not preaching for that intent to make marchaundiſe of the Goſpell, and geueth him to vnderſtand: that it is lawfull for him to take of them whom he feedeth as his flocke, what thinges ſoeuer he had need of: and doth it not in begging or crauing, but by good authority. It is manifeſt that it cannot in any place of the holy ſcripture be foūd, that the preacher ought to begge. But begging is forbidden of all the Apoſtles of Chriſt, and is abhorred of Salomon, and S. Auguſtine, & reproued by diuers other holy men. Therfore, it is manifeſt, that the true Apoſtles do not deſire the tēporall goods of them to whom they preach, neither do they beg or craue the ſame. They therefore that require any thing of them to whom they preach, or els that any other man aſketh for them, or in theyr names: do not ſeeme to be true Apoſtles, but falſe preachers.

If the Preacher do his duetie in preaching, he may take lawfully for his neceſſarye thinges.

Signe 19. is, that true Apoſtles doe not render euill for good as falſe doe.

The 19. ſigne is, that true Apoſtles are patient in tribulation: neither do they rēder euill for good, Mathew 10. Beholde I ſend you as ſheepe among wolues. Gloſe. They that occupy the place of preaching, ought not to procure any euill toward their Brethren, as the example of Chriſt teacheth. 1. Peter. 2. ſaying: Who when he was reuiled, reuiled not agayne, but did ſubmit himſelfe to him that iudged him vniuſtlye. They therefore that ſuffer not iniury, but rather do wrong themſelues, are not true Apoſtles, but falſe Apoſtles.

The 20. ſigne is, that true Apoſtles at their firſt com-

Signe 20. is, that true Apoſtles are not ſo well intertayned as falſe prophets be.

ming are euill intertayned, as the Lord ſayth, in the xxiii. chap. of Math. Ye ſhall be hated of all men for my names ſake: but yet at the length ſuch get the victory: According to that ſaying of the firſt of Saint Iohn the v. Chapter. Euery thing that is of God ouercõmeth the world. They therfore that in the beginning reioyce and are well intertayned, but in the end are reiected, ſeeme not to be true Apoſtles but falſe.

Signe 21. is, that true preachers build not vpon an other mans foundation.

Autoritie loueth them that refuſe her, and yet abhorre her not.

The 21. ſigne is, that true preachers goe not to preach vnto thoſe which haue preachers appoynted vnto thẽ, becauſe they haue not to reioyce of a company belonging to an other mans charge; as to the Romaines the 15. capter. I haue preached the Goſpell where Chriſt was not before preached, leaſt I ſhould build vpon an other mans foũdation. And in the ſecond Epiſtle of S. Paule to the Corinthians the x. chapter, he ſayth: we are no boaſters, nor buſy in other mens matters. Gloſe. where an other man had layd the foundation. Likewiſe in the ſame chapt. Not hauing pleaſure to boaſt of other mens labors, that is to ſay of thoſe which be committed to the gouernement of an other man. Likewiſe Auguſtinus ſayth. Honour ought to ſeeke thee, and not thou honour. Alſo Chriſoſtome: Authority is in loue with ſuch a man as refuſeth her, and yet abhorreth her not, They therfore that procure and haue deſire to preach vnto the people committed to an other mãs charge, which is an office of honor: eſpecially in counſels, Synods, and great aſſemblies, alſo in kinges and princes courtes, and Prelates palaces, are not true Apoſtles, but falſe teachers.

Signe 22. is, that true prophets are not proude and vaine glorious as falſe prophets be.

The 22. ſigne is, that true Apoſtles when they know themſelues to do much good in the church & congregation of God: yet notwithſtãding, are not puffed vp with pride. Ezech. 3. O ſonne of man, I haue made thy face as an Adamants ſtone. The Adamant ſtone when it draweth irõ vnto it, is not therby either lifted vp or altered. Likewiſe a true preacher when he draweth ſinners vnto him by hys preaching (whoſe hartes were as hard as iron) is neuer the more lifted vp or higher minded therefore. But as in Luke the 18. chapiter: when ye haue done all that ye can, and as well as ye can, yet ſay that you are vnprofitable ſeruauntes. Pſalme. Not vnto vs Lord, not vnto vs, but to thy name be geuen the glory. They therefore that do arrogantly boaſt themſelues of the fruite and benefit that they haue done in ẏ church of God, ſaying: we haue geuẽ light to the vniuerſal church, which was blind before our time, & we haue put out the flame of ſinne in the church of God (when perhaps they haue more furthered hypocriſy, then either truth or verity) they are not true prophets but falſe, of whom it is ſpoken in the pſalmes. The mouth of them that ſpeake proud things. &c.

Signe 23. is, that falſe prophets be alwayes mẽ pleaſers.

The 23. ſigne is, that true Apoſtles do not ſeek the fauor of the world, nor yet how to pleaſe men: As to the Ga. 1. If I ſhould pleaſe men, that is to ſay, if I had a deſire to pleaſe men, I ſhould not be the ſeruant of God, wherupõ to Tim. the 1. epiſtle & 2. chap. Not as men pleaſers, Gloſe. Seeking to pleaſe becauſe we haue not the pleaſing ſpirit. Therfore thoſe preachers that ſeek the fauor of ẏ world, & do labor to this intent that they might pleaſe men, are not true Apoſtles but falſe.

Signe 24. is, that true prophets eat what is ſet before them and geue God thãkes, but that doe not the falſe prophets.

The 24. ſigne is, that true Apoſtles when they haue meat and drinke they are contented, neither doe they deſire ouer dayntye fare, according the ſaying of Math. 10. chap. Eating and drinking thoſe things that are ſet before them. Gloſe. The goſpell condemneth not altogether coſtly and delicate fare, yet ſo alloweth the ſame, that if we haue meat and drinke, we ought not to grutch, but to be therewith contẽted. Therfore, thoſe preachers which although that neither they be ſent, nor haue authority to preach, and yet are offended when they haue not fine and delicate fare, are not true Apoſtles, but falſe preachers.

Signe 25. is, that falſe prophets do loue more their owne eſtimation, then that the word of God ſhould be truely taught.

The 25. ſigne is, that true Apoſtles doe loue more the law of God, thẽ their own eſtimatiõ amongſt their neighbors: According to that in the 7. chapt. of the Prouerbes. Keep my law as the apple of thine eie, & bind the ſame vpon thy fingers, and write the ſame in the table of thy hart: wherupon in the 119. pſalme. The law of thy mouth is derer vnto me thẽ thouſands of gold and ſiluer. Gloſe. Charite doth more loue the law of God, thẽ the deſire of gold & ſiluer a thouſand fold. He therefore that ſeeth the goſpell of Chriſt troden vnder the foot, which is the eternall glad tidings to be taken away by that curſed one, and doth neglect and contemne the ſame, or els peraduẽture conſenteth vnto the ſame, to the outward apperance of ẏ world: And yet becauſe he wil keep his temporall dignity and eſtimation, refuſeth not to ſtirre vp ſtrife and contention about ẏ ſame, and ſo to be euill ſpokẽ of: ſeemeth not to be an Apoſtle of Chriſt, but rather a falſe prophet, if he be a preacher.

Signe 46. is, that falſe prophets are not contented with neceſſary thinges, but looke after ſuperfluous.

The 26. ſigne is, that true Apoſtles ſeeke not after ſuch fine lodgings and wealthy habitations, where they may haue all thinges at theyr commaundementes: but rather ſuch honeſt reſting places, where they may haue neceſſary things for themſelues, with theyr good wils of whom they haue it. And they take nothing of ſuche, whome they ſee to be ſo ready and liberall in geuing: as that thinke the one doth him more pleaſure in receiuing the gift thẽ the other doth in geuing him the ſame. According to that in the 10. chapter of Mathew, ſaying: Into what city or town ſo euer ye ſhall enter, enquire out thoſe that be of good report in the ſame: & abide you with them, ſo long as you tary in the ſame City or Towne. Gloſe. Your hoſt with whom ye lodge, ought to be choſen by the good report of neighbors, leaſt your preaching be euill ſpokẽ of by reaſon of his infamy. Neither ought ſuch men to runne frõ houſe to houſe. But whome ſhall we call worthy or of good report? Gloſe. Him, who knoweth better to do other men good, thẽ to receiue a good turne of an other: and this is he which geueth willingly for Chriſtes cauſe, and not in reſpect of any commodity. Alſo true Apoſtles receiue nothing of ſuch mẽ as lie waltering in their ſins, but rather of thoſe that are waſhed and clenſed from their ſinnes wherupon the 2. to the Cor. the 7. chap. They haue geuen themſelues firſt to the Lord. Gloſe. Becauſe they now amẽding their olde errors and vicious maners haue vowed themſelues vnto ẏ lord, & afterward gaue of that which they had to their brethren. For otherwiſe, they ought not to haue taken any thing of them, becauſe gifts do blinde the eies. But thoſe that geue where there is no cauſe of reproofe in their doing, haue no iuſt cauſe to geue. Therfore thoſe preachers that ſeek how to come by dainty fare, & doe receiue bribes & rewardes of naughty men, that haue this world at will: to the entent that thoſe preachers may couer and hide their faultes, and get of others what they can by ſubtlety, which geue indeed rather to remoue the ſhameleſſe importunity of the crauer or els for auoyding of preſent ſhame, thẽ for any loue they haue to God: are not true Apoſtles, but falſe Prophets, according to that in the 2. to the Cor. the 9. chap. The Lord doth loue a willing geuer. Gloſe. He that geueth for preſẽt ſhame, or els for that he may be free from the importunacy of him that aſketh, doth looſe both his ſubſtaunce and merite: wherefore he that hath reſpect to theſe thinges, doth not ſeek the fruit and profit of the geuer, but the gift it ſelfe as the Apoſtle to the Philip. the 4. chap. ſayth. Seeke not the gift but the fruit or benefit of the geuer.

Signe 27. is, that thoſe that be falſe prophets, their belly is their God.

The 27. ſigne is, that true Apoſtles do not endeuoure themſelues to ſeeke & enioy the fruit of other mens labors that they may be fed thereby: becauſe that the belly is ſuch mens God, according to that in the 2. to the Theſſa. the 3. cap. we haue heard of ſome amongſt you which walk vnordinately: not laboring at al, but liuing delicately or idlely. Gloſe. of other mens labors, and deſerue they to be fed? The diſcipline of the Lord cannot away with that doing: for the belly is their God, which prouide to haue more thẽ neceſſary diſhes of meat. Therefore thoſe preachers which ſo do, are no true Apoſtles but falſe.

Signe 28. is, that true prophets reioyce not in miracles as falſe prophets doe.

The 28. ſigne is, that true Apoſtles do not reioyce only of the miracles, or other excellẽt works, which the Lord doth by them: but they reioyce rather of the ſaluatiõ which they looke for from the Lord, then that by doing thoſe miracles, they deſire any honor. According to that which is written in Luke x. ſaying: Reioyce ye not for that the ſpirits be ſubiect vnto you, but becauſe your names are regiſtred in heauen. They therfore that boaſt of their own miracles, or of any that belong vnto them, for this cauſe that they are ſaued by the doing of them, as many do ſay, ſeme not to be true Apoſtles but falſe.

Signe 29. is, that true prophets ſeeke not their owne glory as falſe prophets doe.

The 29. ſigne is, that the true Apoſtles do neuer ſeeke their owne glory in this life, but the glory of Chriſt, as in Iohn. 7. He that ſpeaketh of himſelf doth ſeek his own glory. But he that ſeeketh ẏ glory of him which ſẽt him (that is of whom he is ſent) is a true Apoſtle. Therefore thoſe which ſeeke the thinges that pertayne to the glory of thys world, of the which one is: To be aſſiſtent to thoſe ẏ beare rule and authority, according to that ſaying of Boetius De conſolatione. Thoſe that do deſire to be extolled, either they raigne & beare rule themſelues, or els do deſire to be nere about thẽ, that haue ſuch dominiõ. Another is, they deſire to haue the fame and victory, of that which they haue nothing at all deſerued before God. Whereupon is written that ſaying of the Apoſtle in the Gal. 5. Let not vs become deſirous of vaineglory. Gloſe. To be deſirous of vayneglory is, to haue victory without any merite or deſert: & thoſe I ſay that doe ſuch thinges ſeeme not to be true Apoſtles but falſe.

The 30. ſigne is, That true Apoſtles care not for the

Signe 30. is, that true prophets doe not force vpon the ſolemne ſalutatiōs of men as falſe prophets doe.

ſolemnities of men, neither their ſalutatiōs, nor feaſtings, nor any other benefite of theirs. They therfore which loue & ſeek the company and fellowſhip of men, their feaſtings, and other their commodities, do not ſeeme to be true Apoſtles but falſe.

Signe 31. is, that falſe prophets reſort to other mens bordes, and flatter them for a meales meate which true prophets doe not.

The 31. ſigne is, that true Apoſtles do not commonly reſort to other mens tables, leaſt ẏ they ſhould for a meals meat become flatterers, as in the 2, Theſſalon.3. That we ſhould geue you an example to follow vs. Gloſe. He that cōmeth oftētimes to an other mans table, being geuē to idlenes, cannot chuſe but flatter him, which fedeth him: but Chriſtes religion calleth men to liberty, and to no ſuch bōdage. They therfore that reſort oftentimes, & that of theyr owne mindes to other mens tables (liuing idlely) are not true Apoſtles but falſe.

Signe 32. is, that true prophets doe not hate their enemies as falſe prophets doe.

The 32. ſigne is, that true Apoſtles do not hate theyr enemies, and ſuch as hate them: which doctrine the Lord taught Mathew.5. ſaying. Loue your enemies, do well to them which hate you. But falſe Prophets doe both hurt & defame their neighbors, according as S. Ierome.14. ſaith: The Prophets of Ieruſalem haue defiled the whole earth Gloſſa. They are not contented onely to hurt their neighbors, but alſo whō they before this time haue hated, they defame and ſpeak euill of, in euery place they come. Therfore thoſe preachers which hate them whome they thinke are their enemies, and do defame them, are not true Apoſtles but falſe preachers.

Signe 33. is, that true prophets do not perſecute men as the falſe prophets doe.

The 33. ſigne is, that falſe Prophets when they are examined, & proued whether they be true Apoſtles or liers, take that very greeuouſly. And perſecute all thoſe that can proue thē to be ſo. And alſo do ſtirre vp and prouoke other to perſecute the ſame men: which alſo ioyne thēſelues together by ſecular power euen as certain falſe prophets did in the primitiue Church, agaynſt the Biſhop of Epheſus: to whom the Lord ſayd in the Apoc. 2. I know, that is to ſay: I do alow thy workes and thy labour: that is thy tribulation, becauſe thou canſt not away with thoſe that be euill men. Gloſſa. But that thou haſt a deſire to amend thē, or els to expell them, and haſt examined thoſe, which ſay that they are Apoſtles, and are but lyers: and alſo haſt ſuffered this patiently. Gloſſa. The euils, which theſe falſe Prophetes ioyned together by ſeculare power doe bryng in: Are not the doinges of true Apoſtles but falſe Prophets.

Signe 34. is, that true prophets preach to thoſe which be not yet conuerted, which the falſe prophets do not.

The 34. ſigne is, that true Apoſtles go not to preach to thoſe which are cōuerted already by other men, but rather doe conuert thoſe which are not yet conuerted: leaſt that they ſhould build vpon an other mans foundation, as S. Paule, Rom.15, ſayth: I haue laboured ſo, that from Ieruſalem to Illiricus, I haue repleniſhed the Goſpell in euery place. Gloſe. That is, I haue preached the ſame aboūdantly, in whom the great vertue of the holy ghoſt appeareth: becauſe ſo many nations, that is, the Gentiles haue receiued the Goſpell by my preaching. But I haue preached the Goſpell there, where Chriſt was not preached before, leaſt I ſhould build vpon an other mans foundatiō. Gloſe. I ſhould not preach to thoſe that were conuerted by an other man. Alſo 2. Corinth.10. We are not ſuch as boaſt and glory in other mens labours. Gloſe. Where an other man layd the foundation: for that ſhould be to boaſt inordinately. Alſo in the ſame place: not thinking to boaſt, wher an other man hath gouernmēt, but in thoſe things which are put in experience. Gloſe. Of other preachers. Becauſe the Apoſtle did preach vnto thoſe to whō the Goſpell was neuer preached, that he might get prayſe by his owne proper labour. Therefore, thoſe Preachers which goe not to that people which haue neede to be conuerted, but to thoſe which are conuerted already, which haue apoſtles of their own: that is to ſay, Biſhops, and Prieſts, and yet do boaſt ouer an other mans flocke: are not true Apoſtles, but falſe Prophets.

Signe 35. is, that true prophets chiefly preach in their owne dioces, and not in other mens.

The 35. ſigne is, becauſe true Apoſtles when they are ſent, go to their own dioces, & not to an other mās dioces: euen as Paule being ſent, went to the Gentiles when he purpoſed to preach: Actes.13. Seperate Paule and Barnabas, for the buſineſſe whiche I haue choſen them vnto Gloſe. According to the appoyntmēt and decree of Iames, Cephas, and Iohn, went he forth to be a teacher vnto the Gentiles. But thoſe preachers that ſtand vpon theyr feet: That is to ſaye, thoſe Preachers whiche haue but ſmall worldly ſubſtaunce, for which cauſe they are more readier to goe which way ſo euer it ſhall pleaſe the Lord to ſend them: I ſay, the Lord hath ſent them to preache, not to thoſe which be ſufficiently learned, but to thoſe that are infidels, as we read in Ezech.2. After that, the ſpirit of the Lord ſet Ezechiel vpon his feet, in qua ſpem ſitus vnus tangitur, and he ſayd vnto him: O ſonne of man beholde I ſend thee to the nations which haue ſtart backe from their profeſſion: which haue gone from me, that is to the Iewiſh herretickes, and to thoſe nations which ſometime haue bene Chriſtians: as the Egyptians, the Babilonians, and all thoſe that obſerue the law of Mahomet. Therefore, if ſuch go to thoſe that are already inſtructed, & hauing both Apoſtles, biſhops, and prieſts of their owne: they goe not into their own dioces, but into an other mans dioces: and are not true Apoſtles, but falſe preachers. And it is greatly to be feared, leaſt the Church be in hazard and daunger by ſuch, vnleſſe they be thruſt out of the ſame betime: Euē as Ionas which whē he was ſent to Niniuy of the Lord, which is interpreted large or wide, and leadeth to the hill: that is to the Infidels we ſpeake of before. They go not to thoſe Infidelles according to the commaundement of the Lord, but they turne an other way, take their iourny into Tharſis, which is interpreted, ſeeking after ioy and pleaſure: That is, they goe vnto thoſe which receiue thē with ioy and gladnes, & do well prouide for them, that is to ſay, to godly and deuout Chriſtians: And therefore it is to be feared leaſt the ſhip in which they be (that is the Church) be in great perill, vnleſſe they be thrown forth. And therefore the Apoſtle ſpake of ſuch falſe Prophets, not without good cauſe. 2. Timo.2. And ſhonne thou thoſe. Gloſe. That is ſuch men as thoſe be.

Signe 36. is, that falſe prophets do attribute vnto themſelues that which they neuer did.

The 36. ſigne is, becauſe true Apoſtles doe not boaſt, neither do they attribute vnto thēſelues any other thing, but in that God hath wrought the ſame by them. Paule, Romaines 15. ſayth: I dare not ſay any thing, but that which Chriſt hath wrought and accompliſhed by me. Glo. That is, I ſpeake onely thoſe thinges (which by me) that is by my miniſtery, Chriſt hath wrought. They therefore that boaſt of many things, & do attribute much vnto thēſelues, which they neuer did, are not true Apoſtles, but falſe Prophets.

Signe 37. is, that falſe prophets do cleaue and leane to logicall and philoſophicall reaſons.

The 37. ſigne is, that true Apoſtles do not apply them ſelues, or leane to Logicall or Philoſophicall reaſons. Therfore thoſe preachers which do indeuour themſelues to ſuch kinde of reaſons, are not true Apoſtles, but falſe Prophets.

Signe 38. is, that falſe prophets do loue carnally and not ſpiritually.

The 38. ſigne is, that true Apoſtles doe not loue carnally or after the fleſh, but hate what thing ſoeuer doth reſiſt them in the ſeruice of God, as Luke.14. He that doth not hate his father and mother, his ſonne and ſiſter, and alſo himſelfe, he cannot be my diſciple. Gloſe. That is, he that doth not hate whatſoeuer doth reſiſt or let him in the ſeruice of God, is not worthy to be a Diſciple, neither can he abide in that office. Therefore for as much as true preachers are the true Diſciples of the Lord, it muſt needes follow: that thoſe Preachers which do promote their nephewes and kinſfolks (how vnworthy ſoeuer they be) to Eccleſiaſticall promotions and liuinges, contrary to the will of God: or do any other thing that letteth or hindreth them in the ſeruice of God, are not true Apoſtles, but falſe Prophets.

Signe 39. is, that falſe prophets do hunt after the friendſhip of the world.

The 39. ſigne is, that true Apoſtles do not hunt for the frendſhip of this world: for he that is the frend of this world, is the enemy of God. Therefore thoſe preachers which purchaſe the frendſhip of this world are not true apoſtles but falſe prophetes, Therefore, for as much as the Scripture is infallible, as in the 24. chapter of Mathew, ſaying: Heauen and earth ſhall periſh, but my words ſhal endure for euer. And the holy ghoſt which ſpake in the Apoſtle cannot lie: for prophecy (for the moſt part) is not ſpoken by the will of man, but the holy men of God ſpake by the inſpiration of the holy Ghoſt, as it is red in the firſt epiſtle of Peter the 5. chapter: It remayneth that all men which are bound to defend the Church, may riſe vp in the defence of the ſame, according to that in the 24. chapter of the Prouerbs. Deliuer thoſe that are led to death and ceaſe thou not to reſcue thoſe which are drawne to deſtruction. Neither may he alleadge vayne accuſations, becauſe it is ſayd in the ſame place: If he ſay he is not able, or ſtrong enough, he that beholdeth the thoughtes of mens hartes, ſhall know it. &c. What ſo euer periſheth in the Church of God for want of preachers: all that ſhal be demaunded of them at the day of iudgement: As Iacob confeſſeth to Laban, whoſe ſheep he fedde. Geneſis.31, I did reſtore all thy loſſe, and that which was ſtolne I made aunſwere for. I will demaund his bloud at thy handes. Ezechiell.3. This is ſayd, to the Paſtor or Prelate. But if the other things which we haue ſpoken of before could not moue the Prelates, and Cardinals: this at the leaſt ſhould moue them: Becauſe that then, the ſpirituall power which doth conſiſt for the moſt part in ẏ exerciſe of preaching, in hearing confeſſions, & enioyning of penaunce: ſhall be taken away frō them by litle & little. For by piece mele doth the wolfe deuour

Whatſoeuer doth periſhe in the church of God for wāt of preachers ſhall be required.

nour the poore & needy man. 3. q. cap 1. when the authority Eccleſiaſticall therfore ſhall be quite taken from them, and diſpoſed to other, ſuch as either by their order, or Apoſtolicall graūt, do challenge to haue the ſame: Then doubtles, ſhall neither the iuriſdictiō of ciuile cauſes and pleadings, nor any authority that ſuch Prelates haue yet remaining, neither yet the poſſeſſions of the temporall goodes of the Church, any longer remayne amongeſt them. Shall ſuche haue the temporall goods of the church which miniſter not the ſpirituall treaſure thereof? 1. Cor. 9. Know ye not that they which kill the ſacrifice ought to eate of the ſacrifice, & they that ſerue at the aultar are partakers of yͤ aultar? For as the body without the ſoule cannot ſtand, ſo corporall thinges without ſpirituall things cannot continue. 1. q. 1. if any ſhall take away the ſame. Thus haue you had the 39 arguments, for the which both he was cōdemned, and his bookes burned.

A deteſtable booke of the Fryers called *Euangelium æternum.*

In the dayes of this Guilielmus, there was a moſt deteſtable and blaſphemous booke ſet forth by the Friers, (mentioned alſo in Math. Pariſienſ.) which they called Euangelium æternum, or Euangelium ſpiritusſancti: That is, the euerlaſting Goſpell, or the Goſpell of the holy Ghoſt. In which book, many abhominable errors of the Friers were conteyned, ſo that the Goſpell of Ieſus Chriſt was vtterly defaced: which this booke ſayd, was not to be compared with this euerlaſting Goſpel, no more then the ſhell is to be cōpared with yͤ carnell: then darknes to light. &c. Moreouer that the Goſpell of Chriſt ſhal be preached no longer but fifty yeares, and then this euerlaſting Goſpell ſhould rule the Church. &c. Item, yͭ whatſoeuer was in the whole Bible, was in the ſaide Goſpell contayned. At length this Friers Goſpell was accuſed to the Pope, and ſo 6. perſons choſen of the whole vniuerſitye to peruſe and iudge of the booke: as Chriſtianus Canonicus, Baluacenſis: Odo de Doaco: Nicholaus de Barō: Ioannes de Sicca Vella Anglus. Ioannes Belim, Gallus: Among whom, this Guilielmus was one, who mightely impugned this peſtiferous and deuiliſh booke. These 6. after the peruſing of the booke were ſent vp to Rome. The Friers likewiſe ſent their meſſengers withall: where they were refuted, and yͤ errors of the booke condemned: but ſo, that the Pope with the Cardinals commaunded the ſayd booke to be aboliſhed and condemned not publickly (tendering the eſtimation of the religious orders, as of his own moſt chiefe champions) but that they ſhould be burned in ſecret wiſe: and the books of the forſayd Guilielmus to be burnt with all.

The eternall and ſpiritual Goſpell of the Fryers condemned with much a do of the Pope.

Beſides other his bookes, 2. Sermons we haue of his yet remayning, one vpon the Goſpell of S. Luke, of the Phariſy and the Publicane: the other vpon the Epiſtle, redde in the Church on May day. where in the firſt he reſembleth the Phariſeis to our Monkes, and that he proueth by all the properties of the Phariſeis deſcribed in the Goſpell. The Publicane he reſembleth to the Laity, ſuch as for becauſe the ſooner they are reduced to acknowledge their ſinnes, the more hope they haue of mercy. The other, becauſe they ſtand confident in their own righteouſneſſe, are therefore farther from their iuſtification. In the latter ſermō he ſetteth forth and declareth what perils and daūders be like to fall vpon the Church by theſe religious orders of Monkes and Friers.

Laurentius Anglicus condemned of the pope. *Defenſio Guilielmi. Cauendum a pſeudoprophetis.* The Pope Antichriſt. The ſynagogue of Rome to be great Babylon. *Ex Nicolao Emerico in libro ſuarū inquiſitionum.*

Among the other beſides of that age which withſtood the biſhops of Rome & his Antechriſtian errors, was one Laurēce an Engliſhman, and maiſter of Paris. An other was Petrus Ioannes a Minorite. Of whome the foreſayde Laurence was about the yeare of our Lord. 1260. Who in his teaching, preaching & writing, did ſtoutly defēd yͤ part of the forſayd Guilielmus & the reſt of his ſide agaynſt the Friers. Againſt the which Friers he wrote 2. bookes: One in yͤ defence of william afore mētioned: the other vpō this argument and title: To beware of falſe prophets. &c. Certayn other things alſo he wrote, wherin by diuers proofes and teſtimonies he argued & proued, that Antichriſt was not farre of to come.

The other, Petrus Ioannes was about the yeare of our Lord. 1290. which taught and maintained many things agaynſt the Pope: prouing that he was Antichriſt, and that the ſinagogue of Rome was great Babilon. He wrot vpon Mathew, vpon the Epiſtles, and vpon the Apocalips. Mention of this Petrus Ioannes is made in Nicholaus Emericus in Lib. Inquiſitionum. &c. And ſayth moreouer, that Michael Ceſenas (of whō Chriſt willing ſhall followe hereafter) took of him a great part of his opiniōs. And becauſe the pope could not burne him aliue, after his death he cauſed his bones to be taken vp and burned.

Petrus Ioannes burned after his death.

Robertus Gallus propheſieth againſt the Pope.

To theſe and with theſe aboue ſpecified, is to be added Robertus Gallus, who being borne of a right noble parentage for deuotion ſake, was made a Dominicke Frier, about the ſame yeare of our Lord aboue touched, an. 1290. This man, as appeareth by his writing, had diuers and ſundry viſions: whereof part is annexed with the viſions and prophecy of Hildegardis. His viſions al tend againſt the ſpiritualty of Rome. where in the fift chapter, he calleth playnely the Pope an Idoll: which hauing eyes ſeeth not, neither luſteth to ſee the abhominatiōs of his people, nor the exceſſiue enormity of ther voluptuouſnes. But only to ſee to the heaping vp of his own treaſure: & hauing a mouth, ſpeaketh not, but ſayth: I haue ſet good men ouer them, (which is ſufficiēt for me) to do them good either by my ſelfe or by ſome other. And foloweth in the ſame chapter, wo to that Idoll: woe to the mighty and proud, who ſhall be equall in all the earth to that Idoll? He that exalted vp his name in earth, ſaying: who ſhall bring me vnder? Is not my houſe compared with the mighty Potentates of the land? I am higher then Dukes: Knightes on their horſebacke do ſeruice vnto me. That which my Fathers had not before me, yͤ haue I done to me. My houſe is ſtrowed with ſiluer: gold and pearle are the pauement of my palace. &c.

The Pope deſcribed.

Agayn in the 12. chapter and alſo in the firſt, vnder the name of a Serpēt he paynteth out the Pope: whom he declareth to extoll himſelfe aboue meaſure, and to oppreſſe yͤ few that be godly, and to haue many falſe prophets about him, which neglecting the word and the name of Chriſt, do preach & extoll him only, obſcuring the name of Chriſt. The church of Rome and the Pope he deſcribeth in theſe words: I was praying (ſayd he) on my knees, looking vpward to heauen, nere to the aulter of S. Iames in Paris, on the right ſide of the aultar: & ſaw in the ayre before me the body of a certain high biſhop all clothed in white ſilke, who turning his backe on the Eaſt, lift vp his hand toward the weſt, as the Prieſtes are wont in theyr Maſſe turning to the people, but his head was not ſeene. And as I was conſidering aduiſedly whether he had any head or no: I perceiued a certayne head in him all dry, leane & withered, as though it had bene a head of wood. And the ſpirit of the Lord ſayd to me: This ſignifieth the ſtate of the Church of Rome.

The viſions of Robertus Gallus.

The ſtate of the church of Rome deſcribed.

Moreouer, the ſame author in his viſions well deſcribing the maner of the ſchole ſophiſters, and Sorboniſts, addeth in this wiſe. An other day as I was in like contēplation as before, I beheld in ſpirit: and beholde I ſaw a man apparelled like to the other before: which wēt about, hauing fine bread, and excellent wine, that hanged about him on both ſides. And the ſame hauing in his hand a lōg and an hard flint ſtone, was gnawing hungerly vpon the ſame, as one being hungry is wont to bite vpon a loafe of bread. Out of the which ſtone came two heads of two ſerpentes, the ſpirit of the Lord inſtructing me, and ſaying: This ſtone purporteth the friuolous, intricate, & curious queſtions, wherein the hungry do trauaile and labor, leauing the ſubſtauntiall foode of their ſoules. And I aſked, what theſe two heads did meane. And he ſayd, The name of the one is vaine glory, the name of the other is the marring and diſſipation of religion.

The ſcholemen and the friuolous queſtions deſcribed.

Alſo, concerning reformation of the church, this viſion he declareth: It happened as I was (ſayth he) in the ſame City in the houſe of a certaine noble man (a Britaine) and was there ſpeaking with certayne: I ſaw a croſſe of ſiluer very bright, much like to the Croſſe of the Earle of Tholouſe. But the 12. apples which did hang beſide in the armes of the croſſe, were very vile, like the apples which the ſea is wont to caſt vp. And I ſayd: what is this Lord Ieſu? and the ſpirit anſwered me: This croſſe which thou ſeeſt is the church, which ſhal be cleare and bright in purenes of life, and ſhall be heard and known all ouer through the ſhrill voice of the preaching of ſincere verity. Then being troubled with the apples, I aſked, what theſe apples ſo vile did ſignify? and he ſaid: it is the humiliation of the Church. &c.

The reformation of the church prefignified.

This godly man did forewarne (as in a certain chronicle is declared) how God would puniſh the ſimony and auarice of the clergy with ſuch a plague, that riuers ſhould runne with bloud. &c. It is ſayd, that there is remayning a great volume of his viſions, whiche are not yet abroad: for theſe that be abroad, are but a briefe extract out of hys viſions and reuelations.

The ſimonie and auarice of the clergie to be puniſhed.

After yͭ we haue thus lōg ſtraid in theſe forrein ſtories of Fredericke, and in the tractation of other matters pertayning to other countreys: Now after this ſufficient digreſſion, it is time that we returne to our own country agayne. where, in folowing yͤ continuatiō of time, & courſe of the Church: we will now adioyne to theſe good fathers and writers, the hiſtory of the learned Biſhop of Lincolne named

The ſtory of R. Groſtede Byſhop of Lincoln.

Ex Nic. Triuet. Rob. Groſtede a Southfolke man borne.

The commendation of Rob. Groſtede.

The bookes and workes of Rob. Groſtede.

named Robert Groſted, a man famouſly learned (as that time ſerued) in the three toungs, both Latin, Greeke, and Hebrue, alſo in all liberall ſciences. Whoſe works & Sermons, yet this day are extant, which I haue ſeene in the Queenes Maieſtyes Library at Weſtminſter. Wherein is one ſpeciall Sermon writtē and exhibited in foure ſundry ſkrolles to the pope, and to other foure Cardinals, beginning Dominus noſter Ieſus Chriſtus. &c. Nicolas Triuet in his chronicle writing of this biſhop, affirmeth that he was borne in Suffolke, in the Dioces of Northfolke: who geuing him the prayſe to be a man of excellent wiſedome, of profound doctrine, & an example of all vertue: witneſſeth, that he being maiſter of Arte, wrote firſt a Commentary in librum poſteriorum of Ariſtotle. Alſo that he wrote Tractations de ſphera, & de arte comput. And that he ſet forth diuers books concerning Philoſophy. Afterward being Doctor in Diuinity, and expertly ſeene in all the 3. tongues, drew out ſundry Treatiſes out of the Hebrue gloſes: alſo tranſlated diuers works out of the Greeke, as namely the Teſtamentes of the xij. Patriarches, & the bookes of Dioniſius, commenting vpon the new tranſlation with hys owne gloſe. Hæc ille. Many other workes and volumes beſides were written by the ſaid Groſted, as De oculo morali, de Dotibus, De ceſſatione legalium, paruus Cato, Annotationes in Suidam, in Boetium, De poteſtate paſtorali, expoſitiones in Geneſ. in Lucam, with a number mo, beſides diuers Epiſtles, Sermons, and Inuections ſent to the Pope, for his vnmeaſurable exactions, wherwith he ouercharged & oppreſſed the Church of England.

Anno. 1253.

The death of R.Groſtede.

Malleus Romanorum Groſthedus.

This godly and learned Biſhop after diuers conflicts and agonies ſuſtayned agaynſt the Biſhop of Rome: after the example of Fredericke: of Guiliel. de ſancto amore, of Nico. Gallus and other after minded: at length after great labors and trauells of life, finiſhed his courſe, & departed at Buckdone in the moneth of Octob. an. 1253. Of his deceaſe thus writeth Mat. Pariſienſ. pag. 278. Out of the priſon and baniſhmēt of this world (which he neuer loued) was takē ẏ holy biſhop of Lincolne Robert, at his manor of Buckdone in the euen of S. Dioniſe: who was an open reprouer of the Pope and of the King: a rebuker of the prelats, a corrector of the Monkes, director of the Prieſtes, inſtructor of the clerkes, fautor of ſcholers, a preacher to the people, perſecutor to the incontinent, a diligent ſearcher of the Scriptures. A malle to the Romaines, and a contemner of theyr doings. &c. Hæc Mat. What a malle hee was to the Romaines, in the ſequele hereof (Chriſt willing) ſhall better appeare. The ſtory is this.

The trouble of R.Groſt. with the Pope.

It ſo befell, among other dayly and intollerable exactions wherein Pope Innocēt was greuous and iniurious (manifold wayes) to the Realme of England: he had a certaine coſin or nephew (ſo Popes were wont to call theyr ſonnes) named Fredericke, being yet yoūg & vnder yeres: whom the ſaid Innocent the Pope would needs preferre to be a Canon or Prebendary in the church of Lincolne, in this time of Robert Biſhop of the ſayd Church. And vpō the ſame directed down letters to certayn his factors here in England for the execution thereof. The copy of which letter, by chaunce, yet not by chaunce, but by the oportune ſending of God, came to my hādes, as I was pēning this preſent ſtorye, written in the ende of an olde parchment book and otherwiſe rare I ſuppoſe to be foūd. As is this.

An vnreaſonable letter of the Pope.

* Recte dictum fortaſsis filio.

* Confectis.

Dilectis filijs Archdiacono Cant. & magiſtro Innocēt. ſcriptori noſtro in Anglia commoranti: ſalutem & Apoſtolicam benedict. Cum dilectus filius noſter G. Sanct. Euſtachij Diaconus cardinalis dilecto * filio Friderich o de Lauania, clerico nepoti noſtro, de ſpeciali mandato noſtro Canonicatum Lincolnienſ. cū plenitudine iuris canonici duxerit cōferendum, ipſum per ſuum anulum corporaliter, & præſentialit. inueſtiens de eodem, vt extunc canonic. Lincolnienſis exiſtat, & plenum nomen & ius Canonici conſequatur ibidem, ac prebendam, ſi qua vacauerit in Eccleſia Lincol. a tempore quo dudùm litere noſtræ ſuper receptione, ac prouiſione facienda ſibi in Eccleſ. eadem de præmiſſis venerab. fratri noſtro Epiſcopo Lincoln. preſētatæ fuerūt: alioqui poſt vacaturam conferendā ſibi donationi Apoſtolicæ reſeruarit: decernendo irritum & inane, ſi quid de præbēda huiuſmodi a quoq̃ fuerit attentatum: nec non & in contradictores & rebelles excommunicationis ſententiā vbique promulgando, prout in literis eiuſdem exindè de * cōſtitutis pleniùs cōtinetur. Nos ipſius Frederici deuotis ſupplicationibus inclinati, quod ab eodē Cardin. factum eſt ſuper hoc & ratum & gratum habentes, idem autorit. Apoſtolic. duximus confirmandum. Quocirca Diſcretioni veſtræ per Apoſtolica ſcripta mandamus, quatenus eundem Fredericū, vel procuratorum ſuum eius nomine in corporalem poſſeſſionē prædictorum Canonicatus & præbēdæ, autorite noſtra inducatis, & defendatis inductum: cōtradictores per cenſuram Eccleſiaſticā appellatione poſtpoſita cōpeſcendo. Non obſtātibus aliquibus conſuetudinibus vel ſtatutis, iuramentis, vel confirmationibus ſedis Apoſtolicæ, ſeu quacunq; alia infirmitate roboratis: vel quòd dictus Frider. præſens non fuerit ad prȩſtandum iuramentum de obſeruandis conſuitudinib. eiuſdem Eccleſ. conſuetis. Siue ſi prædicto Epiſcop. vel Capitulo ipſius Eccleſiæ communiter vel ſingulatim: ſeu alijs quibuſcūque perſonis a dicta ſede indultum exiſtat, quòd ad receptionem, vel prouiſionem alicuius cōpelli nequeant, ſiue quòd nullus alius in eorum Eccleſia nemini prouidere valeat: vel quod interdici, ſuſpendi, aut excommunicari non poſſint, per literas apoſt. ſub quacūque forma verborū obtentas, vel obtinendas, etiamſi totus tenor indulgētiarum huiuſmodi de verbo in verbum in ijſdem literis ſit inſertus, ſiue quibus alijs indulgentijs quibuſcunque perſonis, dignitati, vel loco, ſub quacunque forma verborum conceſsis a ſede Apoſt. vel etiam concedendis: per quas effectus huiuſmodi prouiſionis poſſet impediri aliquatenus vel differri: Tamen volumus ea de certa ſcientia, quantum ad prouiſionem factam & faciendam Frederico prædicto in Eccleſia Lincoln. viribus omnino carere. Cœterum ſi aliqui prædicto Frederico, vel procuratori ſuper præmiſsis, vel aliquo præmiſſorum, aliquatenus duxerit apponendum: Illos ex parte noſtra citari curetis, vt peremptoriè infra duorum mēſium ſpacium poſt citationem veſtrā perſonaliter cōpareant coram nobis, eidem Friderico ſuper præmiſsis legitimè reſponſuri. Non obſtantibus priuilegijs, ſiue quibuſlibet indulgētijs perſonis regni Angliæ generaliter vel cuiuis alij perſonæ, vel dignitati, vel loco ſpecialiter a prædicta ſede ſub quacunque forma verborum conceſsis: Quod non poſſunt vltra mare, ſeu extra ciuitatem vel Dioceſin ſuam in iudiciū euocari per literas apoſt. ſub quacunque forma verborū obtētas, quod priuilegium & indulgentias eiſdē perſonis de certa ſcientia nullatenus volumus ſuffragari, & conſtitutione ædita de duabus dictis in cōcilio generali non obſtante. Diem autem citationis & formam nobis, veſtris literis tenorem præſentium continentibus fideliter intimetis. Quòd ſi non ambo his exequendis intereſſe poteritis alter veſtrum nihilominus exequatur. Datum Peruſ. 7. Cal. Febr. Pontificat. noſtro anno decimo.

Which letter to be engliſhed is this.

The Popes vnreaſonable letter.

Excommunications abuſed.

Vnto our welbeloued ſonnes the Archdeacon of Cant. & to maiſter Innocent our ſcribe abiding in England: greting and Apoſtolicall benedictiō. For ſo much as our welbeloued ſonne G. of S. Euſtace Deacon Cardinal, vpon our ſpeciall commaūdemēt hath geuen and graunted to our welbeloued ſonne Frederick de Lauania (a Clarke and our nephew) a Canōſhip in the Church of Lincolne with full power and graunt of the ſame: Inueſting him alſo corporally, and preſently with his owne ring in the ſaid canōſhip to be frō hēceforth Canō of Lincolne, & to haue ful power of the ſayd canonſhip in the church, and a prebend when anye ſhall fall in the Churche of Lincolne: From that time, ſince whiche our former letters of late, concerning this receiuing and prouiſion to be geuen to him in the ſayd Church were preſēted & exhibited to our reuerend brother Biſhop of Lincolne: Or els after the next auoyding the ſaid prebendſhip to be reſerued to the Apoſtolical donation & to be geuē to him, making it void & fruſtrate if the ſayd prebēdſhip ſhall be geuē to any other man beſide, and alſo denouncing the ſentence of excōmunication agaynſt all them that ſhall rebell and gainſay the ſame as in the letters of the ſayd Cardinall is more fully contayned.

We therfore graciouſly inclined by the deuout ſupplication of the ſaid Friderick, ratifying & gratefully approuing that which hath bene done by the ſaid cardinals in the premiſſes haue thoght good by the authority Apoſtolicall to confirme. Wherefore we geue in cōmaundement by our letters Apoſtolicall to your wiſedomes, that you will ſee the ſayd Frederick (or his proctor in hys behalfe) to be really and corporally poſſeſſed in the ſayd Canonſhip or prebēd by our authority, & alſo defend the ſayd party being therin poſſeſſed, denouncing the ſentence of excommunication againſt all ſuch as ſhall withſtand the ſame: All maner of cuſtomes, or ſtatutes to the contrary notwithſtāding, corroborated either with oath, or cōfirmatiōs of the ſea Apoſtolick, or by what ſtay or let ſoeuer: Or whether that the ſaid Frederick be not preſent to take the oath accuſtomed to be geuen for obſeruing the cuſtomes of the ſayd church: Or whether it be geuen and graunted by the ſayd ſea to the foreſayd Biſhop, or to the chapter of the ſayd church ioyntly and ſeuerally, or to what perſon or perſons els, that no man by compulſion ſhould haue admiſsion or prouiſion for any perſon in their Church wherby they cannot be interdicted, ſuſpended, or excommunicate by the letters Apoſtolicall obtained, or to be obtained hereafter, vnder what form or words ſoeuer, yea although the whole tenour of the ſayd indulgence be inſerted word for word in the ſayd your letters or by any other indulgences to what perſō or perſōs ſoeuer, of what eſtate, dignity or place ſoeuer, vnder any maner or forme of words, graūted hereafter by the ſea Apoſtolicke: by the which indulgences the effect of the ſaid prouiſion may be by any maner of waies hindered or deferred: yet of our certayne knowledge we will that they ſhall want theyr ſtrength in the prouiſion made or to be made for the ſayd Frederick in the Church of Lincoln: And if any vpon the premiſſes or any of them ſhall alleadge agaynſt the foreſayd Fredericke, or his procurator: That you will cauſe them to be cited on our behalfe, ſo that they being cited peremtorily ſhal within the ſpace of two monethes of your citation, perſonally appere before vs there according to the law to make aunſwere to the ſayd Fredericke, vpon the premiſſes: Any priuiledges or indulgēces what ſoeuer, geuen and graunted either generally to the kingdome of England, or peculiarly to any other perſon of what ſtate, degree, and place ſoeuer, graunted by the foreſaid ſea, vnder whatſoeuer maner & forme of words for them not to be called vp beyond the ſea, or out of their owne City or Dioces by letters Apoſtolicall, vnder whatſoeuer forme of wordes obtayned, to the contrary in any wiſe notwithſtanding: All which priuiledges and indulgences, we will in no caſe ſhall ſtand in any force or effect to the ſayd partes. Moreouer, the day and forme of the citation, we will that ye faythſully do intimate vnto vs by your letters containing the tenor therof. And if both of you can not be preſent at the execution hereof, yet we will notwithſtādīng that one of you do execute the ſame without fayle. Dated the 7. Kal. Febr. the 10. yeare of our Popedome.

A double commendation of B. Groſted.

As there is no mā which hath any eies to ſee, but may eaſely vnderſtand in reading this letter of the Pope, how vnreaſonable his requeſt is how impudently he commaūdeth, how proudly he threatneth, how wickedly he oppreſſeth and racketh the Church of God, in placing boyes and ſtraungers in the miniſtery & cure of ſoules, & alſo in making them his prouiſors, to rauen vp the Church goodes: So is it no great maruell, if this godly Biſhoppe Robert Groſted was offended therwith. Who in my mind, deſerueth herein a double commendation, not onely that he ſo wiſely did diſcerne error from ſincerity and truth: but alſo that he was ſo hardy and conſtant to ſtand to the defence therof agaynſt the Pope, according as in this his anſwere to the Pope agayne may appeare, as foloweth.

The aunſwere of Robert Groſted.

The anſwer of R. Groſted to the Pope.

SAlutem. Pleaſeth it your wiſedome to vnderſtand, that I am not diſobedient to any the Apoſtolicke precepts: but both deuoutly & reuerently with the natural affectiō of a ſonne obey the ſame: And alſo am an vtter enemy to al thoſe that reſiſt ſuch Apoſtolick precepts, as a childe zelous of his fathers honor. And truly I am no leſſe then bound therunto by the precept and cōmaūdement of God. For the Apoſtolick preceptes are none other nor can be, then conſonant and vniforme to the doctrine of the Apoſtles, and of our Sauiour Chriſt being the maiſter and Lorde of all the Apoſtles: whoſe type and perſon, ſpecially in the conſonant and vniforme hierarchie of the Church, the Lord Pope ſemeth to beare (the ſame our Lorde and Sauiour Ieſus Chriſte, ſaying) whoſoeuer is not with me, the ſame is agaynſt me: Therefore, agaynſt him, neither is nor can be, the moſt diuine ſanctitye of the ſea Apoſtolicall. The tenour then of your foreſayd Apoſtolicall letter is not conſonant to true ſanctity but vtterly diſſonāt and diſagreeing to the ſame. Firſt, for that vpon the clauſe of this your letter & many ſuch other letters like, which clauſe alwayes ye ſo much do vrge (Non obſtante) induced and brought in vpon no neceſſity of any naturall law to be obſerued: doth ſwarme, and floweth with all inconſtancy, boldnes, pertinacy, impudency, lying, & deceiuing, and is alſo a ſea of miſtruſt in geuing credit to no man. Which as it ſwarmeth with theſe, ſo in like maner with innumerable other vices which hang and depend vpon the ſame: mouing and diſturbing the purity of Chriſtian religion and lyfe agreable to the ſame, as alſo the publique tranquility of men. Moreouer, next after the ſinne of Lucifer (which ſhalbe in the latter time, to wit, of Antichriſt the childe of perdition, whome the Lord ſhall deſtroy with the breath of his mouth) there is not nor can be any kinde of ſinne ſo repugnant and contrary to the doctrine of the Apoſtles and holy ſcripture & to our ſauiour Chriſt himſelfe more hatefull, deteſtable and abhominable: then to deſtroy and kill mens ſoules by defrauding them of the miſtery of the paſtorall office which by the miniſtery of the poſtorall cure ought to ſaue and quicken the ſame. Which ſinne, by moſt euident places of the Scripture ſuch men are diſcerned & knowne to commit: which being in the authority of the Paſtorall dignity, do ſerue their owne carnall deſires and neceſſaries, with the benefit of the milke and wooll of the ſheep and flocke of Chriſt: and do not miniſter the ſame Paſtorall office and charge to the benefite and ſaluation of thoſe theyr ſheep. The ſame therefore by the teſtimony of the Scripture, is not the adminiſtration of the Paſtorall miniſtery but the killing and deſtruction of the ſheep. And that theſe two kinde of vices be moſt vile and wicked (although after a differryng ſorte) and farre exceeding all other kinde of wickedneſſe, hereby it is manifeſt: For that the ſame are directly contrary to two vertues moſt chiefely good (although differing in themſelues) and vnlike together. For that is called moſt wicked which is contrary to a thing moſt beſt. So much then as lyeth in the offenders, the one of their offences is directly agaynſt the deity, which of himſelfe is alwayes eſſentially and ſupernaturally good: The other is agaynſt the deification and the Image of God in man, which is not alwayes but by the participation of Gods lightſome grace eſſentially and naturally God. And foraſmuch as in thinges being good, the cauſe of good is better then the effect: & like as againe in euill things the cauſe of euill is worſe then the effect of euil proceeding therof: hereby it is manifeſt: That the inducers of ſuch wicked deſtroyers of Gods Image and deification in the ſheep of Chriſt (that is the church of God) are worſe thē thoſe chief deſtroiers, to wit, Lucifer & Antichriſt.

And as in theſe degrees of wickednes how much more excellent ſuch be, who hauing a great charge committed to them of God (to edifiication, and not to deſtruction) are more bound to keep away and exclude ſuch wicked deſtroyers from the church of God: So much is it alſo of that, that this holy ſeat Apoſtolicall to whom the Lord Ieſus Chriſt hath geuen all maner of power (to edification as the Apoſtle ſayth, and not to deſtruction) can commaund, or will to goe about any ſuch thing, vrging vnto ſo great wickedneſſe, ſo odible, deteſtable, and abhominable to our Lord Ieſus Chriſt and alſo ſo pernitious to mankinde. For this ſhould be a great defection, corruption, and abuſe of the ſayd ſeat and fulneſſe of power, and an vtter ſeparation from the glorious throne of our Lord Ieſus Chriſt, and a neare neighborhood vnto the two moſt principall princes of darcknes, ſitting in the chaire of peſtilence, prepared to the paynes of hell. Neither can any mā which is ſubiect and faythfull to the ſayd ſea (and not cut away from the body of Chriſt, and from the ſayd holy ſea) with ſincere and vnſpotted conſcience, obey ſuch maner of precepts and cōmaundementes, or what ſoeuer other attemptes proceeding, yea though from the high order of aungels themſelues: but rather ought of neceſſity with all their ſtrength to withſtand & rebell againſt the ſame. Wherfore my reuerend Lorde, I like an obedient childe vpon my bound duty of obedience & fidelity, which I owe to both the * parentes of this holy Apoſtolicke ſea, and partly for loue of vnity in the body of Chriſt ioyned with the ſayd ſea: doe not obey but withſtand and vtterly rebell agaynſt theſe things in the ſaid letter contained, & eſpecially which vrge and tend to the foreſayd wickednes: ſo abhominable to the Lorde Ieſus Chriſt, ſo repugnant to the holines of the holy Apoſtolick ſea, & ſo cōtrary to the vnity of the catholick faith. Neither for this cauſe can your diſcretiō determine any extremity vnto me, becauſe al my doing and gaynſaying in this matter is no reſiſtaunce nor rebellion, but a childly obedience to the diuine precept and honour due both to * Father and Mother. Briefly therefore repeating my wordes I ſay: that this holy Apoſtolicke ſea cannot do any thing but to edification, and nothing at all to deſtruction. For this is the fulnes of power, to be able to do all thinges to edification. But theſe which you call prouiſions, be not to edification, but to manifeſt deſtruction. The holy Apoſtolicke ſea therfore cannot nor ought to attempt any ſuch thing, becauſe that fleſh and bloud which cānot enter into the kingdome of God hath reuealed the ſame, and not the Father of our Lord Ieſus Chriſt which is in heauen.

Power giuē to miniſters to edificatiō only, not to deſtruction.

Two principall princes of darknes, Lucifer and Antichriſt.

* He meaneth either Chriſt & the Church, or els Peter and Paule.

* *Ideſt*, both to Chriſt and his Church.

Then followeth it in the ſtory both of Mathæus Pariſiēſis **and of** Florilegus, **in theſe words: That when this Epiſtle came to the knowledge of the Pope, he fuming & fretting, with anger and indignation anſwered, with a fierce looke and proud minde ſaying: what olde doting franticke wretch is this ſo boldely, & raſhly to iudge of my doinges? By ſweet S. Peter and Paule, were it not but that vpon our own clemency and good nature we are reſtrayned, we would hurle him down to ſuch confuſion, that we would make him a fable, a gaſing ſtock, an example and wonderment to all the world. For is not the king of England our vaſſall? and to ſay more, our manſiple or page (to vſe the very wordes of mine author) which may at our pleaſure & becke both hamper him, and impriſon him and put him to vtter ſhame? This when the Pope in his great fury and rage had vttered amōgſt his brethren, the Cardinals, who were ſcarce able to appeaſe the furious violence of ye pope, with milde moderatiō of wordes, they ſayd vnto him: that it was not expediēt for thē to proceed agaynſt that biſhop in ſuch rigorous maner. For ſayd they to confeſſe the truth to your holynes, it is but very truth that he affirmeth, neither can we condemn him therfore. He is a catholick man yea alſo a holy man: more holy & alſo religious thē we our ſelues: a man of excellent wit and excellent life, ſo as it is thought among all the Prelats he hath not his better nor yet his like. This is not yet vnknowne both to the french & Engliſh clergy vniuerſally, neither can our cōtradictiō preuail againſt him: The truth of this his epiſtle perhaps is knowne now to many & ſhall ſtir vp many againſt vs: for he hath the name to be a great Philoſopher and ſingularly ſeene in all the toungues both Greeke, Latine & Hebrue: zelous in iuſtice, a reader of diuinity in the ſcholes, a preacher amongſt the people, a louer of Chaſtity, & a perſecutor**

Ex Mat. Pariſ. ad verbum.

Well ſworne maiſter pope.

Giles Cardinall defendeth Robert Groſted to the pope.

ſecutor of Simony. Theſe wordes ſpake L. Giles, a Spaniſh Cardinall to the Pope and other mo moued by theyr cōſcience to ſpeak. And this coūſell they gaue to the Pope, that he ſhould diſſemble and wincke at theſe thinges as one not ſeing or regarding them: leaſt otherwiſe perhaps, ſome tumult might riſe and ſpring thereof: Eſpecially ſeing this is manifeſt and knowen to all men, that once muſt needes come a defection and parting from the Church of Rome.

The godly talke of R. Groſted in time of his ſicknes.

Not long after this (about the canicular dayes) thys reuerend & godly Robert biſhop of Lincolne lying at his manor place in Bugden fell greuouſly ſicke: and therupon within few dayes departed. In the time of his ſicknes he called to him a certayne Frier, of the preaching order named M. Iohn Giles, a man expert & cunning both in phiſick & Diuinity: partly to receiue of him ſome cōfort of his body, and partly to confer with him in ſpirituall matters. Thus vpō a certeine day, the ſaid. B. cōferring w the foreſayd M. Iohn, & reciting to him the doings & procedings of the Pope: did greuouſly rebuke & reprehend his fellow brethren the preaching Friers, and the other order alſo of the Minorites. That for ſo much as their order being plāted in wilfull pouerty of the ſpirit, to the intēt they ſhould more freely carpe and reproue the vices of the mighty, & not to flatter or ſpare them, but ſharply to rebuke & reprehend the ſame: The ſaid Friers contrary to theyr profeſſion did not boldly enough cry out and inuey againſt the abuſes of their ſuperiors and men of power, nor did vncouer nor detect their faults and wickednes. And therfore ſayd the Biſhop, I iudge them to be no better thē manifeſt hereticks: And addeth moreouer (demaunding of M. Iohn) what is hereſy? and that he ſhould geue him the true diffinition therof. wherat, when the Frier did ſtay and pauſe, not remembring the ſolemne diffinition of that matter: the Byſhop therupon inferreth, geuing this diffinition in Latine, by the true interpretation of the Greek word: Hereſis Græce, electio Latine, eſt ſententia humano ſenſu electa, Scripturæ ſacræ contraria, palam docta, pertinaciter defenſa. That is. Hereſy is a ſentence taken and choſen of mans owne brayne, contrary to holy Scripture, openly mayntained, and ſtifly defended. And this diffinitiō geuen conſequently he inferred ſharpely reprehending the Prelates of the church, but eſpecially the Romaines: which commit the charge of ſoules vnto their kinſfolks being both in age vnworthy, and in learning vnſufficient. To geue ſayth he, the charge of ſoules to a boy is a ſentence of a prelate choſen and taken of mans own head, onely for carnall and earthly reſpect: & alſo is contrary to holy ſcripture the which forbiddeth any ſuch to be made miniſters or paſtors, which are not ſufficient to driue away the wolues. And moreouer it is alſo openly mayntayned, becauſe it is manifeſtly borne abroad and cōmaunded, with chartes inbulled both with waxe & lead. And finally, it is ſtifly defended: for if any man ſhall dare to preſume to withſtand the ſame, he is ſuſpended and excommunicated and open warre cryed out agaynſt him: Therfore to whom the whole definitiō of an heretick doth agree, he is a very heretick. But euery faythfull Chriſtian man ought to ſet himſelfe agaynſt an heretick as much as he may: wherefore he that can reſiſt him and doth not, he ſinneth and ſeemeth to be a fautor thereof according to the ſaying of Gregory. He lacketh not cōſcience of ſecret ſocietye which ceaſeth to reſiſt open impietye. But the Friers both Franciſcanes and Dominicks, are moſt chiefly bōd to withſtand ſuch, ſeing both of them haue the gift of preaching cōmitted to them by their office, and be more apt to the ſayd office, by reaſon of their pouerty: And therfore, do not onely offend in not reſiſting ſuch, but alſo are to be coūted mayntayners of the ſame, according to the ſentence of the Apoſtle to the Romains ſaying: Not only they which commit ſuch things, but alſo they that conſent are worthy of death. wherefore it may be concluded, that as well the Pope (vnleſſe he ceaſe frō that vice) as alſo the ſame Friers, vnleſſe they ſhew themſelues more earneſt and ſtudious in repelling the ſame, are both worthy of death, that is, perpetuall damnation. Item ſayth the Canon decretal, that vpon this vice of hereſy the Pope both may & ought to be accuſed.

Hereſis quid.

Definition of hereſie.

The P. proued here an heretick

The ſaying of Gregory.

The Pope accuſed of hereſie.

Certain Aphoriſmes or articles layd of R. Groſted againſt the B. of Rome.

After this, the vehemency of his diſeaſe more & more increaſing and becauſe the nightes were ſomething lōger: the third night before his departure, the biſhop feeling his infirmity to grow vpon him willed certaine of his clergy to be called vnto him, therby to be refreſhed with ſome cōference or communicatiō: Vnto whom the biſhop mourning and lamenting in his minde for the loſſe of ſoules through the auarice of the Popes court ſayd on this wiſe, as by certayne Aphoriſmes.

1. Chriſt came into the world to ſaue and win ſoules: Ergo, he that feareth not to deſtroy ſoules, may he not worthely be counted Antichriſt?

2. The Lord created the whole world in ſixe dayes, but in reſtoring of man he labored more then 30. yeres. wherfore he that is a deſtroier of that, about which the Lord ſo long labored, is not he worthy to be coūted the enemy of God, and Antichriſt?

The Pope accuſed f his wicke clauſe(no obſtante.)

3. The Pope ſhameth not impudently to adnihilate and diſanull the priuileges of his holy predeceſſors of Romain Biſhops, by this obſtacle (Non obſtante) which is not done without the preiudice and manifeſt iniury of them, For in ſo doing, he doth reproue and deſtroy that which ſo many and ſo holy men haue builded vp before, and thus ſemeth he to be a contemner of the Saints: worthely therefore he that contemneth ſhall be contemned, according to the ſaying of Eſay: woe to thee that doeſt deſpiſe, for ſhalt not ȳ thy ſelfe be deſpiſed? And who ſhall keepe his priuiledges which ſo breaketh the priuiledges of others.

The P. accu ſed for arr gating m then is du to him, and proued n to be equ but inferio to his prede ceſſours.

4. The Pope anſwering hereunto thus defēdeth perhaps his error. He that is equall, hath no ſuperiority ouer his equall. Therfore, no Pope hath power to binde me being pope as well as he. To this I anſwere agayne (quoth the Biſhop) It ſeemeth to me, that he that now preſently is ſayling in the daūgerous ſeas of this world: and he that is ſafely arriued in the hauen, hauing paſt all ieopardyes, are not both like and equall. Graūt that ſome Popes be ſaued (God forbid any ſhould ſay contrary.) Then ſayth our ſauiour: He that is leaſt in the kingdome of heauē, is greater then Iohn Baptiſt, a greater thē whom did neuer riſe amongſt the children of men. Is not therefore ſome Pope greater being a giuer and cōfirmer of priuileges then this that is aliue? Truely me thinkes he is greater. Therefore he hath dominion ouer his inferior.

The P. accu ſed for viola ing the and founda tions of hi predeceſſo

5. Doth not the Pope thus ſay, ſpeaking of all his predeceſſours for the moſt part: This our predeceſſor, and thys our predeceſſor of moſt worthy memory. &c. And agayne, we (ſayth he) cleauing to, or following the ſteppes of our predeceſſors. &c. And why then doe ſuch Popes as come after, deſtroy theſe foundations which their predeceſſors haue layd?

Proued tha the Popes liue is infe our to his predeceſſo before him. And therfore to ha no authoritie to infringe the priuileges of other Popes.

6. Many Apoſtolicke men comming after, haue confirmed ſome priuiledge being graunted by other before: And be not many Biſhops being already ſaued by the grace of God, to be counted greater and better then one Byſhopp which hath not yet atteined, but ſtandeth in daūger to obtayne that which the other haue got already?

Proued by example o Benet tha men more auncient i time ough to be prefe red in high er reueren

7. Alſo our former fathers biſhops of ȳ Apoſtolical ſea, in preferremēt of time go before the other, which in time come after. And thoſe whom the eſtimatiō of auncient time doth aduaunce, ſuch are we bōd to eſteme and to haue in more reuerence. This did the holy man Benedict well conſider who in his rule preferreth ſuch as came firſt in time, what ſo euer men they were, before them, which (albeit being more auncient in yeares) come after them into the order: & commaundeth them to be theyr ſuperiors, and to haue the preheminence. which being ſo (as it is) true and certayne: how commeth then this iniurious and raſh preſumption, which dare repeale and diſanull, the old priuileges of many auncient holy Biſhops, in time and in reuerence going before them.

The Pope accuſed fo maintaining of vſury.

8. Moreouer, and though many Popes haue bene greuous to the Churche, yet this Pope moſt ſpecially hath brought it moſt into ſeruitude & manifold wayes hath dāmnified the ſame. For theſe Caurſini, theſe open vſurers, whō our holy forefathers and doctors (whom we haue ſeene) and namely our learned maiſter in Fraunce preacher: alſo the Abbot of Flay a Ciſtercian: maiſter Iacobus de veteri, and maiſter Steph. Archbiſhop of Cant. in the time of his baniſhment: And alſo maiſter Rob. Curcun, with his preaching, baniſhed out of Fraunce (for before that time theſe kinde of Vſurers were neuer knowne in England) the ſame Caurſini, theſe wicked vſurers (I ſay) were by thys Pope induced, ſupported and mayntayned: ſo that if any do ſpeak againſt them, he is miſerably toſſed and troubled for his labor, wherof partly Roger biſhop of London hath ſome experience.

Againſt vſ rers.

9. The world doth know, that vſury is counted a deteſtable thing in both the Teſtamēts, and is forbidden of God. But now the Popes Vſurers or Exchaungers (the very Iewes crying out agaynſt them) being openly ſuffered in London to exerciſe their vſury, to the great damage & detrimēt of all eccleſiaſticall perſons (but eſpecially houſes of religion) compelling ſuch as be in pouerty, to counterfeit, and to put to their ſeales vnto forged writinges: which is no leſſe then to commit Idolatry, and to abrenoūce the veritye whiche is God himſelfe. As for example, I borow 100. Markes for a yeare, in ſtead of 100. Poundes. I am compelled

The craftie practiſe of vſurers.

compelled to make my writing, and to ſeale the ſame, confeſſing that I haue receiued in borow an 100. pounds to be repaied againe at the yeares end to ſuch a man. &c. And if it ſhall chaunce that your occupying be ſuch, that wythin a moneth you bring againe the principall to the Popes vſurer, hee will receaue no leſſe notwithſtanding, then his full 100. poundes: which condition of vſurie is much worſe then that of the Iewes. For to the Iewe what principall you bring, he wil require no more then proportionally, for the commenſuration of ſo much time, wherein his money hath bene out of his hands.

The Popes Vſurers worſe then the Iewes.

Craftie ſubtiltie of the Pope to get money.

10. Moreouer, we haue ſene & knowen the Pope to haue geuen in charge and commaundement to the Friers preachers, and minorites: to enquire diligently for ſuch as lie ſicke and like to die, and ſo comming to them diligently to perſwade them, to make their wils and Teſtamentes fauorably to the profite and ſubſidie of the holy lande, and to take the croſſe vpon them, that if they do amend, they may wring them in the law. And if they die, they may wraſt the money from their executors.

Men ſigned to the holy land, ſold for money lyke ſheepe by the Pope, Remiſsion of ſinnes, ſolde for money.

11. We haue knowen likewiſe and ſeene men that haue taken the vowe and ſigne of the croſſe vpon them, to be ſolde to lay men, as ſheepe and oxen were wont in time paſt, to be ſold in the temple.

We haue ſeene wͭ our eyes, the Popes letter, in which we haue foūd this to be written: that they which bequeath any thing to the behoofe or ſubſidy of the holy land, ſhal receiue ſo much indulgence, as they haue diſburſed money.

The Pope accuſed to be iniurious to churches in his prouiſions and reſeruations.

12. Ouer and beſide all this, the Pope in diuers and ſundry his letters, hath willed and commaunded Prelates to receaue into Eccleſiaſticall benefices, and to prouide ſome ſuch liuing in their Churches, as ſhall be ſufficient to ſuch and ſuch a ſtraunger, (being both abſent, and alſo vnworthy) which haue neither learning, nor yet the language of the countrey: whereby they are neither able to preach, nor to heare confeſſions, nor to kepe reſidence for to refreſh the poore and waifarers.

The Pope accuſed to be iniurious to the Abbot of S. Albons,

13. Item, we knowe and haue ſeene our ſelues, that the Pope hath wrytten to the Abbot of S. Albane, to prouide for one called Iohn de Camezana, whome hee neuer ſawe, in ſome competent benefice. Wherupon in fewe dayes after, when prouiſion was made for him in a certaine Churche, worth 40. markes by the yeare and more: the partie being not therewith contented, complained to the Pope. Who then wryting to the foreſayde Abbot, commaunded him to prouide for the foreſaide M. Iohn in ſome better thing, reſeruing notwithſtanding the gift of the former benefice, to himſelfe.

The Pope accuſed for violent extortion.

14. Againe, not long after came alſo to the houſe of yͤ foreſayd Abbot two other perſons like begging vagabondes, bringing with them the Popes letters: in the tenor whereof the Abbot was commanded, that incontinent vpon the ſight thereof, he ſhould geue & diſburſe to the ſayd perſons for the expedition and diſpatch of his affaires 10. marks in hand, without any delay or ſticking: The which perſones vttering to the Abbot proude and threatning wordes, he was faine to agree with them and ſend them away.

The Pope accuſed for troubling & corrupting learned men of the ſpiritualtie with his temporal affayres,

15. Item, of men which are both holy and well learned, which haue left the world for the following of God in ſuch order, as they ought not to turne backe againe, the Pope of them maketh hys Tolners and bankers to gette in his mony: The which charge they are compelled againſt their willes to take vpon them, leaſt they ſhould ſeme to be diſobedient: and ſo of ſpirituall men, are made more ſecular then the moſt ſecular. And ſo, yͤ baſeneſſe of their chimmers and ſcapillers which they weare, doth proue them to be liers: whileſt vnder the habite of pouerty and humiliation, lurketh the ſpirite of pride and elation. And becauſe no Legate may be ſent into England, but being firſt required of the king: the Pope ſendeth ſophiſticall Legates and ſuche as be diſguiſed in counterfet apparell, and are garded with great might and power: neither is it hard to bring forth examples thereof. For ſo many ſuch daily do come into the realme, that to heare the names of them recited, it woulde be tedious for any man to heare.

The Pope accuſed for vnlawfull diſpenſation

16. Furthermore (as we haue ſeene our ſelues) the Pope graunteth for ſecular fauor, that a man may haue a Biſhopricke, and yet be no Biſhop conſecrated, Sed electus ſempiternus, that is, elect for euer. Which is as much to ſignify, to haue the milke and the wolle of the ſheepe, and not to kepe the wolues away from the ſheepe: To retaine the rents of a Biſhop, and not diſcharge the function of a Biſhop.

And when this godly Biſhop had thus reproued theſe and ſuch other deteſtable enormities of the court of Rome: as all kinds of auarice, their vſurie, their ſimonie, their extortion, all kindes of filthineſſe, fleſhly luſt, glottonie, and their ſumptuous apparell raigning in that Court: then ſayth he, this old verſe may be truely verified vpon it.

Eius auaricia totus non ſufficit orbis,
Eius luxuriæ meretrix non ſufficit omnis.

All the worlde cannot ſuffice their greedie auarous minde,
Nor all the drabs and naughty packes their filthy luſting kinde.

Afterwarde he went about more to proſecute, how the foreſaide court like a gulph neuer ſatiſfied, euer gaping (ſo wide, that the floude of Iordane might runne into hys mouth) aſpired howe to vſurpe the goodes of them that die inteſted, and of Legacies bequeathed wythout forme of law, and whereby more licentiouſly to bring this to paſſe, they vſed to ioyne the king to be fellow and partaker with them in their ſpoyles, extortions, and robbings. Neyther ſayeth he, ſhall the Church be deliuered from the ſeruitude of Egypt but by violence and force, and wyth the bloudie ſword. And albeit ſayeth he, theſe be yet but light matters, yet ſhortly more great and greuous things then theſe ſhall be ſeene.

Ex Mat. Pariſ.

The death of R. Groſted Byſhop of Lincoln.

And in the end of this his propheciyng which he ſcarſly coulde vtter, wyth ſighing, ſobbing and weeping, his tounge and breath began to faile, and ſo the organe of hys voyce being ſtopped, made an ende both of his ſpeache and life. Ex Math. Pariſ.

What the reuenues of the Popes Clarkes here in England came to by yeare.
Ex Ceſtrenſis, lib. 7.

And for as much as mention hath bene made before, of the inſatiable auarice of the Popes court by his inordinate prouiſions and reſeruations, it is teſtified by the ſayde author Math. Pariſ that the foreſayd Robert Groſted being biſhop of Lincolne, cauſed to be vewed and conſidered diligently of his clearks, what the reuenues of forreiners and ſtrangers within England ſet in by the Pope, came to by the yeare: and it was founde and euidently tried, that thys Pope now preſent, to wit, Innocentius 4. did empouerish the vniuerſall Churche throughout Chriſtendome, more then all his predeceſſours from the time the Pope firſt began: So that the reuenues of forreiners and clearkes placed by him heere in Englande, mounted to the ſumme of 70000. markes and aboue, whereas the mere reuenues of the crowne came not to 30000.

The Pope ſtroken with the ſtaffe of Groſt. Byſh. of Lincoln

Of this Robert Groſted wryteth Ceſtrenſis in his 7. booke of his hiſtorie: that partly for that it greeued hym to ſee yͤ intollerable exactions of the Pope in this realme, and partly becauſe he refuſed to admitte a certaine younge nephew of the Pope to be canon of his Church (as hath bene before recited). He therefore wryting to the Pope, and ſignifying that he could not admit any ſuch perſons into hys Church, which neither knewe themſelues, nor the tounge of the people, nor the charges committed vnto them: was called vp to Rome, and there excommunicated, who then appealing from yͤ Pope, ſhortly after departed, which was An. 1253. It chanced within 2. yeares after his deceaſe, the ſayde Pope Innocent being a ſlepe: a certaine Biſhop appareled biſhop like, appeared vnto him, and ſtriking him with his ſtaffe on his left ſide, ſayde: Surge miſer veni in iudicium. That is, Riſe wretch and come to thy iudgement. The next day after, the Pope was found amaſed as a man ſtroken on the ſide with the ſtroke of a ſtaffe. This Robert though he was greatly commended for his ſanctimony, & as Ceſtrenſis ſayeth, for his myracles: yet was he not permitted in the court of Rome to be aſcribed in the Cataloge of Saintes. And thus much out of Ceſtrenſis concernyng thys matter. But Math. Pariſ. and the author of Flores hiſtoriarum proſecuting thys ſtorie more at large, addeth thys more vnto it & ſayth. That Pope Innocent the next yeare folowing, which was An. 1254. being paſſing angry: contrary to the minde of his brethren the Cardinals, woulde haue the bones of the foreſayd byſhop of Lincolne caſt out of the Church, and purpoſed to bring him into ſuche ſpite and hatred of the people, that he ſhuld be counted an Ethnicke, a rebell, and diſobedient perſon through the whole worlde. And thereuppon cauſed his letters to be wrytten and ſent downe to the king of England, knowing that the king would gladly ſerue him therein to haue the ſpoyle of the biſhop and of his church. But the night following, the ſaid B. of Linc. appeared vnto him as cōming in his pontificalibus, and wͭ a ſeuere coūtenance and ſterne loke, and terrible voyce ſpeaketh vnto him being in his reſt, & ſmiting him on the ſide with a vehement ſtroke with the ende of his croſſeſtaffe thus ſaid, O thou ſcourfie, lazie, old, bald, louſie, wretched, doting Pope. Haſt thou purpoſed to caſt out my bones out of the Church to the ſhame and ſlaunder of me? How commeth this raſh wilfulneſſe in thy head? It were more meete for thee being thus aduaunced by God & honoured, to make much of the zelous ſeruaunts of God, although departed. The lord wil not ſuffer thee hēceforth to haue any more power ouer me, I haue writtē vnto thee

Anno. 1254.

Ex Mat. Pariſ.
Ex Flor. hiſt.
Senibalde papa miſerime.
The Popes new and true ſtile giuen by Groſt. Biſh. of Lincoln.

in the ſpirit of humilitie and loue, that thou ſhouldeſt correct thy manifolde errors. But thou wyth a proud eye and diſdainful hart haſt deſpiſed my wholeſome admonitions. Woe to thee that deſpiſeſt, ſhalt not thou alſo be deſpiſed? And ſo the Biſhop departing from the Pope, ſtroken as is ſaid on the ſide, left him for half dead, and ſo lying in ſorow & lamentation. Wherupon his chamberlains being amaſed hearing theſe things, came rũning to the pope to know what him ailed. To whome the Pope much troubled and vexed in his ſpirit, ſayd: that great terrors in his ſlepe, vehemently diſturbed and moleſted him in ſuch ſorte, that he thought he ſhould neuer recouer it, nor be reſtored to himſelfe againe. Oh (ſayeth he) howe ſore is my ſide, and howe egerly it vexeth me, as being runne through with a ſpeare. Neither did the Pope eate or drinke all that day, but faining himſelf to be ſicke of a burning ague, kept in. And yet the indignation of the irefull hand of God (ſayth the ſtory) ſo left him not.

The Pope diſquieted in his minde.

The reuenge of God vpon pope Innocent.

For after theſe wholeſome admonitions geuen to hym by the ſeruaunt of God: the Pope not regarding them, but all ſet vpon warre, ſuppreſſion of his enemies, and ſecular affaires, gaue his minde wholy vnto them. And yet all his labors, counſailes, & expences beſtowed vpon them, could neuer proſper after that day, in that he wẽt about. For the Pope the ſame time hauing warre with the Apulians, all his army fighting vnder yͤ Popes nephew their captaine, were ſlaine & confounded the number of many thouſands. Whoſe lamentable ſlaughter al yͤ countrey of the Romains did much bewaile. The Pope not yet quiet in his minde, directeth his iorney towarde Naples, although ſore vexed in his ſide like a man ſicke of a pluriſie, or ſmitten rather wͭ a ſpeare. Neither could any phiſicke of his Cardinals help him. For Robert of Lincolne (ſayth the ſtory) did not ſpare him. And hee that woulde not heare him gently correcting him, being aliue, his ſtripes did he feele whẽ he was dead. So that hee neuer after that enioyed any luckie or proſperous day, till time of his death: nor yet any proſperous or quiet night vntill the morning. And ſo continued he vnto his death, which ſhortly after enſued, he being at Naples. An. 1255. or as N. Triuet recordeth. An. 1254. And thus haue ye the whole diſcourſe betweene Robert Groſted & Pope Innocent.

The Popes army vanquiſhed and confounded

The death of Pope Innocent. 4.

{ Anno. 1255. }

A note to the reader concerning the appearing of dead men.

¶ In the which ſtory is to be noted (gentle reader) that although in the ſtorie of Ceſtrenſis, of Mathewe Pariſ and of Flor. hiſt. it is expreſly teſtified and reported, that the Pope was ſmitten with the ſtaffe of Robert the foreſaid Byſhop of Lincolne: yet thou muſt wiſely vnderſtand, that how ſo euer Gods hand dealeth heere in this world in puniſhing his enemies, or how ſo euer the Image of things not ſene but phantaſied, offer themſelues to the ſecrete cogitation of man (his ſenſes being a ſlepe) by the operation or permiſſion of God, working after ſome ſpirituall influence in our imaginations: certaine it is, that no dead man materially can euer riſe againe or appeare, before the iudgement day, to any man with his ſtaffe or without his ſtaffe, to worke any feate, after he haue once departed this life.

Diſſention betwene the arch. of Cant. and the Church of Lincolne.

Excommunication abuſed. Appellation made to Rome. Henry Lexintõ B. of Lincolne.

After the death of this Robert Groſted biſhop of Lincolne, great diſſention fel betwene the Archb. of Cant. Boniface, and the canons of the ſaid church of Lincolne, about the right of geuing prebendſhips, and about the reuenues of the ſaid church, in time of the biſhops ſee being now vacant. Which right & power the Archbiſhop claimed to him ſelfe, but the canons of that Church (maintaining the contrary ſide) ſtood againſt him, and for the ſame were excommunicated of the Archbiſhop. Amõg whom, one M. Wolf reſiſting the Archb. to the face, in the name of all the other canons, made vp his appeale to Rome, where much money on both ſides was ſpent. At length, after this Groſted, was elected Henry Lexinton in the ſee of Lincolne.

A childe crucified of the Iews at Lincolne.

Ex Nic. Triuet. Ex Ceſtrenſ. li. 7 cap. 34. Ex Flor. hiſt.

The Iewes expulſed out of Fraunce.

About which time, the wicked Iewes at Lincolne had cruelly crucified, whipped, & tormented a certaine child named Hugo of 9. yeres of age. An. 1255. in the month of Auguſt. Ex Gualt. Giſburn. At length the childe being ſought & found by yͤ mother, being caſt in a pit. 32. of thoſe abhominable Iewes were put to executiõ. Wherof Mathew Pariſ. reciteth a long ſtorie. The ſame or like fact was alſo intended by yͤ like Iewes at Norwich 20. yeres before vpon a certaine childe, whom they had firſt circumciſed, & deteined a whole yere in cuſtodie, intending to crucifie him, for the which the Iewes were ſent vp to the tower of Lõdon, of whom 18. were hanged, & the reſt remained long in priſon. Ex Ceſtrenſ. lib. 7. Of this wicked Iewiſh people I find alſo in the boke of Flor. hiſt. that about this yere of our Lord 1255. they began firſt to be expelled out of Fraunce, by the commaundement of the French king, being then in Paleſtina, warring againſt the Turkes: By the occaſion that it was obiected then by the Turke againſt him and other Chriſtian princes, for the reteining the Iewes amõgſt thẽ which did crucify our ſauiour, and warring agaynſt them which did not crucifye him. Ex Flor. Hiſt. Of theſe Iewes moreouer king Henry the ſame yere 1255. exacted to be geuen vnto him 8000. markes in paine of hanging. Who being much agreued therwith, & complayning that the king went about their deſtruction, deſired leaue to be geuen thẽ of the king, that they might depart the realm, neuer to returne agayne. But the king committed the doing of that matter vnto Earle Richard his brother, to enforce them to pay yͤ mony whether they would or no. Moreouer of the ſame Iewes mention is made in the ſtory intituled Eulogiũ. Of the Iewes in Northhampton, who had amõg thẽ ſelues prepared wilde fire, to burn the city of Londõ. For the which diuers of thẽ were takẽ, & burned in the time of Lent, in the ſaid city of Northhamptõ, which was 2. yeres before, about the yere of our Lord. 1253. Ex Eulogio. And for ſo much as mention here is made of the Iewes, I cannot omit what ſome Engliſh ſtoryes write of a certaine Iew: who not long after this time about the yeare of our Lord. 1257. fell into a priuy at Tukeſbury vpon a Sabboth day which for the great reuerence he had to his holy Sabboth, would not ſuffer himſelfe to be plucked out. And ſo Lord Richarde Earle of Gloceſter, hearing thereof, would not ſuffer him to be drawne out on ſonday for reuerence of the holy day. And thus the wretched ſuperſtitious Iew remaining there till Monday, was found dead in the dong.

A childe circumciſed of the Iewes, and kept a whole yeare to be crucified.

The Iewes aske leaue to depart the realme of England.

Ex Eulogio. Iewes burned at Northampton.

A Iewe fallen into a priuey, wold not be taken out for keeping his Sabboth day

And to note the blinde ſuperſtitiõ of that time, not only among the Iewes, but alſo among the chriſtians, to omit diuers other ſtoryes as of Walter Gray, Archbiſh. of Yorke, who comming vp to the Parliamẽt at Londõ. an. 1255. wͭ vnordinate faſting, did ſo ouercharge nature, & pyned himſelfe, & (as the ſtory mẽtioneth) did ſo drye vp hys braine: that he loſing therby all appetite of ſtomack, going to Fulham, there within 3. dayes died, as in the compiler of Flor. Hiſt. is both ſtoryed and reprehended. Let this alſo be adioyned, which the forenamed author, and in the ſame yere is recorded of one named Peter Chacepore, who dying in Fraũce, an. 1255. left in bequeſt of his teſtamẽt 600. marks for lands to be purchaſed to the houſe of Mertõ for God to be ſerued there perpetually pro anima eius, & omnium fideliũ. i. for his ſoules health, and all faythfull ſoules. As who would ſay, Chriſtian fayth were not the ordinary meanes ſufficient to ſaluation of faythfull ſoules, without the quire ſeruice of the Monkes of Merton.

Superſtitious faſting noted in Walter arch. of Yorke.

Ex Flo. hiſt.

Superſtition in ſeeking ſaluation by wronge meanes.

The Pope iniurious to the Church of England.

Ye haue heard it often complained before, how yͤ vſurped power of the Pope hath violẽtly and preſumptuouſly encroched vpon the Church of England, in geuing & conferring benefices and prebends to his Italians and ſtrangers, to the great damage and ruine of Chriſtes flock manifold waies. This violent iniury & oppreſſion of yͤ Pope, as by no lawfull and gentle meanes could be reformed: ſo by occaſion & meanes inordinate about this time, it began ſomwhat to be bridled. The matter wherof was this, as it is in the collector of Flor. Hiſt. recited. In the dayes of the raigne of this king 44. The Byſhop of London named Fulco, had geuen a certaine prebende in the Church of S. Paul, to one maſter Ruſtandus yͤ Popes meſſenger heere in Englande. Who entring into the profeſſion of the graie friers, & ſhortly after dying on the other ſide of the ſea: the Pope immediatly conferred the ſayd prebend to one of his ſpecials, a like ſtraunger, as yͤ other was before. About the ſame inſtant it befel, that the biſhop alſo of London deceaſed, wherby the byſhoprick now vacant fell into the kings handes. Who hearing of the death of yͤ forenamed Ruſtandus, gaue the ſayd prebendſhip (geuen of the Pope before) to one Iohn Crakehale his vnder treaſurer. Who with all ſolemnitie toke his inſtallation, vnknowing as yet that it was beſtowed of the Pope before. It was not lõg after as time grew, but this being noiſed at Rome, forthwith commeth downe a certaine Proctor named Iohn Gras wyth the Popes enbulled letters, to receaue the collation of the benefice by his commiſſion procuratory, geuen by yͤ Pope: wherin Iohn Crakehale had bene already inſtalled, as is aforeſaide, by the kings donation. This matter comming in trauiſe before Boniface Archbiſhop of Cant. hee inquiring and ſearching which donation was the firſt, finding the popes graunt to be the former, gaue ſentence with him againſt the king: ſo that in concluſion, the Romane clearke had the aduauntage of the benefice, although the other had long enioyed the poſſeſſion therof before. Thus the popes man being preferred, and the Engliſhman excluded, after the partie had bene inueſted & ſtalled after the vſe and maner, hee as thinking to be in ſure poſſeſſion of his place, attempted with the reſt to enter the Chapter houſe, but was not permitted ſo to do: wherupon the popes clerke geuing place to force and number, went toward the archbiſhop to

A prebendſhip of paule giuen both of the Pope and of the king at one time to two ſeuerall perſons.

The Popes donation preferred before the kinges.

complaine,

Two Romain clarkes going to complaine were ſlaine by the way.

complaine. This being knowne, certaine recluſes purſued him, and ſo being compaſſed about, one in the thickneſſe of the throng being neuer after knowne, ſodenly ruſhing vpon him, a litle aboue his eies ſo pareth of his head, yͤ he fell downe dead. The ſame alſo was done to an other of his felowes in fleing away. This hainous murder being famed abroad, ſtrait inquirie therof was made, but the deede doer could not be knowen. Although great ſuſpition was laide vpon Crakhale the kings Chaplein, yet no proofe could be brought. But moſte men thought, yͤ bloudy fact to be done by certaine ruffians, or other light perſons about the City or the Court, diſdaining belike, that the Romanes were ſo enriched wyth Engliſhmens liuings, by whome neyther came relief to any Engliſhman, nor any godly inſtruction to the flocke of Chriſt. And therefore, becauſe they ſawe the Church and realme of England in ſuch ſubiection, and ſo much to be troden downe by the Romanes and the popes meſſengers: they thought therby ſomthing to bridle, as wͭ a ſnaffell, the Popes meſſengers, from their vntemperate ranging into this land. Ex Flor. Hiſt.

The ſtory of Mat. Pariſ. here ceaſeth.

Heere by the way is to be noted, that vnto the death of this foreſayde Fulco Byſhop of London, continueth the hiſtory of Mathew Pariſ. monk of S. Albons, which was to the yeare of grace 1260. The reſidue was continued by an other Monke of the ſame houſe, but not wyth ſuch like commendation, worthy to make any autentike ſtory, as I haue ſeene it noted in a written booke.

It were to tedious and curious in order to proſecute what happened in euery yere, through this kings raigne: as how it was prouided by yͤ king, that whoſoeuer coulde deſpend 15. li. land by yere, ſhould be bound to make to the king a ſouldiour, that watch ſhould be kept euery night in Cities: that who ſoeuer was robbed or otherwiſe damnified in any countrey, he that had the cuſtody, ſhuld be compelled to make vp the loſſe againe, or els to purſue the malefactor, which was An. 1253. witneſſing Flores hiſt. Item, how the king making his viage into Vaſcone, his expenſes were reckened to mount 270000. marks, beſide 30000. Markes beſtowed vpon his brethren by the mother ſide, & beſide other great gifts geuen abroad. By reaſon wherof, great taxes and tolonies and tenthes were required of his ſubiects, eſpecially of the Churchmen: who were wont to receiue tithes of other, nowe were conſtrained to geue tithes to the laitie. Flores Hiſt. An. 1254. Item, howe in the yeare next following, the Londoners offring a 100. li. for a gift to the king with a precious cup of gold, at his returne out of Fraunce, were ſhortly after compelled by the King to pay 3000. Marks, for the ſcape of a certaine priſoner being a clerke condemned: which clerke being graunted of the King to the Biſhop, and he hauing no priſon ſufficient for him, borrowed of the Londiners to haue him kept in the priſon of Newgate, who eſcaping thereout, they as is ſayde, were demaunded this recompence aforeſaide. Anno 1255. Item, how the king greatly complaining of his debt, the ſame yeare required the whole tenthes, which ſhoulde be gathered in 3. yeres, to be takē vp all at once. To whoſe requeſt, the nobles and commons agreed to ſtraine themſelues, ſo that the Charter of their liberties and cuſtomes might be ratified, & fully by him confirmed. And ſo for that yeare they were. Flores Hiſt. Item, howe Pope Alexander the 3. to deſtroy the city Michera, with king Menfrede the ſonne of Fredericke the Emperor, ſent forth the ſame yere Octauianus his Cardinall with a puiſſant armie: who comming to the City with his ſiege, through the counſaile of Marchiſius one of the chiefe Captaines, diſcharged a great part of his hoſte, whereby the moſt of the Popes army was ſlaine and deſtroyed, almoſt all, ſaue onely the familie of Marchiſius. An. 1255. Flor. Mat. Pariſ.

Pope Alexander 3. maketh warre.

The Popes army ſlaine.

Lewlinus K. of Wales warreth againſt the kyng. Lewlinus & the K. cōcorded.

Many other thynges during the time of thys King might be congeſted, as the riſing of Lewlynus King of Wales and of the welſhmē againſt the king, and waſting the land vnto the towne of Cheſter, who deſtroyed diuers of the Engliſhmen horſemen, taken in the Marrys, wyth whom at length they fel to agremēt by the meanes of Octobonus: that his ſucceſſors ſhould be called princes onely of wales, and ſhuld do the king his homage. And the king of him to receaue 3000. Markes. And this being ſtabliſhed in wryting, was confirmed by the Popes ſeale. An. 1257. Ex Polychron.

Ex Polychronico. lib. 7.

Ex autore Eulogij.

Anno. 1257.

About the ſame time, ſuch famine oppreſſed the land and lacke of victuals, that a ſumme of corne was then ſolde for 26. ſhillings: in ſomuch, that the pouerty were forced to eat nettle rootes, thiſſell rootes, & whatſoeuer they could gette. Ex Eulogio. Although ſome refer this to the yere 1262.

Hereunto moreouer might be adioyned, how Pope Alexander abuſing and mocking the kings ſimplicity, made him beleeue that he would make his ſonne Edmund king of Apulia, ſo that he would ſuſtaine the charges and coſtes thereof, to maintaine the warre which thereto ſhoulde appertaine. wherby the king caſt in a ſodaine hope, cauſed his ſonne incōtinent to be proclaimed king of Apulia. And vpon the ſame ſent vp to the pope all yͤ riches he could wel make in his realme. And thus was the realme manifolde waies miſerably impoueriſhed to enrich the pope. Ex Flor. Hiſt. About which ſeaſon, Rich. Earle of Exceter the kings brother, was made king of Almaine by the Electours.

Pope Alexander to make ſhifte for money maketh the king beleue his ſonne ſhould be kyng of Apulia.

Richarde the kings brother made king of Almaine.

Here might be ſhewed moreouer, and added to the ſtories aboue, how the yere next following, which was 1259. (as Nicholas Triuet wryteth,) the King entering into France, required the reſtitution of ſuch lands in Normandie and Angiew, as of olde righte was due vnto him, and wrongfully withholden from him. But the French King againe alledged, ſaying: that the cōtrey of Normandie by old time was not geuē away from the crowne of France, but vſurped, and by force extorted by Rollo. &c. In cōcluſion, the King fearing and ſuſpecting the hearts of his nobles, and looking for none other but for rebellion at home, durſt not try wͭ them, but was compelled to agree wͭ them vpon ſuch peace & conditions as he coulde get, which was this. That he ſhoulde haue of the French king xiij. C. M. of Turen poundes, with ſomuch lands els, as came to the value of xx. M. pound in yearely rent: ſo ſhould he reſigne fully and purely to the handes of the French king, all ſuch landes and poſſeſſions which he had in Fraunce. wherby the King geuen ouer his ſtile and titles which hee had in thoſe partes, ceaſed then to be called Duke of Normandie, or Earle of Angiew.

What ciuill diſcorde worketh worketh.

Reſignation of the Earledome of Normandy and Angiew.

Ex Gual. Giſburn.

Albeit if it be true that Gisburn wryteth, the king afterward repenting of his deede, did neuer receaue the money in all his life, neither did hee ceaſe during his life, to entitle himſelfe Duke of Normandie. But after him, hys ſonne Edward and his ſucceſſour in their ſtile left out the title, to be called Duke of Normandie. &c. Ex Gisburn.

The conflict & ſkirmiſh betweene the Northern Welch men, and the Southern men in Oxford.

Beſide many other matters omitted, here I ouerpaſſe alſo the ſore and vehement conflict, not betwene the frogs and the miſe which Homer writeth of, but the mighty pitched field fought in the yeare of our Lorde 1259. betweene the young ſtudents and ſcholers of the Uniuerſitie of Oxford, hauing no other occaſion (as I read in Math. Parienſ.) but onely the diuerſitie of the Countrey where they were borne. For the Northern men ioyning with the welſhmē, to try their manhoode againſt the Southerne part: fel both parts together in ſuch a broile, with their enſignes & warlike aray, yͤ in concluſion diuers on both ſides were ſlaine. This heauy & bloudy cōflict during and increaſing amōg them, the ende was this: that the Northern lads with the welſh had the victorie. After that fury and fiery fierceneſſe had done what it could, the victorers bethinking at length wͭ themſelues, partly what they had done, partly howe it would be taken of the higher powers: and fearing due puniſhment to fall vpon them, eſpecially ſeeing the brother of Leoline prince of wales, and ſonne of Giffine, was newly dead in priſon, drawing their counſaile and helps together: they offer to king Henry 4000. markes, to Edwarde his ſonne 300. and to the Queene 200. to be releaſed of their treſpaſſe. But the king anſwering them againe, that he ſet more price by the life of one true ſubiect, then by all, which by them was offered: would in no wiſe receiue their money. And ſo the ſtudentes without hope of peace, went home wyth ſmall triumphe, learning what the common Prouerbe meaneth: Dulce bellum inexpertis. Notwithſtanding, the King being then occupied in great affaires and warres, partly with Leoline and yͤ welſhmen, partly inwrapped wyth diſcorde at home with his nobles, had no leiſure to attend to the correction of theſe vniuerſitie men, which was. An. 1259. Ex Mat. Parienſ. Likewiſe concerning the diſſention following the next yeare after, in the Uniuerſitie of Paris, betwene the ſtudents there and the Friers: the number of whome then did ſomuch increaſe, that the commons vnneth was able to ſuſtein them with their almes. Alſo betwene the Uniuerſities both of Oxford and Cambridge, for a certaine priſoner taken out of priſone by ſtrength, and brought into ſanctuarie the ſame yeare, as is teſtified in Mathewe Paris. An. 1259. In like maner, touching the variance betweene the Archbiſhop of Caunterb. and the Chapter of Lincolne. Againe, betweene the ſayde Archbiſhop of Canterb. and the Chapter & biſhop of London: and how the ſaid Biſhop at his conſecration woulde not make his profeſſion to the Archb. but wyth this exception, Saluis iure & libertate Eccleſiæ Londinenſ. quæ pro poſſe meo defendā in omnibus. &c. recorded in Flores Hiſt. All which wranglinges and diſſentiōs, with innumerable other raigning daily in the Churche at thoſe dayes, if I had ſomuch leaſure to proſecute them, as I find them in ſtories remai-

Variance betweene the ſtudentes and the Friers in Paris.

Variance betweene the Uniuerſitie of Oxforde and Cambridge.

Variance betweene the Archb. of Cant. and the chapter of Lincolne.

Variance betweene the Archb. of Cant. and the chapter of London.

Ex Flor. hiſt.

Litle peace in the Popes Church.

ning, might ſufficiently induce vs to vnderſtande what ſmall peace and agreemēt was then ioyned with that doctrine and religion in thoſe dayes, during the ſtate & raigne of Antichriſt.

Theſe with many ſuch other matters moe, which here might be diſcourſed and ſtoried at large, being more forein then Eccleſiaſtical, for breuity I do purpoſely contract and omitte, cutting of all ſuch ſuperfluities as may ſeeme more curious to wryte vpon, then neceſſary to be knowen.

Hiſtories profitable for example.

This that foloweth concerning the pitiful & turbulent commotion betwene the king and the nobles, which laſted a long ſeaſon: becauſe it is lamentable, & conteineth much fruitfull example, both for Princes and ſubiects to beholde and looke vppon, to ſee what miſchiefe and inconuenience groweth in common weales, where ſtudy of mutuall concorde lacketh, that is: where neither the Prince regardeth the offending of his ſubiects, and where the ſubiects forget the office of chriſtian pacience, in ſuffering their princes iniuries, by Gods wrath inflicted for their ſinnes. wherfore, in explaning the order and ſtorie thereof, I thought it not vnprofitable to occupy yͤ reader with a little more tariance in peruſing the ful diſcourſe of this ſo lamētable a matter, and ſo pernitious to the publicke weale.

The occaſions of commotion betweene the kyng and the Nobles.

And firſt to declare the occaſions and firſt beginnings of this tumult, here is to be vnderſtode, which before was ſignified: howe king Henry maried with Alinor daughter of the Earle of Prouince, a ſtranger, which was about the yere of our Lord 1234. wherupon, a great dore was opened for ſtrangers, not only to enter the land, but alſo to repleniſh the court: to whome yͤ king ſeemed more to incline his fauour, aduancing them to more preferment, then hys owne naturall Engliſh Lordes, which thing was to them no litle greuance. Moreouer, before was declared, how the king by Iſabel hys mother who was a ſtraunger, had diuers brethren: whom he nouriſhed vp with great liuings and poſſeſſions, and large penſions of money, which was an other hearts ſore to diuers, & alſo an hinderance. Ouer & beſide hath alſo ben declared, what vnreaſonable collectiōs of mony from time to time, as quindecims, ſubſidies, tenthes, merſements, fines, paiments, lones and taxes, haue bene leuied by the king, as well of the ſpiritualtie, as of the lay ſort, partly for maintaining the kings warres againſt wales, againſt Scotlande and Fraunce, to recouer Normandie: partly for helping the kings debtes, viagies & other expenſes: partly for the kingdom of Apulia, which was promiſed the kings ſonne by the pope: partly for moneying and ſupporting the Pope in his warres againſt the Emperour. By reaſon of all which ſundrie and importable collections, the common wealth of the Realme was vtterly excoriate, to the great impoueriſhment of poore Engliſh men. Neither did it a little vexe the people to ſee the king call in ſo many Legates from Rome euery yeare, which did nothing els but tranſporte the Engliſh money vnto the Popes cofers. Beſides all thys, what variaunce and altercation hath bene betweene the king and hys ſubiects about the liberties of Magna charta, & de foreſta, graunted by king Iohn, and after confirmed by thys king, in the former councel holden at Oxford, hath bene afore declared.

Perhaps thys might be alſo ſome peece of a cauſe, that the king conſidering and bearing in minde the olde iniuries done of the Lordes and Barons to his father Kyng Iohn before him: did beare ſome grudge therefore, or ſome priuie hatred vnto the Nobilitie, to reuenge hys fathers quarel. But of things vncertaine I haue nothing certainly to affirme. This is certaine, by truth of hiſtorie, that the yeare next enſuing, which was 1260. thus wryteth Nicho. Triuet, that the kings Iuſtices called Itinerarij, being ſent thether to execute their office, were from thence repelled: the cauſe being alledged for that they were againſt the king in proceeding and enterpriſing againſt yͤ forme of the prouiſions enacted and ſtabliſhed a little before at the Towne of Oxford.

{ Anno. 1260. }

Straungers hauing all the wealth of the realme vnder the kyng.

Ex Gualt. Giſburnenſi.

It befell moreouer the ſame yeare, aboue other times (as Gualt. Hemmingford wryteth) that a great number of aliens comming out of Fraunce and other prouinces, reſorted into England: and had heere the doing of all principall matters of the Realme vnder the king. Unto whome the rewards and reliefes, & other emoluments of the land did moſt chiefly redound, which thing to ſee did not a little trouble & vexe the nobilitie and baronage of England. In ſo much, that Simon Montfort Earle of Leiceſter, offering to ſtande to death for the liberties and wealth of the Realme, conferred together with other Lordes and Barons vpon the matter. who then comming to the king after an humble ſort of petition, declared to him howe all the doings of his Realme and his owne affaires, were altogether diſpoſed by the handes, and after the willes of ſtrāgers, neither profitable to him, nor to the weale publicke: for ſo much as hys treaſures being waſted and conſumed, he was in great debt, neither was able to ſatiſfie the prouiſion of his owne houſe, but driuen to take for his owne cates, to no ſmall diſhonour to his owne ſtate. And nowe therfore ſaid they, pleaſeth your highnes to be informed by our aduiſe, and to commit your houſe to the guiding and gouernment of your owne faithfull and naturall ſubiects: And we will take vppon vs to diſcharge your whole debt within one yere, of our owne proper goods and reuenues, ſo that we within 5. yeares may cleare our ſelues againe. Neither wil we diminiſh your familie, but rather increaſe it with a much greater retinue: prouiding ſo for the ſafety and ſeeing to the cuſtodie of your royall perſon, as your highnes ſhal finde and vnderſtand our diligence moſt truſty and faithfull vnto you in the ende.

The wordes of the Nobles to the kyng.

The K. graunteth to his Lordes.

To theſe wordes ſo louingly declared, ſo humbly pretenſed, ſo heartely and freely offered, the king as willingly condeſcended: aſſigning to them both day and place, where to conferre & to deliberate farther vpon the matter, which ſhoulde be at Oxforde, the 15. day after Eaſter. At which day and place, all the ſtates and Lordes wyth the biſhops of the realme were ſummoned to appeare at the ſayd town of Oxford, for the behalfe of the king, and the Realme conuented together. where firſt of the King himſelfe, then of the Lordes an oth was taken: that what decrees or lawes in the ſaid aſſembly ſhould be prouided to the profite of the king and of the realme, the ſame vniuerſally ſhuld be kept and obſerued to the honor of God, & vtilitie of his church, and wealth of the Realme. Beſides theſe Lordes and the King, were alſo 9. Biſhops, which ſwearing to the ſame, did excommunicate all ſuch as ſhould gainſtand the ſayde prouiſions there made, the King holding a burning taper in his hand, and the Lordes openly proteſting, to riſe with all their force, againſt all them that ſhall ſtande againſt the ſame.

A ſitting of the king and Lordes at Oxford.

The prouiſions or lawes made at Oxforde.

The King ſweareth to the prouiſions made at Oxford.

The kinges brethren againſt the prouiſions of Oxford.

There were at that preſent in the Realme, foure brethren of the kings (moſt part of them by the mothers ſide) which would in no caſe agree heereunto, but in anger departed priuely vnto wint. The nobles hearing thereof, in all ſpedy wiſe purſued them, fearing leaſt they ſhould take the Citie of wint. and forceably keepe the ſame. wherfore, the Lordes preuenting their purpoſe, and ſeeing them ſtiffely to perſiſt in their ſtubburne ſentence, wrought no other violence againſt them, but returning to Oxforde againe, preſcribed to them theſe cōditions, that they departing the realme ſhould repaire to their owne lands & poſſeſſions, which they had beyōd the ſea. And that forthwith they ſhould put this iniunction in execution. Notwᵗſtanding that the King made for them great interceſſion, yet it tooke no place. And becauſe this ſhould ſeeme to procede of no ſpeciall diſpleaſure againſt thē, they enacted moreouer, that all ſtrangers and aliens of what ſtate or condition ſoeuer, ſhould forthwith auoid the realme in paine of death. Diuers other prouiſions the ſame time were ordeined and ſtabliſhed: that if any did holde of the king in whole or in part, and ſhould chance him to depart (his heire being vnder age) the wardſhip of him ſhould belong to the king, as hath partly before bene ſpecified.

The prouiſions of Oxforde.

Ex hiſtoria Gualteri Giſburnenſis.

Moreouer it was there decreed, that the wooll of England ſhould be wrought onely wythin the realme, neither ſhould it be tranſported out to ſtraungers.

Item, that no man ſhould weare any cloth, but which was wrought and made onely within the realme.

Item, that garments too ſumptuous, ſhoulde not be brought in nor worne.

Item, that all exceſſiue and prodigall expenſes waſted vpon pleaſure and ſuperfluity, ſhould be eſchued of al perſons.

God graunt this lawe might take place againe God graunt the like law againe for the wealth of the realm

Diuers in this counſell impoiſoned.

Many other lawes & decrees (ſayth the author) in this aſſemble were ordeined, wherein they continued the ſpace of 15. daies: and many of them were impoyſoned, of whom was the Abbot of weſtminſter, a man in that order much commended. Alſo william brother to the Earle of Gloceſter. Alſo the Earle himſelf being impoiſoned hardly eſcaped wᵗ life, his heare and nailes falling of his body, wherof the author not long after was taken, and duely executed at wintcheſter. In the mean time, yͤ nobles conſidering thoſe dangers and ieoperdies, were conſtrained to breake off for that time, appoynting the 14. day of Octob. next folowing to conuent together at London with weapon and harnes: to proſecute & finiſh the reſidue, that was in the ſaid counſaile to be concluded. All which at the time & place appointed was fully accompliſhed, and the actes thereof in order of wryting promulged, and ſo committed to execution.

The kyng repenteth of his othe.

After the promulgation whereof, many things therein diſpleaſed the king, and it began to repent him of hys othe.

{ Anno. 1261. }

The K. ſueth to the pope to releaſe him of his oath.

The Popes abſolution abuſed.

But becauſe he coulde not at that preſent otherwiſe chuſe, he diſſimuled for a ſeaſon. Thus time paſſing on, wythin a yeare following, which was 1261. the king ſeeing himſelfe more & more to grow in debt, and not to be relieued according to promiſe made, but eſpecially being egged (as may be thought) by his brethren, taking it to ſtomacke, ſent vp the Pope both for him, and his ſonne Edwarde, to be releaſed of their othe made before at Oxford. The benefite of which abſolution being eaſely obtained (or rather bought at the Popes hande) the king ſtepping backe from all that was before concluded, calleth an other parliament at Oxford. where he before the Lords and nobles declared: how in the late counſel of Oxford they had agreed among them ſelues for the cõmon vtilitie of the Realme and of the king (as they pretended) for the increaſing of his treaſure, & his debt to be diminiſhed. And therupon bound themſelues wͭ an othe, cauſing alſo himſelfe, and his ſonne Edward to be bound to the ſame. But now by experience prouing & trying the matter to be otherwiſe then their promiſe was: and that they, contrary to their couenaunt made, ſought not ſo much the profite of him & of the Realme as their owne, taking him not as their Lord, but going about to bring him vnder their ſubiection as an vnderling: and for that moreouer his treaſure greatly decreaſing, his debtes encreaſed, and hys princely liberalitie was cut ſhort and trodẽ vnder foote: They ſhould not maruell therefore, if he henceforth would be no more ruled by their counſail, but would prouide himſelfe of ſome other remedy, ſuch as he might. And moreouer, as touching the othe wherewith he & his ſonne ſtode bound vnto them, he had ſent already vnto Rome, & had obtained abſolution and diſpẽſation of the ſame, both for him, and his ſonne Edwarde alſo, and for all other that would take his part. And therefore, he required of them to be reſtored againe to that ſtate & condition, he had enioyed in times paſt.

The anſwer of the nobles again to the kyng.

To this againe gaue aunſwere the ſtate of nobilitie on the other ſide, being in the ſame place preſent. In the number of whome was Simon Mountfort Earle of Leyceſter, Richard Clare Earle of Gloceſter, Humfry Ronne Earle Ferrence, with a great number of Barons: as Lord John Fitze, John L. Haſtings, L. Geoffrey Lucie, Lorde John Veſcy, L. william Segraue, Hugh Spencer, L. Roberte Veſpoynt, with diuers and many mo, whoſe aunſwere to ẏ king againe was this. That the prouiſions made at the counſaile of Oxforde (whereunto they were ſworne) they would hold, defend, and maintaine to their liues end: forſo much as they did ſound, and alſo were agreed vpõ, both to the honor of God, to the profit of the prince, & ſtable wealth of the Realme. &c. And thus partes on both ſides diſcording among themſelues, would ſo haue departed, had not certaine of the Biſhops comming betwene both, laboured betwene thẽ to take vp the matter. By whoſe meane (ſaith Gualt. Giſburn.) and procurement, the determination of the cauſe was brought in comprimis, and referred to Ludouick ẏ French king to iudge betwene them, who hearing both the allegations (ſayth he) like no equal iudge, but a partial frende: inclined wholy and fully to the kings ſentence, and condemned the nobles. But the author of Flores Hiſt. ſayth, ẏ by the mediation of certaine diſcrete men, two were choſen: one for one ſide, the other for the other. To whome the thirde alſo was adnexed, who hearing as well what was brought of the kings part, as alſo what was aunſwered of the other, ſhould define betweene them both. And ſo peace was betwene them cõcluded, til the comming of Edward. Al this while as yet, the Popes abſolution for the king, although it was grãted and obtained at Rome, yet was it not brought downe in ſolẽne wryting, neither was prince Edward as yet returned out of Fraunce to England.

The controuerſie betweene the king & the Nobles put in comprimis.

The Pope releaſeth the K. of his oath.

At length, the wryting of the kings abſolution being brought from Rome, the king eftſoones commaunded the ſame to be publiſhed throughout the Realme, and ſendeth to the French king and other ſtraungers for helpe. Moreouer ſeiſeth all his Caſtels into his owne hand, reiecting the counſaile of the Lords, to whoſe cuſtody they were before committed. Alſo remouing the former officers, as Iuſtices, and the Chancelour: with other placed afore by the Lordes, he appoynted new in their ſtead.

To this foreſaid abſolution procured frõ Rome for the king and his ſonne: Edward returning out of Fraunce, at that time did not geue his conſent, but held wͭ the Lordes. Who then putting themſelues in armes, with a great power repaired vp to London (keping there, in the ſuburbes and places about) while the king kept wͭin the tower, cauſing the citie gates to be watched and lockt, and all within the ſaid citie being aboue the age of 12. yeares to be ſworne vnto him. But at length through the meanes of certaine comming betweene, this tumultuous perturbation was ſomwhat appeaſed, (at leaſt ſome hope of peace appeared) ſo that the matter was takẽ vp for that time without war or bloudſhed. Notwͭſtanding, ſome falſe pretenſed diſſemblers there were, which ſecretly diſcloſing all the counſails and doings of the Lords vnto the king, did all they coulde to hinder concord, and to kindle debate. By the meanes of whom, the purpoſe of the Lords came not to ſo good effect, as otherwiſe it might. Ex Flor Hiſt.

Wicked makebates.

Ex Flor. hiſt. in Anno. 1261.

Biſhops going about to recouer benefices appropriate frõ religious houſes *Ex Florilego ibid.*

In this preſent yere (as affirmeth ẏ forenamed author) it was rumored abroade, that all the Biſhops of England went about to recouer againe out of ẏ handes of religious men, all ſuch churches and benefices, which were to them improperated or appropriated: and ẏ they, for the expeditiõ of the ſame had ſent vp to Rome, both meſſengers & mony nothing miſdoubting to obteine their purpoſe. But as a litle good fruite in thoſe daies vſed to ſpring out of that ſea: ſo I do not finde, that godly ſute and labour of the biſhops to take any fruitfull effect. The ſame yere died Pope Alexander, after whom ſucceeded Pope Vrban the fourth.

Pope Alexander dyeth. Pope Vrbane.

{ Anno. 1267. }

A new releaſe of the kings oth from Rome, with this epitaph: *Hic pudor Hypoliti. Paridis gena ſenſus Vliſſis. Enea pietas, Hectoris ira iacet.*

Of the which Pope Vrbane the king alſo obtained, or rather reuiued a new releaſemẽt from hys oth, made to the prouiſiõs and ſtatutes of Oxford. which being graunted, he commaundeth incontinent all the foreſaid lawes & prouiſions through England to be diſſolued and brokẽ. This done, the King with the Queene taketh hys voiage into Fraunce, where he fell into great infirmitie of ſicknes, and the moſt part of his familie taken with the feuer quartane, of which many died. In ẏ number of whome beſide other, died Richard the worthy Earle of Gloceſter and Herford, after whom ſucceeded Gilbert Clare, his ſonne.

The Welchmen rebell.

The prouiſions of Oxford again graunted by the kyng.

The welſhmen this yere, breaking into the borders of England, did much annoyance in the lands of Roger lord Mortimer: but mightely again by him were expulſed, not without great ſlaughter of the inuaders. About which time, the king through ſome diſcrete counſaile about hym, inclined to peace and concorde with his nobles, graunting of his mere voluntarie will, the conſtitutions and prouiſions of Oxforde to take place in the Realme, directing his commaundement to euery ſhire. All be it, the Realme yet was not altogether pacified for all that.

The kings palace at Weſtm. brent with fire.

In the latter end of this yere, the kings palace at weſtminſter was brent, and for the moſt part was al conſumed with fire, which ſeemed to many an euill prognoſticate againſt the king. Ex Flor. Hiſt.

Vſury puniſhed for taking aboue 2. pence a weeke in a pounde.

In ſome Engliſh Chronicles it is alſo recorded, that the ſame yeare 500. Iewes at London were ſlaine for taking vſurie more then 2. d. a weeke for 20. s. being before forbid by the king to take aboue that rate by the weeke.

{ Anno. 1263. }

The Nobles ryſing againſt the ſtraungers hauing the commodities of the realme Peter of Hereford a Burgundian a rich Byſhop.

John Maunſell a rich prieſt.

After this foloweth the yeare 1263. in which, the Barons of England confederating themſelues together, for maintaining the ſtatutes and lawes of Oxford, and partly moued with the old grudge conceiued againſt the ſtraungers (maintayned by the King and the Queene, and Edward their ſonne, in the realme of England) ioyned powers in all forceable wiſe: and firſt inuaded the ſayd ſtraungers, namely thẽ which were about the king. Their goods and manors they waſted and ſpoyled, whether they were perſons eccleſiaſticall or temporall. Among whom beſides other, was Peter a Burgundian (Biſhop of Hereford, a rich prelate) with al his treaſure apprehended and ſpoiled: alſo his coũtreymen, whom he had placed to be Canons of the ſame church. with like order of handling other alienes alſo, to whom was cõmitted the cuſtody of diuers caſtels, as of Glouceſter, of worceſter, of Brignorth: were ſpoiled, inpriſoned, and ſent away. Briefly, whatſoeuer he was in all the land that could not vtter the Engliſh toung, was of euery raſcall diſdained, and happy if he might ſo eſcape. By reaſon whereof it ſo came to paſſe, that a great number as wel of other foreners, as eſpecially religious men and rich Prieſtes (which here had gathered much ſubſtance) were vrged to that extremitie, ẏ they were glad to flee the lande. In the cataloge of whõ, was one moſt principally named John Maunſel, a prieſt notoriouſly growen in riches and treaſures not to be told: hauing in his hand ſo many & rich benefices, that neare no biſhop of this realme might compare with him in riches. who notwͭſtanding he kept with the king at London, yet was cõpelled priuely to voide the Realme, & was purſued by Henry the ſonne of Rich. king of Almaine. Certaine other ſtraungers there were, to the number of 200. and more, which hauing the caſtell of winſore there inmured and intrenched themſelues, to whome at length prince Edward alſo adioyned himſelfe.

The kyng agayn agreeth with the Nobles.

In the meane time while this ſturre was abroade, the king keeping them in the tower, & ſeeing the greateſt part of his nobles & commons with the Londoners to be ſet againſt him: agreed to the peace of the Barons, & was conſented to aſſent againe to the ordinances and prouiſions of Oxford.

The Queene a great cauſe of this debate.

The forme of peace concluded betweene the king and the Nobles.

Oxford. Albeit the Queene, by al meanes poſſible went about to perſwade the king not to aſſent therto. Who as ſemed, was a great worker in kindling thys fire of diſcorde betweene the king & the baronage. In ſo much, that when the ſayde Queene Alinore ſhoulde paſſe by barge from the tower to Windſore: the Lõdiners ſtanding vpon yͤ bridge with their exclamations, curſings, and throwing of ſtones & durt at her, interrupted her courſe, cauſing her to returne to the tower againe. Notwithſtanding, the peace yet continued with the nobles and the king, the forme therof was this. Firſt, yͭ Henry ſonne of Richard king of Romanes, ſhould be deliuered by the King & Quene. Secondly, that the Caſtels againe ſhould be committed to the cuſtodie of Engliſhmen, not of ſtraungers. Thirdly, that the prouiſions and ſtatutes decreed at Oxford, ſhould as well by the king, as by al other inuiolably be obſerued. Fourthly, that the realme henceforth ſhuld be ruled and gouerned not by foreners, but by perſonages borne within the land. Fiftly, that all alienes and ſtraungers ſhould voyde the land, not to returne againe, except onely ſuch, whoſe abode ſhoulde by the common aſſent of the kings truſtie ſubiectes be admitted and alowed.

The caſtle of Windſor recouered out of the handes of ſtraũgers.

Thus the King and the nobles ioyning together after this form of peace aboue prefixed, although not fully with heart, as after appeared: put themſelues in armes with all their power to recouer the Caſtell of Windſore out of the ſtrangers handes. But Edward in the mid way betwene London & the Caſtel, meeting with his father and the barons, entred cõmunication vpon the matter. Which being finiſhed, & he thinking to returne into the Caſtell againe, by the pollicie of the Earle of Leiceſter, & William byſhop of Worceter, was not permitted to reenter. Wherupõ, the ſtraungers within the holde (deſtitute of all hope to withſtand the great force approching) rendred the Caſtell vnto the king and barons, vppon this conuention: That with horſe and harneſſe they might be ſuffered ſafe to depart the land, not to returne any more. Which being graunted, certaine of the Barons conducted them in their iourney toward the ſea ſide, and there they left them.

Manet alta mẽte repoſtum iudicium Paridis. &c. Virg.

In the ſame yeare about the beginning of October, the king and Quene made ouer to France, wͭ Simon Montfort and other nobles, to heare and ſtand to the arbitremẽt of Lewes the French king, cõcerning the controuerſie betweene the ſtates of England, and al through the procurement of Alinore the Queene. For ſhee not forgetting the olde contumelie of the Londiners, exclaming againſt her vpon the bridge, wrought alwaies what reuẽge ſhe could againſt them. Concerning the arbitrement of this matter put to the French king, part hath bene ſayde before, more ſhall be ſayde (Chriſt willing) hereafter. Some ſtories do adde moreouer, that the king continuing long in France: worde was ſent to him out of England, that vnleſſe he returned againe to the realme, they would elect a new king. Whereupon the king returning out of France to Douer, would haue entred the caſtel, but he was ſtopped. Wherefore the king in fierce anger and great indignation, prepared his power towarde London: where, Simon Montfort the worthy Earle of Leiceſter, through ſubtile traine, was almoſt betraied and circumuented in Southwarke, by the ſodaine purſuing of the kings armie, had not the Londiners wyth more ſpede breaking barres and chains, made way to reſcue him. By the meanes of whome the Earle at that time eſcaped the daunger.

The ſentence of the french king, with the king of England againſt the Barons.

Ex Flor. hiſt. ex Giſbur. & alijs.

Now, to come to the ſentence of the French king, for ſo much as the arbitrement of thys matter was committed to him, as hath before bene ſpecified: he in a great frequency, both of French and Engliſh perſons about him, conſidering & peyſing the cauſe on both ſides, betwene the king and the nobles: clearely and ſolemnely pronounced on the kings ſide againſt the Barons, ordaining that the king of England all this whyle had ſuffered wrong, and that hee ſhuld be reſtored againe to his priſtine ſtate, notwithſtanding the prouiſions made at Oxford, which he ordained to be repealed and abrogated. Ex Flor hiſt. Giſburn.

Warre betwene the king and the Barons beginneth.

Vniuerſitie of Oxford, remoued for a tyme to Northampton.

{Anno. 1264.}

The Nobles taken at Northampton.

Simõ Mõutfort the yõger taken priſoner. The ſcholers of Oxford ſtout againſt the kyng.

The ſtudẽts of Oxford ſpared.

The ſentence of the French king thus awarded: as it gaue to the king of England, with his retinue no little incouragement, ſo it wrought in the nobles hearts great indignation: which, notwithſtanding that partiall decreement of the French king, ſpedde themſelues home out of Fraunce to defend themſelues with all their ſtrength and power. And not long after, foloweth alſo yͤ king, by whoſe traine, Simon Mountfort Earle of Leiceſter (as is aboue recited) was well neare circumuented in Southwarke. Then the king calling his counſaile together at Oxforde (from whence he excluded the vniuerſitie of ſtudentes for a ſeaſon, who were then at Northampton) there cõſulted, conferring with his friendes and counſailours, what way was beſt to be taken. And hearing that the Barons were aſſembled in a great number at the towne of Northampton, went thether with his hoſt, and with his banners diſplaied, accompanied with Richard his brother king of Almaine: Alſo wyth Edwarde his ſonne, Iohn Comyn of Scotland, with many Scots, Iohn of Dalliolo, Lorde of Galewaye, Robert of Bruſe, Lord Walter of Auand, Roger of Clifford, Philip of Marmyon, Iohn of Waus, Roger of Layburne, Henry Percie, Phillip Baſſet, Roger of Mortymer, and William of Walance, and many other. Therefore the king commaunded the Barons that were within, to yeld vnto him preſently the city and the pledges or els he would immediatly deſtroy them. But they counſelling with the yonger Simon de monte forti, which by his fathers commaundement had got yͤ reſidue thether to take counſell together (for hys father and the Erle of Gloceſter were not yet come) boldly and wyth one minde anſwered: that they would not obey the kings wil, but would rather defend themſelues and the Citie if neede were euen to the death. With the noble men of the kings part hearing, ſent word againe, that at the leaſt they ſhould come to the wall of the Citie to ſpeake to the King, if by any meanes peace might be made. And they ſuſpecting no deceite, followed their counſel, and leauing their holds, came to the wall towardes the medowe, for there lay the king and his ſtrong hoſt hard by. But in the meane ſpace, whileſt diuers matters were reaſoned and intreated of betwene the king and yͤ Lords: the Lord Phillip Baſſet (which before was appoynted to worke that feat) wyth mattockes and other inſtruments of yron and men prepared for the nonce: neare to the monaſterie of S. Andrewe, did vndermine the wall of the Citie. And by this meanes, the wal fel downe lightly, and there was made a great plaine, ſo that in one forefront there might haue gone together on a row 40. horſemen. And of this ſubteltie, the alian Monkes that were there, were thought to be the workers, becauſe they made way and entraunce for them that came in. But when they that paſſed by ſaw this, & the kings banners were erected, ready to enter in: There was a great howling made, & the noiſe of the people came to the eares of the Barons, & they made ſpeede to reſiſt them, but it was all in vaine, becauſe they were already preuẽted of a great cõpany of their enemies. But Simon Mountfort the yõger, after he had valiantly fought a while in the middeſt of his enemies wyth Peter Mountfort, and a fewe that were with him: when Edward the kings ſonne came, was by his commaundement taken and led away priſoner. But the clearks of the vniuerſitie of Oxforde (which vniuerſitie by the Barons commandement was trãſlated thether) did worke againſt the kings men, more hurte then the other Barons, wyth their ſlings, long bowes, and croſſebowes: for they had a banner by themſelues, and that was ſet vp a hie againſt yͤ king. Where withall the king being greatly moued, ſware at his entring in, yͭ they ſhould al be hanged. Which when they hard, many of them ſhaued their crownes, & they that were able ran away as faſt as they coulde. And when the king entred the Citie, many fled in their armour into the Caſtell: other left their horſe and harneſſe and ranne into churches, and a few were ſlain, and thoſe were of the common people. But there was not much bloudſhed, becauſe all things were done as vppon a ſodaine. When the Citie was at the length ſet in a quiet, the king commaunded his othe to be executed vpon the Clarkes. But his counſellers ſaid vnto him: This be farre from thee O king, for the ſonnes of thy Nobles, and of other great men of thy kingdome were there gathered together into the Vniuerſitie: whome if thou wouldeſt cauſe to be hanged or ſlaine, euen they that nowe take thy parte would riſe vp againſt thee, not ſuffering to the vttermoſt of their powers the bloud of their ſonnes and kinſfolkes to be ſhed. And ſo the king was pacified, and his wrath againſt the Clerks was ſtayed.

The Lords taken at Northamtõ.

In the ſame day, after little more then an houre, the kings hoſt aſſaulted the Caſtell, and the new hold keepers were afraide, for that they had not victuals & other things neceſſary for their reſiſtance: therfore they ſent immediatly meſſengers vnto the King, and yeelded themſelues to the kings mercy. There were taken that day theſe Knights & Barons vnder wrytten: Lord William de Ferrers, Lorde Peter Mountfort, cõpanion of the ſayd Simon de Mõutforte the younger, Lord Baldwyn de Wake, Lorde Adam de Newmarche, Lord Roger Bertram, Lord Simon the ſonne of Simon a valiaunt warriour, which firſt erected hys banner againſt the king, Lorde Berengarius de Waterwile, Lord Hugo Gubiam, Lord Thomas Maunſell, Lord Roger Botemlam, Nicolas Wake, Lord Robert de Newton, Lord Philip de Driby & Grimbald de Pauncefote, All theſe afore hand did the king take priſonners and

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The ſentence of the French king thus awarded: as it gaue to the king of England, with his retinue no little incouragement, ſo it wrought in the nobles hearts great indignation: which, notwithſtanding that partiall decreement of the French king, ſpedde themſelues home out of Fraunce to defend themſelues with all their ſtrength and power. And not long after, foloweth alſo yͤ king, by whoſe traine, Simon Mountfort Earle of Leiceſter (as is aboue recited) was well neare circumuented in Southwarke. Then the king calling his counſaile together at Oxforde (from whence he excluded the vniuerſitie of ſtudentes for a ſeaſon, who were then at Northampton) there cõſulted, conferring with his friendes and counſailours, what way was beſt to be taken. And hearing that the Barons were aſſembled in a great number at the towne of Northampton, went thether with his hoſt, and with his banners diſplaied, accompanied with Richard his brother king of Almaine: Alſo wyth Edwarde his ſonne, Iohn Comyn of Scotland, with many Scots, Iohn of Balliolo, Lorde of Galewaye, Robert of Bruſe, Lord Walter of Auand, Roger of Clifford, Philip of Marmyon, Iohn of Waus, Roger of Layburne, Henry Percie, Phillip Baſſet, Roger of Mortymer, and William of Walance, and many other. Therefore the king commaunded the Barons that were within, to yeld vnto him preſently the city and the pledges or els he would immediatly deſtroy them. But they counſelling with the yonger Simon de monte forti, which by his fathers commaundement had got yͤ reſidue thether to take counſell together (for hys father and the Erle of Glouceſter were not yet come) boldly and wyth one minde anſwered: that they would not obey the kings wil, but would rather defend themſelues and the Citie if neede were euen to the death. With the noble men of the kings part hearing, ſent word againe, that at the leaſt they ſhould come to the wall of the Citie to ſpeake to the King, if by any meanes peace might be made. And they ſuſpecting no deceite, followed their counſel, and leauing their holds, came to the wall towardes the medowe, for there lay the king and his ſtrong hoſt hard by. But in the meane ſpace, whileſt diuers matters were reaſoned and intreated of betwene the king and yͤ Lords: the Lord Phillip Baſſet (which before was appoynted to worke that feat) wyth mattockes and other inſtruments of yron and men prepared for the nonce: neare to the monaſterie of S. Andrewe, did vndermine the wall of the Citie. And by this meanes, the wal fel downe lightly, and there was made a great plaine, ſo that in one forefront there might haue gone together on a row 40. horſemen. And of this ſubteltie, the alian Monkes that were there, were thought to be the workers, becauſe they made way and entraunce for them that came in. But when they that paſſed by ſaw this, & the kings banners were erected, ready to enter in: There was a great howling made, & the noiſe of the people came to the eares of the Barons, & they made ſpeede to reſiſt them, but it was all in vaine, becauſe they were already preuẽted of a great cõpany of their enemies. But Simon Mountfort the yõger, after he had valiantly fought a while in the middeſt of his enemies wyth Peter Mountfort, and a fewe that were with him: when Edward the kings ſonne came, was by his commaundement taken and led away priſoner. But the clearks of the vniuerſitie of Oxforde (which vniuerſitie by the Barons commandement was trãſlated thether) did worke againſt the kings men, more hurte then the other Barons, wyth their ſlings, long bowes, and croſſebowes: for they had a banner by themſelues, and that was ſet vp a hie againſt yͤ king. Where withall the king being greatly moued, ſware at his entring in, yͭ they ſhould al be hanged. Which when they hard, many of them ſhaued their crownes, & they that were able ran away as faſt as they coulde. And when the king entred the Citie, many fled in their armour into the Caſtell: other left their horſe and harneſſe and ranne into churches, and a few were ſlain, and thoſe were of the common people. But there was not much bloudſhed, becauſe all things were done as vppon a ſodaine. When the Citie was at the length ſet in a quiet, the king commaunded his othe to be executed vpon the Clarkes. But his counſellers ſaid vnto him: This be farre from thee O king, for the ſonnes of thy Nobles, and of other great men of thy kingdome were there gathered together into the Vniuerſitie: whome if thou wouldeſt cauſe to be hanged or ſlaine, euen they that nowe take thy parte would riſe vp againſt thee, not ſuffering to the vttermoſt of their powers the bloud of their ſonnes and kinsfolkes to be ſhed. And ſo the king was pacified, and his wrath againſt the Clerks was ſtayed.

The Lords taken at Northamtõ.

In the ſame day, after little more then an houre, the kings hoſt aſſaulted the Caſtell, and the new hold keepers were afraide, for that they had not victuals & other things neceſſary for their reſiſtance: therfore they ſent immediatly meſſengers vnto the King, and yeelded themſelues to the kings mercy. There were taken that day theſe Knights & Barons vnder wrytten: Lord William de Ferrers, Lorde Peter Mountfort, cõpanion of the ſayd Simon de Moũtforte the younger, Lord Baldwyn de Wake, Lorde Adam de Newmarche, Lord Roger Bertram, Lord Simon the ſonne of Simon a valiaunt warriour, which firſt erected hys banner againſt the king, Lorde Berengarius de Waterwile, Lord Hugo Gubiam, Lord Thomas Maunſell, Lord Roger Botemlam, Nicolas Wake, Lord Robert de Newton, Lord Philip de Driby & Grimbald de Paunceforte. All theſe afore hand did the king take priſonners and many more, of whom he committed ſome to the Lord Nicolas of Hauerſam to be kept in the ſame Caſtle well defenſed: ſome he led away with him, and ſome he ſent to diuers Caſtels, and appointed Simon Mountfort to be caſt into windſore Caſtell. And all theſe things, as touching the taking of Northampton, were done on the Sabboth day in paſſion weeke, being the thyrd of Aprill, in the yeare of our Lord. 1264. And the king went forward euen to Notingham, burning and waſting the manners of the Lords and others his enemies, and there he gathered together his nobles, and greatly increaſed hys number.

Earle Simon Mountfort fayneth him ſelfe ſicke.

when this ill lucke was tolde of them that there were run away to the Earle Simon, whiche was comming towardes Northampton wt a great hoſte: he was in a great rage, & yet was not diſcouraged. But immediatly going to London, cauſed a chariot to be made him after the maner of lytters or couches, wherein he might ride as though he were ſicke: for he fayned himſelfe to be feeble and weake, whereas he was in deede a ſtout and valiaunt warriour. And there gathered to him other noble men that were cōfederate with him, Earles and Barōs, euery one bringing with them their ſeuerall armies. And preparing their ingynes of woode, they went to beſiege Rocheſter, for the Earle of worceſter in the kynges behalfe, kept both the towne and caſtell. when they had gotten the firſt gate and the bridge, they were partly wounded and compelled to retire, and there that valiant knight Roger de la Bourne was wounded and very il handled: And whileſt they continued ſiege there a while, it was told them that the kyng was comming toward London with a mighty hoſt. And they ſayd one to an other: if the king at hys cōming ſhould take London, we ſhall be ſhut in as it were in a ſtraight corner. Let vs therefore returne to London that we may keep in ſafety both the place and the people. Therefore appointing certaine perſons to keepe the ſiege, they returned to London. At the length when the king came, they went forth with the Citizens to meete him, not with floures and palmes in their handes, but ſwordes and ſpeares. The K. ſhunned them, and after he had the Caſtell of Kingſton, which was the Erle of Gloceſters, he went from thence to Rocheſter: where after he had killed a few, he brake ẏ ſiege, and from thence the king went to Tunbridge. And the towne and Caſtell now being geuen vp to him, he tooke there the Counteſſe of Gloceſter, & put her into an Abbey, not to be kept in hold, but to goe at libertye whether ſhe would: And he left for the cuſtody of the Caſtell and City a great part of his hoaſt to the number of aboue xx. picked out enſignes, for that it was commonly ſaid that the Earle of Gloceſter would come out of hād to aſſault them. which being done, he continued on his iourney to wincheſter, where he receiued to peace, the ſeamen of the hauē townes. And three dayes after vpon the ſonday following he came to the towne of Lewes, and was receaued into the Abbey, and his ſonne Edward into the Caſtell. Then the Barons ſent letters to the king the xii. day of May, the tenor wherof followeth.

Rocheſter beſieged of the Barons.

The Kyng ſhunneth London.

The letter of the Lords to the kyng.

TO theyr moſt excellent Lord Henry by the grace of God king of England, Lord of Ireland, and Duke of Aquitania: hys Barons and other his faythfull ſubiectes, being willing to keep their othe and fidelitie to God and him, ſend greeting and due obedidience with honour and reuerence. Whereas by many experimentes it is manifeſt, that ſome of your graces aſsiſtaunces haue reported to your maieſty many lyes of vs, working miſchiefe, as much as in them lyeth, not onely agaynſt vs, but agaynſt you alſo and your whole Realme: Be it knowne to your highnes, that we haue bene alwayes willing to defend the health and ſauegarde of your perſon with all our power and fealty due to your grace: purpoſing to vexe to the vttermoſt of our power and eſtate not onely our ill willers, but alſo your enemies, and the enemies of your whole Realme. If it be your good pleaſure geue no credite to thē, we ſhall be alwayes found your faithfull. And we the Earle of Leiceiſter and Gilbert of Clare at requeſt of the other, for vs & them haue put to our ſeales.

These letters being read and heard, there was a counſell called, and the king writ back to them, and ſpecially to the two Earles of Leiceſter and Gloceſter, in maner and forme following.

The anſwer of the king to the Lords

HEnry by the grace of God king of England, Lord of Ireland, Duke of Aquitanie. &c. To Simon Mountfort, and Gilbert de Clare, and their confederates. For as much as by the warre & generall diſquietnes by your meanes raiſed vp in our whole realme, and alſo the burninges and other hurtfull enormities, it appeareth manifeſtly that you keepe not your fidelitie to vs ward, nor care any thing for our health or ſafety: And for that ye haue inorderly greued our nobles, and other our faythfull ſubiectes, ſticking faythfully and conſtantly to vs (as you haue certified vs) we accounting their loſſe as our owne, and their enemies as ours. And ſeing theſe my aforeſayd faithfull ſubiects for the keeping of their fidelitie, do aſsiſt vs manfully and faythfully agaynſt your vnfaithfulnes, we therefore care not for your fidelitie or loue, but defie you as our and their enemies. Witnes my ſelfe at lewes the day & yeare aboueſayd.

The letter of Richard K. of Almaine and prince Edward to the Barons.

Alſo Richard king of Almaine, and Lord Edward the ſonne of king Henry writ alſo to the Barons in this wiſe. Richard by the grace of God, king of the Romaynes alwayes Auguſtus, and Edward the eldeſt ſonne of the noble king of England, & al the other Barons and nobles conſtantly and faythfully in hart & deede cleauing to the foreſayd king of England: to Simon Mountfort, and Gilbert de Clare and to all and ſinguler other their adherents in their conſpiracie. By your letters whiche you ſent to our Lord the noble king of England we haue vnderſtanding that you defie vs, although before any ſuch word, your defiaunce towardes vs was apparant inough by your cruell perſecution in burning our poſſeſsions and ſpoyling our goodes: we therefore geue you to witte, that we all and euery one of vs, as your enemies, doe defie you all as our open enemies. And farther that we will not ceaſe, where ſoeuer it ſhall lye in our power, to the vttermoſt of our force and might, to ſubuert your perſons and all that you haue. As touching that you laye to our charge, that we geue neyther faythfull nor good counſell to our Lord the king, you ſay not the truth. And if your Lord Simon Mountfort, or Gilbert de Clare, will affirme the ſame in our Lord the kinges court: we are ready to get ſafeconduit for you to come to the ſayd Court to try, and declare the truth of our innocency and the falſehood of you both, as forſworne traytors, by ſome man equall with you in nobilitie and ſtocke. All we, are contayned with the ſeales of the aforeſayd Lordes, the Lord Richard, and the Lord Edward. Dated the day aforeſayd.

The battaile of Lewes betwene the king and the Barons beginneth.

Both which letters beyng read, they drew neare to the king for they were not farre diſtant from the place whiche is called Lewes. And for that there wanted to the Kinges ſtore prouiſion for their horſes, it was cōmanded them, on tewſday to go forth to ſeeke for hay and prouender. which when they were gone forth, were preuented moſt of them, of their enemies and killed: but the reſidue returning, ſaw their enemies comming very early, on ẏ wedneſday morning, and making outcries ſtirred vp the king, & his hoſte to arme themſelues. Then the Barons comming to the full playne deſcended there, and girding & trimming their horſes made fit their harnies to them. And there the Earle Simon made the Earle of Gloceſter, and Robert Deuer, and many other new knightes: which being done, he deuided and diſtincted his hoſt into foure ſeueral battails. And he appointed noble men to guide & gouern euery battaile. And ouer ẏ firſt battayle were ordayned Captaines, Henry Mountfort the eldeſt ſonne of the Earle Simon & Guido his brother, Lord Iohn de Bruch the yonger, & Lord Humfry de Boun. Ouer the ſecond battaile, Lord Gilbert Clare Earle of Gloceſter, Lord Iohn the ſonne of Lord S. Iohn and Lord william of Mounchenſi. And ouer the third, in whiche the Londiners were at their requeſt, the Lord Nicholas Segraue was aſſigned. which required alſo very inſtauntly, that they might haue ẏ firſt ſtroke in the battayle, at the aduenture come what come woulde. But ouer the fourth battayle, the Earle himſelfe was captayne with the Lord Thomas of Pilneſtone. In ẏ meane ſeaſon came forth the kinges hoſt, preparing themſelues to the field in three battayles: of whiche Edward the kynges ſonne led the firſt, with the Earle of warwicke and Valence the kings brother: and the ſecōd the king of Almaine guided, with hys ſonne Henry: but the king with hys nobles guided the third. And the fourth legion the king appoynted not, by reaſon that he had left many of hys chiefe ſouldiours behinde him, to keepe the Caſtell and towne of Tunebridge agaynſt the Earle of Glocceſter. And the moſt part of the kinges army were but young men, for the king thought not that his Barōs had bene come ſo nigh hand. Theyr armies being on both ſides ſet in aray & order, they exhorted one an other on eyther party to fight valiantly: & after they buckled together, the battaile was great & many horſemen were ouerthrown euen in a moment. But by and by Edward the kings ſonne with his band, as a fierce young gentlemen, & valiant knight fell vpon his enemies with ſuch force, that he compelled them to recule backe a great way: ſo that the hinmoſt (thinking by reaſon of their geuing backe, that the foremoſt were ſlayne) ran many away of them, and taking water to paſſe ouer, were almoſt threeſcore ſouldiours drowned, & a few of thē being ſlaine, all the reſt fled. Straight way the Londiners whiche had aſked the firſt fight, knowing not howe the battaile went tooke them to theyr heeles: whom Edward purſued with his band killing the hinmoſt of them by the ſpace of two or three miles. For hee hated them becauſe they had rebelled agaynſt his father, and diſgraced his mother whē ſhe was caryed by barge vpon the Temſe, frō the tower to Windſore, as is aboue touched, pag. ooo.

Richard king of Almaine with his ſonne taken priſoners.

The kings main battaile at Lewes diſcomforted, and the king fayne to take the Abbey.

Whileſt that Prince Edward was thus in the chaſe of the Lōdoners, who had the vawward of the Barons battell: In the meane tyme the mayne battayle of the Barons ſet vpon the kinges mayne battayle, of the which the kyng of Almaine yͤ brother of king Henry had the leading: which being ſoone diſcomforted, and he with hys ſonne Henry & Robert de Brus, John Couen with diuers other Captaynes taken priſoners: the reareward wherein the Kyng himſelfe fought, being immediately ſo hardly beſet, & ſeyng his knightes and ſouldiours on euery ſide about him beaten down and ſlayne, and diuers other of hys ſouldiours to forſake the field and ſhift for themſelues: thought good to take agayne the town, and ſo retired into the Abbay frō whence he came, ſhutting and rampering vp the gates, & cauſed the ſame to be ſtrongly warded with ſouldiours. To be briefe, the Barons thus getting the field after long fight, and many men on either ſide ſlayne: entred alſo the town of Lewes, purſuing in chaſe ſuch ſouldiours as thether fled for ſuccour.

Prince Edward returning from the firſt chaſe, findeth altogether loſt.

In the meane tyme, Prince Edward returning from the chaſe of the Lōdiners, as ye heard, who deſired to geue the firſt onſet: and firſt eſpying the chariot of yͤ Earle Simon (which he cauſed purpoſely to be made for him) & the horſes in the ſame, without eyther waggener or any other to gouerne the ſame: fell immediately vpon the chariote, & brake it al in peeces, & ſlew two Burgeſes that were within the ſame. But when he came nearer to the place where the bloudy battel had bene fought, & ſaw the great diſcomforture and ouerthrow which in his abſence wͭ great mortalitie and ſlaughter had happened: hys hart was muche diſmayd, and hys countenaunce altered. Yet notwithſtanding comforting & couraging his knightes & ſouldiors, of whom he had a valiant company, in battell aray marched toward the towne. Agaynſt whome, came the Barons agayne with all theyr power. And this was begon betwixt them a freſh field and new battaile, & many men ſlayne on either ſide. But at length, the Earle de Warenia, with the kinges two brethren, forſooke the field and fled: after whō went more then ſeuen hundred choſen ſouldiours, whiche were of their houſe and family: who the ſame day came to Penenſie, and there took ſhipping ouer the ſea. Alſo Hugh Bigot with diuers other fled, and left the valiaunt Prince fighting in the field: which thing he alſo perceauing, tooke the towne. And when he found not the King his father at the Caſtle, he went frō thence to the Abbey where he was. In the meane ſeaſon the town was deuided in parts: ſome fighting: ſome ſpoyling, ſome getting of booties, neyther could ſcarcely one of them know, & diſcerne an other whether he were his friend or enemy. But when wͭin a whyle the Barōs had aſſembled ſome company, they gaue an aſſault vpon the Caſtel, thinking to haue reſcued John Gifford and others whom the kings ſouldiours had takē priſoners and put therein. But the ſouldiours wͭin defended manfully the ſame, add in throwing out balles of wyld fire, as for the defence thereof they had, they alſo fired part of the towne. Then the Barons retired and left the Caſtell, and purpoſed to haue ſet vpon the Abbey where the King and prince Edward hys ſonne was, which alſo was ſet on fire by the aſſault geuen to the Caſtell. But yet it was ſhortly recouered & quenched. Then Edward the kinges ſon perceiuing the bold enterpriſe of the Barons, prepared with couragious knightes and ſouldiours as were yet remaynıng & within the Abbey, to haue iſſued out, & to haue geuē a new charge vpon thē, But that perceiuing the Barons, ſent vnto the king Meſſengers to intreat a truce for that day, & on the morow to talk and cōclude of a further peace betweene them. This battaile was fought vpō the 19. day of May, being the yeare of our Lord. 1264.

The prince fighteth a new battell.

Prince Edward alſo put to the worſt, and faine to take the town

The Caſtle of Lewes beſieged

A peace intreated betweene the king & Barones.

The two princes giuen in hoſtage.

The next day, whiche was Thurſday, there were ſent on eyther ſide two preaching Friers betweene the king & the Barons, with certaine articles, & demaunds of peace: ſo that with certeine others, theſe conditions were agreed on: that on the morow beyng Friday, yͤ prince ſhould geue himſelfe in hoſtage for the king hys father and other of his partes. And Henry the Kinges ſonne of Almayne alſo ſhoulde geue himſelfe the like for hys father. That thoſe thinges which ſhould be concluded vppon for the benefite and commoditie of the Realme, and peaceable quietnes thereof might be performed: and that all ſuch priſoners as were taken on either ſide, ſhoulde be freely raunſomed and ſent home.

The next day which was Saterday, the king diſcharged al his ſouldiours, and other that were with him in the Abbey, licenſing them to depart whether they liſted. And furthermore, by the aduiſe of his ſonne and the Barons: he gaue commandement to thoſe which he had appoynted to the keeping of Tunbridge, that they ſhold make no attēpt to the preiudice or hurt of the Barons, but in hope of the peace which was now at the poynt to be concluded, they ſhould alſo depart euery man to theyr houſes and habitations. But they geuing no credite thereunto, went wͭ theyr furniture to Briſtow, where they kept themſelues in garriſon, vntill the eſcaping of Edward the kinges ſonne out of priſon. But firſt before that, when they heard at Tunbridge that the king was vanquiſhed in battaile, & that the Lōdiners in the forward were put to flight by Prince Edward (by a meſſenger that eſcaped from the ſame) and that alſo the ſame Londiners were at Crowdown: they ſet vpon them in the euening tide, and taking from them much ſpoyle: ſlew alſo many of them.

The kyngs ſouldiours in Tūbridge after they had ſpoyled the Londiners at Crowdown kept themſelues in garriſon at Briſtow.

But when Roger Mortimers part began to decreaſe, & Simon the Earles part on the other ſide to increaſe: he bare himſelfe more ſtoughter, for that both the king and all that was his, did depend vpon the good will and fauour of the Earle: and led with him the kinges ſonne to ſuch holds & Caſtles as he thought to be moſt ſtrōgeſt. As though all were in hys handes to doe as hym liked, and kept the hoſtages more ſtraightly thē he was wont to do. In ſo much that when it was blown abroad that the kings ſonne was kept as a priſoner, diuers counſailed him that were hys frendes, that he ſhould deſire to diſport himſelfe at the barriers, that yͤ people might haue a ſight of him, but he being narrowly garded as hee knewe, and fearing ſome tumult to ariſe, thought good to refuſe their counſell and ſo did.

Earle Simon after this victory beareth himſelf ſo ſtout, that he impriſoneth the hoſtages of the kings.

In this troubleſome yeare, whiche was 1264. as the Londiners with the nobles were thus occupyed in warre and diſſention: the malignaunt Jewes thinking to take vauntage of that tyme, wͭ priuy treaſon conſpired agaynſt the whole Citty and ſtate of the Nobles. Who being taken with the maner, were almoſt all ſlayne that dwelt in the city of London.

The death of Pope Vrbane.

Pope Clement.4.

Pope Clement firſt a maried man, & had wife and children

Thomas Aquine Bonauenture readers at Paris

In this yeare after the death of Pope Urbane, ſucceeded the ſayd yeare of our Lord. an. 1264. Pope Clement the 4. Whiche Clement, as affirmeth Nich Triuet, was firſt a maryed man & had wife and children, and was the ſollicitor and counſailor to the Frenche king. Then after yͤ death of his wife was biſhop intituled Podiēſis. After that archbiſhop of Narbone. And at laſt made Cardinall. Who being ſent of P. Urbane in Legacie, for reformation of peace in his abſence was elected Pope by the Cardinals. About this time floriſhed Thomas of Aquine, reader at Paris among the Dominike Friers, and Bonauenture among the Francis Friers. Ex Nich. Triuet.

{Ann. 1265.}

As this paſſed on, the ſonnes of Simon the Earle, to wit, Henry, Simon, Guido, and Hēry being puft vp, and with the pride of this ſucceſſe eleuated, did that whiche nothing contented the Earle of Glouceſter. In ſo muche that he chalenged Henry the eldeſt ſonne of the Earle Simon Mountfort, at the barriers, to be tryed at Northampton. But that chalenge was taken vp, leaſt ſome further inconuenience might haue riſen therof. But the Earle of Glouceſter being moued therewith in hys minde, ſent vnto hys father the Earle that he ſhould deliuer him ſuch priſoners being Noble men, as he tooke at the battayle of Lewes. Amongſt whom, the king of Almaine was named firſt. But he by countermaund anſwered him and ſaid: that it might content and ſatiſfie him, for that he had ſaued and preſerued to him his landes, that day the battayle was fought at Lewes. And that furthermore he would not ſend him ſuch priſoners as he demaunded: But that he himſelfe kepte more nobler then they in the Caſtell of Douer: among whom was John Baſſet, whiche vndermined and braſt downe the walles of Northampton, at that conflict as is ſayd before and ſpecified.

Diſſention betweene Earle Simon and the Erle of Gloceſter

The Earle of Glouceſter being herewith diſpleaſed, as ſoone as he heard this aunſwere: ſent incontinently to the Lord Roger Mortimer, which alwayes tooke the kynges part, deſiring that they two might take together touching the benefite and commoditie of the king. Who, doubting ſome deceite, deſired ſureties and pledges for hys ſafe return, & he would come and talk with him, and ſo had. Whē they met, and had a while talked familiarly: the Earle of Glouceſter ſhewed him all that he was purpoſed to do: and that further he lamented, he had ſo much and greatly offended the king: And that he woulde with all his power and habilitie make amends for that offence in the reſtitution of the king agayne to his kingly dignitie, as much as he poſſible might. Therfore they ſet ſecretly to Rabert, yͤ brother

The Earle of Gloceſter and Roger Mortimer conſpire together againſt Earle Symon.

of yͤ Erle of Glouceſter, which was neare about the Earle Symon, & made him to conſent with them therein. And to worke this thing more circumſpectly, whē oportunitie ſerued thereunto: Roger Mortimer ſent vnto the kings ſonne a horſe excelling all other in footmanſhip, vnto whome he might be ſure to truſt, when he ſaw conuenient tyme thereunto. After which things thus contriued, Prince Edward deſired leaue of the Earle to proue his courſer againſt ſuch time he ſhould ryde at the tylt, as they might when they liſted. Aſſoone as he had gotten leaue, and that with gallopyng and raunging the field he had weryed diuers of their horſes: at the laſt, getting vp vpon the horſe which for that purpoſe was ſent, and ſpying a ſeruaunt on horſebacke cōming toward him with two ſwords: He turned about vnto his keeper, whoſe name was Robert de Roſe, & to other his playfellowes that were with him, ſaying: My louing Lords, thus long haue I kept you company, & haue bene in your cuſtodies: And now not purpoſing to vſe your cōpanyes any longer, betake you to God: And quickely turning his horſe about, put to the ſpurres and away went he. The other pricked after a pace, but yet came far inough behinde, and ouertake hym they coulde not. At laſt, when they ſawe Roger Mortimer comming from his Caſtle of Wygmore, accompanyed with many armed men to meete him as before it was appointed, they returned again home as wiſe as when they came foorth. And when this the princes eſcape was diuulgated: much people came vnto hym out of euery quarter, with great ioy therof. Amongeſt whom, the firſt was the Earle of Glouceſter, and the other ſouldiours of the kings, which had long now lien at Briſtow, and thereaboutes. And within a ſhort ſpace he had a great and mighty hoſt.

Prince Edward eſcapeth frō out of the cuſtody of Earle Simon by a trayne.

Which thing when the Earle Symon vnderſtode, he much doubted and miſtruſted himſelfe: And ſending into Wales, he gate from thēce a great many men, and augmēted hys power as ſtrongly as he might, from euery part of England. He ſent alſo Simon his ſonne to the noble men of the North partes, that with all poſſible ſpeede he might bring them with him: who with a great companye came with him, and at Kenelworth a while they ſtayd, and there pitched their tents. But leauing Kenelworth for a certein time they went to Wincheſter, and ſpoyled the ſame, and then returned agayne to Kenelworth. And when this by a certen ſpiall was declared to Edward the kynges ſonne, who then was at Worceſter, which he had gotten after he came from Glouceſter a little before: prepared himſelfe with hys ſouldiours, in the night ſeaſon to goe to the place where the ſpye ſhould bring hym, which was into a deepe vally nere vnto the place, where Simon and his company had pitched. And whē in the morning they were very early about to arme thēſelues, and prepare theyr horſes: they heard a great noyſe of theyr enemies comming towardes them. Then thinking, that they had prepared themſelues agaynſt their comming, and ſo had bene betraied: they ſet forth in battell aray marching forward, till that they mette certeine of theyr enemies ſtraggling in long winges, thinking to haue gone aforaging & to haue ſought for vitailes: whō they took, & with their freſh horſes, new horſed their ſouldiours that had their horſes tyred wͭ long trauell. And ſo marching forward, came very early in the morning vpō theyr enemies, whom for the moſt part they found ſleeping and laying luſtily about them: they ſlew diuers, ſome they toke, the reſt they put to flight: and 15. of theyr chiefeſt enſignes they tooke, and many other rich ſpoyles. But yong Simon himſelf lodged in the Caſtell, who with a few with him eſcaped and fled. And this was the fourth day before the Nones of Auguſt. an. 1265.

The Earle Simon ſendeth about, and in all haſt gathereth a power.

The firſt enterpriſe of prince Edward after his eſcape by the meanes of a ſpie.

But when Edward, heard that Earle Simon was cōming toward Kenelworth, to ioyne with hys ſonnes battell: he marched forward to meete hym, yͤ third day after at Euſham. Where he deuided hys hoſt into 3. battayles, he himſelf hauing the leading of one, the Earle of Glouceſter the ſecōd, and Roger Mortimer the third, which came vpō their backs. The kings ſonne Edward came Northward as though he came frō Kenelworth to Euſham, & becauſe he would not be deſcride, he cauſed hys owne ſtanderdes and enſignes to be taken down, and yong Simons which he had taken before to be aduanced. But the Erle Simons Scurier, whoſe name was Nicholas, ſhewed the Earle yͭ ſuch bandes and companies were marching towards him who thinking the ſame to haue bene Simon hys ſonnes power, not knowing of the ouerthrow whiche he had before, gaue ſmall credite thereunto: till that yͤ ſaid Nicholas the better to view and deſcrie them, went vp to the Abbey ſteple of Euſham, where he might plainly diſcerne them all and their ſtanderds: For by this tyme, they were mounted the hill which they laboured to attayne, thinking to haue that vauntage, when they ſhold geue theyr charge as they had purpoſed: and had alſo aduanced agayn his own ſtanderdes, and pulled down Simons, wherby they were the more eaſlyer deſcried and knowne. Then he cryed aloud to the Earle Simon and ſaid, we are all but dead men: For it is not your ſonne as you ſuppoſe that commeth, but it is Edward the kinges ſonne, that commeth from one parte: and the Earle of Glouceſter, from an other part, and Roger Mortimer from the third part. Then ſaid the Earle. The Lorde be mercifull vnto our ſoules, foraſmuch as our bodyes and liues are now in their handes: commaunding that euery man ſhould make hymſelfe redy to God, and to fight out the field, for that it was their willes to dye for their lawes and in a iuſt quarrell: And ſuch as woulde depart, he gaue leaue to goe their wayes that they ſhoulde be no diſcomfiture to the reſt.

The diſpoſing of the princes battayle againſt the Earle Simon fought at Euſham.

Prince Edwards hoſt deſcried, whereat the Earle was much abaſhed.

Then came vnto him his eldeſt ſonne Henry & comforted him, deſiring him to haue no diſpaire, nor yet miſtruſt in the good ſucceſſe of this victory, with other ſuch cheerfull wordes. No my ſonne (ſayth he) I diſpayre not: but yet, it is thy preſumption and the pride of the reſt of thy brethrē that haue brought me to this end ye ſee. Notwithſtanding yet I truſt, I ſhall dye to God and in a righteous quarrel. After wordes of comfort geuen to all his hoſt, and the oration made as is the maner, they all armed themſelues. The king alſo (whom the Earle alwaies kept with him) he armed in an armour of his owne. And then deuiding theyr battailes, they marched toward theyr enemies, but before they ioyned, the Welchmen ran theyr waies, and thinking to ſcape ouer the riuer of Dee, were there ſome drowned, & ſome ſlayne. Then when the battayles ioyned and came to handy ſtrokes, within ſhort ſpace, many of the Erles part fell and were ſlayne. And the king himſelfe being ſtroken at, cryed with a loud voyce to them, ſaying: kill me not, I am Henry your king. And with theſe the kinges wordes the Lord Adam Monhaut knewe him, and ſaued him. At whoſe voyce and cry came alſo prince Edward hys ſonne, and deliuered him to the garde and cuſtody of certayne knightes. In yͤ meane ſeaſon, the Earle Simon was hard beſtead and beaten downe, and alſo ſlayne before Edward the prince came at hym. Howbeit, before he fell, when as ye fought for his life, & Hēry his ſonne & other noble men on his part were about hym, he brake out in theſe words vnto hys enemies ſaying: what, is there no mercy & compaſſion with you? who agayne anſwered, what compaſſion ſhould there be ſhewed to traytors? Then ſayd he, yͤ Lord be mercifull to our ſoules, our bodyes are in your hands. And as ſoone as theſe wordes were ſpoken, they mangled hys body, and deuided his members, and cut of his head, which head Roger Mortimer ſent vnto his wife. And not farre of from him alſo was ſlayne Henry his eldeſt ſonne, the lord Hugh Spencer, the L. Radulphe Baſſet, the Lord Thomas de Heſtele, the Lord William Maundeuile, the Lord Iohn Bewchampe, the Lord Guido Bailloſet, the Lord Roger Rowley, and many other noble men beſides with a great multitude of people the Lord knoweth howe many. This battail was fought in the moneth of Auguſt & continued from one of the clocke till it was night: in the which, was not ſo much as one man on the Earles part of any eſtimation, fortitude, and courage, but in that battell loſt his life: more then the Lord Iohn, who by the great grace of God eſcaped death. Neither is this to be forgottē, that the ſame day being Tueſday, at that inſtant houre, when the battell began, whiche was at one of the clocke at after noone: there was ſuch a darcknes ouer all, ſuch thunder and ſuch tempeſt: that the like before that time was neuer ſeene, being very calme and fayre weather both immediately before and after, which ſeemed (ſayth myne author) to geue a playne demonſtration of that whiche afterward chaunced and followed.

The wordes of Earle Simon to his ſonne.

K. Henry almoſt ſlain in the battell, at length knowen by his voice & reskued by his ſonne.

Earle Simon, his ſonne, and many moe Lordes and Barons ſlaine at this battell of Euſham.

After this great ſlaughter and ouerthrow, there was a Parliament ſummoned at Wincheſter by the Earle of Glouceſter, and other of hys part. Here by the is to be conſidered, that the king although he was in the camp of the Erle of Leceiſter, being then in cuſtody, and his ſonne Edward with the Earle of Glouceſter, yet the king was in that ſide agaynſt his will, and therefore in the ſayd Parliament, the king was reſtored to his kingly dignitie which was before that tyme vnder the cuſtody of the Barons. But after the battaile was ended and done, certaine of them that loued the Earle: vpon an old ladder, gathered vp ſuche partes of his body as remayned, and couering the ſame with an old gowne brought it to Euſham: where they putting yͤ ſame in a faire linnen cloth, buried it in yͤ church. But not lōg after, by ſuch as thought not themſelues ſufficiently reuenged with his death (to wreke them of the dead corpes) took vp the ſame and threw it in an other place, ſaying: that he

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A parliament ſummoned at Wincheſter, where K. Henry was againe reſtored to his regalitie.

which was both accurſed, and a traytor, was not worthy of Chriſten buriall.

The ſame yeare alſo died walter Cantilupus Byſhop of wincheſter, after whom ſucceded Nicholas of Ely, the kinges Chauncellor.

Kenilworth caſtle beſieged of the king.
Kenilworth decree againſt the diſherited.

Kenilworth decree gaynſayd by diuers.

Kenilworth caſtle yelded vp to the king before the returne of the meſſengers out of Fraunce.

The ſame yeare the king perceiuing, that vnleſſe yͤ Caſtle of Kenilworth were recouered, and the boldnes of thē reſtrayned that kept the ſame: many euils and inconueniences might enſue therupon, to yͤ preiudice of his kingdom: for that the number increaſed euery day more & more, waſting and ſpoyling the country all about. Therfore, he gathered an army and came downe to warwick, where he a while taryed expecting the meeting and aſſembling of hys Marqueſſes and Lordes, with engines and other munition ſautable. who when theyr bondes were furniſhed and muſtred, and al thinges ready, the morow after Midſomer day he diſplayed hys banner, & began his vyage marching towardes Kenilworth & beſieged the ſame. During which ſiege, by the aduiſe and counſaile of the king, the Popes Legate, and other noble men 12. perſons were choſē which ſhould haue the diſpoſing of thoſe thinges yͭ pertayned to the ſtate of the Realme, & of thoſe that had loſt their landes and inheritaunces: who amongeſt other thinges, made and eſtabliſhed this one prouiſo, that was commōly called Kenelworth decree. That all thoſe which haſt loſt their lādes by attaynder (although yet not attainted) ſhould fyne therfore at the kinges pleaſure, and take their lands of him agayn: paying ſome three yeares, ſome foure yeares, ſome two yeares reuenues of the ſame, according to the quallitie of the cryme & offence committed. All which prouiſos or prouiſions, were eſtabliſhed and confirmed as well by the corporall othe, as by ſignment of the ſame with the handes & ſeales of al the Prelates and clergy of England, there aſſembled for that purpoſe by the Popes Legate vpon the feaſt of all Saints. when theſe things were thus finiſhed, meſſengers were ſent on the kings behalfe, as wel to thoſe that kept yͤ caſtle of Kenilworth, as alſo to thoſe that were aſſembled in the Ile of Ely: willing them to come vnder the protection of the Kinges peace, and yeld to the foreſayd prouiſos eſtabliſhed by the twelue commiſſioners. Who altogether aunſwered & ſayd: that they would in no wiſe cōdeſcend therunto: both for that it was done without theyr conſentes not being called vnto it, and alſo for that the ſaid decree was ouer ſtraight and intollerable. within ſhorte ſpace after, great famine and peſtilence chaunced amongeſt them which kept the caſtle, in ſo much as they were without all hope of keeping the ſame: wherefore, ſoone after the king ſending agayne to them to yeld the Caſtle and take theyr pardōs, they conſulting together of their own eſtate: thus aunſwered the kings meſſengers, if it pleaſe the king and his counſaile to permit vs to ſend our meſſenger vnto the Lord Symon Mounfort which is beyond the ſea: that he may come by a certayne day to the defence of this hys garriſon & fort: and that in the meane ſpace, we be not diſturbed by the kinges army that hath enuironed vs, til the return of our meſſēgers: If by the day appoynted he come not, we will yeld vp the ſame, ſo that we may be pardoned of life, limme, and moueables.

When the meſſengers were returned, and had declared to the king their aunſwere: he conſulting with his Nobles about the matter, agreed to their petitions. And cauſed the truce to be proclaimed throughout all his campe, after that ſufficient hoſtages were on either ſide geuē for the performance of the ſame: whereupon, they ſet forward theyr meſſengers, as before was ſayd they woulde. But after that many of thē within the Caſtell being very greeuouſly vexed with the bloudy flixe and other diſeaſes, in ſo much that the whole men might not abide the corruption, and anoyaunce of thoſe that were diſeaſed: deliuered vp the Caſtell before the returne of the meſſengers againe, and were permitted to goe whether they would to refreſh themſelues, as men moleſted with great vexation & miſeries. After the rendring vp of the Caſtell, the king committed the cuſtody therof to hys ſonne Edmund, and ſo with hys hoſt departing from the ſiege, came vpon Chriſtmas euens euen to Oſney: where, he with great ſolemnity and triumph kept his Chriſtmas during ſeuen dayes, and from thence with hys hoſt came to windſore, from whence after a few dayes he marched towardes Ely: In whiche Iland he beſieged thoſe, which were diſherited, and ſharpely aſſaulted them.

The ſame yeare, Pope Clement the 4. promoted maiſter walter Giffard Byſhop of Bathe, to be Archbiſhop of Yorke.

In which yeare alſo the Church of England began to pay the tenthes of all their reuenues as wel ſpirituall as temporall, to the king: to continue for 3. yeares ſpace, and this was done by the authoritie Apoſtolicall.

The tenthes graunted to the K. by autoritie Apoſtolicall.

A new aſſembly of the Barrons at Cheſterfield, where they had the ouerthrow.

All the confederates of Symō Moūtfort, with their childrē diſherited by the king.

Simō Moūtfort and his confederates excommunicated by the Popes Legate.

Tenths grāted by the pope to the kyng and queene for vij. yeares.

Within a while after, the Barons which were yet remayning, gathered themſelues together agayne: Amongſt whome Iohn Daywile (being a ſubtile and ſtoute man of warre) began to haue a name & was well eſteemed amongeſt them: who altogether did what miſchiefe they might, and in the moneth of May, they aſſembled at Cheſterfield, vnder the ſayd Iohn Daywile & the Earle Ferarence, vpon whom the kinges ſouldiours, comming ſodenly in the night toke them ſleping, and ſlue many of them. Then the ſayd Iohn Daywile quickly arming himſelfe came forth: thinking no more defence both to ſaue himſelf and to eſcape. Who in the way, ſtroke the Lord Gilbert Hunſard ſuch a blow with his dimilance, that he feld both him & his horſe to yͤ ground, & ſo fled with a few more after him. And thus whileſt the poore ſouldiors fought & were ſlayn, the Barōs fled away & ſaued thēſelues. Alſo the Erle Ferarence fled, & hid himſelf in a Church. But being bewrayed by a womā he was taken forth, and led away priſoner. After this, the king kept a parliament at Northampton, where he diſherited all thoſe, that tooke any part with the Erle Simon & al their childrē. Where alſo the Popes Legate Octobonus held a conuocation, and excōmunicated al ſuch biſhops, as had taken any part with Simon, againſt the king: of whō diuers he ſent vp to Rome, to be abſoyled of the pope, and farther the ſaid Legate cauſed to be proclaymed certain decrees, which he himſelfe had made: And alſo the new grāt of Pope Clemēt, to the king and Queene, of al the tenthes for ſeuen yeres to come. And ſhortly after a taxe alſo was fined vpon yͤ country of Norfolke: to the gathering wherof, walter the byſhop of Norwich was appoynted. Ex Scala mundi.

Anno. 1247.

The caſtle of Kenilworth again beſieged.

An other aſſembly of the Barons at Axioline and diſcomforture of them.

The Iewes ſpoyled and ſlain at Lincolne.

The Barons fortefied the Ileland of Elye.

The Ile of Ely aſſaulted and entred by prince Edward.

The king kept out of London. 40. dayes by the Barons and Citizens.

A peace cōcluded betweene the Barons and the kyng.

After this, in the yeare of our Lord. 1267. King Henry beſieged agayne the Caſtell of Kenelworth, from the 7. day before the firſt day of Iuly, vntil the beginning of December: whether came Octobonus yͤ Popes Legate, by whoſe intreaty Henry Haſtinges deliuered the ſame vnto the K. which ſtoutly had defended the ſame and reſiſted the kyng, hauing pardon graunted both for him and hys, of his lyfe, landes, goodes, and cattels. In which tyme alſo the Barons agayne aſſembled, with Iohn Dayuile in the Ile of Axioline, & ſo proceeded till they came to Lincolne: which alſo they tooke, and ſpoyled the Iewes, and ſlue many of them: And entring their Sinagoge teare and rent the book of their law, and burnt the ſame, and all other writinges & obligations which they could come by. Which thing when the king heard, he ſent thither hys ſonne prince Edward: but as ſoone as they heard that, they fled into yͤ Ile of Ely, and fortified the ſame with Bulwarkes as ſtrongly as they might, at euery entraunce into the ſame. This was in the month of Aprill when Edward the kinges ſonne came thither. Who for the great aboundaunce of waters in the ſame, could by no meanes enter the Iland, til at length by the counſayle of the inhabitauntes of that prouince, he cauſed with a number of workmen great trenches and ditches to be made, ſomewhat to conuey away the water: And ſo long vſed the Counſayle of them, in making bridges with planks and hurdles, till at laſt they entred the Iland. Who as ſoone as they were entred, the Barons fled to London, where they were of the Londiners well entertayned. The reſt which were in the Iland, yelded themſelues (amongeſt whom was Roger wake, Simō the yonger, and Peches) ſauing their liues and members. After this, both the King and Edward his ſonne, came to Londō with a great power, but yet were kept out of the city, by the Barons and Citizens, for the ſpace of 40. dayes. And Octobonus the Legate (who for feare was fled into the Tower) they narowly layd for, that he ſhoulde not eſcape. At length by the intreaty of the Earle of Glouceſter and other Earles that were his friendes, both the Barons and Cittizens were pardoned, and admitted to the kinges fauour. And 4. Byſhops and 8. other noble men were choſen, ſuch as were at Couentry firſt nominated: that they ſhould order and diſpoſe all matters betweene the King and ſuche as had loſt theyr inheritaunce, as alſo the forme of theyr peace and raunſome. And proclamation was made vppon the feaſt of all Sainctes, of perfect peace and record throughout al the Realme.

The ſtatutes of Marleberge.

The 52. yeare of this king Henries raigne 8. daies after the feaſt of S. Martin, he held a parliament at Marlberge in the yeare of our Lord aboue recited: where by the aduiſe of wiſe and diſcrete men, & with all the conſentes of the nobles, he ordeined and enacted diuers good and profitable ſtatutes for the reformation and bettering of the ſtate of the realme & execution of common iuſtice, which are called the ſtatutes of Marleberge.

A conuocation holden at London by Octobonus the popes legat.

The ſame yeare vpon S. Gregoryes day, Octobonus the Legate called a Councell at London, where were fiue

Archbiſhops, and a great number of Byſhops, Abbots, & other Prelates: which Councell alſo within three dayes brake vp agayne.

The Legates departing out of Englande.

The ſame yeare vpon S. Iohns day the Baptiſt, Edward the kinges ſonne & diuers other noble men of England took vpon thē the croſſe by ỹ legates hands at Northhampton, to the reliefe of the holy land, and the ſubuerſion of the enemies of the croſſe of Chriſt, which done, the legate ỹ ſame yeare wēt out of England, not purpoſing after that to returne agayne. This holy Legate (ſayth mine author) whiche might well bee reſembled to Lynx the monſtrous beaſt whoſe quicke ſight penetrateth euery thing: enrolled to perpetuall memorye the valuation of all the churches in the realme of England ſo narowly, as by any meanes poſſible he might enquire the certainty thereof. The ſame was he, that made all the Cathedral & Conuentuall Churches to pay pencions: ſo that thoſe Churches whiche gaue not the vacancie of their benefices to their Clerkes and ſtraungers ſhould pay vnto them a certein yearly pencion during the vacācy of the benefices which they ſhould haue.

Valuation taken of all Churches by Octobonus the Popes Legate. Penſions out of Cathedrall and conuentuall churches paide to the popes clarks

Pope Clement the 4. dyeth. Pope Gregory the 10.

The ſame yeare died Pope Clement 4. after whoſe death the Church of Rome was two yeares vacant: & then was choſen an archdeacon Cardinall, whoſe name was Theardus, as hee was taking hys iourny into the holy lande, and called hym Gregory the 10.

The mariage of Edmund Earle of Lancaſter

Then alſo dyd Edmunde Earle of Lancaſter and Leiceſter, and ſeconde ſonne of king Henry, take to wiſe the Earle of Albemark his daughter, and the Niece of ỹ Earle of Glouceſter: at whiche maryage was the king and the Queene: and all the Nobilitie of England.

Edward the kyng & confeſſour ſhrined.

The ſame yeare was the body of S. Edward the king & Confeſſour, by Walter Gifford Archbiſhop of Yorke and other Biſhops intombed in a new & rich Schrine of golde and ſiluer, beſet with precious ſtones in the preſēce of Hēry the king of Englād: In which yeare alſo fel great rayne and inundation of waters, ſuche as hath not lightly bene ſeene, which increaſed and continued the ſpace of 40. dayes and more.

The Byſhop of Sarum put from his conſecratiō.

The ſame yeare died Walter de Lawile Biſhop of Sarum the third day before the nones of Ianuary. After whō ſucceded Robert of Northampton the Deane of the ſame Church. And becauſe the ſee of Cant. was then vacant, he was confirmed by the Chapter of Canterbury: whiche Chapter had alwayes the iuriſdiction in ſpirituall cauſes, during the vacancy of that ſee, in as ample maner as the Byſhop hymſelfe had beyng aliue. After thys, the Byſhop elect comming thither, thinking to haue had hys conſecration, was notwithſtanding put backe for two cauſes: one was, for that there was preſent then no more but one Byſhop: the other was, for that all the other Biſhops had appealed, that he might not be conſecrated to their preiudice, that is, by the authoritie of the Chapter of Cant. ſaying, that they would not be vnder the obedience of the monks.

After this, ſolempne Meſſengers were for this cauſe ſent to the Cardinals of Rome, for that then ỹ ſee of Rome was vacant: who receiued aunſwere, that during the vacation of that ſee, the confirmation and conſecration of the Byſhop elect, pertayned to the foreſayd Chapter of Caunterbury.

The death and ſlaughter of L. Richarde the kings ſonne of Almaine at Viterbiū.

The ſame yeare alſo was the Lord Henry the ſonne & heyre of the Lord Richard king of Almayne and brother to king Henry 3. ſlayne at Viterbium, in a certayne Chappel hearing Maſſe, by the Lord Simō and Guido the ſonnes of the Lord Simon Mountfort Earle of Leiſter.

During this kinges raigne, there was made a great & generall expedition of diuers and ſondry Chriſtian princes to Ieruſalem, taking vpon them the Lords character: that is the Croſſe: among whome was alſo Edward the kings ſonne one, to ỹ which expeditiō was graunted him a ſubſidie throughout al ỹ realme. And the month of May, the yeare of our Lord. 1270. or as ſayth Florilogus, an 1269. he ſet forward on his iourny.

{Anno. 1270.}

The death of Boniface Archbiſh. of Cant.

About the time when Prince Edward was preparing his iourny toward Aſia. Boniface the Archbiſhop of Canterbury ended his life, in the country of Sebaudia, goyng belike to Rome or comming thence. After whoſe death, the Monks of Canterbury proceeding to a new election grāted by the king, agreed vppon the Prior of their houſe named Adam Chelendene. But the king & his ſonne Prince Edward conſenting and ſpeaking in the behalfe of Robert Burnell theyr Chauncellour: did ſollicite the matter with the Monkes, partly intreating. partly threatning them, to chuſe the ſaid Robert to be Archbiſhop. Notwithſtanding the Monkes being ſtoute, woulde neyther relent to their curteous requeſt, nor yet bow to theyr boyſtrous threates, but conſtantly perſiſting in their former election, appealed from the king and prince to the Pope. Prince Edward being now on his iourny, and ſeing himſelfe thus fruſtrated of the Monkes, writeth backe to the king his father: deuoutly praying and beſeching in no wiſe to admit the election of the foreſayd Monks. And ſo paſſing to Douer with Hēry the ſonne of Rich. his vncle king of Romanes, with their wiues tooke their paſſage in the month of Auguſt. After this the Prior thus elected, as is foretold, but not admitted by the king to be Archbiſhop went vp to Rome.

Adam Chelindene elected Archb. of Cant.

Appellation from the K. to the Pope by the Mōks of Cant.

Adam Chelindene goeth vp to Rome.

In the meane tyme, the Monkes in the abſence of their elect) ordayned one Geoffrey Pomenall to be theyr Official: who ſeing himſelf aduaunced to that dignity, & bearing belike ſome old grudge agaynſt the Prior of Douer, cauſed him to be cited vp to appeare in the Chapterhouſe of Canterbury. The Prior of Douer ſeing this citation to be preiudiciall to him and to the Church of Douer, whereas the Monkes of Cant. haue no ſuch iuriſdiction (the ſee of Cāterbury being vacant) but that all things appertayning to that Church, ought to be reſerued whole to the conſecratiō of the new Archb. therefore, for the ſtate both of hym and of hys Church, he appealed vp alſo vnto Rome. But to returne to the archbiſhop agayne.

Variance betweene the officiall of Cant. and the prior of Douer.

Appellation to Rome.

Adam Chelindon reſigneth to the Pope. Rob. Kilwarby Archb. of Cant.

The ſecond yeare after, Adam Chelindon the foreſayde Archb. elect, remayning all this while at Rome: at laſt reſigned vp hys election to the popes hand, beyng Greg. 10. who then gaue the ſame to Rob. Kilwarby. who then cōming to Douer, reſtored agayn the Prior of that houſe, being before excluded vpon certain cauſes. By theſe contentions, iudge good reader, of the religion of theſe men, and of theſe times, And now to returne to our former ſtory.

The cōcordance

About whiche tyme came out the great concordaunces by an Engliſhe Frier, called Iohn Dernington. Ex Eulogio.

It was aboue declared, how a generall voyage beyng proclaymed to warre agaynſt the Turkes, and a ſubſidie beyng collected in Englād vpon the ſame: prince Edward with other was appoynted to take theyr voyage, & nowe were onward in theyr iourny. who at Michelmas following, with hys company came to Egermorth, whiche is from Marſilius 8. leagues weſtward: & there taking ſhip agayne (hauing a mery winde and proſperous) within x. dayes arriued at Sunes at Tunicium, where he was wyth great ioy welcommed & entertayned of the Chriſtian princes that there were to this purpoſe aſſembled, as of Philip the French king, whoſe father Ludouicus, died a little before: of Carolus the king of Sicilia: and the two kinges of Nauarre and Aragō. And as the Lord Edward came thither for hys father the king of England, thither came alſo Henry the ſonne of the king of Almaine for his father, who at hys returne from the voyage, was ſlayne in a chappell at Viterbium hearing maſſe, by the Lord Simō and Guido, the ſonnes of the Lord Simon Mountfort Earle of Leiceſter.

When Prince Edward demaunded of theſe kings and Princes what was to be done, they anſwered him agayne and ſayd: The Prince of this Citie ſayd they, and the prouince adioyning to the ſame, hath bene accuſtomed to pay tribute vnto the king of Sicile euery yeare. And nowe, for that the ſame hath bene for the ſpace of vii. yeares vnpayed and more, therefore we thought good to make inuaſion vpon hym. But the king knowing the ſame tribute to be but iuſtly demaunded, hath now according to our owne deſires ſatiſfied for the tyme paſt, and alſo payed his tribute before hand.

The great expedition to inuade the Turke ſtayed by the concluding of a peace.

The great voyage of the frēch kyng againſt the Turkes turned to a mony matter.

Then ſayde he: My Lordes what is this to the purpoſe? Are we not here all aſſembled, and haue taken vpon vs the Lordes Character to fight againſt the Infidels and enemies of Chriſt? what meane you then to conclude a peace with them: God forbid we ſhould do ſo: for nowe the land is playne and hard, ſo that we may approch the holy Citty Ieruſalem: then ſayd they nowe haue we made a league with them: neither is it lawfull for vs to breake the ſame: But let vs returne agayne to Sicilia and when the wynter is paſt, we may well take ſhipping to Acra. But this counſaile nothing at al liked him, neither did he ſhew himſelfe wel pleaſed therwith: But after that he had made them a princely banquet, he went into hys cloſet or priuy chamber, from amongſt them: neither woulde be partaker of any of that wicked mony which they had taken. They notwithſtanding continuing their purpoſe: at the next mery wynd took ſhipping, and for want of ſhips, left CC. of theyr men a ſhore crying out & piteouſly lamenting for the perill & hazard of death they were in. Wherewith Prince Edward being ſomewhat moued with compaſſion, came backe agayne to the land and receiued and ſtowed them in his own ſhippes, being the laſt that went aborde. Within 7. dayes after, they arriued in the kingdome of Scicilia ouer agaynſt the Citty Trapes, caſting theyr anchors a

The clemēcie of prince Edwarde toward the poore ſouldiers.

A great ſhipwracke of the Chriſtians lying at anchor a litle from Trapes.
Money euil got, as euill loſt.
Non habet euẽtus, ſordida præda bonos.
Ex ſcala mundi.
Ex Gualt. Giſburn.
Ex Flor. hiſt.

league from thence within the ſea, for that their ſhips were of great burden & throughly fraught. And frõ the hauen of the Citie they ſent out barges and boates to receiue and bring ſuch of the Nobilitie to land as would: but for theyr horſes for the moſt part, and all their armour they kept ſtil within bourd. At length towardes the euening, the ſea began to be rough & encreaſed to a great tempeſt & a mighty: In ſo much, that their ſhips were beaten one againſt an others ſides, and drowned there was of them at that tẽpeſt lying at anchor, more then 120. with all their armour and munition with innumerable ſoules beſides, and that wicked mony alſo which they had taken before likewiſe periſhed and was drowned. But the tempeſt hurt not ſo much as one ſhip of Prince Edwardes, who had in number 13. nor yet had one man loſt thereby, for that as it may be preſuppoſed, he conſented not to the wicked counſaile of ẏ reſt. When in the morning the Princes and kinges came to the ſea ſide, and ſaw al theyr ſhyps drowned: and ſaw their men and horſes in great number caſt vpon the land drowned, they had full heauy heartes, as well they might. For of all theyr ſhyps and mariners, whiche were in number a 1500. beſides the common ſouldiours: there was no more ſaued, then the Mariners of one onely Shyp, and they in this wiſe. There was in that ſhip a good and wiſe Matrone (a Counteſſe or an Earles wife) perceiuing the tempeſt to grow, and fearing her ſelf, called to her the Maiſter of the ſhip: & aſked whether in attempting to the ſhore, it were not poſſible to ſaue themſelues: who anſwered, that to ſaue the ſhip it was impoſſible, howbeit the men ẏ were therein by Gods help he doubted not. Then ſayd ẏ Counteſſe, for the ſhip force no whit: ſaue the ſoules therein, and haue to the, double the value of thy ſhip. Who immediately hoyſing the ſayles, with all force ran the ſhip a ground ſo neare the ſhore as poſſible was. Thus with the vehemency of the weather and force he came withall, braſt the ſhip and ſaued all that was within the ſame, as the matter had ſhewed and ſayd before.

Prince Edward and his men preſerued from the tempeſt. The integritie of Prince Edward rewarded of God.

Then the kinges and princes (altering theyr purpoſe after this ſo great a ſhypwrack) returned home again euery one vnto their own lands: Onely Edward the kinges ſonne remayned behinde with his men and ſhips, which ẏ Lord had ſaued and preſerued. Then Prince Edward (renouating hys purpoſe) tooke ſhipping agayn, and within 15. dayes after Eaſter arriued he at Acra, and went a land taking with hym a thouſand of the beſt ſouldiours & moſt expert, & taryed there a whole month, refreſhing both hys men and horſes and that in this ſpace he might learne and know the ſecretes of the land. After this, he took with hym 6.027. thouſand ſouldiours and marched forward twenty myles from Acra, and tooke Nazareth: and thoſe he there found he ſlew, and afterward returned again to Acra. But their enemies following after them, thinking to haue ſet vpon them at ſome ſtraight or other aduauntage: were by the Prince premoniſhed thereof, and returning agayn vpon them gaue a charge, and ſlew many of them and the reſt they put to flight. After this about Midſomer, when the Prince had vnderſtãding that the Saracens began to gather at Cakhow, which was 40. myles from Acra: he marching thether, ſet vpõ them very early in the morning, and ſlue of them more then a 1000. the reſt he put to flight, and tooke riche ſpoyles, marching forward till they came to a Caſtle named Caſtrum Peregrinorum, ſituate vpon the Sea coſt, and taried there that night, & the next day they returned toward Acra. In the meane ſeaſon, the king of Ieruſalem ſent vnto the noble men of Cypres, deſiring them wͭ ſpeede that they would come and ayde the Chriſtians: but they would not come, ſaying: they would keepe their own land and go no further. Then Prince Edward ſent vnto them, deſiring that at his requeſt they would come & ioyne in ayd with him. Who immediately thereupon came vnto him with great preparation and furniture for the warres, ſaying: that at hys commaundement they were bounde to do no leſſe, for that his predeceſſors were ſometimes ẏ gouernors of their lande, & that they ought alwaies to ſhewe their fidelitie, to the kings of England. Then the Chriſtians being herewͭ animated, made a third voiage or Rode, and came as farre as the fort called Vincula S. Petri, and to S. Georges: and when they had ſlayne certayne there, not finding any to make reſiſtance agaynſt them, they retyred agayne from whence they came.

Prince Edward arriueth at Acra and taketh Nazareth.

The Noble men of Cyprus ſhew their fidelitie to the Prince and kings of England.

A guilefull deceipt of the Saracens practiſed againſt prince Edwarde.
Ex Giſb. Scala mundi.

When thus the fame of prince Edward grew amongſt hys enemies, and that they began to ſtand in doubt of him: they deuiſed amongeſt themſelues, howe by ſome pollicie they might circumuent him and betray him. Whereupon, the great Prince and Admirall of Ioppa, ſent vnto hym: fayning himſelfe vnder great deceit to become a Chriſtian, and that he would draw with hym a great number beſides ſo that they might be honorably entertayned & vſed of the Chriſtians. This talke pleaſed the Prince well, and perſwaded him to finiſh the thing, he had ſo well begonne, by writing agayne: who alſo by the ſame meſſenger ſent and wrote backe vnto him, diuers tymes about the ſame matter, whereby no miſtruſt ſhoulde ſpring. This meſſenger, ſayth myne autor, was one ex cautè nutritis, one of the ſtony harted that neither feared God, nor dreaded death. The fiſt tyme when this meſſenger came, and was of the Princes ſeruauntes ſearched, according to the maner and cuſtome what weapon and armour he had about him, as alſo his purſe, that not ſo much as a knife could be founde about him: he was had vp into the Princes chamber, and after hys reuerence done, he pulled out certayne letters, which he deliuered to the Prince from his Lord, as he had done others before. This was about eight dayes after Whitſontide vpon a Teuſday, ſomewhat before night: at which time the Prince was laid vpon his bed bare headed in his Ierkin, for the great heat and intemperature of the weather.

The meſſenger ſearched before he came to the princes preſence.

When the Prince had red the letters, it appeared by thẽ ẏ vpon the Saterday next following, his Lord woulde be there ready to accompliſhe all that he had written and promiſed. The report of theſe newes by the prince to the ſtanders by liked them well, drawing ſomewhat backe to conſult thereof amongeſt themſelues, In the meane tyme, the meſſenger, kneeling & making his obeiſance to the Prince (queſtioning further with him) put his hand to the belt, as though he would haue pulled out ſome ſecret letters: & ſodenly he pulled out an inuenomed knife, thinking to haue ſtroken hym into the belly therewͭ as he lay: But ẏ Prince lifting vp his hand to defend the blow, was ſtriken a great woũd into ẏ arm. And being about to fetch an other ſtroke at him, the prince agayn with his foote tooke hym ſuche a blow ẏ he feld him to the ground: wͭ that the prince gat him by the hand, and with ſuch violence wraſted the knife from him, ẏ he hurt himſelf therwith on the forehead, and immediately thruſt the ſame into the belly of the meſſenger and ſtriker, and ſlue him. The Princes ſeruauntes being in the next chamber not farre of, hearing the buſkling, came with great haſt rũning in: and finding the meſſenger lying dead in the floure, one of them tooke vp a ſtoole, and bet out his braynes: wherat the Prince was wroth, for that he ſtroke a dead man, and one that was killed before. The rumour hereof as it was ſtraunge, ſo it ſoone went throughout all the Court, and from thence amongſt the common people: wherefore they were very heauy and greatly diſcouraged, To him came alſo the Captayne of the Temple & brought him a coſtly and precious drinke agaynſt poyſon, leaſt the venim of the knife ſhoulde penetrate the liuely bloud, and in blaming wiſe ſayde vnto hym: Did I not ſhewe your grace before of the deceipt & ſubtiltie of this people? Notwithſtanding, ſayth he, let your grace take a good hart, you ſhall not die of this wound, my life for yours. But ſtraight wayes, ẏ ſurgions & phiſitiõs were ſent for, and the prince was dreſſed: and within few dayes after the wound began to putrifie, and the fleſh to looke dead and blacke, whereupon they that were about the prince began to mutter amongeſt thẽſelues, and were very ſad and heauy. Which thinge he himſelfe perceauing, ſayd vnto them: Why mutter you thus amongeſt your ſelues? What ſee you in me, can I not be healed? Tell me the truth, be ye not afrayd. Whereupon one ſaid vnto him: and like your grace you may be healed, we miſtruſt it not, but yet it will be very paynefull for you to ſuffer. May ſuffering, ſayth he, again reſtore health? Yea ſayth the other, on payne of looſing my head. Then ſayd the Prince, I commit my ſelfe to you, doe with me what you thinke good. Then ſaid one of the Phiſitions, is there any of your Nobles in whome your grace repoſeth ſpeciall truſt? To whome the Prince aunſwered yea, namyng certayne of the Noble men that ſtoode about him. Then ſayd the Phiſition to the two whome the Prince firſt named, the Lord Edmund, and the Lord Iohn Voyſie: And doe you alſo faythfully loue your Lord and Prince? Who aunſwered both, yea vndoubted. Then ſayth he, take ye away this Gentlewoman and Lady (meaning hys wife) & let her not ſee her Lord and huſband, till ſuch a time I will you thereunto. Whereupon they tooke her out of the princes preſence, crying out and wringing her hands. Thẽ ſaid they vnto her, be ye contented good Lady & Madame. It is better that one woman ſhould weepe a little while, then that all the realme of England ſhoulde weepe a great ſeaſon. Then on the morow, they cut out all the dead and inuenemed fleſh out of the Princes arme, and threw it from them, and ſayd vnto him: how chereth your grace, we promiſe you wͭin theſe fifteene dayes you ſhall ſhew your ſelfe abroad (if God permit) vpon your horſe backe, whole and

Prince Edward wounded & hurt with an inuenemed knife of the Turkes meſſenger.

The Prince in perill of death by reaſon of his hurt, is comforted of the phiſitions.

The Prince reſtored to health, and the Soldian forſweareth himſelfe.

well as euer you were. And according to the promiſe hee made the prince, it came to paſſe, to the no litle comfort and admiration of all his ſubiectes. When the great Souldan heard of, and that the Prince was yet aliue, he woulde ſcarſly beleue the ſame: and ſending vnto hym three of hys nobles and princes, excuſed himſelfe by them, calling hys gods to witnes, that the ſame was done neither by hym, nor his conſent. Which Princes and meſſengers ſtanding a looſe of from the kinges ſonne, worſhipping hym, fell flat vpon the ground. You ſayth the prince doe reuerence me, but yet you loue me not. But they vnderſtoode hym not, becauſe he ſpake in Engliſhe vnto them, ſpeaking by an interpreter. Neuertheles, he honourably intreated thē, and ſent them away in peace.

The Prince returneth out of Turky toward England againe.

Thus when Prince Edward had bene 18. monethes in Acra, he tooke ſhipping about the aſſumption of our lady, as wee call it, returning homeward, & after 7. weekes he arriued in Sicilia at Trapes: and from thence traueling through Paleſtina and Mecines, and ſo through the middes of Apulia, till he came to Rome, where he was of the Pope honourably entertayned. From thence he came into Fraunce, whoſe fame and noble prowes was there much bruted among the common people: and enuied of yͤ nobilitie, eſpecially of the Earle de Chalōs: who ſent vnto hym and required him, that he might breake a ſtaffe wᵗ him at the Tilte in hys countrey: whiche thing to doe, for that the prince would not diminiſhe his honour and fame (although he might haue well alledged a ſufficient cauſe and excuſe by meanes of hys trauell) yet he would not, but willingly conſented therunto. Whereupon it was proclaymed, that Prince Edward by ſuche a day, with thoſe that were with him, had challenged all commers at the Tilt & Barriers. Whereupon great aſſemblies were made in the country all about: and diuers as well horſemen as footemen had coniured amongſt themſelues, and conſpired agaynſt the Engliſhmen, ſelling their horſes and armour aforehand, & drinking one to an other in bon voiage of the ſpoile of them whom they would take as theyr priſoners. Prince Edward in the meane tyme, ſent into England for diuers Earles and Barons whiche came vnto hym. Whē the day appoynted was come, the Prince had wᵗ him more then 1000. horſemen, whiche were knightes, beſides hys footemen. But yet there was as many mo on the other ſide both in horſemen and footemen. When the parties ſhould meete: The French footmen whiche had before conſpired: began both to ſpoyle, rifle, and kill. The Engliſhmen reſiſted & defended thēſelues both with bowes & ſlings: many of thē they ſlue & draue them to the gates of their Citty, the other they chaſed ouer a riuer, where manye of them were drowned. In the meane ſeaſon, the Earle with fiftie of his knights which followed him, came forth and ioined together ſo many for ſo many, and a lōg time together they tryed it with theyr ſwordes, laying one at an other. At the laſt, the Earle perceauing himſelfe not able to match with him at the armes end: encloſed with him, and taking him about the necke held him with his armes very ſtraite. What meane you my Lord, ſayth the prince, thinke you to haue my horſe? Yea marry quoth yͤ Earle, I meane to haue both thee and thy horſe. Hereat Prince Edwarde being aſcorned, lifted vp himſelf, and gaue him ſuch a blow yͭ therwithall he forſaking his horſe, hong ſtil about the Princes necke, till that he ſhooke him off to the ground. Herewith the Prince, beyng ſomewhat in a heate, lefte the preaſe to take ſome ayre, thereby to refreſhe himſelfe. But when he ſawe the iniury of the Frenchmen towardes hys men, and how they had ſlayne many of them, he then ſaid vnto them that they vſed rather the exerciſe of battayle then of Torny Spare you not therefore, ſayth he, from henceforth none of them all, but geue them agayn as good as they bring. Thē they aſſayed to kill eche other freely on eyther part, and let theyr ſwordes walke. And when by this tyme the Engliſh footmen were agayne returned, and ſaw the conflicte of horſemen and many other Engliſhmen ouerthrowne: they put themſelues amiddes the preaſe, ſome pāching the horſes, ſome cutting a ſonder the girthes of yͤ Frenchmens ſaddels, ouerthrewe the ryders and gaue them holibread. Then when the foreſayd Earle was horſed agayn by ſome of his men & amongſt the throng, Prince Edward alſo ruſhed in amongſt the thickeſt & coped agayn wᵗ him: to whō he often ſpake and cryed, that he ſhoulde yelde hymſelfe as vanquiſhed: but that he would not doe. Notwithſtanding when his ſtrength began to fayle hym, he was fayn to yeld himſelfe vnto a ſimple knight, according as Prince Edward him bad: and all the reſt of hys horſemen & Knights fled and ſaued themſelues: Howbeit, many of them in that place were ſlaine, and our men returned hauing the victory. But when after this they thought themſelues to be quiet and at reſt: they were killed by two & by three at once as they went in the ſtreetes of the Citizens. Which thing, when the prince heard, he ſent for the Maior and Burgeſſes, commaunding them to ſee the ſame redreſſed, and that immediately: for otherwiſe, of hys knighthoode, he aſſured them, that vpon the morow he would fire the city, and make it leuell with the grounde. Whereupon they went theyr wayes, and ſet watchmen in diuers places of yͤ ſame to keepe the peace, by whiche meanes the Prince and hys mē were in ſafety and quiet. Thus in this paſtime of Torneing and Barriers, much bloud was ſpilte, whereupon the name of the place was chaunged: ſo that it is not called Torniamentum de Chalons, but paruum bellum de Chalons.

A day of ſporte in Fraunce appointed, which turned to good earneſt.

A conſpiracy of the French men againſt the Engliſhmen

Exerciſe of battaile vſed in ſtede of Barriors and Torney.

The victorie of the prince and Engliſh men againſt the Earle of Chalons & Frenchmen.

From thence the prince came to Paris, and was of the french king honorably entertained: & after certain dayes, went from thence into Vaſconia, where he taryed till that he heard of the death of the king his father.

Prince Edward was in Vaſconia at the time of his fathers death.

In the yeare of our 1272. died pope Clement the 4. After whom ſucceded Pope Gregory the 10. who in the next yeare following, whiche was the yeare of our Lord. 1273. called a generall Councell at Lyons, about the controuerſie betweene the Greeke Church and the Latine Churche, and for the vacancy of the ſea Apoſtolicall. &c.

Anno. 1272.

Pope Clement the 4. dyeth.

Pope Gregory the 10.

¶ Certaine Notes of other occurrents *chaunced in forreine Countryes abroad* within the compaſſe of yeares and *raygne of the foreſayd King* Henry the thyrd.

Hauing thus accompliſhed the life and hiſtory of King Henry the third, with ſuch accidents as happened wᵗin this realm, I thought good to adioine vnto the ſame ſome other foreine matters not vnworthy the note, incident in other Countries during the tyme of the ſayd king: Namely from the yeare of our Lord. 1217. vnto this yeare 1272. which I thought the rather not to be omitted, for that euen from and about the beginning of this kings raigne ſprang vpp the very welſprynges of all miſchiefe and ſectes of Monkiſh religions and other ſwarmes of Popiſh orders which with their groſſe and horrible ſuperſtition haue encombred the Church of Chriſt euer ſince.

Firſt to omitte the repeticion of Pope Innocent the third the great Graundſire of that fowle monſter Tranſuſtantiation and auriculer Confeſſion, with the fryers Dominick, and Franciſcane Fryers: Thomas Aquinas, Iacobus de Voragine, Vincentius: with Pope Honorius the third coyner of the Cannon Lawe and the Cardinall Hoſtienſis, as alſo Bonauenture, Albertus magnus with Pope Vrbane the 4. firſt founder of the feaſt of Corpus Chriſti and procuror of the adoration of the body of Chriſt in the Sacrament, beſides Durandus and many moe: followeth further to be noted, that the Tartarianes aboute the yeare 1240. iſſuing out of Moſcouia into the partes of Polonia made great waſte in Chriſtendome ſo muche the rather becauſe the Princes about Polonia beyng at variaunce amongeſt themſelues, vſed none other remedie for theyr defence, but heapes of Maſſes, Inuocation of the dead and worſhipping of Images, whiche in deede dyd nothing relieue them but rather encreaſe theyr trouble.

Ex Annalibus Sileſia.

The Tartarians make great ſpoile in Chriſtendome.

The Scythians army lyke locuſtes.

The next yeare following the whole nation of the Scithians (muſtering like Locuſtes) inuaded the partes of Europe with two mightye armyes: whereof the one entring vppon Polonia made great hauocke and caryed away many Chriſtians from thence Captiues, the other ouerrunning Hungaria made no leſſe ſpoyle there. Adde hereunto an other freſhe armye of Tartarianes to the number of 5000000. who at the very ſame tyme, ioyninge themſelues together entered into Muſconia and Cracouia, and made moſt horrible ſlaughter ſparing neyther ſexe, nor age: noble nor vnnoble within the Land. From thence paſſing to Vratiſlauia, made great ſpoyle there alſo, and thinkyng there to winne the Caſtle, were by the miraculous workyng of the Lorde at the inſtaunce and prayers of good people diſcomfited beyonde all expectation of man by thundringe and lightning falling vpon them from heauen in moſt terrible wiſe.

The ſame yeare immediately after Eaſter an other armye of Tartarians were gathered agaynſt Lignicium drawing neere to Germany: By the bruyte whereof the Germaynes being put in great feare were altogether diſmayed: but yet not able to helpe themſelues by reaſon they lacked a good guyde and gouernour amongeſt them. All which came to paſſe ſpecially by the miſchieuous practize of the Romayne Popes rayſing variaunce and diſcorde

Kyng Henry ſlaine, and his army vanquiſhed.

Nine ſackes full of Chriſtians eares being ſlain

amongſt them notwithſtanding Henry prince of Polonia and Silicia gathering a power as well as he coulde, dyd encounter with him, but in fine hys whole armye was vanquiſhed, and the kyng hymſelfe ſlayne. Notwithſtanding whiche ouerthrowe of Chriſtians it pleaſed God to ſtrike ſuch a feare into the heartes of the ſayd Tartarians that they durſt not approche anye further or nearer into Germany, but retired for that tyme into theyr Countrye agayne: who recounting theyr victory by taking each man but one eare of euery of the Chriſtians that were ſlayne founde the ſlaughter ſo great as that they filled ix. great ſackes full of eares. Neuertheles, after this viz the yeare 1260. the ſame Tartarians hauing the Moſkouites to theyr guides returned agayne into Polonia and Craconia. Where in the ſpace of three monethes they ouerranne the land with fire and ſword ouer to the coaſtes of Sileſia. And had not the princes of Germany put to theyr helping hand in this lamentable caſe, they had vtterly waſted the whole lande of Polonia and the Coaſtes thereaboutes.

Richard king of Almaine dyeth.
A great variãce betweene the Monkes and citizens of Norwich.
Execution done at Norwich by the commaundement of kyng Henry the 3.
Adam Prior of Cant. refuſeth to be Archb. of Cant.
Rob. Kilwerby Archb. of Cant.
The death of K. Henry the 3.

This yeare alſo in the month of Aprill, Richard Kyng of Almayne dyed at the Caſtell of Barchamſted, and was buryed at the Abbey of Hayles, whiche he built out of the ground. The ſame yeare alſo at Norwich, there fel a great controuerſie, betweene the monks and the citizens, about certayn tallagies and liberties. At laſt, after much altercation and wrangling wordes, the furious rage of the Cittizens ſo much increaſed and preuayled, and ſo litle was the feare of God before theyr eyes, that altogether they ſet vpon the Abbey and Priory, and burned both the church and Byſhops Pallace. Whẽ this thing was heard abroad, the people were very ſory to heare of ſo bold & naughty an enterpriſe, & much diſcommended yͤ ſame. At the laſt, K. Hẽry calling for certayne of hys Lords, and Barons, ſent thẽ to the city of Norwich, that they might puniſh and ſee execution done of the chiefeſt malefactors: in ſo much that ſome of them were condemned and burnt, ſome of them hanged and ſome were drawne by the heeles with horſes throughout the ſtreetes of the Citty, and after in muche miſery ended theyr wretched liues. The ſame yeare, Adam the prior of Canterbury, and Biſhop elect: in the preſence of pope Gregory the 10. refuſed to be archbiſhop, although he was elect. Wherfore, the pope gaue the ſame archbiſhopricke, to Frier Robert Kilwardby the Prouoſt of the preaching Friers: a man of good life and great learning. He was cõſecrated at Caunterbury, the fourth day of March by ſixe biſhops of the ſame Prouince. The ſame yeare alſo at Michelmas, the Lord Edmund, the ſonne of king Richard of Almaine, maryed the ſiſter of Gilbert Erle of Glouceſter, Alſo in this yeare of our Lord, 1273. the 16. day before the Calendes of December vpon S. Edmundes day the archbiſhop and confeſſour: died King Henry, in the 56. yeare of his raigne, and was buryed at Weſtminſter: leauing after him two ſonnes and two daughters, to wit Edward the Prince, and Edmund Earle of Lancaſter and Leiceſter, Beatrice, and Margaret. Whiche Margaret was maryed to the king of Scottes. This king Henry in his life tyme beganne the building of the Church & ſteeple at Weſtminſter, but did not throughly finiſh the ſame before his death.

King Edward the firſt.

K. Edward 1.
Pietie to Parẽts rewarded of God. *Ex Chron. Tho. Walſinghami.*
A miracle of God in preſeruing king Edward.
False worſhip reprehended.
God geueth the benefite & a dumme ſtocke hath the thankes.

IN the time of the death of K. Henry, Edward his eldeſt ſonne was abſent in Vaſconia, as a little before you heard: yet notwithſtanding, by Robert Kilwarby Archb. of Caunt. and other biſhops & nobles, he was ordeined heire and ſucceſſour after hys father: who, after he had heard of hys fathers death, retourned home to his Countrey, and was crowned the yeare of our Lord 1274. Who then layd downe his crowne, ſaying: he woulde no more put it on, before he had gathered together all the landes pertayning to the ſame. This Edward as he had alwayes before bene a louing and naturall Childe to his Father, whom he had deliuered out of priſon and captiuity: & afterward hearing both together of yͤ death of his ſonne, & of his father, wept and lamented much more for his father, then for his ſonne, ſaying to the French king (which aſked the cauſe thereof) that the loſſe of his child was but light, for Children might after increaſe and be multiplied, but the loſſe of his parent was greater, which could not be recouered: Robert Aueſbury. So almighty God for the ſame his pietie to his father ſhewed, rewarded him agayn with great ſucceſſe, felicitie, and long raigne. In ſo much, yͭ he beyng yong as he was playing at Cheſſe with a certayne ſouldior of his, ſodainly hauing no occaſion geuen: roſe vp and went his way, who was not ſo ſoon voyded the place, but incontinent fel down a mighty ſtone from the vawt aboue directly vpon yͤ place where he ſate, able to haue quaſhed him in peeces, if he had taried neuer ſo little more. In the preſeruation of whome as I ſee, the preſent hand and mighty prouidence of the liuing God: ſo in the kinges order agayne, I note a fault or error worthy of reprehenſion: For that he receiuing ſuch a liuely benefite at the hand of the liuing Lord, going therefore on pilgrimage to Walſingham, gaue thanks not only to our Lady, but rather to a rotten blocke. Ibidem. Of the gentle nature of this couragious prince, ſufficient proofe is geuen by this one example: that what time he being in hys deſport of hauking, chaunced ſharpely to rebuke the negligence of one of his gentlemen, for what fault I cannot tell about his hauke: the gentleman being on the other ſide of the riuer, hearing his manaſſing wordes was glad (as he ſayd) that the riuer was betweene them. With this anſwer the couragious bloud of this Prince being moued, vppon preſent heat, he leaped ſtraight into the floud, both a ſwift ſtreame and of a dangerous deepneſſe, and no leſſe hard in getting out. Notwithſtanding either forgetting his owne life, or neglecting the daunger preſent; but hauing a good horſe, ventreth his own death, to haue the death of his mã. At length with much difficultie recouering the bank, with his ſword drawn purſueth his prouoker. Who hauing not ſo good an horſe, and ſeeing himſelfe in daunger of taking, reineth hys horſe: and returning backe bare head vnto the Prince, ſubmitteth his necke vnder hys hande to ſtrike. The prince, whoſe feruent ſtomack the water of the whole riuer could not quench, a little ſubmiſſion of his man did ſo extinct that the quarrel fell, his anger ceaſed, and his ſword put vp, without any ſtroke geuen. And ſo both returned to theyr game, good friendes agayne. Aueſb. Nich. Triuet.

Example of princely clemency to be learned of kinges and princes. *Ex Chron. Nic. Triuet. & Tho. Walſinghami.*
Wales ſubdued.
The Kings ſonne firſt prince of Wales.
Vayne propheſies not to be ſought to.

In the firſt beginning of his raigne, this Kyng had much adoe in Wales, where he had diuers conflictes wyth the Welſhmen: whom at laſt he ſubdued & cut down theyr woodes, ſuppreſſed rebellions, & vanquiſhing theyr kings, Lewline and his brother, ordeined his eldeſt ſonne Edward, borne in the ſame Countrey to be Prince of Wales. This Lewline Captayne of yͤ Welſhmen here mentioned, rebelling agaynſt king Edward: aſked counſayle by way of coniuration, what euent ſhould come vpon his attempt To whom it was tolde, that he ſhould goe forward boldly for doubtleſſe, he ſhould ryde thorough Chepeſide at London, with a crowne on his head. Whiche ſo came to paſſe. For he being ſlayne, hys head was caried through Chepe, with a Crowne of ſiluer to London bridge: whereby men may learne not to ſeeke nor ſtick to theſe vayne propheſies: which though they fall true, yet are but the traynes of the deuill to deceyue men.

Puniſhment for Bakers & Milners.
The ſtatute for Mortmaine firſt enacted.

About this time was a great earthquake, and ſuche a rotte, that conſumed a great multitude of ſheep, in the land through the occaſion as they ſay, of one ſcabbed ſhepe that came out of Spayne. The king returning from Wales to England, ordred certayne new lawes for the wealth of the realme. Among many other this was one: that authoritie was geuen to all Maiors Bailiffes, & other officers to ſee execution and puniſhement of all Bakers making bread vnder the ſiſe, with pillory. Of Milners ſtealing corn with the tumbrel. &c. And within two yeares after the ſtatute of Mortmayne was firſt enacted, which is to meane that no man ſhould geue vnto the Churche any landes or rentes, without a ſpeciall licence of the king.

Anno. 1279.
Blacke Fryers by Ludgate builded.
Boſten blemiſhed with fire.
The great Conduit in Cheape.
Weſtminſter Church finiſhed.
The Iewes baniſhed the Realme.

About which tyme alſo, being the 7. yeare of his raigne 297. Iewes for mony clipping were put to execution. In whiche ſame yeare began firſt the foundation of the blacke Friers by Ludgate. And the towne of Boſten was greatly waſted the ſame yeare with fyre. The halfepeny and farthinges began firſt to be coyned the ſelfe tyme, which was the 8. yeare of hys raygne. The great conduit in Chepe began the fourth yeare after to be made. anno. 1248. And the yeare next following the newe worke of the Churche of Weſtminſter (begon, as is afore premoniſhed in the thyrd yeare of Henry 3.) was finiſhed, whiche was 66. yeares in edifiyng the Iewes were vtterly baniſhed this Realme of England the ſame tyme, for whiche the commons gaue to the kyng a fifteene. anno. 1291.

A place in Fabian corrected.

After that the country of Wales, was brought in a full order and quiet, by the hewing downe of the woodes, and caſting down the old holdes, and building of new, whiche all was brought to perfect end, about the 24. yeare of thys kings reigne: then enſued an other broile as great or greater with Scotland: to the great diſquiet of the king and the realme of England, many yeares after. This trouble firſt began by the death of Alexander king of Scots, who dyed without iſſue left aliue behinde him. Although Fabiane in yͤ 7. booke of hys Chronicle affirmeth: that he left 3. daughters, the eldeſt maryed to ſir Iohn Bailol: the ſecõd to Robert Bruce, the thyrd to one Haſtinges. But this in Fabian, is to be corrected as which neyther ſtandeth with it ſelfe, &

Ex Thoma Walſingham & Gualtero Giſburnenſi.

is clearely conuinced by the witnes and hiſtory of Rob. Auei bury, and alſo of Giſburne.

For firſt, if king Alexander had left his eldeſt daughter maried to Syr Iohn Bailol, then what cōtrouerſie might riſe among the Lordes about ſucceſſion, needing ſo diligent and anxious deciding by the king of England. Secondly, what clayme or title could the king of Norway haue to the crowne of Scotland, which was one of yͤ chalengers, clayming the ſayd crowne in the behalfe of Margaret the nece of the foreſayd king Alexander her graunfather, if the eldeſt daughter of yͤ father had bene left aliue? Thirdly, what can be more playn, when by the affirmance of the foreſaid ſtory is teſtified, that K. Alexander had .2. wiues. Of the ſecond wherof he had no iſſue. Of the firſt had two Children: Alexander which died before his father, and Margaret maried to the kyng of Norway, whiche died alſo before her Father, of whom came Margaret the Nece of Alexander, and daughter to the king of Norway afore mentioned. And ſhe alſo dyed in the iourny betweene Norway and Scotland, the fourth yeare after the deceaſe of her graūdfather. Wherfore, as this matter ſtandeth moſt cleare, ſo let vs now returning frō whence we digreſſed, proſecute the reſt that followeth. After that Alexāder thus as is ſaid, departed without iſſue, & alſo Margaret his Niece in Norway was deceaſed: the matter came in a great doubt among the nobles of Scotland (eſpecially 12, by name) to whome the right of the crowne ſhould next pertayne. After much variaunce among parties, at length the election and determination of the matter was committed to the iudgement of king Edward of England: who after ſufficient proofe made to the Scottes and firme euidence, brought out of all the ancient hiſtoryes both of England, and Scotland, teſtifying from tyme to tyme that he was chiefe head and ſoueraigne of the Realme of Scotland; firſt by neceſſitie of the law, and by al theyr conſentes tooke full poſſeſſion of the ſame. And that done, adiudged yͤ right of the Crown to Iohn Bailol, who deſcended of the daughter of Dauid Earle of Huntington, brother to Dauid King of Scotland, in the dayes of Kyng Henry the ſecond. This Erle Dauid had three daughters, Iſabell maried to Robert Bruſſe, Margaret to Allen Earle of Galeway, had Ellen to Henry Lord Haſtinges: Allē Earle of Galeway had Ellē maried to Roger Quincy Erle of Wincheſter, Conſtable of Scotlād, & Dornagile maried to Iohn Bailol father to Edward king of Scots.

Lack of ſucceſſiō what diturbance it worketh in a Realme

The king of Englande proued by old records, chiefe head & ſoueraign

{ Ann. 1291. }

Sir Iohn Bayloll made king of Scotland by King Edward.

K. of Scots doth homage to the King of Englande,

When theſe thinges were thus finiſhed in Scotlande, and Syr Iohn Bailol as moſt rightfull inheritour had receaued the crowne of Scotland at the handes of kyng Edward thankefully: & for the ſame in the preſence of the Barony of England and of Scotland, did vnto the ſayd King Edward his homage, and ſware to him fealty: the Scottes with theyr new king returned into Scotland, and Kyng Edward remoued agayne to England:

The falſenes of the Scottiſh king.

The towne and caſtle of Barwicke wonne of Engliſhmen.

Falſenes iuſtly puniſhed.

But not long after, the falſenes of this Scotiſhe Kyng ſoone appeared. Who repenting him of his homage done, vntruely forſook his former othe & promiſe, and made war againſt king Edward, through the counſaile of the Abbot of Menros. Wherfore, the king with a great hoſt ſped hym into Scotland, & in proceſſe laid ſiege to the towne of Berwicke: which the Scots did egerly defend, not onely to the diſcomfiture, but alſo to the deriſion of the kinges and hys Engliſh hoſt. But in concluſion, the Engliſh men preuayled and wan the towne, where were ſlayne of the Scottes the number of 25. thouſand. And while the king was there buſied in winning other holds about the ſame, he ſent part of his hoſt to Dunbarre, where the Engliſhmē agayn had the victory and ſlue of the Scottes xx. thouſand, Giſburne ſayth but x. thouſand, ſo that very few were loſt of the Engliſh company. The king with a great nūber of priſoners returning into his realm, ſhortly after ſped him ouer vnto Flaūders, where he ſuſtayned great trouble by the French kyng, till truce for certayne ſpace was betweene them concluded. But in the meane while that K. Edward was thus occupyed beyond the Seas: the French king (reſorting to his practiſed maner) ſet the Scottes ſecretly agaynſt the Engliſhmen to keep the king at home. Which Scots makyng themſelues a Captaine named Williā Walcis: warred vpon the borders of Northumberlād, where they dyd much hurt. At length the king returning from Burdeaux into England, ſhortly vpon the ſame tooke hys iourny into Scotland. Where meeting at Yorke with hys hoſt, marched into the Realme of Scotlande, winning as he went, townes and Caſtles, till at length comming to the towne of Frankyrch on Mary Magdalens day, he met with the power of Scotland: and had with them a ſore fight, but through Gods prouidence the victory fel to the right cauſe of Engliſhmen: ſo that of the Scottes were ſlayne in the field, as it is of diuers writers affirmed, ouer the number of xxxij. thouſand: and of Engliſhmen but barely. xxviii. perſons. Wherupon, the king agayn taking poſſeſſion and fealty of the whole land, returned home.

The Scots rebell again.

The ſecond viage of king Edward into Scotland.

{ Anno. 1298. }

Ex Fabiano. A notable victory againſt the Scots.

{ Anno. 1299. }

The Scottes ſworne to the kings alleageāce

And yet the falſe vntroth of the Scots would not thus be ruled, but roſe vp in a new broyle: ſo that the kyng was enforced to make his power agayn the yeare folowing into Scotlād, where he ſo ſuppreſſed the rebellion of yͤ Lords and of the commons, that they ſwearing to the kings allegiance, preſented themſelues by great companyes, & put them wholy in the kings grace and mercy: ſo that the king thinking himſelfe to be in peaceable poſſeſſion & in a great ſurety of the land, cauſed to be ſworne vnto hym the rulers of the boroughes, citties, and townes, with other officers of the land; and ſo returned vnto Barwicke, and ſo into England, and laſtly to Weſtminſter.

Ex Chron. Tho. Walſinghami. Aueſburienſis.

The Popes meſſage vnto the kyng.

The kinges aunſwere to the Pope.

The Pope chalengeth the Realme of Scotland to be free from the dominion of England

Theſe martiall affayres betwene England and Scotland although they appertayne not greatly to the purpoſe of our ſtory Eccleſiaſtical: yet ſo much by yͤ way I thought briefly to touch, whereby the better it might be vnderſtanded by theſe premiſſes, that whiche followeth in the ſequele hereof. As the Scottes were thus warring and ragyng agaynſt the king, and ſaw they could not make theyr party good, they ſent priuily to Pope Boniface for hys ayde and counſaile: who immediatly ſendeth downe his precept to the K. to this effect, that he ſhould hereafter ſurceaſe to diſquiet or moleſt the Scottes, for that they were a people exempt and properly pertaining to hys Chappell. And therfore it could not otherwiſe be, but that the City of Ieruſalem muſt needs defend hys own Citizens: & as the mount Syon, mayntayn ſuch as truſt in the Lord. &c. Wherunto the king briefly maketh aunſwere agayne, ſwearing with an othe that he would to his vttermoſt keepe & defend that which was hys right, euidētly known to all the world. &c. Thus the Scots bearing themſelues bold vpon the popes meſſage, & alſo confederating themſelues with the Frenchmē, paſſed ouer that yeare. The next yeare after yͤ (whiche was 29. of the kinges raigne) the ſayd Pope Boniface directeth hys letters agayn to the kyng, wherein he doth vendicate the kingdome of Scotland, to be proper to yͤ Church of Rome, & not ſubiect to the king of Englād. And therfore it was agaynſt God, againſt iuſtice, and alſo preiudiciall to the Churche of Rome, for hym to haue or hold dominion vpon the ſame, which he proued by theſe reaſons.

Firſt, that when king Henry the father of this Kyng, receiued ayd of Alexander king of Scots in his warres agaynſt Simon Mountfort: he recogniſed & acknowledged in his letters patents, that he receaued the ſame of king Alexander, not of any duety, but of ſpeciall fauour.

Item, when the ſayd king Alexander comming to England, did homage to the ſayd kyng Henry: he did it not as king of Scotland, but onely for certayne landes of Tyndal and Penreth lying in England.

Item. where the ſayd king Alexander left behynd hym Margaret his heyre, being Nece to the king of England, and yet vnder age: yet the tuition of yͤ ſayd Margaret was committed not to the K. of England, but to certain Lords of Scotland, deputed to the ſame.

Moreouer, when any legacie was directed downe from Rome to the Realme of England, for collecting of tenthes or other cauſes: the ſayd legacie tooke no place, in the realm of Scotland, and might well be reſiſted (as it was in kyng Alexander hys dayes) except an other ſpeciall commiſſion touching the realme of Scotland, were ioined withall. Wherby it appeareth, theſe to be two ſeueral dominions, and not ſubiect vnder one.

Adding furthermore, that the kingdome of Scotland firſt was conuerted by the reliques of the bleſſed Apoſtle S. Peter: through the deuine operation of God: to the vnity of the Catholicke fayth.

Wherefore vpon theſe cauſes and reaſons, Pope Boniface in hys letters to the king, required him to geue ouer hys clayme, and ceaſe his warres agaynſt the Scottiſh nation: And to releaſe all ſuch both of the ſpiritualtie and laytie, as he had of them priſoners. Alſo to call home agayne his officers and deputies, whiche he had there placed and ordained to the greuance of that nation, to the ſclaunder of all faythfull people, and no leſſe preiudice to the Church of Rome. And if he would clayme any right or title to the ſaid Realme or any part therof: he ſhould ſend vp his procuratours ſpecially to yͤ ſame appoynted, with all that he could for himſelfe alleadge vnto the ſea Apoſtolicke, there to receaue what reaſon and right would require.

{ Anno. 1301. }

The K. replyeth to the Pope.

The king, after he had receaued theſe letters of the Pope, aſſembled a councell or Parliament at Lincolne: by the aduiſe of which counſell & Parliament, he addreſſed other letters reſponſall to the Pope agayne: wherin firſt in al reuerend maner he deſireth him not to geue light eare to

Scotland al one with England. Brutus.

the ſiniſter ſuggeſtions of falſe reportes, and imaginers of miſchiefe. Then he declareth out of old recordes & hiſtories frō the firſt time of the Brittaynes, that the realm of Scotland hath alwayes from time to time bene all one with England, beginning firſt with Brutus in the tyme of Hely and Samuell the Prophet: which Brutus comming frō Troy to this Ile called then Albion, after called by hym Britannia, had three ſonnes: Locrinus to whome he gaue yͤ part of the land, called then of hym Logria, now Anglia: Albanactus his ſecond ſonne, to whom he gaue Albania, nowe called Scotia: and hys thyrd ſonne Camber, to whome he gaue Cambria, now called Wales. &c.

Lokrinus. Albanactus. Camber.

And thus much concerning the firſt deuiſion of this Ile, as in auncient hiſtories is found recorded. In whiche matter paſſing ouer the death of king Humber, the actes of Dunwald, king of this Realme, the deuiſion of Belyn and Brene, the victories of king Arthur, we will reſort (ſayth the king) to more nearer tymes, teſtified and witneſſed by ſufficient authors, as Marianus Scotus, William Malmeſbury: Roger Abyndon: Henry Huntington: Radulph de Bizoto and other. All which make ſpecial declaration, & geue manifeſt euidence, of the execution of this our right (ſayth he) & title of Superioritie, euer continued & preſerued hetherto.

And firſt to begin with Edward the Seniour, before the conqueſt, ſonne to Alurede kyng of England, about the yeare of our Lord. 900. it is playne and manifeſt, that he had vnder hys dominion and obedience the king of Scots. And here is to be noted, that this matter was ſo notorious and manifeſt, as Maryan the Scot writing that ſtory in thoſe dayes, graunteth, confeſſeth and teſtifieth the ſame: and this dominion continued in that ſtate 23. yeare. At whiche tyme, Athelſtane ſucceeded in the crowne of England, and hauing by battaile cōquered Scotland, he made one Conſtantine king of that party, to rule & gouerne the country of Scotland vnder him, adding this princely word: That it was more honour to him to make a king, then to be a king.

Alias 907.

24. yeares after that, whiche was the yeare of our Lord 947. Eldred king our progenitour, Athelſtanus brother, took homage of Iriſe then king of Scots.

30. yeares after that, whiche was the yeare of our Lorde 977. kyng Edgar our predeceſſour tooke homage of Kynalde king of Scots. Here was a little trouble in England by the death of S Edward kyng and martyr, deſtroyed by the deceite of hys mother in law: but yet within memory.

40. yeares after the homage done by Kynald to King Edgar, that is to ſay, in the yeare of our Lord. 1017. Malcoline the king of Scots did homage to Knute our predeceſſour. After this homage done. The Scots vttered ſome peece of theyr naturall diſpoſition, whereupon (by warre made by our progenitour S. Edward the confeſſour, 39. yeare after that homage done, that is to ſaye, the yeare of our Lord. 1056) Malcoline king of Scots was vanquiſhed, and the realme of Scotland geuen to Malcoline his ſonne by our ſayd progenitour S. Edward: vnto whom the ſayd Malcoline made homage and fealty.

Within 40. yeares after that, William Conquerour entred this realme, whereof he accompted no perfect conqueſt, vntill he had likewiſe ſubdued the Scots: and therfore in the ſayd yeare (which was in the yeare of our Lord. 1068) the ſayde Malcoline King of Scots did homage to the ſayd William Conquerour, as hys ſuperiour by Conqueſt king of England.

25. yeares after that, which was the yeare of our Lord. 1093. the ſayd Malcoline did homage & fealty to William Rufus, ſonne to the ſayd William Conquerour: and yet after that was for his offences and demerites depoſed, and hys ſonne ſubſtitute in hys place: who likewiſe fayled in his duety, and therfore was ordained in that eſtate by the ſayd William Rufus, Edgar brother to the laſt Malcoline, and ſonne to the firſt, who did hys homage and fealty accordingly.

7. yeares after that, which was in the yeare of our Lorde. 1100. the ſayd Edgar king of the Scots, did homage to Henry the firſt our progenitour.

37 yeare after that, Dauid king of Scots did homage to Matilde the Emperatrice, as daughter and heyre to Henry the firſt. Wherefore being after required by Stephen, then obtayning poſſeſſion of the Realme, to make his homage: he refuſed ſo to doe, becauſe he had before made it to the ſayd Matilde, and thereupon forbare. After whiche Dauids death, whiche enſued ſhortly after, the ſonne of the ſayde Dauid made homage to the ſayde Kyng Stephen.

14. yeares after that, whiche was in the yeare of our Lorde 1150. William king of Scots, and Dauid hys brother, with all the nobles of Scotland made homage to Henry the ſecond ſonne, with a reſeruation of their duetye to Henry the ſecond hys Father.

25 yeares after that, which was in the yeare of our Lorde 1175. William kyng of Scotland, after much rebellion and reſiſtaunce, according to their naturall inclination (King Henry the ſecond then beyng in Normandy) knowledged finally his errour, and made hys peace and compoſition, confirmed with hys great Seale, and the Seales of the nobilitie of Scotland, making therewith his homage and fealtie.

Within 15. yeares after that, which was the yeare of our Lorde 1190. the ſayd William king of Scots came to our Citty of Caunterbury, and there dyd homage to our noble progenitour Kyng Richard the firſt.

14. yeares after that, the ſaid William did homage to our progenitour king Iohn, vpon a hill beſides Lincolne, making his othe vpon the Croſſe of Hubert then Archbiſhop of Canterbury, being there preſent, and a merueilous multitude aſſembled for that purpoſe.

26. yeare after that, whiche was in the yeare of our Lorde 1230. Alexander king of Scots maryed Margaret the daughter of our progenitour Henry the third, at our Citty of Yorke, in the feaſt of Chriſtmas: at whiche tyme the ſayd Alexander dyd hys homage to our ſayd progenitour: who reigned in this Realme 56. yeares. And therefore betweene the homage made by the ſayd Alexander king of Scotland, and the homage done by Alexander, ſonne to the ſayd king of Scots, to vs at our coronation at Weſtminſter, there was about 50. yeares: At which tyme, the ſaid Alexander kyng of Scottes repayred to the ſayd feaſt of our coronation, and there did he his duety as is aforeſayd.

¶ Beſides theſe letters of the king, the Lordes temporall alſo in the name of the whole communaltie and Parliament, wrote an other letter to the pope, anſwering to that, where as the pope arrogated to hym to be iudge for the title of the realme of Scotland, whiche the king of England claymed to hymſelfe: whiche letter I thought alſo here to annexe contayning, as in the wordes of the ſame here followeth to be read and ſeene.

The Lordes temporall, and the whole Baronie of England to the Pope.

A letter of the Lordes temporall to the Pope.

THe holy mother Churche, by whoſe miniſtery the Catholicke ſee is gouerned: in her deedes (as we throughly beleeue and holde) proceedeth with that ripenes in iudgement, that ſhe will be hurtfull to none but like a mother would euery mans right to be kept vnbroken as well in other, as in her ſelfe. Whereas therefore in a generall Parliament called at Lincoln of late by our moſt dread Lord Edward by the grace of God the noble kyng of England: the ſame our Lorde cauſed certayne letters receaued from you to be read openly, and to be declared ſeriouſly afore vs, about certayne buſineſſes touching the condition & ſtate of the realme of Scotland: We did not a little muſe and maruaile with our ſelues hearing the meaninges concerning the ſame, ſo wondrous and ſtraunge, as the like we haue not heard at any time before. For we know moſt holy father, and it is well knowne as well in this realm of England (as alſo not vnknowne to other perſons beſides) that from the firſt beginning of the Realme of England: the certayne and direct gouernement of the Realme of Scotland in all temporall cauſes, from tyme to tyme belonged to the kynges of the ſame Realme of England, and Realme of Scotland: as well in the times both of the Brittaines, as alſo of Engliſhmen. Yea rather, the ſame Realme of Scotland of olde tyme was in fee to the Auncetours of our foreſayd Lordes Kynges of England, yea and to hymſelfe. Furthermore, the Kynges of Scottes and the Realme haue not bene vnder any other then the kynges of England, and the Kinges of England haue anſwered, or ought to aunſwere for theyr rightes in the foreſayd Realme, or for any hys temporalities afore anye Iudge Eccleſiaſticall or ſecular, by reaſon of free preheminence of the ſtate of hys royall dignitie and cuſtome kept without breach at all tymes. Wherefore, after treatie had and dilligent deliberation of the contentes in your foreſayd letters, this was the common agreeing and conſent with one mynde, and ſhall be without fayle in tyme to come by Gods grace: that our foreſayd Lord the Kyng, ought by no meanes to aunſwere in iudgement in any caſe, or ſhoulde bring hys foreſayd rightes into doubt: nor ought not to ſend any proctors or meſſengers to your preſence: ſpecially ſeeing that the premiſſes tend manifeſtly to the diſheriting of the right of the Crowne of Englande, and the playne ouerthrow of the ſtate of the ſayd Realme, and alſo hurt of the liberties, cuſtomes, and lawes of our fathers: For the keeping and defence of whiche, we are bounde by the duety of the othe made. And we will mayntayne them with all power, and will defend them (by Gods helpe) with all ſtrength. And farther we will not ſuffer our foreſayd Lord the king to doe, or by anye meanes to attempt the premiſſes being ſo vnacuſtomed, vnwont, and not heard of afore. Wherefore, we reuerently and humbly beſeech your holines, that ye would ſuffer the ſame our Lord king of Englande (who among other Princes of the worlde, ſheweth himſelfe Catholicke and deuout to the Romiſhe Churche) quietly to enioye hys rightes, liberties, cuſtomes and lawes aforeſayde: without all empayring, and trouble, and let them continue vntouched. In witneſſe whereof we haue ſet our ſeales to theſe preſentes, aſwell for vs, as for the whole communaltie of the foreſayd Realme of England. Dated at Lincolne in the yeare of our Sauiour 1031. & anno Edwardi primi.28.

Anno. 1303.
The P.ſetteth king againſt king.
Ex R.Aueſb.

The yeare following, which was from Chriſt,an.1303. the ſayd Pope Boniface the eight of that name, taking diſpleaſure with Phillip the Frenche king: did excite king Edward of Englād, to warre againſt him, promiſing him great ayd thereunto. But he (as mine author ſayth) little truſting ẏ Popes falſe vnſtable affection toward him well proued before, put him of wͭ delayes. Ex Rob. Aueſb. Wherupon, the French king fearing the power of king Edward whom the Pope had ſet agaynſt hys friendſhip: reſtored vnto him agayn Uaſcone, which he wrongfully had in his hands deteined. Concerning this variaunce here mentioned betweene the Pope and the French kyng, how it begā firſt, and to what end it fell out: the ſequell hereof (Chriſt willing) ſhall declare, after that firſt I haue finiſhed the diſcourſe begon betweene England and Scotland.

An other Scottiſh rebellion ſuppreſt.

In the yeare 1303. the foreſayd Williā Waleys, which had done ſo many diſpleaſures, to the king before (continuing ſtill in his rebellion) gathered great multitudes of the Scottes to wͭſtand the king: til at length, the yeare following he was taken, and ſent vp to Londō, and there executed for the ſame. After which thinges done, the king thē held his Parliament at Weſtminſter, whether came out of Scotland the Biſhop of S. Andrewes, Robert Bruſe abone mentioned, Earle of Dunbarre, Earle of Arles, and Syr Iohn comming, with diuers other: The which voluntarily were ſworne to be true to the king of England, and to keep the land of Scotland to his vſe agaynſt al perſons.

The P. diſpenſeth with due & true obedience of ſubiects toward their prince.

But ſhortly after the ſayd Robert Bruſe, who as is ſayd maried the ſecond daughter of Earle Dauid, forgetting his othe before made vnto the king: within a yeare or two after this, by the counſell of the Abbot of Stone, and Biſhop of S. Andrewes: ſent vp vnto Pope Clement the 5. for a diſpenſation of his othe made: inſinuating to him, that King Edward vexed and greued the realme of Scotland wrōgfully. Wherupon the pope wrote vnto the king, to leaue of ſuch doinges.

The Popes inhibition neglected in England.
An other rebellion of the Scots repreſſed.

Notwithſtanding whiche inhibition of the Pope, the king proſecuting hys owne right, after he had ẏ vnderſtādīng of ẏ doings of the Scots, & of the miſchiefe of Robert Bruys (who had ſlayne wͭ hys owne handes Syr Iohn Comyng, for not conſenting with him and other Lordes at hys Parliament) areared his power & ſtrength of men preparing himſelfe toward Scotlād: where he ioyning with the ſaid Syr Robert and all the power of Scotland in a playne, neare vnto S. Iohns towne, put him to flight and ſo chaſed the Scots, that of them were ſlayne to the number of 7. thouſand. In the which victory, ſuch Byſhops and Abbots as were taken, he ſent thē to the Pope: the temporall Lordes and other Scots he ſent vnto London. &c.

The Scots agayne ſubdued.

Syr Robert Bruys after this diſcomfiture, when he had thus loſt both the field and chiefe frendes, ſeing himſelfe, not able to make hys party good, fled into Norway, where he kept hys abode during the time while king Edward liued. Whē this noble Edward had thus ſubdued the Scots, he yelded thankes to God for hys victory, & ſo ſetting ẏ land in a quiet, and an order, he returned vnto London, which was the 35. yeare and laſt of his raigne. &c.

A greeuous variance betwene Philip the frēch king & pope Boniface.
Pope Nicolas.4.
Popedome vacant two yeares.
Pope Celeſtinus 5.

Now returning to that which I promiſed before touching the variaunce and greuous diſſention betwene Philip the French king, and Pope Boniface the eight of that name. After the byſhopricke of Rome had bene long voyd through the diſſentiō of the Cardinals, for the ſpace of two yeares and 3. monthes: at length, Pope Celeſtinus was choſen, ſucceſſor to pope Nicholas the fourth. Which Celeſtinus in hys firſt conſiſtory, began to reforme the Clergy of Rome, thinking to make it an example to al other churches. Wherefore, he procured to hymſelfe ſuch a hatred among hys Clergy men, that this Boniface, then called Benedictus, ſpeaking through a reede by his chamber wall nightly admoniſhed him, as it had bene a voyce from heauen, that he ſhould geue ouer his Papacie, as beyng a burden bigger then he could wyld. Ex Maſſeo.

Craftie iugling among Popes and Cardinals.
Ex Maſſeo.
The eight Nero.

This pope Celeſtine after he had ſet vi. monethes, by the trechery & falſhoode of this Boniface, was induced to geue vp & reſigne his Biſhoprick, partly for the voyce ſpoken of before, partly for feare: being told of certaine craftely ſubornated in his chāber, that if he did not reſigne, he ſhold loſe his life. Who thē after his reſignation goyng to liue in ſome ſolitary deſert (being a ſimple man) was vilely taken and thruſt in perpetuall priſon by Pope Boniface: craftely pretending that he did it not for any hatred vnto Celeſtine, but that ſedetious perſōs might not haue him as their hed to rayſe vp ſome ſtirre in the Church. And ſo was brought to his death. Wherfore, this Boniface was worthely called the eight Nero: of whom it was rightly ſayd, hee came in like a Foxe, he reigned like a Lyon, and dyed like a dogge.

P. Boniface.8.
The miſchiefe of Pope Boniface deſcribed.

This Pope Boniface ſucceeding, or rather inuadyng after Celeſtinus, behaued hymſelfe ſo imperiouſly, that he put down princes, excommunicated kings, ſuch as did not take theyr confirmation at his hand. Diuers of his Cardinals he draue away for feare, ſome of them as ſchiſmaticks he depoſed and ſpoyled them of all theyr ſubſtaunce. Philip the French king he excommunicated, for not ſuffering hys money to goe out of the Realme, and therefore curſed both his and him, to the fourth generation. Albertus the Emperour not once nor twiſe, but thriſe ſought at his handes to be cōfirmed, and yet was reiected, neyther could obtain vnleſſe he would promiſe to driue the Frenche king out of his realme.

Guelphes and Gibelines 2. factions in Rome.

The factions diſcorde in Italy betweene the Guelphes, and Gibillines, which the part of a good biſhop had bene to extinct: ſo little he helped to quench the ſmoke, that he of all other was chiefeſt firebrande to encreaſe the flame. In ſo much that vpon Aſhwedneſday, when Porchetus an Archbiſhop came and kneeled down before hym to receaue hys aſhes: Pope Boniface looking vpon him, & perceauing that he was one of ẏ Gibbellines part, caſt his handfull of aſhes in hys eyes, ſaying: Memento homo quòd Gibellinus es &c. That is: remember man that a Gibeline thou art, and to aſhes thou ſhalt go.

Iubilei firſt begonne in Rome.
The P. claimeth and practiſeth power of both ſwordes.

This Pope moreouer ordained firſt the Iubilei in Rome: in ẏ ſolemniſing wherof, the firſt day he ſhewed hymſelfe in his pontificalibus, & gaue free remiſſion of ſinnes to as many as came to Rome out of all the parts of the world. The ſecond day (beyng arrayed with Imperiall enſignes) he commaunded a naked ſword to be caryed before him and ſayd with a loud voyce: Ecce poteſtatem vtriuſq; gladij. That is, Loe here the power and authoritie of both the ſwordes. &c.

From the which very yeare (as moſt ſtories do record) the Turkes doe beginne the firſt count of their Turkiſhe Emperours, whereof the firſt was Ottomannus, as you ſhal heare diſcourſed hereafter, by Gods grace in the hiſtory of the Turkes.

Pope Boniface 8. Author of the booke of decretals.

By this ſayd Pope Boniface, diuers conſtitutions extrauagancs of his predeceſſours were collected together, with many of his owne newly added thereto, and is made the booke called Sextus decretalium. &c. By whom alſo firſt ſprang vp pardons and indulgences from Rome.

Romiſh pardōs firſt begunne by P. Boniface.8.
Ex hiſt. Nic. Triuet.

These thinges thus premiſed of Boniface the Pope, now will I come to the occaſion of the ſtrife betweene him, and the French king: Concerning whiche matter, firſt I finde in the hiſtory of Nicholas Triuet, that in the yeare of our Lord.1301. the Byſhop of Oppanuham beyng accuſed for a conſpiracie agaynſt the French king, was brought vp to hys Court, & ſo committed to priſon. The pope hearing this, ſendeth word to the kyng by hys Legate to ſet him at liberty. The French king not daring to the contrary, looſeth the Biſhop: But whē he had done, he dischargeth both the byſhop and the Legate commaunding them to voyde hys realme.

Philip the French king excommunicated.

Whereupon, Pope Boniface reuoketh all the graces and priuiledges graunted eyther by him or his predeceſſors before to the kingdome of Fraunce: alſo, not long after thundring out the ſentence of hys curſe agaynſt hym. Moreouer, citeth all the prelates, all diuines, and lawyers both ciuile and canon, to appeare perſonally before him at Rome, at a certain day, which was the firſt of Nouember. Agaynſt this citation, the king againe prouideth and commaundeth by ſtraite proclamation, that no maner of perſō ſhould export out of the Realme of France eyther gold, or ſiluer, or any other maner of ware or marchandiſe, vppon forfeting all their goodes, and theyr bodyes at the kinges pleaſure: prouiding with all, the wayes and paſſages diligently to be kept that none might paſſe vnſearched. Ouer and beſides, the ſayd French kyng defeited the Pope in geuing and beſtowing prebendes, and benefices, and other eccleſiaſticall liuings, contrary to the Popes profite. For ẏ which cauſe, the pope writeth to the foreſayd king in forme and effect as followeth.

¶ *Boniface Byſhop and ſeruaunt to Gods ſeruauntes*
to hys beloued ſonne Phillip by the grace of God, king
of Fraunce, greeting and Apoſtolicall bleſſing.

Ex lib. Stephani Aufrery.

BOniface the ſeruaunt of Gods ſeruauntes &c. feare God, and obſerue his commaundementes. We will thee to vnderſtand, that thou art ſubiect to vs both in ſpirituall thinges, and temporall. And that no gift of benefices or prebendes belongeth to thee: and if thou haue the keeping of any beyng vacaunt, that thou reſerue the profites of them to the ſucceſſors. But if thou haue geuen any, we iudge the gift to be voyde: and call backe how farre ſo euer thou haſt gone forward. And whoſoeuer beleueth otherwiſe, we iudge them heretickes.

Unto this letter of the Pope, king Phillip maketh anſwere agayn in maner & order as followeth, which is this.

❧ *Phillip by the grace of God King of Fraunce,*
to Boniface not in deedes, behauing himſelfe for Pope, little friendſhip or none.

A letter of king Philip of Fraũce to pope Boniface.

TO Boniface bearing himſelfe, for chiefe Byſhop, little health or none. Let thy fooliſhnes know that in no temporall things we are ſubiect to no man, and that the giftes of prebendes, and many benefices made and to be made by vs were and ſhall be good both in time paſt and to come. And that we will defend manfully the poſſeſſours of the ſayd benefices, and we thinke them that beleue or thinke otherwiſe, fooles and mad men. Geuen at Paris the Wedneſday after Candlemas. an. 1301.

After theſe aforeſayd and other writinges paſſing to and fro, betweene the French kyng and the pope: within a yeare and a halfe after, the king ſommoneth a Parliament ſending downe hys letters to his Sheriffes and other officers to ſummon the Prelates and Barons of the Realme, vnto the ſayd Court of Parliament, according to the tenor of the kinges letters here following.

A Parliament ſummoned by K. Philip at Paris.

PHilip by the grace of God king of Fraunce, &c. Whereas we would take counſaile with the Prelates, Barons and other our faythfull, about weighty matters and hard, and ſuche as belong greatly to our right and touching our honour, ſtate, liberties and lawes of this our Realme, Churches, and Eccleſiaſticall perſons, and would alſo go forward and proceede in the foreſayd matters according to their counſayle: We commaund you, that ye dilligently in our behalfe require & ſtraightly charge all the Prelates in your baliwicke, and alſo all and ſinguler Abbots and Priors of the ſame your foreſayd baliwicke, (to certayne of the whiche, we haue directed downe our ſpecial letters for the ſame cauſe) that as they fauour our honour, the good ſtate both of the realme, of thẽſelues, and of the Church: they repayre to vs in their own perſõs all lets and delayes ſet aſide, and all other buſines left of Shewing to them moreouer, that we can iudge none of them to be eyther to vs faythfull ſubiects, or friendes to the Realme, which ſhall faile herein, or withdraw himſelfe in the foreſayd buſines, counſayles, and helpes in tyme. Wherin if peraduenture any ſhall ſlack or refuſe to reſort and come toward vs within 8. dayes frõ the tyme of this charge geuen by you, or your commaundement: That then, you to ſeiſe all hys temporall goodes into our hand; & ſo ſeiſed to holde them vntill you receiue other commaundement from vs. Geuen at Paris the Monday before the Natiuitie of S. Iohn Baptiſt, in the yeare of our Lord. 1303.

¶ *A declaration of maiſter William Nagareta,*
made againſt Pope Boniface the eight, with his appellation alſo made at Paris, afore the kyng and his Counſaile in the Church of Paris.

The appeale of Nagareta made againſt pope Boniface the 8.

Ex Regiſtro.

IN the name of God Amen. In the yeare of our Lorde. 1303. Indictione ſecunda, **the 12. day of March, and the ix. yeare of the Popedome, of the moſt holy father the L. Boniface the 8. by Gods prouidence pope: and in the preſence of vs common notaries, and witneſſes written vnder, the noble man maiſter William Nagareta knight (a worſhipfull profeſſour of the lawes) ſtanding afore the moſt excellent Prince the Lord Philip, by the grace of God moſt noble king of Fraunce: ſpake with liuely words, and gaue in writinges theſe thinges that follow.**

There haue bene falſe Prophetes among the people: as there haue bene alſo among you falſe teachers. &c. S. Peter the glorious prince of the Apoſtles, ſpeaking to vs by the ſpirite, tolde vs thinges to come: that likewiſe as there were falſe Prophetes afore tyme, ſo there ſhould come among you falſe teachers, bringing in ſectes of deſtruction: by the which the way of trueth ſhall be defaced: and couetouſly they ſhall make marchandiſe of you with fayned wordes: and further addeth, that ſuch maiſters did follow the way of Balaam, of Boſor, whiche loued the reward of wickednes, and had hys bridled Aſſe to correct hys madnes, whiche ſpeaking in a mans voyce did ſtop the fooliſhnes of the Prophet. All which thinges as they be ſhewed to vs by the greateſt Patriarch himſelf: Your eyes ſee them fulfilled this day according to the letter. For there ſitteth in S Peters Chaire the mayſter of lyes, cauſing himſelfe to be called Boniface. i. a well doer, where he is notable in all kinde of euill doyng: And ſo both he hath taken to himſelfe a falſe name, and where he is not a true ruler and maiſter, he calleth himſelfe the Lord, Iudge, and mayſter of all men. And comming in contrary to the common order appoynted by the holy fathers, and alſo contrary to the rules of reaſon, and ſo not entring in at the doore into the Lordes ſhepefold, is not a ſhepheard nor hierling, but rather a theefe & robber. For he (the true huſbãd of the Romiſh church yet liuing) deceiued him that was delighted in ſimplicitie, & entiſed him with fayned flatterings & gifts to let him haue his ſpouſe to be his wiſe, agaynſt trueth, which cryeth, thoſe whom God hath coupled, let no man ſeperate: & at length laying violent handes vppon hym, perſwading him falſely that thing which the deceiuer ſayd to come from the holy ſpirite: was not aſhamed to ioyne to himſelfe with wicked practiſe that holye Church, which is maiſtreſſe of all Churches, calling hymſelfe to her huſband, where as he cannot be: for Celeſtinus the true Romiſh Byſhop, agreed not to the ſaid deuorce, being deceiued by ſo great ſubtiltie, nothing is ſo contrary to agreeing as errour and deceit, as mans lawes beare witnes, that I neede not to ſpeake of his violence. But becauſe the ſpirite inſpireth where he will, and he that is led with the ſpirite, is not vnder the lawe, the holy vniuerſall Church of God, not knowing the craftes of that deceiuer, ſtumbling and doubting whether it came from the holy ghoſt, that Celeſtinus ſhould leaue of his gouernment, and the ſinnes of the people deſeruing it, for feare of a ſchiſme, ſuffered the foreſaid deceauer: although according to the doctrine of our Lord, by hys fruites he might be knowne, whether he came to the ſayd regiment by the holy ghoſt or otherwiſe: his fruites (as it is playnely here written beneath) are now manifeſt to all men, by which it is apparaunt to the worlde, that he came not in by God but otherwayes: and ſo came not in by the ſheepefould. His fruites are moſt wicked, and hys ende is death, and therefore it is neceſſary that ſo euill a tree (according to the Lordes ſaying) ſhould be cut downe and caſt into the fire. This cãnot auaile to his excuſe, which is ſaid of ſome men, that is: that the Cardinals did agree vpon him: agayn after the death of the ſayd Celeſtinus the pope, ſeing he could not be her huſband, whom it is manifeſt that he defiled by adultery, her firſt huſband yet liuing, & ſhe beyng worthy to haue the promiſe of mariage kept vnto her. Therefore, becauſe that whiche is done agaynſt the Lord, turneth to the wrong of all men: and ſpecially in ſo great a miſchiefe, by reaſon of the conſequence by which ſhe is iudged of the people both a woman adultres or defamed: I like a bridled Aſſe by the power of the Lord, and not by the voyce of a perfect mã, being not able to bear ſo great a burdẽ, take in hand to rebuke the madnes of the ſayd falſe Prophet Balaam, whiche at the inſtaunce of kyng Balaac. i. of the Prince of deuils, whom he ſerueth, and ready to curſſe the people bleſſed of the Lord, I beſeeche you moſt excellent Prince, and Lord Phillip by the grace of God king of Fraunce: that like as the Aungell of God in tyme paſt mette in the way with a ſword drawne, the prophet Balaam goyng to curſe Gods people: ſo you (whiche are vnwilling to execute iuſtice, and therefore like the Aungell of the Lorde, and miniſter of power and office) woulde meete with a naked ſworde this ſayde wicked man: whiche is farre worſe then Balaam, that he performe not that euill whiche he intendeth to the people.

An inuectiõ againſt the placing of Boniface. 8. in the papall ſea.

The pope well compared to Balaam which was wont curſe Gods people for reward of money.

Articles propounded againſt pope Boniface.

Firſt, I propound that the foreſayd man, that nameth himſelfe Boniface is no Pope, but wrongfully keepeth the ſeat which he hath in deede to the great damage of all the ſoules of Gods holy Church. I ſay alſo, yͭ his entring was many waies faulty, and he entred not in at the doore, but otherwaies, and therfore is to be iudged a theefe & a robber.

2. I propound alſo, that the ſayde Boniface is a manifeſt hereticke, and vtterly cut off from the body of the holy Church, becauſe of many kindes of hereſies, whiche are to be declared in conuenient tyme and place.

3. I propound alſo, that the ſayd Boniface is an horrible ſimoniacall, & ſuch a one as hath not bin ſithens the beginning of the world: and the miſchiefe of this ſinne in him is ſo notorious to all the world (whiche thing is manifeſt to all that will playnly vnderſtand) in ſo much that he beyng openly ſlaũdered, ſaid openly that he could not commit ſimony.

The nature of this pope and al popes by his image painted out.

The pope thinkes himſelfe equall with Chriſt.

4. I propound alſo, that the ſayd Boniface being wrapt in infinite manifeſt haynous ſinnes, is ſo hardened in thẽ, that he is vtterly not poſſible to be corrected: and lying in doungeon of miſchiefe ſo deepe, that he may not be ſuffered any longer without the ouerthrow of the ſtate of yͤ church. His mouth is full of curſing, his feete and ſteps are ſwift to ſhed bloud. He vtterly teareth in peeces the Churches, which he ought to cheriſhe, waſting wickedly the goodes of the poore, & making much of wicked men that geue hym rewardes: perſecuting the righteous, and among the people not gathering but ſcattering, bringing in new ſectes of deſtruction that haue not bene heard of. Blaſphemyng the way of truth, and by robbery thinking himſelfe equall to yͤ Lord Ieſus Chriſt which is bleſſed for euer. And he beyng moſt couetous thirſteth for gold, coueteth gold, & by ſome deuiſe getteth gold of euery people: & vtterly not regardig the worſhipping of God, with fayned wordes ſometimes by flattering, ſometimes by threatning, ſometime by falſe teaching, and all to get mony withall, he maketh marchãdiſe of vs all: enuying all thinges but hys owne, louing no man, nouriſhing warre, perſecuting & hating the peace of

his ſubiectes. He is rooted in all vnſpeakeable ſinnes, contraryng and ſtriuing againſt all the wayes & doctrines of yͤ Lord. He is truly the abhomination of the people which Daniel the Lordes Prophet deſcribed.

Abbominatio deſolationis Papa.

Therfore I anſwere that lawes, weapons, and all the elemẽts ought to riſe againſt him, which thus ouerthroweth the ſtate of the Church: for whoſe ſinnes God plagueth the whole world. And finally, nothing remaineth to hym being ſo vnſatiable to ſatiſfie him withall, but onely the vnſatiable mouth of hell, and the fire that cannot be quenched, continuing for euer. Therfore, ſeing that in a generall coũcel it ſo becommeth, and I ſee this wicked man to be damned, which offendeth both God and al men. I aſke and require, as inſtantly as I can, and beſeech you my Lord and King aforeſaid, that ye would declare to the prelates, doctours, people, & princes your brethren in Chriſt, & chiefly to the Cardinals and all Prelates, and call a Councell. In the which (when this foreſaid wicked man is condemned) by the worſhipfull Cardinals: the church may be prouided of a ſhephearde, & for that Councell I offer my ſelfe ready, lawfully to purſue the foreſaide things. And where as the ſaide man being in higheſt dignity, in the meane time cannot be ſuſpended of hys ſuperiour, therefore he ought to be taken, ſuſpended in deede for the things aforeſaid, ſeing his ſtate, is called into iudgement by the meanes aforeſaid.

I beſeech and require the ſaid Cardinals by you, and I preſently require them & the church of God, that this wicked man being put in priſon, the Church of Rome may be prouided of a Vicar, which may miniſter thoſe things that ſhall appertaine, vntil the Church of God be prouided of a biſhop, vtterly to take away all occaſion of a ſchiſme. And leaſt the ſaide wicked man ſhould let and hinder the proſecuting therof, I require theſe things of you my Lord king aforeſaid, affirming you to be bounde to doe this for many cauſes. Firſt for faithes ſake. Secondly, for your kingly dignitie, to whoſe office it belongeth to roote out ſuch wicked men. Thirdly, for your oth ſake, which ye made for the defence of the Churches of your Realme, which the foreſaid rauener vtterly teareth in peeces. Fourthly, becauſe ye be the patron of the Churches, & therfore ye are not bound onely to the defence of them, but to the calling for againe of their goodes, which the foreſaide man hath waſted. Fiftly, ye following the footeſteps of your auncetors, ought to deliuer your mother the Romiſh church, from ſo wicked a hand, wherein by oppreſſion ſhee is tied bound. I require that a publike inſtrument may be made of theſe requeſtes by the notaries here preſent, vnder the witnes of the worſhipfull men that be here preſent. Theſe things were done and ſpoken as is aforeſayd at Paris in the Kings houſe of Lupara.

After this proteſtation of maſter Nagareta, immediatly inſued the appeale of the king, pronoũced and publiſhed againſt the ſayd Boniface, in forme as foloweth.

The appeale made by the king and the louers of the Realme againſt Boniface.

The appellation of the French king and Nobles againſt pope Boniface.8.

IN the name of God. Amen. In the yeare of our Lorde 1303 *Indictione prima*. 13. day of Iune, and the 9. yeare of the Popedom of Boniface Pope the 8. By the tenour of this publique inſtrumẽt be it vnto all men knowen that the moſt noble prince and Lorde Philip by the grace of God, king of Fraunce, the famous and reuerend fathers in Chriſt, Archbiſhops & Biſhops, religious men, Abbots and Priors here vndernamed, in the preſence of vs common Notaries here vnder written, eſpecially called and required for this purpoſe, as it is contained in the ſubſcriptions heere vnder, the famous & noble men, the Lord Lewes, ſonne of the French king Guido of S. Paule, and Iohn Drocem Earles, and William of Pleſiano Lord of Vitenob knight: Moued as they ſaide with a feruent faith, with affection of ſincere loue and zeale of charitie to be ſhewed to the holy Romiſh church, and hauing pitie from their heart, on their mother the vniuerſall church, which as they ſayde is oppreſſed daungerouſly vnder the rule of the ſaide Lord Boniface, and ſuffereth outragious defacing and loſſe: and pitying the right faith (as they ſay) in which ſtandes the ſaluation of ſoules, & which (alas for pitie) in their times miſerably pineth away, & periſheth for the lacke of wholeſome gouernment of the Churche through all Chriſtendome: and earneſtly taking paines, as they ſaid, for the repairing and enhaunſing of the Catholicke faith: ſpecially, ſeeing it was neceſſary for the ſame church, for the foundation of the faith, and health of the ſoules, that none ſhoulde rule the fold of the Lordes flocke, but the true and lawfull ſhepheard: and alſo becauſe the ſame Churche was the ſpouſe of Chriſt that hath no ſpot nor wrincle, all errour, offence, wickednes & wrong ſhoulde be put away, and ſaluation, peace and quietneſſe through Gods mercy might be procured to the whole worlde, which they ſay lieth in warres and darkeneſſe by the wicked deedes, curſed workes, and hurtful examples of the ſayd Boniface: They ſaid and laid againſt the ſaid Boniface, hereſie, and other diuers horrible & curſed faultes, wherein they affirmed him to be tangled, and commonly and notoriouſly reported, the king himſelfe being preſent, with Archbiſhops, Biſhops and other Prelates and Churchmen (which were aſſembled for to entreat of their owne matters, and matters of their Churches) beſide Barons, Earles, and other noble men, whoſe names are vnder written.

The ſaid William propounded & obiected againſt him, ſwearing by the holy Goſpell of God which hee corporally touched, that he coulde prooue all and euery the premiſſes to be true. And the ſayd William of Pleſiano ſware further this othe, that he beleued he could prooue the premiſſes, and that he woulde purſue to the full ende againſt the ſaide Boniface in the generall Councell, where, when, and afore whomſoeuer of right it ought to be done: requiring earneſtly the ſayd Lord king as a champion of the faith, and defender of the Church: that for declaring of this truth to the praiſe of Gods name, to the increaſe & promoting of the Catholike faith, to the honour and wealth of the vniuerſall Church and of all Chriſten people, and the congregation of the ſayd generall councel: that he woulde helpe and beſtowe his profitable labour, with ſouldiors and other like, for the loue of men, and zeale to iuſtice (becauſe his kingly houſe was euer a ruler of the trueth) and that he wold earneſtly require the Archbiſhops, Biſhops, & other Prelates, and that he woulde be effectually inſtant with them. The Earles & knights themſelues beſought earneſtly many of the ſame prelates (as they were pillers of the Church & the faith) that they would helpe and effectually beſtowe their labour to the calling, and aſſembling of the ſaid councell, by all waies and meanes lawful according to the ordinances of the holy fathers and decrees of the canons. But when the prelates heard & fully vnderſtode ſuch obiections, oppoſitions, and requeſts, as is aforeſaid: and conſidered that ſuch a matter not onely was moſt hard, but needed wiſe counſell, they departed out of the ſame place. But on the Friday next following i. the 14. day of the ſame moneth of Iune, the foreſaid Lord king being preſent, and alſo the Lords, Archbiſhops, Biſhops, Abbots, Priors, and many witneſſes here vnder written the ſame time being preſent, and in the preſence of vs common Notaries heere ſubſcribed, and being ſpecially called and required for this purpoſe: the foreſayd William of Pleſiano Knight ſayde, propounded, affirmed, obiected and read, as was contained more fully in a certaine paper which he held in his hand, whoſe tenor was after this ſort.

I William of Pleſiano Knight, ſay, propound, and affirme, that Boniface which now ruleth the Apoſtolical ſea is a rancke hereticke in hereſies, and by hereſies, outragious dedes, and wicked doctrines hereafter to be declared, which things to be true, I beleeue I am able to prooue: or els, ſuch things as theſe ſhall be ſufficient to proue hym a full hereticke, in a cõuenient place & time, and afore whom of right this can or ought to be done. This thing I ſweare on the holy Goſpel of God preſently touched of me.

First, that he beleueth not the immortalitie of men and of chriſten ſoules, but thinking much like as the Saducies did beleeue, that there is no euerlaſting life, and yͭ men can not get at the length ioy, but all the lot and part of comfort and gladnes to be in this world: and by this meanes he affirmeth, that it is no ſinne for the body to liue daintely in al dainties. And out of the aboundance of this leuen, he was not aſhamed to ſay and opẽly to cõfeſſe, that he had rather be an aſſe or a dogge or any other brute beaſt, rather than a Frenchman, which thing he would not haue ſaid, if he beleued a Frenchmã had a ſoule that could enioy euerlaſting life. This thing he taught many men, which knowledged this at the point of death, and the common report goeth on him thus in theſe things.

Pope Boniface had rather be a dogge then a French man.

2. Alſo, he beleeueth not faithfully, that by the wordes ordained of Chriſt & ſpoken ouer the hoſte, after the faſhion of the Church by a faithfull prieſt that is lawfully ordered, the body of Chriſt to be there: and therefore it commeth to paſſe, that he geueth no reuerence to it (no not a litle) when it is lifted vp of the prieſt, yea he riſes not to it, but turneth his backe to it, and makes himſelfe & his ſeat to be honoured where he ſitteth, rather then the altare where the hoſte is conſecrate: and he is commonly reported to doe this.

3. Alſo, he is reported to ſay that whoredome is no ſinne, no more than rubbing of the hands together, & thus commonly runnes the voice and brute.

4. Alſo, he ſaide often, that to thruſt downe the King and Frenchmen (if it coulde not be otherwaies done) he would ouerthrow himſelfe the whole world, & the whole Church. And when he had ſayd ſo, ſome yͭ ſtode by ſaid, God forbid, he anſwered God graunt. And when good men that heard the wordes replied againſt him, that hee ſhould not ſay ſo, becauſe the church of God & all Chriſten men ſhould ſuffer

great ſlaunder ſo: he anſwered, I care not what ſlaunders ſoeuer come, ſo that the Frenchmen and their pride be deſtroied: for it is neceſſary that ſlaunders & offences come.

5. Item, he called againe & allowed a booke made by M. Arnold of Newton, conteining and ſmelling of hereſie, cõdemned by the Byſhop of Paris and reproued by the maiſters of diuinitie, and burned openly by Boniface himſelf: and in the full conſiſtorie of Cardinals being likewiſe reproued, condemned, and burned, yet hee allowed it being wrytten againe, and containing the ſame fault.

6. Item, that he might make the moſt damnable remembraunce of him perpetuall, he cauſed his Images of ſiluer to be ſet in the Churche, by this meanes bringing men to Idolatrie.

7. Item, he hath a priuate deuill, whoſe counſell he vſeth in all things and through all things.

8. Item, he ſaid once that if all men were on one ſide, and he on another, they coulde not deceiue him neither in lawe nor in deede, which thing could not be done except he vſed a deuiliſh art: and of this he is openly thus reported.

9. Item, he is a witch, aſking counſell at ſoothſayers both men and women, and thus he is commonly iudged.

10. Item, he ſayd openly that the Romiſh pope could not commit ſimonie, which is hereticall to ſay. This is a ſinne reproued aſwell in the old Teſtament, as in the new, and generally in the holy Councels. Alſo hee is wont to make marchaundiſe of prelates liuings, dignities, ſuperiorities, and benefices, to the which holy orders be neceſſarely ioyned: and of abſolutions and diſpenſations, like as vſurers and marchaunts vſe to buy and ſell common things in the market, and of this the common bruit reportes him.

11. Item, hee letteth with all his might among Chriſtian men the ſpeciall Embaſſade of Chriſt, made to hys owne ſonnes, ſaying: Peace I leaue to you, & ſoweth diſcord and warres: wherefore ones it was ſayde afore him, that certaine parties would freindly agree after a good ſort, but he letted the peace: and when the other parte did humbly beſeech him, that he would geue licence to agree (he ſayde) he woulde not: Yea if the ſonne of God or Peter the Apoſtle would come downe into the earth and commaund him: he would ſay, I will not beleeue thee.

12. Item, becauſe the French nation (being manifeſtly a moſt Chriſtian nation) followeth not hys errours in the faith: he reckeneth and openly calleth al and euery of them, Paterniani.

13. Item, he is infect with ſodomiticall ſinne, keping with him boyes for cõcubines, and of this fault he is moſt commonly and openly reported.

14. Item, he hath cauſed many murthers of Clearkes to be done in his preſence, & commending it reioyſing at their death: and if they were not deadly wounded at the firſt by his ſeruantes, as oft as he ſaw them ſmiting, he ſaide ſmite, ſmite: by which example many were ſlaine.

15. Item, when he had condemned a certaine noble man, he forbad the Sacrament to be geuen him at the poynt of death, deſiring it and being penitent: ſaying, that the Sacrament of penaunce was not neceſſary to ſaluation.

16. Item, he cõpelled certaine Prieſtes to ſhew vnto him the confeſſions of men, and hee publiſhed them openly afterwarde contrary to the will of them, that were confeſſed to their ſhame & confuſion, and compelled them to redeeme their ſinnes. In ſo much that ones hee depoſed a certaine biſhop of Spayne, for the faultes that he confeſſed to a certaine Cardinal, confeſſing vnto him a certaine priuy horrible fault vnder Benedicite, and compelled the Cardinall againſt his will to declare his confeſſion: and yet afterward he reſtored the ſame Biſhop againe to his place for a little money. wherfore he is thought to play the hereticke in the Sacrament of penance.

15. Item, he faſteth not on the faſting dayes, nor Lent, but eateth fleſh indifferently, & without cauſe ſuffreth his houſhold and frends to eat, ſaying it is no ſinne. Doing in this thing againſt the generall ſtate of the holy church.

16. Item, he oppreſſed the order of the Cardinals, and hath oppreſſed the order of blacke & white monks, of gray Friers & preachers: and ſaid oft, that the world was deſtroyed by them, & that they were falſe hypocrites, and that neuer good could chance to any that would be confeſſed to them, or would be familiar with them, or woulde keepe them in their houſe, and he neuer ſayde good worde of any prelate, religious man, or clark: but euer rebuketh and ſlãdereth them, taking away their good name, and to compel them to redeeme their faultes, he is glad of their accuſations: and this is the common voyce and report of him.

17. Item, of olde time he going about to deſtroy the faith, conceiued a hate againſt the French king, euen to the abhorring of the faith: becauſe of the light of faith which is there, and becauſe of the great witnes and example of chriſtianitie, is & hath ben there. And before he had this ſeat he is proued to haue ſayd, ẏ if he were Pope: he would rather ouerthrow all chriſtendom, but he would ouerthrow and deſtroy the nation, which he calleth the pride of French.

18. Alſo hee is reported, that when the Embaſſadours of the king of England, in the name of the ſayde king did require and entreat for the tenth of the realme of England to be geuen him: he aunſwered, that he would not geue them the tenth, but on this cõdition, that he would make warre with them againſt the French king. And beſide this, he is reported to haue geuen great ſommes of mony to certaine perſons, to hinder that peace ſhuld not be betwixt the ſayd kings. He himſelfe alſo withall his might hath letted it, by meſſengers, letters, and otherwaies that he coulde, yea by geuing bribes.

19. Item, he is reported alſo to haue commaunded Fridericke which kepeth the Ile of Cicil, that if he would betray Charles the king and breake the peace which he made, and ſweare that he would keepe with him, and would ſtirre againſt the king, and kil the Frenchmen: that then he would geue him aide, helpe, and counſaile, & for ſo doing he would geue and graunt him the ſaid kingdoms.

20. He confirmed alſo the king of Almaine to be Emperor, and ſaide openly that he did it to deſtroy the nation, which he calleth the pride of the French men: which ſay, that they are ſubiect to none in temporal things. wherein ſayeth he, they lied on their heds, declaring moreouer, that whoſoeuer (yea if it were an Angell from heauen) would ſay that all kings of the world were not ſubiect to the ſame king of Almaine, he were accurſed.

Pope Boniface enemy to the Frẽch men.

21. Further, he brake the agreements of peace betwixt the king of Almaine and the French king: in which, eyther of them ſhuld haue their owne ſaued. And what encrochings ſo euer had bene on either ſide, ſhould be brought to a due ſtate, and vnder an othe orderly geuen and taken: he is reported to haue commanded the ſame king of Almaine, that he ſhould not kepe theſe conditions of peace, but be an enemie and go about to ſow debate among chriſten men.

Pope Boniface an enemy to peace.

22. Itẽ, he is openly reported, that the holy land was betraied through his fault, and came to the enemies of God and of faith: and that he ſuffred this for the nonſt, & denyed to geue aide to the Chriſtians which defended it: ſpending the treaſures and mony of the church, (which ſhould haue bene beſtowed on that vſe as the patrimonie of Chriſt) in perſecuting of faithful chriſtians and friends of the church, and therwith would enrich his friendes.

23. Item, he is openly reported to vſe ſimonie, not only in beſtowing of benefices, but in geuing of orders, & making diſpenſations. He hath ſet to ſale al benefices of the church, and would beſtow the church commonly on him ẏ would offer moſt: and hee made his ſeruauntes Prelates of the Church, not for wealth of the faith, nor to thruſt downe infidels, but to oppreſſe the faithful, and to enriche his kinred by the church goods and of the patrimonie of him that was crucified: and preſumed to make them Marqueſſes, Erls, and Barons, and was not afraide to builde them ſtrong holdes, rooting out & oppreſſing many noble men & other.

24. Item, it is commonly reported, that he hath deuorced many mariages lawfully made, to the contempt, hurt, and ſlander of many: and he did promote his nephew to a cardinalſhip, being maried, vnlearned, and all together vnworthy to liue: and openly maried one that was diuorced & compelled him to make a vow of chaſtitie: and after that he is reported to haue had two baſtards by her, and ſo goeth the common bruite of him.

25. Item, he is commonly reported, that he handled vngently his predeceſſor Celeſtinus of holy memory, leading a holy life (peraduenture knowing in conſcience that hee could not forſake his Popedom, & therfore Boniface himſelfe had no lawfull entrance to the ſea) and priſoned hym, & there quickly and priuely cauſed him to die. And of thys the common brute and report is through al the world, that he cauſed many and great learned mẽ liuing a regular life (which diſputed of this, whether hee might renounce the Popedome or not) to be ſet in priſon and there to die.

Pope Boniface a murderer of his predeceſſour.

26. Itẽ, he is reported to haue railed at religious perſons leading a regular life wythout a reaſonable cauſe to the world, to the ſlaunder of many.

27. Item, he is reparted to haue ſaid that he would within ſhort time make all the Frenchmen eyther Martyrs or forſakers of their faith.

28. Item, he is commonly reported, that he ſeketh not the health of the ſoules, but the deſtruction of them.

Theſe things being propoũded and red, the ſame william proteſted, ſaide, declared, appealed, and added theſe wordes, reading them in wryting.

I

The proteſtation of W.Pleſiano.

I william of Pleſiano knight, proteſt that I doe not propounde nor ſpeake the foreſaide things for any ſpeciall hate of Boniface hymſelfe (for I hate not him, but his foreſaid euill deedes) nor I ſeeke not hys iniurie nor ſlaunder, nor any mans els: But I ſpeake it for the zeale of the faith, and for the deuotiō that I haue to the holy church of God, and ẏ holy Romiſh ſee, aſwell for thoſe things that I haue ſeene and heard of credible men of his doings, and by likely preſumptions gathered of the foreſaid things, and many diuers other things to be declared in his due place & time. And I ſweare by the holy Goſpel of God (which I touche with my hand) that I beleue him to be a ranke heretike, & that I alſo beleeue that the foreſayd things and ſuch other may proue againſt him ſuch things as ſhall be ſufficient to proue him an heretike, according to the ſtate of the holy fathers. I ſweare alſo that I will purſue againſt him by the lawes, the foreſayd things in the generall counſel that ſhal be aſſembled, in a place that ſhalbe ſafe & ſure for me, to the honour of God, & increaſe of the Chriſtian faith, ſauing the right honor & ſtate of the holy Apoſtolical ſee, in al things. Wherfore, earneſtly and with reuerence I require you my Lord the king (to whome belongeth the defence of the holy mother the church, and the Catholike faith, for of that yee ſhal make accōpt in the laſt iudgement) and you my lordes the Prelates which be the pillers of the faith, and which ought to be iudges of the foreſayde things together, wyth other reuerent fathers, the Catholike Prelates of the holy church, in the general coūcell to be aſſembled: that ye wold procure and take diligent paine that a generall coūcel may be gathered in a fit and ſafe place, and conuenient time, afore which the foreſayde things may be propounded, brought forth, & proued againſt the ſayde Boniface, as is premiſed. And I earneſtly alſo require you my Lorde king, that yee would require the ſame prelates preſent & abſent, in what countrey ſo euer they be, or to whom it belongeth: and that ye would effectually induce them manfully to labour, and to require other faithfully, that the foreſaid counſaile by the foreſaid matters might be gathered in ſuch ſort as is aforeſaide. And becauſe ſo long as this is deferred to proue, I ſuſpect Boniface himſelfe, leſt he being angry and mooued for the foreſayd things againſt me and my partakers, procurers and helpers, my friends and familiars, ſhould goe about by ſome meanes, whereby to ſtay and ſtop my good purpoſe and theirs for going forward. Therefore, by theſe wrytings afore you my lord the king, and diuers prelates, and afore your common notaries here preſent: I prouoke and appeale to the ſaid holy generall counſell Apoſtolicall and Catholike that ſhalbe, and to the holy Apoſtolical ſee, and to him and them to whome of right I may or ought: and I earneſtly require, once, twice, and thrice, that teſtimoniall letters may be geuen me from you: ſuppoſing my ſelfe, my followers, fauourers, familiares, frends, my procurers, and all them that wil hereafter folow me, my goods and theirs to be vnder the protection & keeping of S. Peter and Paule, and the ſaide holy Councel to be aſſembled by the holy Romiſh ſee, & the catholike Apoſtolicall Pope that ſhall be: ſticking neuertheleſſe and willing to ſticke to the appellation and appellations, proceſſe and proceſſes made heerupon, by the noble man M. william of Nagareta knight, in as much as they ſhalbe found & made lawfull, and yet not forſaking this preſent appellation.

Pope Boniface proued an heretick.

When theſe thinges were thus red and done, the foreſaid king aunſwered and required the foreſayde Prelates, prouoking and appealing and making requeſt, prouocation and appellation, as is conteined in the paper vnderwrytten, both there and then with other Prelates: which things all are more fully conteined in theſe wrytings following, and were red to them that heard it, whoſe tenour is ſuch.

The Kinges anſwere. The appeale of Philip the French king from the Pope.

We Philip by the grace of God, hearing and vnderſtanding the obiections propounded by our beloued faithfull knight, W. of Nagareta, againſt Boniface nowe hauing the regiment of the Romiſh Church: although we wold gladly couer with our owne cloke, the filthy partes of ſuch a father: yet for the loue of the Catholicke faith and great deuotion that we beare to the holy Romiſh and vniuerſall Church our mother, and all faithful men and ſpouſe of Chriſt, following the ſteppes of our aunceſtors, which doubted not to ſhedde their owne bloud for the entreaſe and defence of the Churches liberty and the faith: and coueting to prouide for the puritie of faith and the ſtate of the Church, as alſo to auoid the hurt of the generall ſlaunder, being not able to paſſe ouer any longer the premiſſes with wincking and diſſembling, and my conſcience driuing to the ſame, ſeeing this eſtimate & opinion of him in theſe matters, is not raſhly of vs conceiued, but vehemently and plainly increaſed by many and continuall cryings of credible men, and great authoritie oft and oftentimes beaten vnto vs, fearing moreouer the deſtruction of the faith, both of vs and of al other ſubiects, and ſpecially of kings and princes of the world, which ought to reproue negligence, which acknowledge that we haue receiued power geuen vs from the Lord, to the promoting and increaſement of it, we agree to your requeſtes in this behalfe, and to the calling and aſſembling a councell for the glory of God (ſauing the honour and reuerence that is due to the holy Romiſh church in all thinges) whereby the trueth may appeare in the premiſſes, and all errour auoided: that the ſtate of the vniuerſall Church and all Chriſtianitie and the matters of faith, and the holy land may be prouided for, & the ſlaūders & ieopardies hāging ouer vs may be withſtanded: we be ready & offer our ſelues gladly, as much as in vs is, to beſtowe our labour and diligent paine therabouts. Earneſtly requiring and beſeeching in the mercifull bowels of Ieſu Chriſt, you Archbiſhops and other Prelates here preſent, as children of the Church and pillers of faith, called of the Lorde to the promoting, encreaſe and preſeruing thereof, to care for the ſame: that with all diligence ye wold geue heede, as becommeth you, and effectually you would labor by al wayes and fit meanes, to the calling and aſſembling of this councel, in which we intend to be perſonally preſent. And leſt the ſaid Boniface, which hath boldly and wrongfully many times threatned to proceede againſt vs, ſtopping and hindring our purpoſes and intent: leaſt any of his workes of darkeneſſe (if there be any) ſhould come to light, directly or indirectly hindering the calling and gathering of this councel: or leaſt any ſtate being in the ſame realme that wil in dede procede againſt vs, or our ſtate, churches, Prelates, Barons, & other faithfull vaſſals, our ſubiects, our lands, or our realme, and the ſtate of the realme: by abuſing any ſpirituall ſworde, in excommunicating, ſuſpending, or otherwais by any meanes for vs and our welwillers, and them that will followe vs: we prouoke & appeale in wryting to the foreſayd general councell (which we inſtantly deſire to be called) and to one lawfull chiefe Biſhop that ſhall be, or to any other to whome we ſhoulde appeale: and yet not going from the appellation made by M. William of Nagareta, to whom we ſticked then, and alſo yet ſticke: requiring earneſtly, a witnes of our appellation of you Prelates & Notaries, expreſſedly to renue ſuch prouocation and appellation when and afore whome it ſhalbe thought meete to you.

Then the Archbiſhops within wrytten, byſhops, Abbots, and Priors, aunſwered the premiſſes (as it is founde in the actes) prouoked and appealed, agreed to, and proteſted, and made prouocation, and appellation, agreement, and proteſtation, as is contained more fully in a certaine paper there openly and plainely red, whoſe tenor followeth with theſe wordes.

The proteſtation of Prelates.

We Archbiſhoppes of Nicoſen, Remen, Senoren, Narbonen, Turonen, and biſhops of Landuiren, Belnacen, Catolacen, Antiſiodorem, Meldimen, Nurmen, Carnotem, Aurelianen, Ambiauen, Morinen, Silanen, Andeganen, Abricen, Conſtant, Ebroicen Lexonicen, Sagien, Caloromont, Lemonicen, Auicen, Maſticoren. And we Abbots of Cluniac, promoſtraten of the greater monaſterie of the court of S. Dioniſe in Fraunce, Camped S. Victors, S. Genoueue, S. Marten, Landmoen, Figiacem & Bellicem in Lemociuio, and Frier Hugh, viſiter of the houſes of the order of knights of S. Iohn in Ieruſalem in Fraunce, and the father Priour of S. Martine in the fieldes, hearing theſe things which were ſayd, propounded, and obiected yeſterday, & to day, by you the Lords, Earles, and William aforeſaide, againſt the Lorde Boniface the 8. and Pope, being mooued with ſuche ſayings, purpoſes, aſſertations, and your othes, your requeſt and other lawfull cauſes: and were compelled by need, conſidering that the matter of our faith which is Chriſtes, is handled in the premiſſes. Wee that be called to part of this care, to the defence and maintenaunce of the faith of ſoules of the realme, although vnworthy, yet coueting to withſtande the ieoperdies that hang ouer vs by reaſon of the premiſſes and other cauſes, thinking the calling & gathering of the ſayd Councell profitable & neceſſary, that the innocencie of the Lord Boniface himſelf may clearely be diſcuſſed, as we deſire (our cōſciences bearing witneſſe) that it may be determined on him by the Councell, touching ſuch things as are laide againſt him, and that may be done which they decree according to the Canons. We aunſwere you our Lord king, and you our Lordes, Earles, and William, that (the honor & reuerence of the holy Romiſh church ſalued in all poyntes) wee agree to your due requeſtes in this behalfe for the calling of the Councell, and are ready to geue helpe and diligent labour to the calling and gathering of the ſaid Coūcell, according to the decrees of the holy fathers, and to the lawfull orders of the Canons: not intending by any meanes, to make parties of this matter, nor to ſticke to any that maketh parties. Yet leaſt the ſayde Boniface being mooued or prouoked by theſe things, as wee feare by likely coniectures and threatnings made, againſt vs for the foreſayde things, that he will proceede againſt our pariſh Churches and our ſubiectes by ſome meanes, or cauſe to proceede againſt vs by ſome authoritie of his owne or others by excommunication, ſuſpenſion, interditing, depoſing, depri-

The biſhops of Fraunce appeale from P. Boniface to a generall councell.

uing, or by ſome other meanes and colour ſought to ſome impeachment or trouble of the ſayd Councell, and that we may ſitte in the ſame Councell to iudge and do al other things, that belong to the office of Prelates: that our frends that ſticke to vs & would ſticke to vs in all thinges may remaine ſafe, for our ſelues, our pariſh Churches, our ſubiectes and them that ſticke to vs, or would ſticke to vs, in this behalfe: we prouoke and appeale in wryting to the foreſayde Councell, that is to be gathered, and to him that ſhall be the true and lawfull higheſt Biſhop, and to him or them to whome of right we ſhoulde appeale too, and earheſtly require our appellations, committing vs, our pariſh churches, our ſubiectes, friendes, and them that ſticke to vs, our ſtate and theirs, our right goodes, to the godly defence of the foreſaide councell, and of him that ſhall be the true and lawfull higheſt biſhop: and we proteſt to renewe this appellation, where, when, and afore whome, it ſhalbe thought meete.

This was done at Paris at Lupara in the chamber of the ſayd Lord our king. Indictione prima, **the 9. yeare of hys popedome, the daies of thurſday and friday aforeſayd theſe noble men being preſent, the Lordes of Auia and Bolone, the Lordes Martins and other Earles named afore, Mathewe Potera, Peter the Lorde chamberlane, Philip the Lord of wirtmos, and Henry of Bolone knight, and alſo M. Philip Archdeacon of Bengem, Nicholas archdeacon of Remem, william treaſurer of Anioy, Philip Beaſpere. Rainolde of Burbon and John Montagre, and many mo both clearkes and other ſpecially required and called to be witneſſe to this.**

After theſe things thus in the Parliament decreed and agreed, the Prelates of the cleargie conſulting with themſelues what was to be done in ſo doutfull a matter: and dreading the Popes diſpleaſure, for this which was done already, to cleare thẽſelues in the matter contriued among themſelues a letter to the Pope partly to certify him, what there was done, and partly alſo to admoniſh him what he ſhould do: the tenour of which their letter contcined theſe wordes following.

The forme of a Letter, which the Prelates of France, as well ſecular as religious ſent to Boniface, that hee ſhould ceaſe his enterpriſe, wherein he proceeded againſt the King.

¶ To the moſt holy Father and their deareſt beloued Lorde, the Lord Boniface the chiefe Biſhop of the holy Romiſh churche and the vniuerſall Churche: his humble and deuout Archbyſhops, Abbots, Priors, Conuentuals, Deanes, Prouoſts, Chapters, Couents and Colledges of the Cathedrall and collegiate churches, regular and ſecular of all the Realme of France, being gathered together, doe offer moſt deuoute kiſinges of your bleſſed feete.

The letter of the French prelates to Pope Boniface.

WE are compelled, not without ſorrowe of heart and bitter teares to ſignifie vnto your holineſſe, that the moſt famous Prince our moſt deare Lorde Phillip, by the grace of God, the noble king of Fraunce: when he heard and ſaw the Apoſtolicall letters ſealed, which were ſent to him of late, from your behalfe by the worſhipfull man the Cardinall of Narbo your Notarie & meſſenger, and were preſented by the ſame Cardinall to him, & certaine other of his barons Vpon the ſight and peruſing of which ſo bloudy letters being read and declared to them ſitting by hym: both our Lorde the king and the barons themſelues were highly moued with great maruelling and great trouble. In ſo much that the ſayd our Lord the king by the aduice of his barons, commanded to be called afore him the other barons then abſent, and vs alſo: that is to wete: al Archbiſhops, Biſhops, Abbots, Priors, conuentuals, deanes, prouoſts, chapters, conuents and Colledges, as well of Cathedrall or collegiate churches, regular and ſecular, & alſo all the vniuerſities and communalties of the townes of hys Realme: that wee Prelates, Barons, Deanes, Prouoſtes, and two of the learnedſt of euery Collegiate and Cathedrall Churche, ſhoulde appeare perſonally, and ſhoulde procure the reſt likewiſe to appeare, by their Stewarde, Officers and ſufficient proctours, wyth full and ſufficient Commiſsion at the appoynted place and terme. Further, when we and the other Eccleſiaſticall perſons aforeſayd, and alſo the barons, ſtewards, officers, and proctours, and other of the comminalty of the townes that were thus called: and when according to the forme of the foreſaide calling by the kings commaundement, we ſtoode afore the king this wedneſday, the tenth of this preſent of Aprill, in S. Maries Church in Paris: Our Lord the king cauſed to be propounded openly and plainely to all men, that it was ſignified to him, from you among other things by the foreſayd Cardinal & letters: that for his kingdome (which hee and his auncetours hetherto doe acknowledge they holde of God only (now ought in temporalties to be ſubiect to you and holde of you, and that ye were not content with theſe ſo maruellous and ſtrange wordes, and not heard of from the beginning of the world of any dwellers within the ſame realme, but that ye went about to put them in practiſe. And that ye called to appeare afore you, the prelates of the ſayd realme, and doctors of diuinitie, and ſuch profeſſours of both lawes, as were borne within the ſaide realme, for the correcting and amending of ſuch exceſſes, faultes, arrogancies, wrongs, and harmes, as ye pretend to be done to the eccleſiaſticall Prelates and perſones eccleſiaſticall both regular and ſecular, abiding within the Realme & els where, by our lorde the king himſelfe and his officers or bailiffes, by his peeres, Earles, Barons and other nobles, with the communaltie & people of the ſaide realme: To the intent by this meanes, the foreſaid realme might be made ſtrong, with pretious iewels and durable treaſures, which are to be preferred before the bucklers or any armour of ſtrong men, that is to ſay, by the wiſedome of Prelates, and wiſe men, & others: through whoſe ripe faithful counſell, and circumſpect foreſight, the realme might be ruled and gouerned, the faith might be ſtabliſhed, the eccleſiaſticall Sacramẽts might be miniſtred, iuſtice might be executed: which by them being robbed of their goodes and richeſſe and vtterly ſpoyled, is in a doubtfull caſe, and in ieopardie of miſerable decay & for euer to be deſtroyed.

Among theſe and diuers other griefes which were done by you and the Romiſh church, to him, to his realme and the French church, both in reſeruing and wilfull ordering of Archbiſhopprickes, Byſhoprickes, and beſtowing of great benefices of the Realme vpon ſtraunge and vnknowen perſons, yea and oft vpon ſuſpect perſons, neuer beeing at the churches or benefices aforeſayde. By reaſon whereof the decay of Gods worſhip enſued, the godly wils of the founders and geuers are defrauded of their godly purpoſe: the accuſtomed almes geuing is withdrawen from the poore of the ſayd Realme, the pouerishing of the Realme followeth, and churches runne in daunger to be defaced, while they remaine deſtitute of ſeruice: the Prophets being taken away, & the fruites of them that ſerue them, be appoynted to the commoditie of ſtraungers. And while prelates haue not to geue, yea to reward men for their deſertes: noble men (whoſe aunceſtors founded the Churches) and other learned men, cannot haue ſeruants: and that for theſe cauſes, deuotion began to be colde, there was none at theſe dayes that would ſtretch out a liberall hand towardes the Churches, and farthermore by the premiſſes an euill example was giuen. Alſo he complayned of newe taxes of penſions, newly laid on the Churches, of immeaſurable bondages, exactions, & diuers extortions with other preiudiciall & hurtful nouelties, by which the generall ſtate of the Church is chaunged, in geuyng ſuffraganes, as helpers to the higher prelates, whereby neyther the Byſhops themſelues nor the ſuffraganes can doe their dueties, but for them they might runne with giftes to the Apoſtolicall ſee. He complayned alſo of diuers cauſes and ſome articles long ſince, but true in the time that they were preſented, that were done and be done continually: and alſo not purpoſing to ſuffer ſo great a diſheriting of him aud his ſucceſſours from the realme, and ſo manifeſt a griefe, they coulde not ſuffer any longer the euident loſſe of the honour of him and the realme, and ſayde: that hee was certaine, that it was knowen to the whole worlde, and that hee did maintaine in this matter a iuſt cauſe as hee had learned by the agreeable ſentence of doctours in Diuinitie and maiſters of both Lawes, that were borne within his Realme and others, which among the Doctors and cunning men of the world were counted of the learned ſort and more famous. Therefore he required vs, all and euery one, both Prelates and Barons, and other, earneſtly as our Lord: he prayed and gently begged as a friend: to conſult and take diligent paine, that he might ordeine wholſome things, both for the keeping of their olde libertie, the honour and ſtate of the realme and of the inhabitants therof, for the eaſing of the griefes aforeſaid, for redreſsing of the realme and the French Church, by our counſaile and his Barons to the praiſe of Gods name, the encreaſe of the Catholike faith, the honour of the vniuerſall church, and promoting of Gods religion: ſpecially ſeing ſuch griefs were done by his officers & others of the Realme, to the Churches and churchmen, for the which hee purpoſed a remedy of wholeſome correction, afore the comming of the foreſaid Cardinall, & would nowe haue put it in execution effectually, but that hee might be thought to haue done that for feare, or at your commandement, which thing ye cannot aſcribe to your ſelf. Furthermore, he wold ſpend not onely his goodes but alſo his realme, yea his children if the caſe required: and therfore we ſhould regard to be ready with counſell and helpe in ſeaſon as we are bounde by the duety of fidelitie in theſe things: wherein it is manifeſt, that as all and euery mannes caſe is handled, generally and particularly their cauſe is promoted, and euery mannes owne intereſt is touched And then hee demaunded by and by to be anſwered plainely and finally in theſe things, of all and euery one.

Then the Barons ſitting aſide with the officers and Proctors aforeſaid, at the length after they had taken counſell comming to our foreſaid Lord the king, and praiſing greatly, and hartely thanking him for his laudable purpoſe and good will, anſwered wyth one voice:that for thoſe things they were ready,not only to ſpéd their goods, but offered the ſame goods,riches, & alſo their perſons to death,and not to flee any kinde of torment. And ſayd further with one voice,that if our foreſaid Lord the king woulde (as God forbid) ſuffer,or els willingly paſſe ouer thoſe,they thẽſelues would in no caſe ſuffer it.

Then when anſwere was asked of vs afterward, although we deſired longer reſpite of deliberatiõ of the king himſelf our Lord, and of the greateſt of the forſayd Barons, and that for this intent: that in the meane while the Popes letters might haue comen to our Lord the king,we anſwered that we would not offend againſt the libertie of the realme,or by ſome meanes to innouate thinges contrary to the kings honour in this behalfe.

We went about alſo to informe him with many godly words, with earneſt perſuaſions, and with many kindes of helpe, and by ſundry wayes, to bring him to keepe the ſpeciall bande of vnitie, which is knowen to haue continued to theſe preſent dayes, betwixt the holy Romiſh church, and his predeceſſours. But when we were denied any longer delay, and it was plainely and openly tolde to all men, that if any man were of a contrary minde, from thenceforth he ſhould be manifeſtly counted for an enemie of the king & the realme. We conſidering warely, & ſeeing plainely, that except our lord the king,and the Barons aforeſaide were content with our aunſwere,beſide other dangers & great offences (whereof there could neither be number nor end) and that the deuotion both of the Romiſh and French church,and alſo the whole obedience of the laitie and all the people from thence foorth ſhould be taken away without recouerie, not without great feare & doubt we thought good to aunſwer thus.

That we would helpe our Lorde the king with due counſaile and conuenient helpe for the preſeruing of his perſon,and of his earthly honour, and the liberty and lawes of the ſayd realme,like as we were (certaine of vs) by the duetie of allegiaunce bound to him, which hold of him Dukedomes,Earledomes,Baronies,fees, and other noble partes of the ſaide Realme , by the fourme of the othe,as all other doe : yet wee made humble ſute to the ſame our Lord the king, that ſeeing we were bound to obey the Popes holineſſe and your holy feete, he would ſuffer vs to go according to the tenour of your foreſaid calling.

Then on the Kings and Barons behalfe followeth aunſwere, that in no caſe they would ſuffer vs to go out of the Realme: and that by no meanes they woulde beare to be handled ſo daungerouſly,yea rather to be altogether waſted.

Then we conſidering ſo great an anger, & trouble ſo ieopardous,& ſo great that none could be greater, both of the King, the Barons & other lay people of the realme:& now knowing plainely, that the olde enemie of peace, which goeth about from the beginning of his fall,with ſowing of Darnel,to breake the vnitie of the Church,by troubling of peace:would breake charitie,and infect the ſweetneſſe of good workes, with the poyſon of bitter enuie,and would ouerthrow mankinde vtterly, and woulde trouble with wickedneſſe the band of louely vnitie, & ſingular frendſhip, which hitherto haue had a happie encreaſe betwixt the Romiſh Church and our Lorde the King, and his predeceſſours, and the realme:to the praiſe of the higheſt God, the encreaſe of Chriſtian faith,and the ſetting foorth the honour of the Church,of the king and the realme.But nowe (alas) a dore was open to the lamentable breaking and pitifull ſeparating of great offences to riſe on euery ſide, dangers are attempted againſt Churches and Churchmen,to ſpoyle their goods and richeſſe,with ieoperdie of life,ſeeing that the laitie nowe doe abhorre and vtterly flee the obedience of clearkes, vtterly baniſhing them from their counſails and doings, and haue taken courage to condemne the Eccleſiaſticall cenſure and proceſſe.All which ieoperdies with other ſundry and diuers daungers (which neither toung is able to tell,nor wryting can declare) wee ſeeing at hand :: thought good in this poynt of greateſt neceſsity to run with weping voyce,& lamentable ſighes to the circumſpect wiſdome of your holineſſe. Beſeeching your fatherly mildenes,and humbly praying you:that ſome wholeſome remedy may be prouided in the premiſſes. By which, the ſounde profitable agreement and mutuall loue, which hath continued ſo long time betwixt the church,the king, and the realme, myght be maintained in that olde ſweete concord : the ſtate of the Frenche church might continue in godly and quiet peace: that ye woulde vouchſafe to foreſee how to withſtand the daungers and offences aforeſaid:that we and our ſtates may be prouided for,by the foreſaid commaundement of your calling,by the ſtudie of your Apoſtolicall wiſdome,and fatherly loue. The almighty preſerue your holineſſe to his holy church a long time.

Anno. 1304.
Pope Boniface beſieged.

These things thus diſcourſed and done,then followed the yeare of our Lord 1304. In the which yeare about the natiuity of our lady, came a gariſon of harneſſed ſoldioures wel appointed,ſent partly by ỷ French king,partly by the Cardinals of Columpna, whom the Pope before had depoſed, vnto the gates of Anragũ, where the Pope did hide himſelf,becauſe he was borne in the towne. The captains of which armie was one Shaira, brother to the foreſayde Cardinalles : And an other William de Longareto, high ſteward to ỷ French king. who inuading the popes towne, and finding the gates open,gaue aſſault to the popes frontire : where the Pope with his nephew a Marques,and 3. other Cardinals were immured. The townes men ſeeing all their intent & ſtrength to be bent againſt the Pope:cauſed the common bel to be rong,& ſo aſſembling themſelues in a cõmon counſaile, ordeined Adulphus one of the chiefeſt rulers of the towne for their captaine, who (vnknowing to them) was a great aduerſary to the Pope. This Adulphus bringing wᵗ him Reginaldus de Supine a great lord in Campania, & the 2.ſonnes of John Chitan a noble mã, whoſe father the pope had then in priſon: at length ioyned him wᵗ the French company againſt the Pope, and ſo beſet his palace on euery ſide. And firſt,ſetting vpõ the palacies of the 3. Cardinals which were then chiefe about the pope, rifled & ſpoiled all their goods. The Cardinals by a backedore hardly auoided their handes : but the Popes palace, through munition & ſtrength of the Marques was ſomething better defended. At length,the Pope perceiuing himſelfe not able to make his partie good , deſired truce wyth Schaira & his company, which was to him graũted,from one til nine. During which time of truce,the Pope priuily ſendeth to the townesmen of Arnagium , deſiring them to ſaue his life: which if they would doe,he promiſed ſo to enrich them,that they ſhould all haue cauſe neuer to forget or repent their benefite beſtowed. To this they made anſwer againe,excuſing themſelues,ỷ it lay not in their hability to do him any good,for that ỷ whole power of the towne was with the captaine. Then the Pope all deſtitute & deſolate, ſendeth vnto Schaira,beſeeching him to draw out in articles,wherin he had wronged him,and he wold make hym amends to the vttermoſt. Shaira to this maketh a playne anſwer,ſignifying to him againe:that he ſhould in no wiſe eſcape wᵗ his life,except vppon theſe 3.conditions. Firſt to reſtore againe the 2.Cardinals of Columpna his brethren whom he had before depriued, with al other of their ſtocke and kinred: ſecondly,that after their reſtitution,he ſhould renounce his papacie, thirdly, his body to remaine in hys power & cuſtody. Theſe articles ſeemed to ỷ pope ſo hard, that in no caſe he woulde agree vnto them : wherefore the time of truce expired,the captaines & ſoldiors in all forceable meanes bending themſelues againſt the biſhop,firſt fired the gates of the pallace,wherby the army hauing a full entrance,fel to rifle & ſpoile the houſe. The Marques vpon hope to haue his life,& the life of his children,yealdeth him to the hands of Schaira & the other captaine: which when the Pope heard,he wept and made great lamentation. After this through windowes and dores, at length wᵗ much a doe they braſt into the pope, whome they intreated wyth words & threats accordingly. Vpõ this he was put to his choiſe,whether hee woulde preſently leaue his life,or geue ouer his Papacie. But that he denied ſtifly to doe,to die for it : ſaying to them in his vulgar tõgue. Eccle col,eccle cape. That is,lo here my necke,lo here my head:proteſting,that he would neuer while he liued renounce hys Popedome. Then Schaira went about,and was redy to ſlay him, but by certaine that were about him he was ſtaide: whereby it hapned that the pope receiued no harme, although diuers of his miniſters and ſeruants were ſlaine. The ſouldiors which ranged in the meane time through all the corners of the Popes houſe,did lade themſelues with ſuch treaſure of golde,ſiluer,plate,and ornaments: that the wordes of my autor (whom I follow) do thus expreſſe it. Quòd omnes reges mundi non poſſent tantum de theſauro reddere infra vnum annum, quantum fuit de papali palatio aſportatum, & de palatijs trium Cardinalium,& Marchionis. That is,that all the kings of the earth together were not able to diſburſe ſo much out of their treaſury in a whole yeare:as then was taken & caried out of the popes pallace, and of the pallace of the three Cardinals,and the Marques. Thus Boniface bereued of all his goodes,remained in their cuſtodie 3.daies. Duryng the which ſpace, they had ſet him on a wilde and vnbroken colte, his face turned to the horſe taile, cauſing the horſe to runne and courſe, while the Pope was almoſt breathleſſe. Moreouer, they kept him ſo wythout meate, that hee was thereby neare famiſhed to death. After the 3. day:the Arnagians and people of the town muſtering themſelues together (to the number of x. M.) ſecretely braſt into the houſe where the Pope was kept, and ſo ſlaying the kepers,deliuered the Pope by ſtrong hand. who then being brought into the middle of the towne,gaue thankes with weeping teares to the people for his life ſaued:promiſing moreouer, that for ſo much as hee was out of all hys goodes, hauyng neither bread nor drink to put in his mouth,gods bleſſing and his,to al them,that now would relieue him wyth any thing,

Pope Boniface brought to a ſtraight.

Three conditions put to the Pope.

Here may all kinges by the French kyng learne how to handle the pope Boniface chuſeth rather to die then to giue ouer his popedome.

Ex R. Auesb.
The exceſsiue treaſures of the Popes houſe noted.

A pretie handling of the pope

The Pope deliuered out of priſon.

What pouertie and affliction can do in plucking downe the pride of man.

thing, either to eate or drinke. And heere nowe to ſee what pouertie and affliction can worke in a man. The Pope before, in all his pompe & moſt ruffling wealth was neuer ſo proud, but nowe was as humble & lowly: that euery poore ſimple man (as mine author teſtifieth) might haue a bolde and free acceſſe to his perſon. To make the ſtory ſhorte, the Pope in that great diſtreſſe of famine was not ſo greedy of their vitails, as they were gredy of his bleſſing. Wherupon, the women & people of the towne came ſo thicke, ſome wt bread, ſome with wine, ſome with water, ſome wt meat, ſome with one thing, ſome with an other: that the Popes chamber was too litle to receiue the offring, in ſo much that when there lacked cups to receiue the wine, they poured it downe on ye chamber floore, not regarding the loſſe of wine, to win the popes holy bleſſing. Thus Pope Boniface being refreſhed by the towne of Aruagum, tooke his iourney from thence accompanied wt a great multitude of harneſſed ſouldiors to Rome: where he ſhortly vpon the ſame, partly for feare which he was in, partly for famine, partly for ſorrow of ſo ineſtimable treaſure loſt, died. After whom ſucceded Benedictus the 11. of whome theſe verſes are written. A re nomen habe, benedic, benefac, benedicte. Aut rem peruerte maledic, malefac, maledicte. &c. And thus haue yee the whole ſtorie of Pope Boniface the 8. authour of the Decretalles. Which ſtory I thought the more diligently to ſet forth, that all the Latine Church might ſee, what an author he was, whoſe lawes and decretals ſo deuoutly they follow.

Pope Benedictus. 11.

Now after the long debating of this matter betweene the French king and pope Boniface, let vs procede in our Engliſh ſtory. About this time, in the dayes of king Edward, the Church of Rome began daily more and more to riſe vp and ſwell ſo high in pride and worldly dominion: that no king almoſt in hys owne countrey coulde doe any thing, but as pleaſed the Pope: who both had and ruled al, in all countreis, but chiefly here in England: as partly by his intollerable tallage and pillage before ſignified may appeare, partly by hys iniunctions and commandements ſent downe, alſo by his donations and reſeruations of benefices and church liuings: alſo in depoſing and diſpoſing ſuche as him liſted, in place and office to beare rule. In ſo much, that when the king and the church of Cant. in theyr election had choſen one Robert Burnell biſhop of Bathe, to be Archbiſhop of Canterburie: Pope Boniface of hys own ſingular preſumptuous authority, ruling the matter after his pleaſure, fruſtrated their election, and thruſt in an other named Iohn Pecham. For amōg all other, this hath alwayes bene one practiſe of the court of Rome: euer to haue the Archbyſhop of their owne ſetting, or ſuche one as they might be ſure of on their ſide, to weigh againſt the K. and other, whatſoeuer nede ſhould happen. To this Iohn Peckham, Pope Boniface directed downe a ſolemne Bul from Rome, as alſo vnto all other quarters of the vniuerſal church. In the which Bul was conteined & decreed, directly againſt the rule of Scripture and Chriſtian obedience: that no church, nor eccleſiaſtical perſon ſhould henceforth yelde to his king or temporall Magiſtrate, either any geuing or lending, or promiſing of tribute or ſubſidie, or portion whatſoeuer, of the goodes and poſſeſſions to hym belonging: but ſhuld be clearcly exempted and diſcharged from all ſuch ſubiection of tallage or ſubuention to be exacted of them in the behoofe of the Prince and hys affaires. Which decree manifeſtly rebelleth againſt the commanded ordinaunce of God, and the Apoſtolical canon of S. Peter and all other examples of holy Scripture. For as there is no worde in the Scripture that excludeth ſpirituall men more then temporall from obedience and ſubiectiō of princes: ſo if it chaunce the Prince in hys exacting to be too rigorous or cruell in oppreſſion: that is no cauſe for the clergy to be exempted: but to beare the cōmon burden of obedience, and to pray to God to turne and moue the Princes minde, and ſo (with prayer & patience, not with pride and diſobedience) to helpe & amend that which is amiſſe. Concerning the Bull of Boniface, if any there be that either do not credite the ſame, ſo to containe, or would for his minde ſee and read the ſame, the wordes therof here folow.

The kinges election in his owne realme fruſtrated.

Iohn Peckham Archb. of Cant.

A point of practiſe in the court of Rome.

Eccleſiaſticall perſons exempted by the pope, for not paying tribute to the kyng.

The Pope proceedeth againſt the manifeſt word, in ſetting the Clergie free from the kinges tributes.

The copie of the Popes Bull, wherein the Cleargie is
exempted from geuing tribute to Kings and Princes.

Ex Chron. Rob. Giſburnenſis.

Bonifacius, &c. Ad ſempiternam rei memoriam. Clericis, laicos infeſtos oppidò tradidit antiquitas. Quod & preſentium experimenta temporum manifeſtè declarāt, dum ſuis finibus non contenti nituntur in vetitum & ad illicita ſua frena relaxant, nec prudentèr attendunt quomodo ſit eis in clericos eccleſiaſticſáue perſonas, & bona interdicta poteſtas. Quinimo eccleſiarum prælatis, eccleſijs eccleſiaſticiſq; perſonis regularibus & ſecularibus imponuntur onera grauia, ipſos talliant, & eis collectas imponūt, & ab ipſius ſuorumq; prouentuum, vel bonorum dimidiam, decimam, ſeu viceſimam, vel quamuis aliam portionem, quo tam exigunt & extorquent eoſque moliuntur multipharię ſubijcere ſeruituti, ſuæq; ſubdedere ditioni. Et quod dolenrer referimus, nonnulli eccleſiarum prælati, eccleſiaſticæque perſonæ trepidantes, vbi trepidandum non eſt, tranſitoriam pacem quærentes: plus timentes maieſtatem temporalem offendere, quàm æternam, talium abuſibus non tam temerariè, quàm improuide acquieſcunt ſedis apoſtolicæ authoritate non obtenta. Nos igitur talibus actibus obuiare volentes, de fratrum noſtrorum conſilio* Apoſtolica authoritate ſtatuimus: quòd quicunque prælati, eccleſiaſticæue perſonæ, vel ſeculares quorumcunque ordinum conditionis, ſeu ſtatus, collectas vel tallias, dimidiam, decimā, viceſimam, ſeu centeſimam ſuorum & eccleſiarum ſuarum prouentuum vel bonorum laicis ſoluerint, vel promiſerint, vel ſe ſoluturos exceſſerint, aut quamuis aliam quantitatem, porcionem, aut quicquam ipſorum prouentuum vel bonorum æſtimationem vel valorem ipſorum ſubuentionis, ſubſidij, vel doni nomine, ſeu quouis alio timore, vel modo, vel quæſito colore abſque autoritate ſedis eiuſdem: Nec non imperatores, reges, ſeu principes, duces, ſeu comites, vel barones, poteſtates, capitaneas, officiales vel rectores quocunque nomine cenſeantur, ciuitatum, caſtrorum, ſeu quorumque locorum conſtitutorum vbilibet, & * quis alius cuiuſcunque præeminētiæ, cōditionis & ſtatus, qui talia impoſuerint & exegerint, vel receperint, aut apud ædes ſacras depoſita eccleſiarū vel eccleſiaſticarum perſonarum vbilibet * areſtauerint ſayſierint ſeu occupare præſumpſerint, vel areſtari, ſayſiri, aut occupari mandauerint, aut * occupata, ſayſita, ſeu areſtata receperint: nec nō omnes qui ſcienter in prædictis dederint conſilium, auxilium, vel fauorem, publicè vel occultè, eo ipſo ſentētiam excommunicationis * incurrunt. Vniuerſitates quoque quæ in his culpabiles fuerint eccleſiaſtico ſupponimus interdicto: prælatis, & perſonis eccleſiaſticis ſupradictis in virtute obedientiæ & ſub pœna depoſitionis diſtrictè mandantes, vt talibus abſque licentia expreſſa dictæ ſedis nullatenus acquieſcant. A ſupradictis autem excommunicationis & interdicti ſententijs nullus abſolui valeat, præterquam in mortis articulo abſque ſedis Apoſtolicæ autoritate & licentia ſpeciali. &c.

* *Apoſtolica autoritas fruſtra obtenditur, vbi Apoſtolica ſcriptura contemnitur.*

* *Quinloquis quiſquis, barbariſmus Apoſtolicus.*

* *Flores Attici ex ipſo helicone depſumpti.*

* *ετυμως, rhetorica.*

* *Tauri cornu.*

Ware the bulles horne

This Bull being directed (as is ſayde) from Rome to the Archbiſhop of Canterbury, and likewiſe thorough the whole vniuerſall Church, vnder the Popes authority: It chaunced not long after, the king helde hys Parliament at S. Edmunds burie, where was graunted to him of all cities and boroughs an eight, and of the commons a twelf of their goodes. Only the Clergie by vertue of this Bull, ſtoode ſtoute: denying to pay any thing to the king. Thys anſwer not wel pleaſing the king, he willeth them to deliberate better with themſelues vppon the matter: and after long aduiſement ſo to geue him anſwer therof againſt the next Parliament, which ſhould be holden the next Hillary terme at London.

The Clergy denyeth to geue tribute to the king.

In concluſion, the Parliament came: the Clergy perſiſteth ſtill in deniall of their ſubſidie, alleging the popes bul for their warrant and diſcharge. Wherupon the king likewiſe ſecludeth them from vnder hys protection & ſafegard of his lawes. And as cōcerning the Archb. of Cant. aboue mentioned, becauſe he was found more ſtubburne then the reſt, and was the inciter to the other: hee ſeaſed vppon all his goodes, & cauſed an inuentorie of the ſame to be enrolled in the exchequer. Notwithſtanding, diuers of the other biſhops relented ſoone after to the king, and cōtributed the fift of their goodes vnto him, and were receiued agayne to fauour.

The Clergy ſecluded frō the kinges protection.

The Archb. of Cant. for his ſtubbernes had his goods confiſcate to the kyng.

In the life of this kings father, it was declared before how the ſayd king Henry the third, father to this king, after diuers warres and commotions had with his barons, had graūted certaine liberties and freedomes written and conteined in Magna charta, and in Charta de foreſta. Concerning which matter, much buſines happened in this kings daies alſo in the realme, betweene the king & his Barons and commons. The occaſion was thys. A packe of wooll which before paide but a marke to the king, was nowe by thys king raiſed vp to xl. s. After this the King hauing a iourney to make vnto Flanders, ſent to hys Barons and diuers other, to geue their attendaunce and ſeruice in the ſame, which they refuſed and denyed to doe. Notwithſtanding (the king perſiſting in his purpoſe) with ſuch a power as he had, prepareth toward his iourny. To whom being in his way at Winchelſey, the foreſaide Erles and Barons and commōs ſent certen petitions conteined in wryting vnder the name of the Archbiſhops, Biſhops, abbots and Priors, Erles and Barons, wyth the commonaltie of ye realme. In which wryting firſt lamenting and complaining of their afflicted ſtate and miſery, after humble maner they deſired their Lord the king to redreſſe and amend certain greuances amōg them. And firſt declared in the name

The variance betweene K. Edward and his Barons & commons.

Petitions of the Barons and commōs to the king.

of the whole commons, that the premonition or writs directed to them for their attendaunce vpon his grace into Flaunders, was not ſufficient: for that there was no certaine place in the ſayd writs ſpecified vnto them whether to come for making their prouiſion, and preparing mony & other things according to the ſame. And if the place had bene to thē ſignified, yet becauſe none of their aūceſters euer ſerued the king ouer into Flaūders before, the cōmōs therfore thought themſelues not bound to any ſeruice in ẏ country. And albeit they had bene ſo bound therunto, yet they were not able to doe it, being ſo heauyly oppreſſed wͭ ſo many tallages, taxes, tolles, cuſtomes, & prices of corne Otes, Tinne, wood, Lether, Oxen, Kyne, Fleſh Fiſh. &c. And beſides all this, hauing no peny of wages geuē them to relieue their charges: Ouer and beſides the lacke of the kinges wages not payd them, their owne pouerty like an heauy burden did ſo miſerably lie vpon them, that ſome of them had no ſuſtentatiō, ſome of them were not able to till their owne groūd. The alledged moreouer, that they were not now handled after the olde lawes and cuſtomes of the land, as their aunceſtors were wont. Many alſo foūd thēſelues grieued in that they were not vſed according to the Articles conteined in Charta magna, nor agayne that the Charta de foreſta, was not obſerued nor kept as was wont to be. Wherfore, moſt humbly they beſeeched the king both for his owne honor and for the wealth of his people, that of theſe thinges they might finde redreſſe. For the cuſtome moreouer of woll, the whole commons bewayled to the king their griefe: in that for euery pack of woll was fined to the king xl. s. and for euery ſack of toſed wool, 7. marks. The which wooll of England, as it doth riſe vp to the value of halfe the realme: ſo the tollage of the ſame ſurmounteth to the fift part of the valuatiō of the whole land. And becauſe therfore the commons wiſhed the honor & preſeruatiō of their king (as they were boūd to do) they thought it not good for his grace to ſayle ouer to Flaūders, vnleſſe he had better aſſuraunce of their fidelity, eſpecially at thys time the Scots being ſo buſy: who if they began to rebell he being at home in his land, much more were they like to ſtirre, he being abroad out of the land. And that not onely for the Scottes: but alſo for that the like perill was to be doubted of other forraine nations and kingdomes, which as yet were in no firme peace with England. &c.

Magna Charta. Charta de foreſta.

Cuſtome for Wolle.

To theſe petitions, the king ſayd that he could as yet make no reſolute anſwere, for that his counſell, ſome was gone ouer alredy to Flaunders, ſome were yet at Londō. Notwithſtanding, at his returne againe from Flaunders (which he truſted ſhould be ſpedely) they ſhould thē heare his anſwere and know more of his minde concerning the ſame. In the meane time this he required of them, to keep good rule at home while he was forth. What aunſwere the king had minded to make them at his returne, it is vncertayne, which peraduenture had turned to a bloudye aunſwere: but occaſion ſerued otherwiſe, and turned all to agreement. For the Scottes with theyr captayne William Waleys aboue ſpecified, in the time the king being abſent, inuaded the Realme with ſuch violence: that Prince Edward the kings ſonne, who was left to rule in his fathers ſtead, was forced to aſſemble a Parliament, and to call for the Earle of Hereford, the Earle of Northfolke, high Marſhall of England, Earle of Eſſex high Conſtable, with other Earles, Barons, Knightes, and Eſquirs, to entreat peace and concord betweene his father and them. Who cōming vp to London with 1500. well armed ſouldiers, and obteining the gates of the City with their own men, fell at length to agreement with the Prince, vpon compoſition to haue the Articles of magna Charta and of Charta de foreſta, confirmed, and that by his meanes & mediation they might be aſſured of the kinges diſpleaſure to be remoued from thē. The which forſayd articles of Magna Charta with ẏ other articles adioyned withall, here follow vnder written.

The kynges anſwere to the petitiōs of the Barōs & the commons.

Humfrey Bonne. Roger Bigot.

First, no tollage or ſubſidy by the king or his heires to be impoſed or leuied hereafter within the realme of England, without the common aſſent of the Archbiſhops, Byſhops, Abbots & other prelats, Earles, Barōs, Knights, Burgeſes, and Commons of the realme.

The articles conteined in Magna Charta.

Item, no taker or ſeruiture of the king or of his heirs henceforth within this realme, to take grain, wooll, lether or any goods of any man, without the will and conſent of him which is the owner.

No taking to be hereafter, in name of tribute, for any packe of wooll.

Item, to be graunted by the king and his heires after him, both to the clergy and laity of this foreſayd Realme: to haue and to enioy their lawes, liberties & cuſtomes, in as ample maner as they were wōt at any time heretofore.

Item, if any decrees or ſtatutes ſhal hereafter be made and ſet forth contrary to theſe foreſaid articles: the ſame to ſtand voyd and of no effect for euer.

Beſides theſe articles alſo in the ſame compoſitiō was conteined: that all grudge and diſpleaſure betwene ẏ king and the Barons for not going to Flaunders ceaſing: the Earles and Barōs might be aſſured to be receiued againe into the kings fauor.

A greement concluded and ſealed betwene the K.and his Barons.

These things thus agreed vpon, and by mediation of the Prince alſo confirmed and ſealed with the kings ſeale his father: ſo was all the variance pacified, to the great comfort of the people, and no leſſe ſtrength of the Realme agaynſt theyr enemies: And moſt chiefly to the cōmendation of the gentle and wiſe nature of the king: who as he was gentle in promiſing his reconcilement with his ſubiectes, ſo no leſſe conſtant was he in keeping that which he had promiſed.

The moderate and good nature of K.Edward noted.

After the death of Iohn Peckham Archb. of Canterbury aboue mentioned, who in the Parliament had reſiſted the king in the right of certayne liberties perteing to the crowne, touching patronages and ſuch Church matters: ſucceded Robert Winchelſei, wͭ whom alſo the king had like variance: and accuſed him to the Pope for breaking the peace, and tooke part with them that rebelled agaynſt the king about vſages and liberties of the Realme. Wherefore, the king being cited vp to the court of Rome, was there ſuſpended, by ẏ meanes of the ſaid Archb. directed his letters agayne to the Pope taken out of ẏ parliament rolles where I finde diuers letters of the king to P. Clement agaynſt the ſayde Robert Archbiſhop of Canterbury the contentes wherof here followeth videlicet qualiter idem. And as this king was troubled in his time with both the Archbiſhoppes, Iohn Peckham, and alſo Rober Winchelſey, ſo it happened to all other kinges for the moſt part, from the time of Lancfrancus (that is from Pope Hildebrand) that euery king in his time had ſome buſines or other with that ſee. As William Rufus, and Henry the firſt were troubled with Anſelmus: Hēry the ſecond with Thomas Becket: King Richard and all England wyth William Biſhop of Elye the Popes Legate: King Iohn with Stephē Langthon: King Henry the third with Edmund Archbiſhop, called S. Edmūd. Polic. lib. 7. Likewiſe this king Edward the firſt, with Iohn Peckham & Robert Winchelſey aforeſayd. And ſo other kinges after him, with ſome Prelate or other: whereby ye haue to vnderſtand, how & about what time the church of Rome, which before time was ſubiect to kings and Princes, began firſt to take head aboue, and agaynſt kings and rulers, and ſo haue kept it euer ſince.

Rob. Winchelſey Archb. of Cant.

K.Edward was troubled with two Archb. of Cant.

The church of Rome, and Romiſh prelates ſet againſt kings and rulers.

Kings of England commonly troubled with Archb. of Cant.

By this Iohn Peckam afore mentioned, was ordayned: that no ſpiritual miniſter ſhould haue any mo benefices then one, which alſo was decreed by the conſtitutions of Octo and Octobonus, the popes Legats the ſame time in England.

Prieſtes to haue but one benefice

About the beginning of this kinges reigne, after the deceaſe of of Walter Archbiſhop of Yorke: William Wicewanger ſucceeding in that ſea, minding to go on viſitatiō: came to Dureſme to viſit the Church and Chapter there. But the clergy and the people of the City, ſhutte the gates agaynſt him, and kept him out, wherupon roſe no ſmal diſturbance. The Archb. let flie his curſe of excommunicatiō and interdiction agaynſt them. The Biſhop of Dureſme agayne with his clergy, deſpiſed all his curſinges, grounding themſelues vpon the conſtitution of Innocentius ẏ fourth, De cenſibus & exactionibus. And ſo they appealed to Rome, ſaying: that he ought not to be receiued there, before he had firſt begon to viſit his owne Chapter & dioces, which he had not done. For to ſay the wordes of the conſtitutions: We ordayne and decree that euery Archbiſhop, that will viſite his prouince, firſt muſt procure to viſit hys owne Church, City, and Dioces. &c.

Variaunce betweene the Archb. of Yorke and the clergie of Dureſme.

Among other thinges in this king to be noted, that is not to be paſſed ouer: that where complaynt was made to him of his officers, as Iuſtices, Maiors, Shiriffes, Bailiffes, Eſcheters, and ſuch other: who in their offices abuſing themſelues, extortioned and oppreſſed the kinges liege people, otherwiſe then was according to the right & conſcience: the ſayd king not ſuffering ſuch miſorder to be vnpuniſhed, did appoint certain officers or inquiſitors to the number of 12. which inquiſitiō was called Traibaſtō, or Trailbaſtoun: by meane of which inquiſition, diuers falſe officers were accuſed, & ſuch as were offenders were either remoued from their place, or forced to buye agayne their office at the kinges hand: to their no ſmall loſſe, and great gayne to the king, and much profite to the common wealth.

Inquiſitiō made againſt yl rulers and falſe officers Traibaſtoun.

In the Chronicle of Robert Ameſbury it is recorded

Ex Chron. Tho. Walſinghami.

A falſe miracle well ſpied out of the kyng.

of the ſayd king, that he being at Ameſbury to ſee his mother (who was then in that monaſtery profeſſed) there was a certayn man that fained himſelfe blind a long time, brought to the preſence of the ſayd Alinore the kinges mother: ſaying, how that he had his ſight agayne reſtored at yͤ tombe of king Henry her late huſband, in ſo much that ſhe was eaſely perſwaded in the miracle to be very true, But king Edward her ſonne, knowing the man a lõg time to be a vile diſſembler, and a wicked perſõ, vſed to lying and crafty deceiuing: diſſwaded his mother not to geue credite to the vile vagabon, declaring that he knew ſo well of the iuſtice of his father; that if he were aliue, he would twiſe rather pluck out both his eies: then once reſtore him one, Notwithſtanding, the Queene the mother remayning ſtil in the former fond perſwaſion, would heare or beleue nothing to the contrary; but was ſo in anger with her ſonne, that ſhe bid him depart his chamber, and ſo he did. By the example whereof may eaſely be conceiued, how and after what ſort theſe blinde myracles in thoſe dayes and ſince haue come vp amõg the blinde & ſuperſtitious people. For had not the king here bene wiſer thã the mother, no doubt but this would haue bene rong a miracle, & percaſe king Henry bene made a Saint.

Ex eodem Chrõ.

A true miracle.

But as this was fayned a miracle and falſe no doubt ſo in the ſame author we read of an other maner of miracle, ſounding more neare the trueth, and ſo much the more likely, for that it ſerued to the conuerſion vnto Chriſtian fayth: to which vſe properly, all true myracles do appertayne. The myracle was this. In the raigne of this king, and the latter yere of his raigne, Caſſanus king of yͤ Tartarians (of whome commeth theſe whome now we call Turkes) which fighting agaynſt the Souldan king of the Saracens, in the plain of Damaſcus, ſlew of them 100000. of Saracens: and agayne at Babilon fighting with the ſayd Souldain: ſlew him in the field, & 200000. of his Saracens, calling vpon the helpe of Chriſt, and therupon became Chriſtiã. This Caſſanus I ſay, had a brother a Pagane, who being in loue with the daughter of the king of Armenia a Chriſtian woman, deſired of her father to marry with her. whereunto the king her father would not agree, vnles he promiſed to be a Chriſtian. Notwithſtanding, the other being ſtrõger in power and threatning to get her by warre: the king at length was forced to agree. In concluſion, it happened that the childe being borne betwixt them was ouergrowen & all rough with hayre, like the ſkin of a Beare. which childe being brought to the father, he commaunded it to be throwen in the fire & burned. But the mother deſiring firſt to haue the childe baptiſed, cauſed all things therunto to be prepared. The infant being 3. times in water plunged, after the Sacrament of holy baptiſme receiued: incontinent was altered and turned from all his hairy roughnes, and ſene as fayre and ſmooth ſkinned, as any other. The which thing after the Father ſaw and beheld, was Chriſtened himſelfe and all hys houſe. &c.

Victorie againſt the Saracens.

Mertõ colledge builded in Oxforde.

I. Scotus, duns.

In the raigne of this king, walter Merton Biſhop of Rocheſter, builded Merton colledge in Oxford. In whoſe raigne alſo liued, Henricus de Gaudano, Arnoldus de villa noua, Dantes, and other mo. And Scotus called Duns. who in his 4. booke of Sent Diſt. 18. complayneth of the abuſe of excommunication & of the Popes keies. where as before, excommunication was not vſed, but vpon great and iuſt cauſes, & therefore was feared: now ſayth he, it is brought forth for euery trifling matter, as for not paying yͤ Prieſtes wages. &c. & therefore ſayth he, it groweth in contẽpt. Vnder the ſame king about the beginning of hys raygn, was the yeare ſo hoat and ſo drye: that from the month of May vntill the month nere of Septẽber fell no rayn, in ſo much that many dyed for heat, & the vulgar people in their reckning of yeares, did count the time from the ſayd dry yeare long after.

Pope Clemẽt. 5

The Popes court tranſlated to Fraunce.

A ſlaughter of nobles at the pompe of the popes coronation.

A Carbũcle in the popes myter valued at 6000. Florence.

Emperour no Emperour except he were cõfirmed by the pope.

After P. Benedictus aboue mentioned, ſucceded Pope Clement the 5. who tranſlated the Popes court to Auinion in Fraunce, where it remayned the terme of 74. yeares after. At the coronation of this Clemẽt, was preſent Philip king of Fraunce, Charles his ſonne and Duke Iohn Duke of Britany, with a great number of other men of ſtate and Nobility. At which coronation they being in the middle of the pompe or proceſſiõ, a great wall brake down and fell vpon thẽ: by the fall wherof, Duke Iohn with 12. other were ſlayne, king Philip hurt & wounded, the Pope ſtroken from his horſe, & loſt out from his mitre vpon his head a Carbuncle, eſteemed to the value of 6000. florence Plat. de vit. Pont. By this Clemẽt was ordeined, that yͤ Emperor, though he might be called king of the Romains before, yet he might not enioy the title & right of the Emperor, before he was by him confirmed. And that the Emperors ſeat being vacant, the Pope ſhould raigne as Emperor, till a new Emperor was choſẽ. By him the orders of the Tẽplaries (who at that time were too abhominable) was put downe at the Counſell of Vienne, as hereafter (Chriſt willing) ſhalbe declared. He alſo ordeined and cõfirmed the feaſt of Corpus Chriſti, aſſigning indulgences to ſuch as heard the ſeruice therof. And as pope Bonifacius afore heaped vp the book of Decretals, called Sextus Decretalium, ſo this Clement compiled the 7. booke of the decretals, called of the ſame Clement the Clementines. In yͤ time of this Pope Hẽricus the 6. of that name Emperor, was poyſoned in receiuing the Sacrament by a falſe diſſembling Monke called Bernard, that feined himſelfe to be his familiar frend, which was thought to be done not without the conſent of the Popes legate. The Emperour perceiuing himſelfe poyſoned, warned him to flee & eſcape away, for els the Germaines would ſure haue ſlaine him, who although he eſcaped himſelfe, yet diuers of his order after that with fire and ſword were ſlayne.

The Templaries put downe.

The feaſt of Corpus Chriſti.

Septimus decretalium, called the Clemẽtines.

Henricus 6. Emperour poyſoned in the hoſt.

Paleologus Emp. of Cõſtantinople excommunicated with all his adherents by pope Clemẽt, for not ſuffering the Grecians to appeale to Rome.

Anno. 1327.

Note the practiſe of the Romiſh prelates.

As this Pope Clement the 5. had well prouided now (as he haue heard) agaynſt the Empire of Rome to bring it vnder his girdle: in ſomuch that without the Popes benediction, no Emperor might take the ſtate vpon him. &c. Now he proceedeth farther to intermeddle with yͤ Empire of Conſtantinople. where he firſt exerciſeth his tyranny & power of excommunicatiõ, agaynſt Andronicus Paleologus Emperor of Conſtantinople, an. 1327. declaring him as a ſchiſmaticke, and hereticke, becauſe he neither would nor durſt ſuffer the Greciãs to make their appeale from yͤ Greeke Church to the Pope, neither would acknowledge him for his ſuperior. &c. whereby it may appeare that the Greek Church did not admitte the Popes ſuperiority, as yet nor at any time before. Saue onely about the tyme of Pope Innocent the 3. an. 1202. at what time the Frenchemen with their Captain Baldwinus Earle of Flaũders, ioyned together with the Venecians: were ſet againſt the Grecians, to place Alexius to the right of the Empire of Conſtantinople, vpõ conditiõ (as writeth Platina) to ſubdue the Greeke church, vnder the church of Rome. which Alexius being reſtored, and ſhortly after ſlayne: the empire came to the Frenchmẽ, with whom it remained the ſpace of 58. yeares, till the comming of Michael Paleologus in the dayes of Pope Gregory the 9. who reſtored the Empire frõ the Frenchmen, vnto his priſtine ſtate again. During all which time of the French Emperors, the Greeke church was ſubiect to Rome, as by the decretals of Pope Gregory the 9. may appere. Then folowed after this, that the foreſayd Michael Emperor of Conſtantinople beyng called vp to a councell at Lions by Pope Gregory the 10. about the controuerſy of proceeding of the holy Ghoſt (as is aboue ſpecified) and obedience to the Church of Rome: there, becauſe the ſayd Michael the Emperor did ſubmitte himſelfe & the Grecians, to the ſubiection of Rome (as teſtifieth Baptiſt Egnat.) He thereby procured to himſelfe ſuch grudge and hatred among the Greeke Monkes and Prieſtes: that after his death they denyed him the due honor & place of buriall. The ſonne of this Andronicus was Michael Paleologus aboue mentioned: who, as ye haue heard before, becauſe he was conſtrayned by the Grecians not to admit any apellation to the Biſhop of Rome: was accurſed by the popes cẽſures for an heretick. wherby appereth, that the Grecians recouering their ſtate agayn, refuſed all ſubiection at this time vnto the church of Rome, which was the yeare of our Lord. 1327. &c. After this Clemẽt the 5. folowed Pope Iohn the 22. with whom Ludouike the Emperour had much trouble. After whom next in courſe ſucceded Pope Benedict the 12. which Benedict vpõ a time being deſired to make certayn new Cardinals to this anſwereth agayne: that he would gladly ſo do, if he alſo could make a new world. For this world (ſayd he) is for theſe Cardinals that be made already. Ex ſcripto Engethuſenſis. And thus much of the Popes, now to returne a litle backe to the kinges ſtory agayne.

Platina in Vit. Innocentij.

When and how lõg the Greeke church was ſubiect to Rome.

Ex Baptiſt. Egnat. Rom. princ. li.7.

The Greeke church denieth ſubiection to the Church of Rome.

Ex Chron. Nic. Triuet.

The popes exactiõs cõplained of in the parliament.

Ex hiſt. quæ incipit ab Henrico tertio.

In the yeare of our Lord 1307. which was 34. of the reigne of this king, in the beginning of Hillary terme: the king kept a Parliament at Carliel, where great cõplaints were brought in by the nobles and auncientes of the Realme, concerning the manifolde and intollerable oppreſſions of churches and Monaſteries, and exactions of mony by the Popes Legate william Teſta (otherwiſe termed Mala Teſta) lately brought into the realme of England. The comming of which william Teſta was vpõ this occaſion, as followeth. Pope Clement, who as ye heard before, had tranſlated his Court from Rome into Fraunce, where he had bene Archbiſhop before, becauſe hee cõtẽned to come & remaine at his owne ſea: the Princes of Rome thought him therfore vnworthy to enioy Peters patrimonye.

ny. And ſo by that meanes falling in barenes & pouertye, liued onely of ſuch mony of Biſhops, as came to him to be confirmed, and with ſuch other ſhiftes and gifts. So that by this meanes, partly of Biſhops & other religious men & perſons, partly vnder the name of curteſy and beneuolence, partly vnder ỹ pretence of borowing: he had within the firſt yeare 9500. markes of ſiluer, all his other charges and expenſes, which he largely that yere beſtowed, clearely borne. Beſides this, he ſent moreouer the foreſayd Legate William Teſta into England with his Bulles: in the which he reſerued the firſt fruites of the firſt yeare of all Churches being vacant, at any time, or by any man within the realme of England, Scotland, Wales, and Ireland, and alſo the fruites of Abbayes and Priories within the ſayd Realmes. &c. Whereupon, the king with his nobles ſeing the inconuenience and harme thereof enſuing to the whole realme: In the foreſayd Parliamēt holden at Carlicll withſtood the ſayd Legate, charging and commaunding him by the aſſent of the Earles & Barōs, that henceforth he ſhould abſteine from al ſuch exactions. And as cōcerning his Lord the Pope, he would direct certayne hys meſſegers vnto him, purpoſely for ỹ ſame matter appointed: by the which Ambaſſadours, the king wrote vnto the foreſayd Pope declaring, & moniſhing the Pope, as right and reaſon was: that he ſhould not exact the firſt fruits of Churches and Abbayes, by his predeceſſors & noble men of the land founded, for the honor & maintenance of Gods ſeruice, for almes & hoſpitalitye: which otherwiſe in ſo doing, ſhould all be ouerthrowen. And ſo by this meanes the Pope at that time changed his purpoſe as concerning Abbayes. But after that, the fruit of Engliſh churches was graunted to the king for 2. yeares: In which ſpace he obteined the fruits of the foreſayd Churches. &c.

The Popes getting in one yeare. W. Teſta the popes Legat ſent into England.

Firſt fruites firſt brought in by the Pope.

King Edw. withſtādeth the Pope & his Legate.

Firſt fruites of Abbeyes denyed to the Pope.

Firſt fruites for 2. yeares graunted to the kyng.

During the which Parliament afore ſpecified, as men were talking many things of the popes oppreſſiōs, which he began in the Engliſh Church, in the full of the Parliament: ſodenly fell downe, as ſent from heauen, among thē a certaine paper, with this ſuperſcription.

☙ An Epiſtle of Coſsiodorus to the Church of England, concerning the abuſes of the Romiſh Church.

Ex Vetuſto Chronico Albanenſi.

TO the noble church of England ſeruing in clay and bricke as the Iewes did in times paſt vnder the tyrannye of the Egiptians: Peter the ſonne of Caſſadore a Catholicke ſouldiour and deuout champion of Chriſt, ſendeth greeting and wiſhing to caſt of the yoke of bondage, and to receiue the reward of libertie.

To whom ſhall I compare thee, or to whom ſhall I liken thee O daughter Ieruſalem: to whome ſhall I match thee, O daughter of Syon? Great is thy perturbation, like vnto the ſea. Thou ſitteſt alone without comfort all the day long, thou art confounded & conſumed with heauineſſe. Thou art geuen vp into the handes of him from whence thou canſt not riſe without helpe of one to lift thee vp: for the Scribes and Phariſies ſitting vpon the chayre of Moyſes, the enemies of the Romaines are as thy heades and rulers: enlarging their garded philecteries, and ſeeking to be enriched with the marow of thy bones, laying heauye burdens, and not able to be borne, vpon thy ſhoulders and of thy miniſters, and they ſet thee vnder tribute (which of old time haſt bene free) beyond all honeſty or meaſure. But maruell not thereat, for thy mother, which is the Lady of people, like a widow hauing maried and coupled her ſelfe to her ſubiect, hath appoynted him to be thy father, that is to ſay, the Byſhoppe of Rome, who ſheweth no poynt of any fatherly loue towardes thee. He magnifieth and extendeth to the vttermoſt his authority ouer thee: And by experience he declareth himſelfe to be the huſband of thy mother. He remembreth oft with himſelfe the Propheticall ſaying of the Prophet, and well digeſted the ſame in the inwarde part of his breſt. Take to thee a great booke, and write therein quickely with the penne of a man, take the ſpoyle, robbe quickely: But is this it, which the Apoſtle ſayth, that he was appoynted for, where he writeth thus? Euery Byſhop taken from among men, is appointed for men in thoſe thinges that belong to the Lord: not to ſpoyle, not to lay on them yearely taxes, not to kill men, but to offer gifts and ſacrifices for ſinnes: and to ſorrow with them, that be ignoraunt and doe erre. And ſo we read of Peter the Fiſher (whoſe ſucceſſour he boaſteth himſelfe to be) that after the reſurrection of Chriſt he returned with other Apoſtles, to the office of fiſhing: who when he could take nothing of the left ſide of the ſhippe, at the bidding of Chriſt, turned to the right ſide, and drew to the land a nette full of fiſhes. Wherefore the profitable miniſterye of the Church is to be exerciſed on the right ſide, by the which the Deuill is ouercome, and plenty of ſoules be lucrified and wonne to Chriſt. But certaynely, the Labourer on the left ſide of the ſhippe, is farre otherwiſe: for in it the fayth ſtumbleth, heauineſſe beareth rule, when that thing that is deſired by ſeeking, is not found. For who is ſo fooliſh to thinkee that he canne both at one tyme ſerue God and man, and to ſatiſfy his owne will, or to ſtick to the reuelations of fleſh and bloud, and to offer worthy giftes to Chriſt? And doubtles, that ſhepheard that watcheth not for the edifying of the flocke, prepareth an other way to the roaring Lyon, and ſeeking whom he may deuour. And now beholde, I ſay, O daughter, the deedes of him that is called thy father, ſuch as haue not bene heard of before: he driueth away the good ſhepheardes from the ſheepefolde, and placeth in theyr ſtead Byſhoppes, to rule, but not to profite (his Nephewes, Coſins, and Parentes) ſome that know no letters, and other ſome dumme and deafe, which vnderſtand not the playne voyce of the ſheepe, nor curing their woundes that be hurt of the Wolues: but lyke hirelinges plucking of the flieſes a paſe, and reaping that which other men haue ſowen, whoſe handes moreouer be alwaies ready in their baſkets and powches, but their backes are turned from their burdens. By which things it is manifeſt, that the Prieſthood is cleane chaunged at theſe dayes, the ſeruice of God decayd, almes diminiſhed and brought to nought, the whole deuotion of kinges, princes, & chriſtians is baniſhed. May not this be thought wonderfull in the eyes of all men, that where as Chriſt commaunded tribute to bee payde to kinges for him and for Peter, he now goeth about dominiō of his ſtile, to ſubdue to him, both Realmes and princes of realmes (againſt his will, whoſe Vicar he ſayth he is, and who refuſed the Realmes and iudgementes of the world) which this Biſhop contrarywiſe chalengeth, clayming all that which he in his ſtile writeth to be his. Alacke, O daughter, what doth he yet more agaynſt thee: marke, he draweth from thee what ſoeuer pleaſeth him, and yet he thinketh not himſelf cōtent, to haue the tenth part onely of thy goodes from thee: except he haue alſo the firſt fruites of the benefices of the Miniſters, wherby he may get a new patrimony aſwell for himſelfe as for his kinred, contrary to the godly willes of the firſt founders. Ouer & beſide all this, he inferreth other execrable taxes and ſtipendes for his Legates and meſſengers, whom he ſendeth into England, whiche not onely take away the feeding and clothing of thee and thine, but alſo teare in pieces like dogges your fleſh and ſkinnes. May not this prince be cōpared to king Nabuchodonoſer, which deſtroyed the temple of the Lord, and robbed away the ſiluer and golden veſſelles thereof? The very ſame doth this man alſo he robbed the miniſters of God his houſe, and left deſtitute of due helpe. In like maner doth he: Truely they be better that are killed with the ſword, thē they which be pined with hunger: for they are dead ſtraight, but theſe are waſted with the bareneſſe of the earth. O daughter, al they that paſſe by the way, let thē haue pity & cōcōpaſsiō on thee, for there is no ſorrow like thy ſorrow. For now thy face is blacker then coales through much ſorrow and weeping, and thou art no more knowne in the ſtreetes: thy foreſayd ruler hath placed thee in darckeneſſe, and hath geuen the wormwood and gall to drinke. O Lord heare the ſorrow and ſighinges of thy people beholde Lord, and deſcend, for the hart of this foreſayd man is more indurate then the hart of Pharao. For he wyll not ſuffer the people to depart, except in the fortitude onelye of thy hand. For he ſcourgeth them not onely miſerably vpon the earth, but alſo after their death he intēdeth to incroch the goods of all Chriſtians vnder the name and title to dye inteſtate or making no will. Therefore let the chiualry of England well remember, how the Frenchmen in times paſt, directing their greedy eyes on the Realme of England, laboured with all theyr power how to bring the ſame vnder their ſubiectiō But it is to be feared leaſt the new deuiſes and practiſe of this new enemy, ſupply that which hetherto hath bene lacking in them. For in diminiſhing of the treaſure of the Realme, and ſpoyling of the Churches goods: the Realme ſhall be brought into ſuch inhability, that it ſhall not be able to helpe it ſelfe agaynſt the enemy. Therefore O daughter and you the miniſters thereof, ſuffer not your ſelues to be lead any more into ſuch miſerable bondage. Better it is for the wealth of thee and thine, that the Chriſtian king aud the powers of the Realme which haue indued thee with great benefites, and you alſo which are indued with their benefites, doe labour with all your power how to reſiſt the deuiſes, conſpiracies, arrogancy, preſumption, and pride of the foreſayd perſon: who not for any zeale of God, but for the enriching of hys Parentes and for hys owne kinred (exalting himſelfe like an Eagle) by theſe and ſuche other exactions goeth about after a newe kinde of extortion to ſcrape vppe and deuoure all the money and treaſure of England. Now leaſt the diſſembled ſimplicity of the Realme in this behalfe doe bring vtter ſubuerſion, and afterwarde be compelled to ſeeke remedy when it is to late: I beſeech the Lord God of hoaſtes to turne away the vale from the hart of that man, and to geue him a contrite and an humble minde, in ſuch ſort as he may acknowledge the wayes of the true God, whereby he may bee brought out of darckeneſſe, and bee enforced to relinquiſhe his olde ſiniſter attemptes: and that the vineyard which the Lordes hand hath plāted, may be repleniſhed continually with the preachers of the word. Let the wordes of the Lord propheſied by the mouth of Ieremy, ſtirre vp your mindes to withſtand & reſiſt the ſubtle practiſes of this man, by the which wordes the Lord ſpeaketh: O thou Paſtor which haſt ſcattered my people, and haſt caſt them out of their habitations, behold I will come and viſite vpon thee, and vpon the malice of thy ſtudies: neither ſhall there be any of thy ſeed which ſhall ſit vpon the ſeat of Dauid, neither whiche ſhall haue power any more in Iuda. So that thy neaſt ſhall become barren, and vtterly ſubuerted like Sodome and Gomer.

And if he being terrified by theſe wordes do not leaue off frō this which he beginneth, and doth not make reſtitution of thoſe thinges which he hath receiued, then let all and ſingular perſons ſing for him being indurat, to him that ſeeth all things, the Pſalme 108. Deus laudem. &c. For truely as fauour, grace and beneuolence, remitteth and neglecteth many thinges: ſo agayne the gentle benignitie of man being too much oppreſſed and grieued, ſeeking to be deliuered and freed from the ſame, ſtriueth and ſearcheth to haue the trueth knowne, and caſteth off that yoake by all meanes poſſible that geueth him. &c. Hæc Caſſiodorus.

A parliament in Fraunce aſſembled, wherein is diſcuſſed, the iuriſdiction eccleſiaſtical, how farre it extendeth.

What effect this letter wrought in them, to whom it was directed, is not in ſtory expreſſed. This by the ſequell may be coniectured, that no reaſon or perſwaſion coulde preuayle, but that the Pope retained here ſtill his exactions, whatſoeuer was ſayd or written to the contrary notwithſtanding.

Anno. 1329.

And thus much being written hetherto of theſe actes and doings here in England, now to ſlipp a little into the matters happening the ſame time in Fraunce, vnder the raign of the foreſayd king Philip aboue mentioned: forſomuch as about this time, an. 1329. was commenſed a parliament, by the ſayd king of Fraunce, agaynſt the Pope, touching the iuriſdiction both tēporall pertaining to princes, and eccleſiaſticall belonging to the church: I thought it not vnprofitable for the reader, to heare & learne the full diſcourſe and tractation hereof, according as we haue cauſed it to be excerpt faythfully out of the true copye and recordes of Peter Bertrand Biſhop of Eduenen, and chiefe doer & prolocutor in the ſayd parliament vpon the Popes ſide, agaynſt the king and ſtate temporall.

For ſo much as the high Prelate of Rome, otherwiſe called Antichriſt, being thē in his chief ruffe, extolling him ſelfe aboue all princes and poteſtates of the world, as in other countryes, ſo alſo in Fraūce extended his vſurped iuriſdictiō aboue the princely authority of the king, claiming to himſelfe full gouernement of both the ſtates, as well ſecular as alſo eccleſiaſticall. The king therfore not ſuffering the exceſſiue proceedinges of Pope Clement the 5. aboue ſpecified, directeth his letters mandatory to the Prelates and Barons of the realme of Fraūce, to conuēt & aſſemble themſelues together at Paris, about the beginning of December, the yeare aboue prefixed. The tenor of which letters of the king directed to the Prelates, followeth in this forme and maner.

¶ *The Sommons of a Parliament by Philip the French king.*

The letter of Philip king of Fraunce, to the byſhops & prelates.

PHilip by the grace of God king of Fraunce, to our welbeloued Biſhop of Eduens, greeting and ſalutation. Reuerend Father in God, right truſty and welbeloued, we greete you well. The more ſight and knowledge you haue in diuinitye and the holye Scriptures of God, with the practiſe and experience of other good qualityes and vertues: you know the better a great deale, how that the Clergy and layty of this our Realme (as members of one body) ought to cleaue and ſticke together: and how by theyr helping hand, vnity and peace ſhould bee maynetayned of all, and the contrary eſchued and auoyded, euery ſtate contēting it ſelfe, & not incroching one vpon another. And becauſe we are aduertiſed, how that our Barons and officers (as well in time paſt as of late) haue diuerſly in diuers poyntes iniuried you, as ſemblably you and yours in many cauſes haue wrongfullye damaged them: by occaſion wherof, the knot of vnitie and concord which ought to haue floriſhed among you, is quite looſed and vndone. To the end therefore by Gods grace ſome good reformation and redreſſe may be had herein: We moſt ſtudious of vnity and concord requere you, and by theſe our letters commaūd you, to appeare perſonally before vs at Paris the 15. day of Decēber next enſuing the date hereof: and there before vs to make relation of ſuch wrong as ye haue receiued at the laities hāds. And wee likewiſe ſtraightly charge and commaund you our Barons, Bailiffes and officers not to fayle, but to make your perſonall appearaunces before vs, the day and place aboue written, & there to exhibite before vs a bill, of ſuch complayntes wherewith you burden our Prelats and Clergy with their officials: that we with our counſell conſulting thereupon, with due regard may ſee redreſſe therin: wherby perpetuall loue and charity may euer hereafter raigne and remayne among them for euer. Geuen at Paris the firſt day of September. an. 1329.

The Parliament conuented.

At the day in the letters aboue ſpecified, the Prelates and Clergy aſſembled themſelues before the King at hys palace in Paris, that is to witte, The L. Bituricen, the L. of Auxitan, the L. Turonen, the L. Rothom, and the L. Senon, all Archbiſhops: The L. Beluacen, the L. Cathalan, the L. Laudun, the L. of Paris, the L. Nouionon, the L. Carnoten, the L. Conſtan, the L. Andegauen, the L. Pictauen, the L. Melden, the L. of Cameracen, the L. of S. Feri, the L. Brioce, the L. of Cabilion, & the L. of Eduen, all Byſhops. where after due reuerence done vnto the Kinges grace, there ſitting in his owne perſon, wyth his Barons and counſell about him: a certayne noble and wiſe perſon Lord Peter de Cugnerijs, (being one of the kinges counſell) roſe vp and openly in the Parliament houſe ſpake in the kinges behalfe on this wiſe, taking for hys Theame. Reddite quæ ſunt Cæſaris, Cæſari, & quæ ſunt Dei, Deo: which is to ſay: geue and render vnto Ceſar, which is his, and vnto God which is Gods: which he very artificially proſecuted and applyed, deuiding it into 2. partes. Firſt that obedience and reuerence is due vnto the king, Secondly that there ought to be a difference betweene the iuriſdiction of the clergy and laity, ſo that ſpirituall matters ſhould be defined and ordered by the Prelats and ſpirituall men: and temporall cauſes ruled and determined by the king, his Barons, and temporall men. which all he proued by many reaſōs both of fact and law, as more fully appeareth beneath in the anſwere of the Byſhop of Eduen: finally he concluded, that the Clergy ought onely to deale and haue to doe with ſpirituall matters: in defence whereof, the kings highnes would ſtand their good Lord and maintayner. His Oration being ended, he repeated certayn wordes in the French toung which imported that the kinges will and pleaſure was in ſome poyntes to renew the temporall ſtate and iuriſdiction: & therewith exhibited a certaine bill in French, whereof alſo he gaue a copy to the Prelates, contayning certaine pointes and articles vnder writtē, the contentes wherof he affirmed not to appertaine to the order & iuriſdiction of the ſpiritualty, but onely to the temporalty: complayning that the Clergy had wrōgfully proceeded in ẏ ſame. But notwithſtanding the premiſſes, & for all this his complaint, he ſayd that ẏ Prelates ſhould haue time to conſult and deliberate thereupō with the king. The copy of which articles, with anſwers enſuing vpon the ſame, and the grieuaunces of the kingdome of Fraunce, wrought by the clergy, and exhibited to the king, hereafter foloweth.

Lord Peter ſpeakes in the Parliament.

The theame of his oration.

The oration deuided in two partes. Obedience to the kyng.

Difference betweene the iuriſdiction of the ſtate temporall and eccleſiaſticall.

Articles in the Parliament propounded, contaynyng the iuſt complaints of the laitie againſt the clergie. Cauſes real.

1. Firſt the cognition of cauſes reall, whether they touch poſſeſſion or their propriety or not, by commō law apperteineth to ẏ iuriſdicion temporall. But the Prelates wyth their officials to ẏ end to infringe the tēporall iuriſdiction, take vpon them the determination of ſuch cauſes reall, eſpecially concerning poſſeſſion and all other interdictes.

2. Item, when a temporall man is ſued by any Clerke or ſpirituall man, for the poſſeſſion of his land, obtayning an adiornament of the ſecular power, in the cauſe of nouite or otherwiſe: The prelates officials ſtopping hereby the tēporall iuriſdiction, at the inſtaunce of the Clerke calleth by proces before them, both the ſecular iudge and the party: inhibiting them to proceed any farther in the cauſe, vnder payne of excommunication and forfeiture of a certayne ſumme.

Prelates intermedle in temporall mens matters.

3. Item, although the ſecular iudge haue the cognition of all lay mens matters (except in ſpirituall cauſes) yet wil ẏ Biſhops Officials at the inſtaunce of any partye, call ſuch before them. And if the tēporall mē do except againſt their iuriſdiction, alleadging the incompitency of the iudge, or els if they require the cauſe to be remitted to them (vnder whom they are) as the right iudges, yet doth the Officials refuſe this to do, yea and by excommunication compell the parties to proceed before them.

4. Item, the Byſhoppes Officials at the inſtaunce of the clerks, alledging that they are iniuried in matters of inheritance by a lay man, call by proces the laity. And if it be alledged that thoſe cauſes ſtand vpō reality, being ſo indeed, & for that conſideration the cauſe to be remitted to the tēporall law: This notwithſtanding the Officials prohibit them vnder payne of excommunication or ſome great forfeit, not to proceed but before them.

5. Item, the Biſhops Officials take vpon them to heare the plea of ſuch contractes as either be conceiued in writings or made by word of mouth in the temporall law, ſēding out their monition of excommunication againſt thē that ſtand bound concerning the ſame contractes.

6. Item, the Byſhoppes and Prelates decree prouinciall

coūcels and Sinodall Statuts, enacting & ordering therin many thinges to the high & great preiudice of the temporall iuriſdiction, wherin they ought to haue no cognitiō at all neither to intermeddle themſelues therwith.

7. Item, the foreſayd Officials take vpon thē, before Notaries to ſweare perſons for performance of contractes & bargaynes (made by them in places vnder the iuriſdiction temporal) concerning the ſale of inheritance or otherwiſe: incroching therby vpon their iuriſdiction, when verelye they haue nothing to do with any contracts and obligations, but with ſuch as are made and agreed vpon within the compaſſe of their owne ſeat and iuriſdiction.

Ex Officio.

8. Item, the ſayd Officials of ther meere office, call before them the laity, to aunſwere to ſuch matters of correctiō as ſhalbe layd to theyr charge; the cognition whereof as they ſay doth appertayn vnto them. And when the ſayd perſōs do appeare before them, & deny the crime obiected againſt them: the Officials deteyne them and put them in priſon, although in ſuch caſes, they are to be releaſed: and that impriſonment appertaineth onely to the temporall power, & not to them.

Impriſonment pertaineth not to the Clergie.

9. Item, in the caſes aforeſayd, although by making of their purgations and other the proces therin, they be foūd cleare of that which is layd to theyr charge and are acquited: theſe yet the ſaid officials will in no wiſe diſcharge and diſmiſſe thē before they haue to the vttermoſt payd for the writings and proces in that behalfe, a good piece of mony: when by law it ought to be done gratis and for nothing.

10. Item, it muſt not be forgotten to talke of the ſentēce of excōmunication, which is decreed by vertue of one only citation, ſo often times as a man fayleth in his appearance.

11. Item, mentiō is to be made of thoſe kinde of obligatiōs De niſi. whereby a man is excommunicated by and by, if he make not payment at the day prefixed, although he be not able ſo to do.

12. Item, whoſoeuer by vertue of excommunicatiō in the Biſhops court is excommunicate, and he [illegible] excōmunicate do not ſatiſfy the ſumme due about the excommunication: by & by the ſumm is doubled: And the ſecular power charged by the biſhops or their officials, that they vnder paine of excōmunication compell the excōmunicate by attaching their goods to pay the ſayd ſumme, and not to miſſe a iote: which monitiō if the layty refuſeth to put in executiō, they themſelues are then excommunicate & in no wiſe to be abſolued before they diſburſe that mony the which the principall excommunicate perſon ſhould haue payd.

13. Item, if the Baliffes, Hedborowes, or other the kings officers and iudges of the temporaltye, receiuing the foreſayd monitions do put the ſame in execution, & finde thoſe that be excōmunicate to be beggerlye and nothing worth: the ſayd officers are bound at their owne proper coſts and charges, to reſort to the Biſhops ſea or conſiſtory, where ſoeuer it is, & there to take a corporall oath, that yͤ partyes excōmunicate are nothing worth. This if they fayle, thoſe officers are ſure to be excommunicate and therby inforced to diſburſe the due of the firſt excommunicate perſons.

Action reall perſonall.

14. Itē, if two lay men be in ſute together before a temporall iudge about an action either reall or perſonall, & one of thē after conteſtation of law and great proces therin, do appeale vnto an eccleſiaſticall iudge: he will preſume then to deteine before him the plea of ſuch caſes & actions, both reall & perſonal, cauſing by vertue of his monitions & authority, the temporall iudge to ceaſe & leaue of from medling therein: which if the ſecular iudge obeyeth not, he is pronounced excommunicate & compelled to make ſatiſfaction: by occaſions wherof, the tēporal iuriſdiction is much annoyed and cleane loſeth the prerogatiue therof: becauſe by law no man may appeale from a ſpirituall iudge to the temporall law.

No mā may appeale frō a ſpirituall iudge to the temporall law by the Popes diuinitie.

15. Item, if a lay man inhabiter of any the kings townes, procureth his debter, being alſo a lay man, to be areſted by vertue of ſecular iuſtice in that place: & he which is ſo arreſted appealeth, & cauſeth alſo his creditor to be arreſted, the officials will take vpō them to heare this matter: And if any thing be attēpted concerning the appeale, they miſſe not to demaūd coſt and ſatiſfaction both of the iuſtice, and alſo of him to whom the arreſt was made. And if any of yͤ Princes retinue compelleth them to reſiſt this iniury, they are ſtraightwayes pronounced excommunicate.

Deanes of the Clergie.

16. Item, if the ſayd Biſhops haue a number of Officials vnder them, whom they terme Deanes of yͤ clergy, which vſually cauſeth all ſorts of people through the kinges dominions onely by word of mouth to come afore thē, & that ſometime without commiſſiō: when that in euery Dioces there ought onely to be but one ſeat or Conſiſtory, wherein matters ſhould be heard and decided. And hereby it happeneth diuers times, that many are wrongfully & without cauſe cited, & to the end: that they may pay mony enough, to rid themſelues thereof: which is to the no ſmall preiudice of the Kinges Maieſtyes ſubiectes and the temporall iuriſdiction.

17. Item, the ſayd rulers of the clerks, ſealeth vp the houſes of their clergy, which are ſituate in the kinges townes and other of his noble mens villagyes, to the preiudice of the kinges maieſtyes iuriſdiction, & other of his nobility: for that in ſuch kinde of places the Biſhops haue no ſuche kinde of iuriſdiction.

Maryed clearks.

18. Item, the ſayd Prelates or their officials, doe preſume to ſeale vp the moueable goods of maryed Clerkes, and of marchaunts, where in ſuch caſes, the order thereof appertaineth to the temporall law.

19. Item, they compel the laity to put in ſurety to anſwere clerkes before them in the ſpirituall court, yea and chiefly the kinges owne ſeruitures.

20. Item, they preſume to heare and haue the cognition of actions: which are reall or at leaſtwiſe mixt, that is both reall and perſonall.

21. Item, the ſayd prelates go about to haue cognition of ſuch temporall mens matters as dwel in hoſpitals, almes houſes, & the kings peculiars, and in villagies of his ſubiectes, although the plea thereof apperteineth to the King himſelfe, and his ſubiects: forbidding vnder payne of excōmunication & great forfeits, no man ſo hardy to commēce any ſute agaynſt any of them, but before thēſelues in pain of a great ſumme of mony.

22. Item, to the end the Clergye and Eccleſiaſticall rule ſhould be multiplied, they conferre a number of Tonſures to children vnder age, ſome of them being ſonnes of bondmen, other ſome baſtardes borne, yea and to many more maried folkes inſufficient, vnable and vnlearned.

23. Item, they do cauſe by the gouernors of their clerkes, widow women to be inforced & defiled, and will haue the diſcuſſing therof: as in like maner, they will determine the matters of Pupilles, applying their goods whē they died, as they do the goodes of them which dye inteſtate to theyr owne vſe, the cognition wherof belongeth to the king himſelfe: becauſe thoſe kinde of perſons with their goods are ward to the kind and vnder his tuition.

Gynnes to get money.

24. Item, they procure through the ſayd Deanes of the clergy of malice, temporall men of the kings dominiōs or other where (without all order of law) to be apprehended: obiecting agaynſt them that they haue ſtrayed from ſome article of chriſtian fayth, & therewith ſhut them vp: when that theyr impriſonment appertaineth to the king, while they be conuicted therof.

25. Item, they exerciſe their iuriſdiction in all places, hauing no regard, neither to the kings peculiar townes nor yet to his ſubiects: but runneth in euery hole, whē by law they ought to haue no iuriſdiction, without their owne limits and precinct.

26. Item, when theſe Prelates or their officials by vertue of their monitions do charge the kinges officers & his iuſtices to execute any thing: if they doe not performe that, which is preſcribed vnto them, the forfet (which the monition conteyneth) is taken: yea and excommunication denounced. And this is a new inuention ſprong vp of late amongſt them, much to the preiudice of the King and his ſubiectes.

27. Item, when the Biſhops or their offials do proſecute a matter of office before themſelues againſt any temporall man, and haue no proofe therof: They compell many of the laity to be depoſed therin what they know, hauing no reſpect whether they be the kinges burgeſſes, or no, or what they be, and yet will they not allow any charges & expēſes for their paynes taken in that behalfe. But if they appeare not at theyr day, they are ſure to be excommunicate.

28. Item, if malefactours be apprehended by any of the kinges iuſtices, and indicted of theft, and he (whoſe goods they were which were ſtollen) commeth before the kyngs Sheriffes and proueth thē to be his, and therfore the matter to be ordered by thē: if afterward the Biſhops or theyr officiall affirme the ſayd felon or malefactor to be a Clerke, they will by vertue of their decrees or monitions compell the Kinges Sheriffes to reſtore and bring in thē ſtollen goodes: and if they doe it not, they are pronounced excommunicated.

29. Item, if it happē the kings Shiriffe or Baylife to take an offender for his defence, and he affirmeth himſelfe to be a clerke: although he neuer tooke any kinde of tonſures or orders, wearing no habite apertaining thereunto. Yet the Biſhops or their Officials will cauſe the detaynērs of thē by their cenſures to deliuer vnto them the ſayd malefactor as their clerke.

30. Item, if it happen the kinges Shiriffe or other his iu-

ſtices to take a theefe or murderer which beareth a clerkes mark and tonſure, and therfore deliuereth him to the clergy to be ordered: It ſhall not be long before he be acquited by them, although he afterward recogniſe his fact: yea & notwithſtanding his felowes and parteners of that offẽce being mere temporall, receiued iuſtice for the ſame, and appeacheth him therof. And ſo the like malefactors to be incouraged therby to commit after the like.

31. Item, if any complayneth and ſayth that he is ſpoyled, by and by the Officials will decree a monitiõ agaynſt the ſpoyler: by vertue whereof, ſome one of the Deanes of the clergy ſhall moniſh him, to reſtore the thinges compriſed in the monition & alſo miniſter to him an oath whether he hath not ſpoyled the plaintife of ſuch thinges, as he ſayth he was ſpoyled of. But if he refuſe to take an oath before him, then the Deane will ſtraightwayes ſeale vp yͤ monition, & excommunicate him: and by no meanes ſhalbe abſolued before he reſtore and ſatiſfy the contents in the monition, wherof the playntif ſayd firſt he was ſpoyled of.

32. Item, if any for his offence be caſt into priſon by the ſecular power, although at the time of his taking he were tẽporall habite, and was in no orders, but all the dayes of his life liued like a temporall man: yet if he ſhall auouch & vow himſelfe to be a clerke, to the intent to haue more expedition at the clergyes hands, and to eſcape vnpuniſhed: The clergy wil incontinent, geue to the laity in commaũdement to reſtore vnto them the malefactor, or els ſuſpẽſion to be denoũced throughout the whole townſhip where the ſaid malefactor ſhalbe ſo impriſoned. And for auoiding the ieopardy which might ariſe of the ſayd ſeaſement: the ſecular iudge of neceſſity is compelled to deliuer them the offẽder, to the great preiudice of the kings temporall iuriſdiction, to whom the cognition thereof might appertaine, in caſe of reſort and prerogatiue.

33. Item, when any offender is deliuered by the temporal Magiſtrates to the clergy, as their clerke: his frendes wil make ſute to the Biſhops Officials for him, and compoũd with them: by reaſon wherof, they demiſſe them vnpuniſhed and ſo doe worſe and worſe, although theyr fact was neuer ſo notorious.

Reſortum.

34. Itẽ, ſo ſoone as any maryed clerke being a marchant, or of whatſoeuer other ſcience he be of, for any his offence by him committed, is called before he ſecular iudge: The ſayd clerk obtayneth of the Officials a monition, bringing with them ſome prieſt, who doth inhibit the ſecular iudge vnder payne of 100. or 200. Markes, yea and of excommunication to, not to proceede farther, nor to meddle in ſuch cauſes, and not to moleſt ſuch parties neither in body, nor in goods. But if the iudges obey not, they ſhall be ſuſpended frõ hearing of Maſſe in that place, although the matter concerneth the fact of marchaundiſe.

35. Item, the ſayd Officials graunt citations without nũber agaynſt the laity in caſes of warranties perſonally to aſcite before thẽ perſons vnknowen. But if they be knowen it is contained in the citation that in no wiſe, and that vnder a great payn, he cauſe his aduerſary to be called before a ſecular iudge, during the returne of the citation.

36. Item, when one is excommunicated in any place: the Officials graunt out perſonall citations agaynſt them, which do perticipate and are conuerſant with the excommunicate: cauſing a whole country by the ſpace of 8. miles about to be cited together. And further the frendes and acquaintaunce of the party ſo excommunicate (ſometime by 40. ſomtime 60. yea and ſometime by 100. at once) are compelled to make theyr purgation before them: that they doe not participate nor keepe company with their frendes the excommunicates. Wherby enſueth that many honeſt olde and auncient men for auoyding of troubles and expenſes do pay ſome 12.d. ſome 2.s. By occaſion wherof many vines are vnlooked to, much ground vntilled: yea and many good men conſtrayned to lay the key vnder the doore, and runne away.

37. Item, the ſayd Officials doe burden many perſons of good name and fame, to be vſurers: whereby they are conſtrained to agree with them, for auoiding the infamy, that thereby might enſue.

38. Item, the foreſayd Officials call by Citation afore thẽ, the honeſt wedded (aſwell man as woman) charging thẽ, that they haue committed adultery to the perpetuall infamy of theyr husbands and wiues. And for nothing els but by extortion to wring mony from them.

39. Item, mention muſt be made of the multitude & number of Proctors, which eate and deuoure vp all the world with their citations: catching vp clientes, and keeping abroad in the countryes, courts and Aſſiſes, who for mony returne not the citations, which by extortion they receiue of them which are cited.

40. Item, there be many other griefes and enormityes, which the Chapiters, Abbotes, Priors, Prouoſtes and other eccleſiaſticall perſons in the Realme of Fraunce, practiſe agaynſt the people. As whẽ they cauſe to be cited before them, many of the kinges burgeſſes, & other in diuers places being priuiledged: that is to ſay, Baiocẽſes, Manmectans in Britaine, Lugdons, Maſticons, with other more. But ſpecially the Prouoſt of hoſpitals, vſe more cõmonly this trick, then any other do: wherby the people is much endamaged, and wilbe euery day more and more, if remedy be not had therein.

41. Item, eccleſiaſticall magiſtrates labor to haue cognition of cauſes of iniury, in whatſoeuer cauſe it be: whether the iniury be committed by word or fact. Likewiſe, they take vpon them to heare the cauſes of maried clerkes, and of their wiues although they both vſe marchaundiſe. And if at any time ſuch couples be taken by the ſecular Magiſtrates, the Officiall cauſeth a ſuſpenſion to be denounced in that Pariſh, by force of the councell Siluanecten.

42. Item, they chalenge to haue cognition concerning widowes goods, both moueable and vnmoueable. And if it happeneth at any time that a Marchaunt widow, in any the kings peculiars by way of reſt, procureth any temporall man to be conuented before the ſecular iudge: and the matter ſo farre trauiſed, that he ſhould haue bene condemned by the ſentence of the ſecular iudge, & then come to the eare of the eccleſiaſticall magiſtrates, how & before whom the widow did conuẽt him: The ſayd temporal iudge ſhal be conſtrayned, to withdraw the ſame. And by their monitions and cenſures to correct the ſame and this oftẽ times happeneth.

43. Item, many of the tenaunts & inhabitours of the Biſhops landes, calleth one an other to the court of yͤ Officials by a kinde of appellation: By vertue whereof, the Officials take vpon them, to proceede in the ſame and to haue cognition thereof: to the preiudice of the temporall iuriſdiction of our Soueraigne Lord the king.

44. Item. if any man be apprehended by ſecular iuſtice in ſhedding of bloud: by thẽ if he be Lay, he is to be ordered: If he be a Clerke he is to be reſtored to the Eccleſiaſticall iudge. But whether he be a temporall man or clerke that is ſo takẽ, and appealeth to the Officials court: They will be ſo bold to haue cognition therof, requiring herewith amends of the ſecular court, which enterpriſed the foreſayd apprehenſion. If this be ſuffered, the malefactor ſhal neuer be puniſhed: For by and by they will appeale, and immediatly after the appellation flye and auoyde away.

The clergie preiudiciall to common iuſtice.

45. Item, when they cauſe many of Office, to be cited before them, they will admit them to haue no Proctors: To whom when they come at the day of appearance, they obiect the crime of vſury. And except they anſwer as the promotors wil thẽſelues, they are trodẽ vnder feet (although they be mere lay) and ſhall not be diſmiſſed, before they fine euen as the Officials liſt themſelues although they be no vſurers. But if any be vſurers, they take of them ſatiſfaction and bribes: and ſo be permitted to vſe their vſury, no leſſe then before. So that, they may haue their olde fees and bribes.

Ex Officio.

Vſury craftely obiected by the clergie againſt laye men.

46. Item, they procure theyr officers to apprehend clerks in whatſoeuer ſoile they be foũd: albeit by iuſtice, they may appeal therefro. But if by any they be let of their will, herein they do forthwith by ſentence of excommunicatiõ, cauſe them to deſiſt therfore.

47. Item, as often times as any temporall Magiſtrate, doth apprehẽd any perſon, which afterward being required of the clergy, is quietly deliuered vnto them: yet for all that, the Officials cauſeth thoſe Magiſtrats to be denoũced excommunicate by law.

The prelates make the church a denne of theeues.

48. Item, the Prelates geue order of Tonſures aſwell to men of 30. yeares as vpward, as alſo to maried men, whẽ they come vnto them: for feare of impriſonment & puniſhment due vnto them for their criminal offences, before cõmitted. And this is often times put in practiſe.

49. Item, if it happen any of the kings ſeruants or any other to be excommunicate, & would fayne be abſolued, being glad to pay reaſonably for the ſame: The Clergy will not receiue but ſuch ſatiſfaction, as ſhall pleaſe thẽ wherby many of them remayne ſtill excommunicate.

50. Item, when two perſons haue bene at ſtrife and law together for the poſſeſſiõ of land, and the matter contentious be put into the handes of the king by ſome ſeruant or officer of the king, for the taking vp of the matter: then do the Prelates admoniſh the one part, not to trouble the other which is in poſſeſſion. Otherwiſe if he do, they do excommunicate him.

51. Item, the foreſayd Prelates, Deanes. Chaplens, and other the rout of the Clergy, putteth the kinges officers to

ſo much trauaile and expenſes in trying out the kinges vſurped iuriſdictiō, as they terme it: that often times many of them ſpend and conſume in the trauaell of the right and title thereof, all that they haue and more to.

52. Item, if any ſecular iuſticer in a true and iuſt cauſe, at the requeſt of the party, putteth in his helping hand cōcerning the inheritaunce of Clerkes: the Eccleſiaſticall Iudges and their Miniſters, ſendeth out monitiōs in writing agaynſt the ſayd Iuſticer: yea vnder payne of excōmunication & forfeiture, to take away his hand and leaue of: Enioyning him further to ſuffer the other party quietly to enioy the ſayd things. Otherwiſe they denounce him excommunicate, & ſhall not be abſolued before he haue well paid for it, euen as pleaſeth maiſter Officiall, to the high preiudice of the authority of our ſoueraigne Lord the king.

53. Item, the Eccleſiaſticall magiſtrates, ſo ſoone as they heare any rich or fat Cob to dye, or thinke that he will not liue long: ſend out forthwith letters vnder ſeale to theyr chaplain, commaūding him in any wiſe not to preſume to bury him, although he made his Teſtament, and receiued the rites of the Church. And when afterward, the frendes and kinſfolkes of the dead reſort vnto them to know the cauſe of their inhibition: they declare vnto thē that he was an vſurer, and that he kept not the commaundementes of holy Church: And ſo long keep they the corpes of the dead vnburyed, while the frendes of him buy it out with good ſtore of mony, heaping & hording by theſe meanes aboūdance of riches.

Note the practiſe of officials to get money.

54. Item, if there be any violent ſhedding of bloud in any churchyard, wherby the interdict taketh place: the Clergy cauſeth a certain impoſitiō to be leuied of the pariſhioners there, for the ſalary towards yͤ reſtoring therof. Although ſome of the pariſhioners be of an exempt iuriſdictiō: yea & although he which ſhed the bloud be able to pay the whole taxe which they leuyed and more to.

55. Item, certaine Chaplaines affirme to haue certayn Apoſtolicall priuileges, by vertue wherof they may appoint what Iudges they will (yea and oftentimes of their own houſe) & ſo be iudges in their owne cauſe, which is playne againſt the law: wherby often times it happeneth, that after great proces & expenſes had & made in any great cauſe of inqueſt (more often about reality then otherwiſe) when they haue notice by the Proctors and Aduocates that they ſhall haue the foyle therin: they reuoke forthwith thoſe named Iudges, and ſo the kings ſubiectes are damaged, and can haue no iuſtice nor redreſſe at their handes.

56. Itē, if any temporall man call a Clerke before a ſecular iudge in a caſe of inheritance: the eccleſiaſtical iudge procureth a ſtopp to be made therein, attributing to themſelues the cognitiō therof: and ſo by adiourning & remouing, the lay man is conſtrayned to make ſatiſfaction.

57. Item, the clergy chalengeth the cognition of ſuch cauſes as maried Clerkes being marchauntes and artificers do commence: when by law it doth appertaine to the temporalty, eſpecially about the trade of Marchaundiſe.

58. Item, they oftentimes make interdictions in many of the kings townes and holdes, and cauſe the diuine ſeruice to ceaſe: agaynſt the priuiledges graunted by many of the high Biſhops of Rome to our ſoueraigne Lord and maiſter the King.

59. Item, to and for the maintaynance & keeping of theyr temporalties, they appoynt Baylifs & other officers: who if they do offēd, may not condignly be puniſhed according to law and iuſtice.

60. Item, the Eccleſiaſticall Iudges haue promoters belonging vnto them: who whē any man is excommunicated (be it right, or be it wrong) they cauſe to be made, that no man ſhall work or do any thing for him that is excommunicate: whereby the landes and vines are often times vnlooked to and vntilled, to the no ſmall preiudice of the king and his common people.

61. Item, the foreſayd Promoters cauſe Citation to be made out, by vertue wherof they call in one citatiō, 20. 30. 40. perſons to appeare, for participating with ſuch Interdicted perſons: taking of ſome 10. of other ſome, 20. s. as much as they be able to make: wherby, the commō people are much oppreſſed.

62. Item, the Eccleſiaſticall Iudges cauſe all the Aduocates of their courtes to be ſworne, that none ſhall retayne them of their Counſell agaynſt any of them, without their licence, whereby oftentimes, the poore man quite leeſeth his right, and the Kinges cauſe is delayed: Becauſe, hys Sollicitors cannot freely retayne counſell, without ſpeciall licence.

63. Item, they will make Inuentories of theyr goodes which dye inteſtate, or without making of will: And will haue the poſſeſſion of their goods, as wel moueable as vnmoueable in theyr owne hands to diſtribute to the heires, or to whom they liſt.

64. Item, the execution alſo of Teſtamentes they take to their own hands, taking inuentories of dead mens goods, and keeping and diſpoſing them to the heires after their pleaſure. And haue officials properly deputed for the execution therof.

65. Item, they will not geue credite (ſometimes) to teſtamentes made before witneſſe, vnleſſe they be firſt by theyr owne Officials approued.

After he had thus ſpoken, the prelats required to haue time to anſwere therunto. whereupon was appoynted for the ſame the Friday next enſuing. On the which day, the Biſhop Eduen, & Archbiſhop of Senon elect in the name of the whole clergy anſwered for them all before the king, holding his Parliament as that day at Vicenas, and thus he there propoūded. For ſomuch as the Lord Peter Cugner of late propounding againſt the Church of Fraunce, tooke to his Theame that is written in the 22. of Mathew: Render vnto Ceſar, that which is Ceſars, and vnto God, that which is Gods: by which wordes he ſayd, two points were to be noted: Firſt, the reuerence and ſubiection of the Prelates, that they ought to haue to the king their ſoueraigne: Secondly, the deuiſion of the temporall iuriſdictiō from the ſpirituall. The which firſt part he proued out of the firſt Epiſtle of Peter in the ſecond Chapter, where it is written. Submit your ſelues vnto euery creature, for the Lordes ſake, whether it be vnto the king, as vnto the ſuperior: or vnto gouernours, as vnto them that are ſent of him: for the puniſhment of euill doers, and for the praiſe of them that doe well. The ſecond poynt he proued by the wordes of our Sauiour Chriſt in the 22. Chap. of Luke where the Apoſtle ſayth: Lord behold, here are 2. ſwords: And he ſaid vnto them it is enough, ſignifying by the two ſwordes the two iuriſdictions. And in likewiſe out of the 17. of Math. where Chriſt would pay tribute for him and Peter. Geuing hereby an example, how that Eccleſiaſticall perſons were bound to pay and yeld to the temporall power the tēporalities, which alſo is proued in yͤ 11. queſt. prim. cap Si tributum, & cap magnum.

B. Eduen and Archb. of Senon elect Prolocutor for prelates.

Repetition of the L. Peters oration aboue touched. page. 358.

Luke. 22.

Math. 17.

And further, becauſe this is proued by mans law, where it is ſayd, 2. great gifts are beſtowed, Prieſthood and Empire: The prieſthood to rule ouer matters diuine: the Empire to beare domination ouer humaine matters. wherby he cōcluded, that when theſe iuriſdictions are diſtincted of God: The one being geuen and limited to the church, and the other to the temporalty: That in no wiſe the Church ought to intermeddle, or to haue any thing to do with the temporall iuriſdiction. For it is written in the 22. of the Prouerb. You ought not to paſſe the old limits & bounds, which the forefathers haue ſet. And well by the way he bringeth in this word, olde & auncient: Becauſe cuſtomes brought in to the contrary, be of no force, but rather are coūted abuſes & corruptions. Neither can preſcriptiō take place, for that ius fiſci is impreſcriptible: neither cā the king abrogate frō himſelfe ſuch law, nor renoūce his right: prouing the ſame by many chapters conteined in the 10. Diſt. wherefore ſeeing the king at what time he was crowned, ſware not onely not to alienate or infringe yͤ lawes of his realme, but alſo to call in ſuch lawes as were alienated & vſurped either by the Church or by any other: yͤ king was bound by his oath to reuoke the ſame abuſes.

Two gifts giuē. Prieſthood, Empyre.

Prouerb. 22.

Diſt. 10.

In eſpeciall he did exhibite many articles in writing wherin (as he ſayd) the Church did vſurpe vpon the iuriſdictiō temporall. To anſwere theſe premiſſes which conciſting of the places (vnder proteſtatiō whatſoeuer I ſay or ſhall ſay) it is not to ground or make any finall iudgemēt or determinatiō herein: but onely to informe yͤ cōſciēce of our ſoueraigne Lord the king and his aſſiſtauntes here aſſembled, alledging the firſt Epiſtle of Peter the 2. chapter, where he ſayth: Feare God & honour the king. By which wordes, the holy Apoſtle S. Peter teacheth vs 2. things. Firſt that loue, feare, & obedience, is due vnto God for the mightineſſe and puiſſaunce of his Maieſty: ſaying, Feare God. Secondly, how ſpeciall honor & reuerence is due to the King, for the excellency of his dignity: ſaying, Honor the King. But note you by the way, how the Apoſtle placeth his woordes: Firſt he ſayth, that feare is due vnto God: becauſe principally and in chiefe we ought to feare GOD: For if the King or any other ſhould commaund things contrary to God, we ought to haue no regard therof: but to contemne the King & feare God For it is written in the 5. of the Actes of the Apoſtles. we ought rather to obey God then men: and alſo in the 7. chap. of Machabees the 2. booke: where it is ſayd: I will not obey the commaundements of the king but the law.

1. Peter 2.

Actes. 5.
2. Mach 7.

The reaſon wherof, S. Auguſtine geueth both in the

11.*quæſt*.1.

gloſe vpon the Romaines, & alſo in the 11.quæſt.1. He that reſiſteth the ſuperiour power, reſiſteth the will and ordinaunce of God. But put caſe thou art commaunded to do that which thou maiſt not do, or to do not that which thou oughteſt to do. Doubtleſſe, thou muſt neglect the leſſer power, and feare the higher, learning the degrees of worldly thinges.

As for example be it ſo, that a Proctour commaundeth thee any thing, which (if the ſame be agaynſt the Proconſull:) thou oughteſt not to follow it. Yea and further, put caſe the Proconſull commaundeth one thing, the Emperour an other, and God willeth the third: Thou muſt not care for thẽ, but obey God, for God is the greater power: For they may threaten thee with priſon, but G O D may threaten thee with hell fire: they may ſlay and kill thy body, but God may ſend thee body and ſoule to perpetuall hell fire. And therfore worthely it is put firſt, Feare God. And here the place in the laſt of Eccleſiaſticus is to be adioyned: where it is written: Feare God and keep his commaundements.

Feare of God ſtãdeth in three pointes.

And me thinketh that man is boũd to feare God chiefly in three ſorts. That is to ſay: Firſt in the bountifull beſtowing of his giftes and benefites. Secondly, in the euident promoting of his ſeruauntes. And laſtly, in the full rendring and reſtoring vnto man that is his.

Firſt, I ſay in the bountifull. &c. and for this cauſe the Emperour Iuſtinian writeth: although there is nothing to be accompted good which doth exceede and is to great, yet for a prince to beſtow accordingly vpõ the church, it is very good. For why, the king and Emperour is bound to beſtow ſo much the more ſubſtaunce, how much the more God hath geuen to him: & to beſtow the ſame both franckly, and eſpecially to famous Churches, wherein the beſt & greateſt meaſure is of the Lordes giftes, that is a great gift. And to this end Gregory enacteth a law. cap.i.extra.de donationibus, that nobility ought in maner to preſcribe this law to himſelfe: to thinke himſelfe bound to geue, whẽ he geueth freely: & vnleſſe he increaſe in geuing ſtill, to think that he hath geuen nothing.

Wherfore, Abell, as appeareth in the 4. chapter of Geneſis, who offered of the beſt to the Lord, was bleſſed of God. And therefore other Kinges, the more they offred to God, the more they were both ſpiritually and temporally bleſſed of him: As we read of Ioſua, Dauid, Salomon & other in the booke of the Kings: and therefore it is ſo written in the 18. of Numbers. And ye ſhall ſeparate vnto the Lordes treaſury, thinges that be chiefeſt and moſt principall. As likewiſe Dauid ſayth in the firſt of Paralipomenon laſt chapter. I haue geuen all this with a glad hart, euen with a good will, and now haue I had ioy to ſee thy people which here are preſent, offer with a free will vnto thee. And no maruell, for Dauid ſayth in that place: For of thy hand we haue receiued all, and to thee we geue. And therefore it ſeemeth to me, that becauſe the Kynges of Fraunce and Barons of the ſame, more then anye other hath geuen to G O D and his Church: therefore they were happy and bleſſed aboue all other kinges, and the more they did geue to God, the more they receiued at hys handes.

Num.18.

1.Paral.cap.vlt.

What benefite commeth by geuing to the church.

Examples wherof, we haue of Clodoue, Charles, and S. Lewes: the more one geueth to God, the more he receiueth of him: For he in the 6. of Luke hath promiſed, geue and it ſhal be geuen vnto you. Wherfore, a gift that a Prince beſtoweth vpon the Church is rendered agayne with triple encreaſe, and that no leſſe in time of warr then in time of peace. I ſay in warre time: becauſe victory proceedeth of no other but onely of God, for it is writtẽ in the 1. Machabees the 3. Chapter. The victorye of the battayle ſtandeth not in the multitude of the hoaſt, but the ſtrength commeth from heauen. And likewiſe, in the 17. Chapter of Exodus it is declared, that when Moyſes held vp hys handes Iſraell had the victory: but when he let down his handes Amalec had the victory. To this end alſo ſerueth the laſt chapter Machabes.2. where Iudas being at the poynt to haue the victory, thought he ſaw Amon and Ieremy (which had bene high Prieſtes and very vertuous men) holding vp their handes toward heauẽ, and praying for theyr people and all the whole Citye. &c. Likewiſe in peace time now, the long dayes of the king and of hys ſonnes: their peace, proſperity, & obedience (by the prayer of the Church) is mayntayned & ſupported in the realme. For as long as Salomon was bent and geuẽ in building the houſe of God ſo long he had peace: who thus in the 16. chap. of the Prouerbes teacheth vs. When a mans wayes pleaſeth the Lord, he maketh his very enemies to be hys frendes: And alſo in 1. Eſdras 6. chapter, where it is read, how the Prieſtes were commaunded to offer ſweet ſauors to the God of heauen, and pray for the kinges life and hys children. And well therefore may it be called a gift both fauorable & irreuocable, wherby victory is geuen, life graũted, and peace with ſecurity conſerued. To ſerue therefore God, & liberally to geue toward the worſhipping of him: is the chiefeſt ſigne and token of diuine feare & loue. Eccl. cap.2. O ye that feare the Lord beleue him, & your reward ſhall not be empty.

Luke.6.

Time of warre.

1.Mach.3.

Exod.17.

2.Mach.

Time of peace.

Prouerb.16.

1.Eſdras.6.

Eccle.2.

The 2.part of fearing God.

Hebr.12.

Secondly, cõcerning the feare of God, I do you to vnderſtand, that among the precepts of the Lord, the firſt and chiefeſt commaundement of the ſecond table is, To honor thy father. Which precept is very well expoũded to yͤ Hebrues in the 12. chapter. Where it is not onely ment of the fathers of our bodies, but alſo of the father of ſpirites. For as ſpirituall thinges farre exceedeth temporall matters: ſo much more a great deale yͤ ſpirituall ſonne is bound to reuerence the ſpiritual father, & to be in ſubiection vnto him that he may liue. And that the Prieſtes and Prelates be the ſpirituall fathers, it is proued in the fourth book of the Kinges the 6. chapter. Where the king of Iſraell called Elizeus father, ſaying: my father, ſhall I ſmite them? Unto this effect ſerueth the 10. of Luke, where our ſauiour ſayd to the Apoſtles (whoſe ſucceſſors the Biſhops are) he that heareth you heareth me, & he that deſpiſeth you, deſpiſeth me. Alſo in the firſt to the Theſſaloniãs 4. chapter. He that deſpiſeth you, deſpiſeth not men, but God. Wherfore, Iuſtinian the Emperour in an other place ſayth: we haue great care to the Church of God, that therein may be true doctrine and integrity of Prieſtes life. Which hauing we truſt that for our great giftes we ſhall receiue such rewardes at Gods hands, both as be durable, and ſhall remain: yea and alſo that hetherto hath not happened. Bleſſed S. Hierome in his Regiſter writing to a certayne Emperor, which is alſo to be ſeene in the decrees. decr. 11.q.1. ſayth: Let not the Emperour diſdayne prieſtes, but haue ſpeciall regard on them for his ſake whoſe ſeruauntes they be: and ſo let him rule ouer them, that due and condigne reuerence be geuen vnto them. For they in deuine Scriptures are ſometime termed Gods, ſometimes named Angels, Exodus. 22. Then ſhall both their cauſes come before yͤ Gods. Alſo Malachy the ſecond, the Prieſts lippes ſhould be ſure of knowledge, that men may ſeeke the law at his mouth: For he is a Meſſenger of the Lord of hoſtes And therefore is it no maruell, if we ſhould vouchſafe to honour them, when God himſelfe in his ſpeech attributing to them honour, termeth them Gods and Anngels. And here is to be noted, how Conſtantine the Emperor, when certayne of his ſubiectes preſented vnto him libels accuſatory agaynſt the Biſhoppes, receiued them at theyr handes. But calling before him thoſe Biſhoppes whiche were accuſed therein, caſt in theyr ſight thoſe libelles into the fire, ſaying: depart you hẽce and diſcuſſe theſe matters within your ſelues: For it is not conuenient and meet that we iudge Gods, becauſe it is written: God ſtood in the ſinagoge of Gods, and in the middeſt of them he did iudge Gods: in which chap. it is declared, how that the Pagans who worſhipped goldẽ & wooden Gods, attributed great honor to the Prieſts. What maruell is it then, if the godly & great and chriſtian Emperors do honor & reuerence the prieſts of the true God? And doubtleſſe, it is their duety ſo to doe. And it is reaſon which the Lord Peter the laſt day ſaid, in this point. That there are two powers, prieſthood and dominion, the one ſpirituall, the other tẽporall which no leſſe differeth one from the other, then the ſunne from yͤ moone, the heauẽ from the earth, and gold from lead. And therfore if honor is due to be geuẽ to yͤ leſſer power, by thẽ that be vnderneth him: he yͭ is chiefe of the higher power, of right good duety is to be honored, and reuerenced of all vnder him, as expreſſely is declared Cap. Solit, De ma. & ob. In which chap. anſwere is fully made to the allegatiõ of yͤ L. Peter (alledged by him to make for his purpoſe) that is to ſay: Be ye ſubiect to all creatures for Gods ſake. &c. There he ſpeaketh of the ſubiectiõ which ſtandeth vpon yͤ merit of vertue, & not vpon the duty of neceſſity. For els if he ſhould ſpeak of yͤ ſubiection which is by duty of neceſſity, thẽ muſt it needs follow, that euery biſhop ought to be ſubiect to euery beggerly raſcall in the city of Paris: For yͤ text is, be ye ſubiect to all humain creatures: but a raſcal is a human creature: ergo, biſhops muſt be ſubiect to a raſcall. Of yͤ dignity of a B. Ambroſe talketh in his paſtorall. The honor ſaith he, & the maieſty of a B. is without all cõpariſon: If you compare it to the royalty of a king, it is euẽ as you would cõpare mettall or lead to yͤ beauty of gold. For yͭ is to be ſeen, yͭ kings & princes ſtooping vnder the knees of prieſts, & kiſſing their right hand: thinke thẽſelues to be defended by their prayer. And becauſe yͤ kings of Fraunce haue more then other, honored & reuerẽced yͤ Prelats: they haue

Honouring of ſpirituall fathers.

4.Reg.6.

Luke.10.

1.Theſſ.4.

11.*q.cap.*1. *Sacerdotibus.*

Exod.22.

Malach.2.

Honour to be geuen to prieſtes.

Two powers temporall and ſpirituall, and what difference betwene them both.

De mai. & obed.cap. Solit.

Double ſubiection vpon merite of vertue, and vpon duetie of neceſſitie.

The authoritie of a byſhop and a king compared.

The pride of the prelacye.

Stoupekings Eccle.4.

Eccle.4.

haue aboue al other floriſhed & proſpered. It is ſaid in Eccle.4. he that honoreth his father, ſhall reioice in his ſons. And it followeth there, he that honoureth his father, ſhall liue a long life. This is therefore the ſigne of the feare of God. And as it is written in Eccl.4. He that feareth God, honoreth his parentes.

The third part of fearing God. Eccle.18. A thing made myne diuers wayes

6. Proofes. 1. Diuine lawe. 2. by the law of nature. 3. by canon lawe. 4. by ciuill lawe. 5. by custom. 6. by priuiledge. Formes being dislike & not contrary, may be compatible in one subiect.

Thirdly I ſay, that a man ought to feare God, in the full reuerencing & reſtoring vnto man that is his: For he that doth not geue to an other ẏ is his, but goeth about to vſurpe, doubtles he feareth not God. Contrary, he that reſtoreth all agayne, he is ſayd to loue & feare God. Eccleſiaſt.18. He that feareth God will doe good thinges. And in the Pſalme, I haue heard of thy iudgementes, and haue done iudgemēt and iuſtice. For as the Lawyers ſay which is true: A thing may be made mine diuers wayes, as by ſucceſſion, commutatiō, preſcriptiō, or any other acquiſition, either by law or cuſtome. And ſo of the reſt. And where as the Lord Peter the laſt day, by diſtinction of iuriſdictiō temporall & ſpirituall, endeuored to proue that he which had ſpirituall iuriſdiction, ought not to haue tēporall: Otherwiſe there were no diſtinctiō thereof, but rather a confuſion of iuriſdictions. I will therefore proue the cōtrary, that theſe iuriſdictiōs are cōpatible both in one perſon, eſpecially in an eccleſiaſticall man. And this I wyll proue by the law of God, by the law of nature, canō law, ciuill law, by cuſtome, and priuiledge. But firſt I aledge, that accidentall formes ſome of them are ſo diſtincted, that they are not clean contrary, but diſalike: as whitenes and ſweetnes. Other formes there be which are ſo diſtincted, ẏ they are cleane contrary one to the other, & are not cōpatible in one ſubiect. For one contrary expels another, and emporteth the negatiue of ẏ other. wherfore thoſe things be contrary, which one from another are moſt of all diſtāt and diſagreing, and in one ſuſceptible may come one after the other, but not together, as the Philoſopher teacheth in the Predicamentes. But thoſe formes which are ſo diſtincted, that they be not contrary but diſalike: are compatible in one ſubiect, as quantity and quality, which being diſtincted in reſpect of their Genus generaliſsimum, yet may be in one perſon. And fortitude and temperance being vnder one kind of moral vertue, are foūd to be in one mā, as Logick and Grammer, which are alſo ſpecies & kinds in one genus, viz. of intellectus. Therefore it is no good argument: Theſe formes be diſtincted, ergo, they be not compatible in one ſubiect. And therfore that the iuriſdictions temporal & ſpiritual are ſo diſtincted, that they are not cōtrary but cōpatible it is euident hereby, becauſe things contrary be ſo that the one cannot be ordeined to concurre with ẏ other, but rather confoundeth & deſtroyeth the other: but in this caſe iuriſdiction temporall is ordeined for the ſpirituall: & contrary, the ſpirituall for the temporall. Or rather, ẏ one ſo depēdeth of the other, as the clearenes of the moon doth of the brightnes of the Sunne: Alſo the one iuriſdiction ſo helpeth & comforteth the other, that there is no contrariety in them. And therfore it is no good cōſequēce, becauſe they are diſtincted. Ergo, they are not compatible in one perſō: This alſo is to be proued de facto. For the earth is ẏ Lordes, and the plenty of the whole vniuerſall world, and all that dwell therin. It is proued in likewiſe by this reaſon. For if the iuriſdictions were not compatible: it ſhould follow, that no eccleſiaſtical perſon ſhould haue any iot of tēporall iuriſdiction, neither land, tower, caſtle, Lordſhip, or any thing els, which is moſt abſurd: & ſo by this meanes it ſhould follow, ẏ no eccleſiaſticall perſō ſhould be in ſubiection vnto the king, which were to ẏ great derogation of the kings maieſties crown and dignity. It muſt needs be therfore that theſe iuriſdictions be cōpatible, notwithſtanding the diſtinction of them one from an other. And thus for anſwere to all theſe reaſons, by the which Lord Peter proued the diſtinction of theſe iuriſdictions.

Proofes out of the olde Testament.

Melchisedech was both kyng and Priest, Ergo the P. may haue both iurisdictions.

Gene.14.

Deut.17.

Samuell was iudge in temporall matters. Ergo, the Pope may haue both iurisdictions.

1.Mach.2.

Ierem.1.

Theſe things premiſed this I proceed further to proue that a perſon Eccleſiaſticall, which hath iuriſdiction ſpirituall, may alſo haue temporall iuriſdictiō: and that the iuriſdiction temporall may be in an Eccleſiaſticall perſon, I will proue it by the Scriptures: and firſt out of the old teſtament, to the euidēt probation wherof, it is to be vnderſtand: That God, after the creation of the world & mā, euē vnto Noes time, would gouerne the world himſelf as K. by the miniſtery of angels. By reaſon wherof, he gaue and pronounced ſentence himſelfe agaynſt Cain. Gen.4. Noe alſo, which offered burnt offeringes vnto the Lord & built an altar, as teacheth the 8. of Gene. (which thing appertayned onely vnto the prieſtes) had the gouernement and rule of all thinges, as well ſpirituall as temporall, which were in the Arke of Noe. Melchiſedech in likewiſe, the which was the prieſt of the moſt high God, and alſo king of Salem, as appeareth in the 14. of Gene. & had both the iuriſdictions in his owne handes. For Magiſter Hiſtoriarū, in the ſayd 14. of Gene. declareth, that all the firſt begot of Noe, euen to Aarons tyme were prieſts: which at meales and offringes bleſſed the people, & which onely had the Ius primogenituræ, wherby the regimēt of others was due vnto them. Moſes in like maner (of whom it is ſayd in the Pſalme, Moſes & Aaron in ſacerdotibus eius) cōſecrated Aaron and his childrē to be prieſts, which Aaron did iudge ẏ whole people in temporal matters, yea & in that cauſes of inheritaunce and mere reall, as appeareth in the 27. chap. of Num. and many other places. To whiche purpoſe ſerueth the 17. chap. of Deut. where it is ſayd, if a matter be to hard for thee in iudgemēt betwixt bloud and bloud, betwixt plea and plea, betwixt plague & plague: then ſhalt thou riſe and goe vp to that place, that the Lord thy God hath choſen. And ſhalt come to the prieſts, the Leuits and to the Iudge thē being, and ſhalt aſke who ſhall ſhew vnto vs the truth of the iudgemēt: and follow their ſentence. And if any mā preſumptuouſly ſhall refuſe to obey ẏ prieſtes commaundementes and decree of the iudge, the ſame ſhal die. Behold how manifeſtly it doth appeare, how not onely ẏ iudgemēt appertayneth to a prieſt, betwene plage and plage, concerning the circumſtances and irregularity of the law: but alſo betwixt bloud and bloud, in matters criminall: yea and betwixt plea and plea in ciuill matters: which thing doth appeare to be in many iudges out of ẏ book of Iudges. For Samuel, which was both a prophet & prieſt, was appoynted iudge of long time ouer ẏ people in matters temporal: And whē ẏ people deſired a king, the Lord was highly offended with them, and ſayd vnto Samuel: they haue not refuſed thee but me, that I ſhould not be king ouer them. Furthermore, as long as kings amōgeſt the people of God, vſed the aduiſe & coūſell of prieſts and biſhops: it was well with them and their kingdome: But when they forſook and left the counſell of Byſhoppes and prieſts, then was their kingdome diuided, and finally they brought into captiuity. In which captiuity, ẏ people were altogether gouerned and ruled by the prieſts & prophets, as by Eſdras and Neemias: And laſt of all by the meanes of the Machabees, the kingdome and gouernmēt was deuoluted and brought into the prieſtes hands, who were the kinges and captaynes ouer the people: & had the gouernement as well of ſpirituall matters as of tēporall, as is read in the firſt booke of Machab. 2. cha. Of Mathatia and his ſonnes videlicet of Iuda, Machaby, Ionatha, Simon, and Iohn the ſonne of Simon: which in al ſpirituall and temporall matters, were gouernors ouer ẏ people of God. Moreouer the 1. chap. of Ier. declareth which was one of the prieſts, after this maner. I haue ſet thee ouer the people and kingdomes, that thou mayſt roote out, break, deſtroy, and make waſte, and that thou mayſt build vp and plant. Iere. capite primo. Beſides this, in time of iudge Eliach: a prieſt in lyke maner had the iudgement of temporal matters. And ſo much concerning the proofe hereof, out of the olde Teſtament.

Proofes taken out of the new Testament.

Apoc.19. Christ by his humaine nature had both powers.

A.

Psal.8. Hebr.2.

Phil.2.

Act.10.

Secondly, I proue my former propoſition by authorities taken out of the new Teſtament. For Chriſt had not onely by diuine nature both ẏ powers, wherby he created all things of nothing, and by conſequence was God of al, but alſo by his humanity had both powers. For he was ẏ prieſt, ſecundum ordinem Melchiſedech (as it is ſayd in the Pſalmes, and alſo is alleged to the Hebr.) which had both in his veſture and thigh written, king of kings, and Lord of Lords. By this veſtiment or thigh was met his humanity, which was ioyned to his diuinity, as the garment is to him that weareth it. He ſayd of himſelfe in ẏ laſt of Mathew: Geuen is vnto me all power both in heauen and earth. As alſo to ẏ Hebrues the firſt chap. whom he made and conſtitute, heyre of al vniuerſall things. And likewiſe in the 2. chap. to the Hebr. He hath made him not much inferior to the Angels: he hath crowned him with glory and honor, and hath ſet him aboue the workes of his handes: Thou haſt put all thinges in ſubiection vnder hys feete, ſheep and oxen, and all the whole cattell of the field. whē therefore it is ſayd, he made all thinges ſubiect to him: He excludeth nothing as the Apoſtle there ſayth. whereby it is apparant, that as concerning his humain nature, in the which he was made leſſe then the Angels, all things were ſubiect to him. Alſo this appereth in the 2. chap. to the Philippians, he humbleth himſelfe, wherefore God exalteth him. &c. And it foloweth, that in the name of Ieſus ſhould euery knee bow, both of thinges in heauen and of things in earth, and of things vnder the earth. Beholde here that by nature by which he did humble himſelfe, he was exalted: becauſe euery knee ſhould bow downe to him. Thys in like maner hath S. Peter in the 10. chapter of the Actes where he ſayth, he was conſtituted of God the iudge ouer the quicke and the dead &c. And he ſpeaketh of that nature which God rayſed vp the third day, as the whole Scripture proueth. And likewiſe S. Peter had this power geuen him whō Chriſt conſtituted and made his Vicar, who alſo condēned by ſentence iudicially Ananias and Saphira for lying and ſtealing. Act. cap. 5. Paule alſo condemned a fornicator conuicted, 1. Cor. 5. And that Chriſt would the correction and iudgement of ſuche matters to appertayne to his Church, a text in the 18. of Mathew expreſſely declareth where it is ſayd. If thy brother treſpaſſe agaynſt thee, goe and tell him his fault betweene him and thee: if he heare thee, thou haſt wonne thy brother. But if he heareth not, thē take with thee one or two, that in the mouth of two or three witneſſes all thinges may be eſtabliſhed: if he heare not them, tell vnto the congregation: if he heare not the cōgregation, take him as an heathen man and a Publican. Verily, I ſay vnto you &c. whatſoeuer you binde on earth, the ſame ſhall be bounde in heauen, and what ſoeuer you loſe on earth, the ſame ſhall be loſed in heauen. Beholde how expreſſely it is commaunded, that when ſoeuer in any matter one offēdeth the other, he being firſt charitably admoniſhed, the matter muſt be publiſhed and referred to the order of the Church and congregation. But if the offender do not obey and heare the admonition, he is to be taken as an heathen & a Publican: which is as much to ſay, like one that is excommunicate by the Church & congregation, ſo that he may haue no communion or participation with it. And that this was the intention of Chriſt, this ſeemeth much to proue it, where in geuing the reaſon hereof he immediately addeth. Verely I ſay vnto you. whatſoeuer. &c. (where note this terme diſtributiue) whatſoeuer ſo as the Apoſtle argueth to the Hebrewes the 2. chapter, that if he ordained al things to be ſubiect vnto him, he excludeth nothinge vnſubiected. wherefore thus I may argue: If all things that the church and congregation doth loſe be loſed and euery thing that the Church bindeth is bound. There is nothing that the church may not loſe & bynd: Or by Logicke thus I may reaſon: There is nothing bounde by the Church, that is not bound in heauen, whiche argument is good by a certayn rule of Logicke which ſayeth: that contraries if the negatiō be put after, are equiualant. For euery thing & nothing, what ſoeuer thing, and no maner of thin be cōtrary one to the other. And ſo nothing not, is as much to ſay, as all thinges. Secondly, I doe proue it out of an other text of S. Luke cap. 22. which place alledged to make for his purpoſe, I will ſtrike him with his owne weapon. For where he ſayd, that by the two ſwordes the two powers tēporall & ſpirituall were to be vnderſtood, it was ſo in deede but to whoſe handes would he (I pray you) haue theſe two ſwords cōmitted? Truely to the handes of Peter & other the Apoſtles. &c. But the holy Father the Pope ſucceeded Peter, and the other Apoſtles, the Biſhops diſciples, curates, perſons as in the gloſe appeareth, Luk 10. wherby thus I argue, that by the 2. ſwords the 2. powers are ment. But Chriſt willed thoſe two ſwordes to be put into the churches handes, ergo he would likewiſe the two powers. But you may reply and ſay, that Chriſt did reprehend Peter becauſe he ſtrake with a temporall ſword and cut of an eare, ſaying vnto him put vp thy ſword. &c. whiche reaſon is of no force. For Chriſt did not will Peter to caſt away quite frō him the ſword, but to put it into ẏ ſkabard & to keepe it, geuing to vnderſtand therby, that ſuch power although it be in the churches hands: yet the execution therof (as much as appertaineth to bloudſhedding in the new law) he would haue to appertayne to the ſecular iudge: notwithſtanding yet perhaps, according to the diſcretion and will of the Clergy.

Thirdly, I proue this by the intent of S. Paule in the 1. Cor. 6. where he ſayth: that they which haue ſecular buſines, and contēd one agaynſt another, ought to be iudged by the ſayntes. And that they ſhould iudge therin, therfore he made this argument: know you not that ẏ ſaynts ſhall iudge the world? and if the world be iudged by you, are ye not good enough to iudge ſmal trifles? As though ye wold ſay, do ye not know how that ye ſhall iudge the Angels? How much more then may you iudge things ſecular. And it followeth: If you haue iudgement of ſecular & worldly matters, take them which are diſpiſed in the Church and congregations, & make them iudges: neither doth it make any thing againſt, becauſe the Apoſtle in the ſame place inferreth. Ad verecundiā veſtram dico. I ſay it to your ſhame. For that is to be referred to thoſe, where he ſaith, appoynt thoſe which are diſpiſed. wherfore the Apoſtle ſpeaketh ironiouſly in this matter as meaning thus: Sooner & the rather you ought to runne to the iudgemēt of the diſpiſed which be in the church, thē to the iudgemēt of thoſe which be out of the Church.

B.

C.

Acts.5.

D.

Math.8.

E.

Omnia terminus diſtributiuus.

F.

Luke.22.

G.

H.

1.Cor.6.

I.

Ergo, the rather to reſort to the iudgement of the wiſe, who remayne in the Church and congregation. wherfore the Apoſtle by and by added whē he ſayd, I ſpeak to your ſhame: what not one wiſe mā amongeſt you that can iudge betweene brother and brother? Meaning thereby that there was ſome. By theſe therfore and many other like reaſons it appereth (which for breuity I omit) that both the powers may be in an eccleſiaſticall mans hand: And that an eccleſiaſticall man is Capax both of the temporall and ſpirituall iuriſdiction. Nor is it any matter if it be obiected, that Peter and other Apoſtles & Chriſt himſelfe, vſed litle this temporall power. For in them was not the like reaſon as now is in vs, as is proued in the 22. q. 1. ca. and in many other places of the law. The Apoſtles at the firſt beginning took no receipt of landes & poſſeſſions, but the price onely therof, which now the church with very good reaſon doth receiue. And that to the great merite both of the geuer and offerer, as it appeareth of Conſtantine and others: In the which foreſayd 1. cap. the reaſon of diuerſity is well proued For that the Apoſtles did foreſee, that the Church ſhould be among Gentiles, and not onely to be in Iuda. &c. And further at the beginning Chriſt and his Apoſtles were wholy bent and geuen, to our health, ſaluation & erudition: litle ſticking or ſtanding vpō the exerciſe of euery churches iuriſdiction, hauing regard to that which is written in the 6. chapter to the Corinthians. All thinges are lawfull vnto men, but all things are not expedient. And likewiſe in the 8. chapter of Eccleſiaſtes it is read, that euerye thing hath his time. But now (through the grace of God) the whole people of the realme of Fraunce haue ſubmitted themſelues to the chriſtian fayth, worthely therefore the Church is occupyed about miniſtring of Iuſtice and puniſhing of vice: For peace ſhalbe the work of Iuſtice, Eſay the 32. chap. And in theſe iudgements this onely is to be conſidered, that the life of man be reformed. &c. Thus you ſee, how this our concluſion ſomewhat is confirmed by ẏ Scriptures. Now will I proue it by naturall law & reaſon, & firſt after this maner. He ſeemeth moſt fitteſt to play a good iudges part, which followeth nereſt God: For properly God is the ruler and directer of al iudgements, who ſayth Prouerb. capite octauo. By me the law maker ſhall decree iuſtice and iuſt thinges: But Eccleſiaſticall perſons, follow next to God, and be neereſt him. For that they be elected of God into a peculiar people: whereof it is ſayd 1. Peter. 2. you are a choſen generation, a royall prieſthood, a holy nation, and a peculiar people, that you ſhould ſhew the vertues of him that called you &c. Ergo it is moſt fitteſt that perſons Eccleſiaſticall, and churchmen, ſhould iudge of ſuch matters. Moreouer none doubteth, but that the correction and puniſhment of ſinne, belongeth to eccleſiaſticall perſons: wherfore, whē ſuch things be not committed without ſinne & offence of the one party, it is euident that the Church may haue cognition thereof. Alſo who ſo hath power to iudge of the end, hath alſo power to iudge of thinges ordeined to the end: for the conſideration of the thinges ordeined to the end riſeth of the end. when therefore the body is ordeined for the life and ſoule, and tēporall thinges for ſpirituall, as to the end: The Church which doth iudge of ſpirituall things, may in like maner lawfully iudge of tēporall things. All which is ſufficiently confirmed. In extra. c. Iudicijs. where it is ſayd that the Acceſſarye followeth the nature of the principall, which appeareth ſufficiently by example. For ſo much therfore as theſe two iuriſdictions be compared to two lightes, that is to ſay, to the Sunne, and to the Moone: and all the whole clearenes and brightneſſe of the Moon both in forme and vertue, dependeth of the Sunne, & in the Sunne. And ẏ the brightnes of the Sunne is not of the Moone or in the Moone, it is playne: that ſpirituall iuriſdiction which is compared to the Sunne, hath it both in forme & vertue, the iuriſdiction temporall: and not contrary. Many other like reaſōs might be brought in. But for that the time waxeth ſhort, I will omit them.

Thirdly, I proue by the ciuill law, Auth. Diffe. Iud. ¶Si tamen ix. col. where it is ſayd: If a ſecular iudge be ſuſpected, let the Biſhop of the Citty be ioyned vnto him. But if he be negligent, then let the whole iudgement be referred to the biſhop. In like ſort Theodoſius the Emperor enacted ſuch a law, that whoſoeuer ſuter being plaintife in any kinde of matter, whether at the beginning thereof, or after conteſtation of law, or when the matter came to confirmatiō, or to ſentēce: If the plaintife had once choſen the court & iuriſdiction the holy ſee: there without all doubt, though the defendant reſiſted and diſſented, the matter before ẏ biſhops & other eccleſiaſtical Iudges ſhould be determined and ended. which law afterward Carolus the great, who was king of Fraūce, confirmed in theſe words: We will &

commaund

K.
22.q.1.cap.
futuram.

L.

Eſay.13.

M.
Probation by ciuil lawe and reaſon,
1.Peter.2.

Probation by the Canon lawe. N.

Cuſtome. O.

Iudicium contradictorum.

command that all our ſubiectes, as well Romaines and Frenchmen, as others vnder our dominion whatſoeuer, be by law and cuſtome henceforth bound and charged to keepe this for a perpetuall and preſcript law: That whoſoeuer began or commenced a ſute. &c. as is aboue mentioned. &c. 11.q.1. Quicunque. &c.2. But that you may obiect and ſay that this law is abrogated, as the gloſe ſeemeth there to touche. But all will not ſerue: For although this law is not redacted into the body of the law, yet for al that it is not abrogated. But ſurely it is a priuiledge honorably graunted to the whole vniuerſall church which yͤ Emperor cannot take away no more then any other liberty of the Church. By the canō law alſo this priuiledge is confirmed. extra. de iud. c. timor Nouil. and moreouer ſeemeth to be confirmed by the ciuill law, C. de ſacroſ. Si eccl. priuilegium: although it be not expreſſely, but generally named. And ſo it is cleare by the ciuill law, that ſuch iuriſdictiū doth pertain to Eccleſiaſtical perſōs. By canon law in like maner in places infinit. Diſt.22.cap. Omnes Patriarchæ.2.queſt.5.ca. Si quis præſbyter. 11.quæ 1.cap relatum.25.diſtinct.cap.ecce. Extra de iudicijs. Nouit. De competenti foro.cap.licet. With many other places infinite: yea & further the canon law ſo farre proceedeth that whoſoeuer goeth about by cuſtom to interrupt or hinder any hauing ſuch iuriſdiction, encurreth ſentence (ipſo facto) of excommunicatiō, as is proued cap. quoniam intelleximus de immunitate eccl. li. ſext. Which is moſt playne by the notorious cuſtome, time out of mind, in the dayes of the good & chriſtian Princes, where to violate ſuch cuſtome, it is playne ſacriledge. 11.queſt.1.tit.1.&c.2. For by law, cuſtome winneth and gaineth iuriſdiction, eſpecially to him that is Capax thereof: yea and further, cuſtome (time out of mind) is amongſt all perſons in place of written & confirmed law. Now ſeing the church of Fraūce, hath in common vſed to the temporalty to iudge & decree both of actions perſonall and reall touching the Church: it is playne, that ſuch cuſtome winneth iuriſdiction to it. Ergo. &c. But the Lord Peter auouched, that yͤ cuſtome could not preuayle in this caſe, becauſe here lacked true dealing. Beſids, the ſaid law is called impreſcriptible: for that it is Ius fiſci: But this maketh nothing agaynſt vs. For the Church of Fraunce rather chalengeth this law by cuſtome, then by preſcription. Which cuſtom ſemeth rather to be brought in of yͤ free will and election of the people, frequēting more the eccleſiaſticall Conſiſtories, then the ſecular courts. Beſides this, cuſtome in that it hath bene oftentimes decided in iudgemēt contradictory, (many of the Barons diſſenting, & not cōſēting therunto) is much therby confirmed. This cuſtome I ſay of the church, hath bene faſt eſtabliſhed by the cōſent and aſſent of the Prelats, and then confirmed by the kings of Fraūce your predeceſſors, and ſo peaceably obſerued of the Church.

Three things pertayning to preſcription. 1.Titulus. 2.bona fides. 3.Temporis continuatio.

Ius fiſci.

The church not ſubiect to the kyng.

And yet may the church chalenge this by preſcription: For that there are but 3. things which are required in preſcription: that is to ſay, title, true dealing, and continuance of time. And it is without doubt that the Churches both purely hath and in time paſt had a good title, as appereth by thy priuiledge graūted of Theodoſius the Emperor, & confirmed by Charles: who gaue in commaundement, to keepe yͤ ſame inuiolably, which title it hath both by diuine natural, and humaine law, as before is mentioned. Wherfore it muſt needes haue true dealing, when ſo many great and cleare titles are knowne to condeſcend therunto. Alſo concurreth ſuch continuance of time, that euen againſt Ius fiſci, it is preſcriptible. For it hath not onely continued by the ſpace of 100. yeares, but alſo more then 600. yeares laſt paſt. Neither is this alwayes true, that this law is impreſcriptible, eſpecially of the church: the which in as much as it appertayneth to the ſpiritualty, is not ſubiect to yͤ king, but is much more noble, and farre excelleth: Euen no leſſe then the Sunne doth the Moone, golde, lead, and heauen, the earth. And this is certaine, and no leſſe reaſon, that the higher & equall may duely preſcribe law againſt him, that is either equall or lower in degree. As one king may do to another. Wherfore, it appeareth, that the church may preſcribe this, although it were Ius fiſci, as in deed it is not.

Obiection.

Anſwere.

The French K. more bleſſed then other in 3. thinges. 1.Faith to God. 2 Honour to the Church. 3.Iuſtice to the people.

Finally, this is proued by priuiledge graūted by Carolus the great king of Fraunce, as before, & by Ludouicke the ſecond, and by Philipp your vncle, and Ludouike and Philip your kinſemē, which priuiledges we haue here redy to ſhew. But perhappes you will ſay, that theſe things cannot agree: that the Church hath this iuriſdiction, both by law, cuſtome, & priuiledge, which all cannot well hang together. For if the church haue it by one of theſe, it ſhould folow that the church lacketh it by another. But this may I anſwere two maner of wayes. Firſt, that the priuiledge may be double, one as a bringer in of a new law, & thus it cannot be reconciled: The other as a confirmatiue and declaratiue of the old law: and this way it may well be agreed, which diſtinctiō may alſo take place in cuſtome. Wherfore it may thus be anſwered: that although this iuriſdiction is due vnto the Church by lawe, it appertaineth alſo vnto yͤ ſame by priuilege and cuſtome: but yet not by ſuche kind of cuſtome and priuiledge, which induceth new law: but which declareth and confirmeth the olde law. And if any will reply, demanding wherfore the church of Fraunce ſhuld more chalēge this, then any other churches in other realmes, which haue no ſuch prerogatiue, I can ſoone anſwer them. If the kings of Fraunce (whome God wyth ſingular grace, honour, and priuilege, farre aboue al other Princes, hath bleſſed and endued them for 3. ſpeciall cauſes, to wit, for their great faith & deuotion vnto God, for their honor & reuerence to the Church, and laſt theyr good iuſtice ſhewed vnto yͤ people) hath graunted to the church ſpecial liberties, or haue permitted thoſe which before wer graunted, peaceably to be kept and obſerued. Why then they ſhould haue them, it is no meruaile. Yea and further, theyr deuotion vnto the Church hath bene ſuche, that the nearer the Churches were vnto them, the more liberties they enioyed: and yet had theſe princes neuertheleſſe therfore, but rather the more: whych is euident and redoundeth to the great honor and nobilitie both of the king, and his realme.

5.thinges doth nobilate the realme of Fraunce.

I haue oftentimes heard of other, howe that 4. or 5. things doth eſpecially habilitate and adorne this realme.

Firſt, their ſincere and inuiolable faith: for it was at no time red, that the kings of Fraunce (ſince the receiuing of the faith) did euer ſwarue from the ſame.

The bloud of Fraunce came out of Priamus king of Troy.

Secondly, the nobility of bloud which deſcended from Priamus the king of the Troianes, and ſucceſſiuely, from Carolus and other royall kings.

Thirdly, the vnitie and peace of concord, which eſpecially aboue all other raigned and floriſhed in the Realme of Fraunce.

Fourthly, the ſolemnity and pompe of the prelates and Clergie.

Fiftly, the good diſpoſed readineſſe of the Barons and ſubiects to obey.

1.Reg.21.

Daniel.5.

If therfore, the prelates of this realme ſhould not haue this law and priuiledge, but ſhuld be depriued therof: then ſhould the king & his realme loſe one of hys noble eſtates, wherby they are highly magnified (I meane the brauerie, ſolemnitie, & royaltie of the prelates) For then, they ſhould not onely be neither pōpeous nor royal, but more beggerly & miſerable then any other, the moſt part of their liuing conſiſting herein. I do cōclude therfore, to be proued both by deuine law, natural law, canon law, ciuil law, cuſtome and priuiledge: that the right of determining ſuch tēporall matters of the Churche, may of right appertaine to the Church of Fraunce, and ſo I returne the Lorde Peters theame againſt himſelfe. Beſides this, will I propounde that which is moſt plaine and manifeſt: that what ſo euer thynges be offered vp to the Church, and are conuerted to the dominion and property of the ſame, be Gods & appertaineth to him: For ſo much as they are ſaide, to be dedicated & ſanctified by hym, as ſufficiently throughout yͤ Leuites may appeare: as is declared in the 21.cap.1.Regum, concerning the bread offered to God, where it is ſayde: I haue no common bread vnder my handes to eate, but holy bread. Wherfore, it was not lawfull for the Laity to eat of the ſame bread, but in time of great neceſſity: which is alſo proued in Daniel 5.chapter, where it is read: Becauſe king Balthazar and his Lordes with his Queene, dronke in the golden and ſiluer veſſels, which his father Nabuchodonoſer had taken out of the temple of Ieruſalem: In yͤ ſame very hour, there appeared fingers as it had bene of a mans hand, writing right ouer the candleſticke vp ō the playne wall in the kinges pallace: And the King ſaw the palme of the hand that wrote, and that which was writtē was Mane, Thetel, Phares. the interpretation wherof is this, as there it appeareth: Mane, God hath numbred thy kingdome and brought it to an end: Thetel, thou art weyed in a ballaunce and art found to light: Phares, thy kingdome is delt in partes, and geuen to the Medes and Perſes. The very ſelfe ſame night was Balthazar the king of the Caldes ſlayne, and Darius ſucceded in the kingdome of the Medes: the Monarchy of the Aſſirians being then tranſlated vnto the Medes. Whereby it appeareth, that thoſe things which are offered vp to the church, belong to God, & ſo dedicated to him, that no lay man may vſe thē: which if they do, they muſt looke to receiue vengeaunce at Gods hand, as Balthazar did. Theſe things now ended, I will argue out the L. Peters theame (which was) Geue vnto the Emperor, that is the Emperors, and vnto God, that is Gods, But this iuriſdiction, which (as I proued be-

Ambroſe in caſe denieth to obey the Emperour.

3 Reg.21.

Nabaoth denyeth to the kyng his Vineyard.

Gene.48.

Math.17.

Offence how it ought to be auoyded.

Rom.14.

Math.16.

The 3. note of the feare of God.

Eccle.15.

fore) is diuerſly conuerted to the dominiō and property of the French Church, is now Gods: and therfore, to be reſerued to and by him. wherfore, whenſoeuer any goeth about to take away the ſame: the good & godly ought to anſwere as Ambroſe did to the Gothē ſouldiors ſent to him by the Emperor, which was to this effect. If the Emperor (quoth he) had requeſted that which had bene mine, I woulde not haue denyed him, albeit that whatſoeuer I haue, all is the poores: But becauſe he demaundeth thoſe things which belong to God (wherin he hath no right or intereſt) I had rather he ſhould impriſon me, yea & cut off my head, then to cōdeſcend to his requeſt therin: alluding to the hiſtory of Nabaoth, which is to be ſene in yͤ 21. chap. 3. Reg. How Nabaoth the holy man, poſſeſſor of his vineyard, was requeſted by the king to geue vp his vineyard: who made anſwere, I will not geue vnto thee the inheritance of my fathers: at which anſwere the king was maruelouſly offended: wherefore (quoth Ambroſe) if Nabaoth would not deliuer his vineyard, ſhall we deliuer to you yͤ Church of Chriſt? No, God forbid that I ſhould deliuer you Chriſtes heritage. Nabaoth did not deliuer the vineyard, nor ſurely will I deliuer Chriſtes Church. And further he addeth a good ſaying: I can neither diminiſh, nor adde any thing to the Church of God, for that I tooke not vpon me the charge of keeping of it: beſides this, it is my duety and office to conſult with the high Emperor of ſaluation, in this matter what is to be done: And doubtleſſe, I may not deliuer any thing to him, nor yet he receiue any thing of me, as is proued, 24. quæſtione vltimo capite cōuenior. qui. wherfore, by theſe and the like reaſons it appereth, that not onely iuriſdiction ſpiritual (as the Lord Peter falſly hath ſuggeſted) doth belong to God: but alſo, all other kinde of iuriſdiction whatſoeuer touching the churche: whether it be by law, cuſtome, or priuilege: in ſo much that neither may we ſurrēder the ſame to any, nor yet may the king at our handes take the ſame. Further the Lord Peter affirmed, that Chriſt for example ſake did pay tribute, which is vntrue as appeareth in Gene. 48. chap. For the land of Prieſtes were free from paying of all kinde of toll and tribute. And if the Lord Peter well conſidered the 17. of Math. he ſhould haue found there, how that Chriſt did not onely pay tribute for example ſake: but rather proued, how he was not bound to pay any at all. To conclude therfore, the children be free: but ye pay, to auoyd ſlaunder and offence: wherefore the text ſayth. Leaſt we ſhoulde offend them goe to the ſea: &c. But paraduenture it may be anſwered, that by the example of Chriſt (to auoyd offence) ought to pay. But this is vntrue, becauſe there is double offence of the weaklings & of the Phariſes: for as concerning the offence of the weakolinges, which commeth of ignorance & not of malice, ſome things are to be omitted for a time, while they be better inſtructed: as the Apoſtle ſaith to the Romains in the xiiii. chap. But for the offence of the Phariſes, which commit and offend of a pretenſed malice: there is nothing to be omitted, as Chriſt ſayth in Math, 16 where to his diſciples ſaying: Doe you not know how that the Phariſes hearing this word are offended? anſwered. Beholde, ſuffer them, they are blinde, and leaders of the blind: For that in the time of Chriſt, the offēce thē was of litle ones. But now is the offence of yͤ Phariſes: wherfore, then it was not to be payd for auoyding of offēce: but now not ſo. Now therfore it is apparant that the third token of the feare of God conſiſteth in the whole true reſtoring of goods: And of him, which hath ſuch feare, whereby he reſtored to God his own, it is ſpokē of in Eccle. 15. cha. The ſeed of the man that feareth God ſhall be brought to honor: but the ſeed which tranſgreſſeth the commaūdemēt of the Lord ſhall be ſhamed. And thus it fully appeareth, how louing feare and obedience is due vnto God, for the excellency of his maieſty: becauſe the wordes be: feare God.

Honour of the kyng.

Eccle.10.

Two kinde of honour.

Math.17.

Double honour with lippes and with heart.

A prince rather to be beloued thē feared.

Seneca de clementia ad Neronem.

A ſentence.

Prouerb.22.

In alteration what is to be cōſidered

3.Reg.11.

Math.26.

25. Quæſt.1. cap.Si.

Marke here a fable.

A dreaming fable.

Iohn.8.

Eccle.4.

Secondly I do ſay, that eſpeciall honor and reuerence is due vnto the king, for his dignity ſake: which followeth in the theame. Now it is ſayd honor the king: I will alledge the 10 of Eccle. where it is ſpecified: In the middes of the brethren, the ruler is holden in honor among them. wherfore it ſemeth to me, that there are 2. kind of honors: one which proceedeth from the lips, & that is named flattery, whereof it is ſpoken in Math. the 17. chap. This people doth honor me with their lips, but their hartes are far from me. There is on other kinde of honor which is reall, and commeth frō the hart. And this is the very true honor in deed, wherwith the king ought to be honored. But me thinketh that he doth really, and de facto in very deede honor the king: which wiſheth and counſelleth him, to keepe and do thoſe things, wherby his dominion is beloued, his royalty not diminiſhed, his honor and fame preſerued, & his conſcience not burdened: And he that perſwadeth him contrary to theſe, I thinke doth not honour the king. To proceede therefore further. I ſay firſt, that he doth de facto honor the king, who perſwadeth him thoſe things, wherby he may be beloued of his ſubiectes. For a Prince ought to ſtudy rather to be beloued, then feared. And what more greater treaſure can a Prince wiſh: then to haue the harts of his ſubiectes? According to the ſaying of Seneca. The loue of the Citizens, is a fortreſſe inuincible, and a bulwarke not ſautable. what thing is more to be wiſhed for? what better then to liue and raigne, euery man willing and reioyceing thereof? And in my opiniō, there is nothing which cauſeth more a Prince to be beloued, then if he keep and mayntayne his auncient liberties, and bring in no alterations? wherefore it is ſayd in the 22. chapter of Prou. Thou ſhalt not remoue the land markes, which thy fore elders haue ſet. This place the Lord Peter alledged to make for himſelfe: which I wyll proue to make agaynſt him, and that by his reaſon, ye ought not to tranſgreſſe the olde limittes and boundes which the fathers haue ſet: For nouity and alteration doth ingender diſcord. And for this cauſe in making of new alterations there ought to be both euident vtilitye, and vrgent neceſſitye. If therefore the Prince will abrogate and take away the liberties graunted by his forefathers and predeceſſours: he ſhall not be of his Realme beloued, as it appeareth by Roboam in the 11. chap. of the 3. Reg. All which likewiſe is to be ſeene in the Chronicles, how that by theſe meanes many kingdomes and dominiōs were tranſlated from nation to nation, and from their owne natiue regiment to the rule of ſtraūge people. And now for this time certayne it is, that your graunde predeceſſors Charles the great, S. Ludowick, Philip the fayre, Ludowick and Philip his ſonnes, with many others, haue ſealed and confirmed this liberty of the Church. wherfore for a man to councell & perſwade your highneſſe to ſpoile the Church of any thing: it is euen the next way to ſpoyle and vndoe your ſelf, and to bereue you of that, by which your dominion is beloued. And for this cauſe I thought good to put your grace in remembraunce of the 20. of Math. where it is written: Remember the workes of your forefathers, which they haue done in their generations, and you ſhal receiue great glory and renowne for euer. Note here your highneſſe by the way, how that king Philip graundfather to S. Lewis: foſtered and kept in his Realme S. Thomas Archbiſhop of Canterbury: who for that he ſtoutly defended the libertyes of his Church, was baniſhed out of England. How much more therefore are you bound to defend and mayntayne your owne Prelates, in their liberties ratified and confirmed by your graces predeceſſors, according to the ſaying of Gregory in 25. quæſt. cap Si. If I ſhould deſtroy and put downe thoſe thinges which my predeceſſours haue built and ordeined: I ſhould not be called a builder and maker, but iuſtly acompted a ſtroy good and puller downe as the voyce af the Lord ſayth: Euery kingdome deuided within it ſelfe ſhall be confoūded: All knowledge and learning deuided one agaynſt the other, ſhall be deſtroyed. In an other place he ſayth: It is ouer ſharpe, and agaynſt all good maner and ciuility (vpon what reaſon and excuſe ſo euer) to breake and ſubuert thoſe thinges which are well ordayned: or by his example, to teach other at theyr pleaſures to diſſolue olde conſtitutions. Marke here a ſtory about a Caſtle which was geuen to Saynt Romige, to the Churches vſe: by Clodoui the Kyng, which afterwarde King Pipine deſired to haue by exchaunge and recouery. To whome the ſayd Saynte Remige appeared in hys dreame, and highly blamed him therefore, ſaying: a better man then thou gaue it me, and yet wilt thou take it away from me? And with that he ſmote him, who the next day was founde all blacke. Since whiche tyme, no Kyng of Fraunce durſt euer lye in that Caſtle. Verely therefore, he doth not honour the Kyng, which geueth him counſell to paſſe the olde limittes that his olde Fathers did ſet. Yea rather the Kinges Maieſty ought to ſay vnto them, whiche is written in Saynt Iohn 8. chapter I do honour and glorify my Father, that is, in keepyng the libertyes of the Church, as they did which graunted them: but you haue diſhonoured me, in counſelling me that, which ſeemeth beſt to pleaſe your ſelues, as it is written in Eccleſiaſt. 4. The worſhip of a mans father is his owne worſhip, and where the father is without honor, it is the diſhonor of the ſonne.

Secondarily I ſay, that he truely doth honor the king, who counſelleth him: whereby his power and dignity is not diminiſhed. For as it is great honour to the Kynges highneſſe to encreaſe and augment his power: ſo is it as much diſhonour for him to diminiſh any iote thereof. And therefore, the Emperours were wont to call themſelues victorious, of augmenting and encreaſing theyr common wealth. And to ſay that you and your predeceſſours could not graunt theſe things to the Churche, it were to too abſurde, and to the too muche derogation of your Maieſties moſt honourable eſtate. And therfore you (moſt ſoueraign Lorde) who holde and poſſeſſe ſo ample right and title in the realme of Fraunce, both by election and inheritaunce: not to graunt and leaue thys to your poſteritie, it were to the great debaſing of your Maieſties honour, crowne and dignitie. Yea if it were (as God forbid) it wold folow, that your predeceſſours liued continually in ſinne: yea and further, it were as much to ſay (which were too vile) that bleſſed S. Lewes, by whome all Fraunce is beautified, could not be iuſtly canonized.

For as the Lord ſpeaker declared, if he tooke his othe at his coronation both to alienate nothing, and alſo to call in that which was before alienated, which is inſeparable frõ the Crowne: it ſhould followe that he was forſworne, and conſequently committed deadly ſinne, and ſo coulde neuer be canonized, which is to to abſurde to be talked of. And if reply be made, that hee might haue repented: It is ſoone to be anſweared: That his ſinne is read of, but of hys repentaunce it is not founde, as is ſayde of Salomon. But put caſe it be true that the Lord Peter ſayd, then it muſt needes folow, that your grace could beſtow nothing, neither coũtrey, towne, nor tower. And yet there be few, whych willingly would not receiue them, notwythſtanding their allegiaunce and homage, which they pretend to your hyghnes: Kepe therefore & confirme (moſt renowmed Prince) ẏ which was graunted by your noble progenitors: otherwiſe, your royall honor ſhall decreaſe, that it may be verified in you which is read of, in the 11. to the Rom. I wil honor my miniſterie.

Rom.11.

Who honoreth the K.

Thirdly I doe affirme, that he rightfully honoreth the king, which perſwadeth him that, whereby his honor and renowne is preſerued. For in matters of weyght, and of great importaunce, next after conſcience we muſt haue regarde to name and fame, as it is wrytten the 22. of Prou. It is better to haue a good name, then riches. A good name farre paſſeth all things, and is aboue ſiluer & gold. And S. Auguſtine ſayeth two things are neceſſary for thee, conſcience & name: Conſcience for God, and name for thy neighbour. And therefore it is wrytten in the 4. chapt. of Eccleſ. Labour to get a good name, for that will continue ſurer by thee then a M. great treaſures of golde. A good life hath a number of dayes. Which renowne & name, the Lord (who annoynted your grace with the oyle of gladnes) hath in ſo litle time more aboundantly bleſſed you wythall, then any other Prince, wherfore you ought to be more vigilant and carefull, howe to kepe and enioy the ſame ſtill: For it is no leſſe vertue, to ſeeke and gette, then to keepe that whych is gotten: wherby not onely while you lyue, but alſo when you are dead, your gloryous renowne may liue for euer: yea and farther, that by you nothing be done, wherby any blotte or foyle ſhoulde creepe ints that your ſo great renowne: alluding that to your grace, which is ſayde in the tenth of the Prouerbes. &c. The memoriall of the iuſt ſhall haue good report. &c. Beware therefore moſt noble Prince, and take heede that in your daies and time, the liberties of the church be not taken away (which God forbid) or diminiſhed in any iote. For if your glorious name ſhoulde be blotted therwͭ, there be thouſands, which would chronicle the ſame to perpetuall memory. Wherefore moſt Chriſtian Prince, if ſuch (as truſted after their death for no other life, but only for fame & renowne) liued a life moſt godly & vertuous: how much more ought we Chriſtians, which looke after another life, by our wel doings here, to win vs a perpetuall name & memory after our death. And you beſides, if you ſhuld diſhonor your name, and fame: what a matter were it, conſidering how the kings of Fraunce, were euer counted the moſt chriſtian princes, and moſt bountiful towards the church, geuing examples to other princes, how to enrich their churches & liberties thereof. And now eſpecially, if your grace, ẏ church in ſome places being in great perſecution (which God forbid) ſhould ſhew light to other to pul and take away that whych was geuen by your forefathers to the church. What might the world ſay? For then by the like reaſon, might the Emperor depriue the Church of all, which was giuẽ to it by Conſtantine the Emperor. Alſo other kings would do the like in their Realme. God forbid that your highnes ſhuld geue ſuch example. And for my parte, I woulde rather wiſh my ſelfe to be deade, then geue you ſuch counſel, that in ſo pernitious and naughty a matter, you ſhoulde be example to other: Eſpecially, when the kings of France your predeceſſors, were defenders alwaies againſt ſuch ẏ went about to take away the liberties from the church: which is the office of a king, Ieronymus ſayth vpon Ieremy, which is foũd alſo in the 24. quæſt. 5. cap. Regnum & C. Princeps. After this maner let the princes of the world know and vnderſtand, how they are boũd to make an accõpt to God, for the Church which they take vpon them to keepe. Note you alſo, & read ſome examples out of ſtories & commentaries, what regarde the kings of France had in obſeruing thoſe things, and ſee you by their example, to follow and do the like: And then ſhall it be verified in your grace, which is wrytten in the 37. chapter of Eccle. A wiſe man ſhall obtaine honour amongſt his people: As alſo in the 3. of the ſame. He that honoreth his mother, is like one that gathereth treaſure together.

24.q.5.cap. Regnum.

Eccle.37.

Eccle.3.

The 4. honoring of the kyng.

Fourthly I ſay, that he in deede doth honor the King, which perſwadeth hym to do that whereby his conſcience is not hurt. For aboue all things, a Chriſten man ought to beware howe to doe that thing, which ſhould be a grudge vnto his conſcience, because the life is more then is meate. Mat. the 6. chap. And aſſuredly I beleeue, that your grace wold not commit that thing willingly, wherwͭ your conſcience ſhuld be burdened, for all the worlds good: and that iuſtly. For the more miraculouſly God hath called your highnes to the ſtate of a King, and hath indued you wͭ hys grace: So much the more you ought to haue and take hede that you offende him not. For it is to be doubted, whether in doing the cõtrary, he will not be the more greuouſly diſpleaſed with you, as hee was with Saule. 1. Reg. chap. 15. Conſider therefore moſt ſoueraigne Lorde, ẏ at what time you were crowned, you ſware only theſe things folowing & no other. Firſt, that you would defend and maintaine the canonicall law, priuilege, and iuſtice, graunted to the Byſhops and the church: and as much as in you did lie, to enlarge and amplify the ſame. Alſo that by your arbitremẽt, all chriſtian people at all times ſhould keepe the true peace of God & his church. Alſo that you ſhould forbid to all nations, al kind of ſacrileges, ſpoylings, and iniquities. Alſo that in all kinde of iudgements, you ſhould will and command equity and mercy. Alſo that throughout your whole territory and iuriſdiction, you ſhuld ſincerely withal your indeuour, ſtudy to exterminate & cut off from the Church, the noted heretikes: which all, and no other your Maieſtie ſware to fulfill, at the time of your Coronation: vnder the leaue & correction of the Lorde Peter, which affirmed you were ſworne to none other thing beſides. Now therefore, ſeing it is a canonical priuilege of the church, & in the heart of the whole Cano. 6. qu. 1. Quicunque litem habens, incorporate: when alſo by cuſtome which is canonicall, it came in: that the Church and ſpiritualtie, may haue cognition in a number of caſes, againſt which diuers articles haue bene here layde in: If this amongſt the laitie ſhould not be obſerued in the Church, your graces conſcience therby might ſomewhat be burdened. In like maner if you be bound wͭ all your whole might and power to procure, that al whole Chriſtendome ſhould keepe the true peace of God and his church: much more haue you to procure the ſame amongſt your owne Barons & people, who euermore were all one with the Church. And alwayes where any church was in honor and eſtimation, there were belonging to it 20. ſtout Barons & knightes: whoſe office, as it was to defend the Church, ſo was it the part of the Church to pray for them & to offer ſacrifice for them vnto God. And to this end, that bleſſed S. Lewes ſo much laboured in his time: who whẽ the greateſt Barons of his realme had confederate to ſuppreſſe theſe liberties of the Church, & had conſulted to geue him (to that ende) the hundreth part of their goods, would neuer condeſcend therunto but alwais diſſuaded thẽ therfro: and finally by his authoritie, ſealed and cõfirmed theſe liberties of the Church. Conſider here your maieſtie, how that pope Innocẽtius at that time proceded againſt thoſe Barons, &c. I dare be bold to ſay, ẏ if there ſhould be now diſſention betwene the Prelates and Barons: it wold not be long before the comminalty would vſurpe to rule and beare domination. As by experience it hath bene ſeene in many places, & likewiſe by practiſe, we of late myght haue ſene: at what time the people ſtomaking the ſpiritualtie in the parties of Campania and Burgundie, at laſt roſe and made in euery towne a king: and therwͭall cauſed the officers which brought citations & abſolutions from the pope and other, to be well banged: and not long after, made inſurrection againſt the Lords temporal, and ſerued them wͭ the like ſauce: vntill that by ẏ kings power they were ſuppreſſed, & many of them hanged. And this doubtles was in the daies of Lewis laſt king of ẏ name. Truely the noble men ought not to be grieued wͭ that that the Church is poſſeſſed wͭal. For that there be few of them, who haue not their brothers and kinſfolkes, which liueth and are maintained by the goods and reuenues of the Church. Amongſt whome if they ſhould deuide their inheritance, perhappes

Mat.6.

1.Reg.15.

The oth of the French kinges.

Arg. by the poſſeſsions of the church many brethren and kinſmen of the nobles be maintayned.

Ergo, ſuch poſſeſsions are not to be grudged at.
To beleeue in the Church, is not in our faith.

they would bring a litle to nothing at all. Let the Barons alſo conſider how ẏ there is but few which beleeue not in ẏ church. For the church is one, as in the 6. of Canticũ: My Doue & derling is one. wherfore without great perill of traſgreſsion can they not perſwade and counſell ſuch liberties of the church to be abrogated and taken away.

1.Reg.21.
To the bill of articles exhibited.

That therfore your Maieſties conſcience may remain pure and immaculate: pleſeth it your highnes by your authority, to ſeale & confirme this good auncient & canonicall priuilege. and contrary attempts (if any be made by way of proclamation or otherwiſe) to reuoke and call them in. And further, to keepe your mother the church of Frãce in her auncient franck choyſe, liberty, and cuſtomes. And thẽ by you in al thinges God ſhalbe glorified and honored, to whom be honor and glory for euer and euer. Amen. who then will honor you as is ſayd. 1. Reg. 21. whoſoeuer ſhall honour me, I will crowne him with that glory, in which conſiſteth the true honor, and is grãted to none vnworthy. wherunto alſo none is admitted but worthy, as bleſſed S. Auſten ſaith: which honor, graunt he vnto you & vs who is bleſſed world without end. Amen. And becauſe a bill of many articles was exhibited, wherof part did infringe the whole eccleſiaſtical iuriſdictiõ: to ẏ defẽce therof, we wil according to ẏ 4. cha. of Eccleſiaſticus ſtand euẽ to the death, where it is ſayd: for ẏ truth ſtriue thou vnto the death, and God ſhall fight for thee agaynſt thine enemies. Some other of thẽ contayne onely abuſe, which we beleue none ſuch to be. But if there be we will ſee redreſſe therin. Therfore for the honor of God, for the vnburdening of our conſciences, for the kings maieſties reuerence, & for ẏ peoples profit and peace: All we here aſſembled, haue concluded to ſee remedy, that the aforeſayd abuſes, if any ſuch be, ſhal be left, to the quietnes of the people, and prayſe of almighty God. To whom be honor and glory world without end. Amen.

✻ Another ſitting in the Parliament.

An other dayes ſitting in the parliament.
Biſhop of Eduen againe ſpeaketh.
Math.12.
Marke 12.

The next Friday following, being the 29. of December: the prelates aſſembled themſelues agayne together at the kings palace in Paris, where, the reuerend father the L. Peter Bertrand, by Gods permiſsiõ biſhop of Eduen ſpake openly there before the king, ſitting with his Counſellors and Barons about him: taking to his theame the which is written in the 18. of Geneſis, O Lord be not angry, that I ſpeake yet more. &c. The which he applyed to this end: that for the maieſty of the king, the prudency of his counſell, and inſufficiency of himſelfe (conſidering the waightineſſe of the cauſe) he trembled and was afrayde to ſpeake: yet neuertheles, truſting vpon his accuſtomed clemency, tooke to him audacity, & preſumed that which was appoynted to him by the prelates. Beginning with the 89 pſalme: Lord thou art our refuge. &c. Which he proſecuted in extolling the king his perſõ, and his miraculous atteining to the crowne of Fraunce: preaching further, how he ought to be the champion & defender of the faith: all which he proued in few words by many reaſõs and authorityes. Afterward, he touched thoſe propoſitiõs which were propounded by the foreſaid Lord Peter of Cugner, and for no other onely cauſe as he proteſted, but to informe the cõſcience of his ſoueraign Lord and king, & to aduiſe his grace concerning the ſame: Not going about to make any finall iudgement, determination, or anſwer, wherby either ſentence, Order, Statute, right to any man, or other proceſſe, might thereof enſue or be groũded. And namely he firſt beginning with the Theame of the Lord Peter: firſt affirmed (render vnto the Emperour, which is the Emperors, and vnto God which is hys: Marke 12.) By whych wordes was ſignified the obedience and ſubiectiõ to the king, with the differẽce of the ſpiritualty from the temporalty, whereof the firſt mẽber is proued by the 1. Pet. 2. where is ſayde: be yee ſubiect to euery humaine creature, &c. Alſo by the Cap. ſolite, extra de maio. & ob. And by the c. nouit extra de iudicijs cap. de ſacerdotibꝰ 10. q. 1. with the notes about ẏ ſame. Moreouer, as touching the diſtinction of both iuriſdictions: whereof the Lord Peter proued the temporall iuriſdiction to pertaine to ſeculare men, the ſpiritual to the clergie, by the wordes of our Sauiour Chriſt. Luke. 22. where hee ſayde: Beholde two ſwordes. Alſo for that Chriſt did pay tribute: Teaching thereby, how that the temporalties were to be reſerued to the temporall men. Math. 17. 11. q. ca. Si tribut. ca. Magnum.

In like maner by ẏ law of Iuſtinian: where it is written, that 2. great giftes were ordained & graunted of God: a Byſhoprike, and a kingdom: The firſt to beare rule ouer Gods matters, the other ouer worldly thinges. &c. And ſayde moreouer, that theſe 2. be the caſes which in no wyſe could be altered or changed. Prou. 20. de Tiõ. mo. lib. 1. & vlt. And affirmed alſo that of theyr Princely right, the Kynge coulde not abrogate and depriue hymſelfe. For that it was vnpreſcriptible, appertaining to the crowne and his regal ſeat, (conſidering howe he tooke his othe at tyme of hys coronation) not onely not to breake or alienate ẏ lawes of his realme, but alſo to reſtore and reuoke ſuch as were broken and alienated. To which theſe his reaſons it was anſwered, that the iuriſdiction and determination of ciuill cauſes (whereabout the controuerſie now ſtandeth) belongeth to the Church, both by Gods law and mans law. By Gods lawe it proued was, euen from Adams time to Chriſtes comming; per Innoc. ca. licet extra de foro, compe. And from Chriſtes comming, to Peters time and hys ſucceſsors. 22. di c. omnes patriarchæ. Math. cap. 16. But how the Churche in the Realmes of Catholike Princes, attained vnto thys right and intereſt which at this preſence it doth enioy, the law proueth. 2. q. ca. 5. Si quis. Præsbyter. 11. q. 1. Relatum 25. diſt. Ecce. Whych alſo is confirmed by the Emperors in the body of the lawe. ff. 3. ¶Si cauſam. col. 9 23. q. vlt c. his & a quibus. The Canon furthermore teacheth, how that S. Peter commaunded all the Princes of the earth and others, to obey and giue place to the Byſhops. c omnes, extra de maior. & ob. 16. diſt. duo ſunt: Wherefore it was concluded, that in no wiſe this right is to be ſeparated and taken away from the Church. And albeit in the realmes of tyrannous Princes, this ſtate of the Church is violated and not kept: yet in this bleſſed realme of Fraunce, it hath bene alwayes euen to theſe dayes duely obſerued: c. nouit. extra. de iudicijs. This iuriſdiction, the lawes of Theodoſius the Emperor and Carolus the great, hathe alſo confirmed. extra. de iudicijs. c. nonne. all. 11. q. 1. quæcunque. &c. ſe iuriſdictio. c. expreſſe: Where it is mentioned, that the ſame Carolus Kynge of Fraunce (and Emperor) eſpecially conſtituted ẏ ſaid lawe. And likewiſe to ſpeake of cuſtome, it hath bene knowen, frõ time out of mind, ẏ ſame to haue belonged to the church of Fraunce: He therefore which ſhal go about to violate this lawe, committeth ſacrilege. 11. q. 1. ca. 1. & 2. And let not the kings maieſtie maruell, if that in this moſt noble Realme of Fraunce thys prerogatiue be due vnto the Churche: As when hereby, his power and nobilitie is beutified. Anth. vt iud. ſine quoquo ſuffra. fi. in principio Col 2. Beſides this: our ſoueraigne Lorde and King, at what time hee was crowned, was ſworne by the Euangeliſts to keepe and obſerue thys Canonicall priuiledge of the Churche. Further, the Barons who in a manner are all ſworne to the Churche, ſwore fidelity to the ſame: by which oth of fidelity, they are bound to keepe theſe liberties and rights of the Churche. When therfore euery oth which tendeth not to the perdition of the ſoule, is to be kept: a fortiori that oth which is taken in the fauor of the church, is much more to be obſerued. c. Si vero extra. de iure iurando. 22. quæſt. 4. c vlt. Beſides thys, bleſſed Ludouicke, Philip of Arragon, Philip the faire, Ludouicke, Carolus the great, & Phillip: confirmed theſe priuiledges, cuſtomes, and liberties of the Church, which all were ſworne at their coronations as before. &c. Theſe things conſidered, who can aduiſe the kings maieſty without damning of his owne ſoule, contrary to theſe liberties graunted and ſo confirmed to the Church? To whom belõgeth great reward, whoſoeuer beſtoweth any thing vpon the Churche: Antho. de non alie. at permut. re. ecc. §. ſi minis col. 3. neyther maketh it againſt vs where it is ſayde, that there are two ſwordes. &c. Neyther yet the diſtinction betwene the Byſhopricke and kingdome. Becauſe it is true that there are two ſwordes, the power wherof is left to the churches hand, although ẏ execution of the material ſword is committed to the temporal and ſecular men. Math. 26. Where Chriſt ſaith to Peter: conuert and put vp thy ſword into the place. But as touching the diſtinction betwixt the Byſhopricke and kingdom, in deede it is true: aſmuch as appertaineth to the end & to the execution of bloud, but not concerning the beginning & ſubiect: for that in one ſubiect, both the powers are, may be, and ought to be, as is before proued. To that poynt where it is ſaid that Chriſt payed tribute: it is anſwered, that not therfore he payd it, becauſe he ought or was bounde thereunto: becauſe it is certainly true, that ẏ ſonnes of ẏ king (as hee was ought not to pay) but this he did to auoide offence: yea alſo the Clergy is not boũd hereunto Eſdræ 1. & vlt. Wherfore, ſuch things do not inferre a conſequence. Neither yet maketh that againſt vs where it is ſayd: that the king our ſoueraigne Lord & maiſter can not abdicate from himſelfe this right, eſpecially for that he was ſworne thereunto at ẏ time of his coronation, &c. for it is aunſwered, that he may wel abdicate the ſame. And howe doth he abdicate the ſame from hymſelfe, which he geueth and beſtoweth to God & the Church? The land is the Lords. And doubtles, to geue is nothing els, but to

11.q.1.cap.1. & 2.
22.q.4.cap. Si vero.
Math.16.
Why Chriſt payd tribute.

render to God and the church their owne: for then by that reaſon, the gift giuē to the church by Cōſtantine is naught and nothing worth, which is falſe, and this is proued xvi. diſt. ca. Conſt. wherby it appeareth, that an Emperour and king may alienate things of the empire. ff. de legatis i. l. apud Iulianum §. vlt. nor yet heereby the Empire or kingdome is damaged: for that the thing returneth to the priſtinat ſtate ff. de pactis l. vnus § pactus. 35. diſt. ab exordio. Furthermore, by this reaſon propounded: all the kings of France which euer were (and eſpecially bleſſed Ludouike) ſhuld be ſpotted: for if that were true (as God forbid) then al they were periured and died in mortal ſinne, which is to too abſurde. Laſt of all, it hurteth not where it is ſayd: that ſuch things are impreſcriptible: It is true in deede, they cannot of ſubiects, or otherwiſe then of the Church be preſcribed: but in this cauſe we talke not of ſubiects. Alſo, ſeeing they may be alienated, they may be preſcribed, eſpecially (the kinges thus conſenting who confirmed the ſame ſo long a time) which excludeth all right both fiſcal and eccleſiaſtical. The prelates therefore al with one conſent, agreeth & affirmeth to the ſame as a verity to be maintained and defended. Beſeeching the kings maieſtie their Lorde, both for hys ſoule health, and peace of the Church, to maintaine the ſame, and keeping the liberties of the Church. Deſiring hym to conſider what commoditie daily he receiueth by the Churche, and that hys Churche neuer failed him yet, when hee had neede of the laitie, ſhewing the daungers and examples of them who did to the contrary. Further, hee beſeeched hys highneſſe to way howe entierly hys Lord the Pope doeth and hath loued his perſon and realme: Affirming, that neuer any placed in the ſeat of Peter, loued better his realme, then he doth. Alledging the text of Eccl. 6. where it is ſayd: Stande in the multitude of the Prieſts, and beleeue them with thy heart.

96. Diſt. cap. Conſtantinus.

35. Diſt. cap. ab exordio.

Eccle. 6.

Speciall anſweres to the articles premiſed by B. Eduen.

After this in the ſayd Seſſion: The foreſayde Byſhop of Eduen prolocutour inſerted many things beſide, & anſwered particularly to the articles aboue ſpecified, and exhibited by the Lord Peter in wryting to the king and parliament. which, becauſe they touch more the ſubtiltie of the law and ſtiles of the courtes, then are neceſſary to this our hiſtory, and becauſe we would not burdē the volume withall, conteining no great profite in them: we haue heere of purpoſe for breuities ſake omitted them, paſſing to the next ſitting, which was the next friday next after following the ſame, as enſueth.

An other dayes ſitting in the Parliament.

The next Friday after thys, the Prelates aſſembled at Vicenas before the Kyng, to heare theyr anſwere: where, the foreſaid Lorde Peter of Cugner) being prolocutour for the king) ſpake on this wiſe, taking for hys theame. I am peace vnto you, do not feare. &c. which he proſecuted, moniſhed that they ſhoulde not be troubled in any thyng that there had bene ſpoken. For that the intent and minde of the ſoueraigne Lorde their king was, to keepe the rites of the Church and Prelates, which they had by law, and by good and reaſonable cuſtome: where, betweene the firſt and ſecond concluſion, he went about to proue: that the cognition of ciuill cauſes ought not to appertaine to the Church. For that ſuch things were temporal and ought to pertaine to the temporaltie, as ſpirituall things to the ſpiritualtie. And beſides his other reaſons hee alleaged the 86 diſt. declaring for a truth, ẏ for this intent firſt the clarks crowns were ſhauen: in ſigne that they ſhuld be free frō all worldlineſſe, and forſake all temporall things. Alledging to that end the 12. q. 2. Furthermore he declared, that the Byſhops had cognition in certaine caſes expreſſed by lawe. Wherefore, theſe ſaid caſes miniſtred a certaine rule againſt them, alledging for the proofe thereof De reg. iuris. ff. de lega. 1. L. ticie textoris. Alſo he affirmed that by reaſon of ſinne, the decretall Nouit. coulde not make for them. For the ſame dyd ſpeake of the king of Fraunce his ſtate, which hath no ſuperiour: but in other perſons it was (he ſayde) otherwyſe. And theſe things thus being proued, then ſayd he, and cōcluded: That neuertheleſſe, their Lord and King was ready to heare the information of them, which would inſtruct him of any cuſtome: and thoſe cuſtomes which were good and reaſonable he would obſerue. Which anſwere, becauſe it did not ſeeme to pleaſe and ſuffice the Prelates, incontinently the Byſhop Eduen anſwered for them all in manner folowing. Firſt, commēding the good and general anſwere, he ſpake in this wiſe: The Prince of the people (ſaid he) ſhalbe praiſed, for the prudence of his talke, cōmending therewyth as touching the former good generall anſwer of the King, his purpoſe and talke propounded. But as concerning the wordes of the Lorde Peter, whych engendred and brought darknes and obſcuritie, and might geue occaſion to other temporall Lordes, to breake and infringe the rites and cuſtomes of the Church, wherefore hys anſwere ſeemed not ful and plaine to the prelates. Speaking moreouer to the ſayd Peter, he alluded to the words of the Virgine ſpeaking in the Scripture thus to her ſonne: Sonne why did you ſo to vs? And ſo proſecuted ẏ ſame, both marueling with himſelfe, and yet couertly complaining of hys anſwere. Afterwarde anſwering to theſe things which the Lord Peter affirmed, and firſt to the Chapter. Ad verum he ſayde, that it was before anſwered: touching the deuiſion of the two iuriſdictions, that they may be in one ſubiect as before is proued. Neither doth it let which the Lord Peter ſayd, theſe two iuriſdictiōs could not be in one ſubiect, becauſe that things whych be in themſelues diuers, & be vnder one Genus, as a man & an aſſe cannot be in one ſubiect. But if they were vnder diuers kindes, as whiteneſſe and ſweeteneſſe in milke, they might be well in one ſubiect. It was anſwered that thys rule was not true: becauſe iuſtice and temperaunce are two diuers vertues, and vnder one kinde, and yet be in one ſubiect. Beſides theſe differing ſpecies, a man & an aſſe be not compatible in one ſubiect. Alſo to that which was ſpoken concerning the ſhauing of the crowne, it was anſwered ẏ the crowne did betoken rule & excellency: and the ſhauing did ſignify: that they ought not to heape vp ſtore of tēporal things, ſo to apply their hartes thereunto. But that the temporall things ought to be ſubiect to them, and not they to the temporaltie, as is proued in the ſaide chapter duo ſunt genera. Alſo as concerning the thyng, whych was talked of de regula: he anſwereth, that this maketh for the church, as before was proued. Yea, alſo, the cuſtome doeth make the rule for the Church. Alſo lawes in all kind of ſenſe doth alwaies except the cuſtome. And therefore, his ſaying makes nothyng againſt it. And nowe to that place which the Lord Peter ſpake about the Decretall Nouit. That the caſe was onely in the kinges perſon, yet for all that it is expreſly ſayd in the ſame text of euery Chriſten man. And although theyr lawe doth ſpeake onely of the Pope, yet the ſame is applied to all Biſhops in their Dioces. Wherfore the ſayd biſhop concluded and beſeched the king that it would pleaſe his grace to geue vnto them a more plainer and comfortable aunſwere: and that they might not depart from hys preſence all penſiue & ſad, whereby occaſion might be geuen to the laitie to impugne the rites and liberties of the Church. And that they doubted nothing heereof in the good nature & conſcience of their ſoueraigne Lord and King: In the end it was aunſwered to them in the behalfe of the king, that hys minde & intent was not to impugne the cuſtomes of the church.

86. Diſt. cap. Cum ad Verum.

Shauing of Prieſtes crownes wherefore. 12. queſt. 2.

The B. findeth fault with the kings anſwere.

The Sonday following the biſhops aſſembled themſelues againe before the king at Vicenas, where the Lorde Biſhop of Eduen repealed their laſt ſuppoſition, with the laſt aunſwere made vnto them in the behalfe by the King, when the Byſhop of Byturien, had geuen them to vnderſtand how the king willed them not to feare. For that they ſhould ſuffer no hinderance or damage in his time, yea and wold defend them to their rights and cuſtomes becauſe it ſhould not be ſaid that he would geue enſample to other to impugne the Church, aſſuring them that euen the Kinges grace hym willed ſo to declare vnto them. The ſayde Lord Byſhop of Senon in the name of the whole prelates gaue humble thankes to the King therefore, and the ſayde B. of Senon beſeeched ẏ ſuch proclamations which were made to the preiudice of the Eccleſiaſticall iuriſdiction myght be repealed, & called in. Heereunto the king himſelfe anſwered wyth his owne mouth that they were not publiſhed at his commandement, neither did he know of them, nor ratifie them. Thirdly, the Biſhop propoſed that thoſe abuſes which the temporaltie complained of, ſhould be ſo ordered & reformed: that euery man ſhould be wel contented therw̄. Laſt of all, he beſeeched the kings highneſſe, ẏ he would of his gracious goodneſſe geue them a more comfortable & fuller anſwere. Then anſwered the lord Peter in the name of the king: That if the prelates and biſhops would ſee reformatiō of thoſe things which were to be amēded (wherabouts he would take reſpect betweene this and Chriſtmas next folowing) his grace would innouate nothing in the meane ſeaſon. And if in the foreſaide ſpace they woulde not correct & reforme that which was amiſſe, hys maieſtie wold appoynt ſuch order and remedy that ſhuld be acceptable both to God and hys ſubiectes. After thys, the Prelates had leaue of the king to depart and went home.

The gentle anſwere of the king to Biſhops.

The finall anſwere of the kyng to the Prelates.

¶ *A briefe recapitulation of the Byſhops anſwere,*

wyth certaine notes anſwering to his Popiſh reaſons vnto the Reader.

Notes vpon the biſhops anſwers Pag. 361. col. 2.

THE aunſwere of Byſhoppe Eduen in the name of the other Prelates, to the Oration and Articles before obiected by the Lorde Peter conſiſteth in two partes. Fyrſt, in decla-

Feare of God conſiſting in three thinges.
1.In geuing.
2.in honoring.
3.In reſtoring.
Honour to the kyng,double.
In word flattering,in deede effectuall.
Honour effectuall ſtandeth in foure pointes.
1.in maintayning the kings loue.
2.in maintayning his dignitie.
3.in maintayning his good name.
4.in maintayning his conſcience.

ring the ſeate due to God. Secondly,the honour due to the king. Wherof the firſt is,the feare of God(he ſayeth)conſiſteth in three things. 1.In geuing to God. 2.In honoring his miniſters. 3.In reſtoring that, which hath bene taken away.&c. The 2. which is, the honouring of the king, he ſayeth, conſiſteth in a double ſort, that is.In wordes onely,wherein is flattery: And in deede: which againe he deuideth in 4.members:Firſt,when a man counſaileth a king to that,whereby his dominion is loued. 2. When the king is counſailed to that whereby his honour and excellencie is not diminiſhed. 3.Thirdly,when the king is counſailed to that, whereby his fame and renowne is maintained. 4 Fourthly,when a king is counſailed to that,wherby his conſcience is not wounded.&c. And this is the order of his whole tractation. Nowe remayneth with like breuity to recite the reaſons and argumentes in order, whereby he proueth the premiſſes, with the ſubdiuiſion of euery member and part thereof.Wherein the ſtudious reader,may note both the ſubtile proceedings of theſe popiſh prelates,and alſo the feeble and impotent ground whereupon they build.Whoſe building(as by this diſcourſe and many other may appeare)wholy & finally tendeth to this,to maintaine their liberties,pompe, and eſtimation aboue all other ſecular princes and perſons.

Pag.361.col.2.

Firſt, as concerning feare to be geuen to God,which hee deuideth in 3.partes,in geuing,in honouring and reſtoring: for the firſt, hee proueth that princes ought to geue largely and wythout meaſure to the Church by theſe argumentes.

Pag.361.col.2.

By the teſtimonie of Iuſtinian: although nothing is good whych is too much,yet.&c.pag.361.col.2. I aunſwere that in the time of Iuſtinian, goodes then geuen to the Churche, were the goodes of the poore. Wherein was vſed faithfull diſtribution,voluntarie geuing, and neceſſary charitie. But nowe in our Popiſh Churches, reuenues and landes geuen,neither are diſtributed to the poore: and yet are men compelled againſt their will to geue ſtill. And againe, ſo little neceſsitie is nowe to geue to ſuch, that the moſt wealthes of Realmes almoſt is in their handes and houſes: in ſo much that they flowing in ſuch wealth,are nowe waxed ſo proude, that kinges can ſcarſe beare any rule for them, as was prooued before, pag. 330. col.2. that the Popes reuenues heere in England, mounted to more then three times double the ſtint of the kings crowne. Wherefore by the counſaile of Iuſtinian, it was ſo then, and then myght ſtand, *quòd Religio peperit diuitias*: But nowe as the time is altered, ſo that counſaile holdeth not, *poſtquam nunc filia deuorauit matrē*. That is,after that the daughter hath deuoured the mother. Finally concerning mens geuing to the Church in theſe our popiſh daies,foure faultes I note.

Religio peperit diuitias,nunc filia deuorauit matrem.
4.incommodities that come in geuing to the church.

Firſt, that they geue ſuperfluouſly more then ſufficient is to neceſsitie of life.

Secondly,that they geue to ſuch as abuſe it wickedly.

Thirdly, that in geuing to them that neede not,noble men in meane time defraude their poore neighbors, which nede in dede, and yet doe not complaine.

Fourthly, becauſe of thys title of geuing, men haue vſed, and yet doe vſe to put great hope of ſaluation therein, contrary to the Teſtament of God in Chriſtes death,whereof examples are before.

Pag.361.col.2.

Pag.361.col.2. Abel offered of the beſt to the Lorde, and was bleſſed of God. Ergo,euery great man, that woulde be bleſſed of God, muſt offer of the beſt he hath vnto the Church. Aunſwere. This argument as it is farre fet:ſo it is ſoone anſwered,wherein 3. notes are to be obſerued.

3.Things to be noted,in offering to God and to the church.

Firſt,that he which offereth vnto the church of God,doth not therein offer vnto God immediatly as Abel did.

Secondly, neither is this to be graunted,that hee which offereth to all Churchmen, offereth by and by to the Church of God. For many times the Churchmen are one: and the Church of God is an other.Laurence the Martyr ſhewing forth the church of god, brought out the poore of the Pariſhe, and not of the prieſtes of the Church.Pag.72.col.1.

Rom.12.

Pag.361.col.1.

The thirde note is this: that if noble perſons ſhould offer vnto God(by the example of Abel)that which is the beſt and fatteſt of the flocke:then ſhould they offer vnto the Lord, of their flocke onely,and not of their landes.Yea,and to note the very truth,they are taught thereby to offer to God, neither cattel nor landes,but that which is the very beſt, that is, their owne bodies for a liuely ſacrifice to God. Hee that offered vp to God a proude heart, and killed it with the axe of humilitie, geueth vnto him the beſt and fatteſt bullocke he hath in all his flocke. With like reaſon I aunſwere alſo the place of Numeri.18.and of Paral.cap.vlt.that to offer vp, or to ſeperate vnto the Lordes treaſurie, is not nowe to geue to Prieſtes and Chaplaines of the Churche, whyche peraduenture haue more then they doe well occupie: but to giue liberally to the communion of Saínctes, which are needy,and are the true treaſurie of the Church in deede, as Laurence the true treaſurer ſayd,ſupra,pag.72,

Pag.362.col.1.

Pag.362 col.1. By Gods commaundement we are bound of duetie to honour our temporall fathers. Ergo, by the ſame duety we are bounde much rather to honour our ſpirituall fathers,that is Prieſtes and Prelates. Aunſwere. A father in common ſpeche is diuerſly taken,as by age,by nature,by office.And to al theſe we of duety, are bound to yeeld honour, reuerence, obedience ſubmiſsion, all be it not all after one ſort,nor in like degree. For as we are bound to honour our father and mothers: ſo aged men & elders haue alſo their honour and name of fathers So Magiſtrates and ſpirituall teachers in their kinde, haue their honour and reuerence. And S.Paule ſayeth, that ſuch are worthy of double honour, *qui benè præſunt, & qui laborant in ſermone*. But in thys two thyngs are to be noted, wherein this honour conſiſteth, and howe farre it extendeth. Theſe ſpirituall fathers of the Churche, thinke they be not honoured inough,vnleſſe Kings and Emperors geue and ſurrender vnto them all the temporall rule & gouernement, to doe what they liſt, and none to controll them. And vnleſſe noble men and ſubiects indue them wyth temporall landes and poſſeſsions,ſo much as they woulde haue. And this they call honour, which they define onely by geuing temporally: where in deede it rather conſiſteth in geuing ſpiritually, as to haue a reuerent opinion of their miniſtration,to yeld a prompt obedience to their doctrine,to reuerence them as the miniſters of God, and not to deſpiſe, defame,or moleſt their perſones, whereof S.Paule alſo about the ſame place ſpeaketh, wryting to Timothe. Let no man deſpiſe thy youth.&c. Alſo to Titus 2. Let no man deſpiſe thee.&c.And this is to honour our ſpirituall fathers.

1.Tim.5.
2.Things to be noted in geuing honour,wherein conſiſteth honour geuing to Prieſtes.
1.Tim.5.
Titus.2.

Qui benè præſunt.
How far honour giuen to prieſtes extendeth.

Secondly,to conſider howe farre this honour extendeth: as no man doeth denie, but theſe paſtours are worthy their double honour,which rule wel: ſo if they adminiſter not their office wel, they are vnder the ouerſighte of the king, bearing the Temporall ſworde,worthy of double puniſhment. And yet to conſider thys double honour in them that rule well, howe farre it doth extend: if it be compared to the honour due to our parentes, caſe of neceſsitie will ſoone decide it. For be it, that our parentes, on the one ſide,and paſtour of the other, ſtande in extreeme neede of the ſonnes ſupportation,wherein he can helpe but the one: nature, I ſuppoſe,will and ought ſooner runne,and the word of Chriſt will ſooner driue vs to our father,then to the Prieſts Corban.Marc.7. So that this diſtinction here may haue place: that as the one ſtandeth vpon merite of vertue,ſo the other ſtandeth vpon mere duety of neceſsitie.

Marke.7.

Pag.361.col.1.

Pag.362.col.1.Theſe iuriſdictions temporall and ſpiritual are compatible in one perſone. Aunſwere. I graunt *pro ratione ſubiecti*. That is,in the ſubiect it ſelfe there is no cauſe to the contrary, but theſe vocations may be exerciſed both of one perſone, as they haue beene of the Pope, one after the other (and ſo may contrary formes alſo) and yet the Popes perſone hath bene able to ſuſtaine them both.But now here is to be conſidered,not what the nature of the ſubiecte is able to beare by Logicke, but what order is taken heerein by the will of God, whoſe order is thys: That they,which with Peter,are called to the feeding of the flock, ſhoulde leaue their fiſhing nettes,and fiſhe for men: and that they which labour in the warfare of the Lord,ſhould not intangle thēſelues with the buſines of this life, wherby they may be more free to pleaſe him,whoſe ſouldiours they are.Tit.2,&c.

Tit.2.

Pag.361.col.1.
2.formes not contrary may be compatible in one ſubiect.

Pag.362.col.1. The iuriſdictions temporall and ſpirituall, are ſo diſtincted that they are not contrary.&c. Aunſwer. And what let is there then,but our Queene nowe, and other kings heereafter may haue the gouernement of both ſtates, as well Eccleſiaſticall as temporall? Seeing both the formes being compatible,may concurre both in one ſubiect: why not as well in the perſone of the King,within the Realme,as in the perſon of the Pope without the Realme?

Pag.363.col.1.

Pag.363 col.1. God after the creation of the world,&c. vnto Noes time:&c. Aunſwere. If God vnto Noes time gouerning the worlde as king,gaue ſentence himſelfe againſt Caine (as yee ſay) howe then did he that by the miniſterie of aungels? If he did it by the aungels his miniſters: Whether is more like then that to make for the Pope,or rather for kings and princes,whom the Scripture thriſe in one chapter,calleth the miniſters of God to execute puniſhment to him,that doth euill.Rom.13.

Rom.13.

Pag.363.col.1.
Noe was a prieſt,and had both iuriſdiction in the Arke.

Pag.363. Noe alſo which offered.&c. Aunſwere. If offering of burnt ſacrifices to God doe make a prieſt,then was Caine alſo, Abell, Abraham,Iſaac,and all Patriarches prieſts. If hee had both temporall and ſpirituall iuriſdiction vppon them, which were in his Arke: I maruell why hee did not curſe then the diſobedyent crowe that returned not to him againe.

Pag.363.col.1,Melchiſedech likewiſe.&c. Anſwere.Melchiſedech properly did beare a figure of Chriſt, both king and prieſt, and of none other.

Pag.363.col.1.A.

Pag.363.col.1.A. I haue geuen to me.&c. Aunſwere. That Chriſt hath all power geuen him,no man doubteth: but yet the ſame Chriſt ſayth,that his kingdome is not of this world Neither would he be made a king in this worlde.&c. *Non eripit mortalia, qui regna dat cæleſtia,hym.*

Pag.363.col.B.

Pag.363.col.1.B.Whom Chriſt made his vicar.&c.Anſwere. Here in one line bee two lies For neither had Peter the very ſame power in heauen and earth as Chriſt had,neyther was hee the vicar of Chriſt.

Page.363.col.1.C.

Pag. 363. col.1.C. As the offence of Ananias and Saphira was not temporall but ſpirituall : ſo did Peter kill them not iudicially,that is,as a temporall iudge, but ſpiritually, that is, by the power of the ſpirite, which ſpirite wrought by him, not as by a iudge,but as a miniſter. And although this acte of Peter was extraordinarie for a ſingular example : yet notwithſtanding let any prelate with the like power of ſpirit,ſo do,& none wil blame him.

Pag.363. col.1. D.

Pag 363 col.1.D. And ſo likewiſe the condemnation of Paule againſt the Corinthian,was onely ſpirituall and not temporall.

E.

Pag.363.1.E. muſt be referred to the order.&c. Aunſwere. Chriſt woulde theſe cauſes to be referred to the hearing of the Churche,for ſpirituall admonition,but not for temporall iuriſdiction of the prelates.

Pag 363.col.1.F. All things that the true Church doth truely binde are bound.I graunt:but firſt let the Pope proue his Church to be the true Church,and himſelfe to be the vniuerſal head therof,and then let him claime the keies.

Pag.363. col.1.

Ibid. The two ſwords do as much ſignifie the two regiments: as doe the two fiſhes wherewith Chriſt did feede foure thouſande perſones.

Ibid.Chriſt bad Peter put vp his ſword and not to caſt it away. Ergo,the Church may haue the temporall ſworde. Anſwere.God geue you good morowe,I haue brought you a capon.

Pag.364.col.1. I. Know ye not the Saintes.&c. Aunſwere. S. Paule heere willing the Corinthians to pleade their matters not before the heathen,but before the Saints:meaneth the faithfull of the congregation,not onely prelates.

Pag.364. col.1.

K. In them was not the like reaſon.&c. Aunſwere. I graunt, for Chriſt and true Chriſtians is one thing : Antechriſt and hys Church is an other thing.

Ibid. As ye ſay, the Apoſtles had no laiſure to take lands and poſſeſsions, for preaching : but nowe, for Lordly loytering you haue laiſure inough.

Pag.364. col.1.

Pag.364.col.1.M.They are moſt fitteſt to beare temporal rule, which followe neereſt to God. Prelates of the cleargie followe neareſt to God. Ergo, Prelates of the Clergie are more meeteſt to beare temporall rule.

Reſp. If God heere be taken for that God, which is called the belly.I graunt they ſeeme to followe nearer. But if it be taken for the true God, not I,but their owne fruites,life,and doctrine,and Eſay alſo would denie their minor,and ſay,that this people draweth neare to me with their lips,but their heart is farre from me.

Pag.364. col.1.

Pag.364.col.1. You are a choſen generation, a royall Prieſthode.&c. Aunſwere. This place of Peter was written not onely to perſones Eccleſiaſticall, but to the whole congregation of the Saintes diſparſed,as the wordes following may declare. *Qui eratis quondam non populus.&c.*

And thus much concerning French matters, which becauſe they be Eccleſiaſticall,and beare wyth them ſome vtilitie to the diligēt reader(ſuch as liſt to ſearch, note and obſerue the actes of men,and courſe of religion) I thought therfore here to place and adioyne next after,the other contention before proceding betwene Philip the French king and Pope Boniface. Albeit as touching the perfect keeping of yeres and time, I am not ignorant that thys foreſaid Parliament thus ſummoned and commenced againſt the French prelates falling in the yeare of our Lorde.1329. was to be referred rather to ẏ raigne of king Edward the ij. Of whom now remaineth(by the grace of Chriſt) in order of hiſtorie to proſecute, declaring firſt the inſtructions and informations of his father geuen to him in the time of his departing.

Anno. 1307.

The ſicknes and death of K Edward.

The yeare of our Lorde 1307. and the laſt yeare of the king, the foreſayde king Edwarde in his iourney marching towarde Scotland: in the North fel ſicke of the flixe,which increaſed ſo feruētly vpon hym,that he diſpaired of life. Wherfore,calling before him his Earles and Barons, cauſed them to be ſworne, ẏ they ſhould crowne his ſonne Edward in ſuch conuenient time after his death as they might,& kepe the land to his vſe,til he were crowned. That done,he called before him his ſonne Edwarde, informing and leſſoning him wyth wholeſome preceptes, & charged him alſo with diuers poynts vpon his bleſſing: firſt that he ſhould be courteous,gentle,vpright in iudgement,faire ſpoken to all men, conſtant in deede and word, familiar with the good:and eſpecially to the miſerable to be merciful. After this,he gaue him alſo in charge,not to be to haſtie in taking his crowne, before he had reuenged his fathers iniuries ſtoutly againſt the Scots : but that he ſhould remaine in thoſe parties to take wͭ him hys fathers bones, being well boiled from the fleſh,and ſo incloſed in ſome fit veſſel, ſhoulde carie them with him til he conquered all the Scots : ſaying,that ſo long as he had his fathers bones wͭ him,none ſhould ouercome him. Moreouer,he willed and required him,to loue his brother Thomas,and Edmund: alſo to cheriſh & tender his mother Margaret the Quene. Ouer & beſides, he ſtraitly charged him vpon his bleſſing (as he would auoide his curſe) that he ſhould in no caſe cal to him againe, or ſende for Peter Gaueſton: whych Peter Gaueſton the king before had baniſhed the realme, for his naughty and wicked familiaritie with hys ſonne Edward, and for his ſeducing of him with ſiniſter counſaile. For the which cauſe, he baniſhed both Peter Gaueſton vtterly out of the realme, and alſo put the ſayd Edwarde hys ſonne in priſon. And therefore ſo ſtraitly charged hys ſonne, in no wiſe to ſende for this Gaueſton, or to haue him in any caſe about him. And finally, becauſe he had cōceiued in himſelfe a vow to haue returned hys owne perſon to the holy land (which for his manifold warres wyth the Scots, he could not performe) therefore he had prepared 32000. poundes of ſiluer, for the ſending of certaine ſouldiours with hys hart vnto the holy lād. Which thing he required of hys ſonne to ſee accompliſhed. So that the foreſayde money, vnder hys curſe & malediction, be not employed to other vſes. But theſe iniunctions and preceptes, the diſobedient ſonne did nothing obſerue or keepe after ẏ deceaſe of his father. Who forſaking and leauing of the warre with the Scots, wyth all ſpeede haſted him to his coronation. Alſo, contrary to the minde of his nobles, & againſt the precept of hys father he ſent for the foreſayde Peter Gaueſton, & prodigally beſtowed vpon him al that treaſure which his father had bequeſted to the holy land. He was moreouer a proud deſpiſer of his peeres & nobles. And therefore raigned infortunately, as by the ſequele of the ſtory heere folowing, by the grace of Chriſt ſhalbe declared. Thus king Edwarde firſt of that name, leauing behinde him 3. ſonnes, Thomas and Edmund by his third wife, and Edward by his firſt wife, whome he had ſufficiently thus with precepts inſtructed, departed this mortall life. An. 1307. after hee had raigned neare 35. yeres. Of whom this Epitaph was wrytten.

Godly leſſōs and precepts geuen to the yong prince.

The kyng cōmaundeth his bones to be caryed in the field againſt the Scottes.

The fatherly care of kyng Edward in excluding wicked cōpany frō his ſonne.

A raſhe vow of kyng Edward. The kyngs heart to be caried to the holy land.

Dum viguit rex,& valuit tua magna poteſtas :
Fraus latuit,pax magna fuit,regnauit honeſtas.

The Epitaph of kyng Edward

In ẏ time and raigne of thys king,many other things happened,which here I omit to ſpeake of: as the long diſcorde and ſtrife betweene the Prior of Cant. and the Prior of Douer,which continued aboue 4. yeres together : with much wrangling & vnquietnes betweene them. Likewyſe an other lyke cōtention growing betwene Iohn Romain Archb. of York,and the Archb. of Cant. vpon the occaſion, that when Iohn Archb. of York after his conſecration returned from the Pope, and comming to Douer, contrary to the inhibition of Cant. paſſed through ẏ middle of Kent, with his croſſe borne vp:although the ſtory reporteth,that he had the kings conſent therunto. An.1286.

Item, betwene Thomas Biſhop of Hereford,& Iohn Pecham Archb. of Cant. fell an other wrangling matter, in the time of thys king. Which Byſhop of Herefordе appealing from the Archb. to the Pope, went vp to Rome, and in his iourney died. Who with leſſe coſt might haue taryed at home. 1282.

King Edward the ſecond.

King Edward the ſecond.

EDwarde the ſecond of that name, and ſonne of Edward the firſt, borne as is aforeſaid at Carnaruan in Wales, after the departure of his father, entred the gouernment of the lande. An. 1307. But was crowned not before the yeare next folowing. An.1308. by reaſon of the abſence of Rob. Winchelſey, who was baniſhed by king Edward the firſt. Wherupon the king thys preſent yere wryteth to the pope for the reſtitution of the ſayd Archb. for that by an auncient law of the realme, the coronation of the king coulde not otherwiſe procede without the Archb. of Cant. Which Edward as he was perſonable in body and outwarde ſhape, ſo in conditions and euill diſpoſition much deformed. As vnſtedfaſt of worde, and light to diſcloſe ſecretes of great counſaile: Alſo refuſing the companie of hys Lords & men of honoure : hee much haunted among villaines and vile perſonnages : Geuen moreouer, to ouermuche drinking, and ſuch vices as thereuppon be wont to enſue. And as of his owne nature he was to the ſayd vices diſpoſed, ſo was hee much worſe by the counſaile and familiarity of certaine euill diſpoſed perſones, as firſt of Peter or Pierſe Gaueſton before touched. Then after hym of the two Spenſers and other, whoſe wanton counſaile hee followyng, gaue hymſelfe to the appetite and pleaſure of his body: nothing ordering hys common weale by ſadneſſe, diſcretion and iuſtice: which thyng cauſed firſt great variance betweene hym and his nobles, ſo that ſhortly hee became to them odible, and in ende was depriued of his kingdome. In the firſt yeare, hee tooke to wife Iſabel daughter of Philippe

Anno. 1308.

King Edward led by wicked counſaile.

Peter Gaueſton or Gauerſton a wicked doer about the kyng.

king of Fraunce: wyth whome (the yeare after) hee was crowned at Weſtminſter, by the biſhop of Wincheſter: for that, Robert Winchelſey Archbiſhop of Canterbury, was yet in exile not returned home. Notwithſtanding, the Barons and Lordes made firſt their requeſt to the king to put Peter Gaueſton from hym, or els they would not conſent to his coronation. Whereupon he was enforced to graunt them at the next parliament, to haue their requeſts accompliſhed, and ſo was crowned. In yͤ meane ſeaſon, the foreſayd Peter or Pierſe bearing himſelfe of the kings fauour bolde: continued triumphing and ſetting at light all other ſtates and nobles of the Realme, ſo that hee ruled both the King and the Realme, and all things went as he woulde. Neither had the king any delight els, or kept company wͭ any, but with him: with him onely he brake all his minde, & conferred all his counſailes. This as it ſeemed ſtraunge vnto the Lordes and Earles, ſo it inflamed their indignation ſo much againſt this Peter, that through the exciting of the Nobles, the Byſhops of the land did procede in excommunication againſt the ſaid Gauerſton, vnleſſe he departed the land. Vpon the occaſion whereof, the King the ſame firſt yeare of his raigne, being greeued wyth the Byſhoppes, wryteth to the Pope, complaining that they had proceded to excommunication of the ſayde Peter, vnleſſe he departed the realme within a time certaine. The which letter of the king, what anſwere againe the king had from the pope, I finde not ſet down in ſtorie. Ouer and beſides, it befell in the ſaid firſt yeare of the king, that the Byſhoppricke of Yorke being vacant, the king gaue the office of the treaſour to one of his owne clearkes: wherof the pope hauing intelligence wryteth to the King, commaunding him to call backe the ſame gift, and wͭ all citeth vp to Rome the ſayd clearke, there to anſwere the matter to a nephewe of one of his Cardinals, vpon whom he had beſtowed the ſayd dignitie whereunto the king maketh anſwere. Quod citationes huiuſmodi & illorum executio. &c. .i. That if ſuch citations and the execution of the ſame ſhould procede to the impeachement of our kingly iuriſdiction, and to the preiudice of our lawful inheritance and the honor of our crowne (eſpecially of the deciding of ſuche matters which principally concerne our eſtate, ſhould be proſecquuted in any other place then within thys our Realme by any manner of wayes. &c.) Certes, although we our ſelues would winke thereat, or through ſufferaunce permit matters ſo to paſſe our hands: yet the ſtates and nobles of our kingdom, who vpon allegeance are obliged and ſworne to the protection and defence of the dignitie of the crowne of England, will in no wiſe ſuffer our right and the lawes of the lande ſo to be violated.

Beſides this, the foreſaid pope wrote to the king, complaining that by certaine councellours of king Edwarde his father lying ſicke, vtterly ignoraunt thereof, a certaine reſtraint was geuen out, charging his nuncios and Legates (whõ he had ſent for the gathering of the firſt fruites of the benefices vacant wythin the realme) not hereafter to entermeddle therewith. &c. whereunto the king maketh anſwere. *Videlicet*. Pater Sanctiſ. Datum fuit vobis intelligi. &c.

In Engliſh thus.

Moſt holy Father, it hath ben geuen you to vnderſtand otherwiſe then the truth of the matter is: for moſt true it is in dede that the foreſaide inhibition was ratified by good acte of Parliament holden at Karlin, vpon certaine cauſes concerning the execution of ſuch collections (the ſaid our father not onely being not ignorant, but alſo witting, willing, and of his owne meere knowledge agreeing to the ſame) in the preſence not only of his owne Erles, Barons, and ſtates, and commons of the Realme, but alſo your legates and liegers being called thereunto.

Item, vpon other letters brought from the Pope to the king, for the enſtalling of one Peter de Subaudia his kinſeman into the Biſhoppricke of Worceſter being then vacant, and withall requiring that if the ſayd Peter would not accept thereof, the election ſhoulde be referred to the Priour and Couent of the ſame place. The king therewith grieued, maketh anſwere by his letters to the Pope and ſundry his Cardinals. *Quod cum electiones de futuris prelatis in eccleſiis Cathedral. &c.* That for ſo much as elections of prelates to be placed in cathedral churches within his kingdome, are not to be attempted without his licence firſt had and obtained. &c. Therefore he coulde not abide that any ſuch ſtraunge and vnaccuſtomed reſeruations ſhould or could take place in his Realme without manifeſt preiudice of his kingly eſtate, requiring further that hee woulde not cauſe any ſuche nouelties to be brought in into hys kingdome, contrary to that which hys aunceſtors before him haue accuſtomed to doe.

Anno. 1310.

Thus the time proceeded, & at length the Parliament appoynted came. An. 1310. which was the fourth of thys kings raigne. The articles were drawne by the nobles to be exhibited to the king, which articles were the ſame conteined In magna charta, and de foreſta aboue ſpecified: wyth ſuch other articles as his father had charged him with before: to wit, that he ſhould remoue frõ him and his Court, all aliens and peruerſe counſellours. And that all the matters of the common wealth ſhould be debated by common counſaile of the Lordes both temporall and ſpirituall: and that he ſhould ſtirre no warre out of England in any other foreine realme, without the common aſſent of the ſame. &c. The king perceiuing their intent to be, as it was in deede, to ſonder Peter Gaueſton from his cõpany: and ſeeing no other remedy: but nedes muſt yeld and graũt his conſent, agreed that the ſaid Gaueſton ſhuld be baniſhed into Ireland. And ſo the Parliament breaking vp, the Lordes returned to their owne, well appeaſed: although of the other articles they could not ſpeede, yet that they had driuen Peter Gaueſton out of the Realme, at this time, it did ſuffice them.

Peter Gaueſton.

Thys Peter Gaueſton was a certaine Gentlemans ſonne of Waſconie: whom being young, king Edward the firſt (for the good ſeruice, his father had done hym in hys warres) receiued to his Court, and placed hym with hys ſonne Edwarde nowe raigning. Who, in proceſſe of time growing vp with him, inceſed and prouoked him to much outrage and wantõneſſe. By whoſe occaſion firſt he began in his fathers dayes, to breake the parke of Walter biſhop of Cheſter, then Chancelour of England, and after executor to the king. For yͤ which ſo doing, the king (as is partly touched before) impriſoned his ſonne, and condemned this Peter to perpetuall baniſhment. Notwithſtanding the young king, after the death of his father (as yee haue heard) ſent for this Gaueſton againe. And with all, ſo perſecuted this foreſayd Biſhop, that he clapt him in yͤ tower, and ſeiſed vpon al his goods. Moreouer, cauſed moſt ſtrait inquiſition to be made vppon him for guiding his office, wherein if the leaſt crime might haue ben found, it would haue coſt him his life. And thus much of Peter Gaueſton, and of his origine. Now to the matter.

The ynordinate affection of the kyng to Peter Gaueſton.

The king thus ſeparated from his old compere (that is from the companie of Peter Gaueſton, nowe exiled into Ireland) continued in great mourning and penſiueneſſe, ſeeking by all meanes poſſible, howe to call him home againe, and conferring with ſuch as were about hym vpon the ſame. Who did inſinuate to the king, that forſomuch as the Earle of Gloceſter was a man well loued and fauored in all the realme, if a marriage might be wrought betwixt his ſiſter and Peter Gaueſton: It might be a meane both for him to obtaine more frendſhip, and for the king to haue his deſire. To make ſhort, Peter Gaueſton in all haſt was ſent for, & the mariage through the kings procuring, proceded betwene the Earles ſiſter, and the foreſayde Peter, albeit ſore againſt the Earles mind. Gaueſton thus reſtored and dignified, was ſo ſurpriſed in pride and exaltation, more then euer before: that he diſdained & derided al other, whoſe rule & power more & more encreaſed. Inſomuch, yͭ he hauing the guiding of all the kings iewels & treaſure, cõueied out of yͤ kings iewell houſe at Weſtminſter a table & a paire of treſſels of gold, vnto certain marchants beyõd the ſea, with other iewels mo to his behoofe: to the great impoueriſhing both of the king & Quene, and of the land. And ouer all that, brought the king (by meane of his wanton conditions) to manifold vices, as aduoutrie, and ſuche other like. Wherfore, the Lords ſeing the miſchief that daily increaſed by occaſion of this vnhappie man: toke they counſell together at Lyncolne, and there concluded to voide him again out of England, ſo yͭ ſhortly after he was exiled againe, and went into Flaunders: for in Fraunce or hys owne country he durſt not appeare, for feare of Philip the French king, to whõ the Queene of England hys daughter had ſent ouer great complaintes, of the ſayd Gaueſton: who had ſo impoueriſhed her & the whole Court, that ſhe had not wherewith to maintaine her ſtate. Vppon whych complaint, the French king through al his dominiõs layd ſtrait watch to apprehend the ſayd Gaueſton: but he not vnwarned thereof, ſecretly coaſted into Flaunders, from whẽce it was not long, but he was ſet againe by the king, as in further proceſſe followeth: ſo much was the kinges hart infatuated by this wicked perſon.

The pride of Peter Gaueſton.

Peter Gaueſton ſpoileth the kynges treaſure.

The queene' complaineth to the frẽch kyng her Father of Peter Gaueſton.

Gaueſton againe excluded out of the land.

About this yeare, or the next before came in firſt the crowched Friers. And alſo began firſt the knightes of the order of S. Iohn Baptiſt, otherwiſe called the knights of Rhodes: for that they, by manly knighthood put out the Turkes from the Iſle of Rhodes.

The crowched Friers. The knighes of S. Iohn, called the knightes of the Rodes.

In the hiſtory of king Edward this kinges father before precedent, mention was made of Pope Clemẽt the 5. who ſucceeded after Benedict: alſo of putting down of the templaries, which in this yeare hapned by the meanes of

Templaries burned at Paris, to the number of 54.
The order of the Templaries put downe.
The horrible ſect of the Templaries.

the French king: who as he cauſed to be burned in the Citty of Paris this yeare, 54. Tēplaries, with the great maiſter of the ſame order: ſo by his procurement the foreſayd Pope Clement called a Councell at Vienna, where the whole order and ſect of Templaries being cōdemned, was ſhortly after by the conſent of all Chriſten kinges depoſed all in one day. After whome, the Frenche king thought to make his ſonne king of Jeruſalem, and to conuert to hym all the landes of the ſayd Templaries: But Clement the Pope would thereto not agree transferring all their lands to the order of hoſpitulers, for the great ſumme of money geuen for the ſame. The cauſe why theſe impious Templaries were put downe was ſo abhominable and filthy that for the reuerence of chaſte eares it were better not told if it be true that ſome write.

An other matter worthy to be noted of like abhomination I thought here to inſerte touching a certayne Nonnery in Fraunce called Prouines, within the which at the clenſing and caſting of a fiſhpond were found many bones of young children and the bodyes alſo of ſome infantes as yet whole vnconſumed: vpon occaſion whereof diuers of the Nunnes of the ſayd Nunnery to the nūber of 27. were had to Paris, and there impriſoned, what became of them afterward I finde not in mine author. Arpontacus Burdegalenſis.

Ciſtercian Monkes for money redeme their exemptions of the pope.

In the the ſame Counſell alſo was decreed by the ſayd Clement, ẏ all religious orders exempted, ſhold be ſubiect vnder the common lawes as other were. But Ciſtercian Monkes with mony and great giftes, redeemed their priuileges and exemption of the pope, and ſo had them graūted Tho. Walſ. Theſe Ciſtercians ſped better herein, then did ẏ Minorites of Franciſcās in theyr ſuite. Of the whiche Franciſcans, when certayne of them had offered vnto the ſayd Pope Clement 40. thouſand florences of gold, beſide other ſiluer, that the Pope woulde diſpence with them to haue landes and poſſeſſions agaynſt their rule: the Pope aſked them where was that money? They aunſwered, in the marchant mens hands. So the ſpace of three dayes being geuen thē to bring forth theſe marchants: the P. abſolued the marchaunts of their bond made to the Fryers, and commaunded all that money to be imployed and reuerted to hys vſe. Declaring to the Fryers, that he would not infringe or violate the rule of S. Fraunciſ lately canoniſed: neither ought he to do it for any money. And thus the beggerly riche Fryers loſt both their money and theyr indulgence. Ex eodem autore.

The Fryers minorites deceiued of Pope Clement.
Ex Chron. Tho. Walſ.
One thiefe beguileth another.

Pope Clemēt excommunicateth the Venetians for making a duke.

Concerning this pope Clement the 5. Sabellicus writeth that he excommunicated the Venecians, for ayding and preferring of Azoda, vnto the eſtate of Ferrary: and wrote his letters throughout all Europe, condemning them as enemies of the Church, and geuing their goods as a lawfull pray vnto all men, which cauſed them to ſuſtaine great harme. But Fraunciſ Dandulus a Noble man of Venice being Embaſſadour from the Venecians to the ſayd Clement, for the obtayning of their abſolution and ſafegard of their Citty and country, and for the pacifying of the popes fury toward them, was fayne ſo to humble himſelfe before this proud tyrannicall Prelate, that hee ſuffered a chaine of yron to be tyed about hys neck, and ſo he lye down flat before his table, and ſo to catch the bones & fragmentes that fell from his table, as it had bene a dog, till the Popes fury was toward them aſſwaged: So that after that, he in reproche (becauſe he ſo humbled himſelfe for the behalfe and helping of his country) was of ſome called a dog. But the Citty of Venice ſhewed themſelues not vnkinde agayn to Dandulus for hys gentle good will declared to his country. For as he had abaſed himſelfe before the vile and ignominious condition of a dog for his Countries ſake: ſo they extolled him with as muche glory agayne being returned home, decking and adourning him after the beſt aray, with the chiefe princely ornamentes of the Citty, to make him amendes for his former reproch receaued. Sabel Ennead. 9. li. 7

The pryde and tyranny of Pope Clement. 5.
Frācis Dādulus humbleth him ſelfe for his countrey.
Out of Sabellic. and is alleaged in the booke named the Image of tyranny.
The pietie of Dandulus to his countrey.
Pietie thākfully rewarded.

Concerning the Conſtitutions of this pope Clement, and of his decretals and Clementines: and how Henricus the Emperour in his dayes was poyſoned in receauing of the Sacrament, ye haue heard before. About this tyme Robert Winchelſey Archbiſhop of Canterbury (whō thys kinges father had baniſhed before) was releaſed and returned home from Rome.

Rob. Winchelſey returned home from baniſhment.

Anno. 1311.

The counting of the yeare was in the old time from Michaelmas to the ſame day againe.

Theſe thinges thus declared, let vs procede (by the Lordes grace) to the next yeare, which is of the Lord. 1311. & the fifth yeare after this kings raygne. In ẏ which yeare compting the yeare from Michelmaſſe, to the ſame feaſt agayne, as then the vſage of the Realme was: Peter Gaueſton, who had wandred the countryes about, & could finde no ſafe reſting place (notwithſtanding he was vtterly baniſhed, vpon forfeiting life and goodes out of the realm, yet truſting vpon the kinges fauour, and the good will of the Earle of Glouceſter, whoſe ſiſter he had maried) ſecretly returning into England with a certain company of ſtraūgers: preſented himſelfe to the kinges ſight. At the beholding of whom, the king for ioy ran to him, and imbracinge him, did not onely retayne him: but alſo for hys ſake vndid all ſuch actes as had bene in the Parliament before, enacted. The Queene and the whole Court ſeeing this doting of the king, made an heauy Chriſtenmas. After this returne of Gaueſton was noyſed among the commons, ẏ Pieres and Nobles of the Realme were not a little ſtyrred, caſting with themſelues, what way were beſt to take. If he were ſuffered ſtil they ſaw not onely themſelues reiected, but alſo that the Queene coulde not enioy the loue of the King, neither could there be any quietnes in the Realme. Again, to ſtir vp warre in the land, it were not the beſt: to vexe or diſquiet the king, alſo they were afrayd. But for aſmuch as they could not abide, all the nobilitie ſo to be thruſt out and vilepended for the loue of one ſtraunger, & alſo the realme ſo to be ſpoyled and impoueriſhed by the ſame: This way they took, that Thomas Earle of Lancaſter, ſhoulde be elected among them the chieftayn and chiefe doer in that buſines: to whom all other Earles and Barons, and prelats alſo did concordly condeſcend & conſent, except onely Walter Byſhop of Couentry, whome Robert the Archbiſhop therfore afterward did excommunicate. Which Thomas of Lancaſter by the publike aſſent of the reſt, ſent to the King (lying then at Yorke) humble petions, in the name aſwell of the whole Nobilitie, as of the commons: Deſiring his grace to geue the foreſayd Gaueſton vnto them, or els according to the ordinance of the Realme, that the land might be auoyded of him. But the tyrannous king, who ſet more by the amour of one ſtraunger then by his whole realme beſide: neither would harken to theyr counſayle, nor geue place to theyr ſupplications: But in al haſty fury, remoued from Yorke to Newcaſtle, where he remayned almoſt till midſommer.

Ex Chron. Tho. Walſ.

The Archb. of Cant excommunicateth the Biſh. of Couentry for holdyng with Peter Gaueſton.

In the meane ſeaſon, the Barons had gathered an hoſt of ſufficient and able ſouldiours, comming toward Newcaſtell: not intending any moleſtation againſt the king, but onely the execution of the lawes vpon wicked Gaueſton. The king not hauing wherwith to reſiſt theyr power: remoueth in all ſpeedy manner to Thinmouth, where the Queene lay. And hearing there that Newcaſtle was taken: taketh ſhipping and ſayleth from thence (notwithſtāding the Queene there being great with childe, with weeping teares and all inſtaunce, deſireth him to tary with her as ſafely he might) but he nothing relenting to her, tooke Peter his compiere with him, and coaſted ouer to the Caſtle of Scarbrough, where he leauing Peter Gaueſton to ẏ ſafe keeping of hys men, himſelfe iournieth toward ẏ coaſt beſide Warwike. The Lordes hearing where Peter was, bendeth thether al theyr power: ſo that at length Gaueſton ſeing no remedy but he muſt needes come into their hands yeldeth and ſubmitteth himſelf: requiring none other condition, but onely that he might talke but a few words with the king in his preſence. Thus Gaueſton being apprehended, the king hearing therof, ſendeth vnto the Lordes, requiring his life to be ſpared: and that he might be brought to his ſpeech, and ſo promiſed, that in ſo doing he would ſatiſfie their mindes and requeſtes, whatſoeuer. About this, aduiſement was taken: but then the Earle of Penbroke hearing the kinges promiſe, perſwaded the Barons to graunt vnto his petition: promiſing himſelf, vpon looſing all his landes to take theyr charge vpon him to be brought vnto the kinges ſpeach, and ſo to be recommitted to them agayne. Which when he had obtained, he taketh Peter Gaueſton with him, to bring him where the king lay. And ſo comming to Dedington, not farre from Warwike, leaueth him in the keeping of his ſouldiours, while he that night went to hys wife, being from thence not farre of.

Peter Gaueſton taken of the nobles.
The kyng entreateth for Gaueſton.
Guy of Warwike.

The ſame night it chaunced, Guido the Earle of Warwike to come to the ſame place where Gaueſton was left: who taking him out of the handes of hys keepers, caryeth him to the Caſtle of Warwike, where incontinent they woulde haue put him to death: but doubting and fearing the kings diſpleaſure, a little they ſtayed. At what time one of the company (a man of ſage and wiſe counſayle as myne author writeth) ſtanding vp among them with his graue Oration declareth the nature of the man, the wickednes of his own condition, the realme by him ſo greatly endamaged, the nobles deſpiſed and reiected, the pride and ambition of the man intollerable, the ruine of things like to enſue by him, and the great charges and expences they had beene at in ſo long purſuing and getting of him. And now being gotten and in theyr handes, he exhorteth them ſo to vſe and take the occaſion now preſent: that hereafter

Peter Gaueſton againe apprehended by Gwy of Warwike.

beyng

being out of their handes, they afterward might ſeeke, and ſhould not finde it.

Peter Gaueſton beheaded.

The corpes of Peter Gaueſton buryed in the kinges Manor of Langley.

Briefly, in ſuch ſort he perſwaded yͤ hearers, that forthwith he was brought out, and by common agreement beheaded in a place called Blakelow, whiche place in other ſtoryes I finde to be called Gaueſhed, but that name (as I thinke was deriued vpon this occaſion, afterwarde. And thus he, that before had called the Earle of Warwicke the blacke dog of Ardeine, was thus by the ſayd dog worowed as ye haue heard. &c. His carkas, the Dominicke Fryers of Oxford had in their Monaſtery interred the ſpace of two yeares: but after that, the king cauſed the ſayd carkas to be taken vpp and buryed within hys owne Mannour of Langley.

After this, great diſturbance began to riſe betwene the king and the Lords: who hauing their power lying about Dunſtable, ſent ſtout meſſenge vnto the king at London, to haue their former actes confirmed. Gilbert Earle of Glouceſter the kinges nephew (who neyther did holde agaynſt the king nor yet agaynſt the Nobles) with the Byſhops and Prelates of the Realme: went betweene both parties with great dilligēce, to make vnitie. At which time alſo came 2. Cardinals from Rome, with letters ſent vnto them from the Pope. The Nobles aunſwered to the meſſage of the Cardinals, lying then at Saint Albans: that as touching themſelues they ſhoulde be at all times welcome to them: But as touching their letters (foraſmuche as they were men vnlettered, and onely brought vp in warre and feates of armes) therefore they cared not for ſeing the ſame. Then meſſage was ſent againe, that they would graunt at leaſt but to ſpeake with the popes legates, which purpoſely came for the intent to ſet quyet and vnitie in the Realme. They aunſwered agayne, that they had biſhops both godly and learned, by whoſe counſayle they would be led only and not by any ſtraungers, who knewe not the true cauſe of ther commotion. And therefore they ſayd preciſely, that they would no foreiners or alians to be doers in theyr buſines, and affayres pertaining the realme. Yet notwithſtāding, through the mediation of the Archbiſhop, and of the Erle of Glouceſter: the matter at length was ſo takē vp, yͭ the Barons ſhould reſtore to the king, or his attourny of S. Albans, all the treaſure, horſes, and iewels of the foreſayd Gaueſton taken at Newcaſtle, and ſo there requeſtes ſhould be graunted. And ſo was the matter at time compoſed.

The Nobles of England cared not for the popes letters.

The Popes Legates not admitted of the Nobles of England.

Shortly vpon the ſame, Iſabell the Queene was deliuered of a fayre child at Windſore, whō Lewes the French kings ſonne (the Queenes brother, with other Frenchmē there preſent) would to be called by the name of the French king: but the Engliſh Lordes were contrary, willing him to be called by the name of Edward hys father. At the birth of whiche Edward, great reioyſing was through all the land, and eſpecially the king his father ſo much ioyed thereat: that he begon dayly more and more to forget the ſorowe and remembraunce of Gaueſtons death, and was after that more agreable to the will of his Nobles.

Anno. 1312.

The kyng ruled by foreine counſayle.

Thus peace and concord betwene them began to be in a good towardnes: which more and more might haue ben confirmed in wearing out of time, had not Sathan the author and ſower of diſcord, ſtyrred vp hys inſtruments (certain Frenchmen, Titiuyllars, and makebates about the kyng) which ceaſed not in carping and deprauing the Nobles, to inflame the kinges hatred & grudge agaynſt them. By the exciting of whom, the old quarrels being renued a freſh, the king in his Parliament called vpon the ſame: began to charge the foreſayd Barons and Nobles with ſedion and rebellion, & for ſlaying Peter Gaueſton. Neither were the nobles leſſe ſtout agayne in defending theyr cauſe declaring that they in ſo doing had deſerued rather thanke and fauour with the king then any diſpleaſure, in vanquiſhing ſuch a publique enemy of the Realme, who not onely had ſpoyled and waſted the kinges ſubſtaunce, but alſo rayſed much diſturbance in the realme. And for aſmuch as they had begon with the matter to theyr ſo great labours & expenſes: they wold proceed further, they ſayd, not ceaſing til they ſaw an end therof. To be ſhort, great threates there were on both parts, and a fowle matter like to haue followed. But agayne through the dilligent mediation of the Queene, the Prelates, and the foreſayd Earle of Glouceſter: the matter was taken vp and brought to reconcilemēt vpon theſe conditions, that the Lords and Barons openly in Weſtminſter hall ſhold humble themſelues before the king, and aſke pardon there of their doinges, and euerye man there to receaue a letter of the kings pardon, for their indemnitie, and aſſuraunce. And ſo paſſed ouer that yeare, within the whiche yeare died Robert Winchelſey Archbiſhop of Canterbury. In whoſe roome, Thomas Cobham was elected by the king and church of Canterbury to ſucceede: but the Pope, caſſating that election, placed Walter Reynald Biſhop of Worceter.

Makebates about the kyng. Mediation for making peace.

The king reconciled againe with his nobles.

Anno. 1313.

What diſcord doth in a common weale.

The Scottes rebel againſt the realme of England.

In the meane tyme, the Scots hearing this ciuill diſcord in the Realme, began to be buſie, and to rebell of new through the meanes of Robert Bruis: who beyng chaſed out of Scotlād, by king Edward the firſt, as is aboue premiſed, into Norway, was now returned again into Scotlād: where he demeaned him in ſuch ſort to yͤ Lords there: that in ſhort proceſſe he was agayne made kyng of the Realme: And warred ſo ſtrongly vppon them that tooke the kinges part: that he wanne from them many Caſtels and ſtrong holds, and inuaded the borders of Englād. The K. hearing this, aſſembleth a great power, and by water entreth the Realm of Scotland. Agaynſt whō he encountred Robert de Bruys with hys Scots at Eſtriuallin, where was fought a ſtrong battayle: in the end wherof, the Engliſhmē were diſcomfited, & ſo egerly purſued by the Scots, that many of the Noble men were ſlayne, as the Earle of Glouceſter, Syr Robert Clifford, Syr Edmund Maule with other Lords to the number of 42. & knights and Barons 227. beſides men of name, which were taken priſoners: of common ſouldiours 10. thouſād, or after the Scotiſh ſtory 50. thouſand ſlayne, After which time, ſir Robert Bruis reigned as king of Scotland.

Engliſh men ouercome by the Scottes.

About which time and in which yeare, dyed Pope Clement, who keeping in the realme of Fraunce, neuer came to the ſea of Rome: after whoſe death the Papacie ſtoode voyde two yeares.

Pope Clement neuer ſate in the ſea of Rome.

Ann. 1314.

The Scots after this exalted with pride and fierceneſ inuaded the realme of Englād ſo ſore killing & deſtroying man, and woman, and child: that they came wyning & waſting the Northpartes as farre as to Yorke. Beſides thys, ſuch dearth of victuals, and penury of all things ſo oppreſſed the whole land, ſuche morayne of ſheepe and Oxen: as men were fayne to eat horſefleſh, dogges, cattes, myſe, and what els they coulde get. Moreouer, ſuche a price of corne followed withall, yͭ the king hardly had bread, for yͤ ſuſtentation of his own houſhold. Moreouer ſome there were yͭ ſtall children and did eate them, and many for lacke of victuall dyed. And yet all this amended not the king of hys euill liuing.

Miſerable death and famine in England.

A deſcription of an horrible famine in the realm of England.

The cauſe and origene of this great dearth was, partly the warres and diſſention betwene them and the Scottes: wherby a great part of yͤ land was waſted. But the chiefeſt cauſe was, the vntemperate ſeaſon of the yeare, which contrary to the common courſe, was ſo moyſt wͭ aboundaunce of rayne: that the graine layd in the earth could haue no ripyng by heate of the ſunne, nor grow to any nouriſhment. Wherby, they that had to eat, could not be ſatiſfied with ſaturitie, but eftſoones were as hungry agayne. They that had nothing, were driuen to ſteale and rob: the riche were conſtrayned to auoyde and diminiſh theyr houſholdes: the poore for famine died. And not ſo much the want of vitayle which could not be gotten, as yͤ vnwholeſomnes of yͤ ſame when it was taken, ſo conſumed the people: that the quicke were not ſufficient to bury the dead. For the corruption of the meates, by reaſō of vnſeaſonablenes of the groūd, was ſo infectious: that many dyed of the fixe, many of hote feuers, diuers of the peſtilence. And not onely the bodyes of men thereby were infected, but alſo the beaſtes by the putrifaction of the hearbs and graſſe fel in as great a morain: ſo farforth, as the eating of fleſh was ſuſpect & thought cōtagious. A quarter of corne and ſalt, from the moneth of Iune to September grew from 30. s. vnto 40. s. The fleſh of horſes was then precious [illegible] the poore. Many were driuen to ſteale fat dogges and to eate them: ſome were ſayde in ſecret corners to eate their owne children. Some would ſteale other mens children to kill them and eate them priuily. The priſoners and theeues that were in bandes, ſuch as newly were brought in vnto them, for hunger fell vpon them, and tearing them in peeces did eate them halfe aliue. Briefly, this extreeme penury had extincted and conſumed (as it was thought) the greateſt part of the people of the land: had not the king by the ſtatute of the Londiners geuē forth commaundement through all his land, that no corne ſhoulde at that tyme be turned to the making of drinke. Such a Lord is God, thus able to do where he is diſpoſed to ſtrike. And yet we miſerable creatures, in our wealth and aboundaunce will not ſurceaſe dayly to prouoke hys terrible maieſty.

Ex Chron. Tho. Walſ. in Vita Edwardi. 2.

The Scottes driuen out of Ireland.

But let vs returne to the order agayne of our ſtory. After the Scottes had thus plagued miſerably (as ye haue heard) the Realme of England: they inuaded alſo Ireland where they kept and cōtinued warre the ſpace of 4. yeares. But in fine, the Iriſhmen (by ayd ſent to them from England) quitte themſelues ſo well: that they vanquiſhed the

Scots

Scottes, and ſlew Edward Bruys, and many of the Nobles of Scotland with many other, and droue the reſidue out of the country.

Anno. 1317.

The king about the 12. yeare of his raigne, aſſembled a new hoſt and went into Scotland, where he layd ſiege to Barwike. But in the meane time, the Scottes by an other way, inuaded the marches of Yorkeſhyre, robbing and harieng the countrey, that they ſlew much people. wherfore, the Archbiſhop of of Yorke, and other Abbottes, Priors, Clerkes, with huſbandmen: aſſembled a great company, and gaue them battell at a place called Mytton, where the Engliſhmen were diſcomfited and many of them ſlayne: but the Archbiſhop, and the Abbot of Selby, and diuers other there eſcaped. But becauſe there were ſo many ſpirituall men there ſlayne, it was called therefore the whyte battayle. By reaſon whereof, the king hearing of this, and partly becauſe wynter did approche, was conſtrayned to breake vp his ſiege, and ſo returned not without great daunger.

The white battaile of the ſpiritual men in York ſhire,

The two Spenſers,

At this tyme the two Spenſers (Syr Hugh Spenſer the father, and Hugh Spenſer the ſonne) were of great power in England, and by the fauour of the King practiſed ſuch cruelty, and bare themſelues ſo haughtely and proud: that no Lord of this land might gainſay them in any thing that they thought good, wherby they were in great hatred and indignation both with the nobles, and the commons, no leſſe then Peter Gaueſton was before.

Two legates ſent from Rome. The Popes pillage. The Popes legates ſpoiled of all their yl gotten treaſure. The Popes curſe cōtemned of the Scottes. The Clergie of Englande denyeth to contribute to the popes legates.

Soone vppon this, came two Legates from Rome, ſent by pope Iohn the 22. vnder the pretence to ſet agreement betwene England and Scotlād: who for theyr charges and expences, required of euery ſpiritual perſon iiij. d. in euery marke. But all theyr labour nothing auailed: For the Legates as they were in the North parts (about Derlinghton) with theyr whole family and trayne: were robbed and diſpoyled of theyr horſes, treaſure apparell, and what elles they had, and with an euill fauoured handling, retired backe agayne to Dureſme, where they ſtaid a while wayting for an anſwere from the Scots. But when neyther the popes Legacy nor his curſe would take any place with the Scottes: they returned agayn to London, where they firſt excommunicated and curſed as blacke as ſoote, al thoſe arrogant and preſumptuous robbars of Northumberland. Secondly, for ſupplying of the loſſes receaued, they exacted of the Clergy to be geuen and paid vnto them viij. d. in euery marke. But the Clergye thereunto woulde not agree, ſeeing it was theyr owne couetouſnes (as they ſay) that made them venture farther then they needed. Only they were contēted to relieue them after iiij. d. in a mark as they promiſed before, further they woulde not graunt. whereof the king being aduertized, and taking part wyth his clergy, directeth his letters to the ſaid Legates in form as followeth Rex Magiſtro Rigando. &c.

REx Magiſtro rigando de Aſterio (canonico Aurelian. Salutem &c. In Engliſhe thus.

A prohibition againſt ſtrange taxes & impoſitions.

The king to maiſter Rigand of Aſſerio (Canon of Aurelia greeting. we haue taken notice of the clamours and lamentable petitions of the ſubiectes of our Realme, perceauing by the ſame that you practiſe many and ſondry inconueniences very ſtraunge: neuer heretofore accuſtomed nor heard of in this our realme, aſwell agaynſt the Clergy and eccleſiaſticall perſons as agaynſt the laytie euen to the vtter oppreſſion and empoueriſhing of many our liege people which if ſhould be wincked at (as God forbid) may in proceſſe of time be occaſion of greater perills to enſue whereat we are (not without cauſe) moued, and not a litle grieued. we forbid you therefore that from henceforth you practiſe not, ne preſume in anye caſe to attempt any thinge within this our Realme either agaynſt our Clergy or laytie, that may any maner of way tend to the preiudice of our Royall perſon or of our Crowne and dignitie Regall, witnes the king at wyndſoure the vi. day of February in the xi. yeare of his raigne. Per Concilium.

Likewiſe in the ſame yeare the ſayd king writeth to the ſame effect to the Archbiſhop of Caunterbury as followeth Rex venerabili in Chriſto Patri. W. eadem gra. Archiepiſcopo Cant. In Engliſh thus.

The king to the reuerend father in God. W. by the ſame grace Archbiſhop of Canterbury 1. primate of Englande greeting. we are credibly enformed by many our ſubiectes that certayne ſtraunge impoſicions neuer heard of before within any our dominions vpō lands & tenemēts, goods and cattels concerning teſtaments and caſes of matrimony are brought into our Realme to be executed vppon our ſubiectes by you or ſome others which if ſhould procede to execution, would manifeſtly tend to the diſheriſō of our Crowne, impeachment of our Crowne and dignitie Regall and the intollerable damage of the ſubiectes of our realms (and to the dew preſeruation of the whiche you are bound by ſolemne othe of alleageance) we therefore commaund and ſtraitly charge you, that you procede not in any caſe to the execution of anye ſuche letters either in your owne perſon nor by anye other, nor yet preſume by colour of the ſame to attempte any thinge that may be preiudiciall or hurtfull to our Crowne or dignitie Regall. And if you or any other in your name haue done or attempted anye thing by colour of the ſame, that ye call back and reuoke the ſame foorthwith without delaye. witneſſe the King at Shene the xvij. of February the xi. yeare of hys raigne.

Per ipſum Regem.

The like letters in effect were directed to the Archbyſhop of Yorke, and to euery other Byſhop through England. By force of whiche letters the greedy Legates beyng reſtrayned of theyr rauening purpoſe taking what they could get, and ſetting a peace (ſuch as it was) betwene the king and the Earle of Lancaſter were fayne to pack. Beſides the reſtraynt aboue mentioned for ſtrange impoſicions there followeth moreouer the ſame yeare the kings prohibitiō for the gathering of Peter Pence directed to the foreſayd Legate the Tenor whereof followeth.

✻ A prohibition of Peter Pence.

Rex magiſtro Rigando &c. In Engliſh thus.

A prohibition for paying the Popes Peter pence.

The king to mayſter Rigand of Aſſerio Canon of Aurelia greeting. we are geuen to vnderſtād that you doe demand and purpoſe to leuye the Peter Peny within our Realme otherwiſe then the ſayd Peter Peny hath bene heretofore accuſtomed to be leuyed in the time of any our progenitours exerciſing herein grieuous cenſures eccleſiaſticall to the great annoyaunce and dannifying of the ſubiectes of our Realme for preſent remedy wherof our louing ſubiectes haue made theyr humble ſupplication vnto vs. And for aſmuch as the ſayd Peter Peny hath bene hetherto accuſtomed to be gathered and leuyed vppon landes and Tenementes within our Realme after a dewe maner and forme we not willing that any ſuch vnaccuſtomed Impoſicions ſhall in any wiſe be made vpon the landes and Tenemēts of any our ſubiects within our dominions: Prohibite you vpon grieuous payne ſtraightly charging that in no wiſe you preſume to exacte gather or leuy the ſayd Peter Peny in any other forme or maner then hath bene heretofore accuſtomed to be gathered and leuied in the tyme of our progenitours or ſince the beginning of our raigne: vntill further order be taken in our high Courte of Parliament by the aduiſe of the Nobles and Pieres of our realm, ſuch as may well be taken without preiudice of our Crowne and damage of ſubiectes. witneſſe the king at weſtminſter the firſt day of march.

Per ipſum Regem & Conſilium.

To the ſame effect letters were directed to the Archbiſhops, Deanes, Archdeacons and the reſt of the clergy. Touching the firſt originall of which Peter pence though mention be made before in the life of king Offa and others: yet to make a briefe recapitulation of the ſame according to the Rolles as they come, to our handes thus it followeth. De Denarijs beati petri ſic ſcriptum. &c. That is to ſay: It is thus found recorded in auncient Chronicles touching the Peter pence of S. Peter, an. 187. Offa king of Mercia trauelled vp to Rome in the time of the Pope Adrian the firſt to obtaine the Canonizing of S. Albone. And hauing performed his vow, viſiting the Colledge of Engliſh Studentes which then floriſhed in Rome, did geue to the maintenance of the ſcholers of England Studentes in Rome, one peny out of euery Tenemēt within this Realme that had land belonging to the ſame, amounting to the yearely value of 30 pence. And for this his munificence he obteined of Pope Adrian that no perſon within his dominiōs publicke repenting him for not performing enioyned penance ſhould therefore be baniſhed.

Reade before in the liues of king Offa, and kyng Adelwulfe.

Anno Domini. 857. Adewulfus Rex Weſtſaxonium tempore Leonis Papæ quarti Rome, ſingulis annis 300. Mancuſas portari precepit, taliter diuidendas ibidem Viz. 100. Mancuſas in honorē ſcilicet petri ſpecialiter ad emendum oleum, quo implerētur omnia Luminaria eccleſiæ Apoſtolicæ in veſpera paſchæ & in galli cantu: & 100. mancuſas in honorem ſcilicet Pauli eiſdem de cauſis. 100. preterea mancuſas precepit exhiberi Vniuerſali Pape ad ſuas Eleemoſinas ampliandas. Et ſciendum quod ſecundum antiquorum Anglorum interpretationem differunt mancuſa, & manca: quia mancuſa idem erat apud eos quod marca argentea: Manca vero erat moneta aria quadra, & valebat communiter 30. denarios argenteos.

Of which Peter Pence is founde a tranſcript of the originall Reſcript Apoſtolicall, the Tenor whereof is this. Gregorius Epiſcopus ſeruus ſeruorum Dei venerabilibus fratribus Cantuar, & Ebor. Archiepiſcopis & eorum ſuffraganeis & dilectis filijs Abbatibus, prioribus, Archidiaconis eorumq; officialibus per regnum Angliæ conſtitutis, ad quos literæ iſtæ peruenerint ſalutem & Apoſtolicam Benedictionem. Qualiter denarij beati petri, qui debentur Camere noſtræ colligantur in Anglia, & in quibus Epiſcopatibus & dioces debeantur, ne ſuper hoc dubitari cōtingat, & preſentibus fecimus annotari, ſicut in Regiſtro ſedis Apoſtlicæ continetur, De Cantuar. dioceſſ. 7.l.18.s. ſterlingorum. De London dioceſſ. 16.l.10.s de Roffenſ. dioceſſ. v.l. 12.s De Norwicenſ. dioceſſ. 21.l.10.s. De Elienum v.l. De Lincol. 42.l. De Ciſtrenſ. 8.l. De Winton. 17.l. 6.s.8.d. De Exon. 9.l.5.s. De Wigorne 10.l.5.s. De Hereforde 6.l. De Bathon. dioceſſ. 12.l. 5.s. De Sareſbur. 17.l. De Couentre. 10.l.5.s. De Eboram. 11.l.10.s Datum apud Vrbem Veterem. 10. Kal. Maij. Pontificatus noſtri. Anno ſecundo.

Summa. 30. marce & dimidi.

Concerning which Peter Pence it is touched in yͤ lawes of King Edward the Sainct chap. 10. when where of whō vnder what payne this Peter Pence muſt be gathered being but the kinges meere almes as is aforeſayd. And thus much touching Peter Pēce. Now for other letters writtē by the K. to yͤ Pope, the ſame yeare for other matters as crauing the popes helpe in compounding the variaunce betwixt the 2. Archbiſhops of Cant. and York for bearing the croſſe from the one prouince to the other, thus it followeth that the king greeuouſly complayneth quod tantæ diſſentiones. i. that ſuche hurly burly and vproare aroſe thereof that they coulde not meete together in one place through the great multitude of armed men aſſiſtants on both partes in the very bearing of the croſſe to the great diſturbance of the people.

Now after this longe digreſſion to tourne to our Engliſh matters agayne mention was made before of the variaunce betweene the king and the Earle of Lancaſter and of a peace concluded betwene them. But this peace did not long endure: which the king by his owne default did break ſending to the Scots a priuy meſſenger) which was taken in the way) to haue the foreſaid Earle of Lancaſter by their meanes, made away. &c.

The pryde of the Spenſers.

In the mean time, the Lords and nobles of England deteſting the outragious pride of yͤ Spēſers, wherby they wrought dayly both great diſhonor to the king and hindraūce to the cōmon weale: in ſuch wiſe conſpired againſt them, that gathering their power together, they made a requeſt to the king, that he ſhould remoue the Spenſers frō his perſon. For the which, there was a Parliament called at London, & the Barons came together with a great cōpany. At which Parliament both the Spenſers were baniſhed the land for terme of their liues: and they took ſhipping at Douer and ſo voided the land. But it was not lōg after, but the king (contrary to that ordinance made in the Parliament) ſent for the Spenſers agayne, and ſet them in high authority, & ruled all thinges after their ſenſuall appetites, nothing regarding iuſtice nor the cōmmō wealth. wherfore, yͤ Barons entēding agayn to reforme this miſchief, aſſembled their powers: but the king (making ſo haſty ſpeed, and gathering his people ſo ſoone) was ſtronger then they, & purſued thē ſo in diuers places: that the Barons not fully ioined together (ſome flying, & ſome departing to the king, ſome ſlayne by the way) in the end were chaſed ſo egerly: that in ſhort ſpace, the foreſayd Thomas Earle of Lancaſter was taken & put to death wͭ the reſt of the nobility, to the number of 22. of the greateſt men, and chiefeſt Captaines of this realme. Of whom onely, Thomas Earle of Lancaſter for the nobility of his bloud, was beheaded: All the other Lords and Barons, were hanged drawn & quartered. &c. which bloudy vnmercifulnes of yͤ king toward his naturall ſubiects, not only to him procured great diſhonor within the realme, but alſo turned afterward to his much more greater harm & hinderance, in his forreine warres agaynſt the Scots: And finally wrought his vtter confuſion and ouerthrow of his ſeat royall, as in the ſequell of his end appeared, and worthely.

Anno. 1321.
That Thomas Earle of Lancaſter came of Edmund, younger ſonne of K. Henry. 3.
22. of the greateſt nobilitie of the realme, put to death by the kyng.

Anno. 1322.
The cruell reioyſing of the kyng.

After the ruine of theſe noble perſonages: the king as though he had gottē a great cōqueſt (who then in deed began firſt to be ouercomen and conquere himſelf, when he ſo oppreſſed and cut of the ſtrength and ſinews of his chiualrye) began to triumph not a litle with his Spenſers: And to coūt himſelfe ſure as though he were in heauen, to exerciſe more ſharpe ſeuerity vpon his ſubiectes, truſting and committing all to the counſell onely of the foreſayd Spenſers: in ſo much, that both the Queene and the reſidue of yͤ other nobles could litle be regarded. who as they grew euer in more contempt with the king: ſo they encreaſed in more hatred agaynſt the Spenſers: but ſtrength & hability lacked, to worke ther will.

Anno. 1323.

The next yeare, the king being at York, after he had made Sir Hugh Spenſer Erle, and Syr Iohn Baldocke a man of euill fame to be Chauncellour of England: he thē arrared a mighty hoſt agaynſt the Scottes. But for lack of ſkilfull guiding, expert Captaynes, and for want ſpecially of due prouiſion of vitayles neceſſary for ſuch an army: the great multitude, to the number reckoned of an hundreth thouſand (wandring through Scotland, from whence the Scots, had conuayed all theyr goods and cattell into mountaynes, and marſhes) were ſo pynched and ſterued with famyne, that a great part of the army, there preſently periſhed: and they that returned home, as ſoone as they taſted of meates, eſcaped not. The king neither hauing reſiſtance of his enemies, and ſeing ſuch a deſtruction of his ſubiects: was forced without anye acte done to retyre. But in his retiring, Sir Iames Duglas and the Scottes hauing knowledge therof, purſued him in ſuch wiſe: that they ſlue many Engliſhe men, and had well neare taken the Kyng himſelfe. After whiche diſtreſſe, the king thus beaten and wearyed with the Scottes, woulde fayne haue ioyned in truce with the Scottes: but becauſe they ſtoode excommunicate by the pope he ſtanding in feare therof deſireth licēce to entreate with them of peace, the ſayd excommunication notwithſtanding whiche licence beyng obtayned, a treaty was appoynted by commiſſioners on both parts at Newcaſtle at the feaſt of Sainct Nicholas next enſuing and ſo truce was taken for 12. yeares whereupon this is to be noted by the way (gentle reader) not vnworthy of obſernation that wheras in former tymes and eſpecially of the late king Edward the firſt, ſo long as the Scottes were vnder the popes bleſſing, and we in diſpleaſure with his holines for dealing with them, ſo long we preuayled mightely agaynſt them, euen to yͤ vtter ſubuerſion in manour of their whole eſtate. But nowe ſo ſoone as the Pope tooke our part, & the Scots were vnder his curſe and excommunication. Then gat they greater victories againſt vs then any time either before or ſithence, in ſomuch as being before not able to defend them ſelues agaynſt vs, they nowe purſued vs into the bowels of our owne country.

The king diſtreſſed again in Scotland.

The king purpoſing to erect a houſe of Fryers Auguſtines within the towne of Boſton in Lincolneſhyre firſt prayed the popes licence in that behalfe.

Polydorus Virgilius, an Italian wryter of our Engliſh ſtories.

Polidorius Virgilius among other hiſtories of our Engliſh nation which he intermedleth withall, proſecuting alſo the actes and life of this preſent King, and comming to write of the Queenes goyng ouer into Fraunce: inferreth much varietie and diuerſitie of autours and ſtory writers, concerning the cauſe thereof. Otherwiſe, he geueth hymſelf no true certainty of that matter, neyther yet toucheth he yͭ which was the cauſe in deede. By reaſon partly, that he being an Italian and a foreiner, coulde not vnderſtand our Engliſh toung. And partly agayne being but one mā neyther coulde he alone come to the ſight of all our Latine autours. One I am ſure came not to his peruſing, an old ancient Latine hiſtory fayre written in parchment (but without name) belonging to the library of William Cary Citizen of London. In which ſtory, the truth of this matter wͭout all ambiguitie is there fully and with all circumſtaunces expreſſed, as here briefly is excerpted.

Anno. 1324.

The king of England had bene diuers & ſundry tymes cited vpp to the Courte of Fraunce, to doe homage to the French king, for the Dukedome of Aquitane & other lands which the king then helde of Fraunce. whiche homage becauſe the king of England refuſed to tender: the French K. began to enter al ſuch poſſeſſions as the king then did hold in Fraunce, whereupon, great contention and conflictes there were on both ſides. At length in this yeare now preſent, a Parliament was called at London. where (after much altercation) at laſt it was determined: that certayne ſhould be ſent ouer, to witte the Biſhops of wincheſter, and Norwich, and the Earle of Richmond, to make agreement betwixt the two kinges. For the better help and fortification of which agreement, it was thought good afterward: that Queene Iſabell, ſiſter to Charles then yͤ Frēch king ſhold be ſent ouer. where is to be noted firſt that the Queenes landes, poſſeſſions and caſtles a little before vpon the breach betweene the Frenche king and the Kyng of Englande, were ſeiſed into the kinges handes, and the Queene put to her penſion. &c. Thus the Queene beyng ſent ouer with a few, to attend vpon her, onely Syr Iohn Cromwell Baron, and 4. knightes, tooke theyr paſſage into Fraunce: by whoſe mediation, it was there concluded that the king of England (if he would not himſelfe come to do his homage) he ſhould geue to his ſonne Edward, the

The queene put to her penſion.

The queene ſent to Frāce Prince Ed-

Duke-

Prince Edward made duke of Aquitaine, and Earle of Põtine.

The queene & the prince refuſe to returne into England.

The queene & the prince proclaymed traytours in England.

Dukedome of Aquitanie, and the Earledome of Pontine and ſo he to come to make his homage to the king, and to poſſeſſe the ſame. This being in Fraunce concluded, was ſent ouer by meſſage to the king of England, with yͤ kings letters patentes adioyned for the ſafe conduct of him or of his ſonne. Upon this, deliberation was taken in the counſaile of England. But the two Spenſers fearing to take the Seas eyther with the king, or els without the king to remayne behinde for feare of the nobles: ſo appoynted, that Prince Edward the kings ſonne was ſent, whiche happened after to theyr vtter deſolation, as it followed. For all thinges being quieted & ordered according to yͤ agreement in Fraunce, K. Edward of England ſoone after Michaelmas, ſendeth for his wife and his ſonne agayne out of Fraunce. But ſhe ſending home moſt part of her family, refuſeth her ſelfe to returne. For what cauſe it is not fully certayne, whether for indignation that her poſſeſſions and landes were ſeiſed to the King, as is afore premiſed: or whether for feare and hatred of the Spenſers, as is likely: or els for loue and familiaritie of Syr Roger Mortimer. For here is to be noted, that the ſayd Syr Roger Mortimer, with diuers other of the Barõs part, which had broken priſon in England, were fled before into Fraunce, and now reſorted vnto the Queene. The king ſeeing this, geueth forth in proclamation, and limitteth a certayne day to yͤ Queene and his ſonne to returne: or els to be proclaymed traytours to the King and to the Realme. Notwithſtanding, the Queene perſiſting in her purpoſe, denyeth to returne, vnleſſe the other Nobles which were fled, might be permitted ſafely alſo to returne with her. Whereupon, the king immediately cauſed them both to be proclaimed traytours, and all them that tooke their partes.

The King conſpired priuely the death of the Queene and of his ſonne.

Anno. 1325.

Prince Edward betrothed to the Erle of Heynawdes daughter.

Anno. 1324.

The queene returneth to England.

The landing of the queen

Anno. 1326.

The k. deſtitute of help and ſoldiors.

Here then began great hatred betwene king & king, betweene the king & the Queene, much preparation of warre great ſpoyling on the ſea, much ſending betweene the pope & thẽ, but that would not ſerue. Then the K. (by the counſayle of the Spenſers) ſendeth priuily to procure the death of the Queene and of his ſonne: which ſhould be wrought by the execution of the Earle of Richmond, yͤ Queenes familiar. But as the Lord would, that imaginatiõ was preuented and vtterly fruſtrate. Albeit, the Queene yet notwithſtãding, whether miſdoubting and fearing what corruptiõ of mony might do in the court of Fraunce: or whether the French king being threatned by the king of England, and by the Pope, durſt not deteine her: ſhe remoued from thence, & was receaued with Edward her ſonne ioyouſly and honourably, in the Court or country of the Erle of Henawde. Where by meanes of ſuch as were about her a mariage was concluded betweene the ſayd Edward her ſonne being of the age of 14. yeare, and Phillip the foreſayd Earles daughter. When this was noyſed in Eng. diuers men of honor & name came ouer to the Queene. And ſoone after the Erle of Haynawde prepared a crew of 5. hundred men of armes to ſet ouer the young Prince wͭ his mother into England. Of this, the fame ſprang ſhortly through the realm. Wherfore, the K. in all defenſable wayes made promiſiõ to haue the hauens and portes of his land ſurely kept, for to reſiſte the landing of his enemies. On the contrary ſide, the Queene with no leſſe preparation prouideth all things to her expedition neceſſary. Who when ſhe ſaw her tyme, ſpeeding her ſelfe to the Sea coaſt with Prince Edward her ſonne, Lord Edmund Earle of Kent the Kings brother, Syr Roger Mortimer, the Lord Wygmore and other exiles of Englãd, accompanied alſo with the foreſaid Hainawders, of whõ Syr Iohn Henawd the Earles brother was Captayne of Engliſhmen & ſtraungers hauing with her, the nũber of 2757. ſouldiours ſhe tooke ſhipping in thoſe partes, & had the winde ſo fauorable, that they landed in England at a porte called Orwel beſide Harwich in Suffolke, in the Dominion of the Earle Marſhal the moneth of September. To whom after her landing reſorted Earle Marſhall, the Earle of Leiceſter, with other Barõs Knightes, and Byſhops alſo: namely of Lincolne, Hereforde, Dureſme, and Ely: The Archbiſhop of Caunterbury though he came not himſelfe, yet ſent his ayde and money. Thus the Queene well furniſhed with plenty both of men and vitaile, ſetteth forward towarde London: ſo that the further ſhe came the more her number dayly encreaſed, and the kinges power contrary, decreaſed, inſomuch that as mine author affirmeth, not one almoſt in all the Realme could be hyred with any wages to fight on the Kinges behalfe agaynſt the Queene. Neither did the Queenes army hurt any man or childe, eyther in goodes or any other thing, by the way.

The anſwer of the Londiners to the kyng.

At the arriuing of the Queene, the King was then in London, whiche firſt would not beleue it to be true. Afterward (ſeeing and perceauing how it was) he aſketh helpe of the Londiners. Who after mature aduiſement, rendred this aunſwere to the king agayne: that as touching the King, the Queene, and their ſonne (the lawfull heyre of the kingdome) they were ready withall duety and ſeruice to honour and obey. As for ſtraungers and traitors to the realm, they would receaue none ſuch within theyr Citie gates. Furthermore to goe out of the City to fight, that they ſayd they would not, vnles it were ſo, that according to yͤ liberties of their city, they might returne home againe before ſonne ſet. The king hearing this aunſwere (whiche liked him not well) fortifieth the Tower of London wyth men & vitaile: committing the cuſtody thereof to Iohn Eltham his yonger ſonne, and to the wife of Hugh Spenſer his niece. And leauing Walter Stapleton Byſh. of Exeter behinde him to haue the rule of the city of London: he himſelfe hearing dayly the great recourſe of the people that drew to yͤ Queene: For more ſafegard to himſelfe, fled wͭ a ſmall cõpany weſtward toward Wales. But before his departing frõ London, he cauſed a proclamation to be made: wherin, all & ſinguler perſons were charged vpon forfeite of life & goods: euery man wͭ all his power to riſe & inuade the rebelles & deſtroy them all, onely the life of the Queene his ſonne, and his brother reſerued. Alſo that no man, vpõ payne pretarate, ſhould helpe, reſcue, or relieue the ſayd rebels, with goodes, vitailes, or any otherwiſe. Item, it was alſo proclaymed, that whoſoeuer would bring to the King the head and body either dead or aliue of Sir Roger Mortimer: ſhould haue out of the kinges cofers, M. pounds.

The liberties of the citie of London in going out to warre.

The kings proclamation.

The Queenes proclamation.

In contrariwiſe, the Queene ſetteth forth an other proclamation, wherein it was forbidden, to take ſpoyle violently the value of any mans goodes agaynſt the will of the owner, vnder payne of looſing his finger, if it were 3. d. Of his hand, if it were 6. d. Of his head, if it were 12. d. Moreouer who ſoeuer would bring to the Queene the head of Hugh Spenſer the yonger chopt off from his body: ſhould receaue for ſo doing of the Queene 2. thouſand poundes. This done, the Queene ſendeth her letters to the City of London for ayde and ſuccour to ſubdue the oppreſſor of the Realme, to the which letters firſt no anſwere was made. Agayn, ſhe wrote the ſecond letter, which was then tacked vpon the croſſe in Cheape, which was then called the new croſſe. The copy and tenour of which letter was this.

✽ *The copie of a letter that the Queene ſent* vnto the Mayor and Citizens of London.

The Queenes letter.

ISabell by the grace of God, Queene of England, Lady of Ireland, and Counteſſe of Pountif. And we Edward the firſt ſonne of the King of England, Duke of Guyan, Earle of Cheſter, of Pontif, and of Mounſtrell, to the Mayor and all the comminaltie of London ſendeth greeting. Foraſmuch as we haue before this time ſent to you by our letters, and howe we come into this lande in good aray and good maner, for the profite of holy Church and of our right deare Lord and king, and all the Realme with all our might and ſtrength, to keepe and mayntayne the Realme as all good people ought for to do. Vpon that we pray you and deſire you that ye woulde be helping to vs for the health and profite of the Realme, and we haue had none aunſwere of you, nor knowe not your will in that parte. Wherefore we ſend to you agayne and pray you, & charge you, that ye bear you ſo againſt vs, that ye haue nor make no cauſe vs to greue, but that ye be to vs helping in all the wayes that you may. And wete ye well in certaine that we and alſo thoſe that commeth with vs into this realme, nothing for to done, but that ſhall be pleaſing to God, and common profite to al the Realme. Not els, but for to deſtroy the Spenſers, enemyes to the Realme as ye well know. Wherefore we pray and charge you, in the fayth that ye owe to our Lord the king to the Crowne and to vs, and vpon all that ye may forfeite, that if Hugh Spenſer both the father and the ſonne our enemies come within your power, that ye do thẽ haſtely to be take, & ſafly kept, til we haue ordeined for them our will. And as ye deſire profite and honour of vs, and of the Realme. Vnderſtanding well if it be ſo that ye doe our deſire and prayer, we ſhall the more be beholden to you. And alſo we ſhall doe you profite and worſhip if that ye ſend vs haſtely worde agayne of our will. Geuen at Baldocke the ſixt day of October.

The Biſhop of Exeter beheaded of the commons at the ſtanderd in Cheape. This B. of Exeter builded in Oxford 2. Colledges, Exeter Colledge, and Hart hall, whoſe name was Gualter Stapleton.

These foreſayd letters being publiſhed and peruſed, the Biſhop of Exceter, to whom (as ye heard) was committed the rule of the City: ſent to the Maior for theyr keyes of the gates, vſing ſo ſharpe wordes in the kinges name: yͤ variaunce began to kindle betwene him and the Citizens, ſo farre forth that the commons in theyr rage tooke the foreſayd Byſhop and beheaded him and two of his houſholde at yͤ Stãdard in Cheape. Then the king went to Briſtow, and ordayned ſir Hugh Spẽſer the father there to keep the

Caſtell

Hugh Spenſer the father, takē and hanged in chaynes.

Caſtle and the towne: and the king with Hugh Spenſer the ſonne, and Syr Robert Baldocke Chauncellour, & the Earle of Arundell went into wales. And the Queene ſo purſued them, that firſt they tooke the towne yelded vp to her: Then they tooke ſyr Hugh Spenſer the father, whom being drawn, and torne, they at laſt hanged vp at Briſtow in chaynes of yron. As the king was thus flying, yͤ queene cauſed to be proclaymed through her army, that the Kyng ſhould come and appeare, and ſo to receaue his kingdome agayne if he woulde be conformable to his liege ſubiectes. Who when he did not appeare, Prince Edward his ſonne was proclaymed high keeper of the Realme.

The king taken in Wales. Hugh Spenſer the ſonne taken and executed.

In the meane tyme Henry Earle of Lancaſter, & brother to the good Earle Thomas which before was beheaded, alſo Lord william Souch, and M. Vpphowell were ſent by the Queene into wales to purſue the king: & there tooke him, and ſent him to the Caſtell of Kenelworth: And tooke Hugh Spenſer the ſonne, and Sir Robert Baldock Chauncellour, and ſir Iohn Earle of Arundell, & brought them all to the towne of Hereford, And anone after, Hugh Spenſer the ſonne was drawn and hanged on a gallowes fiftye foote highe, and after beheaded, and quartered, whoſe quarters were ſent into 4. quarters of the Realme. Syr Iohn of Arundel was beheaded, ſir Robert Baldock was put in Newgate at London, where ſhortly after he pyned away and dyed among the theeues. This done, a Parliament was aſſembled at London, from whence meſſage was ſent to the Kyng, that if he would reſigne vp his Crowne, hys ſonne ſhoulde haue it after him: If not, an other ſhold take it to whom the lot would geue it. Whereupon, the king being conſtrayned to yelde vp his Crowne to hys ſonne was kept in priſon and after had to Barkley: where he is ſayd to take great repentance. After this meſſage beyng ſent, and the king halfe condeſcending thereunto (the Parliament notwithſtanding proſecuting and goyng forward) there was a bill exhibited and put vp contayning certayne articles agaynſt the ſayd Kyng, then in priſon in the Caſtle of Barkley, touching his miſbehauiour and imprudent gouerning of the realme: whiche bill, openly before all the Lordes and commons by the ſpeaker of the Parliament houſe was read. After long conſultation thereof amongeſt themſelues touching thoſe articles, and alſo for the better and more circumſpect gouernment of the Realme from that tyme forth: it was conſulted and agreed vppon by the Lordes ſpirituall and temporall, and commons there aſſembled: that they ſayd Edward was a man not meete to be their Kyng, nor from that tyme forth anye more to beare the Crowne royall or title of a Kyng. But that Edward hys eldeſt ſonne, who there in the ſame court of high Parliament was preſent, as he was rightfull heyre and inheritor therunto: ſo ſhould he be crowned king therof in hys fathers ſteade, with theſe conditions thereunto annexed: That he ſhould take wiſe, ſage, and true Counſellers vnto him. That the Realme might be better and more circumſpectly gouerned: then before in the tyme of Edward his father it was: That the old King his Father ſhould be honourably prouided for and kept, ſo long as he liued, according as vnto his eſtate it appertayned. &c. Theſe and other things thus finiſhed and ended, the Parliament breaketh vp, and all thinges neceſſary to the coronation of a Prince appertayning were in ſpeedy wiſe prepared, whereof more hereafter (Chriſt willing) ſhalbe ſpecified.

A bill exhibited in the parliament houſe againſt king Edward the ſecōd.

King Edward depoſed by conſent of the parliament houſe, and his ſonne Edw. choſen kyng.

In the meane tyme as touching the king whiche was yet in priſon, it is thought by ſome writers: that the next yeare following by the meanes of ſyr Roger Mortimer, he was miſerably ſlayne, with a ſpit (as is ſayd) being thruſt vp into his body, and was buryed at Glouceſter, after he had raigned xix. yeares.

Michael houſe in Cambridge founded, Henry Stauntō founder of Michael houſe in Cambridge.

In the time and raigne of this King, the Colledge of Cambridge called Michaell houſe was founded and builded by Syr Henry Stantō Knight, to the vſe and increaſe of learning: a thing in a common wealth very profitable And neceſſary to be had, the want and need wherof, many ſondry times, is ſooner felt in this realme of ours, and other Realmes abroad, then is the diſcommoditie therof, of moſt men commonly vnderſtoode.

Nicolaus de Lyra.

Gulielmus Ocham.

About the ſame time alſo, was Nicholaus de Lyra, which wrote the ordinary gloſe of the Bible. Alſo Gulielmus Ocham, a worthy diuine, and of a right ſincere iudgement, as the times then would either geue or ſuffer.

Tyranny odious to the people.

In the tractation of this kings hiſtory, before was declared what grudge did kindle in the harts of the Barons agaynſt the king, for reuoking ſuch actes and cuſtomes, as had bene before in the Parliament eſtabliſhed, both for Peter Gaueſtō, & for yͤ two Spenſers. Alſo what ſeuere puniſhment the king did execute vppon them for the ſame, in ſuche cruell and rigorous ſorte, that as he ſpared none of them, whom he could there finde: ſo he neuer ceaſed all hys life after to enquire out and to be reuenged of all ſuche, as had bene in any part or conſenting to that matter. For the which his extreme and implacable tyranny, he was in ſuch hatred of all the people: that as he ſayd, he coulde not fynde one of all the commons to take his part, when need required. Among all other which were for that matter troubled was one Adam Byſhop of Hereford: who being impeached of treaſon with other moe, was at length areſted in the Parliament, to appeare and anſwere to that ſhould be to him obiected. Many thinges there were layde agaynſt him, for taking part with them that roſe agaynſt the Kyng with matters moe and haynous rebukes &c. Whereunto, the Byſhop a great while aunſwered nothing.

A ſpiritual Biſh. called and areſted before a ſecular iudge.

Ex Tho. Walſing.

The forme of wordes, when any Biſh doeth chalenge the priuiledge of the church againſt a ſecular iudge.

At length, the Byſhop clayming the liberties and priuiledges of the Church, anſwered to the king in thys form. The due reuerence of your Princely maieſty euer ſaued, Ego Sanctæ Eccleſiæ Dei miniſter humilis, membrum eius, & Epiſcopus conſecratus licèt indignus ad tam ardua nequeo reſpōdere nec debeo, abſq; D. Cant. Archiepiſcopi poſt ſummum pontificem mei directi iudicis, cuius etiam ſum ſuffraganeus, autoritate, & aliorum parium meorum Epiſcoporum conſenſu. That is I an humble miniſter and member of the holy Churche of God, and Byſhop conſecrate (albeit vnworthy) cannot, neither ought to anſwere to theſe ſo hye matters without the authoritie of the Archbiſhop of Caunterbury my direct iudge, next vnder the high Biſhop of Rome, whoſe ſuffragane alſo I am, and the conſent likewiſe of the other my fellow Biſhops. After which wordes by him pronounced, the Archbiſhop and other Byſhops with him were ready to make humble interceſſion for hym to the king, and did. But when the king would not be wonne nor turned with any ſupplication: the ſayd Byſhops together with the Archbiſhop and the Clergy, comming with their croſſes: tooke him away, challenging him for the Churche, without any more anſwere making: charging moreouer, vnder the cenſures of the Churche and excommunication, none to preſume to lay any further handes vpon him. The king moued with thys boldnes and ſtoutnes of the clergy: cōmandeth notwithſtanding to proceede in iudgement, and the iury of 12. men to go vppon the enquiry of his cauſe: who finding and pronouncing the Biſhop to be gilty, the kyng cauſed immediately al his goods & poſſeſſiōs to be cōfiſcate vnto himſelfe: moreouer, made hys plate and all his houſholde prouiſion to be throwne out of his houſe into the ſtreete, but yet he remained ſo ſtil vnder the protection and defence of the Archbiſhop. &c.

The Biſhop reſcued by the Clergie.

The K. proceedeth in iudgement againſt the B. the priuilegies of the church notwithſtādīng to the contrary.

Simon Mepham archb. of Cant.

This Archb. was Walter Winchelſey, after whom ſucceeded Simon Mepham in the ſame ſee of Caunterbury. an. 1327. Ex Thom. Walſingham.

Pope Iohn 22. a Monke Ciſtercian. A new ſolid hereſie. Hereſy with the Pope to ſay that Chriſt & the Apoſtles had no proper poſſeſſions here.

After pope Clement the 5. by whoſe deceaſe the Romiſh ſee ſtood vacant (as ye heard) two yeares and 3. moneths next was elected Pope Iohn 22. a Ciſtercian monke, who ſate in that papacy 18. yeares. He was ſtout and inflexible, geuen ſo much to the heaping of riches: that he proclaymed them heretickes, whiche taught that Chriſt and hys Apoſtles had no poſſeſſions of theyr owne in thys world.

Strife betweene the pope & the Emperour.

At this time was Emperour Ludouicus Bauarus, a worthy man: who with this Pope and other that folowed hym, had no leſſe contention, then had Fredericus before mentioned in the time of king Henry the thyrd. Inſomuch that this contention and variaunce continued the ſpace of 24. yeares. The cauſe and firſt origene of this tragical conflicte, roſe vpon the conſtitution of Clemēt the 5. predeceſſor to this pope, by whom it was ordayned as is afore mētioned, that Emperours by the Germayne Princes elected, might be called kinges of the Romaynes, but might not inioy the title or right of the Empyre to bee nominated Emperour, without theyr confirmation geuen by the Pope. Wherefore, this foreſayd Emperour becauſe he vſed the emperiall dignitie in Italy, before he was authoriſed by the pope: the ſayd Pope therefore excommunicated the Emperour. And notwithſtanding, the Emperoure oftentimes did profer himſelf to make intreaty of peace and cōcorde, yet the Pope inflexible woulde not bend. The writinges of both partes yet be extant, wherein the ſayd Byſhop doth make his auaunt: that he had full power to creat and depoſe kinges and Emperours at his pleaſure. In the ſame time were diuers learned men, which ſeing the matter: did greatly diſalow the Biſhop of Romes doynges, among whome was Guilerne Ocham, whoſe tractations were afterward condemned by the Pope, for writing agaynſt the temporall iuriſdiction of theyr ſee. And an other named Marſelius Patauius, which wrote the booke intituled Defenſor pacis, geuen vp to the handes of the ſayd Emperour, wherein the controuerſie of the Popes vnlawful iuriſdiction

The Emperour crowned againſt the will of the pope.

Pope Benedictus 12. a Monke of Benedictes order.

Ludouicus the Emperour depriued and depoſed by Pope Benedict. 12.

A councel at Frankford.

The Emperours proteſtation to the councell of Germany.

Ex Hieron. Mario. Et ex Crātzio.

iuriſdiction in things temporall is largely diſputed & the vſurped authoritie of that ſee ſet forth to the vttermoſt. It is found in ſome wryters, that a great cauſe of this variaunce firſt began, for that one of the Emperours ſecretaries, vnknowing to the Emperour: in certayne of hys letters, had likened the Papal ſee to the beaſt riſing out of the ſea in the Apocalips. At length, when the Emperour after much ſute made to the pope at Auinion, could not obtayne his coronation: comming to Rome, was there receaued wͭ great honour, where he with his wife were both crowned by the full conſent of all the Lordes and Cardinals there, and moreouer, an other pope there ſet vp, called Nicholas the fift. After which thinges done, the Pope not long after departed at Auinion in France, after whom ſucceeded then Benedictus 12. a monke of Benedicts order, and rayned 7. yeares. who by the counſayle of Phillip the French kyng confirmed and proſecuted the cenſures and curſinges that Iohn his predeceſſour had publiſhed agaynſt Lewes the Emperour: Moreouer depriued him of his Emperiall Crowne, and alſo of hys Dukedome of Bauaria. The Emperour vpon this commeth to Germany, and aſſembling the Princes electors, Dukes, Biſhops, Nobles, and the learned in a councel at Francford: there declared before them out of the auncient lawes and cuſtomes of the Empire, how it ſtandeth onely in the Princes Electours, and in none other to elect the K. or the Emperors of the Romaines (for in both theſe names was no difference) ſo that the ſame Electors in chuſing the king of the Romaynes, did alſo elect and chuſe the Emperour. Whiche Emperour ſo by them conſtitute had lawfull right, without any information of the Apoſtolicall ſee, to exerciſe the adminiſtration of the Empyre. And if he were lawfully elect, ought to be annoynted of the Romayne Byſhop: which if hee doe refuſe, then might hee be annoynted and declared Emperour and Auguſtus by any other Catholicke Biſhoppe thereunto appoynted (as by the olde maner and cuſtome hath bene) eſpecially ſeeing theſe iniunctions, are but certaine ſolēnities added and inuented by the biſhops, onely for a token of vnitie betweene the church & Empire, to gouerne and defend the fayth together. Wherefore in that the Emperour ſweareth to the biſh. of Rome: in that is to be vnderſtand no homage or fealtie made to the Biſhop, but onely is a Sacrament & a promiſe geuē to defend the faith. The which oth or ſacrament ſo geuen, giueth no maioritie to the Pope in any temporal rule, but only byndeth yͤ Emperour to be prieſt and ready to defend the fayth & churche of Chriſt, when need ſhall require obedience. Wherefore, where as the Pope leaneth onely to the electors authoritie to make the K. of Romaynes, and taketh vpon himſelfe alone to make the Emperor that as it is newly brought in & deuiſed a late by pope Clemēt the 5. ſo is it contrary both to all auncient order, and alſo derogatorie to the libertie & maieſty of the ſacrate Empire. Agayne, neither is that alſo leſſe abſurd and contrary to all right and reaſon: yͭ the pope in time of the imperiall ſeat being vacant, taketh vpon him to haue the whole & full doinges of the Empyre, as lawful Emperour for the time. Which prerogatiue and function, by auncient orders of our forelders, ſhuld properly & onely appertayne to the Palatine of Rhene, the Conſtitution Clementine of the foreſayd Pope Clement to the contrary notwithſtanding. Then in the end for his own excuſe, he in the preſence of them al reciteth the publike confeſſion of his fayth, to anſwere & purge himſelf of thoſe obiections layde to him by the pope. This did the meeke Emperour Ludouicke in that Councell: yet all this not withſtanding, the ſayd Emperour remayned ſtill excommunicate, till tyme variaunce fel betweene this pope Benedict and Philip the French king. Wherfore to make his party good, at leaſt to haue ſome friendes to flee to: he began to pretend fauour & abſolution, rather for neceſſitie, then for anye good will to the Emperour. But not long after, this Pope died: of whō this Epitaph was made.

Ex Chron. de 6. mundi ætatibus, intitulus: Rudimentum nouitiorum.

Hic ſitus eſt Nero laicis mors, vipera clero,
Deuius a vero, cupa repleta mero.

Pope Clement. 6.

The trouble of Ludouick the Emp.

After whome followed Pope Clement the ſixt, a man moſt furious and cruell. Who renuing agayne the former excommunications of hys former predeceſſors, cauſed hys letters to be ſet vp on Church dores, wherein he threatned & denounced moſt terrible thunderboltes agaynſt the ſayd Lewes the Emperour, vnleſſe within three dayes he ſhold ſatiſfie to God and the Church, and renounce the Imperiall poſſeſſion of the crown. The Emperour vpon this, cōmeth to Francford, and there ready to ſtand in al things to the ordinaunce of the pope: ſendeth his Oratours to the court of Rome, to entreat the pope of his fauour and good will towardes him. To the whiche meſſengers the Pope anſwered againe, that he would neuer pardon the Emperor, before he gaue ouer and confeſſed his errors & hereſies and reſigning vp his Empire to his handes, would ſubmit himſelfe, his children, and all his goods to the will and pleaſure of the biſhop, promiſing that he ſhuld not receiue agayn any part of the ſame, but vppon his good grace, as his will ſhould be to reſtore them.

Hereſie of the Popes making obiected againſt the Emperour.

The hereſie here mentioned, which was to this Emperour obiected by the pope was this: becauſe (as is aboue touched) he vſed and executed the Imperiall dignitie after his election, before he was of the pope confirmed. Ouer & beſides the Pope ſendeth to the Emperour by the ſayd Oratours, a certayne forme of a bill contayned in writing wͭ certaine conditions, which he commaunded to be geuen to the handes of the Emperor. Here if the Emperour Lewis had had as much minde to ſet vpon the Pope with dint of ſword, as he lacked neyther occaſion nor power ſo to doe: what bloud might here haue bene ſpilled? But the good Emperour ſparing the effuſion of bloud, receiueth gently the bill: and not onely with his ſeale doth confirme it, but alſo ſweareth to obſerue all yͤ conditions therof. Which the pope hearing of, doth greatly maruel. But yet al this wold nothing help to mollifie the modeſt heart of this Pharao.

The proude heart of the Pope.

The Princes and electors ſeeing the bill of the articles and conditions, whereof ſome ſounded to malicious defacing and deſtructiō of the Empire, abhorring the wickednes therof: deſired the Emperour to ſtande to the defence of the Imperial Dominion, as he had begon: promiſing that their aſſiſtance & ayde, to the vttermoſt thereunto ſhould not lack. Upon that other Orators were ſent to P. Clement from the Princes, deſiring hym to abſtaine from ſuch maner of articles conceaued agaynſt the ſtate and maieſty of the Empyre. The pope ſurmiſing all this to ſpring from Lewes the Emperour, to the vtter ſubuerſion of him and all his poſteritie: on Maundy thurſday bluſtereth out moſt black curſes agaynſt hym, alſo renueth al the former proceſſes of his predeceſſor agaynſt hym, as agaynſt both an hereticke & a ſchiſmaticke, commaunding moreouer the Princes electors to procede in chuſing a new Emperour. The Archbiſhop of Mentz ſeeing the innocency of the emperour, would not conſent to the violating of his maieſty, wherefore was depriued by the Pope of all his dignities. The other biſhops electors, as the Archb. of Cholē, which tooke 8. thouſande markes, with the Duke of Saxonye whiche tooke 2. thouſand markes, beyng corrupted with mony by Iohn king of Boheme: elected Charles the ſonn of the ſayd Iohn, whome Pope Clement eftſoones in hys conſiſtory did approue. Who ſeeth not here what matter was miniſtred by the P. of warre and bloudſhed betwene theſe 2. Emperours, if the patience of Ludouicke had not bene more prudent to quench the fire, then the pope was to kindle it? Charles then the new Emperour elect, ſped hym to Aquiſgraue, according to the cuſtome, there to be crowned. But by the Citizens there, and the Empreſſe (Ludouicus wyfe keeping there about) was repelled. All this happened in the time and raigne of Edward the 3. King of England, with whō the ſayd Charles, with the French k. and king of Boheme, ſet on by the P. encountred in warre where the king of England, had agaynſt them a noble victory, and ſlue a great number of the Frenchmen and Almaynes, and put Charles the new Emperor to flight. In the meane tyme, among the Princes and Citties of Germany what ſorrow and what complayntes were agaynſt pope Clement and thoſe electors, it cānot be expreſſed. For as they were altogether at Spires congregated in a generall aſſembly, ſo there was none among them al: yͭ allowed the election of Charles, or that cared for the popes proceſſe, promiſing all to adhere & continue faithful ſubiects to Ludouicke their lawful Emperour. But Ludouicke remembring his oth made before to the popes bill, voluntary and willingly gaue ouer his Emperiall dignitie, and went to Burgrauia, where ſhortly after, through the procured practiſe of pope Clement (as Hieronimus Marius doth write) poyſon was geuen him to drinke. After the whiche beyng dronke, when he would haue vomitted out, and could not: took hys horſe & went to hunt the beare, whereby through the chafing & heat of his body to expell yͤ venim. And there the good & gentle Emperour wickedly perſecuted & murdered of the P. fel downe dead, whom I may wel recount among the innocent and bleſſed martyrs of Chriſt. For if yͤ cauſe being righteous doth make a Martyr, what Papiſt can iuſtly diſproue hys cauſe or fayth? if perſecution ioyned thereunto cauſeth martyrdome, what martyre could be more perſecuted thē he? who hauing 3. popes, like 3. bandogs vpō him, at length was deuoured by the ſame. The princes then hearing of his death, aſſembled themſelues to a

Lewes the Emperour accuſed by the Pope for an hereticke.

A good & faithfull Archbiſh. of Mentz.

Bribers corrupted with mony.

The pope ſower of diſcord and bloudſhed.

The pope again ſtirreth vp warr.

Charles the new Emperor put to flight by the Engliſhmen.

Ludouike the right Emperour reſigneth vp hys Empyre.

Ludouike the Emperour impoyſoned.

Ludouicus Emperor & martyr.

Gunterus de Monte Nigro made Emp.

new election: who refuſing Charles aforeſayd, elected an other for Emperor, named Gunterus de Monte Nigro. Who ſhortly after falling ſicke at Franckford through his phiſitions ſeruaunt was likewiſe poyſoned, whome the foreſayd Charles had hyred with money to worke that feate. Gunterus taſting of the poyſõ, although he did partly caſt it vp agayn, yet ſo much remained within him, as made him vnable afterward to ſerue that place. Wherfore for cõcordes ſake being counſailed thereto by the Germaynes, gaue ouer his Empire to Charles. For els, great bloudſhed was like to enſue. This Charles thus ambiciouſly aſpiring to the Emperiall ſeat contrary to the mindes of the ſtates, and pieres of the Empire, as he did wickedly & vnlawfully come by it: ſo was he by hys ambitious guiding, the firſt and principall meane of the vtter ruine of that monarchie. For that he to haue his ſonne ſet vp Emperour after him, couenanted and graunted to the Princes electours of Germany, all the publicke taxes & tributes of the Empire. Which couenaunt being once made betwene the Emperour & them, they afterward held ſo faſt, that they cauſed the Emperour to ſweare neuer to reuoke or cal back again the ſame. By reaſon whereof, the tribute of the countryes of Germany, which then belonged onely to the Emperor, for the ſuſtentation of hys warres: euer ſince to this day is diſperſed diuerſly into the handes of the Princes, and free citties within the ſayd monarchie. So that both the Empyre beyng diſforniſhed and left deſolate, & the Emperors weakened therby: hauing neyther bene able ſufficiẽtly ſince to defend themſelues, nor yet to reſiſt the Turke, or other forren enemies. Whereof a great part, as ye haue heard, may be imputed vnto the popes. &c. Hieronimus Marius.

Gunterus the right Emperour poyſoned.

The ruine of the Germaine Empire, and the firſt cauſe thereof.

The yeare of Iubilei reduced to the L. yeare.

This Pope Clement firſt reduced the yeare of Iubeley to euery 50. yeare, which before was kept but on ẏ hundreth yeare. And ſo he being abſent at Auinion (whiche he then purchaſed with hys money to the ſea of Rome) cauſed it to be celebrated at Rome, an. 1350. In the whiche yeare were numbred of peregrines goyng in, and comming out euery day at Rome, to the eſtimation of fiue thouſãd. Præmonſtrat. The bull of pope Clement geuen out for this preſent yeare of Iubiley, proceedeth in theſe wordes as followeth. What perſon or perſons ſoeuer for deuotiõ ſake: ſhal take their perigrination vnto the holy Citty, the ſame day when he ſetteth forth out of hys houſe, he may chuſe vnto him what cõfeſſor or cõfeſſors eyther in ẏ way, or where els he liſteth: vnto ẏ which cõfeſſors, we graunt, by our authority plenary power to abſolue all caſes papal, as fully as if we were in our proper perſon there preſent. Item, we graunt that whoſoeuer being truely confeſſed, ſhall chaunce by the way to die, hee ſhall be quite and abſolued of all his ſinnes. Moreouer, we commaund the Angels of Paradiſe, to take his ſoule out of his body being abſolued, and to cary it into the glory of Paradiſe. &c. And in an other Bull, wee will (ſayeth he) that no paine of hell ſhal touche him, graunting moreouer to all and ſingular perſon & perſons ſigned with the holy croſſe, power and aucthoritie to deliuer and releaſe iij. or iiij ſoules, whome they liſt themſelues, out of the paines of purgatorie. &c.

Pilgrimes in the yeare of Iubilei at Rome.

The abhominable & blaſphemous bull of pope Clement.

The pope commaundeth the Angels.

O blaſphemy of the Pope.

Ex bulla Clementis.

Ex Chrõ. Walſ. in vit. Edu.3.

This Clement (as mine author affirmeth) toke vpon him ſo prodigally in his Popedome, that hee gaue to hys Cardinals of Rome, Byſhoprickes and benefices, whych then were vacant in England: and begã to geue them new titles for the ſame liuinges hee gaue them in Englande. Wherewith the king (as good cauſe he had) was offended, and vndid all the prouiſions of ẏ pope within his realme: Commanding vnder pain of priſonment and life, no man to be ſo hardy, as to induce & bring in any ſuch prouiſions of the pope, any more within his lãd. And vnder the ſame puniſhment charged the two Cardinals to void ẏ realme. An. 1343. In the ſame yeare all the tenthes as well of the templaries as of other ſpirituall men, were geuen & paide to the king through the whole realme. An. 1343. And thus much cõcerning good Ludouicke Emperour and martyr, & Pope Clement ẏ 6. his enemy. Wherin, becauſe we haue a little exceeded the courſe of yeares, wherat we left, let vs returne ſomewhat back agayn, and take ſuch things in order as belong to the church of the England and Scotland, ſetting forth the reigne of king Edward the 3. and the doinges of the Church, which in hys time haue happened, as the grace of Chriſt our Lord, will aſſiſte and able vs therunto.

The king reſiſteth the pope.

The tenthes of Church goods giuen to the kyng.

{ Anno. 1326. }

This foreſayd king Edward the ſecond, in his time builded 2. houſes in Oxford for good letters: to wit, Oriall colledge and S. Mary Halle.

Oriall colledge and S. Mary hal in Oxford builded by K. Ed 2.

A ſtory of the commotion betweene the towne and Abbey of Bury.

Here I omit alſo by the way the furious outrage and conflict which happened in the time of this king, a litle before his death, an. 1326. betweene the towneſmen and the Abbey of Bury, wherein the towneſmen gathering themſelues together in a great multitude (for what cauſe or old grudge betweene them, the Regiſter doth not declare) inuaded and ſackt the monaſtery. And after they had impriſoned ẏ monkes, they rifled the goodes and treaſure of the whole houſe, ſpoyling and carying away theyr plate, mony, copes, veſtimentes, ſenſers, croſſes, chaliſes, baſens, iewels, cups, maſers, bookes, wͭ other ornaments and implementes of the houſe, to the value vneſtimable. In the which conflict certayn alſo on both ſides were ſlayn. Such was the madnes then of that people, that when they had gathered vnto them a great concourſe of ſeruaunts & light perſons of that country to the number of 20. thouſand, to whom they promiſed liberty & freedome: by vertue of ſuch writs whiche they had out of that houſe, firſt they got into their hands all theyr euidences, copies & inſtruments, that they could finde: then they tooke of the lead, that done, ſetting fire to the Abbey gates they brent vp neare the whole houſe. After that they proceeded further to the farmes and granges belonging to the ſayd Abbey, wherof they waſted ſpoiled and brent to the nũber of 22. manour places in one weeke: tranſporting away the corne, horſes, cattell, and other moueables belonging to the ſame, the price wherof is regiſtred to come to 922. li. 5, s. 11. d. beſides the valuation of other riches and treaſure within the Abbey, which cannot be eſteemed.

Ex latino quodam Regiſtro.

The Abbot all this ſpace was at London in the parliament, by whoſe procurement at length ſuch reſcue was ſent down, that 24. of the chiefe of the towne (ſubmitting thẽſelues) were committed to warde: 30. cartes full of the towneſmẽ were caryed to Norwiche, of whome 19. were there hanged, diuers were put to conuict priſon. The whole townſhip was condemned in ſeuen ſcore thouſand pound, to be payd for damages of the houſe. Iohn Berton Aldermẽ, W. Hering wͭ 32. prieſts, 13. women & 138. other of ẏ ſayd town were outlawd. Of whõ diuers, after grudging at ẏ Abbot for breaking promiſe with thẽ at London, did confederate themſelues together, & priuily in the night cõming to the mannour of Cheninton, where ẏ Abbot did lye: braſt open the gates, who then entring in, firſt bounde all his familie: & after they had robbed al his plate, iewels and mony, they tooke the Abbot and ſhaued him, & ſecretly wͭ them conueyed him away to London: where they remouing him from ſtreet to ſtreete vnknowne, from thence had him ouer Thames into Kent, at length ouer ẏ ſea they ferried ouer to Diſt in Brabante: where they a ſufficient tyme kept him in much penury, miſery and thraldome, till at length the matter being ſearched, they were all excommunicate, firſt by the archb. of Cant. then by the pope. And at laſt being knowen where he was by his friends, was deliuered and reſcued out of the theeues handes, and finally brought home with proceſſion, and reſtored to his houſe agayn. And thus was that abbey with the Abbot of ẏ ſame (for what demerites I know not) thus vexed and afflicted about this tyme, as more largely I haue ſeene in theyr latine regiſter. But thus much briefly, touching the reſt I omit here, about the latter end of this Edward the 2. ceaſeth the hiſtory of Nic. Triuet, and of Flor. Hiſt paſſing ouer to the raigne of the next king.

The Abbot robbed.

The Abbot ſtolne away to Brabante.

The Abbot reſtored againe.

King Edward the 3.

Concerning the acts & ſtory of K. Edward the 2. his depoſing, & cruell death, wrought by the falſe and counterfet letter of ſir Roger Mortimer, ſent in the kings name to ẏ keepers (for ẏ which he was after charged, drawne, & quartered.) I haue written ſufficiently before, and more peraduenture thẽ the profeſſion of this Eccleſiaſticall hiſtory will well admit. Notwithſtanding for certayne reſpects & cauſes, I thought ſomewhat to extend my limittes herein the more, wherby both kings & ſuch as clime to be about them may take the better example by the ſame, the one to haue ẏ loue of hys ſubiects, the other to learne to flee ambition, & not to beare themſelues to brag of theyr fortune and ſtate, how hye ſo euer it be. Conſidering with thẽſelues nothing to be in this worlde ſo firme and ſure, that may promiſe it ſelfe any certayne continuance, & is not in perpetuall danger of mutatiõ vnles it be faſtened by God his protection.

King Edward the 3.

{ Anno. 1327. }

After the ſuppreſſion of this king, as is aboue expreſſed Edward his ſonne was crowned king of England, beyng about the yeare of 15. & raygned the ſpace of 50. yeares, who was a prince of much and great temperance. In feates of armes very expert, and no leſſe fortunate and lucky in all hys warres, as hys father was infortunate before him. In liberallitie alſo and clemẽcy worthely cõmended, briefly in all princely vertues, famous and excellẽt. Concerning the memorable acts of which prince, done both in warres and peace, as how he ſubdued ẏ Scots, had great victoryes by the ſea, how he conquered Fraunce. an.1332. wan Calice, an.1348. and traſlated the ſtaple thither, tooke the French king priſoner, & how the French armes firſt by him was brought in, & conioyned with the Engliſh armes, alſo how the order of the Garter firſt by the ſayd K. was inuented and ordayned, an.1356. alſo an.1357. How the king in hys parliament at Notingham, decreed, that al ſuch in Flaunders or other where, that had ſkill in making cloth, ſhould peaceably inhabite the land and be welcome. For 3. yeares before ẏ, it was enacted, that no wool ſhold be tranſported ouer the ſea. which was to bridle the pride of ẏ Fleminges who then loued better the ſackes of wooll, then the nation of Engliſhmẽ. All theſe with other noble acts of this worthy Prince, although in other chronicles be fully intreated of: yet according to that order I haue begun (ſaying ſomewhat of ech kinges raigne, although not pertinent to our eccleſiaſtical hiſtory) I haue here inſerted the ſame, making haſt to other matters, ſhortly & compendiouſly abridging them out of diuers & ſundry authors together compacted, mentioned in this wiſe.

The defiance of the kyng of Scots.

The coronation and ſolemnity of K. Edward the third and all ẏ pompe therof was no ſooner ended: but Robert of Bruſe K. of Scotland, vnderſtanding the ſtate and gouernment of ẏ realme to be (as it was in deed) in ẏ queene, the yong king, the Erle of Kent, and ſir Roger Mortimer And that the Lords and Barons, as he was enformed, did ſcarſely wel agree amongſt themſelues (although he grew now in age, and was troubled with the falling diſeaſe) yet thought he this a meet tyme for hys purpoſe, to make inuaſion. Hooping for as good ſucceſſe & like victory now, as but lately before he had at ẏ caſtle of Euſtriuelin. whervpõ about the feaſt of Eaſter, he ſent his Embaſſadours wyth Heralds and letters of defiance to the yong king Edward the 3. the Queene, & counſaile: declaring that his purpoſe was wᵗ fire and ſword to enter and inuade the Realme of England. &c. The K. Queene, and counſaile hearing this bold defiance, commaunded in all ſpeedy preparation muſters to be made throughout all the realme: appoynting to euery band captaines conuenient, & at the city of York by a day aſſigned them, commaunding euery man to be with all their neceſſary furniture ready and throughly prouided They directed their letters alſo with all ſpeede to ſir Iohn of Heynault, requiring him with ſuche ſouldiors and men at armes as he might conueniently prouide in Flaunders, Heynalt, and Brabant, to meete the king and Queene vpon the Aſcention day next enſuing at their City of Yorke.

The K. and Queene at Yorke, with an army of 6000. men, readie to meete the K. of Scottes entring the realme.

The king & Queene made ſpeedy preparation for thys expeditiõ: The noble men prouided thẽſelues of all things neceſſary therunto: the Engliſh captaynes and ſouldiors (theyr bands throughly furniſhed) were redy at theyr appoynted time and place: Sir Iohn of Heynalt, Lord Bedmount muſtring his men as faſt, was ready to take ſhipping: where at wyſant (in Engliſh Bothoms there lying for him redy) he wẽt aboard, and wᵗ a mery winde landed at Douer, trauailing frõ thence by ſmall iournies dayly, tyll he came wᵗin 3. dayes after the feaſt of Pentecoſt to the City of Yorke: where the king and Queene wᵗ a great power of 6000. men (within and about the City of Yorke) expected his comming: Before whome, in curteous wiſe he preſented himſelfe, and muſtred his troupe, wherein he had to the number of 500. good men at armes wel appointed & moũted. His comming and furniture was well liked both of ẏ king & Queene, & was by the Harbinger, appointed to be lodged with his houſholde retinue in the Abbey of whyte mõkes. To be briefe, ſuch grudge and variance fel betwene ſome of the kings ſouldiors and his, within the ſuburbs of the towne being together lodged: That from the little to ẏ more, whiles the king & Queene with diuers other of the nobles, (ſtraungers & others) were at dinner: the ſaid fray ſo greatly increaſed, that the whole army as many as wer in the town then lodged, ſtood to their defence: ſo that there was ſlain of the engliſh archers in ſhort ſpace by the ſtrangers to the nũber of 300. men. wherupõ grew (after ẏ fray was wᵗ much difficultie both of the king & Queene ended) ſuch hartburning betwene the parties: as that the number of 6000. conſpired together agaynſt thẽ: thinking to haue burnt them in theyr lodginges, had they not bene by the great grace of God & diſcrete hãdling, otherwiſe preuented & let. wherupõ the Heynolders were fayne to take & keep the field, vſing as diligẽt watch and ward, as though they had bene among theyr hoſtile enemies. After this, the king ſet forward his army toward Durham, & encamped hymſelfe neare about the ſame: who alſo ſent the Lord Vfford & the Lorde Mowbry to Carlell with a ſufficient company to keepe that entrance: and alſo the Lord marſhal of England to keepe the towne of Newcaſtle with a ſufficient cõpany to defend the ſame, and the country adioyning. For well knew the king, that by one of theſe two entries, the Scottes muſt paſſe into England, ſtanding both of them vpon the riuer of Tyne, 24. miles diſtant.

The great fraye in Yorke.

Carlile and new Caſtle then the keyes of England. Northward kept with Gariſons.

The Scots priuely paſſe ouer the riuer of Tine, burning and ſpoyling the countrey all about.

But the Scots priuily with their army paſſed the riuer betwixt the two townes into Englãd, few vnderſtanding thereof, till that the great fyers which the Scots had kindled and made in England bewrayed them: who came burning and deſtroing the country al about as far as Stãnop park. This thing being declared to the king, he commaundeth hys hoſt with all ſpeede to march towards thẽ, which ſo long trauailed ẏ they came in ſight ech of other. The K. alſo commaunded the paſſages of ẏ riuer to be ſo ſtraitly & narrowly garded, that by no meanes ẏ Scots could retire and haue eſcaped back againe into Scotland, without battaile geuen them of the K. But the Scots vnderſtanding the great power of the king was of, kept alwayes the aduantage of the hils retiring in the nightes frõ one to an other: that wᵗout great oddes & aduauntage in the one ſide & hazard to the other, the king could not ſet vpon them.

The kings armie and the Scottes are ſo neare that eche ſeeth other.

Thus in the day tune the Scots keeping the aduauntage of the hilles, and in the night times retiring to the aduauntage of ſuch other like came neare agaynſt that riuer where they firſt paſſed ouer, where they made a ſhew to offer battaile to the K. vpon the morow. wherupon the king being buſied in putting his mẽ and battailes in a readines to fight the next morning, being almoſt forweried in purſuing the Scots frõ place to place: the Scots in the meane ſeaſon gat ouer the riuer and eſcaped the daunger of the K. which thing as it could not be done: without great treaſõ of ſome neare about the king: ſo ſir Roger Mortimer was grieuouſly ſuſpected thereof, and after was layd vnto hys charge. But to be ſhort, by this meanes the Scots eſcaped the riuer, after whome it ſhould haue preuayled the King very little to haue made purſute as the wily Scots knew full well. For the ioy wherof, ẏ L. william Douglas one of the Scots Generals, wᵗ 200. horſes gaue a larum in the kings camp: & came ſo neare, ẏ he cut certayne of the lynes of the kings tent in ſunder wᵗ his ſword, and retired to hys company without great loſſe of any of his mẽ. Then on the morow the king perceauing the Scots to be gone, came to the place where ouer night they lodged, where was found 500. great Oxen and Kyne ready killed: fiue hundred Caudrens made of beaſtes ſkinnes ful of fleſh, ouer the fire ſeething: a thouſands ſpeetes full of fleſhe ready to be roſted, and more then 10000. ſhoes of raw leather (the heare ſtill vpon the ſame) whiche the Scottes had left behinde them: and fiue poore Engliſh priſoners tyed to trees & theyr legs broken. All which ſeeing the king, returned wᵗ hys armye (and left anye further purſuing the Scottes) to Durham: where he diſmiſſed his army, and came agayne to London ſending with Syr Iohn of Heynalt two hundred men at armes for theyr better ſafegard againſt the engliſh archers (with whom at Yorke as you heard they frayed) till they had taken ſhipping, and ſo returned home.

The Scots thorough treaſon eſcape out of Englande vnfought withall.

The prouiſion left in the Scots campe.

The king returneth to London.

The king then being at London, confirmed the liberties of the Citizens, and ordayned that the Maior ſhoulde ſit in all places as chiefe Iuſtice within the liberties of the ſame. And that what Alderman ſoeuer had beene Mayor before, ſhould be a Iuſtice of peace within his own ward.

Then the king, the Queene, and the counſell ſent ouer to the Erle of Heynault certayn Embaſſadours, touching the ſolemniſation of the mariage betwene the king and the Lady Philip his daughter: who in ſuch ſort ſped their meſſage, ẏ ſhe was ſoone after conueied ouer to England very honourably, and at Douer arriued. And from thence came to London (ſome Chronicles affirme to Yorke) where vpon the day of the conuerſion of S. Paule, the yeare aboue ſpecified, the mariage and coronation of the Queene was wᵗ much triumph during the ſpace of 3. weekes ſolemniſed.

The mariage of K. Edward ſolemniſed.

A parliament at Northampton.

After which coronation and mariage, the king let ſommon his Parliament to be kept at Northampton: wherat by the meanes of ſir Roger Mortimer and the old queene, a peace was purchaſed for the Scottes (who had for that purpoſe ſent theyr Embaſſadours) for foure yeares to endure. Alſo the king (then beyng within age) granted to releaſe the Scottes of al theyr homage and fealty which vnto the realme of England by theyr charter enſealed they were bound: as alſo theyr indenture which was called the Ragman Role, wherin was ſpecified the forelayd homage and fealtie to the king and crown of England, by the ſayd king of Scots, nobles and prelates to be made: hauing all their ſeales annexed to the ſame. Alſo there was then deliuered vnto them, the black croſſe of Scotland, whiche king Edward before for a rich Iewell and relique had conquered & brought from Scone Abbey: with all ſuche rites and titles as anye the Barons els, had enioyed in the ſaid Realme of

The Ragman role deliuered vp to the Scots.

The black croſſe of Scotland. The Barons geue vp their titles in Scotlãd

A parliament at Saliſbury.

Earle Henry of Lancaſter refuſeth to come to the parliament.

Scotland: with many other things more: to the great preiudice both of the Realm & diſcontentation of al the nobles and Barons for ỹ moſt part more then the old queene, ſyr Roger Mortimer, and the Byſh. of Ely. who in ſuch ſorte ruled the roſt, ỹ al the reſt of the nobles & barons, caſt with thẽſelues how beſt they might redreſſe & remedy the great inconueniences, ỹ vnto the realme by meanes of thẽ grew and happened. wherupon the king & Queene and ſir Roger Mortimer, cauſed an other Parliament to be called at Saliſbury, where the ſaid ſyr Roger Mortimer was made Earle of March agaynſt all the barons wils, to preuent & diſapoynt the foreſayd purpoſe of them, but the Erle Henry of Lancaſter with others, woulde not be at the ſame: wherefore it was layd vnto theyr charges, that they went about to conſpire the kinges death.

The Earle of Kent put to death giltles.

The Queene with childe by ſir Roger Mortimer.

Sir Roger Mortimer Earle of March, arraigned, condemned and put to execution.

The queene put in priſon and ſo kept a long time

And further, for that the king was as well vnder the gouernment of the Erle of Kent his vncle, as the Queene hys mother, and the Earle of March: & for that, they could not doe in all thinges as they liſted for the ſayd Earle the kinges vncle, who loued the king and the Realme: Enuie began to riſe betweene the Earle Mortimer and him, and by Iſabell the Queenes practiſe, he founde the meanes to perſwade the king: that the Earle of Kent (to enioy the Crowne as next heyre vnto the king) went about to poyſon him. wherupon the king geuing light credite, cauſed his ſaid vncle to be apprehended: & wͭout anſwere making to his accuſation & accuſers, to be beheaded at Wincheſter, the third of October and 3. yeare of hys raigne. But ỹ iuſt iudgement of God not permitting ſuche odious crimes in him to be vnpuniſhed nor vndetected, ſo in fine fell forthe: that Iſabell the old Queene the kings mother, was found and vnderſtood to be with childe by the ſayd Mortimer. Complaynt hereof was made to the K. as alſo the killing of king Edward hys father, and of the conſpiracy of hym againſt the Earle of Kent the kinges vncle before put to death: whereupon diuers other articles layd agaynſt hym and manifeſtly read in the court, he was araigned and indighted, and by verdit found gilty: hauing his iudgement as in caſes of high treaſon, and ſuffered death accordingly at London, where vpon London bridge next vnto Spenſers, his head obtayned a place. The Queene hys mother alſo (by good aduiſe of hys counſell) was reſtrayned of her libertie, and within a certaine caſtell not permitted once to come abroad: Unto whõ the king her ſonne, once or twiſe a yeare would reſort and viſite.

The birth of prince Edward.

This yeare, Prince Edward was borne at Woodſtock who in proceſſe of tyme and yeares grew, to be a moſt valiaunt prince, and was before he dyed, accompted throughout the world the follower of chiualry.

The expedition of king Edward into Scotland.

The Scottiſh rimes.

K. Edward waſteth and deſtroyeth the realme of Scotlande.

Barwicke beſieged and yeelded vp to the king.

After this, the king prepared an other army into Scotland in the yeare prefixed. But firſt he ſūmoned king Dauid of Scotland, who had (in the laſt truce 4. yeares to cõtinue as you heard, his father then liuing) maryed the Lady Iane, ſiſter to the king: termed Iane make peace, to doe his homage to the king but that he refuſed. wherupon, not forgetting there withall the ſcoffing rymes, whiche dayly from that tyme of truce the Scots had in theyr mouthes: he did ſomuch that with an army well furniſhed, he entred Scotland by the riuer of Twede, for the Scottes had then the poſſeſſion of ỹ town of Barwick: the Scottiſh Gigges & rimes were theſe. Long beards hartles, Paynted hoodes witles, Gay coates graceles, Makes England thriftles. To be ſhort, the king waſted the land, burnt, deſtroyed, & took townes and caſtels with ſmall reſiſtance or none: and the ſpace of 6. monthes together did in that land what hym liſted without any battaile offered to him. For the Kyng of Scots was but a child & not aboue they age of 15. yeares and wanted good captaines that ſhould haue defended the realme: in ſo muche ỹ they were all fayne ſauing thoſe that kept in holdes for theyr defence to take the forreſt of Godworth, & there kept to themſelues ſo long as the king remained in Scotland: who at length when he had ſufficiẽtly waſted, and ſpoyled, & brent the ſame, returned toward Barwicke, about the which he bent his ſiege, vowing not to remoue the ſame, till he had gotten the towne.

The K. entreth the towne of Barwicke & appointeth the captaine therof.

The Scots that kept the ſame, after a certayn tyme and many aſſaultes made, were contented vpon certayne conditions to haue deliuered vp the towne: But that the King refuſed, vnles that all conditions ſet apart, they woulde wͭ bag and bagage depart. wherevpon they condeſcended to the king, that if by a certayne tyme they were not by the king of Scottes reſcued, they would render vp the towne and with bag and bagage depart: & and ſo the time expired fruſtrate of all hope & reſcue, at the day appointed they did. The king then entred the towne and taried there the ſpace of 12. dayes: who after he had appointed ſir Edward Bailiew Captayn ouer the towne and leauing alſo behind him other Knightes, Squires, and Souldiors as well to keep the ſame as other holdes the king had conquered in Scotland and fronters therof: He returned with his people towardes London, permitting euery man to depart and go what way them liked.

Sir Rob. de Artois a noble man of Fraunce inciteth the K. to proſecute his title in Fraunce.

The king deliberateth with his councell cõcerning the title of Fraunce.

Then ſir Robert de Artoys, a Noble man of Fraunce, and which deſcended of the bloud royall, being in Englãd with the king: ceaſed not oftentimes to aduertiſe the kyng and put him in memory of his good & right title to the inheritaunce of the crowne of Fraunce. This ſir Robert, for a certayne diſpleaſure that Phillip the French king tooke agaynſt hym for a certayn plea which by hym was moued before the king: was fayne for the ſafegard of hys life to flee the Realme of Fraunce, and ſo came to the kinges Court. King Edward was not vnwilling at all to heare thereof, but took delight oftentimes to reaſon and debate that matter with him concerning his right, title, and inheritance to the crowne of France. But yet notwͭſtanding, he thought it not good to make any attempt therunto without aduiſed and circũſpect counſaile, for that it contayned matter of no ſmall, but moſt difficult importaunce: neyther yet he tooke it to deſerue the fame eyther of wiſedome or prowes to let ſo good a title dye, or ſo fit oportunitie to paſſe. wherefore he calling together certayne of his counſayle, vſed their deliberate aduiſes touching the ſeriouſnes of this matter. In fine, it was by them thought good, ỹ the king ſhould ſend certayne Embaſſadours ouer to the Earle of Heynault, whoſe daughter he had maryed, as wel to heare hys aduiſe and counſell herein: as alſo of what friendes and ayde, by him & his meanes in this ſo great an expeditiõ to be begon in the Empire, to him might be procured. The king hereunto cõdeſcendeth, & appointeth for this Embaſſage ỹ byſhop of Lincolne with 2. other Barenets, and 2. Doctors: who in ſuch ſpeedy wiſe made theyr voyage, that in ſhorte ſpace they returned agayne to the king with this anſwere That not onely the Earle hys counſaile & aduiſe, ſhould be herein preſt to the king of England theyr maiſter, but alſo the whole cõtry of Heynault. And further for that to ſuch an expedition as appertained he ſayd, the prouince of Heynault was but a ſmall matter to make accõpt of: he woulde procure for the king greater ayde & friendſhip in the Empire, as the Duke of Brabant his couſin Germaine, and a puiſſant Prince, the Duke of Guerles, the Archbiſhop of Colayne, the Marques of Iuliers. &c. which are all good men of warre, and able to make 10. thouſand fighting men ſayth he. which aunſwere well liked the king, and made him ioyous therof. But this counſaile of the king as ſecret as it was, came to Phillip the French kinges eares: wherupon, he ſtayd the voiage of the Croſie whiche then he had in hand, ſending forth countermaundes to ſtay the ſame, til he knew farther the purpoſe of the king of England.

Embaſſadors are ſent to the Earle of Heynalt concerning the title.

The Embaſſadours returne with anſwere frõ the Erle that pleaſeth the kyng.

K. Philip of France heareth of the kings purpoſe, and ſtayeth his viage of the Croiſie.

The king hereupon himſelfe taketh ſhipping accompanyed as to a king appertained, and when he had conſulted with all the foreſayd Lords of the Empire in this matter and vnderſtood theyr fidelitie: he made hys repayre to the Emperour at whoſe handes he was well intertayned & honorable receaued, whõ the Emp. appointed to be his Lieftenant generall, hauing thereby more authoritie both to will & commaund ſuch as for this his expedition he truſted vnto, and had made conuention with. This hearing Phillip, prepared his army and rigged hys nauy, that ſo ſoone as the K ſhould enter into the dominiõ of Fraunce, they alſo might enter into Englãd, requiting like for like.

K. Edward aſſigned lieftenant Generall of the Empyre.

The firſt viage of kyng Edward into Fraunce.

Southampton burnt of the French men.

The king of England, after the feaſt of S. Iohn Baptiſt, according to his purpoſe, prepared all thinges ready to ſuch an expeditiõ, cõducting his army & gathering a greater ſtrength in the Empire, as before to him was promiſed vſing the Emperours authoritie therein, as his lieftenant general, howbeit at the charge altogether of the K. of England. The French king as ſoone as king Edward, had landed his army at Mackline in Flaunders, and hearing of the defiance, which the king and other Noble men of the Empire had ſent vnto him: Sent certaine ſhips lying ready therunto, and wayting for ſuch oportunitie vppon the coſt of England, did ſo much that vpon a Sonday, whileſt the townes men were at the Church little looking for any ſuch matter, entred the hauen of Southampton, tooke the towne and ſpoyled the ſame, defloured maydens, enforced wiues, brent, kild, tooke captiues, and caryed away riche ſpoyles and great booties to theyr ſhips, and ſo agayn departed into Fraunce. Further, as the king of Englãd had allied himſelfe with the noble men of the Empire, and had the friendly fauour of the Emperour alſo therunto: ſo the French king made the like league and aliance with Dauid the king of Scots, whom the king had ſo hardly delt with all in Scotland (as partly before you had) and kept the moſt part of Scotland vnder hys ſubiection: Binding the ſayd Dauid is well by writing, as oth & pledge, that without his conſent he ſhould make no peace nor conclude any truce with the king of England. who agayne aſſured hym of ayd, and reſcue, and helpe, and to recouer his kingdome & dominiõ to his vſe: and forthwith ſent certain gariſons & bands into Scotland to keepe play with the Engliſhmen and there to fortifie diuers places till further oportunitie ſerued. Hee alſo fortified with men, money, vitayle, and munitiõ, the town of Cambrey: which he ſuſpected would be beſieged, lying ſo neare vpõ yͤ Empire as in deed it came to paſſe. For, King Edward departing from Macheline, ſet forward his hoſt towardes Heynault, and by the way aſſẽbled ſuch power, as in the Empirie he looked for, marching forward ſtill till that they came to Cambrey & it beſieged with 40000. men: while that with an other company, the Fleminges, Brabanters, and Holenders, went to S. Quentin. But in effect, neyther there, nor at Cambrey nor els where: any thing notorious was achieued, but the ſummer being well ſpent and little preuailing in the ſiege of Cambrey, being of ſituation ſtrong & wel defenced therwall wͭ men & munition: brake vp the ſiege, & marched further into the hart of Fraunce towardes Mutterell. which thing the French king hauing vnderſtanding of, prepared himſelfe to geue battaile to the king of England, who with an other great army came to Virõfoſſe, where daies were appoynted to meet in battaile: but in the end, nothing was done nor attempted betweene the princes. And the king of Englãd (without any battaile either geuing or taking) returned with his army from thence to Gaunt. Concerning the cauſe of the ſodaine remouing of the K. out of Fraunce, ſeemeth moſt ſpecially to riſe of the pope: which at the ſame time ſent downe his Legates, for the order of a peace to be taken betweene the kings. At Gaunt was gathered by the kings appointment all the nobles as well of England, as of the Empire in counſaile together what was beſt to be done. where playn anſwere was made to the king of England, that vnleſſe he would take vpon him the claime and title of Fraunce, as his lawfull inheritaunce and as King thereof proſecute his warres: It might not be lawfull for them any further, to ayde the king of England, or to fight with him agaynſt the French King: for that the Pope had bound them in two millions of Florences of gold, and vnder payne of excommunication, yͭ they ſhould not fight againſt the lawfull king of Fraunce. whereupon, the King thought good therfore preſently to make open challenge to the Realme and Crowne of Fraunce: and further, to quarter & intermingle the armes of Fraunce, with the armes of England in one Scootchen. wherupon eſtſoones K. Edward made anſwere vnto the Pope agayne, directing vnto him his letters wherein he declareth at large his right & title vnto the Crowne of Fraunce, purging thereby hymſelfe and hys cauſe vnto the Byſhop. The copy and tenour of which letter, because it is to long to expreſſe, it is to be found in the ſtory of Thom. Walſingham remaining in the LibrarY of I. Stephenſon Citizen of Londõ, who ſo hath liſt or leiſure to peruſe the ſame. Beſides this letter to the pope he directed an other to the Pieres and Prelates of France, (he remaynING yet at Gaunt) in tenure as followeth.

The Scottes ſtyrred vp agaynſt England by the French K.

The Pope cauſe of the kings remouing out of Fraunce.

Anno. 1340.

The king of England taketh the title of Fraunce.

✻ *The letter of king Edward to the Nobles* and commons of Fraunce.

EDward by the grace of God king of Fraunce and of England, Lord of Ireland. Vnto all Prelates and the Eccleſiaſticall perſons, to the Pieres, Dukes, Earles, Barons, and to the commons of Fraunce, greeting: The high Lord and king aboue, to whome although his will be in his owne power, yet woulde that power ſhould be ſubiect vnto law: commaunding euery thing to be geuẽ vnto him which is his, declaring thereby that iuſtice and iudgement ought to be the preparation of the kinges ſeate. Wherefore ſeing the kingdome of Fraunce through the prouidence of God by the death of Charles laſt king of Fraunce of famous memory, brother Germaine to our Lady mother, is fallen vnto vs by playn and manifeſt law: And for ſomuch that Lord Phillip de Valoys, being the ſonne of the Vncle of the foreſayd king, and ſo being farre from the crowne by a farther degree of conſanguinitie: through force and vſurpation hath intruded himſelfe in the foreſayd kingdome (whileſt we were yet in our Minoritie) & ſo contrary both to God and to iuſtice doth detayne and occupye the ſame: And leaſt we ſhoulde ſeeme to neglect our owne right and the gifte geuen vs of God, or not to ſubmit our will to Gods diuine ordinance: We haue thought good to acknowledge the title of France, and by ſupportation of the almighty king haue taken vppon vs the defence and regiment of the ſayd kingdome: Firmely purpoſing with our ſelues (as euery good man ought to doe) graciouſly to miniſter iuſtice to euery one, according to the rites and laudable cuſtome of the foreſayd kingdome. Alſo to renue the good lawes and cuſtomes whiche haue bene in the time of Ludouicke our progenitour, adding to moreouer, that which ſhall ſeeme expedient according to the condition and qualiitie of the time. As by any chaunge of coyne or any other inordinate exactions, we intend not to ſeeke our profites by your detrimentes: when as (the almighty bee praiſed therefore) we abounde and haue inough. And as concerning the affayres of the Realme, our purpoſe is not to proceede raſhely or by our owne will, but by the diſcreete aduiſe and Counſell of the Pieres, Prelates, Nobles, and other our faythfull ſubiects of the kingdome ſo farre forth as ſhall make for the honour of God, the defence and aduauncement of the Church (which in all fulnes of deuotion we doe reuerence) and to the profite both publicke and priuate of all the ſubiectes thereof, with full execution of iuſtice by the grace of God to be executed vpon al and ſingular perſons, being earneſtly careful for the honour, profite, and tranquillitie of you all. For as the Lorde knoweth, nothing ſhall be more gratefull to vs, then that by our carefull ſolicitude peace may be engendered, ſpecially betwixt vs and vniuerſally among all Chriſten men: ſo that by our concorde the force and ſtrength of all Chriſten Princes may be ioyned together for the recouery of the holy land: whiche our Sauiour and redemer hath dedicated with hys owne proper bloud, whereunto we wil indeuour our ſelues through the grace of the holy ghoſt. And for aſmuch as we haue offered to the foreſayd Lorde Phillip diuers friendly and reaſonable conditions of peace, whereunto he would neyther condeſcend, neyther agree to any conformation: yea rather moueth againſt vs vniuſt warre, to the vtter ſubuerſion of our ſtate: we are enforced of neceſsitie to the vttermoſt of our power (for the defence both of vs, and recouery of our right) to defend our ſelues by force of battaile: not ſeeking any ſlaughter of good and humble ſubiectes, but deſiring theyr ſafegarde and profite. For the whiche cauſe, all and ſingular ſuch ſubiectes of the kingdome of Fraunce, which ſhall ſubmit themſelues to vs as the true king of Fraunce, within the feaſt of Eaſter next enſuing: profeſsing vnto vs theyr fealtie, and doing to vs as to the Kyng of Fraunce, by duety appertayneth, ſo as our beloued ſubiectes of Flaunders haue done alredy, or be ready to offer themſelues ſo to do: all ſuch we willingly admit and receaue to our peace & grace vnder our protection to be defended, them to mayntayne as is conuenient, from all moleſtation and diſquietnes whatſoeuer, in perſon or goodes hereafter to be inforced eyther by vs or by our officers, vpon what ſoeuer occaſion of rebellion afore paſſed. And for as much as the premiſſes, cannot eaſely be intimated to all and ſingular perſons: we haue prouided the ſame to be fixed vpon Church doores and other publicke places, whereby the maniſeſt notice thereof may come to all men, to the comfort of you that be to vs deuout, and to the true information of them, whiche through ſiniſter ſurmiſes of our enemies otherwiſe informed of vs. Dated at Gaunt the 8. day of February the yeare of our kingdome of Fraunce the firſt, of England the 14.

K.Edward to the nobles and cõmons of Fraunce.

The title of France how it came to K.Edward.

Note the groſenes of this tyme when the bloud of Chriſt was thought but only dedicated to the holy land.

This done, for that the winter then drew on, neyther was there any hope as the time ſerued, of farther doyng good: the Kyng thought beſt for a ſeaſon to returne againe to Englande with his company, geuing ouer the warres vntill the next ſpring and ſo did, taking ſhipping and ſo arriued at Douer. when he came to London, it was declared vnto him, of the great ſpoyle the Frenchmen had made at Southampton: who anſwered agayne that within one yeare, he doubted not the ſame to be well payd for & recompenced. And according to the ſame purpoſe of hys, he lingered no time but calling a Parliament at weſtminſter: with much grudge & euill will of his ſubiects, was for the mayntenance of hys warres graunted to him a great ſubſidie, which was the 5. of euery mans goodes, and alſo the cuſtomes of his woolles 2. yeares before hand, and the 9. ſheſe of euery mans corne. At the ſpring the K. agayn prepared his army, & rigged hys nauy purpoſing to land in Flaũders. But the Archb. of Canterb. then Lord Chauncellour hauing vnderſtanding of the Frenche power vpon yͤ Sea lying for the k. gaue him aduertiſement thereof willing him more ſtronglier to go or els not to venture. But the king not crediting the Archbiſh. and being angry with him therefore, ſayd that he would go forward: whereupon the biſhop reſigned the Chauncellorſhip, & remoued himſelfe from his Counſayle: then the K. conſulting hereupon farther with the Lord Morley, his Admirall, and others (hearing alſo the ſame of them) furniſhed himſelfe with ſtronger power, and committed him to his ſhip: and did ſo much, that a few dayes before midſommer, he was vpõ the Sea with a great fleete. Before the town of Sluſe, yͤ french king to ſtop hys paſſage, had layd ready a great nauy well neare to yͤ number of 20. ſcore ſayle: and had made the Chriſtopher of England (which before the French men took at Southamptõ) theyr Admirall: betwixt which two nauies was a lõg and terrible fight. But in the end, the victory by Gods grace fell to the king of England, in which fight he

Southampton burnt & ſpoyled by the French men.

Counſaile of the Archb. geuen to the king.

Battel vpon the ſea betweene kyng Edward and Frenchmen.

The Frenchmen beaten vpon the ſea.

himſelfe was perſonally. So that of the number of thirtye thouſand Frenchmē, few or none were left & eſcaped aliue, and two hundreth ſayle of ſhippes taken: in one of the which, were found 400. dead bodyes.

The wordes of the foole to the French kyng.

After this great ſlaughter of the Frenchmen (of whom many for feare of the ſword lept into the ſea) when no man durſt bring tidinges thereof to the Frenche king: They which were next about the king, did ſubborne his foole, to inſinuate the vnderſtanding thereof by ſubtiltie of couert words, which was thus. As the foreſayd foole being in the kinges preſence, and was talking of many things: among other talke, he ſodenly braſt out (being prompt by others) into a vehement rayling of the Engliſhmen, calling them cowards & daſtards, with many ſuch approbrious words: tending to that effect. The king not knowing whereunto the words of the foole did appertayne: aſked the foole, why he called the Engliſhmen ſuch weakelings and cowards. &c. Why, ſayth the foole? Becauſe the fearefull and cowardly Engliſhmen had not the hartes to leape into the ſea ſo luſtely, as our Normands, & Gentlemen of Fraunce had. Whereby the French kyng began to vnderſtand the victory of his part to be loſt, and the Engliſhmē to be victorers.

This victory atchieued, ẏ fame thereof ſpreading abroad in England, firſt was not beleued till letters thereof came from the king to Prince Edward his ſonne, being then at Waltham, directed to the biſhops & prelates of the realme, the effect of which letters here followeth vnder written.

The letters of K.Edward to the Byſhops of England.

THe bountifull benignitie of Gods great clemency powred vpon vs of late, for your true certification, and reioycing, we thought good to intimate vnto you. It is not vnknowne (we ſuppoſe) to you, and to other our faythfull ſubiectes, which alſo haue bene partakers with vs of the ſame, with what ſtormes of boyſterous warres of late we haue bene toſſed and ſhaken, as in the great Ocean. But although the riſing ſurgies of the ſea be merueilous, yet more merueilous is the Lord aboue: who turning the tempeſt into calme, in ſo great daungers, ſo mercifully hath reſpected vs. For where as we of late did ordaine our paſſage vpon vrgent cauſes, into Flaunders the Lord Phillip de Valoys our bitter enemye vnderſtanding thereof, layd agaynſt vs a mighty nauy of ſhips, entending thereby eyther to take vs, or at leaſt to ſtop our voyage. Which voyage if it had bene ſtayd, it had bene the cutting of, of all the great enterpriſes by vs intended and taken in hande, & moreouer we our ſelues brought to a great confuſion. But the God of mercies ſeing vs ſo diſtreſſed in ſuch perils and dangers hath gratiouſly aud beyond mans expectation ſent to vs great ſuccour & ſtrength of fighting ſouldiours, and a proſperous wynde after our owne deſires. By the meanes and helpe whereof, we ſet out of the hauen into the ſeas, where we eftſoones perceaued our enemies well appointed and prepared with a mayne multitude to ſet vpon vs, vpon midſommer day laſt paſt. Agaynſt whome notwithſtanſting, Chriſt our Lord and Sauiour hath rendered to vs the victory, through a ſtrong and vehement conflict. In the which conflict, a mighty number of our enemies were deſtroyed, and well neare all theyr whole Nauy was taken: with ſome loſſe alſo of our part, but nothing like in compariſon to theirs. By reaſon whereof, we doubt not but our paſſage by the ſeas hereafter ſhalbe more quiet and ſafe for our ſubiectes, and alſo many other commodities ſhall enſue therof, as we haue good cauſe to hope well of the ſame. For which cauſe we deuoutly conſidering the heauenly grace ſo mercifully wrought vpon vs, do render moſt humble thankes & praiſe to Chriſt our Lord and ſauior. Beſeeching him, thar as he hath ben and alwayes is ready to preuent our neceſsities in time of oportunitie, ſo he will continue hys helping hand euer towardes vs, & ſo to direct vs here temporally, that we may raigne and ioy with him in heauen eternally And in like ſort we require your charitie that you alſo with vs riſing vp to the prayſe of God alone, who hath begon ſo fauourably to worke with vs to our goodneſſe, in your prayers and deuine ſeruice do inſtantly recommend vs vnto the Lord, traueiling here in theſe foreigne countries and ſtudying to recouer not onely our right here in Fraunce: but alſo to aduaunce the whole Catholicke Churche of Chriſt and to rule our people in iuſtice. And that alſo ye call vpon the Clergy and people, euery one through his dioceſſe to do the ſame, inuocating the name of our Sauiour, that of hys mercy he will geue to vs his hūble ſeruaunt a docible hart, ſo to iudge and rule hereupon rightly doing that which he hath commaunded: that at length we may attaine to that which he hath promiſed. &c. Which letter was written to the Byſhops and prelates. an. 1340.

After this foreſayd victory vpon the ſea, & newes thereof with due thanks to our Sauiour ſent into England: the Kyng ſtriking into Flaunders, came to Gaunt in Brabante where hee had left the Queene, who ioyfully receaued him, being a little before purified or churched as we terme it of her fourth ſonne, whoſe name was Iohn and commonly called Iohn of Gaunt, and was Erle of Richmonde, and Duke of Lancaſter. At Villenorth the king aſſembled his councell, whereat the noble men of Fraunce Brabant and Hennalt conioyning together in moſt firme league the one to helpe and defend the other, with the king of England, agaynſt the French king, purpoſing and determinig from thence to march toward Turney & it to beſiege. But the French king vnderſtanding theyr counſell, fortified and victualed the ſame before theyr comming thither. Furthermore the ſayd Frenche king the ſame tyme to ſtop the ſige of king Edward, ſent to king Dauid of Scotland a great power, to that intent to make inuaſiō in England, thereby the ſooner to cauſe the king to remoue hys ſiege. In the meane time while king Edwarde wrote his letters to Philip de Valous, making vnto him certain requeſtes, as in the ſame his letters here folowing is to be ſeen: who for ẏ he wrote not vnto him as K. of France but by ẏ name of Philip de Valous, refuſed to anſwer him touching the ſame as by their letters here placed may be ſeene.

A councell at Villenorth.

Flaunders, Brabant and Hennalt take part with kyng Edward.

✤ *The letter of the king of England, to Phillip* de Valous the French king, goyng to the ſiege of Turney.

The letter of king Edward to the Frēch kyng.

PHillip de Valous, of long time we haue gently requeſted you by our Embaſſadours (by all the reaſonable meanes we might) to that intent you ſhould haue rendered vnto vs our lawful right and inheritaunce to the crowne of Fraunce which from vs a long time you haue by great wrong and force deteined And for that we well perceaue you meane to perſeuere in the ſame your purpoſe and iniurous detinue, without making any reaſonable aunſwere to our demaund. We let you vnderſtand, that we are entred into the country of Flaunders, as the ſoueraigne Lord of the ſame and ſo paſſe through the country: and further ſignifie vnto you, how that by the helpe of our Sauiour Ieſus Chriſt and our righteous cauſe therein, and with the power of the ſayd country, our people, and allyes: we purpoſe to recouer the right which we haue to that inheritaunce you deteine from vs by your iniurious force and therefore approche we towardes you to make a ſhorte end of this our rightfull challenge if you alſo will doe the like. And for that ſo great an hoſt aſſēbled which we bring with vs on our part (ſuppoſing you alſo on the other part to doe the like) cannot lōg remayne together without great deſtruction both to our people and country, which thing euery good Chriſtian ought to eſchue: eſpecially Princes and others which haue the gouernment of the ſame, auoyding by as ſhort an end as may be, the mortality of chriſten men, according as the quarrell is apparaunt betweene you and me. For the which cauſes here touched, let the challenge (if you thinke meete) betweene our own perſons and bodyes diſcuſſed, that the great Nobillitie and prowesſe of each other, may of euery one be ſeene. And if you refuſe this way, then let there (to finiſh this challenge) be an hundreth of the beſt ſouldiours you can chuſe out of your part, matched with ſo many of our liege ſubiects to try the ſame. And if of theſe two wayes you refuſe both the one & the other, then that you wil aſsigne vnto vs a certain day before the town of Turnay, to fight with vs power agaynſt power, which may be within ten dayes next inſuing after the date of theſe our letters, offering the ſayd conditions vnto you aboue ſpecified (as we would all the world to know and vnderſtand) not vppon anye orgoile, preſumption or pride we take therein, but for the cauſes before alledged, and to the end that (the will of our ſauiour Ieſus Chriſt betwixt vs two herein declared and ſhewed) reſt and peace might grow amongſt Chriſten men. The power and force of gods enemies abated: and in fine, the limites of Chriſtianitie enlarged and enfranchiſed. And therefore hereupon conſider with your ſelfe what way you will take concerning our foreſayd offers, and by the bearers of theſe our letters ſend vnto vs herein quicke and ſpeedy aunſwere. **Geuen vnder our great ſeale at Chyn in the playne of Lecce the xxvii. day of this preſent month of Iuly.**

✤ *The aunſwere of the Lord Phillip de Valois* vnto the letter aforeſayd.

The anſwere of the Frēch K to K.Edward.

PHillip by the grace of God king of Fraunce, to Edward king of England. We haue ſeene the letters whiche you haue ſent vnto our Court to Phillip de Valois, wherein are contayned certayne requeſtes which you make to the ſayd Phillip de Valois. But for that the ſayd letters come not as directed vnto vs, neyther yet the ſayd requeſtes ſeeme to be made vnto vs (which thing clearely by the tenour of the ſayd letters appeareth) we therefore write vnto you no aunſwere touching the ſame. Notwithſtanding, this ſuffiſeth that we vnderſtand by the ſaid letters of yours, as alſo otherwaies, that you are entred into our Realm of Fraunce, to the great damage both vnto vs, our realme and people (more proceeding of wil, then reaſon) & not regarding that which a liege man ought to do vnto his Lord. For you are entred into our homage by you lieged vnto vs, acknowleging your ſelf as reaſō is a liege mā vnto the king of France:and haue promiſed vnto vs ſuch obeiſance as men are wont to do vnto their liege Lordes (as more plainly by your letters patēts appeareth,enſealed with your great ſeale,the which we haue with vs)for the which thing we will you to vnderſtande: that our purpoſe is(when it ſhal ſeme good vnto vs)to driue you out of our realme,to the honor both of vs and our kingdome,and to the profite and commodity of our people. And this thing to do we haue firme and aſſured hope in Ieſus Chriſt, from whome we haue all our power and ſtrength. For, by your vnreaſonable demaund more wilful then reaſonable,hath bene hindred and ſtaide the holy voyage to thoſe partes of beyonde the ſeas,where a great number of Chriſten men haue bene ſlaine: the deuine ſeruice diminiſhed,and the ſeruice of the churche leſſe reuerenced. And as touching that where you ſay,ye intende to haue the obeyſance of the Flemmings, we thinke and beleeue that the good people and commons of that country will behaue themſelues in ſuch ſort toward our Coſin the Countes of Flaunders their Ladie, as it be not their reproche,and to vs their ſoueraigne Lorde, they will reſpect their honour and loialty. And that thing wherein they haue done otherwiſe then well hitherto,hath beene by the euill counſaile of ſuch people,as neither regarde the weale publike, nor honour of their countrey,but their owne onely gaine and commoditie. Geuen in the fielde neere adioyning to the Priorie of S.Andrew vnder our priuie Seale, in abſence of our great Seale, the 30.day of Iuly.An.1340.

The Scottes inuade Englande.

Mention was made a little before of Dauid King of Scots whome the French king had ſupported and ſtirred vp againſt the king and realme of England:which Dauid (with the aide of the Scots and Frenchmen) did ſo muche preuaile,yͤ they recouered almoſt againe al Scotlād which before he had loſt,and was cōſtrained to liue in the forreſt of Gedworth many yeres before. Then inuaded they England, & came with their armie, waſting and burning the countrey before them, till they came as farre as Durham. & then returned againe into Scotland, where they recouered all their holdes againe,ſauing the towne of Barwike. Edenborough they tooke by a ſtratageme or ſubtile deuiſe practiſed by Douglas & certaine other: who apparailing themſelues in poore mens habites,as vitailers with corne and prouender & other things, demanded the porter early in the morning what neede they had thereof. who nothing miſtruſting opened the outward gate, where they ſhoulde tary til yͤ Captaine roſe:and perceiuing the Porter to haue the kaies of the inward gate, threw downe their ſackes in the outward gate, that it might not be ſhut againe, & ſlewe the Porter, taking from him the kaies of the towne. Then they blew their horne as a warning to the bandes, which priuily they had laid not farre off: who in haſtie wiſe comming, & finding the gates ready opened entred vpon the ſodaine and killed as many as them reſiſted,and ſo obtained againe the citie of Edenborough.

Edenborough recouered from the Engliſhmen by the Scottes.

The Scots thus being buſie in England, the Frenche king in the meane ſeaſon gathered together a puiſſaunt power purpoſing to remoue the ſiege frō Turnay: and among other, ſent for the king of Scots, who came to hym wͭ great force,beſides diuers other noble men of France:in ſo much that the French king had a great army, & thought himſelfe able inough to raiſe the ſiege,and thither bent his hoſt. But the French K. for al this his foreſaid huge power & force,durſt not yet ſo neare approch the king, as either to geue him battaile,or els remoue his ſiege: but kept him ſelf wͭ his army aloofe, in a ſure place for his better defence. And notwithſtanding the king of England waſted,burnt ſpoiled, and deſtroyed the coūtry 20. miles in maner compaſſe about Turnay, and tooke diuers and ſundry ſtronge townes and holds at Ortois,Urles,Greney,Archis,Odint,S.Amand,and the towne of Liſle, where he ſlewe aboue 300.men of armes,and about S.Omers, he ſlue and kild of noble men,the Lorde of Duſkune, of Mauriſelou, of Rely, of Chaſtillion,of Melly, of Fenis,of Hamelar,of Mounfaucon,and other Barons to the number of 14.and alſo ſlue and killed aboue 130.Knightes, being all men of great poſſeſſions and prowеſſe,and tooke other ſmall cities and townes to the number of 300.Yet for all thys,Phillip de Ualois the french king durſt neither reſcue his towns, nor relieue his owne men : but of hys great armie hee loſt (which is to be marueiled at,being in the midſt of his own countrey) by famine & other inconueniences,& for want of water more then 20000.men without any battaile by hym geuen. wherupon at the treatie of the ſayde Phillip by hys embaſſadours to the king ſent,and by the mediation of the Lady Iane,ſiſter to the ſayd Philip,& mother to the Earle of Henault, whoſe daughter king Edwarde as you heard had married: A truce containing the number of 15.articles for one yeare was concluded, the king of Englande being very vnwilling and loth therunto. Yet notwythſtanding, partly by the inſtance of the foreſayd Lady, but ſpecially for yͤ the king was greatly diſappoynted, through the negligence of his officers in England, which ſent hym not ouer ſuch mony as he neded,for the continuance of hys warres and paiment of his ſoldiors wages(yͤ articles being ſomewhat reaſonable)he agreeth to the truce therof, the cōditions of which truce there concluded, heere followe vnder wrytten.

Tourney beſieged.

Articles of truce.

1. Firſt, that during the ſayde truce, no tales or miſtruſt of either part ſhall be a detriment or cauſe of breache of the ſame.

2. Item, that during the ſayd reſpite or truce, eyther of the Princes,their helpers,coadiutors,and allies whatſoeuer: ſhall remaine and be in the quiete poſſeſſion of all ſuch poſſeſſions, holdes, territories and landes, as at thys preſent day,they kepe and enioy within the realme and dominion of Fraunce, in what maner ſo euer they haue atchieued the ſame,during the ſayd truce.

3. Item, that the ſayd princes their aiders,coadiutors,and allies whatſoeuer: ſhall paſſe ſafely from one country to an other,and all marchants with theyr marchandiſe, as well by ſea as by land as accuſtomably they haue ben wont:except ſuch baniſhed men as haue ben baniſhed out of yͤ ſayd realmes, or any of them for other cauſes, then the warres betwene the ſayd princes.

4. Item, that the ſaid two princes ſhal not procure either by themſelues or any other, any practiſe or other moleſtation to be made the one to the other, by yͤ byſhop of Rome or any other belonging to the holy church whatſoeuer:eyther for the warres begon, or any other cauſe, nor for the ſeruice of any of their allies,coadiutors,and aiders,or any of them. And that our holy father the Pope nor any other, ſhal diſturbe or moleſt either of the ſayd two kings during the ſayd time.

5. Item, that immediatly after the truce be proclaimed in both the hoſtes, that they may ſtand bound of either ſide,to kepe and obſerue al and euery ſuch article as ſhalbe therein contained.

6. Item, that wythin 20. dayes next and immediatly enſuing, eache of the Princes ſhall cauſe to be proclaimed in Gaſcoyne and Guyen,and other their lands theſe articles of truce,to the intent they may be the better obſerued,kept, and knowne.

7. Item, if by any the ſayd princes,their allies,people or coadiutours,any ſiege be layd in Gaſcoyne,or the Dutchy of Guyen, or any other Iſles of the ſea Gierneſey or Gerſey,or any other : that the ſame ſieges be raiſed, ſo ſoone as they ſhall heare of thys truce.

8. Item, that ſuche as are theeues and fugitiues out of the Countrey of Flaunders,ſhall not returne during the truce: and if they do,that then ſuch as apprehēd them, ſhal ſee iuſtice done vpon them, and forfaite all the goodes they haue in Flaunders.

9. Item, it is accorded, that the debtes due to Arras, Treſponois,or other titles of Fraunce, ſhal neither be demaunded,nor executed during the ſayd truce.

10. Item, that all ſuche pryſoners as haue bene taken during theſe warres,ſhalbe releaſed out of priſon & ſent home vpon theyr faith and othe to returne, if they be not raunſomed during the ſayd truce. And if any ſhal refuſe ſo to doe, that then the Lord vnder whom he is,ſhall conſtraine him to returne againe to priſon.

11. Item, that all the bandes whatſoeuer they be, whyche be made before thys ſayde truce in the time of warre(whether they be of goods ſpirituall or temporall) be releaſed wͭout reſtitucion,during the ſayd truce.

12. Alſo, that theſe conditions of truce immediatly may take effect betwene the Engliſhmen & Scots,their Lords, aiders and allies : and the ſame to endure vntill the Natiuitie of S.Iohn Baptiſt. And that certain perſons be apointed by a certaine day to be at the marches of England and Scotland to confirme the ſame truce,vnder ſuch cōditions as haue bene accuſtomed in thoſe partes. And if the ſaid Scottes refuſe ſo to doe, that then they to haue no aide out of Fraunce,during the ſayd truce.

13. Item, that this ſayd truce be proclaimed in England, and in Scotlād, wythin the 26.dayes after the date therof.

14. Item, it is accorded that within this truce be contayned Eſpamels, Chatellon, Geneuos,the Byſhop and the towne of Cambrey,and caſtels of the ſame,&c.

In witnes wherof,we Iohn by the grace of God king of Bohemia,and Earle of Luxemburgh,Adulphe Byſhop of Liege,Raoule Duke of Loreine, Aymes Earle of Sauoy,& Iohn Earle of Darnmacke on the one party: And B.Duke of Brabante, C.Duke of Gelre, D.Marques of Iuliers,ſir Iohn of Henault, and ſir Beawmount on the other party, betwixt the high & puiſſant princes of France and England: Haue ſealed thys inſtrument of truce and peace, and deliuered the ſame accordingly in the church of Eſpletcline, on monday the 25. day of September, the yere of grace. 1340.

K.Edward returneth from Tourney.

The kyng deceiued by his officers.

No biſhop muſt be impriſoned by the Popes lawe.

This truce thus finiſhed, king Edwarde brake vp hys campe, remouing his ſiege from Tourney, & came againe to Gaunt. Frō whence (very early in the morning) he wt a ſmall company tooke ſhipping, and by long ſeas came to the tower of Lōdon, very few or none hauing vnderſtanding thereof. And being greatly diſpleaſed with diuers of his counſel and high officers (for that through their default he was conſtrained againſt his will, not hauing money to maintaine hys warres, to condeſcende vnto the foreſayde truce) he commanded to be apprehended and brought vnto him to the tower, the Lorde John Stonhore chiefe iuſtice of England, and ſyr John Poulteney with diuers others. And the next morning, he ſent for the Lorde R. Byſhop of Chicheſter and the Lord wake, the Lorde Treaſurer & diuers other ſuch that were in authority and office, and commanded them al to be kept as priſoners in the ſaid tower, onely the ſayd byſhop excepted: whom for feare of the conſtitution of Pope Clement, whych commaunded that no Byſhop ſhould be by the king impriſoned, he ſet at libertie & ſuffered him to goe his way, & in his place ſubſtituted ſir Roger Bourcher knight, Lord Chauncelour of England.

Couetous officers.

Iohn Stratford Archb. of Cant.

The hiſtorie intreating of this matter, reporteth thus that the king had this time vnder him euil ſubſtitutes, and couetous officers: who attēding more to their owne gain, then to the publike honour and commoditie of the realme, left the king deſtitute and naked of money. wyth whyche crime, alſo John Stratford Archbiſhop then of Caunterbury, was vehemētly noted and ſuſpected, whether of hys true deſerning, or by the ſetting on of other hereafter ſhall more appeare. In ſo much that the king ardently incenſed againſt him, charged him with great falſhode vſed againſt his perſon, as by theſe his letters wrytten and directed to the Deane and Chapter of Paules againſt the ſayd Archbiſhop manifeſtly appeareth, the tenor of which letter here followeth vnder written.

Edward by the grace of God king of England and
Fraunce, and Lord of Ireland. To his welbeloued in
Chriſt the Deane and Chapter of the Church
of S. Paul in London, greeting in the Lord.

The kyngs letter to the Dean and chapter of Paules.

IT is manifeſt by ancient hyſtories, but more plainely appeareth by thoſe which daily are practiſed amongeſt vs: that many men abuſing (through pride) the fauour of Princes, and honour beſtowed vpon them, haue maliciouſly gone about to depraue the laudable endeuour of kings. And nowe that the woordes which we ſpeake may be more manifeſt vnto our ſubiects: we ſuppoſe that neither you nor they haue forgotten, that we being eſtabliſhed in our kingly throne in yonger yeres, and coueting euen then to guide this our regal charge taken vpon vs with wholeſome coūſailes, haue called vnto vs Iohn the Biſhop of Wincheſter, nowe Archb. of Cant. whom we ſuppoſed for his fidelity and diſcretion to excede others: whoſe counſaile in matters appertaining vnto the health of our ſoule, as in matters alſo reſpecting the augmenting and conſeruation of our kingdome both ſpiritually & temporally, we vſed: he was receiued of vs into all familiaritie. Wee found in him alſo ſuch humanity, that he was ſaluted by the name of father, and of all next vnto the king had in honour. Now afterwards, when by right of ſucceſsion the kingdome of France ſhuld haue deſcended vnto vs, and was by violent iniurie by the Lorde Philip of Valois holden from vs: the ſaid Archb. by his importune inſtancie, perſwaded vs to enter league of amity with the princes of Almanie, againſt the ſayde Phillip, and to commit our ſelfe and ours vnto the hazard of warres, promiſing and affirming that he woulde bring to paſſe, that the reuenues of our landes and other helpes by him deuiſed, ſhoulde ſuffice aboundantly for the maintenance of our ſaid warres. Adding moreouer, that our only care ſhould be for the furniture of ſtrong and able ſouldiours, ſuch as were fit for the purpoſe, and expert in warfare: for the reſt, he him ſelfe would effectually procure, for money conuenient to ſuffice our neceſſitie, and the charges thereof. Whereuppon (entending great exployts) we conueyed our army beyond the ſeas, and with marueilous great charges (as behoued) we ſet forwarde: we became alſo bound in great ſummes of mony, making ſure accompt of the aide aforeſaid promiſed vnto vs. But alaſſe, vnhappy is that man that repoſeth confidence in mans deceitfull ſtaffe of brittle reede: wherunto (as ſayth the Prophet) if a man leane, it breaketh and pearceth the hand. Thus being defrauded of our long looked for ſubſidie, for very neceſsities ſake, we were conſtrained to take vpon vs importable charges of debts by grieuous vſurie. And ſo, our expedition being ſtaied, we were compelled to retyre into England, deſiſting from our enterpriſes ſo valiantly begun. Now, when we were returned into England, we laide before our Archbiſhop our manifold calamities and misfortunes before reherſed, and thereuppon called a Parliament: wherein the Prelates, noblemen and other the faithfull ſubiectes of our dominions, graunted vnto vs a new ſubſidie of corne, lambe, wool. &c. beſides the tenth graunted by the Cleargie: which ſubſidie (if it had bene faithfully collected and obtained in due time) had greatly auailed for the expedition of our ſayd warres, the paiment of our debts, and confuſion of our enemies. Our ſaide Archbiſhop promiſed diligently to do his endeuour, as well in collecting the ſame, as alſo in procuring other neceſſaries to ſerue to our purpoſe. Wherupon, truſting vnto theſe faire promiſes, hauing all thinges in a readyneſſe both men and furniſhed ſhips, we made ſaile towards Flaunders, and by the way vpon the dangerous ſeas buckeled with our enemies (ſworne to the deſtruction of our Engliſh nation) of whome we triumphed and were victors, not by our merites (their multitude farre exceeding ours) but by the mercifull clemencie of him that ruleth both winde and ſea. Which being done, we paſſed frō thence with a mighty power for the recouery of our right, & pitched our tentes neare vnto the puiſſant citie of Tornaye: where being deteined for a time in the ſiege therof, wearied with continuall toyle, our charges ſtill encreaſing, awaiting with ſilence our promyſed ayde: day by day, wee hooped from oure Archbyſhoppe to receiue ſuccoure in theſe our ſo great neceſsities. At length being fruſtrate of all conceyued hope, wee ſignified vnto our ſayde Archbyſhop, and other his adherents, by diuers meſſengers and ſundry letters, our great neceſsitie and perils which we were in for lacke of the ſayd ſubſidie, graunted vnto vs. We added alſo the vtilitie and honour, which we ſawe might be atchieued if we had receiued money in time. All this notwithſtanding, we receiued from them no ſuccour at all, for that, preferring their priuate buſineſſe and proper commodities, they cloked their ſlouth, or rather (as I may call it) their fraude and malice with vaine excuſes: and painted gloſing wordes, like vnto the deceitful, which (as ſaith Eſay) vſe to deride with theſe words: Manda remāda. &c.

By meanes whereof (alaſſe for ſorrowe) it came to paſſe, that whiles good hope of ſubduing our ennemies gratiouſly ſmiled vppon vs, we were conſtrained (penurie preuailing againſt vs) to take truce to our ſhame, the hinderance of our expedition, and no ſmal reioyſing of our euil willers: and ſo we returned into Flaunders all voide of mony, oppreſſed with infinite debts, neither had we in our treaſuries wherewith to diſcharge our neceſsities, nor yet to pay our ſoldiours wages: in ſo much, that we were compelled to enter into the deuouring gulfe of vſurie, and to ſuſtaine on our ſhoulders great burdens of debts, heape vppon heape. This being done, our faithfull frends, companions in warres, and partakers of our tribulations came vnto vs, with whome we conſulted diligently by what meanes wee might beſt deliuer our ſelues from this dangerous ſtorme of euill fortune. They all agreed, affirming certainely, that the protracting of our warres, and cauſe of our manifolde neceſsity happened vnto vs through the fault and negligence (or rather the malice) of the ſayd Archb. (vpon whoſe diſcretion the diſpoſition of the whole kingdome ſeemed to depend) and other officers whom we had adioyned in counſail with him touching the affaires of our kingdome: vehemently ſwearing and murmuring amongſt themſelues (for that we had left ſo long vncorrected the inſolencie of the byſhops and other officers) that if remedy in theſe caſes were not had with ſpede: they wold withdrawe themſelues from our allegeance, and the couenaunt which they had ſworne vnto: to the vtter ſubuerſion of our kingdome, our perpetuall ignominie, and the euerlaſting ſhame of our Engliſh nation (which God our moſt mercifull father forbid, ſhoulde come to paſſe in our daies, in whom is fixed immoueably the anchor of our hope.) Whereuppon entending the due correction of our officers, we remoued from offices (as ſemed good to our wiſdome) diuers perſons, whom we ſuſpected in cauſes euidēt of euil adminiſtration of iuſtice, of ſubuerſion, and oppreſsiō of our ſubiects, of corruption, of bribes, and other hainous offences. Others alſo of inferiour degree offending in the premiſſes, we cauſed to be deteined in ſafe cuſtody, leaſt by their liberty, iuſtice might be troden vnder foote, and the inquiſition of the trueth concerning the premiſſes not to come to light. Foraſmuche therefore as the knowledge of the trueth in theſe caſes might of none more certainly be knowen, then from the ſecrete breſt of our ſayd Archbiſhop, for that nothing pertaining to our information ought to lie hid from him, vnto whome of ſo long a time had bene committed the adminiſtration of our whole common weale, and ſumme of our buſineſſe: Wee ſent vnto him our faithfull ſubiect Nicholas de Cantilupe with ſpecial commandement from vs (all delayes ſet a part) that he ſhould forthwith make his perſonall appearance before vs at our City of London. But he (as one alwaies timerous as wel in proſperity as in aduerſity, and fearing where no feare was) vntruely alleageth that ſome of our aſsiſtents had threatned hym, and laid wait for his life, if at any time he departed frō the Church of Cant. which (God wee take to witneſſe and a pure conſcience) wee neuer meant nor any of our aſsiſtents.

Archbiſh. of Cant falſe to the king.

Euil officers diſplaced by the kyng.

Wee ſuppoſe he touched thereby our Couſin, although to all other atwell of the cleargy as comminalty through his malicious miſdemeanors he was become odious.

Archbiſh. of Cant. odious to all the clergie.

Wherefore,

Wherfore, intending the ſafegarde of our ſubiectſ by letters or otherwiſe called before vs, we appoynted our truſtie and welbeloued Raffe Stafforde our Harbynger, to offer vnto hym ſafeconducte: and moreouer to preſent vnto him our letters patentes vnder our ſeale, willing and commanding him therby againe perſonally to come before vs, that we might be enformed what of ſo long a time hee had done touching the affaires of the kyngdome. Wherunto, contemning our commanndement & gentle requeſt, he anſwereth, that neither he wold in perſon appeare, neither yet in any matter conferre wyth vs, except it were in a full Parliament which for diuers reaſonable cauſes, coulde not then be called. Thus may you ſee this archb. (whom our royal benignity had amplified wyth large honours, admitted into all familiarity, receiued into the bonde of vnanimitie and frendſhip, vpon whome as on a father our whole hope did conſiſt: who, ſo long as wee accompliſhed his will in all things, pretended towardes vs a face of counterfet loue cloaked wyth diſſembling beneuolence, euen as though he had bene a louing father) howe cruelly againſt reaſon he hath now forſaken vs, requiting benefits with ingratitude, oppreſsing his benefactour wyth the arrogancie of feare: and finally (according to the vulgare prouerbe) rewarded vs as a horſe in a ſatchell, a Snake in a mannes boſome, and fire cheriſhed next the ſkinne, rewardeth their receiuers. When we were firſt exalted vnto the throne of our kingdome, deſcended vnto vs by right of inheritaunce (Gods diuine prouidence ſo working) we thought and alwayes thinke it a deteſtable thyng to abuſe ſo high authoritie, but rather deſire to gouerne wyth clemencie, lenitie, and moderation of iuſtice, that peace of all men deſired might firmely take place.

The Archb. of Cant. denyeth to come to the kyng.

The Archb. charged with diſſembling & ingratitude.

Neuertheleſſe, our ſayde Archbyſhop hath gone about to defame our innocencie, and the fidelitie and diligence our faithfull counſailers proſecutours of true iuſtice: openly declaring in hys letters patent, and publiſhing abroade in diuers places, that hee was oppreſſed by the kings power contrary to iuſtice, the Clergy and comminaltie confounded, and the church ouercharged wyth diuers grieuous taxes & exactions. He ſubtilly vſurped the name of a good paſtour, when in deede he was nothing leſſe, but rather (as it ſhould ſeeme by his owne cōfeſsion, and the common opinion had of him) a very hireling. He cloked his craftie ſubtilneſſe with the zeale of defending the Churche, although he hymſelfe in very deede was the onely cauſe, by his euill counſaile and craftie deuiſes, of the tribulations of the ſame. Hee alſo fained that not long agoe, certaine wrytings were brought vnto him to be ſealed, containing in effect the defence and excuſation of all ſuch in generall that were violaters of the liberties of the Churche: hoping thereby to defame the opinion had of vs and our faythfull counſailours, to ſtirre vp ſedition amongſt the people, and finally to withdrawe from vs the hearts of our nobilitie. Hee gaue commaundement by hys letters, that theſe things ſhoulde be proclaimed in all places of great reſorte by diuers ſpeciall articles contrary to his former order in his prouinciall Councel. Wherefore, reſpecting the integritie of our fame, entending to preuent the malice of the ſayde Archbiſhoppe, and alſo to decline from vs the ſnares prepared for vs and ours: wee haue thought good at thys preſent (ouer & beſides thoſe which before are reherſed) amongſt ſo many which wee omitte, to declare vnto you ſome of hys peruerſe and wicked actes. When in our minoritie wee were conſtituted ouer our dominions, hee cauſed vs through hys vnaduiſed counſaile and raſh perſwaſion (therby to winne exceſsiue fauour) to geue away ſo many waſtfull giftes, and ſo many vnlawfull alienations that nowe by meanes thereof our treaſury is cleane conſumed, the reuenewes of our Exchequer without all order diminiſhed, and he corrupted with bribes innumerable. Oftentimes alſo without cauſe why, when neither neceſsitie nor vtilitie ſo required, onely through his perſwaſion wee forgaue diuers men great ſummes of money due vnto vs, yea and the rents and reuenewes which ought to haue bene conſerued for our neceſsitie and profite we applied to the vſe of his frendes largely beſtowing vppon ſuch as euill deſerued it. Moreouer (accepting aſwell perſones as money) contrary to our minde, and hys othe of fidelitie made vnto vs: he admitted vnto publique offices throughout our dominions, perſones vnworthy, neglecting thoſe that had well deſerued. Many other things he raſhly tooke in hand, to the detrimēt of our ſtate, the hurt of our dignitie royall, and no ſmal dammage of our ſubiectes, by abuſing his authoritie & office committed vnto him. But if he perſiſt in his proude obſtinacie and ſtout rebellion, wee ſhall heereafter in conuenieht time and place, cauſe it to be more openly knowen: willing and commaunding you to publiſh and cauſe to be publiſhed, all and ſingular the premiſſes openly and diſtinctly in places where you ſhall thinke it expedient, and to ſet foorth (as ſhal ſeeme beſt to your godly wiſedomes) our good entent for the ſuppreſsing of incommodities, and furthering of the commodities of our ſubiectes, that we may worthely commende your circumſpect care herein.

The Archb. defamer of the kyng.

The Archb. abuſeth his office.

Teſte meipſo apud Weſtm. 10. die Februa. Anno regni noſtri Angliæ. 15. Regni verò Franciæ ſecundo.

By theſe foreſayde obiections & accuſations of the king premiſed, and layd againſt the Archbiſhop of Canterbury: what is to be thought of the doinges of the ſayd Archbiſhop, I leaue it to thy iudgement gentle reader (as I ſayd before) to be coniected: For ſo much as our hiſtories ſomewhat bearing with the ſayd Archbiſhop, ſeeme either to be vncertayne of the truth of the matter, or els couertly to diſſemble ſome part of that they knew. And eſpecially of Polidor Virgil. I meruaile, who hauing ſo good occaſion to touch the matter, doth ſo ſleightly paſſe it ouer without any word of mention. In whiche matter if probable coniecture (beſide hiſtory) might here be heard, it is not vnlike but that ſome olde practiſe of prelates hath herein bene put in vre, through ſome crafty conſpiracy betweene the Pope and the Archbiſhop. And the rather to be gathered, for that as the pope was enemy vnto the king in this his chalenge to the crowne of Fraunce: So the Archbiſhop againſt his Prince (as for the moſt part alwayes they haue bene) was a frend, as no man neede to doubt therof, vnto the Pope: which thing alſo more probable may be ſuppoſed, becauſe of the comming downe of the ij. Cardinals the ſame time, from the pope to the king of England, about the matter of farther truce: wherof (Chriſt willing) more hereafter ſhall follow. Albeit, the Archbiſhop (this yet notwithſtanding) ſubtely and featly excuſeth himſelfe to the king of the foreſayd obiections, and cunningly handleth the matter in wordes by his letter directed to the king, as followeth.

❧ *The letter of the Archbyſhop of* Caunterburie to the king.

The letter of the Archbiſhop to the kyng.

REdoubted Syr, may it pleaſe your maieſtie to vnderſtand: that the moſt chiefeſt and ſpeciall thing that keepeth kings and Princes in the fauoure of God, and beſt preſerueth them in theyr eſtate, is ſage, wiſe, and deliberate counſaile. And therefore ſayeth the wiſe man, concerning counſell in this wiſe: Good men haue thereby their ſafetie. And it is wrytten in the booke of kinges, howe Salomon which was the wiſeſt Prince that euer was, tooke vnto him the moſt auncient and ſage men of his Realme to be his counſailours: By whoſe aduiſement and diſcretion, hee alwayes kept the lande of Iſraell in quiet and in peace, and beſides that had all other kinges and princes that bordered vppon him at his will and commaundement. After whoſe death raigned Roboham hys ſonne, who neglecting the good cōuſel of his father, and good aduiſe of his ſage & diſcrete counſailours: harkened to ſuch counſel as lighter and younger men perſwaded him vnto, that ſought rather howe to pleaſe and flatter him, then the quiet ſtate of hys Realme: whereby he loſt all the whole lande of Iſrael, the xx. part only excepted. In like maner haue many kings of Iſrael and other kingdomes beſide, by raſh and euill counſell come to great ruine and miſchiefe. And Sir (sauing your princely patience) you may call to remembraunce your owne time: for by the wicked and ſiniſter counſell to our late ſoueraigne Lorde your father geuen (whome God forgeue) which he tooke and folowed: both againſt the lawe of his lande, and graund Charter of the peeres and other his people of the lande: ſome he put to ſhamefull death, from other ſome he tooke their goods, and ſuch as fled, he put vnto their raunſome, and what ennemies he purchaſed thereby, your grace well vnderſtandeth. And after this Sir, you knowe (euen in your owne time) howe by following and beleuing ouer light counſel: you your ſelfe loſt the hartes of many of your ſubiectes, from the which God deliuer you, if it be his will. And after that time againe vntill nowe, by the good aduiſement of your Prelates, Peeres, and ſage counſailours of your land, your graces buſineſſe and affaires haue bene ſo demained and ordered: that you haue had the hearts againe of all your ſubiectes, as well ſpirituall as temporall, as muche or rather more, then any of your graces predeceſſours, kings of England haue had. So that, by meanes of the ſayde good counſell, the good will and aide of your people, and ſpecial grace of God; you haue had the victorie of all your ennemies, as well in Scotlande as in Fraunce, and all other places beſides: That vnto this day (Gods name bee bleſſed therefore) your grace hath bene eſtemed as one of the moſt nobleſt Princes in all Chriſtendome. And nowe your grace (by the euill and peruerſe counſaile of ſome ſuche wythin the Realme, whiche are not ſo wiſe as they might be, and ſuch alſo as conſider and reſpect rather their owne priuate commoditie, then your graces honour and ſafetie of your Realme) beginneth to apprehende diuers Clerkes, Pieres, and other people of the land, and to directe proceſſe againſt them, not beſeeming: but contrary to the Lawe of the land, which to keepe and maintaine you are bounde by the othe you tooke at your coronation: and contrary to the graunde charter, whereof all the realme are witneſſes, & all the prelates of the ſame: and cōtrary to the ſentence confirmed by the Bul of our holy father the pope, which we haue to ſhew. All which things, as they are to the great pearill and daunger of your ſoule: ſo are they alſo to the vtter debaſing of your regall ſtate and honour. And Sir, although ſuch as be your graces gouernours and counſailers (beyng a ſallynge

Good counſelers neceſſary about a kyng.

aboue their agree) doe geue your grace to vnderſtande that their enterpriſes and yours doe pleaſe and content your ſubiectes and commons: yet your grace ſhall knowe for certaine, and prooue it your owne ſelfe to be farre otherwiſe, then that they beare you in hand. And that vnleſſe God do remedy the ſame if you proſecute your purpoſe begon in this order: you will leeſe the hearts of all your ſubiects, as alſo your good and rightfull enterpriſe, and ſhal ſee ſuch diſcord about the ſame: that you ſhall not be able to performe that you haue begon, but rather enforce your ennemies to ſeeke your deſtruction, to looſe your noble and renowmed fame, and in the ende your kingdom it ſelfe, which God forbid. Wherefore soueraigne Lorde and King, I beſeeche you: that for the ſafegard of your honour and Realme, and enterpriſe begon, that you will take vnto you the moſt diſcrete and wiſeſt men, wythin your Realme, and woorke by their aduiſe and counſell, as before thys time you haue bene accuſtomed: without the aide and counſell of whome you can neither maintaine your enterpriſe, nor gouerne your realme. And for that, ſome ſuch as are about your grace falſly deuiſe againſt vs, treaſon and ſuch like troubles (and therefore are of vs excommunicate, and as perſons excommunicate doe ſo eſteme of them) as your ſpirituall paſtour, we alſo deſire you ſo to eſteeme and thinke of them, which alſo, make like report of other that haue bene with your grace beyonde the ſeas, that they haue naughtely & falſely ſerued you, wherby you haue loſt the towne of Tourney, & much honor els, which you might haue wonne & gotten there. May it pleaſe your grace to call before you, the Prelates and Pieres of your Realme in ſome conuenient place, where wee and other moe, may ſafely come and reſorte, and there alſo to make ſearch and enquirie, in whoſe hands after the beginning of your warres, the money and what thing els ſo euer, which was graunted vnto you in aide of the ſame your warres, vntill thys preſent day, doeth remaine and is not laide out againe, as alſo by whoſe default you were ſo enforced to leaue the ſayde ſiege of Tourney: and thoſe which ſhalbe founde in any poynt faultie and guiltie therin againſt you as a good Iuſticer, your grace wil cauſe to be puniſhed according to the lawe: and in ſo much as appertaineth vnto vs therein, we aske iudgement of our Peeres (the ſtate alwayes of holy Church, of vs, & of our order reſerued inuiolate) according as we haue wrytten vnto you heerein. And for Gods ſake Syr, beleeue not either of vs or any other your true ſubiectes els, more then that you ſhall vnderſtand the veritie of: for if men ſhould be puniſhed without making anſwere to that, which is obiected againſt them, there ſhould be then no difference in iudgement betwixt the good doer and the bad.

Excommunication in his owne priuate cauſe abuſed.

And Syr, may it pleaſe you well to conſider, of the great enterpriſe you haue in hande, the great good will which you haue neede of for this cauſe, and of your great ennemies the Scots, and the great ieoperdie of your realme beſides. For, if your Prelates, your nobles, & al the wiſemen of your realme, were of one minde and will (without any diſcorde or diuiſion amongſt them) to diſpoſe and ſet in order thoſe things, which are needeful in ſo great affaires and buſineſſe: they ſhoulde haue all inough to beate their heads about, for the maintenance of your great enterpriſe begon, the honour of you, and ſauegarde of your Realme. And Syr, may it pleaſe your grace, not to be diſpleaſed that ſo rudely and groſely we declare vnto you the veritie: for why, the great loue & affection which we beare vnto you, & alwayes haue done the ſame: the preſeruation of your honour and ſauegard of your realme, as alſo for that we are (although vnworthy) the primat of the whole realme of England: which thing appertaining vnto vs by our office, & being your ſpirituall father, doth incite vs the rather both to ſay and cōmaund that, which may turne to the benefite of your ſoule, and profite of your realme and kingly eſtate. Thus the holy ſpirite ſaue you both body and ſoule, and giue your grace both to heare and beleeue good counſaile, and further giue you victorie ouer all your enemies. Written at Cant. the 1. day of Ianuary. By your graces chaplen the Archbiſhop of the ſame.

And thus ſtode the caſe betweene the king & the Archbiſhop of Caunterbury, who comming thus (as is ſaid) in ſecret wiſe into Englande, from the ſiege of Tourney, hys army in the meane while, by ſhips was conueyed to little Britaine. Of whome a great number, through vnſeaſonable and inconuenient meats and drinks, was there conſumed. To whom alſo no leſſe danger happened by the ſeas comming out of Britain into England, by tempeſt, thunder and lightening ſtirred vp, as is thought by the Necromancers of the French king.

The returne of the kings army from Tourney

Anno. 1341.

Truce taken for three yeares betweene K. Edward and the French king.

About whych ſeaſon, approchyng to the yeare of oure Lorde 1341. were ſent from the Pope two other Cardinals to entreat wyth Kyng Edwarde for thre yeres truce to be concluded more wyth the Frenche Kyng, beſide the former truce taken before for one yere, and all by the popes meanes. For heere is to be vnderſtanded, that as it was not for the Popes purpoſe to haue the Kyng of England to raigne ouer ſo many cōtreis, ſo his priuy ſupportation lacked not by all meanes poſſible, both by Archbyſhops & Cardinals, and alſo by the Emperor to maintain the ſtate of the French king, and to ſtabliſh him in his poſſeſſion. Ex Tho. Walſing. ex chron. Albanenſ.

In the ſaid hiſtories where theſe things be mentioned it is alſo noted, that the ſame yeare ſuch plentye there was here in the realme of victuals, that a quarter of wheat was ſolde for ij.s. a fat oxe for a noble, and as ſome ſay a ſheepe for iiij.d. And thus farre endureth the hyſtorie of Ranulphus Ceſtrenſis **called** Polychronicon.

Anno. 1342.

The next yere following, which was 1342. Ludouicus Bauarus the Emperor, who before had ſhewed great curteſie to king Edward as in his firſt viage ouer, in ſo much that he made him his Vicar or Vicegerent general, and offered hym alſo aide againſt the French king: Now (eyther turned by inconſtancie, or ſeduced by the pope) wryteth to him contrary letters, wherein hee reuoketh agayne the Vicegerentſhip graunted to hym, and ſeeketh all meanes in the fauour of the French king, againſt king Edwarde: as by his letters heere vnder written may better appeare.

The letter of the Emperour vnto the King of England.

LVdouicus by the grace of God Emperor of the Romaines alwaies Auguſtus, &c. To Edward king of England his beloued brother, greeting and vnfained loue. Although great and vrgent buſines of our owne do oppreſſe vs, & about the ſame our waighty affaires are daily incombred, yet with the diſcord & variaunce betwene your kingly dignity and the renowmed Phillip the king of Fraunce our coſine, for your ſake wee are not a little troubled. And the rather the great charges which may heereafter growe both to you and to your kingdome, thereby conſidered bothe of men and money vnleſſe the ſame be taken vp: doth more earneſtly prouoke vs to geue our ſelfe to the carefull ſtudie of your affaires. Wherefore wee geue you to vnderſtande that the foreſayde Philip (at our requeſt) hath geuen vnto vs by his letters, authoritie and power to intreat and conclude a peace betwene you, touching the variance begon: which peace (al the ſtate diligently cōſidered both of your ſelfe, your kingdome and ſubiects) wee take and beleeue to be right expedient for you: moouing therewithall your charity, and earneſtly deſiring you that to this alſo you will geue your conſent: wherby we may bring you both to concord and vnitie, and eſtabliſh betweene you a firme peace to endure, whereunto with willing minde we would apply our ſelfe and beſtow our painfull labour in proſecuting of the ſame. And heerein if you will condeſcend and agree vnto our counſaile, as we truſt you wil. It may pleaſe you by your letters to geue vnto vs the like autoritie as is aboue ſayd, to entreat peace or ordering of a truce for one yeare or two at leaſt to continue. Neither let it moue you that betwene vs and the ſayde Phillip of Fraunce a truce is taken. For ſeeing that you without our conſent tooke truce with hym: wee by the aduice of our Princes which know the bonds, dedes, and couenants betwixt vs, who alſo thought no leſſe but that ſauing your honour we might do the ſame, haue alſo made a league with the ſaid Phillip king of Fraunce, and for certaine cauſes doe reuoke and call backe the Liefetenantſhip which we aſsigned vnto you by our letters: Neuertheleſſe geuing you for a certaine to vnderſtande, that in our ſaide treaties and peace concluded, wee haue ſo brotherly conſidered you, that if you wil agree & condeſcend vnto our counſel: your cauſe (by our meane and help) ſhalbe brought to good paſſe and effect. About which things farther to conferre with your brotherhode herein, we haue ſent a deuout & religious man Eliarhardus, reader and brother of the Heremites of S. Auguſtine, and Chaplaine of our Courte: whome about the premiſſes we deſire with ſpeedy expedition to be ſent to vs again. Dated at Franckforde the 14 day of Iune in the 24. yeare of oure raigne, and 14. of our Empire.

The anſwere of the King of England, to the Emperour.

TO the high and mighty Prince Lorde Ludouicke, by the grace of God Emperor of the Romanes, alwaies Auguſtus, Edward by the ſame grace king of Fraunce, and England, and Lord of Ireland: ſalutation and proſperous ſucceſſe.

We haue reuerently receiued your highnes letters, amongſt other thinges containing, that the noble Phillip de Valois (to the intent a peace and concorde betweene vs and him might be concluded) hath geuen vnto you by his letters ful power and authoritie thereunto at your highneſſe requeſt: And that if the ſame might content vs to doe in like ſort, your highneſſe woulde trauaile to bring the concorde to paſſe: And that it would not moue vs any whit at all, that your highneſſe and the ſayde Phillip are in league together: For in ſo much as wee without your aſſent and conſent (you ſay) tooke truce with the ſayd Phillip, you haue alſo done the like with him (which thing you might well do ſauing your honoure, by the counſaile of all your Nobles and Princes) and for certaine cauſes reuoke againe the Lieftenauntſhip which you committed vnto vs. Doubtleſſe, the zeale and good will you haue to make this concorde and agreement, we much commend: letting you to vnderſtand, that we alwayes haue bene deſirous & ſtill are, to haue a reaſonable peace with the ſayde Phillip: which peace, as much as to vs (our honour ſaued) appertained, we haue in iuſtice and by law proſecuted: and in very deede, it ſhould be to vs acceptable, and as wee woulde wiſh, if by ſuch a Mediatour as your Celſitude is, it might be brought to paſſe. But foraſmuch as we: vnderſtande the ſame our right and title to the kingdome of France, to be manifeſt and cleare inough: we purpoſe not to commit the ſame by any of our letters to doutfull arbitrement. But while wee well conſider and reuolue with our ſelues, howe your highneſſe vpon circumſpect conſideration (manifeſtly beholding our iuſt and rightful doing, and the ſtraight dealing and obſtinate purpoſe and iniurie of the ſayd Philip) with vs and in our behalfe againſt the ſaid Philip, your graces highnes made a ſpecial league: adopting vs of your great and bountifull loue towardes our perſon, to be one of your ſonnes: Wherefore thus againe to alter and breake the ſame, wee cannot ſufficiently maruell. Seeing your inuincible highnes being inſtituted of God to the laude and commendation of good men, and reuenge of euill and wicked doers, hath made a league againſt vs with the ſaide Philip de Valoys our notorious and iniurious enemy. And as touching that which you ſay, without your aſsignement and conſent wee tooke a truce or dayes of reſpite with the ſaid Phillip which we ought not to haue done: If your grace well conſider the circumſtance of the matter, we haue done but as we might therein. For when we laide oure ſiege to Tourney, it was requiſite we followed their aduiſe whoſe aide and ſocietie therein we had. Beſides, the ſoden and imminent neceſsity which we there ſtood in, & the diſtance of the place betwixt your highneſſe and vs furthermore was ſuche, as by that no meanes wee might attaine the ſame, nor vſe your aſſent therein. Yea & further, if your grace wel remember your ſelf, your graunt vnto vs was ſuch: that whenſoeuer oportunitie thereunto ſhould ſerue, we might entreate of any peace, and graunt what time wee thought mete thereunto, without your conſent therin: So that to conclude any finall peace with the ſaide Philip de Valois, without either your conſent or otherwiſe making your highneſſe priuie thereunto, it might not be lawfull for vs: Which thing wythout your ſaid counſaile, conſent and aduiſe, we neuer minded or purpoſed to do. But haue in all our doings done that which vs beſeemed, ſo farre as by any meanes our power would ſtretch: hoping likewiſe, that your brotherly beneuolence for a time would haue more louingly ſupported vs. It is thought alſo by ſome, that the reuoking backe againe, or reſtraint of your foreſayd Lieſetenantſhip, was prematurate or done all out of time: when as according to your promiſe made to vs herein by your letters imperiall, you ought not ſo to haue done before the Realme and kingdome of Fraunce (or at the leaſt the greateſt part thereof) were of vs obtained and quietly in peaceable wiſe enioyed. Theſe premiſed therefore we deſire you, according to our nobilitie duely to conſider, and heereafter to doe that which ſhall be thought both meete and conuenient: becauſe that (God willing) we meane to recõpence and gratifie both you & yours, according to the meaſure of your beneuolence beſtowed vpon vs. The almighty graunt vnto your Celſitude ſo much felicitie as your hart deſireth. Dated at London the 18. day of Iuly in the 2. yeare of the raign of our kingdom of Fraunce, and of England. 15.

Pope Clement. 6.

In this meane time died Pope Benedict the 12. mentioned a little before: after whome ſucceeded in that roume Pope Clement the 6. Of whome it is reported in ſtoryes, that he was very liberall and bountiful to hys Cardinals of Rome, in riching and heaping them with goods & poſſeſſions, not of his owne, but with the Eccleſiaſticall dignities and preferments of the Churches of England. For ſo recordeth the author, that he beſtowed vpon his Cardinals the liuyngs and promotions, ſuche as were or ſhould be vacant in churches of England, and were about to ſet vp new titles for his Cardinals, here within this realm. But the kyng beyng offẽded therwith made voyd and fruſtrate all thoſe foreſayd prouiſions of the pope, chargyng moreouer and commaundyng no perſon whatſoeuer, to buſy him ſelf with any ſuch prouiſions, vnder paine of priſonment & loſyng his lyfe. Which law was made the next yere followyng which was an. 1344.

Ex Chron. Albanenſ.

The kyng diſanulleth the Popes prouiſion.

It followed then, that the ſaid Pope Clement, agayne began to make new prouiſiõs for two of his Cardinals of benefices and Churches that ſhould be next vacant, beſide Biſhopricks and Abbotſhyps, to the extent of two thouſand Markes. Whereupon, the procurators of the ſayd Cardinals were ſent down for the ſame. But the kyng and nobility of the realme not ſuffering that, vnder paine of impriſonment cauſed the ſayd procurators forthwith to depart the realm: whereupon, the nobles and commons ſhortly after, writeth a fruitfull Epiſtle to the Pope, for the liberties and the maintenance of ẏ Engliſh church: whereunto, as ſaith the author, the pope and the Cardinals were not able to anſwer. The argument and tenor of which letter out of French, wee haue cauſed to be tranſlated into Engliſhe, as enſueth.

The Poges procurators driuen out of England.

The letter of the king of England and nobles of the ſame, to the Pope, againſt the reſeruations and prouiſions which he had in England.

A letter of the Nobles & commons of England to the pope

TO the moſt holy father in God, Lord Clement by the grace of God of the holy church of Rome, and of the vniuerſal church, chiefe and high Biſhop: His humble & deuout children, the Princes, Dukes, Earles, Barons, Knights, Citizens, Burgeſes, and al the comminaltie of the Realme of Englande, aſſembled at the Parliament holden at Weſtminſter the 15. day of May laſt paſt: Deuoute kiſsings of his holy feete, with all humble reuerence and humilitie. Moſt holy father, the holy diſcretion, gouernment & equitie which appeareth to be in you and ought of duety ſo to be (beyng ſo high and holy a prelate, and head of the holy church) by whom the holy vniuerſall churche and people of God ought to be, as by the ſunne beames inlightened: Geueth vs good hope and likelyhode, that the iuſt petitions (to the honour of Ieſus Chriſt & holy Church, and your holineſſe alſo) by vs declared, ſhalbe of you graciouſly heard and conſidered. And that all errours and other iniquities quite taken away and remooued: in ſtede thereof, fruitfull exployts and neceſſary remedies (by the grace of the holy ſpirite; which you in ſo high an eſtate haue receiued) may be by you likewiſe graciouſly ordained and diſpoſed. Wherfore moſt holy father all we (vpon great deliberation and common aſſent) come vnto your holines: ſhewing and declaring that the noble kings of England our progenitours, our auncitours, and we (according to the grace of the holy ſpirite to them and vs geuen, euery one according to his deuotion) haue eſtabliſhed, fouded, and endowed within the realme of Englande: Churches, Cathedrals, Colleges, Abbeis, Priories, and other diuers houſes of religion in the ſame ordained: and to the Prelates and gouernours of the ſame places, haue geuen landes, poſſeſsions, patrimonies, franchiſes, aduowſons, and patronages of dignities, reuenues, offices, churches, with many and diuers other benefices vnto them geuen: whereby the ſeruice of God and faith of Chriſt might haue bene honoured and had in reuerẽce: that the hoſpitals & almes houſes that are made, with all the churches & edifices, might be honeſtly kept & maintained: and that deuout praiers might in thoſe places be made for the founders, & the poore pariſhioners aided and comforted. And ſuch only ought to haue the cure therof, as are able to heare confeſsions, and in their owne naturall toung otherwiſe meete to informe & teach their pariſhioners. And for ſo muche as (moſt holy father) that you cãnot well come to the notice of diuers ſuch errours & defaults, neither yet vnderſtand the condition of the places being ſo far of, vnles your holines be enformed & aduertiſed. We hauing the perfect intelligence and vnderſtanding of the ſayd errours and defaultes, of the places aboueſayd, within the ſayd Realme, haue thought meete to ſignifie the ſame vnto your holines. That diuers reſeruations, prouiſions and collations by your predeceſſours Apoſtolicke of Rome, and by you moſt holy father in your time haue bene graunted (and that more largely then they haue bene accuſtomed to be) vnto diuers perſons, as well ſtraungers and of ſundry nations, as vnto ſome ſuch as are our enemies, hauing no vnderſtanding at all of the tongue and conditions of them, of whom they haue the gouernment & cure. Whereby, a great number of ſoules are in perill, a great many of their pariſhners in daunger, the ſeruice of GOD deſtroyed, the almes and deuotion of all men diminiſhed, the hoſpitals periſhed, the churches with their appurtenaunces decayed, charitie withdrawne, the good and honeſt perſons of our realme vnaduaunced, the charge and gouernement of ſoules not regarded, the deuotion of the people reſtrayned, many poore ſchollers vnpreferred and the treaſure of the realme caryed out againſt the myndes and intentes of the founders. All which errours, defaultes, and ſlaunders moſt holy father we neyther can nor ought to ſuffer nor indure. We therefore moſt humbly require your holines, that the ſlaunders, errors and defaultes, which we haue declared vnto you, may be through your great diſcretion conſidered: and that it may pleaſe you that ſuch reſeruations, prouiſions, and collations may be vtterly repelled, that from henceforth the ſame be no more amongſt vs vſed. But to take ſuch order and remedy therein, that the ſaid benefices, edifices, rightes, with their apertinentes, may be to the honour of God by our owne countrymen cured, defended and gouerned. And that it may further pleaſe your holines, by your letters to ſignifie vnto vs without delay and other detract of tyme, what your pleſure is touching this our lawful requeſt & demaund, and that we may doe our indeuour with dilligence herein for the remedy, correction, and amendment of thoſe enormities aboue ſpecified. In witnes wherof, vnto theſe letters patentes we haue ſet our ſeales. Geuen in the full Parliament at Weſtminſter the 18. day of May, an 1343.

Decay of the Church of England by the Pope.

After theſe thinges thus paſſed ouer, the King ſhortly after ſent ouer his Procuratours, Earle of Lancaſter and Darby, Hugh Spencer, L. Rafe Stafforde, wyth the Byſhop ot Exetor and diuers other, to the popes court to diſcuſſe and plead about the right of his title, before the pope.

The Popes meſſage to the king.

Unto whom the ſaid Pope Clement the 6. not long after, ſent down thys meſſage: how that Ludouike duke of Bauarie, the Emperour whom the pope had before depoſed, had ſubmitted himſelfe to hym in all things, and therefore deſerued at his hands the benefite of abſolution: And how the pope therfore had cōferred and reſtored vnto him iuſtly and graciouſly the Empire, which he before vniuſtly did holde. &c.

The kings aunſwere to the Popes meſſage.

Which meſſage when the King did heare, beyng therwith moued to anger, anſwered againe, ſaying: That if he did agree and compound alſo with the Frenche king, he was ready to fight with them both. &c. Ex chro. Albanen.

{ Anno. 1344. }

The Caſtle in Windſore enlarged.

The rounde table builded in Windſore.

Within the time of this yere, pence, halfepence, and farthings began to be coyned in the tower. And the next yere folowing, which was an. 1344. the caſtle of Windſor (where the king was borne) began to be repared: and in the ſame, the houſe called the rounde table was ſituate, the diameter wherof from the one ſide to the other, contained 200. feete, to the expēces of which houſe weekly was allowed an C. li. for the mainteining of the kings chiualrie: till at length by the occaſion of the French warres, it came downe to ix. li. a weeke. By the example whereof, the Frenche king being prouoked, began alſo the like round table in Fraunce, for the maintaining of the knighthoode. At which time the ſayd French king moreouer gaue free libertie through his realme to fel downe trees for making of ſhips & maintayning of his nauie, whereby the Realme of Englande was not a litle dammified.

Tenthes graunted to the king by the clergy for 3. yeares.

Priuileges graunted by the king to the clergie.

During the ſame yere, the Clergie of England graunted to the king tenthes for 3. yeres: for the which the king in recompence againe graunted to them his Charter containing theſe priuiledges: that no Archbiſhop nor Biſhop ſhould be arreigned before his Iuſtices, ſiue ad ſectam ſuam, ſiue partis, if the ſayd clarke do ſubmit & claime his cleargy, profeſſing himſelfe to be a member of holy Church, who ſo doing ſhall not be bound to come to his anſwer before the Iuſtices. And if it ſhall be layd vnto them to haue maryed two wiues, or to haue maried a widow: the Iuſtices ſhall haue no power to procede againſt them, to inquire for the matter: So that the cauſe ſhall be reſerued to the ſpirituall court. &c.

By this it is lyke that prieſtes had wiues.

Prince Edward firſt prince of Wales.

About this preſent time at the ſetting vp of the rounde table, the king made Prince Edwarde his eldeſt ſonne the firſt prince of Wales. Al this while yet continued the truce betweene the 2. kings. Albeit it is likely to be thought that ẏ French king gaue many attempts to infringe the ſame.

{ Anno. 1345. }

Henry Erle, after made duke of Lancaſter ſent ouer to Gaſconie.

Wherupon Henry earl of Lancaſter wͭ 600. men at armes, and as many archers as were ſent ouer to Gaſcoin, ẏ yere after, an. 1345. who there ſo valiantly is ſaid to behaue himſelfe, that he ſubdued 55. towneſhips vnto the king, 23. noble men, he toke priſoners, encountring wͭ the French men at Allebroke. So curteouſly and liberally he dealt with his ſouldiors, ẏ it was a ioy to them and a preferment to fight vnderneath him. His maner was in winning any towne, litle or nothing to reſerue to himſelf, but to ſparſe ẏ whole ſpoile to his ſouldiors.

A rare example of a liberal captaine to his ſouldiours.

One example in the author (whom I follow) is touched: howe the foreſaide Earle at the winning of the towne of Bryers, where he had graunted to euery ſoldior for hys bootie, the houſe wͭ all the implements therein, which he by victory ſhould obtaine: among other his ſoldiors to one named Reh, fell a certaine houſe wͭ the implements thereof, wherein was contained the mint and mony coyned for that country, to the valure of a great ſubſtance: which when the ſoldior had found, in breaking vp a houſe, where firſt the groſſe mettall was not yet perfectly wrought, he came to the Earle declaring to him the treaſure, to know what was his pleaſure therein. To whome the Earle anſwerd that the houſe was his, & whatſoeuer he found therein. Afterwarde the ſouldior finding a whole mint of pure ſiluer ready coyned, ſignified the ſame to the earle, for ſomuch as he thought ſuch treaſure to be to great for his portion, to whom the ſayd Earl againe anſwering, declared that hee had once geuen him the whole houſe, and that he had once geuen, he would not call backe againe as childrē vſe to play. And therfore bad hym enioy that which was grāted to him: And if the mony were thrice as much it ſhould be his owne: Ex chron. Albanenſ. Which ſtory whither it was true or otherwiſe in thoſe dayes, I haue not to affirm. But certes, if in theſe our couetous wretched daies nowe preſent, any author ſhould reporte the like acte to be practiſed, I would hardly beleeue it to be true.

The liberall heart and conſtant voyce of a worthy captain.

The Scots partly a meane of breaking truce.

As the erl of Lancaſter was thus occupied in Gaſcony the Scots were as buſy here in England, waſting & ſpoyling without mercy. Which were thought (& not vnlike) to be ſet on by ẏ French king. And therfore was iudged both by that, & by other diuers wayes to haue broken the couenants of truce betwene him and the king of England.

{ Anno. 1346. }

The 1. viage of K. Edw. into France.

Wherfore ẏ next yere inſuing. An. 1346. king Edward firſt ſending his letters to the court of Rome, & therin cōplaining to the pope of Philip de Valois, how he had trāſgreſſed, and brokē the truce betwene them made, which by euidēt probations he there made manifeſt: about the mōth of Iuly made hys voyage into Normandy in ſuche ſecrete wiſe, that no man wel knewe whether he intended.

The battell at Cardein,

Where firſt he entred the towne of Hogs, from thence proceeded vnto Cardone. Where, about the 27. of Iuly by the riuer of Cardone he had a ſtrong battel, wͭ the Normandes & other French men, which to ſtop hys paſſage, defended ẏ bridge. At the which battel were taken of the Lords of France, the erle of Ewe, the erle of Tankeruile. And of knights wyth other men of armes, to the number of an 100. of foote men 600. and the towne and ſuburbs beaten downe to the hard wals. And all that could be borne away tranſported to the ſhippes.

A little before mention was made how the French K. began firſt to infringe the truce taken, and howe the Earle of Lancaſter, vpō the ſame was ſent vnto Gaſcony. Now for the more euidence of the matter cōcerning the falling of the French king from the league, and other his wrongs & vntrue dealing: It ſhal better in the kings letter appeare, who hearing word ẏ the Lord Philip de Valois (contrary to the forme of truce taken at Vanes) had apprehēded certaine of his nobles of Englande, and had brought them to Paris to be impriſoned & put to death: beſide other ſlaughters and ſpoilings made in Britaine, Gaſcony, and other places moe. He therfore ſeing the truce to be broken of the French kings part, & being thereto of neceſſity compelled: In the yeare aboue prefixed, the 14. of the month of Iune, did publiſh and ſend abroad hys letter of defiance, containing thys effect.

The kings letters of defiance againſt the French king.

The kings letters of defiance againſt the French king.

TO all and ſingular, to whom theſe preſents ſhal come, publike greeting. We thinke it is not vnknowen vnto you all, that after the deceaſe of Charles late king of Fraunce of famous memorie, brother to our redoubted Lady mother Quene Iſabel, Quene of England. That the crowne of Fraunce, by iuſt inheritance hath fallen vnto vs, as to the next heire male now liuing after the ſayd king. Nowe Phillip de Valoys, being ſonne but only to the vncle of the foreſayde king Charles, and therefore by degree of conſanguinity being further of remoued from the ſame (we being in the time of our minoritie) hath violently by force and power cōtrary to God and iuſtice vſurped, occupied, and yet doth occupy the ſame, inuading further and ſpoyling our landes in the Dukedome of Aquitania, and ioyning himſelfe with our rebellious ennemies the Scots, ſeeking our ſubuerſion both by land and by ſea, to the vttermoſt of hys endeuour. And although wee to preuent the damages which might riſe by warre, haue offred to the ſayde Phillip diuers friendly waies of peace: to the entent we might better intend our purpoſed voyage againſt Chriſtes enemies the Turkes: Yet could nothing preuaile with him in obtaining any peaceable way of reformation, driuing vs of by crafty diſsimulatiō, through falſe pretenſed wordes, but perfourming nothing with heart and dede. Whereuppon, wee not neglecting the grace and the gyft of God, to defend the right of our inheritāce, and to repulſe the iniuries of our enemie, haue not refuſed by force of armes, cōming downe to Britanie to encounter with him in open fielde. And ſo wee being occupied in our warres, there repaired vnto vs the reuerend father biſhop of Preueſt, and of Tuſculane Cardinals, and Legates from Pope Clement 6. to entreate ſome reformation of peace betweene vs. At whoſe requeſt wee conſented, agreeing to ſuch formes and cōditions of peace as then were taken betwene vs, ſending moreouer our Embaſſadours to the court of Rome, ſpecially to intreat of the ſame matter. And thus while ſome hope of truce ſeemed betwene vs to appeare: Newes ſodenly came vnto vs, which not a little aſtonied our minde, of the death of certaine of our nobles and adherents, whom the ſayd Phillip vniuſtly, and cruelly at Paris commaunded to be executed. Beſide the waſting and ſpoyling our lands and ſubiects in Britany, Gaſcony and other places: with innumerable wrongs and iniuries deceitfully intended againſt vs both by ſea and land. By reaſon wherof, the truce on his part being notoriouſly broken, it is moſt manifeſt to haue bene lawfull for vs, forthwith to haue ſet vppon him with open warre. Yet notwythſtanding to auoid thoſe incommodities that come by warre, wee thought firſt to prooue, if by any gentle meanes ſome reformation might be had touching the premiſſes. And therfore ſondry times, haue ſent Embaſſadours to the Popes preſence for the Treatyſe of peace, and reformation to be had in thoſe aforeſaid exceſſes: requiring alſo for the tractation therof, certayne termes of times to be appoynted, alwayes, reſeruing to our ſelues notwithſtanding free liberty to reſume warre at our pleaſure, according as the doinges of the ſayd Philip ſhall conſtrayne vs therunto. And now foraſmuch as the foreſayd termes be already expired, and yet no reaſonable offer of peace appeareth, neither will the ſayd Philip come to any conformity, being required and moniſhed notwithſtanding by the Popes letters therunto, (as the Pope by his letters hath written vnto vs) but alwayes hath multiplied his conſpiracy and obligations vſing extremeties agaynſt vs, to omit here to ſpeak of the exceſsiue enormity of the Popes Legate, who being ſent by the Biſhop of Rome for the keeping of truce, and whoſe part had bene rather to haue quenched and ſtayd the diſcord: hath ſtirred vp our enemy more egerly agaynſt vs. In the which doing neither hath the Biſhop of Rome (ſauing his reuerēce) as yet prouided any remedy, albeit he hath bene diuers times required of vs ſo to do. Which things being ſo, we ought to be excuſed both before God and man, if for the defect of other remedy to be had, we ſhalbe conſtrayned our ſelues to finde remedy agaynſt ſuch wrongs and iniuries: the caſe of iuſtice and neceſsity conſtrayning vs to geue out theſe our letters of defiance, agaynſt the violator of the truce, & the vniuſt inuader of our kingdome. Proteſting that this we do, not vpon any diſpleaſure to the Biſhop of Rome, or to the Apoſtolicke ſea but onely for the moderation of equity, ſtanding vpon the defence of our owne right & lawfull inheritaunce, intēding alwayes rather to haue peace, if by any reaſonable way it might be had. And thus much for the ſtopping of ſlaunderous fame and the mouthes of backbiters, We thought good to ſignify firſt to the high Biſhop of Rome, & the foreſayd Cardinals: that by them as perſons indifferent, and mediators, the ſame may be inſinuated to the contrarye part, and alſo vnto your whole vniuerſity in general: recommending vnto you all the innocency of my cauſe and the community of iuſtice. Dated at Weſtminſter the 14. of Iune, the *19.* yeare of our reigne in England, and of Fraunce the *6.*

The Popes legate ſtirreth vp war.

Lyke legate lyke Pope.

And thus much for the kinges letter. Now let vs agayne returne to his paſſage, from whence a litle we haue degreſſed. Concerning the which paſſage of the king, with the order of his actes atchieued in the ſame, from the winning of Cadane or Cordoyne, vnto the towne of Puſiack, is ſufficiently deſcribed by one of the Kinges Chaplaynes and his confeſſour, who being a Dominick Fryer and accompanying the King through all his iourney, writeth thereof as followeth.

Benedicere debemus Deum Cœli. &c. Great cauſe we haue to prayſe and laud the God of heauen, and moſt worthely to cōfeſſe his holy name, who hath wrought ſo his mercy to vs. For after the conflict had at Cadame, in the which many were ſlayne, and the City taken and ſackt euen to the bare walles, the Citty of Baia immediately yelded it ſelfe of his owne accord, fearing leaſt theyr coūſelles had bene bewrayed. After this the Lord our king directed his progreſſe toward Roane Who being at the towne of Lexon, there came certayne Cardinals to him, greatly exhorting him to peace. Which Cardinals being curteouſly entertayned of the K. for the reuerence of the Popes ſea, it was thus anſwered to them agayne. That the king being much deſirous of peace, had aſſayd by all wayes and meanes reaſonable how to mayntayne the ſame. And therfore hath offered conditions and manifolde wayes of peace to be had to the no ſmall preiudice of his owne cauſe. And yet is ready to admit any reaſonable offer of peace, if by any meanes it may be ſought &c. With this anſwere the Cardinalles going to the french king the kinges aduerſary, to perſwade with him in like maner: returned to King Edward agayne, offering to hym in the French Kynges name the Dukedome of Aquitania, in as full aſſurance as his father before him euer had it, beſides further hope alſo of obteining more, if intreatye of peace might be obteined. But for ſo much, that cōtēted not enough the kings mind, neither did the Cardinals finde the frēch king ſo tractable and propenſe to the ſtudye of peace as they looked for, the Cardinals returned, leauing the matter as they founde it. And ſo the king ſpeeding forward, by the way as his iourney did lye, he ſubdued the country and the great townes without any reſiſtāce of the inhabitans, who did all flye and run away. Such feare God ſtroke into them, that it ſeemed they had loſt their hartes. In the ſame voiage, as the king had gotten many townes and villages, ſo alſo he ſubdued Caſtles and Munitiōs, very ſtrong, and that with little ſtreſſe. His enemy being at the ſame time at Roane had reared a great army, who notwithſtanding being well manned, yet euer kept on the other ſide of the riuer Seane, breaking downe all the bridges that we ſhoulde not come ouer to him. And although the countrey roūd about continually was ſpoyled, ſackt, and with fire conſumed by the circuit of 20. miles round about: yet the French king being diſtant ſcarſe the ſpace of one mile frō vs, either would not or els durſt not (when he might eaſily haue paſſed ouer the riuer) make any reſiſtaunce for the defence of his countrey and people. And ſo our king iourneying forwarde came to Puſiacke or Poiſy; where the French king had likewyſe broke downe the bridge: and keeping on the other ſide of the riuer, would reſt in no place.

A letter of the kings cōfeſſor touching his actes doing at Cardoyn.

The Cardinals againe entreate for peace.

The kyngs anſwere to the Cardinals.

The French kyng ſheweth no carefull ſtudy of peace.

The kings comming to Puſiacke.

After whoſe comming to Poiſie, the foreſayd chaplain and confeſſor to the king, named Michaell Northburgh, deſcribing the kings voyage and the actes of the Engliſhmen from the town of Poiſie, to his comming to Calis, in his letters writeth in this wiſe.

¶ A Letter of W. Northburghe the Kyngs confeſſor, deſcribing the kings voyage into Fraunce.

SAlutations premiſed, we geue you to vnderſtand, that our ſoueraigne Lord the king came to the towne of Poiſye the daye before the Aſſumption of our Lady, where was a certayne bridge ouer the water of Seane broken downe of the enemye, but the king taried there ſo long till that the bridge was made again. And whiles the bridge was in repayring, there came a great number of men at armes and other ſouldiours were armed, to hinder the ſame. But the Earle of Northhampton iſſued out agaynſt them & ſlew of them more then one thouſand: the reſt fled away thankes be to God. And at an other time our men paſſed the water although with much trauell, and ſlew a great number of the common ſouldiours of Fraunce, about the Citty of Paris, and countrey adioyning, being part of the French kinges army, and thorowly well appoynted: ſo that our people haue now, made other good bridges vpon our enemyes, God be thanked, without any great loſſe and damage to vs. And on the morrow after the Aſſumption of our Ladye, the king paſſed the water of Sceane, and marched toward Poiſye, which is a towne of great defence and ſtronglye immured, and a maruellous ſtrong Caſtle within the ſame, which our enemies kept. And when our vaundgard was paſſed the towne, our reregarde gaue an aſſault thereunto and tooke the ſame: where were ſlayne more then 300. men at armes of our enemyes part. And the next day following, the Earle of Suffolke and Sir Hugh Spenſer marched forth vpon the commons of the countrey aſſembled and well armed, and in fine diſcomfited them, and ſlew of them more then 200. and tooke 60. Gentlemen priſoners, beſides others. And after that, the Kyng marched toward Graund Villers, and while he was there encamped, the kinges vaundgard was diſcried by the men of armes of the king Bename: whereupon, our men iſſued out in great haſte and ioyned battell with them, but were inforced to retyre. Notwithſtanding, thankes be vnto God, the Earle of Northhampton iſſued out and reſkued the horſemen with other ſouldiours: ſo that few or none of them were either taken or ſlayne ſauing onely Thomas Talbot, but had agayne the enemye in chaſe within 2. leagues of Amians: of whom we tooke 8. and ſlew 12. of their beſt men at armes, the reſt being well horſed, tooke the towne of Amians. After this, the king of England marched toward Pountiſe vpon Bartholomew day, and came vnto the water of Som, where the French king had layd 500. men at armes, and three thouſand foote men: purpoſing to haue kept and ſtopped our paſſage: but thankes be to God, the king of England and his hoſte entred the ſame water of Som, where neuer man paſſed before, without the loſſe of any of our men: and after that encountered with the enemy and ſlewe of them more then two thouſand, the reſt fledde to Abeuyle, in which chaſe was taken many Knights, Squiers, and men at armes. The ſame day, Sir Hugh Spenſer tooke the towne of Croylay, where he and his ſouldiours ſlew foure hundred men at armes, and kept the towne, where they found great ſtore of victuals. The ſame night, encamped the king of England in the Foreſt of Creſſy vpon the ſame water, for that the French kinges hoſte came on the other ſide of the town neare vnto our paſſage: But he woulde not take the water of vs, and ſo marched towarde Abeuile. And vpon the Friday next following, the King beyng ſtill encamped in the ſayd Foreſt, our Scuriers diſcried the french king, which marched toward vs in foure great battelles: And hauing then vnderſtanding of our enemies (as Gods will was) a little before the euening tide we drew vnto the playne fielde, and ſet our battelles in aray: and immediately the fight began, which was ſore and cruell, and indured long, for our enemyes behaued themſelues right nobly. But thankes be geuen to God, the victory fell on our ſide, and the Kyng our aduerſary was diſcomfited with all hys hoſte, and put to flight: Where alſo was ſlayne the Kyng of Bename, the Duke of Loren, the Earle of Dabeſon, the Earle of Flaunders, the Earle of Blois, the Earle of Aarcot, with his two Sonnes, the Earle of Damerley, the Earle of Nauers, and his Brother, the Lord of Tronard, the Archbyſhoppe of Myemes, the Archbiſhop of Saundes, the high Prior of Fraunce, the Earle of Sauoy, the Lord of Morles, the Lord de Guis, Segniour de S. Nouant, Seigniour de Roſingburgh, with ſixe Earles of Almayn, and diuers other Earles, Barons, Knightes, and Squyres, whoſe names are vnknowne. And Philippe de Valoys himſelfe, with another Marques which was called Lord Electour among the Romaynes, eſcaped from the battell. The nnmber of the men at armes whiche were founde dead in the field, beſide the common Souldiours and footemen, were 1542. And all that night the king of England with his hoſte abode armed in the field where the battell was fought. On the next morrow before the Sunne roſe, there marched towardes vs an other great hoſte, mightye and ſtrong, of the Frenchmen. But the Earle of Northhampton, and the Earle of Northfolke iſſued out agaynſt them in 3. battels, and after long and terrible fight, them in likewiſe they diſcomfited by Gods great help and grace (for otherwiſe it could neuer haue bene) where they tooke of Knights and Squires a great number, and ſlew aboue 2000. purſuing the chaſe three leagues from the place where the battell was fought. The ſame night alſo the king encamped himſelfe agayne in the foreſt of Creſſy, and on the morow marched toward Boleyne, and by the way he took the town of Staples: and from thence he marched toward Calis where he entendeth to plant his ſiege and lay his battery to the ſame. And therfore our ſoueraigne Lord the king willeth and commaūdeth you in all that euer you may, to ſend to the ſaid ſiege victuals cōuenient. For after the time of our departing frō Chaam, we haue trauelled through the countrey with great perill and daunger of our people, but yet alwayes had of victuall plenty thankes be to God therfore. But now as the caſe ſtandeth, we partly need your helpe to be refreſhed with victuals. Thus fare you well. Written at the ſiege before the towne of Calis the 14. day of September.

Anno. 1346.
Siege of Calys.

After the ſiege and winning of Poiſie, the third day of September an. 1346. the king through the midſt of Fraūce directed his paſſage vnto Calis, as by the tenor of this letter you heare, & beſieged ẏ ſame: which ſiege he continued from the third of September aforeſayd, til the third day of Auguſt the yeare next enſuing, vpon the which day it was rendered vp vnto the ſayd king Edward the third, and ſubdued vnto the crowne of England, as after the Lord willing ſhall more appeare.

Dauid king of Scots inuadeth England.

In the mean time during the ſiege of Calis, Dauid the Scottiſh king at the requeſt of ẏ French king with a great army braſt into the North parts of England, and firſt beſieging the towne of Lidell, within ſixe daies obteined the greateſt part of the towne, & there taking all that he could find, with Sir Walter Salby a valiant knight which was the keper of the hold, cauſed him vncurteouſly to be put to the ſword, and ſo from thence proceeded further into England, till at length being met with all by William Surthe Archbiſh. of Yorke, and the L. Percy, and the L. Neuell, wt other nobles of thoſe parties (calling & gathering their men together) in the plain nere to Durham, the 17. day of October in the yere aboueſayd through the gracious hand of Chriſt, there were ſubdued & conquered. In the which conflict, the Earles of Murrife, and Stratheron, with the flower of all the chiualry and principall warriors of Scotland were ſlaine. Alſo the foreſayd king Dauid, with the Earles of Mentiffe & Fiffes, and other Lords, and Williā Douglas Maſ klime, fleming, and William Douglas, & other many moe men of armes were taken priſoners, & ſo the miſchiefe which they intended to other, fell vpon theyr owne heads.

The Scots ouerthrowen.

Dauid the Scottiſhe K. taken priſoner.

During moreouer the ſayd ſiege of Calis, the foreſayd Pope Clemēt the 6. writing to the king of England, wēt about vnder the pretence of peace, to ſtop hys proceedings whoſe letters here follow vnder written.

❧ The letter of the Pope to the king of England, in the behalfe of the Frenchmen.

CLement the Biſhop, ſeruaunt of Gods ſeruaunts: To his welbeloued ſonne in Chriſt, Edward the puiſſaunt king of England Salutation and Apoſtolical bleſſing. If you diligētly conſider deare ſonne (as ought a catholicke Prince to do) the ſlaughter of ſuch an innumerable ſort, bought with the precious bloud of Chriſt our redemer: the loſſe of their ſubſtaunce & ſoules, and the lamētable perils, which the diſſentions and warres ſtirred vp betwene you and our welbeloued ſonne Philippe, the noble king of Fraūce haue brought vpō vs, and yet dayly do without intermiſſiō: And alſo the bewayling of ſo many poore people, crying out of Orphans and pupils, lamentation of widowes, and other miſerable people, which be robbed and ſpoyled, and almoſt famiſhed: what exclamation they make with teares running downe theyr cheeks, yelling and crying vnto God for helpe, as alſo the deſtruction of churches, monaſteries, & holy places, holy veſſels and other ornamēts vnto gods ſeruice dedicated: the ſacrilegious robberies, takings, & impriſonings: the ſpoyling of holy churches & religious perſons, with many other ſuch innumerable, deteſtable, execrable miſchiefes, offending the eies of the diuine maieſty: All which, if your princely hart woulde conſider and well remember with this alſo that Catholicke fayth (eſpecially in the Eaſt partes) and the Chriſtians there abiding by meanes of the ſame diſſentiōs and warres, deſtitute of the helpes of ſuch catholicke men as are in the Weſt parties, are ſo afflicted of the Infidels ſeyng the other partes of Chriſtendome ſo troubled, with cruell perſecutions, yea and more crueller then euer it hath bene (although in theſe times to amplify this our fayth in the ſayd Eaſt parts is cruell perſecution ſhewed more then hath bene of many yeares paſt) doubtles we beleue it would pity your hart. And to the end that ſuch and ſo great euils ſhould no further proceed, nor yet that ſo great good as might be done by delating of our foreſayd fayth in theſe times ſhould be let & hindered, we deſire you that ye would applye your minde to make ſome agreement and peace with the foreſaid king. For if (my welbeloued ſonne) God hath geuen vnto you proſperous ſucceſſe and fortune, ye ought rather to humble thē to extoll your ſelfe; and ſo much the more readier to encline to his peace, and to indeuour your ſelfe to pleaſe God which loueth peace, and delighteth in peaceable men, and to eſchew the foreſayd euils which without doubt doe grieuouſly offend him. Furthermore, we maruell greatly that vnto our reuerend brother Anibaldus Byſhop of Tuſculane, and our beloued ſonne Stephen of the title of S, Iohn, and Paule, prieſt and Cardinall of the apoſtolicall ſea, being ſent as Legats by vs and the ſame ſee Apoſtolical to intreat a peace, who diligently and faythfully laboring for the ſame as louers of verity, iuſtice and equity, and therwithall regarders of your honour: could not be ſuffered touching the intreatye of the ſame peace, to come vnto your Graces preſence.

Wherefore we deſire your kingly highneſſe more earneſtly, & for the mercy of God with more vehemence require the ſame: that you taking vp the foreſaid horrible euils and preuenting the ſweetnes of piety and compaſſion, may eſcape the vengeance of Gods indignation, which were to be feared, if you ſhould perſeuer in your former euils as God forbid. And as touching the intreaty for peace, for which our foreſayd Cardinals were ſent vnto you (howbeit ſecretly leaſt it ſhould be any derogation to your honor) we deſire you to condeſcend therunto, & with all your affection you will incline your minde to the ſame, ſo pleaſaunt vnto God, ſo deſired of the world, as alſo to you the foreſayd king, & vnto the catholicke fayth profitable. And that the ſame peace by Gods help & grace eſtabliſhed & made perfect, you might aſſay your puiſſant ſtrength about gods buſines in the foreſaid eaſt partes (ſo good occaſion ſeruing as before is ſayd in theſe our times) being ſo apt aduaūcements of your honor, & happy increaſing of your princely name: for ſeruētly we haue heard of you reported to behaue your ſelfe, in all your attemptes. Thus we doubt not but that you wil write vnto vs again touching the premiſſes, and the purpoſe of your intention touching the ſame. Dated at Auinion the 18 of February, and 5 yeare of our Papacy.

❧ The aunſwere of the king of England, to the foreſayſt letter of the Pope.

K. Edward anſwereth to the pope.

MOſt holy father, we vnderſtand by the letters of the reuerēd fathers in God the Byſhop of Tuſculan, and Stephen of the title of S. Iohn Prieſt, Cardinals & Legats of the Court of Rome, as alſo by the letters of your holyneſſe ſent vnto vs, that ye maruell greatly for that your ſayd Legates were of purpoſe ſent vnto vs, and commaunded to intreat of a peace betwene our aduerſary of Fraunce and vs, that we would not ſuffer them ſecretly to talke with vs, for the ſafegard of our honor: The intention of your hart to make the foreſayd peace, complayning and bewayling therein the death of Chriſten men, the loſſe of their goodes, the perill of their ſoules, the lamentable waylings of the poore, of orphanes, the widowes, and deſtruction of other pittyfull perſons, the pillage and robberies of Churches, and other miſchiefes innumerable, and namely the diminiſhing of Chriſten fayth in the Eaſt partes, which by the warre betwene our aduerſary of Fraūce and vs is ſore decayed, as the ſaid letters playnely do import: And that foraſmuch as God hath geuen you triumphant fortune, that ſo much the more we ought to abaſe and humble our hart and to be the readyer to make and incline to a peace. As touching theſe thinges holy Father, we geue your holyneſſe to vnderſtand that aſwell vnto your foreſayd Legates as other meſſengers ſent from you vnto vs, we haue offered vnto euerye of them reaſonable wayes of peace, and euery day declare the ſame, and that not ſecretly but openly: For we doubt not to let our purpoſe be vnderſtoode, for he that is the high Iudge both of him and vs, in whoſe diſpoſition all thing lyeth, hath geuen vnto vs the crowne of Fraunce to our right and proper heritage. The which right, our foreſayd aduerſary hath by force, of long time deteyned from vs we ſeeking to obtayne the ſame in peaceable wiſe and yet do, if we might obtayne the ſame in any good maner, rather for the benefit of chriſten men, and that the foreſayd euilles might ceaſe, which by his wrongfull meanes onely haue increaſed & growne. Yet notwithſtanding as before this time you know we aſſented to a truce with certayne Articles conteined in the ſame writing, all this he hath infringed: Neither doth the wrong ſuffice him which he offereth vs in our foreſayd heritage, but endeuoureth himſelfe during the ſayd truce to inuade our realme of England and other our landes; and further, maynteineth the Scottes, & aydeth them to the vtter deſtructiõ of vs, our people, & lands aforeſayd: whereby we were inforced for the ſafegarde of our people and landes, by ſuch lawfull meanes we may, to defend our ſelues and put him from his wicked purpoſe. And furthermore, for the ſame our quarell being in the handes of God, haue we commen againſt him to conquere our inheritaunce of Frãce ouer whom God hath geuen vs diuers victories as we haue truſted he would by his rightwiſe iudgement and power, whiche thing he hath ſhewed vpon vs, (all chaunce of fortune ſet a part) in reſpect of our rightfull title therein, and without our deſertes: Wherefore with all humility of hart we geue him thanks alwaies therefore, moſt deuoutly night and day prayſing his holy name, for we acknowledge the ſame commeth not by our ſtrength and force. Wherefore moſt holy Father we deſire your holyneſſe, and ſomuch as in vs lyeth require the ſame, that you that ſupplye the place of the ſonne of God in earth, and hath the gouernement of the ſoules of all Chriſten men and ought to be vpright and equall towardes all men, without exception of perſons: that ye will receiue good information and true, of the obiections aboue ſayd, and will put to your holy helping hand, as much as in you is, that our ſayed aduerſarye of Fraunce may acknowledge his wrong whiche he hath done to vs herein, and may be by your ayde redreſſed, and that he in this his wrong haue no mainteynance and ayde at your hand. For if it be ſo, we then appeale vnto the iudge of iudges which ſuffereth for a time wronges to be donne for the ſinnefull default of man, but in the end redreſſeth the ſame, leauing no good deed vnrewarded, nor euill vnpuniſhed: moſt humbly requiring him to be to vs a true and vpright iudge of all our controuerſyes, for his mercies ſake, as in the meane time we repoſe our full truſt and confidence in him. The holy ſpirit of God. &c.

The kyng appealeth from the P. to God.

Moreouer during yet the ſiege of Calis, the French king had ſent certayn offers to the men of Flaunders that if they would relinquiſh the king of England and adhere to him.

Firſt he would remitte all their former tranſgreſſions.

Secondly, he would vnburdẽ them of their interdict.

Thirdly, he would ſend vnto them ſuch plẽty of corne, that what was ſold for 12. s. with them, ſhould be ſold for 4. s. and that for 6. yeares.

Offers made to the men of Flaunders to forſake K. Edwarde.

Fourthly, he would ſtore them with plenty of French woll, to make cloth for a ſmall price, & that they might ſell the ſayd clothes both in Flaunders and in Fraunce: & that the Frẽch men ſhould vſe the ſame cloth, for ſo much as al other maner of cloth ſhould be forbid in Fraunce, ſo long as any of that (made of French woll) might be found.

Fiftly, he would reſtore them to theſe three Cities Inſulam, Rowocum, and Betony.

Sixtly, he would defend them from all their aduerſaries. And in pledge of the ſame, would ſẽd them mony before hand.

Seuenthly, ſuch as were able and forward men amõg them, he would reteine and promote them. &c.

But theſe offers ſeming to proceed more of faire words to ſerue the preſẽt turne, then of any harty truth, were not receiued. Thẽ the L. Iohn, Prince & heyre to the French king, during the foreſayd ſiege of Calis aboue mentioned, comming with a mighty army of French men, ſet vpon yͤ men of Flaũders and Engliſh men in the towne of Caſſels. In the which conflict during from morning to noone, the Frenchmẽ were vanquiſhed and the young Dolphin driuen backe from whence he came. Of whoſe number diuers were ſlaine, and taken priſoners. Where on the other ſide (through the Lordes defence) not one is reported to be grieuouſly wounded.

The Dolphin with the French diſcomfited at Caſſeles.

As this paſſed on, not long after about yͤ 7. day of Iune an. 1347. king Edward continuing ſtill his ſiege agaynſt Calis, Philip the French king came downe with a mighty army purpoſing to remoue the ſiege: where not farre of from the Engliſh hoſt, he incamped himſelfe. Which done 2. Cardinals, Ambaldus, & Stephanus (procured for the ſame purpoſe) going betwene the two kinges, gaue to the king of England thus to vnderſtand: that if he would cõdeſcend to any reaſonable way of peace, the French king was ready to offer ſuch honeſt profers vnto him, as to reaſon & to his contentation ſhould ſeme agreable. But in cõcluſion when it came to talke, the nobles could not agree vpon yͤ conditions. Wherefore the french king ſeing no other remedy, did it to be ſigniſied to king Edward: that betwene that preſent Teuſday, & the next friday, if he would come forth into the field, he ſhould haue battell geuẽ him. Thus the place being vewed of foure Captaines of either hoſt, for the battaile to be fought: it ſo fell, that the French K. on Wedneſday at night before the battell ſhould ioyne, ſecretly by night ſetting his pauilions on fire, returned backe with his army, out of the ſight of Engliſh men.

{ Anno. 1347. }

The French king flyeth before the battaile.

Upon the Friday folowing, they which were beſieged in the towne of Calis, ſeeing the king to be retyred (vpon whoſe helpe they truſted, being alſo in great penury & famine for lack of victuals, & otherwiſe in much miſery vehemently diſtreſſed) ſurrendered the towne to the kinges handes: who like a mercifull Prince onely deteining certeine of the chiefe, the reſt with the whole cõmons he let go with bagg & baggage, diminiſhing no part of their goods, ſhewing therein more Princely fauour to them, then they did of late in Queene Maries dayes vnto our men, in recouering the ſayd towne of Calis agayne.

The towne of Calice wonne.

After the winning thus of Calis as hath bene premiſed, king Edward remaining in the ſayd towne a certaine ſpace, was in conſultatiõ concerning his voyage & proceding farther into Fraunce. But by meanes of the foreſayd Cardinals, truce for a certayne time was takẽ, and inſtrumentes made (ſo prouided) that certayne noble mẽ as well for the french K. as for the king of England, ſhould come to the Pope there to debate vpon the Articles. Unto the which king Edward, for peace ſake was not greatly diſagreing. Which was. an. 1347. Ex Tho. Walſingh.

Truce cõcluded betweene England & Fraunce.

The next yeare folowing which was an. 1348. fell a ſore plague, which they call the firſt generall peſtilence in yͤ realme of England, This plague (as they ſay) firſt ſpringing frõ the Eaſt, & ſo ſpreading weſtward, did ſo mightely preuaile here in this land, beginning firſt at Dorceſter & the countryes thereabout, that euery day lightly 20. ſome dayes 40. ſome 60. & moe dead corſes were brought & layd together in one pitte. This beginning the firſt day of Auguſt: by the firſt of Nouember it came to Londõ. Whereas the vehement rage therof was ſo hoate, and did increaſe ſo much: that from the firſt day of February, til about the beginning of May in a Churchyard then newlye made by Smithfield, aboue 200. dead corſes euery day were buried, beſides them which in other Churchyardes of the Cittye were layd alſo. At lẽgth by the grace of Chriſt ceaſing there it proceded from thence to the Northparts, where alſo the next yeare after. an. 1349. it ſwaged.

{ Anno. 1348. }
A vehement peſtilence in England.

Now called the Charterhouſe church yard.

After this in the next yeare inſuing. an. 1350. the towne of Calis was by treaſon of the keper of the Caſtle, almoſt betrayed and wonne from the Engliſh men. Within the compaſſe of which yere, dyed Philip the French king. After whom king Iohn his ſonne ſucceded in the crowne. Who the next yeare after vnder falſe pretence of frendſhip, cauſed the Conſtable of Frãuce Erle of Ewe to be beheaded: who being taken priſoner before in warre by Engliſh men, and long deteined in priſon in England, was licẽſed by king Edward to viſite his country of Fraunce. In the ſame yere the town of Gwines was takẽ by Engliſhmẽ, while the keepers of the hold were negligent and a ſleepe.

{ Anno. 1350. }
Calice almoſt loſt by treaſon.
The death of the French king.
{ Anno. 1351. }
The towne of Gwynes taken.

The yeare next folowing, the Marſhall of Fraunce with a great army was put to flight, by Syr Roger Bentele Knight and Captayne in Britaine, hauing but onely 600. Souldiours with him. In this battell were taken 9. Knightes, Eſquires, and Gentlemen. 140. The French men & Britaines, by this victory were exceedingly diſcouraged, and there pride cut downe.

{ Anno. 1352. }
Victory of Syr Roger Bentele.

In the yere after, was Henry firſt made Duke of Lãcaſter, which before was Earle of Derby and Lancaſter. Alſo diuers good ordinannces were appoynted in yͤ Parliament at Weſtminſter. Which after by auarice, and parciall fauour of the head men, were agayne vndone.

First Duke of Lancaſter.

Concord and agreement about the yeare. 1354. began to come well forward, & inſtruments were drawne vpon the ſame, betwene the 2. kings. But that the matter being brought vp to Pope Innocent 6. partly by the quareling of the Frẽch men, partly by the winking of yͤ Pope which euer held with the French ſide, the conditions were repealed, which were theſe: That the king of England, all the Dukedome of Aquitanie with other lands there, ſhould be to him reſtored, without homage to the French king. And that king Edward agayn ſhould ſurrender to him all his right and title, which he had in Fraunce: whereupon roſe the occaſion of great war and tumult, which folowed after betwene the two Realmes.

{ Anno. 1354. }
Pope innocent. 6.

It folowed after this, the yeare of our Lord. 1355. that king Edward hearing of the death of Philip the French king, & that king Iohn his ſonne, had graũted the Dukedome of Aquitine to Charles his eldeſt ſonne & Dolphin of Uienna: ſent ouer Prince Edward with the Earle of Warwick, of Saliſbury, of Oxford, and with them a ſufficient number of able ſouldiors, into Aquitania. Where he being willingly receiued of diuers, yͤ reſt he ſubdued: part-

Chron. Adami. Murimouth canonici D. Pauli de geſtis Edw. 3.
{ Ann. 1355. }

ly by force of ſword, partly receiued, ſubmitting themſelues to his protection.

The third viage of K. Edward into Fraunce.

Not long after this in yͤ ſame yere, word being brought to king Edward that Iohn the Frēch king was ready to meet him at S. Omers there to geue him battayle, gathered his power & ſet ouer to Calis with his 2. ſonnes, Leonell Earle of wilton: and Iohn of Gaunt, Earle of Richmond: & with Henry Duke of Lancaſter, &c. who beyng come to S. Omers, the French king with a mighty army of his francklings hearing of his cōming, the nerer he approched to them the further they retyred backe: waſting & deſtroying behind them, to the intēt that the engliſh army in purſuing thē ſhould finde no victuals. By reaſō whereof, king Edward folowing him by yͤ ſpace of 9. or 10 dayes vnto Hadē (whē neither he could finde his enemy to fight, nor victuals or forage for his army) he returned vnto Calis: where warre agayne being offered in the name of the king vpon vnſtable conditions, and yet the ſame not performed, king Edward ſeeing the ſhrinking of his enemy, frō Calis croſſed the ſeas into England: where he recouered agayne the towne of Barwicke, which the Scots before by ſubtle traine had gotten. At which time was graūted vnto the king in Parliament 50. s. for euery ſacke or packe of wooll that ſhould be caried ouer, for the ſpace of 6. yeares together. By the which graunt, the king might deſpend euery day by eſtimation aboue 100. marks ſterling. And for as much as euery yere 100000. ſacks of wooll were thought to be exported out of the Realme: the ſum thereof for 6. yeres ſpace was eſteemed to mount to 1500000. poūd ſterling.

The French K. refuſeth to ioyne in battell with kyng Edward.

Fiftie ſhillings for euery ſack of wooll caryed out of England.

The ſame yeare, when king Edward had recouered Barwick, and ſubdued Scotland: Prince Edward being in Gaſcony, made toward the Frēch king. who notwithſtanding by the way all bridges were caſt downe, & great reſiſtaunce made: yet the victorious Prince making way with his ſword, after much ſlaughter of the Frenchmen, & many priſoners taken: at length ioyning with the French king at Poytiers, ſcarſe with 2000. gaue the ouerthrow to the French king with 7000. men of armes and mo. In which conflict the French king himſelfe, and Philip hys ſonne with L. Iames of Bourbon, the Archb. of Senon, 11. Earles. 22. Lordes were taken. Of other warriors and men of armes 2000. Some affirme in this conflict were ſlayne 2. Dukes, of Lordes and noble men 24. of men of armes 2002, of other ſouldiours aboue 8000. The commō report is, that mo Frenchmē were there taken priſoners, then was the number of them which tooke them. This noble victory gotten by the grace of God brought no litle admiration to all men.

The cuſtome of wooll for ſixe yeres 1500000. poundes ſterling to king Edward.

Anno. 1356.

The French K. taken priſoner by prince Edward.

It were too long, and litle pertayning to the purpoſe of this hiſtory to comprehend in order all the doinges of this king, with the circumſtances of his victoryes, of the bringing in of the french king into England, of his abode there, of the raunſome leuied on him and of Dauid the Scottiſh king, of which, the one was rated at 3. millions of Scutes, yͤ other at 100000. marks to be payd in 10 yeres how the ſtaple was after tranſlated to Calis, with ſuche like, I referre them that would ſee more, to the Chronicle of Tho. Walſing. of S. Albans, of Iohn Froyſard, Adā Merimouth, who diſcourſe all this at large.

Euery Scute valuing 6. ſhillings 8. pence.

Thus hauing diſcourſed at large al ſuch marſhal affairs and warlicke exploytes incident in the reigne of this king betwixt him and the realmes of Fraunce and Scotland: Now to returne agayne to our matters eccleſiaſticall, followeth in order to recapitulate and notifye the troubles & contentions growing betwene the ſame king & the Pope and other eccleſiaſticall perſons in matters touching the church in order of yeares remayning in the Tower taken out of the recordes as followeth. As where firſt in the 4. yeare of his reigne the king wrote to the Archbi. of Canterbury to this effect. That whereas King Edward the 1. his graund father did geue to a Clerke of his owne, being his Chaplain the dignity of Treaſurer of York, the Archbiſhopricke of Yorke being then vacant and in the kinges handes, in the quiet poſſeſſion whereof the ſayde Clerke continued vntill the Pope miſliking therewith woulde haue diſplaced him, and promoted to the ſame dignitye a Cardinal of Rome to the manifeſt preiudice of the crown of England. The King therefore ſtraightly chargeth the Archbiſhop of Yorke not to ſuffer any matter to paſſe that may be preiudice to the donation of his graundfather, but that his owne Clerke ſhould enioy the ſayd dignity accordingly, vpon payne of his highnes diſpleaſure.

The like precepts were alſo directed to theſe Biſhops folowing, vide. to the Biſhop of Lincolne, Biſhop of worceſter, Biſhop of Sar, Monſer Marmion, Archdeacon of Richmond, Archdeacō of Lincolne, the Prior of Lewē, the Prior of Lenton, to maiſter Rich of Bintworth, to M. Iherico de Concoreto the Popes Nuncio, to M. Guido of Calma. And withall wrote his letters to the Pope touching the ſame matter conſiſting in three partes. Firſt in the declaration and defence of his right and title to the donatiō and gift of all maner of temporalties, of offices, prebendes, benefices and dignities eccleſiaſticall holden of his in capite as in the right of his crown of England. Secondly in expoſtulating with the Pope for intruding him ſelfe into the auncient right of the crowne of England intermedling with ſuch collations contrary to right & reaſon and the example of all his predeceſſours which were Popes before. Thirdly intreating him that he would hereforth abſteyne and deſiſt from moleſting the Realme wyth ſuch nouelties and ſtraunge vſurpations, and ſo much the more for that in the publique Parliament late holden at weſtminſter it was generally agreed vpon by the vniuerſall aſſent of all the eſtates of the Realme that the Kyng ſhould ſtand to the defence of all ſuch rightes and iuriſdictions as to his crowne appertayned.

After this in the 9. yeare of the Reigne of this Kyng Pope Benedict the 12. ſendeth down letters touching his new creation with certayne other matters and requeſtes to the King whereunto the King aunſwering agayne declareth how glad he is of that his preferment adding moreouer yͤ his purpoſe was to haue ſet vnto him certain Ambaſſadors for congratulatiō of the ſame: But being otherwiſe occupyed by reaſon of warres could not attend hys holyneſſe requeſtes: notwithſtanding he minded to call a Parliament about the feaſt of Aſcention next, whereupon the aſſēbly of his clergy and other eſtates, he would take order for the ſame and ſo direct his Ambaſſadours to his holyneſſe accordingly.

The next yeare after which was the 10. yeare of his reigne the King writeth an other letter to the Pope that foraſmuch as his clergy had graūted him one yeres tenth for the ſupportation of his warres, and for that the Pope alſo had the ſame time to take vp the payment of 6. yeares tenth graunted him by the Clergy a litle before, therefore the Pope woulde vouchſafe at his requeſt to forbeare the exaction of that money for one yeare, till that his tenth for the neceſſities of his warres were diſpatched.

The ſame yere he wrote alſo to the Pope to this effect. That whereas the Prior and Chapter of Norwiche did nominate a Clerke to be Biſhop of Norwich and ſet him to Rome for his inueſtiture without the Kinges knowledge, therefore the Pope woulde withdraw his conſent & not intermedle in the matter appertaining to the Kings peculiar iuriſdiction and prerogatiue.

After this in the 16. yeare of this King it happened that the Pope ſent ouer certayne Legates to heare and determine matters appertayning to the right of patronages of Benefices: which the King perceiuing to tend to the no ſmall derogation of his right and the liberties of hys ſubiectes writeth vnto the ſayd Legates admoniſhing and requiring them not to proceede therein nor attempt any thing vnaduiſedlye otherwiſe then might ſtand with the lawfull ordinaunces & cuſtomes of the lawes of his realm and liberty of his ſubiectes.

Writing moreouer the ſame yeare to other Legats being ſent ouer by the Pope to treate of peace betweene the King and the French King with requeſt that they would firſt make their repayre to the french King who had ſo oftentimes broken with him, and proue what conformitye the french king would offer: which if he found reaſonable, they ſhould ſoone accord with him: otherwiſe exhorted thē not to enter into the land nor to proceede any further in that behalfe.

The yeare following which was the 17. of his reigne enſueth an other letter to the Pope agaynſt his prouiſiōs and reſeruations of benefices, worthy here to be placed & ſpecified, but that the ſumme thereof is before ſet downe to be found in the page. 386.

The yeare following an other letter likewiſe was ſet by the King to the Pope vpon occation takē of the church of Norwich: requiring him to ſurceaſe his reſeruations and prouiſions of the Biſhoprick within the Realme, and to leaue the elections thereof free to the Chapters of ſuche Cathedrall Churches according to the auncient grauntes and ordinaunces of his noble progenitors.

Proceeding now to the 19. yeare of this kinges reigne there came to the preſence of the king certayne Legats frō Rome complayning of certayne ſtatutes paſt in hys parliament tending to the preiudice of the Church of Rome & the Popes primacy viz. that if Abbots, Priors, or any other eccleſiaſticall patrons of benefices ſhoulde not preſent to the ſayd benefices within a certayne time, the lapſe of the ſame ſhoulde come to the ordinary or chapter thereof, or if they did not preſent, then to the Archbiſhop: if the Archbiſhoppe likewiſe did fayle to preſent, then the gyft to perteyne not to the Lord Pope but to the Kyng and hys heyres. An other complaynt was this that if Archbiſhops ſhould be ſlack in geuing ſuch benefices as properly pertayned to theyr owne patronage in due time, then the collation thereof likewiſe ſhoulde appertayne to the foreſayd King and his heires. An other complaynt was that if the Pope ſhoulde make voyde any elections in the Church of England for any defect foũd therein, and ſo had placed ſome honeſt and diſcreete perſons in the ſame, that then the King and his heires was not bounde to render the Temporaltyes vnto the partyes placed by the Popes prouiſion. Whereupon the Pope being not a little agrieued, the Kyng writeth vnto him certifying that he was miſinformed, denying that there was any ſuch ſtatute made in that Parlyament. And further as touching all other thinges he woulde conferre with his Prelates and Nobles and thereof would returne aunſwere by hys Legates.

In the 20. yeare of his raigne an other letter was written to the Pope by the King, the effect whereof in few wordes to expreſſe, was this, to certify him that in reſpect of his great charges ſuſteyned in hys warres, he hath by yͤ counſell of his Nobles taken into his owne handes the fruites and profites of all hys benefices here in England.

To proceed in the order of yeares that in the 26. yeare, of this King one Nicholas Heath Clerke a buſy headed body and a troubler of the Realme had procured diuers Byſhops and others of the Kinges counſell to be cited vp to the Court of Rome there to anſwere ſuch complayntes as he had made agaynſt them: whereupon commaundement was geuen to the King to all the portes of the realme for the reſtraynt of all paſſingers out, and for ſearching and areſting all perſons bringing in any Bulles or other proces from Rome tending to the derogation of the dignity of the crowne or moleſtation of the ſubiectes concerning which Nicholas Heath the King alſo writeth to the Pope his letters complayning of the ſayd Heath and deſiring him to geue no eare to his lewd complaynts.

The ſame yeare the King writeth alſo to the Popes Legate reſident in England requiring him to ſurceaſe from exacting diuers ſummes of money of the Clergy in the name of firſt fruites of benefices.

The 31. yeare of this Kinges reigne the King by hys letters complayneth to the Pope of a troubleſome fellow named Nicholas Stanneway remaining in Rome, whiche by his ſlaunderous complayntes procured diuers citations to be ſent into the Realme, to the great diſturbaunce of diuers and ſundry honeſt men: whereupon he prayeth and aduiſeth the Pope to ſtay himſelfe and not to ſend ouer ſuch haſty Citatiõs vpon euery light occaſiõ.

To paſſe further to the 38. yeare of the ſame King thus we finde in the Rolles. That the King yͤ ſame yeare tooke order by two of his Clergy, to witte Iohn a Stocke and Iohn of Norton to take into their handes all the temporaltyes of all Deaneryes, Prebendes, Dignityes, and Benefices being then vacant in England and to anſwere the profites of the ſame to the Kinges vſe.

The ſame yeare an ordinaunce was made by the King and his Counſell and to the ſame proclaymed in all porte townes within the Realme, that good and diligent ſearch ſhould be made, that no perſon whatſoeuer comming frõ the Court of Rome. &c. doe bring into the Realme with him any Bull, inſtrument, letters patentes, or other proces that may be preiudiciall to the King or any of his ſubiectes: nor that any perſon paſſing out of this Realme toward the Court of Rome doe cary with him any inſtrument or proces that may redound to the preiudice of the King or his ſubiectes: and that all perſons paſſing to the ſayd Court of Rome. &c. with the Kinges ſpeciall licenſe do notwithſtanding promiſe and finde ſurety to the Lord Chauncellour, that they ſhall not in any wiſe attempt or purſue any matter to the preiudice of the King or his ſubiectes vnder payne to be put out of the Kinges protection and to forfeyt his body, goods, and Cattelles according to the ſtatute thereof made Anno. 27.

And thus much concerning the letters and writinges of the King with ſuch other domeſticall matters, perturbations, and troubles paſſing betwene him and the Pope taken out of the publique Recordes of the Realme, whereby I thought to geue the Reader to vnderſtand the horrible abuſes, the intollerable pride, and the vnſatiable auarice of that Byſhop more like a proud Lucifer then a paſtor of the Church of Chriſt, in abuſing the king and oppreſſing his ſubiectes with exactions vnmeaſurable: not onely exerciſing his tyranny in this Realme; but raging alſo agaynſt other Princes both farre and neare, emongſt whom neither ſpared he the Emperour himſelfe. In the ſtory and actes of which Emperour Ludouicus mentioned a litle before, pag. 173. whom the Pope did moſt arrogantly excommunicate vpon maundy thurſday, and the ſelfe ſame day placing an other Emperour in his roome. Relation was made of certayne learned men which tooke the Emperours part agaynſt the Pope. In number of whom was Marſilius Patauinus, Guilermus Ockam, Ioannes Gandauenſis, Luitpoldus, Andreas Landenſis, Vlricus Hangenor treaſurer to the Emperour, Dantes, Aligerius. &c. Of whom Marſilius Patauinus compiled and exhibited vnto the Emperor Ludouike, a worthy worke intituled Defenſor pacis: writtẽ in the Emperors behalfe agaynſt the Pope. Wherin (both godly & learnedly diſputing agaynſt the Pope) he proueth, all Biſhops and Prieſtes to be equall: And that the Pope hath no ſuperiority aboue other Biſhops, much leſſe aboue the Emperour. That the word of God ought to be onely the chiefe iudge in deciding and determining cauſes eccleſiaſtical: That not onely ſpiritual perſons, but laymen alſo being godly and learned ought to be admitted into generall councels: That the Clergy and the Pope ought to be ſubiect vnto Magiſtrates: That the Church is the vniuerſity of the faythfull, and that the foundation and head of the Church is Chriſt, and that he neuer appoynted any vicar or Pope ouer his vniuerſall church: That Biſhops ought to be choſen euery one by their own Church and Clergy: That the mariage of Prieſtes may lawfully be permitted: That S. Peter was neuer at Rome: That the Clergy and Sinagoge of the Pope is a denne of theeues: That the doctrine of the Pope is not to be folowed, becauſe it leadeth to deſtruction: And that the corrupt maners of the Chriſtians doe ſpring and flow out of the wickednes of the ſpiritualty. &c. He diſputeth moreouer in an other worke of free iuſtification by grace: And extenuated merits, ſaying that they are no cauſes efficient of our ſaluation, but onely ſine qua non, that is to ſay, that workes be no cauſe of our iuſtification, but yet our iuſtificatiõ goeth not without them. For the which his doctrine moſt ſound and Catholicke, he was condemned by the Pope. an. 1324. by the Popes decree extrauagant, cap. Licet intra doctrinam. Concerning the which man and his doctrine: I thought good thus much to commit to hiſtory, to the entent men may ſee, that they which charge this doctrine now taught in the Church with the note of noueltye or newnes, how ignoraunt and vnſkilfull they be in the hiſtoryes and order of times fore paſt.

Marſilius Patauinus, author of the booke called *Defenſor pacis.*

Articles of Marſilius againſt the Pope.

Merites cauſe of ſaluation, *ſine qua non.*

Marſilius condemned of the Pope.

Extrau cap. Licet intra doctrinam.

In the ſame part of condemnation at the ſame tyme, alſo was Ioannes de Gunduno. an. 1330. and contayned alſo in the foreſayd Extrauagãt, with Marſilius Patauinus. Whiche Ioannes wrote much vpon Ariſtotle and Auerrois, and are yet remayning. And no doubt but he wrote alſo of diuinity, but not vnlike that theſe workes haue bene aboliſhed.

Ioannes Gãdenenſis condemned by the pope

In the ſame number and cataloge, commeth alſo Guillermus Ockam, who was in the yeare of our Lord 1326. as is afore mentioned pag. 375. and wrote likewiſe in defence of Ludouicus the Emperour agaynſt the Pope: and alſo in defence of Michael Generall of Grayfriers, whom the Pope had excommunicated & curſed for an hereticke. Diuers treatiſes were by the ſayd Ockam ſet forth, whereof ſome are extant and in print, as his queſtions & diſtinctions: ſome are extinct and ſuppreſſed (as Aſcentius reporteth) quoòd eſſent aliquando aſperiora. Some againe be publiſhed vnder no name of the author, being of his doing: as the dialogue betwene the ſouldiour and the clarke: wherin it is to be coniected, what bookes and workes this Ockam had collected agaynſt the Pope. Of this Ockã Iohn Sledane in his hiſtory inſerteth mention, to his great cõmendation, whoſe wordes be theſe: William Ockam in time of Ludouicus, 4. Emperor did floriſh, about the yere of our Lord 1326. who among other thinges wrote of the authority of the Biſhop of Rome. In the which booke he handleth theſe 8. queſtions very copiouſly: Whether both the adminiſtrations of the Biſhops office, and of the Emperors may be in one man. 2. Whether the Emperour taketh his power and authority onely of God, or els of the Pope. 3. Whether the Pope and Church of Rome haue power by Chriſt, to ſet and place kinges and Emperors, and to commit to them theyr iuriſdiction to be exerciſed. 4. Whether the Emperor being elected, hath full authority vpon the ſayd his election, to adminiſter his Empire. 5. Whether other kinges beſides the Emperor and King of Romaines, in that they are conſecrated of prieſtes, receiue of thẽ any part of their power. 6. Whether the ſayd kings in any caſe be ſubiect to their cõſecrators. 7. Whether if the

Guillermus Ockam, wrote againſt the pope.

Michael generall of the gray fryers excommunicated for an heretike.

Aſcentionis in præfatione eius autoris.

The dialogue betwene the ſouldier and the clarke, of Ockams making.

Eight queſtions diſputed by Ocham.

ſayd kings ſhould admit any newe ſacrifice, or ſhould take to themſelues the Diademe without any further conſecration, they ſhoulde thereby loſe their kingly right and title. 8. whether the ſeuen princes electors geue as much to the election of the Emperour, as ſucceſſion rightfull geueth to other kings. Upon theſe queſtions he diſputeth and argueth with ſundry arguments and ſundry reaſons on bothe ſides at length decideth the matter on the parte of the ciuil magiſtrate: and by occaſion therof, entreth into the mention of the Popes decrees Extrauagant, declaring how litle force or regard is to be geuen therunto.

Gregorius Ariminenſis mainteineth the ſame doctrine nowe receiued. *Ex Trithemio.*

Trithemius maketh mention of one Gregorius Ariminenſis a learned & a famous and right godly man: who not much differing from the age of this Ockam, about the yeare of our Lorde 1350. diſputed in the ſame doctrine of grace and free will, as we doe nowe, and diſſented therein from the Papiſtes and Sophiſters, counting them worſe then Pelagians.

Andreas de Caſtro and Burdianus both goſpellers 200. yeares agoe.

Of the like iudgement, and in the ſame time was alſo Andreas de Caſtro, as appeareth ſuper lit. 1. Sentent. diſt. 45. and Burdianus vppon the Ethiques of Ariſtotle: which both maintained the grace of ȳ goſpel, as is now in the church receiued, aboue 200. yeres ſince.

Eudo duke of Burgūdy againſt the popes decrees about 200. yeares ſince. *Ex Charolo Molinæo.*

And what ſhould I ſpeake of the Duke of Burgundy named Eudo, who at the ſame time, An. 1350. diſſwaded the French king not to receiue in hys land the new founde cōſtitutions, decretall & Extrauagant, within his realme: whoſe ſage counſail then geuen, yet remaineth among the French kings records, as witneſſeth Charol. Molinæus.

Dantes an Italiā writer againſt the Pope.

Donation of Conſtantine a thing forged.

The pope the whore of Babilon.

Dantes an Italian wryter a Florentine, lyued in the time of Ludouicus themperour, about the yere of our lord 1300. and tooke his parte with Marſilius Patauinus againſt three ſortes of men, which he ſayd were enemyes to the truth: That is, the pope: Secondly, the order of religious men, which count thēſelues the children of the church, whē they are ȳ children of the deuil their father: Thirdly, the Doctors of decrees and decretals. Certain of his wrytings be extant abroad, wherein he prooueth the Pope not to be aboue the Emperour, nor to haue any right or iuriſdiction in the Empire. He cōfuteth the Donation of Conſtantine to be a forged and a fained thing, as which neither did ſtande with any lawe or right. For the which, he was taken of many for an hereticke. He complaineth moreouer very much, the preaching of Gods worde to be omitted: and in ſtede thereof, the vaine fables of monkes and friers to be preached and beleued of the people: and ſo the flock of Chriſt to be fed not with the foode of the Goſpell, but wyth winde. The Pope ſayeth he, of a paſtor is made a wolfe, to waſt the church of Chriſt, and to procure with his Clergie not the word of God to be preached, but his own decrees. In his canticle of purgatory, he declareth the Pope to be the whore of Babylon. And to her miniſters, to ſome hee applieth 2. hornes, to ſome 4. As to the Patriarches, whō he noteth to be the tower of the ſayd whore Babilonicall. Ex libris Dantes Italice.

Ex lib. Iornandi. Pope Antichriſt.

An admonition to the Romains.

Hereunto may be added the ſaying out of the booke of Iornandus vnprinted, with the foreſaid Dantes: that forſomuch as Antichriſt commeth not before the deſtruction of the Empire, therefore ſuch as go about to haue the Empire extinct, are forrunners and meſſengers in ſo doing of Antichriſt. Therfore let the Romaines (ſayth he) and their Byſhops beware, leaſt their ſinnes and wickednes ſo deſeruing by the iuſt iudgement of God, the prieſthood be taken from them. Furthermore, let all the prelates and princes of Germany take hede. &c.

Taulerus of Germany, a preacher againſt the popes proceedings.

And becauſe our aduerſaries which obiecte to vs the newnes of our doctrine, ſhall ſee the courſe and fourme of this religion now receaued, not to haue ben, eyther ſuch a newe thing nowe, or a thing ſo ſtraunge in times paſt: I will adde to theſe aboue recited, maſter Taulerus a preacher of Argentine in Germany. An. 1350. who contrary to the Popes proceedings, taught openly againſt al mennes merites, and againſt inuocation of Saintes, and preached ſincerely of our free iuſtificatiō by grace, referring al mans truſt onely to the mercy of God, and was an enemy to all ſuperſtition.

Franciſcus petrarcha. *Vide 20. epiſtolam Franciſci Petrarcha.* Rome the mother and ſchole of errour.

With whom alſo may be adioyned Frāciſcus Petrarcha, a wryter of the ſame age, who in hys works and hys Italian meeter ſpeaking of Rome: calleth it the whore of Babylon, the ſchole and mother of error, the temple of hereſy, the neſt of traichery growing and increaſing by ȳ oppreſſing of others: and ſayeth farther that ſhee, (meaning the Popes Court) extolleth her ſelfe againſt her founders that is, the Emperours, who firſt ſet her vp and did ſo enriche her: And ſemeth plainly to affirme that the pope was Antichriſt, declaring that no greater euil could happen to any man then to be made Pope. Thys Franciſcus was about the yeare of our Lord. 1350.

Ioannes de rupe ſciſſa. Iohn caſt into priſon.

And if time would ſerue vs to ſeeke out olde hyſtories, we ſhould finde plenty of faithful witneſſes of old and ancient time, to geue witneſſe with vs againſt the Pope beſide the other aboue rehearſed: as Ioannes de Rupe ſciſſa. an. 1340. who for rebuking the ſpiritualtie for theyr greate enormities, and neglecting their office and duety, was caſt in pryſon.

Church of Rome, the whore of Babilon.

The reformation of the Church before propheſied.

Illyricus a wryter in our dayes, teſtifieth that he founde & red in an old Pamphlet, that the ſayd Ioannes ſhould call the church of Rome, the whore of Babylon: and the Pope to be the miniſter of Antichriſt, and the Cardinals to be the falſe prophetes. Being in pryſon he wrote a booke of Propheſies, bearing the title: Vade mecum in tribulationem: in which booke (which alſo I haue ſeene) he propheſied & admoniſhed affliction and tribulation to hang ouer the ſpiritualty. And pronoūceth plainly that God wil purge his Clergy, and wil haue prieſtes that ſhalbe poore, godly, and that ſhal faithfully feede the Lordes flocke: moreouer, that the goods of the church ſhal returne againe to the lay men. He propheſied alſo the ſame time, that the French king and his army ſhould haue an ouerthrow. which came likewiſe to paſſe during the time of his impriſonment. Of this Ioannes de Rupe, wryteth Froyſard in hys time, and alſo Wickliffe, of whoſe propheſies, more may be ſaid at more leiſure (Chriſt willing) hereafter.

Conradus Hager.

The Maſſe to be no ſacrifice.

Conradus caſt in priſon.

Ex bullis quibuſdam Othonis Epiſ. Herbipoli.

About the ſame yeare of our Lorde 1340. in the Citie Herbipoli, was one named maſter Cōradus Hager. who (as appeareth by the old bulles and regiſters of Otho byſhop of the ſaid citye) is there recorded, to haue mainteined and taught the ſpace of 24. yeares together, the Maſſe to be no maner of ſacrifice: neither that it profiteth any man ether quicke or dead, and that the money geuen of the dead for Maſſes, be very robberies & ſacrilege of prieſts, which they wickedly do intercept and take away from the poore. And ſayd moreouer, that if he had a ſtoone full of golde and ſiluer, hee would not geue one farthing for any Maſſe. For the ſame his doctrine, thys good preacher was condemned and incloſed in pryſon: what afterward became vpon him, we doe not finde.

Pœnitentiarius Aſini.

The pope and his ſpiritualitie cōfederate againſt the laitie.

The pope maketh the Emperour & lay mē Aſſes

There is among other old and ancient recordes of antiquity belōging to thys preſent time, a certain monument in verſes Poetically compiled, but not wythout a certaine morall, intituled, Pœnitentiarius Aſini, the Aſſes confeſſor: bearing the date and yeare of our Lorde in thys number, Completus An. 1343. In this treatiſe be brought foorth the Wolfe, the Foxe, and the Aſſe comming to ſhrift and doing penaunce. Firſt the wolfe confeſſeth hym to the Fox, who eaſely doeth abſolue hym from all hys faultes, and alſo excuſeth hym in the ſame. In like maner the wolfe hearyng the Foxes ſhrifte, ſheweth to hym the like fauour agayne. After thys commeth the Aſſe to cōfeſſion, whoſe fault was thys: that hee being hungry, tooke a ſtrawe out from the ſheafe of one that went in peregrination vnto Rome. The Aſſe although repenting of his fact, yet becauſe he thought it not ſo heynous as ȳ faults of the other, the more hee hoped for hys abſolution, But what followed? After the ſely Aſſe had vttered his crime in auricular confeſſion, immediatly the diſcipline of the lawe was executed vppon hym with ſeueritie: neither was hee iudged worthy of any abſolution, but was apprehended vpon the ſame, ſlayne and deuoured. Whoſoeuer was the author of thys fabulous tale, had a miſticall vnderſtanding in the ſame, for by the wolfe no doubt was meant the Pope. But the Foxe was reſembled to the Prelates, Curtiſans, Prieſtes, and reſt of the ſpiritualtie. Of the ſpiritualtie, the Lord Pope is ſoone abſoyled, as contrary, the Pope ſoone doeth abſoyle them in like manner. By the Aſſe is ment the poore laitie, vppon whoſe backe the ſtraite cenſure of the law is ſharpely executed: eſpecially when the Germane Emperors come vnder the Popes Inquiſition, to be examined by hys diſcipline, there is no abſolution nor pardon to be found, but in all haſte he muſt be depoſed, as in theſe ſtories may partly appeare before. And though the matter be not the weyght of a ſtrawe, yet what ſayeth the holy father the wolfe, if it pleaſe hym to make any matter of it.

Immenſum ſcelus eſt, iniuria quam peregrino
  Feciſti, ſtramen ſubripiendo ſibi.
Non aduertiſti quòd plura pericula paſſus
  Plurima paſſurus, quòd peregrinus erat.
Non aduertiſti, quòd ei per maxima terræ
  Et pelagi ſpacia, ſit peragranda via.
Non aduertiſti, ſanctos, nec limina ſancta,
  Sanctorum ſanctam ſed nec Hieruſalem.
Ille retranſiuit eadem loca, tam violentum
  Ex inopinato ſenſit adeſſe malum.

De Papa Taceo, cuius protectio talem,
Conduxit, cuius tu vilipendis opem,
Totius Eccleſiæ fuerit quam nuncius iſte,
Pertulit abſtracto gramine damna viæ. &c.

And thus they aggerating and exaggerating the fault to the vttermoſt, flye vpon the poore aſſe & deuour him. By the which Apologie, the tyrannicall and fraudulent practiſes of theſe ſpirituall Romaniſtes are liuely deſcribed.

Gerhardus Ridder, a writer againſt mōkes and Friers.

Not long after theſe aboue rehearſed, about the yeare of our lord 1350. Gerhardus Ridder, wrote alſo againſt the Monkes and Friers a booke intituled, Lacrima Eccleſiæ: wherein he diſputeth agaynſt the foreſaid religious orders namely againſt the begging Friers: prouing that kinde of life to be farre frō Chriſtian perfection, for that it is againſt charitie to liue vppon other, when a man may liue by his own labours. And affirmeth them to be hipocrites, filthy liuers, and ſuch as for mans fauour, and for lucre ſake, doe mixt with true diuinitie: fables Apocriphas, and dreames of vanitie. Alſo, that they vnder pretence of long prayer, deuour widdowes houſes: and with their confeſſions, ſermons, and burials doe trouble the Church of Chriſt manifold wayes. And therfore perſwaded the prelates to bridle and keepe ſhort ẏ inordinate licence and abuſes of theſe Monaſticall perſons. &c.

Michael Ceſenas, Petrus de Corbaria, condemned of the Pope. *Ioannes de Poliaco.*

Yet I haue made no menſiō of Michael Ceſenas, prouinciall of the gray friers, ner Petrus de Corbaria, of whō writeth Antoninus, in quarta parte ſummæ & ſayth they were condemned in the extrauagant of Pope John, with one Joānes de Poliaco. Their opiniōs ſaith Antoninus were theſe: That Peter the Apoſtle was no more the head of the Church, then the other Apoſtles: And that Chriſt left no Vicare behinde him or head in hys Church: And that the Pope hath no ſuch authoritie to correct and puniſhe, to inſtitute or depoſe the Emperour. Item, that all Prieſtes of what degree ſo euer, are of equall authoritie, power, and iuriſdiction by the inſtitution of Chriſt: but by the inſtitution of the Emperour, the Pope to bee ſuperiour, which by the ſame Emperour alſo may be reuoked agayne. Item that neyther the pope nor yet the Church may puniſh any man, punitione coactiua. That is, by externe coaction: vnleſſe they receiue licence of the Emperour. This foreſayd Michaell, generall of the gray Friers, wrote againſt the tiranny, pride, and primacie of the pope, accuſing him to be Antichriſt: and the Churche of Rome, to be the whore of Babilon dronke with the bloud of Saintes. He ſayd there were two Churches, one of the wicked floriſhing, wherein raigned the pope: the other of the godly afflicted. Itē, that the veritie was almoſt vtterly extinct: And for this cauſe he was depriued of his dignitie & condemned of the Pope. Notwithſtāding, he ſtode conſtant in his aſſertions. This Michaell was about the yeare of our Lord 1322. And left behinde him many fautours & followers of his doctrine, of whom a great part were ſlayne by the Pope: Some were condemned, as William Ockam, ſome were burned as Ioannes de Caſtilione, and Franciſcus de Arcatara. In extrauag. Ioan 23.

The opiniōs of Michael againſt the Pope. Michael Ceſenas depryued and condemned of the Pope.

Martyres, *Ioannes de Caſtilione, Franciſcus de Arcatara* burned.

With him alſo was condemned in the ſayd Extrauagāt Ioannes de Poliaco, aboue touched, whoſe aſſertions, were theſe: That the pope coulde not geue licence to heare confeſſions to whom he would, but that euery paſtour in hys owne Church ought to ſuffice. Item, that paſtours and biſhops had theyr authoritie, immediately from Chriſt & his Apoſtles, and not from the pope, Itē, that the conſtitution of pope Benedict. 11. wherein he graunteth larger priueleges to the Friers aboue other paſtours, was no declaration of the law, but a ſubuerſion. And for this he was by ẏ ſayd Friers oppreſſed, about the yeare of our Lord. 1322.

Archbyſhoppes of Cant. the one ſucceeding the other.

After Symon Mepham Archbiſhop of Caunterbury before mentioned, who liued not lōg: ſucceded Joh. Stretford. After whom came John Offord, who liued but x. monethes. In whoſe rowme ſucceeded Thomas, & remained but one yeare. an. 1350. And after him Simon Iſlypp was made archbiſhop of Canterbury, by Pope Clemēt the vi. who ſat xvii. yeares, and builded Caunterbury Colledge in Oxford. which Symon Iſlyp ſucceeded the Byſhop of Ely named Symon Langham, who within two yeares was made Cardinall. In whoſe ſtede Pope Vrbane the 5. ordeined William Wittleſey biſhop of Worceter to be archbiſhop of Caunterbury. an. 1366. In which yeare, William Biſhop of Wincheſter elected and founded the newe colledge in Oxford.

New Colledge in Oxforde founded an. 1366.

Pope Innocent. 6.

Two Franciſcanes burned at Auinion.

Agayne in the order of the popes, next vnto Pope Clement the 6. before mentioned, about the ſame time. an. 1353, ſucceeded pope Innocent the 6. In the firſt yeare of which Pope two Friers Minors or Franciſcans, were burned at Auinion. Pro opinionibus (as mine author ſayth) erroneis, prout. D. Papæ & eius Cardinalibus videbatur. i. For certaine opinions, as ſeemed to the pope and his Cardinals, erroneous. Ex Chron. Walſ. Of the which two Friers, I finde in the Chronicles De actis Rom. pontificum, and in the hiſtory of Præmonſtratenſis, that the one was Joannes Rochetaylada. Or rather as I finde in Catal. teſtium tited out of the Chronicle of Henricus de Herfordia, his name to be Hayabalus. who being (as he recordeth) a Fryer Minorite, began firſt in the time of Pope Clement the 6. an. 1345. to preach and affirme openly that he was by Gods reuelatiō charged and commaunded to preach: that the Churche of Rome was the whore of Babilon, and the Pope with hys Cardinals to be very Antichriſt. And that pope Benedict & the other before him his predeceſſours were dāned, with other ſuche like wordes, tending much agaynſt the Popes tirannical maieſty. And that the foreſaid Hayabalus being brought before the Popes face, conſtauntly did ſtand in the ſame, ſaying: that he was commaunded by Gods reuelatiō ſo to ſay, and alſo ẏ he would preach the ſame, if he might. To whom it was then obiected that he had ſome heretical books, and ſo was committed to priſon in Auiniō. In the time of his accuſation it happened, that a certain prieſt cōming before the Pope, caſt the Popes Bull downe before his feete, ſaying, Lo here, take your Bull vnto you, for it doth me no good at al. I haue laboured now theſe 3. yeares withall, and yet notwithſtanding for all this your Bull I cannot be reſtored to my right. The Pope hearing this, commaunded the poore Prieſt to be ſcourged, and after to be layd in priſon with the foreſayd Fryer. What became of them afterward, the foreſayd wryter Henricus de Herfordia maketh no mention. But I may probably coniecture this Prieſt, and this Friar Rochetayladus, or rather Hayabalus were the two, whome mine author Thom. Walſingham, writeth to be burned at this time in Auinion, about the firſt beginning of this Pope Innocentius the 6. Of thys Roichtaylada, I thought good here to inſerte the teſtimony and mention of John Froyſayd, written of him in hys firſt volum; chap. 211. in theſe wordes.

Ioan. Rochetaylada Martyr.

Ex Chron. Henrici de Herfordia.

The church of Rome declared to be the whore of Babilon by Gods reuelatiō.

Rochtaylada with an other Frier, Martyrs.

A prieſt for caſting the popes bull before the popes feete ſcourged, caſt in priſon, and after burned at Auinion.

Anno. 1354.

There was (ſayth Froyſard) a Frier Minor full of great Clergy in the City of Auinion, called Frier John of Rochetaylada, the which Frier pope Innocent 6. held in priſon in the Caſtell of Baignour for ſhewing of many meruails after to come, pricipally he ſhewed many things to fall vnto the Prelates of the Church for the great ſuperfluitie and pryde, that was then vſed among them. And alſo he ſpeake many thinges to fall of the realm of Fraunce and of the great Lordes of Chriſtendome, for the oppreſſions ẏ they did to the poore cōmon people. This Fryer ſayd he would proue all his ſayinges by the authoritie of the Apocalips, & by other bookes of holy Saints and prophets the which were opened to him by ẏ grace of the holy ghoſt: he ſhewed many things hard to beleue, & many things fell after as he ſayd. He ſaid thē not as a prophet but he ſhewed them by authoritie of ancient Scriptures and by the grace of the holy Ghoſt, who gaue him vnderſtanding to declare the ancient prophetes, & to ſhew to all Chriſten people the yeares and times whē ſuch things ſhould fall, he made diuers books founded on great ſciences and Clergy, whereof one was made the yeare of our Lord. 1346. wherin was written ſuche meruailes that it were hard to beleue them howbeit many thinges, according thereto fell after. And when he was demaunded of the warres of Fraunce he ſaid that al that had bene ſene, was not like that ſhould be ſeen after. For he ſayd that the warres in Fraunce ſhoulde not be ended till the Realme were vtterly waſted & exiled in euery part. The which ſaying was well ſene after, for ẏ noble realme of Fraunce was ſore waſted and exiled: & ſpecially in the the terme that the ſayd Fryer had ſet. The which was in the yeares of our Lord. 1356. 57. 58. & 59. He ſayd in thoſe yeares the Princes and Gentlemen of the Realme ſhould not for feare ſhew themſelues agaynſt the people of low eſtate, aſſembled of all countries without head or captayne, and they ſhoulde doe as they liſt in the Realme of Fraunce, the which fell after as ye haue heard, how the cōpanions aſſembled them together, and by reaſon of theyr robbery and pillage waxed rich & became great captains.

Ex Ioan. Froiſardo Volu. 1. cap. 211.

Ex ſcripto Godfri. de Fontanis.

A contention in France betwene the Prelates and the Friers there.

About the ſame time happened in Fraunce a certayne contention betwene the French Prelates, and ẏ Fryers of Paris, teſtified and recorded by Godfridus de Fontahis, the briefe effect of which ſtory is this. The Prelates of France conuenting and aſſembling together in the City of Paris after a long deliberation among themſelues: cauſed by the Bedels to be called together all the Studentes, maiſters & Bachelers of euery facultie, with the chiefe heads alſo of al the Religious houſes and Friers in the vniuerſitie of Paris, who being al there congregated together in the biſhop

A ſermon of the Biſh. of Byters to the ſtudents of Paris agaynſt the Friers.

of Paris his houſe, where there were preſẽt 4. archbiſhops and 20 Biſhops: firſt ſtod vp the Biſhop of Biturecenſe, who there making his Sermon, toke for his theame the place of S. Paule to the Epheſians, Fratres vt ſciatis quæ ſit longitudo, latitudo, altitudo, & profunditas charitatis &c. and concluded therupon, firſt that true charity would compell them to ſee and prouide for their flockes. Secondly, that the vigore of charity would arme them, to withſtand errors. Thirdly he concluded, that by duety of charity, they were bound to geue theyr liues for the ſoules of theyr flock committed to their charge. Fourthly, that by the ſame charity euery man to holde himſelfe content with that which was his owne, and not to intermeddle or buſye himſelfe further then to him appertayned, or belonged to his office: For there (ſayth he) all order eccleſiaſticall is diſſolued, where as men not contenting themſelues in their owne precincts, preſume in other mẽs charges where they haue nothing to doe. But this charity (ſayth he) now a dayes wareth colde, and all Eccleſiaſticall order is confounded and vtterly out of order. For many there be, which nowe a dayes preſume to thruſt in themſelues where they haue nothing to do, ſo that now the Church may ſeeme a monſter. For as in a natural body appeareth a monſter, where one mẽber doth the office of an other: ſo in ỷ ſpirituall body, which is the church, may be thought likewiſe. As whẽ our learned and prudent brethren, to wit, the Friers maiors and minors, do take vpon them to vſurpe and occupye the office to vs ſpecially apperteining: namely, where as the ſcripture warneth vs all, none to take vpõ him any office, except he be called thereunto of the Lord, as Aaron was. Wherfore we haue heretofore oftentimes cauſed the ſayd Friers, both by the king himſelfe in his owne perſon, & alſo by other nobles to be ſpoken to, and deſired: to ſurceaſe from doing and intermedling in our office, & yet they would not, but haue preached agaynſt our willes through all our dioceſſes, & haue heard confeſſiõs, ſaying that they haue the Popes priuiledge to beare them out therein. For the which cauſe we come to you, and not we here preſent onely, but alſo we haue the handwriting and the full conſent of all other our fellow Biſhops throughout the kingdome of Fraunce, to complaine to you of this ſo great inſolency and preſumptiõ of the Friers. For that as we are, you ſhall be. Neither do I thinke to be any of vs prelates here now, which haue not ſometime bene taken out of this vniuerſity of yours. We haue deſired moreouer, and cauſed to be deſired the foreſayd Friers, to ſend their priuilegies to the Apoſtolicke ſee, to be interpreted and expounded more playnely by the Lord Pope: which they refuſed alſo to do. Wherefore, to the intent you may the better vnderſtand and ſee what their priuiledges be, and how farre they do extend: we haue appoynted the ſaid priuilege here openly to be read vnto you.

That is, the Dominicke Friers and the Franciſcane Friers.

Then ſtod vp an other in the publicke place, and there read the priuileges of both the orders: and afterward read alſo the conſtitution of Pope Innocent 3. written in the 5, of the decretals, and beginneth: Omnis vtriuſque ſexus. &c. which conſtitution was repugnant and contrary to the foreſayd priuilegies, as he there manifeſtly proued, declaring how both the ſaid priuiliges were derogatory to that conſtitution.

The conſtitution of Pope Innocent. 3. *Omnis Vtriuſque ſexus.*

The Friers priuilegies proued contrary to the Popes conſtitution.

This done, then roſe vp the Biſhop Ambianenſis, a great Lawyer: who diſcourſing frõ article to article, there proued by good law, that the ſayd conſtitution ſtod in hys full force and vigore, and ought not to be infringed by the friers priuilegies in no part. And therfore by the vertue of that conſtitution, that the Friers ought not ſo miſorderly to intrude themſelues in hearing confeſſiõs, in inioyning of penaunce, and in preaching in Churches and Dioceſſes without ſpeciall licence of the Biſhop of the Dioces, & curate of the pariſh: vnto whoſe words, neuer a Frier at that time replyed againe. And ſo the Biſhop proceeding to his concluſion, deſired the vniuerſity to aſſiſt them in that caſe wherin they were all determined (ſaith he) to ſtand firmely to the ſhedding of theyr bloud, in reſiſting that miſorder and iniuries of the Friers. This happened the 6. day of December which they dedicate to S. Nicholas.

The Biſh. Ambianenſis.

Friers ought not to preach in Churches without ſpecial licence of them to whom the church belongeth.

The next day being ſonday, one of the order of the minorites or Franciſcanes, went to the Church of the maiorites or preaching Friers: where he made a ſermon (whiche was neuer ſene before, the one order to come and reſort with the other) beginning in the forſayd matter to reply, & to expound in order through euery article as well as he could: adding moreouer and ſaying, that they went not ſo farre in their priuilegies, as they lawfully might. And ſaid moreouer, that what time the ſayd priuileges were in obteining in Rome: the Biſhop Ambianenſis was there preſent himſelfe, reſiſting the ſame with all his power, yea all the Prelates alſo of Fraunce ſent and wrote vp to the Court agaynſt the ſame, and yet did not preuaile. For whẽ the Friers there preſently declared & opened to the Pope in what maner and how farr they had vſed priuileges: the Pope the ſame time ſayd, Placet: That is, agreed vnto the ſame. And now (ſayth he) the Prelates require & demaund of vs to ſend vp our priuiledges to the Court, which were great folly in vs: For in ſo doing, what ſhould we els but geue place & occaſiõ, to reuoke agayn the authority which is geuen in our handes already. Furthermore, our wardẽ and maiſter is now lately dead, and the maiſter here of the Dominike Friers, is not now preſent. Wherfore, we dare not determine in ſuch a weighty cauſe (touching the priuileges of our order) without the preſence of them. And therfore we deſire you of the Vniuerſity to holde vs therin excuſed, and not to be ſo lightly ſtirred againſt vs, for we are not the worſt and vileſt part of the Vniuerſity. &c.

The Friers reply againſt the Prelates.

The next day being the 8. day of the ſame moneth, whiche is alſo dedicate to the conception of our Ladye, vpon which day it was determined likewiſe: that one of the Dominicke Friers, ſhould preach in the Church of the Franciſcane or gray Friers, and ſo he did: tending to the ſame end, as the other frier in the other church had done before. Whereby it may ſeeme the prouerb well aunſwered vnto, wherof we read in the Goſpell: Facti ſunt amici Herodes & Pilatus in ipſa die.

Herode and Pilate were made friends in crucifying of Chriſt.

It was not long after, that the feaſt of S. Thomas the Apoſtle folowed, in whoſe Vigile all the heads of the Vniuerſity againe, were warned the third day after to congregate together in the Church of S. Bernard at the ſermon time. Which being done, and the aſſembly meeting together, an other Sermõ was made by a Diuine of the Vniuerſity, whoſe theame was: Prope eſt Dominus omnibus inuocantibus eum in veritate. &c. Wherin he with many words and great authorities argued agaynſt them, that would not be obedient vnto theyr Prelats. &c. The ſermon being ended then roſe vp againe the Biſhop Ambianenſis, who proſecuting the reſt of the Theame, and comming to the word in veritate: deuided it in three parts, according to the common gloſe of the decretals.

An other ſermon agaynſt the Friers.

Biſhop Ambianenſis. *In Veritate &c.*

Eſt verum vitæ, doctrinæ, iuſticiæque,
Primum ſemper habe, duo propter ſcandala linque.

Shewing and declaring by many authorities both of canonicall ſcriptures and out of the law, and by euidẽt demonſtratiõ of experience: that the Friers firſt had no verity of life, becauſe they were full of hypocriſy: neither had they verity of doctrine, becauſe in their hart they bare gall, and in theyr toung hony: neither verity of iuſtice, becauſe they vſurped other mens offices. And thus concluding wͭ the ſame, cauſed agayn to be read the ſayd priuileges, with ỷ conſtitution aboue ſpecified. And ſo expoũding place by place, did argue and proue that the ſayd conſtitution, in no part was enacuat or infringed by ỷ priuilegies aforeſayd. Which thing being declared he added moreouer, that wher as the Friers ſay (ſayd he) that I ſhould be preſent in the obteining of the priuileges, I graunt it to be true, & when word came to me thriſe therof, I went to the Pope reclayming & requiring the ſayd priuileges to be reuoked. But the next day after, it ſo pleaſed the Pope to ſend me out abroad vpon weighty affayres, ſo that then the matter had no end. After that, we ſent alſo other meſſengers with our letters, for the ſame cauſe vnto the Court of Rome, whom the Friers ſay not to haue preuailed, but they lye therein. For the ſayd meſſengers agayne brought vs letters, from the chief of the court of Rome, ſealed wͭ their ſeales which letters, we haue diuers times preſented to our king & wil ſhortly ſhew them vnto you all. In the which letters, the Lord Pope hath promiſed the ſayd priuiledges, either to be vtterly abrogate, or els to be mitigated with ſome more playnely interpretation, of the which we truſt ſhortly to haue the publicke Bulle or writ from the Pope.

Veritie in three partes conſiſteth.

The Friers proued with a lye.

At laſt, the ſayd Biſhop required & deſired of all there of what Dioces, or countrey ſo euer they were: that they would copy out the foreſayd priuiledges, and ſend them abroad into their coũtries, that all men might ſee what they were, and how far they did extẽd. In fine, the matter comming into open diſputation, it was cõcluded by M. Giles one of the Auſtine Friers (who was thought to be moſt reaſonable of all the other Friers, in this wiſe) that after his ſentence, the Prelates were in the truer part. &c. Hæc ex Godfrido de Fontanis.

The Friers priuilegies confuted in diſputation at Paris.

¶Concerning this wrangling contention betwene the Vniuerſity and Friers of Fraunce heretofore mentioned, wherof partly the original cauſe there may be vnderſtand by that which hath bene ſayd to riſe vpon certaine priuilegyes gies graũted by popes to the Friers, to intermedle in matters of Pariſh churches: As to heare confeſſiõs, to preach and teach, with power therto annexed to gather for theyr labor, to bury within their houſes, and to receiue impropriations, &c. becauſe it were long here to deſcribe the full circumſtances therof, alſo becauſe the ſayd contention dyd endure a long time not onely in Fraũce but alſo came ouer to englãd: The whole diſcourſe therof more ample (Chriſt willing) ſhalbe declared in the beginning of the next booke folowing, when we come to the ſtory of Armachanus.

About what time & yere, this brawle was in the Uniuerſity of Paris betwene the Friers and Prelats there, as hath bene declared: the like contẽtion happened alſo in the vniuerſity of Oxford in the yeare aboue prefixed. 1354. ſaue onely that the ſtrife amõg the maiſters of Paris as it roſe vpon Frierly ceremonies, ſo it went no farther, then brawling wordes and matter of excõmunication: but this tumult riſing of a dronken cauſe, proceeded further vnto bloudy ſtripes. The firſt originall wherof began in a tauerne, betwene a ſcholer & the good man of the houſe. who falling together in altercatiõ, grew to ſuch heat of words, that the ſtudent (contra ius hoſpitij) poured the wine vpon the head of the hoſt and brake his head with the quart pot. Upon this occaſion geuen, eftſoones parts began to be taken betwene townes men & the ſcholers. In ſomuch that a grieuous ſedition & conflict folowed vpõ the ſame: wherin many of the townes men were wounded, & to the number of 20. ſlayn. Diuers alſo of the ſcolers grieuouſly hurt. The ſpace of 2. dayes this hurly burly continued. Upon the ſecond day, certain religious and deuout perſõs ordeined a ſolemne proceſſiõ general, to pray for peace. Yet notwithſtanding, all yͤ proceſſion as holy as it was, it would not bring peace. In the which proceſſion (the ſkirmiſh ſtil waxing hoat) one of the ſtudentes being hardly purſued by the towneſmen, for ſuccour in his flight, came running to the Prieſt or Frier, which caried about (as the maner was) the pixe: thinking to finde refuge at the preſẽce of the tranſubſtãtiated God of the aultar there caried & inboxed. Notwithſtanding, the God there not preſẽt, or els not ſeing him, or els peraduẽture being a ſleepe: the ſcholer foũd there ſmall helpe. For the townesmen in the heate of the chaſe, forgetting belike the vertue of the popes tranſubſtãtiation, folowed him ſo hard, that in the preſẽce of the pixe they brake his head, & woũded him greuouſly. This done, at length ſome peace or truce for that day was taken. The next morow folowing, other towneſmẽ in the villagies about, ioyning with the towneſmẽ of Oxford: confederated together in great force and power to ſet vpon the ſtudẽtes there, and ſo did, hauing a black flag borne before thẽ, and ſo inuaded the Uniuerſity men. wherupõ, the ſcholers being ouermatched & compelled to flee into their haules and hoſtles, were ſo purſued by theyr enemies, that 20. of the dores of their haules and chambers were broke open, & many of them wounded, and (as it is ſayd) ſlain and throwen into priuies: their books with kniues and bils cut all in pieces, and much of theyr goods caried away. And thus the ſtudentes of that Uniuerſity being conquered by the towneſmen of Oxford, and of the country about, departed & left the vniuerſity. So that for a time, the ſcholes there, and all ſchole acts did vtterly ceaſe from all exerciſe of ſtudy, except onely Mertõ Colledge haule, with a few other remayning behinde.

A ſeditious commotion betweene the townes men and the ſcholers in the vniuerſitie of Oxforde.

Proceſsion for peace. The holie proceſſion would bring no peace.

Tranſubſtãtiation will not helpe in time of need

A conqueſt of the ſcholers of Oxforde.

This being done the 12. day of February, the Queene at the ſame time being at woodſtock, was brought to bed, and purified on the firſt Sonday in Lent with great ſolẽnity of Iuſting: About which time, the Biſhop of Lincoln their Dioceſane hearing of this exceſſiue outrage, ſendeth his inhibition to all Parſons and Prieſtes, forbidding thẽ throughout all Oxford, none to celebrate Maſſe or any diuine ſeruice in the preſence of any lay perſõ within the ſaid Towne of Oxford, interdicting withal the whole Town. which interdiction endured the ſpace of a whole yere and more.

The vniuerſitie of Oxford diſſolued for a tyme.

The towne of Oxford interdicted.

The king alſo ſẽt thether his Iuſtices to examine and enquire of the matter. Before whom diuers lay men & of the clergy were indicted. And foure of yͤ chiefe burgeſes of the ſayd towne were indicted, & by the kinges commaundement ſent to the tower of London, were there impriſoned. At length through much labor of the nobles, the king ſo tooke vp the matter, that ſending his writings vnto all Shiriffes in England, offered pardõ to all & ſingular ſtudents of that Uniuerſity, (whereſoeuer diſperſed) for that tranſgreſſion, whereby the Uniuerſity in ſhort time was repleniſhed againe as before. Moreouer was graunted to the Uicechauncellor or Commiſſary (as they terme him) of the towne and Uniuerſity of Oxford, to haue the aſſiſe of bread, ale, wine, and all other victuals, the Maior of the ſayd town being excluded. Alſo was graũted and decreed, that yͤ commõs of Oxford ſhould geue to the vniuerſity of Oxford 200. pound ſterling in part of ſatiſfaction for theyr exceſſes: reſerued notwithſtanding to euery one of the ſtudents his ſeuerall action agaynſt any ſeuerall perſon of yͤ towneſmen. &c.

Graunted to the Commiſſary of Oxford to haue the aſſiſe of bread and ale and other priuilegies aboue the Maior of the towne.

About the yeare of our Lord. 1354. The king with the conſent of his counſell, reuoked home agayne out of Flaunders the ſtaple of wolle, with all things thereunto appertayning, & ſtabliſhed the ſame in ſondry places within the realme, namely in weſtminſter. Canterbury, Chicheſter, Briſtow, Lincolne, and in Hulle. which Staple after an. 1362. was tranſlated ouer into Calice.

Of Simon Iſlip Archbiſhop of Canterb. mentioned a litle before, pag. 363. I read in the ſaid author aboue ſpecified, that he by his letters patent directed to al parſons & vicars within his prouince: ſtraitly charged them & theyr Pariſhioners vnder payne of excõmunication, not to abſtaine frõ bodely labor, vpõ certaine Saints dayes, which before were wont to be hallowed & conſecrated to vnthrifty idlenes. Item, that to Prieſts ſhould be geuen no more for their yearely ſtipend, but 3. pound 6. s. 8. pence, whiche made diuers of them to robbe and ſteale. &c. an. 1362. The next yeare following, which was 1363. the foreſayd Kyng Edward kept his Parliament at London in the month of October: wherin was prohibited, no gold nor ſiluer to be worne in kniues, girdles, brooches, ringes, or in any other ornament belonging to the body, except the wearer might diſpend 10. poũd by yeare. Itẽ, that none ſhould weare either ſilks or coſtly furres, except ſuch as might diſpẽd 100 pound by yeare. Alſo that Marchaunt venterers ſhould not export ouer any marchaũdiſe out of the realme, or ſeek for wines in other country: wherby other nations ſhould be conſtrayned rather to ſeeke to vs. &c. But none of thys did take any great effect.

An holſome decree of a good Archb. not to abſtaine from bodely labour vpon certaine holy dayes.

A parliament

After this Simon Iſlip as is aboue recorded, folowed Simon Langham, then w. wittleſey, after whome next in the place ſucceeded Simon Sudbury.

Simon Sudbury Archb. of Cant.

Much about the ſame time, the Nunnes of S. Bridgits order began firſt. About which time alſo was builded the Queenes Colledge in Oxford, by Queene Philippe of England, wife to king Edward the third Circa annum domini. 1360.

The Nuns of S. Bridges order.

Moreouer in the time of this Pope Innocent, Fryer Iohn Lyle Biſhop of Ely, moued with certaine iniuries (as he thought) done to him by the Lady Blanche, made his complaynt to the Pope. who ſending down his curſe to the Biſhop of Lincolne, and other Prelates to be executed vpon the aduerſaries of the Biſhoppe of Ely: commaunded them, that if they did know any of the ſayd aduerſaries dead and buried (that notwithſtanding) they ſhould cauſe the ſame to be taken vp: which alſo they performed accordingly, of whom ſome had bene of the Kings counſell. wherefore the king being diſpleaſed and not vnworthely, did trouble and moleſt agayn the ſayd Prelats. This comming to the Popes hearing, certayne were directed downe from the court of Rome, in the behalf of the foreſayd Biſhop of Elye: who meeting, with the Byſhop of Rocheſter the kinges treaſurer, deliuered vnto him being armed, letters from the Biſhop of Rome, the tenour wherof was not known. which done, they incontinent auoyded away. But certayne of the kinges ſeruaunts purſuing, did ouertake them: of whom ſome they impriſoned, ſome they brought to the iuſtices, and ſo were condemned to be hanged. Wherein may appeare what reuerence the Popes letters in this kinges dayes had in this realme of England, Ex Chro. Walſing. This Pope Innocẽt ordeined the feaſt of the holy ſpeare, and of the holy nayles.

This Ladye Blanch was Duckeſſe of Lancaſter.

Dead men excommunicated by the Pope.

The Popes meſſengers hanged.

The feaſt of the ſpeare and of the holy nailes.

And here to make an end of this fourth booke, now remayneth after our order and cuſtome before begunne, to
proſecute the race of the Archbiſhops of Canterbury, in this foreſayd fourth booke conteined, beginning where before we
left, pag. 170. at Lancfrancus.

¶ A Table

A Table of the Archbiſhoppes of Caunterbury, in this fourth Booke conteyned.

34. Lanfrancus. 19.

Polyd. Virg. lib. 9. numbereth this Lanfrancus to be the 33. Archbiſh. But by the count of other authors (namely by ẏ chronicle of the Monke of Douer) ſemeth to be deceiued as he was in the 28. yeares of Dunſtane, whiche in deede did ſit but 19. or 26. at ẏ moſt. This errour of Pol. ſeemeth to come by leauing out either Elſius, which was the 23. or by leauing out Elfricus, which was the 26. as in ſome authors I finde.

Moreouer here is to bee noted, that although the ſayd Elfricus were left out, yet Lanfrancus cannot be. 33.

Note alſo, that in the table of the 3. Booke before, after Siricius to put in Sanctus Aluredus. whiche in the order of Archbiſhops I left out in the end of the 3. booke. pag. 170.

This Lanfrancus was an Italian, and a ſtout Champion of the Pope. After his ſtubberne diſſention with Thomas Archbiſhop of Yorke, he wrot againſt Berengarius, intitulyng hys Booke Opus Scintillarum. pag. 172.

Alſo the ſame Lancfranke builded the newe Churche at Canterbury, and pluckt downe the olde. By him was builded the Church of S. Gregorye. At length he was expulſed by king Wil. Rufus.

35. Anſelmus. 16.

Of this Anſelmus, and the ſtrife betwene him and the king, looke in the pag. 185.

36. Radulphus. 8.

Under Rad. the order of Ciſtercians began.

37. Guilielmus Curboil. 13.

By this W. the newe worke of the Church of S. Martines at Douer was builded.

38. Theobaldus. 24.

By this Theobald, Monkes were firſt brought into ẏ church of Douer. He was expulſed by king Stephen. In his time the church of S. Gregory was burned at Cant.

39. Tho. Becket. 9.

Of the life and death of thys Becket, ſee the pag. 205.

Ex hiſtor. Crickladenſi.

Ex Crikeladenſi. Magnates in Anglia interdixerunt, ne quis martyrem Thomam nominaret ne quis eius miracula prædicaret, intermināntes minas mortis ſeu maximarum pœnarum omnibus confitentibus eum fuiſſe martyrem, & miracula eius prædicantibus. &c.

40. Richardus. 10.

This Richard was a Monk: in his time Chriſtes Church at Canterbury was burned.

41. Baldwinus. 7.

Betweene this Baldwine & the Monkes was great diſcord. He ſuſpended the Prior from his Priorſhip, and 22. Monkes from all ſeruice. He cauſed the Subprior with all his adherēts to be excommunicate through al Kent.

42. Hubertus. 14.

In the time of thys Hubert the Chappell of Lamheth was pluckt downe. Alſo the Church of Douer was burned.

43. Stephanus Langhton. 22.

This Stephen with the Monkes of Caunterbury, were expulſed by king John.

This Stephen intending to geue orders in the Chappell of Lamheth, was ſtopped by the Monkes of Cant. through their appeale and prohibition. wherfore he required Euſtace Biſhop of London, to miniſter the ſame orders in the Church of Saynct Paule.

In his time fell great variaunce betweene the Monkes of Rocheſter and the Monkes of Canterb. for the election of their B. which election the Monkes of Cant. would not admitte, before the Rocheſter Monkes had preſented the Byſhops ſtaffe in the Church of Cant. ſo that both the Churches ſent their meſſengers to the court of Rome.

44. Richardus Magnus. 4.

At the conſecration of this Richarde, contention roſe betwene the Biſhop of Rocheſter and biſhop of Bath, who ſhould conſecrate him.

Item, betwene the ſayd Richard and the Monkes of Canterbury fell a greuous diſcord about certayne libertyes belonging to the Archb.

The ſayd Archbiſhop for certayne quarels agaynſt the king, went up to Rome, who dyed in Tuſcia.

After this Richard, the election of 3. Archbiſh. was caſſate at Rome: of Rodulphus de noua villa, of John Prior of Cant. John Blund.

45. Edmund of Abenden. 7.

This Edmund was called S. Edmund. At whoſe election the Prior of Douer thinking to be preſent, as at the mariage of his Mother, was not permitted by the Monkes of Canterbury. For the which iniurye he appealed and went to Rome to complayne, not againſt the elect, but agaynſt the election: where he obteined of the Pope for all the Priors and ſucceſſors of Douer, to haue full intereſt in the election of the Archbi. beſides other priuiledgies which he obteined, percaſe not without ſome good ſtore of mony. Afterward ẏ Monkes of Cant. accuſed him to the Archbiſhoppe as though he ſtood agaynſt the perſon of the elect, & ſo obtayned of the Archbi. being angrye with him, to haue brought him under the chapter of Canter. there to be puniſhed. whereupon the Prior ſeing him ſo deſtitute of all helpe of Lawyers, was conſtrayned in the foreſayd chapter to crye peccaui. Then being ſuſpended from his Priorſhip was at lēgth ſet home to Douer, being compelled firſt to ſet his hand to a certayn compoſition betwene him & the foreſayd Monkes.

The ſayd Edmūd Archb. alſo hauyng ſome quarell agaynſt the king, went up to Rome, and dyed before his comming home.

46. Bonifacius. 25.

46. Bonifacius. 25.

In the time of this Boniface Pope Gregory wickedly graunted to king Henry 3. (for the getting of the kingdome of Sicile whiche belonged not to him to geue, nor to the other to take,) tenthes of goodes temporall and ſpirituall, for fiue yeares, Item, all the firſt yeares fruites of churches that ſhould be vacant for 5. yeares. Item, halfe of all the goodes of beneficed men not reſident at their benefices. Item, all Legaces not diſtinctly geuen. And yet the kingdome of Sicile neuer came to his hands whiche belonged to Manfredus, ſonne of Fredericke Emperour. Strife betweene thys Boniface, and the prior of Cant. Item, betwene him and biſhop of Roff. Item, betweene him & the Chapter of Lincolne, all which was after agreed. Chro. Doueren. fol. 20. pag. 2.

Strife in winchester, about chuſing the biſhop after yͤ death of Ayonarus yͤ kings Brother.

Strife in the Conuocation whiche Boniface did holde at Lambheth. In the which councell were recited the ſtatutes of Octobonus and other new ſtatutes made: Agaynſt whiche, J. Hemelingforde the Kynges Chaplaine with other moe, and prince Edward on the Kynges behalfe did appeale. Chro. Douer. fol. 21.

Under this Boniface Archb. Tunbridge & Hadlo firſt came vnder the cuſtody of the Archb. of Cant.

Maiſter John of Exeter bought the Biſhoprick of winchester for 6000. marks: which being known he was fayne to pay the ſame ſumme agayne to the Pope, and ſo was ſent home.

Boniface the Archb. being in the partes of Sebaudia. an. 1262, fell an other alteration betwene the Prior and Chapter of Canterbury on the one part, and the Prior and Chapter of Douer on the other part. which two houſes almoſt were neuer in quiet, and all about certayne liberties and Priuilegies: as for making the ſubprior, for receiuing in of monkes, and for viſitations of the Church of Douer.

An. 1268. Boniface Archb. interdicted the Cittye of London, becauſe in the ſame Cittye the Archb. of Yorke did holde vp his Croſſe, the Archbiſhoppe of Cant. being there preſent, the king holding then hys Parliament at weſtminſter.

This Archb. died in the partes of Sebaudia.

John Prior of Canterbury was elected by the Monkes agaynſt the kinges minde, but by the Pope refuſed.

Adam Chilinden was elect, but he reſigned his electiõ to the Pope.

47. Robert Kilwarby. Frier. 6.

In the time of this Robert Kilwarby, appeale was taken agaynſt the Chapter of Canterbury by the Biſhop of winchester, of worceſter, and Exceter: for the which cauſe the ſayd Byſhops wẽt vp to Rome to proſecute the appeale. The matter was becauſe they did not theyr obedience to the Monkes of Caunterbury, the ſee beyng empty.

walter Giffard Archb. of Yorke, going toward the generall councell, bare vp his croſſe through the middle of Kent, in the time of this Robert Archbiſhop of Canterbury. an. 1272.

By Pope Gregory 10. in the generall Councell at Lyons, all the orders of Fryers were put downe 4. orders onely except, that is Dominicks, Franciſcans, Carmilites, and Auguſtines.

This Robert Kilwarby by the commaundemẽt of Pope Nicholas was made Cardinall of Rome, Biſhop of Portenſis.

An vntruth in Polyd. Virgil.

where is to be noted an vntruth in Polid Virgill, which ſayth that he was made cardinal by pope Gregory, which could not be.

48. John Peckham. 13

Robert Burnell Byſhop of Bathe was elected, but by the Pope refuſed: For whom John Peckham a gray frier, was placed by Pope Nicho.

In the firſt yeare of this Frier Peckham, will. wikewane Archb. of Yorke comming from his conſecration at Rome to Douer, bare vp his Croſſe thorough the midſt of Kent, wherat was no litle adoe.

Robert Gernemine Archdeacon of Cant. went to law to Rome for the liberties & poſſeſſions of his Archdeaconſhip 2. yeares and there dyed.

In his time alſo another wrãgling fell betwene yͤ Monks of Cãnt. & the Monkes of Douer, in yͤ time of this J. Peckhã; for admitting certayne Nouices of Douer into orders. Ex chr. Monach. Douer. fol. 42.

This Peckham holding a councell at Lambheth ordeyned diuers ſtatutes, and cauſed the ordinances of the councell of Lyons, and of Boniface Archb. of Cant. and his predeceſſor to be obſerued.

Great ſtrife and hatred was betwene this Pecham and Thomas Byſhop of Hereford. who being excõmunicated by Peckham, appealed to Rome, & went to the Pope.

The Prior & couent of Cant. made their appeale agaynſt this archb. Peckham, that he ſhould not cõſecrate walter le Schamell new elect biſhop of Saliſbury, in any other place, except onely in the church of Cant. but by theyr leaue and licence firſt obteined. Notwithſtãding the archb. nothing regarding their appeale, proceeded in the conſecration of the ſayd biſhop nere to the towne of Reading, whereupon the Prior and Couent ceaſed not to proſecute theyr appeale agaynſt the Archbiſhop.

Betwene Richard Ferringes archdeacõ of Cãt. of the one party, and the Barõs of Douer of yͤ other party, the ſame yeare fell an other like wrãgling, for that the Archdeacon claymed to viſite the Church of Douer, contrary the barons affirmed, that none had nor ſhould haue to do there to order or diſpoſe in ſpirituall matters but onely the archb. & the Prior and couent of S. Martin. Ex eod. chron. fol. 46.

After the death of william wicwane Archb. of Yorke, John de Roma ſucceeded after him and cõming from his conſecratiõ at Rome to Douer, bare his croſſe through the midle of Kent, contrary to the inhibition of John Peckham.

48. Rob. Winchelſey. 19

This Rob. which was archb. in the latter time of K. Edward the 1. for certeine diſpleaſure of yͤ K. cõceiued againſt him, departed yͤ realme, & in his baniſhmẽt remayned 2. or 3. yeares. And about the beginning of the raign of K. Edwa. the 2. was reſtored againe. an. 1309. Ex chro. Rich. 2.

Thus few Archb. of Cant. we finde, with whom kinges haue not had ſome quarell or other. The cauſe betweene the K. and him (ſayth mine author) was this: that the K. accuſed him to Pope Clement to diſturbe his Realme, and to take part with rebels. &c. Ex chro. S. Albani.

This Robert alſo excommunicated walter Biſhop of Couent. for holding with the King and Peter Gaueſton againſt the ordinances of the Barons wherefore the ſayd Biſhop appealed to the Pope, agaynſt whom the Archb. ſent Adam Mirimouth.

This Adam Mirimouth was compiler of the ſtory of K. Edw.

In the time of this Robert Archbiſhop, the order of Templaries were aboliſhed by Pope Clemẽt 5. in the councell of Vienna with this ſentence diffinitiue. Quanquam de iure non poſſumus, tamẽ ad plenitudinem poteſtatis dictum ordinem reprobamus.

50. Gualter Reynald. 15

After the deceaſe of Robert winchelſey, who departed. an. 1312. Thomas Cobham a learned man was elected by full cõſent of the Monkes: who came to Auinion, to haue his election confirmed, But the Pope reſeruing the vacant ſeat to his owne handes put in walter Reynald B. of worceſter Chauncellor of England, who gouerned the ſeat 15. yeares.

	The chronicler of S. Albans, recordeth alſo how in the dayes of this Archb. an. 1319. certayne Lepers conſpiring with the Turkes and Iewes went about to empoiſonate, and infect all Chriſtendome, by inuenemíng their fountains, lakes, pits, barrels, and ſuch other places. Of the which crime diuers of thẽ being conuict, were worthely burned in Fraunce. About the which yeare, the ſayd author maketh alſo relation, how in ẏ realme of England much morain fell among the beaſtes: in ſo much, that the dogs eating vpon their fleſh (infected belike by the waters and fountaines) fell downe dead incontinent. Neyther durſt men for that cauſe almoſt taſt of any beefe. an. 1318. 1319. Ex Chron. Alban. This Walter Archb. taking part with the Queen Iſabell agaynſt K. Edward her husband, dyed the ſame yere in which he was depoſed. an. 1237. Ex chr. S. Albani. After Walter the Archb. as affirmeth the chron. of S. Alban, ſucceeded Simon Mepham. Of whom I marueil that Polydor, maketh no word mention: belike he ſate not long, after folowed I. Stratford.
51. Iohn Stratford. 29.	In the ſtorye of Adam Mirimouth is recorded that this I. Stratforde intending to viſite the dioces of Northfolk, was not receiued by the Biſhop, the chapter and clergy there, alledgyng that he obſerued not the ordinarye Canon therein. To whom the Archb. ſayd agayne, he had the Popes letters and ſhewed the ſame. But the other aunſwered, that thoſe letters were falſly obteined and tended to the ſuppreſſion of the Clergy, & therfore they would not obey: wherfore the Archb. excommunicated the Biſhop, and ſuſpended the Prior, & interdicted the couent. an. 1343.
52. Ioh. Offord. 10. monethes.	M. Iohn Offord Chauncellor of England was elected and confirmed Archb. of Canter. but not conſecrated, and ſate but 10. monethes, about the yeare of our Lord 1350. Peſtilentia in Anglia.
53. Tho. Braidwarden. 1.	This Tho. Bradwarden following after I. Stratford ſat not long but died within 10 moneths of the plague, as they ſay. Which was called then the firſt great plague in England, raging ſo ſore in all quarters, that it was thought ſcarce the tenth part of men to be left aliue.
54. Simõ Iſlepe. 17.	In the time of Simõ Iſlepe which folowed after Bradwarden: K. Edward. an. 1362. is reported after the blinde ſuperſtition of thoſe daies, to offer in the church of Weſtminſter the veſtimentes wherin S. Peter did celebrate maſſe. Which belike wer well kept from mothes, to laſt ſo long. Ex Chron. Alban. The ſame Simon Iſlepe, among other conſtitutions ordeined through all Churches & Chappelles vnder paine of excõmunication: that no man ſhould abſtayne from bodely labors vpon certayne Saints dayes, as is before touched. Which fact of his is not a litle noted in our monkiſh hiſtoryes. This Simon builded Canterbury Colledge in Oxford.

The firſt great plague in England.

The veſtmẽts wherin S. Peter ſayd Maſſe, or els the papiſts doe lye,

Canterbury Colledge builded in Oxforde.

The Concluſion of this Fourth Booke.

The concluſion of this booke. Antichriſt in his pride.

¶ Foraſmuch as Sathan being cheyned vp all this while, for the ſpace of a thouſand yeares, beginneth about this time to be loſed and to come abroad, according to the forewarning of S. Iohns Reuelation. Therefore to conclude the fourth Booke, wherein ſufficiently hath bene deſcribed the exceſſiue pride and pompe of Antechriſt, floriſhing in his ruffe and ſecuritye, from the time of William Conquerour hitherto: now (Chriſt willing & aſſiſting vs thereunto) we minde in theſe latter Books hereafter following, in order of hiſtory to expreſſe the latter perſecutions and horrible troubles of the Church, rayſed vp by Satanas in his miniſter Antechriſt, with the reſiſtaunce agayne of Chriſtes Church agaynſt him. And ſo to proſecute (by the mercifull grace of Chriſt) the proceeding and courſe of times till we come at length to the fall and ruine of the ſayd Antechriſt. To the intent that if any be in ſuch errour to thinke that Antechriſt is yet to come, let him conſider and ponder well the tragicall rages, the miſerable and moſt ſorrowfull perſecutions, murders, and vexations of theſe latter 300. yeares now following, and I doubt not but he will be put out of all doubt to know, that not onely Antechriſt is already come, but alſo to know where he ſitteth, & how he is now falling apace (the Lord Chriſt be thãked for euer) to his decay and confuſion.

The looſing out of Sathan.

⁂

THE FIFT BOOKE CONTEYNING THE LAST 300. YEARES FROM THE LOOSING OUT OF SATAN.

The fifte booke.

THVS hauing diſcourſed in theſe former Bookes, the order and courſe of yeares, from the firſt tying vp of Sathan vnto the yeare of our Lorde 1360. I haue a little ouerpaſſed the ſtint of time in the Scriptures appoynted, for the looſing out of hym againe. For ſo it is wrytten by S. John Apocal. 20. that after a thouſande yeares, Satanas the olde Dragon ſhalbe let looſe againe for a ſeaſon, &c.

The yeares and tyme of looſing out Satan examined.

For the better explanation of the whych myſterie, let vs firſt conſider the context of the ſcripture: afterward, let vs examine by hiſtory and courſe of times, the meaning of the ſame. And firſt to recite the wordes of the Apocal. the text of the Prophecy is this, cap. 23.

Apoc. 20.

> And I ſaw an Aungell deſcending from heauen, hauing a kay of the bottomleſſe pitte, and a great chaine in his hande. And hee tooke the Dragon the olde Serpente, whych is the deuill and Satanas, and bounde hym for a thouſand yeares, and put hym in the bottomleſſe dungeon and ſhutte him vp, and ſigned him with hys ſeale, that he ſhould no more ſeduce the Gentiles, till a thouſande yeares were expired. And after that he muſt be looſed againe for a little ſpace of time. And I ſawe ſeates, and they ſate vpon them: and iudgement was geuen vnto them, and the ſoules I ſawe of them which were beheaded for the teſtimonie of Ieſus. &c.

By theſe wordes of the Reuelation heere recited, three ſpeciall times are to be noted.

1. Firſt, the being abroade of Sathan to deceyue the world.
2. The binding vp of him.
3. Thirdly, the loſing out of him againe, after a thouſand yeares conſummate, for a time.

The place of the Apocal. 20. Expounded, for the looſing out of Satã.

Concerning the interpretation of whych times, I ſee the common opinion of many to be deceiued by ignorance of hyſtories, and ſtate of things done in the church: ſuppoſing that the chaining vp of Sathan for a thouſand yeares, ſpoken of in the Reuelation, was meant from the birthe of Chriſte our Lorde. wherein I graunt that ſpiritually the ſtrength and dominion of Sathan in accuſing & condemning vs for ſinne, was caſt downe at the paſſion and by the paſſion of Chriſt our ſauiour, and locked vp not onely for a thouſande yeares, but for euer and euer. Albeit as touching the malitious hatred and furie of that Serpent, againſt the outward bodies of Chriſtes poore ſaints (which is the heele of Chriſt) to afflicte and torment the Churche outwardly: That I iudge to be meant in the Reuelation of S. John, not to be reſtrained til the ceaſing of thoſe terrible perſecutions of the primitiue Church. At what time it pleaſed God to pity the ſorrowfull affliction of his poore flocke, being ſo long vnder perſecution, the ſpace of three hundred yeares, and ſo to aſſwage their griefes and torments. which is meant by binding vp of Sathan, worker of all thoſe miſchiefes: vnderſtanding thereby, that forſo much as the Deuill prince of thys worlde had now by the death of Chriſt the ſonne of God loſt al his power and intereſt againſt the ſoule of man, ſhoulde turne his furyous rage & malice which he had to Chriſt againſt the people of Chriſt, (which is meant by the heele of the ſeede. Geneſ. 3.) in tormenting their outward bodies. which yet ſhuld not be for euer, but for a determinate time, when as it ſhoulde pleaſe the Lord to bridle the malice, and ſnaffle the power of the olde Serpent, and geue reſt vnto his Church for the terme of a thouſand yeares. which time being expired, the ſayd ſerpent ſhould be ſuffred looſe againe for a certaine or a ſmall time. Apoc. 20.

What the looſing of Satan doth meane in Scripture.

And thus to expound this Prophetical place of ſcripture I am led by three reaſons.

Three reaſons. The firſt reaſon.

The firſt is, for that the binding vp of Sathan, and cloſing hym in the bottomles pit by the Angell, importeth as much that hee was at libertye, raging and doyng miſchiefe before. And certeſſe thoſe ſo terrible and ſo horrible perſecutiõs of the primitiue time vniuerſally through the whole world, during the ſpace of three hundreth yeares of the Church, do declare no leſſe. wherein it is to be thought and ſuppoſed, that Sathan all that time, was not faſtened and cloſed vp.

The 2. reaſon.

The ſecond reaſon mouing me to thinke that the cloſing vp of Sathan was after the ten perſecutions of the primitiue Church, is taken out of the twelfe chapter of the Apocalips. where we read, that after the woman (meaning the Church) had trauailed forth her man childe, the olde Dragon the Deuill, the ſame time being caſt downe from heauen, drawing the thirde part of the ſtarres wyth him: ſtoode before the woman with great anger, and perſecuted her (that is the Church of God) with a whole floude of water (that is, wyth aboundance of all kindes of torments) and from thence went moreouer to fight agaynſt the reſidue of her ſide, and ſtoode vpon the ſands of the ſea, wherby it appeareth that he was not as yet locked vp.

The 3. reaſon.

Apoc, cap. 13.

The thirde reaſon I collect out of the Apocalyps thirteenth Chapter, where is wrytten of the beaſt, ſignifying the Emperiall Monarchie of Rome: that hee had power to make warre fourtie and two monethes. By the whych monethes is meant no doubt, the tyme that the Dragon, and the perſecuting Emperours, ſhould haue in afflicting the Saintes of the primitiue Church. The computation of which fortie two monethes (counting euery moneth for a Sabboth of yeares, that is for ſeuen yeares, after the order of Scripture) riſeth to the ſumme (counting from the paſſion of the Lord Chriſt) three hundred yeares lacking ſixe, at what time Maxentius the laſt perſecutour in Rome fighting againſt Conſtantinus, was drowned wyth his ſouldiours, like as Pharao was drowned perſecuting ye children of Iſrael in the red ſea. Vnto the which xlij. moneths, or Sabbothes of yeares, if yee adde the other ſixe yeares wherein Licinius perſecuted in the Eaſt: ye ſhal finde iuſt three hundred yeres, as is ſpecified before in the firſt booke of thys volume, pag. 97.

Xlij. monethes in the Apocal. cap. 13. examined.

What time Satan was tied vp.

After the which fortie and two monethes being expired, manyfeſt it is that the furie of Sathan, that is, hys violent malice and power ouer the Saints of Chriſt, was diminiſhed and reſtrained vniuerſally through the whole world.

Thus then the matter ſtanding euident, that Sathan after 300. yeares, counting from the paſſion of Chriſt, began to be chayned vp, at what time the perſecution of the primitiue Church began to ceaſe: Nowe let vs ſee, howe long thys binding vp of Sathan ſhoulde continue, which was promiſed in the booke of the Reuelation to be a thouſand yeares. which thouſand yeares, if yee adde to the xlij. monethes of yeares, that is, to 294. yeares: they make 1294. yeares, after the paſſion of the Lord. To theſe moreouer adde the 30. yeares of the age of Chriſt, and it commeth to the yeare of our Lord 1324. which was the yeare of the letting out of Sathan, according to the prophecie of the Apocalips.

About what time and yeare Satan was let out, by the cõut of the Apocalips.

☞ A Table containing the time of the perſecution both of the primitiue, and of the latter Church, with the count of yeares from the firſt binding vp of Sathan, to his looſing againe, after the minde of the Apocalips.

The firſt perſecution of the primitiue Churche, beginning at the 30. yeares of Chriſt, was propheciéd to continue 42. monthes, that is, An.	294.

The ceaſing of perſecution in the primitiue church.

The ceaſing of the laſte perſecution of the primitiue Churche by the death of Licinius the laſt perſecutour, began. An.324. from the natiuitie of Chriſt, which was from the 30. yeare of hys age. 294. — 294.

The binding vp of Sathan after peace geuen to the church, counting from the 30. yeares of Chriſt, began An. — 294.

The binding vp of Sathan.

And laſted a thouſand yeres, that is, counting from the thirtie yeare of Chriſte, to the yeare. — 1294.

The time of loſing of Sathan.

About which yeare Pope Boniface the 8. was Pope, and made the 6. booke of the decretals: confirmed the orders of Friers, and priuileged them with great fredomes, as appeareth by his conſtitution: Super cathedram. An. — 1294.

The time of Antichriſt, examined.

Unto the which count of yeares doeth not much diſagree that I founde in a certaine olde Chronicle propheſied and wrytten in the latter ende of a booke, which booke was wrytten as it ſeemeth, by a monke of Douer, & remayneth yet in the cuſtodye of William Cary, a Citizen of London: alledging the Propheſie of one Hayncardus a gray Frier, grounded vpon the authoritie of Ioachim the Abbot, propheſying that Antichriſt ſhoulde be borne the yeare from the Natiuitie of Chriſt. 1260. which is, counting after the Lordes paſſion, the very ſame yere and time, when the orders of Friers both Dominickes and Franciſcans began firſt to be ſette vp by Pope Honorius the 3. and by Pope Gregorius 9. which was the yere of our Lord counting after his paſſion. — 1226.

And counting after the Natiuitye of the Lord, was the yeare. — 1260.

whereof theſe verſes in the author was wrytten.

Verſes propheſying of the comming of Antichriſt.

Cum fuerint anni completi mille ducenti,
Et decies ſeni poſt partum virginis almæ:
Tunc Antichriſtus naſcetur dæmone plenus.

And theſe verſes were wrytten, as appeareth by the ſayd author. An. 1285.

Theſe thyngs thus premiſed for the looſing out of Satan, according to the propheſie of the Apocal. nowe let vs enter (Chriſte willing) to the declaration of theſe latter times, which folowed after the letting out of Sathan into the worlde. Deſcribing the wondrous perturbations and cruell tiranny ſtirred vp by him againſt Chriſtes Church. Alſo the valiant reſiſtance of the Church of Chriſt againſt him and Antichriſt, as in theſe our bookes heere vnder folowing may appeare.

The argument of the bookes after folowing.

The argument of which booke conſiſteth in 2. partes, firſt to entreate of the raging furie of Satan nowe looſed, and of Antichriſt: Againſt the ſaints of Chriſt fighting and trauelling for the maintenance of the truth, & reformation of the Church: Secondly, to declare the decay and ruine of the ſaid Antichriſt, through the power of the word of God being at length (eyther in a greate parte of the worlde) ouerthrowen, or at leaſt vniuerſally in the whole world detected.

Anno. 1360.

A brief rehearſall of faythfull learned men, which withſtood the proceedings of the Pope.

Thus then to begin wyth the yeare of our Lord. 1360. wherin I haue a litle as is aforeſayd, tranſgreſſed the ſtint of the firſt looſing out of Sathan: we are come now to the time wherin the Lord, after long darknes beginneth ſome reformation of hys Churche, by the diligent induſtrie of ſondry hys faithful and learned ſeruauntes: of whome diuers already we haue foretouched in the former booke before, as namely Guliel. de Sancto Amore, Marſilius Patauinus: Ockam: Robertus Gallus: Robertus Groſted: Petrus de Cugnerijs: Ioannes Rupeſciſſanus: Conradus Hager: Ioannes de Poliaco, Ceſenas, wyth other moe: whych withſtode the corrupt errours, and intollerable enormities of the Byſhop of Rome. Beſide them which about theſe times were put to death by the ſaide biſhop of Rome, as Chaſtilion, & Franciſcus de Arcatara in the booke before recorded: alſo the two Franciſcanes, Martyrs, which were burned at Auinion, mentioned, pag. 391.

Now to theſe (the Lord willing) we will adde ſuch other holy Martyrs and confeſſors, who following after in the courſe of yeares with like zeale and ſtrength of Gods worde, and alſo with like daunger of their liues, gaue the like reſiſtance againſt the enemie of Chriſtes religion, and ſuffered at hys handes the like perſecutions. Firſt beginning wyth that godly man, whoſoeuer he was the author of the Booke (hys name I haue not) intituled the prayer and complaint of the Ploughman; wrytten as it appeareth, about thys preſent time.

The author of the plowmans prayer not knowne.

Which booke as it was faithfully ſet forth by William Tindall, ſo I haue as truely diſtributed the ſame abroade to the Readers handes: neyther chaunging any thyng of the matter, neyther altering many wordes of the phraſe thereof. Although the oldneſſe and age of hys ſpeache and termes be almoſt growne nowe out of vſe: yet thought I it ſo beſt, both for the vtilitie of the booke to reſerue it from obliuion, as alſo in his owne language to let it go abroad, for the more credite and teſtimonie of the true antiquity of the ſame. Adding withal in the margent for the better vnderſtanding of the reader, ſome interpretation of certaine difficult termes and ſpeches, as otherwiſe might perhaps hinder or ſtay the reader. The matter of this complaining prayer of the ploughman, thus proceedeth.

An olde auncient wryting, intitled, The prayer and complaint of the Ploughman.

An olde booke intituled, the ploughmans prayer, written as ſeemeth about Wickliffes tyme.

IESV CHRIST that was ybore of the maid Marie, haue on thy poore ſeruauntes mercie and pitie, and helpe them in their great nede to fight againſt ſinne, and againſt the deuill that is author of ſinne, and more nede nes there neuer to cry to Chriſt for helpe, then it is ryght nowe. For it is fulfilled that God ſayde by Iſay the Prophet: ye riſeth vp erlich to follow drunkenneſſe, and to drinke till it be euen, the harpe and other minſtrelſies beeth in your feaſtes and wine. But the woorke of God ye ne beholdeth not, ne taketh no kepe to the workes of his handes: And therfore my people is take priſoner, for they ne had no cunning. And the noble men of my people deyeden for hunger, and the multitude of my people weren dry for thirſt, and therefore hel hath drawen abroade theyr ſoule, and hath yopened hys mouth wythout any ende. And eftſoones ſayeth Iſay the Prophet: The worde is floten away, and the highneſſe of the people is ymade ſicke, and the earth is infecte of his wonnyers, for they haue broken my lawes, and ychaunged my right, and han deſtroyed mine euerlaſtynge bonde and * forward betwene them & me. And therfore curſing ſhal deuour the earth, and they that wonneth on the erthly ſhallen done ſinne. And therefore the earth tilyars ſhullen waxe woode, and fewe men ſhullen een yleft vpon the earth. And yet ſayth Iſay the Prophet, this ſayeth God, for as much as this people nigheth me with their mouth, & glorifieth me with their lippes, and their hart is farre from me. And they han ydrad more mens commandement, then mine, and more draw to their doctrines, then mine. Therefore will I make a great wondring vnto this people, wiſedome ſhall periſh away from wiſe men, and vnderſtanding of ready men ſhall be yhid. And ſo it ſeemeth that an other ſaying of Iſay is fulfilled, there as God bad hym goe teach the people, and ſayd go forth and ſay to this people: eares haue ye, and vnderſtād ye not, and eyes ye haue and ſight ne know ye not. Make blinde the hart of this people, & make their eares heauy, and cloſe their eyen, leaſt he ſee with his eyen, and yheare with his eares, and vnderſtand with his hart, and by yturned, and ych heale him of his ſicknes. And Iſay ſayd to God: how long Lord ſhall this be? And God ſayd: For to that the cities ben deſolate withouten a wonnier, and an houſe withouten a man.

The complaynt of Eſai applied to theſe times.

* Forward, that is, couenant.

Here is mychel nede for to make ſorow, & to cry to our Lord Ieſu Chriſt hertilich for helpe and for ſuccour, that hee wole forgeue vs our ſinnes, and geue vs grace and cōning to ſeruen him better here after. And God of his endles mercy geue vs grace and cōning trulich to tellen which is Chriſtes law in helping of mens ſoules, for we beth lewde men, and ſinfull men, and vnconning, and if he woll be our helpe and our ſuccour, we ſhullen wel perfourme our purpoſe. And bleſſed be our Lorde God that hideth his wiſdome from wiſe men, and fro ready men, and teacheth it to ſmall children, as Chriſt teacheth in the Goſpell.

Chriſten men haue a law to keepe, the which lawe hath twe parties. Beleue in Chriſt that is God, & is the foundmēt of their law, and vpon this foundement, as he ſayde to Peter, and the goſpel beareth witnes, he woll byelden his Churche, and thys is the firſt party of Chriſtes law. The ſecōd party of this law beth Chriſtes commaundements that beth written in the goſpel, and more verilich in Chriſten mens hartes.

The law of Chriſt ſtandeth on two partes.

And as touching the beleue, we beleuen that Chriſt is God, and that there ne is no God but he. We beleuen neuertheles that in the Godhead there bene three perſons, the Father, the Sonne, and the holy Ghoſt, and all theſe three perſons ben one God, and not many Gods, and all they beth ylich mighty, ylich good, and ylich wiſe, and euer haue bene, and euer ſhullen ben. We beleuen this God made the worlde of nought, and man he made after hys owne likeneſſe in Paradiſe that was a land of bliſſe, and gaue him that land for hys heritage, and bad him that he ſhould not eate the tree of knowledge of good and euil, that was * a midde Paradiſe. Then the deuell that was fallen out of heauen for his pride, had enuie to man, and by a falſe ſuggeſtion he made man eate of this tree, and breake the commaundement of God, and tho was man ouercome of the deuill, and ſo he loſt his heritage, and was put out therof into the world that was a land of trauel, and of ſorow vnder the feendes thraldome, to be puniſhed for hys treſpaſſe. There man followed wickednes and ſinne, and God for the ſinne of man ſent a floud into this world, and drownd all mankind ſaue eight ſoules. And after this flud he let mē multiply in the world, and ſo he aſſaied whether man dread him or loued him, & among other he found a man that hight Abraham: this man he prooued whether he loued him and drad him, and bad hym that he ſhould offeren Iſaac his ſonne vppon an hill, and Abraham as a true ſeruaunt fulfilled his Lords commaundement: and for this buxumnes and truth, God ſware vnto Abraham that he would multiply his ſeede as the grauell in the ſea, and as the ſtarres of heauen, and he behight to him and to his heires the lande of beheſt for heritage for euer, gif they wolden ben his true ſeruauntes and keepe his heſts. And God * held him forward, for Iſaac Abrahams ſonne begat Iacob and Eſau: and of Iacob that is ycleped Iſrael, comen Gods people that he choſe to be his ſeruaunts, and to whome he behight the land of beheſt. This people was in great thraldome in Egypt vnder Pharao that was king of Egypt: and they crieden to God that he ſhould deliueren them out of that thraldome, and ſo he did: for he ſent to Pharao, Moſes and his brother Aaron, and bad him deliuer his people to done him ſacrifice: and to fore Pharao he made Moſes done many wonders, or that Pharao wold deliuer his people, and at the laſt by might he deliuered his people out of thraldom, and led them through a deſert toward the lande of beheſt, and there he gaue them a lawe that they ſhulden lyuen after, when they comen into their countrey, and in their way thitherward, the ten commaundements God wrote himſelf in two tables of ſtone: the remnaunt of the lawe he taught them by Moſes his ſeruaunt, how they ſhoulden do euerychone to other, and gif they treſpaſſed againe the law, he ordeined how they ſhoulden be puniſhed. Alſo hee taught them what maner ſacrifices they ſhould doe to him, and he choſe him a people to ben his prieſtes, that was Aaron and his children, to done ſacrifices in the tabernacle, and afterwarde in the temple alſo. He cheſe him the remnant of the children of Leuy to ben ſeruauntes in the tabernacle to the prieſtes, and he ſayde: When ye come into the lande of beheſt, the children of Leuy they ſhullen haue none heritage amōgſt their brethren, for I would be their part, & their heritage, & they ſhullen ſerue me in the tabernacle by dayes and by nightes, and he ordeined that prieſts ſhould haue a part of the ſacrifices that were offred in the tabernacle, and the firſt begotten beaſtes, both of men and beaſtes and other things as the lawe telleth. And the other children of Leuy that ſerued in the tabernacle, ſhould haue tythings of the people to their liueloode, of the which tythings they ſhould geuen the prieſtes the tenth partie in forme of offering. The children of Leuy both prieſtes and other, ſhoulde haue houſes and croftes, and leſewes for their beaſts in the land of beheſt, & none other heritage: & ſo God gaue thē their land of beheſt, and bade them that they ne ſhoulde worſhip no other God then him. Alſo he bade that they ſhould kepe his cōmandements, and gift they did ſo, all their enemies about them ſhuld drede thē and be their ſeruaunts. And giue they worſhipped falſe gods and ſo forſaken his lawes, he bihight them that he woulde bring them out of that land & make them ſerue their enemies, but yet he ſaid he would not benemen his mercy away from them, if they would cry mercy and amende their defautes, and all thys was done on Gods ſide.

*Amid Paradiſe, that is, in the middeſt of Paradiſe.

Abraham.

*Held him forwarde, that is, kept promiſe with him.

Gods loue to man.

And heere is much loue ſhowed of God to man. And who ſo looketh the Bible, hee ſhall finde that man ſhowed him little loue againeward: for when they were come into their heritage, they forgetten their God, and worſhipped falſe gods. And God ſent to them the Prophetes and his ſeruaunts * fele times to bidde them withdrawen them from their ſinnes, and other they haue ſlowen them, or they beaten them, or they ledde them in priſon: and oft times God tooke vpon them great vengeance for their ſinnes, & when they cried after helpen to God, he ſent them helpe and ſuccour. This is the generall proceſſe of the old Teſtament, that God gaue to his people by Moſes his ſeruaunt. And al this Teſtament and this doing ne was but a ſhadow and a figure of a newe Teſtament that was geuen by Chriſt. And it was byhoten by Ieremie the Prophet, as S. Paul beareth witnes in the Epiſtle that he wryteth to the Iewes. And Ieremy ſayeth in this wiſe: Loe dayes ſhall come, God ſayth, and I will make a new band to the houſe of Iſrael, and to the houſe of Iuda, not like the forward that I made with their fathers in that day that I tooke their hand to leade them out of the lande of Egypt, the which forward they maden veyne, and I had Lordſhip ouer them. But this ſhalbe the forward that I wold make with them after thoſe daies: I wil geue my lawes with them in their inwardnes, and I will wryten them in their hearts, and I wil be their God and they ſhould be my people, and after that a man ſhall not teach his neighbour ne his brother. For all (God ſayeth) from the leaſt to the moſt, ſhould knowe me, for I will forgeuen them their ſinnes, and I wil no more thinke on their ſinnes.

Feile times that is, oft tymes.

Thys is the newe Teſtament, that Chriſte both God and man borne of the maid Marye, he taught here in this worlde to bryng man out of ſinne and out of the deuils thraldome and ſeruice to heauen, that is land of bliſſe and heritage to all tho that beleeuen on him and kepen hys commaundements, and for his teaching he was done to the death. But the third day aroſe againe from death to life, and fette Adam and Eue and many other folke out of hell, and afterward he came to his diſciples and comforted them. After he ſtied vp to heauen to his father, and tho hee ſent the holy Ghoſt amonges his diſciples: and in time comming he wol come and demen all mankinde after their werkes, and after the wordes he ſpake vpon earth: ſome to bliſſe, with in body and in ſoul euer withouten end, and ſome to paine withouten end, both in body and in ſoule.

This is our beleue and all chriſten mennes, and this beleue is the firſt poynt of the newe Teſtament that yche Chriſten man is holde ſtedfaſtly to beleue, and rather to ſuffe the death than forſaken this beleue, and ſo this beleue is the bread of ſpirituall life, in forſaking ſinne, that Chriſt brought vs to life.

But for aſmuch as mans liuing ne ſtondeth not all onlych by bread, he hath ygiuen vs a draught of water of life to drink. And who that drinketh of that water, he ne ſhall neuer afterward ben a thurſt. For this water is the cleare teaching of the goſpel, that encloſeth ſeuen commaundements.

Special precepts or leſſons of the Goſpell.

The firſt is this: thou ſhalt loue thy G O D ouer all other things, and thy brother as thy ſelfe, both enemy and frend.

The ſecond commaundement is of meekenes, in the whych Chriſt chardgeth vs to forſake Lordſhip vppon our brethren and other worldly worſhips, and ſo he did himſelfe.

The third commandement, is in ſtonding ſtedfaſtliche in truth and forſaking all falſenes.

The fourth commaundement, is to ſuffer in this world diſeaſes and wrongs withouten ageinſtondings.

The fifth commaundement is mercy, to forgeuen our brethren their treſpaſſe, as often time as they gilteth, without asking of vengeaunce.

The ſixth commaundement is poorenes in ſpirite, but not to ben a begger.

The ſeuenth commaundement, is chaſtity: that is a forſaking of fleſhlich likings diſpleaſing to God. Theſe commaundements encloſen the ten commaundements of the old law, and ſomwhat more.

Thys water, is a bleſſed drinke for chriſten mennes ſoule. But more harme is, much folke would drinke of thys water, but they mowe not come thereto: for God ſayth by Ezechiel the prophet: when iche geue to you the moſt cleane water to drinke, ye troubled that water with your feete, and that water ſo defouled, yee geue my ſhepe to drink. But the clene water is yhid fro the ſhepe, and but gif God cleare this, it is dread leaſt the ſheepe dyen for thurſt. And Chriſt that is the wiſdome of the father of heauen, & well of thys wiſdome that come from heauen to earth to teache man this wiſdome, thorow the which man ſhould ouercome the ſleights of the deuill that is principall enemy of mankinde: haue mercy and pity of his people, and ſhew if it be his will howe thys water is troubled, and by whom: and * ſith clere thys water that his ſheepe mowne drinken hereof, and kele the thurſt of theyr ſoules. Bleſſed mote our Lord bene, for he hath itaught vs in the Goſpell, that ere then hee woulde come to the vniuerſall dome, then ſhould come many in his name and ſayen, that they weren Chriſt: and they ſhoulden done many wonders, and begilen many men. And many falſe prophets ſhoulden ariſen and begylen much folke.

Chriſtes ſheepe ſtopped from cleane water, & compelled to drinke puddel,

*Syth, that is, afterward.

A Lorde, ybleſſed mote thou ben of euerich creature: which ben they that haue yſayd that they weren Chriſt, & haue thus begiled thus thy people? Trulich Lord I trowe, thilke that ſayen that they ben in thy ſteede, and * binemen thy worſhip, and maken thy people worſhippen them as God, & haue hid thy lawes from the people. Lorde, who durſt ſit in thy ſteede and benemen thee thy woorſhip and thy ſacrifice, and durſt maken the people woorſhip them as gods? The Sauter telles, that God ne wole not in the day of dome demen men for bodiliche ſacrifices & Holocauſtes: But God ſayth, yeld to me ſacrifice of herying, and yeld to God thine auowes, and clepe me in the day of tribulation, and ych wole defend thee, and thou ſhalt worſhip me.

*Binemen, that is, take away.

The heryeng of God ſtandeth in 3 things. In louing God ouer al other things. In dreading God ouer al other things. In truſting in God ouer all other things.

*Herying, that is, worſhipping.

Theſe 3. poyntes Chriſt teacheth in the goſpell. But I trowe men louen him but a little. For who ſo loueth Chriſt, he wole kepen his wordes. But men holden his wordes for hereſie and folye, and kepeth mennes wordes. Alſo men dreden more men & mens lawes and their curſings, then Chriſt and his lawes and his curſings. Alſo men hopen more in men and mens helpes, than they doe in Chriſt and in his helpe. And thus hath hee that ſetteth in

The honouring of God ſtandeth in iij. thinges.

Gods ſtede, by nomen God theſe three heryings, & maketh men louen him and his lawes, more then Chriſt and Chriſtes law, and dreden him alſo. And there as the people ſhulden yeelde to God their vowes, he ſayth he hath power to aſſoylen them of theyr avowes, and ſo this ſacrifice he * nemeth away from God. And there as the people ſhoulde cry to God in the day of tribulation, he letteth them of their cryeng to God and bynemeth God that worſhip. This day of tribulation is whan man is fallen thorowe ſinne into the deuils ſeruice, and than we ſhulden cry to God after help, and axen forgeuenes of our ſinne, and make great ſorow for our ſinne, and ben in full will to do ſo no more ne none other ſinne, and that our Lord God wole forgeuen vs our ſinne, & maken our ſoule clene. For his mercy is endleſſe.

* Nemeth, that is, taketh.

Againſt auricular confeſſion.

But Lord, here men haue bynomen thee much worſhyp: For men ſeyn that thou ne might not cleane aſſoylen vs of our ſinne. But if we knowlegen our ſinnes to prieſts, & taken of them a penance for our ſinne gif we mowen ſpeake with them.

Sinnes forgiuen without ſhrift.

* Heigheth, that is, exalteth.

A Lord thou forgaue ſomtime Peter his ſinnes and alſo Mary Magdaleine, and many other many ſinfull men without ſhriuing to prieſts, & taking penance of prieſts for their ſinnes. And Lord thou art as mighty now as thou were that time, but gif any man haue bynomen thee thy might. And we lewed men beleuen, that there nys no man of ſo great power, and gif any man maketh him ſelfe of ſo great power he * heigheth himſelfe aboue God. And S. Paul ſpeaketh of one that ſitteth in the temple of God & highten him aboue God, and gif any ſuch be, he is a falſe Chriſt.

Obiection of the prieſtes to maintain ſhrift. Anſwere to the obiection.

But hereto ſeyn prieſts, that whē Chriſt made cleane leprous men, he bade them goe and ſhewe them to prieſts. And therefore they ſeyn that it is a commandement of Chriſt, that a man ſhould ſhewen his ſinne to prieſts. For as they ſeyn, lepre in the olde lawe betokeneth ſinne in this new lawe. A Lorde God, whether thine Apoſtles knew not thy meaning as well as men done nowe? And gif they hadden yknow that thou haddeſt cōmanded men to ſhriuen them to prieſts, and they ne taught not that commandement to the people, me thinketh they hadden ben to blame: But I trow they knewen wel that it was none of thy commaundements, ne nedeful to heale of mans ſoule. And as me thinketh the law of lepre, is nothing to the purpoſe of ſhriuing: for prieſtes in the olde law hadden certain poynts and tokens to know whether a man were leprous or not: and gif they were leprous, they hadden power to putten them away from other cleane men, for to that they weren cleane, & then they hadden power to receiuen him among his brethren, and offeren for him a ſacrifice to God.

This nis nothing to the purpoſe of ſhriuing. For there nis but one prieſt, that is Chriſt, that may knowe in certaine the lepre of the ſoule. Ne no prieſt may make the ſoul cleane of her ſinne, but Chriſt that is prieſt after Melchiſedekes order: ne no prieſt here beneath may ywit for certaine whether a man be cleane of hys ſinne or cleane aſſoyled, but gif God tell it him by reuelation. Ne God ordeined not that his prieſtes ſhould ſet men a penance for their ſinne after the quantitie of the ſinne, but this is mannes ordinaunce, and it may well be that there commeth good thereof. But I wote well that God is much vnworſhipped thereby. For men truſt more in his abſolutions, and in his yeres of grace, than in Chriſtes abſolutions, and therby is the people much appaired. For now, the ſorow a man ſhould make for his ſinne, is put away by this ſhrift: and a man is more bold to do ſinne for truſt of thys ſhrift, and of this bodilich penance.

Penaunce for ſinne, is mans ordinance and not Gods.

Miſchiefes that come by auricular confeſſion.

An other miſchiefe is, that the people is ybrought into thys beleefe, that one prieſt hath a greater power to aſſoylen a man of his ſinne and clennere, then an other prieſt hath.

An other miſchiefe is this, that ſome prieſt may aſſoylen them both of ſinne and paine, and in this they taken them a power that Chriſt granted no man in earth, ne he ne vſed it nought on earth himſelfe:

Popiſh prieſtes charged wich Simony.

* Beth, that is, bee.

An other miſchiefe is, that theſe prieſtes ſellen forgeuenes of mens ſinnes and abſolutions for money, and this is an hereſie accurſed that is ycleped ſimonie: and all thilke prieſtes that axeth price for graunting of ſpirituall grace, * beth by holy lawes depriued of their prieſthode, and thilke that aſſenteth to this hereſy. And be they ware, for Helyſe the prophet toke no mony of Naaman when he was made cleane of his lepre, but Gieſi his ſeruant: and therefore * the lepree of Naaman abode with him and wyth his heires euermore after.

Here is much matter of ſorow, to ſee the people thus far ylad away from God and worſhupen a falſ god in earth, that by might and by ſtrength hath ydone away the great ſacrifice of God out of his temple: of which miſchiefe and diſcomfort, Daniel maketh mention, and Chriſt beareth thereof witnes in the goſpell. Who that readeth it vnderſtand it. Thus we haue ytold apertie, how he that ſaith he ſitteth in Chriſts ſtede, *bineth Chriſt his worſhip and his ſacrifice of his people, and maketh the people worſhepen him as a God on earth.

* Bynemeth, that is, taketh away.

Cry we to God, and knowledge we our ſinnes euerichone to other as S. Iames teacheth, and pray we hartilich to God euerichone for other, & then we ſhulen hopen forgeuenes of our ſinnes. For God that is endles in mercy ſayth, that he ne wil not a ſinful mans death, but that he be turned from his ſin & liuen. And therfore, when he came downe to ſaue mankinde, he gaue vs a lawe of loue and of mercy: and bade, gif a man do a treſpas, amend him priuilich: and gif he leue not his ſinne, amend him before witnes: and gif he ne amendeth not, men ſhould tel to the church: and gif he ne amendeth not than, men ſhuld ſhone his company as a publicane, or a man that is misbeleued, and this lawe was yfigured in the law of lepre, who that readeth it, he may ſee the ſooth.

But Lord God, he that ſitteth in thy ſtede, hath vndo thy lawe of mercy and of loue, Lord, thou biddeſt loue enemies as our ſelf: as thou ſheweſt in the goſpell, there as the Samaritane had mercy on the Iewe. And thou biddeſt vs alſo prayen for them that curſen vs, and that defamen vs, & purſuen vs to death. And ſo Lorde thou didſt, & thine apoſtles alſo. But he that clepeth himſelfe thy vicar on earth, and head of thy church, he hath vndone thy lawe of loue and mercy. For gif we ſpeaken of louing our ennemies, he teacheth vs to fight with our enemies, that Chriſt hath forboden. He curſeth and deſireth vengeance to them that ſo doth to hym. Gif any man purſueth him, hee curſeth him, that it is a ſorowe a Chriſten man to hearen the curſinges that they maken, and blaſphemies in ſuch curſing. Of what thing that I know, I may beare true witnes.

The Pope breaketh the law of loue, & mercye.

But gif we ſpeake of louing of our brethren, this is vndone by him that ſayth he is Godsvicar in earth. For Chriſt in the goſpell biddeth vs, that we ſhoulden clepen vs no father vpon earth: But clepen God our father, to maken vs loue perfitlich together. And he clepeth himſelf father of fathers, & maketh many religions, & to euerich a father. But whether is loue and charity encreaſed by theſe fathers and by their religions, or els ymade leſſe? For a Friar ne loueth not a monke, ne a ſecular man neither, nor yet one frier a nother that is not of the order, and it is againward.

The Pope would be a father, but he beareth no loue.

A Lord, me thinketh that there is litle perfection in theſe religions. For Lorde, what charity hauen ſuch men of religion, that knowen how they mown againſtand ſin, and fleen away frō their brethren that ben more vncūning then they ben, & ſuffren them to trauelen in the world withouten their cōūcell as beaſtes? Trulich Lorde, me thinketh that there is but litle charity, and then is there litle perfection. Lorde God, when thou were on earth, thou were among ſinful men to drawen them from ſin, & thy diſciples alſo. And Lord, I trow thou ne grāuteſt not one mā more kūning then an other al for himſelf: and I wote wel that lewd mē that ben laborers, ne trauel not alonlich for himſelf. Lord our belief is, that thou ne wer not of the world, ne thy teaching neither, ne thy ſeruantes that liueden after thy teaching. But all they forſaken the world, and ſo euery chriſten man muſt. But Lorde, whether thou taughteſt menne forſake their brethrens companie and trauell of the worlde, to liuen in eaſe and in reſt, and out of trouble and anger of the worlde, by their brethrens trauell and ſo forſaken the world?

To forſake the world is not to liue in eaſe from company.

A Lord, thou ne taughteſt not a mā to forſaken a pore eſtate and trauel, to ben afterward a Lord of his brethren, or ben a lords fellow and dwelling with Lords, as doth men of theſe new religions. Lord thou ne taughteſt not men of thy religion thus to forſake the world, to liuen in perfection by them ſelfe in eaſe, and by other mens trauell. But Lord they ſayen they ben ybound to thy ſeruiſe, and ſeruen thee both night and day in ſinging their prayers, both for themſelfe and for other men, that done them good both quicke and dead, and ſome of them gone about to teach thy people when they hauen leiſure.

True ſeruice of God ſtādeth not in long prayer, but in keeping Gods commandements.

A Lord, gif they ben thy ſeruauntes: whoſe ſeruaunts ben we that cannot preyen as they done? And when thou were heere on earth, for our nede thou taughteſt thy ſeruauntes to preyen thy father priuilich and ſhortlich: And gif there had beene a better maner of praying, I trowe thou wouldeſt haue taught it in helpe of thy people. And Lorde thou reproueſt hypocrites that preyen in long preyer and in open places, to ben yholden holy men. And thou ſeyſt in the goſpel, wo to you Phariſees hypocrits. And lord thou ne chargedeſt not thy ſeruaunts with ſuch maner ſeruice: But thou ſeeſt in the goſpel, that the Phariſes worſhopē thee with their lippes, and their hart is farre from thee. For they * chargen more mens traditions than thy commaundements.

* Chargen, that is, they care for.

And Lord, we lewed men han a beleeſe, that thy goodneſſe is endles: and gif we keepen thine heſtes, than ben we thy true ſeruauntes. And though we preyen thee but a litle & ſhortlich, thou wilt thinken on vs, and grāūten vs that vs nedeth, for ſo thou behighted vs ſomtime: And Lord I trowe, that pray a man neuer ſo many quaint prayers, gif he ne kepe not thine heſts he is not thy good ſeruaunt. But gif he keepe thine heſtes, than he is thy good ſeruaunt, and ſo me thinketh. Lorde that praying of long prayers ne is not the ſeruice that thou deſireſt, but keping of thine heſtes: and than a lewd man may ſerue God as wel as a man of religion: though that the Plowman ne may not haue ſo muche ſiluer for his prayer, as men of religion. For they * kunnen not ſo wel preiſen their prayers as theſe other chapmen: But Lorde our hope is, that our prayers be neuer the worſe though it be not ſo wel ſolde as other mens prayers.

* Behited, that is, promiſed.

* Kunnen, that is, they can.

Lorde, Ezechiel the Prophet ſayth that whan he ſpake to the people thy words,they turned thy words into ſongs & into tales, And ſo Lord men done now: they ſingin merilich thy words,and that ſinging they clepen thy ſeruice.But Lord I trow that the beſt ſingers he herieth thee not moſt: But he that fulfilleth thy wordes he * herieth thee full well,though he wepe more then ſing. And I trow that weping for breaking of thy commandements, be more pleaſing ſeruice to thee,than the ſinging of thy words. And wold God that men would ſerue him in ſorow for their ſinnes,andthat they ſhoulden afterward ſeruen thee in mirth.For Chriſt ſayth,ybleſſed ben they that maken ſorow, for they ſhoulden ben yconforted. And woe to them that ben merry and haue theyr comfort in this world. And Chriſt ſayd that the world ſhould ioyen,& hys ſeruãts ſhulden be ſory, but their ſorow ſhuld be turned into ioy.

*Heryeth, that is, worſhippeth.

Singing in churches falſly called Gods ſeruice. Weping for ſinnes,better ſeruice then ſinging in church.

A Lord,he that clepeth himſelfe thy vicar vpon earth, hath y ordained an order of prieſtes to doe thy ſeruice in church to fore thy lewd people in ſinging matens,euenſong & maſſe. And therfore hee chargeth lewde men in paine of curſing, to bryng to hys prieſts tithyngs and offerings to finden his prieſts,and he clepeth that Gods part,& due to prieſts that ſeruen him in church.

But Lord,in the olde law, the tithings of the lewde people ne were not due to prieſtes , but to that other childer of Leuie that ſerueden thee in the temple,and the prieſt haddẽ their part of ſacrifices,and the firſt bygeten beaſtes and other things as the lawe telleth. And Lorde,S.Paul thy ſeruant ſayth,that the order of the prieſthode of Aaron ceaſed in Chriſtes comming and the lawe of that prieſthode. For Chriſt was end of ſacrifices yoffered vpõ the croſſe to the father of heauen, to bring man out of ſinne and become himſelf a prieſt of Melchiſedeks order.For he was both king & prieſt without beginning and end,and both the prieſthoode of Aaron,and alſo the law of that prieſthode, ben ychaunged in the comming of Chriſt.And S.Paul ſayth it is reproued,for it broghc no man to perfection. For bloude of gotes ne of other beaſtes ne might done away ſinne, for to that Chriſt ſhad his bloud.

A Lord Ieſu,wether thou ordeneſt an order of prieſts to offrẽ in the auter thy fleſh and thy bloude to bringen men out of ſinne, and alſo out of peine? And whether thou geue them alonelych a power to eat thy fleſh and thy bloud, and wether none other man may eate thy fleſh and thy bloud with outen leue of prieſtes?Lord, we beleeuen, that thy fleſh is verey meate and thy bloude verey drinke, and who eateth thy fleſh and drinketh thy bloud dwelleth in thee,and thou in him, and who that eateth this bread ſhall liue without end. But Lord thine diſciples ſayd,this is an hard worde, but thou anſwereſt them and ſeideſt: When yee ſeeth mans ſoone ſtiuen vp there hee was rather, the ſpirite is that maketh you liue, the wordes that yche haue ſpoken to you ben ſpirite & life Lord, ybleſſed mote thou be,for in this worde thou teacheſt vs that hee that kepeth thy wordes and doth after them, eateth thy fleſhe and drinketh thy bloude,and hath an euerlaſting life in thee. And for we ſhoulden haue minde of thys liuing, thou gaueſt vs the ſacrament of thy fleſh and bloud in forme of bred and wine at thy ſupper,before that thou ſhouldeſt ſuffer thy death,and tooke bread in thine hand,and ſaideſt: take ye this,and eate it, for it is my body: and thou tookeſt wine , and bleſſedeſt it,and ſayde: thys is the bloud of a new and an euerlaſting teſtament,that ſhall be ſhed for many men in forgeuenes of ſinnes:as oft as ye haue done, doo ye this in minde of me.

The order of prieſtes, not made to offer Chriſts bodie.

A Lord,thou ne bede not thine diſciples makẽ this a ſacrifice, to bring men out of paines, gif a prieſt offred thy body in the alter:but thou bede them go and*fullen all the folke in the name of the father, & the ſonne, and the holy ghoſt, in forgeuenes of their ſinnes: and teache ye them to keepe thoſe thynges that ych haue cõmanded you.And Lord,thine diſciples ne ordeined not prieſts principallich to make thy body in ſacrament, but for to teach the people,and good husbandmen that well gouern their houſholds, both wiues & children,& their meiny, they ordeind to be prieſts to teachen other men the law of Chriſt,both in worde,in dede,& they liuedein as true Chriſten men,euery day they eaten Chriſtes body,and drinken his bloude,to the ſuſtenance of liuing of theyr ſoules,and otherwhiles they tooken the ſacrament of his body in forme of bread and wine,in mind of our Lord Ieſu Chriſt.

The ſacrament of the body of the Lord abuſed.

*Fullen that is,baptiſe.

But all this is turned vpſe downe: for now who ſo will liuen as thou taughteſt,he ſhal ben holden a foole.And git he ſpeake thy teaching,he ſhal ben holden an heretick,& accurſed. Lord yhaue no lenger wonder hereof,for ſo they ſeiden to thee whẽ thou wer here ſome time.And therefore wee moten take in pacience theyr wordes of blaſphemy as thou dideſt thy ſelfe, or els we weren to blame.And truelych Lord I trowe,that if thou were nowe in the world,and taughteſt as thou diddeſt ſome time, thou ſhuldeſt ben done to death.For thy teaching is damned for hereſy of wiſe men of the world, and then moten they nedes ben heretickes that teachen thy lore,and all they alſo that trauelen to liue thereafter.

Prieſts principally ſent to preach, not to ſay maſſe,or to make the lords bodie.

He that ſpeaketh Gods teaching,is holden an heretike.

And therfore Lord,gif it be thy wil,helpe thine vnkunning & lewde ſeruaunts , that wolen by their power and their kunning, helpe to deſtroy ſinne. Leue Lorde, ſithe thou madeſt woman in helpe of man,& in a more fraile degree then man is, to be gouerned by mans reaſon:What perfection of charity is in theſe prieſts and in men of religion,that haue forſaken ſpouſhod that thou ordeinedſt in Paradiſe betwixt man and woman , for perfection to forſaken traueile , and liuen in eaſe by other mens traueile? For they mow not do bodilich workes for defouling of their handes, with whom they touchen thy precious body in the aulter.

Leue Lorde, gif good men forſaken the company of woman, & nedes they moten haue the gouernaile of man, then motẽ they ben ycoupled with ſhrewes,and therfore thy ſpouſhode that thou madeſt in clennes from ſinne,it is nowe ychaunged into liking of the fleſh. And Lord,this is a great miſchiefe vnto thy people. And young prieſtes and men of religion, for defaulte of wiues maken many women horen , and drawen through their euell enſample many other men to ſinne,and the eaſe that they liuen in,and their welfare,is a great cauſe of this miſchiefe. And Lord me thinketh, that theſe ben quaint orders of religion and none of thy ſect,that wolen taken horen, whilke God forſendes, and forſaken wiues that God ne forſendeth not And forſaken trauail that God commaunds ,and geuen their ſelfe to idlenes, that is the mother of all noughtines.

What incontinence by the vnmaried liues of prieſtes.

He complaineth of the idlenes of prieſtes.

And Lorde,Mary thy bleſſed mother and Ioſeph,touched oftentimes thy body,and wroughten with their honds, and liueden in as much clennes of ſoule, as our prieſtes done nowe, and touched thy body , and thou touchedeſt them in their ſoules. And Lorde our hope is, that thou goen not out of a poore mans ſoule that traueileth for his liuelode with his handes. For Lord, our beliefe is,that thine houſe is mans ſoul, that thou madeſt after thine owne likenes.

But Lord God,men maketh nowe great ſtonen houſes full of glaſen windowes, and clepeth thilke thine houſes and Churches. And they ſetten in theſe houſes Mawmets of ſtockes and ſtones, and*to fore them they knelen priuilich & apert,and maken their prayers, and all this they ſayen is thy woorſhip, and a great * heriеng to thee. A Lorde,thou forbiddeſt ſometime to make ſuche Mawmetes,and who that had yworſhipped ſuch, had be woorthy to be deeade.

What is the true church of Chriſt.

*To fore,that is,before.

*Heryng,that is worſhipping.

Lorde in the Goſpell thou ſayſt,that true * heriers of God ne herieth him not in that hil beſide Samarie, ne in Hieruſalem neyther, but true heriers of God herieth him in ſpirite and in trueth. And Lord God what herying is it to bilden thee a church of dead ſtones,and robben thy quicke Churches of their bodyliche lyueloode? Lord God what heryeng is it,to cloth mawmets of ſtockes and of ſtones in ſiluer and in golde , and in other good colours? And Lorde I ſee thine image gone in colde and in hete in clothes all to broken, without ſhone and hoſen, an hungred and a thuſt. Lorde what heryenge is it to teende tapers and torches before blinde mawmets that mowen not I ſeyen: And hide thee that art our light and our lanterne towarde heauen and put thee vnder a buſhell that for darkenes we ne may not ſeene our way towarde bliſſe? Lorde what heryenge is it to kneele tofore mawmetes that mowe not yheren,and worſhepen them with preyers, and maken thine quicke images knele before them, and asken of them abſolutions and bleſsings, and worſhupen them as gods, and putten thy quicke images in thraldom and in traueil euermore as beſtes, in colde and in heate, and in feeble fare to finden them in liking of the world? Lord what herieng is it to fetch deed mennes bones out of the ground there as they ſhulden kindelich roten,and ſhrinen them in golde and in ſiluer: And ſuffren thy quicke bones of thine images to rot in priſon for default of clothingh? And ſuffren alſo thy quicke images to periſh for default of ſuſtenaunce, and rooten in the hoore houſe in abhominable lecherie?Some become theeues and robbers, and manquellers that mighten ben y holpen with the golde and ſiluer that hongeth about deed mens bones and other blind mawmetes of ſtockes and ſtones.

*Heriers, worſhippers.

He complaineth of images in churches.

¶ Lorde here ben great abhominations that thou ſhewdiſt to Ezechiel thy Prophet, that prieſts done in thy temple, & yet they clepen that thine heryenge. But leue Lorde,me thinketh that they louen thee litle that thus defoulen thy quick images, & worſhippen blinde mawmetes.

And Lord an other great miſchiefe there is now in the world, an hunger that Amos thy Prophet ſpeaketh of, that there ſhal comen an honger in the earth,not of bread ne thruſt of drinke, but of hearing of Gods worde.And thy ſheepe woulden be refreſhed, but their ſhepheards taken of thy ſhepe their liuelode,as tythings. &c.and liuen them ſelfe thereby where them liketh.

He cõplayneth of falſe paſtors that liue by their flocke, but feedeth not them.

Of ſuch ſhepheardes thou ſpeaketh by Ezechiel thy Prophet, and ſeiſt: wo to the ſhepheards of Iſrael that feden them ſelfe,for the flockes of ſheepe ſhoulden ben yfed of their ſhepheardes: but yee eaten the milke and clothen you with their wolle, and the fat ſheepe ye ſlow, and my flocke ye ne fede not, the ſicke ſhepe ye ne healed not, thilke that weren to broken yee ne knit not together, thilke that periſhed ye ne brought not againe: but ye ratled them with ſternſhip and with power. And ſo the ſhepe be ſprad abroad in deuouring of all the beaſts of the feelde. And Ieremie the Prophet ſayeth: wo to the ſhepehards that diſparſeth abroad and teareth the flocke of my * leſewe.

*Leſew,that is, paſture.

¶ A Lorde, thou were a good ſhepheard, for thou putteſt thy ſoul for thy ſheep:but lord thou teldeſt that thilke that comẽ not in by the dore ben night theues & day theues,and a theſe as thou ſeeſt cōmeth not but for to ſteale, to ſleine,& to deſtroy. And Zachary the prophet ſayth,that thou wouldeſt reren vp a ſhepherde vnkunning, that ne wol not hele thy ſhepe that*beth ſick,ne ſeek thilke that beth loſt. Apon his arme is a ſwerd,and vpon his right eye: his arme ſhall waxe dry, and his right eye ſhall leſe his light. O Lorde, helpe,for thy ſhepe beth at great miſchiefe in the ſhepheards defaute.

* Beth,that is, bee.

Againſt hirelings.

But Lord,ther commeth hired men,& they ne fedden not thy ſhede in thy plenteous leſew,but feeden thy ſheep with *ſweuēs and falſe miracles & tales. But at thy trewth they ne comen not, For Lord,I trowe thou ſendeſt them neuer. For haue they hire of thy ſheep they ne careth but little of the feding and the keping of thy ſhepe,Lord of theſe hired men ſpeaketh Ieremy the Prophet, and thou ſeyſt that woorde by him:I ne ſende them not,and they ronne*bliue:I ne ſpeake vnto them,and they propheciden. For if they hadden ſtonden in my couſel, and they had made my words knowē to the puple, ich wold haue turned them away from their yuell way and from their wicked thoughtes. For Lorde,thou ſeyſt that thy woordes ben as fire, and as an hammer breaking ſtones. And Lord,thou ſaiſt:Lo I to theſe Prophetes meeting ſweuens of leſing, that haue ytolde her ſweuens, and haue begyled my puple in their leſing & in their falſ miracles,when I neither ſent ne bede them. And theſe haue profitet nothing to my puple. And as Ieremie ſayth, from the leſt to the * meſt all they ſtudien couetiſe,and from the Prophet to the prieſt,all they done gyle.

* Sweuens, that is dreames.

* Bliue,quickly.

* Meſte,moſt.

A Lord,here is mych miſchief & matere of ſorow,& yet there is more. For gif a lewed man wold teach thy people trewth of thy words as he is y holde by the commaundement of charite,he ſhal be forboden and put in priſon gif he do it. And ſo Lord,thilk that haue the key of conning, haue y lockt the trewth of thy teaching vnder many wardes, & yhid it from thy children. But Lorde,ſith thy teaching is y come from heauen aboue,our hope is,that with thy grace it ſhall breaken theſe wardes,and ſhowe hym to thy puple,to kele both the hunger and the thruſt of the ſoule. And then ſhal no ſhepheard,ner no falſ hiridman begile thy puple no more. For by thy law I wryte,as thou*highteſt ſome time,that from the leſt to the meſt,all they ſhullen knowen thy wil,and*weten howe they ſhullen pleaſe thee euer more in certaine.

Popiſh prieſts neither teach themſelues,nor wyl ſuffer other beſide thēſelues to teach.

*I highteſt,promiſed.

* Weten,know.

And leue Lord, gif it be thy will helpe at thys nede,for there is none helpe but in thee. Thus Lord,by him that maketh himſelfe thy viker in earth,is thy commaundement of loue to thee & our brethren ybroken, both to him and to thy puple But Lorde God, mercy and pacience that beth * tweyne of thy commandements, beth deſtroyed,and thy puple hath forſake mercy. For Lord,Dauid in the Sauter ſayth: Bleſſed beth they that done dome and rightfulnes in euerich time.

* Tweyne,that is,two.

O Lord,thou haſt itaught vs as rightfulnes of heauen, & haſt ybeden vs forgeuen our brethren as oft as they treſpaſſen againſt vs. And Lord,thine olde lawe of iuſtice was,that ſuch harme as a man did his brother,ſuch he ſhould ſuffer by the law,as eye for an eye,and tooth for a tooth But Chriſt made an end of this law,that one brother ſhould not deſire wracke of an other: but not that he would that ſinne ſhoulde ben vnpuniſhed, for thereto hath he ordained Kinges and Dukes and other lewde officers vnder them, whilke as S.Paule ſayth,ne carien not the ſwerd in vaine,for they ben the miniſters of God, and wrakers to wrath,to them that euil done. And thus hath Chriſt ymade an ende of this olde lawe,that one brother may not ſuen an other himſelfe, *for that to wreken without ſinne,for breaking of charity. But this charity Lord hath thy vicar ybroke,and ſays that we ſinnen, but gif we ſuen for our right. And we ſe I wote that thou taughteſt vs ſometime to geue our mantell alſo,euer that we ſhoulden ſuen for our coate. And ſo Lord beleuē we,that we ben ybounden to don by thy law, that is all charitye,& officers duty is to defenden vs from thilke theuery though we cōplainen not But lord,thy law is turned vpſedown.

*For that,i, but.

A Lord,what dome is it to ſleane a theefe that take a mās cattell away from hym, and ſuffren a ſpouſebreaker to liue,and a lecherour that killeth a womans ſoule? And yet thy lawe ſtoned the ſpouſebreakers and leachours,and let the theeues liuen and haue other puniſhment.

He complaineth for puniſhing litle faults,and to let great faultes eſcape.

If he be an heretike that breaketh mans lawe what is the P. that breaketh Gods lawe.

A Lord, what dome is it to ſleane a theſe for ſtealing of a horſ, and to let him liue vnpuniſhed, & to maintaine him that robbeth thy poore people of their liuelod,and the ſoule of his foode?

Lorde,it was neuer thy dome to ſayen, that a man is an heretike and curſed for breaking of mans lawe, and demen hym for a good man for breaking thine heſtes.

Lord,what dome is it to curſe a lewd man if he ſmite a prieſt, and not curſe a prieſt that ſmiteth a lewed man, and leeſeth hys charitie.

A leud mā, that is,a lay man.

Lord,what dome is it to curſe the lewd people for tythings, and not curſe the parſon that robbeth the people of tythings,and teacheth them not Gods lawe,but feedeth them with painting of ſtone walles,and ſongs of Latin that the people knowen not?

Lord,what dome is it to puniſh the poore mā for his treſpas, and ſuffer the rich to continue in his ſin for a quantity of mony?

Lord, what dome is it to ſlaine an vncunning lewed man for his ſinne, and ſuffer a prieſt, other a clerke that doth the ſame ſin, ſcape a liue? Lord the ſinne of the prieſt or of the cleark is greater treſpaſſe then it is of a lewd vncunning man, and greater enſample of wickednes to the common people.

Lord, what maner people be we, that neither keep thy domes and thy rightfulnes of the old teſtament that was a law of drede, nor thy domes and thy rightfulnes of thy new teſtament that is a law of loue and of mercy: but haue an other law,and taken out of both thy lawes that is liking to vs, and remnaunt of heathen mennes lawes,and Lord this is a great miſchiefe.

Againſt the canon law.

O Lord thou ſayeſt in thy law, deme ye not and ye ſhould not be demed: for the ſame meſure that ye meten to other men, men ſhall meten to you againeward. And Lord thou ſayſt that by their worke we ſhould know them And by what we knowe that thou commaunded vs not to demen mens thoughts, nor their workes that were not agaynſt thy law expreſly. And yet Lord he that ſaith he is thy vicar, will demen our thoughtes and aske vs what we thinke: not of the Lord, of thy heſtes, for they caren little for them but of him and of his whilke they ſate aboue thine, and maken vs accuſen our ſelfe, or els they willen accurſen vs,for our accuſers mowen we not knowne. And Lord thou ſayeſt in thyne olde law, that vnder two witnes at the leaſt or three, ſhoulde ſtand euery matter And that the witnes ſhoulden euer be the firſt that ſhoulden helpe to kill them.

The popes law againſt Gods lawe, in cauſing men to accuſe themſelues.

Mowē, that is,may.

And when the ſchribes and the Phariſes ſome tymes brought before thee a woman that was itake in ſpouſe breaking, and exeden of the a dome, thou didſt write on the earth, and then thou gaue this dom: He that is without ſinne: throw firſt at her a ſtone, and Lord they went forth away from thee and the woman: & thou forgaue the woman her treſpaſſe, and bad her go forth and ſinne no more.

Sweete Lord, if the prieſtes tooke keepe to thy dome, they would be agaſt to demen men as they done. O Lord if one of them breake a commaundement of thy law, he will axe mercy of thee, and not a peine that is due for the ſinne, for peyne of death were to little. O Lord, how daren they demen any man to the death for breaking of theyr lawes, other aſſent to ſuch law? for breaking of thy law they will ſet penaunce or pardon them, and mayntayne them as oft as they treſpaſſen. But Lorde, if a man ones breake theyr lawes or ſpeake agaynſt them, he may done penaunce but ones, and after be burnt. Trulych Lord thou ſayſt, but if euery of vs forgeue other his treſpaſſe, thy father will not forgeuen vs our ſinnes. And Lord when thou honge on the croſſe, thou prayedſt to thy father to haue mercy on thine enemies.

Tooke kepe, that is, tooke heede.

The breakyng of the popes lawe more puniſhed, then the breaking of Gods law

And yet the ſain Lord, that they demen no man to the death, for the ſain they ne mowen by their law demen any man to the death. A leeue Lord, euen ſo ſaden theyr forefathers the phariſeis, that it ne was not lawfull for them to kill any man. And yet they bidden Pilate to done thee to the death agaynſt his owne conſcience, for he wold gladly haue iquitte thee, but for that they threatened him with the Emperour, and broughten agaynſt thee falſe witneſſe alſo. And he was an heathen man.

¶ O Lord, how much truer dome was there in Pilate that was an heathen iuſtice, then in our kinges and iuſtices that woulden demen to the death and berne in the fire him: that the Prieſts deliueren vnto them withouten witnes or preſe? For Pilate ne would not demen thee: for that the Phariſeis ſayden that gif thou ne haddeſt not bene a miſdoer we ne would not deliuer him vnto thee: for to, they broughten in theyr falſe witneſſe agaynſt thee. But Lord, as thou ſaydeſt ſometime that it ſhould ben lighter at domes day to Tyro and to Sydon and Gomorra, than to the cities where thou wrought wonders and miracles: ſo I dred, it ſhall be more light to Pilate in the dome, then to our kinges and domes men that ſo demen without witneſſe and preſe. For Lord to demen thy folke for heretickes: is to holden thee an hereticke: and to brennē them, is to brennen thee, for thou ſaydeſt to Paule when he perſecuted thy people: Saule, Saule, wherefore perſecuteſt thou me, & in the dome thou ſhalt ſay, that ye haue done to the leſt of mine ye haue done to me.

For to,that that is, therfore,

Pilate more commended then the pope.

Thus Lord, is thy mercy & iuſtice foredone by him that ſayth he is thy vicar in earth: for he neither keepeth it himſelfe nor nill not ſuffer other to do it.

¶ The third commaundement, that is patience and ſufferance is alſo ibroken by this vicar. Lord thou biddeſt ſufferen both wrōges and ſtrokes withouten againſtanding, and ſo thou diddeſt thy ſelfe to geuen vs enſample to ſufferen of our brethren. For ſuffering nouriſheth loue, and agaynſtandeth debate. All thy lawes is loue, or els the thing that draweth to loue.

¶ But Lord, men teachen, that men ſhoulden pleten for their right and fighten alſo therefore, and els they ſeyn, men ben in perill: and thou bid in the olde law men fight for theyr countrey. And thy ſelfe haddeſt two ſwordes in thy company when thou ſhouldeſt go to thy paſſion, that as theſe clerkes ſeyn, betokeneth a ſpirituall ſword and a temporall ſworde, that thou gaue to thy vicar to rule with, thy church.

Lord this is a ſleight ſpeech, but Lord we beleuē that thou art king of bliſſe, and that is thine heritage and mankindes countrey and in this worlde wee ne bene but ſtraungers and pilgrimes.

The Pope breaketh patience.

For thou Lord ne art of this world, ne thy law nether, ne thy true ſeruauntes that kepen thy law. And Lord, thou were king of Iuda by enheritage if thou wouldeſt haue ihad it, but thou forſooke it and pletedeſt not therfore, ne fought not therfore.

¶ But Lord, for thy kinde heretage and mankindes countrey, that is a land of bliſſe, thou foughteſt mightilich: In battaile thou ouercame thy enemie, & ſo thou wonne thine heretage. For thou that were a Lord mightieſt in battail, and alſo Lord of vertues, are rightfullich king of bliſſe, as Dauid ſaith in the Pſalter. But Lorde, thine enemie ſmote the diſpitefullich, and had power of thee and hang thee vpō the croſſe as thou haddeſt ben a thefe, & benomyn thee all thy clothes, and ſticked thee to the hart with a ſpere.

¶ O Lord, this was an hard aſſault of a battaile, and here thou ouercome by paciēce mightilich thine enemies, for thou ne woldeſt not done againſt the will of thy father. And thus Lorde thou taughteſt thy ſeruants to fight for their countrey. And Lorde this fighting was in figure itaught in the old law. But Lord men holdē now the ſhadow of the old fighting & leuen the light of thy fighting, that thou taughteſt openlych both in word and in deede.

¶ Lord thou gaue vs a ſword to fighten againſt our enemis for our conntrey, that was thine holy teaching, & chriſten mens law. But Lorde thy ſworde is put in a ſhethe and in prieſts warde, that haue forſake the fighting that thou taughteſt. For as they ſeyn it is againſt their order to ben mē of armes in thy battail, for it is vnſemelich, as they ſeyn, that thy vicar in erth, other hys prieſts ſhulden ſuffer of other mē. And therfore gif any man ſmite him, other any of his clerkes, hee ne taketh it not in pacience, but anon hee ſmiteth with his ſworde of curſing, and afterward with his bodylich ſworde, he doth them to death. O Lord, me thinketh that this is a fighting againſt kinde, and much againſt thy teaching.

Chriſtes vicare and his prieſtes will ſuffer nothing.

O Lorde whether axſedeſt thou after ſwerdes in time of thy paſſion to again ſtond thine enemies? nay forſooth thou Lorde. For Peter that ſmote for great loue of thee, had no great thanke of thee, for his ſmiting. And Lorde thou were mighty ynough to haue againe ſtonde thine ennemies, for through thy looking they fellen downe to the ground, Lorde ibleſſed mote thou be. Heere thou teacheſt vs that we ſhoulden ſuffren: For thou were mighty ynow to haue agaynſtand thine ennemies, and thou haddeſt wepen, and thy men weren harty to haue ſmitten.

O ſweet Lord, how may he for ſhame clepen himſelfe thy Viker and head of the Church, that may not for ſhame ſuffer? Sithe thou art a Lord: and ſuffered ſt of thy ſubiectes, to geuen vs enſāple: and ſo did thy true ſeruauntes.

O Lord: whether geue thou to Peter a ſpirituall ſworde to curſe & a temporal ſwerd to ſle mens bodies? Lord I trow not for thē Peter that loued thee ſo much, wold haue ſmitwith thy ſwerds: But Lord, he taught vs to bleſſen them that curſen vs, and ſuffren and not ſmiten. And Lord he fed thy people as thou bed him, and therefore he ſuffered the death as thou didſt.

No temporall ſword geuen to Peter.

O Lord, why clepeth any man him Peters ſucceſſor that hath forſaken patience, and feedeth thy people with curſing and wyth ſmiting? Lord thou ſaydeſt in thy Goſpell, when thy diſciples knewen well that thou were Chriſt, and that thou muſteſt goe to Ieruſalem, and ſufferen of the Scribes and Phariſes, ſpittinges, reproſes, and alſo the death. And Peter tooke thee aſide, and ſayd God forbid that. And Lord thou ſaydſt to Peter, goe behinde me Sathanas, thou ſclaundereſt me in Iſraell. For thou ne ſauoreſt not thilke thinges that ben of God, but thilke that ben of men. Lord to mens wyt it is vnreaſonable, that thou or thy Vicar, gif thou madeſt any on earth, ſhoulden ſuffren of your ſuggets.

Thilk things, thoſe things. Faith commeth not by outward force.

A Lord, whether thou ordeyneſt an order of fighters to turne men to the beliefe? Other ordeineſt that knightes ſhoulden ſwear to fighte for thy wordes?

A Lord, whether bede thou, that gif a man turne to the fayth, that he ſhould geue his goodes and cattell to the Vicar that hath great Lordſhips, and more then him needeth? Lord I wot wel that in the beginning of the church men that weren cōuerted, threwen adowne theyr goodes before the Apoſtles feete. For all they weren in charitie, and none of them ſayd thus is myne, ne Peter made himſelfe no Lord of theſe goodes.

But Lord, now he that clepeth himſelfe thy Vicar vpon earth, and ſucceſſor to Peter, hath ybroke thy commaundement of charitie, for he is become a Lord. And he hath alſo broken thy commandement of mercy, and alſo of patience. Thus Lord we be fallen into great miſchiefe and thraldome, for our chiefetayne hath forſaken war and armes, and haue treated to haue peach with our enemies.

Pope breaketh the rule of charitie, of mercy and of patience.

A Lord, gif it be thy will draw out thy ſwerd out of his ſheth that thy ſeruauntes may fight therewith agaynſt their enemies, & put cowardiſe out of our hartes. And comfort vs in battaile, or than thou come with thy ſword in thy mouth, to take vengeance on thine enemies For gif we bene accorded with our enemies til that time come, it is dread leaſt thou take vengeaunce both of thē and of vs together. A Lord, there is no helpe nowe in this great miſchiefe, but onely in thee.

Or then, before that.

Lord, thou geueſt vs a commaundement of truth, in bidding vs ſay yea, yea, nay, nay, and ſweare for nothing. Thou geue vs alſo a maundement of meekenes, and an other of poorenes, But Lord he that clepeth himſelf thy Vicar on earth, hath both ybrokē theſe commaundements, for he maketh a law to compell men to ſweare and by his lawes he teacheth that a man to ſaue his life, may forſweare and lye And ſo Lord, through cōfort of him and his lawes, the people ne dreadeth not to ſweare and to lye, , ne oft times to forſwearen them. Lord here is little truth.

The P. breaketh the law of ſwearing.

O Lord, thou haſt ybrought vs to a liuing of ſoules that ſtandes in beleeuing in thee, & keeping thy heſtes, and when we breaken thine heſtes, than we ſlen our ſoule. And leſſe harme it were to ſuffer bodylich death.

Lord, king Saule brake thine heſtes, and thou tooke his kingdome from his heyres euermore after him, and gaue it to Dauid thy ſeruaunt, that kept thine heſtes. And thou ſaydſt by Samuell thy prophat to Saule king, that it is a mannour of worſhipping of falſe Gods to breake thy heſtes. For who that loueth thee ouer all thinges, and dreadeth thee alſo: he nole for nothing breake thyne heſtes.

O Lord, gif breaking of thine heſtes be heryeng of falſe gods, I trow that he maketh the people breake thyne heſtes, and commaundeth that his heſtes ben kept of the people, maketh himſelfe a falſe GOD on earth: as Nabuchodonoſor did ſome tyme: that was king of Babilon.

Nole, i. would not.

But Lord, we forſaken ſuch falſe Gods, and beleuen that ther ne ben no mo Gods then thou And though thou ſuffer vs a while to bene in diſeaſe for knowledging of thee: we thanken thee wyth our hart, for it is a token thar thou loueſt vs, to geuen vs in thys world ſome penaunce for our treſpas.

Lord, in the old law, thy true ſeruauntes tooke the death, for they would not eaten ſwynes fleſhe that thou haddeſt forbid them to eat. O Lord, what truth is in vs to eaten vncleene mete of the ſoule, that thou haſt forbid? Lord thou ſayſt, he that doth ſinne is ſeruaunt of ſinne, and then he that lyeth in forſwearing hymſelfe, is ſeruaunt of leſing: and then he is ſeruaunt to the deuill that is a lyer and father of leſinges. And Lord thou ſayſt no man may ſerue two Lordes at ones. O Lord then euery lyer for the tyme that he lyeth, other forſweareth himſelfe, and forſaketh thy ſeruice for drede of hys bodyly death, and becommeth the deuils ſeruaunte.

O Lord, what truth is in him that clepeth himſelfe ſeruaunt of thy ſeruantes. & in his doing, he maketh him a Lord of thy ſeruauntes: Lord thou were both Lord and maiſter, and ſo thou ſayd thy ſelfe, but yet in thy warkes thou were as a ſeruaunt. Lord this was a great truth and a great meeknes: but Lord bid thou thy ſeruaunts that they ſhould not haue Lordſhip ouer theyr brethren? Lord thou ſaydſt kings of the heathē men han Lordſhip ouer their ſubiectes, and they that vſe their power be cleped well doers.

Seruant of ſeruants, the popes ſtile abuſed.

But Lord, thou ſaydſt it ſhoulde not be ſo amongeſt thy ſeruantes, But he that were moſt ſhould be as a ſeruaunt. Thou Lorde thou taughteſt thy diſciples to be meeke. Lord in the old law thy ſeruauntes durſt haue no Lordſhip of theyr brethren, but if that thou bid them. And yet they ſhould not doe to theyr brethren as they did to thrailes that ſerued them. But they ſhould doe to theyr brethren that were theyr ſeruauntes as to theyr owne brethren. For all they were Abrahams Children, And at a certaine tyme they ſhould let theyr brethren paſſe from them in all freedome, but if they would wilfullich abiden ſtill in ſeruice.

Thralles, that is to ſay bond men

O Lord thou gaue vs in thy comming a law of perfect loue, & is token of loue thou clepedſt thy ſelfe our brother. And to make vs perfect in loue, thou bid that we ſhoulde clepe to vs no father vpon earth, but thy father of heauen we ſhould cleape our father. Alas Lord, how violently our brethren and thy childrē ben now put in bodily thraldome, and in deſpite as beaſtes euermore in greeuous trauell to finde proude men in eaſe: But Lord, if we take this defoule and this diſeaſe in pacience and in meeknes and kepe thine heſts, we hope to be free. And Lord geue our brethren grace to come out of thraldome of ſinne, that they fal in through the deſiring and vſage of Lordſhip vpon theyr brethren. And Lord thie prieſtes in the old law had no Lordſhips among theyr brethren, but houſes and paſtures for theyr beaſtes: but Lord our prieſtes nowe haue great Lordſhip, and put theyr brethren in greater thraldome then lewed men that be Lordes. Thus is meekeneſſe forſaken.

Pride of prieſts.

Lord thou biddeſt in the Goſpell that when a man is bid to the feaſt he ſhould ſit in the loweſt place, and then he may be ſet hyer with worſhip when the Lord of the feaſt beholdeth how his geiſtes ſitteth. Lord it is drede that they that ſit now in the hyeſt place ſhould be bidd in tyme comming ſit beneath. And that will be ſhame and vileny for them. And it is they ſaying, thoſe that hyeth himſelfe ſhuld be lowed, and thoſe that loweth themſelues ſhould be an heyghed. O Lord thou biddeſt in thy Goſpell to beware of the Pharaſeis, for it is a poynt of pryde contrary to meekeneſſe. And Lord thou ſayſt that they loue the firſt ſittinges at ſupper, and alſo the principall chaires in churches, and greetings in cheeping and to be cleped mayſters of men. And Lord thou ſayeſt be ye not cleped maiſters, for one is your maiſter, and that is Chriſt and all ye be brethren. And clepe ye to you no father vpon earth, for one is your father that is in heauen. O Lord this is a bleſſed leſſon to teach men to be meke.

Meekenes commended in Miniſters.
Vicar in earth not tollerable in the pope.
Sweuens, that that is dreames.

But Lord he that clepeth himſelf thy vicar on earth he clepeth himſelfe father of fathers agaynſt thy forbidding. And all thoſe worſhips thou haſt forbad. He approueth them,and maketh them maiſters to many, that teach thy people their owne teaching,and leaue thy teaching that is nedefull, and hiden it by quainte gloſes from thy lewd people, and feede thy people with ſweuens that they mete,and tales that doth little profit: but much harme to the people. But Lorde, theſe gloſers obiecte that they deſire not the ſtate of maſtry to be worſhipped therby, but to profit the more to thy people whẽ they preach thy word. For as they ſeggẽ the people will beleue more the preaching of a maiſter that hath taken a ſtate of ſchole, then the preaching of an other man that hath not take the ſtate of maiſtry.

¶ Lorde whether it bee any neede that mayſters beren witnes to thy teaching that it is true and good? O Lord whether may any maiſter mowe by his eſtate of maiſterie, that thou haſt forboden, drawe any man from his ſinne, rather then an other man that is not a maiſter, ne wole bee none, for it is forboden him in thy Goſpell? Lord thou ſendeſt to mayſters to preach thy people, and thou knowledgiſt in the Goſpel to thy father that he hath hid his wiſedome from wiſe men and redy men, and ſhewed it to litle Children. And Lord, maiſters of the law hylden thy teaching foly, and ſeiden that thou wouldeſt deſtroy the people with thy teaching. Trulich Lord, ſo theſe maiſters ſeggeth now: for they haue written many bookes agaynſt thy teaching that is truth,& ſo the prophecie of Ieremy is fulfilled, when he ſayth: Truelich the falſe points maiſters of the law hath wrought leaſing. And now is the time come that S.Paul ſpeaketh of,where he ſayth:time ſhal come when men ſhall not ſuſteine wholeſome teaching. But they ſhullen gather to hepe maiſters with hutching eares, and from trueth they ſhullen turnen away their hearing, and turnen them to tales that maiſters haue maked to ſhowne their maiſtry and their wiſedome.

Maſterſhip and Lordſhip in Preachers.

¶ And Lord a man ſhall beleue more a mans workes then hys words,& the dede ſheweth well of theſe maiſters that they deſiren more maiſtrie for their own worſhip than for profit of the people, For when they be maiſters, they ne preachen not ſo oft as they did before. And gif they preachen, commonlich it is before riche men there as they mowen beare worſhip and alſo profite of their preaching. But before poore men they preachen but ſeldem,when they ben maiſters: and ſo by theyr woorkes wee may ſeene that they ben falſe gloſers.

And Lord,me thinketh that who ſo wole keepen thine heſtes him needeth no gloſes: but thilke that clepen them ſelfe Chriſten men, and lyuen agaynſt thy teaching and thine heſtes, needelich they mote gloſe thine heſtes after their liuing,other els men ſhulden openlich yknow their hipocriſie and their falſhod.

Falſe gloſers.

But Lord,thou ſayſt that there ys nothing yhid that ſhall not be ſhewed ſome time. And Lord ybleſſed mote thou be. For ſomewhat thou ſheweſt vs now of our miſchiefes that wee bene fallen in through the wiſedomes of mayſters,that haue by ſleightes ylad vs away from thee and thy teaching,that thou that were thy maiſter of heauen taught vs for loue,when thou were here ſome time to heale of our ſoules,withouten error or hereſie. But maiſters of worldes wiſedome and their founder, haue ydamned it for hereſie and for errour.

O Lord,me thinketh it is a great pride thus to reproue thy wiſedome and thy teaching. And Lord me thinketh that this Nabugodonoſor king of Babilon that thus hath reproued thy teaching and thine heſtes, and commandeth on all wyſe to kepen his heſts: maken thy people hearen him as a God on earth, and maketh thẽ his thrales and his ſeruauntes.

But Lord: we lewd men knowen no God but thee, & we with thine help and thy grace forſaken Nabugodonoſor and his lawes. For he is in his proud eſtate wole haue all men vnder him, and he nele be vnder no man. He ondoth thy lawes that thou ordeyneſt to ben kept,and maketh his owne lawes as him liketh: and ſo he maketh him king aboue all other kinges of the earth, and maketh men to worſhippen him as a God, and thy great ſacrifice he hath ydone away.

Nele, that is, will not.

Pouertie of Chriſt not folowed.

O Lord,here is thy commaundement of meekenes, miſchiflich to broke: And thy bleſſed commaundement of poorenes is alſo to broken,and yhid from thy people. Lord, Zacharie thy prophet ſayth,that thou that ſhouldeſt be our king, ſhouldeſt bene a poore man,and ſo thou were: for thou ſaydeſt thy ſelfe. Foxes haue dens, and birdes of heauen neſtes, and mans ſonne hath not where to legge his head on. And thou ſaydeſt ybleſſed ben poore men in ſpirite for thy kingdome of heauen is therein. And woe to riche men,for they han theyr comfort in this world. And thou bad thy diſciples to ben ware of all couetiſe,for thou ſaydeſt,in the aboũdance of a mans hauing, ne is not his lyfelode. And ſo thou teacheſt that thilke that han more then them needeth to theyr liuing lyuen in couetiſe. Alſo thou ſayſt,but gif a man forſake all things that he oweth,he ne may not bene thy diſciple. Lord, thou ſayeſt alſo that thy worde that is ſowne in riche mens hartes, bringeth forth no fruite: for riches and the buſines of this world maken it withouten fruit

Couetiſe.

O Lord, here bene many bleſſed teachinges to teach men to bene poore,and loue porenes. But Lord harme is, poore men and poorenes ben yhated,and ryche men ben yloued and honoured. And gif a man be a poore man, men holden him a man without grace, and if a man deſireth poorenes,men holden him but a foole. And if a man be a rich man, men clepen him a gratious man, and thilke that ben buſy in getting of riches: ben yhold wyſe men and ready: but Lord theſe rich men ſayen that it is both leſul and needefull to them to gather riches together. For they ne gathereth it for themſelfe,but for other men that ben needy, and Lord their woorkes ſhewen the truth. For if a poore needy man woulde borowen of theyr riches, he nele leane him none of his good,but gif he mow be ſeker to haue it againe by a certayne day.

Pouertie counted folly.

Nele, that is, will not.

But Lord, thou bede that a man ſhould lend, and not hoping yelding againe of him that he lendeth to: and thy father of heauen wol quite him his mede. And gif a pore aske a rich man any good, the rich man will geue him but a little, and yet it ſhall be little worth. And Lord me thinketh that here is little loue and charitie, both to God and to our brethren.

For Lord,thou teacheſt in thy Goſpell, that what men doe to thy ſeruauntes: they done to thee. A Lord, gif a poore man axe good for thy loue,men geueth him a little of the wurſt. For theſe rich men ordeinen both bread and ale for Gods men of the wurſt that they haue. O Lord, ſith all good that men hath commeth of thee: how dare any man geue thee of the wurſt,and kepe to himſelfe the beſt? How may ſuche men ſay that they gatheren riches for others need, as well as himſelfe,ſith their workes ben contratrary to their words? And that is no great truth. And be ye ſeker theſe goods that rich mẽ han,they ben gods goods, ytake to your keeping, to loke how he wolen be ſetten them to the worſhipping of God. And Lord, thou ſayeſt in the Goſpell, that who ſo is true in litle, he is true in that thing that is more. And who that is falſe in a litle thing,who wole taken him toward things of a greater value? And therfore, be ye ware that han gods goods to keep. Spend ye thilke truelich to the worſhip of God, leaſt ye leeſen the blyſſe of heauen,for the vntrue deſpending of Gods goods in this world.

God is ſerued of the worſt.

A leſſon for them that haue goods well to ſpẽd them.

Seggen, that is, do ſay.

O Lord, theſe rich men ſeggen that they done much for thy loue. For many poore labourers ben yſound by them, that ſhoulden fare ſebelich, ne were not they and their readines: Forſooth me thinketh that poore labourers geueth to theſe rich men,more then they geuen them agaynward. For the poore men mote gone to his labour in cold and in heate, in wete and dry,and ſpend hys fleſh and his bloud in the richmens works,vpon Gods gound,to finde the rich man in eaſe,and in liking,and in good fare of meate of drink and of clothing. Here is a great gift of the poore man,for he geueth his owne body. But what geueth the richman hym agayneward? Certes feeble meat, and feeble drinke,and feeble clothing. What euer they ſeggen, ſuche be their workes, and here is little loue. And whoſoeuer looketh well about, all the worlde fareth as we ſeggẽ. And all mẽ ſtudieth on euery ſide,how they may wexe rich men. And euerich man almoſt is aſhamed to ben holden a poore man.

And Lord,I trow for thou were a poore man,men token litle regarde to thee,and to thy teaching. But Lord thou came to geue vs a new teſtament of loue, & therefore it was ſemelich that thou came in poorenes,to prooue who wold loue thee,and kepen thine heſtes. For gif thou haddeſt ycome in forme of a rich man and of a Lord,men wold rather for thy dread then for thy loue,haue ykept thyne heſtes. And ſo Lord now thou might wel yſee which louen thee as they ſhould in keeping thyne heſtes. For who that loueth thee in thy poorenes and in thy lownes,needes he mote loue thee in thy Lordſhip and highneſſe.

The pouertie of Chriſt rightly conſidered.

But Lord,the world is turned vpſe downe,& men loue poore men but a litlene porenes neither But men be aſhamed of poorenes,and therefore Lord, I trow that thou art a poore king. And therefore I trow that he that clepeth himſelfe thy vicare on earth, hath forſaken poorenes, as he hath do the remnaunt of thy lawe: and is become a rich man and a Lord,& maketh his treaſure vpon the earth that thou forbiddeſt in the Goſpell. And for his right and riches he will plete,and fight & curſe. And yet Lord, he will ſegge that he forſaketh all thinges that he oweth, as thy true diſciple mete done after thy teaching in the Goſpell.

A poore kyng, and a proud Vicar, howe ioyne theſe two together.

But Lord thou ne taughteſt not a man to forſaken his goodes and plete for them and fight, and curſe. And Lord he taketh on him power to aſſoyle a man of all maner things,but if it be of det. Truely Lord, me thinketh he knoweth litle of charitie. For who that beth in charitie,poſſeſſeth thy goodes in common and not in proper at his neighbours nede. And then ſhall there none of them ſegge this is mine,but it is Gods that God granteth to vs to ſpenden it to his worſhip. And ſo if any of them boroweth a porcion of thoſe goodes,and diſpendeth them to Gods worſhip: God is apayed of this ſpending,and alloweth him this true doyng: And if God is payed of that diſpẽding that is the principal Lord of thoſe goods, how dare anye of his ſeruauntes axen there of, accountes,

Chriſt a ſeruaunt vpon earth: the pope a Lord.

The pope for his right and riches wil pleade, fight and curſe.

other challenge it for dette? Serten, of one thing I am incerteine, that theſe that charge ſo much det of worldly cattell, they knowe little of Chriſtes lawe of charitie. For if Ich am a bayly of Gods goodes in the world. If I ſee my brother in nede, I am holde by charitie to part with him of theſe goodes to his nede: and if he ſpendeth them well to the worſhop of God, I mote be well apayd as though I my ſelfe had ſpended them to the worſhip of GOD. And if the principall Lord is well payed of my brothers doyng, and the deſpending of his goodes: howe may I ſegge for ſhame that my brother is dettour to me, of the goodes that I tooke hym to ſpend in Gods worſhip at his nede? And if my brother ſpendeth amiſſe the goodes that I take him, I am diſcharged of my deliueraunce of the goodes; If I take him in charitie thilke goods at his nede. And I am hold to be ſory of his euill diſpending, ne I may not axen the goodes, that I tooke him to his nede in forme of dette, for at his neede they were his as well as myne. And thus is my brother yholde to done to me gif he ſee me in nede, and gif we bene in charitie, little ſhould we chargen of dette. And ne we ſhold not axen ſo dettes, as men that knowen not God. And than we be poore in forſaking all thinges that we own, For gif we ben in charitie, we wollen nother fight nor curſe, ne plete for our goodes with our brethren.

Proprietye of goods here, is not take away, but charitie is required to helpe the neede of our neighbour.

O Lord thus thou taughteſt thy ſeruauntes to lyuen. And ſo they lyueden while they hadden good ſhepheards, that fedden thy ſheepe and robbed them nat of their liſelode, as Peter thy good ſhepheard and thy other Apoſtles. But Lord, he that clepeth hym ſelfe thy vicar vpon earth and ſucceſſour to Peter: he robbeth thy puple of their bodylich lyſelode, for he ordeneth proud ſhepherds to lyuen in eſe by the tenth party of poore mens trauell. And he geueth them leue to lyuen where them lyketh. And gif men no wolen wilfullich geuen them the tithinges, they wolen han them agaynſt their will by mayſterye & by curſing, to maken thē riche.

¶ Lord, how may any man ſegge that ſuch ſhepherdes that louen more the wolle then the ſheepe, and feden not thy ſheepe in body ne in ſoul, ne ben ſuch rauenours & theeues? And who may ſegge that the mayntaynour of ſuch ſhepherdes, ne is not a maintenour of theeues and robbers? How wole he aſſoyle ſhepherdes of their robbing without reſtitution of theyr goodes, that they robben thy ſheep of againſt their will? Lord of all ſhepherdes, bleſſed mote thou be. For thou louedſt more the ſheepe then theeir wole. For thou feedeſt thy ſheepe both in body and ſoule. And for loue of thy ſheepe thou tooke thy death to bring thy ſheepe out of Wolues mouthes. And the moſt charge that thou goue to Peter was to feede thy ſheepe. And ſo he did truelich, and took the death for thee and for thy ſheepe. For he came in to the fold of ſhepe by the that were the dore. And ſo I trowe a fewe other did as he did, though they clepen himſelfe ſucceſſors to Peter, for theyr workes ſhowen what they ben. For they robben and ſleen and deſtroyen: they robben thy ſheepe of the tenth part of their trauel, and feden themſelfe in eaſe. They ſleen thy ſheepe, for they pyenen them for hunger of theyr ſoule to the death. They deſtroyen the ſheepe, for with might and with ſternſhip they rulen thy ſheepe: that for dred they beene diſparſed abroade in mountaynes, and there the wilde beaſts of the field deſtroyeth thē for default of a good ſhepeheard.

The Pope a maintayner of theeues and robbers.

Chriſt a good ſhepeheard in deede.

Compariſon betweene the popes ſheepheards and Chriſt.

¶ O Lord, gif it be thy will deliuer thy ſheepe out of ſuch ſheepherdes ward that retcheth not of thy ſheepe, they han their wolle to make them ſelfe rich. For thy ſhepe ben in great miſchiefe and foule accombred with their ſhepheardes.

*¶ But for thy ſhepheardes wolden ben excuſed, they haue ygeten them hyred men to feede thy people, and theſe comen in ſheepes clothing. But dredles, their workes ſhewen that * with in forth they ben but Wolfes. For han they theyr hyre, they ne retcheth but a little howe ſorilich thy ſheepe ben kept. For as they ſeggen themſelfe, they ben but hyred men that han no charge of thy ſheepe. And when the ſhulden feden thy ſheepe in the plentuous *leſewe of thy teaching, they ſtonden betweene them & theyr leſewe, ſo that the ſheepe ne han but a ſight of thy leſewe, but eatē they ſhall not therof. But they fedē them in a ſorry ſowre leſewe of leſinges & of tales. And ſo thy ſheepe fallen into greeuous ſicknes through this euill leſewe. And gif any ſhepe breake ouer into thy leſewe to taſten the ſweetnes therof, anon theſe hyred men driue him out with hounds. And thus thy ſhepe by theſe hyred men, ben ykept out of their kindlich leſewe, and ben yſed with ſoure graſſe & ſory baren leſewe. And yet they feden but ſeldome, and when they han ſorilych fed them, they taken great hyre, and gone away from thy ſheepe and letten them a worth. And for drede leaſt thy ſheepe wolden in theyr abſence goe to thy ſweet leſewe, they han encloſed it all about ſo ſtronglich and ſo high, that there may no ſheepe comen there with in, but gif it be a * waliſch leper of the moūtayns that may with his long legs lepen ouer the wallys. For the hirid men ben ful certayn, that gif thy ſheepe had ones ytaſted the ſweetnes of thy leſewe: They ne would no more bene yſed of theſe hyred men in their ſoure leweſes, & therfore theſe hyred mē kepen thē out of that leſewe. For hadden the ſheepe once ytaſted well of thy leſewe, they wouldē without a leder go thider to their mete, and then mote theſe hired men ſechen them another labour to liue by than keping of ſhepe. And they bene fel and ware ynowe thereof, and therefore they feden thy ſheepe with ſoure meate that naught is & hiden from thy ſhepe the ſweetenes of thy leſewe. And ſo though theſe hyred men gone in ſhepes clothing, in their works they ben wolues, that much harme done to thy ſheepe as we haue ytold.

*But for, that is, but becauſe.
*Within forth, i. inwardly.

*Leſew, paſture.

*A Welche leaper.

Wolfes in lambeskins deſcribed.

¶ O Lord, they comē as ſhepe, for the ſeggē that they ben poore and haue forſaken the world to liuen parfetlich as thou taughteſt in the goſpell. Lord this is ſhepes clothing. But Lord thou ne taughteſt not a man to forſaken the trauelous liuing in porenelle in the world, to liuen in eſe with riches by other mens trauell, & haue Lordſhip on their brethrē. For lord this is more to forſakē thee & go to the world.

¶ O Lord thou ne taughteſt not a man to forſake the world to liuen in poorenes of begging by other mens trauell that bene as feble as they ben. Ne Lord thou ne taughteſt not a man to liuen in poorenes of begging, that were ſtrong inough to trauell for his liſelode. Ne Lord thou ne taughteſt not a man to ben a begger to beg of mē more then him nedeth, to build great caſtles and make great feaſts to thilke that han no need.

He complayneth againſt the valiant beggers the Friers.

¶ O Lord thou ne taughteſt not men this poorenes, for it is out of charitye. But thy poorenes that thou taughteſt, nouriſheth charitye, Lord ſith Paul ſayth, that he that forſaketh the charge of thilke that ben *homelich with him, hath forſaken his fayth and is worſe then a miſbeleued man: How then now theſe men ſeggen that they beleuē in Chriſt, that han forſake their poore feeble frendes, & let them liue in trauell and in diſeſe, that trauelled full ſore for thē, when the weren young and vnmighty to helpen themſelfe? And they wolē liue in eſe by other mens trauell euermore begging withouten ſhame.

*Homelich, that is, of his houſeholde.

¶ Lord thou ne taughteſt not this maner poorenes, for it is out of charite. And all the law is charity and thing that nouriſheth charite. And theſe ſhepheards ſend about to kepe thy ſhepe & to feden thē other whiles bareyne lewſewes. Lord thou ne madeſt none ſuch ſhepheardes, ne kepers of the ſheepe that feeden ſorylich thy ſhepe, and for ſo litle trauell taken a great hyre, and ſithe al the yeare afterward, do what them liketh, and let thy ſhepe periſh for defaut of keping.

Wilfull pouertie abhorred.

But thy ſhepherdes abiden ſtill with their ſheepe, and feden thē in thy plenteous leſewe of thy teaching, and gone bifore thy ſhepe, and teachen them the way into the plenteous and ſwete leſewe, and kepen thy flocke from rauening of the wilde beaſtes of the field.

O Lord deliuer the ſheepe out of the ward of thoſe ſhepheardes and theſe hyred mē, that ſtonden more to kepe their riches that they robben of thy ſhepe, than they ſtonden in keping of thy ſheepe.

The propertie of good ſhepeheards.

O Lord, when thou come to Ieruſalem, ſome time thou droue out of the temple ſellers of beſtes and of other chaffre, and ſaydeſt: Mine houſe ſhouldē ben cleped an houſe of prayers: but they maden a dē of theues of it. O Lord, thou art the temple in whom we ſhoulden prayen thy father of heauen. And Salomons temple that was ybelded at Ieruſalem, was figure of this temple. But Lord, he that clepeth himſelfe thy vicar vpon earth, and ſayth that he occupyeth thy place here on earth: is become a chapman in the temple, and hath his chapmen walking in diuers countreys to ſellen hys chaffare, and to maken him rich. And he ſayth, thou gaue him ſo great a power abouen all other men, that what euer he bindeth other vnbindeth in earth, thou bindeſt other vnbindeſt the ſame in heauen. And ſo of great power he ſelleth other men forgeuenes of their ſinne. And for much money he will aſſoylen a man ſo cleane of his ſinne, that he *behoteth men the bleſſe of heauen withouten any payne after that they be dead, that geuen him much mony.

Biſhopriches & cherches, & ſuch other chaffares he ſelleth alſo for mony, and maketh himſelfe rich And thus he beguiled the puple.

The pope is a chapman in Gods temple.

O Lord Ieſu, here is much vntruth, and miſchiefe, and matter of ſorow. Lord thou ſaydeſt ſome time, that thou wouldeſt be with thy ſeruantes into the end of the world. And thou ſaydeſt alſo, there as tweyne or three ben ygadred to gedder in thy name, that thou art in the midle of thē. A Lord, then it was no need to thee to maken liefetenaunt, ſith thou wolte be euermore amongeſt thy ſeruauntes.

*Behoteth, that is, promiſeth.

Lorde thou axedſt of thy diſciples, who they trowed that thou were. And Peter aunſwered and ſayd, that thou art Chriſt Gods ſonne. And thou ſaydeſt to Peter. Thou art Ibleſſed Symon Bariona, for fleſh and bloud ne ſhowed not this to thee, but my Father that is in heauen. And I ſay to thee, that thou art Peter, and vpon this ſtone ych wole byld my Churche, and the gates of hell he ſhullen not auailen agens it. And to the ych wole geue the keyes of heauen and what euer thou byndeſt vppon earth, ſhall be bound in heauen: & what euer thou vnbyndeſt on earth, ſhalbe vnbounden in heauen. This power alſo was graunten vnto the other diſciples as well as to Peter as the Goſpell openlich telleth. In this place men ſeggen that thou graunted to Peters ſucceſſors, the ſelue power that thou gaue to Peter. And therefore the Biſhop of Rome, that ſayth he is, Peters ſucceſſour, taketh this power to him to binden and vnbynden in earth what him liketh. But Lord, ych haue much wonder how he may for ſhame clepen himſelfe Peters ſucceſſour. For Peter knowledged that thou were Chriſt and God, and kept the heſtes of thy law: but theſe han forſaken the heſtes of thy law, and hath ymaked a law contrary to thyne heſtes of thy law. And ſo he maked himſelf a falſe Chriſt and a falſe God in earth. And I trow thou gaue hym no power to vndoe thy law. And ſo in taking this power vpon him, maketh him a falſe Chriſt & Antichriſt. For who may be more agens Chriſt, than he that in his wordes maketh himſelfe Chriſtes vicar in earth. And in hys werkes vndoth the ordinaunce of Chriſt, and maketh men byleuē that it is needful to the heale of mens ſoules: to byleuen that he is Chriſtes vicar in earth. And what euer he byndeth in earth is ybounden in heauen, & vnder this colour he vndoth Chriſtes law, and maketh men alwayes to kepen his law, and heſtes. And thus men may yſeene that he is agenſt Chriſt, and therefore he is Antichriſt that maketh men worſhupen him as a God on earth, as the the proud K. Nabugodonoſor did ſomtime, that was K. of Babylon. And therfore we lewed men that knowne not God but thee Ieſu Chriſt, beleuen in thee that art our God, and our king, and our Chriſt, and thy lawes. And forſaken Antichriſt and Nabugodonoſor that is falſe God, and a falſe Chriſt, and hys lawes that ben contrary to thy preaching. And Lord ſtrength thou vs agenſt our enemies. For they ben about to maken vs forſaken thee and thy lawe, other elles to putten vs to death. O Lord, onlich in thee is our truſt

Note good reader if Chriſt be where ij. or iij. be gathered in his name, what neede is there of a lieutenant.

The place of giuing to Peter his keyes, expounded.

The Pope proued a falſe Antichriſt in earth.

The pope: abhomination deſcribed.

to helpe vs in this miſchiefe, for thy great goodnes that is withouten end.

Lord, thou ne taughteſt not thy diſciples to aſſoylen men of her ſinne, and ſetten them a penaunce for their ſinne, in faſting ne in prayeng, ne other almous dede: ne thy ſelfe, ne thy diſciples, vſeden no ſuch power here on earth. For Lord, thou forgeue men their ſinnes, and bede him ſinne no more. And thy diſciples *fulleden men in thy name, in forgeueneſſe of her ſinnes. Nor they toke no ſuch power vpon them as our prieſtes dare nowe. And Lord, thou ne aſſoyledeſt no man both of his ſinne and of his peyne, that was dew for his ſinne, ne thou grauntedſt no man ſuch power here on earth.

* Fulleden, that is, baptiſed.

And Lord, me thinketh that gif there were a purgatorye, and any earthliche man had power to deliueren ſinfull men from the peynes of Purgatory, he ſhoulde and he were in charitie, sauen euerich man that were in waye of ſaluation from thilke peynes, ſith they make them greater then anye bodeliche peynes of thys world. Alſo gif the Biſhop of Rome had ſuch a power, he himſelfe ſhould neuer comen in purgatory ne in hell. And ſith we ſee well that he ne hath no power to kepen himſelfe ne other men nother out of theſe bodillych peynes of the world, and he may goe to hell for his ſinne as an other man may: I ne byleue not, that he hath ſo great power to aſſoylen men of their ſinne as he taketh vpon hym abouen all other men. And I trowe that in this he higheth hymſelf aboue God.

Purgatorie.

As touching the ſelling of Byſhopricks & perſonages, I trow it be a poynt of falſehed. For agenſt Gods ordinaunce he robbeth poore men of a porcion of theyr ſuſtenaunce, and ſelleth it, other geueth it, to finde proud men in idleſnes that done the lewd puple litell profite, but much harme as we told before. Thus ben thy commaundementes of trewth, of meekenes, and of poore neſſe, vndone by him that clepeth himſelfe thy vicar here vppon earth.

Selling of Byſhoppricks and benefices.

A Lord thou gaue vs a commaundement of chaſtice that is aforſaking of fleſhlich luſtes. For thou broughteſt vs to a liuing of ſoule that is ygouerned by the word. For Lord, thou ordeinediſt woman more frele than man to ben ygouerned by mans rule & his help to pleaſe thee & kepe thine heſts. Ne thou ne ordeinediſt that a man ſhould deſire the company of a woman, and maken her his wife, to lyuen with her in hys luſtis, as a ſwyne doth or a horſ. And his wife ne like him not to his luſtes, Lord thou ne gaue not a man leaue to departen hym from his wyfe, and taken hym an other.

Mariage.

But Lord, thy mariage is a common accord betwene man & woman, to lyuen together to theyr liues ende, and in thy ſeruice eyther the better for others helpe, and thilke that thus ben ycome together, bene ioyned by thee, and thilke that God ioyneth, may no man depart. But Lord, thou ſayeſt that gif a man ſee a woman to coueten her, than he doth with the woman lecherye in his hart. And ſo Lord, gif a man deſire his wife in couetiſe of ſuch luſtes, and not to flye from whoredome, his weddins is lechery, ne thou ne ioyneſt them not together. Thus was Raguels doughter ywedded to ſeuen huſbandes that the deuill inſtrangled. But Toby tooke her to lyue with her in clennes, and bryngyng vp of her children in thy worſhip, and on him the deuill ne had no power. For the wedding was I maked in God, for God, and through God,

A Lord, the people is farre ygo from this maner of wedding. For now men wedde theyr wyues for fairenes, other for riches, or ſome ſuch other fleſhlich luſtes. And Lord, ſo it preueth by thē for the moſt part. For a man ſhall not finde two wedded in a lande, where the huſband loues the wife, and the wife is buxum to the man, as they ſhoulden after thy law of maryage. But other the mā loues not his wife, or the wife is not buxum to her man. And thus Lord is the rule of preſe, that neuer fayleth no preue whether it be done by thee or no. And Lord, all this miſchiefe is common among thy people, for that they knowe not thy worde, but theyr ſhepheardes and hyred men ſedden them with their* ſweuens and leaſinges. And Lord, where they ſhoulden gon before vs in the field, they ſeggen theyr order is ſo holy for thy mariage. And Lord, he that calleth himſelfe thy vicar vpon earth, will not ſuffren prieſtes to taken them wiues, for that is agaynſt hys law: But Lord, he will diſpenſen with them to kepen horen for a certayne ſomme of mony. And Lord, all horedome is forfended in thy law. And Lord, thou neuer forfendeſt prieſtes their wiues, ner thy Apoſtles neyther. And well I wote in our land, prieſtes hadden wiues vntill Anſelmus dayes in the yeare of our Lord God, a leuē hundred and twenty and nyne, as Huntingdon writes. And Lord, this makes people for the moſt part beleuen, that lechery is no ſinne. Therefore we lewd men prayen thee that thou wolt ſend vs ſhepheardes of thine owne that wolen feeden thy flocke in thy leſewe, and gon before thēſelfe, and ſo written thy law in our harts, that from the leaſt to the moſt all they mayen knowne thee. And Lord, geue our king and his Lordes, hart to defenden thy true ſhepheardes and thy ſheepe from out of the wolues mouthes, and grace to know thee that art the true Chriſt, the ſonne of thy heauenly father, from the Antichriſt, that is the ſonne of pride. And Lorde, geue vs thy poore ſheepe pacience and ſtrength to ſuffer for thy law, the cruelnes of the miſchieuous Wolues. And Lord, as thou haſt promiſed, ſhorten theſe dayes. Lord we axen this now, for more neede was there neuer.

A leſſon how to marrye.

Swenens, that is, dreames.

Prieſtes had wyues to the time of Anſelmus.

I doubt not gentle reader, but in reading this goodly treatiſe aboue prefixed, the matter is manifeſt & playne of it ſelfe without any further explication, what is to be thought and iudged of this vicare of Chriſt, and ſucceſſour of Peter, whome we call the Biſhop of Rome: whoſe life here thou ſeeſt not onely to be ſo diſordered in all poynts, ſwaruing from the ſteppes and example of Chriſt the Prince and Byſhop of our ſoules, but alſo whoſe lawes and doctrine is ſo repugnant and contrary from the preceptes and rule of the Goſpell, that almoſt there is no conuenience betweene them: as in the peruſing of this complaynyng prayer, thou mayeſt notoriouſly vnderſtand. Wherefore hauing no neede to ſtand in any further expreſſing of thys matter, but leauing it to thine own conſideration, and diſcretion: I will ſpeede my ſelfe (Chriſt willing) to procede toward the time of Iohn Wickliffe, and his fellowes taking by order of yeares as I go, ſuche thinges by the way as both happened before the ſaid time of Wickliffe, and alſo may the better prepare the minde of the reader, to the entring of that ſtory. Where firſt I think it not inconuenient to inſerte a propheticall parable, written about this time or not much before, which the author morally applieth vnto the Byſhop of Rome. To what author this propheci or morall is to be aſcribed, I haue not certainly to affirme. Some ſay, that Rupeſciſſanus (of whome mention is made before. pag. 390. was the author therof, & alledge it out of Froyſard, but in Froiſard as yet I haue not found it. In ỹ mean ſeaſō, as I haue foūd it in Latin expreſſed, becauſe it painteth out ỹ Pope ſo rightly in his fethers & colours, as I thought the thing not to be omitted, ſo I tooke this preſent place, as moſt fit (although peraduenture miſſing the order of yeares a litle) to inſert the ſame. The effect of which parable followeth here vnder written.

In the time of Pope Innocent the 6. aboue ſpecified, this Ioannes de Rupe ſciſſa: a Fryer among other hys prophecies merueilouſly foreſpake (as alledged Froyſard, who both hard and ſaw him) of the taking of Iohn the Frenche king priſoner, and brought forth many other notable collections concerning the perils, mutations and changings in ỹ Church to come. And at what time the pope kept hym at Auinion in priſon (where Froyſard is ſayd to ſee hym and to ſpeake with him) the ſayd Froyſard hard in ỹ popes Court this example and parable, recited by the foreſayd Fryer Rupeſciſſanus, to the two Cardinals, to wit, Cardinall Hoſtienſis, and Cardinal Auxercenſis, which followeth in theſe wordes.

When on a certayne time, a byrde was brought into the worlde all bare and without fethers, the other byrdes hearing thereof, came to viſite her: & for that they ſawe her to be a merueilous fayre and beautifull byrd they counſailed together howe they might beſt do her good, ſith by no meanes without fethers, ſhe might eyther flee or liue commodiouſly. They all wiſhed her to liue for her excellent forme and beauties ſake, in ſo muche that among them all there was not one, that would not graunt ſome part of her own fethers to decke this byrde withall: yea, and the more trim they ſawe her to be, the more fethers ſtill they gaue vnto her, ſo that by this meanes ſhe was paſſing well pēned and fethered, and began to flee. The other byrdes that thus had adourned her with goodly fethers, beholding her to flee abroad, were merueilouſly delighted therwith. In ỹ end, this byrd ſeeing her ſelfe ſo gorgeouſly fethered, & of al the reſt to be had in honor: began to waxe proud & hauty. in ſo much that ſhe had no regard at all vnto thē, by whōe ſhe was aduaunced: yea ſhe punged them with her beak, plucked them by the ſkinne and fethers, and in all places hurted them. Whereupon the byrdes ſitting in councell agayne, called the matter in queſtion, demaūding one of an other what was beſt to be done touching this vnkind bird whom they louingly with their own fethers had decked & adourned: Affirming, that they gaue not theyr fethers to ỹ intent that ſhe therby puft vp with pride, ſhould contemptuouſly diſpiſe them all. The Pecocke therefore aunſwereth firſt. Truely ſayth he, for that ſhe is brauely ſet forth with my paynted fethers, I wil againe take them frō her. Then ſayth the Falcon, and I alſo will haue mine againe. This ſentence at length took place among them all, ſo that euery one plucked frō her thoſe fethers which before they had geuen, chalenging to them their owne agayne. Now this proude byrd ſeeing her ſelfe thus to be dealt wythall, began forthwith to abate her hauty ſtomacke, and humbly

A parable propheſying the deſtruction of the Pope.

The Pope compared to a birde fethered with other birdes fethers.

The firſt ryſing of the pope.

The proude proſperitie of the pope.

The decay of the pope deſcribed.

to ſubmit her ſelfe openly, cõfeſſing and acknowledging yͤ of her ſelfe ſhe did nothing: but that her fathers, her honor and other ornamentes was their gifte: ſhe came into the world all naked & bare, they clad her with comely fethers, and therefore of right may they receaue thẽ againe. wherfore in moſt humble wiſe ſhe deſireth pardon, promiſing to amend all that is paſt, neither would ſhe at any time hereafter commit, whereby through pride ſhe might loſe her fethers againe. The gentle byrdes that before had geuen their fethers, ſeing her ſo humble and lowly, being moued with pitie, reſtored againe the fethers whiche lately they had taken away, adding withall this admonition. we will gladly, ſay they, behold thy flying amõg vs, ſo long as thou wilt vſe thine office with humblenes of minde, which is yͤ chiefeſt comelines of al the reſt. But this haue thou for certainty, that if at any time hereafter thou extoll thy ſelfe in pride, we will ſtraightwayes depriue thee of thy fethers, & reduce thee into thy former ſtate wherin we found thee. Euen ſo oh you Cardinals (ſayth Iohannes Rupeſciſſanus) ſhal it happen vnto you. For yͤ Emperours of Romaines and Almayne, and other Chriſtian kings, potentates, and princes of the earth, haue beſtowed vpon you goods, lãds, and riches, that ſhould ſerue God, but you haue poured it out and conſumed it vpon pride, all kinde of wickednes, ryot and wantonnes.

❀ Armachanus.

The life and ſtory of Armachanus Archb. and primate of Ireland.

IN the Catalogue of theſe learned and zelous defenders of Chriſt againſt Antichriſt aboue rehearſed, whome the Lord about this time began to rayſe vp for reformation of his Churche, being then farre out of frame, I cannot forget nor omit ſomething to write of the reuerend Prelate, and famous Clerke Richard Armachanus, primate and Archb. of Ireland: A man for his life and learning ſo memorable, as the condition of thoſe dayes then ſerued, that the ſame daies then as they had but fewe good, ſo had none almoſt his better. His name was Richard Fizraf, made primate and Archb, as is ſayd, of Ireland. Firſt brought vp in the vniuerſitie of Oxford, in the ſtudy of all liberall knowledge, wherin he did exceedingly profite vnder John Bakenthorpe his tutor and inſtructor. In this time the begging Friers began greatly to multiply and ſpread, vnto whome this Bakenthorpe, was euer a great enemye. whoſe ſteppes the ſcholler alſo following, began to do the like. Such was the capacitie and dexteritie of this Fizraf, that he being commended to king Edward the 3. was promoted to him, firſt to be Archdeacon of Lichfield, then to be the commiſſary of the vniuerſitie of Oxford. At length to be Archbiſhop of Armach in Ireland. He being Archbiſhop, vppon a time had cauſe to come vp to London: At what time here in the ſaid city of London was contention betweene the Friers and the clergie about preaching, and hearing confeſſions &c. whereupon, this Armachanus being requeſted to preach, made 7. or 8. ſermons. wherein he propounded 9. concluſions agaynſt the Friers, for the which he was cited vp by the Friers before this pope Innocent the 6. to appeare, And ſo he did, who before the face of the pope valiantly defended, both in preaching & in writing the ſame concluſions, & therein ſtood conſtantly vnto the death, as the wordes of John wickliffe in his Trialogo do well teſtifie in this wiſe: Ab Anglorum Epiſcopis conductus Armachanus, nouem in Auinione concluſiones coram Innocentio 6. & ſuorum Cerdinalium cœtu, contra fratrum mendicitatem, audacter publicauit, verbóque ac ſcriptis ad mortem vſque defendit. The like alſo teſtifieth of him Waldenus in faſcilo ziziannioru m. Alſo Volateranus reporteth the ſame. Gulielmus Botonerus teſtifying of him in like maner, ſaith: that Armachanus firſt reproued begging Friers for hearing the confeſſions of profeſſed nonnes, without licence of their ſuperioures, and alſo of maryed women without knowledge of their huſbandes. what daungers and troubles he ſuſteyned by his perſecutors, and howe miraculouſly the Lord deliuered him from their handes: In ſo muche, that they meeting him in the open ſtreetes and in cleare day light, yet had no power to ſee him, nor to apprehend hym. In what perill of theeues and ſearchers he was in, and yet the Lord deliuered him, yea and cauſed his mony being take from him, to be reſtored againe to him by portions, in time of his neceſſitie and famine. Alſo from what dangers of the kinges officers, which comming with the kings letters layd all the hauens for him: yet howe the Lord Ieſus deliuered him, ſhewing him by what wayes how to eſcape them. Moreouer, what appeales were layd agaynſt hym, to the number of 16. and yet how the Lord gaue him to triumph ouer al his enemies. How the Lord alſo taught him & brought him out of the profound vanities of Ariſtotles ſubtlety, to the ſtudy of the Scriptures of God. All this & muche more, he himſelfe expreſſeth in a certaine prayer or confeſſion made to Chriſt Ieſus our Lord, in which he deſcribeth almoſt the whole hiſtory of his owne life. whiche prayer I haue to ſhewe in old written hand, and hereafter (Chriſt willing) intẽd as time ſerueth to publiſh the ſame. The beginning of the prayer in latin is this.

The comendation of Armachanus.

Armachanus cited by the Friers, to appeare before the P.

The troubles & perſecutions of Armachanus.

Armachanus preſerued manifold wayes by the Lord.

The prayer of Armachanus.

Tibi laus, tibi gloria, tibi gratiarum actio, Ieſu piiſſime, Ieſu potentiſsime, Ieſu dulciſsime: qui dixiſti, Ego ſum via, veritas & vita. Via ſine deuio: veritas ſine nubilo: & vita ſine termino. Quod tute viam mihi oſtendiſti. Tute veritatem me docuiſte Et tute vitã mihi promiſiſti: Via eras mihi in exilio. Veritas eras in conſilio. Et vita eris mihi in premio. with the reſt that followeth in the foreſayd prayer.

Thus what were the troubles of this good man, and how he was cited vp by the Friers to the P. you haue partly heard: Nowe what were his reaſons and argumentes wherwith he defendeth his cauſe in the popes preſence, followeth to be declared. For the tractation whereof firſte I muſt put the reader in remẽbrance of the controuerſie mẽtioned before in the ſtory of Guliel de ſancto de Amore. Pag. 322. Alſo in the ſtory of the vniuerſitie of Paris contending againſt the Friers pag. 392. For ſo long did this controuerſie continue in the Churche, from the yeare. 1240. whẽ yͤ Oxford men began firſt to ſtand againſt the Fryers to the time of this Armachanus, that is, to the yeare 1360. and after this time yet more encreaſed. So it pleaſed the ſecret prouidence of God (for what cauſe he beſt knoweth) to ſuffer his Churche to be entangled and exerciſed ſometimes with matters and controuerſies of no great importance. Eyther to keepe the vanitie of mens wits thus occupyed frõ idlenes, or els to prepare their mindes by theſe ſmaller matters, to the conſideration and ſearching out of other thinges more graue and weighty. Like as nowe in theſe our Queenes dayes, we ſee what tragidies be rayſed vp in Englãd about formes & faſhions of miniſters wearinges, what troubles grow, what placing and diſplacing there is about the ſame: Euen ſo at this time happened the like ſtirre about the liberties and priuilegies of the Friers, which not a little troubled, and occupied al the churches & Diuines almoſt through Chriſtendome. The whiche controuerſie, to the intent it may better be vnderſtanded (all yͤ circumſtances therof being explayned) we will firſt begyn from the originall and foundation of the matter, to declare by order and courſe of yeres, vpon what occaſion this variance firſt riſing, in continuance of time increaſed & multiplide in gathering more matter, and braſt out at length to this tumultuous contention among learned men.

Concerning therfore this preſent matter, firſt it is to be vnderſtand, that in the yeare of our Lord. 1215. vnder pope Innocent the 3. was called a generall cõucell at Laterane, mentioned before. Pag. 253. in the dayes of king John. In the which councell among many other thinges, was conſtituted a certaine law or Canon, beginning Omnis vtriuſq; ſexus. &c. the tenour of which canon in Engliſh is thus.

Can. omnis vtriuſque ſexus. Sex. ex. de Pe & re.

Be it decreed, that euery faythfull Chriſtian, both man and woman comming to the yeares of diſcretion, ſhall confeſſe hymſelfe alone of all his ſinnes, to the prieſt of hys own proper pariſh, once in the yeare at leaſt: and that he ſhall endeuour by hys owne ſelf to fulfil the penance, whẽſoeuer he receiueth the ſacrament of Euchariſtie, at leaſt at the time of Eaſter. Vnleſſe by the aſſent of his Miniſter, vpon ſome reaſonable cauſe to abſtayne for the time. Otherwiſe dooing, let him both lacke the communion of the Churche being aliue, and Chriſtian buriall when he is dead. Wherefore be it decreed, that this wholeſome conſtitution ſhalbe publiſhed accuſtomably in Churches, to the end that no man of ignorance or of blindnes make to himſelfe a cloke of excuſe. And if any ſhall confeſſe himſelfe to any other prieſt then of his owne pariſhe vpon any iuſt cauſe, let him aske and obtayne firſt licence of his owne prieſt: Other els, the Prieſt to haue no power to binde him or to looſe him. &c.

Note here he calleth not the ſacrament of the altar.

In the time of this Innocentius, and of this Laterane councell, was Dominicke, the firſt author and founder of the preaching Fryers: who laboured to the ſaid Pope Innocent, for the confirmation of his order, but did not obteyne, in his life time.

Frier Dominike in the time of Pope Innocent the 3. obtained not the confirmation of his order.

The next yeare after this Laterane councell, dyed pope Innocent. an. 1216. after whome came Honorius 3. who in the firſt yeare of his Popedome confirmed the order of the frier Dominicke, and gaue to him and his fryers authority to preach and to heare confeſſions, with diuers other priuilegies more. And vnder this Pope whiche gouerned 10. yeares, liued Dominick fiue yeares after yͤ confirmatiõ of his order and dyed an. 1221. About which yeare, the order

The order of Frier Dominike firſt confirmed by pope Innocent 3.

of

The order of the Franciſcans, cōfirmed ſhortly after the Dominikes.

of the Franciſcane Friers began alſo to bread, & to ſpread in the world, through preaching and hearing confeſſions.

After this Honorius next followed Pope Gregory the 9. about the yeare of our Lord 1228. who for the promoting of the forſayd order of Dominickes, gaue out this Bull, in tenour as followeth.

The bul of pope Gregory in the behalfe of the Dominike Friers.

* Iniquitie hath abounded at Rome.

* Nay to the preaching rather of mēs traditions againſt the word of God.

The Friers autoriſed to heare confeſſions & to enioyne penaunce.

Gregorius biſhop ſeruaunt of Gods ſeruauntes, to his reuerende brethren, Archbiſhops Biſhoppes, and to his welbeloued Children, Abbots, Priors, and to All Prelates of churches, to whom ſoeuer theſe preſentes ſhall come, greting, and Apoſtolical bleſsing. Becauſe* iniquitie hath abounded, & the charity of man hath waxt cold: Behold, the Lord hath rayſed vp the order of our welbeloued children the preaching Friers, who not ſeking things of their owne, but pertayning to Ieſus Chriſt, to the extirping as wel of hereſies as to the roting out alſo of other pernitious peſtilencies: haue dedicate themſelues to the preaching of the* word of God We therfore minding to aduaunce their ſacred purpoſe. &c. and followeth, commaunding you to ſee the ſayd perſons, gently to be receaued among you: And that your flockes committed to your charge do receaue deuoutly the ſeede of Gods word out of their mouth, and doe confeſſe their ſinnes vnto them, all ſuche as liſt, whome wee haue authoriſed to the ſame, to heare confeſsions, and to enioyne penaunce. &c. Dat. Peruſij. an. Pont. noſtri. 8.

Pope Innocent the 4. againſt the Friers.

This pope Honorius dyed about the yeare of our Lord 1241. after whom came Celeſtinus the fourth and ſat but 18. daies, then came Innocentius the fourth and ſat 11. yeares and 6. monethes. Who although he began firſt to fauour the friers: yet afterward being altered by certayn Diuines of Vniuerſities, Prelates of Churches, and Curates: and debarred them of their liberties and priuiledges, & gaue out agayne preceptes and excommunications, as well agaynſt the Friers, as all other religious perſons. And not long after the ſame he was diſpatched.

Pope Alexander the 4. vndoeth the actes of Pope Innocent the 4. his predeceſſour.

Extrau. non ſine multa.

Gul. de S. Amore, Simon Iornalenſis. Godfridus de fontibus. Hen. de Gandauo, foure champions againſt the Friers.

Innocentius being thus remoued out of the way, about the yeare of our Lord. 1253. Then ſucceded Pope Alexander the fourth a great mayntainer of the Friers, and ſat 7. yeares. He reuoked and repealed the Actes and writinges of Pope Innocent his predeceſſour, geuen forth agaynſt the Friers: wherwith the Diuines and Students of Paris being not wel contented, ſtirred vp foure principall Doctours: The firſt and chiefe captayne was Guliel. de ſancto Amore, mentioned before. pag. 322. againſt whom wrote Albertus Magnus, and Thomas Aquine. And at laſt he was condemned by this forſayd Pope Alexander the 4. in the Extrau. Non ſine multa. The ſecond was Simon Iornalenſis, the third, Godfridus de Fontibus, the iiii. Henricus de Gandauo. Theſe foure with other their complices, compiled a certaine booke againſt the begging order of Friers, both Dominicans, and Franciſcās intituled, De periculis Eccleſiæ, cōteining xiiii. chapters. wherof the 14. which is the laſt, with 39. articles agaynſt the Friers we haue already trāſlated and expreſſed, pag. 317. Beſide theſe. 39. articles, be other vii. articles moreouer to the ſaid booke annexed, vnder the name of the ſtudents of Paris againſt the Friers, prouing why the ſayd Friers ought not to be admitted into their ſocietie. Which vii. articles becauſe they are but ſhort, I thought here better to place, then to omit them.

❋ *Certaine articles geuen out by the Studentes* of Paris, agaynſt the Fryers, why they ſhould not be admitted to theyr ſocietie.

Articles of the ſtudents of Paris againſt the Friers.

First we ſay, they are not to be admitted to the ſocietie of our ſchole, but vpon our will and licence. For our company or fellowſhip ought not to be coactiue, but voluntary and free.

Secondly, we ſay they are not to be admitted, for ſomuch as we oft proued their community, manifold wayes to be hurtfull and incommodious.

Concilium Hiſpan.

Thirdly, ſeeing they be of a diuers profeſſion from vs (for they are called regular, and not ſcholaſticall) we therfore ought not to bee ioyned and aſſociate together in one ſcholaſticall office. For aſmuch as the Councell of Spayne doth ſay, thou ſhalt not plough with the Oxe, and with the Aſſe together. Which is to ſay: Men of diuers profeſſions ought not together to be matched in one kinde of calling, or ſtanding, for theyr ſtudies and conditions be diſagreeing and diſſeuered from ours, and cannot frame or couple together in one communion.

The friers make diſſentions.

Fourthly we affirme, by the Apoſtle that they are not to be admitted becauſe they worke diſſenſions and offences: For ſo ſayth the Apoſtle Rom vlt. We deſire you brethren, that ye obſerue, and take heede of ſuch as make diſſentions and offēdicles about the doctrine which you haue learned by the Apoſtles, and auoyd them. For ſuch ſerue not the Lord, but their own belly. Gloſe Some they flatter ſome they backbyte, whereby they might feede their belly. That through their ſweete and pleaſaunt wordes, and by their benedictions, they may deceaue the hartes of the ſimple. Gloſe. That is, with their fine ſugered, and trimme couched wordes, they ſet forth their own traditions, wherewith they beguile the hartes of the ſimple innocentes.

Friers deuour mens houſes.

Penetrant domos.

Fiftly, we ſay they are not to be admitted. For that we feare leaſt they be in the number of them, which goe about and deuoure mens houſes. For they thruſt in themſelues into euery mans houſe, ſearching and ſacking the conſciences and ſtates of all perſons. And whom they finde eaſie to be ſeduced, as women: ſuch they doe circumuent, & lead them away from the counſailes of their Prelates, bynding them either in acte or oth: from ſuch we are warned by the Apoſtle to auoyd.

Friers preach vncalled.

Sixtly, wee ſay they are to bee auoyded: becauſe wee feare they are falſe Prophetes. Whiche being neither Byſhops, ner pariſh prieſts, nor yet their Vicares, nor ſent by them, yet they preach (not ſent) againſt the minde of the Apoſtle, Rom. 10. ſaying: How ſhall they preach except they be ſent? For els there appeareth in them no ſuch great vertue, for the whiche they ought to be admitted to preach vncalled. Seing therefore that ſuch are ſo daungerous to the Church, they ought to be auoyded.

Friers haue no order of any calling in the church.

Seuenthly, we ſay they are not to be admitted, becauſe they be a people ſo curious in ſearching & inquiring of other mens doings and ſpirituall demaynour. And yet be they neyther Apoſtles, nor yet ſucceſſours of yͤ Apoſtles, as biſhops: nor of the number of the 72. Diciples of the Lord: nor their ſucceſſors, yͭ is pariſh Prieſtes: nor their helpers, nor yet Vicares, wherefore, ſeing they liue ſo in no order, by the ſentence of the Apoſtle we are commaunded to auoyd them. 2. Theſſ. vlt. where he ſaith: we admoniſh and denounce vnto you (O brethren) in the name of our Lord Ieſus Chriſt: that is, as the Gloſe, ſayth (we commaund you by the authoritie of Chriſt) that you withdrawe your ſelues from euery brother, that walketh inordinately, and not after the tradition, which you haue receaued of vs. &c. Looke vpon the common gloſe of this place, and you ſhall finde, that ſuch are to be auoyded till time they amend from ſo doing. &c.

Certain cōcluſiōs in the vniuerſitie of Paris to be diſputed of againſt the Friers.

Beſides theſe articles aboue rehearſed, certaine propoſitions or concluſions were alſo propounded in the ſcholes of Paris the ſame time, ſolemnly to be diſputed and defended agaynſt the Fryers: which in a briefe ſome of wordes to collect, were theſe.

First, that the begging Friers were not in the ſtate of ſaluation.

Secondly, that they were bound to labour with theyr handes that could, and not to begge.

Thirdly, that they ought not to exerciſe the office of preaching, or to heare the confeſſiōs of them that wil come to them, although being licenſed thereunto by the Byſhop of Rome, or by the Dioceſane: for ſomuch as the ſame is preiudiciall to the miniſters and Prieſtes of the Pariſhes.

Pope Alexander the 4. a great fauourer of the Friers.

All theſe forſayd articles & concluſions, in the booke ſet forth by theſe Paris men: This Pope Alexander the 4. condemned to be aboliſhed and burned, writing his preceptes to the French K. and alſo the Vniuerſitie of Paris, in the fauour of the Friers: willing and commaunding the ſayd Fryers to be reſtored to all their priuiledges and libertyes, in as ample maner as in Pope Gregories tyme before.

An other pilgrimage giuen to the Friers by Pope Clement 4.

Ex Clement Quidam temerè.

Not long after Pope Alexander the 4. followed Clement the 4. an. 1263. and ſate 3. yeares. Who alſo gaue the priuiledge to the Friers, beginning: Quidam temerè &c. In which priuiledge he condemneth them that ſay, that no mā without licence of his Curate or miniſter, ought to confeſſe him to the Friers, or that a ſubiect ought to aſke licence of theyr miniſters ſo to doe, whiche was agaynſt the Canon Omnis vtriuſque ſexus. &c. made by the Pope Innocent the 3. before recited.

Pope Martin the 4. holdeth with curates againſt the Friers.

After this Clement, agayn came Pope Martine the 4. an. 1281. who renued again the Canon. Omnis vtriuſque ſexus: in the behalfe of the Curates againſt the Friers.

Pope Boniface holdeth with the friers againe.

Ex Clement conſtit. Boniſ. Super cathedram.

Then Pope Boniface the 8. began to ſit, an. 1294. viii. yeares. ix. monethes. Who taking ſide with the Fryers, gaue to them an other priuiledge, beginning, Super Cathedram. &c. In the whiche priuiledge he licenſed the Fryers, that without licence of Vicares of Churches, they ſhal firſt preſent themſelues to the Prelates to be admitted: by whō if they be refuſed the ſecond time, then they vppon ſpeciall authoritie of this Pope, ſhall be priuiledged: without eyther Byſhop or Curate, to preach, to bury, and to heare cōfeſſions who ſoeuer will come to them, reuoking all that was decreed by his predeceſſours before to the contrary notwithſtanding.

By this Pope Boniface, a certayne Dominick Frier was made Cardinall named Nicholaus de Teruiſio, and after the death of Boniface, was made alſo Pope. an. 1303. ſurnamed Pope Benedictus 11. who ſeing the conſtitucio̅ of Boniface his predeceſſor to gender diſſenſion betweene the Priſts and Friers, made an other conſtitution, beginning: Inter cunctas &c. reuoking the conſtitution of Boniface his predeceſſour. Upon which conſtitution of Pope Benedict, Ioannes Monachus, make a Gloſe, reuoked alſo his other Gloſe made vpon the conſtitution of Boniface before.

Ex Clemēt. inter cunctas.

Ioan. Monach. reuoketh his gloſe.

Again, after this Benedictus the 11. folowed pope Clement the 5. an. 1335. and ſat 9. yeeres, who in his generall Councell holden at Uienna, reuoked the conſtitution of Benedictus his predeceſſor, and renewed agayne the former decree of Boniface, by a new conſtitution of his, beginning: Dudum a Bonifacio. 8. &c. Whiche conſtitution moreouer was confirmed afterwarde by Pope Iohn the 22. an. 1316. which Pope alſo cauſed Ioannes de Poliaco to recant.

Pope Clement the 5. holdeth with the Fryers and repealeth the cōſtitution of Benedictus.

Ex Clement cap. dudum.

Upon this variable diuerſity of the Popes (one diſſenting and repugning from an other) roſe among the Diuines & ſcholemen in Uniuerſities great matter of cōtention, as well in the Uniuerſity of Paris, as the Uniuerſity of Oxford about the begging Friers, ſome holding one way, ſome an other way. But eſpecially 5. principal opinions to be noted of learned men, who the̅ diſputing againſt the friers, were condemned for heretickes, and their aſſertions reproued.

Fiue diuers opinions of learned mē in this age holdyng againſt the Fryers.

The firſt, was the opinion of the̅ which defended, that the friers might not by the licence of the Byſhop of Rome and of the Prelats, preach in Pariſhes, and heare confeſſions. And of this opinion was Guliel. de Sāc̄to Amore, with his felowes, who as is ſayd, were condemned.

The ſecond opinio̅ was this, that friers, although not by theyr own authority, yet by priuiledge of the Pope and of the Biſhop, might preach and heare confeſſions in Pariſhes, but yet not without licence of the Pariſh Prieſtes. Of this opinion was Bernardus gloſing vpon the cano̅. Omnis vtriuſque ſexus, afore mentioned,

The 2. opinion.

Bernardus ſuper cap. Omnis vtriuſque.

The third opinion was, that friers might preach and heare confeſſions, without licence of the Pariſh Prieſtes: but yet the ſayd pariſhners notwithſtanding were bou̅d, by the Canon: Omnis vtriuſque ſexus: to repeate the ſame ſinnes again, if they had no other, to theyr own proper curate: and of this opinion were many, as Godfridus de Fontibus: Henricus de Gandauo: Ioannes Monachus Cardin: Ioannes de Poliaco. Which Ioannes de Poliaco, Pope Iohn the 22 cauſed openly in Paris, to recant and retract.

The 3. opinion.

Ioan. de Poliaco.

This Ioannes de Poliaco Doctor of diuinity in Paris, being complayned of by yͤ friers for certaine articles or aſſertions, was ſent for to the Pope: where time and place being to him aſſigned, he in the audience of the Pope and of Frierly Cardinals & other doctors: was ſtraitly examined of his articles. To make the ſtory ſhort, he at length ſubmitting himſelfe to the authority of the terrible ſee of Rome: was cauſed to recant his aſſertions openly at Paris. His aſſertions which he did hold, were theſe.

Ex libro fratris Egelberti.

¶ The three aſſertions of Ioannes de Poliaco, which he was cauſed by the Pope to recant at Paris.

John de Poliaco cauſed to recant by P. Iohn the 22.

His three aſſertions.

Whereof the firſt was, they which were confeſſed to friers, although hauing a generall licence to heare confeſſions: were bounde to confeſſe agayne their ſinnes to their own Pariſh Prieſt, by the conſtitutio̅, Omnis vtriuſque ſexus. &c.

The ſecond was, that the ſayd co̅ſtitution, Omnis vtriuſque ſexus, ſtanding in his force, the Pope coulde not make: but pariſhners wer bou̅d once a yere to confeſſe theyr ſinnes to their Prieſt. For the doing otherwiſe importeth a contradiction in it ſelfe.

The 3. was, that the Pope coulde not geue generall licēce to heare confeſſio̅s ſo, but yͭ the pariſhners ſo confeſſed were bound to reiterate yͤ ſame confeſſion made, vnto his owne Curate. Which he proued by theſe places of the Canon law, 25. q. 1. Quæ ad perpetuam. Thoſe thinges which be generally ordeyned for publique vtilitye, ought not to be altered by any chaunge. &c. Item, the decrees of the ſacrat Canons, none ought to keepe more then the Biſhop Apoſtolicall. &c. Ibidem. Item, to alter or to ordeine any thing agaynſt the decrees of the fathers, is not in the authoritye or power, no not of the Apoſtolicall ſea. Ibidem.

The 3. aſſertions of Ioan. de Poliaco againſt the Fryers.

25. q. 1. Quæ ad perpetuam. Contra ſtatuta patrum condedere vel mutare aliquid nec huius quidem ſedis poteſt autoritas.

The fourth opinion was, that the Friers by the licēce of the Pope and of the Biſhops might lawfully heare co̅feſſions, and the people might be of them confeſſed and abſolued. But yet notwithſtanding, it was reaſon, cōuenie̅t, honeſt and profitable, that once in the yeare they ſhould be confeſſed to theyr curats (although being cōfeſſed before to the friers) becauſe for the adminiſtration of Sacraments, eſpecially at Eaſter. Of which opinion was Gulielmus de monte Landuno. Henricus de Gandauo alſo held, not onely to be conuenient, but alſo that they were bound ſo to doe.

The 4. opinion.

Guilielmus de monte Lāduno. Henricus de Gandauo.

The fiſt opinion was, that albeit the Friers might at all times, and at Eaſter alſo, heare confeſſions as the Curates did: yet it was better and more ſafe, at the time of Eaſter to confeſſe to the curates, the̅ to the Friers. And of this opinio̅ was this our Armachanus, of whom we preſently now entreat.

The fiſt opinion.

¶ And thus haue ye, as in a brieſe ſumme opened vnto you, what was the matter of contention betweene the friers and the Church men. What Popes made with the friers: and what Popes made againſt the̅. Moreouer, what learned me̅ diſputed againſt them in Paris, and other places, and what were theyr opinions.

The matter of contention about the Friers, ſtode in foure pointes. Firſt preaching without licence of Curats, Second, in hearing cōfeſſions. Thyrd, in burying. Fourth in begging and taking of the people.

	¶ Popes that mainteined the Friers.	
Were	Honorius.	3
	Gregorius.	9
	Alexande.	4
	Clemens	4
	Boniface.	8
	Clemens.	5

	¶ Popes that mainteiued Curates	
Were	Innocentius.	3
	Innocentius.	4
	Martinus.	4
	Benedictus.	11

¶ The learned men that diſputed agaynſt the Friers.

Were	Guilielmus de S. Amore.	All theſe were cōdemned by the Popes, or els cauſed to recant.
	Barnardus ſuper capitulum, Omnis vtriuſque ſexus,	
	Godfridus de Fontibus.	
	Henricus de Gandauo.	
	Guilielmus de Landuno.	
	Ioannes Monachus Cardini.	
	Ioannes de Poliaco.	
	Armachanus.	

These conſiderations and circu̅ſtaunces hetherto premiſed, for the more opening of this preſent cauſe of Armachanus ſuſteined agaynſt the idle beggerly ſects of friers, in whom the reader may well perceiue Antechriſt plainly reigning, and fighting againſt the Church: Now remayneth, that as I haue before declared the trauelles & troubles of diuers godly learned me̅ in the Church ſtriuing agaynſt the ſayd friers, continually from the time of Guliel. de Amore, hetherto: So now it remaineth, that for ſo much as this our Armachanus labouring and in the ſame cauſe ſuſteined the like conflict with the ſame Antechriſt: we likewiſe collect and open his reaſons and argu̅ments vttered in the conſiſtorye and in the audience of the Pope himſelfe wherwith he maynteyneth the true doctrine and cauſe of the Church agaynſt the peſtiferous canker creeping in, by theſe friers after ſubtle wayes of hypocriſy, to corrupt the ſincere ſimplicity of Chriſtes holy fayth & perfect Teſtament. The which reaſons and argumentes of his, with the whole proceſſe of his doinges: I thought good and expedient for the vtility of the Church, more amply and largely to diſcourſe and proſecute, for that I note in the ſects, inſtitutions, and doctrine of theſe friers, ſuch ſubtle poyſon to lurke: more pernitious & hurtfull to the religion of Chriſt and ſoules of Chriſtians, then all men peraduenture do conſider.

Ex libro cui titulus. Defenſorium curatorum.

Thus Armachanus ioyning with the clergy of England, diſputed and contended with the friers here of England

land. an. 1358. about a double matter. wherof the one was concerning confeſſiõ and other exchetes which the friers encroched in pariſh Churches agaynſt the Curates, and publicke paſtors of Churches. The other was concerning wilfull beggery and pouerty, which the Friers then tooke vpon them, not vpon any neceſſity being otherwiſe ſtrõg inough to worke for their liuing, but onely vpon a wilfull and affected profeſſion. For the which cauſe the Friers appealed him vp to the court of Rome. The occaſion wherof thus did riſe.

¶ It befell, that Armachanus vpon certayne buſines comming vp to London, found there certayne Doctours diſputing and contending about the begging of Chriſt our Sauior. wherupon (he being greatly vrged and requeſted oft times therũto) at requeſt, made ſeuen or eight ſermõs vnto the people at London, wherein he vttered 9. concluſions. wherof the firſt and principal concluſion was, touching the matter of the friers priuiledges, in hearing confeſſions. His concluſion was this.

Firſt, that if a doubt or queſtion be moued for hearing cõfeſſiõs, which of 2. places is rather to be choſẽ. The pariſh church is to be preferred before the church of the friers.

Secondly, being demaunded whether is to be taken (to heare the confeſſion of the pariſhioners the Parſon, or the Curate, or the frier) It is to be ſayde, rather the Parſon or the Curate.

Thirdly, that our Lord Ieſus Chriſt in his humayne conuerſatiõ was alwayes poore, but not that he loued pouerty, or did couet to be poore.

Fourthly, that our Lord Ieſus Chriſt did neuer beg, wilfully profeſſing to be poore.

Fiftly, that our Lord Ieſus Chriſt did neuer teach wilfully to beg, or to profeſſe wilfull beggery.

The ſixt concluſion was, that Chriſt our Lord did cõtrary, that men ought not wilfully or purpoſely wythout meere neceſſity to beg.

Seuẽthly, that there is neither wiſedome nor holines, for any man to take vpon him wilfull beggery, perpetually to be obſerued.

The eight, that it is not agreeing to the rule of the Obſeruants, or Friers Minorites, to obſerue wilful pouerty.

The laſt concluſion was, touching the Bull of Pope Alexander the 4. whiche condemned the libell of the maiſters of Paris: that the ſame Bull touched none of theſe 7. laſt concluſions.

Armachanus cited vp to the Pope by the Friers.

The proteſtatiõ of Armachanus.

His theame.

Iohn. 7.

The firſt cõcluſion proponed.

Probation.

Certaintie.

Vtilitie.

Commoditie.

Vpon theſe 9. concluſions premiſed, Armachanus being appealed, cited, and brought vp to the preſence of the Pope: began to proue the ſame his foreſaid concluſions or aſſertions vnder proteſtation made, that his intẽtion was not to affirme any thing contrary to the chriſtian fayth, or to the Catholicke doctrine, or that ſhould be preiudicial or deſtructiue to ẏ orders of the begging friers, ſuch as were approued by holy Church, or confirmed by the high Byſhops: But onely his intẽtiõ was, to haue the ſayd orders reduced to the purity of their firſt inſtitution. Concerning which matter, he deſired his reaſons to be heard, which if they ſhould be foũd weaker then the reaſons of the friers, the puniſhment ſhould be his. If otherwiſe, that then the friers iuſtly to be rewarded, for their ſlãderous obtrectation and publique cõtumelies, & iniurious dealinges both priuatly and publickly wrought and ſought agaynſt him: And ſo taking for his Theame: Nolite iudicare ſecundum faciem, ſed iuſtum iudicium iudicate. &c. That is. Iudge not after the outward face, but iudge true iudgement. &c. Iohn. 7. he entreth to the probation of his concluſions: Firſt beginning with the former concluſion, that the Pariſh churche was a place more fit and conuenient, for the confeſſiõs or burials of the Pariſhioners to be vſed, then any other exempt Church or place of the Friers. which he proued by three cauſes: Firſt for the more ſurenes or certaynty to the conſcience of the Pariſhioners confeſſed. Secondly, for the more vtility and profit of him. Thirdly, for the leſſe incommodity enſuing by confeſſions taken in Pariſh churches, then in friers Churches.

The firſt part of the firſt concluſiõ confirmed.

Deut. 12.

Leuit. 4. 5.

As touching the firſt, for the more aſſuredneſſe and certeinty, thus he argued vpon the place of Deu. 12. vnto that place, which ẏ Lord your God ſhall aſſigne of all your tribes, to place his name and dwell therin: thether ſhall you reſort, to offer vp your oblations, tithes. &c. And the ſame place God ſayth: See thou offer not thy ſacrifice in euery place that liketh thee: but in that place alone which the Lord hath elect in one of the tribes, and thou ſhalt doe in all thinges as I commaund thee. Alſo vpon the wordes of Leuit. 4. and 5. which be theſe. Whoſoeuer ſinneth of ignorance, ſhal offer to the prieſt, and he ſhall pray for him, and he ſhalbe forgeuen &c. Vpon theſe places thus he argued: that foraſmuch as the Sacramẽts of the Church are to be frequented and vſed in no other place but onely in that, which by God himſelfe peculiarly is aſſigned and commaunded for the ſame: And ſeing that elect place in the law repreſenteth the Pariſh Churches: neither can it be proued that the Friers Churche is the place preſcribed of God, but onely permitted by Byſhops of Rome: He concluded therefore, that Pariſh Churches for confeſſions and burialles, were more ſure and certayne to the conſcience of Pariſhioners, then the exempt places of the Friers.

The firſt part of the firſt concluſion, confirmed by an other reaſon

By an other reaſon alſo he confirmed the ſame, for that the pariſh Church commonly ſtandeth free frõ the Popes interdict, ſo do not the Churches of the Friers. As which ſtand not ſo cleare, but that they are vnder ſuſpition, and doubt of the Popes interdict: by the Decretall. De ſepulturis in ſexto. cap Animarum periculis. In which Decretall, all ſuch conuentuall Churches and Churchyardes of Friers be interdicted, which do induce any perſon or perſons, either by oth or promiſe made, to chuſe their burying places in their churches, as commonly the friers are reported to do. For els what pariſhner would forſake his owne churche & pariſh where his aunceſtors do lye, to be buryed among the Friers, if the Friers did not induce thẽ ſo to do:

The ſecond part of the firſt concluſion confirmed.

An other confirmatiõ of the ſecõd part of the firſt article.

Moreouer for the ſecõd part, concerning the vtility of the place, that he confirmed doublewiſe. Firſt, for that confeſſiõ made within the pariſh church, hath a double merit of obedience, both for obeying the commaũdement of God in opening his confeſſiõ ¶ thus he ſpeaketh according to ẏ blindnes of that time, for that auricular confeſſiõ hath any cõmaundement of God, cannot be proued: & alſo in obeying the commaundemẽt of God in obſeruing the place by him appointed, ẏ which ſecond merit of obedience lacketh in ẏ Friers part. Secondly, he proued to be greater vtility for a pariſhioner to confeſſe him in his pariſh Church, thẽ with the Friers. Becauſe commonly the number of Chriſten people praying, is ten times more in pariſh churches. wherby is to be thought, that ech ſinguler perſõ may better be helped through moe prayers, then in the Oratories of the Friers, &c.

The third part of the firſt concluſion proued.

Farther as touching the third part of the firſt concluſion or Article he proued, that it had fewer incõmodities to reſort euery man to his pariſh Church, then to the friers: for that both great vtilitye, and more certaynety (as hath ben proued) did enſue therof: which two being take away, (as muſt need, in reſorting to the friers Church) thẽ two ſpeciall commodities ſhould be hindred, & ſo great incommodities therof ſhould follow. And thus much for ẏ place of the friers.

The 2. concluſion or Article.

3. reſpectes or cauſes to be proued.

Now to the ſecond concluſion or Article touching the perſon of the frier, and of the ordinary Curate. If the queſtiõ be, which of theſe two is to be preferred in the office of Eccleſiaſticall adminiſtratiõ: the opinion of Armachanus was, that the ordinary Curate was better then the extraordinary frier, and that for the three foreſayd reſpectes, to wit, for certaintie or aſſuraunce, for vtility, and for incommodity to be auoyded.

Ca. Religioſi. Clement. de decimis.

In Clementino de priuilegijs cap. Religioſ.

The Friers proued to be excommunicate by the Popes lawe.

Firſt that it is more ſafe and ſure for the pariſhioners to reſort to theyr ordinary or pariſh prieſt, hee argued by 3. reaſons: firſt becauſe the perſon of the lawfull ordinary or prieſtes is expreſſely of God commaũded, where the perſõ of the frier is not, and therfore is forbid. Secondly, becauſe the pariſhner may more truſt to his ordinary Curate, as who is more bound & obliged to prouide and to be carefull for him, then any other extraordinary perſon, Thirdly, becauſe in the perſon of the ordinary curate, commonly there is no doubt of any interdict to bind him: whereas contrary in the friers be halfe: there is good matter to doubt, whether he ſtand bound vnder the popes cẽſure of excõmunication or not, and that for diuers cauſes, as by the cap. Religioſi, in Clemẽtinis de decimis. Where is decreed, that all ſuch religious mẽ, which hauing no benefices or cure of ſoule, preſume to improperate vnto them glebe land or other tithes due vnto Churches, and not appertayning to them (by any maner of colour or fraudulent circumuention) do incurre the ſentence of excommunication, ipſo facto. Alſo by another cap Religioſi, De priuilegijs. in Clement. Where it is ſayd, that all ſuch religious men are excommunicated De facto, whoſoeuer doe abſolue any, agaynſt whom the ſentence of excommunication hath bene denounced by ſtatute prouincial, or ſinodal: as it is commonly ſaid, that the friers hearing mẽs cõfeſſions are accuſtomed to do, in looſing them whom the cenſure of prelates, or their Officials haue bound. Wherof the ſayd Armachanus bringeth forth example of his own Dioces: For I (ſayd he) in mine own Dioces of Armachan, haue as good as two thouſãd vnder me, who by the cenſure of excommunication euery yere, denoũced againſt wilfull murtherers, common theues, burners of mens houſes, & ſuch like malefactors, ſtand accurſed: Of all which number notwithſtanding, ſcarcely 14. there be, which come to me or to any about me for their abſolution. And yet all they receiue the Sacramentes as other do, & all becauſe they be abſoyled, or becauſe they faine themſelues to be abſoyled by none other then by friers: who in ſo doing, are proued to be vnder the daūger of excommunication, both the friers, and alſo the pariſhners, if they knowing therof do conſent to theyr error.

Cap. Cupientes de pœnis. Clement.

The Friers proued to be excommunicated by the popes lawe.

Alſo out of the ſaid Clementines, by three other places in one chapter, he proued the friers to be excōmunicate, to wit in the chap. Cupientes, De pœnis in Clement. In ẏ which chapter: Firſt, all ſuch religious men are excommunicate, which in their Sermons preſume to withdraw their hearers from their tithes paying, due vnto churches. Secōdly, in the ſayd chapter all ſuch friers are ſuſpended from preaching, and ſo are excommunicate, which within a certayne time did not make a conciō to ſuch as come to theyr confeſſions, in paying their tythes truely and duely to the Church. Thirdly, in the foreſayd chapter alſo, all ſuch religious perſons be bound in excōmunication, which induce men by any maner of meanes, either by vow, othe, or promiſe, to chuſe theyr burials within their Churches, or not to chaūge the ſame, if they haue made any ſuch promiſe before. In all which three poyntes, he proued the friers to be culpable and excommunicate.

An other proofe, that the pariſhner may more ſafely goe to his curate, then to the Fryers.

Moreouer, for the more ſurer way for ẏ pariſhners to reſort to their appointed curates, thē to ẏ friers, he argued thus. For that the pariſh Prieſt or Curate being better acquaynted with his owne pariſhner thē is a ſtraunger, can better iudge of the nature and diſpoſitiō of his diſeaſe, and miniſter to him due Phiſick of penaunce for the ſame, and alſo wilbe more carefull in curing him.

The ſecond part of the ſecond concluſion proued.

Thus the firſt part of the ſecond concluſion or article being proued and argued, Armachanus procedeth farther to proue the ſecond part: that is better for the pariſhners to leaue the Friers, and to reſort to their owne Paſtors. Which he proued by eight or nine reaſons.

Firſt, for that the ordinary paſtor, is properly appointed of God vnto that miniſtery: wheras the Frier, is but onely permitted of man therunto.

Secondly, for that in reſorting to the ordinary of the pariſh, is a double reward of merite, wheras in comming to the Friers there is but one.

Thirdly, becauſe the ordinary is more bounde to his owne flocke, and is to be thought to be more tender and carefull ouer them, then a ſtraunger.

Fourthly, becauſe to reſort to the perſon of his owne ordinary, there is more aſſuraunce and certainty, (as is aboue declared) then to an other.

Innocent cap. Si animarū.

Fiftly, becauſe (as Innocentius, Cap. Si animarum, ſayth) the comming to the curate or paſtor ordinary, is more eaſy and light, both in the night and in neceſſity.

Sixtly, for ſo much as the pariſhner muſt needes come to his Curate at ſome time, and eſpecially beeing in neceſſity: It is expedient and profitable, that his former life before were knowne to him, rather then to the other.

Seuenthly, for that (as the ſayd Innocentius affirmeth) it ſtriketh more ſhame of his ſinne to the pariſhner to be confeſſed to his curate whom he ſeeth euery day, then to a frier vnknowne.

Eightly, becauſe it is more profitable eſpecially for thē that liue in Matrimony, that he which heareth the confeſſion of the one, ſhould heare alſo the cōfeſſion of the other. So that one hearing the confeſſion of them both as a ſpirituall Phiſition taking two cures in one body, may better know what ſpirituall coūſell is to be miniſtred to the one, after he hath cured the other. &c.

The third part of the ſecond concluſion argued.

These things thus proued before, then Armachanus conſequently proceedeth to the third part: Arguing, how the greater detrimentes and inconueniences do enſue by confeſſions, burials, and other Eccleſiaſtical functions exerciſed by the friers, then by paſtors & ſecular curats, ſeruing in pariſhes. About the which matter, the ſayd Armachanus learnedly and worthely inferreth a long diſcourſe prouing and inferring how pernicious theſe orders of friers are to the whole ſtate of the church: And what miſchief commeth by the priuiledges of certain Popes, which haue priuiledged them to intermeddle in the office & function of Eccleſiaſticall miniſters, to preach, and to take almes, and tithes of the people, and impropecrations from the church. All which his reaſōs & argumēts to proſecute in order as he hath left them in writing, it would make a matter of a large booke. Notwithſtanding, becauſe it ſhall not be vnfruitfull both for the time preſent & the poſterity, to know the manifold detrimētes and diſcommodities receiued by theſe friers, and to know what benefit God hath done for vs in vnburdening the Church of this monſtrous generation: And eſpecially becauſe the booke of Armachanus is rare otherwiſe to be found, intituled, Defenſorium Curatorum: I haue briefly therfore contracted out of the ſame, certaine of his reaſons, ſuch as ſemed moſt apperteining and moſt worthy of noting.

Defenſorium. Curatorum. Armachanus.

And firſt, alleadging the authority of Innocent the 4. He importeth foure incōueniēces riſing by the friers, which be theſe: Contempt of the people againſt their ordinaries, decreaſing of deuotion, taking away of ſhame frō the people by confeſſing to the friers, deteining of oblations, ſuch as the people are wont to geue at their confeſſiō & burials, and which by right belong to the pariſh churches.

Cap. Dudum.

Item, by the ſayd priuiledges of the Popes, graunted to the friers, many other great enormities do riſe. As firſt becauſe therby, the true ſhepheards do not know the faces of their flocke.

The harmes that come to the world by the Friers, declared.

Item, by the occaſion of theſe priuiledges, geuen to the Friers, great contention, and ſometimes blowes riſe betwene the friers and ſecular curates, about tythes, impropecrations, and other auayles.

Item, by the occaſion of the foreſayd priuiledges, diuers yoūg men as well in vniuerſities as in their fathers houſes, are allured craftely by the friers their confeſſors, to enter their orders: from thence afterward, they can not get out though they would, to the great griefe of their parentes, and no leſſe repentaunce to the young men themſelues. The example wherof, Armachanus in the ſayd hys treatiſe inferreth, of a certayne ſubſtantiall Engliſh man being with him at his Inne in Rome: who hauing a ſonne at the vniuerſity of Oxford, which was entiſed by ẏ friers to enter into their order, could by no meanes after releaſe him out. But whē his father & his mother woulde come vnto him, they could not be ſuffered to ſpeake with him, but vnder the friers cuſtody. Wheras the Scripture commaundeth plainly, that who ſo ſtealeth any man & ſelleth him (being therof conuicted) ſhalbe put to death. Exod. 21. And for the ſame cauſe, the father was compelled to come vp to Rome to ſeek remedy for his ſonne. And thus ſayth Armachanus, it may appeare what damage and detriments come, by theſe friers vnto the common people.

Example of the Friers theft in Oxford.

Friers hinderers of Vniuerſities.

And no leſſe inconuenience and daunger alſo by ẏ ſayd friers, riſeth to the Clergy: for ſo much, as lay men ſeeyng their childrē thus to be ſtollē frō thē in the vniuerſities by ẏ friers, do refuſe therfore to ſend thē to their ſtudies: Rather willing to keep them at home to their occupation, or to folow the plough, then ſo to be circumuēted and defeated of their ſonnes at the vniuerſity, as by dayly experiēce (ſayth he) doth manifeſtly appeare. For where as in my time (ſayth Armachanus) there were in the vniuerſity of Oxford 30000. ſtudentes: now are there not to be founde 6000. The occaſion of which ſo great decay, is to be aſcribed to no other cauſe, but to this circumuention onely of the friers aboue mentioned.

30. thouſand ſtudents in Oxford, in the time of Armachanus.

The Friers a great cauſe of decay of learning.

Ouer and beſides this, an other incōuenience as great or greater, the ſaid Armachanus inferred to proceed by the friers, through the decay of doctrine, and knowledge in all maner faculties and liberall ſciences, which thus he declared. For that theſe begging friers through their priuileges obteined of the Popes, to preach, to heare confeſſions, and to bury: and through theyr charters of impropecratiōs, did grow therby to ſuch great riches and poſſeſſions by theyr begging, crauing, catching and intermedling with church matters, that no booke could ſtirre of any ſcience, either of Diuinity, law, or Phiſicke, but they were both able and ready to buy it vp. So that euery couent hauing a great library full ſtuffed and furniſhed with all ſortes of bookes, and being ſo many couents within the realme, & in euery couent ſo many friers increaſing dayly more and more: by reaſon therof, it came to paſſe, that very few books or none at all remayne for other ſtudents. Which by his owne experiēce he thus teſtifieth, ſaying: that he himſelfe ſent forth to the vniuerſity foure of his owne Prieſts or chaplaynes, who ſending him word agayne ẏ they could neither finde the Bible, nor any other good profitable booke of diuinitye meete for theyr ſtudye, therefore were minded to returne home to their country: and one of them, he was ſure, was returned by this time agayne.

Bookes not to be gotten for the Friers.

Example what lacke of bookes commeth by the Friers.

The Friers giltie in 3. faultes.
1. Diſobedience.
2. Auarice.
3. Pride.

Furthermore, as he hath proued hetherto, the Friers to be hurtful both to the laity, and to the clergy: ſo proceeding farther, he proueth them to be hurtfull alſo to themſelues. And that in 3. poynts, as incurring the vice of diſobedience agaynſt God, againſt their owne rule: The vice of auarice: and the vice of pride. The probatiō of all which poyntes, he proſecuted in a long diſcourſe.

Armachanus chargeth the Friers with diſobedience.

Firſt (ſayth he) they are diſobedient to the law of God: Thou ſhalt not couet thy neighbors houſe, Oxe nor Aſſe, nor any thing that is his: In that they procure the Popes letters to preach in Churches, and to take burials from churches, with licence annexed withal to receiue the auailes which riſe of the ſame, which properly belōgeth to the right of pariſh prieſtes.

Friers diſobedient to the rule of Scripture.

Item, they are diſobedient to this rule of the Goſpell: So do to other, as thou would haue done to thee.

Itē, they be diſobediēt agaynſt theyr owne rule, which being foūded vpon ſtraight pouerty and beggery, this licence obteined for thē to require neceſſary for theyr labors of the people, is repugning agaynſt the ſame foundation.

Item, they be diſobedient to the rule of the Scripture, which ſayth: let no man take honor vnto him, except he be called, as Aarō, Alſo ſaith S. Paul, how ſhall they preach, vnleſſe they be ſēt. And how obſerue they this rule of obedience, who profeſſing to keepe the perfection of the Goſpell, yet contrary to the Goſpell, procure to thēſelues priuiledges to runne before they be ſent?

Itē, to theyr own rule they are diſobediēt: For where theyr chapter ſayth, that if any wil take vpō them this order, & will come to our brethren: let our brethren firſt ſend them to the prouincials to be examined of the Catholicke fayth and Sacraments of the Church. &c. Cōtrary whereunto the friers haue procured a priuiledge, that not onely the prouincials, but other inferiors alſo may take vnto them indifferently, whom they can catch: ſo farre without al examination, that almoſt at this day there is no notable houſe of friers, wherin is not either a whole, or halfe a couent of lads & boyes vnder 10. yere old, being circūuented, which neither can ſkill of the Creed nor Sacraments.

Friers diſobedient to their own profeſsiō.

Agayne, the rule of Fraunciſe ſayth: that his brethren Obſeruaunts muſt obſerue not to preach in the Dioces of any biſhop, without the conſent of the Biſhop: And moreouer the ſayd Frauncife in his teſtament ſayth: that if he had as much wiſedome as Salomon, and found poore ſecular prieſts in the pariſhes where the dwel: yet he would not preſume to preach without theyr will, and alſo would feare, loue, & honor them, & all other as his maiſters, & ſo they be Hæc ille. Againſt which rule, how the friers do diſobey, how litle they reuerence Biſhops or ſecular prieſts: what priuileges, exemptions, & immunities they procure agaynſt them, the world may ſee and iudge.

Itē, when none may be admitted to preach, or to heare confeſſions, vnles they be entred into orders: and ſeing by the cōmō law of the Church, none muſt be admitted into holy orders, except he haue ſufficient title of liuing and clothing: The friers therefore hauing no ſuch title (being wilfull beggers) do diſobey in both reſpects, that is, both in entring into ſuch orders without conuenient title, and in exerciſing the office of preaching without ſuch lawfull orders.

Moreouer the foreſayd Frauncife in his teſtament cōmaundeth thus: I commaund (ſayth he) firmely by vertue of obedience, to all and ſingular my brethren whereſoeuer they be: that none of them preſume to obtayne in the court of Rome any letter or writing, either by himſelfe or by any other meanes, neither for the Church nor for any other place nor vnder any coulour of preaching, nor yet for the perſecuting of their owne bodyes &c. Againſt which teſtamen of Franciſe, the Franciſcanes in procuring theyr priuiledges from the Biſhop of Rome, haue incurred manifeſt diſobediēce, as all the world may ſee. Neither will this obiectiō ſerue them, becauſe the Pope hath diſpenſed with Franciſe rule. For if the teſtament of Franciſe as he ſayth came from GOD, (and ſo ſhould God haue three teſtaments) how then can the Pope repeale his precept, or diſpenſe with his rule, when by the rule of the law. Par in parem non habet imperium?

Armachanus chargeth the Friers with auarice.

Secondly, concerning the vice of auarice, manifeſtly it may be proued vpon them (ſayth Armachanus) for els, ſeing ſo many charges belong to the office of a ſecular pariſh prieſt, as to miniſter the Sacrament at Eaſter, to viſit the ſicke with extreme vnction to baptiſe childrē, to wed, with ſuch other wherein ſtandeth as great deuotion: how then happeneth that theſe friers making no labor for theſe, onely procure to thēſelues priuiledges to preach in churches, to heare confeſſions, and to receiue licence to bury frō pariſh churches but becauſe there is lucre and gayne in theſe to be looked for, in the other is none?

An other proofe

Which alſo may appere by this: for otherwiſe if it were for mere deuotion onely, that they procure licence to bury from pariſh churches, and to preach: why then haue they procured with all, licence to take offerings? oblations and legacies for theyr funerals. And for theyr preaching, why haue they annexed alſo licence to require and take of the people neceſſaryes for theyr labor, but onely auarice is the cauſe thereof.

An other proofe.

Likewiſe for hearing of confeſſiōs: whē all good men haue enough to know theyr owne faults, and nothing liſt to heare the faultes of other: It is probably to be ſuppoſed by this theyr priuilege of hearing all mens confeſſiōs, that they would neuer haue bene ſo deſirous of procuring that priuilege, were it not that theſe friers did fele ſome ſweetnes and gayne to hang vpon the ſame.

An other proofe.

Item, where the rule of frier Franciſe forbiddeth them to company with any womē, to enter into Monaſteries, to be Godfathers and Goſſips to men and women: how commeth it, that they contrary to theyr rule, enter into the ſecret chambers of Queenes and other women: and made to know the moſt ſecret counſels of theyr doings, but that auarice and commodity haue ſo blinded their eyes, & ſtyrred theyr hartes.

Armachanus chargeth the friers with pride.

Thirdly, that the friers fall into the vice of pride & ambition, the ſayd Armachanus proued thus.

To ſeek or to procure any high place in the Church, is a poynt of pride & ambition. Chriſoſt. in opere perfecto: Nūquam ſine ambitione deſideratur primatus in Eccleſia.

The friers ſeek and procure a high place in the church. Ergo. the friers be proud and ambitious.

The Minor he proueth: To haue the ſtate of preaching and hearing confeſſions, is in the church a ſtate of honor.

The friers ſeeke and haue procured the ſtate of preaching and hearing confeſſions.

Ergo, The friers ſeeke and procure an high place in the Church. &c.

The 3. concluſion or article.

His third concluſion was, that the Lord Chriſt in his humane conuerſation was alwayes poore, not for that he loued or deſired pouerty for it ſelf. &c, Wherin this is to be noted, that Armachanus differed not frō the friers in this that Chriſt was poore, and that he loued pouerty: but here in ſtood the difference, in maner of louing, that is whether he loued pouerty for it ſelf, or not. Wherin the foreſayd Armachanus vſed foure probations.

Firſt, forſomuch as to be poore, is nothing els but to be miſerable: and ſeing no man coueteth to be in miſery for it ſelf: Therfore he concluded, that Chriſt deſired not pouerty for it ſelfe.

Ariſt. Ethic. lib. 1.

His ſecond reaſon was deriued out of Ariſtotle. Nothing (ſayth he) is to de loued for it ſelfe, but that frō which (all commodities being ſecluded which folow therupō) is voluntarily ſought and deſired. But take from pouerty al reſpect of cōmodities folowing ẏ ſame, it would be ſought neither of God nor mā. Ergo, he cōcluded, Chriſt loued not pouerty for it ſelfe.

Thirdly agayne: No effect of ſinne, ſaid he, is to be loued for it ſelfe. But pouerty is the effect of ſinne. Ergo, pouerty was not loued of Chriſt for it ſelfe.

Fourth, Item, no priuation of the thing that is good, is to be loued for it ſelfe. Pouerty is the priuation of the thing that is good, that is of riches (for God hymſelfe is principally rich:) Ergo, pouerty for it ſelfe was not loued of Chriſt.

The 4. concluſion of Armachanus againſt the Friers.

The fourth concluſion was, that Chriſt our Lord and Sauior did neuer begge wilfully. Which he proued by ſondry reaſons.

1. Firſt, for that Chriſt in ſo doing ſhould breake the law, which ſayth: Thou ſhalt not couet thy neighbors houſe, his wife, his ſeruāt, his maid, his oxe, his aſſe, or any thing that is his, Exod. 20. In the daunger of which cōmaundement, he that beggeth voluntaryly muſt needes incurre.

2. Item, if Chriſt had begged voluntaryly he ſhould haue committed agaynſt an other cōmaundement, which ſayth. There ſhalbe no begger, nor needy perſon among you &c. Deut. 6.

3. Item, Chriſt in ſo doing ſhould haue tranſgreſſed the Emperours law, vnder which he would himſelfe be ſubiect (as appeareth by geuing, & bidding tribute to be geuē to Ceſar) foraſmuch as the ſame Emperours law ſayth. There ſhall no valiant begger be ſuffered in the City.

4. Item, if Chriſt had bene a wilfull begger, he had broke the law of louing his neighbor: whō he had vexed, hauing no need. For who ſo without need aſketh or craueth of his neighbor, doth but vexe him, in ſuch ſort as he would not be vexed himſelfe. Which Chriſt would neuer do.

5. Item. if Chriſt had begged wilfully, he had moued ſlaūder therby to hys owne Goſpell, which he with miracles did confirme. For then they that ſaw his miracle in feeding 5000. in wildernes, would haue thought much with them ſelues how that miracle had bene wrought, if he in feeding other, either could not, or would not feed himſelfe.

6. Item, if Chriſt had begged wilfully, then he had done that which himſelfe condemneth by Paule: for ſo we read. 1. Timo. 6. That Paule condemneth them, which eſteme piety to be gayne and lucre. Which all they do that vnder the coulour of piety, hunt or ſeeke for gayne, when otherwiſe they need not.

7. Item, if Chriſt had begged wilfully, he has offended in declaring an vntruth, in ſo doing. For he that knoweth in his mind, that he needeth not in deed that thing whych in word he aſketh of other: Declareth in himſelfe an vntruth as who in word pretendeth to be otherwiſe then he is in very deede, which Chriſt without doubt neuer did nor would euer do.

8. Item, if Chriſt had begged wilfully, that is, hauing no true need thereunto: then had he appeared either to be an hypocrite, ſeeming to be that he was not, and to lacke whē he did not: or els to be a true begger in very deed, not able to ſuffice his neceſſity. For he is a true begger in deed, which being conſtrayned by mere neceſſity, is forced to aſke of other that which he is not able to geue to himſelf. But neither of theſe two agreeth in Chriſt.

Ex Vita S. Clementis.

9. Item, if Chriſt had begged wilfully, then why did Peter rebuke the mother of S. Clement his diſciple, finding her to ſtād amōg the beggers, whō he thought to be ſtrōg inough to labor with her handes for her liuing: If ſhe in ſo doing had folowed the example of Chriſt?

Clements example contrarie to the Friers.

10. Item, if Chriſt had begged wilfully: And if the Friers do rightly define perfectiō of the Goſpell by wilful pouerty: thē was Clement S. Peters ſucceſſor to blame, which labored ſo much to remoue away beggery and pouerty frō among al them, that were conuerted to the faith of Chriſt: and is ſpecially for the ſame commended of the Church?

13. quaeſt. cap. 1.

11. Agayne, why did the ſayd Clement, writing to Iames Byſhop of Ieruſalem, commaund ſo much to obey the doctrine and examples of the apoſtles: who as he ſheweth in that Epiſtle, had no begger nor needy perſon amōgſt thē, If Chriſtian perfection (by the friers Philoſophy) ſtādeth in wilfull beggery?

12. Item, if Chriſt the high prieſt had begged wilfully, thē did holy Church erre wittingly, which ordeined that none without ſufficient title of liuing & clothing, ſhould be admitted to holy orders. And moreouer, when it is ſeyd in ỹ canonicall decrees, that the biſhop or clerke that beggeth, bringeth ſhame vpon the whole order of the clergy.

13. Item: if Chriſt had wilfully begged, then the example of wilful pouerty had perteyned to the perfection of Chriſtian life, which is contrary to the old law: which commaūdeth the Prieſtes (which liued then after the perfection of the law) to haue poſſeſſions and tithes, to keep them from beggery.

14. Item, if Chriſt did wilfully begge, then beggery were a poynt of chriſtian perfection. And ſo the Church of God ſhould erre, in admitting ſuch patrimonies and donatiōs geuen to the Church, and ſo in taking from the Prelates their perfection.

15. Agayne, what will theſe friers which put their perfection in begging, ſay to Melchiſedech: who without begging or wilfull pouerty, was the high Prieſt of God, and King of Salem, and prefigured the order and Prieſthoode of Chriſt?

16. And if beggery be ſuch a perfection of the Goſpell (as the friers ſay) how cōmeth it, that the holy Ghoſt geuen to the Apoſtles, which ſhould lead them into all trueth: tolde them no word of this beggerly perfection, neither is there any word mentioned therof through the whole Teſtamēt of God.

17. Moreouer, where the Prophet ſayth, I neuer did ſee the iuſt man forſaken, nor his ſeed go begging their bread: How ſtandeth this with the iuſtice of Chriſt, which was moſt perfectly iuſt, if he ſhould be forſaken, or his ſeede goe begge their bread? And thē how agreeth this with the abhominable doctrine of friers Franciſcan, which put theyr perfection in wilfull begging?

18. Finally, doe wee not read that Chriſt ſent his diſciples to preach without ſcripp or wallet, and bid them ſalute no man by the way? Meaning that they ſhould begge nothing of no man? Did not the ſame Chriſt alſo labor with his handes, vnder Ioſeph? S. Paule likewiſe did he not labour with his handes, rather then he would burden the Church of the Corinthians? And where now is the doctrine of the friers, which putteth ſtate of perfectiō in wilfull begging.

The 5. concluſion of Armachanus againſt the Friers.

The fift concluſion of Armachanus agaynſt the friers was this: that Chriſt neuer taught any man wilfully to begge, which he proued thus. It is written Actes. 1. Chriſt began to do and to teach. If Chriſt therfore, which did neuer wilfully beg himſelfe, as hath bene proued, had taught men otherwiſe to do, then his doing and teaching had not agreed together.

Item, if Chriſt which neuer begged himſelfe wilfully, had taught men this doctrine of wilfull begging contrary to his owne doing: he had geuen ſuſpition of his doctrine, and miniſtred ſlaunder of the ſame; as hath bene proued in the fourth concluſion before.

Moreouer in ſo teaching, he had taught cōtrary to the Emperors iuſt law, which expreſly forbiddeth the ſame.

The 6. concluſion of Armachanus againſt the Friers.

The ſixt concluſion of Armachanus agaynſt the Friers was, that our Lord Ieſus Chriſt teacheth vs, that we ſhould not beg wilfully, which he proueth by ſeuē or eight reaſons.

Firſt where it is written Luke. 14. When thou makeſt a feaſt call the poore, weake, lame, and blind: and thou ſhalt be bleſſed, for they haue not wherewith to reward thee agayne.

To this alſo perteineth ỹ decree of ỹ apoſtle. 2. Theſ. 3. He that will not worke let him not eat. Furthermore, the ſame Apoſtle addeth in the ſame place: For you haue vs for exāple how we were burdenous to no mā, neither did we eat our bread freely: but with labor and wearines, toiling both day and night, and all becauſe we would not burthē you. &c.

4. Item, where we read in the ſcripture, the ſlouthful mā reprehended, Pro. 6. Why ſlepeſt thou O ſluggard, thy pouerty and beggery is comming vpon thee like an armed man. &c. And agayne in the ſame booke of Prouerbs. The ſlouthfull man (ſayth the ſcripture) for colde would not go to the plough, therfore he ſhal beg in ſommer, and no man ſhall geue him. &c. Alſo in the ſayd booke of Prouerb. laſt chapter. The diligent labouring woman is commended, whoſe fingers are exerciſed about the rocke & ſpindle. And all theſe places make agaynſt the wilfull begging of ſturdy Friers.

The rule of Frier Fraunces.

5. Item, Frier Frances their owne founder in his owne teſtament ſayth: And I haue laboured with mine owne hands, and will labor, and will that all my frierlings ſhall labor and liue of theyr labor, wherby they may ſupport thē ſelues in an honeſt meane. And they that cannot worke, let them learne to worke, not for any couetouſneſſe to receiue for theyr labor, but for example of good workes, and to auoyd idleneſſe. And when the price of theyr labor is not geuen them, let them reſort to the Lords table, & aſke their almes from dore to dore. &c. Thus much in his Teſtamēt. And in his rule he ſayth: Such brethren to whom ỹ Lord hath geuen the gift to labor, let them labour faithfully and deuoutly. &c. Wherfore it is to be maruelled, how thoſe friers with their wilfull begging, dare tranſgreſſe the rule & obedience of Frier Frauncis their great graundfathers teſtament.

6. Item, if Chriſt at any time did beg or did lacke, it was more becauſe he would vſe a miracle in his own perſō, thē becauſe he would beg wilfully; as when he ſent Peter to ỹ ſea to finde a groat in the fiſhes mouth. Which thing yet he thought rather to do, thē to beg the groat of the people, which he might ſoone haue obteined.

7. Item, by diuers other his examples he ſemeth to teach the ſame as where he ſayth: The workmā is worthy of his hier. Alſo the workeman is worthy of his meate. Math. 10. Luke 10. And whē he ſpake to Zache, that he would turne into his houſe. And ſo likewiſe in Bethany and all other places he euer vſed rather to burden his frends thē to beg of other, vnacquaynted.

8. Item, with playn precept thus he ſendeth forth his diſciples, willing them not to go from houſe to houſe, Luke. 10. ſo as Friers vſe now to goe. Many other Scriptures there be, which reproue begging: as where it is ſayd. The foot of a foole is ſwift to the houſe of his neighbor, Eccl. 29. And in an other place: My childe (ſayth he) ſee thou want not is the time of thy life, for better it is to die then to lack. Eccl. 21.

9. Itē, where Chriſt counſelling the young man, bad him go and ſel that he had and geue to the poore and folow him if he would be perfect: doth not there cal him to wilful begging, but calleth him to folow him, which did not beg wilfully.

The ſeuenth cōcluſion of Armachanus againſt the Fryers.

The ſeuenth concluſion of Armachanus is: that no wiſe nor true holy man can take vpon him wilfull pouerty to be obſerued alwayes, which he proueth by foure reaſons.

Firſt, that wilfull beggery was reproued both by the doctrine of Chriſt and of the Apoſtles, as in the concluſion before hath bene declared.

2. Item, a man in taking vpon hym wilfull beggery, in ſo doing ſhould lead himſelfe into temptation, which were agaynſt the Lordes prayer. For as muche as Salomon

Wilful beggery not to be promiſed.

Prouerb.30.ſaith: O Lord, beggery and great riches geue me not, but onely ſufficiency to liue vpon: leaſt if I haue to much, I be driuen to deny thee, & ſay: who is the Lord. Agayne, if I haue to litle, I be forced thereby to ſteale, and to periure the name of my God. wherfore ſayth Eccle.27. For need many haue offēded. And therfore they that chuſe wilfull pouerty, take to them great occaſion of temptatiō.
3. Item, they that take wilfull pouerty vpon them when they need not induce themſelues voluntaryly to break the commaundemēt of God: Thou ſhalt not couet thy neighbours houſe.ac. Agayne, where it is commaunded, there ſhalbe no begger among you. &c.
4. Item, he that taketh vpon him needles and wilfully to beg, maketh himſelfe vnapt to receiue holy orders, hauing (as is ſayd) no ſufficient title thereunto, according to the lawes of the Church.

The 8. concluſion of Armachanus againſt the Friers.

The 8. concluſiō of this matter: That it is not agreeing to the rule of the Friers obſeruant, to obſerue wilfull beggery. which (ſaith he) may be proued, for that Frier Frances, both in his rule and in his Teſtamēt, being left to his Franciſcans, doth plainly preferre labor before begging.

The 9. concluſion of Armachanus.

Touching this booke of the maiſters of Paris condemned, looke pag.404.

The 9. and laſt concluſion of this matter is. That the bull of pope Alexander the 4. which condemneth the booke of the maiſters of Paris, impugneth none of theſe concluſions premiſed. For the profe therof, he thus inferred.

Ex Clement.

Quia quorundā

Pope Nicolas the 3. reuoketh the Bul of pope Alexander the fourth.

1. Firſt, that Pope Iohn the 24. in his conſtitutiō, beginning thus: Quia quorundam, affirmeth expreſly, how Pope Nicholas the 3. reuoked and called backe the ſayd Bull of Pope Alexander the 4. and all other writings of his: touching all ſuch articles, which in the ſame foreſayd conſtitution of this Pope Iohn be cōteined and declared. wherin alſo is declared, how ſtrayt the pouerty of the friers ought to be, which they call wilfull pouerty.
2. Item, it is manifeſt and notorious to all men, how the ſayd Pope Nicholas the 3. in his declaratiō ſheweth, how the friers both ought to labor with their handes and how moreouer the ſayd Friers ought not to preach within the dioces of any biſhop, whereſoeuer they be reſiſted. which being ſo, the concluſion appereth, that the bull of Pope Alexander the 4. as touching theſe articles, is voyde and of none effect. Beſide the which articles, there is nothing els in the ſayd Bull of Alexander (that I remember) which impugneth any of theſe concluſions premiſed.

The ende and concluſion of this Oration of Armachanus before the pope. *Ex defenſorio curatorum.*

Many things mo (ſayd he) I had beſide theſe, both to obiect and to annſwere again to the ſame: and to confirme more ſurely and firmely theſe my reaſons and aſſertions premiſed. But I haue already to much weried your holyneſſe, and your reuerend Lordſhips here preſent. wherefore I conclude and humbly and deuoutly beſeech you, according to my former petition premiſed in the beginning of this matter: that you iudge not after the outward face, but iudge ye true iudgement. Iohn.7. Ex libro Armachani, cui titulus Defenſorium Curatorum.

⁂ Notes to be obſerued in this former Oration of Armachanus.

Notes to be obſerued.

BY this Oratiō of Armachanus the learned Prelate, thus made before Pope Innocent and his Cardinals, diuers and ſundrye thinges there be for the vtility of the Church worthy to be obſerued. Firſt what troubles and vexations came to the Church of Chriſt by theſe Friers. Alſo what perſecution foloweth after by the meanes of them, agaynſt ſo many learned mē & true ſeruants of Chriſt. Furthermore, what repugnance and contrariety was among the Popes, & how they could not agree among themſelues about the Friers. Fourthly what peſtiferous doctrine, ſubuerting welneare the teſtament of Ieſus Chriſt. Fiftly what decay of miniſters in Chriſtes church, as appereth pag.411. Sixtly, what robbing and circumuenting of mens children, as appeareth, pag.411. Seuenthly, what decay of vniuerſities, as appeareth by Oxforde, pag.411. Eightly, what damage to learning, and lacke of books to ſtudents came by theſe friers, as appeareth pag.411. Ninthly, to what pride vnder coulour of feined humility to what riches, vnder diſsimuled pouerty they grew vnto, here is to be ſeene. In ſo much that at length through theyr ſubtle & moſt daungerous hipocriſy they crept vp to be Lordes, Archbiſhops, Cardinals & at laſt alſo, Chauncelors of realmes, yea and of moſt ſecret counſell with king and queenes, as appeareth pag.411.

Contrarietie among the popes

Whether the Fryers make vp the bodie of Antechriſt or not.

All theſe things wel cōſidered, now remaineth in the church to be marked: that forſomuch as theſe Friers (with theyr new foūd teſtament of Frier Fraunces) not beeing contented with the teſtamēt of God in his ſonne Chriſt, began to ſpring the ſame time, when as Satan was propheſied to be let looſe, by the order of the Scripture, whether therfore it is to be doubted, that theſe Friers make vp the body of Antechriſt, which is propheſied to come in the Church, or not: ſo much more to be doubted, becauſe who ſo liſt to trie ſhall finde, that of all other enemies of Chriſt, of whom ſome be manifeſt, ſome be priuy, all be together cruel: yet is there no ſuch ſort of enemies which more ſleightly deceiueth the ſimple chriſtian, or more deepely drowneth him in damnation, then doth this doctrine of the Friers.

The death of godly Armachanus. The teſtimony of a Cardinall vpon Armachanus.

But of this Oration of Armachanus enough, which Oration what ſucceſſe it had with the Pope, by ſtory it is not certain. By his own life declared, it appereth, that the Lord ſo wrought, that his enemies did not triumph ouer him. Notwithſtāding, this by ſtory appereth, that he was 7. or 8. yeares in baniſhment for the ſame matter, & there died in the ſame at Auiniō, Of whom a certayne Cardinal hearing of his death openly proteſted, that the ſame day, a mighty piller of Chriſtes church was fallen.

Ex Chron. reg. Rich. 2.

After the death of Armachanus, the Friers had contention likewiſe with the monkes of Benedictes order about the ſame yeare, 1360. and ſo remoued theyr cauſe both againſt the monkes and agaynſt the vniuerſity of Oxford, vnto the court of Rome, wherin ſeyth the author, they lacked an other Richard. Ex Botonero. By this appeareth to be true, which is teſtified in the firſt tome of Wald. that lōg debate continued betwene the friers and the vniuerſity of Oxford: Againſt whom firſt ſtood Robert Groſted biſhop of Lincolne aboue mentioned: Then Seualius of Yorke. Afterward Ioannes Bachothorpe, and now this Armachanus, of whom here preſently we entreate. And after hym agayne Iohn wickliffe, of whom (Chriſt willing) we will ſpeake hereafter. Ex Waldeno. Againſt this foreſayd Armachanus wrote diuers Friers, Roger Conaway a Franciſcan, Iohn Heyldeshā Carmelite, Galfridus Hardby frier Auguſtine. Alſo frier Engelbert a Dominican, in a booke intituled, Defenſorium priuilegiorum, and diuers other. I credibly heare of certayne olde Iriſh Bibles tranſlated long ſince into the Iriſh toung, which if it be true, it is not other like but to be the doing of this Armachanus. And thus much of this learned prelate and Archbiſhop of Ireland, a man worthy for his chriſtian zeale of immortall cōmendation.

Fryers againſt the vniuerſitie of Oxforde. Engliſhe writers againſt the Friers. Friers that write againſt Armachanus.

Teſtified by certayne Engliſhmen which are yet aliue & haue ſeene it.

Pope Vrbane.5. { Anno. 1360. }

After the death of this Innocent, next was poped in ẏ ſea of Rome, pope Vrbane the fift, who by the fathers ſide was an engliſhman. This Vrbane had bene a long wayter in the court of Rome: and when he ſaw no promotion would light vpon him, complayning to a certayn frend of his, made to him his mone, ſaying: That he thought veryly, if all the Churches of the world ſhould fall, yet none would fall in his mouth. The which frend after ſeing him to be Pope, and inthroniſed in his threefold crowne, commeth to him, & putting him in remembrance of his words to him before, ſayth: that where his holyneſſe had moned his fortune to him, that if all the Churches in the world would fall, none would fall vpō his head: Now (ſayth he) god hath otherwiſe ſo diſpoſed, that all the churches in the world are fallen vpon your head. &c.

Vrbane cōplaineth that no promotiō wold fall vpon him. An anſwere againe to Vrbane being made Pope.

Ex Sabel. Enead 9. lib.8.

This Pope mayntayned and kindled great wars in Italy, ſending Egidius his Cardinall and Legate, and after him Arduinus a Burgundian his legate and Abbot with great puiſſaunce and much mony agaynſt ſundry cities in Italy: By whoſe meanes, the townes and Cittyes which before had broken frō the biſhop of Rome were oppreſſed: alſo Bernabes & Galeaceus princes of Millam, vanquiſhed. By whoſe example other being ſore feared, ſubmitted themſelues to the Church of Rome. And thus came vp that wicked church to her great poſſeſſiōs, which her patrons would needes father vpon Conſtantine the godly Emperor.

Howe the church of Rome came by their roiall poſſeſſions.

Nicholaus Orem.

In the time of this Pope Vrbane the 5. and in the ſecond yeare of his raign, about the beginning of the yere of our Lord.1364. I finde a certayne Sermon of one Nicolas Orem, made before the Pope and his Cardinalles on Chriſtmas euen. In the which Sermon, the learned man doth worthely rebuke the prelates and prieſts of his time, declaring their deſtruction not to be farre of, by certayne ſignes taken of their wicked and corrupt life. All the ſayings of the Prophets ſpoken agaynſt the wicked prieſtes of the Iewes, he doth aptly apply againſt the clergy of his time, comparing the Church then preſent to the ſpirituall ſtrumpet ſpoken of in the 16. of the Prophet Ezechiel. And proueth in concluſion the clergy of the church then, to be ſo much worſe then the old Synagoge of the Iewes, by how much it is worſe to ſell ẏ church & Sacraments, thē to ſuffer doues to be ſolde in the church. with no leſſe iugement alſo and learning he anſwereth to the old and falſe obiection of the papiſts: who albeit they be neuer ſo wicked, yet thinke themſelues to be the church which the Lord cannot forſake. All which thinges to ẏ entent they may the better appeare in his owne words, I haue thought here to tranſtate and exhibite the Sermon as it was ſpoken before the Pope.

¶ A copy of a Sermon made before Pope Vrbane.5.the fourth ſonday in Aduent 1364. by Nicholas Orem.

A Sermon made before the Pope.

Eſay.56.

The worlde deuided into two ſorts of men before the incarnation of Chriſt.

IVxta eſt ſalus mea, vt veniat,& iuſtitia.&c. That is: My ſauing health is neare at hand to come, and my righteouſnes to be reuealed.&c.Eſay.56. After the ſentence of S. Paule Rom. 2. and in diuers other places, before the Natiuity of Chriſt: the whole world was deuided into two ſorts of men, the Iewes and Gentils. The Iewes who wayted for the opening of the dore of Paradiſe, by the bloud of the Sauior to come. The Gentiles who yet ſitting in darckeneſſe were to be called to light, and to be iuſtified by fayth, as is written.Rom.5.

This ſaluation perteining both to the Iew and Gentile. God promiſed before time to the Fathers by the Prophets, to ſtirre vp the deſire thereof in their hartes the more: and to encreaſe theyr firme hope and fayth in the ſame. As firſt in Mich.6. the voyce of the Lord cryeth: Health and ſaluation ſhall be to all men which feare my name. And Eſay.46. I will geue in Sion ſaluation, and in Ieruſalem my glory.&c. with diuers ſuch other places like. And forſomuch as hope in many times which is deferred, doth afflict the ſoule, and conceiueth wearineſſe of long deferring: He therefore propheſying of the neareneſſe of the commyng thereof ſayeth moreouer.Eſay.14. his time is neare at hande to come. Alſo Abacuc.2.He will come and will not tary, with many ſuch other places moe. So then the holy Fathers being in Limbo, looked & hoped that he ſhould bring out them that ſate bound, and which in the houſe of priſon ſat in darckeneſſe, as is read Eſay.41. Then the time drew on in which came the fulneſſe of the Gentiles, and in which the Lord would declare the riches of this miſtery being hidden from the world, and from generations.Col.1. Wherefore the Lord in this text doth both certifye our fathers of the comming of our Sauior, and doth comfort them touching the neareneſſe thereof, and alſo teacheth the iuſtification of the Gentils by fayth approching now neare at hand, according to the words of my text, Iuxta eſt ſalus mea.&c. Which words were fulfilled thẽ, what time the Lord did manifeſt his ſaluation, and did reueale his righteouſnes in the ſight of all the Gentiles. And is deuided in 3. partes. Of which the firſt ſpeaketh of the neareneſſe of his comming, where is ſayd, Iuxta eſt ſalus.&c. The ſecond concerneth the miſtery of the Aduent of Chriſt and his incarnation, where he ſayth: Vt veniat.&c. Thirdly is conſidered the ſeuerity of God, his terrible reuenging iudgement to be reuealed, where he ſayth: Vt reueletur.&c. which is to be expounded of his primitiue iuſtice: whereof ſpeaketh Amos the 5. ſaying: And iudgement ſhall be reuealed like a floud, and righteouſneſſe like a ſtrong ſtream. Wherfore for our contẽplation let vs receiue with ioy the ſolemnities of his holy vigile, the word I ſay of God the father, that is, Chriſt. To whom it is ſayd Eſay.49. I haue geuen thee to be a light to the Gentiles, and to be my ſaluation, through the ends of the world. Agayne Eſay.46. My ſaluation ſhall not ſlacke.&c

Diuiſion.

1 Iuxta eſt.

2 Vt veniat.

3 Vt reueletur.

Amos.5.

As touching the neerenes thereof, it is in theſe dayes opened to vs by the goſpell, where we read in S.Math. When the virgine Mary was diſpouſed vnto Ioſeph, before they did come together: ſhe was found with childe by the holy Ghoſt. By this it was euident to vnderſtand, that our ſauior ought ſhortly to proceed out of the chaſte wombe of the virgin, according as the Prophet dyd foretell, ſaying: Behold a virgine ſhall conceiue and bring forth a ſonne.&c. For like as the grape when it waxeth great and full, is neare to the making of wine, and the floure when it ſhooteth abroad, it haſteth to the fruit: So the ſaluation of the world in the ſwelling and growing of the virgins wombe, began to draw nigh to mankinde. For then appeared the grace and bengnity of our Sauior, when his mother was foũd to haue in her wombe by the holy Ghoſt as is declared in that as followeth by the Angell ſaying: for that which is borne of her, is of the holy Ghoſt.

The ſecond part of his theame.

Touching the 2.part of that which is ſayd, vt veniat: this may be applyed to the contemplation of the miſtery of Chriſtes comming in the fleſh. Wherof ſpeaketh Aggeus the Prophet 2. He ſhal come, who is deſired and looked for of all nations.&c. Albeit the ſame alſo may be applied to the ſecond Aduent, ſpoken of the 3. of Eſay. The Lord ſhall come to iudgemẽt &c. In memoriall wherof, the 4.ſonday was dedicate, in the olde time of the fathers. And of this day of iudgement is writtẽ in the Prophet Sophon.cap.1. The day of the Lord is neare: great & mighty it is approching at hande & wondrous ſhoort. &c. And albeit not in it ſelfe, yet it may be expoũded in tribulatiõs that go before, as preambles vnto the ſame: as Greg. ſaith: The laſt tribulation is preuẽted with many & ſundry tribulations going before, although the end of al be not yet.

Aggeus.2.

The third part of his ſermon.

Wherfore now cõming to the 3. part of my ſermõ or theam, let vs ſee of thoſe tribulations that go before the laſt comming of Chriſt, if there be any ſuch tribulation approching nigh at hand, wherof this laſt part of my theame may be verified, where is ſaid: vt reueletur, that my righteouſnes ſhalbe reuealed to wit the righteouſnes primitiue, that righteouſneſſe may be brought, and the Propheſy of Daniel fulfilled Dan.9. Concerning which matter, 4. thinges here come in order to be declared.

First concerning the reuealing of tribulation, according to that part of my theame. Vt reueletur.&c.

1. Vt reueletur.

Secondly, concerning the nearenes of the tribulatiõ cõming according to the part of my theame. Quia iuxta eſt.&c.

2. Vt iuxta eſt.

Thirdly, of the falſe opinions of ſome, vpon this part of my theame. Vt veniat &c.

3. Vt veniat.

Fourthly, what meanes and conſultation we ought to take. Vt iuxta eſt ſalus.

4. Salus.

As for the firſt, it is ſo notorious and ſo commõ in the ſcriptures that the church ſhould ſuffer and abide tribulation, that I need not here to ſtand in alleadging any thing touching either the cauſes to be weid, or the terme to be coniectured thereof. As concerning the which cauſes, I will geue 2.rules to be noted before, for the better opening of that to follow. The firſt rule is, that by the 2.kingdomes of the nation of Hebrues, which were in the olde time, to wit, by the kingdome of Iſrael, whoſe head was Samaria, is ſignified in the prophets the erronious ſinagoge: And by the ſecond kingdome of Iuda, of whoſe ſtock came Chriſt, whoſe head metropolitane was Ieruſalem, is ſignified the true Church. And this rule is not mine, but is an authentike gloſe of S.Ierome, and alſo is the rule of Origene in the laſt Homely vpon the olde teſtament, and is approued by the church.

The firſt part of the ſubdiuiſion.

Two rules to be noted.

The kingdome of Iſrael ſignifying the falſe Church.

The kingdome of Iuda ſignifieth the right church.

The 2.rule.

The ſecond rule is, that by the brodell houſe and fornication mentioned in the Prophets: is ſignified ſimony, and abuſed diſpẽſations, and promotions of perſons vnworthy, for lukers ſake, or els for any other partiall fauour, whiche by vnlawfull wayes, by al lawes of the world to come to office and honor. Merx dicitur namque a merendo, that is, for gaine or price is deriued of gaining: For the which gayne or price, that is ſolde which by nature ought not to be ſolde. Therefore, to geue any thing for reſpect of gayne or hier, which ought to bee geuen freely for vertues ſake, is a kinde of ſpirituall corruption & as a man would ſay, an whoriſh thing, wherof the prophet Eſay, complayneth ſpeaking of Ieruſalem, and ſaying: The Citty which once was faythfull and full of iudgement, how is it now become an whoriſh city? And in like maner Oſee alſo the prophet.chap.9. Ieruſalem, thou haſt fornicated and gone an whoring frõ thy God. Thou haſt loued like an harlot, to get gayne in euery barne of corne. And in many other places of Scripture, where fornication can not be otherwiſe expounded.

Eſay.1.

Oſee.9.

Theſe two rules thus premiſed, now let vs marke the Scriptures, and according to the ſame iudge of the whole ſtate of the Church, both that is paſt, and that is to come: firſt intreating of the cauſes of tribulation to come: ſecõdly of the vicinity of time of the ſayd tribulation to come.

Fiue ſtates of the church deſcribed.

And firſt concerning the ſtate of the Church, & of cauſes of tribulation. Thus ſayth the Lord in the prophet Ezechiel. 16.cap. ſpeaking to the Church vnder the name of Ieruſalem. In the day of thy byrth I came by thee, and ſaw thee troden downe in thine owne bloud.&c. Here he ſpeaketh of the time of the martyrdome of the Church. Then it followeth: After this thou waſt clenſed frõ thy bloud, that waſt growne vp, & waxen great: thẽ waſhed I thee with water, I purged thy bloud from thee (ſpeaking of ceaſing of perſecution) I annoynted thee with oyle, I gaue thee chaunge of rayments, I girded thee with white ſilke, I decked thee with coſtly apparel, I put ringes vpon thy fingers, a chayn about thy neck, Spangs vpon thy forehead, and Earinges vpon thine eares. Thus waſt thou deckt with ſiluer & gold, & a beautifull crowne ſet vpon thine head. Meruelous goodly waſt thou & beautifull, euen a very queen waſt thou: For thou waſt excellẽt in my beuty, which I put vpon thee, ſayth the Lord God.&c. This prophecy or rather hiſtory ſpeaketh of and declareth, the proſperity of the church.

1. The martyrdome of the Church.

2. The proſperity of the church

3. The corruption of the church

And now heare the corruptiõ and tranſgreſſion of the churche, for ſo it followeth: But thou haſt put confidence in thine own beauty, and playd the harlot, when thou haddeſt gotten thee a name. Thou haſt committed whoredome with all that went by thee, and haſt fulfilled their deſires: Yea thou haſt taken thy garments of diuers coulors and decked thine altars therwith, wherevpon thou mighteſt fulfill thy whoredome of ſuch a faſhion as neuer was done, nor ſhall be. Which whoredome can in no wiſe be expounded for carnall, but ſpirituall whoredome. And therfore, ſee how liuely he hath paynted out the corruption and falling of the Church.

And therefore followeth now the correction and puniſhmẽt of the Church. It followeth: Beholde, I ſtretch out my hand ouer thee, and will diminiſh thy ſtore of foode, and deliuer thee ouer into the willes of the Philiſtines, and of ſuch as hate thee: And they ſhall breake downe thy ſtues, and deſtroy thy brodell houſes (that is, the place wherein thou didſt exerciſe this wickedneſſe) they ſhall ſtrippe thee out of thy clothes: All thy fayre and beautifull iuels ſhall they take from thee, and ſo let thee ſit naked and bare.&c.

4. The correctiõ of the church.

Ezech.16.

Here is playnely to be ſeene what ſhall happen to the church and

Ezech.23.

and followeth more in the ſayd chapter. Thine eldeſt ſiſter is Samaria, ſhe and her daughters vpon thy left hand: But the yongeſt ſiſter that dwelleth on thy right hand is Sodoma with her daughters, whoſe ſinnes were theſe: pride, fulneſſe of meate, aboundãce and idleneſſe, neither retched they theyr hand to the poore. And yet neither Sodoma thy ſiſter with her daughters, hath done ſo euill as thou and thy daughters: Neither hath Samaria (that is the Sinagoge) done half of thy ſinnes, yea thou haſt exceeded them in wickedneſſe. Take therefore and beare thine owne confuſion. &c. Agayne in the 23. chapter of Ezechiel. After the Prophet hath deſcribed at large the wickedneſſe, corruption, and puniſhment of the Sinagoge, turning to the Church, ſayth: And when her ſiſter ſaw this, ſhe raged and was madde with luſt, loue of riches, and folowing voluptuouſnes. Her fornication and whoredome ſhe committed with Princes and great Lordes, clothed with all maner of gorgeous apparell: ſo that her pappes were bruſed, and her breſtes were marred. And then ſpeaking of her puniſhment, ſayth: Then my hart forſooke her, like as my hart was gone from her ſiſter alſo. And moreouer repeating againe the cauſe thereof, addeth: Thy wickedneſſe and thy fornications hath wrought thee all this. &c.

Oſee.2.

The like we finde alſo in Eſay, Ieremy, Ezechiel and in all the other Prophetes, who propheſying all together in one meaning and almoſt in one maner of wordes: Do conclude with a full agreement and prophecye to come, that the Church ſhall fall, and then bee puniſhed for her great exceſſes, and to bee vtterly ſpoiled except ſhe repent of all her abhominations. Whereof ſpeaketh Oſeas chap. 2. Let her put away her whoredome out of her ſight, and her aduoutry from her breſtes, leaſt I ſtrip her naked and ſet her euen as ſhe came naked into the world (that is in her primitiue pouerty) So if ſhe do not it, it ſhal folow of her as in the prophet Nahum, chap. 3. For the multitude of the fornication of the fayre and beautifull harlotte, which is a maiſter of witchcraft, yea and ſelleth the people through her whoredome, and the nations through her witchcraft. And followeth vpon the ſame: Behold I will vpon thee ſayth the Lord of hoſtes, and will pull thy clothes ouer thy head, that thy nakednes ſhall appeare among the heathen, and thy ſhame among the kingdomes. &c.

Nahum.3.

5. The reformation of the Church.

Wherefore by theſe it is to be vnderſtand, that vpon this Church the primitiue iuſtice of God is to be reuealed hereafter. And thus much of the firſt of the foure members aboue fore touched.

Certaine notes and ſignes, that the tribulation of the Church draweth neare.
1. Signe.
2. Theſſ. 2.

Now to the ſecond member of my theame, Iuxta eſt: concerning the neareneſſe of time. Although it is not for vs to knowe, the momẽts and articles of time: yet by certaine notes and ſignes peraduenture it may be collected and gathered, that whiche I haue here to ſay. For the tractation whereof, firſt I grounde my ſelfe vpon the ſaying of the Apoſtle Paule. 2. Theſſal. 2. where he writeth: That vnleſſe there come a defection firſt. &c. By the whiche defection. Ierome vltima quæſt. ad inquiſitiones Ianuarij, gathereth and expoundeth allegoricallye, the deſolation of the monarchy of Rome: Betweene the which deſolation, and the perſecution of the Church by Antechriſt, he putteth no meane ſpace. And now what is the ſtate of that common wealth, if it be compared to the maieſty of that it hath bene, iudge your ſelues. An other gloſe there is that ſayth, how by that defection is ment: that from the Church of Rome ſhall come a departing of ſome other Churches.

Except there come a defection firſt: howe it is to be vnderſtanded.

2. Note or token.

The Sinagogue and the church compared together in maners.

The ſecond note and marke is this, when the Church ſhalbe worſe in maners then was the Sinagoge: as appeareth by the ordinary gloſe vpon the 3. of Ieremy where it is written. The backſlider Iſraell, may ſeeme iuſt and righteous in compariſon of ſinfull Iuda. That is, the Sinagoge in compariſon of the Churche of God. Whereof writeth Origenes ſaying: Thinke that to be ſpokẽ of vs what the Lord ſayth in Ezech. 16. Thou haſt exceeded thy ſiſter in thine iniquities. Wherefore now (to compare the one with the other) Firſt ye know how Chriſt rebuked the Phariſeis, who as Ierome witneſſeth were then the Clergye of the Iewes; of couetouſneſſe, for that they ſuffered doues to be ſolde in the temple of God. Secondly, for that they did honor God with their lips and not with theyr mouth, & becauſe they ſayd, but dyd not. Thirdly, he rebuked them, for that they were hypocrites. To the firſt then let vs ſee, whether it be worſe to ſell both Church & Sacramentes, then to ſuffer doues to be ſolde in the Temple or not. The ſecond, where as the phariſeis were rebuked for honouring to God with their lips, and not with hart: there be ſome, which neither honor God with hart, nor yet with lips: And which neyther do well, nor yet ſay well, neither do they preach any word at all, but be domb dogs not able to barke, impudent and ſhameles dogs that neuer haue enough, ſuch paſtors as haue no vnderſtanding declining & ſtraying all in their owne way, euery one geuẽ to couetouſnes from the higheſt to the loweſt. And thirdly, as for hipocriſy there be alſo ſome, whoſe intollerable pride & malice is ſo manifeſt and notorious, kindled vp like a fire; that no cloake or ſhadow of hypocriſy can couer it, but are ſo paſt all ſhame, that it may be well verified of them which the Prophet ſpeaketh. Thou haſt gottẽ thee the face of an Harlot, thou wouldeſt not bluſh. &c.

3. Note or token.

The 3. ſigne and token of tribulation approching neare to the Church, may well be taken of the to much vnequall proportion ſeene this day in the church. Where one is hungry and ſtarueth, another is dronke: By reaſon of which ſo great inequality, it cannot be that the ſtate of the Church as it is now, can long endure. For like as in good harmony to make the muſick perfect, is required a moderate and proportionat equality of voyces, which if it do much exceed it taketh away all the ſweet melody: So according to the ſentence of the Philoſopher, by to much immoderate inequality or diſpariety of citizens, the cõmon wealth falleth to ruine. Cõtrary, where mediocrity, that is, where a mean inequality with ſome proportion is kept; that pollicy ſtandeth firme & more ſure to continue. Now among al the politicke regiments of the gentils, I thinke none more is to be found in hiſtories, wherin is to be ſeene ſo great and exeeeding oddes, then in the pollicye of Prieſtes: Of whom ſome be ſo high, that they exceed all Princes of the earth, ſome agayne be ſo baſe, that they are vnder all raſcals, ſo that ſuch a pollicy or common wealth, may well be called Oligarchia.

Oligarchia, is where a fewe beare al the ſway, and all the reſt be nothingworth

This may we playnely ſee and learne in the body of man, to the which Plutarchus (writing to Thracinius) doth ſemblablye compare the common wealth. In the which body, if the ſuſtinãce receiued ſhould all runne to one member, ſo that that member ſhould be to much exceedingly pampered, and all the other parts to much pined, that body could not long continue: So in the body of the wealth eccleſiaſtical, if ſome who be the heads be ſo enormely ouergrown in riches and dignity, that the weaker members of the body be ſcant able to beare them vp; there is a great token of diſſolution and ruine ſhortly. Wherupon commeth well in place the ſaying of the Prophet Eſay. Euery head is ſicke, euery hart is full of ſorrow, of the which heads it is alſo ſpoken in the Prophet Amos. chap. 6. Wo be to the ſecure and proud wealthye in Sion, and to ſuch as thinke themſelues ſo ſure vpon the mount of Samaria, taking themſelues as heads and rulers ouer other. &c. And moreouer in the ſayd prophet Eſay it followeth: Frõ the top of the head to the ſole of the foot, there is no whole part in all the body, to witte: In the inferiours, becauſe they are not able to liue for pouerty: in the ſuperiours, becauſe for theyr exceſſiue riches, they are left from doing good. And followeth in the ſame place: But all are woundes and botches and ſtrypes, beholde here the daunger comming, the woundes of diſcorde and deuiſion, the botch or ſore of rancor and enuy, the ſwelling ſtripe of rebellion and miſchiefe.

Eſay. 1.

Amos.

4. Signe.

Pride of Prelates noted.

The 4. ſigne is the pride of Prelates. Some there haue bene which fondly haue diſputed of the pouerty of Chriſt, and haue inueyed agaynſt the Prelates, becauſe they liue not in pouertye of the ſaynts. But this phantaſy cõmeth of the ignoraunce of morrall Philoſophy and diuinity, and of the defect of naturall prudence: for that in all nations, and by common lawes, prieſts haue had and ought to haue wherewith to ſuſtayne themſelues more honeſtly then the vulgare ſort, and Prelates more honeſtly then the ſubiectes. But yet hereby is not permitted to them their great horſes, theyr troupes of horſemen, their ſuperfluous pompe of theyr wayting men and great famylyes, whyche ſcarcely can bee maynteyned without pride, neyther can be ſuſteyned with ſafe iuſtice, and many not without fighting and iniuries inconueniẽt: not much vnlike to that as Iuſtine the hiſtorician writeth of the Carthaginenſes. The family (ſayth he) of ſo great Emperours was vntolerable to ſuch a free Citty. In ſemblable wiſe, this great pride in the Church of God (eſpecially in theſe dayes) doth moue not ſo few to due reuerence, as many to indignation: and yet mo to thoſe thinges aforeſayde, which thinke no leſſe but to doe ſacrifice to God if they may robbe and ſpoile certayne fatte prieſts and parſons namely ſuch as neither haue nobility of bloud, and leſſe learning to beare themſelues vpon but are lyers, ſeruile and fraudulent, to whome the Lorde ſpeaketh by his Prophet Amos fourth. Heare you fatted kine of Samaria, ye that doe poore men wrong, and oppreſſe the needye, the daye ſhall come vpon you. &c.

Amos 4.

5. Signe.

Sap. 16.

The fiſt ſigne is the tyranny of the Prelates and Preſidentes, which as it is a violent thing, ſo it cannot be long laſting. For as Salomon ſayth, Sap. 16. For it was requiſite that (without any excuſe) deſtruction ſhoulde come vpon thoſe whiche exerciſed tyranny. The property of a tyraunt is to ſeeke the commodity not of his ſubiectes, but onely his will and profite. Such were the Paſtours that fedde not the Lordes flocke, but fed themſelues: of whom and to whom ſpeaketh the Prophet Ezech. 34. Woe be vnto thoſe Paſtours of Iſrael that feede themſelues. Shoulde not the ſhepheardes feede the flockes? With many other threatninges agaynſt them in the ſayd chapter. Wo be vnto them which reioyce at the tranſgreſſions of ſuch whom it lieth in theyr power to cõdemne, neither do they ſeeke what he is able to pay, to whom crieth Micheas the Prophet 3. chap. Ye hate the good and loue the euill, ye pluck of mens ſkinnes and the fleſh, from the bones: ye eat the fleſh of my people, and flay of their ſkin: ye break their bones,

The tyranny of prelates noted. Ezech. 34.

Micheas 3.

ye chop them in peeces as it were into a Caudron, and as fleſh into the pot.&c. And therefore the foreſayd Ezechiel pronounceth: Behold I will my ſelfe vpon the ſhepheardes, and require my ſheepe from theyr handes, and make them ceaſe from feeding my ſheep, yea the ſhepheards ſhall feed themſelues no more, for I will deliuer my ſheep out of theyr mouthes, ſo that they ſhall not deuour them any more.

Ezech.34.

6.Signe. Promoting of vnworthy miniſters.

The ſixt ſigne is in promoting of the vnworthy, and of neglecting them that be worthy. This as Ariſtotle ſayth, is a greate cauſe many times of the diſſolution of common weales. And oftentimes it ſo happeneth in the wars of princes, that the contẽpt and ſmall regarding of the valiant, and the exalting of others that be leſſe worthy, ingendereth diuers kindes & kindlinges of ſedition. For by the reaſõ partly of the ſame, partly of the other cauſes aboue recited: We haue read not only in books, but haue ſene with our eies, diuers floriſhing Cities welneare ſubuerted. Wher as good men be not made of, but are vexed with ſorrow & griefe by the euil: the contentiõ at length braſteth out vpon the prince, as Haymo reciteth out of Origen. This hath alwayes bene the peruers incredulitye of mans harde heart, that not onely in hearing, but alſo in ſeing: yet will they not beleue that other haue periſhed, vnleſſe they alſo periſh themſelues.

Haymo.

7.Signe.

The ſeuẽth ſigne is the tribulation of outward policy & commotions of the people, which in a great part is now happened already. And therefore foraſmuch as Seneca ſayth: Men do complayne commonly that euils onely come ſo faſt: It is to be feared leaſt alſo the eccleſiaſtical policy be afflicted not onely outwardly but alſo in it ſelfe. And ſo be fulfilled in vs, that in Ieremy is propheſied cap. 4. Murther is cryed vpon murther, and the whole land ſhall periſh and ſodenly my tabernacles were deſtroyed, and my tentes very quickly. And Ezec. 7. Wherfore I will bring cruell tyraunts from among the heathen, to take theyr houſes in poſſeſsion, I will make the pompe of the proud, to ceaſe, and their ſãctuaryes ſhall be taken. One miſchiefe and ſorow ſhall follow another, and one rumor ſhall come after an other, then ſhall they ſeek viſions in vayne at theyr prophets, the law ſhall be gone frõ theyr Prieſts, and wiſedome from their Elders &c,

Ierem.4.

Ezech.7.

8.Signe.

The eight ſigne is the refuſing of correction, neither will they heare theyr faultes tolde them, ſo that it is hapned to the princes and rulers of the Church, as it is written in the prophet Zach. ca. 7. They ſtopped their eares that they would not heare: yea they made their hartes as an Adamant ſtone, leaſt they ſhoulde heare the law and words which the Lord of hoſtes ſent in his holy ſpirite by the Prophetes aforetime. Alſo Eſay witneſsing after the ſame effect. cap. 30. ſayth: For it is an obſtinate people, lying children and vnfaythfull, children that will not heare the law of the Lord: which ſay to the Prophetes, meddle with nothing, and tell vs nothing that is true aud right, but ſpeake frendly wordes to vs. &c. All this ſhall be verified when the Prelates begin to hate thẽ that tell them trueth, and haue knowledge, like vnto ſuch of whõ Amos ſpeaketh, chapter. 5. They beare him euil wil that reproueth them openly and who ſo telleth them the playne trueth, they abhorre him And therefore ſayth the Lord to the Church of Ieruſalem. Oſe 4. Seing thou haſt refuſed vnderſtanding, I haue refuſed thee alſo, that thou ſhalt no more be my prieſt. And for ſo muche as thou haſt forgotten the law of thy God, I will alſo forget thy children, and chaunge theyr honor into ſhame. And ſo ſhall it be like prieſt, like people &c. And many other ſayinges there be in the prophets, ſpeaking of the deiecting and caſting downe of the prieſtly honor.

Zach.7. Refuſing of correction in the clergie.

Eſay.30.

Truth ſhẽt.

Amos.5.

Oſee.4.

Lack of learned prieſtes.

Beſides theſe foreſayde ſignes and tokens hitherto recited, there be alſo diuers other: As the backſliding from righteouſnes, the lacke of diſcreete and learned Prieſtes, promoting of childrẽ into the Church with ſuch other like. But theſe being alreadye well noted and marked, you may eaſely iudge and vnderſtand, whether theſe times now preſent of ours be ſafe and cleare from tribulation to be looked for, and whether the word of the Lord be true according to my theame. Iuxta eſt iuſtitia mea vt reueletur, my righteouſnes is neare at hande to bee reuealed.&c. And thus muche of the ſecond part.

The third part or mẽber of the ſubdiuiſion.

Now to the third part or member of my ſubdeuiſion, which is concerning the falſe and perilous opinions of ſome, vpon thys word of my theame vt veniat &c. which opinions principally be 4. repugning all agaynſt the truth of the canonicall Scripture.

The firſt opinion.

The firſt opinion is of ſuch men, who hauing to much confidence in thẽſelues, do think and perſwade with themſelues, that the Prelates be the Church, which the Lord will alwayes keepe and neuer forſake as he hath promiſed in the perſons of the Apoſtles. Mathew. 28. ſaying: And I will be with you to the end of the world.&c But this is to be vnderſtanced of fayth, whereof Chriſt ſpeaketh Luke. 21. I haue prayd for thee, that thy fayth ſhall not fayle. Whereof we read Eccleſiaſt. 40. fayth ſhall ſtand for euer. &c. And albeit Charity waxe neuer ſo colde, yet fayth notwithſtanding, ſhall remayne in few, and in all diſtreſſes of the world: of the which diſtreſſes, our Sauiour doth prophecy in many places to come And leaſt peraduenture ſome ſhoulde thinke themſelues to be ſafe from tribulation becauſe they be of the church, this opinion the Lord himſelfe doth contrary in Ieremy the 7. Truſt not (ſayth he) in falſe lying wordes, ſaying: the temple of the Lord, the temple of the Lord, and a litle after, but you truſt in wordes and lying counſelles which deceiue you and doe you no good.

The church where it is, and in whõ it conſiſteth

Eccle.40.

Ieremy.7.

The 2. opinion.

The ſecond opinion is of them, which deferre tyme, for thys they well graunt, that the Church ſhall abide trouble, but not ſo ſhortly: thinking thus with thẽſelues, that theſe cauſes & tokens afore recited, haue bene before at other times as well in the churche. For both by Gregory and Bernard holy doctors, in time paſt the Prelates haue bene in like ſort reprehended, both for theyr bribinges, for theyr Pompe and pride, for the promoting of perſons and children vnfitte vnto eccleſiaſticall functions and other vyces moe, which haue reigned before this in the Church of God more then now, and yet by God his grace, the Churche hath proſpered and ſtand. Doe ye not ſee, that if an houſe haue ſtand and continued ruinous a long ſeaſon, it is neuer more neare the fall thereby, but rather to be truſted the better? Moreouer, many times it commeth ſo to paſſe in Realmes and Kingdomes, that the poſterity is puniſhed for the ſinnes of the predeceſſors. Whereof ſpeaketh the booke of Lamentations the 5. chapter. Onr fathers haue ſinned, and are now gone, and we muſt beare their wickedneſſe.&c. Agaynſt this cogitation or opinion well doth the Lord aunſwere by the Prophet Ezechiel chapter 12 ſaying: Beholde thou ſonne of man the houſe of Iſrael ſayeth in this maner. Tuſh as for the viſion that he hath ſeene, it will bee many a day or it come to paſſe: It is farre of yet, the thing that he prophecieth. Therefore ſay vnto them, thus ſayth the Lord God: The wordes that I haue ſpoken ſhall be deferred no longer, looke what I haue ſayd, ſhall come to paſſe ſayth the Lord. &c. We haue ſeene in our dayes thinges to happen, which ſeemed before incredible. And the like hath bene ſeene in other times alſo: as we read written in the booke of Lamentations chapter. 4. The kinges of the earth nor all the inhabitaunce of the worlde would not haue beleeued, that the enemy and aduerſary ſhoulde haue come in at the gates of the Citty, for the ſinnes of her prieſtes, and for the wickeneſſe of her Elders that haue ſhedde Innocentes bloud within her.&c. by Hieruſalem, as is ſayd, is ment thẽ Church.

Thren.5.

Ezech.12.

Thren.4.

The third opinion, or errour.

The third opinion or error is very perilous and peruerſe, of all ſuch as ſay, veniat, let come that will come: Let vs conſorme out ſelues to this world, and take our time with thoſe Temporiſers which ſay in the booke of wiſedome. Sap. 2. Come let vs enioy our goodes and pleaſures that be preſent, and let vs vſe the creature as in youth quickly.&c. Such as theſe be, are in daungerous caſe, and be greatly preiudicial to good men in the Church: And if the heades and rulers of the Church were ſo vile to haue any ſuch deteſtable cogitation in them, there were no place in hell to deepe for them. This Church founded by the Apoſtles in Chriſt, conſecrated with the bloud of ſo many Martyrs, enlarged and increaſed with the vertues and merites of ſo many Payntes, and indued ſo richly with the deuoſion of ſo many ſecular princes, and ſo long proſpered hetherto: If it now ſhould come into the hands of ſuch perſons, it ſhould fall in great daunger of ruine, and they for theyr negligence and wickednes well deſerued of God to be curſed, yea here alſo in this preſent world to incurre temporall tribulation and deſtruction, which they feare more: by the ſentence of the Lord ſaying to them in the booke of Prouerbes cap. 1. All my counſels ye haue deſpiſed, and ſet my correctiõ at nought. Therefore ſhall I alſo laugh in your deſtruction, when tribulation and anguiſh ſhall fall vpon you.

Sap.2.

Prouer.cap.1.

The fourth opinion, or errour.

Fourthly, an other opinion or errour is of ſuch as being vnfaythfull, beleue not any ſuch thing to come. And this errour ſemeth to haue no remedy, but that as other thinges & other kingdomes haue theyr endes and limittes ſet vnto them, which they cannot ouerpaſſe: So it muſt needes be, that ſuch a domination & gouernment of the Church haue an end, by reaſon of the demerites and obſtinacyes of the gouernors prouoking and requiring the ſame: like as we reade in the Prophet Ieremy cap. 8. There is no man that taketh repentaunce for his ſinne, that will ſo much as ſay, wherefore haue I done this? But euery man runneth forth ſtill like a wilde horſe in a battell And the Prophet Ieremy in the 13. chapter of his prophecy: Like as the man of Inde may chaunge his ſkinne, and the Cat of mountayne her ſpottes, ſo may ye that be exerciſed in euill, doe good. Whereunto alſo accordeth that which is written of the ſame Prophet. chap. 17. ſpeaking of Iuda ſignifying the Church: The ſinne of Iuda (ſayth he) is written in the table of your hartes, and grauen ſo vpõ the edges of your altars with a penne of Iron, and with an Adamant claw, which is as much to ſay, as indelible, or which cannot be raced out: as alſo Ezechiell ſpeaking of the puniſhment, chapter 21. ſayth: I the Lord haue drawne out my ſword out of the ſheath, and cannot be reuoked. Notwithſtanding, all theſe ſignifye no impoſsibility, but difficulty, becauſe that wicked men are hardly conuerted: for otherwiſe the Scripture importeth no ſuch inflexibilitye

Ierem.8.

Ierem.13.

Ierem.17.

Ezech.21.

with

Ionas.cap.3.
Ierem.26.

with God, but if conuerſion come, he will forgeue. So we read in the Prophet Ionas cap.3. Who can tell? God may turne and repent, and ceaſe from his fierce wrath that we periſh not. And to the like effect ſayth the ſame Lord in Ieremy. cap 26 Looke thou keepe not one word backe, if peraduenture they will harken and turne euery man from his wicked way, that I alſo may repent of of the plague which I haue determined to bring vpon them, becauſe of their wicked inuentiõs.&c. For the further proofe wherof Niniuy we ſee conuerted, and remayned vndeſtroyd.&c. Likewiſe, the Lorde alſo had reuealed deſtruction vnto Conſtantinople by ſundry ſignes and tokens, as Auguſtine in a certayne Sermon doth declare. And thus for the third part or member of my deuiſion.

The fourth part or member of the ſubdiuiſion.
Ieremy.18.
Eſay.5.
Eſay.30.

Fourthly and laſtly remayneth to declare, ſome wholeſome concluding now vpon the cauſes preceding: That is, if by theſe cauſes and ſignes (heretofore declared) tribulation be prepared to fall vpon the Church, then let vs humble our mindes mildely and wiſely. And if we ſo returne with hart and in deed vnto God, verely he ſhall reſcue and helpe after an ineſtimable wiſe: and will ſurceaſe from ſcourging vs, as he promiſeth by his Prophet Ieremy.18. If that people agaynſt whom I haue thus deuiſed, cõuert from their wickedneſſe, immediately I will repent of the plague that I deuiſed to bring vpon them: ſpeaking here after the maner of men:&c. Now therefore, for ſo much as tribulation and affliction is ſo neare comming toward vs, yea lyeth vpon vs alreadye, let vs be the more diligent to call vpon God for mercy. For I thinke verely theſe many yeares there hath not bene ſo many and ſo deſpightfull hartes and euill willers, ſtout, and of ſuch a rebellious hart aganſt the Church of God, as be now adayes: neither be they lacking that would worke all that they can agaynſt it, and louers of new fanglenes: whoſe hartes the Lord happelye will turne that they ſhall not hate his people and worke deceipte agaynſt his ſeruauntes, I meane agaynſt Prieſtes whom they haue now in little or no reputation at all: Albeit many yet there bee through Gods grace, good and Godly. But yet the furye of the Lord is not turned away, but ſtill his hand is ſtretched out. And vnleſſe ye be conuerted, he ſhaketh his ſworde, he hath bent his bowe, and prepared it readye. Yet the Lorde ſtandeth wayting, that he may haue mercy vpon you. Eſay. 30. And therefore as the greatneſſe of feare ought to incite vs, ſo hope of ſaluation may allure vs to pray and call vpon the Lord, eſpecially now toward this holy and ſacrat time and ſolemnity of Chriſtes natiuity: For that holy and continuall prayer without intermiſsion is profitable and the inſtant deuotion and vigilant deprecation of the iuſt man, is of great force. And if terreine kinges in the day of celebration of their natiuity, be wont to ſhew themſelnes more liberall and bounteous, how much more ought we to hope wel, that the heauenly king of nature moſt benigne, now at his natall and byrth day, will not denye pardon and remiſsion to ſuch as rightly call vnto him.

Ioſue.7.
1.Reg.25.
Eſay.66.
Pſal.71.

And now therefore as it is written in Ioſue chap. 7. Be you ſanctified agaynſt to morow. &c. And ſaw vnto him as it is written in the firſt booke of Kinges chap.25. Now let thy ſeruaunts I pray thee finde fauour in thy ſight, for we come to thee in a good ſeaſon. Moreouer ye may finde that ye aske, if that ye aske that which he brought in the day of his Natiuity, that is, the peace of the Church, not ſpirituall onely but alſo temporall, which the angelicall noyſe did ſounde, and experience the ſame time dyd proue, teſtifyed by T. Liuius, Plinius, and other heathen ſtorywriwriters, which all maruelled thereat ſaying: that ſuch an vniuerſal peace as that could not come on earth but by the gift of God. For ſo God did forepromiſe in the Prophet Eſay. chap.66. Behold I will let peace into Ieruſalem like a waterfloud. &c. And in the Pſalme.71. In his time righteouſneſſe ſhal floriſh, yea and aboundance of peace.&c.

Eſay.51.

Thereſore now (O reuerend fathers in the Lord,) & you here in this preſent aſſembly, behold I ſay the day of life and ſaluatiõ: Now is the oportune time to pray vnto god, that the ſame thing which he brought into the world at his byrth, he will graunt in theſe dayes to his Church that is, his peace. And like as Niniuye was ſubuerted ouerturned, and not in members but in maners: ſo the ſame wordes of my theame, Iuxta eſt iuſtitia mea vt reueletur, may be verified in vs, not of the primitiue iuſtice, but of our ſanctification by grace, ſo that: As to morow is celebrated the natiuity of our Sauiour, our righteouſneſſe may riſe together with him, and his bleſsing may be vpon vs, which God hath promiſed, ſaying: My ſauing health is neare at hand to come.&c. Whereof ſpeaketh Eſay the Prophet, chapte.51. My ſauing health ſhall endure foreuer.&c. This health graunt vnto vs the Father, Sonne and holy Ghoſt. Amen.

This Sermõ was made by maiſter Nicholas Orem before Pope Urbane and his Cardinals vpon the eue of the Natiuity of the Lord, being the fourth Sonday of Aduent, in the yeare of our Lord, 1364. and the ſecond of hys Popedome.

The order of Ieſuites.

In the 5. yere of this forenamed Pope Urbane, began firſt the order of the Jeſuites. And vnto this time whiche was about the yeare of our Lord, 1367. the offices here in England, as the Lord Chauncellor, Lord Treaſurer, & of the priuy ſeale: were wont to be in the handes of the clergy. But about this yeare through the motion of the Lords in the Parliamẽt, and partly (as witneſſeth mine author) for hatred of the clergy: all the ſayd offices were remoued from the clergy, to the Lordes temporall.

Anno. 1367.
The chiefe officers of the realme tranſlated from the clergie, to the Lordes temporal.
Pope Gregory.xj.

After the death of Pope Urbane, next ſucceeded Pope Gregory the 11. who among his other actes, firſt reduced agayne the papacy out of Fraunce vnto Rome, which had from thence bene abſent, the ſpace now of 70. yeres, being therto moued (as Sabellicus recordeth) by the anſwere of a certain biſhop, whom as the Pope ſaw ſtanding by him asked, why he was ſo long from his charge and church at home, ſaying: not to be the part of a good Paſtor, to keepe him from his flocke ſo long. Wherunto the Biſhop aunſwering agayne, ſayd: And you your ſelfe being the chiefe Biſhoppe, who may and ought to be a ſpectacle to vs all: why are you from the place ſo long where your Church doth lye? By the occaſion whereof, the Pope ſought all meanes after that to remoue and to rid his Court out of Fraunce againe to Rome, and ſo he did.

Anno. 1370.
The papacy reduced againe from Fraunce to Rome.

This 11. Gregory in a certayne Bull of his ſent to the Archb. of Prage, maketh mẽtion of one named Militzius a Bohemiã, & ſaith in ỷ ſame bull ỷ this Militzius ſhould hold apinion & teach. an. 1366. that Antechriſt was alredy come. Alſo that the ſaid Militzius had certayn cõgregations folowing him: & that in the ſame congragation were certain harlots, who being conuerted frõ theyr wickednes were brought to a godly life. Which harlots being ſo conuerted, he vſed to ſay were to be preferred before al the holy religious virgins. And therfore commaunded the archbiſhop to excõmunicate and perſecute the ſayd Militzius, which in foretime had bene a religious man of Prage, and after forſooke his order, and gaue himſelfe to preaching, and at length was by the foreſayd Archb. impriſoned.

Militzius a Bohemian, for the truth perſecuted by the pope *Ex Bulla Gregorij.11*

The cõming of Antichriſt propheſied.

Iacobus Miſnenſis a learned man and a writer in ỷ time of J. Hus, maketh mention of this Militzius, and calleth him a worthy and a famous Preacher. Alſo citeth many things out of his writings: In the which writinges thys good Militzius thus declareth of himſelf how he was moued & vrged by the holy Ghoſt to ſearch out by the ſacred Scriptures, concerning the comming of Antechriſt. And that he was compelled by the ſame holy ſpirite at Rome publickly to preach, and alſo before the Inquiſitor there to proteſt plainly, that ỷ ſame great Antechriſt which is propheſyed of in ỷ holy Scriptures, was alredy come. Moreouer his ſaying was, that the church through negligẽce of the paſtors was deſolate, did abound in temporall riches, but in ſpirituall riches to be empty. Alſo that in ỷ Church of Chriſt, where certayne Idols which deſtroyd Ieruſalẽ, and defaced the Temple, but hypocriſye cauſed that thoſe Idols could not be ſene. Alſo that many there were which denied Chriſt, becauſe that knowing the truth, yet for feare of mẽ they durſt not confeſſe their conſcience. &c. And thus much of good Militzius, liuing in the time of Gregory 11. and king Edward the third. an. 1370.

K. Edward cõplaineth of the popes reſeruation of benefices.

The which king of England holding a Parliamẽt in the 3. yeare of this Pope, ſent his Embaſſadours to hym, deſiring him: that he from thenceforth would abſtayne frõ his reſeruatiõs of benefices vſed in the court of England. And that ſpiritual men within his realme promoted vnto Biſhopricks, might freely enioy theyr electiõs within the realme, and be confirmed by theyr Metropolitanes, according to the auncient cuſtome of the realme. Wherfore, vpõ theſe and ſuch other like wherein the king and the realme thought thẽſelues greued, he deſired of the Pope ſome remedy to be prouided. &c. Wherunto the Pope returned a certayne anſwere agayne vnto the king, requiring by his meſſengers to be certified agayn of the kings mind cõcerning the ſame. But what anſwere it was, it is not in ỷ ſtory expreſſed, ſaue that the yere folowing, which was 1374. there was a tractation at Burges vpon certain of the ſaid articles betwene the king & the Pope, which did hãg two yeares in ſuſpẽſe, ſo at length it was thus agreed betwene them: that the pope ſhould no more vſe his reſeruatiõs of benefices in England, and likewiſe the king ſhoulde no more cõferre and geue benefices vpon the writ, Quare impedit. &c. But as touching the freedome of elections to be confirmed by the Metropolitane, mentioned in the yeare before, therof was nothing touched.

The Pope put from his reſeruing of benefices in England.
Quare impedit.

As touching theſe reſeruations, prouiſiõs, and collations, with the elections of Archbiſhops, Biſhops, beneficed men and other, wherwith the Pope vexed this realme of England, as before you haue heard. The king by ỷ conſent of the Lordes and commons, in the 25. yeare of hys raigne enacted: that according to a ſtatute made in the 30.

yeare of his graundfather Edward the firſt, wherein was made an act againſt ỹ rauenous pillage of the Pope, thorough the ſame prouiſions, reſeruations, & collations. &c. but not put in execution. By the which prouiſions, ỹ ſtate of the realme decreaſed more and more, the kings royaltie & prerogatiue greatly obſcured and diminiſhed, innumerable treaſure of the realme tranſported, aliens & ſtraungers placed in the beſt and fatteſt byſhoprickes, abbeyes, and benefices within the realme. And ſuche, as eyther for their offices in Rome, as Cardinalſhips & ſuch like could not be here reſident, or if reſident, yet better away for cauſes infinite, as partly haue bene touched before: Not onely reuiued the ſayde ſtatute made by Edward the firſt hys graundfather, but alſo inlarged the ſame. Adding thervnto very ſtrayt and ſharpe penalties againſt the offenders therin, or in any part therof, as exemptiõ out of the kings protection, loſſe of al their lands, goods, and other poſſeſſions, and theyr bodies to be impriſoned at the kings pleaſure: And farther, who ſo euer was lawfully conuict, or otherwiſe for want of appearance by proces directed forth, were wythin the lappes of this ſtatute or premunire (for ſo bare the name therof) ſhuld ſuffer al and euery ſuch moleſtation & iniuries, as men exempted frõ the protection of the king. In ſo much, that who ſo euer had killed ſuch mẽ, had bene in no more daunger of lawe therefore, then for the killing of an outlaw, or one not worthy to liue in a commõ weale. Lyke vnprofitable members were they then in that tyme, yea of ignoraunce eſteemed in thys common weale of Englande, as would offer themſelues to the wilfull ſlauery and ſeruile obedience of the pope: which thyng in theſe dayes, yea and that amõgſt no ſmall fooles, is coũted more then Euangelicall holynes. He that liſt to peruſe the ſtatute, and would ſee euery braunch and article therof at large diſcuſſed and handled, wyth the penalties therfore due: Let him read the ſtatute of prouiſion and premunire, made in the 25. yeare of thys kynges dayes. And let hym read in the ſtatutes made in the parliamentes holden the 27, yeare, and 38. yeare of hys raigne: And vnder the ſame title of prouiſion and premunire ſhall finde, the popes primacie and iuriſdiction wythin this Realme more nearely touched, and much of hys papall power reſtrayned: In ſo much, that who ſoeuer for any cauſe or controuerſy in law, either ſpirituall or temporal, ỹ ſame being determinable in any of ỹ kyngs courts (as all matters were) whether they were perſonall or reall, citations or other: or ſhould eyther appeale or conſent to any appellation, to be made out of the realme to the pope or ſee of Rome: ſhould incurre the ſayd penaltie and daunger of premunire. Diuers other matters wherein the Pope is reſtrained of his vſurped power, authoritie & iuriſdiction within this realme of England: are in the ſayd titles and ſtatutes expreſſed, & at large ſet forth, who euer liſt to peruſe the ſame, which for breuities ſake I omitte, haſtening to other matters.

he law of emunire ith the naltie ereof.

The Popes primacie here in england bridled.

S.Bridget.

Ex lib. reuelationum. Diua Bridgitta.

About this tyme, being the yeare of our Lorde. 1370. lyued holy Brigit, whom the Church of Rome hath canoniſed not onely for a ſaint, but alſo for a Propheteſſe: who notwithſtanding in her booke of reuelations, which hath bene oft times imprinted, was a great rebuker of the pope, and of the filth of his clergie, callyng him a murtherer of ſoules, a ſpiller, and a pyller of the flocke of Chriſt: more abhominable then Iewes, more crueller thẽ Iudas: more vniuſt then Pilate, worſe then Lucifer hymſelfe. The ſee of the Pope ſhe propheſieth, ſhalbe throwne down into the deepe, lyke a mylſtone. And that his aſſiſter ſhall burne wt brimſtone: Affirmyng, that the prelates, byſhops, & prieſts are the cauſe, why the doctrine of Chriſt is neglected, and almoſt extincted. And that the clergie haue turned the ten commaundementes of God into two wordes, to wyt, Da pecuniam, that is, Geue money. It were long and tedious to declare all that ſhe againſt them writeth. Among the reſt which I omytte, let this ſuffice for all, where as the ſayde Briget affirmeth in her reuelations, that when the holy Virgine ſhould ſay to her ſonne, howe Rome was a fruitfull and fertile field: yea, ſayd hee, but of weedes onely and cockle. &c.

Da pecuniam.

Rome a fertile grounde of weedes & cockle.

Catherina Senenſis.

Ex Antonino. part.3. hiſtor.

To thys Briget I will ioyne alſo Catherina Senenſis, an holy virgin, which lyued much about the ſame tyme, ann. 1379. Of whome writeth Antoninus. part. hiſtoriæ. 3. Thys Katherine hauyng the ſpirite of propheſie, was wõt much to complaine of the corrupt ſtate of the church, namely of the prelates of the court of Rome, & of the pope: propheſying before of the great ſchiſme, which then folowed in the Church of Rome, and dured to the Councell of Conſtance, the ſpace of xxxix. yeares. Alſo of the great warres and tribulation, which enſued vpon the ſame. And moreouer declared before and foretold, of this ſo excellẽt reformation of religion in the Church now preſent. The wordes of Antoninus be theſe. After this Virgine in her going to Rome, had tolde her brother of the warres and tumultes that ſhould riſe in ỹ coũtries about Rome, after ỹ ſchiſme of the two Popes. I then curious to know of thinges to come, & knowing that ſhe vnderſtood by reuelation what ſhould happen, demaunded of her: I pray you (good mother) ſayd I, and what ſhall befall after theſe troubles in the Church of God? And ſhe ſayd: By theſe tribulations and afflictions, after a ſecret maner vnknowne vnto man, God ſhall purge his holy Church, and ſtirre vp the ſpirit of his elect. And after theſe thinges ſhall follow ſuche a reformation of the holy Churche of God, and ſuche a renouation of holye Paſtors, that the onelye cogitation and remembraunce thereof maketh my ſpirit to reioyce in the Lord And as I haue oftentimes tolde you heretofore, the ſpouſe which now is all deformed and ragged, ſhall be adorned and deckt with moſt rich and precious ouches and brouches. And all the faythfull ſhall be glad and reioyce to ſee themſelues ſo beautified with ſo holy ſhepheards. Yea and alſo the Infidels then allured by the ſweet ſauour of Chriſt, ſhall returne to the catholicke folde, and be conuerted to the true Biſhop and ſhepheard of their ſoules. Geue thankes therefore to God, for after this ſtorme, he will geue to his a great calme. And after ſhe had thus ſpoken, ſhe ſtayd, and ſayd no more.

The reformatiõ of religion prophecied of before.

The prophecie of Katherine.

Note.

Beſide theſe aforenamed, the Lord which neuer ceaſeth to worke in his Church: ſtyrred vp agaynſt the malignant church of Rome, the ſpirites of diuers other good & godly teachers, as Matthias Pariſienſis, a Bohemian borne, who about the yeare of our Lord 1370. wrote a large booke of Antechriſt, and prooueth him already come, and noteth ỹ Pope to be the ſame. Which booke one Illiricus a writer in theſe our dayes hath, & promiſeth to put it in print. In this booke he doth greatly inuey againſt the wickedneſſe and filthines of the Clergy, and agaynſt the neglecting of theyr duety in gouerning the church. The Locuſtes mentioned in the Apocalips, he ſayth, be the hypocrites raigning in the church. The workes of Antechriſt he ſayth be theſe, the fables and inuentions of men raigning in the Church: the Images & fained reliques that are worſhipped euery where. Itẽ, that men do worſhip euery one his proper Saint and Sauior beſide Chriſt, ſo that euery mã and City almoſt hath his diuers and peculiar Chriſt. He taught and affirmed moreouer, that godlines & true worſhip of God, are not boũd to place, perſons, or times, to be heard more in this place, thẽ in an other, at this time more thẽ at an other. &c. He argueth alſo agaynſt the cloiſterers which leauing the onely and true Sauior, ſet vp to them ſelues theyr Franciſcanes, theyr Dominickes, and ſuche other: and haue them for theyr Sauiors, glorying and triumphing in them, and fayning many forged lyes vpon them. He was greatly and much offended with Monks & friers, for neglecting or rather burying the word of Chriſt and in ſtead of him, for celebrating & ſetting vp theyr own rules and canons, affirming it to be much hurtfull to true godlines, for that Prieſtes, Monkes, and Nunnes do account themſelues onely ſpirituall, and all other to be lay & ſecular, attributing onely to themſelues the opinion of holynes, & contemning other men, with al theyr politick adminiſtration & the office as prophane in cõpariſon of theyr owne. He further writeth that Antechriſt, hath ſeduced all Vniuerſities & Colleges of learned men, ſo that they teach no ſincere doctrine, neither geue any light to the Chriſtiãs with theyr teaching. Finally, he forewarneth that it will come to paſſe, that God yet once againe will raiſe vp godly teachers, who being feruent in the ſpirite and zeale of Helias, ſhall diſcloſe and refute the errors of Antechriſt, and Antechriſt himſelfe, openly to the whole world. This Mathias in the ſayd booke of Antechriſt alledgeth the ſayinges and writinges of the Vniuerſity of Paris, alſo the writings of Guilielmus de ſãcto amore, and of Militzius afore noted.

Mathias Pariſienſis a writer againſt the pope.

Antichriſt alreadie come. The doctrine & proteſtation of Mathias.

About the ſame time, or ſhortly after. an. 1384. we read alſo of Ioannes of Mountziger, Rector of the Vniuerſity of Vlme, who opẽly in the ſcholes in his Oratiõ propoũded that the body of Chriſt was not God, and therfore not to be worſhipped as God with that kinde of worſhip called Latria, as the Sophiſter termeth it, meaning thereby the Sacrament not to be adored, which afterward he alſo defended by writing: affirming alſo that Chriſt in his reſurrection tooke to him agayne all his bloud which in hys paſſion he had ſhed. Meaning thereby to inferre, that the bloud of Chriſt which in many places is worſhipped, neither can be called the bloud of Chriſt, neither ought to be worſhipped. But by and by he was reſiſted and withſtood by the Monks and friers: who by this kinde of Idolatry were greatly enriched, till at length the Senate & councell of the city was fayne to take vp the matter betwene them.

Ioannes Moũtziger proteſtant againſt the pope.

Ann. 1384.

Nilus was Archbiſhop of Theſſalonica, & liued much

Nilus the archbiſhop of Theſſalonica.

about this time. He wrote a long worke agaynſt the Latins that is, agaynſt ſuch as tooke part and held with the Church of Rome. His firſt booke being written in Greeke, was after tranſlated into latin, & lately now into engliſh, in this our time. In the firſt chap. of his booke, he layeth all the blame and fault of the diſſention & ſchiſme betwene the Eaſt and the weſt Church vpon the Pope. He affirmed that the Pope onely would commaund what him liſted, were it neuer ſo contrary to all the olde & auncient canōs. That he would heare and folow no mans aduiſe: that he would not permit any free coūcels to be aſſēbled. &c. And that therfore it was not poſſible, that the cōtrouerſies betwene the Greeke Church and Latine Church, ſhould be decided and determined.

In the ſecond chap. of his booke, he purpoſedly maketh a very learned diſputation. For firſt he declareth that he no whit at all by Gods commaūdement, but onely by humain law, hath any dignity, more thē hath other biſhops: which dignity, the Councels, the fathers, & the Emperors haue graunted vnto him: Neither did they graūt the ſame for any other conſideration more, or greater ordinaunce: then for that the ſame City then had the Impery of all the whole world: and not at all for that that Peter euer was there, or not there.

Secondarily he declareth, that the ſame premacy or prerogatiue is not ſuch and ſo great as he and his Sicophāts do vſurpe vnto thēſelues. Alſo he refuteth the chiefeſt propoſitions of the Papiſtes one after an other. He declareth that the Pope hath no dominion more thē other Patriarches haue, and that he himſelfe may erre as well as other mortall men: and that he is ſubiect both to lawes & councels, as well as other Biſhops. That it belonged not to him, but to the Emperor, to call generall councels: & that in Eccleſiaſticall cauſes he could eſtabliſh and ordeine no more then all other Biſhops might. And laſtly, that he getteth no more by Peters ſucceſſion, then that he is a Byſhop as all other Biſhops after the Apoſtles be. &c.

Iacobus Miſuēſis and Militzius.

I can not among other, folowing here the occaſion of this matter offered, leaue out yͤ memory of Iacobus Miſnenſis, who alſo wrote of the comming of Antechriſt. In yͤ ſame he maketh mentiō of a certayn learned man, whoſe name was Militzius, which Militzius (ſayth he) was a famous and worthy preacher in Parga. He liued about yͤ yere. 1366. long before Huſſe, and before wickliffe alſo. In the ſame his writings he declareth, how yͤ ſame good man Militzius was by the holy ſpirit of God incited, and vehemently moued to ſearch out of yͤ holy Scriptures the maner and comming of Antechriſt: and found that now in his time he was all ready come. And the ſame Iacobus ſayth, that the ſayd Militzius was conſtrayned by the ſpirite of God to go vp to Rome, & there publickely to preach. And that afterward before yͤ Inquiſitour he affirmed the ſame. That the ſame mighty and great Antechriſt, the which the Scriptures made mention of, was already comen.

He affirmed alſo, that the Church by the negligence of the Paſtors, ſhould become deſolate: and that iniquitye ſhould abound, that is, by reaſon of Mammon, maſter of iniquitie. Alſo, he ſayde that there were in the Church of Chriſt idols, which ſhoulde deſtroy Ieruſalem, and make the tēple deſolate, but were cloked by hypocriſy. Further, that there be many whych deny Chriſt, for that they keepe ſilence: neither do they heare Chriſt, whome all the world ſhould know and cōfeſſe his verity before men, which alſo wittingly do detaine the verity and iuſtice of God.

Militzius perſecuted by the Pope.

There is alſo a certaine Bull of Pope Gregory 11. to the Archbiſhop of Praga: wherin he is commanded to excommunicate and perſecute Militzius and his auditours. The ſame Bull declareth, that he was once a Chanon of Praga, but afterward he renounced his Canonſhip, & began to preache: who alſo for that he ſo manifeſtly preached of Antichriſt to be already come: was of Iohn Archbiſhop of Praga put in priſon, declaring what hys errour was. To wit, howe he had his company or cōgregation to whō he preached, and that amongſt the ſame were certain conuerted harlots, which had forſaken their euill life, and did liue godly and well: whych harlots he accuſtomed in hys ſermons to preferre before all the bleſſed virgins that neuer offended. He taught alſo openly, that in the Pope, cardinals, Biſhops, prelates, prieſts, & other religious men: was no truth, neither that they taught the way of truth, but that onely he, & ſuch as held with him, taught the true way of ſaluation. His Poſtill in ſome places is yet to be ſene. They alledge vnto him certaine other inconuenient articles, which notwͭſtanding I thinke, the aduerſaries to depraue him with all, haue ſlanderouſly inuented againſt hym. He had as appeared by the foreſaid Bull, very many of euery ſtate and condition, as wel rich as pore, that cleaued vnto him.

About the yeare of our Lord. 1371. liued Henricus de Iota, whom Gerſon doth much commend, and alſo his companiō Henricus de Haſsia, an excellent learned and famous man. An Epiſtle of this Henricus de Haſsia which he wrote to the Biſhoppe of Normacia, Iacobus Cartſienſis inſerted in his booke De erroribus Chriſtianorum. In the ſame Epiſtle, the author doth greatly accuſe the ſpirituall men of euery order, yea and the moſt holyeſt of all other the Pope himſelfe, of many and great vices. He ſayd, that the Eccleſiaſticall gouernors in the primitiue Church, were compared to the ſunne ſhining in the day time, and the politicall gouernors, to the Moone, ſhyning in the night. But the ſpirituall men he ſaid, that now are, do neuer ſhine in the day time, nor yet in yͤ night time, but rather with theyr darckenes do obſcure both the day and night, that is: with theyr filthy liuing, ignorance, and impiety. He citeth alſo out of the propheſy of Hildegaris theſe words: Therfore doth yͤ deuill in himſelfe ſpeake of you Prieſts: Dainty bankets & feaſts, wherin is all voluptuouſnes do I finde amongſt theſe men: In ſo much that mine eies, mine eares my belly, and my vaynes, be euen filled with the froth of them, & my breſtes ſtand aſtrut with the riches of them. &c. Laſtly, ſaith he, they euery day more and more as Lucifer did, ſeeke to climbe higher and higher: till that euery day with hym more and more, they fall deeper and deeper.

Henricus de Haſsia.

The citizens of Mogūtia.

About the yeare of our Lord. 1390. there were burned at Bringa 36. Citizens of Moguntina, for the doctrine of waldenſes, as Bruſhius affirmeth: which opiniō was nothing contrary to that they held before, wherein they affirmed the Pope to be that great Antechriſt, which ſhould come: Vnleſſe peraduenture the Pope ſeemed then to be more euidently conuicted of Antechriſtianity thē at any other time before, he was reueled to be.

A briefe rehearſall of ſuche as were put to death for holding againſt the Byſhop of Rome before the time of Wickliffe.

For the like cauſe, many other beſide theſe, are to be found in ſtoryes, which ſuſteined the like perſecutiō by the Pope, if leyſure would ſerue to peruſe all that might be ſearched. As where Maſſeus recordeth of diuers to the nūber of 140. which in the prouince of Narbone choſe rather to ſuffer whatſoeuer greuous puniſhment by fire, thē to receiue the decretals of the Romiſh Church, contrary to the vpright truth of the Scripture.

What ſhould I here ſpeake of the 24. which ſuffered at Paris. an. 1210? Alſo in the ſame author is teſtified that an. 1211. there were 400. vnder the name of heretiques burned 80. beheaded: Prince Americus hanged, and the Lady of the Caſtle ſtoned to death.

Moreouer, in the Chronicles of Houedon, and of other writers be recited, a maruelous nūber, which in the countryes of Fraunce were burned for heretiques. Of whom, ſome were called Publicans, ſome Catharits, ſome Paterines, and other by others names. What their aſſertions were, I finde no certayne report worthy of credit

Eckhardus a Frier burned.

In Tritenius is ſignified of one Eckhardus a Dominican Frier, who not long before wickliffes tyme, was condemned and ſuffered for hereſy at Hedelberge. an. 2330. who as he diffreth not much in name, ſo may he be ſuppoſed to be the ſawe, whom other do name Beghardus, and is ſayd to be burned at Erphord.

Of Albingenſes becauſe ſufficient mētion is made before of whom a great number were burned about the time of king Iohn, I paſſe them ouer.

An Heremit diſputing againſt the Popes ſacrament. *Ranulphus.*

Likewiſe I let paſſe the heremite, of whom Iohn Bacon maketh relation, in hys 2. Diſt. Quæſt. 1. who diſputing in Paules church, affirmed that thoſe Sacraments, which were then vſed in yͤ church, were not inſtituted by Chriſt, An. 1306. Peraduenture it was the ſame Ranulphus, mētioned in the floure of hyſtories, & is ſayd to die in priſon: for the time of them doth not much differ.

In Boetius, why the Pope ſhould ſo much commend a certaine king, becauſe for one man, he had ſlaine 400. cutting away the genitals from the reſt, I can not iudge, except the cauſe were that, which the Pope calleth hereſie.

But to let theſe things ouerpaſſe that be vncertayne, becauſe neither is it poſſible to comprehēd all them which haue wͭſtand the corruption of the popes ſea: neyther haue we any ſuch firme teſtimony left of their doings, credibly to ſtay vpon: we wil now (Chriſt willing) cōuert our ſtory, to thyngs more certaine & vndoubted, grounding vpon no light reportes of feble credit, nor vpō any fabulous legendes wythout authority: But vpon the true and ſubſtantial copies of the publique recordes of the Realme, remaining yet to be ſene vnder the kings moſt ſure & faithfull cuſtody. Out of the which records, ſuch matter appeareth againſt the Popiſh church of Rome, and againſt hys vſurped authority, ſuch open ſtādyng & crying againſt the ſayd ſea, & that not priuely, but alſo in open parliament, in the daies of this king Edward the third: that neyther wil

Ex Archiuis Regiæ Maieſtatis.

the Romiſh people of thys our age eaſely thynke it to be true when they ſee it, neither yet ſhall they be able to deny the ſame, ſo cleare ſtandeth the force of thoſe recordes.

Parcial diſſimulation in our hiſtories of the Church of England.

Ye heard a litle before, pag.381. howe Iohn Stratford Archb. of Cant. being ſent for and required by the king to come vnto hym, refuſed ſo to do. What the cauſe was why he denyed to come at the kings ſending, is neither touched of Polidore Virgil, nor of any other monkiſh Chronicler, wryting of thoſe actes and times. Whoſe part hath bene, faithfully to haue diſpenſed the ſimple truth of thynges don to theyr poſterity. But that whych they diſſemblingly and colourably haue concealed, contrary to true lawe of ſtorie, the true cauſe thereof we haue found out by the true Parliament roles, declaring the ſtory thus.

Ex anno. 6. reg. Edou.3. tit.1.

King Edward the 3. in the 6. yeare of hys raigne, hearing that Edward Bailol had proclaimed himſelfe kyng of Scotland: Required counſell of the whole eſtate to wit, whether were better for hym to aſſayle Scotlande, and to claim the demeſing or demeines of the ſame: or els by making hym party to take hys aduauntage. And thereby to enioy the ſeruice, as other hys aunceſters before hym had done. For thys cauſe he ſommoned a Parliament of all eſtates to meete at Yorke, about the beginning of December. where the kyng was alredy come, waiting for yͤ comming of ſuch as were warned thereunto. For the want of whoſe comming, the parliament was reiourned til monday, and from thence to Tueſday next enſuing. But forſomuch as moſt of the ſtates were abſent, the aſſembly required the continuance of the parliament, vntil the vtas of S. Hillary then enſuing at Yorke, whych was graunted. And ſo a new ſommons was eſpecially awarded to euery perſon with ſpecial charge to attend, ſo that the affaires of the king and the realme myght not be hindered, becauſe of the debate betwene the Archb. of Cant. and Archbiſhop of Yorke, for the ſuperiour bearing of theyr croſſe.

The Archb. of Cant. came not to the parliament at Yorke, and all for bearing the croſſe.

In concluſion, for all the kyngs ſommoning, none other of all the Clergy came, but onely the Archb. of Yorke, the byſhop of Lincolne, and of Carliel, & Abbots of Yorke and Selby. So that hereunto came not the Archb. of Canterb. nor any other of hys prouince, and all for bearing the croſſe. Wherby the ſame was not onely a loſſe to the oportunitie to Scotland: but alſo an importable charge to the whole eſtate by a newe reaſſembly. And thus much out of the recordes. Whereby thou mayeſt eaſely iudge (prudent Reader) what is to be thought of theſe Pope holy Catholique Churchmen) being of the Popes brode and ſetting vp whom ſuch friuolous cauſes of contention ſtirre vp to ſuch diſquietnes, both among themſelues, and alſo to ſuch diſobedience againſt their Prince: excuſe them who can. Ex An. 6. Regis Edwardi 3.

Ex an 17. reg. Edouardi.3. tit.39. The Popes prouiſions reſtrayned. tit.59.

It foloweth moreouer in the ſame recordes, concerning the abandoning of the popes prouiſions: how that the cõmons finde great default at prouiſions commyng from Rome, wherby ſtraungers were enabled wͭin this realme to enioy eccleſiaſtical dignities, & ſhew diuers inconueniences enſuing thereby, namely the decay of daily almoſe, yͤ tranſporting of the treaſure to nouriſh the kings enemies the diſcouering of the ſecrets of the realme, & the diſabling and impoueriſhing of the clerkes within this realme.

The church of England ſpoyled by the pope & his foreiners

They alſo ſhew how the pope had in moſt couert wyſe graunted to two new Cardinalles wythin thys Realme, (and namely to Cardinall Peragotz) aboue ten thouſand markes of yerely taxes: They therfore required the kyng and nobles to finde ſome remedy, for that they neuer could ne would any longer beare thoſe ſtraunge oppreſſions, or els to helpe them to expell out of thys realme the Popes power by force.

The acte of K. Edwarde the firſt, renued for premunire, tit.60.

Hereupon, the King, Lords, and commõs, ſent for the act made at Carliel, in the 35. yere of king Edward yͤ firſt, vpon the lyke complaint: thereby forbidding, yͭ any thyng ſhoulde be attempted or brought into the Realme, whych ſhould tend to the blemiſhing of the kings prerogatiue, or to the preiudice of hys Lords or commons. And ſo at thys time, the ſtatute called the acte of prouiſion was made by common conſent, whych generally forbiddeth the bryngïng in of any Bulles, or ſuch trinkets from the Court of Rome, or the vſing, enioying, or allowing of any ſuch bil, proceſſe, inſtrument, or ſuch ware, as therby at large doth appeare. Whereof ſufficiently is touched before, pag.353.

Anno. Reg. Edouardi. 3. 18. tit 32. Preſentation within 4. monethes, an.reg.18. tit.34.

The penalty of whych ſtatute afterwarde followed in the next parliament, An. Reg. Ed. 18. tit. 31. the whych penalty was this: the tranſgreſſors therof to lie in perpetuall priſon, or to be forjured the land. And that al iuſtices of aſſize, gaile deliuery, and Oyer and determiner, may determine the ſame. Required withall, that the ſame act of prouiſion, ſhould continue for euer.

Item, that the ſayd 18. yeare of the raigne of king Edward, tit 34. it was moreouer propoũded: that if any archbyſhop, or any perſon religious or other, doe not preſent wͭin 4. monthes ſome able clerke to any dignitie, where any perſon hath obtayned from Rome any prouiſion, Bul, &c. but ſurceaſe the ſame: that then the Kyng may preſent ſome able clerke.

No elections to be taken by the pope, but onely by the K. anno. reg.18. tit.35.

Item, propounded in the ſayd Parliament, an.18. Reg. Ed 3. that if any Byſhop elect, ſhall refuſe to take any ſuche byſhopriks, other then by ſuch Bull: that then ſuch elect, ſhal not enter ne enioy hys temporalties without his ſpeciall licence.

Diſpoſitions of benefices onely in the kynges hand. an 18. Ed. 3. tit.36.

Alſo, that the king ſhall diſpoſe all ſuch benefices and dignities of ſuch aliens his enemies, as remain in the cõtrey of hys enemyes, and employ the profites therof to the defence of the realme.

Bulls frõ Rome forbidden. an. 18 reg. Ed. 3. tit. 37.

Moreouer propounded, that commiſſioners be ſent to all the kings portes, to apprehend all ſuch perſons as ſhal bring in any ſuch inſtrument frõ Rome, and to bring them forthwyth before the counſaile to anſwere thereto.

The Deanrie of Yorke taken frõ the Cardinal. an.18. reg. Ed. 3. tit.38.

Propounded farthermore, that the Deanry of Yorke which is to be recouered by iudgemẽt in the kyngs court, may be beſtowed vpon ſome able man within the realme, who will maintaine the ſame agaynſt hym (meanyng the Cardinall, who holdeth the ſame by prouiſion frõ Rome, being the enemy to the king and to the realm) and that the profites may be emploied to the defence of the realme.

The kings aunſwere & agreement to the foreſayd petitions.

The kynges aunſwere. To all whych petitions aunſwere was made in forme followyng: It is agreed by the King, Earles, Barons, Iuſtices, & other wiſe men of the Realme, that the petitions aforeſayd, be made in ſufficient forme of law, according to the petitions aforeſayd.

Note, that the Byſhops be not here named, and yet the parliament ſtandeth in force.

¶ Note in thys anſwere of the kyng (good reader) that at the graunt hereof, the conſent of the byſhops is neyther named, nor expreſſed, with the other Lords of the Parliament: and yet, the Parliament ſtandeth in hys full force, notwythſtanding.

✻ Notes of the Parliament holden in the 20. yeare of king Edward 3.

Alien monkes to auoyd, an.20. Ed.3. tit.30.

TO paſſe farther in the 20. yeare of the kings reigne in the Parliament holden the ſame yere, it was propoũded: that all alien Monkes ſhould auoyde the Realme by the day of S. Michael, and that theyr liuings ſhuld be diſpoſed, to young Engliſh ſcholers. The liuings of theſe the king tooke to hys handes.

Item, that the king may take the profites of all others ſtrangers liuings, as Cardinals and others, during their liues. The profites of whõ were alſo in the kings hands.

The liuinges of ſtraungers beneficed taken into the kings hand. tit.21. The liuings of Romiſh ſtraungers diſpoſed to Engliſh men, tit.32. tit.33.

That ſuch aliens enemies, as be aduanced to liuyngs here in England (being in their owne countreys, ſhomakers, tailers, or chamberlaines to Cardinals) ſhuld depart before Michaelmas, and theyr liuynges diſpoſed to poore Engliſh ſcholers. The lyuings alſo of theſe remayned in the kings handes.

The commons denied to pay any paiment, to any cardinals lying in Fraunce, to entreat of war or peace: which alſo was graunted of the kings part as reaſonable.

Cardinals depriued of their lyuings in England. tit.34.

Item, propounded and fully agreed, that the yearely aduauncement of two thouſand markes (graunted by the pope to two Cardinals, out of the prouinces of Canterb. and Yorke) ſhould be reſtrained, and ſuche as ſhall purſue therfore to be out of the law.

Lykewiſe enacted and agreed, that no Engliſh man ſhould take any thing in ferme of any Alien religious, ne buy any of their goods, nor be of theyr counſaile, on payne of perpetuall impryſonment.

Enacted further, that no perſon ſhould bryng into the realme to any Byſhop or other, any Bul, or any other letters from Rome, or from any Alien: vnleſſe he ſhewe the ſame to the Chauncelour or Warden of the Cinque ports, vpon loſſe of all he hath.

Finally, in the end of the ſaid Parliament, the biſhops were commaunded before the next conuocation, to certify into the Chancery the names of ſuch Aliens, of their benefices, and the values of the ſame.

✻ Notes of the 25. yeare of kyng Edward the third.

Ex Arch 25. an. reg. Ed 3. The popes firſt fruits & reſeruatiõs more hurtfull to the realm thẽ al the kyngs wars, tit.14.

THe Parliament of the 25. yeare, was begon the 6. day of February, the 25. yeare of king Edwarde 3. In the which parliament beſide other matters mo, was propoſed: that remedy might be had againſt the popes reſeruations, by which brocage and meanes the pope receiued the firſt fruits of all Eccleſiaſtical dignities: A more conſumption to the Realme, then all the kings warres.

Alſo the like remedy myght be had againſt ſuche, as in the Court of Rome preſume to vndoe any iudgement geuen in the kinges courte, as if they enforced to vndoe the lawes of the realme.

To breake of all appeales to Rome, tit.14.

Wherunto it was anſwered, that there was ſufficient remedy prouided by law.

✻ Notes of the 38. yeare of king Edward the third.

The requeſt of the K. for cauſes not to be determined at Rome. tit.7.

IN the Parliament holden at Weſtminſter, the 38. yeare of Edward 3. in the vtaues of Hillary (Symon Byſhop of Ely being Lorde Chauncelour) it was required by the kings owne mouth, & declared to the whole eſtates: How daily citations & falſe ſuggeſtions were made to the pope, for matters determinable in his courtes win the Realme, and for procuring prouiſions to Eccleſiaſticall dignities, to the great defacing of the ancient lawes, to the ſpoyling of his crowne, to the daily conueying away of the treaſure to the waſting of eccleſiaſtical liuings, to the withdrawing of diuine ſeruice, almoſe, hoſpitalitie, and other acceptable workes, and to the daily increaſe of all miſchiefes: wherfore, in perſon and by hys owne mouth, the king required the whole eſtate to prouide hereof due remedy.

What miſchiefs come by transporting cauſes to Rome, tit.co.

To be noted finally in thys parliament of the 38. yere, that the Acte of prouiſors, brought in thys parliament, although in the printed copy. cap.1.2.3.4. doth agree with the recorde, in maner: yet in the ſaide recordes vnprinted, are moe biting wordes againſt the Pope: a myſterie not to be knowen of all men.

The printed ſtatute of prouiſion not agreeing in all termes againſt the pope, with the record tit.9.

Ex an. reg. Ed. 40. tit.7. Videlicet.

✻ Notes of the 40. yeare of king Edward the third.

IT followeth moreouer in the ſayd Acts of king Edward the 3. and in the 40. yere of his raigne, an other Parliament was called at Weſtminſter the 3. of May. An. 1366. the Biſhop of Ely being Lord Chauncelour and ſpeaker. Who in the 2. day of the ſayd aſſembly in the preſence of the King, Lordes and commons, declared: howe the day before, generally they vnderſtode the cauſe of thys their aſſembly, and now more particularly ſhuld vnderſtand the ſame: ſpecially howe that the king vnderſtode, yͤ the Pope (for the homage which K. Iohn made to the ſea of Rome for the Realmes of Englãd & Ireland, and for the tribute by him granted) ment by proces to cite the king of Rome, to aunſwere thereto. Wherein, the king required their aduiſes, what were beſt for him to do, if any ſuch thing were attempted. The Byſhops by their ſelues required reſpite of anſwere, vntill the next day. So did the Lordes & commons euery of them by their ſelues.

The pope mindeth to ſend for the king vp by proceſ.

The ſame next day, the whole eſtates reaſſembled together, & by common conſent enacted in effect following, vz. Forasmuch as neither K. Iohn nor any other kyng, coulde bring his realme & people in ſuch thraldome & ſubiection, but by common aſſent of Parliament, the whyche was not done: and therefore done againſt his othe at hys coronation (beſides many other cauſes.) If therefore the Pope ſhould attempt any thing againſt the King, by proceſſe or other matter in deede: That the king with all his ſubiects, ſhould withall their force and power reſiſt the ſame.

K. Iohn could not without conſent of parliament become tributary to the pope. tit.8.

Agreed by parliament, that the K. by force ſhould reſiſt the Pope.

Braule betweene the 4. orders of Friers and the two vniuerſities. Ex. tit.10.

Here moreouer is not to be omitted, howe in the ſayd preſent Parliament, the Vniuerſities of Oxford & Cambridge on the one ſide, and the Friers of the foure orders medicants in the ſaid vniuerſities on the other ſide: Made long complaintes the one againſt the other, to the kyng in Parliament, and in the ende ſubmitted themſelues to the kings order.

After which, the king vpon full digeſting of the whole matter (by aſſent of Parliament) tooke order: that as well the Chancelour & ſcholers, as the friers of thoſe orders in the ſayd Vniuerſities: ſhould in al graces and other ſchole exerciſes, vſe eche other in frendly wiſe, wythout any rumor as before. That none of thoſe orders, ſhoulde receyue any ſcholers into theyr ſayde orders, being vnder the age of 18. yeares.

That the ſaid Friers ſhall take no aduantage, ne procure Bulles or other proceſſe from Rome, againſt the ſaid vniuerſities, or procede therein.

The Friers ſubiect to the kings order only in all their controuerſies, parliament. tit.12.

And that the kyng haue power to redreſſe all controuerſies, betweene them from thence forth. And the offenders to be puniſhed at the pleaſure of the King, and of the counſaile.

Ex Archiuis regia maieſtatis. an.50 Reg. Ed. 3. tit.94.

✻ Notes of the 50. yeare of king Edward the third.

IN proceſſe of the foreſayd Actes and Rolles, it followeth more, that in the 50. yeare of the reigne of king Edward the 3. the yeare of our Lorde 1376. an other great Parliament was aſſembled at Weſtminſter the xxiiij. of April: where, Syr Iohn Knyuet being Lorde Chauncelour of England, a certaine long Bill was put vp againſt the vſurpatiõs of the Pope, as being the cauſe of all yͤ plagues, murrions, famine, and pouerty of the realme, ſo as thereby was not left the third perſon, or other cõmodity within the realme that lately was.

2. That the taxes payed to the Pope of Rome for Eccleſiaſticall dignities, doe amount to fiue fold as much, as the taxe of al profites as apperteine to the king by the yeare of his whole Realme: And that for ſome one Byſhopricke or other dignitie, the Pope by way of tranſlation and death, hath 3.4. or 5. ſeuerall taxes.

Againſt the vſurpation of the pope.

3. That the brokers of that ſinfull Citie, for money promote many caitifes (being altogether vnlearned and vnworthy) to a 1000. markes lyuing by yeare, where the learned and worthy can hardly obteine 20. marks, whereby learning decayeth.

The Pope cauſe of all miſchiefes in England.

4. That aliens (enemyes to this land) who neuer ſaw ne care not to ſe their pariſhioners, haue thoſe liuings wherby they deſpiſe Gods ſeruice, & conuey away the treaſure, and are worſe then Iewes or Saraſens.

The treſure of the Realme conueyed away by the popes meanes. tit. 97.

5. Alſo it was put vp in the ſaid Bill to be conſidered, that the lawes of the church, would ſuch liuings to be beſtowed for charitie, onely without praying or paying.

6. That reaſon woulde that liuings geuen of deuotion, ſhould be beſtowed in hoſpitality.

7. That God had committed his ſheepe to the Pope, to be paſtured and not ſhoren or ſhauen.

8. That lay patrones perceiuing the couetouſnes and ſimony of the pope, do therby learne to ſell their benefices to beaſts, none otherwiſe then Chriſt was ſold to the Iewes.

The Pope geueth example to ſel benefices, tit.99.

9. That there is none ſo rich a Prince in Chriſtendome, that hath the fourth part of ſo much treaſure, as the Pope hath out of this realme, for churches moſt ſinfully.

Ineſtimable that the P. hath here out of England, tit.100

10. Ouer and beſides in the ſayd Bill, repeting againe the tendering zeale, for the honor of the Church: was declared and particularly named, all the plagues whych haue iuſtly fallen vpon this realme, for ſuffering the ſame church to be ſo defaced, wyth declaration that it will daily encreaſe wythout redreſſe.

11. Wherupon, with much perſuaſion this was deſired, to helpe to reedifie the ſame: and the rather for that, this was the yeare of Iubiley, the 50. yeare of the kynges reigne, the yeare of ioy and gladneſſe, then the whych there coulde be no greater.

Reſeruation of the church of England deſired in the Parliamét, tit.111.

12. The meanes howe to begyn this, was to wryte 2. letters to the Pope: the one in Latine vnder the kyngs ſeale, the other in French vnder the ſeales of the nobles, importing their particularities, & requiring redres, of the which letter of the Lordes; the effect may be ſeene in a like letter mentioned before, pag.479.

13. And for a further accompliſhment hereof to enact, that no money were caried forth of the realme by letter of Lumbardy or otherwiſe, on paine of forfaiture and impriſonment, and to enact the articles hereafter enſuing.

Actes made for no money to be tranſported. tit,103.

14. The king hath heretofore by ſtatute prouided ſufficiẽt remedy, and otherwiſe purſueth the ſame with the holy father the Pope, & ſo mindeth to do from time to time, vntill he hath obteined aſwel for the matters before, as for the articles enſuing being in a maner all one.

15. That the popes collector & other ſtraungers the kings enemies, and onely lyger ſpies for Engliſh dignities, and diſcloſing of the ſecretes of the realme, may be touched.

Againſt the Popes lyger ſpies, & collectors, tit. 104.

16. That the ſame collectour being alſo receauour of the popes pence, keepeth a houſe in London with clerkes and officers therto, as it were one of the kings ſolẽne courtes, tranſporting yearely to the Pope xx. M. markes, and moſt commonly more.

The Popes collection what it cometh to. tit. 205.

17. That Cardinals & other aliens remaining at Rome, wherof one Cardinall is Deane of Yorke, an other of Saliſbury, an other of Lyncoln, an other archdeacon of Canterbury, an other Archdeacon of Durreſme, an other archdeacon of Suffolk, an other Archdeacon of York, an other prebendary of Thame & Naſſington, an other prebendary of Buckes in the Church of Yorke: Haue diuers of the beſt dignities of England, & haue ſent ouer to them yerely xx. M. marks ouer and aboue that whych Engliſh brokers lying there, haue.

The beſt dignities in England, in the Cardinals. tit.106.

18. That the Pope (to raunſome the Frenchmenne the kings enemyes, who defend Lumbardy from hym) doeth alwaies at his pleaſure leuie a ſubſidy of the whole Clergie of England.

The Pope maintaineth the kings enemies with the kyngs money. tit. 207.

19. That the Pope for more gaine maketh ſundry tranſlations of all the Byſhopricks and other dignities wythin the Realme.

The Popes practiſe in England to make money. tit. 108.

20. That the popes collector hath this yeare taken to hys vſe the firſt fruits of all benefices, by collatiō or prouiſion.

The law of premunire to be renued.

21. To renue all the ſtatutes againſt prouiſors frō Rome, ſith that the Pope reſerueth all the benefices of the worlde for hys owne proper gift, & hath thys yere created 12. new Cardinals, ſo as nowe there are thirty, where was wont to be but 12. and all thoſe Cardinals, except 2. or 3. are the kings enemies.

22. That the Pope in tyme, wil geue the temporall mannors of thoſe dignities to ẏ kings enemies, ſith he ſo daily vſurpeth vpon the Realme, and the kings regalities.

Againſt the popes vſurpation, tit. 112.

23. That all houſes and corporatiōs of religion, who vnto the kings raigne nowe had free election of heades, the Pope hath encroched the ſame to hymſelfe.

24. That in all legacies from the Pope, whatſoeuer: the Engliſh clergie beareth the charge of the legates, and all for the goodneſſe of our money.

Engliſhe money payeth the Popes legacies, tit. 113.

25. And ſo it appeareth, that if the money of the Realme were as plentiful as euer it was: the Collectors aforeſaid, wyth the Proctors of Cardinals, would ſone conuey the ſame.

No good money in the realme for the pope and Card. tit. 114.

26. For remedy heereof it may be prouided, that no ſuche Collector or Proctor doe remayne in Englande, on payne of lyfe and member. And that no Engliſh man on the like payne, become any ſuch Collector or Proctor, or remayne at Rome.

The Popes collector or proctor driuen out of the realme, tit. 115.

27. For better information hereof, and namely touchyng the Popes Collector, for that the whole clergy beyng obedient to him, dare not diſpleaſe hym: It were good, that ſyr Iohn Strenſale, parſone of S. Botulphes in Holborne, may be ſent to come before the Lordes and commons of this Parliament. Who beyng ſtraightly charged, can declare much more, for that hee ſerued the ſame Collector in houſe 5. yeares.

The Popes collector to be examined.

Engliſh mē good aſſes.

¶ And thus much of this bil touching the popes matters: wherby it may appere, not to be for nought that hath bene vpon vs reported by the Italians and other ſtraungers, which vſed to call Engliſh men good Aſſes: for they beare all burdens that be layd vpon them.

Order takē in London againſt vſury, tit. 158.

Item, in the ſaid parliament it was prouided alſo, that ſuch order as is made in London againſt the horrible vice of vſury, may be obſerued throughout the whole realme.

Complaynt againſt the B. of Yorke and his officers for their exceſſiue taking for their admiſſions. tit. 171

The commons of the dioces of Yorke complaine of the outragious taking of the Byſhop and his clarkes, for admiſſion of prieſtes to their benefices.

Ex Archiuis Reg. Edw. 3. an. regni. 51. tit. 36.

To theſe recordes of the parliament aboue prefixed of the 50. yere of thys king Edward: we will adioyne alſo other notes, collected out of the parliament, in the yere next following, which was 51. and laſt yeare of this kings life and raigne, An. 1377. the 27. of Ianuary: Although in the printed boke, theſe ſtatutes are ſaid to be made at the parliament holden, as aboue in the 50. yeare whych is muche miſtaken, and ought to be referred to the 51. yere, as by the recordes of the ſayd yere, manifeſtly doth appeare.

Againſt the popes prouiſions from Rome. ann. reg. 51. tit. 36

The effect of the Chācellors Oration.

In which Parliament, the Byſhop of S. Dauids being Lord Chauncelour, making a long oration, taking his theame out of S. Paul: Libenter ſuffertis inſipientes. &c. Declaring in the ſayde Oration many thyngs, as firſt, in ſhewing the ioyfull newes of the olde kings recouerye: then declaring the loue of God toward the king and realme, in chaſtiſing hym wyth ſickeneſſe: Afterwarde ſhewyng the bleſſing of God vpon the king, in ſeeing hys childrēs children: Then by a ſimilitude of the head & members, exhorting the people as members to cōforme themſelues to the goodneſſe of the head. Laſtly, hee turned his matter to the Lordes and the reſt, declaring the cauſe of that aſſembly: that forſomuch as the Frenche kyng had allyed hymſelfe wyth the Spanyardes and Scottes the kyngs enemyes, whych had prepared great powers, conſpiring to blot out the Engliſh tonge and name: the king therefore was willyng to haue therein their faithfull counſaile.

The cauſe of this parliament chiefly for the Popes vſurpation againſt the king.

This being declared by the Biſhop: Sir Robert Aſhton the kings chamberlaine, declaring ẏ he was to moue them from the king, for the profit of the realme (the whych wordes percaſe lay not in the Byſhops mouth, for that it touched the Pope) vz. By proteſting firſt, that the Kyng was ready to do al that ought to be done for the pope. But for that diuers vſurpations were done by the Pope to the Kyng hys crowne, and Realme, as by particular billes in thys parliament ſhould be ſhewed, he required of them to ſeeke redreſſe.

Againſt the pope his prouiſions from Rome an. reg. 51. tit. 35

In thys preſent parliament petition was made by the commons, that al prouiſors of things from Rome, & their miniſters, ſhould be out of the kyngs protection.

The kynges anſwere.

Whereunto the kyng aunſwered, that the Pope had promyſed redreſſe, whych if hee did not, the lawes then ſhould ſtand.

Againſt the P. his diſpēſations tit. 61.

It was alſo in that Parliament required, that euery perſon of what ſexe ſoeuer, being profeſſed of any religion, continuing the habite of 15. yeares, may vpon the triall of the ſame in any of the kings courts, be in law vtterly forbarred of al inheritaunce, albeit he haue diſpenſation from the pope. Againſt which diſpenſation, is the chief grudge. Wherunto the king and the lordes anſwered, ſaying, that they would prouide.

By this *Anteferri*, that is, premunire is ment, the preeminence aboue the kyng.

The popes lawe of preminere, which now we corruptly call premunire, debarred by the K. tit. 78.

Item, in the ſayde Parliament was propounded, that the ſtatute of prouiſors made at any tyme may be executed, and that remedy may be had agaynſt ſuch Cardinalles, as haue wythin the prouinces of Caunterbury and Yorke, purchaſed reſeruations, wyth the clauſe of Anteferri, to the value of xx. or xxx. thouſande Scutes of golde agaynſt the Popes Collector: who was wont to be an Engliſhman, and now is a mere French, reſiding at London, & conueyeth yearely to the Pope xx. M. markes, or xx. M. pounde, who thys yeare gathereth the firſt fruites whatſoeuer. Alledging the meanes to meete wyth theſe reſeruations and nouelties, as: to commaund all ſtraungers to depart the Realme during the warres, that no Engliſh man to become their farmour, or to ſend to them any mony without ſpeciall licence, on payne to be out of the kings protection: Wherunto was aunſwered by the kyng, that the ſtatutes and ordinaunces therfore made, ſhould be obſerued.

Ex Actis parliamentis in an. reg. Ed. tertij. 15 tit. 24.

In theſe rolles and recordes of ſuch Parliamentes as was in thys kings time continued, diuers other thynges are to be noted muche worthy to be marked, and not to be ſuppreſſed in ſilence. Wherein the Reader may learne and vnderſtand the ſtate of the kings iuriſdiction here wythin this realme, not to be ſtraightned in thoſe daies (although the Pope then ſeemed to be in his chief ruffe) as afterward ſince in other kings dayes was ſeene. As may appeare in the parliament of the 15. yeare of thys king Edward the 3. and in the 24. article of the ſayde Parliament: where it is to be read, that the kings officers and temporall Iuſtices did then both puniſh vſurers, ans impeached the officers of the Church for bribery, and for taking mony for temporall paine, probate of willes, ſolemnitie of Mariage, &c. al the pretenſed liberties of the popiſh church to the contrary notwythſtanding.

Puniſhment of the clergie in the temporall mens handes.

Clarkes ſubiect to temporall lawe.

Furthermore, in the Parliament of the 25. yeare, appeareth: that the liberties of the clergie and their exemptions in claiming the deliueraunce of men by their booke vnder the name of Clerks, ſtode then in litle force, as appeared by one Hauketyne Honby knight: who for impriſonning one of the kings ſubiectes, till hee made fine of 20. li. was therefore executed, notwithſtanding the liberty of the Clergie, whych by his booke would haue ſaued hym, but could not.

The like alſo appeared by iudgement geuen agaynſt a prieſt at Notingham, for killing of hys maiſter.

And likewiſe by hanging certaine monks of Combe.

Ex Parliam. An. 23. Ed. 3.

The raynment of the Archb. of Cant. an. 15. Ed. 3. tit. 49.

Item, in the Parliament of the 15. yeare, by apprehending of I. Stratford, Archbiſhop of Canterbury, and hys arrainment: concerning which his arrainment, all things were committed to ſir William of Kildiſby.

Beſides theſe truthes and notes of the kings Parliaments, wherin may appeare ẏ toward procedings of this king & of all his commons againſt the pretenſed church of Rome: Thys is moreouer to be added to the commendation of the king, how in the volumes of the actes & rolles of the king appeareth. That the ſayd king Edward the 3. ſent alſo Iohn Wickleffe, reader then of the Diuinitie lector in Oxford, wyth certaine other Lords & Ambaſſadors ouer into the partes of Italy, to treat wyth the Popes Legates concerning affaires betwixt the King and the Pope wt ful cōmiſſion: the tenor wherof here foloweth expreſſed.

Iohn Wickliffe ſent with the kings Ambaſſadours by the K.

Rex vniuerſis, ad quorum notitiam preſentes literæ peruenerint. &c. In Engliſh thus.

The King to all and ſinguler to whome theſe preſentes ſhall come greeting. Know ye, that we repoſing aſſured confidence in the fidelitie and wiſdome of the reuerend father Iohn Biſhoppe of Bangor, and other our louing and faithful ſubiects, M. Iohn Wickliſſe, reader of the diuinitie lecture, M. Iohn Gunter Deane of Segobyen. and M. Symon Moulton doctor of the lawe, Syr William Burton Knight, M Iohn Belknappe, & M. Iohn Honnington, haue directed them as our Ambaſſadors and ſpecial Commiſsioners to the partes beyond the ſeas. Geuing to the ſayde our Ambaſſadors and Commiſsioners, to ſixe or fiue of them, of whome I will that the ſayde Biſhop ſhalbe one, full power and aucthoritie, wyth commaundement ſpeciall, to treat and conſult mildely and charitably with the Legates and Ambaſſadors of the L. Pope touching certaine affaires. Whereupon of late we ſent heretofore the ſayd Biſhop, and M. William Vghtred monke of Dureſme, and M. Iohn Shepie to the ſee Apoſtolicall: And hereof to make ful relation of all things done and paſt in the ſayd aſſembly, that all ſuch things which may tend to the honor of holy Church and the aduauncement of our crowne and this our realme may by the aſſiſtaunce of God and the wiſedome of the ſee Apoſtolicall bee brought to good effect, and accompliſhed accordingly. Witnes our ſelues. &c. at London dated the 26. day of Iuly in the 48. yeare of our raigne.

By the which it is to be noted, what good wil the king then bare to the ſayd Wickleffe, and what ſmal regarde he had to the ſinfull ſea of Rome.

Of the whych Iohn Wickleff, becauſe we are now approched to his time: remaineth conſequently for our ſtory to entreat of, so as we haue heere to fore done of other lyke valiant ſouldiours of Chriſtes Church before him.

¶ Iohn Wickliffe.

Here beginneth the ſtory of Iohn Wickliffe

AFter all theſe heretofore recited, by whome (as ye haue heard) it pleaſed the Lord ſomething to worke againſt the Byſhop of Rome, & to weaken the pernitious ſuperſtition of the Friers. Nowe remayneth conſequently following the courſe of yeares, orderly to enter into the ſtory and tractation of Iohn Wickleffe our countreyman, and other moe of his time, and ſame countrey, whom the Lord (wyth the like zeale and power of ſpirit) rayſed vp here in England, to detect more fully and amply the poiſon of the Popes doctrine, & falſe religion ſet vp by the Fryers. In whoſe opinions and aſſertiõs, albeit ſome blemiſhes perhaps may be noted: yet ſuch blemiſhes they be, whych rather declare him to be a mã that might erre, then which directly did fight againſt Chriſt our Sauiour, as the Popes procedings and the friers did. And what doctor or learned man hath ben from the prime age of the church, ſo perfect, ſo abſolutely ſure, in whome no opinyon hath ſometyme ſwarued awry? And yet be the ſayd articles of hys, neither in number ſo many, nor yet ſo groſſe in themſelues and ſo cardinall, as thoſe Cardinal ennemies of Chriſt perchance doe geue them out to be: if his bookes whõ they aboliſhed, were remaining to be conferred wt thoſe blemiſhes, which they haue wraſted to the worſte, as euill will neuer ſayde the beſt.

The blemiſhes of Wickliffe made worſe then they be.

This is certaine and can not be denied, but that he being the publike Reader of Diuinitie in the Vniuerſitie of Oxford: was for the rude time wherein he liued, famouſly reputed for a great clerke, a deepe ſcholeman, & no leſſe expert in all kinde of philoſophie. The which doth not onely appeare by his owne moſt famous and learned wrytings and monuments, but alſo by the confeſſion of Walden hys moſt cruel & bitter enemy, who in a certain Epiſtle wrytten vnto pope Martin the fift, ſayth that he was wonderfully aſtonyſhed at his moſt ſtrong arguments, wyth the places of authority whych hee had gathered, wyth the vehemency and force of hys reaſons. &c. And thus much out of Walden. It appeareth by ſuch as haue obſerued the order and courſe of times, that this Wickleffe floriſhed about the yeare of our Lord. 1371. Edward the third raigning in England: for thus we doe finde in the Chronicles of Caxton. In the yere of our Lord 1371. (ſayeth he) Edward the third, king of England in his Parliamẽt, was againſt the Popes clergy: He willingly harkned and gaue eare to the voices and tales of heretickes, wyth certaine of his counſel: conceiuing and folowing ſiniſter opinions againſt the Clergy. Wherefore (afterward) he taſted and ſuffred much aduerſity & trouble. And not long after, in the yeare of our Lord (ſayth he) 1372. he wrote vnto the Byſhop of Rome, that he ſhould not by any meanes entermeddle any more wtin his kingdom as touching the reſeruation, or diſtribution of benefices: and that all ſuch byſhops as were vnder hys dominion, ſhould enioy their former and anciẽt liberty, and be confirmed of theyr Metropolitanes, as hath ben accuſtomed in times paſt. &c. Thus much wryteth Caxtõ: But as touching the iuſt number of the yere and time, we will not be very curious or carefull about, at this preſent. Thys is out of all doubt, that at what time all the worlde was in moſt deſperate and vile eſtate, & that the lamentable ignorance and darknes of God his truth had ouerſhadowed the whole earth: this man ſtepped forth like a valiant champiõ, vnto whom it may iuſtly be applyed that is ſpoken in the boke called Eccleſiaſticus of one Simon the ſonne of Onias. Euen as the morning ſtar being in the middeſt of a cloud, & as the Moone being ful in her courſe, and as the bryght beames of the Sunne, ſo doeth he ſhine and gliſter in the temple and Church of God.

The teſtimonie of Walden an enemy in commendation of Wickliffe.

{ Ann. 1371. }
The tyme of I. Wickliffe.

{ Anno. 1372. }

Ex Caxtono.

Thus doth almighty God continually ſuccor & helpe, whẽ all thinges are in diſpaire: being alwaies (according to the Prophecye of the Pſalme) a helper in tyme of need. The which thing neuer more playnely appeared, then in theſe latter dayes and extreme age of the Church: when as the whole ſtate & condition (not onely of worldly things, but alſo of Religion) was depraued and corrupted. That like as the diſeaſe named Lethargus among the Phiſitions, euen ſo the ſtate religion amongſt the Diuines, was paſt al mens helpe and remedy. The onely name of Chriſt remayned amongeſt Chriſtians, but his true & liuely doctrine was as farre vnknowne vnto the moſt part, as his name was cõmon vnto al men. As touching fayth, cõſolation, the end & vſe of the law, the office of Chriſt, of our impotency and weaknes, of the holy ghoſt, of the greatnes & ſtrength of ſinne, of true works, of grace and free iuſtification of liberty of a Chriſtian man, wherein conſiſteth and reſteth the ſumme and matter of our profeſſion: there was no mention or any word almoſt ſpokẽ of Scripture, learning & diuinity, was knowne but vnto a few, & that in the ſcholes onely: & there alſo turned & cõuerted almoſt al into ſophiſtry. In ſtead of Peter & Paule, men occupyed theyr time in ſtudying Aquinas and Scotus, and the maiſter of ſentẽce. The worlde leauing & forſaking the liuely power of Gods ſpirituall word and doctrine, was altogether led and blinded with outward ceremonies & humaine traditions, wherein the whole ſcope, in a maner of all chriſtian perfection did conſiſt & depend. In theſe was all the hope of obteining ſaluation fully fixed: hereunto all thynges were attributed. In ſo much, that ſcarcely any other thyng was ſene in the temples or Churches, taught or ſpoken of in ſermõs, or finally intẽded or gone about in theyr whole life, but only heaping vp of certain ſhadowed ceremonies vpon ceremonies, neither was there any end of theyr heaping.

A deſcriptiõ of Wickliffes time.

The people were taught to worſhip no other thing but that which they did ſee, and did ſee almoſt nothing whiche they did not worſhip.

The Church being degenerated from the true Apoſtolick inſtitutiõ aboue al meaſure (reſeruing onely the name of the Apoſtolick Church, but farre from the truth thereof in very deede) did fall into all kinde of extreme tyranny: where as the pouerty and ſimplicity of Chriſt was chaunged into cruelty and abhomination of life. In ſtead of the Apoſtolicke giftes and continuall labours and trauelles, ſlouthfulnes & ambitiõ was crept in amongſt the prieſts. Beſides all this, there aroſe & ſprong vp a thouſand ſortes and faſhions of ſtraunge religions, being the onely root & well head of all ſuperſtitiõ. How great abuſes and deprauations were crept into the Sacramentes, at what tyme they were compelled to worſhip ſimilitudes and ſignes of thinges, for the very things themſelues: and to adore ſuch things as were inſtituted and ordeined onely for memorials? Finally what thing was there, in the whole ſtate of Chriſten religion ſo ſincere, ſo ſound and pure, which was not defiled and ſpotted with ſome kind of ſuperſtitiõ? Beſides this, with how many bondes & ſnares of dayly new fangled ceremonies, the ſely conſciences of men redeemed by Chriſt to liberty, were ſnared and ſnarled? In ſo much, that there could be no great differẽce almoſt perceiued betwene Chriſtianitie and Iuiſhnes, ſaue onely the name of Chriſt, ſo that the ſtate and condition of the Iewes, might ſeeme ſomwhat more tolerable then ours. There was nothing ſought for out of the true fountaines, but out of the dirty pudles of the Philiſtians. The chriſtian people were wholy caried away as it were by the noſes, with mere decrees and conſtitutions of men, euen whether as pleaſed the biſhops to lead them, and not as Chriſtes will did direct them. All the whole world was filled and ouerwhelmed with errours and darkneſſe. And no great maruell, for why the ſimple and vnlearned people being far from all knowledge of the holy Scripture: thought it ſufficient inough for them, to know onely theſe things whych were deliuered them by their paſtors and ſhepheards, and they on the other part taught in a maner nothing els, but ſuch things as came forth of the Court of Rome. Whereof the moſt part tended to the profite of their order more then to the glory of Chriſt.

All good things defiled & ſpotted with ſuperſtition.

The Chriſtian faith was eſteemed or counted none other thing then, but ye euery man ſhould know that Chriſt once ſuffered, that is to ſay, that all men ſhould know and vnderſtand ye thing which the deuils thẽſelues alſo knew. Hypocriſie was counted for wonderful holines. All men were ſo addict vnto outward ſhewes, that euen they thẽſelues which profeſſed ye moſt abſolute & ſingular knowledge of the ſcriptures, ſcarſly did vnderſtãd or know any other thing. And thys euidẽtly did appere, not only in the common ſort of doctours and teachers, but alſo in the very heades and captaines of the Church: whoſe whole religion

The captaines of the church ſeduced as well as the inferior ſort.

Paleſtina denied holy for Chriſtes walkyng there.

Richard K. of England.

Fredericke the Emperor of Rome

Philip kyng of Fraunce.

gion and holines, conſiſted in a maner in the obſeruing of dayes, meates, and garments, and ſuch like rethorical circumſtances, as of place, time, perſon. &c. Hereof ſprang ſo many ſorts & faſhions of veſtures and garments: ſo many differences of colours & meates: with ſo many pilgrimages to ſeuerall places, as though S. James at Compoſtella could do that, which Chriſt could not do at Canterbury: Or els that God were not of like power & ſtrength in euery place, or could not be found but being ſought for by running & gadding hether and thether. Thus the holines of the whole yere was trāſported and put of vnto the Lent ſeaſon. No countrey or land was counted holy, but onely Paleſtina, where Chriſt had walked himſelfe wyth his corporall feete. Such was the blindnes of yͤ time, men did ſtriue and fight for the croſſe at Hieruſalem, as it had bene for the chief and onely force and ſtrength of our faith. It is a wonder to reade the monumentes of the formore times, to ſee and vnderſtand what great troubles & calamities thys croſſe hath cauſed almoſte in euery Chriſtian common wealth. For the Romiſh champions neuer ceaſed, by wryting, admoniſhing, and coūſailing, yea and by quarelling, to moue & ſtirre vp Princes mindes to warre & battail, euen as though the faith & beleefe of the goſpell, were of ſmall force or little effect wᵗout that wooden croſſe. This was yͤ cauſe of yͤ expedition of the moſt noble prince K. Rich. vnto Jeruſalem. Who being taken in the ſame iourney, and deliuered vnto the Emperour: could ſcarſly be raunſomed home againe, for xxx. M. markes. pag. 248. In the ſame enterpriſe or iourney, Fridericus the Emperour of Rome a man of moſt excellent vertue, was muche endamaged in the ſame iourney. an. 1179. And alſo Philip the king of Fraunce, ſcarſly returned home againe in ſafety not without great loſſes: ſo much did they eſteeme the recouery of the holy citie and croſſe.

Pope Vrbane.

Lambert Pope,

The knowledge of the Goſpell groſely expounded by the Romapiſtes.

Upon this alone, all mens eyes, minds, & deuotions, were ſo ſet and bent: as though either there were no other croſſe but that, or that the croſſe of Chriſt were in no other place but onely at Hieruſalem. Such was the blindneſſe and ſuperſtition of thoſe daies, which vnderſtood or knew nothing but ſuch as were outwardly ſene: wheras yͤ profeſſion of our religion ſtandeth in much other higher matters and greater myſteries. What was the cauſe why that Urbanus did ſo vexe and torment himſelfe? Becauſe that Antioche with the holy croſſe, was loſt out of the hands of the Chriſtians. For ſo we doe finde it in the Chronicles, at what time as Jeruſalem with king Guido, and the croſſe of our Lord was taken, and vnder the power of Sultan: Urbanus toke the mater ſo greuouſly, that for very ſorow he died. In whoſe place ſucceded Lambertus which was called Gregory the 8. by whoſe motion it was decreed by the Cardinals, that (ſetting apart all riches and voluptuouſnes) they ſhould preach the croſſe of Chriſt, and by their pouerty and humility firſt of all ſhuld take the croſſe vpon them, & go before others into the lād of Jeruſalem. Theſe are the words of the hiſtory, wherby it is euident vnto the vigilant reader, vnto what groſenes the true knowledge of the ſpiritual doctrine of the goſpel was degenerate and growen vnto in thoſe daies: How great blindnes & darknes was in thoſe dayes, euen in the firſt primacy, & ſupremacy of the biſhop of Rome: as though the outward ſucceſſion of Peter and the Apoſtles, had ben of greater force and effect to that matter. What doeth it force in what place Peter did rule or not rule? It is much more to be regarded that euery man ſhould labor and ſtudy with all theyr endeuor to followe the life & confeſſion of Peter: And that man ſeemeth vnto me to be the true ſucceſſour of Peter, againſt whom the gates of hel ſhall not preuaile. For if that Peter in the goſpell do beare the type & figure of the chriſtian church (as all men in a maner do affirme) what more fooliſh or vaine thyng can there be: then thorough priuate vſurpation, to reſtraine and to binde that vnto one man, which by the appoyntment of the Lorde, is of it ſelfe free and open to ſo many?

The ryſing vp of Wickliffe in a troublous tyme.

Thus in theſe ſo great and troublous times and horrible darkenes of ignoraunce, what time there ſeemed in a maner to be no one ſo litle a ſparke of pure doctrine left or remaining: This foreſayd Wickliffe by Gods prouidence ſprang and roſe vp: thorough whom, the Lord would firſt waken and raiſe vp agayne the worlde, which was ouermuch drowned and whelmed in the depe ſtreames of humaine traditions. Thus you haue heere the time of Wickliffes originall.

Wickliffe a Deuine in Oxford.

Which Wickliffe after he had now by a long time profeſſed deuinity in the vniuerſity of Oxford, and perceiuing the true doctrine of Chriſtes Goſpell to be adulterate and defiled, with ſo many filthy inuentions of Biſhops, ſectes of monkes, and darke errours: And that he after long debating and deliberating with himſelfe (with many ſecrete ſighes and bewailing in hys mind the generall ignorance of the whole world) could no lōger ſuffer or abide the ſame but that he at the laſt, determined with himſelfe to healpe and to remedy ſuch things as he ſaw to be wide and out of the way. But for ſo much as he ſaw that this daungerous medling, could not be attempted or ſtirred wythout great trouble, neyther that theſe things which had bene ſo long time with vſe and cuſtome rooted and grafted in mennes mindes, coulde not be ſodenly plucked vp or taken away, he thought wᵗ himſelfe that this matter ſhould be done by litle & litle. Wherfore he taking his original at ſmall occaſions, thereby opened himſelfe a way or meane to greater matters. And firſt he aſſailed his aduerſaries in logicall & metaphiſical queſtiōs, diſputing wᵗ them of the firſt forme & faſhion of things, of the increaſe of time, and of the intelligible ſubſtance of a creature, wᵗ other ſuch like ſophemes of no great effect: but yet notwithſtanding did not a little helpe and furniſh him, which minded to diſpute of greater matters. So in theſe matters, firſt began Kegningham (a Carmelite) to diſpute and argue againſt John Wickliffe.

Wickliffe depriued of his benefice at Oxford by S. Sudbery. *Ex Chron. D. Albani.*

Duke of Lancaſter, & Lord H. Percy, great maintayners of I. Wickliffe.

By theſe originals, the way was made vnto greater poynts, ſo that at the length he came to touch the matters of the ſacraments, and other abuſes of the Church. Touching whych thinges this holy man tooke great paynes, proteſting (as they ſaide) openly in the ſcholes, that it was hys chiefe and principall purpoſe and intent: to reuoke and call backe the Church from her Idolatry to ſome better amendment, eſpecially in the matter of the Sacrament of the body and bloud of Chriſt. But this bile or ſore could not be touched wythout the great griefe and paine of the whole world. For firſt of all, the whole glutte of Monkes and begging Friers were ſet on a rage or madnes, which (euen as Hornets wyth their ſharpe ſtings) did aſſayle this good man on euery ſide: fighting (as is ſayd) for their aultars, paunches and bellies. After them the prieſts, and then after them the Archb. tooke the matter in hand being then S. Sudbury, who for the ſame cauſe depriued him of his benefice, which then he had in Oxford. Notwythſtanding he being ſomwhat friended & ſupported by the king, as appeareth, continued and bare out the malice of the Friers, and of the Archb. all this while of his firſt beginning, till about the yeare of our Lorde. 1377. After whych time now to proſecute likewiſe of his troubles & conflict, firſt I muſt fetch about a little compaſſe, as requiſite is, to inferre ſome mention of John of Gaunt Duke of Lancaſter the kings ſonne, and Lord Henry Percy, whych were his ſpeciall maintainers.

Alice Perris, the kings concubine.

The K. bewitched by a woman thorough the helpe of a Fryer.

The propertie of an whore.

As yeares and time grew on, king Edward the third, which had reigned nowe about 51. yeares, after the deceaſe of prince Edwarde his ſonne, who departed the yeare before: was ſtroken in great age, & in ſuch feblenes withall, that he was vnweldy through lacke of ſtrēgth to gouerne the affairs of the realm. Wherfore, a parliament being called the yeare before his death, it was there put vp by the knights & other the burgeſſes of the Parliament (becauſe of the miſgouernment of the realme by certain gredy perſons about the king, raking all to themſelues, without ſeing any iuſtice done) that 12. ſage and diſcrete Lordes and Pieres, ſuch as were free from note of all auarice, ſhuld be placed as tutours about the King, to haue the doing and diſpoſing vnder him (6. at one time, and in their abſence 6. at another) of matters pertinent to the publike regiment. Here by the way I omit to ſpeake of Alice Perris the wicked harlot, which (as the ſtory geueth) had bewitched the kings hart, & gouerned all and ſate vpon cauſes her ſelf through the diueliſh help of a Frier Dominick: who by the duke of Lancaſter was cauſed to be take, and was conuicted, & ſhould haue ſuffred for the ſame, had not the Archb. of Cant. and the Friers (more regarding the liberty of their Churche, then the puniſhing of vice) reclaimed hym for their own priſoner. This Alice Perrys, notwithſtanding ſhe was baniſhed by this Parliament from the king, yet afterward ſhe came againe, & left him not: til at hys death ſhee tooke all his rings vpon his fingers and other iewels frō him, and ſo fled away like an harlot. But thys of her by the way.

12. Gouernours aſſigned about the kyng.

Theſe 12. gouernours by the parliament aforeſayd being appoynted to haue the tuition of the king, & to attend to the publike affaires of yͤ realme: remained for a certaine ſpace about him, till afterward it ſo fel out, that they being againe remoued, all the regiment of the realme next vnder the King, was committed to the Duke of Lancaſter the kings ſonne. For as yet Richard the ſonne of prince Edward latly departed, was very yong and vnder age.

This Duke of Lancaſter had in his heart of long time conceiued a certaine diſpleaſure againſt the popiſh clergy:

Ex Chron. Monaſterij Albani.

whether for corrupt and impure doctrine ioyned wᵗ lyke abhominable exceſſe of life, or for what ſome other cauſe, it is not preciſely expreſſed. Onely by ſtory the cauſe thereof may be geſſed, to riſe by William Wickam biſhop of Wincheſter. The matter is thys.

A practiſe of the prelates againſt the Duke of Lancaſter.

The Biſhop of Wincheſter (as the ſaying went then) was reported to affirme, that the foreſaid Ihon of Gaunt duke of Lācaſter, was not the ſonne of king Edward, nor of the Quene. Who being in trauel at Gaūt, had no ſonne (as he ſayd) but a daughter: which the ſame time by lying vppon of the mother in the bedde, was there ſmothered. Wherupon, the Quene fearing the kings diſpleaſure, cauſed a certaine manchilde of a woman of Flaunders (borne the very ſame time) to be conueyed and brought vnto her in ſtead of her daughter aforeſayde. And ſo brought vp the child whom ſhe bare not, who now is called duke of Lancaſter. And this (ſaid the Biſhop) did the Queene tell him, lying in extremes on her death bed vnder ſeale of confeſſion: charging hym if the ſayde Duke ſhould euer aſpire to get the crowne, or if the kingdome by any meanes ſhould fall vnto hym, he then ſhould manifeſt the ſame, & declare it to the worlde, that the ſayde Duke of Lancaſter was no part of the kings bloud, but a falſe heire of the king. This ſlaunderous report of the wicked Byſhop, as it ſauoureth of a contumelious lie, ſo ſeemeth it to procede of a ſubtile zeale toward the Popes religion, meaning falſhode. For that the foreſayd Duke by fauouring of Wickliff, declared hymſelfe to be a profeſſed enemy againſt the Popes profeſſion. Whych thing was then not vnknowen, neyther vnmarked of the Prelates and Byſhops then in Englande. But the ſequele of the ſtory thus followed.

Thys ſlanderous vilany of the Byſhops report being blaſed abroad, and comming to the Dukes eare: he therwᵗ being not a litle diſcontented (as no marueil was) ſought againe by what meanes he coulde, to be reuenged of thys forenamed Biſhop. In concluſion, the Duke hauing now al the gouernment of the realm vnder the king his father, in hys own hand: ſo purſued ẏ byſhop of Wincheſter, that by acte of parliament he was condemned and depriued of al his temporal goods, which goods wer aſſigned to prince Rich. of Burdeux, the next inheritour of the crowne after the king, and furthermore inhibited the ſaid biſhop not to approch nere to ẏ court by 20. miles. Further as touching thys biſhop, the ſtory thus procedeth. Not lōg after in the yeare of our Lord. 1377. a Parliament was called by the meanes of the Duke of Lancaſter, vpon certaine cauſes & reſpects: in which parliament great requeſt, and ſute was made by the cleargy for the deliueraunce of the B. of Wincheſter. At length whē a ſubſidie was aſked in the kyngs name of the clergy, and requeſt alſo made in the kings behalfe for ſpedy expedition to be made for the diſſoluing of ẏ parliament, the Archb. therfore accordingly conuented the biſhops for the tractation thereof. To whō the B. wᵗ great lamentation cōplained for lack of their felow and brother B. of Wint. Whoſe iniury ſaid they, did derogate to the liberties of the whole church: And therfore denied to ioyne themſelues in tractation of any ſuch matters, before al the members together were vnited wᵗ the head: And (ſeing the matter touched them altogether in common, as well him as thē) would not otherwiſe do. And ſeemed moreouer to be moued againſt ẏ Archb. for that he was not more ſtout in the cauſe, but ſuffered him ſo to be cited of the duke.

W. Wickham B. of Wint. depriued.

Byſhops holde together. Liberties of the Church a great matter.

B of Wint. ſent for to the conuocation.

The Archb. although hauing ſufficient cauſe to excuſe himſelfe, wherefore not to ſend for him (as alſo he dyd) becauſe of the perils which might enſue therof: yet being enforced & perſuaded therunto, by the importunitie of the biſhops, directed downe his letters to the foreſaid biſhop of Wintch. willing hym to reſort vnto the conuocation of the clergy. Who being glad to obey the ſame, was receyued wᵗ great ioy of the other biſhops. And at length by ẏ meanes of Alice Perris, the kings paramor, aboue mētioned, (geuing to her a good quantity of mony) the ſayd Wincheſter was reſtored to his temporalities againe.

I. Wickliffe ſent for by the Duke of Lancaſter.

As the Biſhops had thus ſent for Wintch. the Duke in the meane time had ſent for Iohn Wickliffe: who as is ſaide, was then the diuinity reader in Oxford, and had cōmenced in ſondry actes and diſputations, contrary to the forme and teaching of the Popes church in many things: who alſo for the ſame had bene depriued of his benefice, as hath bene afore touched. The opinions which he began in Oxford, firſt in his lectures, and ſermōs to entreat of, and wherfore he was depriued were theſe. That the Pope had no more power to excommunicate any man, then hath an other. That if it be geuē by any perſō to the pope to excōmunicate, yet to abſolue the ſame is as much in the power of an other prieſt, as in hys. He affirmed moreouer, ẏ neyther ẏ king nor any temporall Lord could geue any perpetuity to the church, or to any eccleſiaſticall perſon: for that when ſuch eccleſiaſticall do ſinne, habitualiter, continuing in the ſame ſtill, the temporal powers ought and may meritoriouſly, take away from them, that before hath bene beſtowed vpon thē. And that he proued, to haue bene practiſed before here in England by Williā Rufus. Which thing (ſayd he) if he did lawfully, why may not the ſame alſo be practiſed now? if he did it vnlawfully, then doth the church erre (ſayth he) & doth vnlawfully in praying for him. But of his aſſertions more ſhall follow (Chriſt willing) hereafter. The ſtory which aſcribeth to him theſe aſſertions being taken out (as I take it) of ẏ monaſtery of S. Albons addeth withall: that in his teaching and preaching he was very eloquent, but a diſſembler (ſaith he) and an hipocrite. Why he ſurmiſeth him to be an hypocrite, the cauſe was this:

Example of W. Rufus.

Ex hiſt. Monaſterij D. Albani.

Firſt, becauſe he reſorted much to the orders of the begging Friers, frequenting and extolling the perfection of their pouerty.

Secondly, becauſe he and his felowes vſually accuſtomed in their preaching to go barefote, and in ſimple ruſſet gownes.

By this I ſuppoſe, may ſufficiently appeare to the indifferent, the nature and condition of Wickliffe, how far it was frō the ambitiō & pride, which in the ſlaundrous pen of Polydore Virgil, reporting in his 19. booke of him, that becauſe he was not preferred to higher honors and dignities of the church (conceiuing therfore indignation agaynſt the clergy) became theyr mortall enemy. How true this was, he onely knoweth beſt, that rightly ſhall iudge both ẏ one and the other.

The ſlaunderous pēne of Polydore.

In the meane time, by other circūſtaunces & partes of his life, we may alſo partly cōiecture what is to be thoght of ẏ mā. But howſoeuer it was in him either true or falſe: yet it had bene Polidors part, either not ſo intemperatly to haue abuſed his pen, or at leaſt to haue ſhewed ſome greater authority and ground of that his report. For to follow nothing els but flying fame, ſo raſhlye to defame a man whoſe life he knoweth not, is not the part of a faythful ſtory writer.

Wickliffe falſly charged with ambition by Polydore.

But to returne from whēce we digreſſed. Beſide theſe his opinions and aſſertions aboue recited, with other mo, which are hereafter to be brought in order: He began alſo then ſomething nearely to touch the matter of the Sacrament, prouing that in the ſayd Sacrament, the accidences of bread remayned not without the ſubiect, or ſubſtaunce: both by the holy Scriptures, and alſo by the authoritye of the doctors, but ſpecially by ſuch as were moſt aunciēt. As for the latter writers, that is to ſay ſuch as haue written vpon that argumēt vnder the thouſand yeres ſince Chriſtes time, he vtterly refuſed: ſaying, that after theſe yeares Sathan was loſed & ſet at liberty. And that ſince that time the life of man hath bene moſt ſubiect and in danger of errors: the ſimple and playne truth to appeare and conſiſt in the Scriptures, wherunto all humain traditions whatſoeuer they be, muſt be referred, and ſpecially ſuch as are ſet forth & publiſhed now of late yeares. This was the cauſe why he refuſed the latter writers of decretals, leaning onely to the Scriptures & auncient doctors: moſt ſtoutly affirming out of them that in the Sacramēt of the body which is celebrate, with bread the accidēce not to be preſent without the ſubſtaunce. That is to ſay, that the body of Chryſt is not preſent without the breade, as the common ſorte of Prieſtes in thoſe daies did dreame. As for his arguments what they were: we wyll ſhortly at more oportunity by Gods grace, declare them in an other place. But herein the trueth (as the Poet ſpeaketh very truely) had gotten Iohn Wickcliffe great diſpleaſure and hatred, at many mens handes: and ſpecially of the Monkes and richeſt ſort of Prieſtes.

Wickliffe beginneth to touch the matter of the ſacramēt.

The latter writers of the Church to be miſdoubted.

The accidēces not to be in the ſacrament without the ſubſtance.

Albeit through the fauor and ſupportation of the duke of Lancaſter, and Lord Henry Percy, he perſiſted hitherto in ſome meane quiet againſt their woluiſh violence & cruelty: Till at laſt about the yeare of our Lord. 1376. the Byſhops ſtill vrging and inciting their Archbiſhop Symon Sudberye, who before had depriued him, and afterward prohibited him alſo not to ſtirre any more in thoſe ſorts of matters: had obteined by proceſſe and order of citation to haue him brought before them. Whereunto both place and time for him to appeare after theyr vſuall forme was to him aſſigned.

The Duke hauing intelligence that Wickliffe his client ſhould come before the Biſhops, fearing that he being but one, was to weake agaynſt ſuch a multitude: calleth to him out of the orders of Friers, foure Bachelers of Diuinity, out of euery order one, to ioyne them with Wickliffe alſo for more ſurety. When the day was come aſſigned to the ſaid Wickliffe to appeare, whiche day was Thurſday, the 19. of February: Iohn Wickliffe accompanied with the foure Friers aforeſayd, and with them alſo, the Duke of Lancaſter, and Lord Henry Percy, Lord Marſhal of England, the ſaid Lord Percy alſo going before them to make rowme and way wherewith Wickliffe ſhould come.

Ex hiſt. Monachi. D. Albani ex accommodato D. Math. Archiepiſ. Cant.

Thus Wickliffe (through the prouidence of god) being ſufficiently garded, was comming to the place where the Biſhops ſate: whome by the way they animated and exhorted not to feare nor ſhrink a whit at the company of the biſhops there preſent, who were all vnlearned (ſaid they) in reſpect of him. For ſo procede yͤ wordes of my foreſaid author, whom I follow in this narration: neither that he ſhold dread the concourſe of the people, whom they would themſelues aſſiſte and defend, in ſuch ſort as he ſhould take no harme. With theſe wordes, and with the aſſiſtaunce of the nobles: Wickliffe in hart encouraged, approcheth to yͤ church of S. Paule in London. Where a mayne preaſe of people was gathered to heare, what ſhold be ſayd & done. Such was there the frequencie and throng of the multitude, that the Lordes (for all yͤ puiſſance of the high Marſhall) vnneth with great difficulty could get way through. In ſo much, that the biſhop of London (whoſe name was William Courtney) ſeeing the ſtir that the Lord Marſhal kept in the Church, among the people, ſpeaking to yͤ Lord Percy, ſayd: that if he had knowne before what maiſtries he would haue kept in the church, he would haue ſtopped hym out, from comming there.

Striuing for the Lordes to paſſe by the people.

W. Courtney Biſhop of London.

The wordes of the B. of London to the L. Percy

At which wordes of the Byſhop, the Duke diſdayning not a little, aunſwered to the Byſhop agayne, and ſayd: that he woulde keepe ſuch maiſterie there, though he ſayd nay.

I. Wickliffe bid to ſitte downe before the Byſhops.

Wickliffe denied by the Byſhop of London to ſit downe

Strife betweene the L. Marſhall and Byſhop of London.

The people ſet in a ſtirre

At laſt, after much wraſtling they pierced through and came to our Ladies chappell. Where the Dukes and Barons were ſitting together with the Archbiſhops & other Biſhops. Before whome the foreſayd Iohn Wickliffe according to the maner, ſtode before thē, to know what ſhold be laid vnto him. To whome firſt ſpake the Lord Percy, bidding him to ſit downe, ſaying: that he had many things to anſwer to, and therfore had need of ſome ſofter ſeat. But the biſhop of London caſt eftſoones into a fumiſh chafe wͭ thoſe words, ſayd: he ſhould not ſit there. Neither was it ſayd he: according to law or reaſon, that he which was cited there to appeare to anſwere before his ordinary, ſhould ſit downe during the time of his aunſwere, but ſhold ſtād. Upon theſe words a fire began to heat & kindle betweene them. In ſo much that they began to rate and to reuile one the other, that the whole multitude therewith diſquieted, began to be ſet on a hurrey.

Strife betweene the Duke of Lācaſter & B. of London.

The B. ouergoeth the Duke in ſcoulding.

This B. of London was W. Courtney, ſonne to the Earle of Deuonſhire.

Then the Duke taking the Lord Percies part wyth haſty wordes began alſo to take vp the biſhop. To whom the Biſhops again nothing inferiour in reprochful checks and rebukes, did render & requite not onely to him as good as he brought: but alſo did ſo far excell him, in this rayling arte of ſcolding, that to vſe the words of mine author, Erubuit Dux quòd non potuit præualere litigio. i. that the Duke bluſhed and was aſhamed, becauſe he could not ouerpaſſe the Biſhop in brawling and rayling, and therefore fell to playn threatning, manaſing yͤ biſhop, that he would bring down the pride not onely of him, but alſo of all the prelacie of Englande: And ſpeaking moreouer vnto him: Thou (ſayd he) beareſt thy ſelf ſo brag vpon thy parentes, which ſhall not be able to helpe thee: They ſhall haue enough to do to helpe themſelues. For his parentes were the Earle and counteſſe of Deuonſhire. To whom the byſhop again aunſwered, that to be bold to tell truth, his confidence was not in his parentes, nor in any man els, but onely in God in whō he truſted. Then yͤ Duke ſoftly whiſpering in the eare of him next by him, ſayd that he woulde rather plucke out the Biſhop by the heyre of his head out of the Church, then he would take this at his hand. This was not ſpoke ſo ſecretly, but that the Londiners ouerheard him. Whereupon being ſet in a rage, they cryed out, ſaying: that they would not ſuffer theyr biſhop ſo cōtemptuouſly to be abuſed. But rather they woulde looſe their liues, then that he ſhould ſo be drawen out by the heyre. Thus that counſell being broken with ſcolding and brawling for that day, was diſſolued before 9. of the cloke. And the Duke with the Lord Percy went to the Parliament. Where the ſame day, before dinner a bill was put vp in the name of the king by the Lord Thomas Woſtock, and Lord Henry Percy, that the Cittie of London ſhoulde no more be gouerned by a Mayor, but by a Captayne, as in times before. And that the Marſhall of England ſhold haue al the adoe in taking the Areſtes within the ſaid Citty, as in other citties beſide, with other petitions moe, tending to the like derogation of the liberties of London. Which bill being read, ſtandeth vp Iohn Philpot Burgeſſe then for the citty, ſaying to thē which read the bill, that that was neuer ſeene ſo before: & adding moreouer that the Mayor woulde neuer ſuffer any ſuch things, or other areſt to be brought into the citty, with mo ſuch wordes of like ſtoutnes.

The Duke threateneth to draw out their B. by the heare out of the Church.

Londiners take part with their Byſhop.

Petitions put vp in the Parliament againſt the Citie of Lōdon.

Haſty counſaile of the Lōdiners.

The next day following, the Londiners aſſembled thēſelues in a councell, to conſider among them vpon the Bill for chaunging the Mayor, and about the office of the Marſhall, alſo concerning the iniuries done the day before to theyr Biſhop.

In which meane time they being buſy in long conſultation of this matter, ſodenly and vnawares entred in the place two certaine Lordes, whether to come to ſpy, or for what other cauſe the author leaueth it vncertayne, the one called Lord Fitzwalter: the other Lord Guy Brian. At the firſt comming in of thē, the vulgare ſort was ready forthwith to flee vppon them, as ſpies, had not they made theyr proteſtation with an othe, declaring that their comming in was for no harme toward them. And ſo were compelled by the citizens to ſweare to the city their truth and fidelity, contrary to the which othe if they ſhoulde rebell, contented to forfeit whatſoeuer goods and poſſeſſions they had within the citie.

The Oration of Lord Fitzwalter to the Londiners.

This done, thē began the Lord Fitzwalter in this wiſe to perſwade and exhort the Citizens: firſt declaring how he was bound and obliged to them and to theyr Citty, not for the othe onely now newly receiued, but of old and ancient good will from his great graundfathers tyme. Beſide other diuers ducties, for the which he was chiefly bound to be one of their principall fautors: for ſo muche as what ſo euer tended to their damage and detriment, redounded alſo no leſſe vnto his owne, for which cauſe he coulde not otherwiſe chuſe, but that as he did vnderſtand to be attempted againſt the publike profite and liberties of the Citye, he muſt needs communicate the ſame to them. Who vnleſſe they with ſpeedy circumſpection do occurre and preuent perils that may and are like to enſue, it would turne in the end to theyr no ſmall incōmoditie. And as there were many other thinges, whiche required their vigilant care and diligēce, ſo one thing there was, which he could in no wiſe but admoniſh them of: which was this, neceſſary to be cōſidered of them all, how the Lord Marſhall Henry Percy in his place within himſelfe had one in ward and cuſtody, whether with the knowledge, or without the knowledge of them, he coulde not tell: this he coulde tell, that the ſayd Lord Marſhall was not alowed any ſuche ward or priſon in his houſe, within the liberties of the Citty. Which thing if it be not ſeene to in time, the example therof being ſuffered, would in fine breede to ſuch a preiudice vnto their cuſtomes and liberties, as they ſhoulde not hereafter, when they would reforme the iniurie thereof.

The Citizens of Lōdon breake vp the L. Peters houſe at Sauoy.

Gods prouiſion in ſauing his ſeruantes.

The houſe of the Duke of Lācaſter ſearched of the Londiners.

The Duke and L. Percy flye to the Prince.

Theſe words of the Lord Fitzwalter were not ſo ſoone ſpoken, but they were as ſoone taken of the raſh Citizens, who in al haſty fury running to their armour & weapons, went incontinently to the houſe of the Lord Percy, where breaking vp the gates, by violence they tooke out the priſoner, & burned the ſtockes wherein he ſate, in the midſt of London. Then was the Lord Percy ſought for (whome ſayth the ſtory) they woulde doubtleſſe haue ſlayne if they might haue fōd him. With their bils and iauelins, al corners and priuy chambers were ſearched, beds & hangings torne a ſunder. But the Lord Percy (as God would) was then with the Duke, whome one Iohn Yper the ſame day with great inſtance had deſired to dinner. The Londiners not finding him at home, and ſuppoſing that he was wyth the Duke at Sauoy, in all haſty heat turned their power thither, running as faſt as they could to the Dukes houſe. Where alſo in like maner they were diſapoynted of their cruell purpoſe. In yͤ meane while as this was doyng, cōmeth one of the Dukes men rūning poſt haſt, to yͤ Duke & to the Lord Percy, declaring what was done. The Duke being then at his oyſters, without anye further tarying, and alſo breaking both his ſhinnes at the forme for haſte, tooke boate with the Lord Percy, and by water went to Kingſtone, where then yͤ princeſſe with Richard the yong Prince did lye. Who there declared vnto the Princeſſe all yͤ whole matter, cōcerning the outrage of the Londiners as it was. To whom ſhe promiſed againe, ſuch an order to be taken in the matter, as ſhoulde be to his contentation. At what time the commons of London, thus as is ſayd, were about the Dukes houſe at Sauoy, meeteth with thē a certain prieſt, who marueling at the ſodain rage & concourſe, aſked what they ſought. To whome aunſwere was geuen agayne of ſome, that they ſought for the Duke and Lorde Marſhall, to haue of them the Lord Peter de la Mare, whom they wrongfully had deteined in priſon. To this the Prieſt aunſwered agayne more boldly then opportunely. That

A prieſt in the Duke of Lancaſters houſe cruelly killed.

Peter (ſayd he) is a falſe traytour to the king, and worthy long ſince to be hanged. At the hearing of theſe wordes, the furious people with a terrible ſhoute cryed out vpon him, that he was a traytour and one that tooke the Dukes part and ſo falling vpon him with theyr weapons ſtriued who might firſt ſtrike at him. Who after they had wounded him very ſore, ſo being wounded they had him into priſon, where within few dayes vpon the ſorenes of his woundes he dyed.

Neither would the rage of the people thus haue ceaſed had not the biſhop of London leauing his dinner come to them at Sauoy, and putting them in remembraunce of the bleſſed tyme (as they terme it) of Lent, had perſwaded them to ceaſe and to be quyet.

The villany of the Londiners againſt the Duke.

The Londiners ſeeing that they could get no vantage againſt the Duke: who was without theyr reach: To wreke theyr anger they tooke hys armes, whiche in moſt deſpitefull wiſe, they hanged vp in the open places of ẏ city in ſigne of reproch, as for a traitour. In ſo much that when one of his gentlemen came through the Citty with a plate conteyning the Dukes armes, hanging by a lace about his necke the citizens not abiding the ſight therof, caſt him frõ his horſe, and pluckt his ſcutchine from him, had were about to work the extremitie againſt him, and not the mayor reſcued him out of theyr handes, and ſent him home ſafe vnto the Duke his mayſter. In ſuch hatred was then the Duke among the vulgar people of London.

The meſſage of the princeſſe to the Londiners.

After thys, the princeſſe vnderſtanding the hartes and broyle of the Londiners ſet againſt the foreſaid Duke, ſent vnto London 3. Knightes, ſyr Albred Lewer, ſir Symon Burle, and ſir Lewes Clifford, to entreat the citizens to be reconciled with the Duke. The Londiners anſwered: that they for the honour of ẏ princeſſe, would obey and do with all reuerẽce, what ſhe would require. But this they required & enioyned the meſſẽgers to ſay to the Duke, by word of mouth, that he ſhould ſuffer the byſhop of Wincheſter afore mentioned and alſo the Lord Peter de la Mare, to come to their aunſwere, & to be iudged by theyr pieres. Wherby eyther they might be quite if they were giltles: or otherwiſe, if they be found culpable, they might receaue according to theyr deſertes after the lawes of the realme. What griefe and diſpleaſure the Duke conceiued and reteyned in his minde hereof: Agayne what meanes & ſute the Londiners for their part made to the old king for their liberties: What rymes and ſonges in London, were made agaynſt the Duke: Howe the Biſhops at the Dukes requeſt were moued to excõmunicate thoſe malicious ſlaunderers: And moreouer, howe the Duke at laſt was reuenged of thoſe contumelies & iniuries: How he cauſed them to be brought before the king: How ſharply they were rebuked for their miſdemeanour, by the worthy oration of the Lord Chamberlayne, Robert Aſton in the preſence of the king, Archbiſhops, Byſhops, with diuers other ſtates, the Kinges children, and other nobilities of the realme: In concluſion how the Londiners were compelled to this at length, by the common aſſent, and publike charges of ẏ citty, to make a great taper of waxe, whiche with ẏ Dukes armes ſet vpon it, ſhoulde be brought with ſolemne proceſſion to the church of S. Paule, there to burne continually before the Image of our Lady: And at laſt, how both the ſayd Duke and the Londiners were reconciled together, in the beginning of the new king, with the kiſſe of peace, in the ſame reconcilement publikely denounced in the church of Weſtminſter, and what ioy was in the whole citty therof: Theſe becauſe they are impertinent, and make to long a digreſſiõ from the matter of Wickliffe, I cut off with breuitie, referring the reader to other hiſtoryes, namely of S. Albones, where they are to be found at large.

The Duke reuenged of the Londiners.

The Londiners cauſed to beare a Taper of waxe in proceſsion, in honour of the Duke.

A ſtory of the Byſhop of Norwich.

Example of pride in the popes clergie.

As theſe aforeſayd for breuitie ſake I paſſe ouer, ſo will I not be long and yet cannot omitte that, which happened the ſame tyme and yeare, to the Biſhop of Norwich, to ẏ intent that this poſteritie now may ſee, to what pryde the clergy then of the Popes Church was growne to. The ſame tyme as this broyle was at Lõdon, the Biſh. of Norwich a litle after the time af Eaſter comming to the towne of Lennam, belonging to his Lordſhip: being not contented wͭ the olde accuſtomed honour due vnto him, & vſed of his predeceſſours before in the ſame town, required moreouer with a nue and vnuſed kind of magnificence to be exalted: In ſo much, that when he ſaw the chiefe Magiſtrate or Mayor of that towne to go in the ſtreetes with his officer going before him, holding a certayne wand in his hand tipped at both endes with black horne, as the maner was: He reputing himſelfe to be Lord of that towne (as he was) and thinking to be higher then the higheſt, commaunded ẏ honour of that ſtaffe due to the Mayor, to be yelded & born before his Lordly perſonage: The Mayor or Bailiffe, with other the towneſmen, courtuouſly anſwered to him again that they were right willing and contented with all theyr hartes to exhibite that reuerence vnto him, and woulde ſo do, if he firſt of the king and counſaile coulde obtayne ẏ cuſtome, and if the ſame might be induced after any peaceable way with the good willes of the commons and body of ẏ town: Other els, ſayd they, as the matter was dangerous ſo they durſt not take in hand any ſuch newe alteration of ancient cuſtomes and liberties leaſt the people (whiche is alwayes inclinable and prone to euill) do fall vpon them wͭ ſtones, & driue them out of the towne. Wherefore kneeling on theyr knees before hym, and humbly they beſought him that he would require no ſuch thing of them: that he would ſaue his owne honour and their liues, who otherwiſe if he intended that way, were in great daunger. But the biſhop youthfull and hauty, taking occaſion by their humblenes, to ſwell the more in himſelfe, anſwered that he woulde not be taught by their counſaile, but that he wold haue it done, though all the commons (whome he named Ribals) ſayd nay. Alſo rebuked the Mayor and his brethrẽ for mecockes and daſtardes, for ſo fearing the vulgar ſort of people.

The courteſie of the towneſmen toward the Byſhop.

The ſtout anſwere of the Byſhop to the townſhip.

The citizens perceauing the wilfull ſtoutnes of the biſhop, meekly anſwering againe, ſayde, they minded not to reſiſt him, but to let him doe therin what he thought good, onely deſired him that he would licẽce them to depart, and hold them excuſed for not wayting vppon him, & conducting hym out of the town with that reuerence which he required. For if they ſhould be ſeene in his company, all the ſuſpicion thereof would be vpon them, and ſo ſhould they be all in daunger, ſo much as theyr liues were worth. The Byſhop not regarding their aduiſe and counſaile, commaunded one of hys men to take the rod borne before the Mayor, & to cary ẏ ſame before him. Which being done, & perceaued of the commons: the Byſhop after that maner went not farre, but the rude people rũning to ſhut ẏ gates came out with their bowes, ſome with clubbes and ſtaues ſoome with other inſtrumentes, ſome wͭ ſtones, & let driue at the Biſhop and his men, as faſt as they might: in ſuche ſort, that both the biſhop & his horſe vnder him with moſt part of his men were hurt & wounded. And thus the glorious pride of this iolly prelate, ruffling in hys new ſcepter, was receaued and welcomed there. That is, was ſo pelted wͭ battes and ſtones, ſo woũded with arrowes and other inſtrumentes fit, for ſuch a ſkirmiſhe, ẏ the moſt part of his men, with hys mace bearer, & all running away frõ him, the poore wounded biſhop was there left alone, not able to keepe hys old power, which went about to vſurpe a new power more thẽ to hym belonged. Thus at is cõmõly true in al, ſo is it wel exemplified here, which is cõmõly ſayd, and as it is commonly ſeene, that pride will haue a fall, and power vſurped will neuer ſtand. In like maner if the Citizens of Rome, following the example of theſe Lennam men, as they haue the like cauſe, and greater to doe by the vſurped power of theyr Byſhop, would after the ſame ſauce handle the pope, and vnſcepter him of hys mace and regalitie which nothing pertaineth to him: They in ſo doing both ſhould recouer theyr owne liberties, with more honour at home, and alſo win muche more commendation abroad Ex chron. mon. D. Albani.

The towne of Lennam riſeth againſt the Biſhop.

Pride will haue a fall. Power vſurped will neuer ſtand.

The vſurped power of the pope would haue a bridle.

This tragedy with all the partes thereof, beyng thus ended at Lennam, whiche was little after Eaſter (as is ſaid) about the month of April. an. 1377. the ſame yeare vpon the 12. day of the moneth of Iune next after, dyed the worthy and victorious Prince king Edward the 3, after he had raygned yeares 51. A prince no more aged in yeares thẽ renowmed, for many ſinguler & heroicall vertues, but principally noted and lauded for his ſinguler meekenes & clemency toward his ſubiects and inferiors, ruling them by gentlenes and mercy, without all rigour or auſtere ſeueritie. Among other noble and royall ornamentes of his nature, worthely & copiouſly ſet forth of many, thus he is deſcribed of ſome, which may briefly ſuffice for the comprehẽſion of all the reſt. Orphanis erat quaſi pater, afflictis compatiens, miſeris condolens, oppreſſos releuans, & cunctis indigentibus impendens auxilia opportuna. That is. To the Orphans he was as a father, compacient to the afflicted, mourning with the miſerable, releuing the oppreſſed, and to all them that wanted an helper in time of neede. &c. But chiefly aboue all other thinges, in this Prince to be commemorate in my mynde, is thys: that he aboue all other Kinges of this Realme vnto the time of king Henry the eight was the greateſt bridler of the popes vſurped power and outragious oppreſsions during all the time of whiche king, neyther the Pope could greatly preuayle in thys Realme, and alſo Iohn Wickliffe was maintained with fauour and ayde ſufficient.

Anno. 1377.

The death of K. Edw.

The commẽdation of K. Edward.

But before we cloſe vpp the ſtory of this king: there commeth to hand that which I thought not good to omit a noble purpoſe of the king in requiring a viewe to be taken in all his dominions of all benefices and dignities eccleſiaſticall remayning in the handes of Italians and Alions with the true valuation of the ſame directed down by commiſſion in the time of king Richard the ſecond whereof the like alſo is to be found: the tenour of which commiſſion of king Edward I thought here vnder to ſet down for worthy memory.

The king directed writtes vnto all the Byſhop's of England in this forme.

Anno. 48. Edward. tertij.

EDward by the grace of God king &c. To the reuerend father in Chriſt. N. By the ſame grace Biſhop of L. greeting. Beyng willing vpon certayn cauſes to be certified what and how many benefices aſwell Archdeaconries & other dignities as vicaradges perſonages Prebendes and Chappels within your dioces be at this preſent in thandes of Italions and other ſtrangers, what they be of what valour, and how euery of the ſayd benefices be called by name. And how much euery of the ſame is worth by the yere, not as by way of Taxe or extent, but according to the true valor of the ſame: likewiſe of the names of al & ſinguler ſuch ſtrangers being now incombentes or occupying the ſame and euery of thē: moreouer the names of all them, whether Engliſhmen or Straungers, of what ſtate or condition ſoeuer they be whiche haue the occupacion or diſpoſicion of any ſuch benefices with the fruites and profites of the ſame in the behalfe or by the authoritie of any the foreſayd Straungers by way of ferme, or title or procuration or by any other wayes or meanes whatſoeuer, and how long they haue occupyed or diſpoſed the ſame: and withall if anye the ſayd ſtraungers bee nowe reſidents vppon any benefices: commaunde you as wee heretofore commaunded you that you ſende vs a true certificat of all and ſinguler the premiſſes into our high Court of chauncerie vnder your ſeale diſtinctly and openly on this ſide the feaſt of thaſcention of our Lord next comming without farther delay: returning vnto vs this our writte withall. Witneſſe our ſelfe at Weſtminſter 16. day of April in the 48. yeare of our Reigne of England, and ouer Fraunce the 35. yeare.

BY vertue hereof certificat was ſent vp to the king into his chauncerie out of euery dioces of England of al ſuch ſpiritual liuings as were then in the occupation eyther of Priors Aliens or of other ſtraungers whereof the number was ſo great, as being all ſet downe would fill almoſt halfe a quyer of paper. Whereby may appeare that it was highe time for the king to ſeeke remedie herein, either by treatie with the Pope or otherwiſe: conſidering ſo great a porcion of the reuenewes of his realme was by this meanes conueyed awaye and employed either to the reliefe of his enemies, or mayntenaunce of the forreners: Amongſt whiche number, the Cardinals of the courte of Rome lacked not their ſhare. As may appeare by this which followeth.

Couentrie and Lychfield.

The Lord Fraunces of the title of S. Sabyne, Prieſt and Cardinall of the holy Church of Rome doth hold and enioy the Deanry of the Cathedrall Church of Lichfield whiche is worth in the iuriſdiction of Lichfield fiue hundreth marks by the yeare. And ẏ Prebend of Brewood, & the perſonage of Adbaſton to the ſame Deanry annexed, which prebend is worth by the yeare foure ſcore marks and the perſonage twenty pound, which deanry with the prebendes & perſonage aforeſayd hee hath holden and occupyed by the ſpace of 3. yeres. And one maiſter de in griſa ſtrāger as proctor to the ſaide Cardinall doth hold and occupy the ſame Deanry with other ẏ premiſſes with thappurtenances by name of Proctor during the yeares aforeſayd, and hath taken vp the fruites and profites, to the ſayd Cardinall, dwelling not in the Realme.

Norwytch.

L. William Cardinall of S. Angelo, a ſtraunger doth holde the Archdeacontye of Suff. by vertue of prouiſion Apoſtolicall, from the feaſt of S. Nicholas laſt paſt, he is not reſident vppon his ſayd Archdeaconry. And the ſayd Archd. together with the procuratiōs due by reaſon of the viſitation is worth by yeare Lxvi. li. xiij. s. iiij. d. And maiſter Iohn of Helinington. &c. doth occupy the ſeale of thofficiall of the ſaid Archdeaconry, &c.

Surren.

L. Reinnald of S. Adriane Deacon Cardinall: hath in the ſaid County the perſonadge of Godalmonge, worth by yeare xl. pound, and one Edward Teweſte doth ferme the ſayd perſonadge for ix. yeares paſt.

Ebor.

The L. Anglicus of the holy Church of Rome prieſte and Cardinall, a ſtraunger was incumbent & did holde in poſſeſſion the Deanry of the Cathedrall Churche of Yorke from the 11. day of Nouember Anno. Dom. 1366. and is yearely worth according to the true valor thereof iiij. C. li. and maiſter Iohn of Stoke Canon of the ſayd Churche, doth occupy the ſaid Deanry and the profites of the ſame in the name or by the authoritie of the ſayd L. Deane &c. But the ſaid Deane was neuer reſident vppon the ſayd Deanry ſince he was admitted thereunto.

Item. L. Hewgh of our Lady in Deacon and Cardinall a ſtraunger doth poſſeſſe the Prebend of Driffild in the ſayd Church of Yorke from the 7. day of Iune Ann. Do. 1363. from whiche day. &c. Iohn of Giſbourne, and George of Conpemanthorpe &c. doe occupy the ſaid Prebend worth by yeare. C. li. the ſayd L. Hewgh is non Reſident vpon the ſayd Prebend.

Item. L. Simon of the Title of S. Syxt prieſt and Cardinall. &c. doth poſſeſſe the Prebend of Wyſtow in the ſayd Churche of Yorke worth by yeare C. li. And the foreſaid maiſter Iohn of Stoke doth occupy the foreſayd Prebend and the profites thereof &c. But the ſayd Lord Symon is not reſident vpon the ſaid Prebend.

Item. L. Fraunciſce of the Tytle of S. Sabyne Prieſt and Cardinall, a ſtraunger doth poſſeſſe the Prebend of Stranſall in the ſayd Church of Yorke worth by yeare C. markes. And mayſter William of Merfield. &c. doth accupy the ſayd Prebend. &c. but the ſayd L. Fraunces is not reſident vpon the ſayd Prebend.

L. Peter of the title of S. Praxed prieſt and Cardinall a ſtraunger doth hold the Archdeaconry of York, worth by yeare C. li. and M. William of Merfeld &c. for fermers.

Sariſbu.

The Deanry of the cathedral church of Sar with churches and chappels vnderwritten to the ſame Deanry annexed doth remayne in ẏ hands of L. Reginald of the title of S. Adrian deacon and Cardinall and ſo hath remayned theſe 26. yeares and is neuer reſident his protector is Laurence de ingris a ſtraunger & is worth by yeare CCLiiii. li. xiij. s. iiij. d.

Richard Biſhop doth hold vycaradge of Meere to the ſayd Deanry annexed and hath holden the ſame, for xix. yeares, worth by yeare. xl. li.

Robert Codford fermer of the Churche of heightredbury to the ſame annexed worth by yeare l. li.

The Deanry of Sariſbury.

The Church of Stoning and the chappell of Reſcomp to the ſame Deanry annexed worth by yeare lxx. markes.

The Chappell of herſt to the ſame Deanry annexed worth by yeare xl. li.

The Chappell of Wokenhame to the ſame Deanry annexed worth by yeare xxxvi. li.

The Chappell of Sanhurſt worth by yeare xl. s.

The Church of Godalininge to ẏ ſame Deanry annexed in the dioces of Wincheſter worth by yeare. xl. li.

Treaſorer of the Church of Sar.

The dignitie of Treaſorer in the Church of Sar. with Church and Chappels vnderwritten to the ſame annexed is in ẏ hāds of L. Iohn of ẏ title of S. Mark prieſt & Cardinall and hath ſo contained 12. yeares who was neuer reſident in the ſame, worth by yeare Cxxxvi. li. xiij. s. iiij. d.

The Church of Figheldon to the ſame annexed worth by yeare. xxvj. li. xiij. s. iiij. d.

The church of Alwardbury with the chappell of Putton, worth by yeare. x li.

The Prebend of Calne to the ſame Treaſorer annexed, worth by yeare. C. li.

The Archdeaconry of Berck. in the Cathedrall Church of Sariſbury, with the the church of Mordon to the ſame annexed, is in the hands of Lord William of the title of S. Stephen, who was neuer reſident in the ſame: worth by yeare. viij. ſcore markes.

The Archdeaconry of Dorſet in the Church of Sariſbury with the Church of Giſſiche to the ſame annexed in the handes of L. Robert of the title of ẏ xij. Apoſtles prieſt and Cardinall, and is worth by yeare. Ciij. markes.

The Prebende of Woodforde and Wyuelefforde in the Church of Sariſbury, is in the handes of the Robert Cardinall aforeſayd: and is worth xl. markes.

The Prebend of Heiworth in the Church of Sariſbury is in the handes of the L. Cardinall of Agriſolio, who is neuer reſident, and is worth by yeare. lxxx. li.

The Prebend of Netherbarnby and Beinynſter in the Church of Sariſbury one Hewgh Pelgrini a ſtranger did hold xx. yeares and more, and was neuer reſident in the ſame worth by the yeare viij. ſcore markes.

The church Prebendary of Gillinghame in the nonnery of Saliſbury lately holden of L. Richard now Byſhop of Elye is in the hanhs of the Lord Peter of the title of S. Praxed prieſt and Cardinall &c. worth by the yeare lxxx. li.

Canterbury.

L. William of the holy Churche of Rome Cardinall a ſtraunger doth hold the archdeaconry of Canterbury and is not Reſident the true valor of all the yearely fruites, Rentes and profites is worth ſeuen hundreth Florens.

Bath & Welles.

The L. Cardinall of Caunterbury is Archdeacon of Welles & hath annexed to his Archdeaconry the churches of Hewiſh Berwes, and Sowthbrent which are worth by yeare with their procuration of viſitations of the ſayd Archdeaconry. C threeſcore pound.

Item. the L. Cardinall is treaſorer of the church of wels, and hath the moyty of the church of mertock annexed therunto worth by yeare lx.li.

Item. the Lord Cardinall of Agrifolio is archdeacon of Tawnton in the church of wels, and is worth by yeare wͭ the procurations and the Prebend of Mylnerton to the ſame annexed Lxxx.li.

Like matter is alſo found in the time of king Richard the 2. vpon what occaſion it is vncertayne: But as it ſeemeth by Recorde of that time, A new Pope being come in place he would take no knowledge of anye matter done by his predeceſſors that might anye way abridge his commoditie. And therefore this king was forced to beginne a new as may appeare by this following.

An. 2. Rich. 2.

The Archdeaconry of Stowe.

L. Cardinall of Agrifol. is prebendary of the Prebend of Soringhame together with a portion of S. Marye of Stowe to the ſame annexed, the fruits whereof by commō eſtimat be worth by yeare Clxv.li. Maiſt. John Vicar of Coringhame and mayſter Robert perſon of Ketelthorpe and w. Thurly be Fermoures.

L. Cardinall Albanum is Prebendary of the Prebend of Sutton yͤ fruites whereof be commonly eſteemed worth by yeare CCCC. markes. Roger Skyrret of Buckinhame and william Bedeford of Sutton do farme the ſame Prebēd. The L. Cardinal Glandacen is Prebendary of yͤ prebend of Naſſington worth by eſtimacion CCC. markes. Robert of Naſſington and John ſonne of Robert of Abbethorpe do occupy the ſame Prebend.

The Archdeaconry of Northampt.

L. Cardinal Nonmacē is parſon of Adderbury worth by eſtimacion C.li. Adam Robelyn clerke is his proctor and occupyeth the ſame.

In the Archdeaconry of Oxen.

L. Cardinall of S. Prebendary of Thame worth yearely by common eſtimacion CC. marks. John Heyward and Thomas a lay man doe occuppye the ſame Prebend.

In the Archdeaconry of Brick.

L. Peter de Yeuerino Cardinall is Prebendary of Ayleſbury worth yearely by common eſtimacion lxxx. marks. Holy Duſe of Aleſbury doth occupy the ſame Prebend.

In the dioceſſe Norwitch.

The Cardinall of S. Angeli hath the Archdeaconry of Suff. and is worth by yeare by common eſtimation a hūdreth markes.

In the dioceſſe of Sar.

L, Cardinall Neminacem Treaſorer of the Church of Sar. hath the Archdeaconry of Sar. the Church of Figheldon to his dignity annexed which is let to farme to Grace late wife of Edmunde Sawyne deceaſed paying yearely l. markes, he hath alſo in the ſame Archdeaconry and coūtye the ſayde Churche of Alwardburye with the Chapels of Putton and Farle to the ſame annexed which is let to ferme to the L. Pryor of the houſe of Ederoſe for yͤ yerly rent of xxiij.li, he hath alſo the Prebend of Calne in the ſaid Archdeaconry and County worth by yeare. C.ll. and fermour therof is Raymunde. Pelegrini.

L. Cardinall of Agriſolio. hath the Archdeaconrye of Berck. worth by yeare 120. markes and remayneth in hys owne handes. Item he hath the Prebende of worth, worth by yeare a hundreth pound Raymund Peregrine is fermour there.

L. Cardinall Gebanen hath the Prebendes of wodford and willeford Countye of wiltſhyre lett to ferme to John Bennet of Sar. worth by yeare xl. markes.

In the dioceſſe of Canterbury.

Lord Andomar de Rupy is Archdeaconry of Caunterbury to the which Archdeacon belong the Church of Lymin within the ſame Dioces worth by yeare after the Taxation of the tenth. xx.li.. The Churche of Tenham worth by yeare after the ſayd taxation Cxxx.li.vi.s.viii.d. he Churche of Hakington neere Caunterbury worth by yeare xx. markes. The Churche of S. Clement in Sandwitche worth by yeare after the taxation aforeſayd viij. markes. The church of Saint Mary in Sandwich worth by yeare viiij. pound of the whiche the ſayd Archdeacon receaueth onely vi. markes. The profites of all which premiſſes S. william Latimer knight hath receaued together with the profites ariſing out of the Juriſdiction of the Archdeaconry worth by yeare. xx.li.

In the dioceſſe of Yorke.

Anglicus of the Church of Rome prieſt and Cardinall hath the deanry of the Cathedrall Churche of Yorke worth by yeare CCClxxiij.li.vi.s.viii.d. And the Prebende of Southcaue, valued yearely at C.lx. markes.

In the dioceſſe of Durham.

L. Cardinall Gebauen doth hold the churche of wermouth, and Archdeaconry of Durhame worth by yeare CC. marks. And John of Chambre and Thomas of Harington of Newcaſtell bee the fermors and proctours of the ſayd Cardinall.

Ex Bundello Breuium Regis de An. 2. Rich. 2. parte. 1.

King Richard the ſecond.

K. Richard. 2.

After king Edward the third ſucceeded hys ſonnes ſonne Richard the ſecond beyng yet but yong, of the age of eleuen yeares: who in the ſame yeare of his fathers deceaſe wͭ great pompe and ſolemnitie was crowned at weſtminſter, an 1377. who following his fathers ſteppes, was no great diſfauorer of the way & doctrine of wickliffe: albeit at the firſt beginning, partly through the iniquitie of tyme partly through the popes letters, he could not doe that he would. Nothwithſtādiug ſomething he did in that behalf, more perhaps then in the end he had thanke for of the Papiſtes, as more (by the grace of Chriſt) ſhall appeare. But as times do chaunge, ſo changeth commonly the cauſe and ſtate of man. The biſhop nowe ſeeing the aged king to be taken away, during yͤ time of whoſe olde age all yͤ gouernment of the realme depended vpon the Duke of Lancaſter. And now the ſayd Byſhops agayne ſeeing the ſaid Duke, with the Lord Percy, the Lord marſhall to geue ouer their offices, and to remayne in their priuate houſes without intermedling, thought now the time to ſerue them, to haue ſome vauntage againſt John wickliffe, who hetherto vnder the protectiō of the foreſayd Duke, and Lord Marſhall had ſome reſt and quiet. Concerning the ſtory of whiche wickliffe, I truſt (gentle reader) it is not out of thy memory what went before pag. 427. how he being brought before the Byſhops, by the meanes of the Duke and Lord Henry Percy, the councell was interrupted, and brake before ix. of the clocke. By reaſon whereof, wickliffe at that tyme eſcaped without anye further trouble. who notwithſtanding being by the biſhops forbid to deale in that doctrine any more, continued yet with his fellowes going barefoot, and in long friſe gownes preaching dilligentlye vnto the people. Out of whoſe ſermons theſe articles moſt chiefelye at that time were collected.

The biſhops take vātage of tyme.

The firſt article collected out of Wickliffes ſermons.

That the holy Euchariſt after the conſecration, is not the very body of Chriſt, but figurally.

That the churche of Rome, is not the head of all churches more then any other churche is: Nor that Peter hath anye more power geuen of Chriſt, then anye other Apoſtle hath.

Item, that the Pope of Rome hath no more in the keyes of the Church, then hath any other within the order of Prieſthoode.

Item, if God be: the Lordes temporall may lawfullye and meretoriouſly take away theyr temporalties from the churchmen offending, habitualiter.

Item, if any temporall Lord doe know the Churche ſo offending, he is bound vnder payne of damnation, to take the temporalties from the ſame.

Item, that the Goſpell is a rule ſufficient of it ſelfe to rule the life of euery chriſtian man here, without any other rule.

Item, yͭ all other rules vnder whoſe obſeruances, diuers religious perſōs be gouerned, do ad no more perfection to the goſpell, then doth the white colour to the wall.

Item, that neyther the Pope nor any other Prelate of the church, ought to haue priſons wherin to puniſh tranſgreſſours.

The articles of John Wickliffe ſent to the pope.

Beſide theſe articles, diuers other concluſions afterward were gathered out of hys writings and preachings by the byſhops of England, which they ſent diligently to Pope Gregory at Rome: where the ſayde articles being red and peruſed, were condemned for hereticall and erroneous by 23. Cardinals.

Pope Gregory the xj.

Wickliffe called before the Archbiſhop of Cant.

In the meane time the Archb. of Cant. ſending forth hys citations, as is aforeſayd: called before hym the ſayde John wickliffe in the preſence of the Duke of Lancaſter, and Lord Percy, who vpon the declaration of the Popes letters made, bound him to ſilence, forbidding him not to entreat any more of thoſe matters. But then through the diſturbaunce of the Biſhop of London and the Duke, and lord Percy that matter was ſoone diſpatched, as hath bene aboue recorded, pag. 427. And all thys was done, in the daies & laſt yere of king Edward the 3. and pope Gregory the eleuenth.

Anno. 1378.

The next yeare folowing, which was the yeare of our Lord 1378. being the firſt yere of king Richard the ſecond. The ſayd Pope Gregory taking hys time, after the death of king Edward, ſendeth his bull by the hands & meanes (peraduenture) of one maſter Edmund Stafford, directed vnto the vniuerſity of Oxford, rebuking thē ſharply, imperiouſly and like a Pope, for ſuffring ſo long the doctrine of John wickliffe to take roote, and not pluckyng it vppe wyth the crooked cicle of their Catholike doctrine. whych

Edmunde Stafforde bringer of the Popes Bull.

The maſters of Oxford doubt whether to receiue or reiect the Popes Bull.

Bull when it came to be exhibite vnto their handes, by the Popes meſſenger aforeſayd: the proctors and mayſters of the Vniuerſitie ioyning together in conſultation, ſtood lōg in doubt deliberating with themſelues, whether to receiue the Popes Bull with honour, or to refuſe and reiect it wyth ſhame.

I cannot here but laugh in my minde to behold the authours of this ſtory whom I follow: what exclamations, what wondrings and maruels, they make at theſe Oxford men, for ſo doubting at a matter ſo playne, ſo manifeſt of it ſelfe, (as they ſay) whether the popes Bull ſent to them frō Rome was to be receaued or cōtrary. Which thing to our monkiſh writers ſeemed then ſuche a prodigious wonder, that they with bluſhing cheekes are feyne to cut of the matter in the middeſt with ſilence.

The copy of this wilde Bull, ſent to them from the Pope, was this.

❧ Gregory the Biſhop, the ſeruant of Gods ſeruaunts, to his welbeloued ſonnes, the Chauncellour and Vniuerſitie of Oxford, in the dioceſſe of Lincolne greeting, and Apoſtolical benediction.

The Popes mad Bull ſent to Oxford.

WE are compelled not onely to meruell, but alſo to lament that you conſidering the Apoſtolicall ſeate hath geuen vnto your vniuerſitie of Oxford ſo great fauour and priueledge and alſo for that you flow as in a large ſea in the knowledge of the holy Scriptures, and ought to be champions and defenders of the ancient and Catholicke fayth, (without the which there is no ſaluation) by your great negligence and ſlouthe, will ſuffer wylde cockle, not onely to grow vp among the pure wheate of the floriſhing field of your Vniuerſitie, but alſo to waxe more ſtrong and choke the corne. Neither haue ye anye care (as we are enformed) to extirpe and plucke the ſame vp by the rootes, to the great bleblemiſhing of your renowmed name, the perill of your ſoules, the contempt of the Church of Rome, and to the great decay of the auncient fayth. And further (which greueth vs) the encreaſe of that filthy weed was more ſharpely rebuked & iudged of in Rome then in England where it ſprang. Wherefore let there be meanes ſought by the help of the faithful, to roote out the ſame. Greuouſly it is come to our eares, that one Iohn Wickliffe, parſon of Lutterworth in Lincolne dioces, a profeſſour of diuinitie (would god he were not rather a maiſter of errours) is runne into a kinde of deteſtable wickednes, not onely and openly publiſhing, but alſo vomiting out of the filthy dungeon of his breſt, diuers profeſsions falſe and erroneous concluſions, and moſt wicked and damnable hereſies. Whereby he might defile the faythfull ſorte, and bring them from the the right path headlong into the way of perdition ouerthrow the ſtate of the Churche, and vtterly ſubuert the ſecular policy. Of which his miſchieuous hereſies, ſome ſeem to agree (onely certayne names and termes chaunged) with the peruerſe opinions, and vnlearned doctrine of Marcelius of Padua, & Iohn of Gandune, of vnworthy memory: whoſe bookes were vtterly aboliſhed in the realme of England, by our predeceſſour of happy memory Iohn 22. Which kingdome doth not onely floriſhe in power, and aboundance of faculties, but is much more glorious and ſhyning in purenes of fayth: Accuſtomed alwayes to bring forth men excellentlye learned in the true knowledge of the holye ſcriptures, ripe in grauitie of manners, men notable in deuotion, and defenders of the Catholicke fayth. Wherefore wee will and commaunde you by our writing Apoſtolicall, in the name of your obedience, and vpon payne of priuation of our fauour, indulgences and priueledges graunted vnto you and your vniuerſitie, from the ſayd ſee Apoſtolicall: that hereafter ye ſuffer not thoſe peſtilent hereſies, that thoſe ſubtile and falſe concluſions and propoſitions, miſconſtruing the right ſenſe of fayth and good workes (how ſoeuer they terme it, or what curious implication of wordes ſoeuer they vſe) any longer to be diſputed of, or brought in queſtion: Leaſt if it be not withſtoood at the firſt, and plucked vp by the rootes, it might perhaps be to late hereafter to prepare medicins when a greater number is infected with the contagion. And further, that ye apprehend immediately or cauſe to be apprehended the ſayd Iohn Wickliffe, and deliuer him to be deteyned in the ſafe cuſtodie of our well beloued brethren, the Archbiſhop of Caunterbury, and the byſhop of London or eyther of them. And if you ſhall finde any gaynesayers, corrupted wyth the ſayde doctrine (whiche God forbid) in your ſayd vniuerſitie wythin your iuriſdiction, that ſhall obſtinately ſtand in the ſayd errours; that then in lyke manner ye apprehend them, and committe them to ſafe cuſtodie, and otherwiſe to doe in this caſe as it ſhall appertayne vnto you: So as by your carefull proceedynges herein, your negligence paſt concernyng the premiſſes, may now fully be ſupplyed and recompenſed with preſent diligence. Whereby you ſhall not onely purchaſe vnto you the fauour and beneuolence of the ſeate Apoſtolicall, but alſo great reward and merite of almightie God.

The Pope cōplayning of Iohn Wickliffe.

Marſilius Patauinus, Ioan. de Ganduno, noted.

Here the wilde Bull ſtriketh.

Yeuen at Rome at S. Maries the greater.
xi. Kalend. of Iune, and in the ſeuenth
yeare of our conſecration.

¶ Beſide this Bull ſent to the Vniuerſitie of Oxford, the ſayd Pope Gregory directed moreouer his letters the ſame tyme to the Archbyſhoppe of Canterbury Symon Sudbury: to the Byſhoppe of London named william Courtney, with the concluſions of Iohn wickliffe therein incloſed, commaūdyng them, by vertue of thoſe his letters Apoſtolicall, and ſtraitly enioyning them to cauſe the ſayd Iohn wickliffe to be apprehended, and caſt in priſon: And that the king and the nobles of England ſhould be admoniſhed by them, not to geue any credite to the ſaide Iohn wickliffe, or to his doctrine in any wiſe. &c.

Simon Sudburie Archb. of Cant. W. Courtney biſhop of London.

¶ Beſide this Bill or Bull of the Pope, ſent vnto the Archbyſhop of Cāterbury and to the Byſhop of London, bearyng the date. 11. Kalend. Iuni. **and the 7. yeare of the raigne of the Pope: I finde moreouer in the ſayd ſtory, two other letters of the Pope concernyng the ſame matter, but differyng in forme, ſent vnto the ſame Byſhops, and all bearyng the ſame date both of the day, yeare, and moneth of the raigne of the ſayd Pope Gregory. Whereby it is be ſuppoſed, that the Pope either was very exquiſite and ſolicitous about the matter, to haue wickliffe to be apprehēded which wrote three diuers letters to one perſon, and all in one day, about one buſineſſe: or els that he did ſuſpect the bearers thereof, the ſcruple whereof I leaue to the iudgement of the Reader.**

Three ſundry letters of the pope to one perſon, about one matter.

Furthermore beſide theſe letters writtē to the Vniuerſitie, and to the Byſhops, he directeth alſo an other Epiſtle bearyng the ſame date vnto kyng Edward (as one of my ſtories ſayth) but as an other ſayth, to the kyng Richard, whiche ſoundeth more neare to the truth, forasmuch as in the 7. yeare of Pope Gregory the xi. which was the yeare of our Lord. 1378. Kyng Edward was not aliue. The copy of his letters to the kyng here followeth.

❧ *The copy of the Epiſtle ſent by the Byſhop of* Rome to Richard kyng of England, to perſecute Iohn Wickliffe.

VNto his welbeloued ſonne in Chriſt, Richard the moſt noble kyng of England health. &c.

The Popes letter to King Richard agaynſt I. Wickliffe.

The kyngdome of England which the moſt higheſt hath put vnder your power and gouernaunce, beyng ſo famous and renowmed in valiancy and ſtrength, ſo aboundaunt and flowyng in all kynde of wealth and riches: but much more glorious reſplendent and ſhynyng through the brightneſſe and cleareneſſe of all godlyneſſe and fayth: hath accuſtomed alwayes to bryng forth men endued with the true knowledge and vnderſtandyng of the holy Scriptures, graue in yeares, feruent in deuotion, and defenders of the Catholicke fayth: The which haue onely directed and inſtructed their own people through their holeſome doctrine and preceptes into the true path of Gods commaundementes, but alſo as we haue heard by the report and information of many credible perſons (to our great grief & hart ſorow) that Iohn Wickliffe Parſon of Lutterworth, in the Dioces of Lincolne, profeſſor of diuinitie (I would to God he were no author of hereſie) to be fallen into ſuch a deteſtable and abhominable madnes: that he hath propounded and ſet forth diuers and ſundry concluſions full of errours and cōteinyng moſt manifeſt hereſie, the which do tende vtterly to ſubuert and ouerthrow the ſtate of the whole Churche. Of the whiche, ſome of them (albeit vnder coloured phraſe and ſpeache) ſeeme to ſmell and ſauour of peruerſe opinions, and the fooliſhe doctrine of condemned memory of Marſilius of Padua, and Iohn of Ganduno, whoſe bookes were by Pope Iohn the 22. our predeceſſour, a man of moſt happy memorye reproued and condemned. &c.

¶ Hitherto gentle reader, thou haſt heard how wickliffe was accuſed by the Byſhop. Now you ſhall alſo heare the Popes mighty reaſons and argumentes, by the which he did confute him to the kyng. It followeth.

Therefore, for ſo much as our Reuerend brethren the Archbiſhop of Canterbury, and the Byſhop of London haue receiued a ſpeciall commaundement from vs by our authoritie, to apprehend and committe the forenamed Iohn Wickliffe vnto priſon, and to tranſporte his confeſsion vnto vs: If they ſhall ſeeme in the proſecution of this their buſineſſe to lacke your fauour or helpe, we require and moſt earneſtly deſire your maieſtie euen as your moſt noble predeceſſors haue alwayes bene moſt earneſt louers of the Catholicke fayth (whoſe caſe or quarell in this matter, is chiefly

Here is priſoning, but no teaching.

handled) that you woulde vouchſafe euen for the reuerence of God.and the fayth aforeſayd,and alſo of the Apoſtolicke ſeat, and and of our perſon,that you will with your helpe and fauour,aſsiſt the ſayd archbiſhop and all other that ſhall goe about to execute the ſayd buſines. Wherby beſides the prayſe of men, you ſhall obtayne a heauenly rewarde and great fauour and good will at our hand, and of the ſea aforeſaid. Dated at Rome at S.Mary the greater,the 11.Kal. of Iune, in the 7.yeare of our Byſhoprick.an.1378.

The Articles included in the popes letters whiche he ſent to the Biſhoppes, and to the king againſt Wickliffe, were theſe as in order do follow.

✻ The concluſions of Iohn Wickliffe exhibited in the conuocation of certayne Biſhops at Lambeth.

All the whole race of mankinde here on earth beſides Chriſt, hath no power ſimply , to ordayne that Peter and all his offſpring ſhould politickely rule ouer the world for euer.

2. God cannot geue to any man for him and hys heyres anye ciuill dominion for euer.

3. All writinges inuented by men,as touching perpetuall heritage,are impoſsible.

4. Euery man being in grace iuſtifiyng , hath not onely right vnto the thing, but alſo for his time hath right in deede aboue all the good thinges of God.

Certayne concluſions of Iohn Wickliffe.

5. A man cannot onely miniſtratoriouſly geue any temporal or continuall gift,eyther as well to his naturall ſonne,as to his ſonne by imitation.

6 If God be, the temporall Lordes may lawfully and meritoriouſly take away the riches from the Church,when they do offend habitualiter.

7. We know that Chriſtes Vicar cannot, neyther is able by hys Bulles,neyther by his owne will and conſent, neither by the conſent for his colledge , eyther make able or diſable any man.

8. A man cannot be excommunicated to his hurt or vndoyng, except he be firſt and principally excommnnicate by himſelfe.

9. No man ought,but in Gods cauſe alone,to excommunicate, ſuſpend,or forbid,or otherwiſe to proceede to reuenge by anye eccleſiaſticall cenſure.

10. A curſe or excommunication doth not ſimply binde,but in caſe it be pronounced and geuen out agaynſt the aduerſarye of God s law.

11. There is no power geuen by any example, eyther by Chriſt or by his Apoſtle,to excommunicate any ſubiect,ſpecially for the denying of any temporalties,but rather contrariwiſe.

12. The diſciples of Chriſt haue no power to exact by anye ciuill authoritie,temporalties by cenſures.

13. It is not poſsible by the abſolute power of God, that if the Pope or any other Chriſtian,doe pretend by any meanes to bynd or to loſe, that thereby he doth ſo bynde and looſe.

14. We ought to beleue that the Vicar of Chriſt, doth at ſuche tymes onely bynde and looſe , when as he worketh conformably by the law and ordinaunce of Chriſt.

15. This ought vniuerſally to be beleued that euery prieſt righly and duely ordered, according vnto the law of grace,hath power according to his vocation,whereby he may miniſter the ſacramentes,and conſequently abſolue any man confeſsing hys faulte, being contrite and penitent for the ſame.

16. It is lawfull for kinges (in cauſes licenced by the lawe) to take away the temporalties from the ſpiritualty, ſinning habitualiter,that is,which continue in the cuſtome of ſinne, and will not amend.

17. Whether they be temporall Lordes or any other men whatſoeuer they be, which haue endowed any Churche with temporalties:It is lawfull for them to take away the ſame temporalties, as it were by way of medicine, for to auoyd ſinne, notwithſtanding any excommunication or other eccleſiaſticall cenſure,for ſo much as they are not geuen but vnder a condition.

18. An eccleſiaſticall miniſter , and alſo the Byſhop of Rome may lawfully be rebuked of his ſubiectes , and for the profite of the Church,be accuſed eyther of the Clergy or of the Laitie.

These letters with the articles incloſed being thus receiued from the pope,the biſhops toke no litle hart, thinking and fully determining with themſelues and that in open profeſsion,before their prouinciall Councell, that all maner reſpectes of feare or fauour ſet apart,no perſon neither high nor low ſhould let them, neither woulde they be ſeduced by the intreaty of any mā,nor by any threatnings or rewards, but that in this cauſe they would execute moſt ſurely vpright iuſtice and equitie:yea albeit preſēt danger of life ſhould follow therupon. But theſe ſo fierce brags, & ſtout promiſe, with the ſubtile practiſes of theſe Byſhops, which thought them ſo ſure before:the Lord (againſt whō no determination of mans counſaile can preuayle) by a ſmall occaſion,did lightly confound & ouerthrowe. For the day of examination being come,a certayn perſonage of the princes court,& yet of no great noble byrth,named Lewes Clifford , entring in among the Byſhops : commaunded them that they ſhold not proceed with any diffinitiue ſentence againſt Iohn Wickliffe. with which wordes all they were ſo amaſed and their combes ſo cut,that(as in the ſtory is mentioned) they became ſo mute and ſpeachleſſe, as men hauing not one word in their month to anſwere. And thus by the wonderous worke of God his prouidence, eſcaped Iohn Wickliffe the ſecond time out of the Byſhops hands,and was by them clearely diſmiſſed vppon his declaration made of his articles as anone ſhall follow.

The ſtout brags of the Byſhops ouerthrowne

Wickliffe againe called before the Byſhops, Lewes Clifford,

Moreouer here is not to be paſſed ouer, how at the ſame tyme, and in the ſayd Chappell of the Archb. at Lambeth, where the byſhops were ſitting vpon Iohn Wickliffe, the ſtory writing of the doing therof, addeth theſe wordes, ſaying: Non dico ciues tantùm Londinenſes,ſed viles ipſius ciuitatis ſe impudenter ingerere præſumpſerunt in eandem capellam, & verba facere pro eodem,& iſtud negotium impedire,confiſi, vt reor,de ipſorum præmiſſa negligentia prælatorum.&c. That is, I ſay not onely, that the Citizens of London, but alſo the vile abiectes of the Citty, preſumed to be ſo bold in yͤ ſame Chappell at Lambeth, where the Byſhops were ſitting vppon Iohn Wickliffe: both to entreat for him, and alſo to let and ſtoppe the ſame matter truſting as I ſuppoſe, vpon the negligence which they ſawe before in the Byſhops.&c.

Iohn Wickliffe againe deliuered from the Byſhops.

Ouer and beſide, here is not to be forgotten, how yͤ ſayd Iohn Wickliffe, the ſame time of his examination, offered and exhibited vnto the Biſhops, in writing a proteſtation, with a declaration or expoſition of his owne minde, vpon the ſayd his articles, the effect whereof here followeth.

✻ The proteſtation of Iohn Wickliffe.

First I proteſt (as I haue often before done) that I doe minde and intend with my whole hart (by the grace of God) to be a true Chriſtian, and as long as breath ſhal remayne in me, to profeſſe and defend the law of Chriſt. And if it ſhall happen that through ignoraunce or otherwiſe, I ſhall fayle therein. I deſire my Lord God of pardon & forgeuenes. And now againe as before alſo, I do reuoke and make retractation, moſt hūbly ſubmitting my ſelfe, vnder the correction of our holy mother yͤ church. And for ſomuch as the ſentence of my fayth , whiche I haue holden in the ſcholes and els where, is reported euen by children, & moreouer, it is caried by children euen vnto Rome : Therefore leſt my deare beloued brethren ſhould take any offence by me, I wil ſet forth in writing the ſentēce and Articles, for the which I am nowe accuſed and impeached: the whiche alſo euen vnto the death I will defend . As I beleeue all Chriſtians ought to doe, and ſpecially the Byſh. of Rome and all other prieſtes and miniſters of the Church. For I do vnderſtand the concluſions after the ſenſe and maner of ſpeaking of the ſcriptures and holy doctours , the whiche I am ready to expound: And if they ſhall be found contrary vnto the faith, I am ready to reuoke and ſpeedily to call them backe agayne.

The proteſtation of Iohn Wickliffe.

✻ *An expoſition vpon the concluſions of Iohn* Wickliffe, exhibited by him to the Byſhop.

All the race of mankinde,here in earth beſide Chriſt , hath no power ſimply to ordayne,that Peter.&c.

This concluſion of it ſelfe is euident, for as much as it is not in mans power to ſtop the cōming of Chriſt to hys finall iudgement, but he muſt needes come, according to yͤ article of our Creede, to iudge both the quick and the dead. And then (as the ſcripture teacheth) ſhall ſurceaſe all ciuill and politicke rule here , I vnderſtand the temporall and ſecular dominion, pertaining to men here dwelling in this mortall life. For ſo doe the Philoſophers ſpeake of ciuill dominion. And although the thing which is terminable, & hath an end, is called ſometimes perpetuall: yet becauſe in holy ſcripture, and in vſe of the Church, and in the bookes of Philoſophers moſt commonly that is takē to be perpetuall, which hath no ende of tyme hereafter to come: according to the which ſenſe, the Church ſingeth Glória Patri.&c. nunc & perpetuum. I alſo after the ſame ſignification do take here this woorde (perpetually) and ſo is this concluſion conſonant to the principles of the Scripture, that it is not in mans power to ordayne the courſe and voyage of the Church, here perpetually to laſt.

Expoſition of Iohn Wickliffe vpon his cōcluſions.

2. God can not geue to any man.&c.

¶ To the ſecond concluſion I aunſwere , vnderſtanding

Expoſition of the ſecōd concluſion.

ciuil dominion, as in the concluſion before. And ſo I hold, that God, firſt by his ordinate power cannot geue to any perſon ciuil dominion here for euer: Secondly, by his abſolute power it is not probable for hym ſo to doe. For ſo much as he cānet euer detaine his ſpouſe in perpetual priſon of thys life, nor alwayes deferre the finall beatitude of hys Church.

3. To the third concluſion. Many wrytings or chartes inuented by men, as touching perpetual hereditage ciuile, be vnpoſsible.

❧ The verity of this concluſion is incident. For we muſt not canonize all maner of Charts, what ſoeuer, as Catholicke, or vniuerſal: for then it were not lawful by any meanes to take away or ſequeſter thyngs geuen by Charte or charter, when any doth vniuſtly occupye the ſame. And ſo, if that ſtand confirmed and ratified by the fayth of the Churche, great occaſion thereby ſhould be miniſtred to men ſo chartered, to truſt to their temporall chartes, and ſo might grow thereby much libertie and licence to ſinne. For like as by what ſuppoſition euery truth is neceſſary: ſo by the ſame ſuppoſition, euery falſe thyng is poſſible, as it is playne by the teſtimony of Scripture, & of holy Doctours ſpeakyng of neceſſitie of thynges to come.

In gratia gratificante finaliter.

4. Euery man beyng in grace iuſtifying finally, hath not onely right vnto the thyng, but alſo for his tyme hath right in deede, ouer all the good thynges of God.

Note here he ſpeaketh onely of the right of things in the country to come: and not in this exile.

❧ The veritie hereof is euidēt, by holy Scripture Math. 24. where veritie promiſeth to euery mā entryng into his ioy: verely (ſayth he) I tell you, he ſhall ſet & place him ouer all the goodes he hath. For the right and title belōgyng to the cōmunion of Saintes, in their countrey (he meaneth in the kingdome of heauen) Fundatur obiectiuè ſuper vniuerſitatem bonorum Dei: That is: Hath his relation, as vnto his obiect, to all the goodes and poſſeſſion of God.

5. A man can but onely miniſtratoriouſly, geue any temporall dominion or gift perpetuall, as well to his owne naturall ſonne, as to his ſonne by imitation.

❧ It is euidēt. For euery mā ought to recogniſe himſelfe in all his workes and doyngs, as an humble ſeruaunt, and miniſter of God. As the wordes of Scripture doth teach vs. Let a man ſo eſteeme of vs as the miniſters of Chriſt. Yea ſo Chriſt himſelfe did teach his chief Apoſtles to miniſter, but in their countrey the Saints ſhall geue vnto their felow brethren the dominion of their goodes vt pater de ſuis corporibus & bonis eis inferioribus in natura accordyng to the wordes of Luke. 6. They ſhall geue you and put into your boſomes a good meaſure and perfect, well filled and heaped vp, and runnyng ouer.

6. If God be, temporall Lordes may lawfully and meritoriouſly take away the goodes of fortune from the Church when they do offend, habitualiter.

❧ This concluſion is correlatiue with the firſt Article of our fayth: I beleue in God the father almighty. &c. where I vnderſtand this word (may) in this concluſion after the maner of autentique Scripture, which ſayth & graunteth: that God is able, of theſe ſtones to rayſe vp children to Abraham, for otherwiſe all Chriſtian Princes were heretiques. For this concluſiō, thus ſtādeth the reaſon: If God be, he is omnipotēt: & if he be almighty, he is able to commaunde the Lordes temporall ſo to do: & if he may ſo commaunde, thē may they lawfully ſo take away ſuch goods. &c. And ſo by the vertue of the ſame principle, Chriſtian Princes haue practiſed the ſayd ſentence vpon the Church mē heretofore, as did William Rufus. &c. But God forbid that any ſhould beleue hereby my intention to haue bene, that ſecular Lords may lawfully take away what goodes ſoeuer and by what meanes ſoeuer, by their owne naked authority at theyr pleaſure: but only by the authority of the church may ſo do, in caſes and forme limited by the law.

7. We know that it is not poſsible that the vicare of Chriſt is able by his pure Bulles. &c.

❧ This is manifeſt by the Catholique faith, for aſmuch as the Church doth fully beleue that the abling of any mā, ought firſt to procede and come of God: wherfore, no man being Chriſt his vicar, hath any power in this matter, but onely as vicar in the name of the Lord ſo far forth as he is enabled of the Lord, to notify vnto the church whom God hath enabled. wherfore if any mā do any thing not as vicar in the name of the Lord, whom he ought to forethinke to be his author and head: It is a preſumption of Lucifer, for ſo much as Chriſt by his Apoſtle ſayth. 1. Cor. 3. all our hability or ſufficiency cōmeth of God. And ſo conſequently, it commeth not purely by the miniſterie of hys Vicarſhip, that he is inabled, but the ableneſſe or vnableneſſe of him being the Vicar of Chriſt, commeth to hym an other way from aboue.

8. A man can not be excommunicate to his hurt or vndoing, except he be excommunicate firſt and principally, of himſelfe.

❧ It is euident, foraſmuch as all ſuch excommunication ought to procede & begin originally of his owne ſin which is damnified: wherupon Auguſtine ſayth De verbis Domini, Sermone 51. Doe not thou conculcate thy ſelfe, and man ouercōmeth thee not. And moreouer the faith of the church doth teach, quòd nulla ei nocebit aduerſitas, ſi nulla dominetur iniquitas, that is to ſay. No aduerſitie ſhall hurt, if no iniquitie haue the vpper hand. And yet notwithſtanding, euery excommunication for many cauſes is alſo to be feared, although that the excommunication of the Churche to the humble man being excommunicated, be not damnable but wholeſome.

9. No man ought but in Gods cauſe alone to excommunicate, ſuſpende. &c.

❧ It is cleare, for aſmuch as euery iuſt cauſe is the cauſe of God, whoſe reſpect ought chiefly to be wayed and pondered. Yea the loue of the perſon excommunicate ought to ſurmount the zeale of reuengement, and the deſire of all temporall goodes whatſoeuer, for otherwiſe he that doeth excommunicate, doth damnify himſelfe. To this 9. concluſion notwithſtanding it is congruent, that a Prelate may excommunicate in the cauſe alſo of man, ſo that his principal reſpect in ſo doing be had to ẏ iniury done to his God, as appeareth 13. quæſt. 4 Inter querelas.

10. Nc curſe or excommunication can binde ſimply, but in caſe it be geuen out againſt the aduerſary of Chriſtes lawe.

❧ And it appeareth thus, becauſe that God doth bynde ſimply euery one that is bound, who cannot excommunicate but onely for trāſgreſſion of his law. whereunto it is conſonant notwithſtādyng, that the cenſure of the Church doth not binde ſimply, but ſecondarely in that caſe and reſpect, as it is denounced againſt the aduerſary of the members of the Church.

11. There is no example of Chriſt which geueth power to hys diſciples to excommunicate any ſubiecte (eſpecially for denying of any temporalties) but contrary.

❧ which is thus declared by the fayth, whereby we beleue that God is to be beloued aboue all thynges, and our neighbour and enemy are to be beloued aboue all tēporall goodes of this world neceſſaryly, for the law of God cannot be contrary vnto it ſelfe.

12. The diſciples of Chriſt haue no power by any ciuill coaction, to exact temporall things by their cenſures.

❧ This appeareth by the fayth of the Scripture. Luke 23. where Chriſt did forbid hys Apoſtles ciuilly to raigne or to beare any lordſhip. The kings (ſayth he) of the Gentiles beare rule ouer them, but you not ſo. And after thys ſenſe it is expounded of S. Bernarde, of S. Chryſoſtome, and other holy men: which concluſion notwithſtanding, yet may they exact temporal things by eccleſiſtical cēſures incidently, if caſe be that it appertaine to the reuengement of their God.

13. It is not poſsible by the abſolute power of God, that if the Pope or any other Chriſtian doe pretende to binde or looſe at their pleaſure, by what meanes ſoeuer, that thereby hee doeth ſo binde and looſe.

❧ The contrary of this cōcluſion will deſtroy the whole Catholicke fayth, importyng no leſſe but him to be a blaſphemer whiche ſo vſurpeth ſuch abſolute power of the Lord. And yet by this concluſion I entend not to derogate from the power of the Pope or of any other Prelate of the Churche, but that he may by the vertue of the head ſo bynde and loſe. But doe vnderſtand the conditionall of this negatiue (to be impoſſible) after this ſenſe: that it cannot bee that the Pope or any other Prelate of the Church can pretend by himſelfe to bynde or loſe (how and after what maner he lyſt himſelfe) except in ſuch ſorte, that hee doe in deede ſo bynde and loſe before God as he doth pretend to doe.

14. We ought to beleue, that the vicare of Chriſt doeth at ſuche times onely binde and looſe, when as hee worketh conformably by the lawe, and ordinaunce of Chriſt. &c.

❧ The reaſon thereof is thys, becauſe otherwiſe it is vnlawfull for hym ſo to do, except he ſhould do it in the vertue of that law, and ſo conſequently, vnleſſe it be cōformable to the law and ordinaunce of Chriſt.

The power of all prieſtes toward God equall.

15. To this concluſion, this ought vniuerſally to be beleeued, that euery Prieſt rightly and duely ordered, hath power according to hys vocation, &c.

Ordo ſacerdotalis non ſuſcipit maius & minus.

Poteſtas ordinis.

Poteſtas regiminis.

¶ The reaſon heereof is this, becauſe ẏ the order of prieſthode in his owne nature and ſubſtance, receaueth no ſuch degrees, either of more, or of leſſe. And yet notwithſtanding, the power of inferiour Prieſts, in theſe daies be vpon due conſideration reſtrained, and ſome times againe in time of extreme neceſſity releaſed. And thus according to the Doctours, a Prelate hath a double power, to wit, the power of order, & the power of iuriſdictiō or regimēt. And according to this ſecond power, the Prelates are in an higher Maieſtie, and regiment.

16. It is lawfull for Princes and Kynges (in caſes by the law limited) to withdraw temporall commodities, from Church men abuſing the ſame, habitualiter.

❧ The reaſon therof is playne for that temporall Lordes ought rather to leane to ſpirituall almes, which bryngeth with it greater fruite, then to corporall almes the caſe ſo ſtandyng, that ſome tyme it were a neceſſary work of ſpirituall almes, to chaſtiſe ſuch Clerkes by takyng from them their temporall liuinges, which vſe to abuſe the ſame to the damnifyeng both of their ſoule and body. The caſe, which the law doth limite in this matter, were the defect of correctyng his ſpirituall head or elles for lacke of correctyng the fayth of the Clerke which ſo offendeth, as appeareth. 16.q.7.filijs. Diſt.40.cap.Si Papa.

16.q.7.filijs.

27 Whether they be temporall Lordes, or any other men whatſoeuer, which haue endued any Church with temporalities.&c.

❧ The truth thereof is euidently ſinne, for that, nothyng ought to ſtoppe a man frō the principall workes of charitie neceſſarily, becauſe in euery action and worke of man is to be vnderſtand a priuy condition neceſſary of God his good will concurring with all, as it is in the ciuill law de c.Conradi cap.5.in fine collat. x. And yet God forbid, that by theſe wordes occaſion ſhould be geuen to the Lordes temporall to take away the goodes of fortune from the Church.

18. An Eccleſiaſticall miniſter, yea the Byſhop of Rome may lawfully be rebuked of his ſubiectes, and for the profite of the Church be accuſed, either of the Clergie, or of the laytie.

❧ The prouſe of this is manifeſt hereby, becauſe the ſayd Byſhop of Rome is ſubiect to fall into the ſinne agaynſt the holy Ghoſt, as may be ſuppoſed, ſauyng the ſanctitude, humilitie and reuerence due to ſuch a Father. For ſo long as our brother is ſubiect vnto the infirmitie of fallyng, he lyeth vnder the law of brotherly correction. And when the whole Colledge of Cardinals may be ſlouthfull in miniſtryng due correction for the neceſſary proſperitie of the Churche: it is apparent that the reſidue of the body of the Churche, which poſſibly may ſtand moſt of lay men, may wholeſomely correct the ſame accuſe and bryng him to a better way. The poſſibilitie of this caſe is touched. Diſt.40. Si Papa. If the Pope doe erre from the right fayth. &c. For like as ſuch a great fall ought not to bee ſuppoſed in the Lord Pope without manifeſt euidence: ſo agayne ſuch an obſtinacie ought not to be ſuppoſed in hym, poſſibly beyng fallen, but that hee will humbly receaue the wholeſome medicine of his ſuperiour, correctyng him in the Lord. The practiſe of whiche concluſion alſo is teſtified in many Chronicles. Farre be it from the Church of Chriſt that veritie ſhould be condemned, which ſoundeth euill to trāſgreſſours and other ſlouthfull perſons, for then the whole fayth of the Scripture were in a damnable caſe.

Thus Iohn Wickleffe in geuyng his Expoſition vnto his foreſayd propoſitions and concluſions, as is aboue prefixed, through the fauour and diligence of the Londoners, either ſhifted of the Byſhops, or elles ſatiſfied them ſo: that for that tyme he was diſmiſſed and ſcaped clearely away, onely beyng charged and commaunded by the ſayd Byſhops, that he ſhould not teach or preach any ſuch doctrine any more, for the offence of the lay people.

Thus this good man beyng eſcaped from the Biſhops, with this charge aforeſayd, yet notwithſtandyng, ceaſed not to proceede in his godly purpoſe, labouryng and profityng ſtill in the Church as he had begon.

The death of Pope Gregorie.11.

Vnto whom alſo (as it happeneth by the prouidence of God) this was a great helpe and ſtay, for that in the ſame yeare, or in the begynnyng of the next yeare folowyng, the foreſayd Pope Gregory xi. whiche was the ſtyrrer vp of all this trouble agaynſt hym, turned vp hys heeles and dyed. After whom iſſued ſuch a ſchiſme in Rome, betwene two Popes, and other ſucceedyng after them, one ſtriuyng agaynſt an other: that the ſchiſme thereof endured the ſpace of .xxxix. yeares, vntill the tyme of the Councell of Conſtaunce.

Vrbanus.6. Pope.

A ſchiſme in Rome.

The occaſioner of whiche ſchiſme firſt was Pope Vrbane the 6. who in the firſt begynnyng of hys Popedome was ſo proude and inſolent to his Cardinals, and other, as to Dukes, Princes, and Queenes, and ſo ſet to aduaunce his Nephew and kyndred, with iniuries to other Princes that the greateſt number of his Cardinalles and Courtyours by litle and litle ſhronke from him, and ſet vp an other Frenche Pope agaynſt hym, named Clement, who reigned xi. yeares. And after hym Benedictus the 13. who reigned yeares 26. Agayne of the contrary ſide after Vrbanus the ſixth ſucceeded, Boniface the ninth, Innocentius the viij. Gregorius the xij. Alexander the fift, Iohn 13.

¶Papæ,	yeares.	month.	¶Antipapæ.	yeares.
Vrbanus.6.	11.	8.	Clement.	11.
Bonifacius.9.	14.	9.	Benedictus.13.	26.
Innocentius.8.	2.	0.		
Gregorius.12.	2.	7		
Alexander 5.	0.	11		
Iohannes.13.	5.	10		

As touching thys peſtilent & moſt miſerable ſchiſme, it would require heere an other Ileade to comprehend in order all the circumſtaunces and tragicall partes thereof, what trouble in the whole Church, what partes taking in euery Countrey, what apprehending and impryſoning of prieſts & prelates, takē by land and ſea, what ſheddyng of bloud did folow therof. How Ottho duke of Brunſewyke & Prince of Tarentum, was taken and murthered. Howe Ioane Queene of Hieruſalem and Sicilia his wife, who before had ſent to Pope Vrbane, beſide other gifts at hys coronation, xl.M. Duckets in pure gold: after by the ſayd Vrbane was committed to priſon, and in the ſame pryſon ſtrangled. What Cardinalles were racked, and miſerably wythout all mercy tormented on gibbettes to death, what ſlaughter of men, what battails were fought betwene the two Popes, whereof 5000. on the one ſide were ſlaine, beſide the number of them which were taken priſoners. Of the beheading of 5. cardinals together after long tormēts, and how the biſhop Aquilonenſis, being ſuſpected of pope Vrbane, for not riding faſter with the Pope, his horſe being not good, was there ſlaine by the Popes commaundement, ſending his ſoldiours vnto him, to ſlay him, and cut hym in peeces. All whych things, with other diuers moe acts of horrible cruelty, happening in the time of thys abhominable ſchiſme, becauſe they are aboundantly diſcourſed at full, by Theodorike Niem, who was neare to the ſayde Pope Vrbane, and preſent at all his doings: therefore as a thing needleſſe, I here pretermit, referring them who couet to be certified more amply herein, vnto the 3. bookes of the ſayd Theodorike aboue mentioned.

Was not here a ioly agreement?

Theodo.à Niem.de ſchiſmate.

Rebellion in England by Iacke Strawe.

Simon the Archb.beheaded.

W.Courtney Archb. of Cant.

About the ſame time, alſo about 3. yeres after, there fel a cruell diſſention in England, betwene the common people and the nobilitie, the which did not a little diſturbe and trouble the common wealth. In thys tumult, Symon of Sudbury Archbyſhop of Canterbury, was taken by the ruſtical & rude people, and was beheaded. In whoſe place after, ſucceeded William Courtney, which was no leſſe diligent then his predeceſſor had ben before him, in doing his diligence to roote out heretickes. Notwithſtanding, in the meane ſeaſon Wickleffes ſecte increaſed priuely, and daily grewe to greater force, vntill the time that William Barton Vicechancellor of Oxford, about the yeare of our Lord 1380. had the whole rule of that vniuerſitie: who callyng together 8. monaſtical doctors, and 4. other, with the conſent of the reſt of hys affinitie, putting the common ſeale of the vniuerſitie vnto certaine wrytings: he ſet forth an Edict, declaring vnto euery man, and threatning them vnder a greeuous penaltie, that no men ſhould be ſo hardie, hereafter to aſſociate thēſelues wyth any of Wickliffs fautors or fauourers: and vnto Wickliffe himſelfe, he threatned the greater excommunication, and farther impriſonment, and to all his fautors, vnles that they after 3. dayes canonical admonitiō or warning, or as they cal it, peremptory, did repent & amend. The which thing whē Wickliffe vnderſtood, forſaking the pope & all the clergy, he thought to appeale vnto the kings maieſtie: but the Duke of Lancaſter comming betweene, forbad hym that he ſhoulde not heereafter attempt or begin any ſuch matters, but rather ſubmit himſelfe vnto the cenſure and iudgement of his ordinary. Whereby Wickliffe being beſet wyth troubles and vexations, as it were in the middeſt of the waues, he was forced once againe to make cōfeſſion of his doctrine: in the whych his confeſſion, to auoid the rigor of things, he anſwered as is aforeſaide, making his declaration, and qualifying his aſſertions after ſuch a ſorte, that he did mitigate and aſſwage the rigor of hys enemies.

Barton Chauncelour of Oxford.

Anno. 1380.

An edict againſt the Wicliuiſtes.

The next yere after, whych was 1382. by the commandement of William Arch. of Cant. there was a conuocation holden at London, where as Iohn Wickliffe was alſo commanded to be preſent. But whether he there appeared perſonally, or not, I find it not in ſtory certainly affirmed. The mandate of the Archb. Wil. Courtney (ſent abrode for the conuenting together of this councell) heere followeth vnder wrytten, truely copied out of his owne regiſters.

Anno. 1382.

The mandate of the Archb.

Memorandum, that where as well amongeſt the nobles as commons of this realme of England, there hath a certain brute ben ſpread of diuers cōcluſions both erroneous, Ex Regiſtro Archb. W. Courtney.

ous, & alſo repugnant to the determination of the Church which tend to the ſubuerſion of the whole Church, and to our prouince of Canterburie, and alſo to the ſubuerſion of the whole realme, being preached in diuers & ſundry places of our ſayd prouince, generally, commonly, & publikely: we William by Gods permiſſion Archbiſhop of Canterbury, Primate of all England, and Legate of the ſea Apoſtolicall, beeing minded to execute our office and duetie heerein: haue conuocated or called together, certaine our fellow brethren & others a great many, as well Doctours and Bachelers of diuinitie, as doctours of the Canon and ciuil law, and thoſe whome we thought to be the moſt famous men, ſkilfulleſt men. and men of ſoundeſt iudgemēt in religion, that were in all the realme, whoſe names here vnder enſue. And the ſame being (the 17. day of the month of May) in the yere of our Lord 1382. in a certaine chamber within the territories of the priory of the friers preachers of London before vs and our foreſayd fellow brethren aſſembled, then and there perſonally preſent: After that the ſayd concluſions (the tenour whereof here vnder enſueth) were opēly proponed, and diſtinctly and plainly read: we burdened our foreſayd fellow brethren, doctours, and bachelers, in the faith wherin they ſtode bound to our Lorde Jeſus Chriſt, and as they would aunſwer before the hygh iudge in the day of iudgement, that they ſhuld ſpeake their opinions touching the ſayde concluſions, and what euery of them thinketh therein.

And at length, after good deliberation had vppon the premiſſes, the foreſaid our brethren the biſhops, doctours, & Bachelers, reaſſembled before vs the 21. day of the ſame moneth in the foreſayd chamber, the foreſayde concluſions being againe and againe repeated and plainly read: by vs and by the common conſents of vs all it remaineth publiſhed and declared, that ſome of the ſaid concluſions are hereticall, and other ſome erroneous and contrary to the determination of the Church, as hereafter moſt manifeſtly ſhall appeare. And for as much as by ſufficient information we finde & perceiue, that the ſayd concluſions in many places of our ſayde prouince, haue bene as is ſayde, bothe taught & preached: and that diuers other perſons do hold and maintaine the ſame, and be of hereſie vehemently and notoriouſly ſuſpected: haue thought good as wel generally as ſpecially, to ſend out thys proceſſe vnder wrytten.

¶ The names of the Iurers were theſe.

IN primis viij. Biſhops, Canterbury, Wincheſter, Durram, Exeter, Herforde, Sarum, Rocheſter, and Fryer Botleſham. B.

Item 3. friers preachers, Syward, Parris, Langley.

Item 4. minorites, Foluile, Carlel, Friſley, Bernwel.

Item, Auguſtine Friers. foure. Aſhborne, Bowkyn, Woldley, Hornyngton.

Item, Carmelites 4. Glanuile, Dis, Loney, Kynnyngham.

Item, Monkes 4. Wels, Ramſey, Bloxam, Marton.

Item, doctours of the Canon and Ciuill lawe 14. Appelby, Waltrom, Baketon, Chadeſden, Tregiſion, Stow, Blaunchard, Rocombey, Lidford, Welbourne, Flayneburgh, Motrum, Brandon and Prophet.

Item, Bachelers of Diuinitie 6. Humbleton, Pickweche, Lindlow, Wich, Chiſelden, Tomſon.

The Articles of John Wickleffe heere aboue ſpecified, wherof ſome were 10. which were by theſe Friers cōdemned as heretical, ẏ reſt as erroneous: here in order follow, and are theſe. Although it may be thought, that ſome of them were made worſe by their ſiniſter collecting, then he ment them in his owne workes and wrytings.

¶ The articles of Iohn Wickliffe, condemned as hereticall.

1. THe ſubſtance of material bread & wine, doth remaine in the Sacrament of the aulter after the conſecration.
2. The accidents, doe not remaine wythout the ſubiect in the ſame Sacrament, after the conſecration.
3. That Chriſt is not in the Sacrament of the altar truly and really, in hys proper and corporall perſon.
4. * That if a Byſhop or a Prieſt be in deadly ſinne, hee doth not order, conſecrate, nor baptiſe.
5. That if a man be duely and truely contrite & penitent: all exteriour and outer confeſſion, is but ſuperfluous and vnprofitable vnto hym.
6. That it is not found or ſtabliſhed by the Goſpell, that Chriſt did make or ordaine maſſe.
7. If the pope be a reprobate and euil man, & conſequently a member of the deuill: he hath no power by any maner of meanes geuen vnto him ouer faithfull Chriſtians, except peraduenture it be geuen him from the Emperour.
8. That ſince the time of Urbane the 6. there is none to be receaued for Pope, but to liue after the manner of the Greekes, euery man vnder his owne law.
9. * To be againſt the Scripture, that eccleſiaſticall miniſters ſhould haue any temporall poſſeſſions.

* This article eyther is ſlanderouſly reported, or els can hardly be defended.

* He meaneth church goods not to be ſo peculiar to miniſters but that they may be taken away if they ſo deſerue.

¶ The other Articles of Iohn Wickleffe, condemned as erroneous.

10. THat no Prelate ought to excommunicate any man, except he knew him firſt to be excōmunicate of God.
11. That hee which doeth ſo excommunicate any man, is therby himſelfe either an hereticke or excommunicated.
12. That a Prelate or Biſhop excommunicating any of the clergy, which hath appealed to the king or to the counſel, is thereby himſelfe, a traytor to the king and realme.
13. That all ſuch which do leaue of preaching or hearyng the worde of God or preaching of the Goſpell, for feare of excōmunication: they are already excommunicated, and in ẏ day of iudgement, ſhalbe counted as traytors vnto god.
14. That it is lawful for any man, either deacon or prieſt, to preach the word of God, without the authority or licēce of the Apoſtolicke ſea or any other of his Catholickes.
15. ¶ That ſo long as a man is in deadly ſinne, he is neyther Byſhop nor Prelate in the Church of God.
16. * Alſo that the temporal lordes, may according to theyr owne will and diſcretion, take away the temporall goodes from the Church men, whenſoeuer they do offend.
17. That tenthes are pure almoſe, and that the Pariſhioners may for the offence of their curates, deteine and keepe them backe, & beſtow them vpon others, at their own wil and pleaſures,
18. Alſo, that all ſpeciall praiers applied to any priuate or particular perſon, by any Prelate or religious man: do no more profite the ſame parſon, then generall or vniuerſall prayers doe profite others, whych be in lyke caſe or ſtate vnto hym.
19. Moreouer, in that any man doeth enter into any priuate religion, whatſoeuer it be, hee is thereby made, the more vnapt and vnable to obſerue and keepe the commādements of God.
20. That holy men which haue inſtituted priuate Religions, whatſoeuer they be (as well ſuch as are indued and poſſeſſed, as alſo the order of begging Friers, hauing no poſſeſſions) in ſo doyng, haue greeuouſly offended.
21. That religious men, beyng in their priuate religions, are not of the Chriſtian Religion.
22. That Friers are bounden to get their liuing, by the labour of their handes and not by beggyng.
23. That whoſoeuer doth geue any almoſe vnto Friers, or to any begging obſeruaunt, is accurſed or in dāger therof.

¶ This article peraduenture was not ſo ſtraightly ment of him as it was gathered of thē as is aforeſayd.

* This article expoundeth the ix. article aboue.

¶ The letter of the Archbyſhop directed to the Byſhop of London, agaynſt Wickleffe and his adherentes.

A letter of the Archb. of Cant. againſt Wickliffe.

WIlliam by Gods permiſsion Archbyſhop of Canterbury, Metropolitane of all England, and of the Apoſtolicall ſea Legate: To our reuerend brother by the grace of God Byſhop of London, ſalutation. The Prelates of the Churche ought to be ſo much the more vigilant and attentiue about the charge of the Lordes flocke committed vnto them: how much the more they ſhall vnderſtand the Wolues beyng clothed in ſheepes apparell, fraudulently to goe about to woory and ſcatter the ſheepe. Truly, by the continuall cry and bruted fame (which it greeueth me to report) it is come to our knowledge: that although by the canonicall ſanctions, no man beyng forbidden or not admitted, ſhould either publickely or priuily without the authoritie of the Apoſtolicall ſea or Byſhop of that place, vſurpe or take vpon him the office of a Preacher: Some notwithſtandyng, ſuch as are the children of damnation, beyng vnder the vale of blynde ignoraunce, are brought into ſuch a dotyng mynde, that they take vppon them to Preache, and are not affrayde to affirme and teach diuers and ſundry propoſitions and concluſions here vnder recited, both hereticall, erroneous, and falſe, condempned by the Church of God: and repugnaunt to the decree of holy Churche, whiche tend to the ſubuertyng of the whole ſtate of the ſame, of our prouince of Canterbury, and deſtruction and weakenyng of the tranquilitie of the ſame: and that as well in the Churches, as in the ſtreetes, as alſo in many other prophane places of our ſayd prouince, generally, cōmonly, and publikely, do preach the ſame, infecting very many good Chriſtians, cauſing thē lamentably to wāder out of the way, & frō the catholick Church, without which there is no ſaluation. We therfore conſidering, that ſo pernicious a miſchiefe whych may creepe amongeſt many, wee ought not to ſuffer, and by diſsimulation to paſſe ouer, which may with deadly contagion ſlea the ſoules of men, leaſt their bloud be required at our hands: are willing ſo much as God wil permit vs to do, to extirpate the ſame. Wherefore, by the counſaile and conſent of many of our brethrẽ and Suffraganes, we haue conuented diuers and ſundry Doctours of Diuinitie, as alſo profeſſours and other Clerkes of the Canon and Ciuill lawes, the beſt learned wythin the Realme, and of the moſt ſoundeſt opinion and iudgement in the Catholicke faith, to geue their opinions and iudgements cõcerning the foreſayde concluſions. But for as much as the ſayde concluſions and aſſertions: being in the preſence of vs, and our fellowe brethren and other conuocates, openly expounded, and diligently examined, and in the end found by common counſaile and conſent, as wel of them as of vs, and ſo declared that ſome of thoſe concluſions were heretical, and ſome of them erroneous & repugnant to the determination of the Church, as here vnder are deſcribed: Wee will and commaund your brotherhoode, and by vertue of holy obedience ſtraightly enioyne, all and ſingular our brethren and Suffraganes of our body and Church of Canterbury, that with all ſpeedye diligence you poſsible can, you likewiſe enioyne them (as we haue enioyned you) and euery of them. And that euery one of them in their Churches & other places of their Citie and Dioces, doe admoniſh and warne, and that you in your Church and other Churches of your Citie and Dioces, do admoniſh and warne, as we by the tenor of theſe preſents, do admoniſh and warne the firſt time, the ſecond time, and the third time: and yet more ſtraightly doe warne, aſsigning for the firſt admonition one day, for the ſecond admonition an other day, & for the third admonition canonicall and peremptorie, an other day: That no man from hence forth of what eſtate or cõdition ſoeuer, do hold, preach or defend the foreſayd hereſies and errors or any of them: nor that hee admitte to preach any one that is prohibited or not ſent to preach, nor that he heare or hearken to the hereſies or errours of him or any of them, or that he fauour or leane vnto hym either publiquely, or priuely: But that immediatly he ſhonne hym as he would auoide a Serpent putting forth moſt peſtiferous poiſon, vnder paine of the greater curſe, the which we commaund to be thundered againſt all and euery one which ſhalbe diſobedient in this behalfe, and not regarding theſe our monitions, after that thoſe 3. dayes be paſt which are aſsigned for the canonical monition, and that their delay, fault or offence, committed require the ſame: That then according to the tenour of theſe wrytings, wee commaund both by euery one of our felowe brethren & our Suffraganes in their Cities and Dioces, and by you in your City and Dioces (ſo much as belongeth both to you and them) that to the vttermoſt, both ye and they cauſe the ſame excommunications to be pronounced. And furthermore, wee will and commaunde our foreſayd felowe brethren, and all & ſingular of you a part by your ſelues, to be admoniſhed, and by the aſperſion of the bloud of Ieſus Chriſt we likewiſe admoniſh you: that according to the inſtitution of the ſacred Canons, euery one of them in their Cities & Dioces, bee a diligent inquiſitour of this hereticall prauitie: and that euery one of you alſo in your Cities and Dioces, be the like inquiſitor of the foreſayd heretical prauitie: And that of ſuch like preſumptions they and you carefully and diligently inquire, and that both they and you (according to your dueties and office in this behalfe) wyth effect do procede againſt the ſame, to the honor and praiſe of his name that was crucified, and for the preſeruation of the Chriſtian faith and Religion.

Had ye tryed them by the truth, you ſhuld haue found thẽ otherwiſe.

Bruta Fulmina.

He that killeth you, ſhal thinke he doth God good ſeruice.

Yea rather for the honour of your pope, and deſtruction of Chriſtian fayth.

Here is not to be paſſed ouer, the great miracle of gods diuine admonition or warning: for when as the Archbyſhop and ſuffraganes, with the other Doctours of diuinitie, and lawyers with a great company of babling Friers, & religious perſons were gathered together to conſult, as touching Iohn wickleffes bookes, and that whole ſecte: when as they were gathered together at the Gray fryers in Lõdon, to begin their buſines, vpon S. Dunſtons day after dinner, about 2. of the clocke the very houre & inſtant ẏ they ſhould go forward with their buſineſſe: a wonderfull and terrible earthquake fell, through out al England: wherupon, diuers of the ſuffraganes being feared, by the ſtrange and wonderfull demonſtration, doubting what it ſhuld meane, thought it good to leaue of from their determinate purpoſe. But the Archbyſhop (as chiefe captaine of that army, more raſh and bold then wiſe interpreating the chaunce which had happened, cleane contrary to an other meaning or purpoſe, did confirme & ſtrengthen their harts and minds, which were almoſt daunted with feare, ſtoutly to proceede and go forward in theyr attempted enterpriſe. Who then diſcourſing wickliffes articles, not according vnto the ſacred Canons of the holy Scripture, but vnto theyr owne priuate affections and traditions, pronounced and gaue ſentence, that ſome of them were ſimply and plainely hereticall, other ſome halfe erroneous other irreligious, ſome ſeditious, and not conſonant to the Church of Rome.

An earthquake what time Wickliffe was examined.
Ex chron. mon. Albanenſis.

Determination vpon the articles of Wickliffe.

Item, the 12. day of Iune, in the yeare aforeſaid, in the chamber of the Friers preachers: the foreſayd M. Robert Rigges Chauncelor of the vniuerſitie of Oxford, & Thomas Brightwell profeſſors of diuinitie, beyng appoynted the ſame day and place, by the foreſayde reuerend father in God Archbyſhop of Canterbury: appeared before hym, in the preſence of the reuerend father in God, Lord William, by the grace of God Byſhop of Wincheſter, and diuers others doctours and bachelers of Diuinitie and of the Canon and ciuill lawe, whoſe names are before recited. And firſt the ſayd Chauncelor by the ſaid Lord Archb. of Cant. being examined what his opinion was touching the foreſayd articles: Publiquely affirmed and declared, that certaine of thoſe concluſions were hereticall, and certaine erronious, as the other doctors and clerks afore mentioned had declared: And then immediately next after hym, the foreſaid Thomas Brightwel was examined, which vpon ſome of the concluſions at firſt ſomewhat ſtaggered, but in the end being by the ſayd Archbiſhop, diligently examined vpon the ſame, did affirme and repute the ſame to be hereticall and erroneous, as the foreſayd Chancelor had done. An other Bacheler of Diuinitie alſo there was named N. ſtammering alſo at ſome of thoſe concluſions, but in the end affirmed that hys opinion therein was, as was the iudgement of the foreſayd Chauncelour and Thomas as is aboue declared. Wherſuppon, the ſayde Lord Archb. of Cant. willing to let and hinder the perill of ſuch hereſies & errours: Deliuered vnto the foreſayd Chauncelour there being publiquely read his letters patents, to be executed, the tenour whereof in theſe wordes doth folow.

An other letter of th Archb. to the Commiſſary of Oxford.

A letter of the Archb. of Cant. to the Chauncelour of Oxford.

William by the grace of God Archb. of Cant. primate of all England, and Legate of the Apoſtolicall ſee: To our welbeloued ſonne in Chriſt the Chancelor of the vniuerſitie of Oxford, within the dioceſſe of Lincolne, greeting, grace and benediction. The prelates of the Church, about the Lordes flocke committed to their charge, ought ſo much to be more vigilãt as that they ſee the wolfe clothed in ſheepes attire fraudulẽtly go about to worow and ſcatter the ſheepe. Doubtles, the common fame & brute is come vnto our eares. &c. Vt in mandato præcedenti. We will therefore and commaunde, ſtraightly enioyning you, that in the Church of our bleſſed Lady in Oxforde, vpon thoſe dayes the which accuſtomably the Sermone is made, as alſo in the ſchooles of the ſayde Vniuerſitie vppon thoſe dayes the Lectures be read, ye publiſh and cauſe by others to be publiſhed to the clergie and people, as well in their vulgare tounge, as in the Latine tounge, manifeſtly and plainly without any curious implication, the ſame hereticall and erronious concluſions, ſo repugnant to the determination of holy Church, as is aforeſayd: to haue bene & be condemned, and which concluſions alſo we declare by theſe our letters to be vtterly condemned: And that farthermore you forbid, and canonically admoniſh, and cauſe to be admoniſhed, as we by the tenour of theſe preſents doe forbid and admoniſh you, once, twiſe, and thriſe, and that peremptorily: that none hereafter hold, teach, preach, or defende the hereſies and errours aboue ſayde, or any of them eyther in ſchoole or out of ſchoole by any ſophiſtical cauillation or otherwiſe: or that any admit to preache, heare, or hearken vnto Iohn Wyckliffe, Nicholas Hereford, Philip Reppindon Chanon reguler, or Iohn Ayſhton, or Laurence Readman, which be vehemently and notoriouſly ſuſpected of hereſie, or els any other whatſoeuer, ſo ſuſpected or defamed: or that either priuely or publiquely, they either aide or fauoure them or any of them, but that incontinently they ſhunne and auoide the ſame as a Serpent which putteth foorth moſte peſtiferous poyſon. And farthermore, we ſuſpend the ſayd ſuſpected perſons from al ſcholaſticall acte, till ſuch time as they ſhall purge themſelues before vs in that behalfe, and that you denounce the ſame publiquely, by vs to haue bene and be ſuſpended, and that yee diligently and faithfully inquire, of all their fautours and fauourers, and cauſe to be inquired throughout all the haules of the ſayde vniuerſitie. And that when you ſhall haue intelligence of their names & perſons, that yee compell all and euery of them to abiure their outragies by Eccleſiaſticall Cenſures and other paines Canonicall whatſoeuer vnder paine of the greater curſe, the whych againſt al and ſingular the rebellious in thys behalfe, and diſobeying our monitions wee pronounce: ſo that their fault, deceit, and offence in thys behalfe, deſerue the ſame (the ſayde monition of ours being firſt ſent) which in this behalfe we exteeme and allowe Canonicall, that then and agayne accordyng to the effect of theſe our letters. &c. The Abſolution of all and ſingular ſuch, whych ſhall incurre the ſentence of thys inſtrument by vs ſent foorth (whych God forbidde) Wee ſpecially reſerue vnto oure ſelues: exhortyng you the Chauncellour by the aſperſion of the bloud of IESVS CHRIST, that to the vttermoſt of your power hereafter you doe your indeuoure, that the Clergie and people

Make ſure worke.

being ſubiecte vnto you, if there be whych haue ſtrayed from the Catholique faith by ſuch errours, may be brought home againe, to the laud and honour of his name that was crucified, and preſeruation of the true faith. And further our will is, that whatſoeuer you ſhal do, in the premiſſes in maner & forme of our proceſſe in this behalfe, to be had and done: that you for your parte, when you ſhalbe required thereunto, plainly & diſtinctly do certifie vs by your letters patents, hauing the tenour hereof.

The concluſions and articles here mentioned in thys letter, are aboue prefixed. Of which ſome were cõdemned for hereticall, ſome for erroneous.

After this, within fewe daies the foreſayd Archbyſhop W. Courtney, directed down his letters of admonition to Robert Rigge commiſſary of Oxford, for the repreſſing of thys doctrine. Which yet notwithſtanding both then, and yet to this day (God be praiſed) doth remaine. The copie of his monition to the Commiſſary here out of hys owne Regiſter, foloweth.

¶ The monition of the Archbyſhop, vnto the foreſayd Chauncellour.

An other letter of the Archb. to the Commiſſary of Oxford.

IN Dei nomine Amen. Where as we William by the permiſſion of God Archbyſhop of Canterbury Lorde Primate of England and Legate of the Apoſtolicall ſea, by the conſent of our ſuffraganes, haue cauſed to be aſſembled together diuers clerkes both ſecular and regular of the vniuerſitie of Oxford, wythin our prouince of Canterbury and other Catholicke perſons to informe vs of, and vpon certaine concluſions heretical and erroneous generally and commonly preached and publiſhed in diuers places of the ſayd prouince of Canterbury to the ſubuerſion of the whole ſtate of the Church, and our ſayd prouince: And alſo mature deliberation had vpon the ſame: by the common counſaile of the ſaid our ſuffraganes & their conuocates, it was declared, that certain of the ſayde concluſions, to haue bene and be condemned, ſome for heretical, and ſome for erroneous, and notoriouſly repugnãt to the determinatiõ of the church, which we alſo our ſelues haue declared to be damnable: And haue vnderſtode by credible information, and partly by experience that thou Robert Rigge, Chancelor of the vniuerſity aforeſaid, haſt & doeſt incline partly to the foreſaid damnable concluſions, whome alſo we in thys part haue partly ſuſpected, doeſt intend to moleſt theſe our Clerkes aboue ſpecified, & others adhering vnto vs in this behalf, as they ought to do: through thy ſubtill and ſophiſticall imaginations, ſondry & manifold wayes, therfore we admoniſh thee M. Robert Chauncelour aforeſaid, the firſt, ſecond, and third time, and peremptorily: that thou doeſt not greue, let, or moleſt, iudicially or extraiudicially, apertly or priuely, or cauſe to be greued, let and moleſted, or procure directly or indirectly, by thy ſelfe, or any other, as much as in thee lieth to be greued, the foreſayd Clerks ſecular or regular, or ſuch as fauor them in the premiſſes, in their ſcholaſtical acts or in any other condition whatſoeuer. And that thou ſuffer none, hereafter to teach, maintaine, preach, or defend any ſuch hereſies or errours in the ſayde Vniuerſitie, either within or wythout the ſcholes: Neither that thou do admit I. Wickliffe, Nicholas Herford, Philip Repindon, Iohn Ayſhton, or Laurẽce Redman, which are vehemently and notoriouſly ſuſpected of hereſie, or any other ſo ſuſpected or defamed, vnto that office of preaching. But that thou denounce the ſayd perſons to be ſuſpended, whom we haue ſuſpended from all ſcholaſtical act, whileſt they cleare their innocencie in this part before vs, vnder the paine of the greater curſe, which we here in theſe wrytings denounce againſt thy perſon if thou ſhalt not obey thoſe our admonitions, with effecte, as thy crime, ſubteltie and offence in this behalfe ſhal require according to this our admonition premiſed, which we repute in thys parte for canonicall, as well then as now, and now as wel as then, reſeruing the abſolution of this ſentence excommunicatorie, if it happen to light vpon thee, as (God forbid) ſpecially vnto our ſelues. Teſtified with the handes of the Iurers, aboue in the page 410. before ſpecified.

¶ The examination of Nicholas Herford, Philip Repingdon, and Iohn Ayſhton.

THe 18. day of the month and yere aforeſaid in the chamber of the preaching Friers afore mentioned, before the foreſayde Archb. in the preſence of diuers Doctours and Bachelers of Diuinitie, and many Lawyers both Canon and Ciuil, whoſe names are vnder written: appeared M. Nich. Herford, Philip Repingdon, & Iohn Ayſhton Bachelers of diuinity. Who after a corporal oth taken to ſhew their iudgements vpon the cõcluſions aforeſayd, were examined ſeuerally eache one by himſelfe, before the Archb. Who there required day and place to deliberate vpon the concluſions aforeſayd, and to geue their anſwere vnto the ſame in wryting. And alſo required to haue a copie of the ſayde concluſions to be deliuered vnto them. The which copy, the ſayd Nicholas & Philip (being openly read vnto them) receiued. Alſo the foreſayd M. Iohn Ayſhton lykewiſe was examined, and iudicially admoniſhed by the ſaid Archbiſhop by vertue of his othe, that hee ſetting aſide all ſophiſticall wordes & ſutteltie, he fully and plainly would ſay his minde vpon the concluſions aforeſayd. And being asked moreouer by the ſaid Archbiſhop whether he would haue a further day to deliberate vpon his anſwers, as the foreſaid Nicholas and Philip had before: ſaid expreſly that he would not, but would anſwer preſently to thoſe cõcluſions. And ſo for finall aunſwere ſayde, as concerning all theſe concluſions (containing them all together) that hys iudgement was in this behalf to hold his peace. Wherfore the foreſaid Archbiſhop reputing the ſaide Iohn herein to be ſuſpected, admoniſhed him in form of wordes as foloweth: We admoniſh thee Iohn Ayſhton, whome we repute to be defamed, & notoriouſly ſuſpected of hereſie, the firſt, the ſecond, and third time: that in our prouince of Canterbury hereafter, thou do not preach publickely or priuately wout our ſpeciall licence, vnder paine of the greater curſe, which we denoũce here by theſe preſents againſt thy perſon, if thou obey not our monitions, for now as for then. And conſequently, for as much as the ſayd Iohn being asked of the Archb. confeſſed that hee had heard before of the publication of the Archbyſhops Mandate, wherein was inhibited ẏ no perſon prohibited or not ſent, ſhould preach hereafter: the foreſayde Archb. aſſigned to him Friday next folowing, which was the 20. day of the ſame moneth, after dinner to appeare before hym, either at Lambeth, or in the ſame place: to ſay for himſelfe, wherefore he myght not be pronounced for an heretick, & for ſuch a one to be denounced through hys whole prouince. Alſo the ſaid Archbiſhop aſſigned to the foreſaid Nicholas and Philip, the ſaide day & place to anſwer peremptorily, and to ſay fully & plainly to the concluſions aforeſayde, all ſophiſtication of wordes and diſputation ſet a part.

M. Iohn Aſheton examined.

The anſwere of Iohn Aſheton.

M. Aſheton monithed again to appeare.

¶ The names of the Friers that ſate vpon them.

Friers preachers 7.

Thom. Barnwel, William Swynherd, William Picworth, Tho. Whatley, Laurence Grenham, Iohn Leigh, Iohn Baker.

Carmelites 3.

Walter Diſh, Iohn Kinningham, Iohn Louey.

Auguſtine Frier.

Thomas Aſhborne Doctour.

In the 20. day aforeſaid of the ſaid month of Iune, the yere and place aboue prefixed, before the foreſayde Archbyſhop, ſitting in his tribunall ſeat, in the preſence of diuers Doctours of Diuinitie, and lawyers, both Ciuil and Canon: perſonally appeared M. Nicholas Herford, & Philip Repindon, Bachelers of Diuinity, and Iohn Ayſhton maiſter of Arte. Where, the foreſaid Nicholas and Philip, being required by the ſayd Archb. to anſwere and ſay fully and plainly their iudgements vppon the concluſions prefixed, whereunto the ſayde Archbyſhop had aſſigned to the ſayd Nicholas and Philip the ſame terme: did exhibite to the ſayd Archbyſhop there iudicially ſitting, certaine aunſweres in wryting contained, after the maner of indẽture, the tenour whereof here vnder is contained, and after the ſame forme anſwered to the ſayd concluſions. The tenour of which Indenture containing the foreſaide concluſions vnto them moued as afore, foloweth in theſe wordes.

xx. of Iune.

Hertford & Repington appear.

¶ The proteſtation of Nicholas, Phillip, and Iohn, with their Articles and aunſweres to the ſame.

WE proteſt here as before, publikely in theſe preſẽts: that we intend to be humble and faithful children to the church and holy ſcripture, and to obey in all things the determinations of the Church. And if it ſhall chaunce vs at any time which god forbid, to ſwarue from this our intention, we ſubmit our ſelues humbly to the correction of our reuerend father Lorde Archbiſhop of Cant. and primate of all England: and of all other, which haue intereſt to correct ſuch ſwaruers. This proteſtatiõ premiſed, thus we anſwere to the concluſions aforeſayd.

The proteſtation of Hereford, and Aſheton exhibited to the Archb.

That the ſubſtance of material bread and wine, remaineth in the Sacrament of the aulter after conſecration.

After the ſenſe contrary to the Decretall, beginning Firmiter credimus, we graunt that it is hereſie.

Articles with the anſvveres.

That the accidents doe not remaine wythout the ſubiect after conſecration of the Sacrament.

After the ſenſe contrary to that Decretall Cum Marthe, we graunt that it is hereſie.

That Chriſt is not in the ſacrament, the ſelfe ſame truly and really in hys owne corporall preſence.

Although this concluſion as the wordes ſtand ſound to be probable and intelligible: yet in the ſenſe contrary to the decretal in Cle. Si dudum. we graunt that it is hereſy. And briefly concerning this whole matter of the Sacrament of the aulter as touching and all other thyngs, we profeſſe that we will both in worde and ſenſe, holde wyth the holy Scripture, with the determination of the holy church and ſayings of the holy Doctours.

Obſtinatly to affirme that it hath no foundation in the Goſpell that Chriſt ordained the Maſſe,

we graunt that it is hereſie.

That God ought to obey the deuill.

In this ſenſe that God in hys owne perſon or eſſence, ought to obey the deuil with the obedience of neceſſity.

we graunt that it is hereſie.

If a man be duely contrite, that all externall confeſſion is to him ſuperfluous and vnprofitable.

we graunt that it is hereſie.

If the Pope be a reprobate & an euill man, and conſequētly a member of the deuil: He hath no power ouer the faithful of Chriſt, giuē to him of any, vnleaſt it be of Ceſar.

we graunt that it is hereſie.

That after Pope Vrbane the 6. none is to be receyued for Pope, but that wee ought to liue after the maner of the Grecians vnder our owne lawes.

we graunt that it is hereſie.

To ſay that it is againſt the holy Scripture for eccleſiaſticall perſons to haue temporall poſſeſſions.

If obſtinacie be ioyned withall: wee graunt that it is hereſie.

That no Prelate ought to excommunicate any man, vnles he know him before to be excommunicate of God.

we graunte that it is an errour. Vnderſtandyng thys knowledge to meane an experimental knowledge: ſo that heerewith may ſtand the Decree of the Church. 11.q.3. Nemo Epiſco.

That he which doth ſo excommunicate, is thereby an hereticke or excommunicate.

After the ſenſe agreeing wt the other before, we graunt to be an errour.

That a Prelate excommunicating a clerke, whych appealeth to the king or counſell of the realme, in ſo doing is a traitor to God, the king, and the realme.

we graunt it is an errour.

That they whych leaue off to preache, or to heare the word of God & the goſpel preached, for the excommunication of men, are excommunicate: and in the day of iudgement ſhalbe counted for traytors to God.

Vnderſtanding this cōcluſion vniuerſally ſo, as ſcripture and lawes do vnderſtand ſuch indefinit propoſitiōs: we graunt it is an errour.

To affirme that it is lawful for any Deacon or Prieſt, to preach the word of God without the authority of the ſea Apoſtolique or catholique Byſhop, or of any other whoſe authority he knoweth ſufficient.

we graunt it is an errour.

To affirme that there is no ciuile Lord, no Biſhop nor Prelate whileſt he is in mortall ſinne, wee graunt it is an errour.

That temporall Lordes may at their pleaſure take away the temporal goodes from Churches offending habitualiter: we graunt it is an error, after this ſenſe that they may ſo take away temporall goodes of the churches wythout the caſes limited in the lawes of the Church and kingdomes.

That the vulgar people may correct the Lordes offending at their pleaſure: vnderſtanding by thys word may, that they may do it by the law: we graunt it is an errour, becauſe that ſubiectes haue no power ouer theyr Lordes,

That tithes be pure almes, and that pariſhioners may for the offences of their Curates detaine the ſame and beſtow them to others at theyr pleaſure: vnderſtanding by thys word may, as before, to may, by the lawe: we graunt it is an errour.

That ſpecial praiers applied to any one perſon by prelates or religious men, do no more profit then the general praiers, if there be no let by the way to make them vnlike: Vnderſtanding thys concluſion vniuerſally negatiuely, & vnderſtanding by ſpecial prayers, the prayers made vpon ſpecial deuotion and general praiers of general deuotion: then after this ſenſe, no ſuch ſpecial prayers applied to any one perſon, by ſpecial orators do profite more ſpecially the ſaid perſon, then general praiers doe, which are made of ẏ ſame and for the ſame perſons, we graunt it is an errour.

He that geueth almes to the friers, or to any frier that preacheth, is excommunicate both he that geueth, & he that taketh: Vnderſtanding thys propoſition vniuerſally or conditionally as is aforeſayd: we graunt to be an errour.

That who ſo entreth into any priuate religiō what ſoeuer, is thereby made more vnapt and vnmete to obey the commaundements of God: we graunt it is an errour.

That ſuch holy men as did inſtitute any priuate religions whatſoeuer, as well of ſecular hauing poſſeſſions, as of friers hauing none, in ſo inſtituting did ſinne: Vnderſtanding thys reduplicatiuely or vniuerſally: wee graunt it is an error. After thys ſenſe, that what Saint ſoeuer dyd inſtitute priuate religiōs, inſtituting the ſayd religion vpon that conſideration as they did, did ſinne.

That religious men liuing in priuate religiōs, be not of the religion of Chriſt: Vnderſtanding the propoſition vniuerſally as is aforeſayd: we graunt it is an errour.

That friers are bound to get their liuings by the labor of their handes and not by begging: Vnderſtanding this propoſitiō vniuerſally as before: we graūt it is an errour.

The iudgement of the doctors vpon theſe articles.

These things haue we ſpoken reuerend father & Lord, in all humility, vnder your gracious ſupportation and benigne correction, according to our abilities & ſlender capacities for this preſent (the honor of god, the verity of our belief, and ſafe cōſcience in all poynts reſerued) more humbly yet beſeeching you: that if any other thing there be that ſemeth meete vnto your excellency & diſcretion to be more or otherwiſe ſaid & ſpoken: that your gracious fatherhood would vouchſafe to informe vs as children by the ſacred ſcriptures by the determination of the church, or authoryties of the holy Doctours. And doubtles with redy wils, and obedient mindes we wil conſent and agree vnto your wholſom doctrine. May it therfore pleaſe your fatherhode right reuerende in God, according to ẏ accuſtomed maner of your benignity, fauourably to accept theſe our wordes and ſayings, forasmuch as the foreſayde concluſions were neuer by vs either in ſcholes affirmed, or els in Sermons publikely preached.

Admonition and citation of the Archb. againſt the examinates.

¶ Further examinations and proccedings againſt the foreſayd Nich. Herford, Phillip Reppindon, and Io. Aiſhton.

Farther examinations againſt the ſayd Nic. Phil. and Iohn. Nic. Herford. Phil. Repington. Iohn Aſhe. ton, examined. 20. Iunij. an. 1382.

WHen all theſe anſwers were made vnto the ſaid lord Archb. of Canterb. the ſayde Nicholas and Phillip, for that they aunſwered not vnto the meaning and wordes of the firſt concluſion expreſly: but contrary to the ſenſe of the decretall Firmiter credimus, were there iudicially examined what their ſenſe and meaning was, but they wold not expreſſe the ſame. Then was it demaunded of them according to the ſenſe of the ſame concluſion declared on the behalfe of the ſayd Lord of Cant. whether the ſame materiall bread in numero, whych before the conſecration is laid vpon the aulter, remaine in the proper ſubſtance and nature, after the conſecration in the Sacrament of the aulter, and likewiſe of the wine? To this the ſaid Nicholas & Phillip aunſwered, that for ẏ time they could ſay no more therein, then that they had already aunſwered, as is afore alledged in writing. And for that vnto the ſence and wordes of the ſecond concluſion they aunſwered not fully and expreſly, but in a ſence contrary to the Decretall Cum Marthe, beyng aſked what was ẏ meaning, would not expreſſe the ſame. Therfore it was demanded of them according to the ſenſe of the ſame concluſion, declared in the behalfe of the ſayde Lord of Caunterbury, whether thoſe corporall accidences which formally were in the bread and wine before the cōſecration of them: after the conſecration were in the ſame bread and wine, or els were ſubiected in anye other ſubſtaunce? To this they aunſwered, that better to anſwere, then before in theyr writinges they already had, for that time they could not. To the meaning alſo and wordes of the third concluſon, for that they aunſwered not playnly and expreſly, but in ſenſe contrary to the decretall in the Clementines Si dudum, being aſked what was that ſenſe and meaning, woulde not declare the ſame: wherefore it was then demaunded of them according to the ſenſe of the ſame concluſion, declared on the behalfe of the ſayd Lorde of Canterbury. Whither the ſame body of Chriſt whiche was aſſumpted of the Virgine, be in the ſacrament of the aulter, ſecundum ſe ipſum, euen as he is really in carnall ſubſtance, proper eſſence, and nature. To this they aunſwered, that for that time they could ſay no more then that they had ſayd, as before is ſpecified in writing.

An other day aſsigned for the examinates to appeare,

Proceſſe made by the Aarchb. againſt Iohn Aſheton.

Furthermore, to the ſenſe and text of the ſixt concluſion, for that they aunſwered not fully and expreſly, beyng aſked whether God ought any maner of obedience to the Deuill or not: they ſaid yea, as the obedience of loue, becauſe he loueth him, and puniſhed him as he ought. And to proue that God ought ſo to obey the deuill, they offered themſelues to the fire.

To the 11. concluſion, for that they aunſwered not expreſly, being aſked whither a prelate might excommunicate any man being in the ſtate of grace: ſaid yea.

Vnto the 20. cõcluſion, for that they anſwered not fully, ſimply, and expreſly, being demaunded whether ſpecial or generall prayers did moſt profit, and were of greater force? They would not ſay but that ſpeciall.

Vnto the laſt concluſion, for that they aunſwered neyther ſimply nor expreſly, and being demanded particularly, whether any frier were bounde to get his liuing wyth his manuall labour, ſo that it might not be lawfull for them to liue by begging? They would make no aunſwere at all.

The iudgement of the doctors vpon theſe articles.

After that, the foreſaid Lord Archb. of Cant, demaunded of all the foreſaid Doctors, what their iudgement was touching the anſweres that were made vpon all & ſinguler ſuch concluſions. All which doctors and euery of them ſeuerally, ſayd: yͤ there all the anſweres geuen vnto the firſt ſecond, third, and ſixt cõcluſions (as is before recited) were inſufficient, hereticall and ſubtill, and that all the anſweres made ſpecially to the tenth, ninth, and laſt concluſions, as is aboue mentioned: were inſufficiẽt, erroneous and peruerſe. Whereupon the Lord ſayd Archbiſhop of Caunterbury, conſidering the ſayd aunſweres to be hereticall, ſubtill, erroneous and peruerſe, accordingly as the ſaid Doctors (as is aforeſayd) had wayed and conſidered: admoniſhed the ſaid Nicholas and Phillip ſufficiently, vnder theſe forme of wordes.

Admonition and citation of the Archb. againſt the examinates.

The name of Chriſt being called vpon: we William by Gods permiſſion, Archbiſhop of Canterbury, Metropolitane of al England, and Legate of the Apoſtolique ſee, and through all our prouince of Caunterbury, Inquiſitor of all heretical prauitie: do ſufficiently and lawfully admoniſh and cite you Nicholas Herford and Phillip Repingdon profeſſors of Diuinitie, hauing this day and place aſſigned you by your own conſent and our prefictiõ, peremptorily to anſwere and to ſay, fully and playnely your opinions touching theſe concluſions wherunto we do referre you (all ſubtill, ſophiſticall, and Logicall wordes ſet apart) being therunto ſworne, cited, & commanded: which thyng to do, without cauſe reaſonable or any licence geuen thereunto, you neither haue bene willing nor are willing, nay rather ye contemptuouſly refuſed to aunſwere to ſome of thoſe concluſions before vs iudicially, according to the effect of our monition, citation and commaundement beforeſayd. But for that, ye haue aunſwered vnto ſome of them heretically, and to other ſome erroneouſly, although not fully, we admoniſh and cite you once, twice, and thrice, and that peremtorily: that plainely and fully (all ſubtile, ſophiſticall and logicall wordes ſet apart) you and euery of you anſwer vnto the ſame concluſions, and vnto that ſenſe and meaning by vs limitted: vnder the payne that otherwiſe ſuch concluſions deſerue by you confeſſed, and that for the ſame concluſions you ought to haue.

arther examinations gainst the ayd Nic. Phil. and ohn. Nic. Herord. Phil. Repington. ohn Aſheton, examined Iunij. an. 82.

Which admonition being made and done, for that the foreſayd Nicholas and Phillip woulde make none other anſwere: The ſaid Lord archbiſh. of Caunterbury concluded that buſines, prefixing and aſſigning vnto the foreſayd Nichalas and Phillip 8 dayes ſpace, that is to ſay, vntill the 27. day of the ſame month: And that then they ſhoulde appeare before the ſayd Lord Archbiſhop of Canterbury whereſoeuer within the ſame his prouince of Caunterbury hee ſhoulde fortune to be, to heare his decree that ſhoulde be made in that behalfe. This done, the foreſayd Archbiſh. of Caunterbury, moniſhed and cited lawfully and ſufficiently, Iohn Aiſhton vnder the the tenour of theſe wordes following.

An other day aſsigned for the examinates to appeare.

Proceſſe made by the Aarchb. againſt Iohn Aſheton.

In the name of God: we William by Gods permiſſiõ, Archb. of Cant. Primate of all England, Legate of the ſee Apoſtolicall, and through all our prouince of Cant. of all heretical prauitie chiefe Inquiſitour: do moniſh & cite thee, Iohn Aſheton maiſter of arte, and ſtudent in diuinitie appearing before vs, iudicially to ſay and ſpeake the playne veritie touching theſe concluſions to the which we doe referre thee: and to the which we haue cauſed thee to ſweare, laying thy hand vpon a booke: as being alſo otherwiſe by vs admoniſhed and commaunded to keepe this daye and place by vs appointed, for the third time peremptorily, to propone ſuch reaſonable cauſe (if thou haſt any) wherefore thou oughteſt not to be pronounced an hereticke. And ſufficiently and lawfully we moniſh and cite thee, the firſt, ſecond and third time, and that peremptorily, that thou, fully and playnely (all ſubtill, ſophiſticall, and logicall wordes ſet apart) doe aunſwere vnto the ſame concluſions, vnder the payne that vnto ſuch concluſions belong & on thy part confeſſed; and that thou for ſuche concluſions oughteſt to ſuffer. Which monition, being thus premiſed: The ſayde Archbiſhop read the firſt concluſion, and of the ſayd Iohn inquired what was his opinion and meaning therein, and thereupon he ſaid his minde concerning the foreſayd monition. Then, the foreſaid Iohn Aſheton being often required by the archbiſhop that he woulde aunſwere in the Latine tongue to thoſe queſtions which were demaunded of him, becauſe of the lay people that ſtood about him: he crying out into the Engliſhe tongue, vttered friuolous and approbrious contumelies to moue and excite the people againſt the ſaid Archbiſhop as it ſhould ſeem. Neyther did he vnto the firſt concluſion nor vnto any of theſe other concluſions, effectually and pertinently ſeeme to them to aunſwere: but rather by the ſubtilties & ſhiftes, ſaying oftentimes and as expreſly as Luke did, it was ſufficiẽt for him to beleue as the holy Church beleued. Then the ſaid Archbiſhop examined him vpon the firſt concluſion touching yͤ Sacrament of the aulter: whether, that after the wordes of conſecration, there remayneth materiall bread particuler bread, or vniuerſall bread? He ſayde the matter paſſed his vnderſtanding, and therefore ſaid: he woulde in that forme and maner aunſwere and other wiſe not. But amongeſt other things, he ſpake in deriding wiſe vnto the ſaid Archb. againſt this worde Materiall, ſaying, you may put that in your purſe if you haue any. Whereupon the ſaid Archbiſhop, calling that an vnwiſe and fooliſhe aunſwere as the reſt of the doctors did (of whome mention was made before) rather for that he was a graduat in the ſchooles, farther proceeded againſt the ſaid Iohn Aſheton in this wiſe.

I. Aſheton ſeuerally examined.

The Archb. and his Friers doe flee the Engliſh tongue for the people.

Whether materiall bread remaine in the ſacrament.

And thou Iohn Aſheton moniſhed and commaunded by vs as is aforeſayd, after thine oth taken: without anye reaſonable cauſe or any other other licence, neither wouldeſt thou nor yet will, but refuſed and yet doeſt contemptuouſly, to aunſwere vnto ſuch concluſions before vs, iudicially according to our monition & commandement aforeſad doe hold all ſuch concluſions by thee confeſſed, & thee the foreſaid Iohn with all thy ſaid concluſions, conuicted. And therfore we do pronounce and declare by ſentence geuing, that thou Iohn Aſhton cõcerning thoſe cõcluſions, which by vs with good deliberation of diuers prelates our ſuffraganes, and alſo diuers and ſondry profeſſours of diuinitie, and other wiſe men and learned in the lawe according to yͤ Canonicall ſanctions, being condemned and declared for an hereticke and hereticall: to haue bene and ſtill is, an hereticke, and thy concluſions heretical. And as touching thy other concluſions by vs hertofore counted erroneous, and for erroneous condemned: we doe pronounce and declare ſententially by theſe our writinges, that doth thou haſt erred and doeſt erre.

Vpon the ſame 20. day of Iune in the yeare and place aboue recited: the foreſaid Lord of Caunterbury being deſirous, as he pretended to be informed by Thomas Hilmã bacheler of diuinitie there being preſent and ſomewhat fauouring the ſaid M. Iohn Aſheton what his iudgement & opinion was touching yͤ foreſaid concluſions: prefixed and aſſigned vnto the ſaid Thomas (for that time demaunding the ſame deliberation and day) 8. dayes after, that is to ſay, the 28. of the ſaid month: that he appeare before the Biſhop of Cant. whereſoeuer within his ſaid prouince of Canterbury, he ſhould then happen to be, to declare playnely and fully what his iudgement and opinion was, touching the foreſaid concluſions. Ex Regiſt W. Courtney.

M. Tho. Hilman ſuſpected to be a fauourer of I. Aſheton. The 20. day of Iune.

Dayes geuen to Tho. Hilman to anſwere.

※ The names of Friers and Doctors aſsiſtent at the examination aforeſaid.

Friers Obſeruantes, Botleſham B. of Nauaton, frier Iohn Langley, William Suard.

Friers of Dominickes order, Iohn Kyngham, Iohn Louey, Peter Stokes, Walter Diſh.

Friers Carmelites, Thomas Aſhburn, Baukine, Robert Walbey.

Doctors and Fryers Auguſtines, M. Iohn Barnet, M. Thomas Backton, M. Iohn Blanchard, M. Iohn Shillingford, M. Lydford, M. Thomas Southam.

28. day of Iune. an. 1382.

The Friday next following, that is to ſay, the 28. day of Iune: the foreſaid M. Nicholas, Phillip, and Thom. Hilman, appeared before the ſaid Archb. and lord Inquiſitour of Canterbury, in the chappell of his manor of Otfurd, in the Dioces of Canterbury, there ſitting in his Tribunall ſeat. To whom the ſayd biſhop of Canterbury ſaying, that for becauſe at that time he had not the preſence & aſſiſtence of the doctors in diuinitie, and of the Canon and ciuil law: He continued the ſayd buſines touching the ſayd Nicholas Phillip, and Thomas, in the ſame ſtate wherin thē it was till Teweſday next & immediately enſuing: that is to ſay, the firſt day of July, the yeare of the Lord aboueſayd; and prefixed vnto the ſaid Nicholas, Phillip, and Thomas Hilman the ſame day to appeare before him, whereſoeuer within his prouince of Caunterb. he ſhould then chaunce to be, to do that whiche vppon the ſayd 18. day, they were purpoſed to doe together or a part.

The 1. day of Iuly, an 1312.

Which Tueſday being come, the foreſaid Archb. in the chiefe houſe of his Churche at Canterbury, before the houre of 9. with the doctours, whoſe names are vnder conteined and other Clerkes a great multitude: Expected the foreſaid Nicholas, Phillip, and Thomas, long time by the bedle calling them and looking after them. Who neuertheleſſe appeared not before two of the clocke after dinner the ſame day, continuing the foreſayd buſines in the priſtine ſtate til the ſame houre. At which houre the foreſaid Archbiſhop of Cant. hauing aſſiſtentes, the doctors, & clerkes, vnder recited: examined the foreſayd maiſter Thomas Hilman, thē and there iudicially appearing, what his opiniō was touching the foreſayd concluſions: who at them and the meaning of them ſomewhat ſtammering, at laſt, to all and ſinguler the ſame concluſions then to him red and expounded thus aunſwered. J ſuppoſe and iudge all & ſinguler thoſe concluſions lately condemned by my Lord of Canterbury that now is, together with the coūſaile and conſent of hys clerkes, to be hereticall and erroneous, euē as the ſame my Lord of Caunterbury, and other doctours of Diuinitie of the Canon and ciuill law, by common conſent & counſaile haue ſuppoſed and thought. And that the ſame (being for hereſies and errours as before is ſayd condemned) doe as much as in me is condemne: proteſting that J will holde and affirme the contrary of thoſe cōcluſions, & in the ſame fayth liue and dye. Then ſayd the archbiſhop of Caunterbury, then & there ſitting as Tribunall or iudge, pronouncing the ſaid maiſters Nicholas and Phillip (long in court called before and taried for, and yet not appearing) guilty of contumacy and diſobedience: excommunicated them for the penaltie of this their cōtumacie, in tenor of theſe wordes following.

The anſwere of Tho. Hilman.

Nic. Hereford and Phil. Repington for not appearing excommunicated.

We William by the grace of God archbiſhop of Caunterbury, Primate of Englande, Legate of the Apoſtolicall ſee, and thorough all our prouince of Canterbury, of al hereticall prauitie chiefe Jnquiſitour: Do pronounce maiſter Nicholas Herford, and maiſter Phillip Repingdon, profeſſours of diuinitie, hauing this day and place by our prefiction appoynted to heare & decree in this buſines of hereticall prauitie (being in Court by our Bedle long called & taried for, and yet not appearing) to be ſtubburne and diſobedient perſons: and for the penalty of this their contumacie, we do excommunicate them and either of them by theſe preſentes.

Excommunication pronounced by the Archbiſhop.

* The denouncing of the excommunication agaynſt Nicholas Herford, and Phillip Reppington.

The 12. day of Iuly. an. 1382. Excommunication to be denounced at Paules croſſe.

William by Gods permiſſion Archb. of Caunterb. &c. To our beloued ſonne in Chriſt, whoſoeuer he be, yͭ this inſtaunt ſonday ſhall preach at Paules croſſe in London, Salutatiō, grace and bleſſing. For aſmuch as we prefixed a certaine competent day and place to maiſter Nicholes Herford, and maiſter Phillip Reppingtō, Canon Regular of the Monaſtery of our Lady of Leiceſter, beyng Doctours of Diuinitie and of heretical prauitie, vehemētly ſuſpected: After certayne aunſweres not fully made, but impertinently and nothing to the purpoſe, as alſo hereticall and erroneous: Jn diuers places of our ſaid prouince commonly, generally, and publikely taught and preached, and therfore that they ſhould iudicially appeare before vs, to doe & to receaue peremtorily in that behalfe, what thing ſoeuer the quallitie of that buſines ſhoulde moue vnto vs: and that we haue for their contumacie in not appearing before vs at that day and place iudicially appoynted as right therein required: we by theſe preſentes commaund & commit vnto you, firmely enioyning you, that when all the multitude of people ſhalbe gathered together to heare your ſermō: that in the day and place appoynted, you publikely and ſolemnly denoūce the foreſaid Nicholas & Phillip, holding vp a croſſe, and lighting vp a candle, and then throwing downe the ſame vpon the ground, to haue bene ſo and in ſuch maner excommunicated and ſtill be.

Fare ye well. Jn our Manour houſe at Lambeth, the 13. day of July, the yeare of our Lord. 1382. and firſt yeare of our tranſlation.

* The Citation agaynſt the ſayd Nicholas and Phillip.

William by the grace of God. &c. To our welbeloued ſonne M. Robbert Rigge chauncellour of the Vniuerſitie of Oxford ſalutation &c. For as muche as we haue prefixed a competent day and place to M Nicholas Heerford, and M. Phillip Repington &c. as before. We ſtraightly charge and commaund you that you publiquely and ſolemnly denounce in the church of our Lady, and in the ſcholes of the Vniuerſity, the foreſayd Nicholas and Phillip, to haue bene by vs excommunicated and ſtill is. And that you further cite or cauſe to be cited peremptorily, the foreſayd Nicholas and Phillip, that they and euery of them appeare before vs within 15. dayes after the date of this citation, whereſoeuer it ſhall fortune vs, within our ſayd prouince of Caunterbury then to be: To heare and ſee how we meane to proceed againſt them, and euery of them concerning the foreſayd hereticall and erroneous concluſions, according to the forme of retroactions and quallitie of the buſines in this behalfe had and vſed. And that both of the day of the receipt of this preſent citation, of the maner and forme thereof, or if that you ſhall apprehend by perſonall citation the ſayd Nicholas and Phillip or either of them, or whither they ſhall be abſent and hide themſelues, as of euery thing els which in this behalfe you ſhall thinke meete to be done: that betweene this and the feaſt of S Laurence, you clerely certifie vs by your letters patentes contayning the effect of theſe thinges.

Fare ye well. At our Manour of Lamheth the 13. day of Iuly, the yeare of our Lord. 1382. and firſt yeare of our tranſlation.

* The names of the Doctours and Fryers aſsiſtentes at this ſitting.

Seculars, M. William Blankpayne. M. Wil. Barton.

Friers Carmelits, Robert Euery prior, John Kenningham, prior, and John Lunne.

Friors Minors, William Barnwel, John Ryddin, and William Brunſcombe.

Friers Auguſtines, John Court, Patrington, Tomſon and Reepes.

The excommunication of Herforde & Repington, denoūced at Pauls croſſe.

Againſt this blind excommunication of the ſaid archb. the parties excommunicate, commenced and exhibited their appeale vnto the biſhop of Rome. Which appeale of theirs as inſufficient, or rather to him vnpleaſaunt, the ſaid archbiſhop vtterly reiected (as might oftētimes ouercommeth right) proceeding in his preconceaued excommunication againſt thē, and writing moreouer his letters to hym that ſhould preach next at Paules croſſe, as is aforeſaid, to denounce and to publiſhe openly the ſaid Nicholas Herford, and Phillip Repington to be excommunicate, for that not appearing and theyr terme aſſigned. Whiche was in the 13. day of the month of July.

Xiij. day of Iuly. anno. 1382. Other letters of the Archb. ſent to the Chācellour of Oxford.

Which archbiſhop moreouer the ſaid yeare, month and day aforeſaid, ſent alſo an other letter to M. Rigge Commiſſary of Oxford, ſtraightly enioyning and charging him not onely to denounce the ſayd ſentence of excommunication, and to geue out publique citation againſt them, but alſo to make dilligent ſearch and inquiſition through all Oxford for them, to haue them apprehended and ſent vp to him, perſonally before him to appeare, at a certain day preſcribed for the ſame. Wherby may appeare howe buſie this Biſh. was in diſquieting & perſecuting theſe poore mē, whō rather he ſhould haue nouriſhed and cheriſhed vs his brethren. But as his labour is paſt, ſo his reward will follow at what day the great Archbiſhop of our ſoules, ſhall iudicially appeare in his tribunall ſeat, to iudge both the quick and the dead.

Hitherto no lawe to burne any man for religion.

The archb. yet not contented with this, doth moreouer by all meanes poſſible, ſollicite the king to ioyne withall, the power of his temporall ſword, for that he well perceaued, that hitherto as yet the popiſhe Clergy had no authoritie ſufficient by any publique law or Statute of thys land to procede vnto death againſt anye perſon whatſoeuer, in caſe of Religion, but onely by the vſurped tyranny and example of the court of Rome. Where note (gentle reader) for thy better vnderſtanding the practiſe of the romiſh prelates in ſeeking the kinges help to further their bloudy purpoſe againſt the good ſaintes of God. Which king being but young and vnder yeares of ripe iudgement partly enduced or rather ſeduced by importune ſuite of the foreſayd Archbi-

The K. circumuented by the archbyſhop.

Archbiſhop, partly alſo eyther for feare of the Biſhoppes (for kings cannot alwayes doe in their realmes what they will) or els perhaps entiſed by ſome hope of ſubſidie to be gathered by the Clergy was contented to adioyne his priuate aſſent (ſuch as it was) to the ſetting downe of an ordinaunce which was in deede the very firſt lawe that is to be found made againſt Religion and the profeſſors thereof bearing the name of an Acte made in the Parliament holden at Weſtminſter Anno .5. Rich.2. where among ſundry other Statutes then publiſhed and yet remayning in the printed bookes of Statutes, this ſuppoſed Statute is to be found Cap.5.& vltimo. as followeth.

The firſt law to be found practiſed by the clergy for burning the profeſſours of religion. An.5. R. ſecundi. This ſtatute was made by the clergie without conſent or knowledge of the commons.

Item forasmuch as, it is openly knowne that there be diuerſe euill perſons within the realme going from county to countie and from Towne to Towne in certayn habites vnder diſſimulation of great holineſſe and without the licence of the ordinaries of the places or other ſufficient authoritie, preaching dayly not onely in Churches & churchyardes, but alſo in markets, fayres, and other open places where a great congregation of people is (diuers ſermons contayning hereſies and notorious errours to the great emblemiſhing of Chriſten fayth and deſtruction of the lawes, and of the eſtate of holy Churche to the great perill of the ſoules of the people and of all the realme of England as more plainly is found and ſufficiently proued before the reuerend father in God the Archbiſhop of Caunterbury and the biſhops and other prelates maiſters of Diuinitie, and doctors of Canon & of ciuil law, and a great part of the clergy of the ſaid Realme ſpecially aſſembled for this great cauſe, which perſons do alſo preach diuers matters of ſlaunder to engender diſcorde and diſcention betwixt diuers eſtates of the ſaid realme as well ſpirituall as temporall, in exciting of the people to the great peril of all the Realme, which preachers cited or ſummoned before the ordinaries of the places thereto: aunſwere of that whereof they be impeached, they will not obey to their ſommons & commandementes, nor care not for their monitions nor cenſures of the holy Church, but expreſſely deſpiſe them. And moreouer by their ſubtile and ingenious wordes doe drawe the people to heare theire Sermons, and doe mayntayne them in their errours by ſtrong hand and by great rowtes It is ordayned & aſſented in this preſent parliament, that the kinges commiſſions be made and directed to the Sheriffes and other miniſters of our ſoueraigne Lord the king or other ſufficiēt perſons learned, and according to the certifications of the prelates therof to be made in the Chauncery from time to time to areſt all ſuch preachers, and alſo their fautours, mayntaynours, and abbettours, and doe hold them in arreſt and ſtrong priſon till they wil iuſtify to them according to the law and reaſon of holy Church. And the king will and commaund that the Chauncellour make ſuch commiſſions at all times that he by the Prelates or any of them ſhalbee certified and thereof required as is aforeſaid.

Note that this ſtatute was repealed afterwardes at the inſtance of the commons.

✽ *An examination of the foreſayd ſuppoſed* Statute and of the inualiditie therof.

Which ſuppoſed ſtatute for as muche as it was the principall ground whereuppon proceeded all the perſecution of that time, it is therefore not impertinent to examine the ſame more perticularly, wherby ſhall appeare that as the ſame was fraudulently and vnduly deuiſed by the Prelates onely: ſo was it in like maner moſt iniuriouſly and vnorderly executed by them. For immediately vpon the publiſhing of this lawe, without further warrant eyther from the king or his councell, commiſſions vnder the great ſeale of England were made in this forme. Richard by the grace of God &c. vt patet act pag. 541. Witneſſe my ſelf at Weſtminſter the 26. day of Iune in the ſixt yeare of our raigne. Without more wordes of warrant vnder written ſuch as in like caſes are both vſuall and requiſite. Viz. per ipſum Regem: per Regem & Concilium: or per breue de priuato Sigillo: all or any of which wordes being vtterly wanting in this place as may be ſeene in the kinges Recordes of that time: it muſt therfore be done eyther by warrant of this foreſayd Statute, or els without any warrant at all. Whereupon it is to be noted, that wheras the ſaid Statute appointed the commiſſions to be directed to the Sheriffe, or other miniſters of the kings, or to other ſufficient perſons learned for the areſting of ſuche perſons: the ſayd commiſſions are directed to the Archbiſhop and his Suffragans, being as it appeareth parties in the caſe, autoriſing thē further without either the wordes or reaſonable meaning of the ſayde Statute to impriſon them in their owne houſes or where els pleaſed them.

No vſuall wordes of warrant affixed to this cōmiſſion.

Beſides alſo what maner of law this was, by whome deuiſed and by what authoritie the ſame was firſt made and eſtabliſhed iudge by that that followeth. Viz.

In the Vtas of S. Michell next following at a parliament ſummoned and holden at Weſtminſter the ſixt yeare of the ſaid king, among ſondry petitions made to the king by his commons, whereunto he aſſented, there is one in this forme. Articl. 52.

Item, prayen the commons, that wheras an Eſtatute was made the laſt parliament in theſe wordes. It is ordayned in this preſent Parliament that commiſſions from the king be directed to the Sheriffes and other miniſters of the king or to other ſufficient perſons ſkilfull, and according to the certificates of the Prelates thereof to be made vnto the Chauncerie from time to time to areſt all ſuche preachers & theyr fautoures maintenors and abbettours. And them to deteine in ſtrong priſon, vntill they will iuſtifie themſelues according to reaſō, & law of holy church. And the king willeth and commaundeth that the Chauncellor make ſuch commiſſions at all times as ſhalbe by the prelates or any of them certified and thereof required as is aforeſayd. The which was neuer agreed nor graunted by the commons: but what ſoeuer was moued therein was without their aſſent. That ẏ ſaid ſtatute be therfore diſanulled. For it is not any wiſe their meaning ẏ either thēſelues, or ſuch as ſhal ſucceed thē, ſhalbe further iuſtified or bound by the Prelates, then were their anceſters in former times whereunto is anſwered, il plaiſt aa Roy. i. ẏ king is pleaſed.

The petition of the commons for the repealing the foreſayd ſtatute.

The ſtatute repealed.

The K. ratifieth the repeale.

Hereby notwithſtanding the former vniuſt lawe of Anno.5. was repealed, and the fraude of the framers therof ſufficiently diſcouered: yet ſuch meanes was there made by the prelates, that this acte of Repeale was neuer publiſhed nor euer ſithence imprinted with the reſt of the ſtatutes of that Parliament. In ſo much as the ſayd Repeale being concealed, like commiſſions and other proces were made from time to time by vertue of the ſayd Baſterd ſtatute aſwel during al the raign of this king as euer ſithence againſt the profeſſors of religion: As ſhall hereafter by the grace of God appeare in the ſecond yeare of king Henry the fourth, where the Clergy purſued the like practiſe. And now againe to the ſtory of our Oxford Diuines, and of the Archbiſhop to whom the king writeth his letters patents firſt to the Archbiſhop then to the Vicechauncellor of Oxford in forme as followeth.

✽ *The kinges letters patentes to the* Archbiſhop.

Richard by the grace of God king of England and Lord of Ireland: To all thoſe to whome theſe preſent letters ſhall come, greeting. By the petition of the reuerend father in God, William Archb. of Caunterbury, Primate of England exhibited vnto vs, we right well vnderſtand: That diuers and ſondry concluſions very contrary to wholeſome doctrine and redounding both to the ſubuerſion of the Catholike fayth, the holy Church, and his prouince of Cant. in diuers and ſundry places of ths ſame of his prouince haue bene openly and publiquely preached, although damnably preached. Of the which concluſions, ſome as hereſies, other ſome as errours haue bene condemned: but not before good and mature deliberation firſt therein had and vſed, and by common counſaile of the ſaid Archbiſhop, his ſuffragans and many doctors in diuinitie and other clerkes and learned men in the holy Scriptures, were ſententially and holeſomely declared. Whereupon the ſayd Archbiſhop hath made his ſupplication vnto vs: that both for the coertion and due caſtigation of ſuch as ſhall henceforth of an obſtinate minde preach or mayntaine the foreſaid concluſions that we would vouchſafe to put to the arme and helping hand of our kingly power. We therefore moued by the zeale of the catholicke faith, whereof we be and will be defendours, and vnwilling that any ſuch hereſies or errours ſhoulde ſpring vp within the limites of our dominion: Geue and graunt ſpeciall licence and authoritie by the tenour of theſe preſentes, vnto the foreſayd Archbiſhop, and to his Suffraganes, to areſt and impriſon either in their owne priſons or any other, all and euery ſuch perſon and perſons as ſhall either priuely or apertly preach and mayntayne the foreſayd concluſions ſo condemned, and the ſame perſons ſo impriſoned there at their pleaſures to detayne, till ſuch time as they ſhall repent them and amend them of ſuche hereticall prauities, or els ſhall be of ſuche areſtes by vs and our counſaile otherwiſe determined and prouided. Further charging and commaunding all and ſinguler our liegemen miniſters, and ſubiectes, of what ſtate and condition ſo euer they be, vpon their fidelitie & allegeance wherin they ſtand bound to vs: that by no meanes they eyther fauour, counſayle, or helpe the preachers or els mayntayners of the ſayde concluſions ſo condemned or their fauourers, vpon payn and forfaiture of all that euer they haue: But that they obey and humbly attend vpon the ſaid Archbiſhop, his Suffraganes, and miniſters in the execution of theſe preſentes, ſo that due and maniſeſt publication agaynſt the foreſaid concluſions and their mayntayners,

The kings letter againſt the fauorers of Wickliffe.

The 16. day of Iune. an. 1382.

without any perturbation may be done and executed, as for the defence of our Realme and catholike fayth ſhalbe thought moſt meete and requiſite. In witneſſe wherof, we haue cauſed theſe our letters patentes to be made.

Witneſſe our ſelfe, at Weſtminſter the 16. day of Iune, and 6. yeare of our reigne.

* The kinges letters patentes to the Vicechauncellour.

An other letter of the K. to the Vicechancellor.

THe king: To the Chauncellour and the procuratours of the vniuerſitie of Oxford which now be, or for the time being ſhall be: Greeting, Moued by the zeale of chriſtian fayth, whereof we be and alwayes will be defenders, and for our ſoules health induced thereunto, hauing a great deſire to repreſſe, and by condigne puniſhmēt to reſtraine the impugners of the foreſaid fayth, which newly and wickedly go about and preſume to ſow their naughty and peruerſe doctrine within our kingdome of England, and to preach and hold damnable concluſions ſo notoriouſly repugnant and contrary to the ſame faith, to the peruerting of our ſubiectes and people as we vnderſtand: Before they any further proceed in their malicious errours, or els infect others: We haue by theſe preſentes appoynted you to be inquiſitour generall (all the chiefe diuines of the ſayd vniuerſitie being your aſsiſtents) and the ſame likewiſe to be done of all and ſingular the Graduates, Diuines, & lawyers of the ſame vniuerſitie. And if they ſhall know any which be of the iuriſdiction of the ſayd vniuerſitie of Oxford, whiche be probable of them to be ſuſpected in the fauour, belyefe, or defence of anye hereſie or errour, and eſpecially of any of the concluſions publiquely condemned by the reuerend Father, William Archbiſhop of Canterbury, by the Counſaile of his Clergye, or els of any other concluſion like vnto anye of them in meaning or in wordes: and that if henceforth you ſhall finde any that ſhall beleue: fauoure, or defend anye of the foreſayd hereſies or errours or anye other ſuche like, or els which ſhall be ſo bolde to receaue into their houſes and Innes Maiſter Iohn Wickliffe, M. Nich. Herforde, M Phillip Repingdon, or M. Iohn Aſheton, or anye other noted by probable ſuſpicion of anye the foreſayd hereſies or erroures, or any other like vnto them in meaning or in worde: Or that ſhall preſume to communicate wirh anye of them, or els to defend or fauour anye of ſuche fauourers, receauers communicantes and defendours: within 7. dayes after the ſame ſhal appeare and be manifeſt vnto you, to baniſh and expell them from the Vniuerſitie and towne of Oxford, till ſuch time as they ſhall declare their innocency before the Archbiſhop of Caunterbury for the time being, by manifeſt purgation. So notwithſtanding, that ſuch as be compelled to purge themſelues, you certifie vs and the ſayd archbiſhop vnder your ſeales, frō time to time within one month that they be ſuch maner of men. Commaunding furthermore, that thorough all the halles of the ſayd vniuerſitie, ye cauſe dilligently to be ſearched and inquired out of hād: If any man haue any book or tractation of the Edition or compiling of the foreſayd M. Iohn Wickliffe, or Nicholas Herford: and that when and wherſoeuer ye ſhall chaunce to finde any ſuch booke or tractation, ye cauſe the ſame to be areſted and taken, and vnto the foreſayd Archbiſhop within one month (without correction, corruption, or mutation, whatſoeuer) word for word, & ſentēce for ſentence, to be brought and preſented And therefore we ſtraightly enioine and command you, vpon your fidelitie and allegeaunce wherein ye ſtand bound vnto vs, and vpon payne of forfaiture of all and ſinguler your liberties and priuilegies of your ſayde vniuerſitie, and of all that euer you haue beſides: that you geue your diligent attendance vpō the premiſſes, and that well and faythfully you execute the ſame in maner and forme aforeſayd. And that you obey the foreſayde Archbiſhop, and his lawfull and honeſt mandates, that he ſhall thinke good to direct vnto you in this behalfe, as it is meete ye ſhould. And we geue in charge vnto the Vicechauncellour and Mayor of Oxford for the time being, and to all and ſinguler our Sheriffes, vnderſheriffes, Bayliffes, and ſubiectes, by theſe preſents: that they ayde, obey, and be attendaunt vpon you in the execution of the premiſſes. In witnes whereof, &c. Witneſſe the King at Weſtminſter, the 13. day of Iuly, the ſixte yeare of hys raigne.

The 13. day of Iuly. an. 1382. An other ſharp letter of K. Rich. ſent to Oxford agaynſt Wickliffe and his fellowes. The effect of the kings letter briefly comprehended.

Beſides theſe letters patentes the ſaid young King moued by the vnquyet importunitie of the Archb. ſendeth moreouer an other ſpecial letter to the Vicechancellor and proctors of the Vniuerſitie of Oxforde. wherein vnder a pretenſed zeale of defence of Chriſtian fayth, he ſtraightlye and ſharply enioyneth & aſſigneth them (for the vtter aboliſhing of thoſe concluſions & opinions) to make a generall Inquiſition through the whole vniuerſitie as wel for the parties aforeſaid, Iohn wickliffe. Nicholas Herford, Phillip Repington, Iohn Aſhton, & ſuch other, as alſo for al other whō they know or iudge to be ſuſpected of yͤ doctrine, or to be mayntayners, receauers, and defenders of foreſayd parties, or their concluſions any maner of way, to the intent that they being ſo apprehended through their diligent ſearch, may be win 7. dayes of their admonitions expulſed the vniuerſitie, and cited vp to the archb. of Cant. before him to appeare, and to ſtand to their anſwers. willing moreouer and commanding the ſaid vicechauncellor & proctors with other regents their aſſiſters, that if any perſon or perſons in any houſe, hall, or colledge, or in anye other place ſhalbe found to haue any of theyr books, or treatiſes compiled by the ſayd Iohn wickliffe. Nicholas Herford &c. they will cauſe without delay yͤ ſayd perſon or perſons, with theyr bookes to be areſted and attached, & preſented within one month, without correction, corruption, or mutation, to the foreſayd Archbiſhop, vpon their fayth and allegeance, as they will auoyd the forfaiture of all and ſinguler the liberties and priueledges to the vniuerſity apertayning. And that they will be obedient to the Archb. aforeſayd in the ordering hereof, and all other his iniunctions to be obeyed in all thinges lawfull and honeſt. Geuing moreouer in theſe our letters charge and commaundement to the Mayor, Bayliffes and other the inhabitants of Oxford, to be aſſiſtant and attendant vnto the foreſayd vicechancelor and proctors, touching the execution of the premiſſes, bearing the date of the fourteenth day of Iuly: which was the yeare of our Lord. 1382.

The perſons with their bookes to be areſted.

The 14. day of Iuly. an. 1382.

* Matters incident of Robert Rigges, Vicechauncellor of Oxford. Nicholas Herford, and Phillip Repington, with other.

Rob. Rigs Vicechauncellour of Oxford.

THe vicechauncelor the ſame time in Oxforde was M. Robert Rigges. The 2. proctors were Iohn Huntman, & walter Diſhe, who then as farre as they durſt, fauoured the cauſe of Iohn wickliffe and yͤ ſide. In ſo much yͭ the ſame time and yeare, which was an. 1382. when certaine publicke ſermons ſhould be appoynted cuſtomably at yͤ feaſt of the Aſcention, and of Corpus Chriſti, to be preached in the cloyſter of S. Frideſwyde (now called Chriſts church) before the people, by the vicechanceller aforeſayd & the proctoures (the doinges thereof the vicechauncellor aforeſaid and proctors had committed to Phillip Repington, and N. Her. ſo yͭ N. Her. ſhold preach on yͤ Aſcention day, and Repington vpō Corpus Chriſti day) Firſt Herford beginning was noted to defend Iohn wickliffe, opēly to be a faythful, good, & innocent man: for the which no ſmall adoe with outcries was amongſt the Fryers. This Herford, after he had long fauoured & mayntayned wickliffes part, grew firſt in ſuſpicion amongſt the enemies of the truth. For aſſone as he began ſomewhat liberally and freely to pronounce & vtter any thing which tended to the defence of wickliffe, by and by the Carmelites, and al the orders of religion were in his top, and laid not a few hereſies vnto his charge, the which they had ſtrayned here and there out of his ſermons, & had cōpyled together in a certaine forme, by the handes of a certayne notaries, through the induſtry & diligence of one Peter Stokes a Carmelite a kind of people prone & ready to all kinde of miſchiefe, vprores, debate, and diſcention. After this the feaſt of Corpus Chriſti drue neare, vppon which day it was looked for that Repington ſhould preach. This man was a Canon of Leiceſter, & had before taken his firſt degree vnto Doctorſhip: who preaching the ſame time at Bradgate for the ſame Sermon he became firſt ſuſpected, and hated of the Phariſaicall broode of the Fryers. But through the great amd notable dexteritie of his wit, (which all men did behold and ſee in him) accompanied with like modeſty and honeſty: he did ſo ouercome, or at the leaſt aſſwage thys cruelty and perſecution whiche was towardes him, that ſhortly after, by the conſent of the whole fellowſhip, he was admitted doctour. who as ſoone as he had taken it vpon him, by and by he ſtepped forth in the ſchooles, and began immediately to ſhewe forth and vtter, that whiche he had long hidden and diſſembled. Proteſting opēly, that in all morall matters, he would defend wickliffe. But as touching the ſacrament he woulde as yet hold his peace, vntill ſuche time as the Lorde ſhall otherwiſe illuminate the hartes and mindes of the clergye.

Ni. Herford preaching on the Aſcenſion day, defended Wickliffe.

Repington firſt Chanō of Leiceſter, after B. of Lincolne.

Repington commenſed Doctor.

Nowe the day of Corpus Chriſti aforeſayd approching neare, when the Fryers vnderſtood that this man ſhould preach ſhortly, fearing leaſt that he would rub the galles of their religion, they conuented with the Archb. of Cant. that the ſame day a little before that Phillip ſhold preach, wickliffes concluſions which were priuately condemned, ſhould be openly diffamed in the preſence of the whole vniuerſitie. The doing of which matter, was committed to Peter Stokes Fryer, ſtonderd bearer and chiefe champion of that ſide againſt wickliffe.

Peter Stokes ſtanderd bearer to the papiſts.

There were alſo letters ſent vnto the commiſſary, that he ſhould: helpe and ayde him in publiſhing of the ſame concluſions, as is before declared.

These thinges thus done and finiſhed, Repingdon at the houre appointed proceeded to his ſermon. In ẏ which ſermon among many other thinges, he was reported to haue vttered theſe ſayinges, or to this effect

Notes of the Sermon of Repington.

That the Popes or Byſhops ought not to be recommended aboue temporall Lordes.

Alſo that in morall matters he woulde defend maiſter Wickliffe as a true Catholicke doctor.

Moreouer that the Duke of Lancaſter was very earneſtly affected and minded in this matter, and would that all ſuch ſhould be receaued vnder hys protection: Beſides many thinges moe which touched the prayſe and defence of Wickliffe.

And finally, in concluding his ſermon, he dimiſſed the people with this ſentence: I will (ſayd he) in the ſpeculatiue doctrine, as appertayning to the matter of the ſacrament of the aulter, keep ſilence and hold my peace, vntill ſuch time as God otherwiſe ſhall inſtruct and illuminate the hartes of the Clergie.

When the ſermon was done, Repington entred into Saint Frideſwides Church, accompanied with many of his friendes: who, as the enemies ſurmiſed, were priuilye weaponed vnder their garmentes, if need had bene. Frier Stokes the Carmelite aforeſayd, ſuſpecting all this to be againſt him, and being afrayd of hurt, kept to himſelf win the ſanctuary of the church, not daring as then to put out his hed. The Vicechauncellor and Repington, friendly ſaluting one an other in the church porch, ſent away the people, and ſo departed euery man home to his owne houſe. There was not a little ioy thorough the whole vniuerſitie for that ſermon, but in the meanetime, the vnquiet & buſie Carmelite, ſlept not his matter. For firſt by his letters he declared the whole order of the matter vnto the archbiſhop exaggerating the perils and daungers that he was in, requiring and deſiring his helpe and ayd, pretermitting nothing, wherby to moue & ſtirre vp the archbiſhops minde, which of his owne nature was as hote as a toſte as they ſay, and ready inough to proſecute the matter of his owne accord, though no man had prickt him forward thereunto. Beſides all this (3. dayes after) with a fierce and bold courage, the ſayd Fryer breathing out threatninges and hereſies agaynſt them, tooke the way vnto the ſchooles: mynding there to proue, that the Pope and the Biſhops ought to be prayed for before the Lordes temporall. Whiles thys Frier was thus occupyed in the ſchooles, he was mocked and derided of all men, and ſhortly after he was ſent for by the Archbiſhop to London: whom immediately after, the Vicechauncellor & Brightwell followed vp, to purge and cleare themſelues and their adherentes from the accuſations of this Frier Peter. At the length they being examined vpon Wickliffes concluſions ẏ were condemned: they did all conſent, that they were worthily condemned. The Vicechauncelor being afterward accuſed for the contempt of the Archbiſhops letters, when as he perceaued & ſawe, that no excuſe would preuayle to auoyd that daunger, hūbling himſelfe vpon his knees, he deſired pardon. The which when he had now againe (as is aforeſaid) albeit very hardly obtayned: By the help of the Biſhop of Wincheſter, he was ſent away agayn with certayne commandementes, and ſuſpencions of heretickes. Then began the hatred on eyther part ſomewat to appeare and ſhew, and ſpecially all men were offended, and in the toppes of theſe Friers and religious men, vpō whom whatſoeuer trouble or miſchiefe was rayſed vp, they did impute it as to ẏ authors and cauſers of the ſame. Amongeſt whome there was one Henry Crompe, a monke Ciſtertion, a well learned deuine, which afterward was accuſed by the Byſhops of hereſie, He at that time was openly ſuſpected by the Commiſſary, becauſe in his lectures he called the heretickes Lolardes, from his actes (as they terme them) in the ſchoole. Then he comming by and by vp to London, made his complaynt vnto the Archbiſh. and to the kinges councell.

The vniuerſitie reioyſeth.

Whether the Lordes temporall were to be prayed for before the P. and Byſhops.

The Fryer derided and mocked in the ſcholes.

Religious men firſt cauſers of this trouble.

H. Crompe firſt an accuſer of other, after accuſed himſelfe for hereſie.

Whereupon he obtayning the letters of the king, and of his counſaile, by the vertue therof (returning againe to the vniuerſity) was releaſed & reſtored again to his former ſtate: the wordes of whiche letter here followeth vnder written.

❀ The copy of the kinges letter.

The kynges letter to the Vicechauncelor and proctors of Oxford.

THe king to the Vicechauncellour and procuratoure of the Vniuerſitie of Oxforde, greeting. Where as we of late vnderſtanding by the grieuous complaynt of Henry Crompe monke and regent in deuinitie within the ſayd vniuerſitie, howe that he, being aſsiſted by the reuerend father in God the Archb. of Cant. and by other clerkes and deuines in the City of London, to proceede in thee condemnation of certayne concluſions erroneous and hereticall, hath bene therfore moleſted by you: And that you through ſiniſter ſuggeſtion of ſome aduerſaryes (pretending the peace of the ſayd vniuerſitie) to haue bene broken by the ſayde Henry in his laſt lecture: did therefore call him before you to appeare and anſwere: and for his not appearing, did therefore pronounce him as obſtinate, and conuicte of peace breaking: alſo haue ſuſpended the ſayd Henry from his lectures, and all ſcholaſticall actes. And whereas we, by our writte did call you vp for the ſame, to appeare and aunſwere before our counſayle, vnto the premiſſes: ſo that all thinges being well tryed and examined by the ſayd counſayle, it was found and determined, that all your proceſſe agaynſt the ſayd Henry, was voyde and of none effecte: and commaundement geuen, that the ſayd Henry ſhoulde be reſtored and admitted agayne to his former lectures and ſcholaſticall actes. and to his priſtine ſtate as you knowe. To the intent therefore that this decree aforeſaid ſhoulde be more duely executed of your part, we heare by theſe preſentes ſtraightly charge and commaund you: That you ſpeedily reuoking agayne all your proceſſe againſt the ſayd Henry in the vniuerſitie aforeſayd, with all other that followed thereof: doe admitte and cauſe to be reſtored agayne the ſayd Henry to his ſcholaſticall actes, his accuſtomed lectures and priſtine eſtate, without all delay according to the forme of the decree and determination aforeſayd. Enioyning you moreouer and your commiſſaries or deputies and your ſucceſſoures, and all other maiſters regent and not regent, and other preſidentes, officers, miniſters, and ſcholers of the vniuerſitie aforeſayd, vpon your faith and legeance you owe vnto vs that you doe not impeache, moleſt, or greeue, or cauſe to be greued (any maner of way, priuy or apertly) the ſayd Frier Henry for the cauſes premiſed, or Frier Peter Stokes Carmelite, for the occaſion of his abſence from the vniuerſitie, or Fryer Stephen Packingtō Carmelite, or any other religious or ſecular perſon fauouring them, vpon the occaſion of any eyther word or deed whatſoeuer, concerning the doctrine of maiſter Iohn Wickliffe, Nicholas Herford and Phillip Repindon, or the reproſe and condemnation of their hereſies and erroures, or the correction of their fauourers But that you doe procure the peace, vnitie and quiet, within the ſayd vniuerſitie, and chiefly betweene the religious and ſecular perſons: and that you with all diligence nouriſhe, encreaſe, and preſerue the ſame to the vttermoſt of your ſtrength And that you in no caſe omitte to doe it accordingly, vppon the forfaytures of all and ſingular the liberties and priuiledgies of the vniuerſitie aforeſayd. Witneſſe my ſelfe at Weſtminſter the 14. day of Iuly.

Henry Crompe complayneth to the kings counſell of the moſt ſecular maiſters of Oxford.

Henry Crompe, Peter Stokes, Carm, Steuen Packington Carm. reſtored by the King to their ſcholaſticall actes.

Mention was made, as you heard a little before, how M. Rigges Vicechancellor of Oxford, comming vp wyth M. Bryghtwell to the archb. of Cant. was there ſtraightly examined of the concluſions of Wickliffe, where he notwithſtanding through the helpe of the B. of Wint. obtayned pardon, and was ſent away agayn with commaundementes and charges, to ſeeke out all the fauorers of Iohn Wickliffe. This commaundement being receaued, Nicholas Herford, and Phillip Repington (being priuily warned by the ſayd Vicechauncellor) in the meane ſeaſon cōueied them out of ſight, and fled to the Duke, of Lācaſter for ſuccour & help, but the Duke whether for feare, or what cauſe els, I cannot ſay, in the end forſooke his poore and miſerable clientes.

Herford & Repington fled to the Duke of Lancaſter.

In the meane time, while they were fled thus to the Duke, great ſearch and inquiſition was made for them to cite and to apprehend them where ſo euer they might be found. Wherupon, the archb. of W. Courtney directed out his letters firſt to the Vicechauncellor of Oxford, then to the Biſhop of London named Rob. Braybroke charging them not onely to excommunicate the ſayd Nicholas and Phillip, within their iuriſdiction, and the ſayd excommunication to be denounced likewiſe throughout all the dioces of his ſuffraganes: but alſo moreouer, that dilligent ſearch and watch ſhould be layd for them, both in Oxforde and in Londō, that they might be apprehended: requiring moreouer by them to be certified agayne, what they had done in the premiſſes. And thys was written the 14. day of Iuly. an. 1382. Ex Regiſt.

Letters of the Archb. to the Vicechancelor. Letters of the Archb. to the B. of London. Rob. Braybroke B. of London.

The 14. day of Iuly. an. 1382.

Unto theſe letters receaued from the archbiſhop, dilligent certificat was geuen accordingly, as well of the Byſhop of London his part, as alſo of the Vicechauncellor, the tenour whereof was this.

❀ The letter certificatorie of the Vicechauncellor to the Archbiſhop.

The letter of Rob. Rigges Vicechauncelor to the Archb.

TO the reuerend father in Chriſt, Lord William Archbiſhop of Caunterbury Primate of all England, and Legate of the Apoſtolique

poſtolique ſee, Rob. Rigges profeſſour of diuinitie, and Vicechancellor of the vniuerſitie of Oxforde, greeting with due honour. Your letters bearing the date of the 14. of Iuly I haue receaued: By the authoritie wherof, I haue denounced and cauſed to be denounced effectually, the foreſayd Nicholas and Phillip, to haue bene and to be excommunicate publikely and ſolemnly in the Church of S. Mary: and in the ſchooles, and to be cited alſo perſonally, if by any meanes they might be apprehended, according as you commaunded. But after dilligent ſearch layd for them of my part to haue them perſonally cited and apprehended, I coulde not finde neyther the ſayd M. Nicholas, not M. Phillip: who haue hyd or conuayed themſelues, vnknowing to me, as here is well knowne. Whereof I thought here to geue ſignification to your Fatherhoode. Sealed and teſtified with the ſeale of mine office. From Oxford the 25. of Iuly.

The 25. day of Iuly. an. 1382. Herford & Repington repulſed from the Duke of Lancaſter.

In yͤ meane time Nicholas Herford, and Repington being repulſed of the Duke, and deſtitute (as was ſayde) of his ſupportation, whether they were ſent, or of theyr owne accorde went to the archbiſh. it is vncertayne. This I finde in a letter of the foreſayd archbiſhop, contayned in his regiſter: that Repington the the 23. day of October the ſame yeare 1382. was reconciled agayne to the Archbiſhop and alſo by his generall letter was releaſed and admitted to his ſcholaſticall actes in the vniuerſitie. And ſo was alſo Iohn Aſhton, of whom (Chriſt willing) more ſhall follow hereafter. Of Nicholas Herford all this while I finde no ſpeciall relation.

The 23. day of October. Repington releaſed by the Archb. I. Aiſheton reconciled by the Archbiſhop.

A parliament ſummoned. The 15. of October. 1382.

In the meane time, about the 23. of the month of September the ſayd yeare, the king ſent his mandate to the Archbiſhop for collecting of a ſubſidie and to haue a conuocation of the clergie ſommoned, againſt the next parliament, which ſhould begin the 18. day of Nouember. The Archb. likewiſe on the 15. day of October, directed his letters monitorie (as the maner is) to Robert Braybroke biſhop of London, to geue the ſame admonition to al his ſuffraganes and other of the Clergie within his prouince for the aſſembling of the conuocatiō aforeſayd. All which done and executed, the parliamēt begon being holden at Oxford the 18. day of Nouember, where the conuocation was kept in the Monaſtery of Frideſwide in Oxforde. In the which conuocation, the Archbiſhop with the other biſhops there ſitting in their Pontificalibus, declared two cauſes of that their preſent aſſembly, whereby (ſayth he) to repreſſe hereſies, which began newly in the realme to ſpring, and for correcting other exceſſes in the Churche. The other cauſe (ſayd he) was to ayde and ſupport the king with ſome neceſſary ſubſidie of mony to be gathered, whiche thus declared, the conuocation was continued till the day following which was the 19. of Nouember.

The conuocation of S. Frideſwide in Oxford. The 18. day of Nouemb.

The 19 day of Nouemb. anno. 1382.

At the ſayd day and place, the Archbiſhop with the other Prelates aſſembling themſelues as before: The archbiſhop after the vſed ſolemnitie, willed the procuratoures of the clergy appoynted for euery dioces, to conſult within themſelues, in ſome conuenient ſeuerall place, what they thought for theyr partes touching yͤ redreſſe of thinges, to be notified and declared to him and to his brethren. &c.

Furthermore, forſomuch (ſayth he) as it is ſo noyſed through all the realme, that there were certayn in the vniuerſitie of Oxford, which did hold and mayntayne concluſions (as he called them) heretical and erroneous condemned by him, and by other lawyers and doctours of Diuinitie. He therfore aſſigned the biſhops of Saram, Herford and Rocheſter, with william Rugge then Vicechauncellour of the Vniuerſitie of Oxford (for belike Robert Rigge was then diſplaced) as alſo william Berton, and Iohn Midleton Doctors: geuing them hys full authoritie wyth curſing and banning, to compell them to ſearch and to enquire with all diligence and wayes poſſible, ouer all & ſingular whatſoeuer, eyther Doctors, Bachellers, or ſcholers of the ſayd vniuerſitie, which did hold, teache, mayntaine and defend, in ſchooles or out of ſchooles, the ſayd cōcluſions heretical (as he called them) or erroneous, and afterward to geue certificat truely and playnly touching the premiſſes. And thus for that day the aſſembly brake vp to the next, and ſo to the next, and the third being monday, the 24. day of Nouember. Ex. Regiſt. W. Courtney.

Rob. Rigge diſplaced from Vicechauncellorſhip.

Inquiſitiō made at Oxford.

The 24. day of Nouēb. an. 1382

On the which day, in the preſence of the Prelates and the clergy in the chapter houſe of Saint Frideſwide, came in Phillip Repington (otherwiſe called of the brethren afterward Rampington) who their abiured the concluſions and aſſertions aforeſayd, in this forme of wordes as followeth.

The abiuration of Philip Repington.

In Dei nomine Amen. I Phillip Repington, Canon of the houſe of Leiceſter, acknowledging one catholique and Apoſtolick fayth do curſe and alſo abiure all hereſie, namely theſe hereſies and errours vnder written, condemned & reproued by the decrees canonicall, and by you moſt reuerend father, touching which hitherto I haue ben diffamed: condemning moreouer & reprouing both them and the authors of them, & doe confeſſe the ſame to be catholically cōdemned: And ſweare alſo by theſe holy Euangelies, which here I hold in my hand, and do promiſe, neuer by any perſwaſions of men, nor by anye way hereafter, to defend or hold as true, anye of the ſayd concluſions vnder written: but do & will ſtand and adhere in all thinges, to the determination of the holy Catholicke Church, and to yours, in this behalfe. Ouer and beſides, all ſuche as ſtand contrary to this fayth, I doe pronounce them with their doctrine & followers worthy of euerlaſting curſe. And if I my ſelfe ſhall preſume at any time to hold or preach any thinge contrary to the premiſſes. I ſhall be content to abide the ſeueritie of the Canons. Subſcribed with mine owne hand, & with mine own accord. Phillip Repington. And thus the ſayd Rampington was diſcharged, who afterward was made Byſhop of Lincolne, and became at length the moſt bitter and extreme perſecutor of this ſide, of al the other biſhops wͭin the realm, as in proces hereafter may appeare.

Philip Repington after his abiuration became a terrible perſecutor.

After the abiuration of this Repington, immediately was brought in Iohn Ayſhton, ſtudent of Diuinitie: who being examined of thoſe concluſions, and willed to ſay hys mynde, aunſwered: that he was to ſimple and ignoraunt, and therefore would not, and could not anſwere any thing clearely or diſtinctly to thoſe concluſions. wherupon, the Archb, aſſigned to him Doctor W. Rugge the Vicechauncellour, and other deuines ſuch as he required himſelfe to be inſtructed in the miſtery of thoſe concluſions againſt the after noone: who then appearing again after dinner before the archbiſhop and the Prelates, did in like ſort and forme of wordes abiure as did Repington before.

A ſhort time my Lord, for a mā in one forenoone to learne a faith againſt his cōſcience.

The abiuration of Iohn Aiſheton.

Ex chron. Monaſt. D. Albani.

I. Aiſheton.

Of this Iohn Ayſhton we read, that afterwarde by Tho. Arundell Archb. of Cant. he was cited and condemned, but whether he dyed in priſō, or was burned, we haue yet no certainty to ſhewe. This is certayne by the playne wordes of the chronicle of S. Albans, that when the arch. with his doctors and fryers ſate in examination vpon this ſayd Iohn Aſhton, in London: the Londiners brake open the dore of the conclaue, ipſumq; Archiepiſcopum in ciuitate ſedentem impediuerunt, cum proceſſum feciſſit contra Iohannē Aſhton. &c. That is and did let the Archbiſhop himſelfe ſitting in the City of London, when he woulde haue made proceſſe agaynſt Iohn Aſheton. an. 1382. And thus muche of Iohn Aſheton.

The Londiners open the dore where the Archb. ſate againſt Ioh. Aiſheton.

As touching Nicholas Herford during the time of this conuocation, he did not appeare: and therefore had the ſentence of excommunication. Agaynſt which he put hys appeale from the archb. to the king and his Counſaile. The Archb. would not admit it, but finding ſtayes and ſtoppes cauſed him to be apprehended and encloſed in priſon. Notwithſtanding through the will of God, and good meanes he eſcaped out of the priſon returning agayn to his former exerciſe, and preaching as he did before, albeit in as couert and ſecret maner as he could. wherupon the Archbiſhop thundring out his boltes of excōmunication agaynſt him, ſendeth to al paſtors and miniſters, willing thē in al churches, and all feſtiuall dayes, to diuulge the ſayd his excommunication againſt him, to al men. writeth moreouer and ſendeth ſpeciall charge to al and ſingular of the laity, to beware that theyr ſimplicity be not deceaued by his doctrine, but that they like Catholicke children will auoyd him, and cauſe him of all other to be auoyded.

Ni. Herford would not appeare.

N. Herforde appealed from the Archb.

Ni. Herford caſt in priſon.

Herford eſcapeth out of priſon.

Furthermore, not contented with this, addreſſeth alſo his letters vnto the king, requiring alſo the ayde of his tēporall ſword to chop of hys neck, whō he had already caſt down. See and note reader, the ſeraphicall charitie of theſe prieſtly prelates towardes yͤ poore redemed flock of Chriſt And yet theſe be they whiche waſhing theyr handes wyth Pylate, ſay and pretend: Nobis non licet interficere quenquá. It is not our partes to kill any man. The copye of the letter written to the king, is this.

The letter of the Archbiſhop to the king.

The cruell letter of the Archb. againſt Nic. Herford to the kyng.

TO the moſt excellent prince in Chriſt, &c. William &c. greeting in him by whom kinges do reigne, & princes beare rule. Vnto your kingly celſitude by the tenour of theſe preſentes we intimate, that one M Nich. Herford D. of diuinitie, for his manifeſt contumacie and offēce in not appearing before vs being called at the day and place aſsigned, therefore is inwrapped in the ſentence of the greater curſe, publiquely by our ordinary authoritie. And in the ſame ſentence hath continued nowe forty dayes, & yet ſtill continueth with indurate hart, wickedly contemning the keyes of the Church, to the great perill both of his ſoule, and to the pernitious example of other. For ſo much therefore, as the holy mother the church hath not to do or to proceed any further in this matter: we humblye deſire your kingly maieſtye, to direct out your letters for the apprehending of the ſayd excommunicat according to the cuſtome of this realme of England, wholſomely obſerued and kept hetherto: to the intent, that ſuch whome the feare of God doth not reſtrayne from euill, the diſcipline of the ſecular arme may bridle and plucke backe from offending. Your princely celſitude the Lord long continue. From Lamheth the 15. of Ianuary.

This is not to ſeeke againe that which is loſt by the rule of Ezechiel.

To this letter of the Archb, might not the king (gentle reader) thus aunſwere agayne, and aunſwere well?

Proſopopoia. What the kyng might haue aunſwered agayne.

YOur letters with your complaynt and requeſtes in the ſame conteyned, we haue receiued and well conſidered. For the accompliſhing wherof, ye ſhall vnderſtand that as we are readely bent to gratify and ſatiſfy your minde in this behalfe on the one ſide: ſo we muſt beware agayne on the other, that our authoritye be not abuſed either to oppreſſe before we know, or to iudge before we haue tryed. Wherfore for ſo much as you in your letters do excite and ſharpen the ſeuere diſcipline of our ſeculer ſword, agaynſt one Nich. Herford, for his not appearing before you: and yet ſhewing in the ſayd your letters no certaine cauſe to vs what you haue to charge him withall: we therfore following the exãple of Alexander Magnus, or rather the rule of equity in opening both our eares indifferently, to heare as well the one part, as the other do aſsigne both to him, when as he may be found, & to you whẽ you ſhalbe called a terme to appeare before vs. To the intẽt that the controuerſy betwene you and him, ſtãding vpon points of religiõ, being tried by the true touchſtone of Gods holy word due correction indifferently may be miniſtred according as the offence ſhall be founde. In the meane time, this we cannot but ſomething maruell at in your ſayde Letters: Firſt, to ſee you mẽ of the Church and Aungels of peace to be ſo deſirous of bloud. Secondly, to conſider you again ſo fierce in proſecuting the breach of your lawe: and yet ſo colde in purſuing the breache of the expreſſe law of God and his commaundementes. Thirdly, to behold the vnſtable doubleneſſe in your proceedings, who pretending in your publick ſentence, to become as intreaters for them to vs in the bowels of Ieſus Chriſt, that we will withdraw from them the rigour of our ſeuerity, and yet in your letters you be they which moſt ſet vs on. If not appearing before you: be ſuch a matter of contumacy in caſe of your lawe, that is in no caſe to bee ſpared: what ſhoulde then our Princely diſcipline haue done to men of your calling? Henry Spencer Biſhop of Norwich, being at Cant. was ſent for by our ſpeciall commaundement to come to our ſpeach, denyed to come, and yet we ſpared him. Iohn Stratforde Archbyſhop your predeceſſour, being required of our progenitour king Edward the third to come to him at Yorke, would not appeare: by the occaſion whereof, Scotland the ſame time was loſt, & yet was he ſuffered. The like might be ſayd of Robert Winchelſey in the dayes of king Edwarde the firſt, and of Edmunde Archb. of Cant in the daies of K. Henry 3. Stephen Langhton was ſent for by K. Iohn to come, he came not. The like cõtumacy was in Becket toward K. Henry. 2. Alſo in Anſelme toward K. Henry. 1 All theſe for theyr not appearing before their princes, ye do excuſe, who notwithſtanding might haue appeared without daunger of life. This one man for not appearing before you, you think worthy of death: whoſe life you would haue cõdemned notwithſtanding, if he had appeared. It is no reaſon if the Squirill climing to the tree from the Lyons clawes, would not appeare, being ſet for to be deuoured: that the Eagle therfore ſhould ſeiſe vpon him without any iuſt cauſe, declared agaynſt the party. Wherfore according to this, and to that aforeſayde when he ſhall appeare, and you be called, and the cauſe iuſtly wayed, due execution ſhall be miniſtred.

Biſhops of Cant. appeared not before theyr kyngs, and yet they were not perſecuted.

And thus farre concerning Nicholas Herforde, & the other aforeſayd, but all this meane while what became of Iohn Wickliffe it is not certaynly knowen. Albeit ſo farre as may be gathered out of Walde, it appereth that he was baniſhed, and driuen to exile. In the meane time it is not to be doubted, but he was aliue during all this whyle, whereſoeuer he was as by his letter may appeare, which he about this time wrote to Pope Vrbane the 6. In the which letter he doth purge himſelfe, that being commaũded to appeare before the Pope at Rome, he came not: declaring alſo in the ſame a briefe confeſsiõ of his fayth. The copy of which Epiſtle here followeth.

¶ The Epiſtle of Iohn Wickliffe ſent vnto Pope Vrbane the 6. An. 1382.

The Epiſtle of I. Wickliffe to pope Vrbane.

VErely I do reioyce to open and declare the fayth which I do holde vnto euery man. And ſpecially vnto the Biſh. of Rome, the which for ſo much as I doe ſuppoſe to be ſound and true, he will moſt willingly confirme my ſayd fayth, or if it be erroneous amend the ſame.

Firſt I ſuppoſe, that the Goſpell of Chriſt, is the whole bodye of Gods law, and that Chriſt which did geue that ſame law hymſelfe, I beleue him to be a very man, and in that poynt, to exceed the law of the Goſpell, and all other partes of the Scripture. Agayne I do geue and holde, the Biſhop of Rome, for ſo much as he is the Vicare of Chriſt here in earth, to be bound moſt of all other men vnto that law of the Goſpell. For the greatneſſe amongeſt Chriſtes Diſciples, did not conſiſt in worldly dignity or honours but in the neare and exact following of Chriſt, in his life and maners: wherupon I do gather out of the hart of the law of the Lord, that Chriſt for the time of his pilgrimage here, was a moſt poore man, abiecting and caſting of all worldly rule and honour, as appeareth by the Goſpell of Math. the 8. and the 2. Corinthians. 8. chapter.

Hereby I do fully gather, that no faythfull man ought to folow, neither the Pope himſelfe, neither any of the holy men, but in ſuch poynts, as he hath folowed the Lord Ieſus Chriſt. For Peter and the ſonnes of Zebede by deſiring worldly honour, contrary to the folowing of Chriſtes ſteppes did offend, and therfore in thoſe errors, they are not to be folowed.

The true diſciples of Chriſt ſeeke no honor.

Hereof I do gather, as a Cõſell, that the Pope ought to leaue vnto the ſecular power, all temporall dominion and rule, & therunto effectually to moue and exhort his whole Clergy: for ſo did Chriſt, and ſpecially by his Apoſtles. Wherfore, if I haue erred in any of theſe poyntes, I will moſt humbly ſubmitte my ſelfe vnto correction euen by death if neceſsitye ſo require: And if I coulde labor according to my will or deſire in my owne perſon, I would ſurely preſent my ſelfe before the Biſhop of Rome: but the Lorde hath otherwiſe viſited me to the cõtrary, and hath taught me rather to obey God then men. For ſo much then, as God hath geuẽ vnto our Pope, iuſt and true Euangelicall inſtinctions, we ought to pray, that thoſe motions be not extinguiſhed by any ſubtle or crafty deuiſe.

And that the Pope and Cardinals, be not moued to doe anye thing, contrary vnto the law of the Lord. Wherefore let vs praye vnto our God, that he will ſo ſtirre vp our Pope Vrbane the ſixt as he began, that he with his Clergye may folow the Lorde Ieſus Chriſt, in life and maners: and that they may teach the people effectually, and that they likewiſe may faithfully folow them in the ſame. And let vs ſpecially pray, that our Pope may bee preſerued from all maligne and euill counſell, as which do know that euill and enuious men of his houſeholde would geue him. And ſeing the Lord will not ſuffer vs to be tempted aboue our power, much leſſe then will he require of any creature to do that thing which they are not able, forſomuch, as that is the playne condition and maner of Antichriſt.

Thus muche wrote Iohn Wickliffe vnto Pope Vrbane: but this pope Vrbane otherwiſe termed Turbanus was ſo hote in his warres againſt Clement the Frenche Pope his aduerſary, that he had no leaſure, and leſſe lyſt, to attend vnto Wickliffes matters. By the occaſion of which ſchiſme, God ſo prouided for poore Wickliffe, that he was in ſome more reſt & quietnes. Cõcerning which ſchiſmaticall wars of theſe popes, for as much as we haue here entred into ye mention therof, it ſhall not be impertinent frõ the order of our ſtory, digreſſyng a litle from the matter of Iohn Wickliffe, to touch ſomething of the tragical doings of theſe two holy popes ſtriuing for the triple crowne: to the intent that the Chriſtian reader (iudging by their fruits and proceedings) may ſee and vnderſtand what difference is betweene theſe popes, and Chriſt and his Apoſtles. For though in the ſtory of the Goſpel it is read, that certaine of the diſciples did ſtriue which ſhuld be the greater, yet neither do we read that one of them toke euer weapõ againſt the other: and moreouer in the ſayd ſtory of the Goſpell it doeth appeare, that they in ſo ſtriuing as they did, were therefore ſharpely rebuked of our Sauiour Chriſt, & were taught by him an other leſſon.

The Pope occupied ſo in ſchiſmaticall warres that he had no leyſure to other matters.

Difference betweene the Apoſtles and the Popes in ſtriuing for preeminence.

About the beginning of the next yeare folowing, which was an. 1383. Pope Vrbane ſettyng all his ſtudy howe to repreſſe and cõquere the contrary Pope his aduerſary, being then at Auinion (ſeing al his other means to fayle, and that his croſſe keyes coulde doe no good) toke to hym the ſword of Romulus, & ſet vpõ him with open warre. And firſt deuiſing wt himſelfe whom he might beſt chuſe for hys chief champion: thought none meeter for ſuch affaires the Henry Spenſer beyng then Biſhop of Norwich, a young and a ſtout Prelate, more fitter for the camping cure, then for the peaceable church of Chriſt, as partly alſo might appeare before by his acts done at Lẽnam in ſtriuing for the Mayres Mace, mẽtioned before, pag. 428. Vnto this byſhop of Norwich, the Pope had ſent his bulles about this

{ Ann. 1383. }

The Pope ſet to warre.

tune, to Croiſy whoſoeuer would go wͭ him into Fraũce, to deſtroy the Antipope which named himſelfe Clemẽt, & to make warre agaynſt all thoſe that took his part. Which Bulles, for that they gaue vnto him ſuch great authority, he cauſed to be publiſhed in the Parliamẽt houſe, & cauſed the copyes of the ſame to be ſent all about, & to be ſet vp & faſtened vpon all the church dores & monaſtery gates that al men might read thẽ. In the which Buls theſe priuiledges were graunted, the copy wherof here foloweth.

The very fruites of Antichriſt.

1. In primis, that the ſayd Biſhop of Norwich may vſe his ſword againſt the Antipope, & all his adherents, fauorers, and councelers, and with violence put them to death.
2. Item, that he hath full power to inquire of all & ſingular ſuch ſchiſmatikes, and to put them in priſon: & to confiſcate all their goods moueable and immoueable.
3. Item, that he hath power and authority to depriue all lay men that are ſuch ſchiſmatikes of all maner ſecular offices whatſoeuer, and to geue theyr offices to other fit and conuenient perſons.
4. Item, that he may depriue all ſuch clerks, and declare them to be ſchiſmatickes, and in this behalfe to geue & beſtow their benifices either with cure or without cure, their dignities perſonages or offices, to other perſõs more meet for the ſame.
5. Item, he hath power & authority ouer lay perſõs that are exempt, and Clerkes both ſecular and regular, yea although they be Friers mendicantes, or maiſters & profeſſors of other houſes or hoſpitals of S. Iohns of Ieruſalem, or S. Mary of Flaunders, or profeſſours of what orders ſoeuer els.
6. Item; he hath power to diſpenſe with what ſecular Clerkes ſoeuer; being beneficed either with cure or without cure; and alſo with ſuch as haue dignities, perſonages or offices; being regulars either exẽpt or not exempt, that euery one of them may be abſent with him from their dignities & benefices. &c. vnder the ſtãderd of the croſſe, without licence of any of thier Prelats required, and yet to receiue and take the intire cõmodities of their benefices, as though they had bene perſonally reſident vpon the ſame.
7. Itẽ, there is graunted to all that paſſe the ſeas in this quarel, either at their own expenſes or at the expẽſes of any other, full remiſſion of their ſins: & as large priuileges are grãted to all thoſe that go ouer the ſea with him, as to any that pay their mony, or go to fight for the holy land.
8. Alſo, all ſuch as with their proper goods & ſubſtaunce ſhall geue ſufficient ſtipend to able ſouldiors, at the diſcretiõ of the foreſayd Lord Biſhop muſtered, or by any other his deputy, although he himſelfe be not perſonally at this buſines aforeſaid: yet ſhall he haue like remiſſion, & indulgẽce, as they which haue bene perſonally with him in this expedition.
9. Itẽ, all they are pertakers of this remiſſiõ, which ſhal geue any part of theyr goods to the ſayd Biſhop to fight agaynſt the ſayd ſchiſmatikes.
10. Item, if any ſhall chaũce to dye in the iourny, that are ſouldiors vnder the ſayd ſtandard of yͤ croſſe, or els before the quarell by ſome meanes be finiſhed: ſhall fully & wholy receiue the ſayd grace, and ſhalbe partakers of the foreſayd remiſſion and indulgence.
11. Item, he hath power to excommunicate, ſuſpend, and interdict what perſons ſoeuer be rebellious or diſturbers of him in yͤ execution of his power & authority committed vnto him: of what dignity, ſtate, degree, preheminẽce, order, place, or cõditiõ ſoeuer they ſhalbe: whether they ſhall be either of regal, queenly, or imperial dignity, or of what dignity els ſoeuer either eccleſiaſticall or mundane.
12. Item, he hath power and authority to compell and inforce what religious perſons ſoeuer, to appoynt them and ſend them ouer Sea, if it ſeeme good to him: yea although they be profeſſors of the Friers mendicants, for the execution of the premiſſes.

¶ The Popes abſolution by the Biſhop pronounced.

By the authority Apoſtolicall to me in this behalfe committed, we abſolue the A.B. from all thy ſinnes confeſſed with thy mouth, and being contrite with thy hart, and wherof thou wouldſt be cõfeſſed if they came vnto the memory: & we graunt vnto thee, plenary remiſſion of all maner of ſinnes, and we promiſe vnto thee thy part of the reward of all iuſt men, and of euerlaſting ſaluation. And as many priuileges as are graunted to them that go to fight for the holy land, we graunt vnto thee: & of all the prayers & benefites of the church the vniuerſall Synode, as alſo of the holy Catholicke Church, we make thee partaker of.

Chriſtes paſſion hath here no place.

This couragious or rather outragious biſhop armed thus with the Popes authority, and prompt with his priuilegies, in the yeare aforeſayd. 1283. about the time of lẽt, came to the Parliament, where great conſultation & contention, & almoſt no leſſe ſchiſme was about the voiage of this Popiſh Biſhop in the Parliament, thẽ was betwene the Popes themſelues. In the which Parliament many there were, which thought it not ſafe to commit the kings people & ſubiectes, vnto a rude and vnſkilfull Prieſt. So great was the diuerſity of iudgements in that behalfe, that the voiage of the ſayd Biſhop was protracted vnto the ſaterday afore Paſſion Sonday. In the which Sonday was ſong the ſolemne Antheme Ecce crucem Domini, fugite partes aduerſæ. That is, Beholde the croſſe of the Lord: Flye away all you aduerſaries. After which Sonday, the partyes ſo agreed amongeſt themſelues by common decree, that the Biſhop ſhould ſet forward in his voiage, hauing to him geuen the fiften which was graunted to the king in the Parliament before. Which thinges thus concluded in the Parliament, this warlike Biſhop preparing before all thinges in a readineſſe ſet forwarde in his Popeholye iourney. Who about the moneth of May, being come to Canterbury, and there tarying for the winde, in the Monaſtery of S. Auguſtin, receiued a writ from the king that he ſhould returne to the king, and to know further of hys pleaſure. The Biſhop fearing that if he turned agayne to the king, his iourny ſhould be ſtayd, and ſo all his labor & preparance loſt with great deriſion and ſhame vnto him: thought better to commit himſelfe to fortune with that litle army he had, then by tarying to be made a ridicle to his aduerſaryes. Wherfore, he ſent word backe agayne, to the king, that he was now ready prepared, well forward on his iourny. And that it was not expedient now to protract the time for any kinde of talke which peraduenture ſhould be to no maner of purpoſe: and that it was more conuenient for him to haſten in his iournay to Gods glory, & alſo to the honor of the king. And thus he calling his men vnto him, entred forthwith the ſeas, & went to Calis: where he wayting a few dayes for the reſt of his army, after the receipt of them, tooke his iourny firſt to the towne of Grauenidge which he beſieged, ſo deſparatly without any preparaunce of engines of warre or counſell, or of politicke men ſkilfull in ſuch affayres: that he ſeemed rather to flye vpon them, then to inuade them. At lenth through the ſuperſtition of our men, truſting vpon the Popes abſolution, he ſo hariſhly approched the walles and inuaded the enemies, that a great number of them were pitiouſly ſlayn with ſhot & wild fire: till at the end (the inhabiters being oppreſſed and vanquiſhed) our men entred the town with their Biſhop, where they at his commaundement deſtroiyng both man, woman and childe, left not one aliue of all them, which remayned in the whole town. Sicq; crucis beneficio factum, vt crucis hoſtes ita delerentur, quòd vnus ex eis non remanſit: That is. And ſo it came to paſſe by the vertue of the croſſe, that our men croyſed ſo preuayled againſt the enemies of the croſſe, that not one of them remayned aliue. Ex Chron. Mon. D. Albani.

O bloodines of Antichriſt.

Ex Chron. Mon. D. Albani in Vita Rich. 2.

From Grauenidg this warlike Biſhop ſet forward to Dunkyrke, where not long after the Frenchmen meeting with him, ioyned with them in battell: in which battell (if the ſtory be true) 12. thouſand of the Frenchmen were ſlain in the chaſe, and of our men but ſeuen onely miſſing. It would require a long tractatiſe here to diſcourſe all thing done in theſe popiſh warres. Alſo it would be no leſſe ridiculous to view & behold the glorious temerity of this new vpſtart captain. But certes, lamẽtable it is to ſee the pitifull ſlaughter & murther of Chriſts people, by yͤ meanes of theſe pitileſſe Popes, during theſe warres in Fraũce: As when the Biſhop comming frõ Dunkirke to the ſiege of Ypres a great number of Engliſhmen there were loſt, and much mony conſumed, and yet nothing done effect, to the great ſhame and ignominy of the Biſhop. Agayne, after, the ſiege of Ypres (thus with ſhame broke vp) the ſayd biſhop proceeding with a ſmall power, to fight with yͤ frẽch kinges campe, contrary to the counſell of his captaynes, which counted him raſh & vnſkilfull in his attempt, was fayne to breake company with them, whereby part of the army wẽt vnto Burburgh, & the biſhop with his part returned to Grauenidg, which both townes ſhortly after were beſieged by the french army, to the great loſſe both of the Engliſh and French men. In fine, when the Byſhop could keepe Grauenidg no longer, the ſayd Biſhop with his croyſies, croſſing the ſeas, came home agayne as wiſe as he wẽt, & thus making an end of this Pontificall war, we will returne agayne from whence we digreſſed, to the ſtory and matter of Iohn Wickliffe.

Which Iohn Wickliffe returning againe within ſhort ſpace, either frõ his baniſhment, or from ſome other place where he was ſecretly kept, repayred to his pariſh of Lutterworth, where he was parſon, there quietly departing this mortall life, ſlept in peace in the Lord, in the begynning of the yeare 1384. vpon Silueſters day.

Here is to be noted the great prouidēce of the Lord in this man, as in diuers other: whom the Lord ſo long preſerued in ſuch rages of ſo many enemies, frō all their handes, euen to his olde age. For ſo it appeareth by Thomas Walden, writing agaynſt him in his tomes entituled: De Sacramentis contra Wicleuum, that he was well aged before he departed: by that which the foreſayd Walden writeth of him in the Epiloge ſpeaking of Wickliffe, in theſe wordes: Ita vt cano placeret, quod iuueni complacebat. &c. That is: ſo yͭ the ſame thing pleſed him in his old age, which dyd pleaſe him being young. Whereby ſeemeth that Wickliffe liued, till he was an olde man, by this report. Such a Lord is God, that whom he will haue kept, nothing can hurt.

Waldenus 2. tomo de Sacramentis.

This Wickliffe, had written diuers and ſundry workes, the which in the yeare of our Lord 1410. were burnt at Oxford, the Abbot of Shrewſbury being then Commiſſary, and ſent to ouerſee that matter. And not onelye in England, but in Boheme, likewiſe the bookes of the ſayde Wickliffe were ſet on fire, by one Subincus Archbiſhop of Prage, who made diligent inquiſition for the ſame, and burned them: The number of the volumes, whiche he is ſayd to haue burned moſt excellently written, and richly adorned with boſſes of golde, and rich coueringes (as Eneas Siluius writeth) were aboue the number of two hundreth.

The number of Wicliffes bokes came to 200. volumes. *Eneas Syluius.*

Ioannes Cocleus in his booke De hiſtoria Huſsitarū, ſpeaking of the bookes of Wickliffe, teſtifyeth: that he wrot very many bookes, ſermons and tractations. Moreouer the ſaid Cocleus ſpeaking of himſelfe, recordeth alſo: that there was a certaine Biſhop in England which wrot vnto him declaring, that he had yet remayning in his cuſtodye two huge and mighty volumes of Iohn Wickliffes workes, which for the quantity therof might ſeme to be equal with the workes of S. Auguſtine. Hæc Cocleus.

Amongeſt other of his Treatiſes I my ſelfe alſo haue found out certayne, as de cenſu & veritate ſcripturæ. Item, De Eccleſia. Item, De Euchariſtia confeſsio Wickleui, whiche I entend hereafter: the Lord ſo graunting, to publiſh abroad.

As concerning certayne aunſweres of Iohn Wickliffe which he wrote to king Richard the 2. touching the right and title of the king, and of the Pope: becauſe they are but ſhort, I thought here to annexe them. The effect whereof here foloweth.

¶ Iohn Wickliffes aunſwere vnto K. Richard the ſecond, as touching the right and title of the king and the Pope.

O bloudines of Antichriſt.

Ex Chron. Mon. D. Albani in Vita Rich. 2.

IT was demaunded, whether the kingdom of England, may lawfully in caſe of neceſſity, for his own defence, deteyne and kepe backe the treaſure of the kingdome, that it be not caried away to forreine & ſtraunge nations, yͤ pope himſelfe demaunding and requiring the ſame vnder pain of cenſure, and by vertue of obedience.

Wickliffe ſetting a part the minds of learned mē, what might be ſayd in the matter, either by the canon law, or by the law of England or yͤ ciuil law, it reſteth (ſaith he) now onely to perſwade and proue, the affirmatiue part of this doubt, by the principles of Chriſtes law. And firſt I proue it thus, Euery natural body hath power geuen of God to reſiſt agaynſt his contrary, and to preſerue it ſelfe in due eſtate, as the Philoſophers knew very well.

In ſomuch, that bodyes without life, are indued with ſuch kinde of power (as it is euidēt) vnto whom hardnes is geuen to reſiſt thoſe thinges that woulde breake it, and coldnes to withſtād the heat that diſſolueth it. Forſomuch then, as the kingdome of England (after the maner and phraſe of the Scriptures) ought to be one body: & the clergy with the communalty, the members thereof, it ſeemeth that the ſame kingdome hath ſuch power geuē him of god, and ſo much the more apparaunt: by how much the ſame body is more precious vnto God, adorned with vertue & knowledge. For ſomuch thē as there is no power geuē of god vnto any creature: for any end or purpoſe: but that he may lawfully vſe the ſame to that end and purpoſe: It followeth that our kingdome may lawfully keep backe and deteyn theyr treaſure, for the defence of it ſelfe, in what caſe ſoeuer neceſſity do require the ſame.

Secondarily, the ſame is proued by yͤ law of yͤ goſpell. For yͤ Pope cannot challenge yͤ treaſure of this kingdom, but vnder the title of almes, & conſequētly vnder the pretence of yͤ works of mercy, according to the rule of charity. But in caſe aforeſayd, the title of almes ought vtterly to ceaſe, Ergo, the right and title of chalenging the treaſure of our Realme ſhall ceaſe alſo in the preſuppoſed neceſſitie. For ſo much as all charitie hath his beginning of himſelfe, it were no worke of charitie, but of meere madnes, to ſend away yͤ treaſures of yͤ realme vnto forreine natiōs, whereby the Realme it ſelfe may fall into ruine, vnder yͤ pretence of ſuch charitie.

The bookes of Wicliffe. The Popes riches is but the almes of good mē.

Neceſſitie taketh away the Popes almes.

It appeareth alſo by this, that Chriſt the head of the Church, whom all Chriſten Prieſts ought to follow: liued by the almes of deuoute women. Luke. 7. 8. He hungred and thyrſted, he was a ſtraunger, and many other miſeries he ſuſtained, not onely in his mēbers, but alſo in his owne body, as the Apoſtle witneſſeth, Cor. viii. He was made poore for your ſakes, that through his pouertie, you might be rich: wherby, in the firſt endowig of the Church, what ſoeuer he were of the Clergy that had any temporall poſſeſsiōs, he had the ſame by forme of a perpetuall almes, as both writinges and Chronicles do witneſſe.

Whereupon S. Barnard, declaring in his 2. booke to Eugenius, that he could not chalenge any ſecular dominion by right of ſucceſsion, as being the vicar of S. Peter, writeth thus: that if S. Iohn ſhould ſpeake vnto the pope himſelfe, as Barnard doth vnto Eugenius, were it to be thought that he would take it patiently? But let it be ſo, that you do challenge it vnto you, by ſome other wayes or meanes: but truely by any right or title Apoſtolicall, you can not ſo doe. For how could he geue vnto you that, which he had not himſelfe? That which he had he gaue you, that is to ſay, care ouer the Church, but did he geue you any Lordſhips or rule? Harke what he ſayth: Not bearing rule (ſayth he) as Lordes in the Clergy, but behauing your ſelues as examples to the flocke. And becauſe thou ſhalt not thinke it to be ſpoken only in humility, and not in verity, marke the word of the Lord him ſelfe in the Coſpell. The kinges of the people do rule ouer them, but you ſhall not do ſo.

Note well the ſaying here of Bernard.

Here Lordſhip and dominion, is plainely forbidden to the Apoſtles: and dareſt thou then vſurpe the ſame? If thou will be a Lord, thou ſhalt loſe thine Apoſtleſhip, or if thou wilt be an Apoſtle, thou ſhalt loſe thy Lordſhip. For truely thou ſhalt depart from the one of them. If thou wilt haue both, thou ſhalt loſe both, or els thinke thy ſelfe to be of that number, of whom God doth ſo greatly complayne, ſaying: They haue raigned, but not through me. They are become Princes, and I haue not knowne it. Now if it do ſuffice thee to rule with the Lord, thou haſt thy glory, but not with God. But if we will keepe that which is forbidden vs, let vs heare what is ſayd: he that is the greateſt amongeſt you (ſayth Chriſt) ſhalbe made as the leaſt, and he which is the higheſt, ſhalbe as the miniſter: and for example, ſet a childe in the middeſt of thē. So this then is the true forme and inſtitution of the Apoſtles trade. Lordſhip and rule is forbidden, miniſtration and ſeruice commaunded.

The pope muſt leaue his lordſhip or els Apoſtleſhip, let him chuſe whether.

The maner of the Apoſtles.

By theſe wordes of this bleſſed man whom the whole Church doth reuerence and worſhip, it doth appeare that the Pope hath not power to occupy the Church goodes as Lord therof, but as miniſter, and ſeruaunt, and proctor for the poore. And would to God that the ſame proud & greedy deſire of rule & Lordſhip, which this ſeat doth chalenge vnto it, be not a preamble to prepare a way vnto Antechriſt. For it is euident by the Goſpell, that Chriſt through his pouerty, humility, & ſuffering of iniury, got vnto him the children of his kingdome.

How the pope ought to occupy the Church goods.

The way to obtaine the kingdome of Chriſt.

And moreouer, ſo farre as I remember, the ſame bleſſed mā Barnard in his 3. booke writeth alſo thus vnto Eugenius: I feare no other greater poyſon to happen vnto thee, then greedy deſire of rule and dominion.

This Wickliffe albeit in his life time, had many greeuous enemies, yet was there none ſo cruell vnto him, as yͤ Clergy it ſelfe. Yet notwithſtanding he had many good frendes, men not onely of the baſe and meaneſt ſort, but alſo nobility, amongſt whom theſe mē are to be nūbred: Iohn Clēbon, Lewes Clifford, Richard Sturius, Thomas Latimer, William Neuell, Bohn Mountegew, who plucked downe all the Images in his Church. Beſides all theſe, there was the Earle of Saliſbury, who for contēpt in him noted towardes the Sacrament, in carying it home to his houſe: was enioyned by Radulph Ergom Biſhop of Saliſbury, to make in Saliſbury a croſſe of ſtone, in which all the ſtory of the matter ſhould be writtē, and he euery Friday during his life to come to the croſſe barefoot and barehead in his ſhyrt, & there kneling vpon his knees: to do penance for his fact. Ex Chron. Mon. D. Albani in vita Ric. 2.

I. Clenbon, Lewes Clifford, Rich. Sturius. Tho. Latimer, W. Neuell, Ioh. Mountegew. The Earle of Saliſbury. The penance of the Earle of Saliſbury.

The Lōdiners at this time ſomewhat boldly truſting to the Maiors authority, who for that yeare was Ihon of Northamptō: Took vpō them the office of the Biſhops, in puniſhing the vices (belonging to Ciuill law) of ſuche perſons as they had found and apprehēded in committing both fornication and adultery. For firſt they put the womē in the priſon which amongſt thẽ then was named Doliũ. And laſtly bringing them into the market place, wher euery man might behold them, & cutting of their goldẽ lockes from theyr heads: they cauſed them to be caryed about the ſtreets, with bagpipes and trumpets blowne before them to the intent they ſhould be the better knowne & their cõpanyes auoyded: according to the maner then of certayne theeues that were named Apellatores, (accuſers or pechers of others that were guiltles) which were ſo ſerued. And wͭ other ſuch like opprobrious and reprochfull contumelyes did they ſerue the men alſo that were taken with them in cõmitting the forenamed wickednesse and vices. Here the ſtory recordeth how the ſayd Londiners were incouraged hereunto by John wickliffe and others that folowed hys doctrine to perpetrat this act, in the reproch of the Prelats being of yͤ clergy. For they ſayd, that they did not ſo much abhorre to ſee the great negligence of thoſe to whom that charge belonged, but alſo their filthye auarice they did aſmuch deteſt: which for gredynes of money were choked wͭ bribes and winking at the penaltyes due to ſuch perſons by the lawes appoynted, ſuffered ſuch fornicators and inceſtuous perſons fauourably to continue in their wickednes. They ſayd furthermore, that they greatly feared, leaſt for ſuch wickednes perpetrated within the city and ſo apparantly diſſimuled: that God would take vengeance vpõ thẽ & deſtroy their city. wherfore they ſaid, that they could do no leſſe then to purge the ſame: leaſt by the ſufferaunce thereof, God would bring a plague vpon them, or deſtroy thẽ with the ſword, or cauſe the earth to ſwallow vp both them and theyr City. Hæc ex Chron. Mon. D. Albani.

The frutes of good and true doctrine.

Ex Chron. Monaſt. D. Albani.

☞ This ſtory (gentle Reader) albeit the author therof whom I folow, doth geue it out in reprochfull wiſe, to the great diſcõmendation of the Lõdyners for ſo doing. Yet I thought not to omitte, but to commit the ſame to memory, which ſemeth to me rather to tend vnto yͤ worthy cõmendation both of the Londiners that ſo did: & to the neceſſary example of all other Cityes to follow the ſame. After theſe things thus declared, let vs now adioyne the teſtimoniall of the Vniuerſity of Oxford, of John wickliffe.

⁂ The publicke teſtimony geuen out by the Vniuerſity of Oxford, touching the commendation of the great learning and good life of Iohn Wickliffe.

VNto all and ſingular the Children of our holye Mother the Church, to whom this preſent Letter ſhall come: the Vicechauncellor of the Vniuerſity of Oxford with the whole congregation of the Maiſters, wiſh perpetuall health in the Lord. Forſomuch, as it is not commonly ſeene, that the Actes and Mmonumentes of valiaunt men, nor the prayſe and merites of good men ſhould be paſſed ouer and hidden with perpetuall ſilẽce, but that true report and fame ſhould continually ſpread abroad the ſame in ſtraunge & farre diſtant places, both for the witnes of the ſame, and example of others: Forſomuch alſo as the prouident diſcretion of mans nature being recompenſed with cruelty, hath deuiſed and ordayned this buckeler and defence, againſt ſuch as do blaſpheme and ſlaunder other mens doings, that whenſoeuer witnes by word of mouth can not be preſent, the penne by writing may ſupply the ſame.

Ex tomo operũ. Ioan. Huſſe fol. ult.

Hereupon it followeth, that the ſpeciall good will and care which we bare vnto I. Wickliffe, ſometime childe of this our Vniuerſity, and profeſſor of Diuinity: mouing and ſtirring our minds (as his maners and conditions required no leſſe) with one mind, voyce and teſtimony, we do witneſſe all his conditions & doings throughout his whole life, to haue bene moſt ſincere & commẽdable: whoſe honeſt maners and conditions, profoundnes of learning, and moſt redolent renowme and fame, we deſire the more earneſtly to be notified & known vnto all faithful, for that we vnderſtand the maturity and ripeneſſe of his couuerſation, his diligent labors and trauels to tend to the prayſe of God, the helpe & ſauegarde of others, and the profite of the Church.

Great learning ioyned with good life and godlines.

Wherefore we ſignify vnto you by theſe preſents, that his cõuerſatiõ (euen frõ his youth vpwards, vnto the time of his death) was ſo praiſe worthy and honeſt, that neuer at any time was there any note or ſpot of ſuſpition noyſed of him. But in his aunſwering, reading, preaching and determining, he behaued himſelſe laudably, and as a ſtout and valiaunt champion of the fayth: vanquiſhing by the force of the Scriptures, all ſuch who by theyr wilfull beggery blaſphemed and ſlaundered Chriſtes Religion. Neither was this ſayd Doctor conuict of any hereſy, either burned by our Prelates after his buriall. God forbidde that our Prelates ſhould haue condemned a man of ſuch honeſty, for an hereticke: who amongeſt all the reſt of the vniuerſitye, had written in Logicke, Philoſophye, Diuinitye, Moralitye, and the Speculatiue art without peere. The knowledge of which all & ſingular things, we do deſire to teſtify and deliuer forth: to the intent, that the fame and renowne of this ſayd Doctor, may be the more euident and had in reputation amongeſt them, vnto whoſe handes theſe preſent letters teſtimoniall ſhall come.

The bones of Wickliffe were not yet commãded by the cõũcel of Conſt. to be burned.

Ex 2 tomo operum I. Huſſi fol. ult.

In witnes wherof, we haue cauſed theſe our letters teſtimonial to be ſealed with our cõmon ſeale. Dated at Oxford in our congregation houſe, the fift day of October in the yeare of our Lord. 1406.

The teſtimony and wordes of Maiſter Iohn Hus, as touching maiſter Iohn Wickliffe.

VErely, as I do not beleue neither graũt that M. John wickliffe is an hereticke: ſo do I not deny, but hemly hope that he is no hereticke: For ſo much as in all matters of doubt I ought, as neare as I can, to chuſe the beſt part. wherfore I ſurely truſt, that M. I. wickliffe is one of the number of thẽ which are ſaued. The words of Chriſt moueth me therunto, ſaying Math. 7. Doe ye not iudge that ye be not iudged, & Luke the 6. Do not condemn, & ye ſhal not be condemned: and the wordes of the Apoſtle. 1. Cor. 4 Do ye not iudge before the Lord himſelfe do come, yͭ which ſhall opẽ thoſe things that are hid in darknes, to manifeſt the priuities of all hartes.

The teſtimony and iudgement of M. Iohn Hus concerning Iohn Wickliffe.

Secondly, the loue and charity which I ought to bear vnto my neighbor (louing him as my ſelfe) doth moue me thereunto. Luk. 10.

Thirdly his good fame & report moueth me, the which he hath of the good Prieſts, of the vniuerſity of Oxford, & not of the wicked, & commõly of the vulgar ſort, although not of the couetous, proud, and luxurious Prelates.

Fourthly, his owne workes & writings doe ſtirre me therunto, by the which he goeth about wͭ his whole indeuor, to reduce all men vnto the law of Chriſt, & ſpecially yͤ clergy: that they ſhoulde forſake the pompe & dominion of this world, and with the Apoſtles lead the life of Chriſt.

Fiftly, his owne proteſtations, which he doth oftentimes vſe in his ſentences, often repeating the ſame, doth not a litle moue me.

Sixtlye, his earneſt deſire and affection which he had vnto the law of Chriſt, doth not a litle allure me therunto, diſputing of the verity therof, the which cannot fayle in any one iote or title. wherupon he made a booke of the verity of the holy Scripture, approuing euen vnto the vttermoſt, the trueth of Gods law.

Lib. de ſenſu & veritate ſcripturæ per I. Wickleuũ.

wherfore it were too fooliſh a conſequẽt to ſay, that becauſe the number of the Prelates and clergy in England, Fraunce, and Boheme do coũt John wickeliffe for an hereticke, that therfore he is an heretick. &c. Like as the reaſon for burning of the bookes, for it is written in the firſt booke of Machabees firſt chapter: that they did burne the books of the Lord, tearing them in peeces, and whoſoeuer was founde to haue kept any bookes of the Teſtament or will of the Lord, or the which obſerued and kept the lawe of the Lord, they were by the kinges commaundemen put to death. If then the burning of theſe bookes by wicked men did argue or proue the euilneſſe of the books, thẽ was the law of God euill and nought.

True iudgement ſtandeth not vpon number and multitude.

So likewiſe the burning of S. Gregories bookes, and diuers other ſayntes and good men, ſhould argue & proue that they were euill & naughty men. wherupon as it doth not folow, that becauſe the Biſhops, Scribes, and Phariſeis, with the elders of the people, condemned Chriſt Jeſus as an heretick, that therfore he is an heretick: So likewiſe doth it not follow of any other man. The Byſhops, maiſters of diuity, monkes and prelates condemned thys man as an hereticke. Ergo he is an hereticke. For this conſequẽt is reproued by John Chriſoſtom, which was twiſe condemned as an hereticke by the Biſhops and the whole clergy. Likewiſe S. Gregory in his bookes, was condemned by the Cardinals.

Burning of bookesproueth not by and by an hereticke.

A falſe conſequent reproued by I. Chriſoſtome.

By like proofe alſo as they affirme M. John wickliffe to be an hereticke: John Duke of Lãcaſter (a man of worthy memory and progenitor of Henry king of Englande) ſhould alſo be an hereticke. For the ſayd Duke defẽded, fauored, and greatly loued M. John wickliffe, Ergo, the ſayd Duke is or was an hereticke, the conſequent is good. The Minor is well knowne vnto the Engliſhmen. The Maior appeareth in the Canon, where it is ſayd, he which defendeth an hereticke. &c.

Iohn Duke of Lancaſter defender of I. Wickliffe.

But theſe thinges ſet apart, I demaund of the aduerſary, whether M. John wickliff be damned for euer or no? If he ſay that he is damned becauſe he is an hereticke: I propounde this vnto him, whether M. John wickeliffe whiles he liued held any falſe doctrine cõtrary to the holy Scripture: If he do affirme it, let him then ſhew what doctrine it is, and afterward declare that he held it obſtinatly: And he ſhall finde, that in his bookes he alwayes wrote moſt commendable proteſtations agaynſt obſtinacye and

I. Wickliffe proued no heretick.

ſtifneckedneſſe. And by and by after, M. Iohn Stokes in his intimation ſayth, that M. Iohn Wickliffe in Englād, is counted for an hereticke. This ſeemeth alſo falſe by the letter teſtimoniall of the Vniuerſity of Oxforde: vnto the which there is more credit to be geuē, then vnto him. And this ſhall ſuffiſe for this preſent.

The councell of Cōſtāce againſt I. Wickliffe.

Now as we haue declared the teſtimony of the Vniuerſity of Oxford, & of Iohn Hus, concerning the praiſe of Iohn Wickliffe: It followeth likewiſe, that we ſet forth and expreſſe the contrary cenſure and iudgementes of his enemies, blinded with malicious hatred and corrupt affections againſt him: eſpecially of the Popes Councel gathered at Conſtance, proceeding firſt in condemning hys bookes, then of his articles, and afterward burning of his bones. The copy of which their ſentēce geuen againſt him by that counſell here followeth.

✻ The ſentence geuen by the Councell of Conſtance, in condemning the doctrine and 45. Articles of Iohn Wickliffe.

The ſentēce of the councell of Conſtāce againſt I. Wickliffe.

THe moſt holy and ſacred councell of Cōſtance, making and repreſenting the catholick Church for the extirpation of this preſent ſchiſme, and of all other errors and hereſies, ſpringing and growing vnder the ſhadow and pretence of the ſame: and for the reformation and amendment of the Church, being lawfully congregate and gathered together in the holy Ghoſt, for the perpetuall memory of the time to come.

We are taught by the acts and hiſtoryes of the holy fathers, that the catholicke fayth without the which, as the holy Apoſtle S. Paule ſaith, it is vnpoſſible to pleaſe God hath bene alwayes defēded by the faythfull and ſpirituall ſouldiors of the Church, by the ſhield of fayth, agaynſt the falſe worſhippers of the ſame fayth, or rather peruerſe impugners: which through their proud curioſity will ſeeme to know more, and to be wiſer then they ought to be, & for the deſire of ẏ glory of ẏ world, haue gone about oft times to ouerthrow the ſame. Theſe kindes of warres and battelles haue bene prefigured to vs before in thoſe carnall warres of the Iſraelites agaynſt the Idolatrous people. For in thoſe ſpirituall warres the holy catholick Church, through the vertue & power of fayth, being illuſtrate [illegible]) the beames of the heauenly light, by the prouidēce of God, and being holpen by the helpe and defence of the Saints & holy men, hath alway continued immaculate, & (the darckenes of errours, as her moſt cruell enemyes being put to flight) ſhe hath moſt gloriouſly triumphed ouer all. But in theſe our daies, the old and vnclean enemy hath rayſed vp new cōtētions & ſtrifes, that the elect of this world might be knowne, whoſe Prince and captayne in time paſt was one Iohn Wickliffe a falſe Chriſtian. Who during his life time, taught and ſowed very obſtinatly many articles, cōtrary and agaynſt the Chriſtian Religion, and the Catholicke fayth. And the ſame Iohn Wickliffe wrote certayne bookes which he called a Dialogue, & a Trialogue, beſides many other treatiſes and works, the which he both wrot and taught, in the which he wrot the aforeſayd, and many other damnable & execrable articles: The which his books for the publication and aduauncement of his peruers doctrine, he did ſet forth opēly for euery man to read. Wherby beſide many offēces, great hurt & damages of ſoules, hath enſued in diuers regions & countryes, but ſpecially in the kingdomes of England and Boheme. Againſt whom the maiſters and Doctors of the Vniuerſities of Oxforde and Prage, riſing vp in the truth and verity of God, according to the order of ſchooles, within a while after did reproue and condemne the ſayd Articles.

The dialoge and trialoge of I. Wickliffe.

The bookes of Wickliffe cōdemned to be burned.

Moreouer, the moſt reuerent fathers the archbiſhops, and biſhops, (for that time preſent) of Cāterbury, Yorke, and Prage, Legats of the Apoſtolick ſea, in the kingdome of England and Boheme, did condemne the bookes of the ſayd Wickliffe to be burnt. And the ſayd Archbiſhoppe of Prage, commiſſarye of the Apoſtolicke ſea, did likewiſe in this behalf determin & iudge. And moreouer he did forbid, that any of thoſe bookes whiche did remayne vnburned, ſhould not be hereafter any more reade. And agayne theſe things being brought to the knowledge & vnderſtanding of the Apoſtolicke ſea, and the generall councell: The Biſhop of Rome in his laſt Councell, condemned the ſayde bookes, treatiſes and volumes, commaunding them to be openly burned. Moſt ſtraightly forbidding, that any men which ſhould beare the name of Chriſt, ſhould be ſo hardy either to keep, read, or expound any of the ſayde bookes or treatiſes, volumes, or workes, or by any meanes to vſe or occupy them: either els to alledge thē opēly or priuely, but to their reproofe & infamy. And to the intent that this moſt daūgerous and filthy doctrine ſhould be vtterly wiped away out of the Church, he gaue commaundemēt throughout al places: that the Ordinaries ſhould diligētly enquire and ſeeke out by the Apoſtolick authority and Eccleſiaſticall cenſure, for all ſuch bookes, treatiſes, volumes, & workes. And the ſame ſo being found, to burne & conſume thē with fire: prouiding withall, that if there be any ſuch foūd, which will not obey the ſame: proceſſe to be made agaynſt them, as agaynſt the fauourers and mayntayners of hereſies. And this moſt holy Synode hath cauſed the ſayd 45. Articles to be examined and oft times peruſed, by manye moſt reuerend fathers of the Church of Rome, Cardinals Biſhops, Abbots, maiſters of diuinitye and Doctours of both lawes, beſides a great number of other learned men: the which Articles being ſo examined, it was found (as in truth it was no leſſe) that many, yea a great number of thē to be notoriouſly for heretical reproued and condemned by the holy fathers: other ſome not to be Catholick, but erroneous: ſome full of offence and blaſphemy: Certayn of thē offenſiue vnto godlye eares and many of thē to be raſhfull and ſeditious. It is found alſo, that his bookes do contain many Articles of like effect and quality, and that they doe induce and bring into the Church, vnſoūd and vnwholeſome doctrine, contrary vnto the fayth and ordinance of ẏ Church. Wherefore in the name of our Lorde Ieſu Chriſt, this ſacred Synode, ratefying and approuing the ſentēces and iudgements of the Archbiſhops & counſell of Rome: do by this their decree and ordinance, perpetually for euer more condemne and reproue, the ſayd Articles and euery one of them, his bookes which he intituled his Dialogue and Trialogue, & all other bookes of the ſame author, volumes, treatiſes & workes, by what name ſo euer they bee entituled or called, the which we will here to be ſufficiently expreſſed and named. Alſo we forbid the reading, learning, expoſition, or alledging of any of the ſayd bookes, vnto all faythfull Chriſtians, but ſo farreforth as ſhall tend to the reproofe of the ſame: forbidding all and ſingular Catholick perſons vnder the payn of curſe, that from henceforth they be not ſo hardy openly to preach, teach, or holde, or by any meanes to alledge the ſayd Articles or any of them, except (as is aforeſayd) that it do tend vnto the reproofe of them: commaunding all thoſe bookes, treatiſes, works, and volumes aforeſayd to be openly burned, as it was decreed in the Synode at Rome, as is afore expreſſed. For the execution whereof duely to be obſerued and done, the ſayd ſacred Synode doth ſtraitly charge & commaund the ordinaries of the places, diligently to attend & looke vnto the matter, according as it appertayneth vnto euery mās duty, by the Canonicall lawes and ordinaunces.

Words of authoritie without due probation.

Aske my fellow if I be a theefe.

So we hear you ſay.

Vnholſome, becauſe they teach againſt the pompe of the pope.

So thought the ſouldiours perpetually to keep downe Chriſt from riſing.

O merueilous ſacred Synode.

Rub a galde horſe on the backe and he will winſe.

At Rome &c. neither barrell better hearing.

Though the ſepulchre be watched Chriſt will riſe.

What were theſe articles here condemned by this coūcell, collected out of all his workes, and exhibited to ẏ ſayd Coūcell, to the number of 45. The copy of them followeth vnder written.

✻ Certaine other Articles gathered out of Wickeliffes bookes by his aduerſaries, to the number of 45. exhibited vp to the Councell of Conſtance, after his death, and in the ſame councell condemned.

Other articles of Wickliffe to the number of 45. condemned by the councell of Conſt.

BEſides the 24. Articles aboue mentioned, there were other alſo gathered out of his books, to ẏ number of 45. in all, which his malicious aduerſaryes peruerſly collecting, and maliciouſly expounding, did exhibite vp to the Coūcel of Conſtance: which to repeat all, though it be not here needfull, yet to recite certayn of them as they ſtand in that Councell it ſhall not be ſuperfluous.

25. All ſuch as be hyred for temporall liuing to pray for other, offend and ſinne of ſimony.

26. The prayer of the reprobate preuayleth for no man.

27. Halowing of Churches, confirmation of children, the Sacrament of orders, be reſerued to the Pope & Biſhops onely for the reſpect of temporall lucre.

28. Graduations, and Doctorſhips in Vniuerſities and Colledges as they be vſed, cōduce nothing to the church.

29. The excommunication of the Pope and his Prelates, is not to be feared, becauſe it is the cenſure of Antechriſt.

30. Such as foūd & build Monaſteries, do offend & ſinne, and all ſuch as enter into the ſame be mēbers of the deuil.

31. To enrich the Clergy, is agaynſt the rule of Chriſt.

32. Silueſter the Pope, & Conſtantine ẏ Emperor were deceiued in geuing & taking poſſeſſions into the Church.

33. A Deacon or Prieſt my preach the word of God without the authority of the Apoſtolick ſea.

34. Such as enter into order, or religion monaſticall, are therby vnable to keep Gods commaundements, and alſo to attaine to the kingdome of heauen except they returne from the ſame.

35. The Pope with all his Clergye, hauing thoſe great poſſeſſions as they haue, be heretiques in ſo hauing, & the ſecular powers in ſo ſuffering them do not well.

36. The Church of Rome is the ſinagoge of Sathan, neither is the Pope immediately the vicare of Chriſt, nor of ẏ Apoſtles.

37. The Decretals of the Pope be Apochripha and ſeduce from the fayth of Chriſt, and the Clergy that ſtudy them, be fooles.

38. The Emperor and ſecular Lordes be ſeduced, which ſo enrich the Church with ſuch ample poſſeſſions.

39. It is not neceſſary to ſaluation to beleue the church of Rome to be ſupreme head ouer all Churches.

40. It is but folly to beleue the Popes pardons.

41. All othes which be made for any cōtract or ciuill bargayne betwixt man and man, be vnlawfull.

43. Benedict, Fraunces, Dominicke, Bern, with all ſuch as haue bene patrons of priuate religion, except they haue repented, with ſuch alſo as haue entred into the ſame: be in a damnable ſtate, and ſo from the Pope to the loweſt Nouces they be all together heretickes.

W.Wodford, Tho.Walden, Tyſſingtō, writers againſt I. Wickliffe.

Beſides theſe Articles to the number of 45. condemned (as is ſayd) by the Counſell of Conſtance: Other articles alſo I finde diuerſly collected or rather wraſted out of the bookes and writinges of wickliffe: ſome by william wodford, ſome by walden, by Frier Tyſſington & other, whom they in theyr bookes haue impugned rather thē cōfuted. In the number of whom, william wodford eſpecially findeth out theſe Articles, and writeth agaynſt the ſame, to the number of 18. as here vnder follow.

Articles againſt Wickliffe by W. Woodford.

1. The bread remayneth in his owne ſubſtaunce, after the conſecration therof vpon the aultar, and ceaſeth not to be bread ſtill.

2. As John was figuratiuely Helias, and not perſonally, ſo the bread figuratiuely is the body of Chriſt, and not naturally. And that without all doubt, this is a figuratiue ſpeach, to ſay: this is my body, as to ſay: This John, is Helias.

3. In the Decree, Ergo Berengarius, the Courte of Rome hath determined that the Sacrament of the holy Euchariſt, is naturaly true bread.

4. They which do affirme, that the infantes of the faythful departing without the Sacrament of baptiſme, are not to be ſaued: be preſumptuous, and fooles in ſo affirming.

5. The adminiſtration of the Sacrament of confirmatiō, is not onely reſerued to the Biſhops.

6, In the time of S. Paule, onely two orders of Clerkes did ſuffice in the Church: Prieſts, and Deacons. Neither was there in the time of the Apoſtles any deſtinction of Popes, Patriarches and Archbiſhops, and Biſhops, but theſe the Emperors pride did finde it out.

7. Such as in times paſt either for couetouſnes of temporall lucre, or of hope of mutuall ſuccour by kindred, or for cauſe to excuſe their luſt (although they diſpayred of iſſue) were maryed: were coupled together, not by true Matrimony.

8. The cauſes of diuorcement, either for ſpirituall conſanguinity or for affinity, be not foūded in Scripture, but are onely ordinaunces of men.

9, Theſe words, I will take thee to wife, are rather to be taken in contract of matrimony, then theſe wordes I doe take thee to wife. And the contract with any party by the words of the future tence, ought not to be fruſtrate for the contract with any party afterward made, by the words of the preſent time.

10. There be 12. diſciples of Antechriſt, Popes, Cardinals, Patriarches, Archbiſhops, Biſhops, Archdeacons, Officials, Deanes, Monkes, Chanons, Friers, and Pardoners.

11. In the booke of Numbers the 18. chapter & in Ezechiell. 44. chapter it is commaunded ſimply, that neither the Prieſtes of Aaron, nor the Leuites ſhould haue any part of inheritance with other tribes, but ſhould liue meerly of tithes and oblations.

12. There is no greater hereticke or Antechriſt, then that Clerke which teacheth that it is lawfull for Prieſtes and Leuites of the law of grace, to be indued with temporall poſſeſſions. And if there be any heretickes, Apoſtates, or blaſphemers, theſe Clerkes be ſuch.

13. It is not onely lawfull for the Lords temporal to take away goods of fortune from the Churchmen, ſinning vſually: but alſo are bounde ſo to doe, vnder payne of eternall damnation.

14. He that is the more humble and more ſeruiceable to the Church, and more enamoured with the loue of Chriſt, he is in the church militant, the greater and the more nereſt Vicar of Chriſt.

15. If corporall vnction or aneling were a Sacrament (as now it is fayned to be) Chriſt and his Apoſtles would not haue left the ordinaunce therof vntouched.

16. Unto the true dominion ſecular, is required vertuous life of him that ruleth.

17. All thinges that happen, doe come abſolutely of neceſſity.

18. whatſoeuer the Pope or his Cardinalles can deduce clearely out of the Scripture: that only is to be beleued, or to be done at their monitiō: & whatſoeuer otherwiſe they do commaund is to be condemned as hereticall.

Beſides this w. woodford afore mentioned, diuers other there were which wrote agaynſt theſe articles of wicliffe aforeſay, maynteyning the Popes part, as ſeemeth for flatterye, rather then following any iuſt cauſe ſo to doe, or ſhewing forth any reaſon or learning in diſprouing the ſame. Notwithſtanding, on the contrary part ſome there were againe both learned and godly, which taking ẏ part of wickliffe, without all flattery, defended the moſt of the ſayd articles, openly in ſcholes and other places, as appeareth by the works of John Hus: who in his publicke determinations in the vniuerſity of Prage, ſtoode in defence of the ſame agaynſt all his aduerſaryes. As partly is here to be ſeene in theſe tractations vnder folowing.

Tractatus frat. W. Wodford contra trialogū Wickleui.

¶ THE PVBLICK DEFENCE of certayne Articles of Iohn Wickliffe, in the firſt Act before the whole Vniuerſity of Prage, in Charles Colledge

¶ *The determination of I. Hus vpon the xiiij. Article of Wickliffe as touching the preaching and hearing of the word of God, made in the yeare of our Lord. 1412.*

For ſo much as to condemne the trueth wittingly or without reaſonable examination doth tende to greate daunger of ſaluation, as the Lord ſayth. Luke the ſixt, doe ye not condemne, and ye ſhall not be condemned: Therefore to auoyd this great dāger, the Uniuerſity of Prage, and the whole communalty there of the Rector Maſters, Doctors, Bachelers and Studentes, in theyr generall aſſembly, not agreeing to the condemnation pronounced by the Doctors in theyr councell houſe, requireth of the ſayde Doctors a reaſonable proofe of theyr condemnation, and that they ſhould by ſcripture, authority or infallible reaſō proue the falſehead of euery thoſe fiue and forty Articles. The which being once done, the ſayd Uniuerſity will agree to the ſayd condemnation as iuſt: For the Uniuerſity doth well know, that as Auguſtine ſayth, in the end of his ſecond booke of Chriſtian doctrine: That what ſo euer a man doth learne beſides the holy ſcriptures, if it be hurtfull, there it is condemned: If it be profitable, there it is founde. And when a man hath founde all thinges therein which he hath profitably learned els where, he ſhall much more aboundantly finde thoſe thinges which are found in no place els, but are learned in the maruelous deapth, and maruellous profoundneſſe of thoſe moſt ſacred Scriptures onely.

The whole Vniuerſitie is againſt the iudgement of the doctours which condemned the 45. articles.

Auguſt. lib. de doct. chri. lib. 2.

Thus writeth Auguſtine: And Gregory in his three & twenty booke of Moralles, ſayth thus, God in the holye ſcripture hath comprehended whatſoeuer thing may happen vnto any man, and in the ſame hath, by the examples of thoſe which are gone afore, taught them which are to come, how to reforme theyr liues. whereby it appeareth that if euery of the fiue and forty Articles conteyneth in it wholly the thing that is falſe and vntruth, the ſame is either playnelye or darckly condemned in the holye Scriptures.

Grego. moral. lib. 23.

Secondly it followeth by the ſentence and minde of this holy man that if the condemation of the fiue and forty Articles be profitable, the ſame is founde in the holy ſcriptures. And where as agayne Saynt Auguſtine writeth vnto Saynt Hierome in his eight Epiſtle and the ninth Diſtinction. I (ſayth he) haue learned to attribute this honor and reuerence vnto thoſe writers onely which are called Canonicall, that I dare affirme none of them to haue erred in theyr workes or writinges. As for all other writers I doe ſo read them that although they abound wyth neuer ſo much holyneſſe, or excell in doctrine, I do not by and by thinke it true becauſe they themſelues do ſo iudge:

but if they can by other Canonicall Authors or probable reaſons perſwade or proue that they doe not degreſſe frõ the trueth.

Alſo the ſayd Auguſtine in his booke De vnico Baptiſmo Lib. 2. ſayeth thus: who doeth not knowe or vnderſtande that the holy canonicall ſcripture to be contayned in hys owne bondes and limittes, and the ſame to be preferred before all other letters and decrees of Biſhops. &c. And a litle after he hath the like ſaying: as for the letters of other Biſhops, which haue bene written or be written (after the Canon being confirmed) they may lawfully be reprehended and reproued both by the word of them that be more ſkilfull in that matter, and alſo by the auncient authority of other Biſhops, or by the prudẽce and wiſedome of ſuch as be better learned, or more expert, or els by generall cõſels if it ſo chaunce that they in any poynt haue erred and gone a ſtray from the ſincere truth.

By theſe ſayings of S. Auſten and other like. &c. The Uniuerſity of Prage hath concluded and determined that they will not receiue the condemnation of the fiue and forty Articles made by the Doctors in their councel houſe as iuſt and true, except they which condemned them, will proue theyr condemnation by the holy Scriptures and probable reaſons vpõ euery of the fiue and forty Articles.

Wherefore for the dew examination of the foreſayd cõdemnation, whether it be effectuall or no, we will at thys preſent take in hand the fouretenth Article of the number of the fiue and forty, which Article is this.

The 14. article of I. Wickliffe.

They which leaue of preaching and hearing of ỹ word of God for feare of excommudication of men, are alreadye excommunicate, and in the day of iudgement ſhalbe counted the betrayers of Chriſt.

The defēce of this 14. Article.

This Article conteineth firſt that all prieſts omitting the preaching of the word of God for feare of the excommunication of men they are already excommunicate.

Secondly, it conteineth that all ſuch as doe omitte the hearing of the word of God, for feare of excommunicatiõ, are already excommunicated.

Thirdlye that both theſe ſortes of men in the daye of iudgement ſhalbe counted traitors of Chriſt.

The preaching of the Goſpel cõmaunded of God.

As concerning the firſt poynt, it is preſuppoſed that the preaching of the word of God, is commaunded vnto the Apoſtles and theyr followers, as it appeareth in Mathew the tenth, where it is ſayd. Ieſus ſent his xij. Diſciples, commaunding them and ſaying goe and preach, that the kingdome of heauen is at hand. Alſo in the laſt of Mathew, and the tenth of Luke. Whereupon, Peter the Apoſtle of Chriſt, acknowledging this precept and commaundement for himſelfe and for the other Apoſtles and ſucceſſors in the 10. of the Actes, ſayth thus, he commaunded vs to preach and to teſtifye, that it is he which is ordayned of God the iudge both of the quicke and the dead. This commaundement alſo, the other Apoſtles did acknowledge, & ſpecially the choſen veſſell pronouncing vnder a great threatning in the firſt Corinthians 9. chap. wo be vnto me if I do not preach the Goſpell. And Pope Nicholas conſidering that great threatning in 43. Diſtinction, ſayeth: the diſpenſation and diſtribution of the heauenly ſeade is commaunded and enioyned vnto vs. Woe be vnto vs, if we doe not ſow it abroode or if we hold our peace. Whiche thing when as the veſſell of election did feare and cry out vpon, how much more ought all other inferiours to feare and dread the ſame. To the ſame purpoſe doth S. Gregory write in his paſtorall in the diſtinction. Sit rector. It is alſo euident by many other doctours and holy men as by S. Auguſtine, Hierome, Iſidore, Bernard, whoſe wordes it were here to long to rehearſe.

Gregorius. Diſt. 44. cap. Sit rector.

The hearing of the word commaunded by God

As touching the ſecond poynt that the hearing of the word and law of God, is commaunded vnto the people it is euident both by the olde and new law, for it is ſayd in the 28. of the Prouerbes, he that turneth away his eare & will not heare the law of God, his prayer ſhall be curſed. And our Sauior rebuking the Scribes and Phareſyes concludeth thus in the 8. of S. Iohn ſaying, he that is of God heareth Gods word: But forſomuch as you are not of God therfore you heare not his word.

Excommunication.

Thirdly it is to be noted that excommunication is a ſeperation from the Communion, the 11. Queſtion 3. Nihil & cap Canonica. And 17. queſtion, firſt, Viduas. 34. Queſtion 3. Cum ſacerdos. And this excommunication is double that is to ſay, either ſecret or manifeſt. The ſecret excommunication is, whereby a man is ſeperated from the miſticall body of Chriſt, and ſo from God through ſinne according vnto the 59. Pſalme. Your iniquities haue made ſeperation betwene your God and you. And with this excommunicatiõ doth the Apoſtle excommunicate euery man which doth not loue the Lorde Ieſu Chriſt. Saying in the firſt Corinth, and the laſt Chapter. If any man do not loue the Lord Ieſu Chriſt, let him be accurſed. The manifeſt and apert excommunication may be deuided into a manifeſt excommunication by God: whereof it is ſpoken. Math. 25. go ye curſed. &c. And often times els in the lawe of God. Alſo into a manifeſt excommunication by men, whereby the Prelate doth either iuſtly or vniuſtly caſt out any man from the participation of the Communion of the Church. Whereof this ſhall ſuffiſe at this preſent.

Excommunication double.

Then as touching the firſt part of the article, it is thus argued. &c.

The probation of the firſt part.

Whoſoeuer forſaketh or leaueth the commaundemẽts of God vndone, they are excommunicate of God. But the Prieſtes which leaue of the preaching of the word of God for feare of ỹ vniuſt excommunication of men do leaue the cõmaundement of God vndone. Ergo thoſe Prieſts which do leaue of preaching of the word of God are excommunicated of God.

The firſt part of this Article is true: The maior appeereth by the Pſalme. Curſed be they which doe decline and ſwarue from thy preceptes. The Minor is euident by the firſt propoſition which proueth that the preaching of the word of God, is the commaundement of God enioyned vnto thoſe Prieſtes and miniſters: whereupon the ſaying of our Sauior, Mathew 15. is ſpoken vnto them. Wherefore do you tranſgreſſe the commaundements of God for your owne traditiõs, preaching the word of God for feare of vniuſt excommunication and ſo diſhonouring the Father Chriſt and the mother the holy Church.

It is thus confirmed all they which do omit or let ſlip any maner of worke, principally and ſtraightly enioyned them of the Lord Ieſu Chriſt, vnder the cloake and coulor of grace for feare of any excommunication of men, they are already excommunicate. But Prieſtes and ſpecially Curates admoniſhed by the ſpirit of God, leauing of the preaching of the word of God for feare of the excommunication of men, they omit and leaue of for feare of the ſame excommunication a work principally and ſtraitly enioyned vnto them of the Lord Ieſus Chriſt, vnder the cloake and coulor of grace: Ergo, Prieſtes and ſpecially Curates and ſuch as be admoniſhed and warned by the ſpirite of God, omitting the preaching of the word of God for feare of excommunication, are excommunicate. The conſequence is well knowen. The Maior appeareth by the Pſalme, Curſed be they which do decline and goe away from the commaundements. The Minor is alſo euident, agayne by the firſt ſuppoſition.

The Apoſtles did not obey no wicked inhibition.

Item, if the apoſtles of Chriſt had left of the preaching of the word of God for feare of the excommunication of men which the Lord did foreſhewe vnto them in the 16. of S. Iohn, ſaying. They ſhall excommunicate you out of their Sinagoges. They had bene excommunicated of God. Ergo, by like euidence the Prieſtes and Miniſters of Chriſt, being inſpired with the ſame ſpirite to preach and declare the word of God, if they leaue it vndone for feare of the excommunication of men: They are alreadye excommunicate. The conſequent dependeth vpon a ſimilitude. And the Antecedent is euident, for if the Apoſtles had left of preaching for feare of excommunication, they had broken the commaundements of God. And conſequently had bene accurſed. Wherefore they willing to obſerue and keepe the commaundementes of God, and to put of the excommunication of men, ſayde vnto the hye Prieſtes, Elders and Scribes at Ieruſalem, to Annas, Cayphas, to Iohn and Alexander, and al other of the kindred of the Prieſts which were gathered together and commaunded them that they ſhould not preache nor teach in the name of Ieſu: If it be iuſt in the ſight of God, that we ſhoulde rather obey you then God, that iudge you? Acts 4. and in the 5. of the Acts, they ſayde vnto them: we ought rather to obey God then man. By this ſaying of the Holy Ghoſt, it is concluded that the Prieſtes and miniſters o Chriſt, inſpired by the holy Ghoſt to preach the word of God, ought rather obey the holy Ghoſt then thoſe which ſhall prohibite and commaund them to the contrary, and to ſuffer the excommunication of men patiently. Whereupon P. Anacletus ſpake very well in this, as it is writte diſtinction 43. We know (ſayth he) that many doe goe about to moleſt and trouble the Doctors and Teachers to this end that they might vtterly deſtroy them, and fulfull theyr owne proper luſtes & deſires: yet notwithſtanding the ſaid Doctors as much as in them lyeth ought not to depart or goe backe from theyr good doinges and intent, knowing aſſuredly that bleſſed are they which ſuffer perſecution for righteouſneſſe ſake. Thus much writeth he: And the reuered Bede (vpon theſe words: Ye ſhall finde an Aſſe tyed vp, and an he fole with her, loſe her and bring her vnto mee, & if any man ſay any

Anacletus. Diſt. xliij.

thing vnto you, ſay ye that the Lord hath need of them) writeth thus. Here it is miſtically commaunded vnto the Doctors and Teachers, that if any aduerſity do let or hinder, or any man doe prohibite or ſtop, that ſinners cannot be loſed from theyr bondes or ſnares, and be brought vnto the Lord, by the confeſſiõ of theyr fayth that they notwithſtanding ſhoulde not leaue of preaching but conſtantly & boldly affirme and ſay that the Lord hath need of ſuch, to edify & build agayne his Church. For ſo did the Apoſtles: ſo likewiſe ought all the humble and meeke Miniſters of Chriſt to do. And S. Hierome writing vnto Ruſticus the Biſhop of Narbone ſaith thus, Let no Biſhop frõ henceforth be puffed vp or enflamed with yͤ enuy of deuiliſh tẽptation, if the Prieſtes nowe and then do exhort and teache the people or preache openlye in the Churches, or as it is ſayd do bleſſe the people. For vnto him which ſhoulde deny vnto me the doing hereof, I would ſay in this maner: He that will not that Prieſtes ſhoulde doe thoſe thynges which they are commaunded by God, let him ſay that he is greater and aboue Chriſt, by the which wordes S. Hierome doth openly declare, that Prieſtes are commaunded to exhort and teach the people and to preach in the Churches. Secondly that a Biſhop denying or forbidding the ſame to be done, ſpecially the Prieſtes or Miniſters being apt men there vnto is extolled aboue Chriſt. And therfore conſequently is not to be obeyed or heard in his doinges.

Hieronymus ad Ruſticum.

If the pope be an heretike the godly Biſhops may preach againſt him.

Item, admit that the Pope be an Heretique and teach peruerſe and contrary doctrine vnto the holy ſcriptures, and that the Biſhop be a catholicke man vnto whom the Pope geueth in commaundement that he ſhall not ſuffer no man to preach contrary to his opinion. As it happened in Pope Leo and Saynt Hillary the Biſhop, adding this alſo that the Biſhop doe execute the Popes commaundement vnder payne of excommunication, this notwithſtãding if the Catholicke Prieſtes, learned in the law of God do leaue of preaching againſt the Popes heresies for feare of excommunication of men they are already excommunicate. The which thing is euident for ſo much as they are accurſed through the conſent of theyr ſcilence, as S. Iſidor ſayth 11. Queſtion. 1. He that doth conſent vnto ſinners or defendeth a ſinner, he ſhall be curſed both before God and man, and ſhalbe puniſhed with a moſt ſeuere rebuke, and in the 7. Queſtion. 4. Omnis, It is ſayde without he that doth neglect to amend that which he may correct committeth no leſſe fault then he which had before offended, for not onely they which do cõmit the offence, but alſo they which conſent thereunto, are iudged partakers thereof. In lyke caſe Prieſts which do not preach agaynſt the hereſy which the Pope teacheth, are dum dogges not able to open their mouthes or barcke agaynſt the woolfe which will kill the ſheep of Ieſus Chriſt: Ergo, how can it then be otherwiſe but they muſt needes be betrayers of the ſheepe of theyr owne ſhepheard.

Albeit the chief prieſts be adulterers yet ought the miniſters to preach againſt adultery.

Item, let it ſo be that the Biſhop with the chiefe Prelates be an aduouterer or otherwiſe an open offender and that he together with his Prelates doe commaund vnder payne of excommunicatiõ, that none be ſo hardy to preach agaynſt adultery, in ſuch a caſe they which do omitte theyr duety in preaching againſt adultery for feare of excommunication of men, are already excommunicated of God. Ergo the firſt part of the Article is true. The Antecedent is proued, for our ſauior in the 8. of Marke ſayth thus. He that acknowledgeth me and my wordes in this wicked and adulterous generation, the ſonne of man ſhall alſo acknowledge and confeſſe him when he ſhall come in the glorye of his Father with his Aungels. Therefore he that ſhall cõfeſſe Chriſt and theſe wordes of Chriſt Math. 5. you haue heard, that it was ſayd to them in olde time, thou ſhalt not commit adulterye: But I ſay vnto you, that euery one, which ſhall beholde a woman to luſt after her, he hath already committed adultery, with her in his heart: Hee I ſay that ſhall confeſſe theſe thinges, before an adoulterous Biſhop, with his chiefe Prelates, the which perchaunce are the wicked and adoulterous generation, the ſonne of man ſhall alſo acknowledge him, when he ſhall come in yͤ glory of his Father, and ſo conſequently is he bleſſed. Cõtrarywiſe he which for the feare of excõmunication of men will not confeſſe Chriſt and his words, before the ſinneful and adoulterous generation, is accurſed. The conſequent holdeth by the wordes of Chriſt. Luk. 9. He that is aſhamed of me and my wordes, him ſhall the ſonne of man be aſhamed of, when he ſhall come in his maieſty, and in the glory of his Father and his holy Aungels, pronouncing that which is ſpoken Math. 25. Verely, I ſay vnto you, I know you not, go you curſed into euerlaſting fire.

The example of Chriſt.

Alſo our Sauiour Ieſu Chriſt, did not omitt or leaue of the preaching of the kingdome of God, for any pretended excommunication of the Biſhops, Scribes and Phariſies: So likewiſe his true and humble Prieſtes, ought not to omit theyr preaching, for any pretenſed excommunication of men, the conſequent holdeth by the ſaying of Chriſt. Iohn. 15. be ye mindfull of the words which I haue ſpoken vnto you, the ſeruaunt is not greater then his maſter: If they haue perſecuted me, they will perſecute you alſo. The Antecedent is apparant by the ſaying of Saynt Iohn in his 9. chapter. Euen now the Iewes had conſpired, that whoſoeuer did confeſſe him to be Chriſt, ſhoulde be excommunicate. And likewiſe Iohn. 7. whether did any of the Princes or rulers, or any of the Phareſeis beleue in him. But this people which knoweth not the law are accurſed.

The obedience of chriſtian prieſts towarde their Prelates,

Alſo the humble and iuſt miniſters of God, ought not vnder payne of ſinne to ceaſe from the fruitfull preaching of the law of God for any vniuſt excommunicatiõ, or vnlawfull commaundement, and it is proued thus: the humble and iuſt miniſters of Chriſt, ought to obey theyr Prelates, in ſuch thinges as are not contrary to God: as all the holy Doctors, and ſuch as are learned in the Lawe of God, do wholy with one conſent affirme. And forſomuch, as an vniuſt excommunication, and vnlawfull commaũdement, are agaynſt God, therefore the iuſt and true miniſters of God, ought not to obey ſuch vnlawfull excommunication, and commaundements, and conſequently ought not to ceaſe for them, from the fruitefull preaching of the Goſpell of our Lord Ieſu Chriſt. But ought boldely and gladly to preach the ſame. For ſo muche, as the Lord doth comfort them in the 5. of Mathew, ſaying thus, bleſſed and happye are ye, when as men doe curſe you, and perſecute you, and ſpeake all kinde of euill againſt you, making lies and ſlaunders vpon you, for my ſake, reioyce and be glad, for great is your reward in heauen.

The power of preaching to edification ought not to ceaſe,

Alſo euery Miniſter hauing power geuen him from aboue, to preach the Goſpell, he hath the ſame geuen vnto him for the edefying of the Church, and not for the deſtruction of the ſame.

As the Apoſtle ſaith 2. Corinth. 10. But euery one, leauing of the preaching of the Goſpell, for feare of any pretenſed excommunication of men, he ſhoulde fruſtrate the power geuẽ him, for the edefying of the Church. And therfore in ſo doing ſhould ſinne agaynſt God and his church: And conſequently ought rather to chuſe, not to ceaſe from preaching, for feare of any ſuch excommunicatiõ, leaſt that he be excommunicate of our Lord Ieſu Chriſt.

The preaching of the Goſpell is not to bee left of for al the popes prohibition.

Item, ſet caſe that the Pope doth commaũd that there ſhall be no preachinge in any place, then the Miniſters of Chriſt, leauing of theyr preaching, for feare of the Popes curſe, are already excommunicated of God. It is euident, for ſo much as they haue neglected the commaundement of God for the commaundement of men. And this caſe is poſſible: For by what reaſon the Pope may commaunde vnder payne of excõmunication that there ſhalbe no preaching in any place, neither in the pariſh Churches, by the ſame reaſon, he may command that no man ſhould preach in any place.

The firſt part is euident by the prohibition of Pope Alexander, who in his bull, did prohibite to preach yͤ word of God, vnto the people in Chappels, although the ſayde Chappels were confirmed by the priuiledge of the Sea apoſtolicke. The which Bull, the Lord Subincon Archbyſhop of Prage, with his Canons, obteyned. By theſe aforeſayd, the firſt part of the Article is euidẽt, which is this that all Prieſtes omitting the preaching of the woorde of God, for feare of the excommunication of men, are already excommunicate.

The ſecond part of the article,

The ſeconde part of the Article is this, that all they which doe omitte, the hearing of the woorde of God, for feare of the excommunication of men are alreadye excommunicate.

And it is proued thus, all ſuch as neglect the cõmaundementes of God, are excommunicate. But they whiche neglect the hearing of the word of God, for the excommunication of men, are they which neglect the commaundementes of God. Therfore they which omit the hearing of the word of God for the excommunication of men are already excommunicate.

The Maior, is apparant by the 118. Pſalme. Curſed be they which decline from thy commaundementes. And the Minor is euident, by the ſecond ſuppoſition, which ſayth, that the hearing of the word of God is commaunded vnto the people.

Meanes neceſſary vnto ſaluation are not to be omitted.

This is confirmed, al ſuch as omit the neceſſary mean vnto ſaluation, are excommunicate: but ſuch as omitte the hearing of the woorde of God for the excommunication by men, be ſuch as do omit the neceſſary mean vnto ſaluation.

tion. Therefore, in ſo doing they are excommunicate: The conſequent is playne: The Maior is made euidēt by this: That all ſuche as do omit the neceſſary meane vnto ſaluation doe alſo neglect theyr ſaluation, and ſo are out of the way of ſaluation, and be excommunicated of God. The Minor appeareth hereby that to heare the word of God is the meane more neceſſary vnto ſaluation, as the apoſtle doth proue in his 10. chapter to the Romains. How ſayth he, ſhall they beleue on him, whō they neuer heard of? And how ſhal they heare without a preacher? And by & by after the Apoſtle inferreth vnto the purpoſe. That fayth commeth by hearing, and hearing by the word of God.

Item, what ſo euer is done contrary vnto conſcience, doth edefy vnto eternall damnation: As it is ſaid, as touching the reſtitutiō of the ſpoyled goods. Chap. Literas porro: But to omit the hearing of the word of God, for feare of excommunicatiō of men, is a thing which is done againſt conſcience. Therefore to omit the hearing of the worde of God for excōmunication, doth edefy vnto eternal damnatiō. And therfore cōſequētly ought not to be done, for feare of any excommunication: wherfore a woman being iudged vnto a man, whom ſhe knoweth to be within the degrees of cōſanguinity, which Gods law hath prohibited, ought not to obey that iudgement leaſt that ſhe offend againſt God: but meekly & patiently to ſuſtain yͤ excommunication, as it appereth in the chapter before alledged: So likewiſe all true chriſtians ought rather then to offend agaynſt God, meekly to ſuffer the excōmunication of men, thē to omit the hearing of the word of God. To this purpoſe alſo, ſerueth that which is ſpoken in the 11. queſt. 3. He that feareth the omnipotēt God, will not preſume by any meanes to do any thing contrary vnto the goſpell or apoſtles, either contrary vnto the Prophetes, or the inſtitutions of yͤ holy fathers. By theſe premiſes, the 2. part o. this article is manifeſt, that all ſuch as do omit, the hearing of the word of God, for feare of excommunication of men, they are already excommunicated.

A mā ought to doe nothing againſt his conſcience.

The obedience of chriſtian prieſts towarde their Prelates.

And forſomuch, as all chriſtians, being of lawfull age, not repenting at yͤ end, ſhalbe counted, in a maner as traitors of Chriſt, in the day of iudgement, becauſe that they were vnfaythfull ſeruauntes of Chriſt. Therefore they which through feare omit the preaching & hearing yͤ word of God, for the excommunication of men, ſhall be counted as trayers of Chriſt, and ſhall render account therof, vnto the Lord: whereupon Chriſoſtome, touching both thoſe ſorts in the 41, Homely, ſhewing how the Lord woulde haue ſome to be teachers, and other ſome to be diſciples: ſayth thus. For vnto thoſe which he would haue to be teachers, he ſpeaketh thus by his Prophet Eſay: Ye prieſtes, ſpeak in the harts of the people, for if yͤ prieſtes do not manifeſt all the truth vnto the people, they ſhall rēder accoūt therof at the day of iudgemēt. And likewiſe if the people do not learne the truth they ſhal alſo geue an account at yͤ day of iudgemēt. It is alſo made more euidēt by him, vpō the tenth of Mathew. Do not feare them which kill the body, leaſt that through the feare of death, you do not frely ſpeak that which you haue heard, neither boldly preach that vnto all mē, which you alone haue heard in your eares. So yͤ hereby alone it is euidēt, that not onely he is a betrayer of the truth, which tranſgreſſing the truth, doth openly ſpeak lyes in the ſtead of truth: But he alſo, which doth not freely pronounce or doth not freely defend the truth, which he ought boldly to defēd, is alſo a traytor vnto the truth. For like as the Prieſt is a debter to preach the truth which he hath heard of the Lord: enē ſo the lay man is bound to defend the truth, which he hath heard of the miniſter approued by the ſcriptures, which if he do not, then is he a traytor vnto the truth. For ſtedfaſt beliefe, with the hart preuayleth vnto righteouſnes, the confeſſion which is made with the mouth, helpeth vnto ſaluation. Thus much writeth Chriſoſtome; who together with the people meekely bearing the excommunication of the Biſhops freely preached truth, and the people heard him, and ſo by hys word and his workes he freely taught the truth, leaſt he ſhould be a Traytor vnto the truth, & conſequently be counted as a Traytour vnto our Lord Ieſu Chriſt, in the day of iudgement. And thus the third part of the Article aforeſayde, is manifeſt.

The profes of the third parte,

The power of preaching to edification ought not to ceaſe.

Chriſoſtom in his xli. Homely.

The preaching of the Goſpell is not to bee left of for al the popes prohibition.

Chriſoſtom although he was excommunicate yet he did preach.

The ſecond part of the article.

¶ The defenſion of the xv. Article of Iohn Wickliffe by Iohn Huſſe.

The xv. article of Wicliffe.

It is lawfull for any Deacon or Prieſt, to preach the worde of God without the authority of the Apoſtolicke Sea, or of his Catholickes.

Meanes neceſſary vnto ſaluation are not to be omitted.

Firſt I vnderſtand here, by the authority of the Apoſtolicke Sea, properly his ſpeciall conſent, authoriſing. And likewiſe I vnderſtand by authority of the Biſhop, a ſpeciall conſent of the Biſhop, authoriſing the ſayde Deacon or Prieſt to preach.

The confirmation of the article

Now as touching the truth of this Article, I thus argue, like as after matrimony once complete, the man and wife may lawfully without any ſpeciall licēce of the Pope or Biſhop, procreate carnall children: So likewiſe Deacons or Prieſtes by the motion of God through the Goſpell of Ieſu Chriſt may lawfully without any ſpeciall licence either of the Pope or Biſhoppe generate ſpirituall children. Ergo, this Article is true and the antecedent is thus proued. For as it is an acceptable worke vnto God for man and wife without the ſpeciall licence of the Pope or Biſhop to generate carnall children, ſo it is acceptable vnto him, that Deacons or Prieſts by the motion of God through the Goſpel of Ieſu Chriſt, ſhould lawfully generate ſpirituall children without the ſpeciall licence of the Pope or of any other Byſhop, Ergo, the aſſumptio is true.

Euery man being lawfully called of the church ought to preach the word of God without the Popes lycence.

But if any man wil deny this ſimilitude, let him ſhew the diuerſitye. Yea ſeing it is worſe not to receiue, or to choake the ſeed of Gods word, then the carnall ſeed: So contrarywiſe, is it better to receiue and ſow abroad that ſeed of the word of God whereby children might be rayſed vp vnto God, then to receiue or geue ſuch ſeede, whereby carnall children may be gotten. whereupon our Sauiour in the 10. of Mathew ſayth thus: whoſoeuer doth not receiue you, neither heareth your wordes, wype of the duſte from your feete, verelye I ſay vnto you that in the daye of iudgement, it ſhalbe more better vnto the Lande of Sodome and Gomer then to that City.

Alſo a Deacon or Prieſt being ſturred by the ſpirite of Ieſus Chriſt may preache the word of God without the ſpeciall licence of the Pope or Biſhop. Ergo, it is lawful for him ſo to do. The conſequent is thus manifeſt, for ſo much as the ſpirite of God mooning the Deacon or Prieſt vnto the preaching of the Goſpell, is of greater force then anye prohibition of Pope or Biſhop inuented by man: Ergo, according vnto the rule of the Apoſtles they ought infallibly to be obediēt vnto the ſpirit of Chriſt which doth ſo moue them therunto, and rather to obey God then man. Actes. 5. Alſo by like reaſon as Heldad and Medad vpon whom the ſpirit of God did reſt, did lawfully prophecy without requiring any licence at Moyſes handes, as it is written. Numery. 11. by the ſame reaſon may the meeck miniſter of Chriſt, vpon whom the ſpirite of God doth reſt, without the requiring any licence, either of the Pope or Biſhoppe, may lawfully preache the worde of God vnto the people. And would to God in this behalfe all Prelats had the ſpirite of Moyſes, for it is ſayd: Numeri. 11. That when as Heldad and Medad were prophecying in the tentes, a childe ranne vnto Moiſes and tolde him, ſaying, Heldad and Medad do prophecye in the Tentes, and by and by Ioſue the ſonne of Nunne the ſeruaunt of Moyſes which he had choſen out amongſt many, (ſayd) my maiſter Moiſes forbid them, and he ſayd, why enuieſt thou for my ſake, would God that all the people could prophecy, and that the Lord would geue them his ſpirite. O woulde to God the Pope and Biſhops had the affection which this holye man the frend of God had. Then would he not prohibite the meeke Deacons and Miniſters of Ieſus Chriſt, to preach the Goſpell of Ieſus Chriſt. The like affection had the bleſſed man Gregory which in his 22. booke of Morals writeth vpon theſe wordes of Iob. And I haue afflicted the ſoule of his huſbandmen, he ſayth thus, the huſbandmen of this earth are theſe, which being ſet in ſmall authority, with as feruent deſire as they can, and with as great labor as they may, doe worke by the preaching, of grace to the erudition of the holy Churche, the which huſband men of this world not to afflict, is not to enuy their labors and doinges: neither ought the ruler of the Church, albeit he doe chalenge vnto himſelfe alone the title of preaching, through enuy gaineſay others which do preach truely and vprightly. For the godly mind of the paſture which ſeketh not his owne glory amongeſt men, deſireth to be holpen, the which thing alſo the faythfull preacher doth wiſh, if it might by any meanes, be brought to paſſe, that the trueth which he alone cā not ſufficiētly expreſſe, all mēs mouthes might declare.

God graunt that al the people may prophecye.

wherefore when as Ioſue woulde haue reſiſted the 2. which were prophecying in the hoſt, why doeſt thou enuy (ſayd he) for my ſake, for he did not enuy that good in other which he himſelfe had, this writeth S. Gregory.

Alſo the meeke miniſters of Chriſt haue by a ſpeciall gift of God, knowledge and minde to preach the Goſpell, but neither is it lawfull for the Pope or Biſhop or any other

The courſe of the worde of God ought not to be ſtopped.

ther man to let or hinder them, leaſt thereby they ſhould let the word of God, that it haue not his free courſe. Ergo, this article is true, for the king doth not ſo much rule ouer the goods of his ſubiects, no not of his owne ſonnes, but yͤ they may geue almes to whom they will: much more the biſhop hath not ſo great authority ouer the knowledge of the meeke miniſter, with his other giftes of God, but that he may frely vnder the title of ſpirituall almes freely preach the goſpell vnto the people. Ergo, foraſmuch it ſhould ſeme ſtraunge that a Biſhop ſhould forbid any man to geue any corporall almes to the poore that are a hũgred, much more ſtraũge and maruelous would it be, if that he ſhould prohibite the ſpirituall miniſter of Chriſt to geue ſpirituall almes, by the preaching of the goſpell of the word of God.

Item no catholicke man ought to doubt, but that a man able for the purpoſe is more bounde to teache them which are ignoraunt, to councell & comfort the weake in ſpirit, to correct ſuch as are vnruly, to forgeue thoſe that do thẽ wrong, thẽ to do any other work of mercy, forſomuch then as he that hath ſufficient, is bound vnder paine of dãnation to geue corporall almes as it appeareth Math. 25. much more he which is able, is bound to doe ſpirituall almes. And this alms S. Barnard writing vnto Eugenius in his 3. book perceiued to be very neceſſary for the Biſhop of Rome, where as he ſaid thus: I feare no greater poyſõ, nor greater ſword or miſchiefe will happen vnto thee, thẽ this vnſatiable deſire of dominion. With what face then cã the faythfull miniſter withdraw or keepe back, the ſpirituall almes from the Pope and any other, euen without the ſpeciall licence of the Pope or of the Biſhop, which licence through the far diſtance from the Pope, the miniſters can not ſo eaſily obtaine or come by: For all prohibition of anye Prelate beeing broken through neceſſitye is not to be blamed. 11. Queſt. 3. Interceſſor, and alſo in the chapter folowing.

Bernarde.

Item, all authoritye of preaching geuen vnto deacons and Prieſtes in theyr conſecration were but vayne, except that in caſe of neceſſitye without any ſpeciall licence they might preach the goſpell. It is euident, forſomuch as it is not lawfull for them to vſe that authority, by their aduerſary without a ſpeciall licẽce. Ergo, it is geuẽ them in vain. The conſequent is euident by the common ſaying of the Philoſopher, that power is but vayne, wherof proceedeth no vſe of action. But forſomuch as this Article doth as it were depend vpon the article before paſſed, therefore this ſhall ſuffice, ſpoken therof at this preſent.

Obiection.

But agaynſt the affirmations of both theſe Articles, this is obiected, out of the 16. queſt. 1. All faythfull people, and ſpecially all prieſts deacons and all others of the clergy, ought to take heede that they doe nothing without the licence of theyr biſhop. It is alſo obiected out of the 5. book of Decretals, Titulo de hereticis cap. cũ ex iniuncto. Where it is no man ought to vſurp to himſelf, indifferẽtly the office of preaching, forſomuch as the Apoſtle ſayth, how ſhall they preach except they be ſent. Where as alſo Innocentius doth declare, that it is not ſufficiẽt for a man to ſay, that he is ſent of God to preach except he do ſhew the ſame. As touching the firſt poynt, the Gloſe doth ſufficiently aunſwere vpon this word without licence, that is to be expounded, ſayth he, without generall licence: the which is obtayned and geuen, when as a biſhop doth appoynt any prieſt to gouern the people. For therby (ſayth he) it ſemeth a biſhop is thought to geue him generall power to miniſter vnto the people and to rule the church. Thus much in the gloſe. And to the ſame end and purpoſe it is ſayd in the 7. queſt. 1. chap. Epiſcopi Biſhops or Prieſtes, if they come vnto the church of an other Biſhop, for to viſite the ſame, as it is ſaid, gloſe. 1. in honore ſuo. Let them be receiued in their degree, and deſired as well to preach the word, as to do any other conſecration or oblation. Secondly it is to be noted, yͭ which is very wel ſpoken in yͤ ſame place, no man ought to vſurpe vnto himſelfe the office of preaching, as a thing indifferent. For to vſurpe, is vnlawfully to vſe any thing: ergo, the ſame deacon or prieſt, doth then vſurpe the office of preaching as indifferẽtly, who liuing viciouſly, cõtrary vnto the law of Chriſt, or being ignorant of the law of God, doth preach either for gayne, or couetouſnes of lyuing, either for his belly or dainty life, or for any vaynglory, but he whiche doth liue according vnto the lawes of Chriſt, & being moued with the affection of ſincere charity intending purely the honor of God and the ſaluatiõ of him ſelfe & his neighbors, doth preach no lyes nor vayne ieſts or other things not authoriſed, but only the law of Chriſt, & the minds of yͤ holy doctors. And he that doth ſo preach, neceſſity occationing or mouing him therunto, in caſe there be no Pope or Biſhop, or in caſe poſſible to withſtand the preaching of hereticks, or falſe preachers, he in ſo doing doth not vſurpe the office of preaching, and in ſuche caſe there is no doubt but he is ſent of God, and this doth alſo anſwere vnto that, which is conſequently ſayd, that if any man will peraduẽture craftely anſwere, that ſuch preachers are inuiſibly ſẽt of God, although not viſibly of mẽ, when as that inuiſible ſẽding of God is much more better thẽ the viſible ſending of men: A man may reaſonably anſwere therunto, that forſomuch as that internall ſẽding is ſecret, it is not ſufficient for a man onely to ſay that he is ſent of God, forſomuch as euery hereticke may ſo ſay, but he ought to proue the ſame his inuiſible calling, by yͤ working of ſome miracle, or by ſome ſpeciall teſtimony of the ſcripture.

The anſweres to the obiection.

What it is falſly to vſurpe the office of a preacher.

Who is a true miniſter of the church.

Foure kynds of ſending or calling.

Here it is to be noted, according to S. Auguſtine in his 65. booke of queſt. vnto Oroſius, that there is 4. kindes of ſending. The firſt is from God onely, whereof we read in Moiſes & other, which were inſpired by God. And this kinde of ſending, loſeth from the daunger of the ſtatute: ſo that he whom the ſpirit of God hath enſpired, this prelate geuing thankes, may proceed vnto a better life. Wherupõ Pope Vrbane ſayd 19. queſt. 2. There be (ſayd he) 2. lawes yͤ one publick the other priuate. The publick law is that which is confirmed in writing by yͤ holy fathers, ſuch as is the canon law: which is only geuen for tranſgreſſions: As for example, it is decreed in the canons, that none of yͤ clergy ſhall go frõ one biſhoprick vnto an other, without yͤ letters commendatory of his biſhop, the which was ordeined onely for offẽders, that no infamed perſons ſhould be receiued of any biſhop. For they were wont when they could not celebrate or do their office vnder their owne Biſhopricke, to go vnto another: which now is forbidden by the lawes and precepts. The priuate law is that which by yͤ inſtruction of the holy Ghoſt, is written in yͤ hart as the Apoſtle ſpeaketh, of many, which haue yͤ law of God, written in their hartes. And in an other place: For ſomuch as the Gentiles haue not the law of God, but naturally doe thoſe thinges, which are of the law, they are lawes vnto thẽſelues. And afterward he ſayth, yͤ priuate law is much more worthy, then the publicke law. For the ſpirit of god, is a law: And they which are moued by the ſpirit of God, are led by the law of God: And who is he, that can worthely reſiſt agaynſt the holy Ghoſt? Whoſoeuer therfore is led by the ſpirit of God, albeit his biſhop do ſay him nay, let him go freely by our authority, for yͤ law is not appointed for the iuſt man, for where as the ſpirit of God is, there is liberty, and if ye be led by the ſpirite of God, ye are not vnder the law.

The cõmon lawe.

The priuate lawe.

Priuate law that is the ſecrete and inward working of gods ſpirite in the heart.

The words of pope Vrbane.

Beholde here it is affirmed, that the ſending by God, through inſpiration, is not bound vnder yͤ bondage of the law, for that law is more worthye then the publicke law. Secondly that the law is made for tranſgreſſors & offenders, and not for the iuſt. Thirdly, that whoſoeuer is ledd by the ſpirite of God, although his Biſhop ſtand agaynſt him, he may proceed vnto a better life. Wherby it is euidẽt that a deacon or prieſt, diſpoſed to preach, and being led by the ſpirit of God, he may freely preach the goſpell of chriſt without the ſpiritual licence of his biſhop. It is euidẽt forſomuch as it is good, that a deacon or prieſt, do liue well & preach fruitfully. Ergo, he may procede from idlenes vnto the labor & office of preaching, and ſo vnto a better life.

But where as it is ſayde afore, that for ſo much as the inward ſending or calling is ſecret, therfore it is not ſufficient for a man, barely to affirme onely, yͭ he is ſent of god, when as euery heretick may ſo ſay, but it is neceſſary, that he do confirme & proue his inuiſible ſending, by the working of ſome miracle, or by ſome ſpeciall teſtimony of yͤ ſcripture. Here is to be noted, that there are 2. kindes of preachers, ſome true preachers of our ſauior Chriſt, & other ſeducers of Antechriſt. The firſt ſort following the mayſter Chriſt, teach the people in truth: The other ſort, being of a corrupt minde, and reprobate touching faith, reſiſt againſt yͤ verity. And through couetouſnes, by their fained words do make marchandiſe of the people: And theſe mẽ do geue & ſhal geue miracles, as our ſauior ſaith, Math. 24. There ſhall ariſe falſe Chriſts, and falſe prophets, the which ſhall ſhew great ſignes and wonders, in ſo much that euen the elect thẽſelues, if it were by any meanes poſſible, ſhoulde be brought into error. And the apoſtle in the 2. to the Theſ. 2. as touching their head Antechriſt, writeth thus, whoſe comming ſhalbe according to yͤ operation of ſathan with al power and ſignes, falſe miracles, ſeducing vnto iniquity, thoſe which do periſh, becauſe they haue not receiued yͤ charity and loue of truth, that they might be ſaued: Therfore will the Lord ſend vpon them the operation of error, that they ſhall geue credit vnto lies. That all ſuch as haue not beleued the truth, but conſent vnto wickednes, ſhould be iudged: Behold, how expreſſely our Sauior by himſelf,

Euery man may pretẽd to be ſent of God, immediately.

Two kinde of preachers

Of the ſignes and wonders of Antichriſt.

Why true miracles ſhall ceaſe vnder Antechriſt.

and by his Apoſtle doth teach vs, how the diſciples of Antechriſt, with theyr head, ſhould ſhine through their great ſignes and wōders: But the true diſciples of Chriſt, ſhall not ſo do, in the time of Antechriſt. For as S. Iſidor ſayth in his firſt booke, 22. De ſummo bono: Before that Antechriſt ſhall appeare, all vertues and ſignes ſhall ceaſe from the Church, that he may the boldlier perſecute the ſame, as an abiect. For this profit, ſhall all miracles and ſignes ceaſe, vnder Antechriſt, that thereby the patience of the holy mē might be known, and the lightnes of the reprobate, which are offēded, may be opened, & alſo that the cruelty of ẏ perſecuters ſhuld be made more ſcarce. Thus writeth S. Iſidor, & S. Gregory in his 24. booke of Morals, ſayth: For why by a terrible examination of Gods ſecret diſpēſatiō, ſhall all ſignes of vertue, or power be takē away from the holy church, before that the Leuiathan appeare, in ẏ moſt wicked and damnable man, whoſe ſhape, he doth take vpon him. For prophecy is hidden, the gift of healing is takē away, the vertue of lōg abſtinēce, is deminiſhed, ẏ words of doctrine is put to ſilence, and the wonderfull workes of miracles are extinguiſhed, which things, nothing can vtterly take away: but onely the diſpenſation of God. But this diſpēſatiō, is not ſo openly & manifoldly declared, as it hath bene in times paſt, the which alſo is done by a maruelous diſpenſation, that through one onely thing, both Gods loue & iuſtice ſhould be fulfilled. For a while ẏ power of miracles, being taken away, the holy church appereth the more abiect and forſaken, and the reward of good men doth ceaſe, which reuerēced the ſame for the hope of heauēly riches, & not for any preſent ſignes: And that the minds of euill men agaynſt the ſame, might ẏ ſooner be knowne, which neglect to folow ẏ inuiſible thinges, which ẏ church doth promiſe, whiles they be led with viſible ſignes.

Iob. xxiiij.

The diſcription of Antichriſt out of S. Gregory.

Forſo much then, as the humility of the faithfull is, as it were deſtitute of the multitude, and appering of ſignes, by the terrible working of Gods ſecret diſpenſation, wherby mercy is geuē vnto the good and iuſt, wrath heaped vpō the euill. For ſo much then it is truely ſaid, that before this Liuiathan, ſhall playnely and manifeſtly come, pouerty ſhall go before his face, for before that time, ẏ riches of miracles ſhalbe taken away from the faythfull. Then ſhall that auncient enemy, ſhew himſelfe agaynſt them, by open wonders: That as he is extolled through ſignes & wonders, ſo ſhall he the more manly be vanquiſhed of ẏ faythfull, without any ſignes or miracles. Alſo, in his 16. booke vpon this word, which the bleſſed man Iob ſayde, who ſhall reprehend his way before him, or who ſhall caſt in his teeth, what he hath done, whileſt he did ſpeake of the body of all euill, he ſodenly conuerted his ſpeach vnto the head of all the wicked, for he did ſee, that toward the end of the world Sathan ſhould enter into man whom the ſcripture calleth Antechriſt, he ſhalbe extolled with ſuch pride, he ſhall rule with ſuch power, he ſhal be exalted with ſuch ſignes, & wonders, vnder the pretence of holines, that his doing can not be cōtrolled of mē, for ſomuch, as his ſignes & tokens are ioined with power, & terror, & with a certain ſhew of holynes. wherfore he ſaith who ſhall controll his wayes before him, what man is he, that dare once rebuke or check him, whoſe looke or countenaunce, is he afeard of? But notwithſtanding, not onely Enoc & Elias the which are brought as ample for his exprobation, but alſo all the elect do argue & reproue his way, whiles that they do contemne and by the force and power of their minde, reſiſt his malice: But for ſomuch as this thing is not done by their owne power or ſtrength, but by Gods helpe and grace, therfore is it very well ſayd, who ſhall argue or reproue his waies before him who but onely God? By whoſe help the elect are ayded, and made able to reſiſt.

The proofe of holynes.

And a little after, vpon the ſame booke of Iob Gregory ſaith, in ſo much as holy men do withſtād his iniquity: It is not they thēſelues which do ſo rebuke his wayes, but it is he, thorowe whoſe helpe they are ſtrengthened. Alſo, in his ſecond booke, he ſayth: now the holy Church doth not regarde, but deſpiſe the ſignes and miracles of the heretikes if they do any: for ſo much as ẏ Church doth ſufficiently vnderſtand, that it is no kind of holynes: for why, ẏ profe of holines, is not to make ſignes or wōders, but to loue euery man as him ſelfe, to thinke truely of the very true God, & to thinke better of thy neighbor then of thy ſelfe: for trew vertue & holynes, cōſiſteth in loue, and not in ſhewing of miracles. This ẏ veretie declareth, ſaying: hereby ſhall all men know ẏ ye are my diſciples, if ye loue one an other, but he ſaith not, ẏ hereby mē ſhal know ẏ ye are my diſciples, becauſe ye worke miracles, but contrary wiſe: if ye loue one an other, declaring plainly therby, that it is not miracles, but the mere charitie & loue of God. which maketh vs the ſeruants of God. wherefore the chiefe teſtimony of being Gods diſciple, is to haue the gift of brotherly loue. This thorow out doth S. Gregory write, and often times in other places, he ſpeaketh verye much of miracles, howe that they ſhall ceaſe amongſt the iuſt, and abound amongſt the wicked.

Signes common and indifferent to the miniſters of Chriſt and Antichriſt.

Alſo Chriſoſtome in his lv. Homily, ſayth thus, it is a common & an indifferent worke betwene ẏ miniſters of God & the miniſters of the deuil, to caſt out deuils, but to confeſſe ẏ trueth and to worke righteouſnes, is the onely worke of the ſaints and holy men, therefore whomſoeuer thou doeſt ſee caſting out of deuils, if he haue not the confeſſiō of the trueth in his mouth, neyther righteouſnes in his hands, he is not a man of God, but if thou doeſt ſee a man openly confeſſing & declaring the truthe and doing iuſtice, although he do not caſt out no deuils, yet he is the man of God. And it followeth: let vs know that like as at the cōming of Chriſt, before him, ẏ Prophets, and with him thapoſtles wrought miracles thorow the holy ghoſt, for ſuch as the thing is which is ſturred, ſuch ſent & ſauor wil proceede frō the ſame. He writeth alſo vpon ẏ beginning of Mathew. The whole world did maruel & wōder at three things, ẏ Chriſt roſe againe after his deth, ẏ fleſh aſcendeth into heauē, & that he did conuert ẏ whole world by his xi. apoſtles: There is iiij. cauſes which wrought the ſame. That is to ſay, ẏ contempt of riches or money. The diſpiſing of pomp and glory. The ſeperation of thēſelues from all worldly occupation and buſines, and the pacient ſuffering of tormentes. Thus much writeth Criſoſtome, alſo ſaint Iſydore in his firſt booke and xxv. cha. De ſummo bono, writeth thus, like as in the apoſtles the maruelous effect & power of works was much more cōmendable then the vertue of their ſignes, euen ſo now in ẏ Church is it much more better, to liue wel thē to worke any ſignes or miracles. And the cauſe why that the church of God doth not at this preſent worke miracles as it did in the time of the Apoſtles, is this. That it was neceſſary at that time that the worlde ſhould beleue miracles, and nowe at this preſent euery faithful beleuer ought to ſhine with good workes, for to this end were ſignes & miracles then outwardly wrought, that their fayth thereby might be inwardly ſtrengthned and ſtabliſhed, for what ſoeuer faithfull man he be that ſeketh to worke miracles, he ſeeketh vaine glory to be prayſed of mē, for it is written, miracles are ſignes and tokens vnto the infidels, & miſbeleuers, and not vnto the faythfull. Thus muche wryteth Iſidore.

The principall miracles.

The cauſe why the church now worketh not miracles.

A great miracle to loue a mans enemie.

The true miracles of Chriſtes miniſters.

Item Saint Auguſtine in his Booke of cōfeſſion ſayth thus, there is no greater miracle amongſt mē, thē to loue our enemies. By theſe wordes of theſe holy men, a man may eaſely gather that both in our dayes and in the time to come, ẏ diſciples of Antichriſt both do & ſhall more floriſh and ſhewe thēſelues by ſtraunge ſignes & miracles, thē the diſciples of Chriſt, according to ẏ ſaying of our ſauior Ieſu Chriſt. There ſhall riſe vp amongſt you falſe prophets which ſhall worke ſtraunge miracles. Secōdly, it is approued, that they are greater & ſtrāger miracles, to confeſſe ẏ truth & to do iuſtice, then to worke any other kind of miracle. Thirdly, it is gathered therby, that what ſoeuer miniſter or deacon doth loue his enemies, contemneth riches, deſpiſeth the glorye of the worlde, and flyeth frō al worldly troubles, meekely ſuſtaineth & ſuffreth moſt terrible and cruel threatnings and ſtrokes for ẏ goſpel ſake, he worketh miracles, hauing thereby a teſtimony and witneſſe, that he is the true diſciple of Ieſu Chriſt. And it is euident by the ſaying of our ſauior Ieſu Chriſt. Mathew. v. Let your good workes ſo ſhine before men: ẏ they may ſee your good works & glorify your father which is in heauen. And likewiſe Iohn x. Truſt vnto your good workes, whereupon Saint Gregory in his firſt booke of Dialoges, wryteth thus: the eſtimation of a true life, conſiſteth in ẏ vertue of his workes, and not in ẏ ſhewing of ſignes, whereby it is fourthly concluded, by ẏ which is aforeſayde, that it is a more effectual teſtimony and witnes for a prieſt or a deacon, that he is ſent of God to confeſſe ẏ truth and follow Chriſt in the aforeſayde vertues then to caſt out deuils, or to do any other miracles. As it is euidēt by the ſaying of Chriſoſtome before alleged, whomſoeuer thou doeſt ſee to caſt out deuils, if the cōfeſſion, or acknowledging of the trueth be not in his mouth, neither righteouſneſſe nor iuſtice in his handes, he is not a man of God. This is alſo confirmed by the wordes of Chriſt. Math. 7. Many ſhall ſay vnto me in that day, Lord, Lord, haue not we prophecyed in thy name: haue not we caſt out Deuils in thy name: and haue not we alſo wrought many great wonders and miracles in thy name? Then I will anſwere & ſay vnto them, forſomuch as I haue not knowne you any time, depart frō me ye workers of iniquity, & as touching yͤ ſecond part, Chriſoſtom ſaith: If you ſee a mã confeſſing & preaching yͤ trueth, & working righteouſnes, although he do not caſt out deuils he is a man of God.

The teſtimony of a true prieſt.

Hereby it appeareth that euery deacõ, prieſt, or miniſter confeſſing the truth, and working iuſtice, hath a perfect & ſure teſtimony that he is ſent of God, & that it is not neceſſary for him to approue this his ſending by yͤ working of any miracle, in ſtead of working righteouſnes, neyther by any teſtimonial, the which ſhould plainely declare him by name, that he was ſent of the Lord to preach.

The firſt part appeareth manifeſt, by that which is alreadye ſpoken, that all miracles in the time of Antichriſt ſhal ceaſe in the elect.

The ſecond part is alſo euident, for ſo much as none of the preſent preachers, can ſhew by the ſcripture of yͤ lawe of God, that he is ſpecially named thereunto.

And likewiſe do I alſo affirme & ſay, as touching all preachers which ſhal come hereafter, that they are not named by name: But let no man here obiect Enoc & Elias, which were auncient preachers, & prophecied by the holy ſpirit of God. And it is apparent, that like as it is not a cauſe ſufficient to proue, that this prieſt or deacon is ſent of God to preache; becauſe he worketh miracles, ſo is it not a cauſe ſufficient to proue, that he is not ſent of God to preach, becauſe he doth no miracles, but to confeſſe the truth, to worke righteouſnes, to contemne yͤ world with the glory therof, paciently to ſuffer rebukes is a ſufficient teſtimony for any prieſt or deacon hauing knowledge of yͤ lawe of God, freely to preach the goſpell of Ieſus Chriſt. For ſo much as in ſuch caſe he is ſent of God, & this is the ſending which the Apoſtles ſpeaketh of in yͤ x. Romains. How ſhould they preach without they be ſent? whereupõ yͤ gloſe of S. Auguſtine writeth thus. Theſe things ſerue to ſet forth gods grace, declaring that all our goodneſſe, is preuented of grace.

For he ſayth, beleefe cõmeth of hearing, hearinge commeth of preaching, & preaching by the ſending of God, ſo that altogether holly cõmeth out of the fountain of grace, & preaching truly, cõmeth of ſending. This hath the gloſe how ſhal they then preach, without they be ſent of God? And this is euidẽt, that the firſt & principall ſending is frõ God alone, as it is proued by Moiſes.

The ſecond ſending is both from God & mã, as by the example of Ioſue & others, which were ſent both by God and the rulers to preach.

The third ſending is from man alone, the which is not founded in yͤ lawe of God, but in mens traditions, which they rather eſteeme.

The fourth ſending which hath but the name onely, is proper to them, which of themſelues vnworthely vſurpe the office of preaching, as thoſe falſe prophets, of whõ god ſpeaketh in yͤ xxiij. of Ieremy, I did not ſend them, & they ran. I ſpake not vnto them, and they prophecied. If they had continued in my counſels, & had declared my wordes vnto my people, I would haue conuerted thẽ from their euill waies, & wicked imaginatiõs, & our ſauior ſpeaketh of theſe Prophettes in Mathew, ſaying, There ſhall ariſe falſe Prophets. And peter his true vicar in his ſecond Epiſtle, and ſecond chapter prophecying vnto yͤ faithful beleuers in Chriſt, ſpeaketh thus of thẽ: There were amõgſt the people falſe Prophets, as there ſhalbe amongſt you alſo maiſters of lies, thorow whom the truth ſhalbe blaſphemed and ſlaundered. And that he might the better inſtruct the people to knowe them, he addeth that they ſhall go about wͭ fained wordes, for couetouſnes ſake, to make merchaundice of you.

The difference betweene the miniſters of Chriſt and Antichriſt.

Wherefore euery faithful man, diligently waying theſe things in his minde, may now eaſely perceiue how great a nomber of falſe Prophets there be, thorowe whom the Chriſtian truth is blaſphemed. And all couetous dealyng is exerciſed, & theſe are they which freely preach lies. But the hũble & true miniſters of Chriſt, whereſoeuer they do appeare, by & by they are perſecuted, whereby yͤ prophecie of yͤ Apoſtle is verified, which is written in the ſecond Epiſtle to Timothe the iij. All men ſayth he which deſire to liue godly, ſhall ſuffer perſecution, but yͤ euil men & ſeducers ſhal proſper in their wickednes running dayly more & more into al kinde of errours. The wicked haue now ſo much preuailed yͭ they do preache lies, making heretikes of the faithfull chriſtians, neyther is there any man yͭ dare prohibet them their lying, ſo that they doe not preache agaynſt the vyces of the prelates. Howe then can you ſay that Antichryſt is not exalted aboue all that which is called God, ſuppreſſing downe the members of Chriſt in his office, fortefying and foſtring his members in lying? Therefore the trew and faithfull diſciples of Chriſt ought to ſtand ready girt about their loynes, and ſhewes vpon their feete in defence of the Goſpell, takinge the ſworde in hand, which is the word of God. Ephes. 6. And to fight agaynſt the craftes of Antichriſt, who goeth about vtterly to extinguiſh yͤ true preaching of the Goſpell of our Lord Ieſu Chriſt.

The miniſters of Antichriſt do cloke the vices of their prelates

¶ The Second diſputation in the Vniuerſity of Prage, vpon the 17. Article of Iohn Wickliffe, moſt fruitfull to be read, prouing by 24. reaſons out of the Scriptures, how that Princes and Lordes temporall, haue lawfull authority and iuriſdiction, ouer the ſpiritualty and Church men, both in taking from them, and correcting their abuſes, according to their doinges and deſertes.

TO the honour of almighty God, and of our Lord Ieſu Chriſt, both for the trying out of truth, and the profit of holy mother the church, according to the congregation of our Vniuerſitye of Prage, which auoyding alwayes to doe that ſhall be preiudiciall to the trueth, hath differred to geue theyr conſent vnto the condemnation of the 45. Articles, wiſhing euen vnto this preſent, ſufficient probation to be geuẽ of the condemnation of the ſaid Articles, and perticulerly of euery one of them. Whereupon the ſayd Vniuerſity, doth alwayes require due proofe of the ſame, for ſo much as Pope Damaſus in his Canon diſtinction 68. chapter. Chorepiſcopi, ſayth thus. That it is neceſſarye that what ſo euer thing ſtandeth not by due reaſon, ſhould be rooted out, whereby it appeareth that the condemnation of the 45. Articles, if it ſtand not with proofe and ſufficient demonſtration for euery Article; it is neceſſary to be rooted out.

The condẽnation of the xlv. articles lacketh reaſon, and therefore it not to be allowed.

But if any man will obiect and ſay, that to require a reaſon of euery thing is to derogate from Gods deuine power. Vnto this obiection Maiſter William doth anſwere himſelfe in his Philoſophy, the firſt booke almoſt at the end, where he entreating of the place, in Geneſ. 2. God made man of the ſlime of the earth &c. hath theſe wordes: For in what poynt (ſayth he) are we contrary to the holy ſcriptures, if we ſeeke by reaſon to declare, Wherfore any thing is done, which is ſayd in the ſcriptures to be done, for if that a wiſe man ſhould ſay that a thing is done, and do not declare how it is done: And another manne ſpeaketh the very ſelfe ſame thing, & declareth how it is done what cõtrariety is there? But forſomuch as they themſelues, know not the force of nature, to the intent that they might haue all men partakers with them of their ignoraunce, they would haue no man to enquire it out. But they would haue vs beleue as ignoraunt people, neither to ſeeke any reaſõ of our belief, that the Prophecy might be fulfilled, ſuch as the people is, ſuch ſhall be the prieſt But we truely do ſay, that in all thinges a reaſon is to be ſought, if it may by any meanes be found. But if that any man doe ſtay at any thing, which the ſcripture doth affirme, let him commit the ſame vnto fayth, & vnto the holy ghoſt. For Moiſes ſayth, if the Lambe cannot be eaten, let it not be by and by conſumed in the fire: But let him firſt call hys neighbor, which dwelleth next houſe vnto him, and if they alſo be not ſufficient to eat the Lamb, then let it be burned in the fire: So likewiſe when as we go about to ſeeke any thing as touching the Godhead, and that we be not able of our ſelues to comprehẽd the ſame, let vs call our neighbor which dwelleth next houſe vnto vs: That is to ſay, let vs ſeeke out ſuch a one, as dwelleth in the ſame catholicke fayth with vs, and if then, neither we, neither yet he be able to comprehend the ſame, let it then be burned with the fire of fayth.

An Allegory vpon the Paſchall Lambe.

But theſe men, albeit they haue many neighbours dwelling neare vnto them, yet for very pride, they will not call any mã vnto them, chuſing rather to continue ſtill ignorant, thẽ to aske any queſtion. And if they do know any man to enquire for his neighbor in ſuch caſe, by & by they cry out vpon him, as an hereticke. Preſuming more vpon their own heads, then hauing confidence in their wiſedom. But I exhort you geue no credit, vnto their outward appearance, for already it is verified in thẽ which the ſatyricall Poet ſayth, no credit is to be geuen vnto the outward ſhew for which of them all is it that doth not abound with moſt ſhamefull and deteſtable vices? And in another place he ſayth. They are very daynty of their ſpeach, and haue great deſire to keep ſilence. And thus much hath maiſter Wilhelmus. Let all ſuch here whom this parable doth touche For I with the reſt of the maiſters, bachelers and ſtudentes of our vniuerſity conſidering how heard a matter the condemnation of the 45. articles of Wickliffe without reaſon is, and how greuous a thing it were, if we ſhould thereunto conſent, do call together my neighbors, the doctors of this Vniuerſity, & all others which would obiect any thing agaynſt the ſame, that we might preſently finde out the reaſon of the comdẽnation of this Article, concerning the taking away the temporalityes from the Clergy.

A proteſtation whereby he ioineth lite vnto the

Notwithſtanding I do profeſſe that it is not my intent, like as it is not the meaning of the vniuerſity, to perſwade that Princes ender, how the propoſition aforeſayd is to be vnderſtanded, and addeth that the goods of the clergie is not vtterly to be taken away, but in caſe they do abide the ſame.

The 17. article proued by 44. arguments.

ces or ſeculer Lordes ſhould take away the goods from the cleargie when they woulde, or howe they woulde, and conuert them to what vſe they liſt. But our whole intent is, diligently to ſearch out whether this article, as touching the taking away of temporallities from the cleargie may haue in it any true ſence, whereby it may be defended without reprooſe Wherefore this article being the 17. in the nombre of the 45. is propounded vnder thys fourme. The Lordes temporall may at their owne will and pleaſure, take away the temporal goodes from the cleargy, if they doe offend, and therein continue: It is thus prooued. The kings of the old Teſtament toke away the temporall goods at Gods commandement from the cleargie. That is to ſay from the prieſtes offending. Therefore the kings alſo of the new Teſtament, at Gods cōmandement, may do the like. When as the prieſts of the new law do offend. The conſequent dependeth vpon a ſimilitude. And the antecedent is euident. Firſt it is prooued by Salomon in the 3. of the kings 2. chapter. Which Salomon depoſed Abiathar the hygh prieſt, becauſe hee had toke part with Adonias, the brother of Salomon, to make him king, without the aduice either of Dauid, or of Salomon him ſelfe which ought to raigne: And ſet vp Sadoc the prieſt in the place of Abiathar, becauſe he had not conſented with Abiathar vnto Adonias, as it is writtē in the 3. boke of kings 1. chapter. Where it is ſayde, Adonias the ſonne of Agithe, exalted himſelfe, ſaying: I will raigne, and made vnto him ſelfe chariotes and horſemen, and 40. men which ſhould runne before him: neyther did his father rebuke him at any time, ſaying: Wherefore haſt thou don this? For he was very comely being ſecond ſonne, next to Abſolon, and his talke was with Ioab the ſonne of Saruia and Abiathar the prieſt, which toke part with Adonias. But Sadoc the prieſt, and Banaias the ſonne of Ioiada and Nathan the Prophet, and Semei, and Serethi, and Felethi, and all the power of Dauids hoſt, were not on Adonias part.

This was the cauſe of the depoſing of Abiathar, becauſe hee toke part with Adonia, that he ſhuld be king againſt Salomon the eldeſt ſonne of king Dauid, wherefore it is wrytten in the thirde boke and ſecond chapiter of the kings. The king ſayd vnto Abiathar the prieſt, goe your wayes vnto Anatoth thine owne fielde, for thou art a man of death, but this day I will not ſlay thee, becauſe thou haſt caried the Arke of the Lorde before my father Dauid, and diddeſt labour in all things wherein my father laboured. Then did Salomon caſt out Abiathar, that hee ſhould be no more the prieſt of the Lord, that the word of the Lord might be fulfilled which he ſpake vpon the houſe of Hely in Sylo.

Beholde the moſt prudent king Salomon, according to the wiſdome which was geuen him of God, did exerciſe hys power vpon the ſayd prieſts, putting him out of his prieſthode, & ſetting in his place Sadoc the prieſt this was a greater matter thē to take away the temporalities. If then in the law of Chriſt whych nowe raigneth ouer vs, a byſhop, ſhould likewiſe rebell againſt the true heire of the kingdome, willing to ſette vp another for king, why ſhoulde not the king or his heire, haue power in like caſe, to take away the temporalities from him ſo offending?

2. Nabuchodonozor. Item, it is alſo euident by the king Nabuchodonozor whych had power geuen him of God, to lead away the children of Iſrael with their prieſts and Leuites, into the captiuity of Babylon, as it is wrytten 4. booke of the kings 25. chapter.

3. Ioſias. Item it is red in the 4. boke of kings and 12. chapter. How that Ioſias the moſt godly king of Iuda according to the wiſdō which God had granted him, toke away all the conſecrate veſſels, which Ioſaphat, Ioram, and Ochoſias, his forefathers kings of Iuda had conſecrated, and thoſe which hee himſelfe had offered, and all the treaſure that could be found in the temple of the Lord, and in the kings pallace, and ſent it vnto Azahel king of Syria, & he departed from Ieruſalem. Marke how this moſt holy king exerciſed hys power, not onely in taking away the temporalities of the prieſts, but alſo thoſe things which were conſecrate in the temple of the Lord, to procure vnto the common wealth, the benefite of peace.

4. Ezechias. Item, in the 4. boke and 18. chapter of the kings, it is wrytten howe that the holy king Ezechias tooke all the treaſure that was found in the houſe of the Lord, and in the kings treaſurie, & brake downe the pillers of the temple of the Lorde, and all the plates of gold which he himſelfe had faſtned therupon, and gaue them vnto the king of the Aſſyrians, yet was hee not rebuked of the Lorde therefore, as hee was for his other ſinnes, as it appeareth in the 2. boke of Paral. 32. chapter, for ſo much then as in time of neceſſity, all things ought to be in common vnto Chriſtians, it foloweth then that the ſeculere Lordes in caſe of neceſſitie, in many other common caſes, may lawfully take away the mooueable goodes from the cleargie, when they do offend.

5. Dauid. Item, it is alſo read in the 12. of Mathewe, that the diſciples of Ieſus for to ſlake their hunger vppon the Saboth day, pulled the eares of corne, and did eate them, and the Phariſies rebuked them therefore, vnto whome Chriſt aunſwered. Haue ye not read what Dauid did, when hee was hungry, and thoſe that were wyth him, howe he entred into the houſe of the Lorde, and did eate the ſhew breades, which it was not lawfull for hym, neither for them that were with hym to eate, but only for the prieſts. This ſtory is written in the 1 boke of the kings and 21. chapter. And the commandement in the 12. of Deuteronomie. Whereby it appeareth that it is lawfull in time of neceſſitie to vſe any thing, bee it neuer ſo much conſecrate. Otherwiſe children by geuing their moueables to the conſecration of any temple, ſhoulde not be bound to helpe their parents, which is contrary and againſt the Goſpel of S Mathew in the 16. chapter: whereas our Sauiour ſharply rebuked the Phariſies, that for their owne traditions they did tranſgreſſe the commaundement of God.

Caſe of neceſſitie.

6. Titus and Veſpaſian. Item, Titus and Veſpaſian ſeculer princes had power geuen them of God 24. yeares after the Lordes Aſcenſion to take away the temporallities from the prieſtes whych had offended agaynſt the Lordes holy one. And thereby alſo bereft them of their liues, and it ſeemeth vnto many they did, and might worthely doe the ſame according to Gods good wil and pleaſure. Then forſomuch as our prieſts in theſe dayes may tranſgreſſe and offend as much, and rather more againſt the Lordes annoynted, it followeth that by the pleaſure of God, the ſeculer Lordes, may likewiſe punyſhe them for their offence.

7. Our ſauiour being king of kings, and high biſhop wyth hys diſciples did geue tribute vnto Ceſar, as it appeareth Mathewe 17. and commaunded the Scribes and Phariſies to geue the lyke vnto Ceſar Mat. 22. Whereby hee gaue example vnto all prieſtes that ſhoulde come after hym to render tribute vnto their kinges, whereupon bleſſed S Ambroſe in his 4 boke vppon theſe wordes in the 5. of Luke, (caſt out your nettes) wryteth thus. There is an other kinde of fiſhing amongſt the Apoſtles, after which manner the Lord commanded Peter only to fiſh, ſaying, caſt out thy hoke, and that fiſh, which cōmeth firſt vp, take hym. And then vnto the purpoſe he ſayth. It is truely a great & ſpirituall document, wherby all Chriſtian menne are taught, that they ought to be ſubiecte vnto the higher powers, and that no man ought to thinke that the lawes of a king here on earth are to be brokē. For if the ſonne of God did pay tribute, who art thou ſo great a man, that thinkeſt thou oughteſt not to pay tribute? He payed tribute which had no poſſeſſions: and thou which daily ſeekeſt after the luker of the world, why doeſt thou not acknowledge the obedience and duetie of the worlde? Why doeſt thou thorowe the arrogancie of thy minde exault thy ſelfe aboue the worlde, when as thorowe thine owne miſerable couetouſneſſe, thou art ſubiect vnto the worlde? Thus writeth S. Ambroſe, and it is put in the 11 queſt. 1. Magnum quidem. He alſo wryteth vppon theſe wordes in the 10 of Luke, ſhewe me a pennie, whoſe Image it hathe, if Chriſt had not the Image of Ceſar, why did hee pay any tribute? He gaue it not of hys owne, but rendred vnto the worlde, that which was the worldes: And if thou wilt not be in daunger of Ceſar, poſſeſſe not thoſe things which are the worldes, for if thou haſt richeſſe, thou art in daunger of Ceſar.

The example of Chriſt paying of tribute.

S. Ambroſe minde.

Chriſt commanded tribute to be payd vnto themperour.

Wherefore if thou wilt owe nothing vnto any earthly king, forſake all thoſe things, and followe Chriſt If then all eccleſiaſticall miniſters, hauing richeſſe, ought to be vnder the ſubiection of kings, and geue vnto them tribute: It foloweth that kings may lawfully by the authoritye which is geuen them, take away theyr temporallities from them.

Here vpon S. Paule acknowledging him ſelfe to be vnder the iuriſdiction of the Emperour, appealed vnto Ceſar, as it appeareth Actes 25.

Paule appealed to themperour.

S. Ambroſe there in the viij. diſtin.

I ſtand ſayth he, at Ceſars iudgement ſeat, there I ought to be iudged Whereupon in the 8: diſtinction, chapter quo iure. S. Ambroſe alleageth, that all things are lawfull vnto the Emperour, & al things vnder his power. For the confirmation wherof, it is ſaid Daniel ſecond chapter, the God of heauen hath geuen vnto thee a kingdome, ſtrength, Empire, and glory, and all places, wherein the children of men do dwell, and hath geuen into thy power, the beaſtes of the field, and fowles of the aire, and ſet all things vnder thy ſubiection.

Daniel. 2.

9. Alſo in the 11. queſtion and 1. He ſayeth, if the Emperour require tribute, we do not denie that the landes of the Church ſhall pay tribute, if the Emperour haue neede of our landes, hee hath power to chalenge them, let him take them, if hee will, I doe not geue them vnto the Emperour, neither doe I denie them. Thys wryteth S. Ambroſe, expreſly declaring that the ſeculare Lorde hath power at hys pleaſure to take away the lands of the Church, and ſo conſequently the ſeculer Lords haue power at their owne pleaſures to take away the temporal goodes from the Eccleſiaſticall miniſters, when they doe offend.

10. S. Auguſtine. Item S. Auguſtine wryteth, if thou ſayeſt, what haue we to do wyth the Emperour. But nowe as I ſayde, wee ſpeake of mannes lawe. The Apoſtle would be obedient vnto the kings, and honor them, ſaying. Reuerence your kings: and doe not ſay what haue I to doe with the king? What haſte thou then to doe wyth poſſeſſions. By the kings law the poſſeſſions are poſſeſſed, thou haſt ſaid, what haue I to doe with the king: but doe not ſay, what hath thy poſſeſſions to doe wyth the king? For then haſte thou renounced the lawes of menne, whereby thou diddeſt poſſeſſe thy landes.

Thus wryteth S. Auguſtine in his 8.diſtinction, by whoſe wordes it is manifeſt that the king hath power ouer the churche goodes, & conſequently may take them away from the clergie, tranſgreſſing or offending.

11. Magiſtrats, keepers of both lawes.

Item in his 33 Epiſtle vnto Boniface, hee ſayeth, what ſober man will ſay vnto our kings, care not you in our kingdome, by whome the church of the Lorde is maintained,or by whome it is oppreſſed,it partaineth not vnto you, who will bee eyther a religious man,or who will be a church robber? Vnto whome it may be thus anſwered. Doeth it not pertaine vnto vs in our kingdom, who will either liue a chaſt life, or who will be an vnchaſt whoremonger? Beholde this holy man ſheweth heere howe that it is the duety of kings, to puniſh ſuche as are robbers of Churches, and conſequently the proud clergy when as they do offend.

The duetie of kyngs to puniſh the clergy.

12.

Item, hee wryteth in the 33.queſt.7. ſi de rebus. The ſeculare Lordes may lawfully take away the temporall goodes from herittickes, and for ſo much that it is a caſe greatly poſſible that many of the cleargie are vſers of Simonie, and thereby heretickes: Therefore the ſeculare Lordes may very lawfully take away their temporallities from them. For what vnworthy thyng is it ſayeth Saint Auguſtine, if the Catholickes doe poſſeſſe according vnto the will of the Lorde, thoſe thynges whych the heretickes helde? For ſo muche as this is the worde of the Lorde vnto all wycked men. Mathew 21.the kingdome of God ſhall be taken away from you, and geuen vnto an nation, whiche ſhall doe the righteouſneſſe thereof, is it in vaine whych is wrytten in the 11.chapter of the booke of Wiſedome? The iuſt ſhall eat the labours of the wicked.

Math.21.

Sapien.11.

An obiection of the deſire of other mens goods

And whereas it may bee obiected as touching the deſire of other mennes goodes, Saynte Auguſtine aunſweareth that by that euidence the ſeuen nations, whyche did abuſe the lande of promeſſe,and were driuen out from thence by the power of God, may obiecte the ſame vnto the people of God, whyche inhabite the ſame. And the Iewes them ſelues from whome accordynge vnto the woorde of the Lorde, the kingdome is taken away and geuen vnto a people, whiche ſhall doe the woorkes of righteouſneſſe maye obiecte the ſame vnto the Churche of Chriſt, as touching the deſire of other mennes goodes, but Sainte Auguſtines aunſwere is thus.

S. Auguſtine.4. queſtion.4.

Wee,ſayeth he,doe not deſire another mannes goodes, for ſo much as they are oures by the commandement of him, by whom all things were made. By like euidence the clergie hauing offended, their temporall goodes are made the goodes of others, for the profite of the church,to this purpoſe alſo,according to S.Auguſtine,ſerueth the 14.queſtion 4. vnto a misbeleeuer, it is not a halfepennie matter,but vnto the faithfull is a whole worlde of richeſſe,ſhal we not then conuince al ſuch to poſſeſſe an other mans goodes,which ſeemed to haue gathered great richeſſe together, and know not howe to vſe them, for that truely is not an others, whych is poſſeſſed by right,and that is lawfully poſſeſſed, whych is iuſtly poſſeſſed,and that is iuſtly poſſeſſed,which is well poſſeſſed.Ergo,all that is euell poſſeſſed is another mannes,and he doth ill poſſeſſe it,which doth euell vſe it.

If then anye of the cleargie doe abuſe the temporall goodes, the temporall Lordes maye at theyr owne pleaſure, accordynge vnto the rule of charitie take away the ſayde temporall goodes from the cleargie ſo tranſgreſſing. For then according to the allegation aforeſayde, the cleargie doeth not iuſtly poſſeſſe thoſe temporall goodes, but the temporall Lordes proceadyng according to the rule of charitie: Doe iuſtly poſſeſſe thoſe temporallities, for ſo muche as all things are the iuſt mannes. 1.Corrinth. 3.chapter. All thynges ſayeth the Apoſtle are youres. Whether it be Paule or Apollo, or Cephas, eyther the worlde, eyther life,or death,or thynges preſent, or thynges to come, for all thynges be youres, you be Chriſtes,and Chriſte is Goddes. Alſo 23.queſt.7. Quicunque. It is wrytten. Iure diuino omnia ſunt iuſtorum. The woordes of Sainte Auguſtine in that place, ad Vincentium, be theſe: Who ſo euer ſayeth hee,vppon the occaſion of this law or ordinaunce of the Emperour doeth moleſt or perſecute you, not for loue of any charitable correction, but onely for hatered and malyce to doe you diſpleaſure, I holde not wyth hym in ſo doyng.

1.Cor.3.

By Gods lawe cuncta iuſtorum eſſe dicuntur.

And althoughe there is nothyng heere in thys earthe, that any manne may poſſeſſe aſſuredly,but eyther hee muſt holde it,by Goddes lawe,by whyche cuncta iuſtorum eſſe dicuntur: that is, all thynges be ſayde to pertayne to the poſſeſſion of the iuſte: or elſe by mannes lawe,whych ſtandeth in the kinges power to ſette and to ordaine.&c. Hereby the woordes of Auguſtine alledged. Yee ſee all thinges belong to the poſſeſſion of the iuſt,by Goddes lawe.

13. The clergy ſubiect vnto themperour and king by meanes of their poſſeſsiōs.

Item,for ſo muche as the cleargie by meanes of their poſſeſſions are in daunger of the Emperor and King: It followeth that if they doe offend,the Emperour or King, may lawfully take away their poſſeſsions from them. The conſequent dependeth on thys poynte, for ſo much as otherwiſe they were not in ſubiection vnder the Emperour or king, and the antecedent is manifeſt by the 11.queſtion and 1.Parag.His ita reſpondetur. Whereas it is ſpecified in Latine thus. [His ita reſpondetur, clerici ex officio Epiſcopo ſunt ſuppoſiti, ex poſſeſsionibus prædiorum imperatori ſunt obnoxij,ab Epiſcopo vnctionem,decimas, & primitias accipiunt: ab imperatore vero prædiorum poſſeſsiones nanciſcuntur:] that is to ſay. The cleargie by meanes of their office are vnder the Byſhoppe, but by reaſon of theyr poſſeſsions they be ſubiect vnto the Emperour: Of the Byſhoppe they receiue vnction, tithes and firſt fruites of the Emperour, they receiue poſſeſsions. This then it is decreed by the Emperiall lawe, that liuelyhoodes ſhould be poſſeſſed, whereby it appeareth that the cleargie by the poſſeſsion of their liuelyhodes are in daunger of the Emperour, for hym to take away from them, or to correcte them accordyng to their deſeruings, and to haue the controllement of them, as it ſhall ſeeme good vnto hym.

14. Vſers of Simony are puniſhed by the ciuyll magiſtrate.

Item, the temporall Lordes may take away the temporallities from ſuch as vſe Simonie,becauſe they are heretickes. Ergo,thys Article is true.

Paſchaſius in 1.q.ult. cap.pater.

The antecedent is manifeſt,for ſo much as the ſecular Lordes maye refuſe ſuche as vſe Simonye, and puniſhe them except they doe repent. For by the decree of Pope Paſchaſius in the firſt and laſte queſtion it appeareth, that all ſuche as vſed Simonie, were to be refuſed of all faythfull people, as chiefe and principall heretickes, and if they doe not repent after they be warned, they are alſo to bee punyſhed by the externe power. For all other faultes and crimes,in comparyſon of Simonie,be counted but light,and ſeeme ſmall offences.

The laitie correctours of the clergy.

Where vppon the gloſe expounding the ſame text, ſayth that by thys woorde externe, is vnderſtande the laietie, whyche haue power ouer the cleargy,beſides the Church,as in the 17 diſtinct. [Non licuit,& 23 queſt.5.principes.] Whereby it is euident that the temporall Lordes may take away the temporall goodes from the cleargie when as they doe offende.

Gregory writeth to the French Queene.

Item, Saint Gregorie in the Regiſter vppon hys 7.booke 9. Chapiter, wryteth thus vnto the Frenche Queene. For ſo much as it is wrytten that ryghteouſneſſe healpeth the people, and ſinne maketh them myſerable: then is that kingdome counted ſtable, when as the offence whyche is knowen, is ſoone amended.

Wicked prieſtes the deſtruction of the people.

Therefore, for ſo muche as wicked prieſtes are the cauſe of the ruyne of the people, (for who ſhall take vppon hym, to bee interceſſour for the ſinnes of the people,if the prieſt which ought to intreate for the ſame, haue committed greater offences) and vnder youre dominions the prieſtes doe liue wickedly and vnchaſtly: therfore that the offence of a few myght not tourne to the deſtruction of manye, wee oughte earneſtly to ſeeke the punyſhment of the ſame. And it followeth, if wee doe commaunde any perſonne,wee doe ſende hym foorthe, wyth the conſent of your authoritie,who together wyth other Prieſts,ſhall diligently ſeeke out,and according vnto Goddes worde correct and amende the ſame. Neyther are theſe things to be diſsimuled, the whyche wee haue ſpoken of, for hee that may correcte any thyng, and doeth neglect the ſame wythout all doubte, he maketh hym ſelfe partaker of the ſinne or offence.

Therefore foreſee vnto your owne ſoule, prouide for youre neuewes, and for ſuche as you do deſire to raigne after you, prouide for your countrey, and wyth diligence prouide for the correction and puniſhment of that ſinne, before our creatoure doe ſtretch out hys hand to ſtrike.

S.Gregory to the french kyng.

And in hys next Chapter, hee wryteth vnto the French king, what ſo euer you doe vnderſtande, to pertaine eyther vnto the honoure and glorye of oure God,to the reuerence of the church, or to the honour of the prieſtes, that doe you dilligently cauſe to bee decreed and in all poyntes to be obſerued. Wherfore once againe wee doe mooue you,that you commaunde a Synode to be congregate, and as wee wrote lately vnto you, to cauſe all the carnall vices whyche raigneth amongeſt your Prieſts, and all the wickedneſſe and Simonie of your Byſhoppes, whyche is moſte harde to be condemned and reprooued: vtterly to bee baniſhed oute of your kyngdome, and that you wil not ſuffer them to poſſeſſe anye more ſubſtaunce vnder your dominion, then Goddes commaundement doeth allowe.

Beholde howe carefully bleſſed Gregorye doeth exhort the Queene and the Kyng to puniſhe the vices of the cleargie, leaſte through theyr negligence they ſhoulde be partakers of the ſame: and howe they ought to correct their ſubiectes. For as it is conuenient to be circumſpect and carefull againſt the outward enemies, euen ſo lykewyſe ought they to bee agaynſte the inwarde ennemyes of the ſoule. And lyke as in iuſte warre agaynſte the outwarde ennemyes, it is lawefull to take away theyr goodes, ſo long as they contynue in theyr malyce, ſo alſo is it lawefull to take away the goods of the cleargie,being the inward ennemy. The conſequent is prooued thus, for ſo much as the domeſticall enemies are moſt hurtfull.

Item, it is thus argued, if God bee, the temporall Lordes may meritoriouſly and lawfully take away the temporall goodes from the Cleargie, if they doe offende. For thys poynt lette vs ſuppoſe that we ſpeake of power, as the true autentike ſcripture doth ſpeake.Matt.13. God is able euen of theſe ſtones to raiſe vp children vnto Abraham.

Wherupon it is thus argued,for if God be,he is omnipotent, and if he ſo be, he may geue like power vnto the ſeculer Lordes. And ſo conſequẽtly they may meritoriouſly and lawfully vſe the ſame power.But leaſt that any man may obiect that a profe made by a ſtrange thing is not ſufficient, it is therefore declared howe that the temporal Lords haue power to take away their almes beſtowed vpon the church. The church abuſing the ſame,as it ſhall be proued heereafter. And firſt thus,it is lawfull for kings in caſes limitted by the lawe to take away the moueables from the clergie when they do offend,it is thus proued. For the temporall Lordes are moſt bound vnto the workes of greateſt mercy moſt eaſie for them,but in caſe poſsible, it ſhuld be greater almes, & eaſier temporal dominion,to take away their almes frō ſuch as build therewithal vnto eternal damnation, through the abuſe therof,then to geue the ſaide almes for any bodely reliefe, Ergo the aſſumption is true.

Whereuppon firſt this ſentence of the law of Chriſt in the 2. Theſ.3.is noted wheras the Apoſtle wryteth thus.When we were amongſt you,wee declared this vnto you, that he that would not worke ſhould not eate.Wherefore the law of nature doth licence al ſuch as haue the gouernance of kingdoms, to correct the abuſe of the temporalities which wold be the chief cauſe of the deſtruction of their kingdoms:whether the tẽporall Lords or any other had endowed the Church with thoſe temporalities or not. It is lawful for them in ſome caſe to take away the temporalities as it were by way of phiſicke to withſtand ſinne, notwithſtanding any excommunication or other Eccleſiaſticall cenſure. For ſo much as they are not endowed,but only with cōditiō therunto anexed.

Heereby it appeareth that the condition annexed to the endowing or enriching of any church,is that God ſhuld be honoured,the which condition if it once fail the contrary taking place, the title of the gift is loſt:and conſequently the Lord which gaue the almes ought to correct the offence.Excommunication ought not to let the fulfilling of iuſtice, Secondly according to the Canon lawe.16.queſt.7. This ſentence is noted where it is thus ſpoken as touching the children neuewes and the moſt honeſt of the kindred of him which hath builded or endowed any church. That it is lawful for them to be thus circumſpect, that if they perceiue the prieſt doe defraude any part of that which is beſtowed, they ſhould either gently admoniſh or warne him,or els complaine on him to the biſhop,that he may be corrected.But if the biſhop him ſelfe attempt to do the like,let them complaine of him to his Metropolitane, and if the Metropolitane do the like,let them not defer the time,to report it in the eares of the king.For ſo ſaith the canon.Let them not deferre to report it in the eares of the king. To what ende I pray you? but that he ſhuld do correction, neither is it to bee douted but that correction doeth more appertaine vnto he king in this poynt for their goods wherof he is chiefe Lord by a ſubitraction proportional, according to the fault or offence.

When and howe the title of any gift is loſt.

Item it is thus proued.It is lawful for the ſeculer Lords by their power to do correction vpon the clergy by ſome kind of fearfull diſcipline appertaining to their ſeculer power. Ergo, by like reaſon it is lawful for them by their power to do ſuch correction, by all kind of fearful diſcipline pertaining vnto their ſeculer power. For ſo much then as the taking of their temporalities is in kinde of fearful diſcipline pertaining vnto the ſeculer power: It followeth that it is lawfull for them therby to doe ſuch correction. And conſequently it followeth that the truthe is thus to be prooued. The conſequent is euident and the antecedent is proued by Iſidore 23 queſt.5.Principes.Where it is thus wrytten. There ſhuld be no ſeculer powers within the church, but onely for thys purpoſe,that whatſoeuer thing the prieſts or miniſters cannot bring to paſſe by preaching or teachings the ſeculer powers, may command the ſame by the terror and feare of diſcipline:For oftẽtimes the heauẽly kingdom is profited and holpen by the earthly kingdom,that they which are in the church and do any thing contrary vnto faith and diſcipline by the rigour of the princes, may be troden downe. And that the power of the rulers may lay that diſcipline vpon the neckes of the proude and ſtifnecked, which the vtility and profit of the church can not exerciſe or vſe.

It is lawfull for the ciuil rulers to correct the clergie.

Item all things that by power ought to worke or bring to any perfect ende by the reaſonable meaſuring of the meane thereto, it may lawfully vſe by power, the ſubſtraction or taking away of the exceſſe and the addition of the want of the meanes according as ſhall be conuenient or meete for the meaſure to be made. For ſo much then as the ſeculer Lordes ought by their power to prouide for the neceſſary ſuſtentation of the Chriſtian clergie by the reaſonable meaſuring of their temporalties whych they are bounden to beſtow vpon the Chriſtian cleargie, it followeth that they may lawfully by their power vſe the taking away or putting vnto of thoſe temporallities according as ſhall be conuenient for the performance of that reaſonable matter.

Item,it is lawfull for the clergie,by their power to take away the ſacramentes of the Church from the laitie cuſtomably offending forſomuch as it doeth pertaine to the office of the Chriſtian miniſters by their power to miniſter the ſame vnto the lay people. Wherefore,for ſo much as it doeth pertaine vnto the office of the laitie,according vnto their power to miniſter,and geue temporallities to the clergie of Chriſt,as the Apoſtle ſayeth.1.Cor 9. It followeth that it is alſo lawfull for them by their power to take away the temporallities from the clergie, when they do cuſtomably ſinne and offend.

19. Item,by like power may he which geueth a ſtipende or exhibition withdraw and take away the ſame from the vnworthy labourers, as hee hath power to geue the ſame vnto the worthy
20. labourers,for ſo much then as temporallities of the clergie,are the ſtipendes of the laitie : it followeth that the lay people may by as good authority,take away the ſame again from the clergy,which will not worthely labour, as they might by their power beſtowe the ſame vpon thoſe,which would worthely labour according to the ſaying of the Goſpel.Mat.21 The kingdome ſhalbe taken away from you, and geuen vnto a people which ſhall bring foorth the frutes thereof.

Item, it is alſo lawfull for the ſecular Lordes, by their power to chaſtice and puniſh the lay people when they do offend, by taking away of their temporalties, according to the exigẽt of their
21. offence, forſomuch as the lay people are ſubiect vnder their dominion. Wherefore the clergy being alſo ſubiect vnder the dominion of the ſeculer Lordes,as appeareth Rom.13.and many other places,it is euident that it is lawfull by their power to puniſh the cleargie, by taking away of their temporalities, if their offence do ſo deſerue.

Item,the true and eaſie direction of the cleargie vnto the life of Chriſt and the Apoſtles and moſt profitable vnto the laity:that the cleargie ſhuld not liue contrary vnto Chriſtes inſtitution,
22. ſemeth to be the taking away of their alms, and thoſe things which they had beſtowed vppon them. And it is thus proued,that medicine is moſt apt to be laide vnto the ſore, whereby the infirmitie might ſooneſt be holpen,and were moſt agreeable vnto the pacient: Such is the taking away of the temporallities. Ergo,this article is true:The minor is thus proued,for ſo much as by the aboūdance of temporallities the worme or ſerpent of pride is ſpronge vp,where vppon vnſaciable deſire and luſt is inflamed,and thereby proceedeth all kinde of gluttonie and lecherie.It is euident in this poynt,for ſo much as the Temporallities being once taken away, euery one of thoſe ſinnes is either vtterly taken away, or at the leaſt diminiſhed,by the contrary,vertue induced and brought in:It ſemeth alſo moſt pertinent vnto the laity,forſomuch as they ought not to lay violẽt hãds vpon their miniſters or to abiect the prieſtly dignity,neither to iudge any of the cleargy in theyr open courts:It ſemeth alſo by the law of cōſcience,to pertain vnto the lay people, for ſo much as euery man which worketh any worke of mercy, ought diligently to haue reſpecte vnto the habilitie of them that he beſtoweth his almes vpon, leaſt that by nouriſhyng or helping loyterers,hee be made partaker of his offence. Whereupon if a prieſt doe not miniſter of their ſpiritualties, as Hoſtyenſis teacheth in his 3.booke, of their tithes, firſt frutes and oblations,that the people ought to take away the almes of their tithes from them.

23. Item, it is confirmed by the laſt chapiter of the 17.queſtion, out of the decre of rents appropriate vnto the church,quicunq;. Whereas the caſe is put thus,that a certaine man hauing no children, neither hoping to haue any, gaue all his goodes vnto the church, reſeruing vnto him ſelfe the only vſe and profites therof: it happened afterward that he had children,and the biſhop reſtored againe his goodes vnto him,hoping not for it.The biſhop had it in his power, whether to rẽder again or no, thoſe things which were geuen him,but that was by the lawe of man,and not by the lawe of conſcience.If then by the decree of the holy doctoure S. Auguſtine in his ſermone of the life of the cleargie Aurelius the Byſhop of Carthage had no power by Gods lawe to with holde that which is beſtowed vppon the churche, for the neceſsitie of children,by the which law the wanton, proud,and vnſtable clergy being more then ſufficiently poſſeſſed,and enriched,do detain and keepe backe the temporallities to the detrement and hurt of their owne ſtate,and of the whole Militant churche,the ſeculare patrones being thereby ſo impoueriſhed that they are compelled by penurie to robbe and ſteale to oppreſſe their tenants,to ſpoile and vndoe others , and oftentimes by very neceſsitie are driuen to beggerie.

24. Item,ſuppoſe that a prieſt and miniſter, howe greuouſly ſo euer he doe offend by what kinde or ſigne of offence ſo euer it be, as it was in the biſhop Iudas Iſcarioth of the religious monk Sergius,of Pope Leo the hereticke, and many other prieſts, of whom the ſcripture and chronicles make mention,and daily experience doeth teache vs the ſame : It is euident that as it is ſuppoſed, the prieſtes in the kingdom of Boheme greuouſly offending, it is the kings part,forſomuch as he is ſupreme head next vnder God,and Lorde of the kingdome of Boheme, to correct and puniſh thoſe prieſts. And for ſo much as the gentilleſt correction,& puniſhmẽt

Of ſuche as be indurate in their malice, is the caſting away of their temporal goods, it followeth, that it is lawful for the king to take away temporallities. Wherfore it ſhuld ſeme very maruelous and ſtrange, if that prieſts riding about, ſhuld ſpoile virgins, violently corrupt & defile honeſt matrones, if in ſuch caſe it were not lawful for them to take away their armors, weapons, horſes, gunnes and ſwordes from them. The like reaſon were it alſo, if they had vnlawfully conſpired the death of the king, or that they woulde betray the king vnto hys ennemies.

25. Item, whatſoeuer any of the clergy doth require, or deſire of the ſeculer power, according vnto the law & ordinãce of Chriſt, the ſeculer power ought to performe & graunt the ſame. But the clergy being letted by riches, ought to require helpe of the ſeculer power, for the diſpenſation of the ſaid riches. Ergo the ſeculer power ought in ſuch caſe by the law of Chriſt, to take vpon them the office or duty of getting, keping, & diſtributing all ſuch manner of riches, the Minor is heereby proued, that no man ought to haue riches, but to that end, that they be helps, preferring & helping vnto the office which is appoynted of God. Therfore in caſe that ſeculer poſſeſsion doe hinder the cleargy from their duetie. The ſecular power ought to take it away, for ſo did the Apoſtles, Actes 6. ſaying, it is not lawfull for vs to leaue the worde of God vntaught, and to miniſter to Tables.

And thus hetherto hath Iohn Hus proſecuted Wyckleffs articles, with long arguments and reaſons, the which were to long a trauaile, neither agreable for this place, to alledge all the whole order of his reaſons and profes, which he vſed in that deſputatiõ, aboue the nomber of 20. more beſides the teſtimonies of all the wryters before recited, the which hee alledgeth out of the ſcriptures, decretals, S. Ambroſe in his boke of offices, S. Auguſt. in his 5. boke & 5. queſt. and alſo vnto Macedo, Iſydore, the councell of Nice, Greg. his 11. queſt. Bernard vnto Eugenius in his 3. booke, and out of Lyncolnienſis 61. Epiſtle, beſides many other moe. The ſum of al which teſtimonies tend vnto this end, that he might vtterly take away all earthly rule & dominion from the clergy, and to bring them vnder the ſubiection and cenſure of kings & Emperors, as it were within certaine bonds, the which is not onely agreable vnto equity and Gods word, but alſo profitable for the cleargy themſelues. Hee teacheth it alſo to be neceſſary, that they ſhuld rather be ſubiect vnder the ſeculer power, then to be aboue them, becauſe that els it were dangerous, leſt that they being intangled with ſuch kinde of buſines, they ſhould be an eaſier pray vnto ſathan, and ſoner trapped in his ſnares. And therby it ſhould come to paſſe that the gouernance & principality of al things being at the length brought into the hands of the clergy, the lawful authority of kings & princes ſhuld not only be geuen ouer vnto them, but in a maner as it were growe out of vſe: ſpecially for ſo much as already in certaine kingdoms and common wealths, the eccleſiaſtical power is growen vnto ſuch height, that not only in Boheme, but alſo almoſt thorowout al the common welths, they do occupy the 3. or at leaſt the 4. part of the rents and reuenues. And laſt of al, he alleageth the exãple of Greg. and of Mauritius, & afterwarde the prophecy of Hildegardis wryting in this manner.

Hildegardis.

As the Eccleſiaſtical miniſters do willingly receiue rewarde and praiſe of kings & rulers for their good deedes: So alſo ought they when they do offend willingly ſuffer and receiue puniſhmẽt at their hands for their euil doings. The conſequent holdeth thus, forſomuch as the puniſhment mekely and hũbly receiued for hys offence doth more profit a man, then his praiſe receiued for any good work. Wherupon S. Greg. wryteth thus vnto Mauritius the Emperor when he did perſecute him, ſaying: I beleue that you do pleaſe almighty God ſo muche the better, in ſo cruelly afflicting me, which haue ben ſo euel a ſeruaunt vnto him. If then thys holy Pope did ſo humbly and mekely, without any offence ſuffer thys affliction of the Emperor, why ſhould not any of the clergy, when they do offend, mekely ſuſtaine puniſhment, at the kings or rulers hands, vnder whom he is boũden to be ſubiect? When as the true vicar of Chriſt ſayth the 1. of Peter and 2. chap. Be ye ſubiect vnto euery creature for Gods cauſe, whether it bee vnto the kyng, as moſt excellent, or vnto the rulers, as men ſent of God, for the puniſhing of the wicked, and to the praiſe of the good, for ſo is the good will of God.

Gregorius ad Maurium.

Pope Leo ſubmitteth himſelf vnto the Emperour Ludouicus.

Wherupon Pope Leo, leaning vnto thys rule, ſubmitted him ſelf vnto Ludouicus the Emperour, as it is wrytten the 2. queſt. 7. Vnder theſe words: if we haue done any thing incompetently, or that we haue not obſerued the vpright path and way of equitie amongſt ſubiects, wee will amende the ſame, either by your owne iudgement, either els by the aduiſe or iudgement of thoſe whych you ſhal appoynt for that purpoſe. For if we which ought to correct and puniſh other mens fauts, doe commit more greuous our ſelues, we are not then the diſciples of the trueth (but as with ſorow we ſpeake it) we ſhalbe aboue al other, the maſters of error.

And in the 10. diſtinction hee wryteth thus, as touching the obedience vnto the Emperour, as concerning the precepts and commandements of our Emperors, and our predeceſſors biſhops (the which the gloſe nameth Emperors, which are annoynted after the manner of Biſhops) to be obſerued & kept vnbroken, wee do profeſſe our ſelues by all meanes poſsible, as much as in vs lieth, or that wee may and can by the helpe of God preſerue and kepe them both nowe and euer. And if peraduenture any man do informe, or hereafter ſhall informe you otherwiſe, know you him aſſuredly, to be a lier and ſlaunderer.

Marke how this deuout and holy Pope, calling the Emperors biſhops, ſubmitted himſelf according to the rule of S. Peter the apoſtle vnder the obedience, and alſo puniſhment of the Emperor. Wherfore then ſhould not the clergy of the kingdome of Boheme ſubmit themſelues vnder the obedience of their king, for Gods cauſe, for to be puniſhed if they do offende, and not onely ſubmit themſelues vnto the king, but alſo vnto the rulers, and not onely vnto the rulers, but vnto euery other creature? For by how much they do ſo humble, and abaſe themſelues in this world for Gods ſake, ſo much the more ſhal they be exalted with him, but what is the let therof, but only pride wherby Antichriſt doeth exalt hymſelfe aboue the moſt humble and meeke Lord Ieſu Chriſt?

The tyranny & pryde of the cleargie.

The Prophecy of Hildegardis.

Alſo it ſemeth to appere by that which is aforeſayd vpon the taking away of the temporallities out of the prophecie of Hildegardis the virgin, the which he wryteth in his bokes vnder Eugenius the Pope in the councel of Treuerſe approued & allowed by many biſhops of France, Italy, & Almany, which were there preſent, whereas alſo S. Bernard himſelfe was preſent, the which virgin prophecying, ſpake in this manner. The kings & other rulers of the world, being ſtirred vp by the iuſt iudgement of God ſhall ſet themſelues againſt them & run vpon them: ſaying, we wil not haue theſe men to raigne ouer vs with their rich houſes, & great poſſeſsions, and other worldly riches, ouer the which we are ordeined to be Lords and rulers, and how is it mete or comely that thoſe ſhauelings with their ſtoles and chiſils ſhuld haue more ſoldiers or more, or richer armour or artillery then we? So is it not conuenient that one of the clergy ſhould be a man of warre, neither a ſoldier to be one of the clergy. Wherefore let vs take away from them, that which they do not iuſtly, but wrõgfully poſſeſſe. And immediatly after ſhee ſayeth thus: The omnipotent father equally deuided all things: that is to ſay, the heauens he gaue vnto heauenly creatures, and the earth vnto the earthly. And by thys meanes was there a iuſt deuiſion made betweene the children of men, that the ſpiritualty ſhuld haue ſuch things as belongeth vnto them, and the ſecular people, ſuch things as are mete & neceſſary for them, ſo that neither of theſe 2. ſorts ſhuld oppres eche other by violẽce, for God doth not cõmand that the one ſonne or child ſhould haue both the cloke and the cote, and the other ſhould go naked, but he willed that the one ſhuld haue the cloke, and the other the cote. Wherefore the ſeculer ſort ought to haue the cloke for the greatneſſe of their worldly cares, and for their children, which daily increaſe and multiply. The cote hee geueth vnto the ſpiritualty, that they ſhuld not lacke clothing, & that they ſhould not poſſes more then neceſsity doth require. Wherfore we iudge and thinke it good that al theſe aforeſaid be deuided by reaſon & equity. And whereas the cloke and the cote are both found, there the cloke be taken away, & geuen vnto the nedy, that they do not periſh for lacke or want. Theſe aforſaid ſpake the virgin Hildegardis, plainly for ſhewing the taking away of the tẽporalities from the clergy by the ſeculer Lords, and ſhewing for what cauſe they ſhall be ſo taken away. And what manner of deuiſion ſhalbe made of thoſe thinges that are taken away, that they be not conſumed, and ſpent vnprofitably.

For ſo much as mention is heere made of Hildegardis, it ſhall not ſeme impertinent, moued by the occaſiõ hereof to geue forth vnto the reader ſuch things as we haue found in certen olde volumes, touching her prophecie of the comming of certaine falſe Prophets, onely meaning as it ſeemeth, the begging friers, whych ſprang vp ſhortly after her time. The tenour wherof is this, worde for word, as we finde it wrytten.

Hildegardis prophecying of Fryers & mõkes

In thoſe daies, there ſhall riſe vp a people without vnderſtanding, proud, couetous, vntruſty, and deceitfull, the which ſhall eat the ſinnes of the people, holding a certaine order of foliſh deuotion, vnder the fained cloke of beggery, preferring themſelues aboue all other, by their fained deuotion, arrogant vnderſtanding, and pretended holines, walking without ſhamefaſtnes, or the fear of God, inuenting many new miſchiefs being ſtrong & ſtout, but this order ſhalbe accurſed of al wiſe men, and faithful Chriſtians, they ſhal ceaſe from labour, and geue them ſelues ouer vnto idlenes. Chuſing rather to liue thorow flattery, thẽ by begging. Moreouer they ſhall together ſtudy, howe they may peruerſly reſiſt the teachers of the trueth. And ſlay them together wyth the noble men, how to ſeduce and deceiue the nobility, for the neceſsitie of their liuing and pleaſures of thys worlde, for the Deuill will graft in them foure principall vices: that is to ſay, flatterie, enuie, hypocriſie and ſlaunder. Flatterie, that they may haue large giftes geuen them. Enuie, when they ſee giftes geuen vnto other, and not vnto them. Hypocriſie, that by falſe diſsimulation, they maye pleaſe men. Detraction, that they may extoll and commend them ſelues, and backbite others, for the praiſe of menne and ſeducing of the ſimple. Alſo they ſhall inſtantly preache wythout deuotion or example of the Martyrs, and ſhall detract the ſeculer princes,

taking

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taking away the ſacraments of the church from the true paſtors, receiuing almes of the poore, diſeaſed, and miſerable, and alſo aſſociating them ſelues with the common people, hauing familiaritie with women, inſtructing them howe they ſhall deceiue their husbandes and friendes by their flatterye and deceitfull wordes, and rob their husbandes to geue it vnto them, for they will take all theſe ſtollen and euill gotten, and ſay, geue it vnto vs, and we will pray for you, ſo that they beyng curious to hide other mens faultes, doe vtterly forget their owne, and alas, they will receiue all thinges of rouers, pickers, ſpoylers, theeues and robbers, of ſacrilegious perſons, vſerers, adulterers, Heretikes, Schiſmatikes, Apoſtataies, whores and baudes, of noble men, periurers, merchantes, falſe iudges, ſouldiours, tyrantes, princes, of ſuch as liue contrary to the law, and of many peruers and wicked men, following the perſuaſion of the deuil, the ſweetnes of ſinne, a delicate and tranſitory life, and fulnes euen vnto eternall damnation. All theſe things ſhall manifeſtly appeare in them vnto all people, and they day by day, ſhal waxe more wicked and hard hearted, & whē as their wickednes and diſceits ſhalbe found out, then ſhall theyr gifts ceaſe, and then ſhal they go about their houſes hungry, & as mad dogs loking down vpon the earth, & drawing in their necks as doues, that they might bee ſatisfied with bread, then ſhall the people crye out vpon them. Woe be vnto you ye miſerable children of ſorow, the worlde hath ſeduced you, the deuil hath brideled your mouthes, your fleſh is frayle, and your heartes without ſauour, your mindes haue bene vnſtedfaſt, and your eyes delighted in much vanitie and folly, your daintie bellies deſire delicate meates. Your ſeete ſwift to runne vnto miſchief, remember when you were apparantly bleſſed, yet enuious, poore but rich, ſimple, mightie deuout flatterers, vnfaithfull betrayers, peruerſe detracters, holy hipocrites, ſubuerters of the truth, ouermuch vpright, proude, vnſhamefaſt, vnſtedfaſt teachers, delicate marters, confeſſiours for gaine, meeke ſlaunderers, religious, couetous, humble, proud pitifull, hard harted liers, pleaſant flatterers, peace makers, perſecutors, oppreſſors of the poore, bringing in new ſects newly inuented of your ſelues, mercifull, wicked, louers of the world, ſellers of pardons, ſpoylers of benefices, vnprofitable orators, ſedicious cōſpirators, dronkards, deſirers of honor, maintainers of miſchieſe, robbers of the worlde, vnſaciable, preachers, men pleaſers, ſeducers of women, and ſowers of diſcorde, for Moyſes the glorious prophet, ſpake very well of you in his ſong. A people without coūcel or vnderſtanding, would to God they did know, vnderſtand and foreſee the end. You haue builded vp an high, and when you could aſcend no hier, then did you fall euen as Symon Magus, whom God ouerthrew, and did ſtrike with a cruel plage, ſo you likewiſe thorowe your falſe doctrine, naughtines, lies, detractions and wickednes, are come to ruine, and the people ſhall ſay vnto them. goe yee teachers of wickedneſſe, ſubuerters of the truth, brethren of the Sunamitie, fathers of hereſies, falſe apoſtles, which haue fained your ſelues to followe the life of the Apoſtles, and yet haue not fulfilled it in no part, ſonnes of iniquitie, we wil not follow the knowledge of your waies, for pride & preſumption hath deceiued you, and inſaciable cōcupiſcence hath ſubuerted your erroneous hearts. And whē as yet would aſcēd hier thē was mete or comely for you, by the iuſt iudgement of God, you are fallen backe into perpetual opprobry and ſhame. Thys bleſſed Hildegardis whoſe prophecy this is, flouriſhed about the yeare of our Lord a 1546. as it is wrytten in Martins chronicles.

Hugo de ſacramentis part.2.

Hildegardis prophecying of Fryers & mōkes

Alſo Hugo in his ſecond boke of ſacraments, in the 2. parte, 3. chapter and 7. ſayth, the laity forſomuch as they entermedle wyth earthly matters neceſſary vnto an earthly life, they are the leaſt part of the body of Chriſt. And the clergy for ſo much as they doe diſpoſe thoſe things which pertaine vnto a ſpirituall life, are as it were the right ſide of the body of Chriſt, and afterward interpreting both theſe partes him ſelfe, he ſayeth: A ſpirituall man ought to haue nothing, but ſuch as pertaineth vnto God, vnto whom it is appoynted to be ſuſtained by the tithes and oblations whych are offered vnto God: But vnto the Chriſtian and faithfull laietie, the poſſeſſion of the earth is graunted, and vnto the cleargie the hole charge of ſpiritual matters is committed, as it was in the old Teſtament. And in his 7. chapter he declareth howe that certaine things are geuen vnto the Church of Chriſt, by the deuotion of the faithfull, the power and authority of the ſeculer power reſerued, leaſt there might happen any confuſion: For ſo much as God him ſelſe cannot alow no diſordered thing. Wherupon oftētimes the worldly princes do graunt the bare vſe of the church, and oftentimes vſe and power to exerciſe iuſtice, which the clergy cannot exerciſe by any Eccleſiaſticall miniſter, or any one perſon of the clergy. Notwithſtāding they may haue certain lay perſōs, miniſters vnto that office. But in ſuch ſort ſayeth he, that they do acknowledge the power which they haue to come from the ſeculer prince or ruler, and that they do vnderſtand their poſſeſſions can neuer be alienate away from the kings power, but (if that neceſſity or reaſon doe require) the ſame poſſeſſions in all ſuch caſe of neceſsity do owe him obeiſance and ſeruice. For like as the kings power ought not to turne away the defence or ſauegarde which he oweth vnto other: ſo likewiſe the poſſeſsions obtained and poſſeſſed by the clergy, according to the duty and homage which is due vnto the patronage of the kings power cannot by right be denied. Thus much wryteth Hugo.

In the third acte the ſame yeare, after the feaſt of S. Vitis, as touching Tithes. &c.

¶ Tithes are pure almes.

Almes, Mercy.

Two kindes of miſeries.

Two kindes of goodnes.

Wiſdome. Follye.

The miſeries of the minde and bodie.

VPon this article it is to be noted, that for ſo much as almes is a worke of mercy, as S. Auguſtine, Chryſoſtome, and others do ioyntly affirme, and that mercy (according to Lincolnienſis minde) for the preſent is a loue or deſire to helpe the miſerable out of his miſery: and for ſo much as the miſery of mankinde is double: that is to ſay ſpirituall and bodily: the whiche is the want or taking away of the good, and the goodes of man is eyther the goodes of the ſoule or of the body: And the goods of the ſoule is double (That is to ſay: the lighting of the minde, & the vprightnes of affection) the miſery of the ſoule is alſo double as the darcknes of ignorance and a froward and wilfull ſweruing from the truth. And both the goodes of the ſoule are wont to be comprehended vnder one title of name: that is to ſay, wiſdom, and both the miſeries of the ſoule vnder the name of follie. Wherupon all the hole goodnes of the ſoule is wiſdom, and all the hole miſery thereof is ignoraunce, the miſeries of the body are lacke of meat, that is to ſay, hunger, and lacke of drinke called thirſt: and briefly all miſery is the want of ſome thing which is deſired. Alſo theſe are bodely miſeries, nakednes, lacke of harbour, ſickneſſe, and impriſonment. All the miſeries therfore being nombred together, are but one of the ſoule, the which is folly and lacke of wiſdom, and 6. of the body, the which the Lord in the 25. of Mathew doth plainly reherſe. There are alſo commonly appoynted 7. bodely almes, that is to ſay, to feede the hungry, to geue drinke vnto the thirſty: To clothe the naked, to harber the ſtranger or haberles, to viſit the ſick, & to bury the dead, the which altogether are cōteyned in theſe verſes.

Viſito, poto, cibo, redimo, tego, colligo, condo.

The which Verſe is thus Engliſhed, word for word.

Viſite the ſicke, the hungry feede,
Geue drinke to the thirſty, cloth the naked:
Bury the dead, the captiue redeme,
The harbourles receiue to thy lodging.

What is almes.

There be alſo 7. other ſpirituall almes appoynted, whych are theſe, to teache the ignoraunt, to councell him that is in dout. To comfort him which is in heauineſſe. To correct the offender. To forgeue him which hath offended againſt thee. To beare thoſe which are greeuous. And to pray for all men, the which are alſo conteined in theſe verſes following.

Conſule caſtiga ſolare remitte fer ora.

The which Verſe is thus Engliſhed, word for word.

Inſtruct the ignorant, the weake confirme,
Comfort the heauy hart, and correct ſinne:
Forgeue the offender, beare with the rude,
Pray for all men both euel and good.

So that notwithſtanding vnder the ſame, counſelles and doctrine be comprehended. Thus writeth Thomas in the 2. part of the 2. queſt. 32, article. 2.

What almes is.

Secondly it is to be noted, that in this preſent article our intent is only to intreat of bodely almes (the which as Thomas writeth in his 2. part 2. queſti. 32. Arti. 1.) according vnto ſome mens mindes is this defined. Almes is a worke whereby any thing is giuen vnto the needy of compaſsiō for Gods ſake. And for ſo much as this definition ſerueth as well for the ſpirituall, as for the corporall almes. Therefore to the purpoſe, almes is a worke, whereby any thing is giuen vnto the needy in body for compaſsion, & for Gods ſake. Or that is giuen of compaſsion or pitie vnto the bodely needy for Gods ſake.

Whereupon it is manifeſt that almes as S. Auguſtin & other holy men ſay, is a worke of mercy, as alſo to geue almes. As it appeareth by the name, for in the Greeke it is deriued frō this word Miſericordia, which is mercy, for as in the Latine, this word Miſeratio, which ſignifieth pitie, is deriued of Miſericordia, which is mercy, ſo this word Eleemoſyna, which ſignifieth almes, is deryued of the Greeke word Elemonia, which is to ſay mercy, and of the word Sina, which is to ſay commandement, as it were a commaundement of mercy, or otherwiſe of this word Elemonia. By this letter I, which is to ſay God, and this worde Sina, which is commaundement As if it were ſaid, the commaundement of God as Ianuenſis in his booke intituled Catholicō affirmeth.

For our Sauiour doth commaunde in the xj. of Luke to geue almes, ſaying, geue almes and behold all thinges are cleane vnto you: leaſt that in this point there may be any equiuocation it is ſuppoſed preſently, that the almes giuē of mē is a corporal almes giuen ſimply vnder the name of almes. Secondly, it is to be noted, that Tythes in this effect are the tenth part of goods of fortune, giuen by a man ſimply vnder the name of almes for Gods ſake.

Tythes.

Theſe things being thus noted and ſuppoſed the article is thus proued. Euery gift of fortune, or temporal gift, ſimply giuē vnder the name of almes is almes. But ſome tiths are the gift of fortune, or temporall gift vnder the name of almes. Therfore ſome tithes are almes. This conſequent is manifeſt of his ſelſe. The Maior appeareth by the firſt ſuppoſition. And the Minor by the ſeconde.

Item, euery gift geuen by a man euen of loue, to relieue and helpe the miſerable out of his miſery is an almes. The 10. part of the goodes of fortune geuen by a man, ſimply vnder the name of almes, for Gods ſake, is geuen by the ſame man euen of loue, to helpe the miſerable out of his miſery: Therefore the 10. part of the goods of fortune being geuẽ by any man ſimply vnder the name of almes for Gods ſake is almes. The conſequent is manifeſt. The Maior appeareth by this, that euery ſuch gift is either a ſpirituall or bodely almes. The Minor ſeemeth hereby true, for ſo much as many holy men haue geuen, and do geue, euen for loue to relieue the miſerable out of his miſerie. Neither is it to be doubted, but that ſuch kinde of tithes are almes. For S. Auguſtine vppon theſe words of the Lord in the Goſpell wryteth thus. Woe be vnto you Phariſies which do tithe minte and aniſe. If they cannot be clẽſed without they beleeue in him, he which doth clenſe his heart thorow faith, to what purpoſe is it, that hee ſayth, geue almes, and beholde all things are cleane vnto you. Let vs geue eare, and peraduenture he doth expound it himſelfe. They did take out the 10. part of all their fruites, and gaue it for almes, the which any Chriſtian mã doth not willingly. Then they mocked him, whẽ he ſpake theſe words to them, as vnto men which wold do no almes. Thys the Lord forknowing, ſaid: Wo be vnto you Phariſes which tithe mint and rue, and al kind of herbs. And paſſe ouer the iudgement & charity of God, for this it is to do almes, if thou doſt vnderſtãd it, begin with thy ſelfe: For howe canſt thou be mercifull vnto an other, which art vnmercifull vnto thy ſelfe. This wryteth S. Auguſtine, in plainly ſaying that tithes are almes.

S. Auguſtine proueth tithes to be pure almes

Auguſt in Enchiri.

Alſo in his Enchiridion *76.* chap. vpon theſe wordes of Luke in the 11 chapter. Notwithſtanding that which is more then ſufficient, geue in almes and all things ſhall be cleane vnto you, hee ſayth thus: when he had rebuked them that they waſhed thẽſelues outwardly, and inwardly were full of iniquity & abhomination, admoniſhing them, what, and howe a man ought firſt to beſtowe almes vpon him ſelf, and firſt to clenſe him ſelf inwardly, he ſayth. That which doth remaine, geue in almes, & beholde all things are clean vnto you. Afterward, that he might the better declare what he had geuen them warning of, & what they neglected to do, that they ſhuld not iudge him ignorant of their almes: he ſayth, Wo be vnto you Phariſies, as though hee ſhoulde ſay, I verely gaue you warning that you ſhuld geue ſuch almes, wherby al things might be cleane vnto you: but wo be vnto you which do tith mint, rue, and all kinde of herbes, for I do know theſe your almes, that you ſhuld not thinke with your ſelues that you had geuẽ me warning therof: and neglect and paſſe ouer the iudgement and charitie of God, by the which almes ye might be clẽſed from all your inward filthineſſe. And your bodies alſo which you doe waſh ſhoulde be cleane For all theſe things both inward, and alſo outwarde, as it is ſayde in an other place, cleanſe that which is wythin, and the outward things ſhalbe alſo cleane.

But leaſt that he ſhould ſeme to refuſe thoſe almes which are geuen of the frutes of the earth, he ſayd, you ought to haue done theſe thinges: That is to ſay, the iudgement and loue of God, & not to neglect the ſame. That is to ſay, the almes of the frute of the earth This wryteth S. Aug. expreſly calling the tithes almes.

Chriſoſtomus in 11. Luce.

Alſo Chryſoſtome vpon the ſame wordes in the 11. of Luke, that which remaineth geue in almes, he ſayth thus: wheras it was ſpoken of the Iewiſh kind of clenſing it is wholy paſſed. But for ſo much as tithes is a certaine almes, and the time was not yet expreſly come to kil the ſacrifices of the law, for this cauſe he ſaith, ye ought to do thoſe things, & not to omit the other. And S. Thomas alledgeth him in his gloſe vppon S. Luke. And Chryſoſtome himſelfe doth touch two poynts. Firſt that tithes is almes. Secõdly, that tithes are in a manner lawfull, forſomuch as the gift therof vnto the prieſts did not ceaſe in the time of Chriſt.

Alſo Auguſtin in a certaine Sermon of geuing almes, ſayeth thus, what is to ſay: geue almes: And behold all things are cleane vnto you. Let vs geue eare, and peraduenture he doth expounde it him ſelfe. When he had ſpoken theſe words, without dout they thought within them ſelues, who did geue almes, and howe they did geue it. They tithed all that they had, and toke out the 10. part of all their frutes. And gaue it for almes: the which no Chriſtian lightly doth ſo. Marke what the Iewes did, they tithed not onely their wheate, but their wine and oyle, and not that only, but alſo vile things. For the commandement of the Lord, as commin, rue, and aniſe, of the which they tooke the 10. part, and gaue it for almes. I thinke therefore, for ſo much as they called vnto theyr mindes and thought with them ſelues, that our Lord Chriſt ſpake in vaine vnto them that they did no almes, when as they knewe their owne workes, that they tithed the ſmalleſt, and worſt of all their frutes, and gaue almes thereof: They mocked hym amongeſt them ſelues, becauſe he did ſpeake in ſuch ſort vnto them, as vnto men that did no almes. The which the Lord fore ſeeing, by and by added notwythſtanding, wo be vnto you Scribes, Phariſies & hypocrites, which tithe your mint, commin, and rue, and all kinde of herbes: that you may know, I doe vnderſtand your almes Truely, theſe are your tithes. Theſe are your almes, you tithe out the leaſt and worſt of all your frutes, and haue left the waighty matters of the lawe vndone Here S. Auguſtin often expoundeth, that tithes are almes: Alſo he wryteth the like in his booke of homilies in his 6. homelie.

Item, for the proofe of thys article that tithes are pure almes, it is thus argued. For this propoſition, tithes are pure almes is infinite, taking the trueth for many of his particularities. It is moſte certaine that it is not damnable, but moſt catholike, that God is ſomething, the which being falſe in all particulers, it is onely true for that alone which doth ſurmount all kinde. Ergo, by like reaſon this particuler is true, tenthes are pure almes: For it is thus proued. Theſe tenthes of a good lay man being wholy diſtributed by a faithfull miniſter vnto a nedy lay man, according to a good entent, how can they be but pure almes, yea, and more pure then any almes geuen by any of the cleargie being a fornicatour. The whole Antecedent I ſuppoſe as poſsible, and doutfull vnto the condemners, if it be true.

Item, it is alſo thus proued, theſe tithes, and all other goodes of fortune, are pure almes in reſpect of God. Forſomuch as euery man, Emperor and king, is a begger of God. As S. Auguſtin doth oftentimes affirme, and conſequently if he doe receiue frutefully any ſuch goodneſſe at the hand of God, the ſame is pure almes in reſpect of God: neither is there any faithfull man that will deny the ſame, but that it ſimply foloweth that the ſame is pure almes before God, Ergo it is pure almes.

It is alſo thus argued, all tithes are by them ſelues, and euery part of them almes, neither is there any reaſon cõtrary vnto this, that they are almes. Ergo, they are pure almes. For they are by no other meanes or reaſon, then almes, if they be all together themſelues almes: Forſomuch as it followeth, if they be by any other meanes or otherwiſe then almes, then they are otherwiſe then ſome almes, and forſomuch as they themſelues are ſome almes, it foloweth that they are otherwiſe then they are in dede, the which is falſe.

Suſtenance & clothing, geuen to the Apoſtles, was almes ergo alſo tithes.

But now to paſſe beyond the bonds of Logicke, it is to be demaũded, whether before the church was endowed, or that ſuſtenance and clothing were geuen vnto the Apoſtles, there was any pure almes, or that they were geuen by any other meanes by bõd of det, amõgſt men. And forſomuch as the reaſon is not to be fained, but that they were pure almes, ſo afterwarde the cuſteme of the ſame thing according vnto like reaſõ doth not alter the kind of the reaſon. For ſo might beggers chalenge by cuſtome beyond the purity of almes, the temporallities which they do beg. Neither doth det vtterly exclude the purity of almes before God: for euery man duely geuing almes, doth as he ought to do: as euery man duely receiuing his almes, ought ſo to receiue it as according to Gods will. And ſimplie to eſtabliſh any humaine title, vppon the continuance of any ſuch almes, it is altogether contrary vnto the reaſon of almes. Therefore they do continually obſerue, and kepe the reaſon of the purity of almes, which they had from the beginning, when as the bond conditioned, doth not deſtroy the purity thereof. Wherefore there is no cauſe why it ſhould be denied that tithes are pure almes: except that the proud ſhould be maruelouſly extolled, contrary to the humility of Chriſt. For they doe chalenge by the title of their lacke or want ſo to be pleaſed for their tithes. For ſo might the begging Frier, by the continuance of hys daily begging chalenge according vnto the like quantitie or circumſtance But it is no argument, that if the curate doe performe his corporall miniſtrie, that he ought therefore to chalenge tithes by any ciuil title, becauſe that as wel on the behalfe of him, which geueth the tithe, as alſo in the behalfe of the Curate, euery ſuche miniſtry ought frely to be geuen, and not by any ciuill exchange. Forſomuch as it is not required, but that rather the compariſon of ſuch exchaunges are repugnant, forſomuch as alſo no mã frely geueth any almes except he doe looke for the duetie of recompence, by the law of conſcience.

Item, all temporall goods beſtowed vppon the clergie, by the lay people vnder condition, as the goodes of the churche are the almes of them which geue it, it is prooued thus, for ſo much as all thoſe goods are the goods of the poore, as it appeareth by many ſayings of holy men and by the lawes.

But they were not the goods of the pore, after they were mere ſeculer goodes, but onely by the meane of the woorke of mercie, wherby they were beſtowed vpon the pore Ergo, they were pure almes. The cõſequent dependeth vpõ the definitiõ of pure almes.

Item, all things changed to the vſe and power of an other, either by ciuil exchange or Euangelical is changed But the church goods are ſo changed by one of theſe miniſtries. But the Euangelical exchange is not to be fained, becauſe it is not done, neyther by bying or ſelling, or any other ciuill exchange. Therefore there doth not remaine, but only a pure gift, for hope of a heauenly reward, the which is mercy, and ſo pure almes. And it ſemeth to followe conſequently that all the Clergie receiuing ſuch almes, are not onely in reſpect of God, as all other menne: But in reſpect of men beggers. For they wold not ſo inſtantly require thoſe almes except they had neede of them: neither ought we to be aſhamed therof, or to be proud beggers: for ſo much as Chriſt touching his humanitie became a begger for vs, becauſe hee declared his need vnto his Father ſaying. &c.

The clergy beggers.

Item, when any Kyng, Prince, Knight, Citizen, or anye other man doth geue vnto the clergy, or to anye prieſt for his ſtipend, he geueth the ſame vnto the Churche of God, and to the priuate party, as a perpetuall almes, that he ſhould attend to his vocation, preaching, praying and ſtudying. But this kinde of geuing doth not ſuffice to ground any ſeculer dominion amongſt the clergye it followeth that the bare vſe remayneth in them, or the ſeculer vſe without any ſeculer power.

The maior appeareth hereby, forſomuch as otherwiſe almes ſhould not be a worke of mercy. Whereby it may alſo appeare, that tenths are pure alms geuen to the church, to the vſe of the pore.

And hereupon the holy men doe ſay that tenthes are the tributes of the needy ſoules. Whereupon S. Auguſtine in a ſermon made vpon the reſtoring of tithes ſayth. The geuing of Tithes moſt deare brethren are the tributes of the poore ſoules therefore pay your tribute vnto the poore. And by and by after, he ſayth, therefore who deſireth eyther to get any rewarde, or to haue anye remiſsion of ſinnes, by geuing of his tenthes, let him ſtudy to geue almes euen of the ninth part: ſo that what ſoeuer ſhall remayne more then a competent liuing, and decent clothing: that it be not reſerued for riot, but that it be layd vp in the heauenly treaſure, by geuing it in almes to the poore. For what ſo euer God doth geue vnto vs more then we haue neede of: he doth not geue it vs ſpecially for our ſelues: but doth ſend it vs to be beſtowed vpon others by our handes, if wee doe not geue it, we inuade an other mans poſſeſsions.

Tithes are to be giuen of the ninth parte of goods.

Thus much wryteth S. Auguſtine, and is repeted in the xvi. queſtion 1. Decime.

Alſo S. Ierome in an Epiſtle, and it is put in the 16. queſtion, and 2. chap Quicquid. What ſoeuer the clergy hath it is the goods of the poore.

Alſo S. Auguſtine in his 33. Epiſtle vnto Boniface, and it is aleaged in the 1. queſtion and 12.

Sustenance & clothing, geuen to the Apoſtles, was almes ergo alſo tithes.

Alſo in the 23. queſtion 7. If we doe poſſeſſe any thinge priuately, the which doth ſuffiſe vs, they are not oures, but the goods of the poore, whoſe ſtewardes we are, except we doe challenge to our ſelues a property by ſome damnable vſurpatiõ. The gloſe vpon that part of the 23. queſtion 7. ſayth. The Prelates are but onely the ſtewardes of the church goodes, and not Lordes therof.

S. Ambroſe alſo vpon this ſaying of the Goſpell. Luke the 16. Geue accompt of your bailiſhip, or ſtewardſhip: Hereby then doe we learne, that they are not Lordes, but rather ſtewardes and baliffes of other mens ſubſtaunce.

And S. Ierome, writing to Nepotianus ſaieth, howe can they be of the clergye, which are commaunded to contemne and diſpiſe their owne ſubſtaunce, and to take away from a frend, it is theft, to deceiue the Churche it is ſacriledge, and to take awaye that, which ſhould be geuen vnto the poore.

And S. Bernard in his ſermon, vppon theſe wordes (Symon Peter ſayd vnto Ieſus, chap. 17) ſayd. Truely the goodes of the Church, are the patrimony of the poore: And whatſoeuer thyng the miniſters and ſtewardes of the ſame, not Lordes or poſſeſſours do take vnto themſelues more then ſufficient, for a competent liuing, the ſame is taken away from the poore, by a ſacrilegious crueltie.

The clergie are ſtewards of the church goods, and not Lordes thereof.

And Euſebius in his treatiſe vpon the pilgrimage of S. Ierom writeth thus, if thou doeſt poſſeſſe a garment, or anye other thing more then extreme neceſsitie doth require· and doſt not help the needy, thou art a theef & a robber. Wherfore dearly beloued children, let vs be ſtewards of our temporallities, and not poſſeſſors.

And Iſidore in his treatiſe De ſummo Bono chap. 42. ſayth. Let the byſhop know that he is the ſeruaunt of the people, and not Lord ouer them.

Iſidorus de ſummo bono.

Alſo in the 5. booke of decretals, extra. de donationibus, ſub authoritate Alexandri tertij. Epiſcopi pariſienſis. He ſayth, we beleue that it is not vnknowne vnto your brotherhoode, that a Byſhop, and euery other Prelate is but a ſteward of the Churche goodes, and not Lord thereof. By theſe ſayinges of theſe holy men it is euidently declared, that not only tithes, but alſo al other ſubſtaunce which the clergy hath by gift of worke of mercy, are pure almes, which after the neceſsitie of the clergy once ſatiſfied, ought to be tranſported vnto the poore.

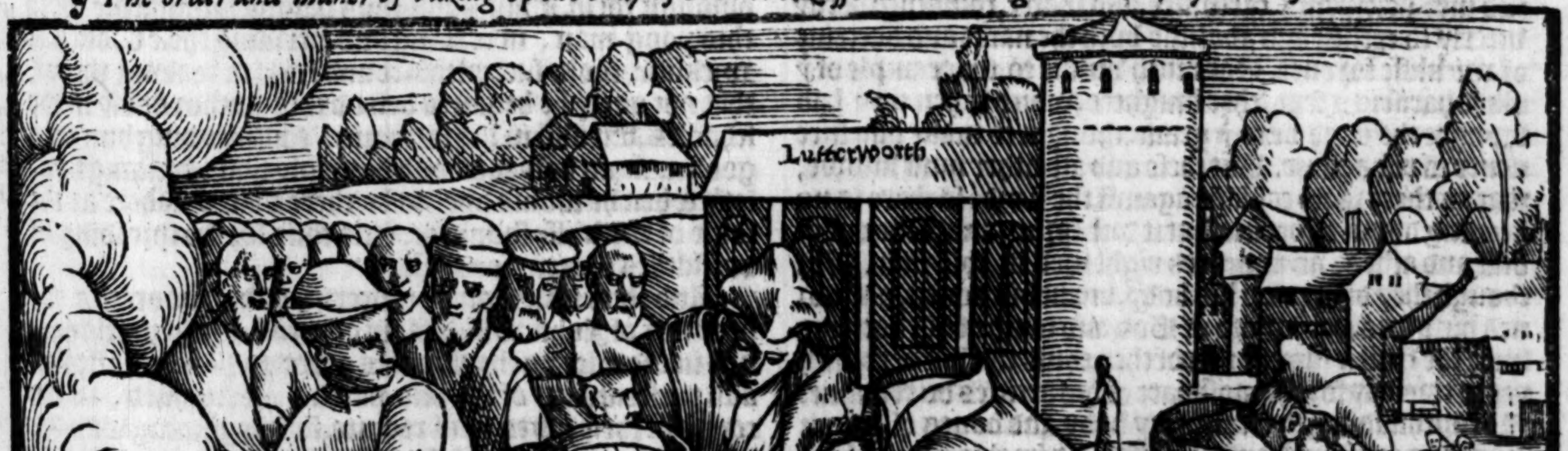
Secondly it is declared how that the Clergye are not Lordes and poſſeſſours of thoſe goods, but miniſters & ſtewardes therof.

Thirdly it is ſhewed, that if the Clergye doe abuſe the ſame, they are theeues, robbers, and ſacrilegious perſons, and except they doe repent, by the iuſt iudgement of God they are to be condempned.

AND thus hetherto I may peraduenture ſeeme to haue made ſufficient long reſitall out of Ihon Hus, but ſo notwithſtanding that the commoditie of thoſe thinges, maye aboundantly recompence the prolixitie thereof. Wherfore if I ſhall ſeeme vnto any man in the rehearſall of this diſputation to haue paſſed very farre the boundes of the hiſtory: let him thinke thus of me, that at what tyme I tooke in hand to wryte of theſe Eccleſiaſticall matters, I could not omit theſe thinges whiche were ſo ſtraightly ioyned with the cauſe of the Church.

Neither that I did make more accompt of the hiſtorye which I had taken in hand then of the common vtilitie, whereunto I had chiefe reſpect. There were beſides theſe certayne other articles. whereupon the ſayde Iohn Hus had very wiſely and learnedly diſputed, but theſe ſhal ſuffice vs for this preſent. And for the reſidue we will paſſe them ouer, to the intent we may the more ſpedely retourne whereas our ſtory left, declaring what cruelty they vſed not onely againſt the bookes and articles of Iohn Wickliffe, but alſo in burning his body and bones, commaunding them to be taken vp 41. yeares after he was buryed, as appeareth by the decree of the ſayde Synode, the forme wherof, we thought hereunto to annexe as followeth.

¶ *The order and maner of taking vp the body of Iohn Wickliffe and burning his bones 41. yeares after his death.*



The aſhes of Wickliffe caſt into the riuer.

✻ The decree of the Synode of Conſtance touching the taking vp of the body and bones of Iohn Wickliffe to be burned 41. yeares after he was buryed in his owne pariſh at Lutterworth.

The decree of the councell for the burning of Wickliffes dead bones.

Ex Actis concilij Conſtant.

FOr ſomuch as by the authoritie of the ſentence & decree of the Councell of Rome, and by the cōmaundement of the Church and the Apoſtolical ſee after due delayes being geuen, they proceeded vnto the condemnatiō of the ſaid I. Wickliffe, and his memory: hauing firſt made proclamation, & geuen cōmaundement to cal forth whoſoeuer would defend the ſaid Wickliffe, or his memory (if there were any ſuch) but there did none appeare, which would either defēd him or his memory. And moreouer witneſſes being examined by Commiſſioners appoynted by Pope Iohn & thys Councell, vpon the impenitencie and finall obſtinacie and ſtubburnes of yͤ ſaid Iohn Wickliffe (reſeruing that which is to be reſerued, as in ſuch buſines, the order of the lawe requireth) and his impenitencie and obſtinacy euen vnto his end, being ſufficiently proued by euident ſignes and tokens, and alſo by lawfull witneſſes of credite, was lawfully geuen thereunto. Wherefore at the inſtaunce of yͤ ſteward of the treaſury, proclamation being made to heare & vnderſtand the ſentence agaynſt this day: the ſacred Synode declareth, determineth and geueth ſentence, that the ſaid Iohn Wickliffe was a notorious obſtinate hereticke, and that he died in his hereſie, curſing and condemning both him and his memory.

This Sinode alſo decreeth and ordeineth, that the body & bones of the ſaid Iohn Wickliffe, if it might be decerned and knowne from the bodyes of other faithfull people to be taken out of the ground, & throwne away farre from the buriall of any church, according vnto the canon lawes & decrees. Which determination and ſentēce definitiue being red & pronounced, the lord preſident, & the foreſaid preſidentes of the 4. nations, being demaunded & aſked whether it did pleaſe them or no? They all anſwered (and firſt Hoſtienſis the preſident, and after him the other preſidents of the nations) that it pleaſed them very well, and ſo they alowed and confirmed all the premiſſes, &c.

¶ What Heraclitus would not laugh, or what Democritus would not weep, to ſee theſe ſo ſage & reuerend Catos, to occupy their heads to take vp a poore mans body, ſo long dead and buryed before, by yͤ ſpace of 41. yeares? & yet peraduenture were not able to finde his right bones, but took vp ſome other body, & ſo of a catholick made an heretike. Albeit, herein Wickliffe had ſome cauſe to geue them thankes that they woulde at leaſt ſpare him ſo long till he was dead, and alſo to geue him ſo long reſpite after hys death 41. yeares to reſt in his ſepulchre before they vngraued him, and turned him from earth to aſhes: which aſhes alſo, they took & threw into the riuer. And ſo was he reſolued into 3. elements, earth, fire, and water, thinking therby vtterly to extinct and aboliſhe both the name and doctrine of Wickliffe for euer. Not much vnlike to the example of yͤ old Phariſeis & ſepulcher knightes, which when they had brought the Lord vnto yͤ graue, thought to make him ſure neuer to riſe againe. But theſe and all other muſt knowe, that as there is no cōſaile againſt the Lord: ſo there is no keeping down of veritie, but it wil ſpring and come out of duſt and aſhes, as appeared right well in this man. For though they digged vp his body, burnt his bones, & drowned his aſhes, yet yͤ word of God and truth of his doctrine with the fruit & ſucceſſe therof they could not burne: which yet to this day for the moſt part of his articles do remaine. Notwithſtāding, the tranſitory body and bones of yͤ man was thus conſumed and diſperſed, as by this picture here aboue ſet forth to thine eyes (gentle reader may appeare.

Ex Th. Walden. lib. de ſacrament.

Theſe things thus finiſhed and accompliſhed, whiche pertayne to the ſtory and time of Wickliffe: let vs now (by the ſupportation of the Lord) procede to entreate & write of the reſt, which either in his time or after his time, ſpringing out of the ſame vniuerſitie, and rayſed vp (as ye wold ſay) out of his aſhes were pertakers of the ſame perſecution. Of whom ſpeaketh Thomas Walden in his book, De ſacramentis & ſacramentalibus. cap. 53. Where he ſaith, that after Wickliffe many ſuffered moſt cruell death, and many mo did forſake the realme.

In the number of whome was William Swinderby, Walter Brute: Iohn Purney: Richard White: William Thorpe: Raynold Pecock B. of S. Aſaph, and afterward of Chicheſter.

Laurence Redman, Dauid Sawtre, Iohn Aſchwerbe,

W. Iames, Th. Brightwell, William Hawli, Rafe Grenhurit, Iohn Scut, Philip Norice, Peter Pain, Lorde Cobham.

To this Catalogue alſo pertayneth (mentioned in ancient writers) Laurence Redman maiſter of Arte, Dauid Sautre deuine, Iohn Aſchwarby vicar as they call him of S. Mary Church at Oxford, William Iames an excellent yong man well learned, Thomas Brightwell, & William Haulam a ciuilian, Rafe Grenhurſt, Ioh. Scut: and Philip Norice: which being excōmunicated by P. Eugenius the 4. in the yeare of our Lord, 1446. appealed vnto a generall or oecumenicall Councell.

Peter Payne, who flying from Oxford into Boheme, did ſtoutly contend agaynſt the Sophiſters, as touchyng both kindes of the ſacrament of the laſt ſupper. Who afterward among the reſt of the Oratours was one of the 14. that was ſent into the Councell at Baſill: whereas by the ſpace of 3. daies, he diſputed vpon the 4. article, which was as touching the ciuill dominion of the clergy, an. 1438. Alſo the Lorde Cobham. &c. with diuers others beſides whoſe names are mencioned in the kinges writte ſent to the Sheriffe of Northampton which writ of the king, followith in this Tenor. Rex vicecomiti Northamptoniæ ſalutem. &c. For ſo much as Iohn Attyate of Chepingwarden: Iohn Warryner. Ro. Brewode &c. be Recettours & fautoures of heretickes and eſpecially of one Iohn Woodward prieſt publiquely diffamed and condemned of hereſy will not be iuſtified by the cenſures of the Churche as the reuerend father I. Biſh. of Lincolne hath certified vs. We therefore willing to withſtand all defenders and fautours of ſuch hereſies doe will and commaunde aſwell the forenamed as namely the foreſaid Iohn Woodward to be apprehended ſtraightly charging the ſame to be empriſoned by theyr bodyes or otherwiſe puniſhed as ſhall ſeeme good to the Iuſtices, vntill they and euery of them ſhall ſubmit them ſelues to the obedience of the foreſayd Biſhop in this behalfe, accordingly. Whereof fayle you not vnder payne of C. li. Witneſſe our ſelues, yeauen at our Mannor of Langley the viij. day of Marche, the 12. yeare of our Reigne.

To theſe aboue rehearſed and other fauourers of Wickliffe within this our countrey of Englande we may adde alſo the Bohemians: forſomuch as the propagation of the ſaid doctrine of Wickliffe, in that Countrey alſo take roote, comming from England to Boheme, by thys occaſion as in ſtory here followeth.

The occaſion how the doctrine of Wickliffe came to Boheme.

There chaunced at that time a certayne ſtudent of the cōutry of Bohemia to be at Oxford, one of a welthy houſe and alſo of a noble ſtocke. Who returning home from the vniuerſitie of Oxford, to the vniuerſitie of Prage: caryed with him certayne bookes of Wickliffe, De realibus Vniuerſalibus, De ciuili iure, & Diuino: De eccleſia, De queſtionibus varijs contra clerum &c. It chaunced the ſame time, a certayne noble man in the City of Prage, had founded and builded a great Church of Mathias and Matheus, which Church was called Bethleem: geuing to it great landes, & finding in it two preachers euery day, to preach both holy day and working day to the people. Of the whiche two preachers, this Iohn Hus was one, a man of great knowledge, of a pregnant wit, and excellently fauoured for his worthy life amongſt them. This Iohn Hus hauing familiaritie wyth this yong man, in reading and peruſing theſe bookes of Wickliffe, tooke ſuch pleaſure and fruit in reading therof, that not onely he began to defend this author opēly in the ſchooles, but alſo in his ſermons: commending him for a good man, an holy man and heauenly man, wiſhing himſelfe when he ſhould dye, to be there placed, where as the ſoule of Wickliffe ſhould be. And thus for the ſpreading of Wickliffes doctrine enough.

Wicleuus vir bonus, ſanctus cœlo dignus.

The great affection of I. Hus to I. Wickliffe.

And thus much briefly concerning the fauourers & adherentes of Iohn Wickliffe, in generall. Now particularly & in order let vs (by Chriſtes grace) proſecute the ſtories and perſecutions of the ſaid parties aforenamed, as the courſe of their times ſhall require, firſt beginning with the valiant champions Wil. Swinderby and Walter Brute.

✻ The hiſtory of William Swinderby.

Anno 1389.

Ex Regiſtro Epiſcopi Herfordēſis.

W. Swinderby firſt examined.

Denouncers of W. Swinderby. 3. Friers, Fresby, Hinkby, Blaxton.

IN the yeare 1389. William Swinderby prieſt within the dioces of Lincolne being accuſed and detected vpon certayn opinions, was preſented before Iohn biſhop of Lincolne, and examined vpon certayne articles in the Church of Lincolne, after the forme and order of the popes law, according to theyr vſuall rite obſerued, his denouncers were theſe: Fryer Friſby obſeruant, Frier Hincely Auguſtine: & Tho. Blaxton Dominican. The articles wherewith they charged him, although in forme of wordes as they put thē vp, might ſeeme ſomething ſtraunge here to be recited: yet to the entent that all men may ſee the ſpitefull malice of theſe ſpider Fryers, in ſucking al things to poyſon, and in forging that is not true, as in proceſſe (Chriſt willing) hereafter ſhall better appeare by his aunſweres, I thought good here to notifie the ſame.

That men may aſke their debtes by charitie, but in no maner for debt to impriſon any man: and that he ſo impriſoning is accurſed.

That if pariſhners do knowe their Curate to be a lechour incontinent, and an euill man: they ought to withdraw from him their tithes, or els they be fautours of his ſinnes.

That tithes purely be almoſe, and in caſe that Curates be euill men, the ſame may lawfully be conferred to other men.

That for an euill Curate to curſe his ſuget for withholding of tithes: is nothing els, but to take with extortiõ wickedly and vnduely from them theyr money.

That no prelate may curſe a man, except he know before that he is curſed of God.

That euery Prieſt may abſolue any ſinner being contrite and is bound (notwithſtanding the inhibition of the Biſhop) to preach the Goſpell vnto the people.

That a Prieſt taking any annuall penſion vppon couenant, is in ſo doing a ſimoniacke and accurſed.

That any prieſt being in deadly ſinne, if he geue himſelfe to conſecrate the body of the Lord, he committeth idolatry rather then doth conſecrate.

That no prieſt entreth into any houſe, but to euill intreat the wife, the daughter or mayde. And therefore he admoniſhed the goodman of the houſe, to take herde what prieſt he let into his houſe.

An other concluſion falſly to him obiected. That a child is not truely baptiſed, if the prieſt that baptiſeth, or yͤ godfather or godmother be in deadly ſinne.

Item, that no man liuing agaynſt the law of God is a prieſt, how euer he were ordeined prieſt of any Biſhop.

W.Swinderby compelled by the Fryers to abiure articles, which hee neuer taught.

These articles or concluſions vntruely collected, were as cruelly exhibited agaynſt him by the Fryers in the Byſhop of Lincolnes court. The which articles although he neuer preached, taught or at any time defẽded, as appereth more in the proceſſe following: yet the Friers with theyr witneſſes ſtanding forth againſt him, declared him to be conuict: bringing alſo dry wood with them to the towne to burne him, and would not leaue him, before he made them promiſe and ſweare for feare of death neuer to hold them, teach them, nor preach them priuily, nor apertly vnder payne of relapſe: and that he ſhoulde goe to certayne churches to reuoke the foreſayd concluſions, which he neuer affirmed. As firſt in the Churche of Loncolne, then in S.Margarets Church of Leyceſter. Alſo in S.Martines Church in Leyceſter, and in our Ladies churches at Newarke: and in other Pariſhe Churches alſo, of Melton Moubray, of Haloughton, Harburgh, and Lenthburgh. which pennaunce being to him enioyned, he did obediently accompliſhe: with this forme of reuocation, whiche they bound him vnto, vnder theſe wordes.

The forced abiuration of W.Swinderby.

The reuocation of William Swinderby whereunto he was forced by the Friers.

I William Swinderby prieſt, although vnworthy of the dioces of Lincolne, acknowledging one true Catholique, and Apoſtolique fayth of the holy Church of Rome, doe abiure all hereſie and errour repugning to the determinatiõ of the holy mother church wherof I haue bene hetherto infamed, namely the concluſions and articles aboue prefixed, and euery one of them to me iudicially obiected, by the Commiſſary of the reuerend father in Chriſt and Lord, L.Iohn by the grace of God Byſhop of Lincolne: and do reuoke the ſame, & euery one of them, ſome as hereticall, ſome as erroneous, and falſe, and do affirme and beleue them to be ſo, and hereafter will neuer teach, preach, or affirme publiquely or priuily the ſame. Neither will make any ſermon within the dioceſſe of Lincolne, but asking firſt and obtayning the licence, of the foreſayd reuerend father and Lord the Byſhop of Lincolne. Contrary to the which if I ſhall preſume hereafter, to ſay or doe, to holde or preach: I ſhalbe content to abide the ſeueritie of the Canon, as I haue iudicially by the neceſsitie of the lawe, ſworne, and doe ſweare &c.

Thus haue you the concluſions and articles of thys good man, falſly obiected to him by the malicious and lying Fryers: and alſo the retractation, whereunto they by force compelled him: wherby it may likewiſe be coniectured, what credite is to be geuen to the articles and concluſions which theſe caueling Fryers wraſting all thinges to the worſt, haue obiected and imputed both to Wickliffe & all other of that ſort, whõ they ſo falſly do infame, ſo ſlaunderouſly doe bely, and ſo maliciouſly doe perſecute. After theſe things thus done and wrought in the dioceſſe of Lincolne: it ſo befell, the ſayd W.Swinderby to remoue to the dioceſſe and countery of Herford, where, he was as much or more moleſted by yͤ friers again, & by Ioh. Treſnant B. of Herford, as by the proceſſe & ſtory here enſuing ſet out at large out of their owne regiſters may appeare.

The proces of the B. of Hereford againſt W.Swinderby.

✱ Here followeth the proceſſe of Iohn Treſnant Biſhop of Herford had againſt the aforeſaid William Swinderby in the cauſe of hereticall prauitie as the popiſhe heretickes cal it.

The floriſhing inuocation of of Gods name.

The glorious name of the prince of peace, and his counſaile (whoſe counſailour no man is, & whoſe prouidẽce in his diſpoſition is neuer deceaued) being inuocated: To all and ſinguler beleuers of Chriſt, which ſhall ſee or heare this our proceſſe vnderwritten, Iohn by the ſufferaunce of God B. of Herford: greeting, and peaceable charitie in the Lord. For aſmuch as God the creator of all things, the keper of iuſtice, the louer of right, and the hater of malice, beholding from the high throne of his prouidence the ſonnes of men, now through the fall of their firſt father, prone and and declining to diſhoneſt and filthy & deteſtable miſchiues and to keep vnder their malice (which wicked tranſgreſſiõ did firſt gender) hath appoynted diuers preſidentes of the world ſtabliſhed in ſundry degrees, by whome and theyr circumſpect prouidence, mans audacitie ſhould be reſtrayned, innocency ſhould be nouriſhed amongſt yͤ good, & terror ſhould be ſtriken into yͤ wicked not to deceiue: alſo that their power to hurt, & theyr inſolency ſhould be bryd'ed in all places. And whereas amongſt many kindes of cares whiche come to our thoughtes, by the ducty of the office committed vnto vs, we are ſpecially bound to extend our ſtrẽgth, chiefly that the catholicke fayth may proſper in our tymes, and hereticall prauity may be rooted from out of yͤ borders of the faythfull: we therfore being excited through the information of many credible and faythfull Chriſtians of our dioces, to roote out peſtiferous plantes, as ſheep diſeaſed with an incurable ſicknes, going about to infect the whole and ſound flocke, are by the care of the ſhepheard to be remoued from the flock, that is to ſay, Preachers, or more truely execrable offendours of the new ſect, vulgarly called lollardes, which vnder a certayn cloked ſhew of holynes, running abroad through diuers places of our dioceſſe, & endeuoring to cut a ſunder the Lords vnſowed coat that is to ſay, to rent the vnity of the holy Church, & of the Catholicke fayth, and alſo to teare in peeces with their tẽpeſtious blaſts yͤ power of S.Peter, that is to ſay, to weaken the ſtrẽgth of the eccleſiaſticall ſtates and degrees, and the determination of the ſame holy church, haue wickedly preſumed & do preſume from day to day to ſpeak, to teach, to mayntayne (and that which is more horrible to be vttered) to preach openly many things hereticall, blaſphemies ſchiſmes, and ſclaunderous diffaminges, euen quite contrary to the ſacred Canons and decrees of the holy fathers ſo that they knowe not to direct their pathes in the wayes of righteouſnes and trueth, in that, yͭ they expounde to the people yͤ holy ſcripture, as the letter ſoundeth, after a Iudiciall ſort, otherwiſe then the holy Ghoſt will needs haue it: wheras the words wander from their proper ſignifications, and appeare to bryng in by geſſing new meanings: whereas the wordes muſt not be iudged by the ſenſe that they make but by the ſenſe whereby they be made, where as the conſtructiõs is not bound to Donates rules: where as fayth is farre placed from the capacitie of reaſon: But they labour by their pernitious doctrines & teachings publike and priuy, to boyle out the poyſõ of ſchiſmes betwene the clergie and the people. We to encounter agaynſt ſuche kinde of preachers, nay rather deceauers, and horrible ſeducers amongeſt the people, aduauncing and rowzing vp our ſelues in Gods behalfe, and holy mother Churche, with the ſpirituall ſword, whiche may ſtrike them wiſely, and wounde them medicinably, for theyr health and welfare: and namely William Swynderby Prieſt (ſo pretending himſelfe to be) as a teacher of ſuche kinde of pernicious doctrine, and an horrible ſeducer amongſt the people: to whom perſonally appearing before vs on yͤ Wedneſday to wit, the 14. of the month of Iune, in the pariſhe Church of Kington of our dioceſſe, in the yeare of our Lord. 1391. he being vehemently diffamed to vs of hereſie, ſchiſme and his peruerſe doctrines both manifeſt and priuy: we therefore haue cauſed many caſes and articles cõcerning the catholicke fayth to be miniſtred vnto him, that he ſhould anſwere to the ſame at a day and place for him meet and conuenient, of his owne choyſe and freewill: that is to ſay, on the Friday, being the laſt of the ſame month of Iune, next following aſſigned to him, at the Churche of Bodenhame of the ſame our dioceſſe. Of whiche caſes and articles exhibited vnto vs, by many of Chriſtes faythfull people, * zelous

Lollards by the popes interpretation, is a word deriued of Lollium.

They counterfait in the prophetes wordes as Apes do in princes apparel. Who expoundeth the ſcripture more after the letter, let the reader iudge by *Hoc eſt corpus meum.*

If ſuch medicines ſhould bee miniſtred to you, ye would can your Phiſition litle thank.

{ Anno. 1391. }

• Such as were in Queene Maries dayes, as Iohn Beard, Iohn Auales, Robin Papiſt, and other lyke murtherers.

Lord, Lord, a latine worde of their owne making.

lous followers of the catholike fayth to make information to our office (which caſes and articles alſo were by vs adminiſtred, as is before ſayd, to the ſame William Swinderby) the tenor therof followeth, and is thus.

The denunciation of the promoters to the B. of Hereford.

¶ Reuerend father and high Lord, Lord Iohn, by gods ſufferance biſhop of Hereford: It is lamentably declared to your reuerend fatherhood on the behalf of Chriſts faythful people your deuout children of your dioceſſe of Herford that notwithſtading the miſbeliefe of very many lollards, which hath to long a time ſprong vp here in your dioceſſe, there is newly come a certayn child of wickednes, named William Swinderby: who by his horrible perſwaſions & miſchieuous endeuours, and alſo by his open preachings and priuate teachinges, doth peruert as much as in him is the whole eccleſiaſticall ſtate, and ſtirreth vp with all hys poſſible power, ſchiſme betwene the clergy and the people. And that your reuerend fatherhood may be the more fully informed, who and what maner of man the ſame William Swinderby is: there be propoſed and exhibited hereafter to the ſame your fatherhood on the behalf of the ſame faithful people of Chriſt, againſt the ſame William Swinderby, caſes and articles. Which if the ſame William ſhall deny, thē ſhall the ſame caſes and articles moſt euidently be prooued againſt him by credible witneſſe worthy of beliefe, & by other lawfull proofe and euidences to the end that thoſe being proued, the ſame fatherhood of yours, may do and ordeine therin, as to your paſtorall office belongeth.

Matter articulated agaynſt W. Swinderby.

¶ In primis, the ſame William Swinderby pretending himſelfe prieſt, was opēly and publiquely conuicted of certayne articles and concluſions being erroneous, ſchiſmaticall, and hereticall, preached by him at diuers places and times before a multitude of faythfull chriſtian people. And the ſame Articles and concluſions did he by force of lawe reuoke and abiure, ſome as hereticall, and ſome as erroneous and falſe. Aduouching and beleuing them for ſuch, as that from thenceforth he would neuer preach, teach, or affirme openly or priuily any of the ſame concluſions. And if by preching or aduouching he ſhoulde preſume to doe the contrary: that then he ſhoulde be ſubiect to the ſeuerity of the Canons, accordingly as he did take a corporall oth, iudicially vpon the holy Goſpels.

2. Alſo the concluſions, which by the ſame William were firſt openly taught and preached, and afterward abiured & reuoked as is aforeſaid: are contained before in the proceſſe of the B. of Lincolne, euen as they be there written worde by worde. And for the caſes and articles, they were conſequently exhibited by the forenamed faithfull chriſtian people againſt the ſaid William Swinderby together, with ẏ concluſions before ſayd, & hereafter written: of which caſes and articles, the tenour hereof enſueth.

3. Item, the ſayd William, contrary to the former reuocation & abiuratiō, not conuerting to repentance, but peruerted from ill to worſe, and geuen vp to a reprobate ſenſe came into your dioceſſe, where, he running about in ſondry places hath preſumed to preach or rather to peruert and to teach of his own raſhnes many heretical, erroneous, blaſphemous, and other ſlaunderous things contrary and repugnant to the ſacred Canons and the determination of ẏ holy Catholike Church. What thoſe things were, at what place and what time, it ſhall hereafter more particularly be declared.

Item, the ſame William, notwithſtanding your commaundementes and admonitions ſealed with your ſeale, & to all the Curates of your dioceſſe directed: contayning amongſt other thinges, ẏ no perſon of what ſtate, degree, or condition ſoeuer he were, ſhold preſume to preach or to teach or els expound the holy ſcripture to the people, either in hallowed or prophane places, within your dioceſſe, without ſufficient authoritie, by any maner of pretence ẏ could be ſought, as in the ſame your letters monitorie & of inhibition (the tenor wherof hereafter enſueth) is more largely conteined: which letters the ſame William did receiue into his handes, & did read them word by word in the towne of Monemouth of your dioceſſe, in ẏ yeare of our Lord. 1390. ſo that theſe your letters and the contentes thereof came to true and vndoubted knowledge of the ſame William: yet notwithſtanding hath the ſame William preſumed in diuers places and times to preach within the ſame your dioceſſe, after and agaynſt your commaundement aforeſayd. The tenour of the ſame letters before mentioned followeth and is this.

The letter monitory of the B. of Hereford inhibiting to preach without his licence.

IOhn by the ſufferance of God Biſhop of Hereford, to the deane and Chapter of our Church of Hereford, and to all and ſinguler Abbots, Priors, Prouoſtes, Deanes rurall, Parſons and Vicares of Monaſteries, Priores Churches, Colledges and Pariſhes, and to other hauing cure of ſoules within the Citty and dioceſſe of Herford, and to all and euery other being within the ſame Citty and dioceſſe. Greeting, grace, and bleſſing. Foraſmuch as the golden laurell of teaching doctorall, is not from aboue indifferently euery mans gift, neyther is the office of preaching graunted, ſaue to ſuch as are called, and eſpecially by the Church admitted therunto: we doe admoniſhe and require you all and ſinguler Clerkes aforeſayd, and do ſtraightly enioyne you all in the vertue of holy obedience, that you nor any of you do admitte any man to preach or to teach the Catholique fayth, ſauing ſuch as the ſame office of preaching ſhall by the authoritie Apoſtolicall or els your Byſhop be ſpecially committed vnto: but that as much as in you ſhall lye, you doe by worde and deede, labour to let thoſe that woulde attempte the contrary. And you Lordes, Ladyes, Knightes, Barons, Eſquires, and all and ſingular perſons, of what eſtate, degree, preheminence, or condition ſoeuer ye be, remayning within the city and dioceſſe of Herford, we doe beſeech and exhort in our lord that following the wordes of our ſauiour, you beware of the leauen of the Phariſeis.

Would God both they and all men did beware of that leauen.

Item according to the ſaying of the Apoſtle, be not ye caryed away with diuers and ſtraunge doctrines: and that in the meane while (as ſayth the Apoſtle) you be not remoued from the ſenſe of the holy auncient fathers, leaſt that any man by any meanes ſhold ſeduce you, but you agreeing together in one minde ſee that you honor God with one mouth. But if any man to whom that thing is not ſpecially (as is aforeſayd) committed, ſhall attempte to inſtructe or in this your life to directe you into the Catholicke faith do ye denye to geue them audience, and refuſe you to be preſent at their aſſembles and ſhun ye theyr teachinges, becauſe they be wicked and peruerſe. And as for vs we will not omitte to proceede according to the ſacred Canons and preceptes of the holye fathers, agaynſt ſuch as doe the contrary. Dated at London in the houſe of our habitation vnder our ſeale, the laſt day ſaue one of December, in the yeare of our Lorde, 1389. and of our conſecration the firſt.

5. Item, the ſame William in his preaching to ẏ people, on Monday being the firſt of Auguſt, in the yeare of our Lord 1390. in the pariſhe of Whitney of your dioceſſe, dyd hold and affirme: That no Prelate of the world of what eſtate, preheminence or degree ſo euer he were of, hauing cure & charge of ſoule, he being in deadly ſinne, & hearing ẏ confeſſion of any vnder his hand in geuing him abſolutiō, doth nothing: As who neither doth loſe him frō his ſinne, nor in correcting or excōmunicating him for his demerites doth bind him by his ſentence, except ẏ prelate ſhall be free himſelf from deadly ſinne, as S. Peter was, to whom our Lord gaue power to binde and loſe.

That is one of Wicliffes blemiſhes.

6. Item ẏ ſame William in many places ſaid & affirmed in the preſence of many faythfull chriſten people, that after the ſacramentall wordes vttered by the prieſt hauing the purpoſe to conſecrate: there is not made the very bodye of Chriſt in the ſacrament of the aulter.

7. Item, that accidencies cannot be in the ſacrament of ẏ aulter without a ſubiect: and that there remayneth materiall bread there to ſuch as be partakers communicant wyth the body of Chriſt, in the ſame ſacrament.

Bread he meaneth in ſubſtance.

8. Item, that a prieſt being in deadly ſin, cannot be able by the ſtrength of the ſacramentall words, to make the body of Chriſt, or bring to perfection any other ſacrament of the Church, neither yet to miniſter it to the members of the Church.

9. Item, that all prieſtes are of like power in all things, notwithſtanding that ſome of them, in this world are of higher and greater honour, degree, or preheminence.

10. Item, that onely contrition putteth away ſinne, if ſo be that a man ſhalbe duely contrite: and that, all auriculer and outward confeſſiō is ſuperfluous, and not requiſite of neceſſitie to ſaluation.

11. Item, inferior Curates haue not their power of bynding and loſing immediately from the pope or Biſhop, but immediately from Chriſt. And therfore, neither can ẏ pope nor biſhop, reuoke to themſelues ſuch kind of power, whē they ſee time and place at their luſt and pleaſure.

12. Item, that the pope cannot graunt ſuch kinde of annuall & yerely pardons, becauſe there ſhall not be ſo many yeares to ẏ day of iudgement, as are in ẏ Popes bulles or pardons contayned. Wherby it followeth that the pardōs are not of ſuch like value as they ſpeake of, & prayſed to be.

13. Item, it is not in the popes power to graunt vnto any perſon penitent, forgeuenes of the puniſhment or of the faulte.

14. Item, that perſon ẏ geueth his almes to any, whiche in his iudgement is not in neceſſitie, doth ſinne in ſo geuing it.

15. Item, that it ſtands not in the power of any Prelate,

of what religion ſoeuer he be of, priuately to geue letters for the benefite of his order, neither doth ſuche benefite graunted, profite them to the ſaluation of their ſoule, to whom they be graunted.

16. Item, that the ſame william vnmindeful of his own ſaluation, hath many and oftentimes come into a certayn deſert wood, called Deruald wood of your dioceſſe, & there in a certain chappell not hallowed, or rather in a prophane cottage: hath in contempt of the keyes, preſumed of hys own raſhnes to celebrate, nay rather to prophanate.

17. Item, the ſame william hath allo preſumed to doe ſuch thinges in a certayne prophane Chappell being ſituate in the park of Newton nigh to the town of Leintwardin of the ſame your dioces.

VPon Friday being the laſt of the month of Iune, in the yeare aboueſayd, about 6 of the clocke, in the ſayd pariſhe Churche of Bodenhone, hath the ſayd William Swinderby perſonally appeared before vs. And he willing to ſatiſfie the terme to him aſsigned as before ſpecified, hath read out, word by word before all the multitude of faythfull chriſtian people, many anſweres made and placed by the ſame William (in a certayne paper booke of the ſheete folded into foure partes) to the ſayd Articles, and the ſame anſwers for ſufficient hath he really to vs exhibited, aduouching them to be agreable to the lawe of Chriſt. Whiche thing beeing done the ſame William (without any moe with him) dyd departe from our preſence, becauſe that we, at the inſtaunce of certayne noble perſonages, had promiſed to the ſame William free acceſſe, that is to wit, on that day for the exhibiting of thoſe aunſweres, and alſo free departing without prefixing of anye terme, or without citation, or els anye other offence or harme in bodye or in goodes.

¶ As for the tenour of the ſame anſwers, exhibited vnto thē by the ſame william, as is before ſpecified: we haue here vnder annexed word for worde, and in the ſame olde language, vſed at that time, when it was exhibited. And followeth in theſe wordes.

✱ The proteſtation of William Swinderby with hys aunſweres to the articles by the promotors, layd agaynſt him to the biſhop of Herford, taken out of the Regiſters in the ſame olde Engliſhe wherein he wrote it.

The proteſtation of W. Swinderby with his anſwers.

IN the name of God amen. I william Swinderby prieſt vnworthy, couenting and purpoſing wholy with all my hart to be a true chriſtian man, with open confeſſiō knowledging mine owne defaultes and vnwiſe deedes: making openly this proteſtation, cleping god to record here before our worſhipfull Biſhop Iohn, through the ſufferaunce of God Biſh. of Herford, with witneſſe of all this people: yͭ it is not mine intent any thing to ſay or affirme, to mayntain or to defend that is, contrary to holy writte, agaynſt the beliefe of holy church, or that ſhould offend the holy determination of Chriſtes Church, or the true ſentences of holy doctors. And if I haue here before through mine vncunning, bene vnordered, or by euill counſaile bene deceiued, or any thing ſayd, preached, holden, mayntayned or taught contrary to the law of God: wholly and fully for that tyme for now and euer with ful will I reuoke it and withdraw it, as euerich chriſten man ſhould: Praying and beſeeching eche chriſten man, to whom this writing ſhal come to, that gif I ought erre (as God forbid that I do) or euer erred in any poynt, contrary to holy writ, that it be had and holden of them, as for thing nought ſayd. And all the trothes that I haue ſayd according with the law of God, that they mayntayne them, and ſtand by them for life or death to Gods worſhip, as a true Chriſten man ſhoulde, ſubmitting me meekely to the correction of our Byſhop that here is, or of any other chriſten man, after Chriſtes lawes and holy writ: in will euer ready to be amended, and with this proteſtation I ſay and aunſwere to theſe concluſions and articles that here followen after, the which bene put to me to aunſwere to.

1. Obiectiō.

The firſt is this: that I william of Swinderby pretending (he ſayth) my ſelfe a prieſt, was iudicially conuented of certain articles, & concluſions of error, falſe ſchiſmatick & hereſie, by me in diuers places & tymes preached (he ſayth) before multitudes of yͤ true chriſten men: & the ſame articles and cōcluſions by nede of law reuoked & forſworn ſome as hereſies, and ſome as errours and falſe: & ſuche I affirmed and beleued them to be. And that none of them from that time forth I ſhould preach, teach, or affirme, openly or priuily, ne that I ſhould make no ſermon to the people, ne preache but by lawfull leaue aſked and gotten. And if I would preſume in doing or affirming the contrary then to the ſeneritie of the lawe, I ſhould be buxom, as by nede of the law I ſwore.

To this I ſay, witneſſing God that is in heauen, to my wit and vnderſtanding, that I neuer preached, helde, ne taught theſe concluſions and articles, the whiche falſely of Friers were put vpon me, and of lecherous prieſtes to the Biſhop of Lincolne. For I was ordayned by proceſſe *yer ſayd, of theyr law, by the byſhop and his commiſſaryes, ſo as I graunted them to bring my purgation of 13. prieſtes of good fame. And ſo I did, with a letter, & 12. ſeales therby, from the Mayor of Leyceſter, and from true Burgeſes and 30. men to witnes with me, as the Duke of Lancaſter knew and heard, the Erle of Darby, and other many great men that were that tyme in the towne, that I neuer ſayd them, taught them, ne preached them. But when I ſhould haue made my purgation, there ſtooden forth fiue friers or moe, that ſome of them neuer ſawe me before, ne heard me, and three lecherous prieſtes openly knowne, ſome liuing in their lechery xx. yeare (men ſayden) or more as by their childer was openly knowen. Some of theſe they clepinden, denounciations, and ſome weren cleped comprobations, that weren there falſely forſworne, they ſuing buſily and crying with many an other Frier, with great inſtaunce to geue the dome, vpō me, to burne me & boughten dry wood before, as men tolden in that towne: & theſe ſleightes, and ſwearing, and mony geuing, as men ſaiden, in fauor of the biſhop (by what law I wot not, but ſothly not by Gods law) they ſayden they held me as conuicted, and might not haue forth my purgatiō. So as I fully forſooke them, and neuer graunted that I ſayd them. Ouer this they made me ſweare neuer to hold them, teach them, ne preach them, priuily ne apertly: and that I would go to certayne Churches to reuoke the concluſions that I neuer ſayd, in ſclaunder of my ſelfe, by great inſtance of the Fryers. And ſo for drede of death and for fleſhly counſell that I had, I aſſented, and ſo I did. And alſo they maden me to ſweare, that I ſhould not preach (by inſtance of yͤ Fryers) within that dioceſſe, withouten licence aſked & graunted, and neuer ſithen I did. And now the ſame concluſions bene rehearſed to me agayne: whether by Fryers counſell I will not deme, God wot, but in ſlaunder of me it is: and therefore I will anſwere now (with Gods helpe) to the concluſions. Of the which the firſt is this.

*Yer ſayd, that is, beforeſayd. Witneſſes with W. Swinderby. 13. prieſts, & 30. other with the letter of the mayor of Leiceſter, and Burgeſes with 12. ſeales.

The chaſtitie of Votaries to be noted.

1. Concluſion.

That men mowen aſken theyr debtes by charitie, but in no maner for debt to inpriſon any man: and that he ſo empriſoning, is accurſed.

Aunſwere. How debt is to be purſued.

So I ſayd not: but thus I haue ſayd, and yet ſay with proteſtation put before: that who ſo purſues his brother with malice, priſoneth him cruelly for debt without mercy that fayne woulde pay it if he might: he ſinneth agaynſt Chriſtes teaching, *eſtote miſericordes, ſicut pater veſter miſericors eſt.*

2. Concluſion.

The ſecond concluſion, that falſe Friers and lecherous prieſtes putten vppon me was this: that if the parochiens know her Curate to bene a lechour, incontinent, and an euill man: they owen to withdraw from him tithe, and els they bene fautours of his ſinnes.

Aunſwere.

Thus I ſayd not but on this wiſe, and yet I ſay wyth proteſtation put before: that if it be knowne openly to the people, that perſons or Curates come to her benefice by ſimonie, and liuen in notory fornicatiō, and done not their office & her dueties to her parochiens by good enſample of holy life, in true preaching, liuing & reſidence, wendyng away frō his cure, occupied in ſecular office: he owes nought to haue of the parochiens, tithes, ne offrings, ne he mowes not to hold him for her Curate, ny he mowes not to geuen him tithes, leſt they bene gyltie to GOD of conſent and mayntayning of her open ſinne. *Nemo militans deo, implicat ſe negotijs ſecularibus. 1. q. 1. ca. quiſquis per pecuniā, & diſt. 80. ca. Si quis.*

3. Concluſion.

The thirde concluſion was this, that friers and prieſts putten vpon me, that tithes purely bene almeſſes: And in caſe that curates bene euill men, they mowen leefully be geuen to other men, by temporal Lords, and other temporalties bene done away from men of the Church, actually and openly treſpaſſing.

Aunſwere.

This I ſayd not in theſe termes, but thus I ſaye with proteſtation made before: that it were medefull and leeful to ſecular Lordes by way of charitie, and power geuen to him of God, in default of prelates that amend not by gods law, curſed curates that openly miſuſen the goods of holy church, that ben poore mēs goods and cuſtomably agaynſt the law of God: the which poore men, Lordes ben holden to maintaine and defend, to take away & withdrawe from ſuch curates, poore mens goods, the which they wrongfully holden in helpe of the poore, and their owne wilful offeringes, and their bodely almes deedes, and geue them to ſuch that duely ſerue God in the Churche, and bene needy in vpbearing of the charge that prelates ſhoulden doe, and done it not. Alter alterius onera portate & ſic adimplebitis legem Chriſti. And as anenſte taking away of temporalties I ſay thus with proteſtation made before: that it is leefull to Kynges, Princes, Dukes, and Lordes of the worlde to take away fro popes, Cardinals, fro Biſhops and prelates, poſſeſſions in the Churche, theyr temporalties, and theyr almes that they haue geuen them, vppon condition they ſhoulden ſerue God the better, when they verely ſene that their geuing and their taking bene cōtrary to the lawe of God, to Chriſtes liuing and his Apoſtles: and namely in that, that they taken vpon them (that ſhoulden be next followers of Chriſt and his Apoſtles in poorenes & meekenes) to be ſecular Lords: againſt the teaching of Chriſt and Saunct Peter, Luc. xxij. Reges gentium. Et. 1. Pet. 5. Neq; dominantes in clero. And namely when ſuch temporalties maken them the more proud, both in hart and in araye, then they ſhoulden bene els, more in ſtrife and debate agaynſt peace and charitie, and in euill enſample to the world more to be occupied in worldly buſines. Omnem ſolicitudinem proiicientes in eum. And drawes them from the ſeruice of God, from edifying of Chriſtes Church, in empoueriſhing and making leſſe the ſtate and the power of kings, princes Dukes, and Lordes that God hath ſet them in: in wrongfull oppreſſion of commons for vnmightfulnes of realms. For Paule ſayth to men of the Church (whoſe lore, Prelates ſhoulden ſouerainly followen) Habentes victum, & veſtitum, hiis contenti ſimus.

4. Concluſion.

The fourth concluſion is this, that Friers and prieſts putten vppon me falſely: that an euill Curate curſing hys Soget for withholding of tithes, is naught els, but to take with extortion wickedly and vnduely mony from thē.

Aunſwere. Here may you ſee the falſhood of the papiſtes gathering articles agaynſt good mē, which they neuer ſayd nor meant.

Thus ſaid I not, but thus I ſaid, and yet do with proteſtation made before: that an euil Curate curſing his parochiens, vnmighty to pay their tithing, with vengeance without pitty, for his ſinguler worldly winning agaynſt charitie, and not for heed of their ſoules, there he is holde by his power reaſonably to helpe his needy parochiens, and doth nought of the goodes of the Churche: wickedly and vnduely he withholdes from them, that which is due to them by the law of God. Dimittite & dimittetur vobis: date, & dabitur vobis: verùm mihi vindictam, & ego retribuam, dicit dominus.

5. Concluſion.

The fift concluſion is this, that Friers and Prieſtes falſely putten vpon me: that no man may curſe anye man, but if he were wete him curſed of God, ne the commers wͭ him rennen not into ſentence of curſing in any maner.

Aunſwere.

Thus ſayd I not, but thus I ſayd, and ſay with proteſtation put before: that no man ought to curſe any man, but for charitie and with charitie. Omnia veſtra cum charitate fiant. And ſikerly I ſay, that no wrongfull curſing of Pope or any Prelate in earth, bindes * anenſt God, but when they wrongfully and wittingly curſen men, for that men will not do their ſingular wil, vnreaſonable bidding, with highnes of hart and cruelty (ſtanding pacience and charity in them that they curſen wrongfully) he is bleſſed of almighty God, and they themſelfe bene curſed. Math. 5. Beati eritis cum maledixerint homines. &c. Et in Pſalmo: Maledicent illi, et tu benedices Et Auguſtinus. xi. q. iij chap. illud.

* Agaynſt.

6. Concluſion.

The ſixt concluſion is this, that Fryers and Prieſtes putten vppon me falſely: that each Prieſt may aſſoyle hym that ſinneth, contrition had: and notwithſtanding forbiddinges of the Biſhop, is * holden to preach to the people the Goſpell.

* Holden, that is, bounde.

Aunſwere.

Thus I ſayd not, but thus I ſayd, and yet ſay with proteſtation made before: that each true Prieſt may counſaile ſinfull men, that ſhewen to him her ſinnes, after the witte and cunning that God had geuen him, to turne fro ſinne to vertuous life. And as touching preaching of the Goſpell, I ſay that no B. owes to let a true prieſt, that god had geuen grace, witte, and cunning to doe that office: for both Prieſtes and Deacons, that God had ordeyned Deacons and Prieſtes, ben holden by power genē hem of God to preach to the people the Goſpell, and namely & ſomely, popes, biſhops, prelates, and curates: For this is due to the people and parochiens, for to haue and aſke of hem, and they duely and freely owen to done it. Math. 5. Luke. 5. Ite, ecce ego mitto vos Et Math. 16. Euntes in mundum vniuerſum. Et Math 5. Euntes autem prædicate. Et diſt. 21. ca. In nouo teſtamento. Et Yſidor. de ſummo bono. 44. Et Chriſoſt. diſtinct, 34 ca. Nolite. Et Auguſt. diſtinct. 34. ca. Quiſquis. Et Greg. in ſuo paſtorali ca 38. Et in Tollitano. ca. ignorantia Et Ierom. diſtinct. 95. ca. Ecce Ego.

7. Concluſion.

The 7. concluſion is this, that Fryers and Prieſts falſely putten vpō me, that a Prieſt taking any thing for annuell, through couenaunt: in that, he is ſchiſmaticke & curſed.

Aunſwere.

This ſayd I, neuer in theſe termes: But thus I ſayde, & yet ſay with proteſtation put before: that no Prieſt owes to ſell by bargaining and couenaunt, his ghoſtlye trauaile, ne his maſſes, ne his prayers, ne Gods worde, ne hallowinges, baptiſme, ne confirming, order geuing, for weddinges, for ſhrift, for houſell, or for ennoynting, any worldly mens reward to aſke or take for theſe or for any of theſe, or for any ghoſtly thing, he erres and doth ſimony. Vt patet 1. q. 2. ca. Nullus. Et ex conſilio Triburenti. capit. Dictum eſt. Et Chriſtus in euangelio vendentes, et ementes eiecit de templo. Math. 22.

8. Concluſion.

The viij. concluſion is this, that Fryers and Prieſtes putten vnto me falſely, ſaying that I beleeue ſadly as my ſelf ſayes: that yche prieſt being in deadly ſinne, yet he put him to make Chriſtes body, rather he dos idolatrye then makes it.

Aunſwere.

Thus ſayd I not, but thus I ſayd, and yet ſaye wyth a proteſtation put before: that what Prieſt that puts himſelfe preſumptuouſly and vnworthily in deadly ſinne, wittingly to miniſter and to receaue that holy ſacramēt, and ſo recordes hit curſedly and damnably, he receaues his dome. Qui manducat et bibit indignè, iudicium ſibi manducat & bibit 1. Corin. 11.

9. Concluſion.

The ix. concluſion is this, that Friers & Prieſtes falſely putten vpon me: that no Prieſtes entres into any houſe but euill for to treat the wife, the daughter, or the wenche: and therfore they ſaydē, that I prayed the people that their huſbandes ſhould beware, that they ſuffer no prieſt to enter into her houſe.

Aunſwere.

And if I had ſayd thus, then I had prayed agaynſt my ſelfe, for I come oft into mens houſes: But thus I ſayde, and yet I do, praying chriſten men to beware yͭ they nouriſh nor mayntayne no lecherous Prieſtes in their ſinnes: for there be where (as men well knowne) they ben mayntained in many places, continuing homely wͭ her women And ich man there ſayne they payne therefore a certaine to the B. almes. Et ideo ait Yſido. 11. q. 4 Qui conſentit peccantibus & defendit alium delinquentem, maledictus erit apud deū & homines.

10. Concluſion.

The x. concluſion is this, that Friers and prieſtes putten vpon me falſely: that a childe is not verely baptiſed, if the prieſt that baptiſeth, the godfather, or the godmother, ben in deadly ſinne.

Aunſwere.

God wot in heauen they ſayd full falſe: but thus I ſaid and yet I ſay: that the prayers that an euill Prieſt prayes (liuing in lechery or other deadly ſinne) ouer yͤ child when it ſhalbe holowed, ben not acceptable to God as ben the prayers of a good prieſt. And the better & clenner the prieſt is, the Godfather, and the godmother: the more graciouſly God will heare him, if all they bene not greateſt nor moſt rich in this worlde. Vnde gg. xiij. q. vij. cap. in grauibus. Cum is qui diſplicet ad intercedendum peccator admittitur, irati animus proculdubio ad deteriora prouocatur.

11. Concluſion.

The xi. concluſion is this, that Friers and prieſts putten vpon me falſely: that no man, liuing againſt the law of God is a prieſt, how euer he were ordayned Prieſt of any Byſhop.

Aunſwere.

Certes this is falſe, for I ſayd neuer thus in theſe termes: but thus I ſayd, and thus I ſay with a proteſtation put before, that what euery pope, or Cardinall, Byſhop or Prieſt, or any Prelate of the Churche comes to his ſtate or dignitie by Simony, & in ſimony occupies that office, & holy churches goodes: I ſay that he is a theefe, and that by the dome of God, and comes but to ſteale and kill. Ioh. 10. Fur non venit niſi vt furetur, & mactet, & pardat. And furthermore I ſay, that what Pope, Cardinall, Byſhop, prelate, or prieſt, in maner of liuing, or teaching, or lawes making contrary to Chriſtes liuing and hys lawes, or anye other ground put in ruling of the church of Chriſt, but by Chriſt & his lawes: is very Antichriſt, aduerſary to Ieſus Chriſt and his Apoſtles. Aliud fundamentum nemo poteſt ponere, præter id quod poſitum eſt, quod eſt Chriſtus. Et patet 1. q. 3 c. Si quis Et 1. q 6. c. Ego autem. Quicunq;.

The true deſcription who was Antichriſt.

But this worſhipfull father B. of Hereford, that here is, ſayes thus in hys writing: that I william of Swinderby, notwithſtanding the foreſayd reuocation and abiuration (not ſetting at hart, but from euill to worſe he ſayes peruerted ſo his dioces) he ſayes I come running about by diuers places: and by mine own folly he ſayes that I haue preſumed to preach manye hereſies, errours, blaſphemies, ſchiſmes, and other diffames, and to holy canons and determinatiō of holy church contrary and repugnant, which where & when within forth more ſpecially it ſhalbe ſhewed, that ye be falſe enformed that I haue preſumed in diuers places in your dioces to preach hereſies, errors, blaſphemies, ſchiſmes and other diffames. And ſyr, all the coūtry knowes whether this be ſooth or not: for ſire I preſum not, ſithen it is the office of a prieſt, by the law of Chriſt to preach the Goſpell: ne nought I did it for preſūption, but for the charge ẏ I haue of God by prieſthood (if al I be vnworthy) & to ẏ worſhip of God, & helpe of chriſten ſoules, freely without gathering of her goods for my preaching. If I erred in this, I will be amended. And ſir touching your maundement that ye ſendē to me, there was ſet none. And ſir I made neuer yet diſobediēce vnto you, ne to your miniſters: & yet all I had, me owes more to obeyche to God then to you, in that that ye bidden contrary to Chriſtes bidding. And ſir as ye ſayne, that I had no minde of my hele, it is to lightly demet: for God forbid, but yet there lye hele more then in your bidding. For God wat for hele I did it, of mine and of the people, and that was in my minde. But ſir it ſemes me that ye charge not by euidence of the puniſhing ſo greatly the breaking of Gods heſts, as ye done of your own. And ſir if it be your wil, in default that the people wanted, you to teache hem (and her curates did not) by the deſire of the people that weren hungry and thirſty after gods word, ichone to beare vp others charge as gods law bids: I preached, not for diſobedience to you, but ſir in fulfilling of ẏ obediēce that Gods law bids me do in excuſing of my ſelfe to you of that ye blame me of, in opē ſhewing to holy Church, with ẏ proteſtation that I firſt made, I aunſwere thus to the Articles that ye haue put to me.

1. Article.
Anno. 1390.

The firſt is this, that I, william of Swinderby, the Monday the firſt of Auguſt, the yeare of our Lorde. 1390. preaching to the people in the Church of whitney of your Dioces, held and affirmed (as ye ſayne) that no Prelate of the world, of what ſtate or degree that he be, hauing cure of ſoules, being in deadly ſinne, and hearing confeſſion of his ſuget, does nought in aſſoyling him, ne he aſſoiles him not of his ſinne: and alſo in amending his ſuget opēly ſinning and him for his deſertes curſing, his ſentence byndes not, but if that Prelate be as cleane out of deadly ſinne as was S. Peter, to whom our Lord gaue power of binding and vnbinding.

Note here how the papiſtes vſe falſely to wraſtle good mens ſayings and articles

Aunſwere.

I neuer thought this ne ſpake this, ne heard it to the time that I ſaw it written in our booke, and that will witnes the Lord of the towne that has the ſame ſermon written, and many gentiles and other that heardē me that day: But thus I ſaid, and thus I ſay with proteſtation put before: that there is no man, Pope, ne biſhop, prelate ne Curate, that bindes ſoothly, verily and ghoſtly, but in as much as his binding or vnbinding accordes with the keyes of heauen that God gaue to Peter. And as S. Gregory ſaies that power han they only, that hold together the enſample of the apoſtles with heere teaching. Illi ſoli in hac carne poſiti ligandi atque ſoluendi poteſtatem habent, ſicut ſancti Apoſtoli qui eorum exempla ſimul cum doctrina tenent: gg. li. quarto ſententiarum.

The popes binding how far it extendeth.

Greg. lib. 4. Sent.

2. Article.

The ſecond article that is put vpon me, is this, that I ſhould haue ſayd, preached, & affirmed in many places before many true men of Chriſt: that after the Sacramentall wordes ſayd of the prieſt, hauing entention of conſecratiō: That in the Sacrament of Gods body, is not very Gods body.

And what if he had ſaid it?

Aunſwere.

This ſayd I neuer God wote, and true men that haue heard me.

3. Article.

The third article is this, that our biſhop puts vpō me, that I ſhould haue ſayd in many places, and affirmed, that accidents mow not be in the ſacrament of the aultar without ſubiect, and ẏ material bread leues not therwith Gods body in the ſacrament.

Aunſwere.

This concluſion I haue not holdē, ne taught, ne preached: for I haue not medled me of that matter, my wit ſuffiſeth not thereto. But here I tell my beliefe with proteſtation put before: that the Sacrament of the aultar made by vertue of heauenly wordes, that Chriſt himſelfe ſayd in the Cene, when he made this ſacrament, that it is bread & chriſtes bodye, ſo as Chriſt himſelfe ſayes in the Goſpell, & S. Paul ſayes, and as Doctors in the common law haue determined to this ſentēce. Math. 26. Mar. 14. Lu. 22. Pa. 1. Cor. 10. & 11. de con. diſtinct. 2. panis: & de conſecra. diſt. 2. Corpus. Iohn. 6 verus panis.

Bread and Chriſtes body in the ſacrament.

4. article.

The 4. article is this, that our Biſhop accuſeth me of, that I ſhould haue preached about and ſayd: that a Prieſt being in deadly ſinne, may not by the ſtrength of the Sacramentall words make gods body, or none other Sacrament of the Churche, either performe to miniſter them to members of the ſame.

Aunſwere. The wickednes of the prieſt impayreth no ſacrament.

Thus I neuer ſaid, thought it, preached it, ne taught it for well I wot, the wickedneſſe of a Prieſt may appaire no very ſacrament: but the wickednes of the Prieſt appayres himſelfen, and all that boldnes & example of his ſinne cauſen the people to liuen the worſe agaynſt Gods law. Vnde Greg. Et ſi ſacerdos in peccatis fuerit, totus populus ad peccandum conuertitur.

5. Article.

The 5. article is this, that our biſhop puts vnto me: ẏ all prieſtes ben of euē power in all things, not withſtāding that ſome of this world bene of higher dignity or more paſſing in highnes of degree.

Aunſwere. Equalitye of prieſtes.

Certes no man would ſay thus as I ſuppoſe, no more did I, ne neuer heard it that I wot of: But this I ſay with proteſtation made before, that what Prieſt liues moſt holily next following the law of God, he is moſt louet of God, and moſt profitable to the Church. If men ſpeakē of worldly power and Lordſhips and worſhips, with other vices that raignen therin, what Prieſt that deſires and has moſt hereof (in what degree ſo he be) he is moſt Antichriſt of all the prieſtes that ben in earth. Vnde Auguſtinus ad Valerium ſcribens ait. Nihil eſt in hac vita, & maximè hoc tempore facilius & leuius, & hominibus acceptabilius, Epiſcopi, præsbiteri aut decani officijs: ſed ſi profunctoriè aut adulatoriè, nihil apud Deum miſerabilius aut triſtius & damnabilius.

Aug ad Valeriū.

6. Article.

The ſixt Article is this, that onely contrition does away ſinne, if a man be duely contrite: and all outward cōfeſſion by word is ſuperfluous and not requiret of need of health.

Aunſwere.

This concluſiō ſaid I neuer that I know of. But thus I ſay with proteſtation put before, that veray contrition of hart, that is neuer without charity and grace: dos away al ſinnes before done of that man that is verely contrite. And all true confeſſiō made by mouth outward to a wiſe prieſt, and a good, profiteth much to man, and it is needfull & helping that men ſhew their life to ſuch, truſting full to gods mercy, and that he forgeues thy ſinne. Vnde Auguſt. de conſe. diſtict. 4. Nemo tollit peccata mundi niſi ſolus Chriſtus qui eſt agnus, tollens peccata mundi.

Confeſſion.

God forgeueth ſinne.

Aug. de conſe. diſt. 4.

7. Article.

The 7. article is this, that I ſhould ſay that lower curates haue not here power of binding & aſſoiling, by mean of pope and biſhop, but of Chriſt without mony. And therfore neither pope ne biſhop may reuoke ſuch maner power for time and place at her will.

Aunſwere.

*Not for thy, that is, notwithſtanding.

Thus ſayd I not, but * not for thy it ſeemes me thus, that no man ſhould graunt any thing after his owne will, ghoſtly, ne bodily. But euerich man ſhould be wel aduiſet, that he graunt nothing but if it be the will of God that he ſo graunt it. And it is no doubt that ne God grauntes * by meane perſons, as does Antichriſt to torment Chriſtes people. Vnde & Ioh. 19. ait Pilatus. Neſſis quia poteſtatem habeo dimittere te. Et Chriſtus. Non haberes poteſtatem aduerſum me vllam, niſi eſſet tibi datum deſuper.

*Some thing here lacketh in the copy.

8. Article.

The 8. article that our biſhop puts me to, is this: that I ſhould ſay that the pope may not graūt ſuch maner indulgence of yeares, for there ſhall not be ſo many yeres vnto ẏ day of dome, as bene conteined in his buls, or in ẏ Popes indulgences: wherof it folowes that indulgences bene not ſo much worth as they ſemen and bene preached.

Aunſwere.

This article I ſayd not thus: but I ſay that the Pope may graunt indulgences written in his letter of yeres, all ſo farre forth that he may graunt him in Gods law, ſo farre to graunt, and farther not: yeares may he graunt no moe then God hath ſet. Yf indulgence ben forgeuenes of ſinne, I wot wel all onely God forgeues ſinne. Yf it be releaſing of paines in Purgatory ordeinet of God, if God haue bidden him releaſe ſo many, or ordeined that he ſhould releaſe ſo many, he may then releaſe him if it be in his own diſpoſing to releaſe whom him likes, & how much, then he may deſtroy Purgatory and let none come there and releaſe his owne payne, as charity wottes. So it ſemes he may be liker to be ſaued, if himſelfe liſt. If any go to Purgatory, thē it ſemes he full fayles charitye. If Bulles bene the indulgence that men bringen from the Court, then ben they not ſo much worth, as they coſten there: for lightly they might be loſt, drenched, or brend, or a rat might eatē them: his indulgence then were loſt. Therefore ſir haue me excuſet, I know not theſe termes: teach me theſe termes by Goddes law, and truely I will learne hem.

Agaynſt pardons

9. Article.

The 9. Article is this that I ſhould haue ſayde: that it is not in the popes power to graūt to any man (doing penaunce) remiſſion from payne, ne from blame.

Leude I am, but this Article ſayd I not thus leudly: But thus I ſay, that ſithen it is onely due to God to geue and to graunt plenary remiſſion from paines & frō blame: that what euer he be, Pope or other, that preſumptuouſly miſtakes vpō him that power that is onely due to God: in that (in as much as in him is) he makes himſelfe Chriſt, & blaſphemeth in God, as Lucifer did, when he ſayd: Aſcendam & ero ſimilis altiſſimo. Farther I ſay, if the Pope holde men of armes, in mainteining his temporalties & Lordſhip to venge him on hem that gilten & offenden him, and

The pope proued a blaſphemer.

Of this Henry Spenſer B. of Norwich ſee the pag 428.

geues remiſſiō to fight & to ſlay hem that contraryen hem, as men ſayden he did by the biſhop of Norwich, not putting his ſwerd into his ſheath, as God commaunded Peter. Mitte.&c. he is Antichriſtus, for he dos contrary to the commaundements of Ieſus, that bad Peter forgeue to his brother ſeuēty ſithe ſeuen ſithe. Si peccauerit in me frater meus, quotiens demittam ei? Septies?&c. Et Chriſtus: non dico tibi ſepties, ſed ſeptuageſies ſepties.

10 Article.

The 10. Article is this, that our Biſhoppe puts to me that I ſhould haue ſayd: that a man geuing his almes to any man after his dome (not hauing nede) ſinnes, in ſo geuing,

Aunſwer.

This article ſothly I ſayd not in theſe termes: But of this matter I haue ſpoken, & will with proteſtation made before on this wiſe: that it is medefull to geue almes to ich man that aſketh it bodely or ghoſtly, but not to geue to ich ſhameles begger, ſtrong & mighty of body, to get his lifelode leuefull & will not, in what degree ſo he be, men owē not to geue it to ſuch a one, that he vnreaſonably aſketh, for if he geue it to him wittingly, he ſins as fautor of his idlenes. Vnde Sap.12. Si benefeceris, ſcito cui benefeceris; & erit gloria in bonis tuis multa.

He meaneth of begging friers.

11. Article.

The 11. Article is this, that is put to me, that I ſhoulde haue ſayd, that it is not in ỹ power of any prelate of what euer priuate Religion, to graunt letters of the good deeds of her order, ne ſuch benefices grauntet profits not to hele of ſoules to hem that they ben grauntet to.

Aunſwere.

I ſaid neuer thus in theſe termes: but thus I ſay with proteſtation, that prelates of priuate religion mowē graūt letters of the good deedes of her order: But the goſtly mede that comes of good deedes, they mow not graunt, for that is onely propriet to God. And if they blinde, the people in miſbeliefe for her worldlye winning, wittingly behetting hem of her owne graūt goſtly medes in heauen by her letters and her ſeale (vncertaine, who ſhall be damned) but make the people bolder to ſinne by truſt of her praiers: hit is none heal to the ſoules, but harmes to that one & to that other. For God ſhall yeld to echone after here werkes. Ipſe reddet vnicuique ſecundum opera ſua.

Good deedes of the order profite nothing.

12. Article.

The 12. Article is this: that our Biſhops puts to me, that I mony times and oft haue come (he ſayes) to a deſert wode, cleped Derwaldſwode of his dioces: and there in a Chappell not hallowed, but accurſet * ſhepherds hulke, by mine own folly he ſayes haue preſumed to ſing (but rather to curſe) in contempt of the keyes.

Or ſhepcotte.

Aunſwer.

Herto I ſay, that this is falſly put vpō me of hem that told you this. For it is a chappell where a prieſt ſings certaine dayes in the yeare, with great ſolemnity: and certes I neuer ſong therein ſeth I was borne into this world.

The accuſers proued with a lie.

13. Article.

The 13. Article is this, that I ſhould alſo preſume to ſing in an vnhallowet Chappell, that ſtondes in the parke of Newton, beſides the town of Leyntwardy of this ſame Dioces.

An other lye.

Aunſwere.

Truely I wot not where the place ſtondes.

14. Article.

The 14. Article is this, that I ſhould ſay that no man owes to ſweare for any thing, but ſimply withoutē oth to affirme or to deny, and if he ſweare he ſinnes.

Aunſwere.

This article ſayd I not that I haue minde of, in thys maner: But oft I haue ſayd and yet will, that men ſhould not ſweare by any creature by the law of God, and that no man ſhould ſweare in idel, as welnigh al the people vſeth, & therfore me thinkes it is no neede to comfort the people in ſwearing. For from the olde vnto the young, & namely men of holy Church, breken his heſt, and few Biſhoppes purſuen hem therfore.

To ſweare by no creature.

15. Article.

The 15. Article is this, that I ſhoulde haue taught to true men of Chriſt, that on no maner they ſhould worſhip the Image of him that was done on the croſſe, or the Image of the bleſſed mayd his mother, or of other Sayntes into honor and worſhip of the ſame ordeinet in the minde of them. And oft ſithes, the worſhipper of ſuch Image, he has reprouet, ſaying and ſtrongly affirming, that Church men ſinnen and done Idolatry.

Aunſwere.

This concluſion haue I not ſayd in theſe termes. But this I ſay with proteſtation. that God commaūdes in his law in diuers places. Exod.20. Leuit.19.& 26. Deut.5.& 7. Tobiæ 1. Baruc.6. 2. ad Corin.10. Eſay.45. Iere.2.6.8.& 10.22. & vltimo, Sapient.13.& 14.& 15. Mac.5.& Threnorum 4. & poſtremo: that men ſhould not worſhippē grauen Images that ben werkes of mens handes: And alſo he bids that mē ſhould not make to hem grauen Images in likeneſſe of the thinges that bene in heauen, to that end to worſhippen hem: ſethen neither God ne Chriſt by his manhood gaue neuer commaundement to make thes Images, ne expreſſe counſell, ne his Apoſtles in all his law, ne to worſhip ſuch that bene made. But wel I wote, that by mens owne relation that haue miſbeleuet in hem, that many mē ſinnen in mawmetry worſhipping ſuch dead Images: Notforthy, to tho men bene Images good to whom they bene but kalēdars, and through the ſight of hem they knowen the better and worſhippen oft God and his Saints. And to ſuch mē they done harme that ſettē her hope and truſt in hem or done any worſhip to hem agaynſt Gods law & his heſt. Vnde ait Gregorius in Regiſtro libro. 10. in Epiſtola ad Serenum Epiſcopum. Si quis imagines facere voluerit, minimè prohibe: adorare omnino prohibe. Sed hoc ſolicitè fraternitas tua admoneat, vt ex viſione rei geſtæ, ardorem compunctionis percipiant, vt in adoratione totius trinitatis proſternantur.

Images not to be worſhipped.

* Not for thy, that is, notwithſtanding.

Greg. Regiſt. lib. 10.

These concluſions, poyntes, and articles that I haue vnder proteſtation, in this booke affirmed: I will ſtand by hem, and maintayne hem (with the grace of almighty god) to the time that the cōtrary be prouet dewly by Gods law: And this proteſtation I make for my fayth and my beliefe as I did the beginning: that whenſoeuer this worſhipfull or any other Chriſtē man ſhewes me verayly by gods law the contrary of this, I will holy forſake hem, and take me to the veray trouth and better vnderſtanding of wiſer men, redy to be amended by the law of Ieſu Chriſt, and be a true Chriſten man & faythfull ſonne of holy church: And of theſe I beſeech you all bere witnes where ye commen.

Subſequenter vero, quia fide dignorum relatione recepimus, quod idem Gulielmus Swinderby latitabat, quo minus poſſet in propria perſona citari, ipſum Gulielmum vijs & modis per Edictum publicum ad inſtar albi prætoris in Eccleſia noſtra cathedrali Herfordenſi & parochialibus eccleſijs de Kington Croſte, & Whitney noſtræ diocefis: vbi idem Gulielmus ſolebat commorari citari fecimus, prout & quemadmodum in modo citatorio continetur, cuius tenor ſequitur in hæc verba.

W. Swinderby keeping himſelf from the B. was cited as foloweth.

¶ The Citation.

The tenor of the citation.

IOhn by Gods permiſſion Byſhop of Hereford, to his deare ſons our Deane of Leamſter, to the perſons of Croft, Almaly, and Whitney, and alſo to the Vicars of Kingſton, Iarderſley, Wiggemore, and Monmouth Clifford, and of S. Iohns aultar in our cathedrall Church of Hereford, and to the reſt of the Deanes, Parſons, Vicars, Chapleines, pariſh Prieſtes, and to other, whoſoeuer in any place are appoynted through our city and dioces of Hereford: ſendeth greeting, grace, and benediction.

We bid and commaund, charging you ſtraitly, in the vertue of holy obedience, that you cite or cauſe to be cited peremptorily (and vnder the payne of excommunication) William Swinderby, pretending himſelfe to be a Prieſt: That he appeare before vs, or our Commiſſaryes the 20. day of this preſent moneth of Iuly, at North Lodebury, within our dioces, which the continuance of the dayes following in other places alſo to be aſsigned vnto him if it be expedient, till ſuch thinges as haue bene and ſhall be layde agaynſt him be fully diſcuſſed, to aunſwere more at large to certayne poſitions and articles, touching the Catholicke fayth, and the holy mother Churches determination, that haue bene exhibited and miniſtred vnto the ſayd William. And to ſee and heare alſo many thinges that haue openly in indgement before vs and a great number of faythfull Chriſtians by him bene euen in writing confeſſed, to be condemned as hereticall, falſe, ſchiſmaticall and erroneous. And to ſee and heare poſitions and Articles denied by the ſayd William, to be proued by faythfull witneſſes and other lawfull trials againſt the ſayd William. And to receiue for his falſe hereticall, erroneous and ſchiſmaticall doctrine that Iuſtice ſhall appoynt, or els to ſhew cauſes why the premiſſes ſhoulde not bee done.

And if the ſayd William lieth priuely, or els cannot be ſo cited in his proper perſon: we will that in your Churches when moſt people ſhall then come together to diuine ſeruice, you openly with a loud voyce, and that may be vnderſtanded, cauſe the ſaid William peremptorely to be cited vnto the premiſſes: certifying the ſame William, that whether he ſhall appeare the day and place appointed or no, we notwithſtanding will proceed vnto the premiſſes agaynſt the ſayd William according to the canonicall decrees by forme of law, in the abſence or contumacy of the ſayde William notwitſtanding. We will moreouer if the ſayd William ſhall appeare at the ſayd day and place as is aforeſayde before vs, frendly heare him, and honeſtly, and fauorably, as farre as we may with Gods leaue, deale with him: graunting free licence to come and to go for his naturall liberty without any hurt either in body or goods. And ſee that you fully certify vs of the thinges that you or any of you ſhall do about the execution of this our commaundement, and that by your letters patentes ſigned with your ſeale autenticall: geuing alſo faythfully to the ſayde William or to his lawfull Proctor, if he require it, a copye of this our preſent commaundement.

Geuen at our houſe of Whitburne vnder our ſeale the fift
day of the moneth of Iuly, in
the yeare of our Lord. 1391.

¶The

¶ The act of the firſt day.

The firſt ſitting againſt W.Swinderby.

Anno. 1391.

On Thurſday, the xx. of July, in yͤ yeare of the Lord aforeſaid: we in the pariſh church of North Lidebury aforeſayd, about 6. of the clocke, ſitting in iudgement, after that it was reported vnto vs how the foreſayd Williã was perſonally taken and lawfully cited: Cauſed the ſayd William then and there openly in iudgement to be called out, to do, heare and receiue ſuch thinges, wherto he was afore cited, & to do otherwiſe that which iuſtice ſhould perſwade. And the ſayd William appeared neither by himſelfe, nor by proctor: but onely by a ſeruaunt (whoſe name we know not) he ſent a certayn ſchedule of paper, made like an indenture vnto vs to excuſe him. After which ſchedule ſene, read and with ripe deliberatiõ wayed, and in any wiſe notwithſtãding we adiudged the ſayd William, after he was oftẽ called, & long euen to the due hour taried for, & by no meanes appering: worthely for his obſtinacy, & for his ſtubbernnes aſſigned vnto him the 29. day of July in the Church of Ponſley, to appeare before vs with the foreſayd ſauegard, to aunſwere more fully to ſuche articles, and otherwiſe to heare, receiue, and do as before is noted.

¶ The ſecond dayes act.

The 2. ſitting agaynſt W.Swinderby.

Upon Saterday being the 29. of July, and in the yeare of the Lord aforeſayd, we John by Gods permiſſion yͤ fore remembred Biſhop in the Church of Ponteſbury, of our Dioces, at ſixe of the clock, or there about, ſitting in iudgement: made the ſayd Williã of Swinderby to be opẽly called, that (as was to him appointed and aſſigned) he ſhould appere before vs, to anſwere to the foreſayd articles more fully and to declare the ſayd articles as the darknes of his aunſweres did worthely require. And that the ſayd William being called, & long for a due time looked for, did make no meanes to appere: and ſo we pronounced him to be obſtinate, and for his obſtinatnes (to ouercome his malice, & of our exceeding fauor) thought good to appoynt and dyd appoynt the 8. of Auguſt, thẽ next following, at Cleobury Mortemere of the ſame our dioces, vnto the ſayd William for the ſame thing.

¶ The third dayes act.

The 3. ſitting againſt W.Swinderby.

Upon Tewſday, the 8. of Auguſt, the yeare aforeſayd, I John by Gods permiſſion Biſhop of Hereford aforeſayd, in the Church of Cleobury Mortemere, about 6. of the clocke, ſitting in iudgement, cauſed the foreſayd Williã Swinderby, to be called many times openly to do and receiue about the premiſſes, according to the appoyntment of the ſame day that iuſtice ſhould aduiſe, which William did not appeare at all. Wherupõ, we after that the ſayd Williã was called, and often proclaymed, and long looked for but not appering at all, did iudge him worthely (as of right apperteined) obſtinate: and for his obſtinatnes, aſſigned him the 16. day of the ſame moneth of Auguſt next folowing, in the pariſh Church of Whithorne of the ſame our dioces, to bring forth, or to ſee brought forth, all lawes, muniments, and other kinds of proofes, & to ſee alſo witneſſes brought forth, admitted and ſworne, by whom and which thinges we intend to proue the foreſayde articles, or at leaſt wyſe ſome of the ſame.

¶ The fourth dayes act.

The 4. ſitting againſt W.Swinderby.

Of this proceſſe mention is made before pag. 465.

Upõ Wedneſday the 16. day of the moneth of Auguſt the yeare aforeſaid we John yͤ biſhop in the pariſh Church of Whithorn aforeſayd of our dioces, ſitting in iudgement, cauſed the ſayd William Swinderby often times to be called, who (as is aforeſayd) appeared not at all: whom after that hee was ſo called, proclaymed & long looked for, & yet by no means appering, we pronoũced to be obſtinate. We receiued alſo by certayne faithfull Chriſtians, and zealous men for the catholicke fayth of our dioces a certayne proces made and had at an other time agaynſt the ſame William, before yͤ reuerend father in God and Lord, Lord John by the grace of God, Biſhop of Lincolne confirmed by the hanging on of the ſeale of the ſame reuerend father, yͤ Lord Biſhop of Lincolne. The tenor wherof word for word is contayned before. And theſe faythfull Chriſtians moreouer agaynſt the obſtinatenes of the ſayd William Swynderby brought forth diſcreet mẽ, M. William Leuiet, parſon of the pariſh Churche of Kyuerſly, and alſo Edmunde Waterdon pariſh Chaplaine of the Chappell of N. & Roger Newton, and Hugh Sheppert, lay men of the dioces of Lincolne, aſking inſtantly that they might be receiued for witneſſes, to proue ſome of the foreſayd articles who agaynſt the obſtinatenes of the ſayd William Swinderby we thought good to receiue and did receiue, and their othes to the holy Goſpels of God being layd handes on corporally in our hand. And did diligẽtly examine them in proper perſon ſeuerally in forme of law: whoſe ſayinges & depoſitions are afterward brought in, & at the inſtance of the ſame faythfull Chriſtians, we aſſigned the ſecond day of Septẽber then next folowing, to the ſayd William Swinderby, to ſay and alledge agaynſt the ſayd proces: witneſſes, and their ſayinges, in the ſayd Church of Whythorne: decreeing, that a copy ſhould be made for him of theſe thinges that were brought forth, and of the depoſitions of the witneſſes.

*Here we fayle in our copy, till the Regiſter come to our handes agayne.

by the dore, but wendith vpon an other halfe, he is a night theefe and a day theefe. And there he telleth how he that flieth from theyr flock, is not the ſhepheard but an hired mã, and it pertayneth not to him of the ſheepe.

2. Concluſion.

☞ To the ſecond concluſion that he saien is errour or herecſy, that toucheth taking away of the temporalties and of Lordſhips of prieſts that bene euill liuers.

Declaration.

I ſay me ſeemeth that the concluſion is true, & is thys: that it were medefull and leefull to ſecular Lords by way of charity, and by power geuen to them of God, in default of Prelates that amend naught by Gods law: curſed Curates that openly miſuſe the goodes of the holye Church, that ben poore mens goods: and cuſtomably ayens the law of God, (the which poore men, Lords ben holden to mayntayne and defend) to take away and to draw from ſuch curates, poore mens goodes in helpe of the poore, and theyr owne wilfull offeringes, and theyr bodely almoſe deedes of worldly goodes, and geue them to ſuch as duely ſeruen God in the Churche: and bene ready in vpbearing of the charge that prelats ſhoulden do and done it not. And as anences taking away of temporalties: I ſay thus, that it is leefull to Kinges, to Princes, to Dukes, and to Lords of the world to take away from Popes, from Cardinals, frõ Biſhops, Prelates, and poſſeſſioners in the Church, theyr temporalties, and theyr almes that they haue geuẽ thẽ vpon conditiõ, that they ſhoulden ſerue God the better: whẽ they verely ſeen that theyr geuing & taking bene cõtrary to the law of God, contrary to Chriſtes liuing, and his Apoſtles, and namely in that that they takẽ vpon thẽ, that they ſhouldẽ be next folowers of Chriſt & his apoſtles, in poorenes and meeknes, to be ſecular Lords againſt the teaching of Chriſt and of S. Peter. Truely me ſemeth that all Chriſten men, and namely Prieſtes ſhoulden take keepe, that their doing were according with the law of god, either the old law either the new. The Prieſtes of the olde law wern forbidden, to haue Lordſhippes among theyr brethren, for God ſayd, that he would be theyr part and theyr heritage. And Chriſt that was the higheſt Prieſt of the new Teſtament forſooke worldly Lordſhip, and was here in fourme of a ſeruaunt, and forbad his Prieſtes ſuch Lordſhips, and ſayd, Reges gentium dominantur eorum. &c. vos autem non ſic. That is. The kinges of the heathen, beare dominion and rule. &c. But you ſhall not do ſo. And as Saynt Peter ſayeth. Neque dominantes in clero &c. Not bearing rule and dominion ouer the Clergy. &c. So it ſeemeth me: that it is agaynſt both lawes of God, that they haue ſuch Lordſhips, and that theyr title to ſuch lordſhips is not ful good: And ſo it ſeemeth me, that zif they bene thereto of euill liuing, it is no great perill to take away from them, ſuche Lordſhips but rather medefull, if the taking away were in charity, and not for ſingular couetouſneſſe ne wrath. And I ſuppoſe that if friers, that be bounden to theyr foũders, to liue in pouerty, would break theyr rule and take worldly Lordſhips: might not men lawfully take from thẽ ſuche Lordſhips, and make them to liue in pouerty as theyr rule would? And forſooth it ſeemeth me, that Prieſtes oughten alſo well to keepe Chriſtes rule, as Friers owne to keepe the rule of theyr founder. Jeremy witneſſeth, how God cõmended Rachabs children, for they would not break theyr faders bidding in drinking of wine. And yet Jeremy profered thẽ wine to drinke. And ſo I trow, that God would commend his Prieſtes, if they woulden forſake worldlye Lordſhips, and holden them a payd with lifelot, and with clothing: and buſy them faſt about theyr heritage of heauẽ. And God ſayth. Numeri. 18. In terra eorum nihil poſsidebitis, nec tenebitis partẽ inter eos: Ego pars & hæreditas veſtra in medio filiorum Iſrael. &c. Et Deut. 18. Non habebitis ſacerdotes & Leuitæ & omnes qui de eadem tribu eſtis, partem & hæreditatem cum reliquo Iſrael, quia Sacrificia Domini & oblationes eius cõedent, & nihil accipient de poſſeſsione fratrum ſuorum. Dominus enim ipſe hereditas ipſorum, ſicut locutus eſt illis. Et Lucæ 14. Sic ergo omnis ex vobis, qui non renunciauerit omnibus

Euery gift giuẽ vpon condition is fruſtrate vpon the breach of euery ſuch condition.

If the pope may take from the Friers to cauſe them keepe S. Fraunces rule, may not the Emperour take from the pope to cauſe hym keepe Chriſtes rule?

quæ poſsidet,non poteſt meus eſſe diſcipulus.Et Ieronimus in Epiſtola.34.Et Bernardus libro.20.ad.Eugeneum Papam. Et Hugo de Sacramentis,parte.2.libri Secundi.cap.7. Et 12.q.pri cap.duo ſunt:Et ca.clericus.Et Bernardus in Sermone de Apoſtolis,ſuper illud.Ecce nos reliquimus omnia . Et Chriſoſt ſuper Math.& vetus Teſtamentum. That is. You ſhall haue no inheritaunce in theyr lãd,nor haue no part amõgſt them:I wil be your part and inheritaunce amongeſt the children of Iſraell &c. Deut·18. The Prieſtes and Leuites,and all that be of the ſame tribe ſhall haue no part nor inheritance with the reſt of Iſraell: becauſe they ſhall eate the ſacrifices of the Lord and his oblatiõs,and they ſhall take nothing of the poſſeſſion of theyr brethren. The Lord himſelfe is their poſſeſſiõ, as he ſpake vnto them.And the 14.chap.of Luke : Euen ſo euery one of you,which forſaketh not all that he poſſeſſeth, cannot be my diſciple.And Ierome in his 14.Epiſtle hath the like wordes.And Bernard in his 20 booke to Eugenius the Pope . And alſo Hugo in his booke De Sacramentis, the ſecond part of his ſecõd booke the 7. chap.Alſo in the 12. q.firſt.chap Duo ſunt,and in the chap.Clericus.And agayn, Bernard in his booke De ſermone de Apoſtolis, vpon thys place:Ecce nos reliquimus omnia. Behold we leaue all.&c.& Chriſoſtome vpon the Goſpell of S.Math.&c.

3.Concluſion.

☞ The third concluſion toucheth the matter of preaching of Prieſtes, withouten leaue of Biſhops, and is this that ſuch true Prieſtes may counſel ſinnefull men:that ſhewen to them their ſinnes, after the wit and cunning that God hath geuen,to turne hem from ſinne to vertuous life, & as touching preaching of the Goſpell.

Declaration.

I ſay, that no Biſhop oweth to let a true Prieſt ,that God hath giffen grace, wit and cunning to do that office. For both Prieſtes and Deacons that God hath ordeyned Deacons or Prieſts,bene holden by power geuen to them of God,to preach to the people the Goſpell:and namely,& ſouereily Popes,Biſhops,Prelates and Curates: for this is due to the people and the pariſhners,to haue it and aſke it.And hereto ſeemeth me,that Chriſt ſaid generally to his Diſciples : Ite & prædicate Euangelium omni creaturæ, Goe and preach the Goſpell to all creatures, as well as he ſayd Ite & baptizate omnes gentes, Goe and baptiſe all nations, that alſo as well longeth preaching to Prieſtes without leaue of a Biſhop as doth baptiſing:and then why may he not preach Gods word withouten a Biſhops leaue. And ſithen Chriſt bod his Prieſtes preach, who ſhould forbidden them preaching? The Apoſtles were forbidden of a biſhop at Ieruſalem to ſpeake more of the name of Ieſus, but Peter ſayd : Si iuſtum eſt in conſpectu Dei,vos potiùs audire quàm Dominum iudicate. That is. whether it be iuſt in the ſight of God to heare and obey you before the Lord: be your ſelues Iudges. A Biſhop may not let a Prieſt of geuing bodily almes in his Dioces : much more may he not let the doing of ſpiritual almes in his dioces by gods law. A Prieſt may ſay his Mattines withouten the Byſhops leaue:for the Pope that is aboue the Biſhop, hath charged Prieſtes therewith: And me thinketh that Chriſtes bidding ſhould be all ſo much of charge as the Popes. Math.10 Euntes autem prædicate, Ite ecce ego mitto vos Et Mar.16.Euntes in mundum vniuerſum.&c.Lucæ.10.Ft Anacletus pap diſ. 21 cap.In nouo Teſtamẽto. Et Beda ſuper illud:Meſsis quidem multa.Et Iſydorus de ſummo bono.ca.44.Et Gregorius in canone diſ. 43.Preconis quippe officium ſuſcipit &c. & Chriſoſtom.diſtinct. 43.Nolite timere.Et Aug.diſ.34.cap.quiſquis.& Gregorius in ſuo paſtorali ca.38.qui enim eſt.Et Chriſoſt.om. 31. & in Tollitano concilio:Ignorantia.& Aug.in Prologo ſermonum ſuorum & Ieronimus diſ.9.Ecce ego.Et Aug. ſuper id: Homo quidam peregrinus. That is. Go you forth and preach. And agayn, Behold I ſend you.&c.Mar.16.Go you into all the world.&c.and Luk.10.cap.in nouo Teſtamento.And Beda vpon this place. Meſsis quidem multa:the harueſt is great. Alſo Iſidorus,De ſummo bono.cap.44. And Gregorius in the Canon diſt.43. Preconis quippe officium ſuſcipit.&c.and Chriſoſtome in hys 34.diſtinction:Nolite timere: And Auguſtine in the 34. dyſtinction cap.quiſquis.And Gregorius in his Paſtorall.cap. 38.Qui enim eſt. And Chriſoſtome in his 31.Homelye.Et in Tollitano concilio ignorantia. And Auguſtine in the Prologue of his Sermons.And Hiereme in the 95.diſtinct.Ecce ego.And Auguſtine vpon this place.Homo quidam peregrinus.A certayne traueller.

A prieſt admitted ought to preach,though the prince & biſhop forbyd,ſo that he preach the word.

4.Concluſion.

☞ The fourth concluſion toucheth the Sacrament of the aultar,and is this.

Declaration.

That wholy I beleue that the Sacramẽt of the aultar made by vertue of heauenly wordes, is bread and Chriſtes body,ſo as Chriſt himſelfe ſayth in the Goſpell and as S. Paule ſayth,and as Doctors in the common law haue determined:To this ſentence Iohn.6. Moſes hath not geuẽ you bread from heauen, but my father will geue you bread from heauen. He is the true bread that came downe from heauen and geueth life vnto the world. My father geueth vnto you bread in deed:the very true bread of God is that, which came downe from heauen and geueth life vnto the world. I am the bread of life:The bread which I wil geue is my fleſh. And in the Canon of the Maſſe Panem ſanctum vitæ æternæ:the holy bread of life. And Corinth.the 10.cap. and firſt Epiſtle. The bread which we breake,is it not the communicating of the body of the Lord? Let a man proue himſelfe and ſo eat of that bread.&c. And Canon De conſecratione diſtinction.2. Vnder the authority of Hilarius the Pope: Corpus Chriſti quod ſumitur de altari &c. And Auguſtine in the foreſayd diſtinctiõ. That which is ſene, is bread &c.That which fayth requireth, is bread and is the body of Chriſt. And in the foreſayd diſtinction.cap.Omnia quæcunque &c.By theſe two ſentẽces it is manifeſtly declared,that that bread & this, bee not two but one bread and one fleſh. Note the woordes for that he ſayth, the breade and fleſhe. And the author,De diuinis officijs,and alſo Auguſtine in his booke De remedijs pœnitentiæ:why prepareſt thou thy teeth &c.And Ambroſe, De Sacramentis:de conſecratione:diſtinct.2. Reuera mirabile eſt.&c. This meat which you receiue,& this bread of one which deſcended from heauen: doth miniſter the ſubſtaunce of eternall life,and whoſoeuer ſhall eate the ſame ſhall not dye euerlaſtingly,and is the body of Chriſt. Note how he ſayth and is the body of Chriſt.

5.Concluſion.

☞ The 5.article telleth of forgeueneſſe of ſinnes & is this. That very contrition withouten charity and grace, do away all ſinnes before done of that man,that is verely contrite, and all true confeſſion made by mouth outward to a wiſe Prieſt and a good, profiteth much to a man and it is needfull and helping,that men ſhew theyr life to ſuch, truſting fully to Gods mercy,that he forgeueth the ſinne.

Declaration.

And herto I ſay,that there bene 2. remiſsiõs of ſinnes: one that longeth onely to God: And that remiſſion is the clenſing of the ſoule from ſinne. And the other remiſſion,a certifying that one man certifieth an other, that his ſinnes bene forgeuen of God,if he be ſory with all his hart for thẽ: and is in full wil to leaue them for euer: and this maner of forgeuenes longeth to Prieſts. Of the firſt maner of forgiueneſſe. Dauid ſayth: And I ſayd I will confeſſe my vnrighteouſnes vnto the Lord, & thou forgaueſt me my miſdeed.And Zachary ſayth. And thou O childe ſhalt be called the Prophet of the higheſt.&c. To geue knowledge of ſaluation vnto his people for the remiſſion of theyr ſinnes, by the bowels of Gods mercy.And Iohn Baptiſt. Behold the lamb of God that taketh away the ſinnes of the world. And S.Iohn the Euangeliſt ſayth in his Epiſtle: If we confeſſe our ſinnes, he is faythfull & iuſt to forgeue vs our ſinnes and clenſe vs from al our iniquity.And it foloweth. If any man ſinne,we haue an aduocate with the father, euen Ieſus Chriſt and he it is that is the propitiatiõ for our ſinnes. And of the other remiſsiõ of ſinnes Chriſt ſpeaketh in the Goſpell, and ſayth. Whoſe ſinnes ye forgeue, they ſhalbe forgeuen.And mans forgeuenes auayleth litle, but ȝif God forgeue our ſinnes through his grace.

Remiſsiõs double.

6.Concluſion.

☞ The 6. concluſion teacheth indulgences and pardons, that the Pope graunteth in his Buls,and men callen it an abſolution A pœna & a culpa.

Declaration.

Of this maner of ſpeach I cannot finde in the Goſpel, ne in no place of holy write,ne I haue not read that Chryſt vſed this maner of remiſſion,ne none of his Apoſtles. But as me ſemeth,if the pope had ſuch a power ſithẽ the paines after a mãs death bene much greater thẽ any bodily paines of the world:me thinketh he ſhould of charity keep mẽ out of ſuch paynes, and then men needed not to finde ſo many vicious Prieſts after theyr life, to bring theyr ſoules out of Purgatory. An other thing me thinketh, that ſithe the popes power ne may not keep vs in this world fro bodely paynes as from cold,from hunger,from dread, frõ ſorow, and other ſuch paynes, how ſhould his power help vs frõ ſpirituall paynes,when we bene dead? But for that no mã commeth after his death to tell vs the ſooth in what payne they bene, men mow tell thereof what him luſt. S. Iohn ſayth in his Apocalips, that he ſawe vnder the aultar, the ſoules of them which were ſlaine for the word of God,and for the teſtimony which they had. And they did cry with a loud voice,ſaying:how long Lord holy and true,doeſt not thou reuenge our bloud of them which dwel on the earth. And white ſtoles were geuẽ to euery of thẽ,to reſt a while, till the number of theyr felow ſeruaunts & brethren ſhould be fulfilled,which alſo remayned to be ſlayne as they were. &c. Here ſemeth it,that theſe ſoules were not aſſoiled a pœna,that is from payne: for theyr deſire is not fulfillen.And they were bidden abide a while,and that is a payne.And if Martyrs were not aſſoyled from payne, it is hard for any mã to to ſay, ẏ he aſſoyleth other mẽ a pœna. Alſo good mẽs ſoules haue not but ſpirituall bliſſe, and they want bodely

bliſſe,

Either there is purgatory, or els the pope is cruel and vncharitable.

The Popes power can keepe none from bodely paine, Ergo,much leſſe from ſpirituall.

If the Martyrs being dead, be not aſſured frõ grief of tarying, much leſſe cã they aſſoile other from paynes of purgatorie.

The Pope hath no power grounded vpon Scripture, to bring from pain of purgatory.

blyſſe, vntill their reſurrection in the day of dome. And after they deſiren to haue that blyſſe, and abiden it, and that is paine to them. And I cānot ſee that yͤ Pope hath power to bring him from this paine. But if any man can ſhew me, that he hath ſuch a power graunted in the troth of holy write, I will gladly leeſen it.

7. Concluſion.

The Pope maketh him ſelfe euen with Chriſt

☞The vij. point ſpeaketh of the Pope and is this: Sith it is onely due to God, as I haue ſayd before, to geue & to graunt plener remiſſiō, from paine, and from blame: that whatſoeuer he bee Pope or other that preſūptuouſly miſtaketh vpon him the power that onely is due to God, in that, in as much as in him is, he maketh him ſelfe euen wͭ Chriſt, & blaſphemeth God, as Lucifer did, when he ſayd: Aſcendam, & ero ſimilis altiſſimo, That is, I will aſcend, and be lyke the higheſt &c.

Declaration

The Biſhop of Norwich Hen. Spenſer the popes warriour ſet vp of the pope to ſlay his enemies. page 428.

The Pope contrarie to Chriſt.

The pope agaíne prooued Antichriſt.

2. Swordes neuer giuen to the pope.

Two ſortes of annoyntinges in Scripture.

A defection in Antichriſtes time.

For that I ſay, if yͤ Pope holde men of armes in maintayning of his temporal Lordſhip, to venge him on them that gilten and offenden him, & geueth remiſſion to fight and to ſlay them, that contrarien him, as men ſayden he did by the Byſhop of Norwich, not putting his ſword in his ſheath, as God commaunded to Peter: he is Antichriſt. For he doth the contrary of the commaundement of Jeſus Chriſt, that bad Peter forgeuen to his brother. 70. ſithe. 7. ſithe. wel I finde in the Goſpel, that when Chriſt ſent his Diſciples to Samarye, the Samaritanes would not receiuen them. And ſome of them bidden Chryſt, that he ſhould make a fire come down from heauen, to deſtroy the City. And he blamed them and ſaid: Neſcitis cuius ſpiritus eſtis: Filius hominis non venit animas perdere, ſed ſaluare. That is, ye know not of what ſpirit ye are: The ſonne of man is not come downe to deſtroy, but to ſaue yͤ lyues and ſoules of mē. &c. If Chriſt then come to ſaue men, and not to ſlea them: who that doth the reuers hereof, is againſt Chriſt, and then he is Antichriſt. Chriſt bad Peter put his ſworde in his ſheath and ſayd: Omnes qui gladium acceperunt, gladio peribunt. That is: All which take the ſword, ſhall periſh with the ſworde. And I cannot fynde that Peter drew out his ſword after that time, but ſuffered as Chriſt ſayd: Cum ſenueris, alius cinget te, & ducet quò tu non vis. That is, when thou ſhalt waxe old, an other ſhall gird thee and lead thee whether thou wilt not. And therefore ſayd Peter, Chriſt ſuffered for vs, leauing vs example that we ſhoulde followe his ſteps. And Paule ſayth: Not defending your ſelues, but geue place to anger: leaue reuenging to mee, and I ſhall rewarde them &c. And therfore it ſeemeth to me, that it is much againſt Chriſtes lore, that his Vicar ſhould bee a fighter, ſithen that hee mote be a ſhephearde, that ſhoulde go before his ſheepe, and let them come after him, and not with ſwordes to driue them away from him. For as Chriſt ſayth, a good ſhepheard ſhall put his lyfe for his ſheepe. And zif al that Chriſt had two ſwordes when that hee was taken of the Jewes, he ſayd himſelfe, it was for that the Scriptures moten zit be fulfilled: Quoniam cum iniquis deputatus eſt, that is: he was reputed among the wicked: and not to figure two ſwordes, that men ſayen the Pope hath to gouerne with the church. And when I ſee ſuch doinges of the Pope, & many other that accorden not with Chriſts lore, ne his liuing: And when I reade diuers Scriptures of holye writte, I am foule aſtenied whether they ſhoulden be vnderſtanded of him, or of any other. And I pray you for Gods loue tell mee the ſooth. Chryſt ſayth: Many ſhall come in my name, ſaying: I am Chriſt, and ſhall ſeduce many. &c. Chriſt (I wot well) is as muche to ſay, as he that is anointed, & two annointinges there weren in the lawe, one of Kinges, an other of Prieſtes. And Chriſt was both King and Prieſt, and ſo the Pope ſayth that he is. And if all that haue bene Emperours of Rome, and other heathen kinges haue bene Antichriſts, they come not in Chriſtes name. But who ſo commeth in Chriſtes name, and fayneth him Chriſtes frend, and he be priuely his enemy, he may lightly beguile many. S. Paul ſaith: before there commeth a defection firſt, and yͤ ſonne of perditiō ſhalbe reuealed, which is yͤ aduerſary, and is extolled aboue al that is named God, or which is worſhipped: ſo yͭ he ſhal ſit in the temple of God, ſhewing himſelf as God. And it followeth in the ſame place: And now ye knowe what holdeth till he be reuealed in his time, for he worketh already the miſtery of iniquitie. Onely he yͭ holdeth, let him holde till he come abroad, & then that wicked one ſhall be reuealed, whom yͤ Lord Jeſus ſhal ſlay with the ſpirite of his mouth. &c. And S. John ſaith in the Apocalips: I ſaw an other beaſt aſcending out of the erth, and two hornes like to the lambe. He ſpake like yͤ Dragō, & had the power of the firſt beaſt. Many ſuch authorities aſtonieth me oft ſithes: and therfore I pray you for yͤ loue of God, to tell me what they meane.

¶The ſentence.

Mention was made of this ſchedule before in the firſt dayes Acte. pag. 471.

THe which ſchedule afore mencioned, with the cōtentes thereof diligently of vs peruſed, we conſidering yͭ diſeaſes which be not eaſely cured wͭ gētle remedy, muſt haue harder playſters. Cōſidering moreouer theſe his articles with his aunſwers to yͤ ſame, & to other articles alſo laſtly againſt him produced, firſt mature deliberatiō had before vpon yͤ whole matter wͭ the foreſaid maſters & Doctors, as wel ſecular as regular, to a great number, obſeruing in the ſame al thinges to be obſerued in this behalfe, haue geuē ſentēce againſt yͤ ſaid W. in forme as foloweth.

The ſentence giuen agaynſt hym.

The name of Chriſt being inuocated, we John, by the permiſſion of God, Biſhop of Hereford, ſitting in tribunal ſeate, hauing God before our eyes, weying & cōſidering yͤ articles by the foreſaid faithfull Chriſtians put vp againſt yͤ ſaid Swinderby, pretēding himſelfe to be prieſt, with his aunſwers vpō the ſame, Actis & Actitatis before vs in the cauſe of hereticall peruerſitie, with mature deliberation had before in this behalfe, with maſters & doctours of diuinitie, and alſo of other faculties, with their counſel and cōſent: Do pronounce, decree, and declare the ſayd W. to haue bene and to be an hereticke, ſciſmaticke, and a falſe informer of the people, & ſuch as is to be auoided of faithfull Chriſtians. Wherefore we admoniſh, vnder yͤ paine of the law, all & ſingular Chriſtians, of what ſex, ſtate, condition, or preeminence ſoeuer: yͭ neither they, nor any of thē wͭin our dioces, or any other, do beleue, receaue, defend, or fauor yͤ ſaid W. til he ſhal deſerue fully to be reconciled to the boſome againe of holy Church.

¶The appeale of W. Swynderby from this ſentence of the Biſhop prefixed, vnto the king and his counſaile.

The appeale of W. Swinderby from the B. to the king and his counſayle.

* Some thyng there lacketh in the copie.

IN nomine patris, et filij, et ſpiritus ſancti, Amen. I. W. Swynderby prieſt, knowledge openly to al men, that I was before the Biſhop of Hereford, the thirde day of October, and before many other good clerkes, to aunſwer to certaine concluſions of yͤ faith that I was accuſed of. And mine aunſwere was this, that if the Biſhop or any man couthe ſhew me by Gods law, yͭ my concluſions or mine aunſweres were errour or hereſie, I would be amended, and openly reuoke them before al yͤ people. *Knowes in any of my concluſions, but ſayden ſingly with word, that there was errours in them, and bidden me ſubiect me to yͤ Biſhop, & put me into his grace & reuoke mine errour, and ſhewed me nought by Gods law ne reaſō, ne proued which they weren. And for I would not knowledge mee guiltie, ſo as I knew no errour in thē, of which I ſhould be guilty, therfore yͤ Byſhop ſate in dome in mine abſēce, and deemed me an heriticke, a ſchiſmaticke, and a teacher of errours, and denounced me accurſed, that I come not to correction of yͤ Church. And therefore for this vnrightfull iugement, I appeale to the kinges Juſtices for many other cauſes.

The kyngs court aboue the Byſhops court.

One cauſe is, for the kynges Court, in ſuch matter is aboue the Byſhops court: For after that the Byſhop has accurſed, he may no feare by his law, but thē mote he ſech ſuccour of the kinges law, and by a writ of Significauit, put a man in priſon.

The ſecond cauſe is, for in cauſe of hereſie there liggeth iudgement of death, & that dome may not be geuen without the kinges Juſtices. For the Byſhop will ſay: Nobis non licet interficere quenquam, That is: It is not lawfull for vs to kill anye man: as they ſayden to Pilate, when Chriſt ſhould be deemed. And for I thinke that no Juſtice wil geue ſodenly & vntrue dome as the Byſhop did, and therfore openly I appeale to hem and ſend my concluſiōs to the Knightes of the Parliament, to be ſhewed to the Lordes, and to be taken to the Juſtices, to be wel auiſet or that they geuen dome.

What is an heretike.

The thirde cauſe is, for it was a falſe dome: for no man is an hereticke, but he, that maiſterfully defends his error or hereſie and ſtifly maintaines it. And mine aūſwere has ben alway cōditional, as yͤ people openly knows, for euer I ſay, & yet ſay & alway will: that if they cannen ſhew me by Gods law that I haue erret, I wil gladly ben amēdet, and reuoke mine errours and ſo I am no hereticke, ne neuer more in Gods grace will ben en no wiſe.

The Byſhops law of condemnation full of hereſies and errours.

The fourth cauſe is. For the Biſhops lawe, that they deme men by, is full of errours and hereſies, contrary to yͤ truth of Chriſtes law of the Goſpell.

For there as Chriſts law biddes vs loue our enemies, the Popes law geues vs leaue to hate them & to ſley them, and graūtes men pardon to werren againe heathē men, and ſley hem. And there as Chriſtes lawe teache vs to be mercifull, the Biſhops lawe teaches to be wretchfull. For death is the greateſt wretch that mẽ mowen done on him that guilty is.

There as Chriſtes law teaches vs, to bleſſen him that diſeazen vs, and to pray for him: the popes law teacheth to curſe them, and in theyr great ſentence that they vſen, they preſume to damne hem to hell that they curſen. And this is a foule hereſy of blaſpheme, there as Chriſtes law byddes vs be patient, the Popes law iuſtifies two ſwordes, that wherwith he ſmiteth the ſheepe of the Church. And he has made Lordes and Kings to ſweare to defend him and his Church.

There as Chriſtes law forbiddeth vs lechery, yͤ popes law iuſtifies the abhominable whoredome of cõmon women, and the Biſhops in ſome place haue a great tribute or rent of whoredome.

There as Chriſtes lawe byddes to miniſter ſpirituall thynges freely to the people: the Pope with his law ſelles for mony, after the quãtity of the gift, as pardons, orders, bleſſing, and Sacraments, & prayers, & benefices, & preaching to the people, as it is knowne amongeſt them.

There as Chriſtes law teaches peace; the Pope wyth his law aſſoyles mẽ for mony to gader the people, prieſts, and other to fight for his cauſe.

The contrarietie betwene the pope & Chriſt.

There as Chriſtes law forbids ſwearing: The popes law iuſtifieth ſwearing, and compels men therto.

Wheras Chriſtes law teacheth his Prieſts to be poore, the Pope with his law, iuſtifies and mayntaynes Prieſts to be Lordes.

The cauſe why Swinderby forſooke the pope.

And yet the 5. cauſe is, for the Popes law that byſhops demen men by, is yͤ ſame vnrightfull law that Chriſt was demet by of the Byſhops, with the Scribes and with the Phariſes. For right as at that time they gauen more credens to the 2. falſe witneſſes that witneſſed agaynſt Chriſt then they deden to al yͤ people that witneſſeden to his true preaching and his miracles: ſo the Biſhops of the Popes law geuen more leuen by their law to two hereticks & Apoſtats, or two comen wymen that woulden witneſſeden agaynes a man in the cauſe of hereſy, than to thouſands of people that were trew and good. And for the Pope is thys Antechriſt and his law contrary to Chriſt his lawe, fully I forſake this law and ſo I reed all Chriſten menne. For thus by an other poynt of this law, they mighten cõquere much of this world: For whan they can by this law preſẽt a man an hereticke: his goods ſhulen be forfet from him & frõ his heyres, and ſo might they lightly haue 2. or. 3. falſe witneſſes to recorde an hereſye agayne what true man ſo hem liked. Herefore me thinkes, that whatſoeuer that I am a chriſten man I may lawfull appeale frõ a falſe dome of the law, to be righteouſlye demet by the trouth of Gods law. And if this appeale will not ſerue, I appeale opẽly to my Lord Ieſu Chriſt that ſhall deme all the world, for he I wot well, will not ſpare for no man to deeme a trouth. And therfore I pray GOD almighty with Dauid in the Sauter booke Deus iudicium tuum regi da, & iuſtitiam tuam filio regis: Iudicare populum tuum in iuſtitia & pauperes tuos in iudicio. That is. O God geue thy iudgement to the king, and thy iuſtice to the kings ſonne: to iudge thy people in iuſtice, and thy poore ones in iudgement, &c.

¶ A letter ſent to the Nobles and Burgeſsies of the Parliament, by M. William Swinderby.

A fruitful letter to the Lords & Burgeſsies of the Parliament.

IEſu that art both God and man help thy people that louen thy law, and make knowne through thy grace thy teachinge to all chriſten men. Deare ſirs, ſo as we ſeen by many tokens that this world drawes to an end, & all that euer haue bene forth brought of Adams kinde into this world ſhulẽ come togeder at domeſday riche and poore, ichone to geue accompt and receiue after hys deedes, ioy or paynen for euermore: Therfore make we our werks good, ye while that God of mercy abides, and be yee ſtable and true to God, and ye ſhulen ſee hys helpe about you. Conſtantes eſtote & videbitis auxilium Domini ſuper vos. This land is full of Ghoſtly cowardes, in Ghoſtly battayle few dare ſtand. But Chriſt the comforter of all that falleth (to that his hart barſt for our loue) agaynſt the fiend the doughty Duke comforteth vs thus: Eſtote fortes in bello. &c. Be ye ſtrong in battell, he ſayes, and fight ye with the olde adder. State in fide, viriliter agite. &c. Wake ye & pray ye, ſtond ye in beleue, do ye manly and be ye comfortet, and let all your thinges be done with charity: For Saynt Paule bidds thus in his Epiſtle, that ſaw the preuetyes of God in heauen: Euigilate iuſti. &c. Awake ye that bene righteous men, bee yee ſtable and vnmoueable: Awake ye quickely and ſleepe nought, and ſtond now ſtrongly for Gods law. For Saynt Iohn in the Apocalips ſayes, bleſſet be he that awakes: for nought to ſleepers but to wakers God has behite the crowne of life. For the hower is nowe as Paule ſayth to vs, from ſleepe for to ariſe, for he that earelye awakes to me, he ſhall finde me ſayth Chriſt himſeluen. This waking goſtly is good liuing out of ſinne: this ſleepe betokens that which cowardeth a mans hart from goſtlye comfort and to ſtand in the ſame through a deceaueable ſleepe is this that lets a man of the bliſſe of heauen: the fende makes men bold in ſinne and ferd to do worſhip to God: death is a likening to a theefe that preuely ſteales vpon a man that now is riche, and full of wele, anone he makes him a needy wrech: therfore ſayd God by S. Iohn in the Apocalips in this wiſe: Be thou waking, for if thou wake nought, I ſhall come to thee as a theefe, and thou ſhalt not wit what houre. And if the huſbandman (ſayes Chriſt) wiſt what houre the theefe ſhould come, he ſhoulde wake and ſuffer him not to vndermine his houſe. Saynt Peter therefore warneth and ſayth: wake and be ye ware, ſuffer ye no man (he ſayes) as a theefe but wilfullye for Gods loue, for it is time (as Peter ſaies) that dome begin from the houſe of God: Ye bene the body of Chriſt (ſayes Poule) that needes muſt ſuffer with the head, or els your bodyes bene but deade and departed from Chriſt that is the head. And therefore curſet be he (ſayes Poule) that loues not Ieſu Chriſt. And who it is that loues him, Chriſte himſelfe telles in the Goſpell: he that has my heſtes, and keepes them, he it is that loues me. Curſed he be therfore (ſayes Poule) that doth Chriſtes workes deceiueably. Be ye not therefore (ſayes Poule) aſhamed of the true witneſſe of Ieſu Chriſt, for Chriſt our God ſayes in his Goſpell, he that ſhames me and my wordes, him ſhall mans ſonne aſhame when he ſhal come for to ſet in the ſiege of hys Maieſty. And each man he ſayes, that knowes me and my wordes before men in this ſinnefull generation and whoriſh, mans ſonne ſhall knowledge him before my father ſayes Chriſt himſelfe, when he ſhall come with hys Aungels in the glory of his Father: Sithe ye therefore bene Chriſtenmen, that is to ſay, Chriſtes men, ſhew in deede that ye bene ſuche as ye daren ſhew you the kings men: for hit had bene, as Peter ſaies, better not to haue knowen the way of trueth, then after the knowing thereof to be conuerted backeward there from. We knowen Chriſt, that is trought, we ſain all through our beliefe if we turne from him for dred, truely wee deny the troth: And therefore ſith our time is ſhort, how ſhort no man knowes but God, do we the good that we may to Gods worſhip, when we haue time: Be true (ſayes God) to the death and you ſhall haue the crowne of life: And thinke on Iudas Machabeus, that was Gods true knight, that comforted hartelye Gods true people, to be the folowers of his law. And geue ye, he ſayd, your liues for the Teſtament of your fathers. And ye ſhulen winne, he ſayd, great ioy, and a name for euermore. Was not Abraham, he ſayd, in temptation founden true, and was *arectet vnto him euermore to righteouſneſſe, Ioſeph in time of his anguiſh he kept truely Gods heſt, he was made by Gods prouidence Lord of Egypt, for his trouth. Phinees our fadure louing, he ſayth, the zeale of God tooke the teſtament of euerlaſting Prieſthoode. Ioſue for he fulfillet the worde of God was domes man in Iſraell. Caleph that witneſſed in the Church, he tooke therefore the heretage, he ſayth: Dauid in his mercy hee gat the ſiege of the kingdome in worldes. Hely for that he loued the zeale of Gods lawe, was taken vppe into heauen. Ananie, Azary, and Miſaell, he ſayes, weren deliueret thoore through true beliefe out of the hoat flame of fire. True Daniel in his ſimplenes was deliueret from the Lyons mouthe. Bethinke ye therfore, he ſayes, by generation and generation, and thou ſhalt neuer finde that he fayled that man that truely truſted in him. And therefore dread you nought, he ſayes of the wordes of a ſinnefull man: hys glory is, he ſayes, but wormes and tordes: he is to day, he ſayth, yͤ made hye, to morow he ſayes he is not foundẽ for he is turned, he ſayes, into his earth agayn, & the minde of him is periſhet. Sonnes therefore he ſayes, be ye comfortet, and dye manly in the lawe: for when ye han done that that Gods commaundes you to doe, ye ſhulen be glorious in him. And Dauid the king ſayes alſo on this wiſe in the Pſalter booke: bleſſet be they (Lord) that keepen thy law, in worldes of worldes they ſhall prayſe thee. And in Leuiticus ſayes God thus, gif that ye wenden in mine heſtes & keepen my commaundementes, and done hem, I ſhall I ſhall bring forth theyt fruit,, and trees ſhall be fulfilled with apples. And ye ſhallen eat your bread in fulnes, ye ſhoulen dwell in your lande without drede, I ſhall geue peace in your coſtes, ye ſhall ſleep and no man ſhall feare you. Euill beaſtes I ſhall done away from you, and ſword ſhall not paſſe your termes, ye ſhuln purſue your enemies, and they ſhall fall before you, fifty of yours ſhulne purſue an hundreth of heren, an hundret of yours, a thouſand of theyrs: your enemies, hee ſaieth ſhulen fal through ſword, and your iute. I ſhall he ſayes behold you and make you to waxe, and ye ſhall be multipliet: And I ſhall ſtrength with you my couenaunt, ye ſhall eat the aldeſt, and the new ſhull come in theron. And ye ſhuln caſt forth the old, I ſhall dwell in the midſt of you. And I ſhall wend amonges you, and ſhalbe your God, and ye ſhulne be my people. If that ye heare me not, ne done nought all my heſtes but diſpiſẽ my law and my domes, and that ye done not tho thinges that of me bene ordenet, and breken my commaundements and my couenant: I ſhall do theſe thinges to you, I ſhall viſite you ſurely in

*Reckened.

Daniel.14.

Pſal.119.

Leuit.26.

nede and brenning, which ſhall dimme your eghenen, and ſhall waſt your liues about nought: Ye ſhulne ſow your ſede for hit ſhalbe deuouret of enemies, I ſhall put my face agaynſt you, and ye ſhall fall before your enemies. And ye ſhulen be vnderlings to them that han hatet you, ye ſhall flee, no man purſuing. And if ye will not be buxome to me, I ſhall adde thereunto thornes and ſeuen folde blame. And I ſhall all to braſt the hardnes of you, I ſhall geue the heauen aboue you as yron, & the earth as braſſe. About nought ſhall your labour be, for the earth ſhall bring you forth no fruit, ne tree ſhall geue none apples to you. If that ye wenden agaynſt me, and will not heare me, I ſhall adde hereto, ſeuen folde woundes for your ſinnes, I ſhall ſend amongeſt you beaſtes of the field that ſhall deuour you and your beaſtes, I ſhall bring you into a field, and wayes ſhuln be deſart. And if that ye will not receiue lore, but wenden agaynſt me, I will alſo wenden agaynſte you, and I ſhall ſmite you ſeuen ſithes for your ſinnes. I ſhall leade in vpon you, ſword, venger of my couenaunt: and vpon the fleen into Cities, I ſhall ſend peſtilence in the middeſt of you. So that tenne women ſhall bake their bread in one furnace, and yeld thē agayne by wayght, and ye ſhall eat, & not be fillet. If that ye heare me not by theſe thinges, but wenden agaynſt me, I ſhall wend in agaynſt you in a contrary woodneſſe, and blame you with ſeuen plagues for your ſinnes, ſo that they ſhoulen eat the fleſh of your ſonnes and of your daughters. And in ſo much my ſoule ſhall loth you, that I ſhal bring your Cities into wilderneſſe, and your Sanctuaryes I ſhall make deſart, ne I ſhal not ouer that receiue ſweet oder of your mouth. And I ſhall diſperkle your land, and enemies ſhulen maruell thereon, when they ſhulen inhabite it, I ſhall diſperpel you among Heathen, and draw my ſword after you. Theſe vengeaunces and many moe, God ſayde ſhould fall on them that breake his bidding, and diſpiſeth his lawes, and his domes. Than ſithe Chriſt become man, and bought vs with his hart bloud, and has ſhewed vs ſo great loue, and geuen vs an eaſy law, of the beſt that euer might be made, and to bring vs to the ioy of heauen, and we deſpiſe it and louen it nought: what vengeaunce will be taken here on, ſo long as he has ſuffered vs, and ſo mercifully abidden, when he ſhall come that righteous iudge in the cloudes to deme this worlde? Therefore turne we vs to him, and leaue ſinne that he hates and ouer all thinges mayntayne his lawe that he confirmed with his death. For other lawes that men had made, ſhoulde be demed at that day by the iuſt law of Chriſt, and the maker that them made, and then we wonne that long life and that ioy that Paule ſpeaketh of, that eye ne ſee not, ne eare heard not, ne into mans hart aſcended not, the bliſſe and ioy that God hath ordeyned to them that louen him and his lawes.

The faythfull requeſt of W.Swinderby.

Deare worſhipfull ſirs in this world I beſeech you for Chriſtes loue, as ye that I trow louen Gods law & trouth (that in theſe dayes is greatly borne abacke) that they wollen vouchſafe theſe thinges that I ſend you written to Gods worſhip, to let them be ſhewed in the Parliament as your wittes can beſt conceiue, to moſt worſhip to our God, and to ſhewing of the trouth and amēding of holy Church. My concluſions and mine appeale & other true matters of Gods law (gif any man can finde therein errour, falſeneſſe, or default, prouet by the law of Chriſt clearely to chriſten mens knowledge) I ſhall reuoke my wrong conceit, and by Gods law be amendet: euer redy to hold with Gods law opēly & priuely with Gods grace, and nothing to holde, teach, or maynetayne that is contrary to his law.

Of the proces, anſweres, & condemnation of this worthy prieſt and true ſeruaunt of Chriſt, Williā Swinderby, you haue heard. What afterward became vpō him, I haue not certainly to ſay or affirme, whether he in priſō died, or whether he eſcaped theyr handes, or whether he was burned there is no certayne relation made. This remayneth out of doubt that during yͤ time of K. Richard. 2. no great harme was done vnto him. Which was to the yeare. 1401. at what time K. Richard being wrongfully depoſed, Henry the 4. inuaded the kingdome of England. About the beginning of whoſe reigne we read of a certayn Parliament holden at Londō, mentioned alſo of Thomas Walden (as is aboue ſpecified) in which parliamēt it was decreed: that whoſoeuer ſhewed themſelues to be fauorers of Wickliffe they ſhould be apprehended, who at that time were called Lollards, and if ſo be they did obſtinately perſeuere in that doctrine, they ſhould be deliuered ouer vnto the biſhop of the dioces, & from him ſhould be cōmitted to the correctiō of the ſecular magiſtrate. This law (ſayth yͤ ſtory) brought a certaine prieſt vnto puniſhmēt the ſame yeare, who was burned in Smithfielde in the preſence of a great number. This we haue drawne out of a piece of an old ſtory, & it is moſt certaine that there ſuch a Prieſt was burned for the affirmation of the true faith, but it doth not appeare by the ſtory, what the Prieſtes name was. Notwithſtanding by diuers coniectures it appeareth vnto me that his name was Swinderby that was forced to recant before by the Biſhop of Lincolne. Whereby what is to be coniectured by the premiſſes, let other men iudge what they think. I haue nothing hereof expreſſely to affirme. This is plain for al men to iudge (which haue here ſene and read his ſtory) that if he were burned, then the biſhops, Friers & prieſtes, which were the cauſes thereof, haue a great thing to anſwere to the Lord, when he ſhall come to iudge yͤ quicke and the dead, & ſeculum per ignem.

¶ The ſtory and proceſſe agaynſt Walter Brute.

The ſtory of Walter Brute a Britton.

After the ſtory of William Swinderby, I thought good and conuenient, next to adioyne the actes and doinges of Gualter Brute his ioynt fellow and companion, being a lay man, and learned: brought vpp as it ſeemeth in the Vniuerſitie of Oxforde, being there alſo graduate. The tractation of whoſe diſcourſe as it is ſomething long, ſo therein may appeare diuers thinges worthye to be read and conſidered.

Ex Regiſtro Epiſ. Herford.

Firſt, yͤ mighty operation of gods ſpirit in him, his ripe knowledge, modeſt ſimplicitie, his valiant conſtancie, hys learned tractations and manifolde conflictes ſuſteyned agaynſt Gods enemies. On the contrary part in hys aduerſaryes may appeare, might againſt right, mans authoritie agaynſt plaine veritie: againſt which they hauing nothing directly to aunſwere, procede in condemnation agaynſt whom they are able to bring forth no confutation. The chiefeſt occaſion that ſeemed to ſtirre vp the heart and zeale of this Walter agaynſt the pope: was the impudent pardons and indulgenſes of Pope Vrbane, graunted to Henry Spenſer Biſhop of Norwich to fight againſt pope Clement, mentioned before pag. 428. Secondly the wrongfull condemnation of the articles and concluſions of William Swinderby, the whole order wherof, in the proceſſe here following more playnly may appeare.

✤ The proceſſe had by Bohn Byſhop of Hereford, agaynſt Walter Brute lay man, and learned, of the dioces of Hereford, touching the cauſe of hereſie, as they called it, ſet forward by the way of the Byſhops office &c. at the inſtruction of certain faithful Chriſtians, as he termed them, but in deed cruell and falſe promoters.

Murdring harts lurking vnder louing wordes.

IN yͤ name of God, Amen. To all maner of faithful chriſtian people that ſhall ſee and heare this our preſēt proces: Iohn by yͤ ſufferance of God biſhop of Hereford ſendeth greeting & cōtinual charitie in yͤ Lord. We would yͤ you al ſhould know, that of late by many faithfull chriſtian people, & ſpecially zealous followers of the catholicke faith, it was lamētably done vs to vnderſtand by way of complaint: that a certain ſonne of ours going out of kind, named Walter Brute lay perſon, learned, of our dioces, hath vnder a cloked ſhew of holynes, dānably ſeduced the people: & ſetting behind him yͤ feare of God, doth ſeduce thē as much as he cā, frō day to day, informing & teaching openly and priuely, as well the nobles as the commōs, in certaine concluſiōs hereticall, ſchiſmatical, and erroneous & alſo heretofore condēned. And they haue alſo probably exhibited againſt yͤ ſame Walter, articles vnder writtē, in maner and forme as followeth.

¶ Articles exhibited and denounced to the biſhop, againſt Walter Brute.

Articles denounced againſt W. Brute by prieſts and Friers.

REuerend father and Lorde, we the faythfull people of Chriſt, & zelous louers of the catholicke faith, and alſo your humble and deuout children: do miniſter & exhibite to your reuerend fatherhood, the articles vnder written, touching yͤ catholicke faith, cōtrary and againſt malicious perſons, & detractours of the ſame faith, & the determinations of holy mother church, & namely agaynſt the childe of Belial, one Walter Brute, a falſe teacher and ſeducer amongſt yͤ people. Hūbly beſeeching, yͭ you would vouchſafe to haue regard to yͤ correction of the enormities vnder written, according vnto yͤ Canonicall conſtitutions, euen as to your office paſtorall doth lye and belong.

The firſt article.

In primis, **we do geue and exhibite and entēd to proue, that the ſame Walter Brute being vnmindfull of his ſaluation, hath bene by many and diuers faythfull Chriſtian people ſundry times accuſed of the curſednes of hereſy: As by the ſwift report, ſlaūder, and rumour of the people, proceding before the moſt reuerend father & Lord, Lord William Archb. of Caunterbury, and alſo before the reuerend father & Lord, Lord Iohn late B. of Hereford, your prede-**

ceſſor, and now Biſhop of S. Aſſe, hath bene teſtified, and alſo hath bene many & diuers times cited to anſwere vnto articles by him agaynſt the Catholicke fayth auouched, & openly and publiquely taught: But he in this matter of hereticall curſednes (ſo greeuouſly and ſhamefully ſpoken of) hath neuer regarded to purge his innocency, but lurkingly and running into corners, hath many and ſundrye yeres labored to aduance things erroneous, ſchiſmaticall, and alſo hereſyes, & to emprint them in the harts of faythfull people.

2. Article. Item, the foreſayd Walter Brute hath opēly, publickly, and notoriouſly auouched, and commōly ſayd & taught and ſtubbernly affirmed: that euery Chriſten man (yea & woman) being without ſinne may make the body of Chriſt ſo well as the prieſt.

3. Article. Item, the ſame Walter hath notoriouſly, opēly & publickely auouched and taught, that in the Sacrament of the alter there is not the very body, but a ſigne and a memoriall onely.

4. Article. Item, the foreſayd Walter hath ſayd commonly and auouched, and alſo hath labored to informe mē and companyes, that no man is bound to geue tithes, nor oblations: and if any man will needes geue, he may geue his tithes, and oblations to whom he wil, excluding therby theyr curates.

5. Article. Itē, that ſuch as do preach and prefer croiſed matters, and pardons (graunted by the high biſhop to them ỹ helpe the purpoſe of the reuered father Lord Henry by the grace of God Biſhop of Norwich, when as he toke his iourny vpō him to fight for the holy father the Pope) are ſchiſmatickes and heretickes, and that the Pope cannot graunt ſuch maner of pardons.

6. Article. Item, the ſayd Walter hath oftentimes ſayd, and commonly aduouched, that the Pope is Antichriſt, and a ſeducer of the people, and vtterly agaynſt the lawe and life of Chriſt.

7. Article. Item, wheras of late your reuerence did (at the inſtāce of faithfull chriſten people) proceed in forme of law againſt William Swinderby, and that the ſayd Williā Swinderby had vnto the ſaid articles obiected againſt him, geuē vp his anſweres in writing, cōteining in thē errors, ſchiſmes & hereſies, euen as you with the mature counſel of maiſters & doctors in diuinity, & other faculties haue determined & geuen ſentence, and haue pronounced the ſame William Swinderby to be an heretick, & a ſchiſmatick, and an erroneous teacher of ỹ people: Neuertheles ỹ forenamed Walter hath openly, publickly, & notoriouſly ſaid, aduouched, & ſtubbernly affirmed, that the ſayd Williams aunſweres (whereof notice hath bene geuen before) are good, righteous, and not able to be conuinced, in that they conteyne none error, and that your ſentence beforeſayd, geuen agaynſt the ſame William, is euill, falſe & vniuſt: And that your aſſiſtants haue wickedly, naughtely, peruerſly, & vniuſtly condemned the anſweres aforeſayd.

Otherwiſe bloudie promoters. Now therupon immediately, thoſe ſame faythful chriſtian people haue inſtantly required that we would vouchſafe that other articles geuen by ỹ ſame faythfull chriſtiās againſt the ſayd William Swinderby, together wͭ the writings and anſweres of the ſame William therunto: ſhould be admitted agaynſt Walter Brute, mentioned of in this matter of curſed hereſy: of which Articles and aunſwers, the tenors do folow in theſe wordes.

Theſe concluſions and articles of W. Swinderby here repeated, & obiected to Walt. Brute are to be founde before, pag. 466. and 467.

In primis, that one William Swinderby pretending himſelf prieſt, was of certayne articles and cōcluſions erroneous, falſe, ſchiſmaticall & heretical, by him preached, at diuers places & times, before a great multitude of faithful Chriſtians, iudicially cōuinced: and the ſame articles and concluſiōs did he (inforced by neceſſity of law) reuoke and abiure, ſome as hereticall, and other as erroneous & falſe: and for ſuch did he aduouch thē euer afterward promiſing ſo to take and beleue them & that frō thenceforth he would opēly or priuily preach, teach, or affirme none of them: nor that he ſhould make ſermon or preach within your dioces without licence demaunded and obteined. And in caſe he ſhould to the cōtrary preſume, by preaching or auouching that then he ſhould be ſubiect to the ſeueritye of the Canōs euen as he iudicially ſware accordingly as the law inforced. Alſo the concluſions abiured by the ſayd William doe folow and are ſuch.

1. Concluſion. 1. In primis, that men by the rule of charity, may demaund debts, but by no meanes impriſon any man for debts: and that the party ſo impriſoning a body, is excommunicated, before. pag. 466.

2. Item, that if the pariſhioners ſhall knowe theyr Curate to be incontinent and naughty: they ought to withdraw from him theyr tythes. &c. pag. 467.

3. Item, that tithes are mere almoſies, and in caſe that the Curates ſhal be ill, that they may be lawfully beſtowed vpon others by the temporall owners. &c. pag. 467.

4. Item, that an euill Curate to excommunicate any vnder his iuriſdiction for withholding of tithes, is nought els. &c. pag. 467.

5. Item, that no mā may excōmunicate any body, except that firſt he know him excōmunicate of God: Neither doe thoſe that communicate with ſuch a one, incur the ſentence of excommunication by any maner of meanes. ibid.

6. Item, that euery Prieſt may abſolue euery ſinner being contrite, and is bound to preach the Goſpell vnto the people, notwithſtanding the prohibition of the Biſhops, pag. 467.

7. Item, that a prieſt receiuing by bargaine any thing of yearely annuity, is in ſo doing a ſchiſmaticke, and excommunicate. pag. 467.

8. Item, he doth aſſuredly beleeue (as he auoucheth) that euery prieſt being in deadly ſinne, if he diſpoſe himſelfe to make the body of Chriſt, doth rather commit idolatry thē make Chriſtes body. pag. 467.

9. Item, that no prieſt doth enter into any houſe, but to handle ill the wife, the daughter, or the mayd, and therfore &c. pag. 467.

10. Item, that the child is not rightly baptiſed, if the prieſt &c. ibid.

11. Item that no maner of perſon if he liue agaynſt Gods law. &c. ibid.

12. Item, the ſame William agaynſt the thinges premiſed, and his reuocation and abiuration (not to his hart cōnerting, but from euill to worſe peruerting) did turne aſide into our dioces: where running to and fro in diuers places, hath of his owne raſh head preſumed to preach or rather to peruert. &c. 467.

13. Item, after that we had heard diuers rumors, & ſlaunders of very many, we directed diuers monitions and cōmaundementes comminatorye, to be ſent abroade by our Commiſſaries to ſundry places of our dioces: that no perſon of what eſtate, degree or condition ſo euer he were of, ſhould preſume to preach or to teach the ſacred ſcripture to the people in places holy or prophane, within our dioces. &c. page. 466.

14. Item, that the ſame ſort of monitions, inhibitions and precepts confirmed by our ſeale, came to the true & vndouted knowledge of the ſayd William.

15. Item, the ſame William vnmindefull of his owne ſaluation hath ſithens & agaynſt thoſe monitions, inhibitiōs and preceptes, and (that which is more abhominable to be ſpoken) in contempt of the high Biſhops dignity, & to the ſlaūder & offence of many people, preſumed in diuers places of our ſayd dioces, to preach or rather to peruert & to teach the forementioned, & other heretical, erroneous and ſchiſmaticall deuiſes. *Infandum facinus ſcilicet.*

16. Item, the ſame William in preaching to the people: on monday, to wit, the firſt of Auguſt, in the yere of our Lord 1390. in the Church of Whitney in our dioces, held and affirmed: that no Prelate of the world, of what ſtate, preheminēce or degree ſoeuer he were of, hauing cure of ſoule & being in deadly ſinne. &c. pag. 466.

17. Item, the ſame William in many places ſayd & affirmed in the preſence of many faythfull chriſtian people, after the ſacramentall wordes vttered by the prieſt, hauing ỹ intent to conſecrate, there is not made the very bodye of Chriſt in the ſacrament of the Euchariſt. pag. 466. A perilous doore to open.

18. Item, that accidences cannot be in the ſacramēt of the aulter without theyr ſubiect: & that there remayneth materiall bread Concomitanter with the body of Chriſt in the ſacrament. Vide ſupra pag. 466.

19. Item, that a prieſt being in deadly ſinne cannot by the power of the ſacramētall words, make the body of Chriſt, &c. pag. 466.

20. Item, that all prieſts are of like power in all poynts, notwithſtanding that ſome of them are in this worlde of higher dignity, degree, or preheminence. pag. 466.

21. Item, that contrition onely putteth away ſinne, if a man ſhall be duely contrite: and that all vocall confeſſion and exerciſe, is ſuperfluous, and not requiſite of neceſſitye to ſaluation. Ibidem.

22. Item, that inferior Curates haue not theyr power of binding and looſing mediatly from the pope or biſhop, but immediately of Chriſt. &c. pag. 466.

23. Item, that the pope cannot graunt ſuch kind of annuall pardons, becauſe there ſhall not be ſo many yeares to the day of iudgement as is conteyned in the popes buls or pardons. Whereby it followeth, that pardons are not ſo much worth as they are noyſed and prayſed to be. Ibid.

24 Item that it is not in the Popes power to graunt to any penitent body forgeuenes of the paine or of the treſpaſſe. pag. 466.

25 Item that one geuing his almes to any bodye which as he iudgeth hath no neede thereof, doth ſinne in ſo geuyng it. pag. 466.

26 Item that it ſtandes not in the power of any prelate, of what priuate religion ſoeuer he bee, to geue by letters benefites of their order. Neither do ſuch kind of benefits geuen profit them to whom they be geuen for the ſaluatiō of ſoules. Vide ſupra. pag. 466.

A foule falt forſooth.

27 Item that the ſame William vnmindfull of his owne ſaluation, hath many times and often reſorted to a certain deſert wood called Derwalſwood of our dioces, and there in a certayne vnhallowed Chappell (nay a prophane cottage) hath preſumed of his owne propre raſhneſſe, to celebrate. &c. pag. 466.

28 Item the ſame William hath alſo preſumed to do the like thinges in a certayne prophane chappel, ſituate in the parke of Newton, nigh to the towne of Leyntwardyn, in the ſame our dioces. pag. 466.

Walter Pride promoters, or rather a proud promoter.

Which thinges being done, the ſame faithful Chriſten people, and ſpecially ſir Walter Pride the penitentiarie of our Cathedrall Church of Herefordе, perſonally appearing before vs, ſittyng in our iudgement ſeate in the pariſh Church of Whiteborne of our dioceſſe: brought forth and exhibited two publique inſtruments againſt the ſame Walter Brute, in yͤ caſe of curſed hereſie aforſaid, of which inſtrumentes here followeth the tenours and Articles in this ſort.

The firſt inſtrumēt exhibited by certain Chanōs of Herford, againſt Walter Brute.

In the name of God Amen. Be it euidently knowē to all perſōs by this preſēt publike inſtrumēt: yͭ in the yeare frō yͤ incarnatiō, after yͤ courſe and cōputation of yͤ church of England. 1391. the indiction xv. of yͤ pontifical office of our moſt holy father and Lord in Chriſt, Lord Boniface yͤ ix. by Gods wiſedome Pope, the ſecond yeare the xv. day of yͤ month of October, in the dwelling houſe of the worſhipful mā maiſter Iohn Godemoſton, Chanon of yͤ Cathedral Church of Hereford, in the preſence of me the publique Notary vnder written, and of witneſſes ſubſcribed: Walter Brute lay man learned, of Hereford dioces, perſonally appearing, ſayde, auouched, and ſtifly maintayned: that the ſayde Biſhop of Herefordе and his aſſiſtaunces, which were with him the third day of the foreſayde month of October, the yeare of our Lord aforeſayd, in the Church of Hereford: did naughtely, wickedly, peruerſly, and vniuſtly condemne yͤ aunſweres of ſir William Swinderby Chaplaine, geuen by the ſame ſir William to yͤ ſame Lord byſhop in wryting, and alſo the articles miniſtred by the ſame ſir William.

Infandum facinus ſcilicet.

B. of Herford vniuſtly condemned the articles of ſir W. Swinderby.

And furthermore he ſayd, held, and aduouched, that the ſame concluſions geuen by yͤ ſame ſir Williā, euen as they were geuen, are true and Catholike.

Matters obiected againſt Walter Brute.

Item, as touching the matters obiected agaynſt hym by them that ſtode by, concerning the ſacrament of yͤ aulter: he ſayd, that after the ſacramentall words: there doth remaine very bread, and the ſubſtance therof after the cōſecration of yͤ body of Chriſt, and that there do not remain accidencies without ſubſtance or ſubiect after the cōſecration of the body of Chriſt. And touching this matter, the doctors holde diuers opinions.

A perilous doore to open.

The P. Antichriſt.

Furthermore as concerning yͤ Pope, he ſaid, helde, and auouched: that he is the very Antichriſt, becauſe yͭ in lyfe and maners he is contrary to the lawes, doctrines, and deedes of Chriſt our Lord.

All and euery of theſe things were done, euen as they be aboue writtē and rehearſed in yͤ yeare of our Lord, pōtificall office, month, day, & place aforeſayd, at ſupper time of the day aforenamed, thē and there being preſent yͤ worſhipful and diſcrete men. ſir Walter Ramſbury, chiefe chāter of the ſayde Cathedrall Church of Herefordе, Roger Hoore Chanon of the ſame Church, Walter Wall, Chaplain of yͤ ſaid church of Hereford, being a vicar of yͤ Choral & certaine other worthy witneſſes of credit, that were ſpecially called and deſired to yͤ premiſſes. Ex Regiſt. Herford.

Witneſſes againſt Walter Brute.

Richard Lee Regiſter & writer hereof.

And I Richard Lee whelar, clerke of Worceſter, being a publike notarye, by yͤ authoritie Apoſtolike: was perſonally preſent at all and ſinguler the premiſſes, whileſt that (as is before reherſed) they were done and a doing, in the yere of our lord. 1391. pontifical office, month, day, place, & yͤ houre aforeſaid: & I did ſee, write, and heare all and ſinguler thoſe things thus to bee done, and haue reduced thē into this publike maner and forme: & being deſired truely to teſtifie the premiſſes, haue ſealed the ſayde inſtrument, made hereupon, with mine accuſtomed ſeale and name.

The forme of the ſecond inſtrument.

In the name of God, Amen. Be it plainly knowē to all perſons, by this preſent publike inſtrumēt: that in yͤ yere from the incarnation of the lord after yͤ courſe and computation of yͤ church of England. 1391. the indiction fifteene, in the 3. yere of the pontifical office of yͤ moſt holy father in Chriſt, and our Lord, Lord Boniface Pope by the prouydēce of God the 9. & in yͤ 19. day of the month of Ianuary. Walter Brute layman, of Hereford dioces, perſonally appearing before yͤ reuerēd father in Chriſt and Lord. Lord Iohn by gods grace B. of Herford, in yͤ preſence of me being a publike notarie, & one of yͤ witneſſes vnder written: did ſay, hold, publiſh, & affirme, yͤ cōcluſiōs hereafter written, yͭ is to ſay: yͭ chriſten people are not boūd to pay tithes neither by the law of Moſes, nor by the law of Chriſt.

Matters & concluſions miniſtred againſt Walter Brute. This concluſion ſeemeth to be falſly collected, as were before the articles of W. Swinderby. This concluſion alſo is not rightly gathered.

Item, that it is not lawful for Chriſtians for any cauſe in any caſe, to ſweare by yͤ creator neither by the creature.

Item he confeſſeth openly and of his owne accord: that within the ſame month of Ianuary, he did eate, drink, and communicate with William Swinderby, not being ignorant of the ſentence of the ſaid reuerend father: whereby yͤ ſame William Swinderby was pronounced an heretique, ſchiſmatique, and a falſe ſeducer of the common people. Which concluſions, the ſame reuerend father cauſed to bee writtē, and in writing to be deliuered to the ſame Walter. Which when he had ſeene and red, he ſayd alſo that he did maintaine and iuſtifie them according to the lawes aforeſayd. Theſe thinges were done in the chamber of the ſayd biſhop of Herford, at his manor of Whitborne of the ſayde dioces of Hereford: then being there preſent the ſame Byſhop abouеſaid. M. Reynold of Wolſten, Canon of Hereford, ſir Phillip Dileſke parſon of yͤ pariſh church of Blamunin, Thomas Guldefeld parſon of the Church of Engliſbyknore, Iohn Creſſet parſon of the church of Whytborne, and Thomas Wallewayne houſholde ſeruant, for witneſſes ſpecially called and deſired to the premiſſes of yͤ dioces of Hereford and S. Aſſe.

Witneſſes againſt W. Brute.

Benedict Come Regiſter, witnes and writer of this inſtrument againſt William Bruite.

And I Benedict Come clerke of the dioces of S. Aſſe, publike notary by yͤ Apoſtolike authoritie of the dioces of S. Aſſe, was perſonally preſent together with the witnes before named, at all and ſinguler theſe and other thinges here premiſed whileſt they were ſo done and a doing, & did ſee, heare, & write thoſe things ſo to be done, as is before mencioned: and did write the ſame and reduce them into this publike forme, & with my wonted & accuſtomed ſeale and name haue ſealed it, being deſired and required truly to teſtifie the premiſſes.

At the laſt, the aforeſaid Walter Brute, did preſent and cauſe to be preſented to vs (at diuers places and times aſſigned by vs to the ſame Walter, to aunſwere to yͤ former concluſions and articles) diuers ſcroules of paper writtē with his owne proper hand, for his aunſwers to the ſame Articles and concluſions aboue written: he partly appearing by his owne ſelfe, before vs ſitting in our iudgement ſeat, and partly by his meſſengers, ſpecially appoynted to that purpoſe: of which ſcroules, yͤ tenors do follow in order worde by worde, and be on this maner.

Certaine exhibites of Walter Brute in wryting preſented to the B. for his defence.

Walter Brute a Britone borne.

In the name of the father, and of the ſonne, and yͤ holy ghoſt, Amen: I Walter Brute, ſinner, layman, huſbādmā & a Chriſtian (hauing mine offpring of the Brittons, both by my father & mothers ſide) of the Britons, haue ben accuſed to yͤ B. of Hereford, that I did erre in many matters concerning the catholike Chriſten fayth: by whō I am required, yͭ I ſhould write an aunſwere in Latin to all thoſe matters. Whoſe deſire I wil ſatiſfie to my power, proteſting firſt of al, before God & before al the world: yͭ like as it is not my mind through Gods grace, to refuſe yͤ knowē truth, for any reward greater or ſmaller, yea be it neuer ſo bigge, nor yet for yͤ feare of any temporal puniſhment: euē ſo it is not my mind to maintain any erroneous doctrine for any cōmodities ſake. And if any mā, of what ſtate, ſect or condition ſo euer he be, wil ſhew me that I erre in my writings or ſayings by the authoritie of the ſacred ſcripture, or by probable reaſon grounded in yͤ ſacred ſcripture, I wil humbly and gladly receiue his information. But as for yͤ bare wordes of any teacher (Chriſt onely excepted) I wil not ſimply beleue, except hee ſhalbe able to ſtabliſh thē by the truth of experience, or of the Scripture: for becauſe, that in the holy Apoſtles elected by Chriſt, there hath bene foūd errour by the teſtimony of the holy ſcripture, becauſe that Paule himſelfe doth cōfeſſe that he rebuked Peter, for that he was worthy to be rebuked, Galat. the 2. chapiter. There hath ben errors foūd in the holy doctors, that haue ben before vs, as they themſelues confeſſe of them ſelues. And oftentimes it falleth out, that there is error founde in the teachers in our age: who are of contrary opinions among themſelues, and ſome of them do ſometimes determine

Proteſtation made.

No writer or doctor without his errour, the Scripture onely excepted.

Errour in the Apoſtles.

Errour in the Doctours.

Errours and contrarieties amōg the popiſh wryters.

mine one thing for truth, and others do condemne the ſelfe ſame thing to be hereſye or error. which proteſtation premiſed, I wil here place 2. ſuppoſitions or caſes for a groũd and a foundatiõ of all things that I ſhall ſay, out of which I would gather two probable concluſions ſtabliſhed vpõ the ſame, and vpon the ſacred Scripture. By which cõcluſions, when as they ſhall be declared after my maner and faſhion, it ſhal playnely appeare what my opiniõ & iudgement is concerning all matters that I am accuſed of. But becauſe I am ignoraunt & vnlearned, I wil get me vnder the mighty defences of the Lord. O Lord I will remẽber thine onely righteouſnes.

Brute modeſtly excuſeth his learning.

The firſt caſe or ſuppoſition.

God the father almighty vncreate, the maker of heauẽ and earth, hath ſent his ſonne (that was euerlaſtingly begotten) into this world: that he ſhould be incarnated, for yͤ ſaluation and redemption of mankind, who was cõceiued by the holy ghoſt, euerlaſtingly proceeding from the father and the ſonne, and was borne of Mary the virgin, to yͤ end that we might be borne a new. He ſuffered Paſſion vnder Põtius Pilate for our ſinnes, laying down his life for vs, that we ſhould lay down our life, for our brethrẽ. He was crucified, that we ſhould be crucified to the world, and the world to vs. He was dead, that he might redeeme vs from death, by purchaſing for vs forgeuenes of ſinnes. He was buried, that we being buried together with him into death by Baptiſme, and that we dead to ſins, ſhould liue to righteouſnes. He deſcẽded into hell, therby deliuering man frõ thraldom, and from the bondage of the Deuill, & reſtoring him to his inheritaunce, which he loſt by ſinne. The third day he roſe from the dead, through the glory of his father, that we alſo ſhould walke in newnes of life. He aſcended vp to the heauens, to which no body hath aſcended, ſauing he that deſcended from heauẽ, euẽ the ſonne of man which is in heauẽ. He ſitteth at the right hand of God the father almighty, vntill his enemies be made his footſtoole. He being in very deed ſo muche better then the Aungelles, as he hath obteyned by inheritaunce a more excellent name then they. From thence he ſhall come to iudge the quick and the dead, accordingly to theyr workes, becauſe the father hath geuen all iudgemẽt to the ſonne. In whoſe terrible iudgement we ſhall riſe agayne, and ſhall all of vs ſtand before his iudgement ſeat, and receiue ioy as well bodely, as ſpiritually for euer to endure, if we be of the ſheepe placed at the right hand: or els puniſhment both of bodye and ſoule if we ſhall be foũd amongſt goates, placed on the left hand. &c.

The ſecond caſe or aſſertion.

Ieſus Chriſt the ſonne of God, very God & very man a king for euer, by ſtabliſhing an euerlaſting kingdome, breaking to pouder all the kingdoms of the world: Dan. 2. a prieſt for euer after yͤ order of Melchiſedech, wherby alſo he is able euermore to ſaue ſuch as by him come vnto god & alwayes liueth to intreat for vs. Hebr. 7. He offring one ſacrifice for our ſins, hath made perfect for euer by one oblation, thoſe that be ſanctified. Heb. 10. Being yͤ wiſedome that cannot be deceiued, & the trueth that cannot be vttred: he hath in this world taught the will of the godhead of his father, which will he hath in worke fulfilled, to the intent that he might faithfully inſtruct vs, and hath geuẽ the law of charity to be of his faythfull people obſerued, whiche he hath written in the hartes and mindes of the faythful with the finger of God, wher is the ſpirit of God, ſearching the inward ſecrets of yͤ Godhead. wherfore his doctrine muſt be obſerued aboue all other doctrines, whether they be of Angels or of men, becauſe that he could not nor would not erre in his teaching. But in mens doctrins there chanceth oftentimes to be error, and therfore we muſt forſake theyr doctrines, if clokedly or expreſly they be repugnaunt to the doctrine of Chriſt. Mens doctrins being made for the peoples profit muſt be allowed and obſerued, ſo that they be grounded vpon Chriſtes doctrine, or at leaſt be not repugnant to his words.

The firſt concluſion.

The pope an idole of deſolation ſitting in the temple of God.

The pope if his lawes be contrarie to Chriſt, is the peſtiferous mountaine, infecting the whole earth.

Ierem. 31.

If the high biſhop of Rome, calling himſelf the ſeruant of the ſeruauntes of God, and the chiefe vicare of Chriſt in this world, do make & maintaine many lawes contrary to the Goſpell of Ieſu Chriſt: then is he of thoſe that haue come in Chriſtes name, ſaying, I am Chriſt, & haue ſeduced many a one, by the teſtimony of our ſauiour in Math. cap. 24. and the idoll of deſolation ſitting in the Temple of God, and taking away from him the cõtinuall ſacrifice for a time, times, and halfe a time. which idoll muſt be reueled to the chriſtian people by the teſtimony of Daniel. wherof Chriſt ſpeaketh in the Goſpell. when you ſhall ſee the abhomination of deſolation that was tolde of by Daniell the Prophet, ſtanding in the holy place: let him that readeth, vnderſtand, and he is the peſtiferous mountayn infecting the whole vniuerſall earth, as witneſſeth Ieremy. chap. 51. & not the head of Chriſtes body. For the auncient perſon in yeares, & honorable in reuerence, he is the head, & the prophet teaching lies is the tayle, as Eſay alledgeth. chap. 9. And he is that wicked and ſinnefull Captayne of Iſraell, whoſe foreappointed day of iniquity is come in time of iniquity, who ſhall take away Cidarim, and take awaye the crowne, Ezech, chap. 21. to whom it was ſayd: Foraſmuch as thy hart was exalted, and didſt ſay, I am a God, & ſitteſt in the ſeat of god, in the hart of the ſea, ſeing thou art a man and not God, and haſt geuen thine hart, as if it were the hart of God: therfore behold I will bring vpõ thee the moſt ſtrong and mighty ſtraungers of the nations, & they ſhall draw theyr ſwordes vpõ the beauty of thy wiſedom & ſhall defile the commaundementes & kill thee, and pul thee out, & thou ſhalt dye in the deſtruction of the ſlayne, and it foloweth.

The Pope, the ſinfull captaine of Iſrael, ſpoken of Ezechiel. 21.

In the multitude of thine iniquities, & of the iniquities of thy marchandiſe, thou haſt defiled thy ſanctification. I will therfore bring forth a fire, from the midſt of the whole earth, & will make thee as aſhes vpon earth. Thou art become nothing, & neuer ſhalt thou be any more. Eze. cha. 28 Furthermore he is yͤ idle ſhepheard forſaking his flock hauing a ſworde on his arme, & an other ſworde in his right eye. Zach. 11. & ſitting in the temple of God, doth aduaunce himſelfe aboue all thing that is called God, or whatſoeuer is worſhipped, by the teſtimony of Paule to Theſ. 2. epiſt. 2. chap. And in the defection or falling away ſhall the man of ſinne be reueled, whom the Lord Ieſus ſhall ſlay with the breath of his mouth. For euery kingdome deuided in it ſelfe, ſhall be brought to deſolation. He is alſo beſides, the beaſt aſcẽding vp out of the earth, hauing two hornes like vnto a lambe, but he ſpeaketh like a dragon, & as the cruell beaſt aſcending vp out of the ſea, whoſe power ſhall continue 42. monethes. He worketh the things that he hath geuen to the image of the beaſt. And he compelled ſmall and great, rich and poore, freemen and bondſlaues, to worſhyp the beaſt, and to take his marke in theyr forehead or theyr hands. Apo. 13 chap. And thus by the teſtimony of all theſe places is he the chiefe Antechriſt vpon the earth, and muſt be ſlayne with the ſword of Gods word, and caſt with the dragon, the cruell beaſt and the falſe Prophet that hath ſeduced the earth, into the lake of fire and brimſtone to be tormented world without end.

Antichriſt deſcribed.

Ezech. 28.

The Pope an idle ſhepheard. Zach. 11.

The beaſt horned lyke the lambe.

The Pope ſignifieth the beaſt aſcending out of the earth. Terrible ſcriptures againſt the Pope. Apoc. 13.

If the city of Rome do allow his traditiõs, and do diſallow Chriſtes holy commaundements, and Chriſtes doctrine, that it may confirme his traditions: then is ſhe Babilon the great, or the daughter of Babilon, and the great whore ſitting vpõ many waters with whom the kings of the earth haue committed fornication, and the inhabitants of the earth are become dronken with the wine of her harlotry lying opẽ to baudry. with whoſe ſpiritual whoredom enchauntments, witchcraftes, and Symon Magus marchaundiſes, the whole roũd world is infected and ſeduced: ſaying in her hart, I ſit as a Queen, and widow I am not neither ſhall I ſee ſorrowe and mourning. Yet is ſhee ignoraũt yͤ within a litle while ſhall come the day of her deſtruction & ruine by the teſtimony of the Apoc. cha. 17. Becauſe that from the time that the continuall ſacrifice was taken away, & the abhomination of deſolatiõ placed, there be paſſed 1299. dayes by the teſtimonye of Daniell, and the Chronicles added do agree to the ſame. And the holy City alſo hath bene troden vnder foot of the heathen, for 42. monethes, and the woman was nouriſhed vp in the wildernes (vnto which ſhe fled for feare of the ſpace of the ſerpẽt) during 1260. dayes, or els for a time, times, & halfe a tyme which is all one. All theſe thinges be manifeſt by the teſtimony of the Apocalips, & the Chronicles therto agreeing. And as concerning the fall of Babilon aforeſayd, it is manifeſt in the Apoc. where it is ſayd: In one day ſhall her plagues come, death, lamentation, and famine, and ſhe ſhal be burned with fire. For ſtrong is the Lord whych will iudge her. And agayn Babilon that great Citty is fallen, which hath made all nations to drinke of the wine of her Whoredome. And thirdly, one mightye Aungell tooke vp a myll ſtone that was a very great one, and did caſt it into the Sea, ſaying: with ſuche a violence as this is, ſhall that great Cittye Babylon be ouerthrowne, and ſhall no more bee founde. For her Marchauntes were the Princes of the earth, and with her Witchcraft all Nations haue gone aſtray, and in her is there founde, the bloud of the Sayntes and Prophetes. And of her deſtruction ſpeaketh Eſay in the 13. chapiter. And Babilon that glorious Cittye, being ſo noble amongeſt kingdomes in the pride of the Caldeans, it ſhall be that like as the Lorde did ouerturne Sodome and Gomorre vpſide downe, it ſhall neuer more be inhabited, nor haue the foundation layde in no age, from generation to generation. Ieremy ſayeth: Your mother that hath borne you, is brought to very great confuſion and made euẽ with the ground. And agayne: The Lord hath deuiſed and done as he hath ſpokẽ agaynſt the inhabiters of Babilõ, which dwel richly

Rome Babylon.

Apoc. 17.

1290. dayes figured in Dan. 12.

The fall of Babylon. Apoc. 14.

Eſay 13.

Ierem. 15.

in their treaſures vppon many waters,thine ende is come. And thirdly: Drouth ſhall fall vpon her waters,and they ſhall beginne to be drye, for it is a land of grauen imagies, and boaſteth in her prodigious wonders : It ſhall neuer more be inhabited,neyther be builded vp in no age nor generation. Verely, euen as God hath ſubuerted Sodome and Gomorre with her calues.

Pardon mee (I beſeeche you) though I be not plentiful in pleaſaunt wordes: For if I ſhould runne after the courſe of this wicked world,& ſhould pleaſe mē, I ſhould not be Chriſtes ſeruant. And becauſe I am a poore man,& neyther haue nor cā haue notaries hyred to teſtifie of theſe my writings: I call vpon Chriſt to be my witnes, which knoweth the inward ſecrets of my hart, that I am redy to declare the things that I haue writtē after my faſhion, to yͤ profit of all Chriſten people, & to yͤ hurt of no mā liuing, & am ready to be reformed, if any mā will ſhew me where I haue erred: being redy alſo (miſerable ſinner though I be) to ſuffer for yͤ cōfeſſion of yͤ name of Chriſt & of his doctrine, as much as ſhal pleaſe him by his grace & loue to aſſiſt me a miſerable ſinner. In witnes of al theſe things, I haue to this writing ſet yͤ ſeale of our Lord & ſauior Ieſus Chriſt, which I beſech him to imprint vpon my forehed,& to take frō me al maner of marke of Antichriſt, Amen.

¶ Theſe two ſuppoſitions (as they are termed in the ſcholes) written by Walter Brute, and exhibited vnto the Biſhop, although they conteyned matter ſufficient eyther to ſatiſfie the biſhop if he had ben diſpoſed to learne, or els to haue prouoked him to replye agayne, if his knowledge therin had ben better thē his: yet could they worke neither of thē effect in him. But he receiuing & peruſing the ſame when he neither could confute yͭ which was ſaid, neyther would reply or aunſwere by learning to that whych was truth, finding other by cauſlations, ſaid that this his writing was too ſhort and obſcure, and therfore required him, to write vpon the ſame againe more plainely and more at large. Whereupon the ſaid Maiſter Walter (ſatiſfying the Biſhops requeſt, and ready to geue to euery one an accōpt of his faith) in a more ample tractatiō renueth hys matter agayne before declared, writing to the Byſhop in wordes and forme as followeth:

An other declaration of the ſame matter before, after a more ample tractation, exhibited by Walterbrute to the B.

Reuerend father, forſomuch as it ſeemeth to you yͭ my motion in my two ſuppoſitions or caſes, & in my two concluſions, is too ſhort and ſomwhat darke: I wil gladly now ſatiſfy your deſire, according to my ſmal learning, by declaring the ſame concluſions. In opening wherof, it ſhall plainely appeare, what I do iudge in all matters, yͭ I am accuſed of to your reuerence, deſiring you firſt of al, that your diſcretiō would not beleue that I do enterpryſe of any preſumption to handle the ſecretes of yͤ ſcriptures, which the holy and iuſt, & wiſe Doctours haue left vnexpounded. It is not vnknowen to many, that I am in all points farre inferiour to thē, whoſe holynes of life & profoundnes in knowledge, is manifold waies allowed. But as for mine ignorance, and multitude of ſinnes, are to my ſelfe and others ſufficiently knowen: wherefore, I iudge not my ſelfe worthy to vnlooſe or to cary their ſhooes after them. Do you therefore no otherwiſe deeme of me, then I do of mine owne ſelfe. But if you ſhal finde any goodneſſe in my writings, aſcribe it to God only: who according to the multitude of his mercy, doth ſometimes reueale thoſe things to Idiotes and ſinners, which are hidded from the holy and wiſe, according to this ſaying: I will prayſe and confeſſe thee O father, for that, yͧ haſt hidden theſe thinges from the wyſe and prudent, and haſt diſcloſed them to the litle ones. Euen ſo O father, becauſe it hath thus pleaſed thee. And in an other place. I am come to iudgement into this world, that they which ſee not may ſee, and that they which ſee, may be made blinde. And Paule ſaith: that God hath choſen the weake things of the world, to cōfound the mighty, that no man ſhal boaſt in him ſelfe, but that al mē ſhould geue the honour to God.

They that ſo humblye iudge of themſelues and do not ſo careleſly cōtinue, are of God.

Eſay 6.

It was commaunded to Eſay, bearinge the type of Chriſt: Go and ſay to this people : Heare ye with your hearing, and do not vnderſtand ? Beholde ye the viſion,and yet knowe ye not the thing that ye ſee ? Make blinde the hart of this people,& make dull their eares, and ſhut their eyes, leaſt that perchaunce with their eyes they ſhould ſee,and with their eares they ſhoulde heare, and with their harts they ſhould vnderſtand and bee conuerted,and I ſhould heale thē. And I ſayd,how long Lord? And he ſayd,vntill that the cities be made deſolate without inhabitants, and the houſe without any perſon within it. Alſo in Eſay thus it is written: And the multitude of all nations,which ſhall fight againſt Ariel,and all perſons that haue warred, and beſieged and preuailed agaynſt it, ſhall bee as a dreame that appeareth in the night, & as the hungry perſon dreameth that he eateth, but whē he ſhall awake out of ſleepe, hys ſoule is empty. And lyke as the hungry perſon dreameth that hee eateth, and yet after that hee ſhall awake, he is ſtill wearye and thirſtye, and hys ſoule voyde of nouriſhment : euen ſo ſhall it bee wyth the multitude of all nations that haue fought agaynſt the mount Sion. Be you amaſed,and haue great wonder : reele ye to and fro, and ſtaggre ye: be ye druncken, and not with wyne : ſtaker, but not through drunckennes: for the Lorde hath myngled for you the ſpirite of drouſines. He ſhall ſhut your eyes, he ſhall couer your Prophets and Prynces that ſee viſions. And a viſion ſhalbe to you all together, lyke the wordes of a ſealed booke, which when hee ſhall geue to one that is learned,he ſhall ſay: Reade here, and he ſhall aunſwere, I cannot,for it is ſealed. And the booke ſhalbe geuen to one,that is vnlearned and knoweth not his letters,and it ſhal be ſayd vnto him,Reade, And he ſhall aunſwere, I knowe not the letters, I am vnlearned, Wherefore the lorde ſaith: For aſmuche as this people draweth nigh me with their mouthes,and glorifyeth me with their lips, but their hart is farre from me, and they haue rather feared the commaundements of men,and haue cleaued to their doctrines: Beholde therefore I will ad beſides, and bring ſuch a muſe and maruell vpon this people which ſhal make men amaſed with marueling. For wiſedome ſhal periſh from their wiſe men,and the vnderſtanding of their prudent perſons ſhalbe hidden. And ſoone after it followeth in the ſame place, yet a litle while and Libanus ſhalbe turned into Charmell, and Charmell counted for a cops or groaue, and in the ſame day ſhall the deafe folkes heare the worde of this booke, and the eyes of the blinde (changed from darkenes and blindnes) ſhall ſee.

Eſay 29.

Libanus and Charmel, two hils, the one in Phoenicia, fruitfull & pleaſant: the other in the borders of Iewry, barren & vnpleaſant, which is Charmel.

Daniel. 2.

Nabuchodonoſer enquiring of Danyel ſaid. Thinkeſt thou that thou canſt truely declare mee the dreame that I haue ſene, and the meaning thereof. And Danyel ſayd: As for the miſtery whereof the king doth aſke, neyther the wiſe men, magitiens, ſouthſayers, nor enchaunters can declare to the king: But there is a God in heauen, that diſcloſeth miſteries, who will declare to thee (O king Nabuchodonoſor) what things ſhal come to paſſe in the laſt times of all. To me alſo is this ſacrament or miſterie diſcloſed (not for any wiſedome that is in mee more then in all men liuing) but to that the interpretatiō might be made manyfeſt to the king,& that thou ſhouldeſt know the cogitagions of thy minde.

Daniel 12.

It was alſo ſayd to Daniel, And thou Daniel, ſhut vp the wordes, ſeale vp the booke, vntill the time appointed. Verely many people ſhall paſſe ouer, and manyfolde knowledge ſhall there be : And Daniel ſayde to the man that was clothed with lynnen garments, who ſtode vpon the waters of the floud: How lōg wil it be before the end ſhal come of theſe marueilous thinges? And I heard the man that was clothed in linnen apparel, who ſtode vpon the waters of the flouds, when he had lift vp his right hād and his left hand into heauen, and had ſworne by him that liueth for euermore: that for a time, tymes, and a halfe tyme. And when the ſcattering abroad of the hand of the holye people ſhalbe accompliſhed: then ſhal al theſe things be finiſhed. And I heard and vnderſtoode not, and I ſayd: O my Lorde, what ſhall bee after theſe things, and he ſayd: Go thy wayes Daniel, for this talke is ſhut & ſealed vp, vntil the time that is before appointed.

All theſe thinges haue I written to ſhew, that he that hath the key of Dauid, who openeth and no man ſhutteth, ſhutteth and no man openeth: doth (when and how lōg it pleaſeth him) hide the myſteries, and the hid ſecrets of the Scriptures, from the wiſe, prudent, and righteous : and other whiles at his pleſure, reuealeth the ſame to ſinners and lay perſons,& ſimple ſoules, that he may haue the honor & glory in all things. Wherefore as I haue beforeſaid, if you ſhall finde any good thing in my wrytinges, aſcribe the ſame to God alone: If you ſhal finde otherwiſe, think ye the ſame to be written of ignorance, and not of malice. And if any doubt or errour be ſhewed me in all my wrytynges, I wil humbly allow your information & fatherly correction.

☞ But why that ſuch maner of matters are moued touching the diſcloſing of Antichriſt in this kingdome, more then in other kingdomes, and in this time alſo more then in time paſt: the aunſwere, as concerning the time of the motion is, that it is the laſt coniunction of Saturne and Iupiter in the ſigne of the * Twyns, which is the houſe of Mercury, being the ſignifyer of yͤ Chriſtian people: which coniunction ſeemeth to me to betoken the ſecōd comming of Chriſt, to reforme his Church, and to call men agayne by the diſcloſing of Antichriſt, to the perfection of the Goſpell, from their Hetheniſh rytes and wayes of the Gentiles. By whom the holy citie was trampled vnder foote, for 42. monethes, euen as the coniunction of the ſayd two planets being incloſed in the ſigne of the Virgine, which is alſo the houſe of Mercury: dyd betoken the firſt comming of Chriſt, for the ſaluation of all people that were periſhed of the houſe of Iſrael, wherby to call thē through the ſame comming, to the full perfection of the Goſpell.

*In Signo Gemini.

Marke heere (good Reader) by this aſtronomicall coniunction of theſe two planets in Gemini, hee meaneth couertly the ſchiſme betweene the two Popes which laſted 39. yeares, by the which coniunction, his meaning is, that God wold haue Antichriſt to be diſcloſed and his church to be reformed.

By this perfection (I ſuppoſe) he meaneth the reformation of the church being out of the way.

Eſay 11.

The reueling of Antechriſt.

As touching this calling of the Heathen, ſpeaketh Chriſt in the Goſpell, I haue alſo other ſheepe, that are not of this folde, and thoſe muſt I bring, and they ſhall heare my voyce, and there ſhall be one ſhepefolde, & one ſhepeherd. For although the Gentiles be conuerted, from the infidelitie, of their idolatrie, to the fayth of Chriſt: yet are they not conuerted to the perfection of the law of Chriſt, And therefore did the Apoſtles in the primitiue Church, lay no burthen vpon the Gentiles, but that they ſhoulde abſtaine from haynous thinges, as from thynges offred to idols, and from bloud, and ſtrangled, and fornicatyon. As touching this ſecond comming, ſpeaketh Eſay: On that day the roote of Ieſſe which ſtandeth for a ſigne or marke to the people, to hym ſhall the heathen make theyr homage and ſupplication, and hys ſepulchre ſhall be glorious: and in that daye ſhall it come to paſſe, that the Lorde ſhall the ſecond tyme put to his hande, to poſſeſſe the remnant of hys people &c. And he ſhall lift vp a token toward the nations, and hee ſhall aſſemble the runnagate people of Iſrael that were fled, and thoſe that were diſperſed of Iuda ſhall he gather together from the fower quarters of the earth. And the zealous emulation of Ephraim ſhall be broken to peeces, and the enemyes of Iuda ſhall come to nought. Paule to the Theſſalonians ſayeth: We beſeeche you brethren, by the comming of our Lorde Ieſus Chryſt, and of our gathering together before him: that you be not ſoone remooued from your vnderſtanding, neyther that you bee put in feare, as though the day of the Lorde were at hand, neyther as it were by letter ſent by vs, neither by ſpirite, nor yet by talke. Let not any bodye by any meanes bring you out of the waye, or ſeduce you: For except there ſhall firſt come a departyng, and that the man of ſinne, the ſonne of perdition ſhalbe diſcloſed, whych maketh reſiſtaunce, and is aduaunced aboue all thing that is called God, or that is worſhipped: ſo that he doth ſitte in the temple of God, ſhewing hymſelfe as if he were God. Do ye not remember that whileſt I was as yet with you, I tolde you of thys: and nowe you knowe what keepeth hym backe, that he may be vttered in hys due tyme: For euen nowe doth he worke the myſterie of iniquitie, onely that he which holdeth, may holde ſtyll vntill he be come to light: and then ſhall that wicked one be diſcloſed, whom the Lorde Ieſus ſhall ſlaye wyth the breath of hys mouth, and ſhall deſtroy with the brightneſſe of his comminge, euen hym: whoſe comming is accordyng to the workyng of Sathan, in all power, with ſignes and lying wonders, and in all deceipfull leading out of the truthe towardes thoſe that do peryſh, becauſe that they receiue not hartely the loue of truth, that they might be ſaued.

The abhomination of deſolation.

Luke 21.

Deſtruction of the Iewes temple.

1390. dayes, in Daniel expounded.

Chriſt being demaunded of the Apoſtles, what ſhould be the token of his comming, & of the end of the worlde: ſayd vnto them. There ſhall come many in my name, ſaying, I am Chriſt, and they ſhall ſeduce many. Alſo he telleth them of many other ſignes, of battayles, famine, peſtilence, and earthquakes. But the geateſt ſigne of all he teacheth to bee this. When you ſhall ſee (ſayth he) the abhomination of deſolation ſtãdyng in the holy place, he that readeth, let him vnderſtand. But Luke 21. in his Goſpel ſpeaketh more plainely hereof. When you therefore ſhall ſee Ieruſalem to be compaſſed about with an army, then knowe ye that the deſolation thereof ſhall drawe nigh. And afterward it followeth: And they ſhall fall by the face of the ſword, and ſhalbe led away captiue to all nations, and Ieruſalem ſhalbe troden vnder foote of the heathen, vntill the tymes of the nations bee fulfilled. Now in Daniel thus it is writtẽ of this matter. And after 72. weekes, ſhal Chriſt be ſlain, neyther ſhall that be his people, that will deny him. And as for the Citye and Sanctuarie, ſhall a people (wyth his captayne that will come with them) deſtroy the ſayde Citie and ſanctuarie, and hys ende ſhalbe to be waſted vtterly, till it be brought to naught, and after the ende of the warre, ſhall come the deſolation appoynted. In one weeke ſhall he confirme the couenant to many, and wythin halfe a weeke ſhall the offering and ſacrifice ceaſe. And in the temple ſhall there bee the abhomination of deſolation, and euen vnto the end ſhall the deſolation continue. And els where in Daniel, thus it is written. From the tyme that the continuall ſacrifice ſhalbe offered, and that the abhomination ſhalbe placed in deſolation, there ſhal be 1290. dayes.

For theſe 42. monethes, looke page 397.

Why rather at this time, then any other, the matter of Antichriſt is moued: and why rather in this kingdome, then in an other.

Nowe, if any man will beholde the Chronicles, he ſhal finde, that after the deſtruction of Ieruſalem was accompliſhed, and after the ſtrong hand of the holy people was fully diſperſed, and after the placing of the abhominatyon, that is to ſaye, the Idoll of deſolation of Ieruſalem, wythin the holy place, where the temple of God was before, there had paſſed 1290. dayes taking a day for a yere, as commonly it is taken in the Prophets. And the times of the heathen people are fulfilled, after whoſe rytes and cuſtomes God ſuffered the holy Citie to be trampled vnder foote for 42. monethes. For although the Chriſtyan Church, which is the holy Citie, contynued in the fayth from the Aſcenſion of Chryſt, euen till thys time: yet hath it not obſerued and kept the perfection of the fayth all this whole ſeaſon. For ſoone after the departure of the Apoſtles, the fayth was kept wyth the obſeruatyon of yͤ rites of the Gentiles, and not of the rites of Moſes law, nor of the lawe of the Goſpell of Ieſus Chryſt, wherefore ſeing that this time of the errour of the Gentiles is fulfilled: it is likely that Chriſt ſhall call the Gentiles from the rytes of their gentilitie, to the perfection of the Goſpell, as hee called the Iewes frõ the lawe of Moyſes to the ſame perfection, in his firſt comming: that there may be one ſhepefolde of the Iewes and Gentiles, vnder one ſhepeheard Seing therefore that Antichriſt is knowen which hath ſeduced the nations: then ſhall the elect after that they haue forſaken the errours of their Gentilitie, come through the light of Gods word, to the perfection of the Goſpel, & that ſame ſeducer ſhalbe ſlayne with the ſword of gods worde. So that by theſe things it doth partly appeare vnto mee, why yͭ at this time rather then at an other time, this matter of Antichriſt is moued.

The firſt receiuing the faith in thys realme by the Britons.

Britaines by the ſpeciall election of God called to fayth.

And why that this motiõ is come to paſſe in this kingdome, rather then in other kingdomes: me thinkes there is good reaſon, becauſe that no nation of the Gẽtiles was ſo ſoone conuerted to Chryſt as were the Brytons the inhabitauntes of this kingdome. For to other places of the worlde there were ſent preachers of the fayth, who, by the workyng of miracles and continuall preaching of yͤ word of God, and by greeuous paſſion and death of the bodye, dyd conuert the people of thoſe places: But in this kingdome, in the time of Lucius kyng of the Brytons, and of Eleutherius Byſhop of the Romaines did Lucius heare of the Romaines that were Infidels (by the waye of rumors and tales) of the Chriſtian fayth, whych was preached at Rome, who beleeued ſtraightwayes, and ſent to Rome, to Eleutherius for men ſkilfull to informe hym more fully in the very fayth it ſelfe: at whoſe comming he was ioyfull, and was baptiſed with his whole kingdom. And after the receiuing of the fayth, they neuer forſooke it, neyther for any maner falſe preaching of other, neyther for any maner of tormẽts, or yet aſſaults of the Paynims, as in other kindomes it hath come to paſſe. And thus it ſeemeth to me the Britons amongſt other natiõs, haue ben, as it were by the ſpirituall election of God, called & conuerted to the fayth.

The callyng of the Gentiles to faith

Of them as me ſeemeth, did Eſay prophecy ſaying: For they did ſee to whõ there was nothing told of him, & they did behold, that had not heard of him. And againe, behold, thou ſhalt call a nation which thou kneweſt not: & natyons that haue not knowen thee, ſhall runne vnto thee: for the lord thy God, & yͤ holy one of Iſrael, ſhall glorify thee.

Apoc. 12.

The woman fed in the deſert. 1260. dayes.

Of this kingdome, did S. Iohn in the Apocalips prophecy (as me ſemeth) where he ſaid, The Dragõ ſtode before the woman, which was about to be deliuered of child, to the intent yͭ when ſhe had brought it forth into yͤ world, he might deuour vp her ſõne: & ſhe brought forth her child which was a mãchild, who ſhould gouern al natiõs with an yron rod. And the ſame ſonne was taken vp to God, & to his throne. And yͤ womã fled into the wildernes, where as ſhe had a place prepared of God, yͭ they may feede her. 1260. dayes. And agayne in the ſame chapter, after that the Dragon ſaw that he was caſt out vpõ yͤ earth, he did perſecute the womã, which brought forth the manchild. And there were geuen to the womã two wings of a great Egle, that ſhe might flee into the wilderneſſe into her place, where as ſhe is foſtred vp for a time, times, & a halfe time, from the face of the Serpent. And the Serpent did caſt as it were a floud of water after the woman, to the intẽt that he might cauſe her to be drowned by yͤ floud: and the earth opening her mouth, did heare the woman, & did ſwallow vp the floud which the Dragon did caſt out of his mouth. Let vs ſee how theſe ſayinges may bee applyed vnto this kingdom rather then to other kingdomes. It is wel knowen yͭ this kingdome is a wildernes or a deſert place, becauſe that the Philoſophers & wiſemen did not paſſe vpon it, but did leaue it for a wildernes and deſert, becauſe it is placed without the clymates.

This place of the deſert in the ſcripture ſeemeth here ſomething hardly expounded.

Faith came into Britanny frõ the Eaſt, not from Italy or Rome.

Unto this place fled yͤ woman, that is to ſay, yͤ Church (which by fayth did ſpiritually bring forth Chriſt into the world) where as ſhe was fed with the heauenly bread, the fleſh and bloud of Ieſus Chriſt, for 1260. daies, ſeing that for ſo many daies, taking a day for a yere, the Brytons cõtinued in yͤ faith of Chriſt, which thing cannot be found ſo of any Chriſten kingdome, but of this deſert: and wel is it ſaid, that ſhe flew to this place. For from yͤ Eaſt came the faith into Brytaine, not by walking in iourney, nor yet by ſayling: for then ſhould it haue come by Rome, Italy, Almaine, France, which cãnot be found: & therefore ſhe flew ouer thoſe places, & reſted not in them, euen as a birde flying

ing ouer a place, reſteth not in the ſame: but reſted in thys wildernes for a time, times, and halfe a time, that is. 1260. yeres from the firſt comming of the faith into Britaine vntill this preſent.

A time, times, and halfe a time expounded.

In ſaying for a time, times, and halfe a time, there is a going forwarde from the greater to the leſſe. The greateſt time that we name, is a 1000. yeres, there is a time: and the next time that is leſſe in the ſinguler number, is one 100. yere. In the plural number, times ſignifie that there be mo hundreths then one, at leſt 200. yeres. wherefore if they be put vnder a certaine number, it muſt nedes be that they be two, but the ſame two cānot fitly be called ſome times, except they be hundreths. For in that, that there is a goyng downe from the greater to the leſſe, when as it is ſayde a time, times, and half a time, and that the number of a 1000. is likely aſſigned for a time: it muſt nedes folow that times muſt be taken for hundreths, and half a time for 60. becauſe it is the greater halfe of an hundreth yeres, though that 50. be the euen half. And when that the ſerpent ſent the water of the perſecution after the woman to cauſe her to be drowned of the floud: then did the earth, that is to wit, ẏ ſtablenes of faith helpe the woman, by ſupping vp the water of tribulation. For in the moſt cruel perſecution of Diocleſian and Maximiane againſt the Chriſtians, when as chriſtianity was almoſt euery wher roted out: yet did they in this kingdom ſtand continually in the faith, vnmoueable. And ſo, conſidering that the Britons, were conuerted to ẏ faith of Chriſt, as you would ſay, by an election and piking out amongſt all the nations of the heathen, and that after they had receiued the faith, they did neuer ſtarte backe from the faith for no maner of tribulation: It is not to be meruailed, if in their place ẏ calling of the Gentiles, be made manifeſt, to the prouing of the goſpell of Ieſus Chriſt, by the reuealing of Antichriſt.

Perſecution in Diocleſiās time ſwalowed vp, boue page. 77.

But beſides this, me ſeemeth that Ezechiel doth ſpecially ſpeake of them, whereas hee ſpeaketh of the fall of the prince of Tyre, ſaying: for aſmuch as thy heart is lifted vp as if it were the hart of God, therfore beholde: I wil bring vpon thee, ſome of the ſtrongeſt of the heathen, & they ſhall draw their naked ſwords vpon the beauty of thy wiſdom, and they ſhall defile thy comelines, and they ſhall ſlay thee, and pull thee out, and thou ſhalt die in the ſlaughter of the ſlaine perſons, in the heart of the ſea.

This prince who ſayth, that he himſelf is God, & doth ſit in Gods chaire in ẏ heart of the ſea, doth ſignify (as moſt likely it ſeemeth to me) that Antichriſt ſhalbe deſtroyed by the moſt mighty perſons of the Gentils folke, through the ſworde of the worde of God. Becauſe that amongſt the other Gentiles, there haue bene none more ſtrong then the Britones, either in their body or their faith, & in their bodely warres there haue bene none more mighty then they. For neuer in warres haue they bene vanquiſhed, but by their owne ſedition or treaſon. But how many kingdoms haue they conquered? Yea, and nother by the moſt mighty city of Rome, could they be driuen out of their kingdome, vntill that God ſent vppon them peſtilence and famine: whereby they being waſted, were compelled to leaue their countrey, which thing I haue not hard of any other people. Now, in the faith, haue they bene amongſt all the people, the ſtrongeſt, as before is ſayd, becauſe that by no tribulation, could they be compelled to forſake the faith. wherfore of them, this ſeemeth to me to be vnderſtanded. Thē I wil bring vpon thee, ſome of the moſt ſtrongeſt people, & they ſhal draw their naked ſwordes. &c. By theſe things it may plainly apeare, why at this time (rather then in time paſt) thys matter is ſtirred vp: and why in this kingdome (rather then in other kingdomes) the calling of the Gentiles is intreated of, to the verifying of the Goſpell, through the diſcloſing of Antichriſt.

A frend to the Welchmen.

The ſtrong faith of the Britons.

Tales of Antichriſt.

But foraſmuch as many tales and fables are tolde of Antichriſt and his comming, and many things whych doe rather ſeduce then inſtruct the hearers, are applied to hym out of the ſcriptures of the prophets: we will briefly wryte thoſe things which are ſpoken of hym, and we will ſhewe that the ſame fable ſprang from the error of people imagining, & from no truth of the ſcriptures propheſying. Now then they do ſay, that Antichriſt ſhall be borne in Babylon of the tribe of Dan, & conceiued of the mixture of man and woman in ſinne, becauſe that Chriſte was borne of a virgin, and conceiued of the holy ghoſt. They ſay, that he ſhall be an ill fauoured perſonage, becauſe that it is wrytten of Chriſt: comely and beautifull is he, beyonde the ſonnes of men. They ſay that he ſhall preach three yeres and an halfe where Chriſt preached, & that he ſhall circumciſe himſelfe, and ſay that he is Chriſt, and the Meſſias ſent for the ſaluation of the Iewes. And they ſay, that he ſhal 3. maner of waies ſeduce the people by falſe miracles, giftes, and torments. So that whom he ſhall not be able to ouercome wt myracles nor with gifts, thoſe ſhall he goe about to ouercome with diuers kinds of tormēts. And thoſe that he ſhal ſeduce, will he marke with hys tokens in their forehead or hands. He ſhal ſit in the temple of God, and cauſe himſelfe to be worſhipped as God. He ſhall fight (as they ſay) with the 2. witneſſes of Chriſt, Enoch & Hely, and ſhal kill thē, and he himſelfe ſhall finally be ſlaine with lightening. To this imagined man of their own imagination, but of none of the prophets foreſhewed (at leaſt in no ſuch wyſe as this is) do they apply the Prophets, as this of Daniel: When ẏ cotinual ſacrifice ſhalbe taken away, & abhomination ſhall be placed to deſolation: That is (ſay they) when the worſhipping of God ſhalbe taken away, & deſolation (to wit, Antichriſt) ſhall abhominably ſhewe forth hymſelfe to be worſhipped, then ſhall there be 1290. dayes: that is to ſay, 3. yeres and a halfe. And this time doe they ſay is the time, times, and halfe a time. And when it is ſayde in Daniell: Bleſſed is hee that looketh for, and cōmeth to a 1335. dayes. This do they ſay, is thus to be vnderſtanded. 45. dayes of repentance to ſuch as haue worſhipped Antichriſt: whych 45. dayes added to the 1290. make 1335. daies. which dayes they that ſhall reach vnto, ſhalbe called bleſſed.

A falſe imagination of Antichriſt.

The ſcripture & Prophetes not rightly vnderſtāded, touching Antichriſt.

They apply alſo to thys Antichriſt, this ſaying of the Apocalips: I ſaw a beaſt riſing vp out of the Sea, hauing 7. heads, and 10. horns, who had power geuē him to make 42. moneths. which moneths (as they ſay) do make 3. yere & a halfe, in which Antichriſt ſhall raigne. And many other things there are told, and applied vnitly to this imagined Antichriſt, ẏ are not truly grounded vpon the ſcriptures.

Touching theſe 42. monethes, ſee aboue pag. 391.

Now, let vs ſhew the errors of this fable. Firſt of al, if there ſhall come ſuch one (ſaying expreſly that he is Chriſt) what Chriſtian would be ſeduced by him, though he ſhuld do neuer ſo many miracles: neither ſhall he come after the maner of a ſeducer, which ſhal ſhew himſelf an expreſſe aduerſary. Neither is it likely that the Iewes can be ſeduced by ſuch a one, ſeeing that Chriſt is not promiſed vnto them of the ſtocke of Dan by any of the Prophets, but of ẏ ſtocke of Iuda: nor yet is he promiſed to thē to be a king warlike, but peaceable, taking warre away, & not making warre. For of Chriſt ſayeth Eſay: And in the laſt dayes, ſhall there be prepared the mountaine of the houſe of the Lorde, in the toppe of the mountaines, and it ſhalbee exalted aboue the hilles: and to it, ſhall all the nations haue great recourſe, and manye people ſhal goe and ſay: Come, let vs go vp to the mountaine of the Lord, and to the houſe of the God of Iacob, and hee ſhall teache vs his wayes, and wee ſhall walke in his pathes. For out of Sion ſhall there goe a lawe, and the word of the Lord from Ieruſalem, and he ſhall iudge the nations, & reproue much people. And they ſhall turne their ſwordes into plowſhares, and their ſpeares into ſithes. There ſhall not a nation lift vp it ſelfe againſt an other nation, nor yet ſhall they bee any more exerciſed to warre. And againe: A litle babe is borne to vs, and a ſonne is geuen to vs, and his Imperiall kingdome vpon his ſhoulder, and his name ſhall bee called: The great counſailour: The mighty God: The father of the world to come: The Prince of peace. His Empire ſhall be multiplied, and there ſhalbe no ende of his peace. He ſhall ſit vpon the ſeat of Dauid, and vpon his kingdom: that he may make it ſtedfaſt and ſtrong in iudgement, and in iuſtice, from hencefoorth & for euermore. Zachary doeth ſay of Chriſt: Reioyce thou greatly, O thou daughter Sion, be thou exceeding merye, O daughter Ieruſalem: Beholde thy king ſhall come a righteous perſon, and a Sauior vnto thee, and yet he a poore man, and getting vp vpon an aſſe, euen vpon a yong colt of the ſhe aſſe. And I wil ſcatter abroad the chariot of Ephraim, and the horſe of Ieruſalem. And the bow of warre ſhalbe diſperſed, and he ſhall ſpeake peace to the nations, and hys power ſhall be from the ſea to the ſea, and from the floud vnto the borders of the earth.

The old imagination touching Antichriſt confuted.

Antichriſt commeth not ſo groſely as the papiſts imagine.

Eſay. cap. 2.

Eſay 2.

Eſay 9.

Zach. 9.

Antichriſt cannot come of the tribe of Dan.

By which thinges it is manifeſt, that the wiſe Iewes knewe well inough, Chriſt to be promiſed to them of the ſtocke of Iuda and not of the ſtocke of Dan: & that he was geuen, all to peace & not to warre: Therfore it is not likely, that they cā be ſeduced by ſuch a one. But if there ſhould haue beene in time to come ſome ſuch ſingular Antichriſt, then would Chriſt (ſeing he loued his) haue ſayd ſomwhat vnto thē of him. Now, of one ſingularly doth he not ſpeak: but of many, ſaying. Many ſhall come in my name, & ſay, I am Chriſt: and they ſhal ſeduce many perſons. But now let vs ſee, how the prophecies in Daniell, & the Apocalips (aforeſayd) be falſly and erroneouſly applied to the ſame imagined Antichriſt. For in Daniel the ix. chapter thus it is written. And after 72. weekes ſhall Chriſt be ſlaine, and they which will deny him ſhall not be his people. And the Citie and ſanctuary, ſhal a people, with their Captain that ſhal come with them deſtroy, whoſe end ſhalbe vtter deſolation, and after the end of the war a determined deſtruction. Now, he ſhall in one weeke confirme his couenaunt

Daniel. 9.

towardes many, and in the halfe weke ſhal the offring and ſacrifice ceaſe, and in the temple ſhall there be an abhomination of deſolation, and euē to the fulfilling vp of all, and to the end, ſhal the deſolation continue. It is plaine & manifeſt that this prophecy is now fulfilled. For the people of Rome with their Captaine, deſtroyed Ieruſalem euen to the grounde, and the people of the Iewes was ſlayne and ſcattered. And the abhomination, that is, the Idol of deſolation was placed of Adrian, in the laſt deſtruction in Ieruſalem in the holy place, that is to ſay, in a place of the tēple. And from that time hetherto haue paſſed neare about 1290. dayes, taking a day for a yeare, as Daniel takes it in hys prophecies, and other prophets likewiſe. For Daniel ſpeaking of 62. weekes, doeth not ſpeake of the weekes of daies but of yeares. So therfore when he ſayth: From the time that the continual ſacrifice was taken away. &c. 1290. dayes muſt be taken for ſo many yeares, from the tyme of the deſolation of Ieruſalem, euen vnto the reuealing of Antichriſt: and not for 3. yeares and an halfe, which they ſay, Antichriſt ſhall raigne. And againe, whereas Daniel ſayd, How long till the ende of theſe marueilous matters? it was aunſwered him. For a time, and times, and halfe a time. Beholde alſo, how vnfitly they did aſſigne this time, by 3. yeares and a halfe, which they ſay, Antichriſte ſhall raigne. For when as it is ſayde, a time, times, and halfe a time: there is a going downeward from the greater to the leſſe: from the whole to the part, becauſe it is from a time to halfe time. If therefore, there be a going downeward from the whole to the part, by the middeſt (which is greater then the whole it ſelfe) the going downewarde is not meete nor agreeing. And thys is done when as it is ſayd, that a time, times, and halfe a time is a yeare, two yeares, and halfe a yeare. Wherfore more fitly it is ſayd, that a time, times and halfe a time, doth ſignifie 1290. yeares, as is before ſayde in the chapter preceding. Thus therefore is the prophecie of Daniel falſly applied to that imagined Antichriſt.

The abhomination or Idoll of deſolation ſtanding in the holy place.

Antichriſt to raigne onely 3. yeares and a halfe is falſe.

Likewiſe is the proces of the Apocalips applied to the ſame imagined Antichriſt, too much erroneouſly. Becauſe that the ſame cruell beaſt which came vp out of the ſea, hauing 7. heads, and 10. hornes, to whome there was power geuen ouer euery tribe, people, and toung, and the power geuen for the ſpace of 42. monethes: Thys beaſt doth note the Romaine Emperors, which moſt cruelly did perſecute the people of God, aſwell Chriſtians as Iewes. For whē as the condēnatiō of the great whore ſitting vpon the many waters was ſhewed to Iohn: he ſaw the ſame woman ſitting vpon the purple coulored beaſt full of the names of blaſphemy, hauing 7. heads, and 10. hornes: and he ſaw a woman being dronken with the bloud of the Saintes and Martyrs of Ieſu. And the angell expounding and telling him the miſtery of the woman and the beaſt that caried her ſayde: That 7. heades are 7. hilles, and are 7. kinges: Fiue are fallen, one is, the other is not yet come: & when he ſhall come, he muſt reigne a ſhort time. And yͤ 10. hornes whiche thou ſaweſt, are 10. kinges, who haue not yet taken theyr kingdome, but ſhall receiue theyr power as it were in one houre, vnder the beaſt. And finally he ſayth, yͤ woman whō thou ſaweſt, is the great Citty, which hath the kingdome ouer the kings of the earth. And it is manifeſt that the Citty of Rome, at the time of this prophecy, had the kingdom ouer the kings of the earth And this City was borne vp & vpholden by her cruell & beaſtly Emperors: who by theyr cruelty and beaſtlynes did ſubdue vnto thēſelues in a maner, all the kingdomes of the world, of a zeale to haue lordſhip ouer others, and not vertuouſlye to gouerne the people that were theyr ſubiectes, ſeeing that they thēſelues did lacke all vertue, and drew backe others from the fayth and from vertue.

Looke before in the ſtory of the x. firſt perſecutions.

Apoc.13.

The beaſt in the 13. of the Apoc. expounded.

The purple beaſt in the Apoc. meaneth Rome.

Wherfore what cruell beaſt comming vp out of the ſea, doth rightly note the Romain Emperors, who had power ouer euery language, people and coūtry. And the power of this beaſt was for 42. moneths: becauſe that from the firſt Emperor of Rome, that is to ſay, Iulius Ceſar, vnto the ende of Fredericke the laſt Emperour of Rome there were 42. monethes, taking a moneth for 30. dayes, as the monethes of the Hebrues and Grecians are, and taking a day alwayes for a yeare, as commonlye it is taken in the Prophetes. By whiche thinges it may playnely appeare, how vnfitly this prophecy is applied to that imagined Antechriſt, and the 42. moneths taken for three yeares and an halfe, which (they ſay) he ſhall reigne in agaynſt the ſaying of the Prophetes, becauſe that dayes are taken for yeares. As in the 1. of the Apocal. They ſhall be troubled 10. dayes. Which do note the moſt cruel perſecution of Diocleſian againſt the Chriſtians that endured 10. yeares. And in an other place of the Apocalips, it is written of the ſmoke comming vp out of the bottomles pit, Out of which pit there came forth Graſhoppers into the earth: and to them was power geuen, as ſcorpions haue power, to vexe & to trouble men 5. moneths. Now it is manifeſt, that from the beginning of the Friers minours and preachers, to the time that Armachanus, began to diſcloſe and vncouer their hypocriſie, and their falſe foundation of valiant begging vnder the pouertie of Chriſt, were 5. monethes, taking a moneth for 30. dayes, and a day for a yeare. And to Ezechiel were dayes geuen for yeares. Wherfore it is an vnfit thing to aſſigne the 42. moneths being appoynted to the power of the beaſt, vnto 3. yeares and a halfe, for the reigne of that phantaſticall and imagined Antichriſt: ſpecially ſeing that they do apply to his reigne yͤ 1290. dayes in Daniel, which make 42. moneths, and in the Apocalips they aſſigne hym 42. moneths. It is plaine that the Pſalterie and the harpe agree not. And therfore ſeing that it is ſufficiently ſhewed, that the ſame fabling tale of that imagined Antichriſt to come, is a fable and erroneous: Let vs goe forward to declare whether Antichriſt be already come, and yet is he hid from many, and muſt be opened and diſcloſed wythin a litle while, according to the truthe of the holy Scripture, for the ſaluation of the faithfull.

For theſe 42. moneths looke before pag.397.

Apoc.1.

Apocalips.9.

The beginning and end of the valiant beggarly Friers ſpoken of, in the Apoc. expoūded of Armachanus, looke before pag.410.

Non concordat Pſalterium cum cithara.

Whether Antichriſt be already come.

And becauſe that in the firſt concluſion of mine anſwere, I haue conditionally put it, who is that Antichriſt lying priuie in the hid Scriptures of the Prophets: I will paſſe on the declaration of that cōcluſion, bringing to light thoſe things, whych lay hid in darkeneſſe, becauſe nothing is hid which ſhal not be diſcloſed, and nothing couered that ſhal not be knowen: And therfore, the thing that was ſayd in the darkeneſſe, let vs ſay in the light: and the thyng that we haue heard in the eare, let vs preache vppon the houſe toppes. I therefore as I haue before ſayd, ſo ſay, that if the high biſhop of Rome, calling himſelfe the ſeruant of God, and the chiefe Vicare of Chriſt in this world, do make and iuſtify many lawes contrary to the goſpell of Ieſu Chriſt: then is he the chiefe of many, whych comming in the name of Chriſt, haue ſaid, I am Chriſt, who haue ſeduced many. Which is the firſt part of the firſt concluſion, and is manifeſt. For Chriſt is called of Hebrues the very ſame, that we call annoynted. And amongeſt them there was a double ſort of legall annoynting by the lawe, the one of kings and the other of Prieſtes. And aſwell were the kynges, as the prieſtes, called in the lawe, Chriſtes. The kings, as in the Pſalme. The kings of the earth ſtoode vp together, and the Princes aſſembled them ſelues in one agaynſt the Lorde and againſt hys Chriſt or annoynted. And in the bookes of the kings very often are the kinges called Chriſtes. And our Sauiour was Chriſt, or annoynted king, becauſe hee was a king for euermore vpon the throne of Dauid, as the Scriptures doe very oftentimes witneſſe. The Prieſtes alſo were called annoynted, as where it is wrytten: Doe not yee touch my Chriſtes, that is, mine annoynted ones, and be not ye ſpitefull againſt my Prophetes. And ſo was our Sauiour Chriſt, a Prieſt for euer according to the order of Melchiſedech.

The Pope proued Antichriſt.

Annointing double in ſcripture.

Kinges and Prieſtes annointed.

Seyng then, that the Byſhops of Rome do ſay, that they are the high Prieſtes: they ſay alſo therein that they are kynges, becauſe they ſay that they haue the ſpirituall ſword perteinyng to their Prieſthode, and the corporall ſword which agreeth for a kynges ſtate. So is it playne, that really & in very deede, they ſay that they are Chriſts, albeit that expreſly they be not called Chriſtes. Now that, they come in the name of Chriſt, it is manifeſt, becauſe they ſay that they are his principal Vicares in this world, ordeined of Chriſt ſpecially for the gouernement of the Chriſtian Churche. Therefore, ſeyng they ſay, that really and in very deede they are Chriſtes, and the chief frendes of Chriſt: If they make and iuſtifie many lawes contrary to the Goſpell of Ieſu Chriſt, then is it playne that they themſelues in earth are the principal Antichriſtes, becauſe there is no worſe plague and peſtilence, then a familiar enemy. And if in ſecret they be agaynſt Chriſt, and yet in open appearaunce they ſay that they are his frendes: they are ſomuch the more meete to ſeduce and deceiue the Chriſtiā people, becauſe that a manifeſt enemy ſhall haue much a doe to deceaue a man, becauſe men truſt him not: but a priuey enemy pretendyng outward frendſhyp, may eaſly ſeduce, yea thoſe that be wiſe.

The Popes make themſelues prieſts and kynges.

The Pope maketh him ſelfe chriſt.

The Pope commeth in the name of Chriſt.

Popes proued principal Antichriſtes.

The pope an outward frend, and a priui enemy to Chriſt.

But that this matter may the more fully be knowē, let vs ſee what is the law & doctrine of Chriſt, that ought to be obſerued of all faithfull people: which beyng knowen, it ſhalbe an eaſy thing to ſee, if the biſhop of Rome doe make or maintaine any lawes, contrary to the law of the goſpell of Ieſu Chriſt.

Whether the Pope doth maintayne any lawes againſt the lawes of Chriſt.

I ſay then, that the lawe of Chriſt is charitie, whych is the perfect loue of God and of Chriſt. This thing is plaine and manifeſt. For Chriſt being demaunded of a certayne

Doctour

The law of loue commaunded in the Goſpel.

Iohn.13.

Iohn 15.

1.Pet.4.

1.Iacob.2.

doctour of the law: what is the greateſt commaundement in the lawe? anſwered. Thou ſhalt loue the Lord thy God with all thy heart, and with all thy ſoule, and with all thy minde: This is the principall & greateſt commandement. And as for the ſecond, it is like vnto this: Thou ſhalt loue thy neighbor as thine owne ſelfe. In theſe two commaundements, doth the whole law and Prophets depend. And in an other place Chriſt ſayeth: All maner of things therefore, ẏ you would that men ſhould do to you, the ſame alſo do ye vnto them. For thys is the lawe and the Prophets. And in Iohn the 13. chap. ſayth Chriſt. And now doe I ſay vnto you, I geue you a new commandement, ẏ you ſhuld loue eche other: as I loued you, in like maner that you alſo ſhuld loue one an other. In this ſhal all men know that you are my diſciples, if you ſhall haue loue one towardes an other. And Iohn 15. chapter: This is my commaundemēt that you loue together as I haue loued you. Greater loue then this, hath no body, that a man ſhuld geue his life for his frendes. The Apoſtle Peter ſayth in his firſt Epiſtle 4. chapter: Aboue all things, hauing continually charity one towards an other, for charitye couereth the multitude of ſinnes. Be yee harborers, and intertaine ye one an other without grudging: euery one as hee hath receaued grace, ſo let him beſtowe it vpon an other man, as the good ſtewards of the manifold graces of God. If any mā ſpeak, let him ſpeake as the word of God. If any man doe ought for an other, let it be don with ſinglenes and vnfained verity, miniſtred of God to vs ward, that in all thyngs God may be honoured through Ieſus Chriſt our Lord. Iames in his Epiſtle the 2. chapter. If ye performe the royal lawe accordingly to the Scriptures (thou ſhalt loue thy neighbour) ye do wel: But if ye be parcial in receiuing and preferring mens perſonages, ye worke wickednes being blamed of the law as tranſgreſſors. And againe, ſo ſpeake ye, and ſo do ye, as ye ſhould nowe begin to be iudged by the law of libertie. what ſhall it auaile (my brethren) if a man ſay he haue faith, and haue no workes? Neuer ſhall ẏ faith be able to ſaue him. For if a brother or ſiſter be naked, and haue neede of daily foode, and ſome of you ſay to them, goe ye in peace, be ye made warme and ſatiſfied: and if ye ſhall not geue thoſe things that are neceſſary for the body, what ſhall it auaile? Euen ſo faith, if it haue not workes, is dead in it ſelfe.

1.Iohn.3.

1.Iohn.4.

Rom.13.

Iohn in his firſt epiſtle the 3. chap. This is the tidings whych you haue heard from the beginning, that you ſhuld loue one another. And againe, we know that we are tranſlated from death to life, if we loue the brethren: He that loueth not, abideth in death. And again, herein do we know the loue of God, becauſe that he hath laide downe hys life for vs, & we ought to lay down our liues for the brethren. He that ſhall haue the ſubſtaunce of thys world, and ſhall ſee his brother haue neede, and ſhall ſhut vp hys bowelles from him: howe abideth the loue of God in hym? My little children, let vs not loue in worde nor tounge, but in deede and truth. And againe 4. chap. Moſt dearly beloued, let vs loue together. For loue is of God, he ẏ loueth not, knoweth not God, for God is loue. In thys thing hath the loue of God apeared in vs, that God hath ſent his only begotten ſonne into the world, that we ſhuld liue by him. Herein is loue: not ẏ we haue loued God, but that he hath firſt loued vs, and hath ſent hys ſonne an attonement for oure ſinnes. Moſt dearly beloued, if God haue loued vs: we ſo ought to loue together. No mā hath ſene God at any time: if we loue together, God abideth in vs, & hys loue is perfect in vs. And againe, let vs loue God, for he hath firſt loued vs. If a man ſhall ſay, I loue God, & do hate hys brother, he is a lyar. For he that loueth not his brother whom he ſeeth, how cā he loue God whom he ſeeth not? And this commaundement haue we of God, ẏ who ſo loueth God, ſhould loue his brother alſo. Paule the Apoſtle in his epiſtle to the Rom. 13. chapter. Owe ye nothing to no body, ſauing that ye ſhould loue together, for he that loueth hys brother hath fulfilled the lawe. For thou ſhalt not commit adultery, thou ſhalt not murther, thou ſhalt not ſteal, thou ſhalt not beare falſ witnes, thou ſhalt not couet thy neighbors good: and if there be any other commaundement, it is plētifully fulfilled in this word: thou ſhalt loue thy neighbor as thy ſelfe. wherfore the fulfilling of the law is loue.

1.Cor.5.

Paule to the Corinthes 5. ſayeth: If I ſhoulde ſpeake with the tonges of men and angels, and yet haue not charitie, I am become as it were a peece of ſounding mettal or tinkling cimball. And if I ſhall haue all prophecie, & know all miſteries, and all knowledge, and ſhall haue all faith, ſo that I might remooue mountaines, and yet ſhall not haue charitie: I am nothing. And if I ſhall geue abroade all my goodes to feede the poore, and ſhall geue vp my body to be burned, and yet haue not charitie: it profites mee nothing.

Galatians.5.

Ephes.4.

Ephes.5.

Philip.1.

Coloſ.3.

Theſ.4.

To the Galathians 5. ſayeth Paule: For you my brethren, are called into liberty: doe ye not geue your liberty for an occaſion of the fleſh, but by charity of the ſpirit, ſerue ye one an other. For all ẏ law is fulfilled in one ſaying: thou ſhalt loue thy neighbor as thine owne ſelf. To the Eph. 4. chap. he ſaith: I therfore that ſuffer bonds in the Lord, do beſeech you, that you would walke worthy of the calling wherein ye are called, with all humblenes and mildnes, with patience forbearing one another in loue, being carefull to kepe the vnitie of the ſpirit, in the bond of peace: that you be one body, and one ſpirite, euen as you be called in one hope of your calling. And againe in the 5. chap. Be ye followers of me, as moſt deare children, and walke ye in loue as Chriſt alſo hath loued vs, and hath deliuered vp hymſelfe for vs, an offring and ſacrifice to God of a ſweete ſauour. To the Phil. thus hee ſpeaketh in the 1. chap. Onely let your conuerſation be worthy of the Goſpell of Chriſt, that eyther when I ſhall come and ſee you, or els in mine abſence I may heare of you, that you ſtand ſtedfaſt in one ſpirit, laboring together with one accorde for the faith of the Goſpell. And in nothing be ye afraide of the aduerſaries, whych is to them a cauſe of damnation, but to you of ſaluation, and ẏ of God. For to you it is geuen, not onely that you ſhould beleue in him, but alſo that you ſhuld ſuffer wyth him, you hauing the lyke fight and battaile that both you haue ſeene in me, and alſo now do heare of me. If therefore there be any conſolation in Chriſt, if any comfort of charitie, if any felowſhip of the ſpirite, if any bowels of compaſſion fulfill you my ioy, that you may be of one iudgement, hauing one and the ſelfſame charitie, being of one accord, of one maner of iudgement, doing nothing of contention, nor of vaine glory, but in humblenes, accompting other amongſt you, euery one better then your ſelues, not euery body looking vppon the things that be hys owne, but thoſe that belong vnto others. And to the Coloſſ. 3. chapter thus he writeth: You therefore as the electe of God, holy, and beloued, put vpon you the bowels of mercy, gentleneſſe, humbleneſſe, lowlineſſe, modeſtie, pacience, bearing one wyth an other, & geuing place to your ſelues (if any haue a quarel againſt any body) euen as the Lord forgaue you, ſo do you alſo. Aboue all things haue ye charitie, which is the bonde of perfection, and let the peace of Chriſt triumph in your hearts, in whych peace you alſo are called in one body. And be yee kinde & thankefull. And to the Theſſalonians thus Paule writeth in the 4. chapter. As concerning brotherly charity, we haue no neede to wryte vnto you: for you your ſelues haue learned of God, that you ſhoulde loue one an other. And the ſame thing ye do towards all ẏ brethren throughout all Macedonia.

Out of all theſe & many other places of the holy ſcripture it ſufficiently appeareth, that the law of Chriſt is charitie, neither is there any vertues commaunded of Chriſt, or any of hys Apoſtles to be obſerued of the faithfull people, but that it commeth out of charitie, or els doeth nouriſh charitie.

Many thinges obſerued in the old lawe, which be not obſerued nowe.

Many thinges vnlawful in the old law, which be lawful now.

How Chriſt did looſe and not looſe the lawe.

The lawe is geuen by Moſes, and the truth by Chriſt. Chriſt came not to vnloſe the lawe and the Prophetes, but to fulfill them. But yet many things were lawful & might haue bene obſerued in the time of the law, whych in ẏ tyme of grace muſt not be obſerued. And many things wer vnlawful to them that were vnder the law, which in the time of grace are lawful inough. After what ſort then he did not looſe the lawe, but did fulfill it, it is neceſſary to declare, for thoſe thyngs which hereafter muſt be ſayd. For amongeſt Chriſtians, many things are iudged to be lawfull, becauſe in the former teſtament in the law, they were lawfull: and yet they be expreſly contrary to Chriſtes Goſpell. But the authors of ſuch thinges doe argue and reaſon thus: Chriſt came not to looſe the law of the prophets. Now after what ſort he did not vnloſe them, it is manifeſt by the holy ſcripture: that the law geuen by Moſes, was written in tables of ſtone, to declare the hardnes of ẏ peoples hart towards the loue of God, or of Chriſt. But Chriſt hath wrytten his law in the harts and in the minds of his, that is to ſay, the law of perfect loue of God & of Chriſt. which law whoſoeuer obſerueth, he doth obſerue the law of Moyſes, & doth much greater works of perfection, then were the works of ẏ law. Thus therefore were the morals of the old law fulfilled in the law of the charitie of Chriſt, and not vnlooſed: becauſe they are much more perfectly obſerued, then of the Iewes. This I ſay, if the Chriſtians doe obſerue the commandements of Chriſt in ſuch ſorte, as he commanded the ſame to be obſerued. Chriſt hath fulfilled the lawes morall of the old teſtament, becauſe that the morals and iudicials were ordained, that one perſon ſhould not do iniury to an other, & that euery man ſhould haue paid him that is hys. Now, they that are in charity, wil do no iniury to others, neither do they take other mens goodes away from them. Nay it ſeeketh not her owne things. For charitie ſeeketh not the things that be her owne. wherfore, much leſſe by a ſtronger reaſon it ought not to ſeke for other mens goods. And whē as the iudicials & morals were ordained: Chriſt did not by ỹ workes of the law iuſtifie the beleuers in him, but by grace iuſtified them frō their ſins. And ſo did Chriſt fulfill that by grace, that the lawe could not by iuſtice.

Free iuſtification, by fayth onely.

Grace, that is free fauour, mercy, & goodnes of God.

Paule to the Romaines declareth in a godly diſcourſe, and to the Galath. likewiſe: that none ſhall be iuſtified by the workes of the lawe, but by grace, in the faith of Ieſu Chriſt. As for the morals & ceremonies of the lawe, as circumcicion, ſacrifices for offence and for ſinnes, firſt fruites, tenthes, vowes, diuers ſortes of waſhings, the ſprinkling of bloud, the ſprinkling of aſhes, abſtaining from vnclean meats whych are ordeined for the ſanctifying and clenſing of the people frō ſinne, no nor yet the praiers of the prieſts, neither the preachings of the prophets, could clenſe a man from his ſin. For death raigned euen from Adam to Moiſes, and ſinne from Moiſes to Chriſt, as Paule declareth to the Romaines in the 5. chapter. But Chriſt, willing to haue mercy, and not ſacrifice, being a Prieſt for euer after the order of Melchiſedech, & an high Prieſt of good things to come: did neither by the bloud of goats or calues but by his owne bloud enter in once vnto the holy places, when as euerlaſting redemption was founde: neither did Ieſus enter into the holy places that were made wyth handes, which are the examples of true thynges, but into the very heauen, ỹ now he may appeare before the countenaunce of God for vs. Nor yet he did ſo, ỹ he ſhould offer vp himſelfe oftentimes, as the high Byſhop entred into the holy place euery yeere w ſtraunge bloud (for otherwiſe he muſt nedes haue ſuffred oftentimes ſithens ỹ beginning of the world) but now in the latter end of the world hath he once appeared by his owne ſacrifice, for the deſtruction of ſinne. And like as it is decreed for men once to die, and after that commeth iudgement: euen ſo was Chriſt once offred vp to cōſume away the ſinnes of many. The ſecond time ſhall hee appeare without ſinne, to the ſaluation of ſuch as looke for him. For the law hauing a ſhadow of good things to come, and not the very image or ſubſtaunce it ſelfe of the things: can neuer, by thoſe ſacrifices which they offer (of one ſelfe ſame ſort continually yere by yere) make them perfect that come vnto her. Otherwiſe men would leaue of offring becauſe that thoſe worſhyps being once clenſed, ſhould haue no more pricke of conſcience for ſinne afterwardes. But in them is their remembraunce made of ſinnes euery yere. For it is impoſſible, that by the bloud of goats & bulles, ſinnes ſhould be taken away. wherfore, he entring into ỹ world, doth ſay, as for ſacrifice and offring thou woldſt not haue, but a body haſt thou framed vnto mee. And ſacrifices for ſinne haue not pleaſed thee, then ſaid I, behold I come. In the head or principall part of the booke it is wrytten of me, that I ſhould do thy wil, O God. wherfore he ſaid before, that ſacrifices, oblations and burnt offerings, and that for ſinne thou wouldeſt not haue: neyther were thoſe thyngs pleaſāt to thee whych are offred according to the law: then ſayd I, behold I come, that I may do thy will O God: He taketh away the firſt, that he may ſtabliſh that that folowed. In whych will, we are ſanctified and made holy by the offering vp of the body of Ieſus Chriſt, ones. And verely euery Prieſt, is ready euery day miniſtring, & oftentimes offring the ſelf ſame ſacrifices, which neuer can take away ſinnes. But this man offering one ſacrifice for ſinnes, doth for euer and euer ſit at Gods right hād, looking for the reſt to come till that hys enemies be placed to be his footeſtoole. For with one offering hath hee for euer made perfect thoſe that be ſanctified. By which thinges it plainly appeareth, ỹ Chriſt by one offring hath clenſed hys from their ſinnes: who could not be clenſed from the ſame, by all the ceremonies of the law, and ſo did fulfill that which the prieſthoode of the law could not. wherfore onely the morals and iudicials he fulfilled by the lawe of charitie, and by grace: and the ceremonials, by one offering vp of hys body in the aultar of the croſſe. And ſo it is plaine, that Chriſt fulfilled the whole lawe.

Rom.5.

Hebrews 9.

Chriſt entreth not into the temple made by man, but to very heauen.

The ſacrifice of Chriſt not many tymes offered, but once for all.

Hebrew.10.

All ſhadowes ought to ceaſe among Chriſtians.

Hebrewes 7.

Where the prieſthood is remoued, there alſo the law is remoued.

wherfore ſithens that the holy things of the law, were a ſhadowe of thoſe things that were to come in the time of grace: it were meete that all thoſe thynges ſhould vtterly ceaſe amongeſt Chriſtians, which ſhould either be againſt charity, or the grace of Chriſt. Although in the time of the lawe, they were lawfull, and not vtterly contrary to it, but were figures of perfections in Chriſtes faith: yet it were meete that they ſhould ceaſe at ỹ comming of the perfection whych they did prefigurate: as circumciſion, the eating of the paſchal lambe, and other ceremonial points of the law. wherupon alſo Paul to the Hebrues the 7. chapter ſayeth thus. If therfore the making vp of ỹ perfection of all was by the Leuiticall prieſthode (for the people receiued the law vnder hym) why was it neceſſary beſides, that an other Prieſt ſhould riſe vp after the order of Melchiſedech, & not be called after the order of Aaron? For whē the Prieſthode is remoued, it muſt needes be, that the lawe alſo be remoued. For he, in whom theſe things are ſpokē, is of an other tribe, of which, none ſtoode preſent at the aulter. Becauſe it is manifeſt that our Lorde had hys offſpring of Iuda: in which tribe Moiſes ſpake nothing of the Prieſts. And beſides this, it is manifeſt: if according to the order of Melchiſedech there doo riſe vp an other Prieſt, which was not made according to the law of the carnal commaundement, but according to the power of the life that cannot be loſed. For thus he beareth witnes, that thou art a prieſt for euer, after the order of Melchiſedech: ſo that, the cōmandement, that went before, is diſalowed for the weakenes & vnprofitableneſſe thereof. For the lawe hath brought no body to perfection. By which things it appeareth that Chriſt making an end of the prieſthode of Aaron, doth alſo make vp a full end of the law belonging to that Prieſthode. wherupon I maruell ỹ your learned men doe ſay, that Chriſten folkes are bound to this ſmall ceremonie of the paiment of tithes, and care nothing at all for other as wel the great as the ſmall ceremonies of the lawe.

* Bounde as a matter of religion, or as by the neceſſitie of Gods law & not mans: but now tithes ſtand by mās law, and not by the old law.

The cauſe ceaſing, the effect alſo ceaſeth.

He meaneth that neceſſitie of tithes, which ſtandeth by the neceſſitie of the old law to ceaſe.

It is plaine, that the tithes were geuen to the ſonnes of Leui, for their ſeruing in the tabernacle & in the temple of the Lord, as the firſt fruites were geuen to the prieſtes, and alſo part of the ſacrifices, & ſo were the vowes for their miniſtery, as it appeareth in the booke of Numbers the 22. chapter. But forasmuch as the labor of thoſe ſacrifices did ceaſe at the comming of Chriſt: howe ſhould thoſe thyngs be demaunded, which were ordained for that labour? And ſeeing that the firſt fruits were not demaunded of Chriſtians, which firſt fruits were then rather and ſoner demanded then the tithes: why muſt the tithes be demanded, except it be therefore peraduenture becauſe that the tythes be more worth in value then be the firſt fruites?

If tithes be claymed by force of the olde law, by the ſame law prieſtes are bounde to haue no temporalties.

Secondly, why are the lay people boūd to the paiment of tithes, more then the Leuites and the prieſts were to the not hauing of poſſeſſions of realties & Lordſhips amongſt their brethren, ſeeing ỹ the ſelfe ſame lawe in the ſelfe ſame place (where he ſayeth that the tithes ought to be geuen to Leuites) ſayth alſo to the Leuites, You ſhall be contented with the offering of the tithes, and haue none other thyng amongſt your brethren. wherefore ſeeing that the Prieſtes be bounde, to the not hauing of temporall Lordſhippes: how are the lay people boūd, by that law (of God he meaneth, and not of man) to the paiment of tithes?

He proueth not cōtrary, but that tythes be due, by the poſitiue law of man: Although not by the ceremoniall law of Moſes.

Circumciſiō ceaſeth: Ergo, the ceremonies doe ceaſe.

Galat.4.

Chriſtiā libertie from the bondage of the lawe.

Thirdly, as touching circumciſion, which is one of the greater ceremonies of the lawe, and was geuen before the law, & was an vniuerſall ceremonie, concerning the couenant betwene God & hys people, and was ſo much regarded in the law, that thereof it was ſayde: The ſoule, whoſe fleſh ſhall not be circumciſed in the foreſkin, ſhall pearyſh from amongeſt his people: yet did thys ceremonie vtterly ceaſe at the comming of Chriſte, although that certayne of the Iewes did ſay in the primatiue Church, that the Chriſtians muſt needes kepe the commandement of circumciſion with the faith: whom Paule reproueth wryting thus to the Galathians the 4. chapter, where he ſpeaketh of the children of the bondwoman & of the freewoman, which do ſignify the two Teſtaments. But we (O brethren) are the children of the promiſe after Iſaac, but like as at that time he that was borne after the fleſh, did perſecute hym, which was after the ſpirit: euen ſo it is now alſo. But what ſaith the ſcripture? Throw out the bondwoman and her ſonne. The ſonne of the bondwoman, ſhall not be heire wyth the ſonne of the freewoman. wherefore brethrē, we are not the ſonnes of the bondwoman, but of the free. Stād ye ſtedfaſt in the liberty, wherwith Chriſt hath deliuered you, and be not ye holden againe vnder the yoke of ſlauery. Behold I Paule ſay vnto you, if you be circumciſed, Chriſt ſhall nothing profite you. For I teſtifie againe to euery man that circumciſeth hymſelfe, that hee is bounde to keepe all the whole law. Ye are vtterly voide of Chriſt: whoſoeuer will be iuſtified in the law, are fallen from grace.

Bounde in one thing (hee meaneth) bound in all.

Either boūd to all, or to none.

*Here hee expreſſeth his meaning plainly.

In like maner, we may reaſon, if we be bounde to tything, we are debters, & bound to keepe al the whole law. For to ſay that men are bound to one ceremony of the law, & not to the others, is no reaſonable ſaying. Either therefore we are bound to them all, or to none. Alſo, that by the ſame * olde lawe, men are not bound to pay tithes, it may be ſhewed by many reaſons, which we nede not any more to multiply & encreaſe, becauſe the things that be ſayd, are ſufficient. whereupon ſome do ſay, that by the Goſpell we are bound to pay tithes, becauſe Chriſt ſaide to the Phariſies,

ſies, Math.23.chapter: woe be you Scribes and Phariſies, whych pay your tithe of Mint, of Anets ſeede, and of comminand leaue iudgement, mercy, and trueth vndone, being the weightier things of the lawe, both ſhuld ye haue done theſe things, and alſo not haue left the other vndone. O ye blinde guides, that ſtraine out a gnat, and ſwallowe vp a camell. Thys worde ſoundeth not as a commaundement or manner of bidding, wherby Chriſt did command tithes to be geuen: but it is a worde of diſalowing the hypocriſie of the Phariſies, who of couetouſneſſe dyd rather weigh and eſteeme tithes, becauſe of their owne ſingulare commoditie, rather then other great and weighty commaundements of the lawe. And me ſeemeth that our men are in the ſame predicament of the Phariſies, which doe leaue of al ẏ ceremonies of ẏ old law, keping onely the cōmandement of tything. It is manifeſt and plaine inoughe by the premiſſes, and by other places of the ſcripture, that Chriſt was a prieſt after the order of Melchiſedech, of the tribe of Iuda, not of the tribe of Leuie: who gaue no newe commaundement of tything of any thing to him and to hys prieſts whome he would place after him: but whē hys Apoſtles ſayd to him: Behold, we leaue all things & haue followed thee, what then ſhall we haue, hee did not aunſwere them thus: Tithes ſhall be paide you, neither dyd he promiſe them a temporall, but an euerlaſting rewarde in heauen. For hee, both for foode, and alſo apparell taught his diſciples not to be carefull. Be ye not carefull for your life, what ye ſhall eate, or for your body what ye ſhall put on. Is not the life of man more worth then the meate? and the body more worth then apparell? Beholde ye the birds of heauen, whych do not ſow, nor reape, neither yet lay vp in barnes, and yet your heauēly father feedeth them. And as for apparell, why ſhould you be carefull? Conſider the lillies of the field, how they grow, they labour not, neither do they ſpinne. &c. In concluſion he ſayth, be not yee carefull, ſaying, what ſhall we eate, or what ſhal we drinke, or wherwithall ſhall we be couered? For all theſe things doe the Gentiles ſeeke after. For your father knoweth, ẏ you haue neede of all theſe things. Firſt therefore ſeeke yee for the kingdome of God and the righteouſnes therof, and all theſe things ſhall be caſt vnto you. And Paule ryght well remembring this doctrine, inſtructeth Timothe and ſayth thus. But we hauing foode and wherewithall to be couered, let vs therewyth be contented. And as the Acts of the Apoſtles doe declare: In the firſt conuerſion of the Iewes at Ieruſalem, they had all thinges common, and to euery one was diuiſion made, as nede required. Neither did the prieſtes make the tithes theyr owne proper goodes. For like as it was not meete that the lay people being conuerted, ſhould haue proprietie of goods: euen ſo neither that prieſts ſhould haue proprietie of tithes. So that if ẏ prieſts ſtarted backe from feruent charitie in chalenging to themſelues the proprietie of tithes: it is no meruaile of departing backward (as do the prieſts, frō the perfection of charitie) alſo of the laitie to be willing to appropriate to themſelues the ix. partes remayning after tithes. wherfore, ſeeing that neither Chriſt, nor any of the Apoſtles, commanded to pay tithes: it is manifeſt and plaine, neither by the lawe of Moſes, nor by Chriſtes lawe, Chriſten people are bounde to pay the tithes: but by the tradition of men, they are bounde.

The one is diſalowed, the other is not commaunded.

Prieſtes wreſt religion to theyr owne profit.

Tithes not expreſſye commanded anewe by Chriſt in the Goſpell.

Math.6.

1.Tim.6.

Tythes not required in the primitiue church.

By the premiſſes nowe it is plaine, that Chriſt did not vndo the law, but by grace did fulfil it. Notwithſtanding, in the lawe many thynges were lawfull, which in the time of grace are forbydden, and many thynges were then vnlawfull, which now are lawfull inough. For nothing that is contrary to charitie, is lawfull to a Chriſtian.

Tythes due to be payde by the poſitiue lawe of men.

Let vs now heare what maner of commaundements Chriſt hath geuen vs in the Goſpel, without the obſeruation of which commaundements, charitie ſhal not perfectly be kept. By which cōmandements, Chriſt did not vndo the olde lawe, but did fulfill it. By the obſeruation alſo of which commaundements, he teacheth vs to paſſe and goe beyond the righteouſnes of the Scribes & Phariſes, who moſt perfectly thought themſelues to keepe the law. This abſolute and perfect righteouſnes, which we are bound to haue beyonde the righteouſneſſe of the Phariſies and the Scribes, he teacheth in Math.5.6.and 7.chap. whych being heard, and compared to the traditiōs made and commaunded by the Romane prelates: it ſhall plainly appere, whether they be contrary or no. Chriſt therefore ſayeth, You haue heard, that it was ſayd to them of the olde time, Thou ſhalt not kill. For hee that killeth ſhall be guiltie of iudgemēt. But I ſay vnto you, that euery one that is angry with hys brother, ſhall be in danger of iudgement. In thys he doeth teach, that we ought not to be angrie wyth our brethren: not that he would vndoe this old commaundement (thou ſhalt not kil) but that the ſame ſhould be the more perfectly obſerued. Againe he ſayth. You haue heard that it was ſayd, thou ſhalt loue thy frend, and hate thyne enemy: But I ſay vnto you, Loue your enemies, doe well to them that hate you, pray for them that perſecute & ſlander you, that you may be the children of your father which is in heauen: which maketh his ſunne to ariſe vppon the good and the euill people, and raineth vppon the iuſt and vniuſt. For if you loue them which loue you, what reward ſhall you haue? Doe not the Publicanes thus? And if you ſhall ſalute your brethren onely, what great thing doe ye? Do not the heathen thus alſo? Be you therefore perfect, as alſo your heauenly father is perfect.

The doctrine of Chriſt, whether it be contrary to the traditions of the pope or not. Math.5.

Againe Chriſt ſayeth, you haue heard that it is ſaid: an eye for an eye, a tooth for a tooth: but I ſay vnto you, ſee that you reſiſt not euill. But if any man ſhall ſtrike you vppon the right cheeke, geue hym the other to. And to hym that will ſtriue with thee for thy coate in iudgement, let hym haue thy cloke alſo. And whoſoeuer ſhall conſtraine thee one mile, goe with him alſo two other. He ẏ asketh of thee geue him: and hee that will borrowe of thee, turne not thy ſelfe from him.

The doctrine of Chriſt and of the P.compared

By theſe thinges it may plainely appeare, howe that Chriſt the king of peace, the Sauiour of mankynde, who came to ſaue and not to deſtroy, who gaue a law of charity to be obſerued of his faithfull people: hath taught vs not to be angry, not to hate our enemies, not to render euil for euill, nor to reſiſt euill. For all theſe thinges doe foſter and nouriſh peace & charitie, and do procede and come forth of charity, & when they be not kept, charity is looſed, & peace is broken. But the biſhop of Rome approueth and alloweth warres, and ſlaughters of mē in warre, aſwell againſt our enemies, that is, the infidels, as alſo againſt the Chriſtians for temporall goodes. Nowe, theſe things are quite contrary to Chriſtes doctrine, and to charity, and to peace.

In the decrees 23 q.1.cap. Paratus, it is taught, that the precepts of pacience muſt alwayes be retained in purpoſe of the heart, ſo that pacience wͭ beneuolence muſt be kept in the minde ſecrete. But apparantly and manifeſtly, that thing ſhould be done, which ſeemeth to doe good to thoſe, whom we ought to wiſh well vnto. wherein they geue to vnderſtande, that a Chriſtian may freely defend hymſelfe. And for confirmation of thys ſaying, they doe ſay: That Chriſt whē he was ſtroken in the face of the hygh biſhops ſeruaunt, did not fulfill (if we looke vpon the wordes) hys owne commaundement: becauſe he gaue not to the ſmiter the other part, but rather did forbid him, that he ſhould not do it, to double his iniurie. For he ſayd, if I haue ſpoken euill, beare witnes of euill, but if wel, why doeſt thou ſtrike me? I do meruail of this ſaying: for firſt if thoſe commandements of pacience muſt be kept in ſecrete in the minde: and ſeing the body doth worke at the motion of the mind, and is and ought to be moued and ruled by the ſame: It muſt then nedes be, that if pacience be in the mind, it muſt appeare alſo outwardly in the body.

The gloſe of Gratianus vpon the cap. Paratus 23.q.1.diſproued.

Chriſt in aunſwering to his ſtriker, did not breake his rule of patience outwardly.

The precept of Chriſt to turne the other cheek, hath a priuy compariſon: as if ye would ſay, rather be you content to ſuffer two blows, then to reuenge one.

Secondly I meruail that it is ſaid, that Chriſt did not fulfill his owne precept of pacience. For it is manifeſt, that albeit he teaching alwayes as a good ſcholemaſter, thoſe things which were fit for the ſaluation of ſoules, ſpeaking the wholeſom word of inſtruction to the high biſhops ſeruant, ſmiting him vniuſtly: did neither by word forbid an other ſtroke to be geuen on the other cheke, neither did he defend himſelfe bodely from ſtriking on the ſame cheeke: But ſpeaking to him, it is likely ẏ hee gaue him the other check, he meaneth, ẏ he turned not the other cheeke away. For a man tourneth not away from him whome he ſpeaketh to, or whom he informeth, but layeth open before him al his face: Euen ſo do I beleue ẏ Chriſt did, that he might fulfill in very deede that, which before hee had taught in word. Neither yet did Chriſt by his word or by his deede, ſhew any thing of defence, or of bodely reſiſtance.

This article of Brute muſt haue a relation euer to the doctrine of the clergie.

Thirdly, I meruail why wiſe men leauing the plaine & manifeſt doctrine of Chriſt, wherby he teacheth pacience: do ſeeke corners of their imagining, to the intent they may approue fightings and warres. why marke they not after what manner, Chriſt ſpake to Peter ſtriking the hygh Byſhoppes ſeruaunt, ſaying: Put vp thy ſworde into the ſheath, for euery one that ſhall take the ſword, ſhall periſh with the ſworde. But in an other caſe we muſt make reſiſtance: which caſe may be ſo righteous, as it is for a mans Lorde & maiſter being a moſt righteous man, and yet ſuffering iniurie of miſchieuous perſons.

The caſe here againe of Chriſt was priuate, and his doctrine is to be vnderſtanded in priuate caſes.

Fourthly, I maruel ſeing that we are bound of charity & by the law of Chriſt to geue our liues for our brethren, how they can allow ſuch maner of diſſentions & reſiſting. For when thy brother ſhall maliciouſly ſtrike thee, thou maiſt be ſure, that he is manifeſtly fallen from charity, into the

Warre in caſe allowed of W. Brute.
He meaneth reſiſtance for priuate cauſe, or for worldly goods.

Patience commended in priuate cauſes among Chriſten brethren.

The inconuenience of priuate reſiſtance amõg Chriſten brethren.

the ſnare of the deuill. If thou ſhalt keepe pacience, he ſhal be aſhamed of his doing, and thou maiſt bow & bend hym to repentaunce, and take him out from the ſnare of the deuil, and cal him backe againe to charity. If thou reſiſt, and perchaunce by reſiſting doeſt ſtrike againe, his fury ſhalbe the more kindled, & hee being ſtirred vp to greater wrath, peraduenture ſhal either ſlay thee, or thou him. Touching thy ſelf, thou art vncertaine, if thou go about to make reſiſtance, whether thou ſhalt fall from charity, and then ſhalt thou goe backwarde from the perfection of Chriſtes commaundement: Neither doeſt thou knowe but that it may happen thee ſo greatly to be moued, as that by the heate & violence of wrath, thou ſhalt ſlay him. Whereas if thou wouldeſt diſpoſe thy ſelfe to pacience (as Chriſt teacheth) thou ſhouldeſt eaſily auoide all theſe miſchieues, aſwel on the behalfe of thy brother, as alſo of thyne owne parte. Wherefore, the obſeruing of charitie as the precept of pacience is to be obſerued.

Paule being ſtriken, did not breake the rule of Chriſten patience, neither made any bodely reſiſtance.

The fact either of Paul or of any other, doeth not derogate to the doctrine of our Sauiour.

Rom. 12. Rules of Chriſten patience.

Fifthly, I do maruel why that for the alowing of thys corporall reſiſtaunce, he doth ſay in the ſame Chapter: that Paule did not fulfill the precept of the pacience of Chriſt, when as he being ſtroken in the place of iudgement by the cõmandement of the high Prieſt, did ſay, God ſtrike thee, O thou painted wal: Doeſt thou ſit to iudge me according to the law, and doeſt thou cõmand me to be ſtriken againſt the lawe? It is manifeſt that Paule made reſiſtance in nothing, though he ſpake a word of inſtruction to the Prieſt, who againſt the law commanded him to be ſtriken. And if Paul had ouerpaſſed the bounds of pacience, through the grief of the ſtroke: what of that? Muſt the deede of Paules impacience for this cauſe be iuſtified, and the commandement of paciẽce taught by Chriſt, be left vndone for Pauls deede, and corporal reſiſtance be allowed? God forbid. For both Paule and Peter might erre. But in the doctrine of Chriſt there may be found no errour. Wherefore, we muſt geue more credence & beliefe to Chriſtes ſayings, then to any liuing mans doings. Wherfore, although Paule had reſiſted, which I do not perceiue in that Scripture: it followeth not therof, that corporall reſiſtance muſt be approued, which is of Chriſt expreſly forbidden. I much maruel that alwayes they ſeeke corners and ſhadowes to iuſtifie their deedes. Why doe they not marke what great thyngs Paule reciteth hymſelfe to haue ſuffered for Chriſt? And where I pray you haue they found, that hee after his conuerſion, ſtroke any man that did hurt him? Or where doe they finde that he in expreſſe word doth teach ſuch a kinde of corporal reſiſtance? But as touching pacience, he ſayth in plaine words to the Romanes: Be not wiſe in your owne conceits: Render ill for ill to no body: prouiding good things not onely before God, but alſo before all men, if it be poſsible: Be at peace with all folkes as much as in you lieth: not defending your ſelues, my moſt dearely beloued, but geue you place vnto anger. For it is wrytten, vengeance is mine, & I will recompence them, ſayth the Lorde. But if thine enemie ſhalbe an hungred, geue hym meate. If he be a thirſt, geue him drinke For thus doing, thou ſhalt heape coales of fire vpon his head. Be not ouercomen of euill, but ouercome thou euill with good.

1. Cor. 5.

He meaneth ſuch warres of Chriſtiãs, as the pope aloweth: riſing rather of priuate reuenge of princes, for worldly glory or affection, thẽ for any publike neceſſitie.

Ephe 6. Corporall wars in the old Teſtament, be figures of the ſpirituall warres in the new Teſtament, againſt ſin, and the deuill.

To the Corinthians the 5. as touching iudgement and contention, whych are matters of leſſe weyght then are fightings, thus he wryteth: Nowe verely there is great faulte in you, that you be at lawe amongſt your ſelues. Why rather take yee not wrong? why rather ſuffer yee not deceit? And generally in all his Epiſtles he teacheth, that pacience ſhuld be kept, and not corporall reſiſtance by fighting, becauſe charitie is pacient, it is curteous, it ſuffereth all things. I maruaile howe they iuſtifie and make good the warres by Chriſtians, ſauing onely the warres againſt the deuill and ſinne. For ſeeing that it is plaine, that thoſe things whych were in the olde Teſtament, were figures of things to be done in the new Teſtament: Therfore we muſt needes ſay, that the corporall warres being then done, were figures of the Chriſtian warres againſt ſinne and the deuill, for the heauenly countrey, whych is our inheritance. It is plain that it was wrytten thus of Chriſt. The mighty Lord, and of great power in battaile, hath girded himſelfe in force and manlyneſſe to the warre: and he came not to ſende peace into the earth, but warre. In thys warre ought Chriſtian people to be ſouldiours according to that manner whych Paule teacheth to the Epheſians the laſt. Put vpon you the armour of God, that you may be able to ſtande againſt the deceites of the deuill. For wee haue not to wraſtle againſt fleſh and bloude, but againſt princes & poteſtates, againſt the rulers of theſe darknes of the world, againſt ſpirituall wickedneſſe in heauenly things, whyche are the high places. Wherefore take yee the armour of God, that yee may be able to reſiſt in the euil day, and to ſtand perfectly in al things. Stande you therefore girded about in truth vpon your loynes, hauing put vppon you the breſt plate of righteouſneſſe, and your feete ſhoed in a readineſſe to the Goſpel of peace, in all things taking the ſhield of faith, wherwith you may quẽch all the firy darts of that wicked one. And take vnto you the helmet of ſaluation, and the ſworde of the ſpirite, which is the worde of God.

What be the wars moſt proper to Chriſtians.

All this taketh not away the lawfulnes of warres, in caſe of publike neceſſitie, but onely in priuate caſe for temporall goods.

* Note this word without charitie.

Such kynde of wars, that is, ſuche kinde as be for priuate reuenge of temporall goods.

How Iohn Baptiſt alowed war.

They that be leſſe in the kingdom of heuen, greater then Iohn Baptiſt, expounded.

By theſe thyngs it is plaine, what are the warres of Chriſtians, and what are the weapons of theyr warfare. And becauſe it is manifeſt, that this Teſtament is of greater perfectiõ then the former: we muſt now fight more perfectly then at that time. For nowe ſpiritually, then corporally: nowe for an heauenly euerlaſting inheritance: then for an earthly and temporall: now by pacience, then by reſiſtance. For Chriſt ſayeth, bleſſed are they that ſuffer perſecution for righteouſneſſe, for theirs is the kingdome of heauen. He ſaith not, bleſſed are they that fight for rightcouſnes. How can a man ſay, that they may lawfully make warre, & kill theyr brethren for the temporall goodes, whych peraduenture they vniuſtly occupy, or vniuſtly intende to occupy? For he that killeth an other, to gette theſe goods whych an other body vniuſtly occupieth: doeth loue more the very goodes, then hys owne brother. And then hee falling from charitie, doth kill hymſelfe ſpiritually. If he goe forwarde without * charitie to make warre: then doeth he euill, and to hys owne damnation. Wherefore he doth not lawfully nor iuſtly in proceeding to the damnation of his own ſelfe & his brother, whome though he ſeeme vniuſtly to occupy his goods, yet he doth intend to kil. And what if ſuch kinde of warres were lawfull to the Iewes: thys argueth not, that now they are lawfull to Chriſtians, becauſe that theyr deedes were in a ſhadow of imperfection, but the dedes of Chriſtians in the light of perfection. It was not ſaid vnto them, All people that ſhal take the ſword, ſhal periſh with the ſworde. What if Iohn the Baptiſt, diſallowed corporal fightings, and corporall warfare, at ſuch time as the ſouldiours aſked him ſaying. And what ſhall we do? who ſayth to them, See that you ſtrike no man, neither picke ye quarels againſt any, and be yee contented with your wages. Thys ſaying of Iohn alloweth not corporal warfare amongeſt Chriſtians. For Iohn was of the Prieſts of the olde Teſtament, and vnder the law, neyther to hym it appertayneth to follow the lawe, but to warne the people to the perfect obſeruation of the lawe. For he being likewyſe demaunded of the publicanes what they ſhould doe, ſayde vnto them, Doe no other thyng then is appoynted vnto you. But Chriſt the author of the newe Teſtament and of greater perfection, then was the perfection of the old law, which gaue newe things, as it plainly appeareth by the Goſpel. So that, Chriſtians ought to receiue information of Chriſt, not of Iohn. For of Iohn alſo doth Chriſt ſpeak: Verely I ſay vnto you, there hath not riſen amongeſt the children of women, a greater then Iohn Baptiſt: but hee that is leſſe in the kingdome of heauen, is greater then he. In which ſaying Chriſt ſheweth that thoſe that be leaſt in the kingdome of heauen in the tyme of grace, are placed in greater perfection thẽ was Iohn, which was one of them that were the elders, & he liued alſo in ye time of the law in greater perfection. And whẽ as certain of Iohns diſciples ſayd vnto him, maiſter, he that was beyõd Iordan, to whõ thou gaueſt witneſſe, beholde hee baptiſeth, and all people come vnto him. Iohn anſwered and ſayde: A man cannot take any thing vppon him, vnleſſe it ſhall bee geuen him from aboue. You your ſelues doe beare me recorde, that I ſayde I am not Chriſt, but that I was ſent before hym. He that hath the bride, is the bridegrome, as for the bridegromes frende, who ſtandeth and heareth him: reioyceth wyth greate ioy to heare the voyce of the bridegrome. Thys therefore my ioy is fulfilled: he muſt increaſe, and I muſt bee diminiſhed. Hee that commeth from an hie is aboue all. Hee that is of the earthe is earthy, and ſpeaketh of the earthe: Hee that commeth from heauen, is aboue all folkes: that which hee hath ſeene and heard, the ſame doth he witneſſe, and yet his witneſsing doth no body receiue. But he that receiueth his witneſsing, hath put to his Seale, that God is true. For he whome God hath ſent, ſpeaketh the wordes of God.

By whych things it plainely appeareth, that credence is to be geuen neither to Iohn, nor yet to angell, if he teach any thing that is not agreeable to Chriſtes doctrine. For Chriſt is aboue the Aungels, becauſe that God infinitely paſſeth them in wiſdome. Nowe if Moſes the ſeruaunt of God a miniſter of the old teſtament was ſo much to be beleued, ye nothing could be added, nor yet any thing diminiſhed from the commaundements that were geuen by hym, (for ſo Moſes had ſayd, the thyng that I commaund thee, that do thou onely to the Lorde, neither adde thou any thing, nor diminiſh.) How much more ought we not to adde nor to take away from the commandements geuen by God himſelfe, and alſo the ſonne of God? In the primitiue Churche becauſe the Chriſtians had feruent loue and charity, they obſerued theſe precepts as they were geuẽ: but their feruent

charitie

He meaneth of thoſe wars againſt infidels ſtirred vp and procured by the pope vpon blind ſuperſtition, to fight for the holy lande, and not taken by princes in the neceſſary defence of themſelues and of their countrey.

charitie afterward waxing luke warme, they inuented gloſes by drawing the commaundementes of God backe to their own deedes, whiche they purpoſed to iuſtifie and mayntayn, that is to ſay, warres againſt the infidels. But that they by warres ſhould be conuerted to the fayth, is a fact faithleſſe inough: becauſe, that by violence or vnwillingly, no body can beleue in Chriſt nor be made a chriſtian, neither did he come to deſtroy them by battaile, that beleued not in him: for he ſaid to his diſciples, you knowe not what ſpirite you are of. The ſonne of man came not to deſtroy mens liues, but to ſaue them. Then to graunt pardons and forgeuenes of ſinnes, to thoſe that kill the infidels, is to much an infidels fact, ſeducing many people For what greater ſeducing can there be, then to promiſe to a man forgeuenes of ſinnes, and afterwarde the ioye of heauen, for ſetting himſelfe againſt Chriſtes commaundementes in the killing of the Infidels, that would not be conuerted to the fayth: where as Chriſt doth ſay, not euery one that ſayth to me Lord, Lord, ſhal enter into ẏ gidgdome of heauen: but he ẏ doth the will of my father which is in heauen, this perſon ſhall enter into the kingdome of heauen. Now the will of the father is, that we ſhould beleue in his onely ſonne Ieſus Chriſt, and that we would obey him by obſeruing of thoſe thinges which he himſelfe hath commaunded. Wherefore Chriſtes preceptes of pacience muſt be fulfilled. Warres, fightinges, and contentions muſt be left, becauſe they are contrary to charitie.

Obiection.

But peraduenture ſome man wil thus reaſon againſt Chriſt: The ſaintes by whome God hath wrought myracles, do allow warres as well againſt the faithfull people, as alſo againſt the infidels. And the holy kings were warriours, for whoſe ſakes alſo miracles haue bene ſhewed, as well in theyr death as alſo in their life, yea in the very time wherin they were a warfare. Wherfore it ſemeth that their factes were good and lawfull. For otherwiſe, God would not haue done miracles for them.

Aunſwere. *Legibus agendum non exemplis.* True miracles here of holy men be not diſproued, but ſpeaking vniuerſally, the ſtable doctrine and worde of God, is the ſure rule for men to followe.

To this agayne I ſay, that we for no miracles muſt do contrary to the doctrine of Chriſt. For in it can there be no errour, but in myracles there oftentimes chaunceth error as it is plaine as well by the old as by the new teſtament: God forbid then, that a Chriſtian ſhould for deceiuable miracles, depart from the infallible doctrine of Chriſt. In Exodus the 7. chapter it is manifeſt, howe that the wicked wiſe men of the Egiptians, through the inchauntments of Egipt, and certayne ſecret workinges, threw theyr wands vpon the earth, which were turned into Dragons, euē as Aaron before time in ẏ preſēce of Pharao threw his wand vpon the earth: which by the power of God was turned into a ſerpent. In the third of the kinges the 22. chap. Micheas did ſee the Lord ſitting vpon his throne, and all the hoſte of heauen ſtanding about him on the right hand, and on the left. And the Lord ſayd, who ſhall deceaue Achab ẏ king of Iſrael, that he may go vp and be ſlayn in Ramoth Gilaad. And one ſayd this way, and an other otherwiſe: now, there went forth a ſpirit, and ſtood before the Lord & ſaid, I will deceiue him. To whō the Lord ſpake: by what meanes? And he ſayd, I will go forth, and be a lying ſpirit in the mouth of all his prophetes. And the Lord ſayd thou ſhall deceiue him and preuaile, go thy wayes forth, and do euen ſo. Thus alſo is it written in Deuteronomium. If there ſhall ariſe a Prophet amongeſt you, or one that ſhall ſay hee hath ſeene a dreame, and ſhall foretell a ſigne and a wonder: & if that ſhall come to paſſe that he hath ſpoken, and he ſhall ſay vnto thee: Let vs go and follow ſtraunge Goddes (whom thou knoweſt not) and let vs ſerue them: thou ſhalt not harken vnto the wordes of that Prophet or dreamer, for the Lord your God tempteth you, to make it knowen whether ye loue him or no, with all your hart, and with all your ſoule.

3. Reg. 22. Achab deceiued by falſe prophets.

Iere. 23. Prophets muſt be tryed by doctrine.

In Ieremy the 13. chap. Are not my wordes euen lyke fire ſayth the Lord? and like an hammer, that breaketh the ſtone? Therfore behold, I wil come againſt the Prophets whiche haue dreamed a lye (ſayth the Lorde) whiche haue ſhewed thoſe things, and haue ſeduced the people through theyr lies and their miracles, when as I ſent thē not, neyther commanded them, which haue brought no profit vnto this people (ſayth the Lord.) In Marke the 13. chapter ſayth Chriſt: For there ſhall ariſe falſe Chriſtes and falſe Prophetes, and ſhall ſhewe great ſignes and wonders to deceiue if it were poſſible euen the very elect. Paule in hys ſecond Epiſtle to the Corinthians the xi. chap. Suche falſe Apoſtles are deceitfull workers, transforming themſelues into the Apoſtles of Chriſt, and no maruayle: For euen Sathan transformeth himſelfe into an angell of light therefore it is no great thing, though his miniſters transforme themſelues, as though they were the miniſters of righteouſnes, whoſe end ſhal be according to their workes.

Marke 13.

2. Cor. 11. Falſe prophets.

Apoc. 13.

In the Apocalips the 13. chap. Iohn ſaw a beaſt aſcending vp out of the earth and it had two hornes like a lamb but he ſpake like the Dragon, and he did all that the firſt beaſt could do before him: and he cauſed the earth and the inhabitantes therof to worſhip the firſt beaſt, whoſe deadly wound was healed, and did great wonders ſo that he made fire come downe from heauen on the earth, in ẏ ſight of men, and deceiued thē that dwell on ẏ earth, by meanes of the ſignes which were permitted to him to do in ẏ ſight of the beaſt.

Myracles are to be tryed.

By theſe thinges it is moſt manifeſt and playne, that in miracles this manifold errour oftentimes happeneth through the working of the deuill, to deceiue the people withal. Wherfore, we ought not for the working of miracles, to depart from the commaundements of God: I woulde to God ẏ they which put confidence in miracles would geue heed vnto the word of Chriſt, in the 7. chap. of Math. thus ſpeaking: Many ſhall ſay vnto me in that day, Lord, Lord haue we not in thy name prophecied? and in thy name caſt out deuils? and in thy name done many great workes? &c. I wil profeſſe vnto them, I neuer knew you, depart from me all ye which worke iniquitie.

Math. 7.

The ſeruauntes of Chriſt diſcerned by working not of miracles, but of vertues.

By this ſaying it is moſt manifeſt, that the ſeruauntes of Chriſt are not diſcerned by the working of miracles, but by the working of vertues, departing from iniquitie, and obeying the cōmaundements of God. Wherfore it is wōderful, that any in this life dare preſume to preuent the day of the iudgement of God, to iudge by meanes of miracles, that ſome are Saints whom men ought to worſhip, whō peraduenture God will in the laſt iudgement condemne, ſaying: depart from me all ye which worke iniquitie. If any man could here on earth iudge ſinners to be condemned, then if this iudgement were certayne, Chriſt ſhoulde not iudge the 2. tyme, and what ſoeuer ſuch iudges bynde in earth: the ſame ought to be bound in heauen. But if ſuch a iudgement be vncertayne, then it is perillous and full of deceit, when as by it men on earth may in ſteede of ſaintes worſhip ſuche as are damned with the fellowſhip of the deuils, and in prayer require their ayde, who euen like as the deuils their companions are more ready and more of might to euill then to good, more to hurt then to profite. I wonder they marke not what Chriſt ſayd, when his kinſwoman came vnto him, deſiring and requiring ſomething of him, and ſaying: Commaund that theſe my two ſonnes may ſit, one vpon thy right hand and the other vpon thy left hand, in thy kingdome. But Ieſus aunſwering, ſayd: Ye know not what ye aſke, can ye drinke of the cup whiche I ſhall drink of? they ſayd vnto him, we can. He ſayd vnto them. Of my cupp in deede ye ſhall drinke, but to ſit at my right hand or at my left, it is not mine to geue, but vnto whom it is prepared for, of my father. Chriſt, being equall vnto the father according to his Godhead, exceeding all maner of men, according to his manhode, namely in goodnes and wiſdome, ſayde, to ſit my right hande, or at my left, is not mine to geue but vnto whome it is prepared of my father. If it were none of his to geue to ſit at the right hand, or at the left &c. How then is it in the power of anye ſinnefull man to geue vnto any man, a ſeate eyther on the right hand, or on the left in the kingdome of God? whiche ſinnefull man knoweth not whether ſuche haue anye ſeate prepared for thē of the father in his kingdome. They much extoll themſelues which exerciſe this iudicial power in geuing iudgement: that there are ſome ſayntes, which ought to be honoured of men, by reaſon of ẏ euidency of dreames or of deceitfull miracles, of which men they are ignoraunt whether God in hys iudgement will condemne them or not together with the deuils for euer to be tormented. Let them beware, for the vnfallible truth ſayth, that euery one that exalteth himſelfe ſhall be brought low.

Men or women are not raſhly to be iudged Saintes.

This propoſitiō of Walter Bruit, concerning the war of Chriſtians not to be lawfull, is not to bee taken vniuerſally, but in particular caſe as he meaneth, which is this: that ſuch wars alowed of the pope, not for the neceſſary defence of publike peace, libertie and ſafegard of our countries, or againſt publike iniuries offered: but onely to go & kill the infidels, becauſe they beleeue not hauing no other cauſe: thoſe warres of the pope hee lyketh not.

By theſe thinges is gathered, that the warres of Chriſtians are not lawfull, for that by the doctrine and life of Chriſt they are prohibited, by reaſon of the euidency of the deceitfull miracles of thoſe, whiche haue made warres amongeſt the Chriſtians, as well agaynſt the Chriſtians, as alſo agaynſt the infidels. Becauſe Chriſt could not erre in his doctrine for as much as he was God: And foraſmuch as heauen and earth ſhall paſſe awaye, but the wordes of Chriſt ſhall not paſſe away. He therefore: whiche eſtabliſheth his lawes, allowing warres and the ſlaughter of mē in the warre, as well of Chriſtians, as of Infidels, doth he not iuſtifie thoſe thinges which are contrary vnto the goſpell & law of Chriſt? Therefore in this he is againſt chriſt: and therfore Antichriſt: ſeducing the people, making men beleeue that to be lawfull & meritorious vnto them, which is expreſſedly prohibited by Chriſt.

❡ And thus much concerning the firſt parte, touching peace and warre, wherin he declareth Chriſt and the pope to be contrary, that is, the one to be geuen al to peace, the other all to warre, and ſo to proue in concluſion the Pope to be Antichriſt. where in the meane time thou muſt vnderſtand (gentle reader) his meaning rightly: not that hee ſo thinketh, no kind of warres among yͤ Chriſtiās in any caſe to be lawful, for he himſelf before hath opēly proteſted the contrary. But that his purpoſe is to proue, yͭ Pope in all his doings & teachings, more to be addicted to warre, thē to peace, yea in ſuch caſes, wher is no neceſſity of war. And therin proueth he yͭ Pope to be contrary to Chriſt, yͭ is to be Antichriſt. Now he proceedeth further to yͤ ſecond part which is of mercy.

Doctrine of Chriſtian mercy declared.

Math.5.

Math.6.

Math.7.

Math.18.

Mercy and pitie commended among Chriſtians.

In the which part he ſheweth how Chriſt teacheth vs to be merciful, becauſe mercye (as he ſayth) proceedeth frō charity, and nouriſheth it. In which doctrine of mercye, he breaketh not yͤ law of righteouſnes, for he himſelf by mercy hath clenſed vs from our ſinnes, from which we coulde not by the righteouſnes of the law, be clenſed. But whom he hath made cleane by mercye, vndoubtedly it behoueth thoſe ſame to be alſo merciful. For in yͤ v. chapiter of Mathew, he ſayth: Bleſſed are the merciful, for they ſhall obtaine mercy. And againe in yͤ 6. of Mathew: If ye forgeue vnto men their ſinnes, your father will forgeue vnto you your ſinnes. And againe in the vij. chapter of Mathewe: Iudge not, & ye ſhal not be iudged, condemne not, and ye ſhal not be condemned, & with what meaſure ye meaſure, with the ſame ſhal it be meaſured vnto you againe. In the xviij. chap. of Mathew, Peter aſked the lord, ſaying: Lord how often ſhal my brother ſinne agaynſt me, and I ſhall forgeue him, ſeuen times? Ieſus ſayd vnto him: I ſay not vnto thee ſeuen times, but ſeuentie times ſeuen tymes. Therefore is the kingdome of heauen likened vnto a certaine king, which would take accōpt of his ſeruants. And when he had begun to reckē, one was brought vnto hym which ought him tenne thouſand talents: And becauſe he had nothing wherewithal to pay, his maiſter commaūded him to be ſolde, and his wife and his children, and all that he had, and the debt to be payd. The ſeruaunt therefore fell downe and beſought him, ſaying: haue pacience with me, and I wil pay thee all. And the Lord had pity on that ſeruant, and looſed him, and forgaue him the debt. But when the ſeruant was departed, he found one of his fellow ſeruaunts, which ought him an hundred pence, and he layed handes on him, and tooke him by the throte, ſaying: pay me that thou oweſt, and his fellowe fell downe, and beſought him, ſaying: Haue pacience with me, and I will pay thee all. But he would not, but went and caſt hym into priſon, till he ſhoulde pay the debt. And when his other fellowes ſaw the things that were done, they were very ſorye, and came & declared vnto their maiſter all yͭ was done: Then his maiſter called him, and ſaid vnto him: O thou vngratious ſeruant, I forgaue thee al yͤ debt when thou deſiredſt mee: Oughteſt thou not then alſo to haue ſuch pity on thy felow, euē as I had pity on thee? And his lord was wroth, and deliuered him vnto the Iaylers, till he ſhould pay all that was due vnto him. So likewiſe ſhall my heauēly father do vnto you, except ye forgeue from your hartes eche one to his brother their treſpaſſes.

Mercy and compaſsion neceſſary to all Chriſtians.

The pope contrary to Chriſt, in ſhewing mercy.

23.q.5.

The foundation of the foreſayde 5.queſt.cauſ.23. in the popes decrees, taken onely out of the old Teſtament, and nothing out of the newe.

The makers of the popes law follow not the perfect rule.

Iohn.3.

Iohn.8.

By this doctrine it is moſt plaine and manifeſt that euery Chriſtiā ought to be mercifull vnto his brother, how often ſoeuer he offendeth againſt him. Becauſe we ſo often as we offend, do aſke mercy of God. wherfore, for aſmuch as our offence agaynſt God is farre more grieuous then any offence of our brother agaynſt vs: it is playne, that it behoueth vs to be mercifull vnto our brethren, if we wil haue mercy at Gods hand. But contrary to this doctrine of mercy, The Romiſh biſhop maketh & confirmeth many lawes, which puniſhe offenders, euen vnto the death. As it is plaine by yͤ proceſſe of yͤ decrees. Diſtin. 23. queſt. 5. It is declared and determined, that to kill men ex officio, that is, hauing authority and power ſo to do, is not ſinne. And againe: the ſouldiour which is obedient vnto yͤ higher power, and ſo killeth a man, is not guilty of murther. And againe, he is the miniſter of the Lord, which ſmiteth yͤ euill in that they are euill and killeth thē. And many other ſuch like thinges are throughout the whole proceſſe of yͤ queſtion determined. That for certayne kindes of ſinnes men ought by the rigour of the law, to be puniſhed euen vnto death: But the foundation of their ſaying, they tooke out of the olde law, in which for diuers tranſgreſſions were appointed diuers puniſhmentes. It is very much wōderful vnto me, why that wyſe men being the authors & makers of lawes, do alwayes for the foundation of their ſayings, looke vpon the ſhadow of the lawe, and not the light of the goſpel of Ieſus Chriſt, for they geue not heede vnto yͤ figure of perfection, nor yet vnto the perfection figured. Is it not written in yͤ 3. of Iohn: God ſent not his ſonne into the world to iudge the world, but to ſaue yͤ world by him. In Iohn the 8. chap. The ſcribes and phariſeis bring in a woman taken in adultery, and ſet her in the middeſt, and ſayd vnto Chriſt: Maiſter euen nowe this woman was taken in adultery. But in the lawe, Moiſes hath cōmaunded vs to ſtone ſuch. what ſayeſt thou therfore? This they ſayd to tempt him, that they might accuſe him. But Ieſus ſtouped downe, and with his finger wrote on the ground. And while they continued aſking him: he lift himſelfe vp, and ſayd vnto them, let him that is among you without ſinne, caſt the firſt ſtone at her. And agayne he ſtouped and wrote on the ground. And when they heard it, the went out one by one, beginning at the eldeſt: ſo Ieſus was lefte alone, and the woman ſtanding in the midſt. when Ieſus had lift vp himſelfe agayne he ſaid vnto her: where be they which accuſed thee, hath no man condemned thee? She ſayd, no man Lord. And Ieſus ſayd vnto her: Neyther do I condemne thee: Goe thy way and ſinne now no more.

Heere is mēt, & to be vnderſtand, not what publike magiſtrates may doe in caſes of righteouſnes, but what eccleſiaſtical perſons according to the office of their profeſſion ſhould doe, in not reuenging by death, as they doe by offices.

Whether the iudiciall law of Moiſes, fullye (now after the cōming of Chriſt) ſtandeth in force, or not.

The law of Moſes of all lawes moſt iuſteſt.

It is manifeſt by yͤ ſcriptures, yͭ Chriſt was promiſed he ſhould be king of the Iews, & vnto yͤ kings pertained the iudgements of yͤ law: but becauſe he came not to iudge ſinners according to the rigor of the law, but came according to grace, to ſaue that which was loſt, in calling yͤ ſinner to repentaunce: it is moſt playne, that in the comming of the law of grace, he would haue the iudgement of the lawe of righteouſnes to ceaſe: for otherwiſe he had dealt vniuſtly with yͤ foreſayd woman, foraſmuch as the witneſſes of her adultery, bare witnes againſt her. wherfore ſeeing yͭ ſame king Chriſt was a iudge, if it had bene his will that the righteouſnes of the law ſhoulde be obſerued, he ought to haue adiudged the woman to death, according as the law commaunded, whiche thing foraſmuch as he did not, it is moſt euident that the iudgementes of the righteouſnes of the law are finiſhed in the cōming of the king, being kyng of the lawe of grace: euen as the ſacrifices of the prieſthoode of Aaron, are finiſhed in the comming of the prieſt, according to the order of Melchiſedech, who hath offred himſelfe vp for our ſinnes. Becauſe as it is before ſayd, neyther the righteouſnes of the law, nor ſacrifices for ſinne, brought any man to perfection. wherfore it was neceſſary that the ſame (by reaſon of their imperfection. And ſeeing amongſt all the lawes of the world, the law of Moſes was moſt iuſteſt, foraſmuch as the author thereof was God, who is the moſt iuſt iudge: and by that law alwaies looke, what maner of iniury one had done vnto an other, contrary to the cōmandement of the law, the like iniury he ſhould receaue for his tranſgreſſion, according to yͤ vpright iudgemēt of the law. As death for death, a blow for a blow, burning for burning, wound for wound, eye for eye, tooth for tooth, and moſt iuſt puniſhmentes were ordayned according co the quantitie of the ſinnes. But if this lawe of righteouſnes be cleane taken away in the comming of the lawe of grace, how then ſhall the lawe of the Gentiles remayne among Chriſtians, which was neuer ſo iuſt? Is not this true, that in them, whiche are conuerted vnto the fayth, there is no diſtinction betweene the Iewe and the Grecian? For both are vnder ſinne, & are iuſtified by grace in the fayth of Chriſt, being called vnto fayth and vnto the perfection of the Goſpell.

*His marvell is not ſo much, why theeues are put to deth: but why the Iudiciall lawe of Moſes in this point is broken, & in other points is ſtraightly kept: Mark his meaning.

If therefore yͤ gētiles cōuerted, are not boūd to play the Iewes, to follow the lawe of the Iewes: why ſhould the Iewes conuerted, follow the lawes of the Gētiles which are not ſo good? * wherfore it is to bee wondred, at, why theues are among chriſtians, for theft put to death where after yͤ lawe of Moyſes they were not put to death. Chriſtiās ſuffer adulterers to liue, Sodomits, and they which curſe father and mother, & many other horrible ſinners: And they which accordinge to the moſt iuſt lawe of God were condemned to death, are not put to death: So wee neyther keepe the law of righteouſnes geuen of God, nor the law of mercy taught by Chriſt.

*Take his meaning wiſely (gentle reader) his mind is not ſo, that no magiſtrate, being not without ſin, may puniſh a tranſgreſſour, but he ſpeaketh againſt ſuch churchmē, who profeſſing the rule of mercy, ſhew no mercy at all, but all riger, by their law, ex officio.

Wherefore the lawe makers and Iudges, do not geue heede vnto the aforeſayd ſentēce of Chriſt vnto yͤ Scribes and Phariſeis, who ſayd: * He which amōgſt you is without ſinne, let him caſt the firſt ſtone at her. what is he that dareth be ſo bolde as to ſay he is without ſinne? Yea and without a grieuous ſinne, when as the tranſgreſſion of yͤ commaundement of God is a greeuous ſinne? And who can ſay that hee neuer tranſgreſſed this commaundement of God. Thou ſhalt loue thy neighbor as thy ſelfe: Or the other cōmaūdement which is of greater force: Thou ſhalt loue the Lord thy God with al thy hart. &c. wherfore thou whatſoeuer thou art that iudgeſt thy brother vnto death, thinkeſt thou that thou ſhalt eſcape the iudgemēt of God, which peraduēture haſt offended more greuouſly thē hath he whom thou iudgeſt? How ſeeſt thou a mote in thy brothers eye, & ſeeſt not a beame in thine owne eye? Knoweſt thou not that with what meaſure thou meaſureſt, yͤ ſame ſhall be meaſured to you agayne? Doth not the ſcripture ſay: Unto me belongeth vengeance, and I will render agayne ſayth yͤ Lord? How can any man ſay that theſe men can with charitie keepe theſe iudgementes of death? who is it that offendeth God, and deſireth of God iuſt iudgement for his offence? He deſireth not iudgement, but mercy. If he deſire mercy for him ſelfe, why deſireth he vengeance for his brother offending? Howe therefore loueth he his brother as himſelfe? Or how doeſt thou ſhewe mercy vnto thy brother (as thou art bound by the commaundement of Chriſt) which ſeekeſt the greateſt vengeance vpon him that thou canſt inferr vnto him? For death is the moſt terrible thing of all, and a more grieuous vengeance then death, can no man inferre. wherefore, they which wil keep charitie, ought to obſerue the commaundements of Chriſt touching mercy: and they* which liue in the law of charitie ought to leaue the lawe of vengeance and iudgementes. Ought we to beleue, that Chriſt in his comming, by grace abrogated the moſt iuſt law whiche he himſelfe gaue vnto the Children of Iſraell by Moſes his ſeruaunt, and eſtabliſhed the lawes of the Gentiles being not ſo iuſt to be obſerued of his faythfull? Doth not Daniell expounding the dreame of Nabuchodonozer the king cōcerning the image whoſe head was of gold, the breſt and armes of ſiluer, the belly & thies of braſſe, the legges of iron, one part of yͤ feete was of iron, and the other part of clay. Nabuchodonozer ſaw that a ſtone was cut out of a mountaine wͭout hands, and ſtrake yͤ Image in his feete of iron and of clay, & brake them to peeces. Then was the iron, the clay, the braſſe, the ſiluer and gold broken altogether, and became like yͤ chaffe of the ſommer flower, which is caryed away by the winde and there was no place found for them: and the ſtone that ſmote the image became a great mountayne, and filled the whole earth. He applieth therfore 4. kingdomes vnto the 4. partes of the Image, namely: the kingdome of the Babilonians vnto the head of the gold: The kingdome of the Medes and Perſians vnto the breſt and armes of ſiluer: The kingdom of the Grecians vnto the belly and thighes of braſſe: But the fourth kingdome whiche is of the Romaynes, he applyeth vnto the feet and legges of iron. And Daniell addeth: In the dayes of their kingdomes, ſhall God rayſe vp a kingdome which ſhall neuer be deſtroyed: And hys kingdome ſhall not be deliuered vnto an other, but it ſhal breake and deſtroy thoſe kingdomes: and it ſhal ſtand for euer, according as thou ſaweſt, that the ſtone was cut out of the mountayne withont handes, and brake in peeces the clay and iron, braſſe ſiluer and golde. Seeing therfore it is certain that this ſtone ſignifieth Chriſt whoſe kingdome is for euer: it is alſo a thing moſt aſſured, that he ought to raygne euery where, and to breake in peeces the other kingdoms of yͤ world. wherfore if terreſtrial kinges and the terreſtriall kingdom of the Iewes, and their laws and iudgementes haue ceaſed by Chriſt the king, calling the Iewes vnto the perfection of his goſpel, namely, vnto Fayth and Charitie: It is not to be doubted, but that the kingdome of the Gentiles which is more imperfect & their lawes, ought to ceaſſe among the Gentiles, departing frō their Gentillitie vnto the perfection of the Goſpell of Ieſus Chriſt. For there is no diſtinction betwene the Iewes and Gentiles being conuerted vnto the faith of Chriſt, but all of them abiding in that eternall kingdome ought to be vnder one lawe of Charitie and of vertue. Therefore they ought to haue mercy, and to leaue the iudgments of death, and the deſire of vengeance. wherfore they which do make lawes marke not the parable of Chriſt, ſaying: The kingdome of heauen is like vnto a man whiche ſowed good ſeede in hys field: but when men were on ſleepe, the enemy came and ſowed Tares in the midſt of the wheate, & went his way. But when the herbe was growne and brought forth fruite, then appeareth the Tares. And the ſeruauntes came vnto the good man of the houſe and ſayd vnto him, Lorde didſt not thou ſowe good ſeede in thy field? From whence then come theſe Tares? And he ſayd vnto them: The enemy hath done this. And the ſeruauntes ſayd vnto him: wilt thou that we goe and gather them vp? And he ſayd no: leaſt peraduenture gathering vp the Tares ye plucke vp the wheate by the rootes: Suffer them both to grow vntill the harueſt, and in the time of the harueſt, I will ſaye vnto the harueſt men, gather firſt the Tares and binde them in the bundels that they may be burnt, but gather the wheate into my barne. Chriſt himſelfe onely expoundeth this parable in the ſelfe ſame chapter, ſaying: He whiche ſoweth the good ſeede is the ſonne of man, but the field is the world, and the good ſeede, thoſe are the children of the kingdome. But the Tares are the naughty children. And the enemy which ſoweth them is the Deuill, And the harueſt is the end of the world and the harueſt men are the Aungels. Euen as therfore the Tares are gathered and burnt with fire, ſo ſhall it be in the end of the world. The ſonne of man ſhall ſend hys Aungels, and they ſhal gather out of his kingdome al offendoures, and thoſe which commit iniquitie, and ſhall put them into a furnace of fire, there ſhall be weeping and gnaſhing of teethe.

*He meaneth of the pope and of the clergie.

*He ſpeketh againſt the deſire of reuenge: not againſt the execution of neceſſary law done by magiſtrates.

The dreame of Nabuchodonozor, concerning the image expounded by Daniel.

The Iudaicall neceſſitie of thoſe lawes, hee meaneth to ceaſe, notwithſtanding Chriſten princes may borrow both out of thoſe lawes, and out of al other, what they thinke good & expedient for their common weale.

By whiche playne doctrine it is manifeſt, that Chriſt will haue mercy ſhewed vnto ſinners, euen vnto the ende of the world, and will haue them to remayn mingled with the good: Leaſt peraduenture when a man thinketh that he doth right well, to take away the tares, he taketh away yͤ wheat. For how great a ſinner ſoeuer a mā be, we know not whether his end ſhalbe good, and whether in the end he ſhall obtayne mercy of God: Neither are we certayn of the time, wherein God will by grace iudge him whom we abhorre as a ſinner. And peraduenture ſuche a one ſhall more profit after his conuerſion in yͤ Church, then he who we think to be iuſt, as it came to paſſe in Paul. And if god iuſtifieth a man by grace (although at his ende) why dareſt thou be ſo bold to be his iudge, and to condemne him? Yea, rather although a man ſeeme to be obſtinate and hardened in his euill, ſo that he is not corrected by a ſecret correction (correct him before one alone) if he doe not receaue open correction being done before two or three witneſſes, neyther paſſeth vpon a manifeſt correction when his ſinne is made knowen vnto the Church: Chriſt doth not teach to puniſh ſuch a one with the puniſhment of death. Yea rather he ſayth, if he harken not vnto the churche: let him be vnto thee as an Ethnicke and Publicane. And Paule following this doctrin in the 1. Corin. 5. chapter ſaith: There goeth a common ſaying that there is fornication among you & ſuch fornication as is not once named among yͤ gentiles that one ſhold haue hys fathers wife. And ye are puffed vp, and haue not rather ſorrowed, that he whiche hath done this deed, might be put from among you. For I verily as abſent in body, but preſent in ſpirite, haue already determined, as though I were preſent: that he whiche hath done this thing, whē ye are gathered together and my ſpirit, in the name of our Lord Ieſus Chriſt that ſuch one by the power of our Lorde Ieſus Chriſt, be deliuered vnto Satan for the deſtruction of the fleſh, that the ſpirite may be ſaued in the day of the Lord Ieſus. Paule teacheth not to kill this man (as ſome gather by this text) but to ſeparate him from the other faithfull, and ſo frō Chriſt, which is the head of the Church of the faithfull, and ſo is he deliuered vnto Sathan, which is ſeparated from Chriſt: that the fleſh may be killed, that is, that that carnall concupyſcence, whereby he luxuriouſly luſted after yͤ wife of his father, may be deſtroyed in him, by ſuch a ſeparation, that yͤ ſpirite may be ſaued, & not that his body ſhould be killed, as ſome ſay, as it is moſt manifeſt in the ſelfe ſame chapiter, where he ſayth: I wrote vnto you in an Epiſle, that ye ſhoulde not keepe company with fornicatours, and I ment not of all the fornicators of this world, eyther of the couetous, or extorcioners or Idolaters, for then muſt yee nedes haue gone out of the world. But now I haue written vnto you, that ye keepe not company together, if anye that is called a brother be a fonicatour, or couetous perſō, or a worſhipper of Images, eyther a curſed ſpeaker, or dronkard, or an extorcioner: with him that is ſuch, ſee that ye eate not.

His purpoſe is not that no euill doer ſhould be puniſhed in a common welth, but his relation is, to the 23.q.5. aforeſaid, noting cauſes of religion, which the Pope and his prelates are wont to puniſh with death, taking many times for Tares, that which in deed is pure wheate.

1.Cor.5.

By whych it is manyfeſt, that Paule woulde haue the foreſayd fornicatour ſeparated from the fellowſhip of the faithful: that his carnall concupiſcence might be mortifyed, for the health of the ſpirit, and not that the body ſhould be killed. wherefore, they do ill vnderſtand Paule, which by this ſaying, do cōfirme yͤ killing of mē. And foraſmuch as hereſie is one of yͤ moſt greuous ſinnes (for an heretike leadeth men in errours, wherby they are made to ſtray frō fayth, without which they cannot bee ſaued) it doth moſt great hurt in the Church.

Hereby it appeareth, that all his relation in this matter: toucheth onely the caſes of hereſie and opinions in religion.

Further as concerning ſuch a wicked man, Paul thus ſpeaketh, flye from the man yͭ is an heretike after the firſt and ſecond correction, knowing that ſuch a one is ſubuerted and ſinneth, foraſmuch as he is by his owne iudgemēt condemned. Behold Paule teacheth not to kill thys man, but with Chriſt to ſeparate him frō the fellowſhip of the faythfull. But ſome ſay, that Peter in yͤ primitiue Church ſlewe Ananias and Saphyra for their ſinnes, wherefore they ſay it is lawful for them, to condemne wicked men to death. we wil declare in ſhewing the whole proceſſe how falſly they ſpeake in alleaging of Peter, for to iuſtify their errour.

By this it appeareth againe, that his reſpect is onely to the pope and his prelates of the church and not to ciuill magiſtrates.

In the 4. chap. of the Actes it is written, that as many as were poſſeſſours of landes or houſes, they ſolde them & offred the prices of that whych they ſolde and layed it be-

The example of Peter ſlaying Ananias and Saphira falſly wraſted of the papiſts.

foꝛe the feete of the Apoſtles: & it was deuided vnto euery one as he had neede thereof. But a certaine man Ananias with Saphira his wife ſolde a piece of land, and kept back a part of the price of the field, his wife being priuy vnto it, and bringing a certaine part therof, he laid it at the feete of the Apoſtles. But Peter ſaide vnto Ananias: Ananias, why hath Satan tempted thy hart that thou ſhouldeſt lye vnto the holy ghoſt, to keepe backe a part of yͤ price of the land? Did it not whileſt it remayned, remayne vnto thee: and being ſold, was it not in thine own power? why haſt thou conceiued this thing in thine hart? Thou haſt not lyed vnto mē, but vnto God. And whē Ananias heard theſe wordes, he fell downe and gaue vp the ghoſt, & great feare came on all them that heard theſe things. And the young mē roſe vp and tooke him vp, and caried him out and buried him. And it came to paſſe about the ſpace of iij. houres after, that his wyfe came in being ignorant of that whych was done. And Peter ſayd vnto her, Tel me womā, ſold ye the land for ſo much? And ſhe ſayd, yea for ſo much. But Peter ſaye vnto her, why haue ye agreed together to tēpt the ſpirit of the Lord? Behold, the feete of them which buried thy huſbande are at the doore, and ſhall cary thee out, And ſtraight way ſhe fel downe before his feete, and gaue vp the ghoſt, and the yong men entring in, found her dead and they caried her out, and buried her by her huſbād. And great feare came on all the church, & all thoſe which heard theſe thinges. It is meruaile yͭ any man that is wiſe, wyll ſay that by this proceſſe Peter ſlue Ananias or hys wife. For it was not his act but yͤ act of God, who made a wedding to his ſonne, & ſent his ſeruant to cal them, that were bidden vnto the wedding, and they would not come. The king then ſent forth his ſeruantes, to the outcorners of the hie wayes, to gather all that they could find, both good and euill. And ſo they did. And the maryage was full furniſhed with geſtes. Then came in allſo the king to view and ſee them ſitting. Among whom he perceaued there one ſitting hauing not a wedding garment, and ſayth vnto him, frend how cameſt thou hither? And he being dumme, had not a worde to ſpeake. Then ſaid the king to the ſeruitures, take and binde him hand and foote, and caſt him into the outward darcknes, there ſhall be weeping and gnaſhinge of teeth. Many there be called, but few choſen. &c.

Peter not the cauſe of the death of Ananias and Saphyra.

The wedding garment what it is.

The death of Ananias and his wife, what information it giueth to the church.

It is manifeſt, that this wedding garment is charitie, without which, becauſe Ananias entred into the maryage of Chriſt, he was geuen to death, that by one many might be informed to learne & vnderſtand: that they which haue fayth & not charitie, although they appeare to men to haue yet it can not be priuy to the ſpirite of God, that they doe fayne. Such there is no doubt, but they ſhalbe excluded frō the mariage of chriſt, as we ſee this here exemplified in the death of Ananias & his wife by the hand of God, & not by the hand of Peter. And how ſhould Peter thē haue iudged Ananias (albeit he had iudged him) worthy of death by the rigour of the old law? For why, by the law he had not bene guilty of death, for that part, which they fraudulently & diſſemblingly did reſerue to themſelues. Yea and if they had ſtolne as much from an other man, which was greater neither yet for hys lie committed, he had not therfore by yͤ law of iuſtice bene found gilty of death. wherefore if he did not condēne hym by yͤ law of iuſtice, it appeared that he codēned him by the law of grace and mercy, whiche he learned of Chriſt. And ſo conſequently it followeth much more apparent, that Peter could not put him to death: Furthermore to ſay that Peter put him to death by the meere motion of his own will, and not by authoritie of the old law, nor by the new, it were derogatory and ſlaunderous to the good fame and name of Peter. But if Peter did kill hym, why then doth the Byſhop of Rome which pretendeth to be ſucceſſor of Peter, excuſe himſelfe and his prieſtes from the iudgement of death agaynſt heretiques and other offēders, although, they themſelues be conſēting to ſuch iudgements done by lay men? For that which was done of Peter without offence, may reaſonably excuſe him and his felow Prieſtes from the ſpot of crime. Actes. 5. It is manyfeſt that there was another which did more greeuouſly offend thē Ananias, and that Peter rebuked him with more ſharpe words: but yet he commanded him not ſo to be put to death. For Simon Magus alſo remayning at Samaria, after that he beleued and was baptiſed, he ioyned himſelfe with Phillip: And when he ſawe that the holye ſpirite was geuen by yͤ Apoſtles (laying theyr handes vpon mē) he offred thē mony, ſaying geue vnto me this power, that vpon whome ſoeuer I ſhall lay my hand, he ſhall receaue the holy Ghoſt. To whom Peter anſwered: Deſtroyed be thou and thy money together: And for that thou ſuppoſeſt the gifte of G O D to be bought with money, thou ſhalt haue neyther part nor fellowſhippe in this doctrine. Thy hart is not pure before god, therfore repēt thee of thy wickedneſſe, and pray vnto God that this wicked thought of thy hart may be forgeuen thee: for I perceiue thou art euē in the bitter gall of wickednes and bande of iniquitie. Beholde here the greuous offence of Symon Peters hard & ſharp rebuking of him, and yet therupon he was not put to death. wherby it appeareth that the death of Ananias aforeſaid, proceeded of God and not of Peter. Of all theſe things it is to be gathered ſeing the iudgements of death are not grounded vpon the expreſſe and playn ſcriptures, but onely vnder the ſhadow of the olde law: that they are not to be obſerued of Chriſtians becauſe they are cōtrarye to charity. Ergo yͤ biſhop of Rome approuing ſuch iudgements, alloweth thoſe that are contrary to the law & doctrine of Chriſt, as before is ſayd of warres, where hee approueth & iuſtifieth that which is cōtrary to charity. The order of Prieſthood, albeit it doth iuſtifie the iudgemēts to death of the laity, whereby offenders are condēned to die, yet are they themſelues forbidden to put in execution the ſame iudgementes. The prieſtes of the old law being vnperfect, whē Pylate ſaid vnto thē concerning Chriſt (whō they had accuſed worthy death) take him vnto you and according to your law iudge him, anſwered: that it was not lawful for them to put to death any man.

Peter not the cauſe of Ananias death.

Actes. 3.

Ioh. 18.

Wherby it appeareth that our prieſts being much more perfect, may not lawfully geue iudgemēt of death againſt any offenders: yet notwithſtanding, they claime vnto thē the power iudicial vpon offēders: Becauſe ſay they, it belongeth vnto them to know the offences by the auricular confeſſion of the offenders, and to iudge vpō the ſame being knowne, and to ioyne diuers penances vnto yͤ parties offending, according to the quantitie of their offences cōmitted, ſo that yͤ ſinner may make ſatiſfactiō ſay they vnto God for the offences which he neuer committed. And to cōfirme vnto thē this iudicial power, they alleage yͤ ſcriptures in many places, wraſting it to ſerue their purpoſe.

Like a pulled Henne.

Firſt they ſaye that the Biſhop of Rome (who is the chief prieſt and iudge among them) hath ful power & authority to remit ſinnes. wherupon they ſay, that he is able fully & wholy to abſolue a man a poena & culpa, ſo that if a man at the time of his death had this remiſſion: he ſhould ſtraigtwaies flie vnto heauen without any paine of Purgatory. The other Biſhops (as they ſay) haue not ſo great authoritie. The prieſts conſtituted vnder euery Byſhop, haue power, ſay they, to abſolue the ſinnes of thē that are confeſſed, but not al kind of ſinnes: becauſe there are ſome grieuous ſinnes reſerued to the abſolutions of the Byſhops, and ſome againe to the abſolution onely of yͤ chiefe and high Byſhop. They ſay alſo that it behoueth the offēders, for the neceſſitie of their ſoule health, to call to remēbrance their offences, and to manifeſt the ſame with al the circumſtances therof, vnto the prieſt in auricular cōfeſſiō, ſupplying the place of God, after the maner of a Iudge: & afterwarde humbly to fulfill the penaunce enioyned vnto him by the prieſt for his ſinnes, except the ſayde penaunce ſo enioyned, or any part thereof be releaſed by the ſuperior power. All theſe things (ſay they) are manifeſtly determined, as wel in yͤ decrees, as decretals. And although theſe things haue not expreſſely their foundation in the playne and manifeſt doctrine of Chriſt, nor any of yͤ Apoſtles: yet the authors of the decrees and decretals concerning thys matter, haue groūded the ſame vpon diuers places of the ſcriptures, as in yͤ proces of Chriſt in yͤ Goſpell of Saynt Mathew yͤ xvj. chapter. wherupon they ground yͤ popes power iudicial, to ſurmount the powers of other prieſts, as where Chriſt ſayd vnto his diſciples: whō do men ſaye that I am? And they aunſwered: ſome ſaye that thou art Iohn Baptiſt, ſome Elias, & ſome Ieremy, or one of the Prophets. To whom he ſayde: but who ſaye you that I am? Symon Peter makinge aunſwere, ſayde: Thou art Chriſt, the ſonne of the liuing God. And Ieſus anſwered and ſaid vnto him: Bleſſed art thou Symon the ſonne of Ionas, for fleſh & bloud hath not opened this vnto thee: but my father which is in heauen. And I ſay vnto thee: yͭ thou art Peter, & vpon this rocke wil I buyld my church: and hel gates ſhal not preuaile againſt it. And I wil geue thee the keyes of the kingdome of heauen. And whatſoeuer thou ſhalt binde vpon earth, ſhal alſo be bound in heauen: and whatſoeuer thou ſhalt loſe vpon earth, ſhall bee looſed alſo in heauen.

Math. 16.

The Popes vſurped power falſly founded vpon ſcriptures.

Out of this text of Chriſt, diuers expoſitiōs haue drawen diuers errours. For when Chriſt ſayd: And I ſay vnto thee, that thou art Peter, and vpon this rocke wil I build my Church: Some therupon affirme, that Chriſte meant he would builde his Church vpon Peter by authority of that text, as it is writtē in yͤ firſt part of yͤ decrees, Diſt. 19. cap. Ita dominus noſter. The expoſition hereof, is aſcribed

Diſt. 9. cap. Ita Dominus noſter.

The place of Chriſt geuing the keyes to Peter. Mat. 16. aptly expounded.

Math. 18.

Iohn 20.

to Pope Leo, the errour wherof is manifeſtly knowen. For the Church of Chriſt is not builded vpon Peter, but vpon the rocke of Peters confeſſion, for that he ſayd: Thou art Chriſt the ſonne of the liuing God, and for that Chriſt ſayd ſingularly vnto Peter: I will geue vnto thee the keyes of the kingdome of heauen: and whatſoeuer thou ſhalt binde. &c. By this ſaying they affirme, that Chriſt gaue vnto Peter ſpecially, as chiefe of the reſt of the Apoſtles a larger power to binde and to loſe, then he did vnto the reſt of the apoſtles, or diſciples. And becauſe Peter anſwered for him ſelf & al the Apoſtles, not only confeſſing the faith which he had chiefly aboue the reſt, but alſo yͤ faith whiche the reſt of the Apoſtles had euen as himſelfe, by the reuelation of the heauẽly father: It appeareth that as the fayth of al the Apoſtles was declared by the anſwere of one: ſo by this that Chriſt ſayd vnto Peter: whatſoeuer thou ſhalt binde. &c. is geuen vnto the reſt of the Apoſtles the ſame power & equallitie to binde & to loſe, as vnto Peter. whiche Chriſt declareth in the Goſpell of S. Mathew the 18. chapter, in theſe wordes: Verely I ſay vnto you what thinges ſo euer you ſhall binde vpon earth, ſhalbe bound in heauẽ & what ſoeuer you ſhal loſe vpon earth, ſhalbe alſo loſed in heauẽ, And further he addeth: And agayne I ſay vnto you: that if two of you ſhall conſent vpon earth, and requeſt whatſoeuer it be: it ſhall be graunted vnto you of my father which is in heauen. For when two or three be gathered together in my name, I am there in the midſt of them. And in Iohn the xx. chapter, he ſayth generally vnto them: Receaue ye my ſpirit. whoſe ſins ye ſhall remit, ſhalbe remitted vnto them: and whoſe ſinnes you ſhall retayne, ſhall be retained.

Chriſt onely the head of the church.

1. Cor. 3.

Galat. 2.

Actes 9.

By this it appeareth, that the power to bynde and to looſe is not ſpecially graunted to Peter as chiefe and head of the reſt: and that by him the reſt had their power to bind and to looſe, for that the head of the body of the Churche is one, which is Chriſt, and the head of Chriſt is God. Peter and the reſt of the Apoſtles, are the good members of the body of Chriſt, receiuing power & vertue of Chriſt: whereby they do confirme and glew together the other mẽbers (as well the ſtrong & noble as the weake and vnable) to a perfect compoſition and ſeemelines of the body of Chriſt: that all honour from all partes and members may be geuẽ vnto Chriſt as head and chiefe, by whome as head, all the members are gouerned. And therfore Paule. 1. Corinthians chap. 3. when any man ſayth, I hold of Paule, and an other ſayth I hold of Apollo, are ye not carnall men? For what is Apollo? what is Paule? The miniſter of him in whom ye haue beleued, and he as God geueth vnto euery man. I haue planted, Apollo hath watered, but God hath geuen the increaſe. Therfore neither he that plãteth is any thing neither he yͭ watereth, but God that geueth the increaſe. And Paul to the Gal. chap. 2. God hath no reſpecte of perſons. Thoſe that ſeemed to be great and to do much, auayled or profited me nothing at all: But contrariwiſe, when they ſaw that the Goſpell of the vncircumciſion was committed vnto me, as the circumciſion vnto Peter (for he that wrought with Peter in the Apoſtleſhip of the circumciſion, wrought with me alſo amõg the Gentiles) and when they knew the grace which was geuen me Peter, Iames, and Iohn ſtraightwayes ioyned themſelues with me and Barnabas: wee among the Gentiles, and they in circumciſion onely, might be mindefull of the poore, the which to do I was very carefull. Hereby it appeareth, that Paule had not his authoritie of Peter to conuert the Gentiles, to baptiſe them, and to remit their ſinnes, but of him which ſaid vnto him Saule, Saule, why perſecuteſt thou mee. It is hard for thee to kicke agaynſt the pricke. Heare is Paule the head of the Church and not Peter: By which head they ſay, that al the members are ſuſtayned and made liuely.

The thirde errour.

The thyrd errour (which the authors of the canons cõceiueth in the ſayd text of Chriſt) which was ſayd to Peter Unto thee will I geue the keyes &c. is this. They ſay that in this ſentence which was ſayd to Peter of the authoritie to binde and looſe was ment: that as Chriſt gaue vnto Peter aboue all the reſt of the Apoſtles a ſpeciall, and as it were an excellent power aboue all the Apoſtles: euen ſo ſay they, he gaue vnto the Biſhops of Rome (whome they call Peters chiefe ſucceſſors) the ſame ſpeciall power and authoritie, exceeding the power of all other Byſhoppes of the world.

Other Apoſtles had like power to bynd and to looſe, as Peter had.

Actes 2.

The firſt part of this ſimilitude and compariſon, doth appeare manifeſtly by yͤ premiſſes to be erroneous: wherin is playnly ſhewed, that the other Apoſtles, had equall power with Peter to binde and loſe. wherfore cõſequently it followeth, the 2. part of the ſimilitude, grounded vpon the ſame text, to be alſo erroneous. But and if the firſt part of the ſayd ſimilitude were truth as it is not, yet the ſecond part muſt needes be an errour, wherein is ſayd that yͤ Biſhops of Rome are Peters chiefeſt ſucceſſors. For althogh there be but one Catholicke chriſtian Church, of al yͤ faithful ſort conuerted: yet the firſt part therof and firſt conuerted was of the Iewes, the ſecond of the Greeks, & the third part was of the Romaynes or Latines: wherof, the firſt part was moſt perfectly conuerted vnto the fayth, for that they faithfully obſerued the perfectiõ of charitie, as appeareth in the Actes of the Apoſtles by the multitude of the beleuers. The were of one hart, and one ſoule neyther called they any thing that they poſſeſſed theyr owne, but all was common amongſt them.

Romans 1.

Peter ruled 3. Churches.

Actes 1.

Actes 2.

Actes 3.4.5.

Peter gouerned the Church at Ieruſalem 4. yeares before he gouerned Antioche.

Galatians 2.

Hereupon Paule to the Romaynes: Salutation to euery beleuer, firſt to yͤ Iew, & to the Greeks after yͤ Iewes The Greekes were the ſecond, and after the Iewes, beſt conuerted, and after them the Romaynes, taking their information of the Greekes as appeareth by the Chronicles although in deed ſome Romaynes were conuerted vnto yͤ fayth, by Peter and Paule. And as Chriſt ſayd thriſe vnto Peter, feed my ſheepe, ſo Peter ruled theſe three Churches as witneſſeth the Chronicles. But firſt he reformed the Church of the Iewes in Ieruſalem and Iudea, as appeareth by the teſtimony of the Actes of yͤ Apoſtles: For Acts 1. It is manifeſt how Peter ſtonding vp amongſt his brethren ſpake vnto them concerning the election of an Apoſtle in the place of Iudas the traytor, alledging places vnto thẽ out of the ſcripture, that an other ſhould take vppon him his Apoſtleſhip. And ſo by lot was Mathias conſtituted in the 12. place of Iudas, acts. 2. After yͭ the holy Ghoſt was come vpon the Apoſtles, and that they ſpake with the tongues of al men, the heares were aſtonied at the miracle And ſome mocked them ſaying, theſe men are full of newe wine: But Peter ſtood vp & ſpake vnto thẽ, ſaying, that it was fulfilled in thẽ that was prophecied by Ioell the prophet, and he preached Chriſt vnto the people, whome they of ignoraunce had put to death. To them was Sauioure promiſed by the teſtimony of the Prophets. And whẽ they heard the wordes of Peter, they were pricked at the heart, ſaying vnto him and the reſt of the Apoſtles: what ſhal we then do? And Peter ſayd vnto them, repent: and let euerye one of you be baptiſed in the name of Ieſus Chriſt for the remiſſion of your ſinnes, and ye ſhall receaue yͤ holy ghoſt. And there were ioined vnto them the ſame day about three M. ſoules. And Actes 3.4.5. it appeareth, that Peter aboue the reſt did thoſe thinges which belonged to the miniſtery of the Apoſtleſhip, as well in preaching as in anſwering. Wherupon ſome Chronicles ſay, that Peter gouerned the church of the Iewes at Ieruſalem 4. yeares, before he gouerned Antioche. And by the teſtimony of Paule to yͤ Gal. as before is ſayd: The Goſpell of the vncircumſion is cõmitted to Paule euen as the circumciſion to Peter. And he that wrought with Peter in the Apoſtleſhip of circumciſiõ wrought with Paule amongſt the Gentils. wherby it appereth that the Churche of the Iewes was committed to the gouernment of Peter And in the proces of the Actes of the Apoſtles it appeareth, that Peter beleeued that the fayth of Chriſt was not to be preached vnto thoſe Gentiles, which alwayes liued in vncleannes of Idolatry But whẽ Peter was at Ioppe, Cornelius a Gẽtile ſent vnto him, that he wold come & ſhew him the way of life: But Peter (a little before of the comming of the meſſengers of Cornelius) being in his chãber, after he had prayed, fel in a trance and ſaw heauen open, and a certayne veſſell deſcending euen as a great ſheete, letten downe by foure corners from heauen to earth. In the which were all maner of foure footed beaſtes, ſerpentes of the earth, and foules of the ayre. And a voyce ſpake vnto hym ſaying, ariſe Peter, kill and eate, and Peter ſayd, not ſo Lorde, becauſe I haue neuer eaten any common or vncleane thing: This was done thriſe. And Peter deſcended (not knowing what the viſion did ſignifie) and found the meſſengers of Cornelius.

The keyes of Chriſtes kyngdome.

Abſolution.

Three things required in popiſh abſolution. Contrition. Confeſſion. Satiſfaction.

As concerning the authoritie iudicial of the clergie, many things are written thereof in the Canons of decrees, greatly to be marueiled at, and farre from the truth of the Scripture. The authors of the Canons ſay, that Chryſt gaue vnto the prieſts, power iudicial ouer ſinners yͭ confeſſed their ſinnes vnto them. And this they ground vpon the text of Chriſt: I will geue vnto thee the keyes of the kingdome of heauen, and what ſoeuer thou looſeſt &c. And theſe keyes of the kingdome of heauen they cal the knowledge to diſcerne, and the power to iudge, which they ſay onely belongeth to the prieſtes, except in caſe of neceſſitie, then they ſay a lay man may abſolue a man frõ ſinne. And as touching abſolution they ſay, there are three thinges to be required on the ſinners part: firſt harty cõtritiõ, whereby the ſinners ought to bewaile their offẽding of god thorough ſinnes: the ſecond is, auricular confeſſion, whereby the ſinner ought to ſhew vnto the Prieſt his ſinnes, & the circumſtances of them: The third is ſatiſfaction, thorough penaunce enioyned vnto hym by the Prieſt for his ſinnes

Two things required on his part that geueth popiſh abſolution.

Decret. de Pœnitentia.

Iohn 3.

cõmitted. And of his part that geueth abſolution, there are two thinges (ſay they) to be required that is to ſay: knowledge to diſcern one ſinne from an other, wherby he ought to make a difference of ſinnes, & appoynt a conuenient penaunce, according to the quantitie of the ſinnes: The ſecõd is authoritie to iudge, wherby he ought to ioyne penaunce to the offender. And further they ſay, that he yͭ is confeſſed, ought with al humilitie to ſubmit himſelf to this authoritie, and wholy and voluntarily to doe thoſe penaunces which are commaunded him by the prieſt, except the ſayde penaunce be releaſed by a ſuperiour power: for all prieſtes (as they ſay) haue not equall authoritie to abſolue ſinnes. The chiefe prieſt whome they call Peters ſucceſſour hath power fully and wholy to abſolue. But the inferior prieſts haue power, ſome more ſome leſſe. The more as they are neare him in dignitie: The leſſe as they are farther from the degree of his dignitie. All this is declared by proces in the decrees, but not by the expreſſe doctrine of Chriſt or any of his Apoſtles. For although Chriſt abſolued men from their ſinnes, I do not find that he did it after the maner of a iudge, but of a ſauior. For Chriſt ſayth, God ſent not his ſonne into the world to iudge ſinners, but that the worlde ſhould be ſaued by him. Iohn chap. 3. Wherupon he ſpake vnto him whom he healed of the palſie: Beholde thou art made whole, go thy wayes and ſinne no more. And to the woman taken in adultery Chriſt ſayd, woman where be thy accuſers, hath no man condemned thee? who ſayd: No man Lord. To whom then Ieſus thus ſaid: No more wil I condemne thee, go, and now ſinne no more.

Iohn 5.

Math. 25.

The ſaintes ſhal iudge with Chriſt.

Corinth. 4.

Iohn 20.

The miniſteriall power to remit ſin, belongeth as well to one prieſt as to an other.

The keyes of the kingdome of heauen.

By which wordes and deedes of Chriſt and many other places of the ſcripture, it appereth he was not as a Iudge at his firſt cõming to puniſh ſinners according to the quantitie of their offences: but yͤ day ſhal come hereafter, wherein he ſhall iudge all men according to their workes, as in Mat. 25. where he ſayth: when the ſonne of man ſhal come in his maieſty, and all his aungels with him: then ſhall he ſit vpon the ſeat of his maieſty, and all nations ſhal be gathered together before him, and he ſhall ſeperate them one from an other, as a ſhepheard ſeperateth the ſheepe from yͤ Goates. &c. Neither ſhall he iudge alone, but his Saintes alſo with him. For he ſayth, you that haue followed me in this generation, when the ſonne of man ſhall ſit in the ſeat of his maieſtie, ſhal ſit alſo vpon 12. ſeats, and iudge the 12. tribes of Iſraell. If then ſith Chriſt came not as a Iudge, why doe the Prieſtes ſay that they ſupplye the roome of Chriſt on earth, to iudge ſinners according to the quantitie of theyr offences? And yet not onely this, but it is more to be marueiled at, how the Byſhop of Rome dareth to take vpon him to be a Iudge before the day of iudgement, and to preuent the time, iudging ſome to be ſaintes in heauen, & to be honoured of men, and ſome agayn to be tormented in hel eternally wt the deuils. Would God theſe men wold wey the ſaying of S. Paule. Corin. 4. Iudge ye not before the time, vntill the comming of the Lorde, who ſhall make light the darcke and ſecret places, and diſcloſe the ſecretes of hartes, and then euery one ſhall haue his prayſe. Let the Byſhop of Rome take heede, leſt that in Ezechiell be ſpoken by him: becauſe thy hart is eleuate, and ſaydſt vnto thy ſelfe I am God, I haue ſitten in the ſeat of God, in the hart of the ſea, when thou art but man and not God. It is manifeſt, that the remiſſion of ſinnes principallye belongeth to God, who through grace waſheth awaye our ſinnes. For it is ſayd, the lamb of God taketh away the ſinnes of the world. And vnto Chriſtians it belongeth as the Miniſters of God. For in the 20. of Iohn Chriſt ſayth: Receaue vnto you yͤ holy Ghoſt, whoſe ſinnes you ſhall remit, they are remitted vnto them: and whoſe ſinnes you ſhal retain they are retained. Seing therfore, that all Chriſtians that are baptiſed in the name of the Father, and of the ſonne, & of the holy Ghoſt, receaue the holy ghoſt: it appeareth, that they haue power geuẽ vnto them of Chriſt, to remit ſinnes miniſterially. Hath not euery Chriſtian authoritie to baptiſe? and in the baptiſme all the ſinnes of the baptiſed are remitted? Ergo, they that doe baptiſe, do remit ſinnes. And thus miniſterially all ſuche haue power to remitte ſinnes. Therfore, to ſay that one man hath more authoritie to remit ſinnes then al other Chriſtians haue, is to much to extol him & to place him euen in Gods ſeat. I pray you how are the ſinnes remitted him that is baptiſed of the Prieſte (yea although he were of the pope himſelfe baptiſed) more then if he were baptiſed of an other Chriſtian? Surely I thinke no more. For ſeing that before Baptiſme he remayneth a ſinner and of the kingdome of the deuill by ſinne, after baptiſme he entreth into yͤ kingdome of heauen: It appeareth, that he yͭ doeth baptiſe, openeth the gate of yͤ kingdome of heauen to him that is baptiſed: the whiche he can not do, wtout the keyes of the kingdome of heauen. Therfore euery one that doth baptiſe: hath the keyes of the kingdome of heauen, as well the inferiour Prieſt as the Pope But theſe keyes are not the knowledge to diſcerne, & power to iudge, becauſe theſe doe nothing auayle in baptiſme Ergo, there are other keyes of the kingdome of heauen thẽ theſe: wherfore it ſeemeth, that the authors of the Canons erred in miſtaking the keyes, wherupon they ground the authoritie iudiciall of the Clergy.

The keyes miſtaken in the Popes Chanons.

Fayth and hope be the keyes of heauen.

2. Cor. 15.

Iohn 12.

Children departing before baptiſme not condemned.

Now a little errour in the beginning graunted, groweth to great incõuenience in yͤ end. Wherfore in my iudgement it ſeemeth, that the keyes of the kingdome of heauen are fayth and hope. For by fayth in Ieſus Chriſt, and hope in him for the remiſſion of ſinnes, we enter yͤ kingdome of heauẽ. This faith is a ſpiritual water, ſpringing from Ieſus Chriſt the fountayne of wiſedome, wherein the ſoule of the ſinner is waſhed from ſinne. With this water were the faithfull Patriarches baptiſed before the lawe, and the faythfull people of the Hebrewes, and the faythful Chriſtians after the law. Wherfore I greatly marueill of that ſaying in the decrees, which is aſcribed vnto Auguſtine: that litle children that are not baptiſed, ſhal be tormented with eternall fire, although they were born of faithfull parents that wiſhed them with all their hartes to haue bene baptiſed: as though the ſacrament of Baptiſme in water were ſimply neceſſary to ſaluation, when neuertheleſſe many Chriſtians are ſaued without this kinde of Baptiſme, as Martirs. If that kinde of Sacrament be not neceſſary, to one of elder yeres, how thẽ is it neceſſary to an infant born of the faythfull? Are not all baptiſed with the holy Ghoſt and with fire? But yet not with materiall fire, no more is the lotion of water corporally neceſſary to waſhe awaye ſinnes, but onely ſpirituall water, that is to ſay, the water of fayth. Are not the quicke baptiſed for them that are dead, as witneſſeth Paule. 2. Corin. 15. If the dead ariſe not at all why are the liuing then baptiſed for them? If the liuing be baptiſed for the dead? why then is not the infant ſaued by the baptiſme of his parentes: ſeeing the infant it ſelfe is impotent at the time of death, and not able to require baptiſme? Chriſt ſayth, he that beleueth and is baptiſed, ſhalbe ſaued. He ſayth not, he that is not baptiſed: but he that beleueth not ſhall be damned. Wherefore in the 12. chap. of Iohn, Chriſt ſayth, I am the reſurrection and lyfe, he that beleeueth in me, yea although he were dead, ſhall lyue. The faith therfore is neceſſary which the infãt hath in his faithfull parents, although he be not waſhed with corporall water. How then is the infant damned and tormẽted with eternall fire? Were not they that were before the comming of Chriſt, and dead before his death by a thouſande yeres ſaued alſo by his death and paſſion? All yͭ beleued in him, were baptiſed in his bloud, and ſo were ſaued and redemed from ſinne and the bondage of the deuill, and made partakers of the kingdome of heauen. How then in yͤ time of grace, ſhall the infãt be damned that is borne of faythfull parents, that do not deſpiſe, but rather deſire to haue theyr children baptiſed? I dare not conſent to ſo hard a ſentẽce of the decrees: but rather beleue, that he is ſaued by vertue of the paſſion of Chriſt in fayth of his faythfull parentes, and the hope which they haue in Chriſt. Which fayth and hope are the keies of the heauenly kingdome. God were not iuſt and mercifull, if he would condemne a man that beleueth not in him, except he ſhewed vnto him the fayth which hee ought to beleeue. And therefore Chriſt ſayth: If I had not come and ſpokẽ vnto them, ſinne could not haue bene layd vnto theyr charge, but nowe they haue no excuſe of ſinne. Therfore ſeing the fayth of Chriſt is not manifeſt vnto the infãt departing before baptiſme, neither hath he denyed it: how thẽ ſhal he be damned for the ſame? But if God ſpeaketh inwardly by way of illumination of the intelligẽce of the infant, as he ſpeaketh vnto Aungels: who then knoweth (ſaue God alone) whether the infant receiueth or not receiueth the fayth of Chriſt?

Auriculer confeſsion.

What is he therfore that ſo raſhly dare take vpõ him to iudge the infants begottẽ of faythfull parents, dying without baptiſme, to be tormẽted with eternal fire? Now let vs cõſider the 3. thinges which yͤ canons of decrees affirme to be requiſite for the remiſſion of yͤ ſinnes of thoſe that ſinne after baptiſme: that is to ſay, contrition of hart, auricular confeſſion, and ſatiſfaction of the deed through penance enioyned by the prieſt for the ſinnes cõmitted. I cannot finde in any place in the Goſpel, where Chriſt commaũded that this kind of confeſſion ſhould be done vnto yͤ prieſt: nor I cannot find that Chriſt aſſigned any penance vnto ſinners for theyr ſinnes, but that he willed thẽ to ſinne no more. If a ſinner confeſſe that he hath offended God through ſinne, & ſorroweth hartely for his offẽces, minding no more hereafter to ſinne: then is he truely repentaunt for his ſinne, & then is he conuerted vnto the Lord. If he ſhall then hũbly and with good hope craue mercy at God & remiſſion of his ſinnes: what is he that can let God to abſolue that ſinner from his ſinne? And as God abſolueth a ſinner from hys ſinne, ſo hath Chriſt abſolued many, although they confeſſed not theyr ſinnes vnto the prieſts, and although they receiued not due penance for their ſinnes. And if Chriſt could after ẏ maner once abſolue ſinners: how is he become now not able to abſolue? Except ſome man wil ſay, that he is aboue Chriſt, and that his power is miniſhed by ẏ ordinances of his own lawes? How were ſinners abſolued of god in the time of the Apoſtles, and alwayes heretofore, vnto ẏ time that theſe Canons were made? I ſpeake not theſe thinges as though confeſſion to prieſtes were wicked, but that it is not of neceſſity requiſite vnto ſaluation. I beleeue verily that the confeſſion of ſinnes vnto good prieſtes, and likewiſe to other faythful Chriſtiãs, is good, as witneſſeth S. Iames the Apoſtle: Cõfeſſe ye your ſelues one to another, & pray ye one for another, that ye may be ſaued: for the continuall prayer of the iuſt auayleth much. Helias was a man that ſuffered many things like vnto you, and he praid that it ſhould not rayne vpon the earth, & it rayned not in 3. yeares & 6. monethes. And agayne he prayed, and it rayned from heauen, and the earth yelded forth her fruit. This kinde of confeſſion is good, profitable and expedient: for if God peraduenture heareth not a mans own prayer, he is helped with the interceſſion of others: Yet neuertheleſſe ẏ prayers of the prieſts ſeemeth to much to be extolled in the decrees, where it treateth of penitẽce, and that ſaying is aſcribed vnto Pope Leo. Cap. multiplex miſericordia Dei. &c. And it followeth: So is it ordeyned by the prouidence of Gods diuine wil, that ẏ mercy of God cannot be obteined but by the praier of ẏ prieſts. &c. The praier of a good prieſt doth much auayle a ſinner confeſſing his faults vnto him. The counſel of a diſcreet prieſt is very profitable for a ſinner, to geue the ſinner counſell to beware herafter to ſinne, and to inſtruct him how he ſhal puniſh his body by faſting by watching, and ſuch like actes of repentance, that herafter he may be better preſerued from ſinne.

Iames 5.

De penit. diſt. 1. cap. multiplex miſericordia Dei.

After this maner I eſteme confeſſiõ to prieſts very expedient and profitable to a ſinner. But to cõfeſſe ſinnes vnto the prieſt as vnto a iudge, & to receiue of him corporall penãce for a ſatiſfaction vnto God for his ſinnes committed, I ſee not how this can be founded vpõ the truth of the ſcripture. For before the comming of Chriſt, no man was ſufficient or able to make ſatiſfactiõ vnto God for his ſins, although he ſuffred neuer ſo much penance for his ſinnes. And therefore it was needefull, that he that was without ſinne ſhould be puniſhed for ſinnes, as witneſſeth Iſayas. chap. 53. where he ſayth: he took our griefes vpon him, and our ſorrowes he bare. And again: He was woũded for our iniquities, and vexed for our wickednes. And agayn: The Lord put vpon him our iniquity. And agayne: for the wickednes of my people haue I ſtrikẽ him. If therfore, Chriſt through his paſſion hath made ſatiſfaction for our ſinnes, whereas we our ſelues were vnable to do it, then through him haue we grace & remiſſion of ſinnes. How can we ſay now, that we are ſufficient to make ſatiſfaction vnto God by any penance enioyned vnto vs by mans authority? ſeing that our ſinnes are more greuous after Baptiſme: thẽ they were before the comming of Chriſt. Therefore, as in Baptiſme the payne of Chriſt in his paſſion was a full ſatiſfaction for our ſinnes: euen ſo after Baptiſme if we confeſſe that we haue offended, & be harty ſorry for our ſinnes, and minde not to ſinne agayne afterwardes.

Eſay 53.

Hereupon Iohn writeth in his firſt epiſtle. ca. 1. If we ſay we haue no ſinne, we deceiue our ſelues, & the truth is not in vs. If we confeſſe our ſinnes, God is faythfull and iuſt, he will remit them, and clenſe vs from all our iniquities. If we ſay we haue not ſinned, we make him a lyar, and his word is not vs. My welbeloued children, this I write vnto you that ye ſinne not: but if any man ſinne, we haue an aduocate with the father Ieſus Chriſt the righteous, and he is the propitiation for our ſinnes, and not for our ſinnes onely, but for ẏ ſinnes of ẏ whole world. Therfore, we ought to confeſſe our ſelues chiefly vnto God euen frõ the hart, for that he chiefly doth remit ſinnes, without whoſe abſolution litle auaileth the abſolutiõ of man. This kinde of confeſſion is profitable and good. The authors of the Canons ſay, that although auricular confeſſion made vnto the Prieſt, be not expreſly taught by Chriſt, yet, ſay they, it is taught in that ſaying, which Chriſt ſaid vnto them diſeaſed of the leproſy, whom he cõmaũded: Go your wayes, & ſhewe your ſelues vnto the Prieſtes, becauſe as they ſay, the law of clenſing lepers, which was geuen by Moyſes, ſignified the confeſſion of ſinnes vnto the Prieſt. And wheras Chriſt commaũded the lepers to ſhew themſelues vnto the Prieſtes, they ſay that Chriſt ment, that thoſe ẏ were vncleane with the leper of ſinne, ſhould ſhew theyr ſinnes vnto the Prieſtes by auricular confeſſion. I maruell much at the authors of the Canons, for euen from the beginning of their decres vnto the end, they grounde theyr ſayings vpõ the old law, which was the law of ſinne and death, and not (as witneſſeth Paule) vpon the words of Chriſt, which are ſpirite & life. Chriſt ſayth, the words which I ſpeake vnto you, are ẏ ſpirit and life. They groũd theyr ſayings in the ſhadow of the law, and not in the light of Chriſt. For euery euill doer hateth the light, & commeth not into it, that his deeds be not reproued: but he that doth the truth, commeth into the light, that his workes may be openly ſene, becauſe they are done in God. Ioh. 3.

1. John 1.

Confeſſion vnto God.

Auricular confeſſion not truely grounded vpon the Scripture. Luke 17.

The autors of the Canon law reproued.

Iohn 3.

Now let vs paſſe to the words that Chriſt ſpake to the leper. Lord if thou wilt, thou canſt make me clean. And Ieſus ſtretching forth his hand, touched him, ſaying: I will, be thou cleane: and ſtraight wayes he was cleanſed of hys leper. And Ieſus ſayd vnto him: See thou tell no man, but go and ſhew thy ſelfe to the Prieſt, and offer the gyft that Moyſes cõmaunded for a witneſſe of theſe thinges. This Goſpell witneſſeth playnely that ẏ diſeaſed of lepers were clenſed onely by Chriſt, and not by the Prieſts, neither did Chriſt commaund the leper to ſhew himſelfe vnto the prieſtes, for any helpe of cleanſing that he ſhould receiue of the Prieſtes: but to fulfill the law of Moyſes, in offering a ſacrifice for his clenſing, & for a teſtimony vnto the Prieſtes, who alwayes of enuy accuſed Chriſt as a tranſgreſſour of the law. For if Chriſt after he had clenſed the leper, had licenſed him to communicate with others that were cleane, before he had ſhewed himſelfe clenſed vnto the Prieſts, thẽ might the Prieſtes haue accuſed Chriſt, as a tranſgreſſour of the law: Becauſe it was a precept of the law, that the leper after he was cleanſed, ſhoulde ſhewe himſelfe vnto the Prieſtes. And they had ſignes in the booke of law, whereby they might iudge whether he were truely clẽſed or no. And if he were clenſed, then would the Prieſtes offer a gift for his clenſing. And if he were not cleanſed, then would they ſegregate him, frõ the company of others that were cleane. Seing euery figure, ought to be aſſimuled vnto the thyng that is figured: I pray you then, what agreement is there betwene the clenſing of lepers by the law, & the confeſſion of ſinnes? By that law the Prieſt knew better whether he were leprouſe then he himſelfe that had the leper. In cõfeſſion the prieſt knew not the ſinnes of him that was confeſſed, but by his owne confeſſion. In that law the Prieſt did not clẽſe the leprouſe: How now therfore ought the prieſts to clenſe ſinners from their ſinne, & that without thẽ they cannot be clenſed? In this law ẏ Prieſt had certein ſignes, by the which he could certaynly know, whether a mã were clenſed frõ his leper or not. In confeſſion, the Prieſt is not certaine of the clenſing of ſinnes, becauſe he is ignoraunt of his contrition: He knoweth not alſo whether he will not ſinne any more, without the which contrition and graunting to ſinne no more, God hath not abſolued any ſinner. And if God hath not abſolued a man, without doubt then is he not made cleane. And how then is confeſſion figured vnder that law? Doubtleſſe ſo it ſeemeth to me (vnder the correction of them that can iudge better in the matter) that this law beareth rather a figure of excommunication, & reconciliation of him, that hath bene obſtinate in his ſinne, & is reconciled agayne. For ſo it appeareth by the proceſſe of the Goſpell, that when as the ſinner doth not amend for the priuate correction of his brother, nor for the correction of two or three, neither yet for the publick correction of the whole Church: Then is he to be counted as an Ethnike, & a Publicane & as a certayn Leper to be auoyded out of the company of all men. which ſinner notwithſtanding, if hee ſhall yet repent, is then to be reconciled, becauſe he is then clenſed from his obſtinacy.

Luke 5.

The ſtory of the leapers expounded to make nothing for auricular confeſſion.

The clenſing of the leprey, & the clenſing of the prieſt in auricular confeſſion agree not.

But he which pretendeth himſelfe to be the chiefe vicar of Chriſt, and the high Prieſt, ſayth: that he hath power to abſolue A poena & culpa: which I doe not finde how it is founded in the ſcripture, but that of his owne authority, he enioyneth to ſinners, penance for their ſinnes. And grauñt ẏ frõ their ſinnes he may well abſolue them, yet frõ the payn (which they call a poena) he doth not ſimply abſolue, as in his indulgences he promiſeth. But if he were in charitye, and had ſuch power, as he pretẽdeth, he would ſuffer none to lie in Purgatory for ſinne, forſomuch as that payn doth farre exceed all other payne which here we ſuffer. what mã is there being in charity, but if he ſee his brother to be tormẽted in this world, if he may, he will helpe him, and deliuer him? Much more ought the Pope thẽ, to deliuer out of paynes of Purgatorye, indifferently as well rich as poore. And if he ſel to the rich his indulgẽces, double wiſe, yea triple wiſe he ſeduceth them. Firſt in promiſing to deliuer thẽ out of the payne from whẽce he doth not, neither is able to

The popes power in abſoluing from ſinnes not founded in ſcripture.

The pope can abſolue none from puniſhment.

The pope in his pardons deceaueth men 3. maner of wayes.

deliuer thē: And ſo maketh thē falſly to beleue that, which they ought not to beleue. Secōdly, he deceiueth thē of their mony, which he taketh for his indulgence. Thirdly, he ſeduceth them in this, that he promiſing to deliuer them frō payne, doth induce thē into greuous puniſhment in deed, for yͤ hereſy of ſimony, which both of thē do cōmit, & therefore are worthy both of great payne to fall vpon thē: for ſo we read, that Ieſus caſt out buiers and ſellers out of hys temple. Alſo Peter ſayd vnto Symon yͤ firſt author of this hereſy. Thy mony, ſayd he, with thee be deſtroyed, for that thou haſt thought, the gift of God to be poſſeſſed for mony. Moreouer, whereas Chriſt ſayth, frely you haue receiued, frely geue, and whereas contrary the Pope doth ſell that thing, which he hath taken: what doubt is there, but that he doth greuouſly deſerue to be puniſhed, both he that ſelleth, & he that buyeth, for the crime of ſimonye, which they commit. Ouer and beſides, by many reaſons and authorities of the Scripture it may be proued, that he doth not abſolue a man, contrite for his ſinne, although he doe abſolue him from the guilt.

The pope promiſing pardons for ſinne induceth men to ſinne in ſimony.

Deadly ſinne and debte. The pope ſaith, he can remitte the debte to God: And yet can not remitte the debte to mā. The pope harder to pardon a prieſt leauing his mattens vnſaid, then for breaking the commaundemēt of God. Abſolution to be ſought at the handes of God onely.

But this maruellleth me, that he in his indulgēces promiſeth to abſolue men from all maner of deadly ſinnes: & yet cannot abſolue a man from debt: forasmuch as the debt which we owe to god, is of much more greater importāce, then is the debt of our brother. wherfore, if he be able to remitte the debt due to God, much more it ſhould ſeme, that he is able to forgeue the debt of our brother.

An other thing there is, that I maruell at: for that the pope ſheweth himſelfe more ſtrait in abſoluing a prieſt for not ſaying, or negligently ſaying his mattens: thē for traſgreſſing the commaundemēt of God: conſidering that the tranſgreſſion of the cōmaundement of God, is much more greuous then the breach of mans commaundement.

For theſe and many other errours concurring, and in this matter of the Popes abſolutiōs, bleſſed be God, & honor be vnto him for the remiſſion of our ſinnes And let vs firmely beleue and know, that he doth and wil abſolue vs from our ſinnes, if we be sory frō the bottome of our harts that we haue offended him hauing a good purpoſe and will to offend him no more. And let vs be bolde to reſorte vnto good and diſcreet Prieſts, who with wholeſome diſcretion and ſound counſell can inſtruct vs, how to auoad the corruption of ſinne hereafter. And which, becauſe they are better then we, may pray to God for vs: whereby we may both obtayne more ſooner the remiſſion of our ſinnes paſt, and alſo may learne better how to auoyd the daunger of ſinne to come. Ex Regiſtro Latino Epiſc. Hereford.

Ex regiſt. latino Epiſc. Herford.

Notes.

¶ And thus much concerning the iudgement and doctrine of this Walter, for Chriſtian patience, charity and mercy, which as they be true and infallible notes and markes of true Chriſtianity, ſo the ſayde Walter Brute making compariſon herein betweene Chriſt and the Pope, goeth about purpoſely to declare and manifeſt, whereby all men may ſee, what contrariety there is betweene the rule of Chriſtes teaching, and the proceedinges of the Pope: betweene the examples and life of the one, and the examples of the other. Of which two as one is altogether geuen to peace: ſo is the other on the contrary ſide as much diſpoſed to wars, murder, and bloudſhed, as is eaſy to be ſene, who ſo looking not vpon the outward ſhewes and pretenſed wordes of theſe Romiſhe Popes, but aduiſing and conſidering the inward practiſes, and ſecret works of them, ſhall eaſely eſpye, vnder their viſour of peace what diſcord and debate they work. Who bearing outwardly the meek hornes of the Lambe mentioned in the Apocalippes, within doe beare the bowels of a Wolfe, full of crueltye, murder, and bloudſhed which if any doe thinke to be ſpoken of me contumeliouſly, would God that man could proue as well the ſame to be ſpoken of me not truely. But trueth it is, I ſpeake it ſincerely, without affection of blinde partiality, according to the trueth of hiſtoryes both olde and new. Thus vnder in Dei nomine. Amen, how vnmercifully doeth the Pope condemne his brother: And while he pretendeth not to be lawfull for him to kill any man, what thouſandes hath he killed of men? And likewiſe in this ſentence, pretēding, in viſceribus Ieſu Chriſti, as though he woulde be a mediatour to the magiſtrate for the party: yet in deed will he be ſure to excommunicate the Magiſtrate, if he execute not the ſentence geuen. Who be true heretiques, the Lord when he commeth ſhall iudge: but geue them to be heretiques, whom he condemneth for heretiques. Yet what bowels of mercy is here, where is nothing, but burning, faggoting, drowning priſoning, chayning, famiſhing racking, hanging, tormenting, threatning, reuiling, curſing and oppreſſing, and no inſtructing, nor yet indifferent hearing of thē, what they can ſay. The like cruelty alſo may in theyr warres appeare, if we conſider how Pope Vrbane 5. beſide the racking and murdering of 7. or 8. Cardinals, ſet vp Henry Spencer Biſhoppe of Norwich to fight agaynſt the French Pope. Innocentius 4. was in warre himſelfe agaynſt the Apulians. Likewiſe Alexander. 4. his ſuceſſour ſtirred vp the ſonne of king Henry 3. to fight agaynſt the ſonne of Fredericke. 2. Emperour, for Apulia. Boniface 8. moued Albertus (which ſtood to be Emperour) to driue Philip the frēch King out of his Realm Gregorius. 9 excited Ludouike the French king 3. ſundry times, to mortall warre agaynſt the Earle Raimundus and City of of Tholouſe, and Auinion, where Lewes the ſayd Frence king dyed. Honorius 3. by ſtrength of warre many wayes reſiſted Fredericke 2. and ſent out 35. Gallyes agaynſt the coaſtes of the Emperours dominions. The ſame Pope alſo beſieged Ferraria, to paſſe ouer the warre at Ticinum, with many other battayles and conflictes of Popes, agaynſt the Romanes, Venetians, and diuers other nations. Innocentius 3. ſet vp Philip the French king to warre agaynſt king Iohn. What ſtirre Pope Gregorye the 7. otherwiſe named Hildebrand, kept agaynſt the Emperour Henricus 4. it is not vnknowne. And who is able to recite all the warres, battayles, and fieldes fought by the ſtirring vp of the Pope? Theſe with many other like examples conſidered, did cauſe this Walter Brute to write in this matter ſo as he did, making yet thereof no vniuerſall propoſition: but that Chriſtian Magiſtrates, in caſe of neceſsity, might make reſiſtaunce, in defence of publique right. Now he procedeth further to other matter of the Sacrament.

Examples declaring what warres hath bene ſtirred vp by popes

Iohn. 6.

Touching the matter (ſayth he) of the Sacrament of the body and bloud of our Lord Ieſus Chriſt, diuers men haue diuers opinions, as the learned do know As concerning my iudgemēt vpon the ſame, I firmely beleue whatſoeuer the lord Chriſt Ieſus taught implicitely or expreſly to his Diſciples and faythfull people to be beleued: for he is (as I beleue and know) the true bread of God, whiche deſcended from heauen, and geueth life to the world. Of which bread whoſoeuer eateth, ſhall liue for euer, as it is in the 6. of S. Iohn declared. Before the comming of chriſt in the fleſh, although men did liue in body, yet in ſpirit they did not liue, becauſe all men were then vnder ſinne, whoſe ſoules therby were dead: from the which death, no man by law, nor with the law was iuſtified: for by the workes of the law ſhall no fleſh be iuſtified. Galat. 2. And agayne in the ſame epiſtle cap. 3. that by the lawe no man is iuſtified before God it is manifeſt: for the iuſt man ſhall liue by his fayth, the law is not of fayth: but whoſoeuer hath yͤ workes therof, ſhal liue in them. And agayn in yͤ ſame chap. If the law had bene geuen, which might haue iuſtified, then our righteouſneſſe had come by the law. But the ſcripture hath concluded all vnder ſinne, that the promiſe might be ſure by the fayth of Ieſu Chriſt to all beleuers. Moreouer, before that fayth came, they were kept and concluded all vnder the law, vntill the comming of that fayth whiche was to be reuealed. For the law was our ſchoolemaiſter in Chriſt Ieſu, that we ſhould be iuſtified by fayth. Alſo the ſayd Paul Rom. 5. ſayth: that the law entred in the meane time, whereby that ſinne might more abound. where then ſinne hath more abounded there hath alſo grace ſuperabou̅ded, that like as ſinne hath raigned vnto death: ſo that grace might raigne alſo by righteouſnes vnto eternal life, through Ieſus Chriſt our Lord. whereby it is manifeſt, that by the fayth which we haue in Chriſt, beleuing him to be the true ſonne of God, which came downe from heauen to redeme vs from ſinne: we are iuſtified from ſinne, and ſo do liue by him, which is the true breade and meat of the ſoule. And the bread which Chriſt gaue, is his fleſh geuen for the life of the world. Iohn. 6. For he being God, came downe from heauen, and being true carnall man, did ſuffer in the fleſh for our ſinnes, which in his diuinity he could not ſuffer. wherefore like as we beleue by our fayth that he is true God: ſo muſt we alſo beleue, that he is a true man. And then do we eate the bread of heauen, and the fleſhe of Chriſt. And if we beleue that he did voluntarily ſhed hys bloud for our redemption, then do we drinke his bloud.

Galath. 2. Iuſtification by fayth and not by the law.

Rom. 5.

Iohn. 6.

True eating of Chriſt, is true beleuing in him.

And thus, except we eate the fleſh of the ſonne of man, and ſhall drinke his bloud: we haue not eternall life in vs. Becauſe the fleſh of Chriſt verily is meate, and hys bloud is drinke in deed: and whoſoeuer eateth the fleſh of Chriſt and drinketh his bloud, abideth in Chriſt & Chriſt in him. Ioh. ca. 6. And as in this world yͤ ſoules of yͤ faythfull liue, and are refreſhed ſpiritually with this heauenly bread, and with the fleſh and bloud of chriſt: So in the world to come, the ſame ſhall liue eternally in heauen, refreſhed with the deity of Ieſus Chriſt, as touching the moſt principall part therof, that is to wit, intellectū: For as much as this bread of heauē, in that it is God, hath in it ſelfe all delectable pleaſantnes. And as touching the intelligible powers of yͤ ſame (as well exteriour as interior) they are refreſhed with the fleſh (that is to ſay) with the humanitye of Ieſus Chriſt: which is, as a queene ſtanding on the right hand of God, decked w a golden robe of diuers coulours: for this queen of heauen alone by the word of God, is exalted aboue the

Eating of the fleſh of Chriſt what it is.

company of all the angels: that by her, all our corporal power intellectiue, may fully be refreſhed as is our ſpirituall intelligence, with the beholding of yͤ deity of Ieſus Chriſt, and euen as the Aungels, ſhall we be fully ſatiſfied. And in the memory of this double refectiõ, preſent in this world and in the world to come: hath Chriſt geuen vnto vs (for eternal bleſſednes) the Sacrament of his body and bloud, in the ſubſtaunce of breade and wine, as it appeareth in Mathew. chapter. 26. As the diſciples ſat at ſupper, Ieſus tooke bread and bleſſed it, brake it, & gaue it vnto his diſciples, and ſayd: Take, eate, this is my bodye. And he tooke the cup, and thanked, and gaue it them, ſaying: Drinke ye all of this, this is my bloud of the new Teſtament, which ſhall be ſhed for many, for yͤ remiſſion of ſinnes. And Luke in his Goſpell chap. 22. of this matter thus writeth. And after he had taken the bread, he gaue thankes, he brake it, and gaue it vnto them, ſaying: Thys is my body whyche ſhall be geuen for you: doe you this in my remembraunce. In like maner he tooke the cup after ſupper, ſaying: Thys is the cup of the new teſtament in my bloud, which ſhall be ſhed for you. That Chriſt ſaid, this is my body, in ſhewing to them the bread, I firmely beleue & know that it is true: That Chriſt (for ſo much as he is God) is the very trueth it ſelfe: and by conſequence, all that he ſayth is true. And I beleue that the very ſame was his body, in ſuch wiſe as he willed it to be his body: for in yͭ he is almighty, he hath done what ſo euer pleaſed him. And as in Cane of Galile, he chaunged the water into wine, really, ſo that after the tranſubſtantiation it was wine and not water: ſo when he ſayd, This is my body: If he would haue had the breade really to be tranſubſtãtiated into his very body, ſo that after this chaunging it ſhould haue bene his naturall body, & not bread as it was before: I know, that it muſt needes haue beene ſo. But I finde not in the Scripture, that hys will was to haue any ſuch reall tranſubſtantiation or mutation.

Math. 26.

Luke. 22.

This is my body, expounded.

Note well gentle Reader.

And as the Lord God omnipotent in his perfectiõ eſſential being the ſonne of God, doth exceed the moſt pureſt creature, and yet when it pleaſed him, he took vpõ him our nature, remaining really God as he was before, & was really made man: ſo yͭ after this aſſumpting of our ſubſtaũce he was really very God & very man: Euẽ ſo if he would, when he ſayd: This is my body: He could make this to be his body really, the bread ſtill really remayning as it was before. For leſſe is yͤ difference of the eſſence, betwene bread and the body of a man, then betwene the deity & humanity: becauſe that of the bread, is naturally made the body of a man. Of the bread is made bloud: of the bloud, naturall ſeede: and of naturall ſeede, the naturall ſubſtaunce of man is ingendred. But in that that God became man: This is an action ſupernatural. wherefore he that could make one man to be very God and very mã: could if he would make one thing to be really very bread, & his very body. But I do not finde it expreſly in the Scripture, that he would any ſuch Identitye or coniunction to be made. And as Chriſt ſayd, I am very bread, not chaunging his eſſence or being, into the eſſence or ſubſtaunce of bread: but was the ſayde Chriſt, which he was before really, and yet bread by a ſimilitude or figuratiue ſpeech: So if he would, it might be, yͭ when he ſayd: This is my body: That this ſhould really haue bene the bread as it was before, and Sacramentally or memorially to be his body. And this ſeemeth vnto me, moſt neareſt to agree to the meaning of Chriſt, foraſmuch as he ſaid: do this in the remembraunce of me. Then for as much as in the ſupper it is manifeſt, that Chriſt gaue vnto his Diſciples the bread of his body which he brake, to that intent to eat with theyr mouthes: in which bread, he gaue himſelfe alſo vnto them as one in whõ they ſhould beleue (as to be the food of the ſoule) and by that fayth they ſhould beleue him to be theyr ſauior which tooke his body, wherein alſo he would it to be manifeſt, that he woulde redeeme them from death: So was the bread eaten with the Diſciples mouthes, that he being the true breade of the ſoule, might be in ſpirite receiued and eaten ſpiritually, by theyr fayth, which beleued in him.

Bread by ſimilitude.

Bread ſubſtantially, and the body Sacramentally.

The bread which in the diſciples mouthes was chewed, from the mouth paſſed to the ſtomacke: For as Chriſt ſaith: whatſoeuer cõmeth to the mouth, goeth into the belly, & from thence into the priuy. Mathew. chap. 15. But that true and very bread of the ſoule, was eaten of the ſpirite of the Diſciples, and by fayth entred theyr minds, and abode in their intralles through loue. And ſo the bread broken, ſeemeth vnto me to be really yͤ meat of the body, & the bread which it was before: but Sacramentally to be the body of Chriſt, as Paule. 1. Cor. 10. The breade which we breake, is it not the participation of the body of the Lord? So, the bread which we breake, is the participation of the Lordes body. And it is manifeſt, that the heauenly bread is not broken neither yet is ſubiect to ſuch breaking: Therfore, Paul calleth the materiall bread, which is broken, the body of Chriſt which the faythfull are partakers of. The breade therfore chaungeth not his eſſence, but is bread really, and is the body of Chriſt ſacramentally. Euen as Chriſt is the very vine, abiding really and figuratiuely the vine: So, the temple of Ieruſalem was really the materiall temple: & figuratiuely it was the body of Chriſt: Becauſe he ſayde, deſtroy you this temple, and in three dayes I will repayre the ſame agayne. And this ſpake he of the temple of his body, whereas others vnderſtood it to be the materiall temple, as appeared by theyr anſwere: For ſayd they 47. yeres hath this temple bene in building, and wilt thou build it vp in three dayes?

The bread which the Lord gaue entreth not into the bodies, but the body which he gaue entreth into the mindes of the diſciples.

Paule calleth it materiall bread.

Note reader.

Euen ſo, may the conſecrated bread be really bread as it was before, and yet figuratiuely the body of Chriſt. And if therfore, Chriſt would this bread to be only ſacramentally his body and would not haue the ſame bread really to be tranſubſtantiated into his body, & ſo ordeined his Prieſtes to make this Sacrament as a memoriall of his paſſion: Thẽ do the Prieſtes greuouſly offend, which beſech Chriſt in their holy Maſſe, that the bread which lyeth vpon the aultar may be made really the body of Chriſt, if he woulde not haue the ſame to be but a Sacrament of his body. And then both be they greatly deceiued themſelues, and alſo do greatly deceiue others. But whether the bread be really tranſubſtantiated into the body of Chriſt, or is onely yͤ body of Chriſt ſacramentally: No doubt, but that the people are marueillouſly deceiued. For the people beleue that they ſee the body of Chriſt, nay rather Chriſt himſelfe betwene the handes of the Prieſtes (for ſo is the common othẽ they ſweare.) By him whõ I ſaw this day betwene the prieſtes hands. And the people beleue that they eat not the body of Chriſt but at Eaſter, or els when they lie vpon theyr death bed, and receiue with their bodely mouth the Sacrament of the body of Chriſt. But the body of Chriſt (admitte the bread be tranſubſtantiated really into the body) is in the Sacrament, indiuiſibiliter, that is, not able to be deuided, and ſo immenſurabiliter, that is, not able to be meaſured: Ergo, inuiſibiliter, that is, not able to be ſene. To beleue therfore that he may be ſene corporally in the Sacrament, is erroneous. And foraſmuch as the body of Chriſt, is the ſouls food and not the food of the body in this world, for that whoſoeuer beleueth, doth eat ſpiritually, and really, at any time when he ſo beleueth: It is manifeſt, that they doe greatlye erre which beleue that they eat not the body of Chriſt, but when they eat with theyr teeth the Sacrament of the body of Chriſt.

The vayne prayer of the prieſtes at the Maſſe.

The people greatly deceiued in the ſacramẽt.

And although it ſhould be to the great honor of prieſts that the bread really were chaũged into the body of chriſt, by the vertue of the Sacramentall words pronounced: yet if Chriſt would not haue it to be ſo, then they deſiring to do this contrary to the will of Chriſt, and informing the people, that is to be done, ſo contrary to the will of Chriſt: are in great peril, moſt daungerouſly ſeducing both themſelues and the people. And then, although that hereby they get a litle worldly and tranſitory honour for a ſhort time: It is to be feared, leaſt perpetual ſhame finally ſhall follow and inſue vpon the ſame. For Chriſt ſayth, euery one that exalteth himſelfe, ſhall be brought low. Let them therfore take heed, leaſt they extolling themſelues for this Sacrament, aboue the company of Angels which neuer ſinned, for the errour which they be in, for euermore be placed with the ſinnefull angels vnder the earth.

The prieſtes ſeeke their owne honor in their tranſubſtãtiatiõ.

Marke here yͤ good prieſtes.

Let euery man therfore think lowly of himſelf in what ſtate or degree ſoeuer he be, neither let him preſume to doe that which he is not able to do: Neither deſire to haue that thing done, which God would not haue done.

I greatlye marueill at thoſe which were the makers of the Canons, how variably & contrary one to another they write of this Sacrament of the body of Chriſt. In the laſt part of the decrees where this matter is touched: not only in the text, but alſo in the proces of the matter, diuers do diuerſly write, and one contrary to another. For in the chapter that thus beginneth Prima inquit hæreſis, it is thus written: You ſhall not eate this bodye which you ſee, nor ſhall drinke this bloud which they ſhall ſhed, which ſhall crucify me: I will commend vnto you a certayne Sacrament ſpiritually vnderſtood yͭ quickneth you, for the fleſh profiteth you nothing at all. And in the end of the ſame chapter, it is thus written: Till the world ſhall haue an end, the Lords place is in heauen: yet notwithſtanding, the verity of the Lord is here abiding with vs. For the body wherwith he roſe, ought to be in one place, but his verity is in euerye place diffuſed & ſpread abroad. And in yͤ chapter folowing which thus beginneth, Omnia quæcunq; voluit. &c. it is

The makers of the Canon law, contrary to thẽſelues.

De conſec. 2. cap. Prima quidem inquit.

De conſec. diſt. 2. cap. Omnia quacunque voluit.

Contrarietie in the popes Canons.

written: Although the figure of the bread & wine ſeeme to be nothing: yet notwithſtanding they muſt after yͤ wordes of conſecration be beleued, to be none other thing then the very fleſh of Chriſt and his bloud. wherevpon, the veritye himſelf ſaid vnto his Diſciples: This is ſayth he, my fleſh, which is geuen for the life of the world: and to ſpeake yet more maruellouſly, this is none other fleſh, thē that which was borne of the virgin Mary, & ſuffered vpon the croſſe, and roſe out of the ſepulchre.

De conſecrat. diſt. 2. cap. Ego Berengarius.

See how far this chapter differeth from the firſt. And in the chapter which beginneth Ego Berengarius. &c. This is the confeſſion which Berengarius himſelfe cōfeſſed touching this Sacrament, and his confeſſion is of the church allowed. I confeſſe (ſayth Berengarius) that the bread and wine which is layd vpon the aultar after the conſecration, is not onely a Sacrament: but alſo that it is the very body & bloud of our Lord Ieſus Chriſt: And the ſame not onely ſenſually to be a Sacrament, but alſo verely to be handled with the Prieſtes hands and to be broken, and chewed with the teeth of faythfull men. This confeſſion doubtleſſe is hereticall: for why if the body of Chriſt be in the Sacrament, as of the Church it is ſo determined: it is there then Multiplicatiuè, and ſo indiuiſibiliter, wherfore not ſenſualiter. And if it be there indiuiſibiliter, that is, in ſuch ſort as it cannot be deuided or ſeparated, then can it not be touched, felt, broken nor with the teeth of men chewed.

The recantation of Berengarius is hereticall. The Sacrament left by the prieſtes negligence to be eatē of a mouſe returneth againe from body to bread.

The writers of this time and age do affirme: that if by the negligence of the Prieſt, the Sacrament be ſo negligētly left, that a Mouſe or any other beaſt or vermine eate the ſame: then they ſay, that the Sacrament returneth agayne into the nature and ſubſtāce of bread. wherby, they muſt nedes confeſſe, that a miracle is as wel wrought by yͤ negligence of the Prieſt, as firſt there was made by the conſecration of the Prieſt in making the Sacrament. For either by the eating of the Mouſe, the body of Chriſt is tranſubſtantiated into the nature of bread, which is a tranſubſtantiatiō ſupernaturall: Or els of nothing by creation is this bread produced. And therfore, either of theſe operations is miraculous & to be maruelled at. Now cōſidering the diſagreing opinions of the Doctors, and for the abſurdities which follow, I beleue with Paule, that the bread which we break, is the participation of the body of Chriſt: and as Chriſt ſayth, that the bread is made the body of Chriſt for a memorial and remembraunce of him. And in ſuch ſort as Chriſt willed the ſame to be his body, in the ſame maner & ſort do I beleue it to be his body.

Whether externall ſignes in a prieſt, be the ſigne of Antichriſt or els be grounded vpon Chriſt.

But whether women may make the body of Chriſt, & miniſter vnto the people: or whether that Prieſts be deuided frō the lay people, for their knowledge, preeminence, & ſanctity of life, or els by externall ſignes onely: Alſo whether the ſigne of tonſure and other externall ſignes of holines in Prieſtes, be ſignes of Antichriſt and his charecters, or els introduced & taught by our Lord Ieſus Chriſt: conſequently it remayneth next to ſpeake of vnto the faythfull ſort (according to the proces of the holy Scripture) firſt of the three kindes of the Prieſtes. I remember that I haue read, the firſt of them to be Aaronicall, legall, & temporall: The ſecond to be eternall and regall according to the order of Melchiſedech: The third to be a Chriſtian. The firſt of theſe ceaſed at the comming of Chriſt: for that as S. Paule to the Hebrues ſayth. The Prieſthood of Aaron was trāſlated to the Prieſthood of the order of Melchiſedech. The legall ſort of Prieſtes of Aaron, were ſeparate from the reſt of the people, by kinred, office, and inheritance. By kinred, for that the children of Aaron onely were Prieſtes. By office, for that it onely pertayned to them to offer ſacrifice, for the ſinnes of the people, and to inſtruct the people in yͤ precepts and ceremonies of the law. By inheritaunce, becauſe the Lord was their portiō of inheritāce: neither had they any other inheritaunce amongeſt theyr brethren, but thoſe thinges which were offered vnto the Lord, as the firſt fruits, parts of the ſacrifices, and vowes, except places for their manſion houſes for them and theirs, as appeareth by the proceſſe of Moyſes law. The Prieſthood of Chriſt, did much differre from this Prieſthood, as Paule doth witnes to the Hebrues chapter. 1. 8. 9. 10.

Three orders or ſortes of prieſtes.
1. Aaronicall.
2 Eternall.
3. Chriſtian.

Leuiticall prieſtes deuided from the people by kindred, office, and inheritance.

The prieſthoode of Chriſt differeth from the Leuiticall prieſthoode, how and wherein.
1. In kindrede.
2. In othe taking.
3. In durabilitie.

Firſt, in kinred, becauſe that our Lord & Sauiour Ieſus Chriſt, came of the ſtocke and tribe of Iuda: of whiche tribe none had to do with the aultar and in which tribe nothing at all was ſpoken of the Prieſtes of Moſes.

The ſecond, for that other were made Prieſtes without their othe taken but he by an othe, by him which ſayd: The Lord ſwore, and it ſhall not repent him: Thou art a Prieſt for euer according to the order of Melchiſedech.

Thirdly, by durability, for that many of thē were made Prieſts but during the terme of their liues: but he for that he remaineth for euer, hath an eternall Prieſthood. wherfore he is able to ſaue vs for euer hauing by himſelf acceſſe vnto God, which euer liueth to make interceſſion for vs.

The law made alſo ſuch men Prieſtes as had infirmities, but Sermo (that is, the word which according to the law is the eternall ſonne and perfect) by an othe.

4. In matter of ſacrifice.

5. In place of ſacrificing.

The Prieſthood of Chriſt alſo did differ frō the Prieſthood of Aaron and the law, in the matter of the ſacrifice: & in the place of ſacrificing. In the matter of the ſacrifice: becauſe they did vſe in theyr ſacrifices ſtraunge bodyes of the matter of their ſacrifices, and did ſhed ſtrāge bloud for the expiation of ſinnes: But he, offering himſelf vnto God his father for vs, ſhed his owne bloud, for the remiſſion of our ſinnes. In the place of ſacrificing: becauſe that they did offer theyr ſacrifice in the tabernacle or temple: But Chriſt ſuffering death without the gates of the City, offered himſelfe vpon the aultar of the croſſe to God his father, & there ſhed his precious bloud. In his ſupping chamber alſo hee bleſſed the bread and cōſecrated the ſame for his body, & the wine which was in yͤ cup, he alſo cōſecrated for his bloud: deliuering the ſame to his Apoſtles to be done, for a commemoration and remembraunce of his incarnation & paſſion. Neither did Ieſus enter into the ſātuary made with mans hands, which be examples & figures of true things: but entred into heauē it ſelfe, that he might appeare before the maieſty of God for vs. Neither doth he offer himſelf oftētimes, as the chief prieſt in the ſanctuary did euery yeare with ſtraunge bloud (for then ſhould he often times haue ſuffered from the beginning) but now once for all, in yͤ latter end of the world, to deſtroy ſinne by his peace offering, hath he entred. And euen as it is decreed, that mā once ſhal dye and then commeth the iudgement: ſo Chriſt hath bene once offered to take away the ſinnes of many. The ſecond time he ſhall appeare without ſinne to them that looke for him, to their ſaluation. For the lawe hauing a ſhadowe of good thinges to come, can neuer by the Image it ſelfe of thinges (which euery yeare without ceaſing they offer by ſuch ſacrifices) make thoſe perfect that come therunto, for otherwiſe that offering ſhould haue ceaſed: Becauſe that ſuch worſhippers being once cleanſed from theyr ſinnes, ſhould haue no more conſcience of ſinne. But in theſe, commemoratiō is made euery yere of ſinne: for it is impoſſible that by the bloud of Goates and Calues, ſinnes ſhould be purged and taken away. Therfore comming into yͤ world he ſayd: Sacrifice and oblation thou wouldſt not haue, but a body haſt thou geuen me, peace offeringes for ſinne haue not pleaſed thee: Then ſayd I, behold I come. In the volume of the booke it is written of me, that I ſhould doe thy will O God: Saying as aboue, becauſe thou wouldeſt haue no ſacrifices, nor burnt offeringes for ſinne, neyther doeſt thou take pleaſure in thoſe things that are offered according to yͤ law. Then ſayd I, behold I come, that I may doe thy will O God. He taketh away the firſt, to ſtabliſhe that which followeth. In which will, we are ſanctified by the oblation of the body of Ieſus Chriſt, once for all. And euery prieſt is ready dayly miniſtring, and oftentimes offering like ſacrifices, which can neuer take away ſinnes. But this Ieſus offering one ſacrifice for ſinne, ſitteth for euermore on the right hand of God, expecting the time tyll his enemies be made his footſtoole. For by his owne onely oblation, hath he conſummated for euermore thoſe that are ſanctified.

The law bringeth none to perfection.

All theſe places haue I recited which Paule writeth, for the better vnderſtanding and declaration of thoſe thinges I meane to ſpeak. By all which it appeareth manifeſtly, how the Prieſthood of Chriſt, differeth from the legall prieſthood of Aaron: and by the ſame alſo appeareth, how the ſame differeth from all other prieſthood Chriſtian, that immitateth Chriſt. For the properties of the prieſthood of Chriſt aboue recited, are founde in no other Prieſt, but in Chriſt alone. Of the third prieſthood, that is, the Chriſtian prieſthood: Chriſt by expreſſe wordes ſpeaketh but litle, to make any difference betwene the prieſts and the reſt of the people, neither yet doth vſe this name of Sacerdos or præſbiter in yͤ Goſpell. But ſome he calleth diſciples, ſome apoſtels, whom he ſent to baptiſe & to preach, & in his name to do miracles. He calleth them yͤ ſalt of the earth, in which yͤ name of wiſedome is ment: and he calleth them the light of the world, by which, good liuing is ſignified. For he ſayth, So let your light ſo ſhine before mē, that they may ſee your good workes, and glorify your father which is in heauen. And Paule ſpeaking of the Prieſtes to Timothe, and Titus, ſeemeth not to mee to make any diuerſity betwixt the Prieſtes and the other people, but in that he woulde haue them to ſurmount other in knowledge and perfection of life. But the fourth prieſthood, is the Romaine prieſthood, brought in by the Church of Rome: which Churche maketh a diſtinction betwene the clergy and the lay people: &

The prieſthoode of Chriſt differeth from all other prieſthoods. The third prieſthoode. The name of Sacerdos or prieſt not vſed in the new Teſtament of Chriſt.

The fourthe prieſthoode, which is the Romane prieſthoode.

alter

after that the clergy is deuided into ſundry degrees, as appeareth in the decretals.

The office of prieſtes after the popes order.

The body of Chriſt not left to be a ſacrifice for ſinne, but onely for a ſacrament.

How the memoriall of the ſacrament came to the realtie of the ſacrifice it ſelfe.

This diſtinction of the clergy from the laitye, with the tonſure of clerkes, began in the time of * Anacletus, as it doth appeare in the Chronicles. The degrees of the clergy were afterward inuented & diſtincted by their offices, and there was no aſcentiō to the degree of the prieſthood, but by inferior orders and degrees. But in the primitiue churche it was not ſo: for immediatly after the conuerſion of ſome of thē to the fayth & baptiſme receiued: they were prieſts & biſhops made, as appeareth by Ananias, whom Marcus made of a taylor or ſhomaker, to be a biſhop. And of many others it was in like caſe done, according to the traditions of the church of Rome. Prieſts are ordeined to offer ſacrifices, to make ſupplication and prayers, and to bleſſe & ſanctify. The oblation of the prieſthood, onely to Prieſtes (as they ſay) is congruent: whoſe duties are, vpon the aultar to offer for the ſinnes of the people the Lords body, which is cōſecrated of bread. Of which ſaying I haue great maruell, conſidering S. Paule his wordes to the Hebrues before recited. If Chriſt offering for our ſinnes one oblation for euermore, ſitteth on the right hand of God, and wyth that one oblation hath cōſūmated for euermore, thoſe that are ſanctified? If Chriſt euermore ſitteth on the right hand of God, to make interceſſion for vs, what neede he to leaue here any ſacrifice for our ſinnes, of the Prieſtes to be dayly offered? I do not finde in the ſcriptures of God nor of his Apoſtles, that the body of Chriſt ought to be made a ſacrifice for ſinne: but onely as a Sacrament and commemoration of the ſacrifice paſſed, whiche Chriſt offered vpon the aultar of the croſſe for our ſinnes. For it is an abſurditye to ſay, that Chriſt is now euery day really offered as a ſacrifice vpon the aultar by the Prieſtes: for then the Prieſtes ſhould really crucify him vpō the aultar, which is a thing of no Chriſtian to be beleeued. But euen as in his ſupper, his body & his bloud he deliuered to his Diſciples, in memorial of his body that ſhould be crucified on the morrow for our ſinnes: So after his aſcētion, did his Apoſtles vſe the ſame (when they brake bread in euery houſe) for a Sacramēt, and not for a ſacrifice, of the body and bloud of our Lord Ieſus Chriſt. And by this meanes were they put in remembraunce of the great loue of Chriſt, who ſo entirelye loued vs, that willinglye he ſuffered the death for vs, & for the remiſſion of our ſinnes. And thus did they offer thēſelues to God by loue, being ready to ſuffer death for the confeſſion of his name, and for the ſauing health of theyr brethren fulfilling the new commaundement of Chriſt, which ſayd vnto them: A new cōmaūdement do I geue vnto you that you loue one another, as I haue loued you. But whē loue began to waxe cold or rather to be froſen for cold, thorow the anguiſh & anxiety of perſecution for the name of Chriſt: then Prieſts did vſe the fleſh and bloud of Chriſt, in ſtead of a ſacrifice. And becauſe many of them feared death, ſome of them fled into ſolitarye places, not daring to geue themſelues a ſacrifice by death vnto God through the confeſſion of his name, & ſauing health of theyr brethrē: Some other worſhipped Idols fearing death, as did alſo yͤ chiefe Biſhop of Rome, and many other mo in diuers places of the world. And thus it came to paſſe, as that which was ordeined and inſtituted for a memoriall of the one & onely ſacrifice, was altered (for want of loue) into the realitye of the ſacrifice it ſelfe.

¶After theſe thinges thus diſcuſſed, he inferreth conſequently vpon the ſame, an other briefe tractation of women and laye men, whether in defect of the other, they may exerciſe the action of praier, and adminiſtration of Sacraments belonging to Prieſts: wherein he declareth the vſe receiued in the Popes Churche, for women to Baptiſe, which, ſayth he, cannot be without remiſsion of ſinnes, wherefore ſeeing that women haue power by the Pope to remit ſinne, and to baptiſe, why may they not aſwell be admitted to miniſter the Lordes Supper, in like caſe of neceſsity? Wherin alſo he maketh relation of Pope Iohn. 8. a woman Pope, mouing certayne Queſtions of her. All whiche for breuitye I pretermitte, proceeding to the miniſtration of prayer, and bleſſing or ſanctification, appropriate to the office of Prieſtes as followeth.

The order and office of prayer. The Lordes prayer.

Math. 6.

The artes of Necromancie, Southſaying & withcraftes, how & frō whō they came.

Againſt exorciſing of Prieſtes.

Furthermore, as touching the fuction & office of praying and bleſſing, wherevnto Prieſtes ſeme to be ordeined (to omitte here the queſtion whether women may pray in Churches, in lacke of other meete perſons) it remayneth now alſo to proſecute. Chriſt being deſired of his Diſciples to teach them to pray, gaue them the common prayer both to men and women, to the which prayer in my eſtimation, no other is to be compared. For in that firſt, the whole honor due vnto the deity is comprehended. Secondly, whatſoeuer is neceſſary for vs, both for the time preſent, or paſt, or for time to come, is there deſired & praid for. He informeth vs beſides to pray ſecretly, and alſo briefly: ſecretly to enter into our cloſe chāber, and there in ſecrecy he willeth vs to pray vnto his father. And ſayth moreouer, when ye pray, vſe not much babling, or many words as doth yͤ heathen. For they thinke in their long and prolixe praying to be heard. Therfore be you not like to thē. By the which doctrine he calleth vs away frō the errors of the heathē Gentils: frō whom proceed theſe ſuperſtitious maner of artes (or rather of ignoraunces) as Necromancy, the art of diuinatiō, & other ſpiſes of coniuratiō, not vnknown to them, that be learned: for theſe Necromanſers beleue, one place to be of greater vertue then an other, there to be heard ſooner, then in an other. Like as Balaam being hyred to curſe yͤ people of God, by his arte of ſouthſaying, or cherming, when he could not accompliſh his purpoſe in one place, he remoued to an other, but he in yͤ end, was deceiued of hys deſire. For he intending firſt to curſe them, was not able to accurſe thē whom the Lord bleſſed, ſo that his curſe coulde not hurt any of all yͤ people. After like ſort the Nicromancers turne theyr face to the Eaſt, as to a place more apt for theyr prayers. Alſo yͤ Necromāſers beleue, that the vertue of yͤ words of the prayer, & the curioſity therof, cauſeth thē to bring to yͤ effect, which they ſeek after, which is alſo an other poynt of infidelity, vſed much of Charmers, Sorcerers, Inchaūters, Southſayers & ſuch like. Out of yͤ ſame arte (I feare) proceedeth the practiſe of exorciſing, wherby deuils & ſpirits be coniured to do that, wherunto they are inforced by the Exorciſt. Alſo wherby other creatures likewiſe are exorciſed or coniured, ſo that by the vertue of their exorciſme, they may haue theyr power and ſtrength exceeding all naturall operation.

Coniuring or halowing in the popiſh church.

Holy water coniured.

In the Church of Rome, many ſuch exorciſmes & coniurations be practiſed, & are called of them benedictions, or halowings. But here I aſke of theſe Exorciſers, whether they beleue the thinges and creatures ſo exorciſed and halowed, haue that operation and efficacy geuē them, which they pretēd? If they ſo beleue, euery child may ſee that they are farre beguiled. For holy water being of them exorciſed or cōiured: hath no ſuch power in it, neither cā haue which they in theyr exorciſme do cōmaund. For there they inioyn and commaund, that wherſoeuer that water is ſprinckled, all vexatiō or infeſtatiō of the vnclean ſpirit, ſhould auoid, and that no peſtilēt ſpirit there ſhould abide. &c. But moſt playn it is, that no water, be it neuer ſo holy, can haue any ſuch power ſo to do, as it is commaunded, to wit, to be an vniuerſall remedy to expell all diſeaſes.

Exorciſtæ.

The abſurditie & abhominatiō in the popiſh exorciſmes detected.

Where was the popes holy water then in the great peſtilence in the tyme of K. Edward. 3.

Iames. 4.

Romiſh coniurers.

This I woulde aſke of theſe Exorciſtes: whether in theyr commaunding, they do coniure or adiure the thinges coniured, to be of an higher vertue and operation, thē their own nature doth geue: Or els whether they in their prayers deſire of God, that he wil infude into them that vertue, which they require? If they in theyr commaunding doe ſo beleue, thē do they beleue that they haue that power in thē to the which the inferior power of the thing exorciſed muſt obey, in receiuing that which is commaunded. And ſo doing, are much more deceiued, foraſmuch as they ſee themſelues, that they which are ſo authoriſed to the office of exorciſing, ſay to the deuill being coniured: Go, & he goeth not: And to an other come, and he cōmeth not, & many thinges els they commaūd the inferior ſpirite their ſubiect, to do, & he doth not. So in like caſe, when they pray to God to make the water to be of ſuch vertue, that it may be to them health of mind and body, and that it may be able to expulſe euery vncleane ſpirit, & to chaſe away all maner of diſtemperature and peſtilence of the ayre (being an vnreaſonable petition aſked, & ſore diſpleaſing to God) it is to be feared leaſt theyr benediction, their halowing & bleſſing is chaunged into curſing, according to that ſaying that followeth. And now O you prieſts, I haue a meſſage to ſay vnto you: If you will not heare and beare well away in your mindes, to geue the glory vnto my name ſayth the Lord God of hoſtes, I will ſend ſcarcety amongeſt you, and I wyll curſe your bleſſings. What things and how many are bleſſed, or halowed in the Churche, that in halowing thereof diſpleaſe God, and are accurſed? And therfore according to the ſaying of S. Iames, they aſke & are not heard, becauſe the aſke not as they ſhould, that they in theyr owne deſires may periſh. Let a man beholde the bleſſing or halowing of their fire, water, incenſe, waxe, bread, wine, the church, the aultar. the Churchyard, aſhes, belles, copes, palmes, oile, candles, ſalt, the hallowing of the ring, the bed, the ſtaffe, & of many ſuch like things: & I beleue that a man ſhall find out many errors of the hethē Magicians, witches, ſouthſayers and charmers. And notwithſtanding the auncient and old Magicians in their bookes, commaund thoſe that

The good lyfe of a prieſt, a great matter to deale in Gods matters.

be coniurers that they in any wiſe liue deuoutly (for otherwiſe as they ſay the ſpirites will not obey their cōmaūdements, and coniuratiōs) yet the Romane cōiurers do impute it to the vertue of the holy wordes, becauſe they be they, which worke, and not the holynes of the coniurers. How commeth it to paſſe that they ſay, the thinges conſecrated of a curſed and vicious Iauell, ſhould haue ſo great vertue in pronouncing (as they ſay) the holy and miſticall words: as if they were pronoūced of a Prieſt neuer ſo holy. But I maruell that they ſay ſo, reading this ſaying in the Actes of the Apoſtles: becauſe the charmers pronouncing the name of Ieſus (that is aboue all names) would haue healed thoſe that were poſſeſſed with deuils, and ſayd. In the name of Ieſus whom Paul preacheth, go ye out of the men. And the poſſeſſed with deuils aunſwered, Ieſus we know, and Paule we know, but what are ye: and they all to be beat the coniurers.

The prayer of a vitious prieſt, little auayleth before God.

Remembraunce of Chriſtes paſſion needeth not to God, but to man.

Prieſtes more bound to ſay Maſſe cōmāded by man: then to preaching commāded of God. Spirituall fornication.

Ieronymus.

And now conſidering this and many ſuch like things, I maruell wherfore the vicious Prieſts, do ſell theyr praiers and bleſſings dearer (as alſo theyr Maſſes & Trentals of Maſſes) then thoſe that be deuout lay mē, and holy women: which with all theyr hart deſire do flee from vices, & take hold of vertue. For as much as God in diuers places of the Scripture doth promiſe, that he will not heare ſinners & wicked perſons: Neither ſhould he ſeme to be iuſt, if he ſhould ſooner heare the praiers of his enemies, then of his faythfull frend. How I pray you ſhall a ſinneful prieſt deliuer an other man from ſinne by his prayers, or els frō the puniſhment of ſinne: whē he is not able to deliuer him ſelfe by his prayer frō ſinne? what then doth God ſo much accept in the Maſſe of a vicious Prieſt: that for his maſſe, his prayer or oblatiō, he might deliuer any man either frō ſinne, or from the payne due to ſinne? No, but for that that Chriſt hath once offered himſelfe for our ſinnes, & now ſitteth on the right hand of God the father, alwayes ſhewing vnto him what and how great things he hath ſuffered for vs. And euery prieſt alwayes maketh mētion in his maſſe of this oblation: Neither do we this, that we might bring the ſame oblation into the remembraunce of God: becauſe that he alwayes in his preſence ſeeth the ſame. But that we ſhould haue in remēbraunce this ſo great loue of God, that he would geue his own ſonne to death for our ſinnes, that he might clenſe & purify vs frō all our ſinnes. What doth it pleaſe God, that the remembraunce of ſo great loue is made by a preſt, which more loueth ſinne then God? Or how can any prayer of ſuch a prieſt pleaſe God, in what holy place ſoeuer he be, or what holy veſtimēts ſoeuer he put on, or what holy prayers ſoeuer he maketh? And where as Chriſt and his Apoſtles do cōmaund the preaching of the word of God: the Prieſts be now more bound to celebrate the Maſſe, and more ſtraitly bound to ſay the Canonicall houres: whereat I cannot but greatly marueil. For why, to obey the precepts of men, more then the cōmaūdements of God, is in effect to honor mā as God, and to beſtow the ſacrifice vpon man, which is due vnto God, and this is alſo ſpirituall fornication. How therfore are Prieſts bound at the commaundement of man to leaue the preaching of yͤ word of God, at whoſe cōmaundemēt they are not bound to leaue the celebration of the Maſſe, or ſinging of Matines? Therefore as it ſeemeth, Prieſtes ought not at the commaundement of any man to leaue the preaching of the word of God, vnto the which they are boūd both by diuine and Apoſtolicall preceptes. With whom agreeth the writing of Hierome vpon the Decretals, ſaying in this wiſe: Let none of the Biſhops ſwell with the enuy of deuiliſhe temptation, let none be angry, if the Prieſtes do ſometime exhort the people, if they preach in theyr Church. &c. for to him that forbiddeth me theſe thinges I will ſay, that he is vnwilling that Prieſtes ſhould do thoſe thinges, which be commaunded of God. What thing is there aboue Chriſt? or what may be preferred before his body and his bloud? &c.

Whether prieſts may bargen to ſing for ſoules departed.

Ieronymus.

Do Prieſtes therfore ſinne or not, which bargayne for mony to pray for the ſoule of any dead man? It is well knowne that Ieſus did whip thoſe that were buyers and ſellers out of the tēple, ſaying: My houſe ſhalbe called the houſe of prayer, but you haue made the ſame a denne of theeues. Truely he caſt not out ſuch Marchaunts frō out of the Church, but becauſe of theyr ſinnes. Wherupon Hierome vpon this text ſayth. Let the Prieſts be diligent and take good heede in this Churche, that they turne not the houſe of God into a den of theeues. He doubtles is a theef which ſeeketh gayne by Religion, & by a ſhew of holynes ſtudieth to finde occaſion of marchaundiſe. Hereupon, the holy Canons do make accurſed, Symoniacal hereſy, & doe commaund that theſe ſhould be depriued of the prieſthood, which for the paſſing or maruelous ſpiritual grace, do ſeek gayne or monye. Peter the Apoſtle ſayde to Symon Magus, Let thy mony and thou go both to the deuill, whiche thinkeſt that the giftes of God may be bought for money. Therefore, the ſpirituall gyftes of God ought not to bee ſolde.

Selling of prayer abhominable.

Verely prayer is the ſpirituall gift of God, as is alſo yͤ preaching of yͤ word of God, or the laying on of handes, or the adminiſtration of other Sacramentes. Chriſt ſending forth his Diſciples to preach, ſayd vnto them: Heale ye the ſicke, caſt out deuils, rayſe the dead, freely haue ye receiued freely geue ye agayne. If the Prieſtes haue power by theyr prayers to deliuer ſoules being in Purgatory, from greeuous paynes: without doubt, he hath receiued that power freely from God. How therefore can he ſell his act, vnleſſe he reſiſt the commaundementes of God, of whom he hath receiued that authoritye? This truly cannot be done without ſinne, which is agaynſt the commaundement of God.

Religious men and women, deuourers of wydowes houſes.

Praying for ſoules in Purgatory.

Euil gotten lādes as euil beſtowed, for praying for ſoules in Purgatory,

How playnly ſpake Chriſt to the Phariſies, & Prieſts ſaying, wo be vnto you Scribes & Phariſies hypocrites, becauſe ye haue eaten the whole houſes, of ſuch as be wydowes, by making long praiers, and therfore haue you receiued greater dānation. Wherin I pray you do our Phariſies and Prieſtes differ from them? Do not our Prieſtes deuour widowes houſes and poſſeſſions, that by their lōg prayers they might deliuer the ſoules of their huſbāds frō the greuous paynes of purgatory? How many Lordſhips I pray you, haue bene beſtowed vpon the religious mē & womē to pray for the dead, that they by their prayer might deliuer thoſe dead men from the payne (as they ſayd) that they ſuffer in purgatory, greuouſly tormented and vexed? If theyr prayers and ſpeaking of holy words, ſhall not be able to deliuer themſelues frō payn, vnleſſe they haue good works: How ſhall other men be deliuered from payne, by their praiers, which whileſt they liued here, they gaue ouer themſelues to ſinne? Yea peraduētnre thoſe Lordſhips or landes which they gaue vnto the prieſtes to pray for them, they themſelues haue gotten by might from other faythful men, vniuſt, and violently. And the Canous doe ſay, that ſinne is not forgeuē, till yͤ thing taken away wrōgfully, be reſtored. How thē ſhal they be able (which do vniuſtly poſſeſſe ſuch Lordſhippes or landes) to deliuer them by theyr prayers from payne, which haue geuen to them theſe lordſhips or landes, ſeing God from the beginning hath hated all extortion in his burnt ſacrifices? Not euerye one that ſayth vnto me Lord, Lord, ſhal enter into the kingdome of heauen: but he which doth the will of my father which is in heauē. And agayne, not the hearers of the law, but the doers of the law ſhall be iuſtified.

Bying and ſellyng of prayers in the Popes Church. Bying and ſelling of pardons. Parſō, place, apparell, curioſitie or eloquence of prayer not regarded of God.

The prayer of the phariſie and of the Publicāe cōpared.

Prayer that doth more for money then for charitie diſproued.

If therefore the words of him that prayth, do not deliuer himſelfe from ſinne, nor frō the payne of ſinne: how do they deliuer other men from ſinne or frō the payne of ſinne when no man prayth more earneſtly for an other man thē for himſelfe? Therefore many are deceiued in buying or ſelling of prayers, as in yͤ buying of pardons that they might be deliuered from payne: whē as commonly they pay dearer for the prayers of the proud & vicious prelates, thē for the prayers of deuout women and deuout men of the laye people. But out of doubt, God doth not regard the perſon of him that prayth, neither the place in which he praith, nor his apparell, nor the curiouſnes of his prayer, but yͤ humility and godlye affection of him that prayeth. Did not the Phariſy and the Publican goe vp into the temple to pray? The Publicans prayer for his humility and godly affection is heard. But the Phariſies prayer for his pride & arrogancy is contempned. Cōſider that neither the perſon, nor the place, nor yͤ ſtate, nor the curiouſnes of his prayer doth helpe the Phariſye: Becauſe the Publicane not thinking himſelfe worthy to lift vp his eies vnto heauen, for yͤ multitude of his ſinnes, ſaying (O God be mercifull vnto me a ſinner) is iuſtified by his humility, and his praier is heard. But the Phariſy boaſting in his righteouſnes is deſpiſed, becauſe God thruſteth downe the proud, and exalteth the humble and thoſe that be meek. The rich glotton alſo, that was clothed with purple and ſilke, & fared euery day daintely, prayd vnto Abraham, and is not heard, but is buryed in paynes and torments of hell fire. But Lazarus whiche lay begging at his gate (being full of ſores) is placed in the boſome of Abraham. Behold yͭ neither the riches of his apparell, nor the deliciouſneſſe of his banquets, or the gorgiouſnes of his eſtate, neither the aboundance of his riches, doth helpe any thing to prefer the prayers or petitiōs of the rich glotten, nor yet diminiſhe his tormentes, becauſe that mighty men in their mightines ſhal ſuffer torments mightely. How dare any man by cōpoſition demaund or receiue any thing of an other man for his prayers? If he beleue yͭ he can by his praier deliuer his brother frō greuous paine, he is boūd by charity to relieue his brother with his prayers although he be not hired thereunto, but and if he will not pray vnles he be hyred, thē hath he no loue at al. What therfore helpeth his prayer, which abideth not in charitie? Therfore let him firſt take compaſſion of himſelfe by praier, that he may come into charitie, and then he ſhalbee the better able to helpe others. If he beleeue not, or yͭ he ſtandeth in doubt to be able to deliuer his brother by his praier: wherfore doth he make with him an aſſured bargayn, & taketh his mony, and yet knoweth not whether he ſhall relieue him euer a whit the more or not, from his paine? I feare leaſt the wordes of the Prophet are fulfilled, ſaying: From the leaſt to the moſt al mē applye themſelues to couetouſnes, and from the Prophet to the Prieſt all worke deceitfully. For the poore prieſts excuſe themſelues, of ſuch bargaining and ſelling of their praiers, ſaying: The yong cock learneth to crow of the olde cocke. For ſayeth he, thou maiſt ſee that the Pope himſelfe in ſtalling of Biſhops & Abbots, taketh the firſt frutes: In yͤ placing or beſtowing of benefices, he alwaies taketh ſomwhat, & ſpecially if the benefices be great. Alſo he ſelleth pardōs or bulles, and to ſpeake more plaine, he taketh mony for them. Biſhops in geuing orders, in hallowing churches & churchyards, do take mony: In eccleſiaſtical correction they take mony for the mitigation of penance: In the greuous offences of cōuict perſons, mony is required, & cauſed to be payed, Abbots, Monkes, & other religious men that haue poſſeſſiō, wil receiue no mā into their fraternitie, or make thē partakers of their ſpiritual ſuffrages, vnles he beſtow ſomewhat vpon them, or promiſe them ſomewhat. Curates & vicars hauing ſufficient liuings, by the tithes of their paryſhioners, yet in dirges and yeares myndes, in hearing confeſſions, in weddinges & buryings, do require & haue money. The Fryers alſo of the fower orders of beggers, which think thēſelues to be the moſt perfiteſt men of the Church, do take mony for their praiers, confeſſions, & buryings of the dead: and when they preach, they beleue that they ſhal haue eyther money or ſome other thyng worthy money. Wherfore then be the poore prieſts blamed? ought not they to bee held excuſed, although they take money for their praiers by cōpoſitiō? Truly (me thinketh) that this excuſe by other mens ſins, doth not excuſe thē: foraſmuch, as to heap one miſchief vpon anothers head, is no ſufficiēt diſcharge. I would to God that al the buyers & ſellers of ſpiritual ſuffrages, would with the eyes of their harte beholde the ruine of the great Citie, and the fall of Babylon, and that which they ſhall ſaye after that fall. Doth not the Prophet ſay: And the merchaunts of the earth ſhall weepe and mourne for her, becauſe no man ſhall buy anye more their marchandiſe, that is, their marchandiſe of gold and ſiluer, and of precious ſtone and of pearle, and of ſilke and purple: And again he ſayth. And the marchaunts which were made riche by her, ſhall ſtand alouſe for feare of her tormentes, weeping, mourning, and ſaying, Alas, Alas, that Citie Babylon, that great Citie whych was woont to weare purple, whiteſilke, crimſin, gold, pearle, and precious ſtone, becauſe that in one hour al thoſe ryches are come to nought: And agayne: And they caſt duſt vppon their heads and cryed out weping and mourning and ſaying, Alas, Alas, that great and mightie Citie Babilon, by whom al ſuch as had ſhippes vpon the ſea were made riche by her rewards: Becauſe that in one houre ſhe is become deſolate.

Selling of pardons. Selling of orders. Selling of church halowinges. Selling of diſcipline. Selling of fraternitie. Selling of Diriges, yere mindes, confeſſions, weddinges, buryinges. Selling of Sermons. &c.

Example to be taken by the fall of Babylon.

This Babilon, this great Citie, is the Citie of Rome, as it appeareth by the proceſſe of the Apoſtle. Becauſe the aungel which ſhewed vnto Saint Iohn the deſtructiō of the mightie harlot ſitting vpon many waters, with whō the kinges of the earth haue committed fornication, and al they which dwell vpon the earth are made dronke with yͤ wyne of her whoredome, ſayd vnto him: And the woman which thou ſaweſt, is the great citie which hath dominion aboue kings &c. And in dede in yͤ daies of Saint Iohn the whole world was ſubiect to the temporall Empire of the Citie of Rome, and afterwardes it was ſubiect to the ſpiritual Empire or dominion of the ſame. But touching the temporal gouernment of the City of Rome, it is fallen already: and ſo that the other alſo, for the multitude of her ſpiritual fornicatiōs ſhal fall. The Emperours of this city gaue themſelues to Idolatry, and would haue that mē ſhould honour them as Gods, & put al thoſe to death that refuſed ſuch idolatry, & by the cruelty of their torments, al infidels gate the vpper hand.

The citie of Rome, Babilon Apoc. 18

The temporall dominiō of the citie of Rome.

The ſpirituall dominiō of the citie of Rome.

Hereupon, by the image of Nabuchodonoſor, yͤ empire of the Romaines is likened to yron, which beateth together, and hath the maſtery of all mettals. And in the viſiō of Daniel, wherein he ſaw the foure windes of heauen to fight in the mayne ſea, and fower great beaſtes comming out of the ſea: The kingdom of the Romaynes is lykened to the fourth terrible and maruelous beaſt, the which had great yron teeth: eating & deſtroying, and treading the reſt vnder his feete: & this beaſt had ten hornes, & as Danyell ſayth, he ſhall ſpeake wordes agaynſt the moſt higheſt, and ſhall teare with his teeth the Saynts of the moſt higheſt: and he ſhall thinke, that he may be able to chaunge times and lawes, and they ſhall be delyuered into hys power, vntill a tyme, tymes, and halfe a time. In the Apocalips, Saine Iohn ſawe a beaſt comming out of the ſea, hauyng 7. heads and 10. hornes, and power was geuen to hym to make monthes 42. So long time endured the Empire of the Romaynes, that is to ſay, from the beginning of Iulius Ceſar, which was the firſt Emperor of yͤ Romains, vnto the ende of Fridericus, whych was the laſt Emperour of the Romaines. Vnder this empire Chriſt ſuffred, & other Martirs alſo ſuffred for his name ſake. And here is fallen Rome as Babylon (which is all one) accordyng to the maner of ſpeakyng in the Apocalips as touchynge the temporal and corporal power of gouerning. And thus ſhall ſhe fall, alſo touchynge the ſpirituall power of gouerning, for the multitude of the iniquities and ſpirituall fornication and merchaundiſe that are committed by her in the Church.

The fourth beaſt in the propheſie of Daniel meaneth Rome.

The beaſt with 7. heades in the Apoc. ſignifieth Rome.

The feete of yͤ image which Nabuchodonezor ſaw, dyd betoken the Empire of Rome, & part of them were of yron, and part of clay & earth. The part that was of yron fell, and yͤ power therof vaniſhed away, becauſe yͤ power therof was at an end after certaine monthes. That part of clay and earth yet endureth, but it ſhal vaniſh away by the teſtimony of the Prophets: whereupon ſaint Iohn in the Apocalips: After that, he ſawe the part made of yron riſing out of the ſea, to which eche people, tribe, and tong ſubmitted themſelues. And he ſaw an other beaſt cōmyng out of the earth, which had two hornes, like to the hornes of a Lambe, and he ſpake like a Dragon, and he vanquyſhed the firſt beaſt in his ſight.

The feete of the Image in the dreame of Nabuchodonozar ſignifieth Rome

This beaſt as ſeemeth me, doth betoken the claye and earthē part of the feete of yͤ image, becauſe hee came out of yͤ earth. For yͭ by terrene helpe he is made the high & chief prieſt of the Romaines, in the church of Chriſt, & ſo from alow he aſcended on hygh. But Chriſt from heauen deſcended, becauſe that he which was God & author of euery creature became man: and he that was Lord of Lords, was made in the ſhape of a ſeruant. And although that in the heauens the company of angels miniſter vnto him, he himſelfe miniſtred or ſerued in earth, that he might teache vs humilitie, by which a man aſcendeth into heauen, euen as by pride a man goeth downe into the bottomleſſe pyt. This beaſt hath two hornes moſt like a Lambe, becauſe yͭ he chalengeth to himſelfe both yͤ prieſtlye & kingly power, aboue al other here in earth. The Lambe that is Chryſt which is a king for euer vpō yͤ kingly ſeat of Dauid, & he is a Prieſt for euer after yͤ order of Melchiſedech: but hys kingdome is not of this world, but the kingdome of thys beaſt is of this world, becauſe thoſe yͭ be vnder him, fyght for him. And as Ieſus is Chriſt two maner of waies, becauſe that Chriſtus is as much to ſay as Vnctus. He verelye was annoynted king, & annointed prieſt: ſo this beaſt ſaieth that he is chiefe king & prieſt. Wherefore doth he call himſelfe Chriſt? becauſe that Chryſt knowing that afore, ſayd: Many ſhal come in my name, ſaying, I am Chryſt, and ſhall deceyue many. And thus becauſe that he is both king & prieſt, he chalengeth to himſelfe the double ſworde, that is the corporall ſword and the ſpirituall ſworde. The corporal ſword is in his right hand, and yͤ ſpiritual ſword is in his right eye, by the teſtimony of Zachary. But hee ſpeaketh ſubtilly like a Dragon, becauſe that by the teſtymony of Chriſt he ſhal deceiue many, as the Apoc. witneſſeth. He did great wonders, that alſo he might make more fire to come from heauen into the earth in the ſight of mē, that he might deceiue thoſe that dwel vpon the earth, becauſe of the wonders that are permitted hym to do in the ſight of the beaſt, & hee ouercame the firſt beaſt which aſcended out of the ſea. For that beaſt challenged vnto himſelf authoritie of gouernment of yͤ whole worlde. He hath put to death & tormented thoſe that reſiſt his commaundements, and would be honored as a God vpon the earth. The byſhop of Rome ſayth, that yͤ whole world ought to be in ſubiectiō vnto him, thoſe that be diſobediēt vnto his commaundements, he putteth in priſon, and to death if he can: If he cannot, he excommunicateth them, and commaundeth them to be caſt into the deuils dūgeon. But hee that hath no power ouer yͤ body, much leſſe hath he power ouer yͤ ſoule. And truely his excommunicatiō, nor the excommunication of any prieſt vnder him, ſhall at that time little hurt him that is excommunicat, ſo that the perſon of him that is excommunicate, be not firſt excommunicat of God through ſinne.

The beaſt with two hornes lyke the Lambe, ſignifieth the ſpirituall dominion of Rome.

Ieſus is Chriſt two maner of wayes, as King and prieſt.

The double ſword of the Pope.

And thus it ſeemeth a trouth vnto me, that God thus turneth their bleſſinges into curſinges, becauſe they geue not due glory vnto his name. So when yͭ they vniuſtly excommunicate & curſe, he turneth their curſings into bleſſings. Alſo the biſhop of Rome doth make mē to worſhyp him as God, becauſe that yͤ ſpecial ſacrifice that God doth require of vs, is to be obedient vnto him in keping of hys commaundements. But now yͤ Popes commaundemēts be commaunded to be kept, and be kept in very deede, but the commaundements of Chriſt are contemned and reiected. Thus ſitteth the Byſhop of Rome in the Temple of God, ſhewing himſelfe as God, and extolleth himſelfe aboue al that which is called God, or worſhipped as God. But in his fall he ſhalbe reuealed, becauſe that euery kingdome deuided in it ſelf, ſhalbe made deſolate. He teaching a truthe, is the head of the Churche, but the Prophet teaching a lye, is the tayle of the Dragon. Hee ſeducyng the worlde, ſhalbe acknowledged to be the veritie of the doctrine of Chriſt, but after he is knowne, he ſhalbee reiected and naught eſteemed. He geueth to ſmall and great, riche and poore, free and bonde, markes in their right hands, & in their foreheades: that no man ſhoulde buy or ſell, but thoſe that ſhall haue the marks of the name of the beaſt, or that looketh to haue of him ſome recompence, ſmall, mean, or great, or els the number of his name, which number is 300. The Pope ſayth that in yͤ adminiſtration of euery ſacrament, he doth imprint a certaine character or mark into the ſoul of him that receiueth. In baptiſme he ſaith that he doth imprint into the ſoule of hym that is baptiſed, a marke that cannot be wiped out, and ſo likewiſe in other ſacraments. And I knowe that in a Sacrament are two things, that is, the ſacramental ſigne, & ſpiritual grace repreſented by the ſame ſigne: the ſacramental ſigne is geuē to man of man, but the ſpirituall grace is geuen of Chriſt.

The Biſh. of Rome ſeeketh to be worſhipped as God.

The commaundementes of the pope more regarded then Chriſtes.

In euery Sacrament 2. thinges conteyned.

Wherefore, although a vicious or naughty Prieſt doth baptiſe any man, if he that is baptiſed or his parents (if he be a childe) do aſke with faithful meaning baptiſme, & do meane faithfully hereafter to obſerue the wordes of baptiſme: is as well baptiſed, as if hee were baptiſed of neuer ſo vertuous a prieſt. So alſo the ſinner which with al hys hart is ſory for his ſinnes, and doth aſke faithfully mercye of God, is as wel abſolued of a vicious prieſt, as of a vertuous. Becauſe the Lambe of god whych taketh away the ſinnes of the world, wipeth away inwardly our ſinnes by his grace, becauſe that he is yͤ biſhop & paſtor of our ſouls. All other prieſtes do outwardly worke abſolution, which knowe not for a certaintye whether they haue abſolued or not. So alſo is it in yͤ other, becauſe yͭ the grace of yͤ ſacrament is geuen of God, and the ſacramental ſigne, of man. In geuing of orders, the chiefe biſhop doth imprint yͤ corporall markes, but of the ſpiritual markes, I know none: vnleſſe a man will ſay, that by receiuing the order he hath ſome beliefe that he may worke ſome thinges pertayning to that order, the which before the receiuing of the order he could not. But this one thing is, that none in the churche ought to ſell ſpiritual marchandiſe (of which thinges wee haue ſpoken before) vnles he haue the marke of the beaſt. My counſell is, let the buyer beware of thoſe markes: becauſe that after the fall of Babylon, if any man hath worſhipped the beaſt and her image, & hath receiued the marke vpon his forehead, & vpon his hand, he ſhall drinke of the wine of gods wrath, which is mixed with the wyne in the cup of his anger, and he ſhalbe tormented in fire & brymſtone in the ſight of the holy angels, and in the ſight of the Lambe: and the ſmoke of their tormentes ſhall euer more aſcend, although he looke for a recompence, ſmall, mean, or great, of the beaſt, or els the nūber of his name. The beaſt doubtles doth recompence his friends, with his ſmall rewarde, that is, with great gifts and benefices corporall: with a meane reward, that is, with great ſpirituall gifts, in authority of bleſſing, loſing, binding, praying, & exerciſing other ſpiritual workes: & with his greateſt rewarde, which after that they be dead, maketh them to be honored in earth amōg the ſaints. The number of his name according to yͤ opinion of ſome men, is Dux Cleri, the captayne of the clergie, becauſe by that name he is named, & maketh his name knowne, and that name is 666.

Caueat emptor.

The rewardes of the beaſt.

The number of the name of the beaſt. *Dux cleri.*

This is my opinion of the beaſt aſcending out of the earth, and ſhall vntill ſuche time as I ſhalbee of the ſame beaſt better inſtructed. And although that this beaſt doth ſignifie the Romaine biſhops: yet the other cruel beaſt aſcending out of the ſea, doth ſignifye the Romayne Emperours. And although that the Dragon being a cruel beaſt, and the falſe Prophet geuing the marke, muſt be throwen into the lake of fire and brimſtone to be tormēted for euer: I woulde haue no man to iudge, but I leaue ſuch things altogether to the finall iudgement of Chryſt to bee determined. But Martine the Popes confeſſour which maketh the Chronicle of the Emperours and Popes, recyteth many errours of the Popes, more horrible and abhomynabl then of the Emperours. For he ſpeaketh of the idolatrous Popes, hereticall, ſimoniacal, and Popes yͭ were murderers, that vſed nigromancie, and wytchcraft, that were fornicatours, and defyled with al kinde of vice. But I haue partly declared how that the Popes lawe is contrary to Chriſtes lawe, and howe that he ſayeth, that he is the chiefe vicar of Chriſt in earth: and in his deedes is cōtrary to Chriſt, and doth forſake both hys doctrine & lyfe. I can not ſee who els may be ſo well Antichriſt, and a ſeducer of the people. For there is not a greater peſtilence, then a familiar enemy.

Martinus pænitentiarius.

Mo wicked popes then Emperours.

As concerning idols, and the worſhipping of them, I think of them as Moſes, Salomon, Iſayas, Ieremy, and the reſt of the Prophetes, which all ſpake agaynſt the making of Images, as alſo yͤ worſhipping of Images. And faithful Dauid full of the ſpirit of God, ſayth: Let all thoſe be confounded yͭ worſhip Images, and that reioyce in Idols: And againe he ſayth: Let thē be made like vnto them yͭ make them, & al ſuch as put their truſt in them. Wherefore I pray god that this euil come not vpon me, which is the curſe of God pronounced by Dauid the prophet. Nor I wil be by Gods grace, neither a maker, nor els a worſhipper of Images.

Matters of Idolatry.

Images.

As cōcerning othes, I beleue and obey the doctrine of the almighty God, & my maiſter Ieſus Chriſt, which teacheth: that Chriſtian men in affirmation of a truth, ſhould paſſe the righteouſnes of the Scribes and Phariſes of the olde Teſtament, or els he excludeth thē from the kingdom of heauen. For he ſaith: Unles your righteouſnes exceede the righteouſnes of the Scribes and Phariſes, ye cannot enter into yͤ kingdome of heauē. And as concerning othes he ſayth. It hath bene ſayd to them of old time, thou ſhalt not forſweare thy ſelfe, but ſhalt performe vnto the Lorde thoſe thinges which yͧ voweſt. But I ſaye vnto you thou ſhalt not ſweare at all, neyther by the heauē nor yet by the earth. &c. But let your cōmunication be yea, yea, nay, nay, for whatſoeuer ſhalbe more then this, proceedeth of euill. Therefore, as the perfection of the auncient men of the old Teſtament was, not to forſweare themſelues: ſo the perfection of Chriſtian men is not to ſweare at all, becauſe they are ſo cōmaunded of Chriſt, whoſe commaundement muſt in no caſe be broken: although that yͤ Citie of Rome is contrarye to thys doctryne of Chryſt euen as in manye things ſhe is found contray to her ſelfe.

Othes how far they are tollerable.

As touching the taking away of temporal goods from thoſe that are eccleſiaſtical perſons offendyng habitualiter: by ſuch as are temporall Lordes, I will not affirme anye thing to be lawful in this matter (as in other matters before) that is not agreable to charitie: And that for becauſe it is a hard matter for a man to take another mans goods from him without breaking of charity, becauſe peraduenture he that taketh away, is the more moued to ſuche maner of taking away be reaſon of the deſire he hath to thoſe goods, which he indeuoureth to take away: or els, becauſe of ſome diſpleaſure or hatred to the perſon, from whom he goeth about to take away thoſe goods, then that hee from whom thoſe goodes be taken, ſhould be amended. Therefore, vnleſſe he that taketh away, be onely moued of charity to the taking away of ſuch goodes, I dare not affirme that ſuch taking is lawfull. And if ſuch takyng away procede of charitie, I dare not iudge it vnlawfull: becauſe that the Byſhop of Rome which receyued hys temporall dominion of the Emperour, when the Emperour rebelled and was not obedient vnto hym, he depriued him frō hys temporall iuriſdictions: Howe much more then may temporal Lordes do the ſame which haue beſtowed vpon them many temporall dominions and lordſhips, onely to the intent that they might the better intende to ſerue God and keepe his commaundementes. Nowe if they perceiue that they be againſt the lawes of God, and that they be ouer buſily occupied about worldly matters: I cannot ſee but yͭ they may wel inough take frō them thoſe temporall goodes, which to a good purpoſe they gaue them. But if in time to come after this, thoſe that be temporal lordes ſhall take from eccleſiaſtical perſons ſuch temporalties: let him that deſireth to vnderſtand this, read the prophet Ezechiel in the chapiter of the ſhepeherds of Iſrael, which fedde themſelues in ſtead of their flocke: and alſo let hym reade the Apocalips of the fall of Babylon. Let hym alſo reade the Popes decretalles agaynſt heretikes, and in thoſe hee ſhall fynde, that the takynge awaye of the temporaltyes from the Cleargy, ſhall come to paſſe for the multitude of their ſinnes.

Whether temporall goods may be taken away from eccleſiaſticall perſons offending.

Popes take from Emperours their benefactors, temporall dominion when they offend: Ergo, much more may Emperours take from popes temporall dominion whē they offend.

A prophecie of Walter Brute, that temporall goods ſhall be taken away frō the clergie for the multitude of their ſinnes.

Thus reuerend father, haue I made mine aunſwere of the matter wherof I am accuſed: beſeching you, that as I haue bene obedient to your deſire, and that euen as a ſōne declaring vnto you the ſecrets of my hart in plain wordes (although rudely) ſo I deſire to know your opinion, and craue your fatherly beneuolẽce: that now your labor may be for my inſtruction and amendment, & not to accuſation and condemnation. For like as in the beginninge I haue promiſed you, yͤ if any man of what ſtate, ſect, or condition ſoeuer he be, can ſhew me any errour in anye of my wrytings by the authoritie of holy ſcripture, or by any probable reaſon grounded in the ſcriptures: I will receiue hys information willingly and humbly.

Walter Brute againe commaunded to appeare.

After that all the foreſaid thinges were exhibited & geuen by the foreſayd Walter Brute, vnto the foreſayd B. of Herford: he further appointed to the ſame Walter, yͤ third day of the month of October, at Herforde, with yͤ cõtinuance of the dayes followyng to heare hys opinion. Which third day now at hande, beinge Friday in the yeare of our Lord God 1393. the ſayde Walter Brute, appeared before hym, ſitting in Commiſſion in the Cathedrall Churche of Herford, at ſixe a clocke or thereabout: hauing for his aſſiſtentes in the ſame place, diuers Prelates and Abbotes, and xx. Bachelers of Diuinitie, whereof xij. were Monks, and two Doctors of the law. Amongſt theſe was Nicholas Hereford, accõpanied with many other Prelates and worſhypfull men & wyſe Graduates in ſundry faculties. Now was the foreſayde Walter apposed of his wrytings aforeſaid, & the cõtents therin. Earneſt were they in pycking out of thoſe writings, his hereſies, & in ſhewing his ſchiſmes, ſundry errours, and diuers other things. Now, after that they had cõtinued al that day and the two dayes following (that is Fryday, Saterday, & Sunday) in their informations & examinations agaynſt the ſame Walter Brute. The ſame Walter Brute ſubmitted him ſelfe to the determination of the church, & to the correction of the ſayd John Biſhop, as it appeareth word for word in a ſcroule written in the Engliſh tong: The tenour of which ſcroul, is as followeth.

Byſhops & Abbots, with 20. Bachelors of diuinitie, 12 monkes 2 Doctors of law ſitting vppon Walter Brute. Nicholas Herford here alſo preſent.

The Writinges of Walter Brute examined.

¶ I Walter Brute ſubmit my ſelfe principally to the Euangely of Ieſus Chriſt, and to the determination of holy kirke, and to the general Counſels of holye kirke. And to the ſentence and determination of the foure Doctours of holye write, that is Auſten, Ambroſe, Ierome, and Gregory. And I meekely ſubmit mee to your correction, as a ſubiect ought to his Byſhop.

The tenor of the ſubmiſſion of Walter Brute.

Which ſcroule as afore is recited in yͤ Engliſh tong, the foreſayd Walter Brute read, with a lowde and intelligible voice, at the Croſſe in the churchyard on Monday, that is to ſay, the 6. day of the ſayd month of October, before the ſermon made vnto the people in preſence of yͤ ſayd byſhop of Herford & other aboue written, as alſo other Barons, knights and noble men & cleargy, and alſo a great multytude of people. After which reading of the ſcroule, the foreſaid Tho. Crawlay bachelor of diuinitie, made yͤ Sermon vnto the people, & toke for hys theame the wordes of yͤ Apoſtle to the Rom. the xj. chap. that is as foloweth. Be not ouer wiſe in your owne conceites but ſtand in feare &c.

The ſubmiſſion of Walter Brute openly read at Herford.

☞ Out of theſe declarations and wrytinges of Walter Brute, the Biſhop with the Monkes and doctours aboue reherſed, did gather and draw out certaine articles, to the number of 37. which they ſent to the Uniuerſitie of Cambridge to be cõfuted, vnto two learned men, M. Colwill, & M. Newton, Bachelers of diuinitie. Which M. Colwil, & Newton did both labor in the matter, to the vttermoſt of their cunning, in replying and aunſwering to the ſaid 37. articles.

*Beſides them alſo W. Woodforde a Frier (who wrote likewiſe againſt the articles of Wickliff) labouring in the ſame cauſe, made a ſolemne & a long tractation, compiling the articles of the ſaid Brute, to the nũber of 29. All which treatiſes, as I wiſh to come to the readers hande, that the ſlendernes of them myght be knowen: ſo it maye happen percaſe, yͤ the ſame being in my handes may hereafter bee further publiſhed, with other like tractations moe, as cõuenient time for the prolixitie therof may hereafter, better ſerue then now.

What after this became to this Walter Brute, or what end he had, I find it not regiſtred: but like it is, that he for this time eſcaped. Certain other writings I finde moreouer, which albeit they beare no name of this Walter, nor of any certaine author: yet becauſe they are in yͤ ſame regiſter adioined to yͤ hiſtory of him, I thought therfore moſt fit here to be inſerted. Of yͤ which yͤ one was a letter ſet to Nicholas Hereford a little aboue ſpecified: who beinge at yͤ firſt a great folower of John Wicklif, as appereth before pag. 438. was now in the number of thẽ which ſate vpon thys Walter, as is in yͤ next page aboue recorded. The copy of this letter, bering no name of any ſpecial author, but only as ſet by a certain Lollard (as yͤ regiſter doth terme him) is written in maner and forme as followeth.

¶ Here followeth the Copy of a letter ſent to maiſter Nicholas Hereford, by a Lollard, as in the Regiſter it is ſayd.

A letter ſent to Nicho Herford.

FOr as much as no man that putteth hys hande to the plough and looketh backe, is meete for the kyngdome of God, as our Sauiour Chriſt ſayth: What maruel is it, although maiſter Nicholas Herford, which at the firſt (by the viſitatiõ of the ſpirit of god peraduenture) put his hand, that is, gaue his diligence, vnto the plough, that is, to the ſowing of the word of God and holy ſcripture, as well in preaching as in doyng good workes: is nowe ſo blynde and vnſkilfull to expound the ſcripture, that he knoweth not what is vnderſtoode by the kyngdome of heauen. Truely it is no maruayle, O thou that arte maiſter of the Nicholitanes, which like Nicholas the moſte falſe deacon, haſt left or forſaken the infallible knowledge of the holy ſcripture. For the true knowledge of the Theologicall veritie is ſhutte vp as well from thee as from all the other Nicholitanes following thy conditions, for as much as thou goeſt not in by the dore to expound the ſame Euãgelical veritie. Therfore whẽ thou didſt recite this other day, firſt, the phariſaycal and hypocritical woe (nothing at all to any purpoſe) thou ſhouldeſt haue ſayd iuſtly in this ſort, both of thy ſelf, and other thy followers and religious Antichriſtes: Wo be vnto vs Scribes and Phariſes, which ſhut vp the kyngdome of heauen, that is to ſay, the true knowledge of the holy Scripture, before men by our falſe gloſes and crooked ſimilitudes: and neyther we our ſelues enter into the ſame kyngdome or knowledge, nor ſuffer other to enter into it. Wherefore, it ſeemeth vnto the faythfull ſort, that wrongfully, falſly, & without any reuerence, yee haue expounded that text of Gregorye. 1. q. 1. that is to ſaye. Quicunque ſtudet, &c. For this is the true vnderſtandinge of the ſame. Knowing firſt that there be ſome prieſts after the thing, and name onely, and doth ſhew that this is true: that whoſoeuer ſtudieth to receiue the holy order by geuing of money: He is not a prieſt, ſecundum rem, & nomẽ. But to ſay the truth, he deſireth to be called a prieſt, that is to be a prieſt Secundum nomen tantũ. And ſuch a prieſt which is a prieſt in name onely, is no prieſt. No more then S. Mary paynted is S. Mary: Nor a falſe doctour a doctour, but no doctour: And a man painted is not a man, but no mã. And thus ſuch a prieſt in name onely, is not a prieſt. Becauſe that all faythfull men do firmely beleue with S. Gregory that no man buying the holy orders, may then be called a prieſt as he ſayth. 1. q. 1. They that buy or ſell holy orders can be no prieſtes. Whereupon is written, Anathema dandi, & Anathema accipiendi. That is Simoniacall hereſie. And it followeth, how therefore, if they be accurſed and not bleſſed, can they make others bleſſed? And whẽ that they be not in the body of Chriſt, howe can they eyther receiue or deliuer the body of Chriſt? He that is accurſed, how can he bleſſe? as though he would ſay. It is vnpoſſible. As Pope Vrbanus ſaith. 1. q. 1. Si qui a Simoniacis. &c. Where he ſaith thus. They that willingly know & ſuffer thẽſelues to be cõſecrated, nay rather execrated of thoſe that are infected with Simony: wee iudge that their conſecration is altogether voyde. Alſo Pope Leo in 2. q. 1. ſayth in this wiſe. Grace, if it be not freely geuen or receyued, is not grace. Spiritual vſurers do not receiue freely: Therfore, they receiue not the ſpirituall grace, whych ſpecially worketh in the eccleſiaſtical orders. If they receyue it not, they haue it not: if they haue it not freely, they cannot geue it freely. And by this it is more clearer then the light that they which know ſo much and receyue orders by ſpirituall vſury or ſimonye, are neither prieſts nor deacõs, neither after the maner nor charecter. For if ſuch carecter or marke were otherwiſe geuen in geuing orders, it were requiſite alwayes that there ſhoulde bee a certayne grace imprinted in the man, but there is no ſuche grace geuen or imprinted as afore is manifeſt: Therefore there is no ſuch Character to be fayned. Therefore, ſuch Character or marke abydeth not in him, for as much as he neuer had nor hath the ſame. And yet furthermore in the ſame place. What then do the ſimonycall prelates geue? And he maketh aunſwer truely euen that which they haue, as the ſpirit of lying. How proue we this? Becauſe that if it be the ſpirite of veritie, as the ſame veritie doth teſtifie, from whõ it commeth, it is freely receaued. And it followeth for the whole purpoſe no doubt: It is conuicted to be the ſpirite of lying, which is not freely receyued.

Nicolaitans.

1. q 1. ca Quicunque ſtudet.

1. q. 1. Si quis a Simoniacis.

Ex Leone Papa, 2. q. 1.

By this it appeareth manifeſtly to the faythfull ſort, that thoſe which weetingly and ſimonically are made prieſtes, for as much as they receyue not the Character of the Lorde but only the ſpirite of lying and the marke of Symon Magus, and of Iudas the traytor, that they be not prieſtes neyther according to the marke nor manners. Nor ſuch do no more make the ſacramentes of the Church, then other lay men may in the time of neceſſitie, nor yet ſo truely, during their hereticall naughtyneſſe. And yet in deede (brother myne,) vniuocè natura, but yet æquiuocè in moribus. I doe not wryte thus ſharpely vnto you, through anger, or anye

Brother in nature. In maners no brother.

vnperſect

vnperfect hate: but through the perfect hate of your horrible hereſie,and denying the fayth of Chriſt, that I may ſay with Dauid in the Pſalme.Perfecto odio oderam &c. And I am very ſorye for you,that you which in times paſt haue excellẽtly well,and fruitfully preached the Goſpell in the pulpit,do nowe as wel fayle in the congruitie of the Latine toung, as in the other ſcience naturall. For as it was heard thriſe in one lecture you ſayde appetitis, that is to ſaye, pronouncyng the myddle ſyllable longe, whych thyng not onely the maiſters, but alſo the yong ſcholers vnderſtoode. And many other faultes there in your Grammer, which for ſhame I dare not recite.I ſend vnto you theſe fiue cõcluſions.

5.Concluſions ſent.

The firſt concluſion. It is an infallible veritie that the wordes of the foure chiefe doctours,expounding the holy ſcripture according to the veritie which the words do pretend,are to be holden and kept.

The ſecond: He which importeth any equiuocatiõ out of any of the Doctours expounding,for the colouring of his text, his equiuocation is alwayes to be left.

The thirde: No peruerſion of any reprobate is able to turne the congregation of the elect from the faith,becauſe al things ẏ ſhal come to paſſe,are eternally in God deuyſed & ordayned for the beſt, vnto the elect Chriſtians.

The fourth: Like as the myſtical body of Chriſt is the congregation of al the Elect: ſo Antichriſt miſtically is the church of the wicked & of al the reprobates.

The fift: The concluſions of Swinderby,be agreable to the fayth in euery part.

¶ This letter was thus ſubſcribed.

By the ſpirite of God,ſometime viſityng you.

☞ Beſides this epiſtle aboue prefixed,there is alſo foũd annexed with the ſame,a deuiſe of an other certayne letter cõterfeited vnder the name of Lucifer prince of darknes: writing to the Pope and al popiſhe Prelates,perſecuting the true and right Church (with all might and mayne) to maintayn their pride and domination in this earth,vnder a coulourable pretence & viſor of the catholique church, & ſucceſſion Apoſtolical. which letter although it ſeemeth in ſome authors to be aſcribed to Ockam,aboue mencioned: yet becauſe I find it in the ſame Regiſter of the church of Herford cõteyned, & inſerted amõg ẏ tractations of walter Brute,and deuiſed(as ẏ Regiſter ſaid) by ẏ Lollards: I thought no meeter place,then here to annexe the ſame, the tenour wherof thus proceedeth in words as follow.

¶ The deuiſe or counterfayt of a certayne letter fayned vnder the name of Lucifer Prince of darkneſſe, wryting to the perſecuting prelates of the popiſh clergy.

The epiſtle of Lucifer to the proud prelates of the popes clergie.

I Lucifer prince of darknes and profound heauineſſe, Emperour of the high myſteries of the Kyng of Acharont, Captaine of the dungeon, Erebus kyng of hell, and comptroller of the infernall fire: To all our children of pryde, and companions of our kyngdome,and eſpecially to our Prynces of the Church of this latter age and tyme(of which our aduerſary Ieſus Chriſt, accordyng to the Prophet,ſaieth:I hate the church or congregation of the wicked)ſend greeting, & wiſh proſperitie to all that obey our commaundementes,as alſo to thoſe that be obedient to the lawes of Sathan already enacted,& that are diligent obſeruers of our beheſtes,and the precepts of our decree. Know ye that in times paſt certaine vicars or vicegerents of Chriſt,following hys ſteppes in miracles and vertues, liuing and continuyng in a beggerly lyfe, conuerted (in a maner)the whole world from the yoke of our tiranny vnto their doctrine & maner of lyfe: To the great deriſion and contempte of our priſon houſe and kyngdome: and alſo to the no little preiudice and hurt of our iuriſdiction and authorytie,nor fearing to hurt our fortified power ond to offend the maieſtie of our eſtate. For then receiued we no tribute of the world, neyther dyd the myſerable ſort of common people, ruſhe at the gates of our deepe dungeon as they were wont to do with continuall pealyng and rappyng,but then the eaſie, pleaſant,& broad way,which leadeth to death, lay ſtill without great noyce of trãpelyng trauaylers, neyther yet was trode with the feete of myſerable men. And when all our courtes were without ſutets, Hell then began to houle: And thus continuyng in great heauines & anguiſh, was robbed and ſpoyled. Which thing conſidered, the impacient rage of our ſtomacke coulde no longer ſuffer,neyther the ougle retchelous neglygence of our great Captayne generall could any longer indure it. But we,ſeeking remedy for the time that ſhould come after, haue prouyded vs of a verye trimme ſhift: For in ſtead of theſe Apoſtles and other their adherentes whyche draw by the ſame lyne of theirs,as wel in maners as doctrine, & are odious enemis vnto vs: We haue cauſed you to be their ſucceſſors, & put you in their place,which be Prelates of the church in theſe latter times, by our great might and ſubtletie,as Chryſt hath ſayd of you they haue raigned but not by me.Once we promiſed vnto him al the kingdom of the world if he would fal down and worſhip vs, but he would not, ſaying: my kingdome is not of this would,and went his way,when the multitude would haue made him a temporall kinge. But to you truely which are fallen from the ſtate of grace, and that ſerue vs in the earth: is that my promiſe fulfilled, and all terrene thyngs be our meanes which we haue beſtowed vpon you,are vnder gouernment.For he hath ſaid of vs as ye know: The prince of the world cõmeth &c. and hath made vs to raigne ouer al children of vnbeliefe Therfore our aduerſaryes before recited,dyd pacientlye ſubmit themſelues vnto the Princes of the worlde,and did teache that men ſhoulde do ſo, ſaying·Be ye ſubiect to euery creature for Gods cauſe, whether it be to the Kyng as moſte chiefeſt. And agayne: Obey ye them that are made rulers ouer you &c. For ſo their maiſter commaũded them ſaying: The kinges of the heathen haue dominion ouer them &c.But I think it long til we haue powred our poyſon vpõ the earth, and therefore fill your ſelues full. And now bee yee not onely vnlyke thoſe fathers,but alſo contrary vnto them in your lyfe and conditions, and extoll your ſelues aboue all other men. Neyther do ye geue to God that which belongeth to him,nor yet to Cæſar that which is his:But exerciſe you the power of both the ſwordes,according to our decrees,makinge your ſelues doers in worldlye matters, fighting in our quarell,intangled with ſecular labours and buſines. And clyme ye by litle & little from the myſerable ſtate of pouerty, vnto the higheſt ſeates of all honours,& the moſt princely places of dignitie by your deuiſed practiſes, & falſe and deceitfull wyles and ſubtlety: that is,by hypocriſy, flattery,lying,periurie, treaſons, deceits,ſimonye, and other greater wickednes then which our infernal furies may deuiſe. For after that ye haue by vs bene aduaunced thither where ye would be: yet that doth not ſuffice you, but as gready ſtaruelings more hũgry then ye were before,ye ſuppreſſe the poore, ſcratch and rack together all that comes to hand,peruerting and turninge euerie thing topſie toruey: ſo ſwollen,that redy ye are to burſt for pride liuing like Lechers in all corporal delicatenes, and by fraude dyrecting all your doinges. You challenge to your ſelues names of honour in the earth, callyng your ſelues Lordes, holye, yea and moſt holy perſons.

The difference betwene the biſhops of the primitiue church and of the latter church.

Humilitie edifieth.
Pride deſtroyeth.

Placing of proud prelates the cauſe of all miſchiefe.

The Church neuer well gouerned ſince the Deuils officers were take of the Church men.

Pride in prelates noted.

Popiſh prelates neither geue to God nor to Cæſar that which belongeth to God & Cæſar.

The double iuriſdiction of the popes 2.ſwordes commeth of Lucifer.

The outragies of the popes clergie deſcribed.

Dominus.
Sanctus.
Sanctiſſimus

Thus,eyther by violence ye rauen, or els by ambition, ſubtilly ye pilfer away,and wrongfully wraſt, and by falſe title poſſeſſe thoſe goodes whych for the ſuſtentation of the poore members of Chriſt(whom frõ our firſt fall we haue hated) were beſtowed and geuen: conſuming them as ye your ſelues lyſt,& therewith ye cheriſh and maintaine an innumerable ſort of whoores, ſtrumpets,and bawdes,with whom ye ride pompouſly like mightie Prynces, farre otherwiſe goinge, then thoſe poore beggerly prieſtes of the primatiue Church.For I would ye ſhoulde buylde your ſelues ryche and gorgeous palacies, yee fare lyke Prynces, eating and drinking the moſt daintieſt meates, and pleaſaunteſt wines that may be gotten: ye hoord and heepe together an infynite deale of treaſure,not like to him that ſayd,golde and ſiluer I haue none,ye ſerue and fight for vs according to your wages O moſt acceptable ſocietie or fellowſhip, promiſed vnto vs by the Prophet,and of thoſe fathers long ago reprooued: Whileſt that Chriſt called thee the Sinagogue of Sathan, and lykened thee to the mighty whoore which committed fornicatiõ with the kings of the earth,the adulterous ſpouſe of Chriſt, and of a chaſte perſon made a ſtrompet.Thou haſt left thy firſt loue and haſt cleaued vnto vs, O our beloued Babilon,O our citizens,which from the tranſmigration of Ieruſalem,come hether: we loue you for your deſertes,we reioyce ouer you, which contemne the lawes of Simon Peter,and imbrace the lawes of Symon Magus our friend, and haue them at your fingers endes, and exerciſe the ſame publiquely, buying and ſelling ſpirituall thynges in the Churche of God, and againſt the commaundement of God Ye geue benefices and honors by petition, or els for money, for fauor,or els for filthy ſeruice.And refuſing to admit thoſe that bee worthy to eccleſiaſtical dignities, & perferring thoſe that are vnworthye,you call vnto the inheritance of gods ſanctuarie,baudes,lyers,flatterers,your nephues,and your owne children, & to a childiſh boy, ye geue many prebends:the leaſt whereof ye deny to beſtow vpõ a poore good man: ye eſteeme the perſon of a man and receyue giftes,ye regarde money and haue no regarde of ſoules. Ye haue made the houſe of God a denne of theeues. Al abuſe,all extortiõ, is more exerciſed, a hundreth fold in your iudgement ſeats,then with any ſecular tyrant. Ye make laws & kepe not the ſame,& ye diſpence with your diſpenſations as it pleaſeth you, you iuſtifye the wicked for rewardes,and ye take away the iuſt mãs deſart frõ him. And briefly ye perpetrate or cõmit all kind of miſchief,euen as it is our wil ye ſhould. And ye take much paine for lucres ſake in our ſeruice, and eſpecially to deſtroy the Chriſtian fayth. For now the lay people are almoſt in doubt what they may beleue,becauſe if ye preach any thing to them at ſometimes(although it be but ſeldome ſeene,& that negligently inough,euen as we would haue it)yet notwithſtanding they beleue you not, becauſe they ſe manifeſtly that ye do cleane contrary,to that ye ſay. Wherupon, the

The laſciuious and whoriſh lyfe of the Romiſh clergie.

The whoriſhe latter Church of Rome.

Pope ſucceſſour not of Simon Peter but of Simõ Magus.

Wicked and vnworthy minyſters admitted in the Popes church.

Vnworthy beſtowing of benefices.

Acception of perſon.
Bribery.

Loue of Lucre.

Extortion.
Peruerting of Iuſtice.

Destruction of true faith.

The life of papiſtes cõtrary to their teaching.

The Pope encreaſeth hell

Antichriſt.

The pope a fayned procurer of peace betwene princes.

The Romaine empire craftely ſubuerted by the pope.

Simonie the popes nurſe.

Promoting of proud & rich Cardinals.

Cloked holynes.

Wreſting of Scripture.

Tyrannie & crueltie by the pope.

the common people, doing as ye do, which haue the gouernemẽt of them, & ſhould be an example to them of wel doing: now many of them leaning to your rules, do rũne hedlong into a whole ſea of vices: And ſo continually a very great multitude flocketh at the ſtrong and wel fenced gates of our dungeon. And doubtles, ye ſend vs ſo many day by day of euery ſort and kinde of people, that we ſhould not be able to entertaine them, but that oure inſatiable Chaos with her thouſande rauening iawes is ſufficient to deuoure an infinite number of ſoules. And thus the ſouerayntie of our Empire, by you hath bene reformed, and our intollerable loſſe reſtored. Wherefore, moſt ſpecially we cõmend you, & geue you moſt hartie thankes: Exhorting al you, that in any wyſe ye perſeuere and continue, as hetherto ye haue done: neither that you ſlack hẽceforth your enterprice. For why, by your helps we purpoſe to bring the whole world again vnder our power & dominion. Ouer and beſides this, we cõmit vnto you no ſmall authoritie, to ſupply oure places in the betraying of your brethren, and we mak and ordaine you our vicares, & the miniſters of Antichriſt our ſonne, now hard at hand, for whõ ye haue made a very trimme way and paſſage. Furthermore, we counſell you which occupy the higheſt roomes of all other, that you worke ſubtilly, and that ye (faynedly) procure peace betwene the princes of the world, and that ye cheriſh and procure ſecret cauſes of diſcorde. And like as craftely ye haue deſtroied and ſubuerted the Romain Empire: ſo ſuffer ye no kingdome to be ouermuch enlarged or enriched by tranquilitie and peace. Leaſt perhaps in ſo great trãquilitie (all deſire of peace ſet aſide) they dyſpoſe themſelues to vew and conſider your moſt wicked workes, ſuppreſsing on euery ſide your eſtate: and from your treaſures take away ſuch ſubſtance, as we haue cauſed to be reſerued and kept in your hands, vntil the cõming of our welbeloued ſonne Antichriſt. We would ye ſhuld do our cõmẽdations to our entierly beloued daughters, pride, deceit, wrath, auarice, bellichere, and lechery, & to al other my daughters: and eſpecially to Lady Symony, which hath made you men, and enryched you, and hath geuen you ſucke wyth her own breſts, & weaned you, and therefore in no wiſe ſee that you cal her ſin. And be ye lofty and proud, becauſe that the moſt high dignitie of your eſtate doth require ſuch magnificence. And alſo be ye couetous, for whatſoeuer ye get and gather into your fardell, it is for Saint Peter, for the peace of the church, and for the defence of your patrimony and the Crucifixe, and therefore yee may lawfully do it. Ye may promote your Cardinals to the higheſt ſeat of dignities without any let in all the world, in ſtopping the mouth of our aduerſarye Ieſus Chriſt, and alledging againe: that he preferred his kinſfolkes (beinge but of poore and baſe degree) vnto the Apoſtleſhip, but do not you ſo, but rather call, as ye do, thoſe that liue in arrogancy, in hawtines of mynde, and filthy lechery, vnto the ſtate of welthy riches and pride, and thoſe rewardes & promotions, which the followers of Chriſt forſooke, do ye diſtribute vnto your frinds. Therefore as ye ſhall haue better vnderſtanding, prepare yee vyces cloked vnder the ſimilitude of vertues. Alleadge for your ſelues the gloſes of the holy ſcripture, and wreſt them, directly to ſerue for your purpoſe. And if any man preach or teache otherwiſe then ye wil, oppreſſe ye them violently with the ſentence of excommunication, & by your cẽſures heaped one vpon another, by the conſent of your brethren. Let him bee condemned, as an hereticke, and let him be kept in moſt ſtraight priſon, and there tormented till he die, for a terryble example to all ſuch as confeſſe Chriſt. And ſetting all fauour apart, caſt him out of your temple: leaſt peraduenture the ingrafſed word may ſaue your ſoules, which word I abhorre, as I do the ſoules of other faithful mẽ. And do your indeuor, that ye may deſerue to haue the place which we haue prepared for you, vnder the moſt wicked foundatiõ of our dwelling place. Fare ye well, with ſuch felicitie as wee deſire and intende finally to reward and recompence you with.

¶Geuen at the centure of the earth, in that our darke place, where all the rablement of Deuils were preſent, ſpecially for this purpoſe called vnto our moſt dolorous Conſiſtory, vnder the Charecter of our terrible ſeale, for the confirmation of the premiſſes.

Ex Regiſtro Herfordenſi ad verbum.

Ex Regiſtro Hereford.

Who was the true author of this poeſie or epiſtle aboue writtẽ it is not euidẽtly knowẽ: neither yet doth it greatly ſkill. The matter beynge well conſidered of their part, which here be noted: may miniſter vnto them ſufficiẽt occaſion of holeſome admonition, either to remember themſelues what is amiſſe, or to bethinke with thẽſelues what is to be amended. Diuers other writings of like argumẽt both before & ſince, haue bene deuiſed: as one bearinge the title Luciferi ad malos principes Eccleſiaſticos, imprinted firſt at Paris in Latin. And vnder the writing therof, bearing this date. Anno a palatij noſtri fractione, conſortiumq; noſtrorum ſubtractione. 1351. Which if ye count from the Paſſion of the Lord: reacheth wel to ÿ time of Wickliffe 1385, which was aboue vi. yeres before ÿ examination of this Walter Brute.

Epiſt Lucif. ad pralatos.

There is alſo an other epiſtle of Lucifer, prince of darknes, ad prælatos, mentioned in the Epiſtle of the ſchoole of Prage, to the vniuerſitie of Oxford, ſet forth by Huldericus Huttenus, about the yeare of our Lorde (as is there dated) 1370. which ſeemeth to be written before this epiſtle.

Vincent. ſpec. hiſt. lib. 25. cap. 89.

Alſo Vincẽtius in Speculo hiſto. lib. 25. cap. 89. inferreth like mention of a letter of the fiendes infernal, vnto the clergy men as in a viſion repreſẽted before 400. yeres. In which the deuils geue thankes to the ſpirituall men, for that by their ſilence and not preaching the Goſpel, they ſend infynite ſoules to hell. &c.

Ex prophetia Hildegardis.

Diuers other letters alſo of like deuiſe, haue ben written, & alſo recorded in authors. Wherunto may be added, that one Iacobus Cartuſienſis, wrytinge to the Byſhop of Wormace, alleageth out of the prophecie of Hildegardis in theſe wordes: Ideo et diabolus in ſemetipſo de vobis ſacerdotibus ait: Eſcas epulantium, conuiuia et omnes voluptates in iſtis inuenio, ſed et oculi, et aures, et venter meus, et venæ meæ, de ſpumis illorum plenæ ſunt, et vbera mea plena ſunt diuicijs illorum &c. r. Therefore ſaith he, ÿ deuil may ſay of you prieſts in himſelfe: The meates of banketting diſhes, and feaſtes of al kind of pleaſure, I find in theſe men: Yea alſo, mine eyes, mine eares, my belly, & all my vaines be full of their froathing, and my breſts be full ſtuffed with their ryches. &c. Furthermore, ſaith he, they labour euery day to riſe vp higher with Lucifer, but euery daye they fall wͭ him more deepely.

The deuill geueth thankes to clergie men. The ſilence of prieſtes for not preaching the Goſpell damneth many a ſoule.

Hereunto alſo appertayneth a ſtory written, & cõmonly found in many olde written bookes. In the yeare of our Lord. 1228. at Paris in a Synode of the clergie, there was one appointed to make a Sermõ. Who being much carefull in hys minde, & ſolicitous what to ſay, the deuil came to him, and aſking why he was ſo careful for his matter, what he ſhould preach to ÿ clergy, ſay thus, quod he: The princes of hell ſalute you (Oh you princes of the Church) & gladly geue you thankes, becauſe through your default and negligence, it cõmeth to paſſe, that al ſoules go downe to hel. Adding moreouer, that he was alſo enforced by the commaundement of God to declare the ſame, yea and that a certayne token moreouer was geuen to the ſayde clerke for a ſigne, wherby the ſinode might euidently ſee, that he did not lye. Ex catall. Illyr. Fol. 546.

¶The Bull of Pope Bonifacius the ix. agaynſt the Lollardes.

The popes letter to the B. of Hereford.

Bonifacius Biſhop, ſeruaunt of the ſeuants of God: To the reuerend brother Iohn Biſhop of Hereford, ſendeth greeting & Apoſtolicall benediction. We meane to write vnto our welbeloued ſonne in Chriſt (Richard the renowmed king of England) in forme encloſed within theſe preſents. Therfore we will and commaund your brotherhood, that as much as ye maye, ye ſtudy and endeuour your ſelfe to exhorte and induce the ſame king, to doe thoſe thinges which we haue wrytten vnto him, as it is ſayde before. And notwithſtanding, that now many a day you ought to haue done it of your ſelf, & not to loke that wee ſhould perſwade you to that effect by vs written: you may proceed as well by our authoritie, as by your owne, for as much as it was geuen you before: that hereafter we may know effectually by your diligence, what zeale your deuotion beareth vnto the Catholike fayth, and to the conſeruing of the eccleſiaſticall honour, and alſo to the execution of your paſtorall office.

¶Geuen at Rome, at S. Peters the
xv. Kalendes of October, the 6.
yeare of our biſhoplike dignitie.

¶The tenour of the Bull, to the renowmed prince Richard by the grace of God king of England & of Fraunce: whereof mention is made aboue, as followeth, and is thus much in effect.

The popes wilde Bull let looſe againſt the ſeruauntes of Chriſt.

A lack good hart what ſorow the pope taketh.

To our welbeloued ſonne in Chriſt, Rycharde the noble king of Englande, wee ſend greetinge &c. It greeueth vs from the bottome of our hartes, and our holy mother the Church in all places through Chriſtendome lamenteth. Wee vnderſtande that there bee certayne hereſies ſprong, and do without any condign reſtraynt raunge at their owne libertie, to the ſeducynge of the faithful people, and do euery day with ouermuch liberty enlarge their vndiſcreete boundes. But howe much the more carefullye we labour for the preſeruation both of you & your famous kingdome, and alſo the ſinceritie of the faith: and doe with muche more ardent deſire couet, that the proſperous ſtate of the ſame ſhould be preſerued and ẽlarged: the ſting of greater ſorow doth ſo much the more penetrate and moleſt vs, for as muche as wee ſee (alas the while) in our tyme, and vnder the regall preſidence of your moſte Chriſtyan gouernmēt : a certayne craftye and hairebraine ſect of falſe Chriſtians, in the ſame your kingdom,to grow and increaſe: which call themſelues the poore men of the treaſury of Chriſt and his diſciples,and whom the common people by a more ſounder name call Lollardes(as a man would ſaye withered darnell) according as their ſins require: and perceyue, that they waxe ſtrong,& as it were preuayle agaynſt the dioceſās of ſome places, and other gouernors as they meete together not courageouſly addreſsing themſelues agaynſt them as they ought to do(whereof chiefly and not vndeſeruedly I geue them admonition) for that they take thereby the more bolder preſumption and ſtomacke among the vnlearned people. And for as muche as thoſe whom we cannot call men,but the damnable ſhadowes or ghoſts of men,do riſe vp againſt the ſound fayth,& holy vnyuerſall church of Rome : and that very many of them beinge indifferently learned,which (to the confuſion & eternall damnation of ſome of them)they got ſitting vppon their mothers lap the ſayde Church of Rome, doe riſe vp or inueye agaynſt the determination of the holy fathers, with too much preſumptuous boldnes,to the ſubuerſion of the whole eccleſiaſticall order and eſtate: Haue not bene afrayd,nor are not yet afrayd,publikely to preach,very many erroneous deteſtable,and hereticall articles, for that they are not put to ſilence,reproued,driuen out,rooted out or otherwiſe puniſhed,by any that hath authoritie and the feare and loue of God. And alſo they are not afrayd,openlye to write the ſame articles,and ſo being written to deliuer thē to your kinglye parliament,and obſtinately to affirme the ſame. The venemous and diſdainfull recitall of which articles, vpon good aduiſement at this preſent we paſſe ouer:leſt the ſufferaunce of ſuch ſenſualitie, might fortune to renue the woūd that reaſon may heale. Yet notwithſtanding,leaſt ſo great and contagious an euil ſhould eſcape vnpuniſhed,and that without deſerued vexation, and alſo that it might not get more hart and waxe ſtronger:we therefore(according to that our office and duetie is,where ſuch neglygence and ſluggiſhnes of our prelates being preſent,where this thing is)do commit and geue in commaundemēt to our reuerend brethren, Canterbury,and Yorke,Archbiſhops by other oure letters : that they ſtand vp in the power of God agaynſt this peſtilent and cōtagious ſect, and that they liuely perſecute the ſame in forme of lawe:roote out and deſtroy thoſe,that aduiſedly and obſtinately refuſe to withdraw their foote frō the ſame ſtumbling block,any reſtraint to the contrary notwithſtanding. But becauſe the aſsiſtance,counſaile,fauour, and ayde of your kingly eſtate & highnes are requiſite to the execution of the premiſſes:we require,exhort,and beſeech the ſame your princely highnes, by the bowels of the mercy of Ieſus Chriſt,by his holy fayth,by your owne ſaluation,by the benefit that to all men is common,and by the proſperitie aſſured to euery man and woman , that not onelye your kingly ſeueritie may readily ſhewe and cauſe to bee ſhewed vnto our Archbiſhops and their Commiſſaries (in this behalfe requyring the foreſayd due execution) conuenient ayd and fauour , as otherwiſe alſo to cauſe them to be aſsiſted:But that alſo you wil enioyne your Magiſtrates and Iuſtices of aſsiſe , and peace more ſtraightly,that of their owne good wils,they execute the authoritie committed vnto thē,with al ſeueritie againſt ſuch damned men,according as they are boūd by the office which they are put in truſt with: Againſt thoſe I mene, which haue determyned obſtinatly to defile thēſelues in their malice and ſinnes, thoſe to expell,baniſh,and impriſon,and there ſo long to keepe them, til cōdigne ſentence ſhall pronounce them worthye to ſuffer punyſhment. For your kingly wiſedome ſeeth,that ſuch as they be , do not only deceiue poore ſimple ſouls (or at the leaſt do what they can to deceiue thē)but alſo bring their bodies to deſtructiō,and further prepare confuſion and ruinous fall vnto their temporall Lordes. Go to therefore my ſweete ſonne,and indeuour your ſelf to worke ſo in this matter,as vndoubtedly we truſt you will:that as this firebrand(burning and flaming ouer ſore)beganne vnder your preſident or gouernment : ſo vnder your ſeuere iudgement and vertuous diligence, might, fauour, and ayde:not one ſparke remaine hid vnder the aſhes, but that it be vtterlye extinguyſhed and ſpedely put out.

As though no learninge were but in the church of Rome.

The dragō here ſpouteth out his floudes of water to drowne the Chriſtians.

Behold the ſpirit of the popes meke holynes.

The bowels of Ieſus Chriſt be full of mercy: the bowels of the pope full of tyranny.

Helpe the pope at a pinche:or els he is like to take a fall.

¶Geuen at our palace of S.Peter at Rome, the xv. Calendes of October,in the ſixt yere of our pontificalitie.

¶The Kynges Commiſſion.

RIchard by the grace of God,kyng of Englande,& of Fraunce, and Lorde of Irelande. To all thoſe vnto whom theſe preſent letters ſhall come, greeting. Know ye, that where as lately at the inſtance of the reuerend father, William Archbiſhop of Caunterbury,Metropolitane of all England, and Legate of the Apoſtolycal ſeate:we for the redreſſe and amendement of all thoſe whych would obſtinately preach or maintaine,publiquely,or priuely,any concluſions of the holy ſcripture,repugnant to the determynatiō of our holy mother the church, & notoriouſly redounding to the ſubuerſion of the Catholique faith, or cōtaining any hereſie or errour,within the prouince or biſhopricke of Cāterburie: Haue by our ſpecial letters patents,in the zeale of the fayth,geuē authoritie and licence vnto the foreſayd Archbiſhop & to all and ſingular his ſuffraganes , to areſt all and euerye of them that will preach or maintaine any ſuch cōcluſions, whereſoeuer they may be found,and to cōmit them either to their owne priſons or any others at their owne pleaſure:and to kepe thē in the ſame, vntill they repēt them of the errours & prauities of thoſe hereſies:or til that,of ſuch maner of areſts,by vs or by our counſayle it ſhoulde be otherwiſe determined, that is to ſay,to euery one of them and their miniſters throughout their cities and dioces. And nowe the reuerēd father in god Iohn B.of Herford,hath for a certaintie informed vs: that although the ſame B. hath accordinge to iuſtyce cōuinced a certain felow named W.Swinderby,pretending himſelf to be a chaplaine,& one Stephē Bell a learned man,and hath pronounced thē heretikes and excōmunicate, & falſe informers among the cōmon people,and hath declared the ſame by the definitiue ſentence of the aforeſaid biſhop for that they haue preſumed to affirme and preach openly in diuers places within the dioces of Herford,many concluſions or naughty opinions notoriouſly redounding to the ſubuerſion of the Catholike ſound faith, and tranquilitie of our kingdome. The ſame Biſhop notwithſtandinge, neyther by the eccleſiaſticall cenſures,neyther yet by the force and ſtrength of our cōmiſsion was able to reuoke the foreſaid William and Stephen,nor yet to bridle the malice and indurate contumacie of them:For that they,after that they were vpon ſuch heretical prauitie conuict by the ſame biſhop(to the intent they might delude his iudgement and iuſtice)conueyed thēſelues by and by,vnto the borders of Wales, with ſuche as were their factours and accomplices, in keping themſelues cloſe, vnto whō the force of our ſaid letters doth in no wiſe extende. Whereupon, the ſayde Biſhop hath made ſupplycation vnto vs,that wee will vouchſafe to prouide a ſufficient remedye in that behalfe. Wee therfore which alwayes(by the helpe of almightie God)are defēdours of the fayth,willing to withſtand ſuche preſumptuous and peruerſe enterpriſes by the moſt ſafeſt way and meanes we maye geue and cōmit full power and authoritie to the foreſayd biſhop and to his miniſters, by the tenour of theſe preſents,to arreſt or take,or cauſe to be arreſted or taken, the foreſayde William and Sthephen,in any place within the citie & dioces of Hereford and our dominiō of Wales,with al the ſpeede that may be,and to cōmit thē either to our priſon or els to the priſon of the ſame biſhop or any other priſon at their pleaſure, if ſuch neede bee,and there to keepe thē ſafe. And afterwards, vnles they will obey the commaundements of the Church,with dilygence to bring them before vs and our cōūſel,or els cauſe them to be brought. That we may determine for their further puniſhment, as we ſhall thinke it requiſite conuenient to be done by the aduiſe of our cōūſell , for the defence and preſeruation of the Catholike faith. And that the foreſayde William and Stephen,beinge ſuccoured by the aide of their factours or fauourers, ſhould not bee able to flye or eſcape to their accuſtomed ſtarting holes: and that the ſharpnes of their paines ſo aggrauated,may geue them ſufficient cauſe to returne to the lap againe of their holy mother the church:we ſtrayghtlye charge and commaunde all and ſingular our Shrifes,Bailifes,Barones,and al other our officers,in the Citie and Dioces of Hereford,& in any other place being within our dominion of wales, by the tenour of theſe preſentes: that from time to time (where they thinke it moſt meete)they cauſe it openly to be proclaimed in our name,that none,of what ſtate,degree, preeminence,kind, or other cōdition he ſhalbe of,do cheriſh opēly or ſecretlye, the foreſayd William and Steuen,vntil the time that they repent thē of their hereſies and errours, and ſhalbe recōciled vnto the holy Church of God: Neither that any perſon or perſons:be beleuers, fauorers,or receiuers, defendours , or in any caſe wittinglye inſtructours, of the ſaid William or Stephen,or any other of the reſidue of the heretikes that are to be cōuinced:vpon the forfaiture of all that euer they haue. And that alſo they geuing their attendance,be obedient & aunſwerable to the foreſayd biſhop and his deputies in this behalfe,for the execution of the premiſſes : and that they certify vs and our counſel diſtinctly, and plainly, from time to time,of the names of all and ſingular perſons,which ſhall fortune to be found culpable in this behalfe,vnder their ſeales. In witnes whereof,we haue cauſed theſe out letters patentes to be made. Witneſſe our ſelfe at Weſtminſter the ix.day of Marche, in the xv.yeare of our reigne.

Farington

The hoat cōplaynīg charitie of the B. of Herford.

W.Swinderby and Steuen Bel complayned of to the king.

Furioſo ne cōmittas gladium.

Pſeudo catholica fides.

¶An other letter of the ſayd kyng agaynſt Walter Brute.

RIchard by the grace of God kyng of England and of Fraunce and Lorde of Irelande : To hys beloued and faythfull Iohn Chāūdos knight,Iohn Eynſore knight, Renold de la Bere knight Walter Deueros knight, Thomas de la Bare knight, William Lucie knight, Leonard Hakelute knight , and to the Maior of the

An other letter of K. Richard againſt W. Brute.

Citie of Hereford, to Thomas Oldcaſtle, Rich. Naſh, Roger Wygmore, Thomas Waylwayne, Iohn Skydmore, Iohn VpHarry, Henry Motton, and to the Shiriffe of Hereford, ſendeth ſalutations.

Walter Brute.

For aſmuche as it is aduertiſed vs, that one Walter Brute, and other ſuch children of iniquitie, haue damnably holden, affirmed, and preached, certaine articles and concluſions being notoriouſly repugnaunt againſt the holy Scripture (of the which, ſome of them as hereſies, and the reſt as errours, are finally by the Church condemned) and that in diuers places within the dioces of Hereford and partes neare adioyning, both priuely, openly, and obſtinately: which thing wee perceiue not onely to redounde to the ſubuerſion (in a maner) of the Catholicke faith, which as well we, as other catholicke Princes ought of duety to maintaine, but alſo to forewarne vs of the ſubuerſion of our faithfull Dioceſans. And that the ſayd Biſhop, vpon the good deliberation and aduiſement of a great number of Doctours in Diuinitie, and other learned & skilfull men in the Scriptures, of ſpeciall deuotion, according to his bounden duetie, purpoſed to begin and make diuers and ſundry proceſſes by law to be ſent vnto the foreſayd Walter and hys accomplices, to appere perſonally before him and other the Doctours aforeſaid, in the cathedrall church of Hereford, the morow after the tranſlation of S. Thomas of Hereforde next enſuing, and to procede in the ſame place againſt the ſame Walter, in the foreſaide articles and concluſions, for the amendement of his ſoule. Now a freſh (becauſe that the ſayd Walter and others of their retinue, cleauing and confederating with him, might not ſuffer condigne paines according to their demerites) indeuour themſelues to make voide and fruſtrate the ſayde godly purpoſe of the ſame Biſhop, in ſuch correction & execution as ſhould haue bene done: and with force doe reſiſt and let the ſame with all the power they may, to the great contempt of vs and of our crowne, and to the breaking and hurting of our peace, and pernicious example of others: Doe appoynt you and euery of you, immediatly as ſoone as this our commiſsion ſhall be deliuered vnto you, in our behalfe and name, to make open proclamation in the dioceſſe and partes aforeſayde, where ye ſhall thinke it moſt meete and conuenyent: That no man be ſo hardy hencefoorth, of what ſtate or condition ſoeuer he ſhall be, within the Dioces and partes aforeſayde, vpon paine of forfaiture of all that euer hee hath, to make or leauie any conuenticles, aſſemblies, or confederacies, by any colour: or that they preſume to attempt or procure any other thing, wherby our peace may be hurt or broken, or that the ſame Biſhops and Doctors aforeſaid, may be by any meanes moleſted or let in the execution of ſuche correction as is to be done, according to the Canonical ſanctions, and to areſt all thoſe which ye ſhal finde or take offending in this behalfe, or that keepe themſelues in any ſuche conuenticles. And that they being committed to priſon, be there kept, till you ſhall haue other commaundement from vs and our counſel for their deliueraunce: And that ye diſtinctly and plainly certifie vs and our ſayd counſell, of all your doing in thys behalfe vnder your ſeales, or elſe the ſeales of ſome of you. And therefore we ſtraightly charge and commaunde you, and euery of you: that ye diligently attende vpon the premiſſes, and that in your deedes yee execute the ſame with all diligence and carefull indeuour, in the forme and maner aforeſaide. And further, wee geue ſtraight charge and commaundement to all and ſingular Shriffes, Maiors, Bailiffes, Conſtables, and other our faithfull ſubiectes, by the tenour of theſe preſents: that they be attending vpon you, counſelling and aiding you and euery of you, as is meete and conuenient in the doing and execution of the premiſſes. In witneſſe whereof, we haue cauſed theſe our letters patents to be made. Witneſſe my ſelfe at Weſtminſter, the 22. day of September, in the 17. yeare of our raigne:

Whether the doctrine of Brute was euer againſt reſiſtance, howe is this lyke to be true.

¶By the ſame King and Counſell.

K. Richard ſet agaynſt the Goſpellers by the Archb. and the prelates. *Ex Regiſt. W. Courtney Archb. Cant.*

Thus king Richard by the ſetting on of W. Courtney Archb. of Canterb. and his fellowes, taking part wyth the Pope, and Romiſh Prelates: waxed ſomething ſtrait and harde to the poore Chriſtians of the contrary ſide of Wycklieffe, as by theſe letters aboue prefixed may appeare. Albeit, during all the life of the ſaide king, I finde of none expreſly by name that ſuffered burning. Notwythſtanding, ſome there were which by the foreſaide Archbiſh. William Courtney, and other Biſhops, had bene condemned and diuers alſo abiured, and did penance as well in other places, as chiefly about the towne of Leyceſter as followeth here to be declared, out of the Archbyſhoppes regiſter and recordes.

Roger Dexter, Nicholas Taylor, Rich. Wagſtaffe, Mich. Scriuener, W. Smith, Ioh. Henry, W. Parchmener, Roger Goldſmith accuſed.

At what time the ſaide Archbiſhop W. Courtney was in his viſitation at the towne of Leyceſter, certaine there were accuſed and detected to him, by the monks and other Prieſtes in the ſayd towne. The names of which perſons there detected, were one Roger Dexter, Nicholas Taylor Richard Wagſtaffe, Michael Scriuener, William Smith, Iohn Henry, Wil. Parchmeanar, and Roger Goldſmith, inhabitantes of the ſame towne of Leyceſter: Theſe wyth other moe, were denounced to the Archbyſhop for holding the opinion of the Sacrament of the aultare, of auriculare confeſſion, and other Sacraments, contrary to that which the Church of Rome doth preach and obſerue. All whych parties aboue named, & many other mo whoſe names are not knowen, did hold theſe hereſies and errors here vnder wrytten, and are of the Romiſh church condemned.

1. That in the Sacrament of the aultar, after the wordes of conſecration, there remaineth the body of Chriſt wyth the materiall bread.
2. That images ought not to be worſhipped in any caſe, nor that no man ought to ſet any candles before them.
3. That no croſſe ought to be worſhipped.
4. That Maſſes, and Mattens, ought not wyth an high and loud voice to be ſayd in the Church.
5. Item, that no Curate or Prieſt taken in any crime can conſecrate, heare confeſſions, nor miniſter any of the Sacraments of the church.
6. That the Pope and all prelates of the Churche, can not binde any man to the ſentence of excommunication, vnles they know him to be firſt excommunicated of God.
7. That no Prelate of the church, can graunt any pardons.
8. That euery lay man may in euery place, preach & teach the Goſpell.
9. That it is ſinne to geue any almes or charitie, to the friers preachers, Minorites, Auguſtines, or Carmelites.
10. That no oblation ought to be vſed at the funeralles of the dead.
11. That it is not neceſſary to make confeſſyon of oure ſinnes to the Prieſt.
12. That euery good man although hee be vnlearned, is a Prieſt.

Roger, Nicholas, Richard, Michell, William, and Roger, accurſed with booke, bell, and candle.

These Articles they taught, preached, & affirmed manifeſtly in the towne of Leceiter & other places adioyning: wherupon, the ſaide Archb. moniſhed the ſaide Roger, and Nicholas with the reſt, on the next day to make anſwer vnto him in the ſayd monaſtery to the foreſayd articles. But the foreſaide Roger and Nicholas with the reſt, hid theſelues out of the way, and appeared not. Whereupon, the Archb. vpon All hallow day, being the 1. day of Nouember, celebrating the high maſſe at the high aulter in the ſayd monaſterie, being attired in hys Pontificalibus: denounced the ſaide parties with all their adherents, fautors, fauourers, and counſellers, excommunicate and accurſed, whych eyther helde, taught, or maintained the foreſaide concluſions heretical & erroneous, and that in ſolemn wiſe, by ringing the bels, lighting the candels, and putting out the ſame againe, and throwing them downe to the grounde with other circumſtances thereunto belonging. Upon the morow after (being all Soulne day) he ſent for al the curates & other lay men of the towne of Leiceſter, to inquire more diligently of the verity of ſuch matter as they knewe, & were able to ſay againſt any perſons whatſoeuer, concerning ye foreſayd articles, as alſo againſt the parties before named and ſpecified vpon their othes: denouncing euery one of them, ſeuerally by their names to be excomunicated and accurſed, & cauſed them alſo in diuers pariſh churches in Leiceſter, alſo to be excommunicate. And further the ſaid Archb. interdicted the whole Towne of Leyceſter, & all the churches in the ſame, ſo long as any of the foreſayde excommunicate perſons ſhould remaine or be wythin the ſame, and till that all the lollardes of the towne, ſhould returne and amend from ſuch hereſies & errors, obtaining at the ſayde Archb. hys handes the benefite of abſolution.

The whole towne of Leiceſter interdicted.

Matild an Anchores, cited to appeare.

At length it was declared & ſhewed to the ſayd Archb. that there was a certain anchoreſſe whoſe name was Matilde, incloſed wythin the Churchyard of S. Peters church of the ſayd towne of Leyceſter, to be infected (as they ſayd) with the peſtiferous contagion of the foreſaid heretikes & lollardes: wherupon, after that the ſayd Archb. had examined the foreſayd Matilde, touching the foreſayde concluſions, hereſies, and errours, and founde her not to anſwere plainly and directly to the ſame, but ſophiſtically and ſubtelly: gaue and aſſigned vnto her a day peremptorie, perſonally to appeare before hym in the Monaſterie of S. Iames at Northampton, more fully to aunſwer to the ſayde articles, hereſies, and errours, which was the 6. day of the ſayd moneth of Nouember: commanding the abbot of the monaſterie of Pratis aforeſayd, that the dore of the recluſe in which the ſayd Matild was, ſhould be opened, and that til his returne he ſhuld cauſe her to be put in ſafe cuſtody. That done, he ſent forth his mandate, againſt the lolardes vnder this forme.

The kings proces ſent by the B. to areſt the 8. aforenamed.

¶William by the permiſſion of God. &c. To his welbeloued ſonnes, the Maior & bailiffes, of the towne of Leiceſter Dioces, greeting. Wee haue lately receiued, the kings letters graciouſly graunted vs for ye defence of the catholike faith, in theſe wordes folowing. Richarde by the grace of God, King of England and of Fraunce. &c. Wee on the behalfe of our holy mother the Church, by the kings authoritie aforeſaid, do require you: that you cauſe the ſame Richard, William, Roger, and the reſt, to be areſted, and ſent vnto vs, that they wyth their pernicious doctrine doe not infect the people of God. &c. Geuen vnder our ſeale. &c.

Margaret Caily a Nun conſtrained agaynſt her will to take againe her habite.

By an other inſtrument alſo in the ſame Regiſter, is mention made of one Margaret Caily Nonne, whych forſaking her order, was by the ſayde Archb. conſtrayned againſt her wil, againe to enter the ſame, as by thys inſtrument here vnder inſuing may appeare.

¶ William by the grace of God. &c. To our reuerend brother in God, Iohn by the grace of God, Byſhop of Ely greting. &c. In the viſitation of our dioces of Lincolne according to our office, amōgſt other enormities worthy reformation, we found, one ſhepe out of our fold ſtrayed and amongeſt the briers tangled, to witte, Margarete Caily, Nunne profeſſed, of the monaſterie of S. Radegonde wͭin your Dioceſſe: who caſting the habite of her Relygion, was founde in ſecular attire, many yeares being an Apoſtata, & leading a diſſolute life. And leaſt her bloud ſhoulde be required at our hands, we haue cauſed her to be taken, and brought vnto you being her paſtor: and ſtraitly inioyning you by theſe preſents do commaund, that you admit the ſame Margarete againe into her foreſayd Monaſterie (although returned againſt her wil) or els into ſome other place, where for her ſoules health you ſhall thincke moſte conuenient: and that from henceforth ſhe be ſafely kept, as in the ſtraight examination of the ſame you wil yeld an accompt. Geuen vnder our ſeale. &c.

Matild recāteth.

By ſundry other inſtrumentes alſo in the ſame regiſter recorded I finde, that the foreſaide Matilde the anchoreſſe, vpon the ſtraight examination and handeling of the foreſaid Archbiſhop, before whome peremptorily ſhe was enioyned to appeare, and till that day of apparance taken out of the recluſe and committed to ſafe cuſtodie as you heard: retracted and recanted her foreſayd articles and opinions. For the which ſhe being enioyned 40. dayes penance, was againe admitted into her foreſaid recluſe in Leyceſter. The Byſhops letter to the Magiſtrates of the towne thus beginneth. Willielmus permiſſione diuina. &c. dilectis filijs. &c.

William Smith Roger Dexter, & Alice his wife abiure.

Alſo, by an other letter of the foreſayde Archbiſh. to the Deane of the Cathedrall church of our Ladye of Leyceſter being regiſtred, I finde: that of the number of thoſe 8. perſons before recited, whom the Archbiſhop himſelfe at high Maſſe, did in hys Pontificalibus ſo ſolemnely curſe wyth booke, bell, and candle: After certeine proces being ſent out againſt them, or els in the meane time being apprehended & taken: two of them recanted their opinions, to wit, William Smith, and Roger Dexter. But in the meane tyme Alyce the wife of the ſayde Roger Dexter, takyng holde of the foreſaid articles with her huſband alſo, together wyth the ſaid William Smith, abiured the ſame. For theſe be the wordes of the inſtrument. Subſequenter verò, præfati Willielmus, Rogerus, & Alicia reatus ſuos reſpicientes, ſe noſtro conſpectui præſentarunt. &c. Notwythſtanding, whether they preſented thēſelues willingly, or els were brought againſt their wils (as moſt like it was) hard penance was enioyned them before they were abſolued. Theſe be the wordes of the inſtrument.

Sancta mater eccleſia. &c. i. Seeing our holy mother the church, denieth not her lap to any penitēt childe returning to the vnitie of her, but rather profereth to them the ſame: we therefore do receiue againe the ſayd William, Roger, & Alice to grace. And further haue cauſed them to abiure all and ſingular the aforeſaide articles & opinions before they receiued of vs the benefit of abſolution, & were looſed from the ſentence of excōmunication wherin they were ſnarled: inioyning vnto them penance, according to the quantitie of the crime, in forme as foloweth, that is to ſay.

The maner of their penance inioyned.

That euery one of them ẏ ſonday next after their returning to their proper goodes: they the ſayd William, Roger, & Alice, holding euery one an image of ẏ crucifix in their right hands, and in their left handes euery one of them a taper of waxe, waying half a pound waight, in their ſhirts (hauing none other apparel vppon them) doe goe before the Croſſe three times, during the proceſſion of the Cathedrall Churche of our Lady of Leceſter: that is to ſay, in the beginning of the proceſſion, in the middle of the proceſſion, and in the latter end of the proceſſion: to the honor of hym that was crucified in the memoriall of his paſſion, and to the honor of the virgin his mother: who alſo deuoutly bowing their knees and kneeling, ſhall kiſſe the ſame crucifixe ſo helde in their handes. And ſo with the ſame proceſſion, they entring againe into the church: ſhall ſtand during all the time of the holy Maſſe, before the image of the Croſſe with their Tapers and croſſes in their handes. And when the Maſſe is ended, the ſayde William, Roger, & Alice, ſhall offer to him that celebrated that day the Maſſe. Then vpon the Saterday next inſuing: the ſayd William, Roger, and Alice, ſhal in the full and publique market, within the towne of Leiceſter, ſtande in like manner in their ſhirtes, without any more clothes vpon their bodies, holding the foreſayd croſſes in their right hāds, which croſſes, three times they ſhal (during the market) deuoutly kiſſe reuerently kneelyng vppon their knees: that is, in the beginning of the market, in the middle of the market, and in the ende of the market. And the ſayde William (for that hee ſomewhat vnderſtandeth the Latine tounge) ſhall ſay this Antheame wyth the collect Sancta Katharina: and the foreſayde Roger and Alice, being vnlearned, ſhall ſay deuoutly a Pater noſter, and an Aue Maria. And thirdly, the Sonday next immediatly after the ſame, the ſayde William, Roger, and Alice, in their pariſh Church of the ſayd towne of Leiceſter, ſhall ſtand and do as vppon the Sonday before, they ſtoode and dyd in the cathedrall Church of our Ladie aforeſayde, in all thynges. Which done, the foreſayd William, Roger, and Alice, after Maſſe, ſhall offer to the Prieſt or chaplaine that celebrated the ſame, with all humiliti and reuerence the waxe tapers, which they ſhall carie in their handes. And becauſe of the colde weather ẏ now is, leaſt the foreſaid penitents myght peraduenture take ſome bodely hurt ſtanding ſo long naked (being mindful to moderate partly the ſayd our rigor) we geue leaue: That after their entrance into the churches aboue ſayde, whileſt they ſhall be in hearing the foreſayde maſſes: that they may put on neceſſary garments to keepe them from cold, ſo that their heads and feete notwithſtanding, be bare and vncouered. Wee therefore will and commaund you together and a part, that you denounce the ſaid William, Roger, and Alice, to be abſolued and reſtored againe to the vnitie of our holy mother the church, and that you call them forth to do their penance in maner and forme aforeſayde. Giuen at Dorcheſter, the 17. day of Nouember in the yeare of our Lorde God 1389. and the 9. yeare of our tranſlation.

Ann. 1389.

3. kiſſes of the croſſe.

The collect of Katheria. The Pater noſter, & Aue Maria.

Cold weather graciouſly conſidered.

Peter Pateſhul againſt the friers.

Unto the narration of theſe aboue ſayd, we wil adioyne the ſtory of one Peter Pateſhul an Auſten Frier, who obtaining by the Popes priuiledge (through the meanes of Walter Dis, confeſſour to the Duke of Lancaſter) libertie to chaunge his coat and religion, and hearing the doctrine of Iohn Wickleffe & other of the ſame ſort: began at length to preach opēly and to detect the vices of his order, in ſuch ſorte as all men wondered to heare the horrible recyting thereof. This being brought to the eares of hys order, they to the number of 12. (cōming out of their houſe to the place where he was preaching) thought to haue withſtode hym perforce. Among whome one eſpecially for the zeale of hys religion, ſtoode vp openly in his preaching, and contraried ẏ which he ſaid, who then was preaching in the Church of S. Chriſtopher in London.

Londiners againſt the friers.

This when the faithfull Londoners did ſee, taking griefe hereat, were moued wͭ great ire againſt the ſaide Frier, thruſting him with hys other brethren out of the church, whome they not onely had beaten and ſore woūded, but alſo followed them home to their houſe, mineding to haue deſtroied their manſion wͭ fire alſo, and ſo would haue done, had not one of the ſheriffes of London, wyth two of the Friers of the ſayde houſe well knowen & reported amongſt the Londiners, wyth gentle wordes mitigated their rage and violence.

Peter Pateſhull.

After thys, Peter Pateſhull thus diſturbed as is aforeſayd, was deſired by the Londiners (for ſo much as he could not well preach amongeſt them) to put in writing that, which he had ſayde before, and other things more that he knew by the Friers: who then at their requeſt wryting the ſame, accuſed the friers of murther, cōmitted againſt diuers of their brethren.

The Fryers accuſed with horrible crimes.

And to make the matter more apparant & credible, he declared the names of them that were murthered, wyth the names alſo of their tormentours. And named moreouer, time and place where and when they were murthered, and where they were buryed. Hee affirmed further, that they were Sodomites and traitours both to the kyng and the realme with many other crimes, which mine authour for tedionſnes, leaueth of to recite. And for the more confutation of the ſaid friers, the Londiners cauſed the ſayd Bill, to be openly ſet vp at S. Paules Churche doore in London, which was there red and copied out of very many. Thys was done in the yeare of our Lord 1387. and in the 10. yere of King Richarde ſeconde. Ex Chron. Monachi Albanenſis.

Anno 1387.

Ex Chron. D. Albani.

Cuius eſt exordium. Anno gratiæ milleſimo. &c.

Thus it may appeare by this and other aboue recited, how the Goſpel of Chriſt preached by Iohn Wickleffe and others, began to ſpread & fructifie abroad in London, and other places of the realme: and more would haue done no doubt, had not William Courtney, the Archbiſhop & other Prelates with the king, ſet them ſo forceably with myght & maine, to gainſtand the courſe therof. Albeit as is ſayde before, I finde none which yet were put to death therfore, during the raigne of this king Richard the ſecond. Wherby it is to be thought of this king, that although he cānot be vtterly excuſed for moleſting the godly & innocent preachers of that time, (as by his brieues & letters afore mentioned may appeare) yet neither was hee ſo cruell againſt them, as other that came after him: And that which he dyd ſeemed to procede by the inſtigation of the Pope and other Byſhops, rather then either by the conſent of his Parliament, or aduiſe of his coūſail about him, or els by his own nature. For as the decrees of ẏ parliament in all his tyme, were conſtant in ſtopping out the Popes prouiſions, & in bridling his authority as we ſhall ſee (Chriſt willing) anone: ſo ẏ nature of the king was not altogether ſo fierſly ſet, if that he following the guiding thereof, had not ſtand ſo much in feare of the Biſhop of Rome and his Prelates, by whoſe importune letters & calling on, he was cōtinually vrged, to do contrary to that, which both right required, & wil perhaps in him deſired. But howſoeuer the doings of this king are to be excuſed, or not, vndouted it is ẏ Queene Anne hys wife moſt rightly deſerueth ſingulare commendation: who at the ſame time liuing with ẏ kyng had the goſpels of Chriſt in Engliſh, wͭ 4. doctours vpon the ſame. This Anne was a Bohemian borne, and ſiſter to Wincelaus K. of Boheme before: who was maryed to king Richarde about the 5. (ſome ſay, the 6.) yeare of hys reigne, and continued wͭ hym the ſpace of 11. yeres. By the occaſion whereof it may ſeeme not vnprobable, ẏ the Bohemians comming in wyth her, or reſorting into thys realme after her, peruſed and receiued heere the bookes of Iohn Wickleffe, which afterward they conueied into Bohemia, wherof partly mention is made before, pag. 464.

Few or none burned in K. Richardes time.

Kings manytymes brought in two much feare of the Pope.

Commēdation of Queene Anne wife to king Richard.

Anno. 1394.

The mariage of Queene Anne to K. Richard. The occasiō how the doctrine of Wickliffe came to Bohemia.

The ſaid vertuous Queene Anne, after ſhee had liued with king Richarde about 11. yeares, in the 17. yeare of hys reigne changed this mortall life, and was buried at Weſtminſter. At whoſe funeral, Thomas Arundel then Archb. of Yorke, and Lorde Chauncelour, made the Sermon. In which Sermon (as remaineth in the library of Worceter recorded) he entreating of the commendation of her, ſayde theſe wordes: that it was more ioy of her, then of any woman that euer hee knewe. For notwithſtanding that ſhee was an alien borne, ſhe had in Engliſh all the 4. goſpels, wͭ the Doctours vpon them: affirming moreouer and teſtifying, ẏ ſhe had ſent the ſame vnto him to examine. And he ſayde they were good and true. And further wyth many wordes of praiſe did greatly commend her, in that ſhe being ſo great a Lady, & alſo an alien, would ſtudy ſo lowly ſo vertuous bookes. And he blamed in that ſermon ſharply the negligence of the Prelates, & other men. In ſo much that ſome ſayd, he would on the morow, leaue vp the office of Chauncelour, and forſake the world; & geue him to fulfil his paſtoral office, for that he had ſeene and read in thoſe bookes. And then it had bene the beſt Sermon that euer they heard. Hæc ex libro Wygo. In the whiche Sermon of Thomas Arundell, three poynts are to be conſidered, firſt the laudable vſe of thoſe olde times receaued to haue the Scripture and Doctours in our vulgare Engliſh toung. Secondly, the vertuous exerciſe and alſo example of thys godly Lady, who had theſe bookes not for a ſhew hanging at her girdle: but alſo ſeemeth by this Sermon to be a ſtudious occupier of the ſame. The third thing to be noted is, what fruit the ſayde Thomas Archbyſhoppe declared alſo himſelfe to receiue at the hearing and reading of the ſame bookes of hers in the Engliſh toung. Notwythſtanding, the ſame Thomas Arundel, after this Sermone and promiſe made, became the moſt cruell enemy that might be againſt Engliſh bookes, and the authors therof as foloweth after in his ſtory to be ſeene.

The death of Queene Anne.

Ex fragmento Libri cuiuſdam Wigornēſis bibliotheca.

Ex accommodato D. Math. Archb. Can.

Queene Anne had the 4. Goſpels, with the Doctors in Engliſhe.

Tho. Arundell, Arch. breaketh his owne promiſe.

For ſhortly after the death of Queene Anne, the ſame yere (the king being then in Irelād) this Thomas Arundel Archb. of Yorke, and Byſhop of London, Rob. Braybrocke (whether ſent by the Archb. of Cant. and the clergy, or whether going of their owne accorde) croſſed the ſeas to Ireland, to deſire the king in all ſpedy wiſe to returne and help the faith and church of Chriſt, againſt ſuch as holding of Wickleffes teaching, went about (as they ſayde) to ſubuert al their procedings, and to deſtroy the canonical ſanctions of their holy mother church. At whoſe complaint the king hearing the one part ſpeake, and not aduiſing the other, was in ſuch ſorte incenſed: that incontinent leauing all his affaires incomplete, he ſpedde his returne towarde England. Where he kept his Chriſtmas at Dublin, in the which meane time, in the beginning of the next yere following, which was Anno 1395. a Parliament was called at Weſtminſter, by the commaundement of the Kyng. In which parliament, certaine Articles or Concluſions were put vp by them of the Goſpell ſide, to the number of 12. Which Concluſions moreouer were faſtened vp vpon the church doore of S. Paule in London, and alſo at Weſtminſter: The copie of which Concluſions with the wordes and contents thereof, here vnder enſueth.

Tho. Arundell and the B. of Lōdon, go to Irelād to the King to complain of the fauorers of Gods worde.

Ex hiſtor. D. Albani.

Anno. 1395.

Concluſiōs offred vp in the parliament houſe.

¶ The booke of Concluſions, or Reformations, exhibited to the Parliament holden at London, and ſet vp at Paules doore and other places, in the 18. yeare of the raigne of king Richard the 2. & in the yere of our Lord. 1395.

The firſt concluſion, when as the Church of Englande began firſt to dote in tēporalities after her ſtepmother the great church of Rome, & the churches were authorized by appropriations: faith, hope, and charitie began in diuers places to vaniſh and flie away from our Churche, for ſo much as pride with her moſt lamentable and dolerous genealogie of mortall and deadly ſinnes, did chalenge that place by title of heritage, and this concluſion is generall and approued by experiēce, cuſtome and maner, as ye ſhall after heare.

Concluſions exhibited in the parliament.

The ſecond concluſion, ẏ our vſuall Prieſthode which tooke his originall at Rome, & fained to be a power higher then aungels, is not that Prieſthode which Chriſt ordeyned vnto his diſciples. This cōcluſion is thus proued, forſo much as the Romiſh prieſthod is done with ſignes and pontificall rites and ceremonies, and benedictions, of no force & effect, neither hauing any ground in ſcripture, for ſo much as the Biſhops ordinall and the new Teſtament do nothing at all agree, neither do we ſee that the holy Ghoſt doth geue any good gift through any ſuch ſigns or ceremonies: becauſe that he together with all noble & good giftes, cannot cōſiſt and be in any perſon wyth deadly ſinne. The corolary or effect of this concluſion is, that it is a lamentable and dolorous mockerye vnto wiſe men, to ſee the Byſhops mocke & play with the holy Ghoſt in the geuing of their orders: becauſe they geue crowns for their characters and markes, in ſtede of white hartes, & this caracter is the marke of Antichriſt, brought into the holy Church to cloke and colour their idleneſſe.

Papiſticall prieſthood.

The third concluſion, that the law of chaſtity enioyned vnto prieſthode, the which was firſt ordeined to the preiudice of women, induceth Sodomy into the church: but we doe excuſe vs by the Bible, becauſe the ſuſpect decree doeth ſay, that we ſhould not name it. Both reaſon & experience proueth this cōcluſion. Reaſon thus, forſomuch as the delicate feeding and fare of the Clergy, will haue either a naturall purgation, or ſome worſe. Experience thus, for ſomuch as the ſecrete triall and proofe of ſuche men is, ẏ they do delite in women. And whenſoeuer thou doeſt proue or ſee ſuch a man, marke him well, for he is one of ẏ number. The corolarie of this concluſion is, that theſe priuate religions with the beginners therof, ought moſt chiefly to be diſanulled as the original of ẏ ſinne and offence: But God of hys might, doth of priuie ſinnes ſend open vengeance.

The ſingle life of prieſtes.

He doth very excellently paint out the lecherous clergie.

He prophecieth agaynſt mōkery.

The fourth concluſion, that moſt harmeth the innocent people is this: that the fained miracle of the Sacrament of bread, induceth al men, except it be a very few, vnto idolatry: For ſomuch as they thinke that the body whych ſhall neuer bee oute of heauen, is by the vertue of the Prieſtes wordes eſſentially included in the little breade, the which they doe ſhewe vnto the people. But woulde to God they would beleeue that which the Euangelicall Doctour teacheth vs in his Trialoge, Quòd panis altaris eſt accidentaliter Corpus Chriſti. i. that the breade of the aulter is the body of Chriſt accidentally: for ſo muche as wee ſuppoſe that by that meanes, euery faithful man and woman in the law of God, may make the Sacrament of that bread without any ſuch miracle. The corolarie of this concluſion is, that albeit the body of Chriſt, be endowed wͭ the eternal ioy, the ſeruice of Corpus Chriſti made by Frier Thomas, is not true, but painted ful of falſe miracles, neither is it any marueil: for ſo much as frier Thomas at that time taking part with the Pope, would haue made a myracle of a hens egge, and we knowe it very well that euery lie openly preached and taught, doth turne to the rebuke & opprobry of him whych is alwayes true without any lacke.

The fayned myracle of tranſubſtantiation.

He meaneth here Wickliffe.

The feaſt of Corpus Chriſti inuented by Tho. Aquinas.

The 5. concluſion is this, that the exorciſme & halowings, conſecrations, and bleſſings ouer the Wine, Bread, The exorciſmes and bleſſinges of Prieſtes.

ware, water, Oyle, Salte, Incence, the Aulter ſtone, and about the Churche walles, ouer the Veſtiment, Chalice, Miter, Croſſe, and Pilgrimſtaues, are the very practiſes of Nigromancy, rather then of ſacred diuinity. This concluſion is thus proued, becauſe yͭ by ſuche exorciſmes, the creatures are honored to be of more force & power then by their own proper nature, for we do not ſee any alteration, or chaunge in any creature ſo exorciſed, except it be by falſe faith which is the principall poynt of deuiliſh art. The corolarie of this is, that if the booke of exorciſation or coniuring of holy water which is ſprinkled in the Church, were altogether faithfull and true: we thinke certainly that holy water vſed in the Churche, were the beſt medicine for all kinde of ſickneſſe and ſores, Cuius contrarium experimur. i. the contrary wherof daily experience doth teach vs.

The difference betwene the eccleſiaſtical & politike eſtate.

The ſixt concluſion which mainteineth much pride, is, that a king and Biſhop both in one perſon, a Prelate and iuſtice in temporall cauſes, a Curate an Officer in worldly office, doth make euery kingdome out of good order. This concluſion is manifeſt, becauſe the temporalty and the ſpirituality, are two parts of the holy vniuerſal Church, and therfore he which addicteth himſelf to the one part, let hym not intermeddle wyth the other, Quia nemo poteſt duobus Dominis ſeruire, wherfore to be called Amphroditæ, whyche are men of both kindes or Ambidextri, which is ſuch as can play with both handes, were good names for ſuche men of double eſtates. The Corolary of thys concluſion is, that therupon we the procuratours of God in this caſe, doe ſue vnto the Parliament: that it may be enacted, that all ſuche as be of the clergie (as well of the higheſt degree as of the loweſt) ſhuld be fully excuſed, and occupy themſelues with their owne cure and charge, and not wyth others.

The foundation of Maſſes for the dead.

The ſeuenth concluſion that wee mightely affirme is, that ſpirituall prayers made in the church for the ſoules of the deade (preferring any one man by name, more then an other) is a falſe foundation of almes, whereuppon all the houſes of almes in England are falſly founded. This concluſion is proued by two reaſons: The one is, that a meritorious praier (of any force or effect) ought to be a worke proceeding from meere charity: and perfect charity accepteth no perſon, becauſe thou ſhalt loue thy neighbor as thy ſelf. wherby it appeareth, that the benefit of any temporall gift beſtowed & geuen vnto prieſtes and houſes of almes, is the principall cauſe of any ſpeciall prayers, the which is not farre different from ſimonie. The other reaſon is, that euery ſpeciall prayer made for men condemned to eternall puniſhment, is very diſpleaſant before God. And albeit it be doubtful, yet is it very likely vnto the faithfull Chriſtian people, that the founders of euery ſuche houſe of almes for their wicked endowing of the ſame, are for yͤ moſt part paſſed by the broad way. The corolary is, that euery praier of force and effect proceeding of perfect charitie, woulde comprehend generally all ſuch, whom God wold haue ſaued, and to liue. The marchaundiſe of ſpecial praiers now vſed for the dead, maketh mendicant poſſeſſioners & other hierling prieſtes, which otherwiſe were ſtrong enough to worke & to ſerue the whole realme: And maintaineth the ſame in idleneſſe, to the great charge of the realme, becauſe it was proued in a certaine booke which yͤ king hath, that a hundreth houſes of almes, are ſufficient for the whole realme. And thereby might peraduenture greater increaſe and profite come vnto the temporalitie.

A hundred thouſes of almes ſufficient for England.

Pilgrimages & oblations.

The Image of the Trinitie an abhominable thing.

A poore man the perfect Image of God.

Latria. Dulia.

Iudas lippes.

The 8. concluſion needefull to tel to the people beguiled, is, that pilgrimages, praiers, and oblations made vnto blinde croſſes or roodes, or to deafe images made eyther of woode or ſtone: are very neare of kinde vnto Idolatry, and farre different frõ almes. And albeit that theſe thynges which are forbidden and imagined, are the booke of errour vnto the common people: notwithſtanding, the vſual and common image of the Trinity is moſt eſpecially abhominable. This concluſion God himſelfe doeth openly manyfeſt, commaunding almes to be geuen to the poore & needy man, for he is the image of God in more perfite ſimilitude and likeneſſe then any blocke or ſtone. For God did not ſay, let vs make a blocke or ſtone vnto our likenes and image, but let vs make man, for ſo muche as the ſupreme & higheſt honor which yͤ clergy calleth Latria, pertaineth only to the Godhead, & the inferior honour which clergy call Dulia, pertaineth vnto men and angels, and to none other inferior creature. The corolarie is, yͭ the ſeruice of yͤ croſſe celebrate twiſe euery yere in our church, is ful of idolatry: For if roode, tree, nailes, and ſpeare, ought ſo profoundly to be honoured and worſhipped, then were Iudas lippes (if any man could get them) a marueilous goodly relique. But thou Pilgrime, we pray thee tell vs, when thou doeſt offer to the bones of the Saintes and holy men whych are layd vp in any place: whether doſt thou relieue therby the holy man which is already in ioy, or that almes houſe that is ſo well endowed, whereas they are canoniſed (the Lord knoweth howe) and to ſpeake more plaine, euery faithfull Chriſtian may well iudge and ſuppoſe, that the ſtrokes of that ſame man, whom they call ſ. Thomas, were no cauſe of Martyrdome, nor yet be.

The death of Tho. Becket of Caunt, is not to be counted for martyrdõe.

Auricular confeſſion.

Confeſſion the miniſter of luſt.

The 9. concluſion that keepeth the people low, is, that auricular confeſſion which is ſaid to be ſo neceſſary for ſaluation, & the fained power of abſolution: exalteth and ſetteth vp the pride of prieſts, and geueth them oportunity of other ſecrete talkes, which we will not at thys time talke of, for ſo much as both Lordes and Ladies doe witnes that for feare of their confeſſors, they dare not ſpeake the truth: and in time of confeſſion is good oportunitie miniſtred, of wooing, or to play the baudes, or to make other ſecret conuentions to deadly ſinne. They affirme and ſay, that they are commiſſaries ſent of God to iudge & diſcerne of al maner ſinne, to pardone and clenſe what ſo euer pleaſe them. They ſay alſo, that they haue the keyes of heauen and hell, & that they can excommunicate, curſe and bleſſe, binde and looſe, at theyr owne will and pleaſure: in ſo muche, that for a ſmall rewarde, or for 12. d. they will ſell the bleſſyng of heauen by charter and clauſe of warrantes ſealed by theyr commõ ſeale. This concluſion is ſo common in vſe, that it nedeth not any probation. The corolarie hereof is, that the Pope of Rome whych fained himſelfe to be the profounde treaſurer of the whole Church, hauing that ſame worthy iewell which is the treaſure of the paſſion of Chriſt in hys owne keping and cuſtody, together with the merites of all the ſaintes in heauen, wherby he geueth fained indulgences and pardons a pœna & culpa: Hee is a treaſurer almoſt baniſhed out of chariti, wherby he may deliuer al captiues being in purgatory at hys pleaſure, and make them not to come there. But heere euery faithfull Chriſtian may eaſily perceiue that there is much falſhode hid in our church.

The impudent boldnes of Prieſtes.

The pope treaſurer of the Church, in ſteede of treaſure layeth vp coales.

How war is lawfull, the proofe by experience.

The 10. that manſlaughter (either by warre or by any pretenſed law of iuſtice, for any temporall cauſe, or ſpirituall reuelation) is expreſly contrary vnto the newe Teſtamẽt, which is the law of grace, full of mercy. This concluſion is euidently proued by the examples of the preachyng of Chriſt heere in earth, who chiefly teacheth euery man to loue his enemies, and haue compaſſiõ vpon them, and not to kill and murther them. The reaſon is this, that for the moſt part when as men do fight, after the firſt ſtroke, charity is broken: and whoſoeuer dieth without charity, goth the right way to hell. And beſide that, we doe well vnderſtand & know that none of the clergy, neither by any other lawfull reaſon, can deliuer any man from the puniſhment of death, for one deadly ſinne, and not for an other: but the law of mercy which is the new Teſtament, forbiddeth all maner of murther. For in the Goſpell it is ſpoken vnto our forefathers, thou ſhalt not kil. The corolary is: It is a very robbing of the people, when Lordes purchaſe indulgences and pardons a pœna & culpa, vnto ſuch as do helpe their armies to kil and murther the chriſtian people in foreine countreys for temporall gaine, as we do ſee certaine ſouldiors which do runne amongſt the Heathen people to get themſelues fame & renowme by the murther & ſlaughter of men. Much more doe they deſerue euil thanks at the hands of the king of peace, for ſo much as by humility and peace, our faith is multiplied & increaſed: for murtherers and manquellers, Chriſt doeth hate and manaſeth: he that ſtriketh with the ſword, ſhall periſh with the ſword.

The 11. concluſion is, whyche is ſhame to tell: that the vow of chaſtity made in our church by women whych are fraile and vnperfite in nature, is the cauſe of bryngyng in many great and horrible offences and vices, incident vnto the nature of man. For albeit, the murther of their children borne before their time, and before they are chriſtened, and yͤ deſtruction of their nature by medicine, are filthy & foule ſinnes: yet they accompanying amongeſt themſelues, or with vnreaſonable beaſtes, or with any creature not hauing life, doe paſſe to ſuch an vnſeemelineſſe, that they are puniſhed by infernal torments. The corolarie is, that widowes & ſuch as take the mantell and the ring delitiouſly fed, we would that they were maried, becauſe that we can not excuſe them from priuate offence of ſinne.

Nunnes & wydowes which vow ſingle lyfe.

The 12. that the multitude of artes not neceſſary (vſed in this our Church) cauſeth much ſinne & offence in waſte, curioſity, and diſguiſing in curious apparell: experience & reaſon partly doth ſhewe the ſame, for ſo muche as nature with a few artes, is ſufficient for mans vſe and neceſſity.

This is the whole tenor of our ambaſſade which Chriſt hath commanded vs to proſecute at this time, moſt fit and conuenient for many cauſes. And albeit that theſe matters be heere briefly noted and touched: yet notwithſtandyng, they are more at large declared in another boke with many other more in our owne proper tounge, which we would ſhould be common to all Chriſtian people. wherefore, we earneſtly deſire and beſeeche God for his great goodneſſe ſake, that he will wholy reforme our Church (now altogether out of frame) vnto the perfection of his firſt beginning and original. Ex Archiuis Regijs.

¶ Theſe verſes following, were annexed vnto the concluſions.

Plangunt Anglorum gentes crimen Sodomorum,
Paulus fert horum ſunt idola cauſa malorum,
Surgunt ingrati Gyerzite Simone nati,
Nomine prælati hoc defenſare parati,
Qui Reges eſtis populis quicunque præeſtis,
Qualiter his geſtis, gladios prohibere poteſtis?

¶ The which verſes are thus Engliſhed.

The Engliſh nation doth lament, of Sodomites their ſinne,
which Paule doth plainely ſignifie, by Idols to begin.
But Gierſitis full ingrate, from ſinfull Symon ſprong,
This to defende (though Prieſts is name) make bulwarkes great
and ſtrong.
ye Princes therefore which to rule, the people God hath placed,
with iuſtice ſword why ſee ye not, this euill great defaced?

After theſe concluſions were thus propoſed in the Parliament, the king not long after returned home from Dubline into England, toward the latter ende of the Parliament. who at his return, called certaine of his nobles vnto him, Richard Stury, Lewes Clifforde, Thomas Latimer, Iohn Mountacute, &c. whom he did ſharply rebuke, and did terribly threaten for that hee heard them to be fauourers of ẏ ſide: charging them ſtraightly, neuer to hold, maintaine, nor fauour any more thoſe opinyons and concluſions. And namely of Richarde Stury, he tooke an othe that he ſhould neuer from that day, fauoure or defende any ſuch opinions: which othe being taken, the king then anſwered. And I ſweare (ſayth he) againe to thee, that if thou doeſt euer breake thine oth, thou ſhalt die for it a ſhameful death. &c. Ex Chron. D. Albani.

Rich. Stury, Lewes Clifford, Tho. Latimer, I. Moñtacute, good fauourers.

All this while W. Courtney Archbyſhop of Caunterbury was yet aliue, who was a great ſtirrer in theſe matters. But yet Pope Vrbane the great maiſter of the Catholicke ſecte was deade and buried 6. yeare before. After whom ſucceeded in the ſchiſmatical ſea of Rome pope Boniface 9. who nothing inferiour to hys predeceſſour in all kinde of cruelties, left no diligence vnattempted to ſet forward that which Vrbane had begon, in ſuppreſſing them that were the ſetters forth of the light of the Goſpell: and had wrytten ſundry times to king Richard as well for the repealing of the Actes of Parliament againſt his prouiſions, Quare impedit, and premunire facias: as alſo that hee ſhould aſſiſt the Prelates of Englande in the cauſe of God (as he pretended) againſt ſuch, whom he falſly ſuggeſted to be Lollardes and traytors to the Church, to the king, and the Realme. &c. Thus the curteous pope, whom he coulde not reach with his ſword, at leaſt with cruel ſlander of hys malitious toung, would worke his poyſon agaynſt them, which letter he wrote to the king in the yeare of our Lord. 1396. which was the yeare before the death of W. Courtney Archbiſhop of Caunterbury. After whom ſucceded in that ſee, Thomas Arundel brother to the Earle of Arundel, being firſt Byſhop of Ely, afterwarde Archbyſhop of Yorke, and Lord Chancelor of England, and at laſt made Archbyſhop of Caunterbury about the yeare of our Lorde 1397. The next yeare following, which was the yeare of our Lord 1398. and the 9. yeare of the Pope, I finde in certaine recordes of the Biſhop of Dureſme, a certaine letter of K. Richard 2. written to the ſaid pope Boniface: which becauſe I iudged not vnworthy to be ſene, I thought here to annexe the ſame, proceeding in forme as foloweth.

Pope Vrbane. 9. dead
Anno 1389.
Pope Boniface. 9.

The letters of pope Boniface 9. to K. Richard.

Anno. 1396.
The death of W. Courtney Archb. of Cant.
Tho. Arundell Archb. of Cant.
Ann. 1398.

¶ To the moſte holy father in Chriſt and Lorde, Lorde Boniface the 9. by the grace of God high Pope of the moſt holy Romiſh and vniuerſall Churche, hys humble and deuout ſonne Richard by the grace of God king of England, and Fraunce, Lord of Irelande, greeting, and deſiring to help the miſeries of the afflicted Church, and kiſsing of that his bleſſed feete.

A letter of K. Richard 2. to Pope Boniface. 9.

WHo wil giue my head water, & mine eyes ſtreaming teares, that I may bewaile the decay and manifold troubles of our mother, which haue chaunced to her by her owne children in the diſtreſſe of this preſent ſchiſme and diuiſion. For the ſheepe haue forgotten the proper voyce of their ſhepherds, and hirelings haue thruſt in themſelues to feede the Lordes flocke, who are clothed with the apparell of the true ſhepehearde, chalenging the name of honour & dignity, reſembling ſo the true ſhepheard, that the pore ſheepe can ſcarſe know whome they ought to folow, or what paſtour as a ſtraunger they ought to flee, and whom they ſhuld ſhun as an hireling: Wherefore we are afraid, leaſt the holy ſtandard of the Lord be forſaken of his hoſt, and ſo that Citye being full of riches become ſolitary and deſolate, and the land or people whych was ſoat to ſay (flouriſhing in her proſperities) I ſate as a Quene, and am not a widowe, leaſt it be deſtitute of the preſence of her husband, and as it were ſo bewitched that ſhee ſhall not be able to diſcerne his face, and ſo wrapped in maſes, that ſhe ſhal not know where to turne her, that ſhe might more eaſily finde him, and that ſhe ſhall with weeping ſpeake that ſaying of the ſpouſe: I ſought him whom my ſoule loueth, I ſought him and found him not: For now we are compelled ſo to wander, that if any man ſay, beholde here is Chriſt, or there, we may not beleeue him ſo ſaying: and ſo many ſhepheards haue deſtroyed the Lordes vineyarde, and made his amiable portion a waſte wilderneſſe.

This multitude of ſhepherdes is become very burdenous to the Lords flocke. For when two ſtriue to be chief, the ſtate of both their dignities ſtandes in doubt, and in ſo doing they geue occaſion to all the faithfull of Chriſt, of a ſchiſme and diuiſion of the Churche. And although both parties goe about to ſubdue vnto their power the whole Church militant, yet cōtrary to both their purpoſe, by working this way, there beginneth to riſe nowe a diuiſion in the body of the Church. Like as when the diuiſion of the quicke innocent body was asked, when the two harlots did ſtriue afore Salomon: like as the ten tribes of Iſrael folowed Ieroboham the intruder, and were withdrawne from the kingdome for Salomons ſinne: euen ſo of olde time the deſire of ruling hath drawne the great power of the world from the vnitie of the Churche. Let your ſelues remember, we beſeeche you, how that all Greece did fall from the obedience of the Romiſh Churche in the time of the faction of the primarche of Conſtantinople, and howe Mahomet with his felowes by occaſion of the ſupremacie in Eccleſiaſticall dignitie, deceiued a great part of Chriſtians, and withdrewe them from the Empire and ruling of Chriſt. And nowe in theſe dayes, where as the ſame ſupremacie hathe wythdrawen it ſelfe from the obedience of it, in ſo muche that nowe in very fewe realmes the candle that burnes afore the Lord remaineth, and that for Dauids ſake his ſeruaunt: And although nowe remaine fewe countreys profeſsing the obedience of Chriſts true vicare: yet peraduenture if euery man were left to his owne libertie, he would doubt of the preferring of your dignity, or that is worſe, woulde vtterly refuſe it by ſuch doubtfull euidence alleaged on both ſides: and thys is the ſubtil craft of the croked Serpent, that is to ſay, vnder the pretenſe of vnitie, to procure ſchiſmes: as the ſpider of a wholeſome flower gathers poyſon: and Iudas lerned of peace to make warre. Wherefore, it is liuely beleeued of wiſe men, that except this peſtilent ſchiſme be withſtand by and by, the keyes of the Churche will be deſpiſed, and they ſhall binde the conſciences but of a few? and when either none dare be bolde to correct this fault or to reforme things contrary to Gods lawe, ſo by this meanes at length temporall Lordes will take away the liberties of the Church, and peraduenture the Romanes will come and take away their place, people and landes: they wil ſpoile their poſſeſsions and bring the men of the Churche into bondage, and they ſhall be contemned, reuiled and deſpiſed: becauſe the obedience of the people and deuotions towardes them will almoſte bee taken away, when the greater part of the Church left to their owne libertye ſhall waxe prouder than they be wont, leauing a wicked example to them that doe ſee it. For when they ſee the Prelates ſtudie more for couetouſneſſe than they were wont, to purſſe vp money, to oppreſſe the ſubiectes, in their puniſhings to ſeeke for gaine, to confounde lawes, to ſtirre vp ſtrife, to ſuppreſſe truth, to vexe poore ſubiects with wrong corrections, in meat and drinke intemperate, in feaſtings paſt ſhame: what maruell is it if the people deſpiſe them as the fouleſt forſakers of Gods lawe? but all theſe things doe folowe if the Church ſhoulde be left long in this doubtfulneſſe of a ſchiſme, and than ſhoulde that olde ſaying be verified: in thoſe dayes there was no king in Iſrael, but euery one did that that ſeemed right and ſtraighte to himſelfe. Micheas did ſee the people of the Lord ſcattered in the mountaines as they had bene ſhepe without a ſhepehearde: for when the ſhepheard is ſmitten, the ſheepe of the flocke ſhalbe ſcattered, the great ſtroke of the ſhepheard is the miniſhing of his iuriſdiction, by which the ſubiects are drawen from his obedience. When Iaſon had the office of the higheſt Prieſt, hee chāged the ordinance of God, and brought in the cuſtomes of the heathen, the prieſts leauing the ſeruice of the holy altar & applying themſelues to wraſting other exerciſes of the Grecians, & deſpiſing thoſe things that belōged to the prieſts, did labor with all their might to learne ſuche thinges of the Grecians, and by that meanes the place, people, and holy oynting of Prieſtes whych in time paſt were hadde in greate reuerence of kynges, were troden vnder foote of all men, and robbed by the kinges power, and was

Deſire to rule in the Church.

Greece renounced the Romiſh Church.

The king ſeemeth here to propheſie.

prophaned by thruſting in for money. Therefore, let the hygheſt vicare of Chriſte looke vnto this with a diligent eye, and let hym be the follower of him by whom he hath gotten authoritie aboue others. If you mark well moſt holy father, you ſhal find that Chriſt rebuked ſharpely two brethren, coueting the ſeate of honour: hee taught them not to play the Lordes ouer the people, but the more grace they were preuēted with, to be ſo much more humble then other, and more lowly to ſerue their brethren. To hym that asked hys coate, to geue the cloake: to him that ſmote him on the one cheeke, to tourne the other to him. For the ſheepe that are geuen to hys keeping, hee muſt forſake all earthly thyngs, and to ſhedde his owne bloud, yea and if neede required to die. Theſe things I ſay be thoſe that adorne the higheſt Byſhop if they be in him, not purple, not hys white horſe, nor his Imperiall crowne, becauſe hee among all men is moſt bounde to all the ſheepe of Chriſt. For the feare of GOD therefore, and for the loue of the flocke which yee guide, conſider theſe things diligently, and doe them wiſely, and ſuffer vs no longer to wauer betwixte two: although not for your owne cauſe, to whom peraduenture the fulnes of your owne power is knowen: yet in pitying our weakenes, if thou be he, tell vs openly, and ſhew thy ſelf to the world, that al we may follow one. Be not to vs a bloudy biſhop, leaſt by your occaſion mans bloud be ſhed, leaſt hel ſwalow ſuch a nomber of ſoules, & leaſt the name of Chriſt be euill ſpoken of by Infidels, thorough ſuche a worthy perſonage. But peraduenture yee will ſay, for our righteouſnes it is manifeſt inough, and we will not put it to other mens diſputations. If this bald aunſwer ſhould be admitted, the ſchiſme ſhould continue ſtill, ſeeing neither part is willing to agree to the other: and where the world is as it were equally deuided betwixt them; neither part can be compelled to geue place to the other without much bloudſhed. The incarnation of Chriſt and his reſurrection was well inough knowen to himſelfe and his diſciples, yet hee asked of his father to be made knowen to the world. Hee made alſo the Goſpel to be wrytten, and the doctrine of the Apoſtles, & ſent his Apoſtles into all the world, to do the office of preaching, that the ſame thing might be knowen to all men. The foreſayde reaſon is the ſubtelty of Mahomet, the which knowing himſelfe guilty of his ſect, vtterly forbad diſputations. If ye haue ſo ful truſt of your righteouſneſſe, put it to the examination of worthy perſones in a generall councel, to the which it belōgeth by right to define ſuch doubts, or els commit it vnto able perſons, and geue them ful power to determine all things concerning that matter, or at the leſt by forſaking the office on both parties, leaue the Churche of God free, ſpeedily to prouide for a new ſhepheard.

Byſhops taught by Chriſt not to play the Lordes.

The right ornament of a true Byſhop.

A bald anſwere.

We finde, kings haue forſaken their temporal kingdomes, vpon onely reſpect of deuotion, and haue taken the apparel of Monkes profeſsion. Therefore let Chriſtes Vicar (being a profeſſour of moſt high holineſſe) be aſhamed to continue in his ſeat of honor, to the offence of all people, and the preiudice and hurt of the Romiſh church, and the deuotion of it, and cutting away kingdomes from it. But if you ſay, it is not requiſite that the cauſe of Goddes church ſhould be called in controuerſie, and therefore we cannot ſo eaſily goe from it, ſeeing our conſcience gaineſayeth it. To the which we anſwer, if it be the cauſe of God and the church, let the general councel iudge of it: but if it be a perſonal cauſe (as almoſt all the world probably thinketh) if ye were the follower of Chriſt, ye would rather choſe a temporall death, then to ſuffer ſuch a wauering, I ſay not, to the hurt of ſo many, but the endles deſtruction of ſoules, to the offence of the whole world, and to an euerlaſting ſhame of the Apoſtolical dignitie. Did not Clemente named (or that I may more truely ſpeake) ordeined of S. Peter to the Apoſtolike dignitie and to be biſhop, reſigne his right, that his dede might be taken of his ſucceſſours for an example? Alſo Pope Siricius gaue ouer his Popedome to be a comfort of the 11000. Virgins. Therfore much more ought you (if neede require) geue ouer your Popedome, that you might gather together the children of God which be ſcattered abroade. For as it is thought a gloryous thing to defend the common right, euen to bludſhed: ſo is it ſomtimes neceſſary for a man to wincke at his owne cauſe, and to forſake it for a greater profite, and by that meanes better to procure peace. Shoulde not he be thought a deuill and Chriſtes enemie of all men, that woulde agree to an election made of him for the Apoſtolicall dignitie and Popedome, if it ſhould be to the deſtruction of Chriſtians, diuiſion of the church, the offence and loſſe of al faithfull people? If ſuch miſchiefs ſhould be known to al the world by Goddes reuelation, to come to paſſe by ſuch receiuing of the Popedome and Apoſtolicall dignitie: then by the like reaſon, why ſhall he not be iudged of all men an Apoſtata and forſaker of hys faith, which chuſeth dignitie, or rather worldly honour, then the vnitie of the Churche? Chriſt died that he might gather together the children of God which are ſcattered abroad: but ſuch an enemie of God and the Church, wiſheth his ſubiectes bodily to die in battaile, and the more part of the worlde to peariſh in ſoule, rather then forſaking to be Pope to liue in a lower ſtate, although it were honourable. If the feare of God the deſire of the heauenly kingdō, & the earneſt loue of the vnitie of the church do moue your hart, ſhew in dede that your workes may beare recorde to the truth.

Publike reſpect to be preferred before priuate.

Aunſwere to a popiſh obiectiō.

Hard counſell for the pope.

Vnitie of the church to be preferred before worldly dignitie.

Clement and Siricius moſt holy Popes, not only are not reprooued, but rather are reuerenced of all men, becauſe they gaue ouer their right for profitable cauſes, & for the ſame cauſe all the church of holy men ſhewe forth their praiſe. Likewiſe, your name ſhould liue for euer and euer if ye would do the like for a neceſſary cauſe, that is to ſay, for the vnitie of Gods Churche. Geue no heede to vnmeaſurable cryings of them that ſay, that the ryghte chuſing of Popes is loſt, except ye defend your part manfully: but be afraid, leaſt ſuch ſtirrers vp of miſchiefe looke for theyr owne commoditie or honour, that is to ſay, that vnder your wing they might be promoted to richeſſe and honour. After this ſort Achitophel was ioyned and Abſolon in perſecuting his owne father, and falſe vſurping of hys kingdome.

The Pope will not looſe his dignitie for any publike tranquilitie.

Wicked flaterers about the pope.

Furthermore, there ſhoulde be no ieopardie to that election, becauſe both parties ſticke ſtifly to the old faſhion of election, and either of them couet the preheminence of the Romiſh Churche, counſailing all Chriſtians to obey them. And although throughe their geuing ouer the faſhion of chuſing the Pope ſhould be chāged for a time: it were to be borne, rather then to ſuffer any longer this diuiſion in Gods church. For that faſhion in chuſing is not ſo neceſſary required to the ſtate of a Pope, but the ſucceſſour of the Apoſtle as neceſſary cauſe required, might come in at the doore by an other faſhion of chuſing, and that Canonicall inough. And this we are taught manifeſtly by examples of the fathers: for Peter the Apoſtle appoynted after him Clement, and that not by falſe vſurping of power, as we ſuppoſe. And it was thought, that that faſhion of apoynting of Popes, was lawfull vnto the time of Pope Hillary. Which decreed that no Pope ſhuld apoynt hys ſucceſſor.

Better that the order of the pope election ſhuld ceaſe then the church ſhould ſuffer any diuiſion.

Afterward, the election of the Pope went by the cleargy and people of Rome, and the Emperors counſaile agreeing therto, as it appeareth in the election of the bleſſed Gregory. But Martinus Pope with the conſent of the holy Synode graunted Charles the power to chuſe the Pope. But of late Nycholas the 2 was the firſt whome Martine makes mention of in his councels, to be choſen by the Cardinals. But all the Biſhops of Lumbardie (for the moſt part) wythſtode this election, and choſe Cadulus to be Pope, ſaying that the Pope ought not to be choſen, but of the precincte of Italie. Wherefore, we thinke it not a ſafe way ſo earneſtly to ſtick to the traditions of men, in the faſhion of chuſing the Pope, & ſo oft to chaunge, leaſt we be thought to breake Goddes traditions concerning the vnitie of the church. Yea rather it were better yet to ordaine a newe faſhion of his election, and meeter for hym as it hath beene afore. But all things concerning the ſame election myght be kept ſafe, if Gods honour were looked for afore youre owne, and the peace of the Church were vprightly ſoughte: for ſuch a diſhonouring ſhoulde be moſt honour vnto you, and that geuing place ſhall be the getting of a greater dignitie, & the willing depoſing of your honour, ſhoulde obtaine you the entrie of euerlaſting honour, and ſhoulde procure the loue of the whole worlde toward you, and you ſhoulde deſerue to be exalted continually, as Dauid was in humbling himſelfe. O howe monſtrous a ſight and how foule a monſter is a mannes body disfigured wyth two heades? So if it were poſsible, the ſpouſe of Chriſt ſhoulde be made ſo monſtrous, if ſhee were ruled wyth two ſuch heades: but that is not poſsible, ſhe is euer altogether faire, in whome no ſpot is found, therfore we muſt caſt away that rotten member, & thruſter in of hys ſecond head: We cannot ſuffer any longer ſo great a wickedneſſe in Gods houſe, that we ſhoulde ſuffer Gods cote that wantes a ſeame, by any meanes to be torne by the handes of two, that violently draw it in ſonder. For if theſe two ſhould be ſuffred to raigne together, they woulde ſo betwixte them teare in pieces that litle coate of the Lord, that ſcarſe one piece woulde hange to another. They paſſe the wickedneſſe of the ſouldiours that curſed Chriſt. For they willing to haue the coate remaine whole, ſaid: Let vs not cut it, but let vs caſt lots for it, whoſe it ſhalbe. But theſe 2. Popes ſuffring their right and title to be tried by no lot nor way (although not in wordes yet in deedes) they pronounce this ſentence: It ſhall neither be thine nor mine, but let it be deuided, for they choſe rather as it apeareth to be Lords (though it be but in a litle part, and that to the cōfuſion of vnitie of the Church) then in leuing that lording to ſeke for the peace of the church. We do not affirme this, but we ſhew almoſt the whole iudgemēt of the world of them being moued ſo thinke by likely coniectures. We looked for amendement of thys intollerable confuſion, by the ſpace that theſe two inuentours of this miſchi[illegible] liued. But wee looked for peace and beholde trouble: for neither in their lyues nor in their deaths, they procured any cōfort, but rather dying as it were in a doubt betwixt two wayes, left to theyr ſucceſſoures matters of contention continuall. But nowe for the ſpace of 7. yeres of their ſucceſſors, that which we deſired and loked for afore (that is, they ſhoulde beare good grapes and they bryng foorth wild grapes) in thys matter we fall into a deepe deſpaire. But in as much that we heare the comfort of the Lorde, which promiſed that miſerably he wold deſtroy thoſe wicked men, & let his vineyarde to other huſbandmen which will bring him fruit at their times appoynted, he hath promiſed faithfully that he wil help his ſpouſe in her nede, to thend of the world: & we leaning on the ſure hope of this promiſe

Biſhops of Rome appointed their ſucceſſours to the time of pope Hillary.

Election of the pope not as was before.

Good counſayle loſt.

Chriſtes ſeameles coat broken.

The Popes compared to the ſouldiours that curſed chriſt.

and in hope contrary to hope beleuing, by Gods grace will put our helping handes to eaſing of this miſery, when a conuenient time ſhall ſerue, as much as our kingly power is able, although our wit doth not perceaue how theſe thinges afore rehearſed may be amended: yet we being encouraged to this by the hope of gods promiſe, will do our endeuour: lik as Abraham beleued his ſonne being ſlaine by ſacrifice, that the multitude of his ſeede ſhould encreaſe to the number of the ſtarres, according to Gods promiſe. Now therfore the time drawes near to make an end of this ſchiſm leaſt a third election of a ſchiſmaticke agaynſt the Apoſtles ſucceſſour make a cuſtome of the doyng, and ſo the Pope of Auinion ſhalbe double Romiſhe pope, and he ſhall ſay with hys partakers, as the Patriarch of Conſtantinople ſayd vnto Chriſtes vicar when he forſooke hym: The Lorde be with thee, for the Lorde is with vs. And is much to be feared of all Chriſten men. For that Phariſie begins now to be called the pope of Auinion among the people. But peraduenture it would be thought of ſome men, that it belongeth not to ſecular princes to bridle outragies of the Pope: to whome we aunſwere, that naturally the members put them ſelues in ieopardy for to ſaue the head, and the partes labour to ſaue the whole. Chriſt ſo decked his ſpouſe, that her ſides ſhold cleaue together, and ſhould vphold themſelues, by courſe of time and occaſion of thinges, they ſhould correcte one an other and cleaue together tunably. Did not Moſes put down Aaron, becauſe he was vnfaythfull? Salomon put downe Abiathar, who came by lineall diſſent from Anatoth, and remoued hys prieſthoode from his kindred to the ſtock of Eliazar in the perſon of Sadock which had his beginning from Ely the prieſt? 3.2. Otho Emperour, depoſed Pope Iohn the 12. becauſe he was lecherous. Henry the Emperour put downe Gratianus, becauſe he vſed Simony in buying & ſelling ſpirituall liuinges. And Otho depoſed Pope Benner the firſt, becauſe he thruſt in himſelfe. Therefore by like reaſon, why may not kings and Princes bridle the Romiſhe Pope in default of the Church: if the quallitie of his fault require it, or the neceſsitie of the Church by this compell to helpe the Churche oppreſſed by tyranny. In old time ſchiſmes which roſe about making the Pope, were determined by the power of ſecular Princes: as the ſchiſme betwixt Symachus and Laurence was ended in a Counſaile afore Theodoricus king of Italy. Henry the Emperour when two dyd ſtriue to be Pope, he depoſed them both, and receaued the thyrd being choſen at Rome to be Pope, that is to ſay, Clement the ſecond, which crowned him with the Imperiall crowne. And the Romaynes promiſed him that from thenceforth, they would promote none to be Pope without his conſent. Alexander alſo ouercame 4. Popes ſchiſmatickes, all which Fredericke the Emperour corrected.

A godly purpoſe if it had bene put in execution.

Secular princes are to bridle the outragies of the pope.

Popes put downe by princes.

Thus looke on the regiſter of Popes and theyr deedes, and ye ſhall finde that ſchiſmes moſt commonly haue bene deciſed by the powers of ſecular princes, the ſchiſmatickes caſt out, and ſometimes new popes made, and ſometime the olde ones caſt out of their dignities, and reſtored to theyr old dignities again. If it were not lawfull for ſecular princes to bridle the outragies of ſuch a Pope lawfully made, and afterward becōming a tyraunt: In ſuch a caſe he might oppreſſe ouermuch the Church, he might chaunge Chriſtendome into Heathens, and make the labour of Chriſt crucified to be in vayne, or els truely God ſhould not haue prouided for his ſpouſe in earth by all meanes as much as is poſsible by ſeruice of men to withſtand daungers. Therefore we counſell you with ſuch a louing affection as becomes Children, that ye conſider in your hart well, leaſt in working by this meanes ye prepare a way of Antichriſt, through your deſire to beare rule, and ſo by this meanes as we feare the one of theſe two ſhall chaunce: Either ye ſhall cauſe all the princes of the worlde to riſe agaynſt you to bring in a true follower of Chriſt to haue the ſtate of the Apoſtolicall dignitie, or that is worſe, the whole world deſpiſing the ruling of one ſhepheard ſhall leaue the Romiſh Church deſolate. But God keepe this from the worlde, that the deſire of honour of two men ſhould bring ſuch a deſolation into the Church of God: for then that departing away which the Apoſtle prophecied, ſhoulde come afore the comming of Antichriſt, were at hand: which ſhold be the laſt diſpoſition of the worlde, peaceably to receaue Antichriſt with honour. Conſider therefore the ſtate of your moſt excellent holines, how ye receaued the power from God to the building of the Church and not to the deſtruction, that Chriſt hath geuen you wine and oyle to heale the wounded, and hath appoynted you his vicar in theſe thinges as pertayne to gentlenes, and hath geuen vs theſe thinges whiche ſerue to rigour. For we beare not the ſword without a cauſe to the puniſhement of euill doers, the which power ordayned of God we haue receaued, our ſelues being witnes: beſeeching you to receaue our counſel effectually, that in doing thus, the waters may returne to the places from whence they came, and ſo the waters may begin to be made ſweete with ſalt: leaſt the axe ſwimme on the water and the wood ſincke, and leaſt the fruitfull Oliue degender into a wilde Oliue, and the leproſie of Naaman that Noble man, cleaue continually to the houſe of Giezy, and leaſt the pope and the Phariſeis crucify Chriſt agayne, Chriſt the ſpouſe of the Churche whiche was wont to bring the chiefe Byſhop into the holyeſt place, encreaſe your holines, or rather to reſtore it being loſt. Written, &c. Ex Fragmento libri cuiuſdam Dunelm.

Lawful that Princes ſhould withſtand the tyranny of the Pope.

The kyng ſeemeth here to propheſie of the deſolation of the Romaine pope.

The pope and Phariſes, newe crucifiers of Chriſt.

¶ This Epiſtle of king Richard 2. written to Pope Boniface the 9. in the time of the ſchiſme, about the yeare as appeareth 1397. As it contayned muche good matter of wholſome counſel to be followed: ſo how litle he wrought with the Pope, the ſequell afterwarde declared. For the ſchiſme notwithſtanding continued long after, in whiche neyther of the popes would geue ouer theyr holde, or yelde any thing to good counſayle geuen them, for any reſpect of publique wealth. Such a ſtroke beareth ambition in thys Apoſtolicall ſee, whiche we are wont ſo greatly to magnifie. But of this inough, whiche I leaue and referre to the conſideration of the Lorde, ſeeing men will not looke vpon it.

Drawing now toward the latter end of king Richards raigne, it remaineth, that as we did before in the time of k. Edward the third, ſo here alſo we ſhewe forth a ſummary recapitulation of ſuch parliamentall notes & proceedinges as then were practiſed by publique parliament in this kings time, againſt the iuriſdiction of the Byſh. of Rome: to the intent, that ſuch (if any ſuch be) that thinke, or haue thought the receauing of the popes double authoritie to be ſuch an auncient thing within this realme, may diminiſhe theyr opinion: As euidently may appeare by diuers argumentes heretofore touched, concerning the election and inueſting of byſhops by the king. As where king Oſwin commaunded Cedde to be ordayned Archbiſh. of Yorke. Alſo where king Egfride cauſed Cuthbert, was brought to K. Canute and at his commaundement was inſtituted Byſhop of the ſame ſee. Ex lib. Malmeſb. de geſtis pontif. Anglorum. And likewiſe Math. Pariſienſis teſtifieth, that king Henry the 3. gaue the Archbiſhopricke of Caunterbury, to Radulphus then Biſhop of London, and inueſted him wyth ſtaffe and ring. And the ſame king gaue the Biſhopricke of Wint. to W. Gifford: and moreouer, following the ſteppes both of his father and brother before him, endued him with the poſſeſſions pertaining to the ſayd Biſhoprick (the contrary ſtatute of pope Vrbane, forbidding that Clerkes ſhould receaue any Eccleſiaſticall dignitie at the hand of Princes, or of any lay perſon to the contrary notwithſtanding &c.) Innumerable examples of like ſort are to be ſeen in auncient hiſtoryes of this our realme. As alſo out of the parliament rolles in the time of king Edward hath ſufficiently bene touched a little before. Whereunto alſo may be added the notes of ſuch parliamentes, as haue bene holdē in the raygne of this preſent king Richard the ſecond, the collation whereof in part here followeth.

The Popes vſurped iuriſdiction neuer receiued in England, before a late yeres.

Ex lib. Guliel. Malmeſb. de geſtis pontif. Anglorum.

Ex Mat. Pariſ. lib. de vita Hen

❀ Notes of certayne Parliamentes holden in the the raigne of king Richard 2. making agaynſt the Pope.

In the firſt yeare of King Richard 2. in the parliament holden at Weſtminſter, it was requeſted and graunted: that the popes collector be willed no longer to gather the firſt fruites of benefices within this realme, being a verye noueltie, and that no perſon doe any longer pay them.

Ex Archiuis parlamentarijs. An. 1. Reg. Rich. 2. tit. 66.

Item, that no man doe procure any benefice by prouiſion from Rome, on payne to be out of the kinges protection.

Tit. 67.

Item, that no Engliſhman do take to farme of any Alien, anye Eccleſiaſticall benefice or Prebende, on the lyke payne. In which byll was rehearſed, that the French men had 6. thouſand poundes yearely of ſuch liuinges in England.

Tit. 68.

Item, that remedy might be had againſt the popes reſeruations to dignities electiue, ẏ ſame being done againſt the treaty of the pope, taken with king Edward 3.

Tit. 77.

In the ſecond yeare of the ſayd king Richard the ſecōd, it was by petitiō requeſted: that ſome order might be takē touchyng Aliens, hauyng the greateſt part of the Church dignities in their handes. Whereunto the kyng anſwered, that by aduiſe of the Lordes, he will prouide therfore.

Ex Anno. 2. Tit. 70.

Item, it was enacted, that all the benefices of Cardinals and others rebels, to pope Vrbane that now is, ſhal be ſeaſed into the kynges handes.

Tit. 71.

An Acte that Pope Vrbane was true & lawfull Pope, and that the liuynges of all Cardinals and other rebels to the ſayd Pope, ſhould be ſeaſed into the kinges handes, and the kyng bee aunſwered of the profites thereof: And that whoſoeuer within this Realme, ſhall procure or obtayne any prouiſion or other inſtrument from any other Pope then the ſame Vrbane, ſhall be out of the kynges protection.

Tit. 78.

Ex 3. Anno. Reg. Rich, 2.

Here note well a ſtraunge proceeding.

But marke the ſtraunge euent.

Moreouer, in the thyrd yeare of kyng Richard the ſecond, the Prelates and Clergie made their proteſtation in this Parliament, expreſſely agaynſt a certaine new graſit, to wit, their extortions: That the ſame neuer ſhould paſſe with their aſſent and good will, to the blemiſhyng of the liberties of the Churche, if by that worde extortion, they ment any thyng largely to proceede againſt Ordinaries & others of the Church. But if they ment none otherwiſe to deale hereafter therin, thẽ before that ẏ time had bene done then would they conſent. Wherunto it was replied for the king, that neither for the ſame their ſayd proteſtation, or other wordes in that behalfe, the king woulde not ſtay to graunt to his Iuſtices in that caſe and all other caſes, as was vſed to be done in times paſt, and was bound to doe by vertue of his othe done at his coronation.

Tit.44.

Furthermore, in the fourth yeare of the ſayd king Richard 2. it was requeſted, that prouiſion might be had agaynſt the popes collectors, for leuying of the firſt fruits of eccleſiaſticall dignities within the realme.

Tit.46.

Item, that all Priors Aliens might be remoued out of their houſes, and licenſed to depart, & neuer to reuert. And that Engliſh men may be placed in their liuinges, anſwering the king as they did.

Ex 9. Anno eiuſdem Regis.
Tit.4.

And in the 9. yeare of the foreſayd king, touching matter of the Staple: the ſpeaker of the Parliament pronounced, that he thought beſt the ſame were planted within the realme, conſidering that Calis, Bruges, and other towns beyond the ſeas, grew very rich therby, and good townes here very much decayed, and ſo much for the common profite. Touching the king, he affirmed that the ſubſidie & cuſtome of wool more yelded to the king whẽ the ſtaple was kept in England by one thouſand markes yearely, then it did now being holden beyond the ſeas.

Tit.36.

Item: that inquiſition and redreſſe might be had againſt ſuch religious perſons, as vnder the licence to purchaſe 10. li. yearly, do purchaſe 80. li. or 100. li.

Tit.44.

Item, that all Clarkes aduaunced to any eccleſiaſticall dignitie or liuing by the king, will graunt to the king the firſt fruites of their liuinges, none otherwiſe then they would haue done to the Pope being aduaunced by him.

Tit.26.

In the 11. yeare of K. Richard. 2. it was put vp by the petitions of the commons, that ſuche impoſitions as are gathered by the popes bulles of Volumus and imponimus of the tranſlations of B.B. and ſuch like might be imployed on the kinges warres agaynſt the ſchiſmatickes of Scotland. And that ſuch as bring into the realme the like bulles and nouelries may be reputed for traytors.

An 13. Regis Rich. 2.
Tit.24.

In the 13. yeare of his raigne, followed an other parliamẽt, in which although the archbiſh. of Canterbury and Yorke, for them and the whole Clergie of their prouinces, made their ſolemne proteſtations in opẽ Parliament, that they in no wiſe ment or would aſſent to any ſtatute or law made in reſtraynt of the popes authoritie, but vtterly withſtood the ſame, willing this proteſtation of theirs to be enrolled: yet the ſayd proteſtation of theirs at that time took no great effect.

Tit.34.

Item, in the ſame Parliament was put vp by publike petion, that the popes collector ſhould be commaunded to auoyd the Realme within 40. dayes, or els to be taken as the kinges enemy, and that euery ſuch collector from hence forth, may be an Engliſhman and ſworn to execute the ſtatutes made in this Parliament.

Ex titu. 9.

Moreouer in the ſayd Parliament, the yere aboueſayd of the king: the 26. of Ianuary, M. Iohn Mandour Clark was charged openly in the parliament, that he ſhould not paſſe, ne ſend ouer to Rome, ne attempt or doe any thinge there touching the Archdeaconry of Durham in preiudice of the king or of hys lawes, or of the party preſented thereto by the king, on perill that might enſue.

Ex an. 14. Regis Richardi ſecundi. tit. 6.

The next yeare following whiche was the 14. of thys kinges raigne, it was enacted firſt touching the ſtaplers, that after the feaſt of the Epiphany next enſuing, that ẏ ſtaple ſhould be remoued from Calice into England, in ſuche places as are contayned in the ſtatute made in 27. Edw. 3. the which ſtatute ſhould be fully executed: and further, that euery Alien that bringeth merchaundiſe into the Realme, ſhould finde ſufficient ſurety to buy and cary awaye commodities of the Realme, to halfe the value of his ſayd merchaundiſe.

Tit.24.
Againſt vſury.

Item, in the ſame parliament petition was made, that agaynſt the horrible vice of vſury then termed ſhifts, practiſed as well by the clergie as laitie, ẏ order made by Iohn Notte, late Mayor of Londõ, might be executed throughout the Realme.

Ex, tit. 29.

Moreouer in the 15. yeare of the raigne of the foreſayde king it was accorded: for ẏ ſyr W. Brian knight, had purchaſed from Rome a Bull directed from the Archbſhop of Cant, and Yorke, to excommunicate ſuche as had broken vp his houſe, and had taken away diuers letters, priuileges, and charters. The ſame Bull being red in the parliament houſe, was adiudged preiudicial to the kings crown and in derogation of the lawes, for the whiche hee was by the king and aſſent of the Lordes committed to the Tower, there to remayne at the kinges will and pleaſure.

Vide articulum. Tit.29.

In the ſayd Parliament alſo, W. Archb. of Canterbury maketh his proteſtation in the open parliament, ſaying, that the pope ought not to excommunicate any biſhop, or to entermeddle, for, or touching anye preſentment to anye eccleſiaſticall dignitie recorded in any the kinges courtes. He further proteſted, that the pope ought to make no tranſlation, to any Byſhopricke, within the realme againſt the kinges will: for that the ſame was to the deſtruction of the realme and crowne of England whiche hath alway bene ſo free, as the ſame hath had none earthly ſoueraigne, but onely ſubiecte to God in all thinges touching regalties, and to none other. The which proteſtation he prayd might be entred.

Ex An. 17. Reg. Rich. 2. Titul. 33.

In the 17. yeare of the raygne of the king aforeſayd, it was deſired that remedy might be had, agaynſt ſuche religious perſons as cauſed their villains or vnderlinges to mary free women inheritable, wherby the lands came to thoſe religious mens handes by colluſion.

43.

Item, that ſufficient perſons might be preſented to benefices who may dwell on the ſame ſo as theyr ſtocke for want therof do not periſh.

46.

Item, that remedy might be had agaynſt the Abbotes of Colcheſter and Abinton, who in the townes of Colcheſter and Colnham clayme to haue ſanctuary.

Ex an. 20. Reg. Rich. 2. tit. 22.

To come to the parliament holden in the 20. yeare of this kinges raigne, we finde moreouer in the ſayd rolles: how that the Archb, of Cant. and York, for themſelues and the clergy of their prouinces, declared to the king in open parliamẽt, ẏ foraſmuch as they were ſworn to ẏ pope and ſee of Rome, if any thing were in the parliament attempted in reſtraynt of the ſame, they woulde in no wiſe aſſent therto, but verily withſtand the ſame, the which theyr proteſtation they require to be enrolled.

Here the Archb. of Cant. goeth contrary to himſelfe.

Titul. 32.

Vpon the petition of the begging Friers there at large it was enacted: that none of that order ſhoulde paſſe ouer the ſeas, without licence of his ſoueraigne, nor that he ſhoulde take vppon him no order of M. of Diuinitie, vnleſſe he were firſt apposed in his Chapter prouinciall, on payne to be put out of the kinges protection.

Tit.36.

Item, that the kings officers for making areſts or attachementes in Churchyardes, are therefore excommunicated, wherof remedy was required.

Ex 21. an. Reg. Rich. 2. titul. 15.

In the yeare of the ſame kinges raygne. 21. the Parliment being holden at Weſtminſter, we find how the commons in full Parliament, accuſed Thomas Arundell archbiſhop of Caunterbury, for that he as Chauncellor procured, and as chiefe doer executed the ſame commiſſion, made trayterouſly in the tenth yeare of the king. And alſo that he the ſayd Archbiſhop procured the Duke of Glouceſter and the Earles of Arundell and Warwicke, to encroch to themſelues royall power, and to iudge to death Simon de Burley, and ſir Iohn Berners without the kings aſſent. Wheron, the Commons required that the ſame archbiſh. might reſt vnder ſafe keeping: wherunto, for that the ſame impeachementes touched ſo great a perſon, they would be aduiſed.

Ex tit. 16.

Item, the 25. day of September, the Commons prayed the king to geue iudgement agaynſt the ſayd Archbiſhop, according to his deſertes. The king aunſwered, that priuately the ſayd Archbiſhop had confeſſed to him, howe he miſtooke himſelfe in the ſayd Commiſſion, and therefore ſubmitted himſelfe to the kings mercy. Wherfore, the king Lordes and ſir Thomas Percy, proctor for the clergie: adiudged the facte of the ſayd Archbiſhop to be treaſon, and hymſelfe a traytour, and therfore it was ordered: that the ſayd Archbiſhoppe ſhoulde be baniſhed, his temporalties ſeaſed, his landes and goodes forfeyted, as well in vſe as in poſſeſſion.

Tho. Arundell Archb. of Cant. proued a traitour by parliament.

Ex tit. 17.

The king further preſcribed, that the ſayd Archbiſhop ſhoulde take hys paſſing on Friday within 6. weekes of Michaelmas, at Douer, towardes the parts of Fraunce.

Thus hauing hitherto ſufficiently touched and comprehended ſuch thinges as haue happened in the raygne of this king, neceſſary for the Church to knowe, by courſe of ſtory: we come nowe to the 22. yeare of King Richardes raygne, which is the yeare of our Lord, 1399. In the which yeare happened the ſtrange and alſo lamentable depoſing of this king Richard the ſecond aforeſayd, from hys kingly ſcepter. Straunge, for that the like example hathe not

often

Anno. 1399.
The depoſing of kyng Rich. the 2.
The ſtory ſtraunge & lamentable.

often bene ſeene in ſeates royall. Lamentable, for that it cannot be but grieuous to any good mans hart, to ſee him eyther ſo to deſerue, if he were iuſtly depoſed: or if he were vniuſtly depriued, to ſee the kingly title there not able to hold his right, wher by force, it is compelled to geue place to might.

Vices and vertues mixt in K.Rich.

What it is to forſake the maintenance of the Goſpell.

Articles 33. laid againſt K.Richard.

As concerning the order and proceſſe of whoſe depoſing for that it neither is greatly pertinent to my argument, and is ſufficiently contayned in Robert Fabian and in the kinges recordes, in the Chronicle of S. Albons, and in other hiſtories at large, it were here tedious and ſuperfluous to entermedle with repeting therof. what were the conditions and properties of this king, partly before hath bene touched. In whome as ſome good vertues may be noted: ſo alſo ſome vices may ſeeme to be mixed withall. But eſpecially this, that he ſtarting out of the ſteps of hys progenitors, ceaſed to take part with them, whiche tooke part with the goſpell. wherupon, it ſo fell, not by the blind wheele of fortune, but by the ſecret hand of him, which directeth all eſtates: that as he firſt began to forſake ẏ mayntayning of the Goſpell of God, ſo the Lord began to forſake him. And where the protection of God beginneth to fayle there can lack no cauſes to be charged withall, whom God once giueth ouer to mans puniſhmēt. So that to me conſidering the whole life and trade of this prince, among all other cauſes alledged in ſtoryes agaynſt him: none ſeemeth ſo much to be wayed of vs, or more hurtfull to hym, then this forſaking of the Lord and his word, Although to ſuch as liſt more to be certified in other cauſes concurring withall, many and ſondry defectes in that king may appeare in ſtoryes to the number of 33. articles alledged or forced rather agaynſt him.

Gods ſpeciall fauour neceſſary for princes. Pſal. 2.

In whiche as I cannot deny, but that he was worthy of much blame: ſo to be diſplaced therefore from his regall ſeate, and rightfull ſtate of the crowne, it may be thought perhaps the cauſes not to be ſo rare ſo material in a prince which either could or els would haue ſerued: had not he geuen ouer before to ſerue the Lord and hys word, chuſing rather to ſerue the humour of the Pope and bloudy Prelates, thē to further the Lords proceedings in preaching of hys word. And thē as I ſayd, how can enemies lack wher God ſtandeth not to friend? or what cauſe can be ſo little whiche is not able inough to caſt downe, where the Lords arme is ſhortned to ſuſtayne? wherefore, it is a poynt of principall wiſedome in a Prince not to forget, that as he ſtandeth alwayes in neede of God hys helping hand: ſo alwayes he haue the diſcipline and feare of him before hys eyes, according to the counſayle of the godly King Dauid Pſal. 2.

The king ledde with lewde counſayle.

And thus much touching the time and race of this K. Richard, with the tragical ſtory of his depoſing. The order and maner whereof purpoſely I pretermit, onely contented briefly to lay together, a fewe ſpeciall thinges done before his fall, ſuche as may be ſufficient in a briefe ſomme, both to ſatiſfie the Reader inquiſitiue of ſuche ſtoryes, and alſo to forwarne other Princes to beware the lyke daungers. In ſuche as wryte the life and Actes of this Prince, thus I read of him reported, that he was much inclined to the fauouring and aduauncing of certayne perſons about him, & ruled all by theyr counſell, whiche were thē greatly abhorred and hated in the realme: The names of whome were Rob. Veer Erle of Oxford, whō the king had made Duke of Ireland. Alexander Neuile Archbiſhop of York, Michiel Delapoole Earle of Suffolke, Robert Triſilian Lord chiefe Iuſtice, Nicholas Brembre with other.

The nobles vp in armes againſt certaine of the kings counſailours.

These men, being hated and diſdayned of diuers of the nobles, and of the commons, the king alſo by fauouring them, was leſſe fauoured hymſelfe. In ſo much, that the Duke of Glouceſter, named Thomas woodſtock ẏ kings Vncle, with the Erle of warwicke, and Earle of Darby: ſtode vp in armes againſt thoſe counſaylors and abuſers (as they named them) of the king. In ſo much that ẏ king for feare was conſtrayned agaynſt hys minde to remoue out of his court, Alexander Neuile Archb. of Yorke, Iohn Forde Byſhop of Dureſme, Fryer Thomas Ruſhoke Biſhop of Chicheſter the kinges confeſſor, with the Lord Haringworth, Lord Burnell, and Bemond, Lord Veer, and diuers other.

Ex Chron. D. Albani.

The ſecond preparatiue to the kings depoſing.

And furthermore, in the Parliament the ſame yeare following, Robert Triſilian the Iuſtice was hanged and drawne. Alſo Nicholas Brembre Knight, Iames Saliſbury alſo, and Iames Barneſe both Knights, Ioh. Bewchampe the kinges Steward, and Iohn Blake Eſquire in like maner. All theſe by the counſayle of the Lordes beyng caſt in the parliament agaynſt the kyngs mind, did ſuffer; which was in ẏ 11. of his raign, he being yet vnder gouernours: but conſequently after the ſame, the king clayming his own liberty, being come to the age of 20. began to take more vpon him. And this was one thinge that ſtirred vp the kinges ſtomacke agaynſt the Nobles. Ex Chron. Alban.

I. Waltam B. of Saliſb. makebate

Tho. Arundell Archb. of York.

Londiners fauourers of Wickliffes doctrine.

Ex hiſtor. D. Albani cuius ſic habet initium. An. gratia. &c.

2. An other thing that ſtyrred hym vp as much againſt the Londiners was this: for that he would haue borowed of them a M. pound, and they denied him to their double & triple diſauantage, as after enſued vpon it. Ibidem. An other occaſion beſides this, betwene the king and the Londoners happened thus, by reaſon of one of the Byſhop of Saliſburies ſeruauntes, named Roman, and a Bakers man: who then carying a baſket of horſebread in Fletſtreet the foreſayd Roman tooke a horſeloſe out of ẏ baſket. The Baker aſking why he did ſo, the Byſhops luſty yeomen turned backe agayne and brake his head: wherevpon the neighbors came out, and would haue areſted this Roman but he eſcaped away vnto the Byſhops houſe. Then the Conſtable would haue had him out, but the Biſhops men ſhut faſt the gates, that they ſhoulde not approche. Thus, much people gathered together, threatning to bruſt open ẏ gates and fire the houſe, vnleſſe they had the foreſayd party to them brought out. wherby much adoe there was, till at length the Mayor and Sheriffes came and quieted ẏ rage of the commons, & ſent euery man home to his houſe, charging thē to keepe peace. Here as yet was no great harme done, but if the biſhoppe for his part had beene quyet, and had not ſtyrred the coles of debate, which were well ſlaked already all had bene ended without further perturbation. But the ſtomacke of the Byſhop not yet digeſted (although hys man had done the wrong) hauing no great cauſe ſo to do, whoſe name was Iohn waltam being then Treaſourer of England, went to Thomas Arundell archbiſh. the ſame time of Yorke, and Lord Chauncellour of England to complayne of the Londoners. where is to be noted, or rather reueled by the way a priuy miſtery, which although be not in this ſtory touched of the writers: yet it touched the hartes of the biſhops not a little. For the Londoners at that time were notoriouſly knowne to be fauourers of wickliffes ſide, as partly before this is to be ſeene, and in the ſtory of S. Albones more playnly doth appeare: where the author of the ſayd hiſtory writing vpon the 15. yeare of King Richardes raygne, reporteth in theſe wordes of the Londoners, that they were Male creduli in deum & traditiones auitas, Lollardorum ſuſtentatores, religioſorū detractores, decimarū detētores, & cōmunis vulgi depauperatores &c. ẏ is not right beleuers in God, nor in the traditions of their forefathers: ſuſteyners of the Lollardes: depráuers of religious men: withholders of tythes: and impoueriſhers of the common people, &c.

Londiners complayned of to the king, by the Byſhops.

Beati pacifici.

The court remoued frō London to Yorke.

Thus the Londoners being noted and ſuſpected of the byſhops, were the more maliced (no doubt therefore) of the ſayd byſhops, whiche were the more ready to finde & take all occaſions to worke agaynſt them, as by theyr doyng herein may wel appeare. For the biſhop of Saliſbury, and archb. of Yorke, hauing no greater matter agaynſt them, then was declared: with a grieuous complaynt went to the king, complayning of the Mayor and Sheriffes of Lōdon. what treſpaſſe the Mayor and Sheriffes had done, as ye haue heard before, ſo may you iudge. Now what followed after let vs heare. The king incenſed not a little by the complaynt of the Biſhops, conceiued eftſones againſt the Mayor and Sheriffes, and agaynſt the whole Citie of London, a great ſtomache. In ſo muche that the Mayor & both the Sheriffes were ſent for, and remoued from theyr office. Syr Edward Darlyngton then was made warden & Gouernor of the citie, who alſo for hys gentleneſſe ſhewed to the Citizens, was alſo depoſed, and an other named ſyr Baldwyn Radington, placed in that roome. Moreouer, ſo much grew the kinges diſpleaſure agaynſt the City that he alſo remoued from London the courtes, & termes to be kept at Yorke, that is to ſay, the Chauncery, the Eſchequer, the kinges benche, the hamper, and the common place: where the ſame continued from Midſommer, tyll Chriſtenmas, to the great decay of the Citye of London: which was An. 1393.

The 3. preparatiue to the kings depoſing.

The king areſting his owne Vncle, cauſed him to be put wrongfully to death.

Thirdly, an other great cauſe whiche purchaſed the K. much euill will among hys ſubiectes, was the ſecret murthering of his owne Vncle named T. woodſtocke, Duke of Glouceſter, of whom mention was made before, where was declared how the ſaid Duke, with the Earle of Arundell, the Erle of warwicke, and the Earle of Darby, with other, were vp in armour agaynſt certaine wicked Counſaylours about the king. wherevpon, the king watching afterward hys time, came into Chelſford, & ſo to the place neare by, where the Duke lay: wherwith hys own hands he areſted the ſayd Duke his Vncle, and ſent him downe by water immediatly to Calice. And there though the

kings

The king areſting his owne Vncle, cauſed him to be put wrongfully to death.

kinges commaundement, by ſecret meanes was put to death, being ſtrangled vnder a fetherbed, the Earle Marſhall being then the keeper of Calis. Wherby great indignation roſe in many mens hartes agaynſt the king.

With the ſame Duke of Glouceſter, alſo about ẏ ſame time, was areſted and impriſoned the Erle of Warwicke, and the Earle of Arundel: who being condemned by parliament, were then executed, whereby great grudge and great indignation roſe in the heartes of many agaynſt the king. an. 1397.

Fourthly to omit here the blanke chartes ſent ouer all the land by the king: and how the king was ſayd to let out his realme to ferme: Ouer and beſide all theſe aboue premiſed, fell an other matter, whiche was the principall occaſion of this miſchiefe: The baniſhment I meane of Hēry Erle of Darby, and made Duke of Herford a little before, being ſonne of Iohn of Gaunt the Duke of Lācaſter (who dyed ſhortly after the baniſhment of hys ſonne, and lieth buryed in the Church of S. Paule in London) and the Duke of Northfolke: who was before Erle of Notingham, and after by this king, made Duke of Northfolke the yeare before. At which time the king made 5. Dukes, a Marques and foure Earles, to wit: Duke of Herforde, whiche was before Earle of Darby: Duke of Awmerle, which was before Earle of Rutland: Duke of Southrey, who was before Earle of Kent: Duke of Exeſter, whiche was before Erle of Huntington, and this Duke of Northfolke, being before Earle of Notinghame, as is aforeſayd &c. The occaſion of baniſhing theſe foreſayd Dukes was this.

Erle of Notingham made duke of Northfolke.

About this preſent time, the Duke of Herforde did appeach the Duke of Northfolke vppon certayne wordes to be ſpoken againſt ẏ king. Wherupon, caſting theyr gloues one agaynſt the other, they appoynted to fight out ẏ quarrell; a day being for the ſame appoynted at Couentry. But the king tooke vp the matter in hys owne handes, baniſhing the Duke of Northfolke for euer, whiche after dyed at Venice: and ẏ other Duke which was the Duke of Herford, for 10. yeares. Beſide theſe, alſo was exiled in Fraunce Thomas Arunder archbiſhop of Caunterbury, by Acte of Parliament, in the ſame yere, for poynts of treaſon, as ye haue heard before expreſſed, page. 512. col. 2. All which turned to ẏ great inconueniēce of this king, as in the euent following may appeare.

The duke of Northfolke, and duke of Hereford baniſhed.

Tho. Arundell baniſhed as a traytor, by parliament.

{ Ann. 1399. }

Theſe cauſes and preparatiues thus premiſed, it followed the yeare after, which was an. 1399. and laſt yeare of this king, that the king vpon certaine affayres to be done, tooke hys viage into Ireland. In which meane time: Hēry of Bollingbroke, Earle of Darby, and Duke of Herford and with him the foreſayd archbiſhop Thomas Arundel, (which before were both exiled) returning out of Fraunce to Calice, came into England challenging the Dukedome of Lancaſter, after the death of hys father. With them alſo came the ſonne and heyre of the Earle of Arundell, beyng yet but yong. Theſe together ſetting out of Calice, arriued at Rauenſpur in the North. At the knowledge whereof, much people gathered vnto them.

In this meane time, as the Duke was houering on ẏ ſea to enter the land: L. Edmund Duke of York the kings Vncle to whome the king committed the cuſtodye of thys realm (hauing intelligence thereof) called to him the Byſhop of Chicheſter named Edmund Stafford Chauncellor of the Realme, and W. Scroupe Earle of Wiltſhyre Lorde Treaſurer, alſo I. Buſhey W. Bagot, Henry Grene, and Iohn Ruſchell, with diuers other, conſulting with them what was beſt in that caſe to be done. Who then gaue their aduiſe (whether wilful or vnſkilfull, it is not knowne, but very vnfruitfull) that he ſhold leaue london, and go to S. Albons, there to wayt for more ſtrength able to encounter with the Duke. But as the people out of diuers quarters reſorted thether, many of them proteſted that they woulde do nothing to the harme and preiudice of the Duke of Lācaſter, who they ſayd was vniuſtly expulſed. The reſt then of the counſayle, I. Buſhey, W. Bagot, Henry Grene, W. Scroupe Treaſurer, hearing and vnderſtanding how the commons were minded to ioyne with the Duke of Hereford, left the Duke of York, and the lord Chauncellor, and fled to the Caſtell of Briſtow. Where is to be vnderſtand that theſe foure were they to whome the common fame ran that the king had let out hys realme to farme: and were ſo hated of the people, that it is to be thought, that for the hatred of them more then for the king, this commotion was among the people.

What euil company doth about a kyng.

K. Richard returneth from Irelande to Milford hauen.

As this broyle was in England, the noyſe thereof ſounding to the kinges eares, being then in Ireland, for haſtye ſpeed of returning into England, left in Ireland both his buſines, and moſt of hys ordinaunce alſo behinde hym. And ſo paſſing the ſeas, landed at Milforde hauen, not daryng as it ſeemed to come to London.

On the contrary ſide, vnto Henry Duke of Herforde, being landed as is ſayde, in the North, came the Earle of Northumberland: Lord Henry Percy, and Henry his ſon the Earle of Weſtmerland, Lord Radulph Neuile, and other Lordes moe to a great number, ſo that the multitude roſe to 60000. able ſouldiours. Who firſt making towarde the Caſtle of Briſtow, tooke the foreſayd Buſhey, Grene Scroupe, and Bagot: of whom three incontinent were beheaded, Bagot eſcaped away and fled away to Ireland.

K. Richard forſaken of his ſubiectes.

The king in this meane while, lying about Wales, deſtitute and deſolate without comfort or counſayle, who neither durſt come to London, neyther would any man come to him, and perceauing moreouer, the commons that were vp in ſuch a great power agaynſt hym, would rather dye, then geue ouer that they had begunne, for feare of themſelues; Seing therfore no other remedy, called to him L. T. Percye Earle of Worceſter, and ſtewarde of hys houſehold, willing him with other of hys family, to prouide for themſelues in tyme. Who then openly in the hall brake his white rod before them all, commaunding euerye man to ſhift for himſelfe. Although Fabian and ſome other ſay, that he did this of hys owne accord, contrary to his allegeance.

What it is for a prince to be beloued of his ſubiectes.

The king compaſſed on euery ſide with miſeryes, ſhifted from place to place, the Duke ſtill following him, tyll at length being at the Caſtle of Conewey, the king deſired to talk with Tho. Arundell archb. and the Earle of Northūberland: To whom he declared, that he woulde reſigne vp hys crowne, in condition that an honourable liuing might be for hym prouided, and life promiſed to 8. perſons, ſuch as he would name. Which being graunted and ratified, but not performed, he came to the Caſtle of Flint, where (after talke had with ẏ Duke of Lācaſter) he was brought the ſame night by the Duke and his armye to Cheſter: And from thence was conueyed ſecretly into the Tower, there to be kept till the next parliament. By the way as he came neare to London, diuers euil deſpoſed men of the city being warned thereof, gathered themſelues, thinking to haue ſlayne hym, for the great cruelty he had vſed before toward the Citty. But by the pollicies of the Mayor and rulers of the Cittie, the madnes of the people was ſtayd. Not long after followed the Duke, and alſo began ẏ parliament. In which Parliament, the Earle of Northumberland with many other Earles and Lords were ſent to the king in the Tower, to take of him a full reſignation according to hys former promiſe, and ſo they did. This done diuers accuſations and articles were layd and engroſſed agaynſt the ſayd King, to the number of 33. ſome ſay 38. which for the matter not greatly materiall in them contayned, I ouerpaſſe. And ẏ next yeare after was had to Pomfret Caſtle, and there famiſhed to death.

K. Richard agreed to reſigne his crowne.

The kyng committed to the Tower.

King Henry the fourth.

AND thus King Richard by common aſſent being depoſed from his rightfull crowne: The Duke of Lancaſter was led by Thomas Arundell the Archbiſhop, to the ſeat royall: who there ſtanding vp, and croſſed himſelfe on the forehead and the breſt, ſpake in wordes as followeth.

The wordes of Henry Duke, clayming the crowne.

¶ In the name of God, Amen. I Henry of Lancaſter, clayme the Realme of England and the crowne, with all the appurtenaunces as I that am deſcended by right lyne of the bloud comming from that good Lord King Henry the 3. And thorough the right that God of his grace hath ſent to me with the helpe of my kinne and of my frendes to recouer the ſame, which was in poynt to be vndone for default of good gouernance and due iuſtice, &c.

¶ After which wordes, the Archbiſhop aſking the aſſent of the people, being ioyfull of theyr new king: took the Duke by the hād, & placed him in the kingly throne, which was an. 1399, and ſhortly after by the foreſayd Archbiſhop he was crowned alſo for king of England. Ex Chron. De Alban.

K. Henry 4. inthroned and crowned.

{ Anno. 1400. }

The next yeare after, followed a Parliament holden at Weſtminſter, in which Parliament, one Will. Sautre, a good man and a faythfull prieſt, inflamed with zeale of true Religion, required he might be heard for the commoditie of the whole realme. But the matter being ſmelt before by the Byſhops, they obtayned that the matter ſhould be referred to the conuocation: where the ſayd William Sautre being brought before the Byſhops and Notaries thereunto appointed, the conuocation was differred to the Saterday next enſuing.

W. Sautre Martyr.

W. Sautre brought before the byſhops in the conuocation.

When Saterday was come, that is to ſay, the 12. day of February, Thomas Arundell Archbiſhop of Caunterbury, in the preſence of his Counſayle prouinciall being aſſembled in the ſayd Chapter houſe, agaynſt one ſyr William Sautre, otherwiſe called Chatris, Chaplayne perſonally then and there appearing by the commaundement of the foreſayd archbiſhop of Caunterbury, obiected: that the ſayd ſir William before the Byſhop of Norwiche, had once renounced and abiured diuers and ſondry concluſions heretical and erroneous: and that after ſuch abiuration made, he publiquely and priuily, helde taught & preached, the ſame concluſions or els ſuch like, diſagreeing to yͤ catholique fayth, and to the great perill and pernitious example of others. And after this, he cauſed ſuch like concluſions holden and preached as is ſayd, by the ſayd Syr William without renunciation, then and there to be read vnto the ſayd Archbiſhop, by maiſter Robert Haull, Chācellor vnto the ſayd byſhop in a certayne ſcrole written, in tenour of wordes as followeth.

Syr William Chatris otherwiſe called Sautre, pariſh Prieſt of the Churche S. Scithe the Virgine in London, publiquely and priuily doth holde theſe concluſions vnder written.

The articles of W.Sautre.

¶ In Primis, he ſayth, that he will not worſhip the croſſe on which Chriſt ſuffered, but onely Chriſt that ſuffred vpon the Croſſe.

2. Item, that he would ſooner worſhip a temporal king, then the foreſayd wodden croſſe.

3. Item, that he would rather worſhip the bodyes of the Saintes, then the very croſſe of Chriſt, on which he hong, if it were before him.

4. Item, that he woulde rather worſhip a man truely contrite, then the croſſe of Chriſt.

5. Item, that he is bound rather to worſhip a man that is predeſtinate, then an aungell of God.

6. Item, that if any man would viſite the monumentes of Peter and Paule, or go on Pilgrimage to the Toumbe of S. Thomas, or els any whether els, for the obtayning of any temporall benefite: he is not bounde to keepe hys vowe, but that he may diſtribute the expences of his vowe vpon the almes of the poore.

7. Item, that euery prieſt and Deacon is more bound to preach the word of God, then to ſay the canonical houres.

8. Item, that after the pronouncing of the Sacramental wordes of the body of Chriſt, the bread remayneth of the ſame nature that it was before, neyther doth it ceaſe to be bread.

To which concluſions or articles being thus read, the Archbiſh. of Caunterb. required the ſame Syr William to aunſwere. And then the ſayd William aſked a copy of ſuch articles or concluſions, and a competent ſpace to anſwere vnto the ſame. Whereupon the ſayd Archb. commaunded a copy of ſuch articles or concluſions to be deliuered then and thereunto the ſayd ſyr William, aſſigning the Thurſday then next enſuing to him to deliberate and make aunſwere in. When Thurſday the ſayd day of apparance was come, Maiſter Nicholas Riſhton, auditour of the cauſes and buſines belonging to the ſayd archbiſhop (then beyng in the Parliament houſe at Weſtminſter otherwiſe let) cōtinued the ſayd conuocation with all matters riſing, depending and appartinent thereunto, by commaundement of the ſayd Byſhop, vntill the next morrow at eight of the clocke. When the morow came, being Friday. The foreſaid ſir William Sautre, in the chapter houſe before the ſayd biſhop and hys counſayle prouinciall then and there aſſembled, making his perſonall appearaunce, exhibited a certayne ſcrole contayning the aunſweres vnto certayne articles or concluſions geuen vnto him as is aforeſaid by the ſaid Biſhop: and ſayd, that vnto the foreſayd Archbyſhop, he deliuered the ſame as his anſwere in that behalfe, vnder the tenour of ſuch wordes as follow.

The anſwer of W.Sautre geuen vp in writing.

I William Sautre prieſt vnworthy, ſay and aunſwere that I will not, nor intend not to worſhip the croſſe whereon Chriſt was crucified, but onely Chriſt that ſuffered vpon the croſſe: ſo vnderſtanding me that I will not worſhip the materiall croſſe, for the groſſe corporall matter: yet notwithſtanding I will worſhip the ſame as a ſigne, token, and memoriall of the paſſion of Chriſt Adoratione vicaria. And that I will rather worſhip a temporall Kyng, then the foreſayd wooden croſſe, as the materiall ſubſtance of the ſame. And that I will rather worſhip the bodyes of Saintes, then the very croſſe of Chriſt whereon he hong: with this addition, that if the very ſame Croſſe were afore me, as touching the materiall ſubſtaunce. And alſo that I will rather worſhip a man truely confeſſed and penitent, then the croſſe on which Chriſt hong, as touching the materiall ſubſtaunce.

The croſſe materially not to bee worſhipped

And that alſo I am bound, and will rather worſhip him whom I know to be predeſtinate, truly confeſſed and contrite, then an angell of God: for that the one is a man of the ſame nature with the humanitie of Chriſt, and ſo is not a bleſſed aungell. Notwithſtanding I will worſhip both of them, according as the will of God is I ſhould.

A man predeſtinate rather to be worſhipped than an Angell: that is to ſay, neither can be worſhipped without Idolatrie.

Alſo, that if any man hath made a vow to viſite the ſhrines of the Apoſtles Peter and Paule, or to goe on pilgrimage vnto S. Thomas tombe, or anye whither els to obtayne any temporall benefite or commoditie: he is not bound ſimply to keepe his vow, vpon the neceſſitye of ſaluation. But that he may geue the expences of his vowe in almes amongſt the poore, by the prudent counſayle of his ſuperiour as I ſuppoſe.

And alſo I ſay, that euery Deacon and Prieſt is more bound to preach the word of God, then to ſay the canonicall houres, according to the primitiue order of the church.

Alſo touching the interrogation of the ſacrament of the aulter: I ſay that after the pronouncing of the ſacramentall wordes of the body of Chriſt, there ceaſeth to be very bread ſimply, but remaineth bread, holy true, and the bread of life: and I beleue the ſayd ſacrament to be the very body of Chriſt, after the pronouncing of the ſacramentall wordes.

How bread remaineth in the Sacrament.

When all theſe aunſweres were throughly by Maiſter Robert Hall, directly and publikely there read: the foreſaid Archb. of Cant. inquired of the ſayd ſir William, whither he had abiured the foreſayd hereſies and errors obiected agaynſt him, as before is ſayd, before the Byſhop of Norwich or not, or els had reuoked and renounced the ſayd or ſuch like concluſions or articles, or not? To which he aunſwered and affirmed, that he had not. And then conſequētly (all other articles, concluſions and aunſweres aboue writen, immediately omitted) the ſayd Archbiſhop examined the ſame ſir W. Sautre, eſpecially vpon the ſacrament of the aulter.

Firſt, whether in the ſacrament of the aulter after the pronouncing of the ſacramentall wordes, remayneth very materiall bread or not. Unto which interrogation yͤ ſame ſir W. ſomewhat waueringly, ſayd, and anſwered, that he knew not that. Notwithſtanding he ſayd, that there was very bread, becauſe it was the bread of life whiche came downe from heauen.

After that the ſayd Archbiſhop demaunded of hym, whither in the ſacrament after the ſacramentall woordes, rightly pronounced of the Prieſt, the ſame bread remayneth, which did before the wordes pronounced or not? And to this queſtion the foreſayde William aunſwered in like maner as before, ſaying that there was bread holy, true, and the bread of life. &c.

After that, the foreſayd Archb. aſked him, whether the ſame naturall bread before conſecration, by the ſacramentall woordes of the prieſt rightly pronounced, be tranſubſtantiated from the nature of bread, into the very bodye of Chriſt, or not? Whereunto ſir William ſayd, that he knewe not what that matter ment.

And then the ſayde Archbiſh. aſſigned vnto the ſaid ſir William, tyme to deliberate, and more fully to make hys aunſwere till the next day: and continued this conuocation then and there till the morow. Which morow to wit, the 19. day of February being come: the foreſayd Archbiſh. of Cant. in the ſayd chapter houſe of S. Paule in London, before hys counſayle prouincial, then and there aſſembled, ſpecially aſked and examined the ſame ſir William Sautre there perſonally preſent, vpon the ſacramēt of the aulter, as before. And the ſame Sir William agayne in like maner as before, aunſwered.

The conuocation continued.

W.Sautre agayn examined.

After this, amongſt other thinges the ſayd Byſhop demaunded of the ſame William if the ſame materiall bread beyng vpon the aulter after the ſacramentall words being of the prieſt rightly pronounced, is tranſubſtantiated into the very body of Chriſt, or not? And the ſayd ſir William ſayd he vnderſtoode not what he ment.

Then the ſayd archbiſhop demaunded, whether that materiall bread being round and white, prepared and diſpoſed for the ſacrament of the body of Chriſt vpon the aulter, wanting nothing that is meete and requiſite thereunto, by the vertue of the ſacramentall wordes being of the prieſt rightly pronounced, be altered and chaunged into the very body of Chriſt, and ceaſeth any more to be materiall and very bread or not? Then the ſayd ſyr William deredingly aunſwering, ſayd he could not tell.

When conſequently the ſayd Archbiſhop demaunded, whether he would ſtand to the determination of the holye Church or not, which affirmeth: that in the Sacrament of

Determination of the Church ſo to be folowed as it is ioyned to the will of God.

the aulter, after the wordes of conſecration, being rightly pronounced of the Prieſt, the ſame bread whiche before in nature was bread, ceaſeth any more to be bread. To this interrogation, the ſayd ſir William ſayd: that he woulde ſtand to the determination of the church, where ſuch determination was not contrary to the will of God.

This done: he demaunded of him agayne, what hys iudgement was concerning the Sacrament of the aulter: Who ſayd and affirmed, that after the wordes of conſecration by the prieſt duely pronounced, remayned very bread and the ſame bread which was before the wordes ſpoken. And this examination about the ſacrament, laſted from 8. of the clocke of the ſame day, vntill a 11. of the clock or there aboutes: in ſo much, that during all this time, the foreſaid W. would no otherwiſe aunſwere: neyther yet touching the ſame ſacrament, receaue catholicke information, according to the inſtitution of the popes Church and his Chriſten fayth wherefore, the ſayd Cant. by the counſayle and aſſent of his whole couent then and there preſent: did promulgate and geue ſentence by the mouth of Robert Hall, agaynſt the ſame Syr William Sautre (being perſonally preſent, and refuſing to reuoke hys hereſies, that is to ſay his true doctrine, but conſtantly defending the ſame) vnder the tenour of wordes as followeth.

The ſentence againſt W. Sautre.

IN the name of God amen. We Thomas by the grace of GOD Archbiſhop of Caunterbury, primate of England and Legate of the ſea Apoſtolicall, by the authoritie of God almighty and bleſſed ſainct Peter and Paule, and of holy Churche, and by our owne authoritie ſitting for tribunal or chiefe iudge, hauing God alone before your eyes: by the counſel and conſent of the whole clergy our fellow brethren, and ſuffraganes aſsiſtantes vnto vs in this preſent counſell prouincial, by this our ſentence diffinitiue, do pronounce, decree and declare by theſe preſents, thee William Sautre otherwiſe called Chawtrey pariſh Prieſt pretenſed, perſonally appearing before vs, in and vpon the cryme of hereſie iudicially and lawfully conuicte as an hereticke, and as an hereticke to be puniſhed.

Which ſentence diffinitiue being thus read: the foreſaid Archb. of Cant. continued in the ſame prouinciall cõſaile till Wedneſday next, and immediately enſuing, to wit the 24. day of the ſame month of February: whiche being expired, the biſhop of Norwich, according to the cõmaundement of the ſaid archb. of Cant. preſented vnto the foreſaid William Sawtre by a certayne friend of hys, beyng preſent at the ſame councell, a certayn proceſſe incloſed and ſealed with his ſeal, geuing ẏ names of credible witneſſes ſealed with their ſeales: The tenour whereof followeth in this wiſe.

A certaine proceſſe againſt W. Sautre preſented by the Biſh. of Norwiche.

Memorandum, that vpon the laſt day of Aprill, in the yeare of our Lord. 1399. in the 7. indiction and 10. yeare of the papacie of Pope Boniface the 2. In a certayne chamber within the maner houſe of the ſayd Biſh. of Norwich, at South Helingham (where the regiſter of the ſayd Biſhop is kept) before the houre of 9. in a certayne chappell within the ſayd manour ſituate, and the 1. day of May, then next and immediately enſuing in the foreſayd chamber, ſyr Wil. Chawtris, pariſh prieſt of the church of S. Margaret in the town of Linne, appeared before the Biſhop of Norwich, in the preſence of Iohn de Derlington, Archdeacon of Norwich, doctor of the decrees, Frier Walter Diſſe, and Iohn Rikinghall profeſſors in diuinitie, William Carlton, doctor of both lawes, and W. Friſeby, w huge Bhridham, publike Notaryes: and there publikely affirmed and held, the concluſions, as before is ſpecified.

All and ſinguler the premiſſes the foreſayde William affirmed vpon mature deliberation. And afterwardes to wit the 19. day of May in the yeare, Indiction, and Papacy aforeſayd, in the chappell within the mannour houſe of the ſaid Henry Biſhop of Norwich, ſituate at South Helingham: The foreſayd ſir William, reuoked and renounced all and ſinguler the foreſayd hys concluſions: abiuring and correcting all ſuch hereſies and errours, taking hys oath vpon a booke before the foreſayd Henry the Byſhop of Norwiche, that from that time forward he would neuer preach, affirme, nor holde, priuily nor apertly the foreſayd concluſions. And that he woulde pronounce according to the appointment of the ſayd Biſhop, the foreſayd concluſions to be erroneous and hereſies, in the pariſh Churches of Linne and Tilney and in other places & at the aſſignement of the ſayd Byſhop, and farther ſware, that he would ſtand to the ordinaunce of the ſayd Byſhop, touching the premiſſes, in the preſence of the diſcrete and worſhipfull men afore recited with diuers others moe.

As concerning the firſt concluſion that he ſayd he wold not worſhip the Croſſe &c. he confeſſed himſelfe to haue erred and that the article was erroneous and ſubmitted himſelfe. Alſo as touching the ſecond article, that he ſayde he would rather worſhip a king &c. he confeſſed himſelfe to haue erred and the article to be erroneous and ſubmitted himſelfe, and ſo forth of all the reſt.

Then next after this, vppon the 25. day of May in the yeare of our Lord aforeſayd, in the Churchyard of the chappell of S. Iames within the towne of Linne The foreſayd William, in preſence of the foreſayd Byſhop and clergy and the people of the ſayd Towne of Linne ſtanding round about: publikely declared in Engliſh tongue, the foreſayd concluſiõs to be erroneous and hereſies, as was contayned in a certayne ſcrole. And after this, the 26. day of May in the yeare aboueſayd, in the Churche of the Hoſpitall of S. Iohns in the towne of Linne: The ſayd Syr William, before the ſayd Byſhop ſitting as iudge, ſware & tooke his othe vpon the holy Euangeliſtes that he would neuer after that time preach openly & publiquely the foreſayd concluſions, nor would heare the confeſſions of anye of the ſubiectes of his Dioces of Norwiche, without the ſpeciall licence of the ſayd Biſhop. &c. In ẏ preſence of Frier Iohn Smetmen, M. Iohn Rikinghale, Doctor of Diuinitie, W. Carlton Doctor of both lawes, and Thomas Bulton officer of the libertie of Linne aforeſayd with dyuers others.

¶The tenour of the ſcrole and recantation.

IN primis, touching the firſt and ſecond, where I ſayd, 1.
that I woulde adore rather a temporall Prince, and the
liuely bodyes of the ſayntes then the wooden croſſe, wher 2.
upon the Lord did hang, I do reuoke and recant the ſame
as being therein deceaued.

3. To this I ſay, that the article is falſe and erroneous, and by falſe information, I held it, the whiche I renounce and aſke forgeuenes thereof, and ſay that it is a precious relique, and that I ſhall holde it while I liue, and that I ſweare here.

4. I know wel that I erred wrõgfully, by falſe information: for I wot well, that a deacon or a prieſt is more bõd to ſay his Mattins and Houres, then to preach, for thereto he is bounden by right, wherfore I ſubmit me &c.

5. Touching that article, I know right well that I erred by falſe information. Wherfore I aſke forgeuenes.

6. As concerning vowes, I ſay, that opinion is falſe and erroneous, and by falſe information I held it, for a man is holden to hold his vowe &c.

7. To the 7. article I ſay, that I did it, by authoritie of Prieſthoode, where through I knowledge well that I haue gilt and treſpaſſed, wherfore I ſubmit me to god and to holy Church, and to you father, ſwearing that I ſhall neuer hold it more.

8. The 8. I ſay, that I held it by falſe and wronge information. But now I know well that it is hereſie, and that bread anone as the word of the ſacrament is ſayde, is no longer bread materiall, but that it is turned into verye Chriſtes body and that I ſweare here.

9. I ſay that this is falſe and erroneous. &c.

10. I ſay as I ſayd. &c.

Proces againſt W. Sautre.

This being done, the 22. day of February aforeſayd in the yeare of our Lord. 1400. in the chapter houſe of Saint Paule in London aforeſayd: The foreſayd Archbiſhop of Caunterbury, in the conuocation of hys prelates & Clergy and ſuch lyke men there beeing preſent, cauſed the forerecited proces of the biſhop of Norwich to be read openly & publikely to Syr Wil. Sautre otherwiſe called Chatris. And afterward, he aſked the ſayd ſyr William, whether he playnely vnderſtood and knew ſuch proces & the contents within the ſame, and he ſayd yea. And further he demaunded of him, if he would or could ſay or obiect any thing agaynſt the proces, and he ſayd no. And after that incontinent, the foreſayd archbiſhop of Canterbury demaunded and obiected againſt the ſaid ſyr William as diuers others more did: That after he had before the Byſh. of Norwiche reuoked and abiured Iudicially diuers errors & hereſies, that among other erroures, and hereſies by him taught, holden, and preached he affirmed: That in the ſame ſacrament of the aulter after the conſecration made by ẏ Prieſt as he taught, there remayned materiall bread: which hereſie amongſt others as erroures alſo he abiured before the foreſayd Biſhop of Norwich. Hereunto the foreſayd William aunſwered ſmiling or in mocking wiſe, ſaying, and denying that he knew of the premiſſes. Notwithſtanding he publikely affirmed that he held and taught the foreſayd thinges after the date of the ſayd proceſſe made by the ſayd Biſhop of Norwich, and that in the ſame councell alſo he held

Ex Regiſt. Cantuar.

held the ſame. Then finally, it was demaunded of the ſaid ſir William, why he ought not to be pronounced as a man fallen into hereſie, and further to procede vnto his degradation, according to the canonicall ſanctions: whereunto he anſwered nothing, neither could he alledge any cauſe to the contrary.

Whereupon, the foreſayd Archb. of Cant. by the counſaile and conſent of the whole councel, and eſpecially by the counſail and aſſent of the reuerēd fathers and Biſhops, as alſo, Priours, Deanes, Archdeacons, and other worſhipfull Doctours and Clerkes then and there preſent in the councel: Fully determined to procede to the degradation, and actuall depoſing of the ſayde William Sautre, as refallen into hereſy, and as incorrigible, according to the ſentence definitiue put in wryting, the tenoure whereof is in wordes as foloweth.

Sentence of relapſe.

In the name of God Amen: Wee Thomas by the grace of God Archb. of Cant. Legate of the ſea Apoſtolicall and Metropolitane of all England: doe finde and declare, that thou William Sawtrie, otherwiſe called Chatris Prieſt, by vs with the counſaile & aſſent of all and ſingular our felowe brethren and whole Clergy, by this our ſentence diffinitiue declared in wryting, haſt bene for hereſie conuict and condemned, and art (being againe fallen into hereſy) to be depoſed and degraded, by theſe preſents.

And from that day being Wedenſday, there was in the ſayde councell prouinciall nothing further proſecuted, but was continued with all dependentes, till the Friday next inſuing. Whych Friday approching, M. Nicholas Riſhton, by the commandement of the ſayd Archb. of Canterb. being then buſied as he ſaid in the Parliament houſe: continued this councel and conuocation with al incidents, dependents, and occaſions, growing and annexed therunto, to the next day, to wit ſaterday next and immediatly after inſuing. Vpon Saterday being the 26. of the ſayd moneth of February, the foreſayde Archbiſhop of Canterbury ſate in the Byſhops ſeate of the foreſayde Church of S. Paule in London, and ſolemnly apparelled in his Pontifical attire, ſitting wᵗ hym as his aſſiſtents theſe reuerend fathers and Biſhops, of London, Lyncolne, Harford, Exeter, Meneuenſis & Roffenſis Epiſcopi, aboue mentioned: commaunded and cauſed the ſayd ſir W. Sautry apparelled in prieſtly veſtiments, to be brought & appeare before hym. That done, he declared and expounded in Engliſh to al the clergy and people there, in a great multitude aſſembled: that al proceſſe was finiſhed and ended againſt the ſaid ſyr William Sautry. Whych thing finiſhed, before the pronouncing of the ſayd ſentence of the Relapſe againſt the ſayd ſir William as is premiſed, he often then and there recited & read. And for that he ſawe the ſayde William in that behalfe, nothyng abaſhed: He proceded to his degradation and actuall depoſition in forme as foloweth.

Sentence of degradation.

IN nomine patris & filij & ſpiritus ſancti. Amen. We Thomas by Gods permiſſion Archb. of Cant. Primate of al England, and Legate of the Apoſtolique ſea: doe denounce thee William Sawtre otherwiſe called Chautris, Chapleine fained, in the habite and apparell of a Prieſt, as an hereticke and one refallen into hereſy by thys our ſentēce definitiue, by counſaile, aſſent, and authoritye, to be condemned: And by concluſion of all our fellowe brethren, fellow byſhops, Prelates, councell prouinciall, and of the whole clergy: do degrade and depriue thee of thy prieſtly order. And in ſigne of degradation and actuall depoſitiō from thy prieſtly dignity, for thine incorrigibility and want of amendment: we take from thee the patent and chalice, and doe depriue thee of all power & authority of celebrating maſſe: and alſo wee pull from thy backe, the Caſule, and take from thee the veſtiment, and depriue thee of all maner of Prieſtly honour.

The pattē and chalice takē frō him.

Alſo, wee Thomas the aforeſayde Archb. by authority, counſell, and aſſent, which vpon the foreſayd William wee haue, being Deacon pretenſed, in the habite and apparel of a Deacon, hauing the new Teſtament in thy hands, being an heretique and twiſe fallen, condemned by ſentence as is aforeſayde: doe degrade and put thee from the order of a Deacon. And in token of this thy degradation and actuall depoſition we take frō thee the boke of the new teſtament, & the ſtole, and doe depriue thee of all authority in reading the goſpel, and of all and all maner of dignity of a Deacon.

The booke of a new Teſtamēt taken frō him.

Item, we Thomas Archbiſh. aforeſayd, by authoritie, counſell, and aſſent, which ouer thee the foreſayde William wee haue, being a ſubdeacon pretenſed: in the habite & veſtiment of a ſubdeacon, an hereticke, and twiſe fallen, condemned by ſentence as is aforeſayd: do degrade & put thee from the order of a ſubdeacon. And in token of this thy degradation & actuall depoſition, we take from thee the albe and maniple, and doe depriue thee of all and all manner of ſubdiaconall dignitie.

The Albe taken from him.

Alſo, wee Thomas, Archb. aforeſayd, by counſaile, aſſent and authority whych wee haue ouer thee the foreſayde William, an Accolite pretenſed, wearing the habite of an Accolite, and heretike, twiſe fallen, by our ſentence as is aforeſaid condemned: do degrade and put from thee al order of an Accolite: And in ſigne and tokē of thys thy degradation, and actuall depoſition, we take from thee the candleſticke and taper, and alſo Vrceolum, and doe depriue thee of all and all maner dignity of an Accolite.

The candleſticke & taper taken from hym.

Alſo, we Thomas, Archb. aforeſayd by aſſent, counſel, and authority whych vppon thee the foreſayd William we haue, an Exorciſt pretenſed, in the habite of an Exorciſt or holy water clarke, being an hereticke, twiſe fallen, and by our ſentence as is aforeſayd condemned, we doe degrade & depoſe thee from the order of an Exorciſt: and in token of thys thy degradation and actuall depoſition, we take from thee the booke of coniurations, and doe depriue thee of all and ſingular dignity of an Exorciſt.

The holy water bucke con[illegible] from him.

Alſo, we Thomas Archbiſh. aforeſayd, by aſſent, counſaile, and authority, as is aboue ſayd, doe degrade & depoſe thee the foreſayde William, reader pretenſed, clothed in the habit of a reader, an hereticke, twiſe fallen, and by our ſentence as is aforeſayd, condēned: from the order of a reader. And in token of this thy degradation and actuall depoſition, we take from thee the booke of the deuine lections (that is the booke of the Church legende) and doe depriue thee of all and ſingular maner of dignity of ſuch a reader.

He meaneth the legend booke, as ſaith the Regiſter.

Item, we Thomas Archbiſhop of Canterbury aforeſayd, by authority, counſaile, and aſſent, the which we haue as is aforeſaid, do degrade and put thee the foreſayd William Sawtre, ſexten pretenſed, in the habite of a ſexten, and wearing a ſurplice, being an hereticke, twiſe fallen, by our ſentence difinitiue condemned, as aforeſaid: from the order of a Sexten. And in token of thys thy degradation and actuall depoſition, for the cauſes aforeſayd, we take from thee the keyes of the Church doore, and thy ſurplice, and doe depriue thee of all and ſingular maner of commodityes of a doore keeper.

The Surplice taken from him.

The church dore keyes taken from him.

And alſo, by the authority of omnipotent God the father, the ſonne, and holy ghoſt, and by our authority, counſaile, & aſſent of our whole councel prouinciall aboue written, we do degrade thee and depoſe thee being heere perſonally preſent before vs, from orders, benefices, priuilegies and habite in the church, and for thy pertinacie incorrigible we doe diſgrade thee, before the ſecular Court of the hygh Conſtable and marſhal of England, here being perſonally preſent, and do depoſe thee from all and ſingular clerkely honours and dignities whatſoeuer, by theſe wrytings. Alſo in token of thy degradation and depoſition, here actually wee haue cauſed thy crowne and eccleſiaſticall tonſure in our preſence to be raſed away, & vtterly to be aboliſhed, lyke vnto the forme of a ſeculare lay man: and here doe put vpon the head, of thee the foreſayd William, the cap of a lay ſecular perſon: beſeeching the court aforeſaid, that they wil receaue fauourably the ſayde William vnto them thus recommitted.

Priuilege of the clergie taken from him.

The prieſtes cap taken from his head, maketh vp all in all.

Thus William Sawtre the ſeruaunt of Chriſt, being vtterly thruſt out of the Popes kingdome, and metamorphoſed from a clerke to a ſecular lay man, was committed (as ye haue heard) vnto the ſecular power. Which ſo done, the Byſhops yet not heerewith contented, ceaſe not to call vpō the king, to cauſe him to be brought forth to ſpedy execution. Whereupon the king, ready inough and to much to gratify the cleargy, and to retaine their fauours, directeth out a terrible decree againſt the ſaid William Sawtre, and ſent it to the Maior and Sheriffes of London to be put in execution, the tenour wherof here vnder enſueth.

¶ The decree of the king againſt William Sawtre.

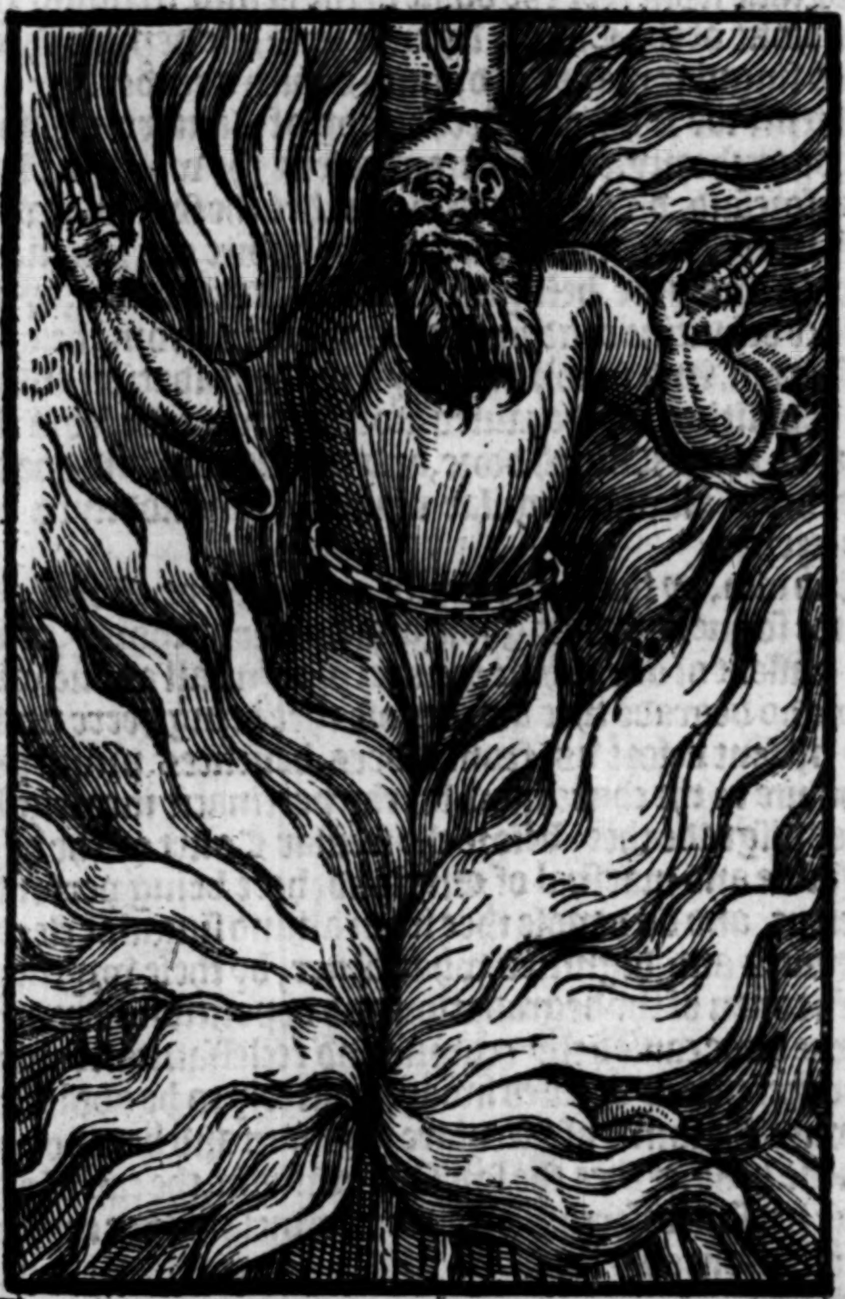
The cruell decree of the king agaynſt Sawtre.

THe decree of our ſoueraigne Lord the king & his counſel in the Parliament, againſt a certaine new ſprong vp hereticke. To the Maior & Sheriffs of London. &c. Where as the reuerend father Thomas Archbiſhop of Canterbury, primate of all England, and Legate of the Apoſtolicke ſea, by the aſſent, conſent, & counſell of other byſhops, and his brethren Suffraganes, and alſo of all the whole Clergy within his prouince or dioces, gathered together in his prouincial counſel, the due order of the law being obſerued in al poynts in this behalfe: hath pronounced and declared by his definitiue ſentence, W. Sautre ſomtime chaplain, to be fallen again into his moſt dānable hereſy, the which before time the ſayde W. had abiured, thereupon to be a moſt manifeſt heretike, and therfore hath decreed, that he ſhould

Prepoſterous zeale without knowledge.

be diſgraded, & hath for the ſame cauſe really diſgraded him frō al prerogatiue & priuilege of ẏ clergie, decreing to leaue him vnto the ſecular power: and hath really ſo left him, according to ẏ lawes & canonicall ſanctions ſet forth in this behalfe, and alſo that our holy mother the Church hath no further to do in the premiſſes. We therfore being zelous in religion, and reuerent louers of ẏ catholike fayth, willing and minding to mainteine & defend the holy church, & the lawes & liberties of the ſame, to roote al ſuch errours & heresies out of our kingdome of Englād, & with cōdigne puniſhmēt to correct & puniſh all heretiques or ſuch as be cōuict: Prouided alwaies, that both according to the lawe of God & mā, and ẏ canonical inſtitutions in this behalfe, accuſtomed, that ſuch hereticks conuict & condēned in forme aforeſaid, ought to be burned with fire. We command you as ſtraigtly as we may or can, firmely enioyning you, that you do cauſe the ſaid Williā being in your cuſtody, in ſome publike or opē place within ẏ liberties of your citie aforeſaid (the cauſe aforeſaid being publiſhed vnto the people) to be put into the fire, and there in the ſame fire really to be burned, to the great horrour of his offence, and the manifeſt example of other Chriſtians. Faile not in the execution hereof, vpon the perill that will fall thereupon, Teſte rege, apud Weſtmonaſt. 26. Februar. an. regni ſui.

¶ The burning of William Sawtre.



Admonition to Princes.

Thus it may appeare how kinges and princes haue bin blinded and abuſed by the falſe Prelates of the Church, in ſo much that they haue bene their ſlaues and butchers, to ſlay Chriſtes poore innocent members. See therefore what danger it is for Princes, not to haue knowledge and vnderſtanding themſelues, but to be led by other mens eies, & ſpecially truſting to ſuch guides, who through hipocriſie both deceiue them, & through crueltie deuour the people.

K Henry the firſt of Engliſh kinges that tormented the Chriſtians with fire.

As king Henry the fourth who was the depoſer of king Richard, was the firſt of all Engliſh kings that began the vnmercifull burning of Chriſtes ſaints, for ſtanding againſt the Pope: ſo was this William Sawtre the true and faithfull martyr of Chriſt, the firſt of all them in Wickliffes time, which I find to be burned in ẏ raigne of the foreſaid king, which was in the yeare of our Lord. 1400.

Much murder & beheading in K. Henryes time the 4.

After the martyrdome of this godly man, the reſt of the ſame company began to keepe themſelues more cloſely, for feare of the king, who was altogether bent to hold with the Popes prelacy. Such was the raigne of this Prince, that to the godly he was euer terrible, in his actions immeſurable, to few men hartely beloued, but Princes neuer lacke flatterers about them. Neither was the time of his raigne very quiet, but full of trouble, of bloud, and miſery. Such was their deſire of K. Richard againe, in the raigne of this king, that many yeares after he was rumored to be aliue (of them which deſired belike that to be true, which they knew to be falſe) for the which, diuers were executed. For the ſpace of ſixe or vij. yeares together, almoſt no yeare paſſed without ſome conſpiracy againſt the king. Long it were here to recite the bloud of all ſuch Nobles and other, which was ſpilt in the raigne of this king, as the Earle of *Kent, Earle of Saliſbury, Earle of Huntington, named Iohn Holland. &c. as writeth the ſtory of S. Albans. But the Engliſh writers differ ſomething in their names, and make mention of 4. Earles of Surrey, of Exceſter, of Saliſbury, and Lord Spenſer Earle of Glouceſter. Ex Lib. cui tit. Calendarium Bruti.

* It is to be doubted.

Ex calendario Bruti.

Anno 1403.

And the next yeare following, Syr Ihon Clarendon knight, with two of his ſeruauntes, the Priour of Laund, with 8. friers, were hanged and quartered. And after theſe Henry Percy the younger, the Earle of Worceſter, named Thomas Percy his vncle, Lord of Kinderton, and L. Richard de Vernona. The Earle of Northumberland ſcarce eſcaped with his pardon. an. 1403. In the which yeare, the priſon in Cornhill called the tonne, was turned into the conduit, there now ſtanding.

To let paſſe other moe hanged and quartered the ſame time, as Blount knight, & Benet Kely knight, and Thomas Winterſel Eſquier. Alſo the ſame yeare was taken and executed ſir Bernard Brokes knight, ſir Iohn Shilley knight, Syr Iohn Mandelyn, and William Frierby. After all theſe L. Henry Earle of Northumberland, and L. Bardolfe conſpiring the kings death, were taken in the North and beheaded, which was in the 8. yere of this king Henry.

Archb. of Yorke, and L. Moubray againſt King Henry 4.

L. Bardolfe, Henry Percy, Earle of Northumberland agaynſt the king.

Ex hiſtor. Scala mundi.

This ciuil rebellion of ſo many nobles & other againſt the king, declared what grudging heartes the people then bare towarde this king Henry. Among whome I cannot pretermit heere alſo the Archb. of Yorke named Richarde Scrope, who with the L. Moubrey Marſhal of England, gathered a great company in the North countrey, againſt the foreſaid king, to whom alſo was adioyned the helpe of L. Bardolfe, & Henry Percy Earle of Northumberland. Ex Chron. D. Albani. And to ſtirre vp the people more willingly to take their partes, they collected certaine Articles againſt the ſaid king, to the number of 10. and faſtned them vpon the doores of Churches and Monaſteries, to be read of all men in Engliſh. Which articles if any be diſpoſed to vnderſtand, & for ſomuch as the ſame alſo containe a great part of the doings betweene king Henry & king Richard aforeſayde, I thought for the better opening of the matter heere vnder to inſerte the ſame, in ſuch forme as I founde them in the hiſtorie of Scala mundi expreſſed.

Articles ſet vpon church dores againſt K. Hen.4.

¶ Articles ſet vp on Church doores againſt king Henry the fourth.

Ann. 1405.

IN the name of God. Amen. Before the Lorde Ieſus Chriſt, iudge of the quicke and dead, &c. We A.B.C.D. &c. not long ſithens became bounde by othe vppon the ſacred Euangelicall booke, vnto our ſoueraigne Lorde Richarde late king of England and France, in the preſente of many prelates, potentates, and nobilitie of the realme: that wee ſo long as we liued, ſhould beare true allegeance and fidelity towardes hym and his heires ſucceding hym in the kingdom by iuſt title, right, and line, accordyng to the ſtatutes and cuſtome of this realme of England: By vertue wherof, we are bound to foreſee ẏ no vices or hainous offences ariſe in the common weale, do take effect or wyſhed ende, but that we ought to geue our ſelues and our goodes to w̄ſtand the ſame, without feare of ſword or death whatſoeuer, vpon paine of periurie, which paine is euerlaſting damnation. Wherfore, we ſeing & perceiuing diuers horrible crimes, and great enormities daily without ceaſſing to be committed, by the children of the deuill and ſathans ſoldiours againſt the ſupremacie of the Church of Rome, the libertie of the church of England, and the lawes of the realme, againſt ẏ perſon of king Rich. and his heires againſt the prelates, noble men, religion, and comminaltie, and finally againſt the whole weale publike of ẏ realme of England, to the great offence of the maieſty of almighty God, and to the prouocation of his iuſt wrath and vēgeance towards the realme and people of the ſame. And fearing alſo the deſtruction both of the Churche of Rome and England, & the ruine of our coūtry to be at hand, hauing before our eyes the iuſtice & the kingdom of God, calling alwaies on the name of Ieſus, hauing an aſſured confidence in his clemency, mercy and power: haue here taken vnto vs certain articles ſubſcribed in forme folowing, to be proponed, tried, and heard before the iuſt iudge Ieſus Chriſt, and the whole world, to his honour, the deliuery of the church, the cleargy and comminalty, and to the vtility & profite of the weale publick. But if (which God forbid) by force, feare or violence of wicked perſons we ſhalbe caſt in priſon, or by violent death preuented, ſo as in this worlde we ſhall not be able to proue the ſaide articles as we would wiſh, then do we apeale to the high celeſtiall iudge, that he may iudge & diſcerne the ſame, in the day of his ſupreme iudgement.

1. ¶ Firſt,

A bill of articles ſet vp againſt king Henry 4.

1. ¶ Firſt, we depoſe, ſay, except, and entend to proue againſt the Lord Henry Derby, ſonne of the Lord Iohn of Gaunt late Duke of Lancaſter, and commonly called king of England (himſelfe pretending the ſame, although without all right and title thereunto) and againſt his adherents, fautours, and complices: that euer they haue bene, are, and will be, traytors, inuaders, and deſtroyers of Gods Church in Rome, England, Wales, and Ireland, and of our ſoueraigne Lord Richard late King of England, his heires, his kingdom, and common wealth, as ſhall hereafter manifeſtly appeare.

2. Secondarely we depoſe &c. againſt the ſaid Lord Hẽry, for that he had conceaued, deuiſed, & conſpired certaine hainous crimes and traiterous offences againſt his ſayd ſoueraigne Lord Richard his ſtate and dignitie, as manifeſtly did appeare in the contention betwene the ſaid Lord Henry, and yͤ Lord Thomas Duke of Northfolke begon at Couentry, but not finiſhed throughly. Afterwards he was ſent in exile, by ſentence of the ſaid king Richard, by the agreement of his father the Lord Iohn Duke of Lancaſter, by the voice of diuers of the Lords temporall, & nobilitie of the realme, and alſo by his owne conſent: there to remaine for a certaine time appointed vnto him by yͤ ſaid Lords, and withall he was bound by othe not to returne into Englãd before he had obteined fauour & grace of the kyng. Not long after, when the king was departed into Ireland, for reformation of that countrey apperteining to the crowne of England, but as then rebelling agaynſt the ſame: the ſayd Lord Henry in the meane time contrary to his oth and fidelitie, and long before the time limited vnto him was expired: with all his fautours and inuaders, ſecretly entred into the Realme, ſwearing and proteſting before the face of the people, that his comming into the Realme in the abſence of the king, was for none other cauſe, but that he might in humble ſort with the loue and fauour of the king, and all the Lords ſpirituall and temporall, haue and enioy his lawfull inheritance deſcending vnto him of right after the death of his father: which thing as it pleaſed all men, ſo cried they: Bleſſed is he that commeth in the name of the Lord: But how this bleſſing afterwards turned into curſing, ſhall appeare in that which followeth: and alſo ye ſhall vnderſtand his horrible and wicked conſpiracie againſt his ſoueraigne Lord king Richard, and diuers other Lords as well ſpirituall as temporall, beſides yͭ his manifeſt periurie ſhal wel be knowen, and that he remaineth not only forſworne and periured, but alſo excommunicate, for that he conſpired againſt his ſoueraigne Lord our king. Wherefore we pronounce him by theſe preſents, as well periured as excommunicate.

K.Henry periured.

K.Henry charged with vntruthe.

3. Thirdly we depoſe &c. againſt the ſaid Lord Henry, that he the ſaid Lord Hẽry, immediatly after his entry into England, by crafty and ſubtile policie, cauſed to be proclaimed openly throughout the Realme, that no tenths of the Clergy, fiftenes of the people, ſealing vp of cloth, diminution of wooll, impoſt of wine, nor other extortiõs or exactions whatſoeuer, ſhould hereafter be required or exacted: hoping by this meanes to purchaſe vnto him yͤ voice and fauour of the prelates ſpiritual, the Lords temporall, the Marchants, & comminaltie of the whole Realme. After this, he tooke by force the kings Caſtels and fortreſſes, ſpoiled and deuoured his goodes whereſoeuer he found it, crieng hauocke, hauocke. The kings maieſtie ſubiects as well ſpirituall as temporal he ſpoiled and robbed, ſome he tooke captiue and impriſoned them, and ſome he ſlew & put to miſerable death, whereof many were Biſhops, prelates, Prieſts, and religious men. Whereby it is manifeſt, that the ſaid Lord Henry is not only periured, in promiſing & ſwearing that there ſhould be hereafter no more exactiõs, paiments, or extortions within the realme, but alſo excommunicate for the violence and iniurie done to Prelats and Prieſts. Wherefore by theſe preſents we pronounce him as afore, as well periured as excommunicate.

K.Henry charged with treaſon agaynſt his ſoueraigne.

4. Fourthly we depoſe &c. againſt the ſaid Lord Henry, that he hearing of the Kings returne from Ireland into Wales, roſe vp againſt his ſoueraigne Lord the king with many thouſands of armed men, marching forward with al his power towards the Caſtle of Flint in Wales, where he tooke the king & held him priſoner, and ſo led him captiue as a traitor vnto Leiceſter: from whence he tooke his iourney towards London, miſuſing the king by the way both he and his, with many iniuries and opprobrious cõtumelies and ſcoffes. And in the end committed him to the Tower of London, and held a Parliament, the king being abſent & in priſon, wherein for feare of death he compelled the king to yeeld and reſigne vnto him all his right & title of the kingdome and crowne of England. After which reſignation being made, the ſaid Lord Henry ſtanding vp in the Parliament houſe, ſtoutly and proudly before them al, ſaid & affirmed: that the kingdome of Englãd and crowne of the ſame with al thereunto belonging, did pertaine vnto him at that preſent as of very right, and to none other: for that the ſaid king Richard by his owne deede was depriued for euer of all the right, title, & intereſt that euer he had, hath, or may haue in the ſame. And thus at length by right and wrong, he exalted himſelfe vnto yͤ throne of the kingdome: ſince which time, our commõ weale neuer floriſhed nor proſpered, but altogether hath bene void of vertue, for that the ſpiritualtie was ſo oppreſſed, exerciſe and warlike practiſes hath not bin mainteined, charitie is waxed cold, & couetouſnes and miſerie hath takẽ place, & finally mercy is taken away & vengeance ſupplieth the roome. Whereby it doth appeare (as before is ſaid) that yͤ ſaid Lord Hẽry is not only periured & falſe by vſurping the kingdome and dominion belonging to another, but alſo excommunicate for the apprehending, vniuſt impriſoning, and depriuing his ſoueraigne Lord the king of his roiall crowne and dignitie. Wherefore, as in the articles before, we pronounce the ſaid Lord Henry to be excommunicate.

5. Fiftly we depoſe, &c. againſt the ſaid Lord Henry, that he the ſame Lord Henry with the reſt of his fauourers & complices, heaping miſchief vpon miſchief, haue cõmitted and brought to paſſe a moſt wicked and miſchieuous fact, yea, ſuch as hath not bene heard of at any time before. For after that they had taken and impriſoned the king, and depoſed him by open iniurie againſt all humane nature, yet not cõtẽt with this: they brought him to Pomfret Caſtle, and there impriſoned him, where xv. daies & nights they vexed him with continuall hunger, thirſt, and cold, and finally bereft him of life, with ſuch a kind of death as neuer before that time was knowen in England, but by Gods prouidence it is come to light. Who euer heard of ſuch a deed, or who euer ſaw the like of him? Wherefore O England ariſe, ſtand vp, auenge the cauſe, the death, and iniurie of thy king and prince: which if thou do not, take this for certaintie, that the righteous God will deſtroy thee by ſtrange inuaſions and foreigne power, and auenge himſelfe on thee for this ſo horrible an act. Whereby doth appeare, not only his periurie, but alſo his excommunication moſt execrable: ſo that as before we pronounce, the ſaid Henry not only periured, but alſo excommunicate.

K. Henry charged with murdering of his prince.

6. Sixtly we depoſe, &c. againſt the ſayd Lord Henry, that after he had attained to the crowne and ſcepter of the kingdome, he cauſed forthwith to be apprehended diuers Lords ſpirituall, Biſhops, Abbots, Priors, and religious men of all orders, whom he areſted, impriſoned, & bound, and againſt all order brought them before the ſecular iudges to be examined: not ſparing the Biſhops whoſe bodies were annointed with ſacred oyle, nor prieſts, nor religious men, but commanded them to be cõdemned, hanged, and beheaded by the temporall law and iudgement, notwithſtanding the priuiledge of the Church, and holie orders, which he ought to haue reuerenced and worſhipped if he had bin a true and lawfull king: for the firſt and chiefeſt othe in the coronation of a lawfull king is, to defend and keepe inuiolate the liberties and rights of the Church, and not to deliuer anie Prieſt or religious man into the hands of the ſecular power, except for hereſie onely, and that after his degradation according to the order of the Church. Contrary vnto all this hath he done, ſo that it is manifeſt by this article as afore in the reſt, that he is both periured and excommunicate.

K.Henry charged with the orders of the church.

7. Seuenthly we depoſe, &c. againſt the ſaid Lord Henry that not onely he cauſed to be put to death the Lords ſpirituall and other Religious men, but alſo diuers of the Lords temporall and nobilitie of the Realme, and cheifly thoſe that ſtudied for the preſeruatiõ of the commonweale, not ceaſing as yet, to cõtinue his miſcheuous enterpriſe, if by Gods prouidẽce it be not preuented & that with ſpeed. Amongſt all other of the Nobilitie, theſe firſt he put to death: the Earle of Saliſbury, the Earle of Huntington, the Earle of Glouceſter, the Lord Roger Clarendon the kyngs brother, with diuers other knights and Eſquiers: and afterwards, the Lord Thomas Percy Earle of Worceſter, and the Lord Henry Percy ſonne and heyre to the Earle of Northumberland, the which Lord Henry he not onely ſlew, but to the vttermoſt of his power againe and againe he cauſed hym to be ſlayne. For after that he was once put to death, and deliuered to the Lord of Furniuale to be buryed (who committed his body to holy ſepulture, with as much honour as might be, commending his ſoule to almighty God, with the ſuffrages of the bleſſed maſſe & other praiers) the ſaid Lord Henry moſt like a cruel beaſt ſtill thirſting hys bloud, cauſed his body to be exhumate & brought forth againe, and to be repoſed betwene two mil-

K.Henry charged with tyranny.

ſtones in the towne of Shreuſbury, there to be kept wyth armed men: And afterwardes to be beheaded and quartered, commaunding his head and quarters to be caried vnto diuers cities of the kingdome. Wherfore for ſo deteſtable a fact neuer heard of in any age before, we pronounce him as in the former articles excommunicate.

The K charged with euill gouernement.

8. Eightly, we depoſe, &c. agaynſt yͤ ſaid Lord Henry, for that after his atteining to the crowne, he willingly ratified, allowed, and approued a moſt wicked ſtatute ſet forth & renued in yͤ parliament holden at Wincheſter. The which ſtatute is directly againſt yͤ Church of Rome, the power, & principalitie therof giuen by our Lord Jeſus Chriſt and vnto bleſſed S. Peter & his ſucceſſors Biſhops of Rome: vnto whom belongeth by full authoritie the free diſpoſing of all ſpirituall promotions as wel ſuperior as inferiour: which wicked ſtatute, is the cauſe of many miſchiefes vid. of ſimonie, periurie, adultery, inceſt, miſorder, & diſobedience, for that many Biſhops, Abbots, priors, and prelats (we will not ſay by vertue, but rather by errour of this ſtatute) haue beſtowed yͤ benefices vacant vpō yong men, rude and vnworthy perſons, which haue compacted with them for the ſame, ſo that ſcarce no one prelate is found that hath not couenanted with the partie promoted for the halfe yearely, or at the leaſt the third part of the ſaid benefice ſo beſtowed. And by this meanes, the ſaid ſtatute is the deſtruction of the right of S. Peter, the Church of Rome, and England, the Cleargie and vniuerſities, the mainteuance of wars, and the whole common wealth, &c.

9. Ninthly, we ſay and depoſe, &c. againſt the ſaid Lord Henry, that after he had tyrannouſly taken vpon him the gouernement of the Realme: England neuer floriſhed ſince, nor proſpered, by reaſon of his continuall exactions of money and oppreſſions, yearely of the cleargie and cōminaltie: neither is it knowen how this money ſo extorted is beſtowed, when as neither his ſouldiours, nor his gentlemen are payed as yet their wages and fees for their charges and wonderfull toile and labour, neither yet the poore countrey people are ſatiſfied for the victuall taken of them: And neuertheles, the miſerable clergie, and more miſerable comminaltie, are forced ſtill to pay, by menaces and ſharp threatnings. Notwithſtanding he ſware when he firſt vſurped the crowne, that hereafter there ſhould be no ſuch exactions nor vexations, neither of the clergie nor laitie. Wherfore, as afore, we pronounce him periured, &c.

K. Hen. charged with oppreſsion and periury.

10. In the tenth and laſt article, we depoſe, ſay, and openly proteſt by theſe preſents, for our ſelues & all our aſſiſtents in the cauſe of the Church of Rome and England, and in the cauſe of king Richard his heires, the clergie, and comminaltie of the whole Realme: that neither our entention is, was, nor ſhall be, in word nor deed to offend any ſtate, either of the prelats ſpirituall, Lords temporall, nor commons of the realme: but rather foreſeeing the perdition and deſtruction of this Realme to approch, we haue here brought before you certeine articles concerning the deſtruction of the ſame, to be circumſpectlie conſidered of the whole aſſembly, as well of the Lords ſpirituall as temporall, and the faithfull commons of England: beſeeching you all in yͤ bowels of Jeſus Chriſt, the righteous iudge, and for the merits of our bleſſed Lady the mother of God, and of S. George our defender, vnder whoſe diſplayed banner we wiſh to liue and die, and vnder paine of damnation, that ye will be fauourable to vs and our cauſes which are three in number. Wherof the firſt is, that we exalt vnto the kingdome the true & lawfull heire, and him to crowne in kinglie throne with the diademe of England. And ſecondly, that we renoke the Weſhmen, the Iriſhmen, and all other our enimies vnto perpetuall peace and amitie. Thirdly and finally, that we deliuer and make free our natiue countrey from al exactions, extortiōs, & vniuſt paiments: Beſeeching our Lord Jeſus Chriſt to graunt his bleſſing, the remiſſion of their ſinnes, & life euerlaſting to all that aſſiſt vs to their power in this godly and meritorious worke: and vnto all thoſe that are againſt vs, we threaten the curſe of almighty God by the authority committed vnto vs by Chriſt and his holy Church, and by theſe preſents we pronounce them excommunicate.

Three cauſes declared.

Earle of Weſtmerland againſt the Archb.

These Articles being ſeene and read, much concourſe of people daily reſorted more and more to yͤ archbiſhop. The Earle of Weſtmerland being then not far off, with John the kings ſonne (hearing of this) muſtered his ſouldiours with all the power he was able to make, & bent toward the Archbiſhop: but ſeeing his part too weake to encounter with him, vſeth practiſe of policie, where ſtrength would not ſerue. And firſt comming to him vnder colour of frendſhip diſſembled, laboureth to ſeeke out the cauſes of that great ſtirre: To whome the Archbyſhop againe anſwering, no hurt to be entended thereby, but profit rather to the kyng and common wealth, and mainteuance of publicke peace: but for ſo much as he ſtood in great feare, and danger of the king, he was therefore compelled ſo to doo: And withall ſhewed vnto him the contents of the Articles aforeſaid, which when the Earle had read, ſetting a faire face vpon it, ſeemed highly to commend the purpoſe and doyngs of the Biſhop: promiſing moreouer that he would helpe alſo forward in that quarell, to the vttermoſt of his power. And required vpon the ſame, a day to be ſet, when they with equall number of men, might meete together, in ſome place appointed to haue farther talke of the matter. The Archbiſhop eaſilie perſwaded, was content, although much againſt the counſaile of the Earle Marſhall, and came. Where the Articles being openly publiſhed and read, the Earle of Weſtmerland with his companie, pretended well to like vpon the ſame, and to ioyne their aſſents together. Which done, he exhorted the Archbiſhop, that for ſo much as his garriſon had bene now long in armour, and from home, he would therefore diſcharge the needles multitude of his ſouldiers, and diſmiſſe them home to their worke and buſines, and they would together drinke and ioyne hands in the ſight of the whole company. Thus they ſhaking hands together, the Archbiſhop ſendeth away his ſouldyers in peace, not knowing himſelfe to be circumuented, before he was immediately areſted by the handes of the foreſayde Earle of Weſtmerland, and ſhortly after the king comming with his power to Yorke, was there beheaded the monday in Whitſonweeke, and with him alſo Lord Thomas Moubray Marſhall, with diuers other moreouer of yͤ citie of Yorke, which had taken their parts. After whoſe ſlaughter, the King proceedeth farther to perſecute the Earle of Northumberland, & Lord Thomas Bardolph, who then did flie to Barwicke. From thence they remoued to Wales. At length within two yeares after, fighting againſt the kyngs part, were ſlayne in the field. an. 1408. In the which yeare, diuers other alſo in the Northparts, for fauouring the foreſaid Lords, were likewiſe condemned by the kyng and put to death. Among whome, the Abbot of Hales, for the like treaſon was hanged.

Falſehood in felowſhip.

The Archb. of Yorke craftely circumuented.

The Archb. of Yorke, L. Tho. Moubray with many Yorkeſhire men executed. The Earle of Northūberland, L. Tho. Bardolfe ſlaine.

Anno. 1408.

Abbot of Hales hāged.

The kyng after the ſheddyng of ſo much bloud, ſeeyng himſelfe ſo hardly beloued of his ſubiects, thought to kepe in yet with the Clergy, & with the Biſhop of Rome, ſeeking alwaies his chiefeſt ſtay at their hands. And therfore was compelled in all things, to ſerue their humour, as did appeare as well in condemning William Sawtre before, as alſo in other, which cōſequētly we haue now to intreat of. In the number of whom commeth now by yͤ courſe of time to write of one John Badby a Tailor and a lay man, who by the crueltie of Thomas Arundel Archbiſhop, and other Prelates, was brought to his condemnation in this kings reigne, an. 1409. according as by their owne regiſters appeareth, & followeth by this narration to be ſeene.

Anno. 1409.

¶ Iohn Badby Artificer.

Iohn Badby martyr. *Ex Regiſt. Tho. Arundel.*

In the yeare of our Lord. 1409. on Sonday beyng the firſt day of March, in the after noone: The excommunication following of one John Badby Taylour, beyng a lay man, was made in a certaine houſe or haull within the precinct of the preaching friers in Londō, in an vtter cloiſter: vpon the crime of hereſie & other articles, repugnant to the determinatiō of the erroneous church of Rome, before Thomas Arundel Archbiſhop of Canterbury and other his aſſiſtants, as yͤ Archbiſhop of Yorke, of London, of Wincheſter, of Oxford, of Norwich, of Saliſbury, of Bath, of Bangor, Et meneuenſis Epiſcopi, and alſo Edmond Duke of Yorke, Thomas Beworde, the Chauncelour of England, Lord de Roos, the clerke of the rolles, & a great number of other Lords, both ſpirituall and temporall being then at the ſelfeſame time preſent: Maiſter Morgan read the articles of his opinions to the hearers, according as it is conteined in the inſtrument read by the foreſayd M. Morgan, the tenour whereof followeth and in effect is ſuch.

The articles read.

In the name of God, Amen: Be it manifeſt to all men by this preſent publike inſtrument, that in the yeare after the incarnation of our Lord, according to yͤ courſe and computation of the Church of England, otherwiſe in the yere 1409. in the ſecond indictiō, in the third yeare of the Popedome of the moſt holy father in Chriſt & Lord, Lord Gregory xi. by yͤ diuine permiſſion Pope, the ſecōd day of January, in the Chappell Caruariæ of S. Thomas Martyr, nigh vnto the Cathedrall Church of Worceſter, being ſituate in the ſaid Dioces, in the preſence of me the publicke Notary, and of the witneſſes vnder written: the foreſayd John

Iohn Badby a lay man, of the ſayd Dioces of Worceſter, appearing perſonally, before the reuerend father in Chriſt and Lord, Lord Thomas, by the grace of God Byſhop of Worceſter, ſitting in yͤ ſaid Chappell for chiefe Iudge, was detected of and vpon the crime of hereſie, being heretically taught, & openly maintayned by the foreſayd Iohn Badby. That is, that the Sacrament of the body of Chriſt, conſecrated by the Prieſt vpon the aulter, is not the true body of Chriſt, by the vertue of the wordes of the Sacrament. But that after the Sacramentall words ſpoken by the Prieſt to make the body of Chriſt: the materiall bread doth remaine vpon the aulter as in the beginning, neither is it turned into the very body of Chriſt after the Sacramental words ſpoken of the Prieſt. Which Iohn Badby, being examined and diligently demanded by the foreſaid reuered father cõcerning the premiſſes, in the end did anſwere that it was impoſſible that any Prieſt ſhould make the body of Chriſt, & that he beleued firmely that no Prieſt could make the body of Chriſt by ſuch words Sacramentally ſpoken in ſuch ſort. And alſo he ſaid expreſſely, that he would neuer while he liued beleue, that any Prieſt could make the body of Chriſt ſacramentally, vnleſſe that firſt he ſaw manifeſtlie the like body of Chriſt to be handled in the hands of the prieſt vpon the aulter, in his corporall forme. And furthermore he ſayd, that Iohn Rakier of Briſtoll had ſo much power & authoritie to make the like body of Chriſt, as any prieſt had. Moreouer he ſaid, that whē Chriſt ſat at ſupper with his diſciples: he had not his body in his hand, to the intent to diſtribute it to his diſciples; and he ſaid expreſly, that he did not this thing. And alſo he ſpake many other words teaching & fortifieng the hereſie in the ſame place, both greeuous, and alſo out of order, and horrible to the eares of the hearers, ſounding againſt the Catholike faith.

The Sacrament of Chriſtes body.

Upon which occaſion, the ſame reuerend father admoniſhed and requeſted the ſaid Iohn Badby oftentimes, and very inſtantlie to charity: for ſomuch as he would willinglie that he ſhould haue forſaken ſuch hereſie and opinion, holden, taught, and mainteined by him, in ſuch ſort againſt the Sacrament, to renounce and vtterly abiure them, and to beleeue other things which the holy mother the Church doth beleeue. And he informed the ſaid Iohn on that behalfe both gentlie, and alſo laudably. Yet the ſaid Iohn Badby, although he were admoniſhed and requeſted both often and inſtantlie by the ſaid reuerend father: ſaid and anſwered expreſſelie, that he would neuer beleeue otherwiſe then before he had ſaid, taught, and anſwered. Whervpon, the foreſaid reuerend father Biſhop of Worceſter, ſeeing, vnderſtanding, and perceiuing the foreſaid Iohn Badby to maintaine and fortifie the ſaid hereſie, being ſtubborne, and proceeding in the ſame ſtubbornes: pronounced the ſaid Iohn to be before this time conuicted of ſuch an hereſie, and that he hath bin, and is an hereticke, and in the end declared it in theſe words.

I can not blame ye that ye are ſo angry, for it was not for your profite.

In the name of God, Amen. We Thomas Biſhop of Worceſter, do accuſe thee Iohn Badby being a lay man of our Dioces, of and vpon the crime of hereſie before vs, ſitting for cheeſe iudge, being oftentimes confeſſed and conuicted of and vpon that, that thou haſt taught and openly affirmed, as hetherto thou doeſt teach, boldly affirme, and defend: that the Sacrament of the body of Chriſt, conſecrated vpon the aulter by the Prieſt, is not the true body of Chriſt: But after the Sacramental words to make the body of Chriſt by vertue of the ſaid Sacramentall words pronounced, to haue bin in the crime of hereſie: and we do pronounce thee, both to haue bene, and to be an heretike, and do declare it finallie by theſe writings.

The ſentẽce of the B. of Worceſter againſt Iohn Badby.

Theſe things were done accordingly as is aboue written and are recited in the yeare, indiction, popedome, moneth, day and place aforeſaid, being preſent the ſame time, Iohn Malune Prior of the Cathedrall Church of Worceſter, Iohn Dudle Mõke, and Iohn Haule the ſupprior of the ſaid Church, Thomas Penings of the order of the Carmelites, Thomas Fekenham of the order of the preaching Friers, William Pomfret of the order of the Minorites, being profeſſors and maiſters in diuinitie, William Hailes, Gualter of London, Iohn Swippedew beeing publique Notaries, and William Beuchampe and Thomas Gerbris being Knights, Richard Wiſh of Tredington, Thomas Wilbe of Hembury, Iohn Weſton of Yewley, being parſons of Churches, and Thomas Baleinges, the maiſter of Saint Wolſtone in Worceſter, and alſo Henry Haggely, Iohn Penerell, Thomas Trogmorton and William Waſſeborne Eſquiers of the Dioces of Worceſter and Norwich, and many other worſhipfull and honeſt men being witneſſes and called ſpeciallye to the things aforeſaid.

A rable of monkes and friers about the condemnation of Iohn Badby

Quare fremuerunt gentes. Pſal. 2.

Scribes with Phariſes.

And I Iohn Chew Clerke, of the Dioces of Bath and Welles, and by the authoritie apoſtolicall, publique Notarie of the ſaid Biſhop: haue in teſtimonie of the premiſſes, put my hand & ſeale to the examination, interrogatiõ, monition, and aunſwere of the ſame Iohn Badby, and to his obſtinacie: & alſo to the procedings of al and ſingular other doings as is aforeſaid, which againſt him before the ſayd biſhop were handled & done, in the yeare, indiction, popedome, moneth, day, and place aforeſaid, which with the forenamed witneſſes was perſonally preſent: and yͤ ſame, euen as I heard them and ſaw them to be done (being occupied with other matters) cauſed them to be written and publiſhed, and into this publique forme haue compiled the ſame. I the foreſayd Notary am alſo priuie, vnto the words and examinations interlined betweene ſeauen or eight lines of yͤ beginning of this inſtrument, which lines I alſo the foreſaide Notary doe approue and make good.

And I Walter London Clerke, of the Dioces of Worceſter, and by the authoritie Apoſtolicall, publique Notarie: to all and ſingular the foreſaid things as afore by the foreſaid Notary is recited, & in the yeare, indiction, popedome, moneth, day, and place aforeſaid were handled and done, being with other the fore recited witneſſes perſonally preſent; and to all & euery of the ſame (as I ſaw & heard them to be done, being thereunto faithfully deſired and required.) In teſtimony of the premiſſes, haue ſigned & ſubſcribed according to yͤ accuſtomed maner. Hæc ex Reg. Cant.

And when the articles, in the foreſaid inſtrument contained, were by the Archbiſhop of Canterbury publiquely and vulgarly read and approued: he publiquely cõfeſſed & affirmed, that he had both ſaid and mainteined the ſame. And then the Archbiſhop to conuince the cõſtant purpoſe of the ſaid Iohn Badby, commanded the ſame articles againe to be read, often inſtructing him both by words and examples, informing and exhorting him that thereby he might be brought the ſooner to the Religion that he was of. And furthermore, the ſaid Archbyſhop ſayd and affirmed there openly to the ſame Iohn: that he would (if he would liue according to the doctrine of Chriſt) gage his ſoule for him at the iudgement day. And after that againe he cauſed thoſe articles in the ſaid inſtrument expreſſed, to be read by the foreſaid Phillip Morgan, & the ſaid Archbyſhop himſelfe expounded the ſame in Engliſh as before: wherunto Iohn Badby aunſwered. As touching the firſt article concerning the body of Chriſt, he expreſly ſayd, that after yͤ conſecration at the aulter, there remaineth materiall bread, & the ſame bread which was before: notwithſtãding (ſaid he) it is a ſigne or ſacrament of the liuing God.

The aunſwere of Iohn Badby to the articles.

Alſo, wen the ſecond article was expounded vnto him, that it is impoſſible for anie Prieſt &c. To this article he anſwered and ſaid, that it could not ſinke into his minde that the words are to be taken as they litterallie lie, vnles he ſhould denie the incarnation of Chriſt.

Alſo, being examined of the third Article concerning Iacke Raker, he ſaid: That if Iacke Raker were a man of good liuing, and did loue and feare God, that he hath as much power ſo to do, as hath the Prieſt: and ſaid further, that he hath heard it ſpoken of ſome doctors of diuinitie, that if he ſhould receiue any ſuch conſecrated bread, he were worthy to be damned, & were damned in ſo doing.

Furthermore he ſayd that he would beleue the omnipotent God in trinitie, and ſaid moreouer that if euery hoſte being conſecrated at the aulter were the Lords body, that then there be 20000. gods in England. But he beleeued (he ſaid) in one God omnipotent, which thing the foreſaid Archb. of Cant. denied not.

The ſubſtance of bread not chaunged in the Sacrament.

And when the other concluſion was expounded. That Chriſt ſitting with his Diſciples at ſupper, &c. To this he anſwered and ſaid that he would greatly maruell: that if anie man had a loafe of bread, and ſhould breake the ſame and giue to euery man a mouthfull, that the ſame loafe ſhould afterwards be whole.

When all theſe things were thus finiſhed, and that all the ſaid concluſions were often red in the vulgar tong: the foreſaid Archb. demaunded of him, whether he would renounce and forſake his opiniõs and ſuch like concluſions or not, and adhere to the doctrine of Chriſt and Catholike faith? He anſwered, that according to that he had ſayd before, he would adhere and ſtand to thoſe words, which before he had made anſwere vnto. Then the Archb. oftentimes required the ſaid Iohn in the bowels of Ieſu Chriſt that he would forſake thoſe opinions and concluſions, and that henceforth he would cleaue to the chriſtian faith: which thing to do in the audience of all the lords and others that were preſent, he expreſly denied and refuſed.

The cõſtancy of Iohn Badby before the Archb.

After all this, when the foreſayd Archbiſhop of Cant. & the Biſhop of London had conſulted together, to what ſafe keping the ſaid Iohn Badby (vntill the Wedneſdaie next) might be committed: It was cõcluded, that he ſhold

The Biſhops make ſure work. The Archb. both Iudge and Iaylor.

Aſtiterunt reges terræ & principes conuenerunt in vnum aduerſus.&c. Pſal.2.

be put in a certaine chamber or ſafe houſe within the Manſion of the Frier preachers, and ſo he was: and then the Archbiſhop of Caunterbury ſayd, that he himſelfe would kepe the key therof, in the meane time. And when the foreſayd wedneſday was expired, being the 15. day of March, and that the foreſayd Archbiſhop of Canterbury, with hys fellow brethren and Suffragances were aſſembled in the Church of S. Paule in London: The Archbiſh. of Canterbury taking the Epiſcopall ſeate, called vnto him the Archbiſhop of Yorke, Richard London, Henry wincheſter, Robert Chicheſter, Alexander Norwich, & the noble prince Edmond the Duke of Yorke, Rafe Earle of weſtmerland, Thomas Beaufort Knight Lord Chancellour of England, and the Lord Beamond with other noble men as well ſpirituall as temporall, that ſtood and ſate by, whome to name it would be long: Before whome the ſaid John Badby was called perſonallie to anſwere vnto the Articles premiſed in the foreſaid inſtrument. Who when he came perſonallie before them, the articles were read by the Officiall of the court of Cant. and by the Archb. (in the vulgare tong) expounded, publikely and expreſly: and the ſame Articles, as he before had ſpoken and depoſed, he ſtill held and defended, and ſaid, that whileſt he liued, he would neuer retract the ſame. And furthermore he ſaid ſpecially to to be noted, that the Lord duke of Yorke perſonallie there preſent as is aforeſaid, and euery man els for the time beeing: is of more eſtimation and reputation, then the Sacrament of the aulter, by the prieſt in due forme conſecrated. And whileſt they were thus in his examination, the Archbiſhop conſidering and waying that he would in no wiſe be altered, and ſeing moreouer his countenance ſtout and hart confirmed, ſo that he began to perſuade other as it appeared in the ſame: Theſe things conſidered, the Archprelate whē he ſaw that by his allurements it was not in his power, neither by exhortations, reaſons, nor arguments, to bring the ſaid John Badbye from his conſtant truth to his Catholique faith (executing and doing the office of his great maiſter) proceeded to confirme and ratifie the former ſentence giuen before by the Biſhop of Worceſter againſt the ſaid John Badby, pronouncing him for an open and publique hereticke. And thus ſhifting their hands of him, they deliuered him to the ſecular power: and deſired the ſayd temporall Lords, then and there preſent verie inſtantlie, that they would not put the ſame John Badby to death for that his offence, nor deliuer him to be puniſhed or put to death, in ẏ preſence of all the Lords aboue recited.

Note here murdring wolues in ſheepes cloathing.

Theſe things thus done and concluded by the Biſhops in the forenoone: on the afternoone, the Kings writte was not far behind. By the force wherof, I. Badby ſtill perſeuering in his conſtancie vnto the death, was brought into Smithfield, and there being put in an emptie barrell, was bound with iron chaines faſtened to a ſtake, hauing drie wood put about him.

And as he was thus ſtanding in the pipe or tonne (for as yet Cherillus Bull was not in vre among the biſhops) it happened that the Prince the Kings eldeſt ſonne, was there preſent. Who ſhewing ſome part of the good Samaritane, began to endeuour and aſſay how to ſaue the life of him, whome the hypocriticall Leuites and Phariſeis ſought to put to death. He admoniſhed and counſailed him, that hauing reſpect vnto himſelfe, he ſhould ſpedelie withdraw himſelfe out of theſe dangerous Laberinths of opinions, adding oftentimes threatnings, the which might haue daunted anie mans ſtomacke. Alſo Courtney at that time Chancellor of Oxford, preached vnto him, and enformed him of the faith of holie Church.

The prince laboureth to turne Badby.

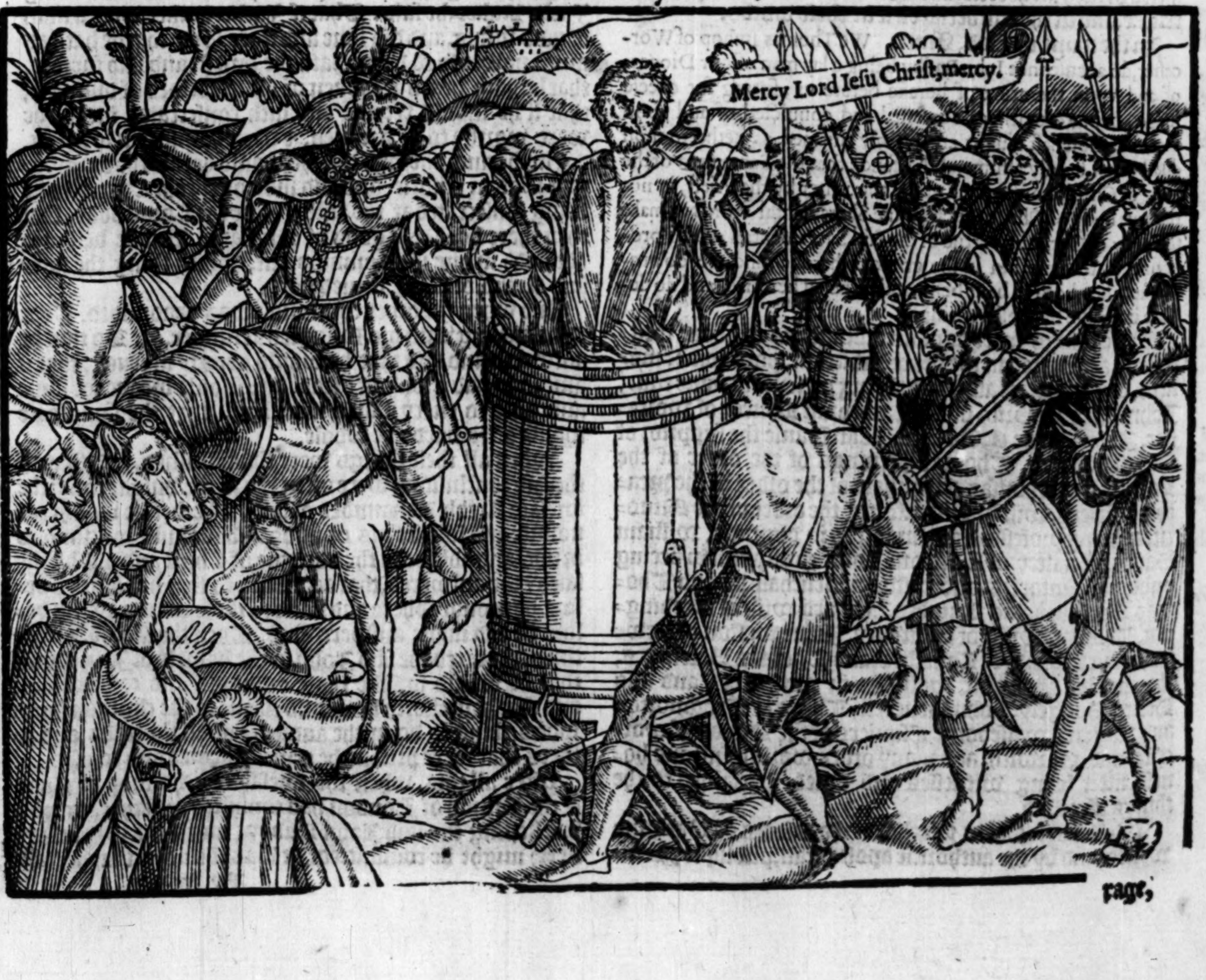
In this meane ſeaſon, the Prior of S. Bartlemewes in Smithfield, brought with all ſolemnitie the Sacrament of Gods body, with twelue torches borne before, and ſo ſhewed the Sacrament to the poore man being at the ſtake. And then they demanded of him how he beleeued in it, he anſwering: that he knew well it was halowed bread, and not gods body. And then was the tunne put ouer him, and fire put vnto him. And when he felt fire, he cried, mercie (calling belike vpon the Lord) and ſo the Prince immediatelie commanded to take awaie the tunne, and quench the fire. The Prince his commandement being done, aſked him if he would forſake hereſie to take him to the faith of holie Church: which thing if he would doo, he ſhould haue goods inough, promiſing alſo vnto him a yearelie ſtipend out of the kings treaſurie, ſo much as ſhould ſuffice his contentation.

The ſacrament ſolemnely brought to Smithfield at the burning of Badbye.

Ioh.Badby conſtant to the end.

But this valiant champion of Chriſt, neglecting the princes faire words, as alſo contemning all mens deuiſes: refuſed the offer of worldly promiſes, no doubt, but being more vehemently inflamed with ẏ ſpirit of God then with anie earthly deſire. Wherfore, whē as yet he continued vnmoueable in his former mind, the prince commanded him ſtraight to be put again into the pipe or tunne, and that he ſhould not afterward looke for any grace or fauour. But as he could be allured by no rewards, euē ſo was he nothing at all abaſhed at their torments, but as a valiant champion of Chriſt, he perſeuered inuincible to ẏ end. Not without a great and moſt cruell battayle, but with much more greater triumph of victorie: the ſpirit of Chriſt hauing alwaies the vpper hand in his members, maugre the furie,

¶ The deſcription of the horrible burning of Iohn Badby, and how he was vſed at hys death.


Mercy Lord Ieſu Chriſt, mercy.

rage, and power of the whole world. For the manifeſtation of which torment, wee haue here ſet forth the picture of his burning, in ſuch maner as it was done.

All the power of man ſet againſt the Goſpel.

This godly Martyr John Badby hauing thus conſummate his teſtimony and martyrdome in fire, the perſecuting Biſhops yet not herewith contented, and thinking themſelues as yet eyther not ſtrong inough, or els not ſharpe enough agaynſt the poore innocent flock of Chriſt: to make all thinges ſure and ſubſtantiall on theyr ſide, in ſuch ſorte, as this doctrine of the Goſpell nowe ſpringing ſhould be ſuppreſſed for euer: layd theyr conſpiring heads together, & hauing now a king for theyr own purpoſe, ready to ſerue theyr turn in all poynts (during the time of the ſame Parliamēt aboue recited yet cōtinuing) the foreſayd biſhops and clergy of the realme, exhibited a Bul vnto the kings maieſtie: ſubtily declaring, what quietnes hath ben mayntayned within this realme by his moſt noble progenitours, who alwayes defended the auncient rites and cuſtomes of the Church, and enriched the ſame with large gifts, to the honor of God and the realme: and contrariwiſe, what trouble and diſquietnes was now riſen by diuers (as they termed them) wicked and peruerſe men teachinge and preachinge openlye and priuilye, a certayne new, wicked and hereticall kinde of doctrine, contrary to the Catholicke fayth and determination of holye Church: wherupon ẏ king alwayes oppreſſed with blynd ignoraunce by the crafty meanes and ſubtile pretences of the clergie, graunted in the ſayd Parliament (by conſent of the nobilitie aſſembled) a ſtatute to be obſerued called Ex officio as followeth.

The Goſpel of Chriſt counted as wicked and hereticall.

The Statute Ex officio.

The cruell ſtatute, ex officio.

That is to ſay, that no man within this Realme or other the kinges maieſties dominions, preſume or take vpon him to preach priuily or apertly, without ſpeciall licence firſt obteyned of the ordinary of the ſame place (Curates in theyr owne pariſhe Churches, and perſons heretofore priuiledged, and others admitted by the Canon law, onely excepted) Nor that any hereafter do preach mayntayne, teach, informe openly or in ſecret, or make or write any booke contrary to the catholique ſayth, and determination of the holy Church. Nor that any hereafter, make anye conuenticles or aſſemblies, or keepe and exerciſe anye maner of ſchooles touching this ſect, wicked doctrin and opinion. And further that no man hereafter ſhall by any meanes, fauour anye ſuch preacher, any ſuch maker of vnlawfull aſſemblies, or any ſuch booke maker or writer, and finally any ſuch teacher, informer, or ſtirrer vp of the people. And that all and ſinguler perſons hauing anye the ſayd bookes, writinges, or ſchedules contayning the ſayd wicked doctrines and opinions, ſhall within forty dayes after this preſent proclamation and ſtatute, really and effectually deliuer or cauſe to be deliuered all and ſinguler the ſayd bookes and writinges, vnto the ordinary of the ſame place. And if it ſhall happen anye perſon or perſons of what kinde, ſtate, or condition ſoeuer he or they be, to doe or attempt anye manner of thing contrarye to this preſent proclamation & ſtatute, or not to deliuer the ſame books in forme aforeſayd: That then the ordinary of the ſame place in his owne dioceſſe by authoritie of the ſayd proclamation and ſtatute ſhall cauſe to be areſted and deteined vnder ſafe cuſtody, the ſayd perſon or perſōs in this caſe diffamed, and euidently ſuſpected or any of them, vntill he or they ſo offending haue by order of lawe purged him or themſelues as touching the articles layd to hys or theyr charge in this behalfe: or vntill he or they haue denyed and recanted (according to the lawes eccleſiaſticall) the ſayd wicked ſect, preachinges, teachinges: and hereticall and erroneous opinions And that the ſayd ordinary by himſelfe or his Comiſſaries proceede openly and iudicially to all the effect of law agaynſt the ſayd perſons ſo areſted and remayning vnder ſafe cuſtody, & that he end and determine the matter within three monethes after the ſayd areſt, (all delayes and excuſes ſet apart) according to the order and cuſtom of the Canon law. And if any perſon, in any cauſe aboue mentioned, ſhalbe lawfully conuicted before the ordinary of the dioceſſe or hys Comiſſaries: that then the ſayd Ordinary, may lawfully cauſe the ſayd perſon ſo conuicted (according to the maner and quallitie of hys fact) to be layd in any of his owne priſons, and there to be kept ſo long as to hys diſcretion ſhall be thought expedient.

A bloudie law of king Henry.4.

And further the ſayd Ordinary (except in caſes by the which according to the Canon law, the party offending ought to be deliuered to the ſeculer power) ſhall charge the ſayd perſon wyth ſuch a fine of mony to be payd vnto the kinges maieſtye, as he ſhall thinke competent for the maner and quallitie of his offence, And the ſayd dioceſan ſhalbe bound to geue notice of the ſayd fine, into the kinges maieſties Eſchequer, by hys letters patent vnder his ſeale: to the intent that the ſayd fine may be leuied to the kinges maieſties vſe of the goodes of the perſon ſo conuict.

And further if any perſon within this realme and other the kinges maieſties dominion, ſhalbe conuicted before the Ordinary of the place, or hys Comiſſaryes, of the ſayd wicked preachinges, doctrines, opinions ſchooles, and hereticall and erroneous informations or any of them: and will refuſe to abiure and recant the ſayd wicked ſect, preachings teachings, opinions, ſchols and informations: Or if after hys abiuration once made, the relapſe be pronounced agaynſt hym by the dioceſan of the place, or hys Commiſſaryes (for ſo by the Canon law he ought to be lefte to the ſecular power, vpon credite geuen to the ordinary or hys Commiſſaries) That then, the Sheriffe of the ſame Countie, the Mayor, Sheriffes, or Sheriffe, or the Mayor or Baliffes of the ſame Cittie, village or Borough of the ſame County, and neereſt inhabiting to the ſayd Ordinary or hys ſayd Commiſſaryes: ſhall perſonally be preſent, as oft as they ſhalbe required, to conferre with the ſayd Ordinary or his commiſſaries in geuing ſentence againſt the ſayd perſons offending or any of them. And after the ſayd ſentence ſo pronounced, ſhall take vnto them the ſayd perſons ſo offending, and any of them, and cauſe them openly to be burned in the ſight of all the people: To the intent that this kinde of puniſhment may be a terror vnto others, that the like wicked doctrines and heretical opinions, or the authours and fauourers thereof be no more mayntayned within this Realme, and dominions, to the great hurt (which God forbid) of Chriſtian religion, and decrees of holy Church. In which all and ſinguler the premiſſes, concerning the ſtatute aforeſayd: Let the Sheriffes, Mayors, and Bayliffes of the ſayd Counties, Cities: Villages, and Boroughes, be attendant, ayding, and fauoring, the ſayd Ordinaryes and theyr Commiſſaries.

A bloudy ſtatute.

By this bloudy ſtatute ſo ſeuerely and ſharply enacted agaynſt theſe ſimple men, here haſt thou (gentle Reader a little to ſtay with thy ſelfe: and to conſider the nature and condition of this preſent world, howe it hath bene ſet and bent euer from the beginning, by all might, counſayle, and wayes poſſible, to ſtriue agaynſt the wayes of God, and to ouerthrow that which he will haue ſet vp. And althogh the world may ſee by infinite ſtoryes and examples, that it is but in vaine to ſtriue againſt him: yet ſuch is the nature of this world (all ſet in malignitie) that it will not ceaſe ſtill to be like it ſelfe.

The like law and ſtatute in the time of Diocleſian and Maximinus was attempted, as before appeareth, pag. 83. & for the more ſtrength were writtē alſo in tables of braſſe, to the entent that the name of Chriſt ſhould vtterly be extincted for euer. And yet, the name of Chriſt remayneth, where that braſen lawe remayned not three yeres. The which law writtē thē in braſſe, although it differ in maner & form, from this our ſtatute Ex officio, yet to the ſame ende & cruelty, to ſpill the bloud of ſaintes, there is no difference betweene the one and the other. Neither is there anye diuerſitie touching the firſt originall doer and worker of thē both. For the ſame Sathan, which then wrought his vttermoſt agaynſt Chriſt, before he was bound vp: the ſame alſo now after his looſing out, doth what he can, though not after the ſame way, yet to the ſame intent. For then in outward violence as an open enemy, he did what he could Now by a more couert way, vnder the title of the Church he impugneth the Church of Chriſt, vſing a more ſubtile way to deceaue, vnder gay pretēſed titles: but no leſſe pernicious in the end, wherto he ſhouteth, as well appeareth by this bloudy ſtatute Ex officio, the ſequell wherof coſt afterward, many a Chriſten mans life. As in proceſſe of ſtory remayneth more hereafter (Chriſt willing) to be declared.

The lawe of Maximinus and the ſtatute ex officio compared.

Furthermore for the more fortification of this ſtatute of the king aforeſayd, concurreth alſo an other conſtitution made much about the ſame tyme by the Archb. of Canterb. Thomas Arundell. So that no induſtrye nor pollicy of man here did lack to ſet the matter forward, but ſpecially on the biſhops partes, who left no meanes vnattempted, how to ſubuert the right wayes of the Lord.

First, in moſt dilligent and exquiſite execution of the kinges ſtatute ſet foorth: the execution whereof they did ſo exactly apply, that maruell it is to conſider, all other laws of kinges (commonly,) be they neuer ſo good) to be ſo coldly kept, and this onely among all the reſt ſo neerely followed. But herein is to be ſeene the dilligence of the romiſhe Prelates, which neuer let any thing to fal, that maketh for the dignity of their eſtate.

Secondly, beſide theyr vigilant care, in ſeeing ẏ kinges ſtatute to be executed: No leſſe induſtrious alſo were they in adding thereunto moe conſtitutions of theyr owne, as from time to time appeareth as wel by other Archbiſhops hereafter, and by Pope Martine, as alſo by this conſtitution here preſent made by Thomas Arundell the Archb.

But before we enter to the relation of theſe foreſayd cōſtitutions of yͤ clergy mē, here cōmeth in more to be ſaid and noted touching yͤ foreſayd Statute ex Officio to proue the ſame not onely to be cruell and impious but alſo to be of it ſelfe of no force and validitie for the burning of anye perſon for cauſe of Religion, for the diſprofe of whiche ſtatute we haue ſufficient authoritie remayning as yet in the parliament Rolles to be ſeene in her maieſties Courte of Recordes: which here were to be debated at large but that vpon ſpeciall occaſiō we haue differred the ample diſcourſe therof to the cruell perſecution of the Lord Cobhame hereafter enſuing as may appeare in the defence of the ſayd lord Cobham agaynſt Nicholas Happeſfield vnder the title and name of Alanus Copus And thus referring them for the examination of this ſtatute to the place aforeſaid, let vs now returne to Thomas Arundel, and his bloudy conſtitutions aboue mentioned. The ſtile and tenour wherof, to the intent the rigour of the ſame may appeare to all men I thought hereunder to adioyne, in wordes as followeth.

✻ The conſtitution of Thomas Arundell, agaynſt the followers of Gods truth.

A cruell conſtitution by the Archb. agaynſt the Goſpellers with 13. articles.

THomas by the permiſſion of God, Archbiſhop of Canterbury, Primate of all Englande, and Legate of the ſee Apoſtolicke: To all and ſinguler our reuerend brethren fellow Biſhops, and our Suffraganes. And to Abbots, Priours, Deanes of Cathedrall Churches, Archdeacons, Prouoſtes and Canons: alſo to all perſons, vicares, chaplaynes, & Clerkes in Pariſh Churches, and to all lay mē whome and where ſo euer, dwelling wtin our prouince of Canterbury, greeting: & grace to ſtand firmely in the doctrine of the holy mother Church. It is a manifeſt & playne caſe: that he doth wrong and iniury to the moſt reuerend councell, who ſo reuolteth from the thinges, being in the ſayd Councell once diſcuſſed and decided. And whoſoeuer dare preſume to diſpute of the ſupreme or principall iudgment here in earth, in ſo doing incurreth the payne of ſacrilege, according to the authoritie of ciuill wiſedome and and manifeſt tradition of humayne law. Much more then they who truſting to theyr own wittes, are ſo bold to violate and with contrary doctrine to reſiſt, and in word and deede to contemne the preceptes of lawes and Canons, rightly made and proceeding from the kaybearer and porter of eternall life and death: bearing the rowme and perſon, not of pure man, but of true God here in earth: which alſo haue bene abſerued hitherto, and of yͤ holy fathers our predeceſſoures, vnto the glorious effuſion of theyr bloud, & voluntary ſprinkling out of theyr braynes: Are worthy of greater puniſhmēt, deſeruing quickly to be cut off, as rotten members, from the body of the Church militent. For ſuch ought to conſider, what is in the old teſtament written: Moſes and Aaron among hys Prieſtes, that is, were chiefe heads amongſt them. And in the new Teſtament among the Apoſtles there was a certayne difference: And though they were all Apoſtles yet was it graunted of the Lord to Peter, that he ſhould beare preeminence aboue the other Apoſtles: And alſo the Apoſtles themſelues woulde the ſame, that he ſhoulde be the chiefetayn ouer all the reſt. And being called Cephas, that is, head: ſhold be as Prince ouer the Apoſtles. Unto whome it was ſayd: Thou beyng once conuerted, confirme thy brethren: as though he wold ſay, If there happen any doubt among them, or if anye of them chaunce to erre and ſtray out of the way of fayth, of iuſt liuing, or right conuerſation: Doe thou confirme and reduce him in the right way againe. which thing no doubt the Lord would neuer haue ſayd vnto him, if he had not ſo minded, yͭ the reſt ſhould be obedient vnto him. And yet al this notwithſtanding, we know and dayly proue, that we are ſory to ſpeake, howe the olde Sophiſter, the enemy of mankinde, (foreſeeing and fearing leſt yͤ ſound doctrine of the church determined from ancient times by the holy forefathers: ſhould withſtand his malices, if it might keep the people of god in vnitie of faith vnder one head of yͤ church) doth therfore endeuour by al meanes poſſible, to extirp the ſayd doctrine, feyning vices to be vertues. And ſo vnder falſe pretences of veritie diſſimuled, ſoweth diſcorde in catholike people, to the intent, yͭ ſome goyng one way, ſome an other: He in the meane time may gather to himſelfe a Church of the malignant, differing wickedly from the vniuerſall mother holy church. In the which Satan transforming hymſelfe into an Angell of light, bearing a lying and deceitfull ballaunce in hys hād, pretendeth great righteouſnes, in contrarying the ancient doctrine of the holye mother church, and refuſing the traditions of the ſame determined and appoynted by holy fathers: perſwading mē (by fayned forgeries) the ſame to be nought: and ſo inducing other new kindes of doctrine, leading to more goodnes, as he by his lying perſwaſions pretendeth, although he in very truth neither willeth nor mindeth any goodnes but rather that he may ſow ſchiſmes, wherby diuers opinions & contrary to themſelues being rayſed in yͤ Church fayth thereby may be diminiſhed, and alſo the reuerend holy miſteries through the ſame contention of words may be prophaned with Paganes, Iewes, and other infidels, and wicked miſcreantes. And ſo that figure in the Apoc. 6. is well verified, ſpeaking of him that ſate on the blacke horſe, bearing a payre of balaunce in hys hand, by yͤ which heretiques are vnderſtand. Who at the firſt appearaunce lyke to weightes or ballance, make as though they would ſet forth right and iuſt thinges, to allure the hartes of the hearers. But afterward, appeareth the blacke horſe, that is to ſay, their intention, full of curſed ſpeaking. For they vnder a diuers ſhew and colour of a iuſt ballance, with the tayle of a blacke horſe ſprinkling abroad hereſies and errours, do ſtrike. And beyng poyſoned themſelues, vnder colour of good, rayſe vp infinite ſlaunders, and by certayn perſons fitte to doe miſchiefe, do publiſh abroad as it were the ſugred taſt of hony mixt with poyſon, therby the ſooner to be taken: working and cauſing through their ſlight and ſubtiltyes, that errour ſhoulde be taken for veritye, wickednes for holines, and for the true will of Chriſt. Yea and moreouer the foreſayd perſons thus picked out, do preach before they be ſent, and preſume to ſow the ſeede, before the ſeede diſcreetely be ſeperate from the chaffe. Who not pondering the conſtitutions and decrees of the Canons, prouided for the ſame purpoſe agaynſt ſuche peſtilent ſowers, do preferre ſacrifice Diabolicall (ſo to terme it) before obedience be geuen to the holy Church militant

Blaſphemy, not of pure man, but of true God. Hee meaneth here of Thomas Becket his predeceſſour, who had his braynes beat out in the time of K. Hen. 2

Scripture clarkly applyed.

This geare hangeth togeather lyke germaines lyppes.

κεφας ἀπο της κεφαλῆς, marke this you Grammarians.

Marke well the popes diuinitie. An argument far fet that true doctrine conſiſteth in making one head of the Church.

How aptly he painteth the proceedinges of his owne popiſh Church

Apoc. 6.

The figure of the black horſe in the Apoc. doctorly expounded.

Behold the true image of Wolues vnder ſheepes clothing.

We therfore conſidering and weying, that error which is not reſiſted, ſeemeth to be allowed, and hee that openeth hys boſome to wyde, whiche reſiſteth not the viper thinking there to thruſt out her venome: And willing moreouer to ſhake off the duſt from our feete, and to ſee to the honor of our holy mother Church, whereby one vniforme holye doctrine may be ſowne and planted in the churche of God, (namely in thys our prouince of Caunterbury) ſo much as is vs doth lye, to the encreaſe of fayth and ſeruice of God, firſt rooting the euill weedes and offendicles which by the meanes of peruerſe preaching, mad doctrine, haue ſprong vp hitherto, and are lyke more hereafter to grow: purpoſing by ſome conuenient way with all dilligence poſſible to withſtand them in tyme, and to prouide for the perill of ſoules, whiche we ſee to ryſe vnder pretence of the premiſſes: alſo to remoue al ſuch obſtacles, by which the ſayd our purpoſe may be ſtopped, by the aduiſe and aſſent of all our Suffragans and other Prelates, being preſent in this our conuocation of the Clergie, as alſo of the procuratours of them that be abſent: and at the inſtaunt petition of the procurators of the whole Clergie within this our prouince of Canterbury, for the more fortification of the common law in this part, adding thereunto puniſhment and penalties condigne as be here vnder written, we will and command ordayne and decree.

The firſt conſtitution.

That no maner of perſon ſeculer or reguler, being authoriſed to preach by the lawes now preſcribed, or licenced by ſpecial priuiledge: ſhal take vpon him the office of preaching the word of God, or by any meanes preach vnto the clergy or Laitie, either within the Churche or without, in Engliſh, except he firſt preſent himſelfe, and be examined of the Ordinary of the place where he preacheth. And ſo being found a fitte perſon, as well in maners as knowledge he ſhall be ſent by the ſayd Ordinary, to ſome one Church or more as ſhalbe thought expedient by the ſayd Ordinary according to the quallitie of the perſon. Nor any perſon aforeſayd ſhall preſume to preach, except firſt he geue faythfull ſignification in due forme of his ſending and authoritie, that is: That he that is authoriſed, doe come in forme appoynted him in that behalfe: and thoſe that affirme they come by ſpeciall priuiledge, do ſhew their priuiledge vnto the Parſon or Vicare of the place where they preach. And thoſe that pretend themſelues to be ſent by the ordinary of the place, ſhall likewiſe ſhew the Ordinaries letters made vnto hym for that purpoſe, vnder hys great ſeale. Let vs alwayes vnderſtand, the Curate (hauing the perpetuitie) to be ſent of right vnto the people of his owne cure. But if any perſon aforeſayd, ſhalbe bidden by the ordinary of the place, or any other ſuperiour to preach, by reaſon of his errors and hereſies whiche before peraduenture he hath preached and taught: that then and from thēceforth, he abſtayne from preaching within our prouince: vntill he haue purged hymſelfe, & be lawfully admitted agayne to preach by the iuſt arbitrement of him that ſuſpended and forbad him. And ſhall alwaies after that, cary with hym to al places whereſoeuer he ſhall preach, the letters teſtimoniall of him that reſtored him.

No prieſtes to preach, but by limitation of the prealates.

Moreouer

A ioly mene to bring the world into ſuch darknes.

Moreouer, the Pariſh Prieſtes or Vicares temporall, not hauing perpetuities, nor being ſent in forme aforeſayd ſhall ſimply preach in yͤ Churches where they haue charge onely thoſe thinges whiche are expreſſely contayned in the prouinciall conſtitution ſet forth by Iohn our predeceſſour of good memory, to helpe yͤ ignorance of the prieſts, which beginneth: Ignorantia Sacerdotum. Which book of conſtitutions, we would ſhould be had in euery pariſh Church in our prouince of Caunterbury, within three monthes next after the publication of theſe preſentes, and (as therein is required) that it be effectually declared by yͤ prieſtes themſelues yearely, and at the tymes appoynted. And leaſt thys wholeſome ſtatute might be thought hurtfull of ſome, by reaſon of payment of money, or ſome other difficultie: we therfore will & ordayne, that yͤ examinations of the perſõs aforeſayd, and the making of theyr letters by the Ordinary be done gratis and freely without any exaction of money at all, by thoſe to whome it ſhall appertayne. And if any man ſhall willingly preſume to violate this our ſtatute grounded vpon the old lawe, after the publication of the ſame: he ſhall incurre the ſentence of greater excommunication ipſo facto: whoſe abſolution we ſpecially reſerue by tenoure of theſe preſentes, to vs and our ſucceſſours. But if anye ſuch Preacher deſpiſing this wholſome Statute, and not weying the ſentence of greater excommunication doe the ſecõd time take vpon hym to preach: ſaying and alledging, and ſtoutly affirming that the ſentence of greater excommunication aforeſaid, cannot be appoynted by the Church in the perſons of the Prelates of the ſame: That then, the Superiours of the place, doe worthely rebuke him, and forbid him from the Communion of all faythfull Chriſtians.

And that the ſayde perſon hereupon lawfully conuicted (except he recant and abiure after the maner of yͤ Church) be pronounced an hereticke by the Ordinary of the place. And that from thenceforth he be reputed and taken for an hereticke and ſchiſmaticke, and that he incurre (ipſo facto) the penalties of hereſie and ſchiſmacie, expreſſed in the law: And chiefly that his goodes be adiudged confiſcate by the law, and apprehended and kept by them, to whome it ſhal appertayne. And that hys fautours, receiuers, & defenders being conuicted, in all caſes be likewiſe puniſhed, if they ceaſe not of within one month, being lawfully warned therof by theyr ſuperiours.

Conſtit. 2.

Furthermore, no clergy man, or parochians of any pariſh or place within our prouince of Cant. ſhall admit any man to preach wͭin their Churches, churchyardes or other places whatſoeuer, except firſt there be manifeſt knowledge had of his authoritie, priuiledge, or ſending thither, according to the order aforeſayd: Otherwiſe the Churche, churchyarde, or what place whatſoeuer, in whiche it was ſo preached, ſhal ipſo facto, receiue yͤ Eccleſiaſticall interdict & ſo ſhall remayne interdicted, vntill they that ſo admitted and ſuffered him to preach, haue reformed themſelues, and obtayned yͤ place ſo interdicted, to be releaſed in due forme of law, either frõ the Ordinary of yͤ place, or his ſuperiour.

Conſtit. 3.

what tyrãny is this to bynde the preachers mouth what to ſay.

Moreouer, like as a good houſholder caſteth wheat into the ground (well ordered for that purpoſe) therby to get the more encreaſe: euen ſo we wil and commaund, that the preacher of Gods word, comming in form aforeſayd, preaching eyther vnto the Clergy or Laity, according to hys matter proponed: ſhalbe of good behauiour, ſowing ſuch ſeed as ſhalbe cõuenient for his auditory. And chiefly preaching to the Clergie, he ſhall touche the vices commonly vſed amongſt them, and to the Laitie he ſhall declare the vices commonly vſed among them, and not otherwiſe: But if he preach contrary to this order, then ſhall he be ſharpely puniſhed by the ordenary of that place, according to the quallitie of that offence.

Conſtit. 4.

A barre for the preachers.

Item, foraſmuch as the part is vile, that agreeth not with the whole: we do decree and ordayn, yͭ no preacher aforeſayd, or any other perſon whatſoeuer, ſhall otherwiſe teach or preach concerning the ſacramẽt of the aulter, matrimony, confeſſion of ſinnes, or any other ſacrament of the Church, or article of the fayth, then that already is diſcuſſed by the holy mother Churche, nor ſhall bring anye thing in doubt yͭ is determined by the church: nor ſhal to his knowledge priuily or apertly pronounce blaſphemous wordes concerning the ſame, nor ſhall teach, preach, or obſerue any ſect, or kinde of hereſie whatſoeuer, contrary to the wholeſome doctrine of the Church. He that ſhall wittingly & obſtinatly attempt the contrary, after the publication of theſe preſentes, ſhall incurre the ſentence of excommunication ipſo facto: From the which (except in poynt of death) he ſhal not be abſolued, vntill he hath reformed himſelfe by abiuration of his hereſie, at the diſcretion of the Ordinary, in whoſe territory he ſo offẽded, and hath receiued wholſome penitence for his offences. But if the ſecond tyme he ſhall ſo offend, being lawfully conuicted, he ſhalbe pronounced an hereticke, & his goods confiſcate and apprehended, and kept by them to whome it ſhall appertayne. The penance before mentioned, ſhalbe after this manner: If anye man contrary to the determination of the Church, that is, in yͤ decrees, decretals, or our conſtitutions prouinciall, doe openly or priuily teach or preach any kinde of hereſie or ſecte he ſhall in the pariſh Church of the ſame place, where he ſo preached, vpon one ſonday, or other ſolemne day, or more, at the diſcretion of the ordinary, and as hys offence is more or leſſe, expreſſely reuoke that he ſo preached, taught or affirmed, euen at the time of the ſolemnitie of the maſſe, whẽ the people are moſt aſſembled, and there ſhall effectually and without fraud preach, and teach the very truth determined by the church: and further ſhalbe puniſhed after the quallitie of hys offence, as ſhalbe thought expedient to the diſcretion of the Ordinary.

Conſt. 5.

A caueat for ſchoolemaſters.

Item, foraſmuch as a new veſſell being long vſed, ſauoreth after the head, we decree and ordayn, that no ſcholemaiſters and teachers whatſoeuer, that inſtruct childrẽ in grammer, or others whõ ſo euer, in primitiue ſciences ſhal in teaching them, intermingle any thing concerning yͤ catholicke fayth, the ſacrament of the aulter, or other Sacramentes of the Church, contrary to the determinations of yͤ church. Nor ſhall ſuffer theyr ſchollers to expound the holy Scriptures, (except the text as hath bene vſed of auncient time,) nor ſhal permit them to diſpute openly or priuily concerning the catholicke fayth, or Sacramentes of the Churche. Contrariwiſe, the offender herein ſhalbe greeuouſly puniſhed by the Ordinary of the place, as a fauourer of errours and ſchiſmes.

Conſt. 6.

Books of Iohn Wickliffe forbidden.

Item, for that a new way doth more frequently leade a ſtray, then an old way: we will and commaunde that no booke or treatiſe made by Iohn wickliffe, or other whom ſoeuer, about that time or ſithence, or hereafter to be made: be from henceforth read in ſchooles, halles, hoſpitalles, or other places whatſoeuer, within our prouince of Canterbury aforeſayd, except the ſame be firſt examined by the vniuerſitie of Oxford or Cambridge, or at the leaſt by twelue perſons, whom the ſayd vniuerſities or one of thẽ ſhal appoynt to be choſen at our diſcretion, or the laudable diſcretion of our predeceſſoures: and the ſame being examined as aforeſayd, to be expreſly approued and allowed by vs or our ſucceſſours, and in the name and authoritie of the vniuerſitie, to be deliuered vnto the Stationers to be copyed out, and the ſame to be ſold at a reaſonable price, the originall therof alwaies after, to remayn in ſome cheſt of yͤ vniuerſitie. But if any man ſhall read any ſuch kynd of booke in ſchooles or otherwiſe, as aforeſayd: he ſhalbe puniſhed as a ſower of ſchiſme, and a fauourer of hereſie, as the qualitie of the fault ſhall require.

Conſtit. 7.

He confeſſeth that S. Ierome erred in his tranſlation. And yet the ſaid Archb. cõmẽded Qneene Anne, for hauing the ſcripture in Engliſhe.

Item, it is a daungerous thinge (as witneſſeth bleſſed S. Hierome) to tranſlate the text of the holy ſcripture out of one tongue into an other: for in the tranſlation the ſame ſenſe is not alwayes eaſily kept, as the ſame S. Ierome confeſſeth, that although he were inſpired, yet oftentimes in this he erred. We therefore decree and ordayne, that no man hereafter by his owne authoritie, tranſlate any text of the Scripture into Engliſh, or any other tongue, by way of a booke, libell, or treatiſe, and if no man read anye ſuche booke libell or treatiſe, nowe lately ſet foorth in the time of Iohn wickliffe, or ſithence, or hereafter to be ſet forth, in part or in whole, priuily, or apertly: vpon paine of greater excommunication, vntill the ſaid tranſlation be allowed by the Ordinary of the place, or (if the caſe ſo require) by the Councell prouinciall: He that ſhall do contrary to this ſhal likewiſe be puniſhed as a fauourer of error & hereſie.

Conſtit. 8.

Termes and propoſitions in diſputing to be obſerued.

Item, for that almighty God cannot be expreſſed with any Philoſophicall termes, or otherwiſe inuented of man: And S. Auguſtine ſaith, That he hath oftentimes reuoked ſuch concluſions as hath bene moſt true, becauſe they haue bene offenſiue to the eares of the religious: we doe ordeine and ſpecially forbid, that no maner of perſon, of what ſtate degree, or condition, ſo euer he be, doe allege or propone any concluſions or propoſitions in yͤ catholicke fayth, or repugnant to good manners, (except neceſſary doctrine pertayning to theyr facultie of teaching or diſputing in theyr ſchooles or otherwiſe) although they defend the ſame with neuer ſo curious termes and wordes. For as ſayth bleſſed S. Hugh of the Sacramentes, that whiche oftentimes is well ſpoken, is not well vnderſtood. If any man therefore after the publication of theſe preſents, ſhalbe conuict wittingly to haue proponed ſuch concluſions or propoſitions, except (being moniſhed) he reforme himſelfe in one month by vertue of this preſent conſtitution: He ſhall incurre the ſentence of greater excommunication ipſo facto, and ſhalbe openly pronounced an excommunicate, vntill he hath confeſſed his fault openly in the ſame place where he offended, and hath preached the true meaning of the ſayd concluſion or propoſition in one church or more, as ſhalbe thought expedient to the Ordinary.

Conſtit. 6.

Item, no manner of perſon ſhall preſume to diſpute vpon yͤ articles determined by yͤ church, as is cõtayned in the decrees, decretals, our conſtitutions prouinciall, or in the general Councels. But onely to ſeek out the true meaning therof, & that expreſſely, whether it be openly or in ſecret: nor none ſhal cal in doubt the authoritie of the ſaid decretals or conſtitutions, or the authoritie of him that made thẽ, nor teach any thing contrary to yͤ determination thereof: And chiefly concerning the adoration of the holy croſſe the worſhipping of Images, of ſayntes, going on pilgrimage to certayne places, or to the reliques of ſaintes, or agaynſt yͤ othes in caſes accuſtomed to be geuen in both cõmon places, that is to ſay, ſpirituall & temporall: But of al it ſhalbe commonly taught and preached, that the croſſe & Image of the Crucifixe, and other Images of Saynts in the honour of them whom they preſent, are to be worſhipped with proceſſion, bowing of knees, offring of frankincenſe, kiſſinges, oblations, lighting of candels, and pilgrimages, *and with all other kind of ceremonyes and maners that hath bene vſed in the time of our predeceſſoures: And that geuing of othes in caſes expreſſed in the law, and vſed of all men to whome it belongeth in both common places, ought to be done vpon the booke of the Goſpell of Chriſt. Contrarye vnto this who ſo euer doth preache, teache, or obſtinately affirme (except he recant in manner and forme aforeſayd) ſhall forthwith incurre the penaltie of hereſie, and ſhalbe pronounced an heretique, in all effect of law.

Authoritie of the popes decretals not to be doubted vnder paine of hereſie.

Adoration of the croſſe.

*With all abhomination.

Conſtit 10.

No prieſt to celebrate without their letters of orders.

Item, we doe decree and ordaine, that no chaplayne be admitted to celebrate in any dioces within our prouince of Caunterbury, where he was not borne, or not receaued orders: except hee bring with him hys letters of orders, & letters commendatory from his ordinary, and alſo from other Biſhops in whoſe dioces of a long tyme he hath ben conuerſannt, whereby his conuerſation and maners may appeare: So that it may be knowne, whether he hath bene defamed with any new opiniõs touching yͤ catholick faith or whether he be free from the ſame: otherwiſe, aſwell he that celebrateth as he that ſuffereth him to celebrate, ſhalbe ſharpely puniſhed at the diſcretion of the Ordinary.

Conſtit. 11.

Oxford famous for ſincere religion.

Inquiſition to be made through Colledges and halles of Oxforde.

Finally, becauſe thoſe things which newly and vnaccuſtomably creepeth vp, ſtandeth need of new and ſpeedy helpe: and where more daunger is, there ought to be more wary circumſpection and ſtronger reſiſtance, & and not without good cauſe: yͤ leſſe noble ought diſcretly to be cut away that the more noble may the more perfectly be nouriſhed. Conſidering therefore, and in lamentable wiſe ſhewing vnto you, how the auncient Vniuerſitie of Oxford, which as a fruitful vine was wont to extẽd forth her fruitful brãches to the honour of God, the great perfection, and defẽce of the Church: now partly being become wilde, bringeth forth bitter grapes, which being vndiſcreetly eaten of auncient fathers that thought themſelues ſkilfull in the law of God: hath ſet on edge yͤ teeth of their childrẽ: and our prouince is infected with diuers and vnfruitfull doctrines, and defiled with a new & damnable name of Lollardie, to the great reproofe and offence of the ſayd Vniuerſitie being known in forren countryes: & to the great irkeſomnes of the ſtudentes there, and to the great dammage and loſſe of the Church of England, which in times paſt by her vertue as with a ſtrong wall, was wont to be defended, and now like to runne in ruine not to be recouered. At the ſupplication therfore of yͤ whole clergie of our prouince of Cãterbury: and by the conſent and aſſent of all our brethren & ſuffragans: and other the prelates in this conuocation aſſembled, and the proctors of them that are abſent: leaſt the riuer being clenſed: the fountayne ſhould remayne corrupt and ſo the water comming from thence ſhould not be pure entending moſt holeſomly to prouide for the honour and vtilitie of our holy mother the Church and the vniuerſitie aforeſayd. we do ordeine and decree: that euery warden, Prouoſt: or maiſter of euery College, or principall of euery hall wͭin the vniuerſitie aforeſayd: ſhall once euery moneth at yͤ leaſt, diligently enquire in the ſayd College, hall, or other place where he hath authoritie, whether anye ſcholler or inhabitant in ſuch colledge, or hall. &c. haue holdẽ, alleaged, or defended, or by any meanes proponed, any concluſion propoſition or opinion concerning the catholick faith or ſounding cõtrary to good maners, or contrary to the determination of the Church, otherwiſe then appertayneth to neceſſary doctrine. And if hee ſhall finde anye ſuſpected or diffamed herein, he ſhall according to his office admoniſh him to deſiſte. And if after ſuch monition geuen, the ſayde partye offende agayne in the ſame or ſuche like, hee ſhall incurre *ipſo facto* (beſides the penalties aforeſayd) the ſentence of greater excommunication. And neuertheleſſe, if it be a ſcholler that ſo offendeth the ſecond tyme, whatſoeuer he ſhall afterward doe in the ſayd vniuerſitie, ſhall not ſtand in effect. And if he be a doctour, a maiſter, or bacheler, he ſhall forthwith be ſuſpended frõ euery ſchollers act, and in both caſes ſhal loſe the right that he hath in the ſaid College or hall, wherof he is, *Ipſo facto*: and by the wardẽ: Prouoſt, Maiſter, principall, or other to whõ it appertayneth, he ſhalbe expelled, & a Catholique, by lawful meanes forthwith placed in his place. And if the ſayd wardens, Prouoſtes or Maiſters of Colledges or principalles of halles, ſhalbe negligent concerning the inquiſition and execution of ſuch perſons ſuſpected and diffamed by yͤ ſpace of x. dayes, frõ the time of the true or ſuppoſed knowledge of yͤ publication of theſe preſentes: yͭ then they ſhal incurre yͤ ſentence of greater excommunication: and neuertheleſſe ſhalbe depriued *ipſo facto*, of all the right which they pretẽd to haue in yͤ colledges, halles &c. and the ſayd Colledges & halles &c. to be effectually vacant: And after lawfull declaration hereof made by them to whom it ſhall appertayne, new wardens, Prouoſtes, Maiſters, or principals, ſhalbe placed in they, places, as hath ben accuſtomed in colledges and halles, being vacant in the ſayd vniuerſitie. But if the wardens themſelues, Prouoſtes, Maiſters or principals aforeſayd, be ſuſpected and diffamed of and concerning the ſayd concluſions or propoſitions, or be fauourers & defenders of ſuch as doe therein offend: and doe not ceaſe, beyng therof warned by vs, or by our authoritie: or by yͤ ordinary of the place: that then by law they be depriued, aſwell of all priuiledge ſcholaſticall within the vniuerſitie aforeſayd, as alſo of their right and authoritie in ſuch Colledge, hall. &c. Beſides other penalties afore mentioned, and that they incurre the ſayd ſentence of greater excommunication.

I would the like were vſed nowe for the baniſhing of papiſtry.

Conſtit. 12.

But if any man in any caſe of this preſent cõſtitution or any other aboue expreſſed: do raſhly and wilfully preſume to violate theſe our ſtatues in any part thereof (although there be an other penalty expreſſely there limitted) yet ſhal he be made altogether vnable and vnworthy by the ſpace of three yeares after, without hope of pardon to obtayn any eccleſiaſticall benefice within our prouince of Caunterbury: and neuertheles according to all hys demerites and the quallitie of hys exceſſe, at the diſcretion of his ſuperiour he ſhalbe lawfully puniſhed.

Conſtit. 13.

And further, that yͤ maner of proceeding herein be not thought vncertayne: conſidering with our ſelues, that although there be a kinde of equallitie in the crime of hereſie and offending the prince, as is auouched in diuers lawes: yet the fault is much vnlike, and to offend the deuine maieſtie requireth greater puniſhment, then to offend yͤ Princes maieſty: And where it is ſufficient (for feare of daunger that might enſue by delayes) to conuince by iudgement the offender of the Princes maieſties proceeding agaynſt hym fully & wholy, with a citation ſent by meſſenger, by letters, or edict not admitting proofe by witneſſes, and ſentẽce definitiue to be: we do ordeine, will, and declare, for the eaſier puniſhment of the offẽders in the premiſſes, and for the better reformation of the church deuided and hurt, that all ſuch as are diffamed, openly knowne, or vehemẽtly ſuſpected in any of the caſes aforeſayd, or in anye article of the catholicke fayth ſounding contrary to good manners: by authoritie of the ordinary of the place or other ſuperior, be cited perſonally to appeare, eyther by letters, publique meſſenger being ſworne: or by edicte openly ſet at that place where the ſayd offender commonly remayneth, or in hys pariſh Church, if he hath any certayne dwelling houſe. Otherwiſe, in yͤ Cathedrall church of the place where he was borne, and in the pariſh churche of the ſame place where he ſo preached and taught: And afterwardes certificate beyng geuen, that the citation was formally executed agaynſt the party cited being abſent and neglecting hys appearaunce it ſhalbe proceeded agaynſt him fully and playnly without ſound or ſhew of iudgement, and without admitting proofe by witneſſes and other canonicall probations. And alſo after lawful informatiõ had, the ſayd ordinary (al delayes ſet apert) ſhall ſignifie declare, and puniſhe the ſayd offender, according to the quallitie of his offence, and in forme aforeſayd: and further, ſhall doe according to iuſtice, the abſence of the offender notwithſtanding.

Eaſier to offend againſt the princes law then againſt the byſhops.

Geuen at Oxford.

¶ who would haue thought by theſe lawes and conſtitutions ſo ſubſtantially founded, ſo circumſpectly prouided, ſo dilligently executed: but that the name and memory of this perſecuted ſort, ſhould vtterly haue bene rooted vp,

& neuer could haue ſtand. And yet ſuch be the workes of the lord, paſſing all mẽs admiratiõ, all this notwiſtanding ſo far was it of, that the number and courage of theſe good men was vanquiſhed, that rather they multiplied dayly & encreaſed. For ſo I finde in Regiſters recorded, that theſe foreſayd perſons, whome the king and the Catholique fathers, did ſo greatly deteſte for herretickes, were in diuers countries of this realme diſperſed and increaſed: eſpecially at London, in Lincolnſhire in Northfolk, in Herefordſhyre, in Shrewſbury, in Callice, and diuers other quarters mo, with whom the Archb. of Caunterbury Thomas Arundell, the ſame time had much ado, as by hys own regiſters doth appeare. Albeit ſome there were, that dyd ſhrinke, many did reuolt and renounce, for daunger of the law. Among whom was Iohn Puruey, whiche recanted at Paules Croſſe, of whom more foloweth (the Lord willing) to be ſaid in the yeare 1421. Alſo Iohn Edward prieſt of the dioces of Lincolne, who reuoked in the greene yard at Norwich, Richard Herbert, and Emmot willy of Lõdon, alſo Iohn Becket, who recanted at London. Item, Iohn Seynons of Lincolneſhyre, who was cauſed to reuoke at Caunterbury. The articles of whom which commonly they did hold, and which they were conſtrayned to abiure, moſt ſpecially were theſe as follow.

John Puruey. John Edward. John Becket. John Seynons abiured.

Their Articles.

The articles.

First, that the office of the holy Croſſe (ordayned by the whole Church) celebrated, doth contayne idolatry.

Item, they ſayd and affirmed, that all they which doe reuerence and worſhip the ſigne of the croſſe, do commit idolatry, and are reputed as Idolaters.

Item, they ſayd and affirmed, that the true fleſhe and bloud of our Lord Ieſus Chriſt, is not in the ſacrament of the aulter, after the wordes ſpoken by the prieſt truely pronounced.

Item, they ſayd and affirmed, the ſacrament of the aultar to be ſacramentall bread, not hauing life, but onely inſtituted for a memoriall of Chriſtes paſſion.

Item, they ſayd and affirmed, that the body of Chriſte which is taken on the aulter, is a figure of yͤ body of chriſt as long as we ſee the bread and wyne.

Item: they ſayd and affirmed, that the decree of the prelates and clergie in the prouince of Caunterbury, in theyr laſt conuocation, with the conſent of the king and the nobles in the laſt Parliament agaynſt him that was brent lately in the city of London: was not ſufficient to chaunge the purpoſe of the ſayd Iohn, when the ſubſtance of materiall bread is euen as before in the ſacrament of the aultar, it was no change being made in the nature of bread.

* Item, that any lay man may preach the Goſpel in euery place, and may teach it by his owne authoritie, without the licence of his Ordinary.

*Their article cõmonly was thus, that who ſo taketh vpon him the office of a Prieſte though he haue no cure of ſoules, nor licence of his ordinary, is bounde to preach the Goſpel.

Itẽ, that it is ſinne: to geue any thing to the preaching friers: to the Minorites, to the Auguſtines, to the Carmelites.

Item, that we ought not to offer at the funerals of the dead.

Item, that the confeſſion of ſins to the people, is vnneedefull.

Item, that euery good man (though he be vnlearned) is a prieſt.

Item, that the infant (though he dye vnbaptiſed) ſhalbe ſaued.

Item, that neither the pope, nor the prelate, neither any ordinary can compell any man to ſweare by anye creature of God, or by the bible booke.

Item, that aſwell the Biſhop, the ſimple man, the prieſt, and the lay man, be of like authoritie (as lõg as they liue well.)

Item, that no man is bound to geue bodily reuerence to any prelate.

¶ William Thorpe.

The examination of the conſtant ſeruaunt of God Williã Thorpe.

Thus much briefly being ſignified by the way, touching theſe which haue bene forced in time of this king, to open abiuration: Next commeth to our handes the worthy hiſtory of maiſter william Thorpe, a warriour valiaunt, vnder the triumphant banner of Chriſt, with the proceſſe of his examinations, before the foreſayd Thomas Arundell Archbiſhop of Caunterb. written by the ſayd Thorpe and ſtoryed by his owne pen, at the requeſt of hys frendes as by hys own wordes in the proceſſe hereof may appeare. In whoſe examination (whiche ſeemeth firſt to begin. an. 1407.) thou ſhalt haue, good reader, both to learne and to meruaile. To learne, in that thou ſhalt heare truth diſcourſed and diſcuſſed, with the contrary reaſons of the aduerſary diſſolued. To marueile, for that thou ſhalt beholde here in this man, the meruelous force and ſtrength of the Lordes might, ſpirite and grace, working and fighting in his ſouldiors, & alſo ſpeaking in theyr mouthes, according to the word of hys promiſe. Luke xxi. To the text of the ſtory we haue neither added nor diminiſhed: but as we haue receiued it, copied out, & corrected by maiſter williã Tindall (who had his own handwriting) ſo we haue here ſent it, and ſet it out abroad. Althoughe for the more credite of the matter, I rather wiſhed it in his own naturall ſpeach wherein it was firſt written. Notwithſtanding, to put away all doubt and ſcrouple herein, this I thought before to premoniſhe and teſtifie to the Reader, touching the certaintie hereof, that they be yet aliue whiche haue ſeene the ſelfe ſame copy in his own old Engliſh, reſembling yͤ true antiquitie both of the ſpeach, and of the time: The name of whom as for recorde of the ſame to auouche, is M. whithead, who as he hath ſeene the true ancient copy in the hãdes of George Conſtantine, ſo hath he geuen credible relation of yͤ ſame, both to the printer, & to me. Furthermore the ſayd maiſter Tindall (albeit he did ſomewhat alter & amend the Engliſh therof, and frame it after our manner) yet not fully in al wordes: but that ſomething doth remain, ſauouring of the old ſpeach of that time. what the cauſes were why this good man & ſeruaunt of Chriſt, w. Thorp did write it and pen it out himſelfe, it is ſufficiently declared in hys owne preface, ſet before his booke, whiche here is prefixed in maner as followeth.

This hiſtory firſt ſet forth & corrected by M. W. Tyndall.

¶ The preface of William Thorpe.

The preface.

The Lord God that knoweth all thinges, woteth well that I am right ſorrowful for to write to make known this ſentence beneath written: whereby of mine euenchriſten ſet in high ſtate & dignitie, ſo great blindnes & malice may be knowne: that they which doe preſume of themſelues to deſtroy vices, and to plant in men vertues, neither dreade to offend God, nor luſt to pleaſe him as their workes doe ſhew. For certes the bidding of God and hys law, whiche in the prayſing of his moſt holy name he commaundeth to be known & kept of all men and women, yong and old, after the cunning & power that he hath geuen to them: The Prelates of this lande and their miniſters, wᵗ the couent of prieſts chiefly conſenting to them, enforce them moſt buſily to withſtand and deſtroy the holy ordinaunce of God. And there through, God is greatly wroth and moued to take hard vengeance, not onely vpon them that do the euil but alſo on them that conſent to theſe Antichriſtes limmes: which know or might know, their malice and falſhoode, & dreſſe them not to withſtand their mallice and theyr great pride. Neuertheles, 4. things moueth me to write this ſẽtence beneath.

Gods lawes muſt be knowen and folowed.

Foure cauſes of ſetting forth his examination.

The firſt thing that moueth me hereto is this, yͭ where as it was knowne to certayn frendes, that I came from yͤ priſon of Shrewſbury, and as it befell in deed that I ſhold to the priſon of Caunterbury: thẽ diuers friends in diuers places, ſpake to me full hartily and full tenderly: and commaunded me then, if it ſo were that I ſhould be examined before the Archb. of Cant. that if I might in any wiſe, I ſhould write mine appoſing, and mine aunſwering. And I promiſed to my ſpecial frendes, that if I might, I wold gladly doe their bidding as I might.

The ſecond thing that moueth me to write this ſentẽce is this: diuers frendes which haue heard that I haue bene examined before the Archbyſhop, haue come to me in priſon, and counſayled mee buſily, and coueted greatly that I ſhould doe the ſame thing. And other brethren haue ſent to me, and required on Gods behalfe, that I ſhould write out and make knowne, both mine appoſing & mine aunſwering, for the profite that (as they ſay) vppon my knowledging, may come thereof. But this they bad me, that I ſhould be buſie in all my wits, to go as neare the ſentence and the wordes as I could, both that were ſpoken to me & that I ſpake: Upauẽture this writing may come an other time, before the archbiſhop and hys counſaile. And of thys counſelling I was right glad: for in my conſcience I was moued to doe this thing, & to aſke hitherto the ſpeciall help of God. And ſo then I conſidering the great deſire of dyuers frendes of ſondry places, according all in one: I occupyed all my minde & my wits ſo buſily, that through gods grace I perceaued by theyr meaning and their charitable deſire, ſome profite might come there through. For ſoothfaſtnes and trueth hath theſe conditions: where euer it is impugned, it hath a ſweete ſmell, and thereof commeth a ſweet ſauour. And the more violently the enemies dreſſe themſelues to oppreſſe and to withſtand the trueth, the

The 2. cauſe.

Truth leaueth alwayes a ſweet ſmel behinde it.

greater and the ſweeter ſmell commeth therof. And therefore, this heauenly ſmel of Gods word, wil not as a ſmoke paſſe away with the winde: but it will deſcende and reſt in ſome cleane ſoule, that thirſteth thereafter. And thus ſome deale by this writing may be perceaued thorough Gods grace, how that the enemies of the trueth (ſtanding boldly in their malice) inforce them to withſtand the fredome of Chriſtes Goſpell, for which freedome Chriſt became man & ſhed his hart bloud. And therefore it is great pitty & ſorrow: yͭ many men & women do their own weyward will nor buſy thē not to know nor to do yͤ pleaſant wil of God.

Godly counſell geuen if it may be followed.

The men & women that heare the truth and ſouthfaſtnes, and heare or know of this (perceauing what is nowe in yͤ churche) ought here through, to be the more moued in all their wits, to able them to grace, & to ſet leſſer price by themſelues, that they without tarieng: forſake wilfully & bodely all the wretchednes of this life, ſince they know not how ſoon, nor whē, nor where, nor by whō God wil teach them, & aſſay their pacience.

Perſecution followeth the true Church.

For no doubt, who that euer will liue pittiouſly, that is charitably in Chriſt Ieſu, ſhall ſuffer now here in this life perſecution, in one wiſe or an other. That is, if we ſhalbe ſaued, it behoueth vs to imagin ful buſily: the vility and foulnes of ſinne, and how yͤ Lord God is diſpleaſed therfore: & ſo of this vility of hidiouſnes of ſinne, it behoueth vs to buſy vs in al our wits, for to abhorre and hold in our mind a great ſhame of ſinne euer, & ſo then we owe to ſorrow hartely therfore, and euer fleing all occaſion therof. And then behoueth vs to take vpon vs ſharpe penāce, continuing therin, for to obtayne of yͤ Lord forgeuenes of our foredone ſinnes, and grace to abſtain vs hereafter from ſinne. And but if we enforce vs to do thys wilfully: and in conueniēt time, the Lord (if he will not vtterly deſtroy and caſt vs awaye) will in diuers manners moue tyrantes agaynſt vs: for to conſtrayne vs violentlye to do penaunce, which we would not do wilfully.

The cauſe why perſecution is ſuffered to come

And truſt that this doing is a ſpecial grace of the Lord, & a great token of life & mercy. And no doubt, who euer will not apply him ſelfe (as is ſayd before) to puniſh himſelf wilfully, neither wil ſuffer paciently, meekely, and gladly the rod of the Lord, howſoeuer that he will puniſh him: their wayward willes and their impacience, are vnto them earneſt of euelaſting damnation. But becauſe there are but few in number that do able them thus faythfully to grace, for to liue here ſo ſimply and purely, and without gall of malice and of grudging: herefore the louers of this worlde hate & purſue them that they knowe patient, meek, chaſte, & wilfully poore, hating and fleing all worldly vanities & fleſhly luſts. For ſurely, their vertuous conditions are euen cōtrary to the manners of this world.

The third cauſe.

The third thing that moueth me to wryte this ſentēce is this, I thought I ſhall buſie me in my ſelfe to do faythfully, that all men and women (occupying all their buſines in knowing and in keeping of Gods commaundements) able them ſo to grace, that they might vnderſtād truely the truth, and haue and vſe vertue and prudēce, and ſo deſerue to be lightned from aboue with heauenly wiſedom: ſo that all their words & their workes may be hereby made pleaſant ſacrifice vnto the Lord God: and not onely for helpe of their own ſoules, but alſo for edification of holy Church

Edification of other, neceſſary to be conſidered.

For I doubt not: but all they that will apply them to haue this foreſayd buſines, ſhall profite ful mekill both to frēds & foes. For ſome enemies of the truth, through the grace of God, ſhall through charitable folkes be made aſtonied in their conſcience, and peraduenture conuerted from vices to vertues: and alſo, they that labour to know and to keep faythfully the biddinges of God, and to ſuffer paciently all aduerſities, ſhall hereby comfort many frendes.

The 4. cauſe.

And the fourth thing that moueth me to write this ſētēce is this: I knowe by my ſodein & vnwarned appoſing and aunſwering, that all they that will of good hart wͭout faining, able themſelues wilfully & gladly after theyr cunning and their power, to follow chriſt paciently, traueling buſily, priuily, and apertly in worke and in word, to withdraw whom ſoeuer that they may from vices, planting in them (if the may) vertues, comforting them & furtheryng them that ſtand in grace: ſo that therwith they be not born vp in vaine glory, through preſumption of theyr wiſdome nor inflamed with any worldly proſperitie: but euer meek and pacient: purpoſing to abide ſtedfaſtly in yͤ wil of God, ſuffering wilfully and gladly without any grutching whatſoeuer rod the Lord wil chaſtiſe them with: that then, thys good Lord will not forget to comfort al ſuch men and women in all their tribulations, & at euery poynt of temptation that any enemy purpoſed for to doe agaynſt them. To ſuch faithfull louers ſpecially, & pacient followers of chriſt the Lord ſendeth by his wiſedome frō aboue, them which the aduerſaries of the truth, may not know nor vnderſtād. But through their old and new vnſhamefaſt ſinnes, thoſe tyrantes and enemies of ſouthfaſtnes, ſhalbe ſo blinded & obſtinate in euill, that they ſhall weene themſelues to doe pleaſant ſacrifices vnto the Lorde God in their malicious and wrongfull purſuing and deſtroying of innocent mens and womens bodyes: which men & women, for theyr vertuous liuing, and for their true knowledging of the truth and theyr pacient wilfull and glad ſuffering of perſecution for righteouſnes, deſerue through the grace of God, to be heyres of the endleſſe bleſſe of heauen.

The aſſiſtance of God neuer fayleth thē that are perſecuted.

And for the feruent deſire and the great loue that theſe men haue, as to ſtand in ſouthfaſtnes and witnes of it: though they be ſodeinly & vnwarnedly brought foorth to be apoſed of their aduerſaries: the holy Ghoſt yet that moueth and ruleth them thorough his charitie, will in that houre of theyr aunſwering ſpeake in them and ſhewe hys wiſedome: that all theyr enemies ſhall not agayn ſay, nor agaynſt ſtand, lawfully.

And therfore, al they that are ſtedfaſt in yͤ fayth of God yea, which through diligent keeping of his commaundementes, & for theyr pacient ſuffering of whatſoeuer aduerſitie that commeth to them, hope ſurely in his mercy, purpoſing to ſtand cōtinually in perfect charitie. For thoſe mē and womē, dred not ſo the aduerſities of this life, that they wil feare (after their cunning and their power) to knowledge prudently the truth of gods word, when, where, and to whom they thinke their knowledging may profite. Yea and though therfore perſecution come to them in one wiſe or an other, certes they paciently take it, knowing theyr conuerſation to be in heauen. It is an high rewarde and a ſpeciall grace of God: for to haue and enioy the euerlaſting inheritance of heauen, for the ſuffering of one perſecution in ſo ſhort time as is the terme of this life. For loe, this heuenly heritage & endles reward: is the Lord God hymſelfe which is the beſt thing that may be. This ſētence witneſſeth the Lord God himſelfe where as he ſayd to Abrahā I am thy meede: And as the Lord ſayd: he was and is the meede of Abraham: ſo he is of all his other ſaynts. This moſt bleſſed and beſt meede, he graunt to vs all for his holy name, that made vs of naught, and ſent his onely moſt deare worthy ſonne, our Lorde Ieſu Chriſt for to redeeme vs with his moſt precious hart bloud. Amen.

✤ The examination of William Thorpe,

penned with hys owne hand.

Examinatiō of William Thorpe before Tho. Arundell Archb.

Knowne be it to al men, that read or heare this writing that on the ſonday next after the feaſt of S. Peter: that we call Lammeſſe: in the yeare of our Lord. 1407. I William Thorpe being in priſon in the Caſtle of Saltwoode, was brought before Tho. Arundel Archbiſhop of Canterbury and Chauncellor then of Englande. And when that I came to him: he ſtode in a great chamber and much people about him: and when that he ſaw me, he went faſt into a cloſit bidding all ſeculer men yͭ followed hym to go forth from him ſoone, ſo that no man was left than in that cloſet but the Archbiſhop himſelfe and a Phiſitian yͭ was called Malueren, perſon of S. Dunſtanes in London, & other two perſons vnknowne to me which were miniſters of yͤ law. And I ſtanding before them, by and by the Archbiſh. ſayd to me: william, I know well that thou haſt this xx. winters & more, traueiled about buſily in the north cōtry and in other diuers countryes of England, ſowing about falſe doctrine, hauing great buſineſſe if thou might with thine vntrue teaching and ſhrewd will, for to infect & poyſō all this land.

Loyteryng prelates, cānot abyde trauellyng preachers.

But through the grace of God thou art now withſtanded & brought into my ward, ſo that I ſhall now ſequeſter thee from thine euill purpoſe, and let thee to enuenime the ſheep of my prouince. Neuertheles S. Paul ſayth: If it may be, as much as in vs is, we ought to haue peace wͭ all men.

The grace of God and of my Lord of Cant. be 2. thinges.

Therfore william, if yͧ wilt now meekly and of good hart, without any feyning, kneele downe and lay thy hand vpō a booke and kiſſe it, promiſing faythfully as I ſhall here charge thee, yͭ thou wilt ſubmit thee to my correction, & ſtād to myne ordinaunce, & fulfill it duely by all thy cūning and power, thou ſhalt yet find me gracious vnto thee.

Your ordinaunce, and why not to Gods ordinance if it pleaſe your grace?

Then ſayd I to the archbiſhop. Syr, ſince ye deme me an hereticke & out of beleue, will ye geue me here audience to tell my beleue. And he ſayd, yea tell on. And I ſayde. I beleue that there is not but one God almighty, and in this Godhead, and of this Godhead, are three perſons, that is, the father, the ſonne, and the ſothfaſt holye Ghoſt. And I beleue, that all theſe three perſons are euen in power and in cunning, and in might, full of grace and of all goodnes. For what ſoeuer that the father doth or can or will, that thing alſo the ſonne doth and can and will: and in all theyr power, cunning and will, the holy Ghoſt is equall to the father and to the ſonne.

Ouer this I beleue, that through counſell of this moſt bleſſed Trinity, in moſt cōuenient time before ordeined for the ſaluation of mankinde, the ſecond perſon of this Trinity, was ordeined to take the forme of mā, that is, the kinde of mā. And I beleue, that this ſecōd perſon our Lord Jeſu Chriſt, was conceiued through the holy ghoſt, in ẏ wombe of the moſt bleſſed virgin Mary, without mans ſeed. And I beleue, that after 9. monethes Chriſt was borne of this moſt bleſſed virgine, without any payne or breaking of the cloſter of her wombe, and without filth of her virginity.

And I beleue, that Chriſt our Sauiour was Circumciſed in the eight day after his birth, in fulfilling of the law, and his name was called Jeſus, which was ſo called of ẏ Angel, before that he was conceiued in the wombe of Mary his mother.

And I beleue, that Chriſt, as he was about xxx. yeare olde, was Baptiſed in the floud of Jordane of John Baptiſt: and in the likenes of a Doue the holy Ghoſt deſcēded there vpon him, & a voyce was heard from heauen, ſaying: Thou art my welbeloued ſonne, in thee I am full pleaſed.

And I beleue, that Chriſt, was moued then by the holy ghoſt, for to go into deſert, and there he faſted 40 dayes & 40. nightes without bodely meat and drink. And I beleue that by and by after his faſting, when the manhood of Chriſt hūgred, the fiend came to him, and tempted him in glottony, in vayne glory, and in couetiſe: but in all thoſe temptations, Chriſt concluded the fiend, and withſtood him. And then without tarying, Jeſu began to preach and to ſay vnto the people: do ye penaunce, for the Realme of heauen is now at hand.

I beleue that Chriſt in all his time here liued moſt holily, and taught the will of his father moſt truly: and I beleue that he ſuffered therfore, moſt wrongfully, greateſt repriefes and deſpiſinges.

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And after this, when Chriſt woulde make an end here of this tēporal life, I beleue that in the day next before that he would ſuffer paſſiō in the morne: In forme of bread and of wine, he ordeined the Sacrament of his fleſh and hys bloud, that is, his owne precious body, & gaue it to his Apoſtles for to eat: cōmaunding them, and by them all their after commers, that they ſhould do it in this forme that he ſhewed to them, vſe themſelues, and teach and comō forth to other men and womē this moſt worſhipfull holyeſt ſacrament, in mindfulnes of his holyeſt liuing, & of his moſt true preaching, & of his wilfull and patient ſuffering of the moſt paynefull paſſion.

And I beleue, that thys Chriſt our Sauiour, after that he had ordeined this moſt worthy Sacrament of his own precious body: he wēt forth wilfully agaynſt his enemies, and he ſuffered them moſt paciently to lay their hands moſt violently vpō him, and to binde him, and to lead him forth as a theefe, & to ſcorne him, and buffet him, and all to blow or file him with their ſpittinges. Ouer this, I beleue, that Chriſt ſuffered moſt meekly and paciently his enemies, for to ding out with ſharp ſcourges the bloud ẏ was betwene his ſkinne and his fleſh: yea without grudging Chriſt ſuffered the cruell Jewes to crowne him with moſt ſharpe thornes, and to ſtrike him with a reede. And after, Chriſt ſuffered wicked Jewes to draw him out vpon the croſſe, & for to nayle him thereupon hand and foote. And ſo through his pitifull nayling, Chriſt ſhed out wilfully for mans life, the bloud that was in his vaynes. And then Chriſt gaue wilfully his ſpirit into ẏ hāds or power of his father, & ſo, as he would, & whē he would, chriſt died wilfully for mās ſake vpon the croſſe. And notwithſtāding that Chriſt was wilfully, paynefully, & moſt ſhamefully put to death, as to the world: there was left bloud and water in his hart as before ordeined, that he would ſhedd out this bloud & this water for mās ſaluation. And therefore he ſuffred ẏ Jewes to make a blinde knight to thruſt him into the hart with a ſpeare, and this the bloud and water that was in his hart, Chriſt would ſhed out for mans loue, And after this, I beleue that Chriſt was taken downe from the croſſe and buried. And I beleue that on the third day by power of hys Godhead, Chriſt roſe againe from death to life. And the xl. day therafter, I beleue that Chriſt aſcēded vp into heauen and that he there ſitteth on the right hand of the father almighty. And the fifty day after this vp going, he ſēt to hys Apoſtles the holy ghoſt, that he had promiſed them before. And I beleue that Chriſt ſhall come & iudge all mankind, ſome to euerlaſting peace, and ſome to euerlaſting paines.

And as I beleue in the father & in the ſonne, that they are one God almighty, ſo I beleue in the holy Ghoſt that he is alſo with them the ſame God almighty.

What is the holy church

And I beleue an holy church, that is, all they that haue bene, and that now are, & alwayes to the end of the worlde ſhalbe, a people the which ſhall endeuour them to know & to keepe the commaundements of God, dreading ouer all thing to offēd God, and louing and ſeeking moſt to pleaſe him. And I beleeue, that all they that haue had & yet haue, and all they that yet ſhall haue the foreſayd vertues, ſurely ſtanding in the belief of God, hoping ſtedfaſtly in his mercyfull doinges, continuing to theyr end in perfect charitye, wilfully, paciently and gladly ſuffering perſecutiōs, by the example of Chriſt chiefly and his Apoſtles, all theſe haue theyr names written in the booke of life.

The true notes of the true church.

Therfore I beleue, that the gathering together of this people, liuing now here in this life, is the holy Church of God, fighting here on earth agaynſt the fiend, the proſperity of the world, and theyr fleſhly luſts. Wherfore, ſeing that all the gathering together of this Church before ſayd, and euery part therof, neither coueteth, nor willeth, nor loueth, nor ſeeketh any thing but to eſchew ẏ offēce of God, & to do his pleaſing will: meekly, gladly, and wilfully, wͭ all mine hart, I ſubmit my ſelfe vnto this holy Church of Chriſt, to be euer buxome & obedient to ẏ ordinaūce of it, & of euery member therof, after my knowledge and power by ẏ help of God. Therfore I knowledge now and euermore ſhal, if God will, that with all my hart and with all my might, I wil ſubmit me onely to the rule and gouernaunce of them, whō after my knowledge, I may perceiue by the hauing and vſing of the beforeſayd vertues, to be members of the holy Church. Wherfore theſe articles of belief and al other (both of the olde law and of the new, which after the commaundement of God any man ought to beleue) I beleeue verely in my ſoule, as a ſinful deadly wretch of my cunning and power, ought to beleue: praying the Lord God for his holy name, for to encreaſe my beliefe, and to helpe my vnbeliefe.

What hereſie in this beliefe, I pray you my Lord?

And for becauſe to the prayſing of Gods name, I deſire aboue all things to be a faithfull mēber of holy church, I make this proteſtatiō before you all foure that are now here preſent, couetting that all men & women that now be abſent, knew the ſame: that is, what thing ſo euer before this time I haue ſayde or done, or what thing here I ſhall doe or ſay, at any time hereafter. I beleeue, that all the olde law and the new law geuen and ordeined by the coūſell of the three perſons of the Trinity, were geuen and written to the ſaluatiō of mankind. And I beleue, that theſe lawes are ſufficient for mans ſaluation. And I beleue euery article of theſe lawes, to the intent, that theſe articles ordeined and commaunded of theſe 3. perſons of the moſt bleſſed trinity, are to be beleued.

The old Teſtament and new.

And therfore to ẏ rule & the ordinaunce of theſe, Gods lawes, meekely, gladly and wilfully, I ſubmit me with all mine hart: that whoſoeuer can or will by authority of gods lawe, or by open reaſon, tell me that I haue erred or nowe erre, or any time hereafter ſhall erre in any article of beliefe (from which inconuenience God keepe me, for hys goodneſſe) I ſubmit me to be reconciled and to be buxum & obedient vnto thoſe lawes of God, and to euery article of thē. For by authority, ſpecially of theſe lawes, I will, thorow the grace of God, be vnited charitably vnto theſe lawes. Yea ſir, & ouer this, I beleeue & admit all the ſentēces, authorities and reaſōs of the ſaynts & doctors, according vnto holy ſcripture, and declaring it truely.

Doctors ſo to be folowed as they folow the word.

I ſubmit me wilfully and meekely to be euer obedient after my cunning and power, to all theſe ſaynts and Doctors, as they are obedient in worke and in word to God & to his law, and further not (to my knowledge) not for any earthly power, dignitye or ſtate, thorow the helpe of God. But ſir I pray you tell me, if after your bidding, I ſhal lay my hand vpon the booke, to what entent: to ſweare thereby? And the Archby. ſayd to me, yea, wherefore els? And I ſaid to him. Syr a booke is nothing els but a thing coupled together of diuers creatures, and to ſweare by any creature both Gods law and mans law is agaynſt it.

To ſweare by a booke whether it be lawfull.

How, where, and when to ſweare.

But Syr, this thing I ſay here to you before theſe your clerkes, with my foreſayd proteſtation, that how, where when, and to whom, men are boūd to ſweare or to obey in any wiſe after Gods law, and ſaints, and true Doctours, according vnto Gods law: I will thorow Gods grace be euer ready thereto, with all my cunning and power. But I pray you ſir for the charitye of God, that ye will before ẏ I ſweare (as I haue here rehearſed to you) tell me how or whereto, that I ſhal ſubmit me: and ſhew me wherof that ye will correct me, and what is the ordinaunce that ye will thus oblige me to fulfill.

¶ And the Archbiſhop ſayd vnto me: I will ſhortly that now thou ſweare here to me, that thou ſhalt forſake al the opinions which the ſect of Lollordes holde, and is ſlaundered with: ſo that after this time, neither priuilye nor apertly, thou hold any opinion which I ſhal (after thou haſt ſworne) rehearſe to thee here. Nor thou ſhalt fauor no mā nor woman, young nor olde, that holdeth any theſe foreſayd opinions: but after thy knowledge and power, thou ſhalt force thee to wͭſtād al ſuch diſtroublers of holy church in euery dioces, that thou commeſt in: and them that wyll not leaue their falſe and damnable opiniōs, thou ſhalt put them vp, publiſhing them and theyr names, and make thē knowne to the biſhop of the dioces that they are in, or to ỷ biſhops miniſters. And ouer this I will, that thou preach no more vnto the time ỷ I know by good witneſſe & true, that thy conuerſation be ſuch, that thy hart and thy mouth accord truely in one, contraryng all the leud learning that thou haſt taught here before.

☞ And I hearing theſe wordes, thought in my hart, that this was an vnlefull aſking: and demed my ſelfe curſed of God, if I conſented hereto, & I thought how Suſan ſayd: Anguiſh is to me on euery ſide. And in that I ſtode ſtill and ſpake not, the Archbiſhop ſayd to me: Aunſwere one wiſe or other. And I ſayd: Syr, if I conſented to you thus as ye haue here before reherſed to me, I ſhould becom an appealer, or euery biſhops eſpy, ſomoner of al Englād, For and I ſhould thus put vp, and publiſh the names of men and women, I ſhould herein deceiue full many perſons: Yea ſir, as it is likely by the dome of my conſcience, I ſhould herein be cauſe of the death both of men and womē, yea both bodely and ghoſtly. For many men & women that ſtand now in the way of ſaluation: if I ſhould for the learning and reading of theyr beleue, publiſh them therfore vp to Biſhops or to their vnpiteous miniſters, I know ſome deale by experience, that they ſhould be ſo diſtroubled & diſeaſed with perſecution or otherwiſe, that many of thē (I thinke) would rather chuſe to forſake the way of truth thē to be trauailed, ſcorned, ſlādered, or puniſhed, as biſhops and their miniſters now vſe for to conſtrayne men & women to conſent to them.

Behold the popiſh proceedings whereto they tende.

But I finde in no place in holy ſcripture, that this office that ye would now enfeaffe me with, accordeth to any Prieſt of Chriſtes ſect, nor to any other chriſten man. And therefore to do this, were to me a full noyous bond to bee boūdē with, & ouer greuous charge. For I ſuppoſe, that if I thus did, many men and women would, yea Syr, might iuſtly vnto my confuſion ſay to me, that I were a traytor to God and to them: ſince (as I thinke in mine hart) many men & women truſt ſo mikle in this caſe, that I would not for ſauing of my life, doe thus to them. For if I thus ſhould do, full many men & women would (as they might full truely) ſay, that I had falſly and cowardly forſaken the truth, and ſlaundered ſhamefully the word of God. For if I conſented to you to do here, after your will, for bonchefe or miſchief that may befall to me in this life: I deme in my cōſcience, that I were worthy herefore to be curſed of god and alſo of all his Saynts: fro which inconuenience, keep me and all chriſtē people, almighty God now and euer for his holy name. And then ỷ Archbiſhop ſayd vnto me. Oh, thine hart is ful hard indurate as was the hart of Pharao, and the deuill hath ouercomen thee and peruerted thee, & he hath ſo blinded thee in all thy wittes, that thou haſt no grace to know the trueth nor the meaſure of mercye that I haue proferred to thee. Therfore, as I perceiue now by ỷ fooliſh aūſwere, thou haſt no wil to leaue thine old errors.

No maruell why: for Chriſt and Antichriſt how can they agree.

It is prety when Pharao iudgeth Moſes harde hearted. Where learned you my Lord to call your brother Racha.

But I ſay to thee leud loſell, other quickly cōſent thou to mine ordinance and ſubmit thee to ſtand to my decrees: or by S. Thomas, thou ſhalt be diſgraded, and follow thy felow in Smithfield. And at this ſaying, I ſtode ſtill and ſpake not, but I thought in mine hart that God did to me great grace, if he would of his great mercy bring me to ſuch an end. And in mine hart I was nothing afrayd with this manaſſing of the Archbiſhop. And I conſidered there two things in him. One, that he was not yet ſorowfull for that he had made william Sawtre wrongfully to be burnt: & as I conſidered, that ỷ Archbiſhop thirſted yet after more ſheding out of innocēt bloud. And faſt therfore I was moued in al my wittes, for to hold the Archbiſhop neither for Prelate nor for Prieſt of God. And for that mine inward man was thus altogether departed from the Archbiſhop, me thought I ſhoulde not haue any dread of him. But I was right heauy and ſorowfull, for that there was no audience of ſecular men by: but in my hart I prayd the Lorde God, for to comfort me and ſtrength me agaynſt them that there were agaynſt the ſothfaſtneſſe. And I purpoſed to ſpeake no more to the Archbiſhop and his clerkes then me need behoued: and all thus I prayde God for his goodneſſe to geue me then and alway grace to ſpeake, with a meke & an eaſy ſpirit: and whatſoeuer thing that I ſhould ſpeake, that I might thereto haue true authorities of Scriptures or open reaſon. And for that I ſtood thus ſtill and nothing ſpake, one of the Archbiſhops Clerks ſayd vnto me. what thing muſeſt thou? Doe thou as my Lord hath now commaunded to thee here.

He meaneth Gods Martyr Williā Sautrey.

And yet I ſtood ſtill and aunſwered him not: And then ſoone after the Archbiſhop ſayd to me: Art thou not yet bethought, whether thou wilt doe as I haue ſayde to thee? And I ſaid then to him: Syr, my father and my mother, on whoſe ſoules god haue mercy (if it be his will) ſpent mikle mony in diuers places about my learning, for the intēt to haue made me a Prieſt to God. But whē I came to yeres of diſcretion, I had no will to be Prieſt, and therefore my frends were right heauy to me, and then me thought theyr grudging agaynſt me was ſo paynefull to me, that I purpoſed therfore to haue left theyr company. And when they perceiued this in me, they ſpake ſometime full fayre & pleaſaunt wordes to me: But for that they might not make me to conſent of good hart to be a Prieſt, they ſpake to me full oftentimes very greuous wordes, and manaſſed me in diuers maners, ſhewing to me full heauy cheare. And thus one while in fayre maner, an other while in greuous, they were long time (as me thought) full buſye about me, or I conſented to them to be a Prieſt.

The order and maner of his bringing vp.

But at the laſt, when in this matter they would no longer ſuffer mine excuſations, but either I ſhould conſent to them, or I ſhoulde euer beare their indignation, yea, theyr curſe (as they ſayde.) Then I ſeeing this, prayd them that they would geue me licence for to go to them that were named wiſe Prieſtes, and of vertuous conuerſation to haue theyr counſell, and to know of them the office & the charge of Prieſthood. And hereto, my father and my mother cōſented full gladly, & gaue me their bleſſing & good leaue to go, and alſo mony to ſpend in this iourny. And ſo that I wēt to thoſe Prieſtes whom I heard to be of beſt name, and of moſt holy liuing, and beſt learned, & moſt wiſe of heauenly wiſedome: and ſo I communed with them vnto the time that I perceiued by their vertuous and cōtinuall occupations, that their honeſt and charitable workes paſſed theyr fame which I heard before of them.

Wherfore Syr, by the example of the doctrine of them: and ſpecially for the godly and innocent workes whiche I perceiued then of them, and in them: After my cunning and power, I haue exerciſed me then and in this time, to know perfectly gods law, hauing a will and deſire to liue therafter, which willeth that all men and women ſhould exerciſe themſelues faythfully there about. If than Syr, either for pleaſure of thē that are neither ſo wiſe nor of ſo vertuous conuerſation to my knowledge, nor by cōmon fame to any other mens knowledge in this land, as theſe men were of whom I tooke my counſell & information: I ſhould now forſake thus ſodenly and ſhortly, and vnwarned, all ỷ learning that I haue exerciſed my ſelfe in this xxx. winter and more, my cōſcience ſhould euer be herewith out of meaſure vnquieted: and as Syr I know wel, that many mē & women ſhould be there through greatly troubled & ſclaundered: And as I ſayd ſir, to you before, for mine vntruth and falſe cowardnes, many a one ſhould be put into full great reproofe, yea ſir, I dread that many one (as they might thē iuſtly) would curſe me full bitterly: and ſir I feare not, but the curſe of God, which I ſhoulde deſerue herein, woulde bring me to a full euil end, if I continued thus. And if thorow remorſe of conſcience I repented me any time, returning into the way, which you do your diligēce to cōſtraine me now to forſake: yea ſir, all the biſhops of this lād, with full many other Prieſts, would defame, me, and purſue me as a relapſe: & they ỷ nowe haue (though I be vnworthy) ſome confidence in me, hereafter woulde neuer truſt to me, though I could teach & liue neuer ſo vertuouſly, more then I can or may. For if after your coūſell I left vtterly all my learning, I ſhould hereby firſt wound & defile mine owne ſoule, and alſo I ſhould here through, geue occaſiō to many men and womē of full ſore hurting, yea ſir as it is likely to me, if I cōſented to your will: I ſhould herin by mine euill example in it, as farre as in me were, ſlea many folke ghoſtly, ỷ I ſhould neuer deſerue for to haue grace of god, to the edifying of his church, neither of my ſelf, nor of none other mans life, and vndone both before God and man.

But ſir, by exāple chiefly of ſome whoſe names I will not now rehearſe, of H. of I. P. and B. and alſo by the preſent doing of Philip Rampingtō, ỷ is now become B. of Lincolne: I am now learned (as many moe hereafter through Gods grace ſhalbe learned) to hate & to flee all ſuch ſclaunder that theſe foreſayd men chiefly haue defiled, principally themſelues with. And in it that in them is, they haue enuenimed all the church of God, for the ſclaūderous reuoking at the croſſe of Paules, of H. P. and of B. and how now Philip Rampingtō purſueth Chriſtes people. And the faining that theſe men diſſemble by worldly prudence, keeping thē cowardly in theyr preaching and communing within the bondes and termes (which without blame may be ſpoken

Phillip Repington made biſh. and a perſecutor.

and ſhewed out to the moſt worldly liuers) wil not be vnpuniſhed of God. For to yͤ poynt of truth yͤ theſe mē ſhewed out ſometime, they will not now ſtretch forth their liues. But by example, each one of them as theyr wordes and their workes ſhew, buſy them through their fayning, for to ſclaunder and to purſue Chriſt in his members, rather thē they will be purſued.

¶ And the Archbiſhop ſayd to me: Theſe men the which thou ſpeakeſt of now, were fooles and herretickes, whē they were counted wiſe men of thee and other ſuch loſels. But now they are wiſe men, though thou and ſuch other deme them vnwiſe. Neuertheleſſe I wiſt neuer none that right ſayd, that any while were enuenimed with your contagiouſnes, that is, contaminated and ſpotted doctrine.

Happy be they that continue to the ende.

☞ And I ſayd to the Archbiſhop: Syr, I thinke well that theſe mē & ſuch other are now wiſe as to this world: But as theyr wordes ſounded ſometime, and their workes ſhewed outwardly, it was like to moue me that they had earneſt of the wiſedome of God, & that they ſhould haue deſerued mikle grace of God, to haue ſaued their owne ſoules & many other mens, if they had continued faythfully in wilfull pouerty, & in other ſimple vertuous liuing: and ſpecially if they had with theſe foreſaid vertues continued in their buſie fruitful ſowing of Gods word: as to many mēs knowledge they occupyed them a ſeaſon in all their wits, ful buſily to know the pleaſaunt will of God, trauelling all their members full buſily for to do thereafter, purely and chiefly to the prayſing of the moſt holy name of god, and for grace of edification and ſaluation of Chriſten people. But woe worth falſe couetiſe, and euill counſell and tyranny, by which they and many men and womē are led blindly into an euill end.

Wo worth falſe couetiſe.

¶ Then the Archbiſhop ſayde to me: Thou and ſuch other Loſels of thy ſect, would ſhaue your beardes full neare for to haue a benefice. For by Ieſu, I know none more couetous ſhrewes then ye are, whē that ye haue a benefice. For loe, I gaue to Iohn Puruay a benefice but a mile out of this Caſtle, and I heard more complaints about his couetouſnes for tithes and other miſdoinges, then I did of all men that were aduaunced within my dioces.

pitie of these prelates cannot weare: Couetouſnes ioyned with popiſh

☞ And I ſayde to the Archbiſhop: Sir, Puruay is neither with you now for the benefice that ye gaue him, nor he holdeth faythfully with the learning that he taught and writ before time: and thus he ſheweth himſelfe neither to be hot nor colde, and therfore he and his felowes, may ſore dread, that if they turne not haſtily to the way that they haue forſaken: peraduēture they be put out of the number of Chriſtes choſen people.

¶ And the Archbiſhop ſayde: Though Puruay be now a falſe harlot, I quite me to him: But come he more for ſuche cauſe before me (or we part) I ſhall know with whom he holdeth. But I ſay to thee: which are theſe holy men and wiſe, of whom thou haſt taken thine information?

A worthy commendation of M. Iohn Wickliffe.

☞ And I ſayd: Syr, Maiſter Iohn Wickliffe was holden of full many men, the greateſt clearke that they knew then liuing, and therwith he was named a paſſing ruely man & an innocent in his liuing: and herefore, great men communed oft with him, and they loued ſo his learning, that they writ it, & buſily inforced them to rule themſelues thereafter. Therfore ſir, this foreſayd learning of M. Iohn Wickliffe, is yet holden of full many men and women, the moſt agreable learning vnto the liuing and teaching of Chriſt & of his Apoſtles, and moſt opēly ſhewing & declaring how the church of Chriſt hath bene and yet ſhould be ruled and gouerned. Therfore, ſo many men and women couet thys learning and purpoſe, through Gods grace, to cōforme their liuing like to this learning of Wickliff. M. Iohn Aſton taught & writ accordingly, and full buſily, where and when, and to whom that he might, and he vſed it himſelfe right perfectly vnto his liues end. And alſo Philip of Rāpington while he was a Canō of Leceſter. Nicholas Hereford, Dauy Gotray of Pakring Monke of Byland and a Maiſter of Diuinitye, and Iohn Puruay and many other which were holden right wiſe men & prudent, taught and writ buſily this foreſayd learning, & cōformed them thereto. And with all theſe men, I was oft right homely & communed with them long time and oft: and ſo before al other men I choſe willingly to be informed of them and by thē, and ſpecially of Wickliffe himſelfe, as of the moſt vertuous and godly wiſe man that I heard of or knew. And therfore of him ſpecially and of theſe men I toke the learning that I haue taught: and purpoſe to liue thereafter (if God wil) to my liues end. For though ſome of thoſe mē be contrary to the learning that they taught before, I wote well that their learning was true which they taught: and therefore with the helpe of God I purpoſe to hold and to vſe yͤ learnyng which I heard of them, while they ſate on Moyſes chayre, & ſpecially while that they ſat on yͤ chayre of Chriſt. But after yͤ workes that they now do, I will not doe with Gods helpe. For they feyne, and hide, & contrary yͤ trueth, which before they taught out playnely and truly. For as I know well, when ſome of thoſe men haue bene blamed for their ſlaunderous doyng: they graunt not that they haue taught amiſſe or erred before time, but that they were conſtrayned by payne to leaue to tell out the ſoth, & thus they chuſe now rather to blaſpheme God, then to ſuffer a while here perſecution bodely, for ſothfaſtneſſe that Chriſt ſhedde out his hart bloud for.

M. Iohn Aſton. Phil. Ramington, Nic. Herford, Dauy Gotray, I. Puruay.

¶ And the Archbiſhop ſayd: That learning that thou calleſt truth and ſothfaſtnes, is open ſlaunder to holy church, as it is proued of holy Church. For albeit, that Wickleffe your author was a great clerke, and though that many mē held him a perfect liuer: yet his doctrine is not approued of holy church, but many ſentences of his learning are damned as they well worthy are. But as touching Philip of Rampington, that was firſt Chanon, and after Abbot of Leiceſter, which is now Biſhop of Lincolne: I tell thee, that the day is commē, for which he faſt the euen. For neither he holdeth nowe, nor will holde, the learning that hee taught, when he was a Canon of Leiceſter. For no byſhop of this land purſueth nowe more ſharpely them that holde thy way, then he doth.

The teſtimony for Wickliffe, out of the mouth of his own aduerſary.

Many ſuch vigils haue our popiſh kalenders.

☞ And I ſayd: Sir full many men and women wondereth vpō him, and ſpeaketh him mikle ſhame, and holdeth him for a curſed enemy of the truth.

Repington became a perſecuter, after he was made byſhop.

¶ And the Archbiſh. ſayd to me: wherfore taryeſt thou me thus here with ſuche fables, wilt thou ſhortly (as I haue ſayd to thee) ſubmit thee to me or no?

☞ And I ſayd: Sir I tell you at one word, I dare not for the dread of God ſubmit me to you, after the tenour & ſentence that ye haue aboue rehearſed to me.

And thus as if he had bene wroth, he ſayd to one of his clerkes. Fetch hether quickly, the certification that came to me frō Shrewſbury vnder the Bailiefes ſeale witneſſing the errors and hereſyes, which this Loſel hath venimouſly ſowne there.

Then haſtely the clarke toke out and layde forth on a cupbord, diuers rolles and writinges, among which there was a litle one, which the clarke deliuered to the Archbyſhop. And by and by the Archbiſhop read this roll conteyning this ſentence.

The third ſonday after Eaſter, the yeare of our Lorde 1407. William Thorpe came vnto the towne of Shrewſbury, and thorow leaue graunted vnto him to preache: He ſayd openly in S. Chaddes church in his ſermon, that the ſacrament of the aulter, after the conſecration, was materiall bread. And that images, ſhould in no wiſe be worſhipped. And that mē ſhould not go on pilgrimages. And that prieſtes haue no title to tithes. And that it is not lawful for to ſweare in any wiſe.

The ſacrament after conſecration materiall bread.

Articles obiected againſt William Thorpe,

¶ And when the Archbiſhop had red thus this roll, he rolled it vp agayne, and ſayd to me. Is this wholeſome learning to be among the people?

Holeſome enough for mans ſoule though not for your kitchyn.

☞ And I ſayd to him: Sir I am both aſhamed on theyr behalf, and right ſorowful for them that haue certified you theſe thinges thus vntruelye: for I preached neuer, nor taught thus priuily nor apertly.

¶ And the Archbiſhop ſayd to me, I will geue credence to theſe worſhipfull men which haue written to me, and witneſſed vnder theyr ſeales there amōg them. Though now thou denyeſt this, weeneſt thou that I will geue credence to thee? Thou Loſell, haſt troubled the worſhipfull communalty of Shrewſbury, ſo that the Baliffes and communalty of that towne haue writtē to me, praying me that am Archbiſhop of Cant. primate and Chancellor of England, that I will vouchſafe to graunt them: that if thou ſhalt be made (as thou art worthy) to ſuffer open iourneſſe for thine hereſies, that thou may haue thy iourneſſe openlye there among them: So that all they whome thou and ſuche other Loſels haue there peruerted, may thorow feare of thy deed be reconciled agayne to the vnity of holy Church. And alſo they that ſtand in true fayth of holy Church, may thorow thy deed be more eſtabliſhed therein. And as if this aſking well pleaſed yͤ Archbiſhop, he ſayd. By my thrift, this harty prayer, and feruent requeſt, ſhall be thought on.

O Shreueſbury, thou haſt a cauſe to repēt thee, in that thou wouldeſt not receiue the truth whē it was offered thee

The Romiſh church muſt be ſtabliſhed, by perſecuting of true preachers.

But certaynely, nother yͤ prayer of the men of Shrewſbury, nor the manaſſing of the Archbiſhoppe made me any thing afrayd. But in rehearſing of this malice, and in the hearing of it, my hart greatly reioyſed, & yet doth. I thank God for the grace, that I then thought, and yet think ſhall come to all the Church of God here thorow, by the ſpeciall mercifull doing of the Lord. And as hauing no dread of the malice of tyrantes, by truſting ſtedfaſtly in the helpe of the Lord, with full purpoſe for to knowledge the ſothfaſtnes,

A ſure truſt in Gods truth, cōfoundeth the malice of tyrantes.

and

If the touchſtone might try: truth ſhould be knowne.

The deſcription of the right Chriſtians in Shreuesbury.

The Catholikes of Shreuesbury.

Shreusbury, except thou turne frõ thy wicked wayes, thou canſtnot receiue the trueth.

and to ſtand therby after my cunning and power: I ſaid to the Archbiſhop, Sir if the truth of Gods word might now be accepted as it ſhould be, I doubt not to proue by likely euidence, that they that are famed to be out of the fayth of holy Church in Shrewſbury, & in other places alſo, are in the true fayth of holy Church. For as theyr wordes ſound, and theyr workes ſhew to mans iudgement (dreading and louing faythfully God) theyr will, their deſire, ther loue & theyr buſines are moſt ſet to dread, to offend God, & to loue for to pleaſe him in true & faythfull keeping of his cõmaũdementes. And agayne, they that are ſayd to be in the faith of holy Church in Shrewſbury & in other places, by open euidence of their proud, enuious, malicious, couetous, lecherous, and other foule wordes & workes: neither know, nor haue wil to know, nor to occupy their wits truely and effectuouſly in the right fayth of holy Church. Wherefore all theſe, nor none that folow theyr maners, ſhall any time come verely in the fayth of holy church, except they inforce them more truely to come in the way which now they deſpiſe. For theſe men and women that are now called faithfull and holden iuſt, nother know, nor will exerciſe thẽſelfe to know (of faythfulnes) one commaundement of God.

And thus full many men and womẽ now, and ſpecially mẽ that are named to be principall lims of holy church, ſtyrre God to great wrath, & deſerue his curſe for that they call or hold them iuſt mẽ, which are full vniuſt, as their vicious wordes, their great cuſtomable ſwearing, and theyr ſlaunderous and ſhamefull works ſhew openly and witnes. And therfore, ſuch vicious men & vniuſt in theyr own confuſion, call them vniuſt men & womẽ, which after their power and cunning buſy themſelues to liue iuſtly after the cõmaundement of God. And where ſir ye ſay, that I haue diſtroubled the cõminalty of Shrewſbury, & many other men and women with my teaching: If it this be, it is not to be wondred of wiſe men, ſince all the communalty of ẏ City of Ieruſalem was diſtroubled of Chriſtes own perſon, that was very God and man, and moſt prudent preacher that euer was or ſhalbe. And alſo all the Sinagoge of Nazareth was moued agaynſt Chriſt, & ſo fulfilled with ire towards him for his preaching, that the men of the Sinagoge roſe vp and caſt Chriſt out of theyr City, & led him vp to the top of a moũtayn for to caſt him down there headling. Alſo accordingly hereto, the Lord witneſſeth by Moiſes, that he ſhall put diſſention betwixt his people, and the people that cõtrarieth and purſueth his people. Who ſir is he, that ſhall preach the truth of Gods word to the vnfaithfull people, and ſhall let the ſothfaſtnes of the Goſpell, and the prophecy of God almighty to be fulfilled?

Ieruſalem troubled by the preaching of Chriſt.

¶And the Archbiſhop ſayd to me. It foloweth of theſe thy wordes, that thou and ſuch other thinkeſt: that ye do right well for to preach and teach as ye do, without authority of any Biſhop. For ye preſume, that the Lord hath choſẽ you onely for to preach, as faythful diſciples and ſpeciall folowers of Chriſt.

The worde of God ought truly to be preached.

☞And I ſayd: Syr by authority of Gods law and alſo of Payntes and Doctors I am learned to deme, that it is euery Prieſtes office and duty for to preach buſilye, freely & truely the word of God. For no doubt euery Prieſt ſhould purpoſe firſt in his ſoule, & couet to take the order of prieſthood chiefly for to make knowne to the people the word of God, after his cunning and power: approuing his words euer to be true by his vertuous works, and for this intent we ſuppoſe that Biſhops & other Prelates of holy church, ſhould chiefly take and vſe their prelacye, and for the ſame cauſe Biſhops ſhould geue to Prieſtes their orders. For Biſhops ſhould accept no man to Prieſthood, except that he had good wil and ful purpoſe, & were wel diſpoſed, and wel learned to preach. Wherfore ſir, by ẏ bidding of Chriſt, & by the example of his moſt holy liuing, & alſo by the witneſſing of his holy Apoſtles and Prophets, we are bounde vnder full great payn, to exerciſe vs after our cunning and power (as euery Prieſt is likewiſe charged of God) to fulfil duely the office of prieſthood. We preſume not here of our ſelues for to be eſtemed (neither in our owne reputatiõ nor in none other mãs) faythful diſciples, & ſpecial folowers of Chriſt. But ſir, as I ſayde to you before, we deeme this by authority chiefly of Gods word, that it is the chief duety of euery prieſt, to buſy thẽ faythfully to make the law of God knowne to his people, & ſo to commune the cõmaũdement of God charitably, how that we may beſt, where, whẽ, and to whom that euer we may, is our very duety. And for the will & buſines that we owe of due debt to do iuſtly our office through the ſtyrring and ſpeciall helpe (as we truſt) of God, hoping ſtedfaſtly in his mercy: we deſire to be ẏ faythfull diſciples of Chriſt, and we pray this gracious Lord for his holy name, that he make vs able to pleaſe him with deuout prayers, & charitably Prieſtly works, that we may obtaine of him to folow him thankefully.

If this leſſon had bene well folowed, the world had not bene brought to ſuch darknes by blind & dumme prieſtes.

An effectuous prayer, God graunt in all miniſters.

Why hee preached without the byſhops licence.

¶And the Archbiſhop ſayd to me: Lewd loſell, whereto makeſt thou ſuch vayne reaſons to me? Asketh not Saynt Paule, how ſhoulde Prieſtes preache, except they be ſent? But I ſent thee neuer to preache. For thy venemous doctrine is ſo knowne throughout England, that no Biſhop will admitte thee to preache by witneſſing of theyr letters. Why thẽ lewd Idiot, willeſt thou preſume to preach, ſince thou art not ſent nor licenſed of thy ſoueraigne to preache. Sayth not S. Paul, that ſubiects ough to obey theyr ſoueraignes, and not onely good & vertuous: but alſo tiraunts that are vicious?

He anſwereth to the queſtion cõcerning the letter of licence.

☞And I ſayd to the Archbiſhop: Sir, as touching your letter of licence or other Biſhops, which ye ſay we ſhoulde haue to witnes that we were able to be ſent for to preache: we know wel that neither you ſir, nor any other biſhop of this land, wil graũt to vs any ſuch letters of licence, but if we ſhould oblige vs to you, and to other biſhops by vnlefull othes, for to paſſe not the bondes and termes which ye ſir, or other biſhops will limit to vs. And ſince in this matter your termes be ſome to large, & ſome to ſtrait: we dare not oblige vs thus to bee bounden to you for to keepe the termes, which you will limit to vs, as you do to Friers, & ſuch other Preachers. And therefore, though we haue not your letter ſir, nor letters of any other biſhops writtẽ with inke vpon parchmẽt: we dare not therfore leaue ẏ office of preaching (to which preaching, all Prieſts after their cunning and power are boũd: by diuers teſtimonies of Gods law, and great Doctors) without any mention making of Biſhops letters. For as mikle as we haue taken vpon vs the office of Prieſthood (though we are vnworthy thereto) we come and purpoſe to fulfill it with the helpe of God, by authority of his own law, and by witneſſe of great doctors and Sayntes, accordingly hereto truſting ſtedfaſtly in the mercy of God. For that he commaũdeth vs to do the office of Prieſthood, he will be our ſufficient letters and witnes, if we by example of his holy liuing and teaching, ſpecially occupy vs faythfully to do our office iuſtly: yea ẏ people to whom we preach (be they faythfull or vnfaythfull) ſhall be our letters, that is our witneſſe bearers: for ẏ truth where it is ſowne, may not be vnwitneſſed. For all ẏ are conuerted & ſaued by learning of Gods word, & by working there after: are witnes bearers: that the trueth and ſothfaſtneſſe which they heard and did after, is cauſe of theyr ſaluation. And agayne, all vnfaythfull men and women which heard the truth told out to them, and would not do therafter: alſo all they that might haue heard the truth, & would not hear it, becauſe that they would not do therafter.

The inconueniences of ſeeking of the biſhops letter or lycence.

The witnes of the preachers, is the good life of the folowers.

All theſe ſhall beare witnes agaynſt themſelues, & the truth which they woulde not heare, or els heard it & deſpiſed to do therafter, through theyr vnfaythfulnes, is & ſhalbe cauſe of theyr damnation. Therfore ſir, ſince this aforeſayd witneſſing of God, and of diuers Saynts and Doctors, & of al the people good & euill, ſuffiſeth to al true preachers: we thinke that we doe not the office of Prieſthood, if that we leaue our preaching, becauſe that we haue not, or may not haue duely Biſhops letters, to witneſſe that we are ſent of them to preach. This ſentence approueth Saint Paul, where he ſpeaketh of himſelfe, & of faithfull Apoſtles and diſciples ſaying thus. We need no letters of commendatiõ as ſome preachers do, which preach for couetouſneſſe of temporall goods, and for mens prayſing. And where ye ſay Syr, that Paule biddeth ſubiectes obey theyr ſoueraignes, that is ſoth, and may not be denied. But there is two maner of ſoueraignes, vertuous ſoueraignes and vicious tyraunts. Therfore, to theſe laſt ſoueraignes, neither mẽ nor womẽ that be ſubiect, owe to obey in two maners. To vertuous ſoueraignes & charitable, ſubiectes owe to obey wilfully and gladly, in hearing of their good counſel, in cõſenting to their charitable biddinges, and in working after their fruitfull workes.

Two maner of ſoueraignes.

He meaneth prelates that be vnuertuous.

This ſentence Paul approueth where he ſayth to ſubiectes. Be ye mindefull of your ſoueraignes, that ſpeake to you the word of God, & follow you the fayth of thẽ, whoſe cõuerſation you know to be vertuous. For as Paul ſayth, after theſe ſoueraignes, to whom ſubiectes owe to obey in following of the maners: worke beſely in holy ſtudying, how they may withſtand and deſtroy vices, firſt in thẽſelues, and after in all their ſubiectes, and how they may beſt plãt in them vertues. Alſo theſe ſoueraignes, make deuout and feruẽt prayers for to purchaſe grace of God, that they and their ſubiects may ouer all thing, dread to offend hym, and to loue for to pleaſe him. Alſo theſe ſoueraigns to whõ Paul biddeth vs obey, as it is ſaid before, liue ſo vertuouſly: that all they that will liue well, may take of them good example, to know & to keep the cõmaundements of God. But in this foreſayd wiſe, ſubiectes ought not to obey nor

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Two maner of obeying: 1. In folowing their doinges and examples. 2. In ſuffering their wronges.

to be obedient to tyrantes, while they are vitious tyrants, ſince their will, their counſell, their biddinges, and theyr workes are ſo vitious, that they ought to be hated & lefte. And though ſuch tyrantes be maiſterfull and cruel in boaſting and manaſing, in oppreſſions & diuers puniſhinges: S. Peter biddeth the ſeruauntes of ſuch tyrauntes, to obey meekely ſuch tyrantes, ſufferinges paciently their malitious cruelnes. But Peter counſelleth not any ſeruaunt or ſubiect, to obey to any Lord or Prince, or ſoueraign in any thing that is not pleaſing to God.

Wicked rulers are not to be folowed in euill.

¶ And the Archbiſhop ſayd vnto me. If a ſoueraigne byd his ſubiect do that thing that is vitious, this ſouerayne herein is to blame: but the ſubiect for his obedience, deſerueth meede of God. For obedience pleaſeth more to God, than any ſacrifice.

Well reaſoned my lord and lyke a Clarke.

☞ And I ſayd. Samuell the Prophet ſayd to Saule the wicked king, that God was more pleaſed with ẏ obediẽce of his commaundement, then with any ſacrifice of beaſtes. But Dauid ſaith, and S. Paule, and S. Gregory accordingly together, that not onely they that do euill, are worthy of death and damnation: but alſo they that cõſent to euill doers. And ſir, the law of holy Church teacheth in the decrees, that no ſeruant to his Lord, nor childe to the father or mother, nor wife to her huſband, nor monke to his Abbot, ought to obey, except in lefull things, and lawfull.

Obedience not to be geuen, but in things lefull and lawfull.

¶ And the Archbiſhop ſaid to me. All theſe alledgings that thou bringeſt forth, are not els but proude preſumptuouſneſſe. For hereby thou inforceſt thee to proue, that thou and ſuch other are ſo iuſt, that ye ought not to obey to Prelats. And thus againſt the learnyng of S. Paule that teacheth you not to preach, but if ye were ſent: of your owne authoritie, ye will go forth and preach, and do what ye liſt.

All is preſumption that ſtãdeth againſt your maiſterfull ambition.

☞ And I ſaide. Syr, preſenteth not euery Prieſt the office of the Apoſtles, or the office of the diſciples of Chriſt? And the Archbiſhop ſayd, yea.

Prieſtes in that they take prieſthood, they are ſent to preach.

Math. 10. Marke vlt. Luke 10.

And I ſayde. Syr, as the x. chapt. of Mathew, and the laſt chapter of Marke witneſſeth: Chriſt ſent his Apoſtles for to preach. And the x. chapter of Luke witneſſeth, that Chriſt ſent his two and ſeuẽty diſciples for to preach, in euery place that Chriſt was to come to. And S. Gregorie in the cõmon law ſaith, that euery man that goeth to prieſthoode, taketh vpon him the office of preaching: For as hee ſayth, that Prieſt ſtirreth God to great wrath, of whoſe mouth is not heard the voyce of preaching. And as other more gloſes vpon Ezechiell, witneſſe: that the Prieſte that preacheth not buſilye to the people, ſhall be partaker of their damnation that periſh through his default. And though the people be ſaued by other ſpeciall grace of God then by the Prieſtes preaching, yet the Prieſts, in that they are ordeined to preach, and preach not, as before God, they are manſlears. For as farre as in them is, ſuch Prieſts as preach not buſily and truely, ſleyeth all the people ghoſtly: in that they withholde from them the word of God, that is life and ſuſtenaunce of mens ſoules. And Saynt Iſydore ſayd, Prieſtes ſhall be damned, for wickedneſſe of the people, if they teach not them that are ignoraunt, or blame not them that are ſinners. For all the worke or buſineſſe of Prieſtes, ſtandeth in preaching and teaching, that they edify all men, as well by cunning of fayth, as by diſcipline of workes, that is vertuous teaching. And as the Goſpell witneſſeth: Chriſt ſayd in his teaching. I am borne & comẽ into this world, to beare witneſſe to the truth, and he that is of the truth, heareth my voyce.

The office of prieſthood, is the office of preaching.

Prieſts that preach not, be ſlayers of the people. *Iſidorus.*

Doctrine of fayth. Diſcipline of workes.

Then Sir, ſince by the word of Chriſt ſpecially, that is his voyce, Prieſtes are commaunded to preache: whatſoeuer prieſt that it be, that hath not good wil and full purpoſe to doe thus, and ableth not himſelfe after his cunning and power to doe his office by the example of Chriſt and of hys Apoſtles: whatſoeuer other thing that he doth diſpleaſeth God. For loe, S. Gregory ſayth, that thing left, that a man is bound chiefly to do, whatſoeuer other thing that a man doth: it is vnthankfull to the holy ghoſt: and therfore ſayth Lincolne. The Prieſt that preacheth not the word of God, though he be ſeene to haue none other defaulte, he is Antichriſt and Sathanas, a night theefe, and a day theefe, a ſleyer of ſoules, and an aungel of light turned into darckenes. Wherefore Syr, theſe authoritye and other well conſidered, I deme my ſelfe damnable, if I either for pleaſure or diſpleaſure of any creature, apply me not diligẽtly to prech the word of God. And in the ſame damnation I deeme all thoſe Prieſtes, which of good purpoſe and will, enforce thẽ not buſily to do thus, & alſo all them that haue purpoſe or will to let any Prieſt of this buſines.

Prieſts not onely ſent to preach, but cõmanded to preach.

Gregorius. Lincolnienſis.

Whatſoeuer a man doth leauing that vndone which hee is chiefly bound to do, is ſinne.

¶ And the Archbiſhop ſayde to thoſe 3. Clerkes that ſtoode before him. Lo Syrs, this is the maner and buſines of this Loſell and ſuch other, to picke out ſuch ſharpe ſentences of holy Scripture and Doctours, to mayntayne theyr ſect & lore agaynſt the ordinaunce of holy Church. And therefore Loſell, it is thou that coueteſt to haue agayne the Pſalter that I made to be taken frõ thee at Caunterbury, to record ſharpe verſes agaynſt vs. But thou ſhalt neuer haue that Pſalter, nor none other booke, till that I know ẏ thy hart & thy mouth accord fully, to be gouerned by holy Church.

Yet this byſhop plucketh him not by the beard, nor burneth not of his hand, as Boner did.

Holychurch

☞ And I ſayd: Syr, all my will and power is, & euer ſhal be (I truſt to God) to be gouerned by holy Church.

2. Partes of the Church.

¶ And the Archbiſhop aſked me, what was holy Church.

☞ And I ſayd: Syr, I tolde you before, what was holye Church. But ſince ye aſke me this demaund: I call Chriſt and his Saintes holy Church.

¶ And the Archbiſhoppe ſayd vnto me. I wote well that Chriſt and his Saintes are holy Churche in heauen, but what is holy Church in earth?

☞ And I ſayd: Syr, though holy Churche be euery one in charity, yet it hath two partes. The firſt and pricipall part, hath ouercomen perfectly all the wretchedneſſe of this life, and raigneth ioyfully in heauen with Chriſt. And the other part is here yet in earth, buſily & continually fighting day and night agaynſt temptations of the fiend: forſaking and hating the proſperity of this world, diſpiſing and withſtãding theyr fleſhly luſtes, which onely are the pilgrimes of Chriſt, wandring toward heauen by ſtedfaſt fayth & groũded hope, and by perfect charity. For theſe heauenly pilgrimes, may not, nor will not, be letted of their good purpoſe, by the reaſõ of any doctors diſcording from holy ſcripture, nor by the floudes of any tribulation temporall, nor by the wind of any pride, of boaſt, or of manaſing of any creature: For they are all faſt grounded vpon the ſure ſtone Chriſt, hearing his word and louing it, exerciſing them faithfully and continually in all their wittes to do therafter.

And the Archbiſhop ſayd to his Clerkes. See ye not how his hart is indurate, and how he is trauelled with the deuill occupying him thus buſily to alledge ſuch ſentences to mayntaine his errours and hereſies? Certayne, thus he would occupy vs here all day, if we would ſuffer him.

One of the clerkes aunſwered, Sir, he ſayd right now that this certification that came to you from Shrewſbury, is vntruely forged agaynſt him. Therefore ſir, appoſe you him now, we heare in all ẏ points which are certified againſt him, & ſo we ſhall heare of his own mouth his anſweres, and witneſſe them.

Well helpt forward M. Clark.

And the Archb. took the certification in his hand, & looked theron a while, and then he ſayd to me.

Loe here it is certified againſt thee by worthy men and faithfull of Shrewſbury, that thou preachedſt there openly in S. Chads church: that the Sacramẽt of the aultar was material bread after the conſecratiõ, what ſayſt thou? was this truely preached?

The foreſayd articles renued againſt Thorpe.

☞ And I ſayd: Sir, I tell you truly ẏ I touched nothing therof the ſacrament of ẏ aultar, but in this wiſe, as I will with Gods grace tel you here. As I ſtood there in the pulpit, buſiyng me to teach the commaundemẽt of God: there knilled a ſacring bel, & therfore mickle people turned away haſtily, and with noyſe ran fro towardes me. And I ſeing this, ſayd to them thus: Good men ye were better to ſtand here ſtill and to heare Gods word. For certes the vertue & the mede of the moſt holy Sacrament of the aultar ſtãdeth mikle more in the beliefe therof ẏ ye ought to haue in your ſoule, thẽ it doth in the outward ſight therof. And therfore, ye were better to ſtand ſtill quietly to heare gods word, becauſe that through ẏ hearing therof, mẽ come to very true belief. And otherwiſe ſir, I am certaine I ſpake not there, of the worthy ſacrament of the aultar.

The vertue of the ſacrament ſtandeth in the beliefe, more then in the outward ſigne.

¶ And the Archb. ſayd to me: I beleeue thee not whatſoeuer thou ſayſt, ſince ſo worſhipful mẽ haue witneſſed thus agaynſt thee. But ſince thou denieſt that thou ſayedſt thus there, what ſayſt thou now? Reſteth there after the conſecration in the hoſt, materiall bread or no?

Material bread.

☞ And I ſayd: ſir I know in no place in holy Scripture where this terme materiall bread is written: and therfore ſir, whẽ I ſpeak of this matter, I vſe not to ſpeake of materiall bread.

¶ Then the Archb. ſayd to me: How teacheſt thou men to beleue in this ſacrament?

☞ And I ſayd: Syr, as I beleeue my ſelfe, ſo I teach other men.

¶ He ſayd, tell out playnely thy beliefe thereof.

☞ And I ſayd with my proteſtation: Sir, I beleeue that the night before that Chriſt Ieſu woulde ſuffer (wilfully) paſſiõ for mankind on the morne after: he took bread in his holy and moſt worſhipfull hands, lifting vp his eyes, and giuyng thankes to God his father, bleſſed this bread and brake it, and gaue it to his diſciples, ſaying to them: Take and eate of this all you, this is my body. And that this is & ought to be all mens beliefe, Mathew, Marke, Luke and

Paule witneſſeth. Other beliefe Sir I haue none, nor wil haue, nor teach: for I beleue, that this ſuffiſeth in this matter. For in this beliefe with Gods grace I purpoſe to liue and dye, knowledging as I beleue and teach other men to beleue that the worſhipfull Sacrament of the aultar, is the Sacrament of Chriſtes fleſh and his bloud, in forme of bread and of wine.

¶ And the Archb. ſayd to me. It is ſooth that this Sacrament is very Chriſtes body in forme of bread. But thou & thy ſect teacheſt it to be ſubſtance of bread. Thinke you this true teaching?

☞ And I ſayd: Neither I, nor any other of the ſect that ye damne, teach any otherwiſe then I haue tolde you, nor beleue otherwiſe to my knowing. Neuertheles ſir, I aſke of you for charity, that ye will tell me here playnly, how ye ſhall vnderſtand the text of Saint Paule, where he ſayth thus: This thing fele you in your ſelf that is in Chriſt Ieſu, while he was in the forme of god. Sir, calleth not Paul here the forme of God, the ſubſtance or kinde of God? Alſo ſir, ſayth not the church in the houres of ẏ moſt bleſſed virgin accordingly hereto, where it is writtē thus: Thou author of health remember, that ſometime thou tooke of ẏ vndefiled virgine, the forme of our body. Tell me for charitye therefore, whether the forme of our body, be called here the kinde of our body or no?

The papiſtes haue none other defence for thē but onely the Church.

¶ And the Archb. ſayde to me: wouldeſt thou make me to declare this text after thy purpoſe, ſince the Church nowe hath determined: that there abideth no ſubſtaunce of bread after the conſecration, in the ſacrament of the aultar? Beleueſt thou not this ordinaunce of the church?

Euery ordinance of Churchmen byndeth not our fayth.

☞ And I ſayd: Sir, whatſoeuer Prelates haue ordeyned in the Church, our beliefe ſtandeth euer whole. I haue not heard, that the ordinaunce of men vnder beliefe, ſhould bee put into beliefe.

¶ And the Archb. ſayd to me: If thou haſt not learned this before, learne now to know that thou art out of beliefe. If in this matter and other, thou beleaueſt not as the holye Church beleueth. What ſay Doctors treating of this Sacrament?

The greateſt Doctors of the church be Apoſtles.

S. Paule calleth it bread.

The Canō of the maſſe calleth it bread.

☞ And I ſayd: Sir, S. Paule that was a great Doctor of holy Church, ſpeaking to the people, and teaching thē in ẏ right belief of this moſt holy Sacrament: calleth it bread ẏ we breake. And alſo in the Canon of the maſſe after the cōſecratiō: this moſt worthy Sacramēt is called holy bread. And euery prieſt in this lād, after that he hath receiued this ſacrament, ſayth in this wiſe: That thing that we haue taken with our mouth, we pray God that we may take it wt a pure and clean mind. That is as I vnderſtand, we pray God that we may receiue throw very beliefe, this holy ſacrament worthely. And Sir, Saint Auguſtine ſayth: that thing that is ſeene, is bread: but that mens fayth aſketh to be informed of, is very Chriſtes body. And alſo, Fulgence an ententife Doctour, ſayth: As it were an errour to ſay that Chriſt was but a ſubſtaunce, that is very man, and not very GOD: or to ſay that Chriſt was very God, and not very man: ſo is it (this Doctour ſayth) an errour to ſay, that the Sacrament of the aultar is but a ſubſtaunce: And alſo Sir, accordingly hereto, in the ſecret of the midde Maſſe on Chriſtmas day, it is written thus: Idem refulſit Deus, ſic terrena ſubſtantia nobis conferat quod diuinum eſt: which ſentence ſir, with the ſecret of the fourth fery, quatuor temporum Septembris: I pray you ſir declare here openly in Engliſh.

S. Auſtē calleth it bread.

The ſecreat of the maſſe on Chriſtmas day, nameth it a terrene ſubſtaunce.

¶ And the Archbiſhop ſayd to me, I perceiue well enough where about thou art, and how the deuil blindeth thee, that thou may not vnderſtand the ordinaunce of holy Church, nor conſent therto. But I commaund thee now, aunſwere me ſhortly: Beleueſt thou that after the conſecratiō of this foreſayd Sacrament: there abideth ſubſtaunce of breade, or not?

My Lord can reuile apace he can declare but a little.

Choke him vp my Lord.

☞ And I ſayd: Sir, as I vnderſtand it is all one to graūt or beleue, that there dwelleth ſubſtance of bread, & to graūt and to beleue that this moſt worthy ſacrament of Chriſtes owne body is accidēt without ſubiect. But Sir, for as mikle as your aſking paſſeth my vnderſtanding, I dare neither deny it nor graūt it, for it is ſchole matter, about whiche I buſied me neuer for to know: & therfore I committe this terme accidens ſine ſubiecto, to thoſe Clerkes which delight them ſo in curious and ſubtle ſophiſtry, becauſe they determine oft ſo difficult and ſtraūge matters, & wade and wander ſo in them from argument to argument, wt pro & contra, till that they wot not where they are, & vnderſtand not thēſelues. But the ſhame that theſe proude Sophiſters haue to yelde them to men, and before men, maketh thē oft fooles and to be concluded ſhamefully before God.

To graunt the reall being of the body without bread, is as much as to graūt the accident to be without the ſubiect.

Againſt proud Sophiſters.

Templum domini.

Templum domini.

¶ And the archb. ſaid to me: I purpoſe not to oblige thee to the ſubtle arguments of clerks, ſince thou art vnable thereto: but I purpoſe to make thee obey to the determination of holy Church.

☞ And I ſayd: ſir, by open euidence and great witneſſe, a M. yeare after the incarnation of Chriſt, the determination which I haue here before you reherſed, was accept of holy Church as ſufficient to the ſaluation of all them that would beleue it faythfully, and worke thereafter charitably. But Sir, the determination of this matter whiche was brought in ſince the fiend was looſed by Frier Thomas agayne, ſpecially calling the moſt worſhipfull Sacramēt of Chriſtes owne body an accident without ſubiect: whiche terme, ſince I know not that Gods lawe approueth it in this matter, I dare not graūt, but vtterly I deny to make this Friers ſentence, or any ſuch other, my beliefe, do with me God what thou wilt.

The church ſtood ſound till the fiend broke loſe.

Tranſubſtantiation brought in by Fryer Tho. Aquin.

¶ And the Archb. ſayd to me: wel, wel, thou ſhalt ſay otherwiſe or that I leaue thee. But what ſayeſt thou to this ſecond point that is recorded agaynſt thee by worthy men of Shrewſbury, ſaying that thou preacheſt there, that Images ought not to be worſhipped in any wiſe.

It is happy he did not flye in his face as Bonner did.

The 2. point touching Images. Thorpe charged with an vntrueth.

☞ And I ſayd: Syr, I preached neuer thus, nor through gods grace I wil not any time conſent to think nor to ſay thus, neyther priuily nor apertly. For lo, the Lord witneſſeth by Moſes, that the thinges which he made were right good, and ſo then they were, and yet they are & ſhalbe good and worſhipfull in theyr kind. And therfore, to the end that God made them to, they are al praiſable and worſhipful, & ſpecially man that was made after the image & likeneſſe of God, is full worſhipfull in hys kinde, yea this holy image that is man, God worſhippeth. And herefore euery man ſhould worſhip other, in kinde, and alſo for heauenly vertues that mē vſe charitably. And alſo I ſay, wood, tin, gold ſiluer, or any other matter that images are made of: al theſe creatures are worſhipful in their kinde, and to the end that God made them for. But the caruing, caſting, & payntyng of an imagery, made within mans hād, albeit that this doyng be accept of man of higheſt ſtate and dignitie, & ordayned of them to be a Calender to leud men, that neyther can nor will be learned to know God in hys word, neyther by his creatures, nor by hys wonderfull & diuers workings: Yet this imagery ought not to be worſhipped in fourme, nor in the likenes of mans craft. Neuertheleſſe, that euery matter the paynters paynt with ſince it is Gods creature, ought to be worſhipped in the kinde, and to the ende that God made and ordayned it to ſerue man.

Man a worſhipfull image of God.

Though mē accept the painting of or caruing of images, yet is it not the right way to learn to ſerue God.

¶ Then the Archbiſhop ſayd to me, I graunt well that no body ought to doe worſhip to any ſuche images for themſelues. But a crucifixe ought to be worſhipped for the paſſion of Chriſt that is paynted therein, and ſo brought there through to mans mind: and thus the images of the bleſſed Trinitie, and of the Virgine Mary Chriſtes mother, and other images of ſayntes, ought to be worſhipped. For loe, earthly kinges and Lordes which vſe to ſend theyr letters enſealed with their armes, or with theyr priuy ſignet to them that are with them, are worſhipped of theſe men. For when theſe men receiue theyr Lordes letters, in whiche they ſee and know the willes and biddinges of the Lords in worſhip of theyr Lordes they doe off theyr caps to theſe letters. Why not then, ſince in Images made wyth mans hande, we may read and knowe many diuers thinges of GOD, and of hys Sayntes, ſhall we not worſhip their images?

The image of the Trinitie.

A ſimilitude of the kings ſeale or letters, to proue the worſhip of image.

☞ And I ſayd, within my foreſaid proteſtation I ſay, that theſe worldly vſages of temporal lawes that ye ſpeak now of, may be done in caſe without ſinne. But this is no ſimilitude to worſhippe Images made by mans hande, ſince that Moyſes, Dauid, Solomon, Baruch, and other ſaints in the Bible, forbid ſo playnely the worſhipping of ſuche Images.

No ſimilitude to be made betwene erthly thinges & ſpirituall, namely, when Gods word doth expreſſe to the contrary.

¶ Then the archbiſhop ſayd to me: Leud loſell: in the olde law before that Chriſt tooke mankinde, was no likenes of any perſon of ẏ trinitie, neither ſhewed to man nor known of man: But nowe ſince Chriſt became man, it is lefull to haue Images to ſhew hys manhoode. Yea though many men which are right great Clerkes & other alſo, held it an errour to paynt the Trinitie: I ſay it is well done to make and to paynt the Trinitie in images. For it is great mouing of deuotion to men, to haue and to behold the Trinitie and other images of ſaints, carued, caſt, & paynted. For beyond the ſea, are the beſt paynters that euer I ſaw. And ſirs I tell you, this is their maner, and it is a good maner. Whē ẏ an Image maker ſhall carue, caſt in molde, or paint any Images, he ſhall go to a Prieſt, & ſhriue him as clean, as if he ſhould then dye: and take penance, and make ſome certayne vowe of faſting or of praying or pilgrimages doing, praying ẏ Prieſt ſpecially to pray for him, that he may haue grace to make a fayre and a deuout Image.

So you ſay my Lorde, but God ſaith cōtrary in his commandemēts.

Painters deuotion & the Popes diuinitie do well agree.

Preparation of the painters to make a faire and a deuout Image.

☞And I ſayd: Sir, I doubt not if theſe paynters that ye ſpeake of, or any other painters vnderſtode truly the text of Moyſes, of Dauid, of yͤ wiſe man, of Baruch, and of other ſaints and doctors: Theſe painters ſhould be moued to ſhriue thē to God wt ful inward ſorowe of hart, taking vpon them to do right ſharpe penāce for the ſinful & vaine craft of painting, caruing, or caſting they had vſed: Promiſing God faithfully, neuer to do ſo after: knowledging openly before al men their reprouable learning. And alſo ſir, theſe prieſts that ſhriue (as you do ſay) painters, & enioine thē to do penance, & pray for their ſpeede, promiſyng to thē helpe of their prayers for to be curious in their ſinful crafts: ſinne herein more greuouſly, then the painters. For theſe prieſts do comfort and geue them counſail to do that thing, which of great pain, yea vnder yͤ pain of gods curſe, they ſhould vtterly forbid them. For certes ſir, if the wonderful working of God, & the holy liuing & teachyng of Chriſt, and of his Apoſtles and Prophetes, were made knowen to the people by holy liuing & true, and buſy teaching of prieſts: theſe thinges (ſir) were ſufficient bookes and Kalenders to know God by, & his Saynts, without any images made with mans hand. But certes, yͤ vicious liuing of prieſts and their couetouſnes, are chiefe cauſe of this errour, and all other viciouſnes that raygneth amōg the people.

The true bookes and Kalenders to know God.

¶Then the Archbiſh. ſayd vnto me, I hold thee a vicious Prieſt and a curſt, and all them that are of thy ſect, for all prieſts of holy church, & all images that moue men to deuotion, thou & ſuch other go about to deſtroy. Loſel, were it a faire thing to come into the church and ſee therin none Image?

A better ſight my Lord, than to ſee blind ſtocks there to be worſhipped.

☞And I ſayd: ſir, they that come to yͤ church for to praye deuoutly to the lord God, may in their inward wittes be the more feruent, that al their outwarde wits be cloſed frō al outward ſeing & hearing, and frō all diſturbance, & lettings. And ſince Chriſt bleſſed thē that ſaw him not bodely, and haue beleued faithfully in him: it ſuffiſeth then to al mē (through hearing and knowing of gods word, and to do thereafter) for to beleue in God, though they ſee neuer images made with mans hand after any perſon of yͤ Trinitie, or of any other ſaint.

The right ſeruice of a Chriſtian.

¶And the Archb. ſaid to me, with a feruent ſpirit: I ſay to thee loſell that it is right wel done to make and to haue an image of the Trinitie, Yea, what ſaiſt thou? is it not a ſtirring thing to behold ſuch an image?

My Lord, your yea, will not anſwere Gods nay.

☞And I ſaid: Sir, ye ſaid right now that in the old lawe or Chriſt toke mākind, no likenes of any perſon of yͤ Trinity was ſhewed to men: wherfore ſir, ye ſaid it was not thē leful to haue images, but nowe ye ſaye, ſince Chriſt is becomen mā, it is leful to make & to haue an image of the Trinitie, & alſo of other ſaints. But ſir, this thing would I learne of you: ſince yͤ father of heauen, yea & euery perſō of yͤ Trinitie was without beginning God almightye, & many holy prophets that were deadly mē, were martired violētly in the old law, and alſo many men & women thē died Confeſſors: why was it not then as leful & neceſſary as nowe to haue made an Image of the father of heauen, and to haue made and had other images of Martirs, prophets, and holy Confeſſors, to haue ben Kalenders to aduiſe men and moue thē to deuotion, as ye ſay that images now do?

Note this ye worſhippers and mainteiners of Images.

¶And the Archb. ſayd: The ſinagogue of the Iewes had not authoritie to approue thoſe thinges as the Church of Chriſt hath now.

The Synagogue of Antichriſt will haue authoritie.

☞And I ſayd: Sir: S. Gregory was a great man in the new lawe, & of great dignity, and as the cōmon law witneſſeth, he commended greatly a Biſhop, in that he forbad vtterly the Images made with mās hand ſhould be worſhipped.

¶And the Archb. ſayd: Ungracious loſell, yͧ ſauoureſt no more truth then an hound. Since at the roode at yͤ Northdore at Londō, at our Lady at walſingam, & many other diuers places in Englād, are many great & prayſable miracles done: ſhould not yͤ images of ſuch holy ſaynts and places, at the reuerence of God & our lady & other ſaintes be more worſhipped then other places and images, wher no miracles are done?

Great miracles done by images, but my Lorde doth not tel by whoſe power.

☞And I ſaid: Sir, there is no ſuch vertue in any imagery, that any images ſhould herefore be worſhipped, wherfore I am certaine that there is no miracle done of god in any place in earth, becauſe that any images made wt mans hād ſhould be worſhipped. And herfore ſir, as I preached openly at Shrewſbury & other places, I ſay now here before you: That no body ſhould truſt that there were anye vertue in imagery made with mans hand, and therfore no body ſhould vow to thē nor ſeeke them, nor kneele to thē, nor bow to them, nor pray to them, nor offer any thing to them, nor kiſſe them, nor enſence thē. For lo the moſt worthy of ſuch images, the braſen Serpent (by Moiſes made, at Gods bidding) the good K. Ezechie deſtroied worthely & thankfully, & al becauſe it was enſenced. Therfore ſir, if men take good heede to the writing and to the learning of S. Auguſtine, of S. Gregory, and of Saint Iohn Chriſoſtome, and of other Saints and doctors, howe they ſpake & write of miracles, that ſhalbe done now in the laſt ende of the world: It is to dreyd, that for the vnfaythfulneſſe of men & women, the Fiende hath great power, for to work many of the miracles that nowe are done in ſuch places. For both men and women delight now more for to heare and know miracles, then they do know Gods worde, or to heare it effectuouſly. wherefore, to the great cōfuſion of all them that thus do Chriſt ſayth: The generation of adulterers requireth tokens, miracles, and wonders. Neuertheles as diuers ſaints ſay, now when the faith of god is publiſhed in Chriſtendome, the word of God ſuffyſeth to mans ſaluation, without ſuch miracles: and thus alſo the worde of God ſuffiſeth to all faythfull men & women, without any ſuch images. But good ſir, ſince the father of heauen that is God in his godhead, is yͤ moſt vnknowen thing that may be, and the moſt wonderful ſpirit, hauing in it no ſhape or likeneſſe, and members of anye deadlye creature: in what likenes or what image may God the father be ſhewed or painted?

Myracles importing worſhip to be done to Images may well be ſuſpected not to come of God.

A Chriſtian man ought not to vow, ſeeke, nor bow, nor pray, nor offer nor kiſſe an Image.

For the vnfaithfulnes of men, the deuill may worke myracles.

The worde of God ſuffiſeth vs to ſaluation, without myracles.

That which is of nature vnknowne, cannot be reſembled by any viſible creature knowne.

¶And the Archb. ſaid: as holy church hath ſuffered the Images of the Trinitie, & al other images to be paynted & ſhewed: it ſufficeth to them yͭ are mēbers of holye church. But ſince thou art a rotten member, cut away from holye church: thou fauoreſt not the ordinaunce therof. But ſince the day paſſeth, leaue we this matter

Holy church of your owne building.

AND then he ſayd to me: what ſayeſt thou to the third point that is certified againſt thee, preaching opēly in Shrewſbury, that pilgrimage is not lefull: and ouer this, thou ſaideſt that thoſe men and women that go on pilgrimages to Canterbury, to Beuerley, to Karlington, to walſingam, and to any ſuch other places, are accurſed and made fooliſh, ſpending their goods in waſte.

The 3. article.

Pilgrimage.

☞And I ſaid: Sir, by this certification I am accuſed to you that I ſhould teach, that no pilgrimage is lefull. But I ſaid neuer thus. For I know that there be true pilgrimages and lefull, and full pleaſant to God: and therfore ſir, howſoeuer mine enimies haue certified you of me, I told at Shrewſbury of two maner of pilgrimages.

Two maner of Pilgrimages.

¶And the Archbiſhop ſaid to me, whom calleſt thou true pilgrimes?

☞And I ſaid: Sir, with my proteſtation, I call them true pilgrimes traueling toward yͤ bliſſe of heauen, which in the ſtate, degree, or order that God calleth them to, do buſie them faithfullie for to occupie all their wits bodelie and ghoſtlie, to knowe truelie, and to keepe faithfullie the biddings of God, hating and fleeing all the ſeauen deadlie ſins, and euerie branch of them: Ruling them vertuouſlie (as it is ſaid before) with all their wits, doing diſcretlie, wilfully, and gladly, all the workes of mercy, bodelie and ghoſtly, after their cunning and power, abling them to the gifts of the holy ghoſt, diſpoſing them to receiue them in their ſoules, and to hold therein, the right bleſſings of Chriſt: Buſieng them to knowe and to keepe, the ſeauen principall vertues, and ſo then they ſhall obteine heere through grace, for to vſe thankefully to God, all the conditions of charitie. And then, they ſhall be moued with the good ſpirit of God, for to examine oft and diligentlie their conſcience, that neither wilfullie nor wittinglie they erre in anie article of beleefe, hauing continually (as frailtie will ſuffer) all their buſines, to dread and to flee the offence of God, and to loue ouer all, and to ſeeke euer to do his pleaſant will. Of theſe pilgrimes I ſaid, what ſoeuer good thought that they any time thinke, what vertuous word that they ſpake, and what fruitfull worke that they worke: Euery ſuch thought, word and worke is a ſtep numbred of God, toward him into heauen. Theſe foreſaid pilgrimes of God, delight ſore when they heare of Saints or of vertuous men and women, how they forſooke wilfully the proſperitie of this life, how they withſtood the ſuggeſtion of the fiend, how they reſtrained their fleſhly luſts, how diſcret they were in their penance doing, how pacient they were in all their aduerſities, how prudent they were in counſeling of men and women, mouing them to hate all ſinne, and to flie them, and to ſhame euer greatly thereof, and to loue all vertues, and to drawe to them, imagining how Chriſt and his followers by example of him, ſuffered ſcornes and ſclaunders, and howe paciently they abode and tooke the wrongful manaſing of tyrantes: How homely they were and ſeruiſable to poore men, to relieue and comfort them bodely and ghoſtly, after

The true pilgrimage is to trauell in heauenly thinges.

Euery good worke, is a good ſteppe to heauen.

The maner and examples of ſaintes.

their power and cunning, and how deuout they were in prayers, how feruent they were in heauenly deſires, and how they abſented them from ſpectacles of vaine ſayings and hearings, and how ſtable they were to let and to deſtroy al vices, and how laborious and ioyfull they were, to ſowe and to plant vertues. Theſe heauenly conditions and ſuch other, haue pilgrimes, or endeuour them for to haue: whoſe pilgrimage God accepteth.

Pilgrimage diſpleaſaunt to God.

Goods euill beſtowed in pilgrimage.

And agayne, I ſayde, as their workes ſhewe, the moſte part of men and women that goe nowe on pilgrimages, haue not theſe foreſaid conditions, nor loueth to buſie thẽ faythfully for to haue. For as I well knowe, ſince I haue full oft aſſayde, examine whoſoeuer will xx. of theſe pylgrimes, and he ſhall not finde three men or women that know ſurely a commaundement of God, nor can ſay their Pater noſter, & Aue Maria, nor their Creede readely in anye maner of language. And as I haue learned & alſo knowe ſomewhat by experience of theſe ſame pilgrimes, tellynge the cauſe, why that many men and women go hether and thether now on pilgrimage: It is more for the health of their bodies, then of their ſoules: more for to haue ryches and proſperitie of this world, then for to be enriched with vertues in their ſoules: more to haue here worldly & fleſhly frendſhip, then for to haue frindſhip of God, and of his ſaints in heauen. For whatſoeuer thinge man or woman doth, the frendſhip of God, nor of any other Saint cãnot be had, wythout keeping of Gods commaundementes. Further, with my proteſtation, I ſay nowe as I ſayde in Shrewſbury, though they that haue fleſhly willes, trauel farre their bodies and ſpend mekel money, to ſeeke and to viſite the bones or Images (as they ſaye they doe) of thys Saint or of that: ſuch pilgrimage going is neither praiſable nor thankful to God nor to any ſaint of God, ſynce in effect, al ſuch pilgrimes diſpiſe God and al his cõmaundements & Saints. For ẏ cõmaundemẽts of God they will nother know nor keepe, nor cõforme thẽ to liue vertuouſly by example of Chriſt and of his Saints. Wherefore ſir, I haue preached and taught openly, and ſo I purpoſe al my life time to do with Gods help, ſaying that ſuch fond people waſte blamefully Gods goods in their vain pilgrimages, ſpending their goods vpon vitious hoſtelars, which are oft vncleane womẽ of their bodies: & at the leaſt, thoſe goods with the which they ſhould do works of mercy after Gods bidding, to poore needy men and women.

The incõueniẽce that commeth by pilgrimage.

Theſe poore mens goods and their liuelode, theſe runners about, offer to riche prieſtes which haue mekill more liuelode then they neede. And thus thoſe goods they waſt wilfully, & ſpend them vniuſtly againſt gods bidding vpon ſtraungers, with which, they ſhould helpe and relieue, after Gods wil, their poore nedy neighbors at home: ye & ouer this folly, oft times diuers men and women, of theſe runners thus madly hether and thither into pilgrimage: borow hereto, other mens goodes, ye and ſometime they ſteale mens goods hereto, and they pay them neuer again. Alſo ſir, I know wel that when diuers men and women wil go thus after their owne wills, and fyndinge out one pilgrimage: they will ordeyne wyth them before, to haue with them both men and women, that can wel ſing wanton ſongs, and ſome other pilgrimes, wil haue with them bagge pipes: ſo that euery town that they come through, what with the noyſe of their ſinging, and with the ſoũd of their piping, and with the iangling of their Caunterbury bels, and with the barkyng out of dogges after them, that they make more noyce, thẽ if the king came there away, wͭ all his clarions, & many other minſtrels. And if theſe men and women be a month out in their pilgrimage, many of them ſhall be an halfe yeare after, great ianglers, tale tellers, and lyers.

Well ſpoken my Lord for Lincolnſhire bagpipes.
And why then blamed Boner Philpot for ſinging in the ſtockes?

¶ And ẏ Archb. ſaid to me: Leud loſel, thou ſeeſt not farre inough in this matter, for thou conſidereſt not ẏ great trauaile of pilgrims: therfore, thou blameſt that thing that is prayſable. I ſay to thee, that it is right wel done, that pilgrimes haue with them both ſingers and alſo pipers: that when one of them that goeth barefoote, ſtriketh his to vpon a ſtone, and hurteth him ſore, & maketh him to blede: it is well done that he or his felow begin thẽ a ſong, or els take out of his boſom a bagpipe, for to driue away wͭ ſuche mirth, the hurt of his fellow. For with ſuch ſolace, the trauayle and wearynes of pilgrymes, is lightly, and merily borne out.

☞ And I ſayd: ſir, S. Paule teacheth men to weepe with them that weepe.

A new found way to grace of the biſhops making.

¶ And the Archb. ſaid, what iangleſt thou againſt mẽs deuotion? Whatſoeuer thou or ſuch other ſay, I ſay that ẏ pilgrimage that now is vſed, is to thẽ that do it, a prayſable and a good meane to come the rather to grace. But I hold thee vnable to know this grace, for thou enforceſt thee to let the deuotion of the people: ſince by authoritie of holye ſcripture, men may lefully haue & vſe ſuch ſolace as ẏ reproueſt. For Dauid in his laſt Pſalme, techeth mẽ to haue diuers inſtruments of muſike for to praiſe therwith God.

Inſtrumẽtes & muſike of the old teſtament, how they are to be applyed and vſed in the new teſtament.

☞ And I ſaide: ſir, by the ſentence of diuers Doctours expoũding the pſalmes of Dauid: that muſike and minſtrelſie ẏ Dauid & other ſaints of the olde lawe ſpake of, ought now nother to be taken nor vſed by the letter, but theſe inſtrumẽts with their muſike ought to be interpreted ghoſtly: For al thoſe figures are called vertues and grace, with which vertues men ſhould pleaſe god, & praiſe hys name. For S. Paul ſayth: al ſuch things befell to them in figure. Therfore ſir, I vnderſtãd, that the letter of this pſalme of Dauid and of ſuch other Pſalmes and ſentences doth ſlay them that take thẽ now litterally. This ſentence as I vnderſtand ſir, Chriſt approueth himſelf, putting out ẏ minſtrels, or that he would quicken the dead damſell.

Orgaynes in the Church.
A fitt compariſon my Lord, & like your ſelfe.

¶ And ẏ Archb. ſaid to me. Leud loſel, is it not lefull to vs to haue Organes, in ẏ church for to worſhip therewithall God? And I ſayd, ye ſir, by mans ordinance: But by ẏ ordinance of God, a good ſermon to ẏ peoples vnderſtãding were mekil more pleaſant to God.

☞ And the Archb. ſaid, that Organes and good delectable ſongs, quickned & ſharpened more mẽs wits then ſhould any ſermon.

The ſaying of Ierome.

¶ But I ſaide: ſir, luſty men & worldly louers, delite and couet & trauail to haue al their wittes quickned & ſharpened wͭ diuers ſenſible ſolace: But al the the faythful louers and followers of Chriſt, haue al their delite to heare gods word, and to vnderſtand it truely, and to worke therafter faithfully and continually. For no doubt, to dread to offẽd God, and to loue to pleaſe him in all things quickneth and ſharpeneth all the wittes of Chriſts choſen people: and ableth them ſo to grace, that they ioy greatly to withdrawe their eares and al their wits and members, frõ al worldly delite and from all fleſhly ſolace. For S. Ierome (as I thinke) ſayth, No body may ioy with this world & raigne with Chriſt.

You ſweare my Lord.

☞ And ẏ Archb. (as if he had ben diſpleaſed wͭ mine aunſwer) ſaid to his clerks. What geſſe ye that this Idiot wyll ſpeak there, wher he hath no dread: ſince he ſpeaketh thus now here in my preſence? Wel, wel, by God thou ſhalt bee ordayned for. And then he ſpake to me al angerly.

The 4. article concerning prieſtes tithes.

WHat ſaieſt thou to this fourth point, that is certified againſt thee, preaching openly & boldly in Shrewſbury, that prieſts haue no title to tithes.

A paradox without Gods word.

A difference to be put betwixt the old law and the new. Prieſtes had the x. part of the tithes geuen to the Leuites.

And I ſayd. Sir, I named there no worde of tythes in my preaching. But more then a month after that I was areſted: there in priſon, a man came to mee into the pryſon, aſking me what I ſayd of tythes. And I ſayd to him. Sir, in this towne are many clerkes and prieſts, of which ſome are called religious mẽ, though many of them be ſeculars. Therefore, aſke ye of them this queſtion. And thys man ſayd to me. Syr, our Prelates ſay, that we alſo are obliged to pay our tithes of all thinges that renue to vs: and that they are accurſed, that withdraw anye part wittingly fro them of their tythes. And I ſayd (ſir) to that man, as wͭ my proteſtation I ſay now before you: that I wonder that any prieſt dare ſay, men to be accurſed, without the ground of Gods word, And the man ſaid, Syr our prieſts ſay, that they curſe men thus by authoritie of Gods law. And I ſaid Sir I know not where this ſentence of curſing is authoriſed now in the Bible. And therefore ſyr, I pray you that ye will aſke the moſt cunning clerke of this town, that yee may know wher this ſentẽce of curſing thẽ ẏ tithe not, is now writtẽ in gods law: for if it were writtẽ there, I wold right gladly be learned wher. But ſhortly this mã would not go fro me, to aſke this queſtiõ, of an other body: But required me there, as I would aunſwer before God, if in this caſe, that curſing of prieſts were lawfull & approued of God? And ſhortly herewith came to my mind the learning of S. Peter, teaching prieſts ſpecially to halowe the Lord Chriſt in their harts: being euermore redy (as farre as in them is) to aunſwer thorough faith and hope to thẽ that aſke of them a reaſon. And this leſſon Peter teacheth men to vſe with a meeke ſpirit & with dread of the Lord. Wherefore ſir, I ſaid to this man in this wiſe. In the old law, which ended not fully, till the time that Chriſt roſe vp againe from death to life: God cõmanded tithes to be giuen to the Leuits, for the great buſines and daily trauaile that perteined to their office. But prieſts, becauſe their trauel was mekil more eaſy & light, then was the office of the Leuits: God ordeined ẏ prieſts ſhould take for their liuelode to do their office, the tenth part of thoſe tithes ẏ were giuen to ẏ Leuits. But now (I ſaid) in the new law, neither Chriſt nor any of his apoſtles tooke tithes of ẏ people

Christ commaundeth almes, not tithes, except tithes be almes.

Tithes by whom and when they were first commaūded in the new law.

Paule hauing power to take, yet vsed it not.

Paule wold not be chargeous, if priestes were couetous than, what be they now?

This rule, with the rule of begging Friers, can not stand togeather

nor cõmanded the people to pay tithes, neither to Prieſts nor to deacons. But Chriſt taught the people to do almes, that is, workes of mercy, to poore needie men (of ſurplus, that is ſuperfluous of their temporall goods) which they had, more then thẽm needed reaſonably to their neceſſarie liuelode. And thus (I ſayde) not of tithes, but of pure almes of the people, Chriſt liued and his Apoſtles: when they were ſo buſy in preaching of the word of God to the people, yͭ they might not trauell otherwiſe for to get their liuelode. But after Chriſtes aſcenſion, and when the Apoſtles had receiued the holy Ghoſt: they trauayled wyth their hands, for to get their liuelode, whẽ that they might thus do for buſy preaching. Therefore, by example of himſelfe, S. Paule teacheth al the prieſtes of Chryſt for to trauaile with their hand, when for buſy teaching of the people they might thus do. And thus, all theſe Prieſts whoſe prieſthode God accepteth now, or will accept, or did in the Apoſtles time, and after their diſceaſe: wil do to yͤ worlds end. But (as Ciſtercienſis telleth) in the thouſand yeare of our Lord Ieſus Chriſt. 211. yeare, one Pope the x. Gregory ordeined new tithes firſt to be geuen to prieſtes now in the new law. But Saint Paule in his tyme, whoſe trace or example all Prieſtes of God enforce them to follow, ſeing the couetouſnes that was among the people, deſiring to deſtroy the foule ſinne through the grace of God & true vertuous liuing and example of himſelfe: wrote & taught all prieſtes for to follow him as he followed Chriſt, pacyently, willingly, and gladly in hygh pouerty: wherefore, Paule ſayth thus. The Lord hath ordeyned that they that preach the Goſpell, ſhall lyue of the Goſpel. But we (ſaith Paul) that couet and buſye vs to be faythfull followers of Chriſt, vſe not this power. For lo (as Paul witneſſeth afterward) when he was full poore and needy, preaching among the people: he was not chargeous vnto them, but wyth hys handes he trauayled not onely to get his owne lyuing, but alſo the lyuing of other poore and needye creatures. And ſince the people was neuer ſo couetous, nor ſo auarous (I geſſe) as they are nowe: It were good counſell that al prieſts toke hede to this heauenly learning of Paul following him herein wilful pouerty, nothyng chargyng yͤ people for their bodily liuelode. But becauſe that many Prieſts do contrary to Paule in this foreſayde doctrine: Paul biddeth the people take hede to thoſe prieſts that follow him as he had geuẽ them example. As if Paul would ſay thus to the people: Accept ye none other Prieſts then they, that liue after the forme that I haue taught you. For certain, in whatſoeuer dignity or order yͭ any Prieſt is in, if he conforme him not to follow Chriſt & his Apoſtles in wilful pouerty, & in other heauenly vertues, and ſpecially in true preaching of Gods word: though ſuch a one be named a Prieſt, yet he is no more but a prieſt in name, for the worke of a very Prieſt, in ſuch a one wanteth. This ſentence approueth Auguſtine, Gregory, Chriſoſtom, & Lincolne plainly.

Holeſome inough my Lord if your liſt were to fauour it.

But it contarieth not the ordināce neyther of God nor of his worde,

¶ And the Archb. ſaide to me. Thinkeſt thou this wholeſome learning for to ſow openly, or yet priuily among the people? Certein, this doctrine contrarieth plainly yͤ ordynance of holy fathers which haue ordeined, graunted, & licenced prieſts to be in diuers degrees, & to liue by tithes & offrings of the people, and by other dueties.

If prieſtes would not ſlacke in their duetie, they ſhould not lacke in hauing ſufficient.

☞ And I ſaid, ſir, if prieſts were now in meaſurable meaſure & number, and liued vertuouſly, & taught buſilye and truly the word of God, by example of Chriſt & of his apoſtles, without tithes, offrings, & other dueties that prieſts now chalenge & take: the people would geue them freely, ſufficient liuelode.

Fallax argumentum ſecundum, non cauſam vt cauſam.

¶ And a clerke ſaid to me. How wilt thou make this good, that the people will geue freely to prieſtes their liuelode: ſince that now by the law euery prieſt cã ſcarcely cõſtraine the people to geue them their liuelode.

The euill demeanor of the prieſtes, is the cauſe why the people be ſo ſlacke in their tithes.

Prieſtes being content with ſufficiency, and a bare liuing, ought to part the reſidue to the poore.

Prieſtes did ſo than, but our prieſtes doe not ſo now.

☞ And I ſaid. Sir it is now no wonder though the people grudge to geue prieſts the liuelode that they aſke: Mekil people know now, how yͭ prieſts ſhould liue, & howe that they liue contrarye to Chriſt & to his Apoſtles. And therfore, the people is ful heauy to pay (as they doe) their temporal goods to parſons and to other vicares & prieſts, which ſhould be faythfull diſpenſatours of the pariſhes goodes: taking to thẽſelues no more, but a ſcarce liuing of tithes, nor of offrings, by the ordinance of the cõmon law. For whatſoeuer prieſts take of the people (be it tithe or offering, or any other duety or ſeruice) the prieſts ought not to haue thereof no more, but a bare liuing: & to depart the reſidue to the poore men & womẽ ſpecially of the pariſh of whom they take this temporal liuing. But yͤ moſt dele of prieſts nowe waſteth their pariſhes goodes, and ſpendeth them at their owne wil after the world, in ther vain luſts: So that in few places poore mẽ haue duly (as they ſhould haue) their own ſuſtenãce, nother of tithes nor of offrings nor of other large wages & foundations that prieſts take of the people in diuers maners aboue yͭ they nede for nedefull ſuſtenance of meat & clothing. But the poore nedy people are forſaken and left of Prieſts to be ſuſtayned of yͤ pariſhens, as if the prieſts toke nothing of the pariſhens for to helpe the people with.

Whether tithes are to be paid to prieſtes doing not their duetie.

And thus ſir, into ouer great charges of the pariſhens they pay their tẽporal goods twice where once myght ſuffice, if prieſts were true diſpenſatours. Alſo ſir, the pariſhners that pay their temporal goods (be they tithes or offerings) to prieſts that do not their office amõg them iuſtly are parteners of euery ſinne of thoſe Prieſts: becauſe that they ſuſtaine thoſe prieſtes folly in their ſinne, with their temporal goods. If theſe things be well conſidered, what wonder is it thẽ ſir, if the pariſhners grudge againſt theſe diſpenſators?

Goſtly mother? nay, an vngoſtly ſtepdam, to all Gods children.

¶ Then the Archb. ſaid to me, Thou that ſhouldſt be iudged & ruled by holy church, preſumptuouſly thou deemeſt holy church to haue erred in the ordinance of tithes & other dueties to be paid to prieſts. It ſhal be long or thou thriue Loſel, that thou deſpiſeſt thy ghoſtly mother. How dareſt thou ſpeake this (Loſel) among the people? Are not tithes geuen to prieſts for to liue by?

By the law none could chaleng tithes, but onely the ſeed of Leuy Our prieſtes be not of the ſeede of Leuy. Ergo by the law our prieſtes cannot chalenge tithes.

As the prieſthood is chãged, ſo is the law chaunged.

☞ And I ſaid: Sir S. Paule ſaith, that tithes were geuen in the old law to Leuites and to Prieſts, that came of the linage of Leuy. But our prieſts he ſayth, came not of the linage of Leuy, but of the linage of Iuda, to whych Iuda no tithes were promiſed to be geuen. And therfore Paule ſaith, ſince the prieſthode is chaũged from yͤ generation of Leuy to the generation of Iuda: It is neceſſary that chãging alſo be made of the law. So that prieſts liue now, wᵗout tithes & other duety that they now claime, following Chriſt & his Apoſtles in wilfull pouerty, as they haue geuẽ thẽ example. For ſince Chriſt liued (all the tyme of hys preaching) by pure almes of the people. And by example of him, his Apoſtles liued in the ſame wiſe, or els by yͤ trauaile of their hãds as it is ſayd aboue. Euery prieſt, whoſe prieſthode Chriſt approueth, knoweth wel, & confeſſeth in worde and in worke, that a diſciple ought not to be aboue his maiſter, but it ſufficeth to a diſciple to bee as hys maiſter, ſimple, and pure, meke and pacient: and by example ſpecially of his maiſter Chriſt, euerye Prieſt ſhoulde rule him in al his liuing, & ſo after his cũning & power, a prieſt ſhould buſy him to enforme and to rule, whom ſo euer hee might charitably.

Bleſſe but curſe not ſaith S. Paule.

He goeth neare you my Lord, when he toucheth your tithes.

¶ And the Archbiſh. ſaid to me with a great ſpirite, Gods curſe haue thou & mine for this teachinge: for thou wouldeſt hereby, make the olde law more free and perfect thẽ yͤ new law. For thou ſaieſt, that it is leful to Leuites and to prieſts to take tithes in the old law, and ſo to enioy their priuilegies: but to vs prieſts in the new law, thou ſayeſt it is not lawfull to take tithes. And thus thou geueſt Leuites of the old law, more freedome than to prieſts of the new law.

The difference of the freedoms betwene the old and new lawes.

For what cauſe tithes were geuẽ in the olde law,

☞ And I ſaid. Sir, I maruell, that ye vnderſtand thys plaine text of Paule thus. Ye wot well, that the Leuites and prieſts in the old lawe that toke tithes, were not ſo free nor ſo perfect, as Chriſt and his Apoſtles that toke no tithes. And ſir, there is a Doctor (I thinke that it is Saint Ierome) that ſaith thus. The prieſts that chalenge now in the new law, tithes: Say in effect, that Chriſt is not become man, nor that he hath yet ſuffered death for mans loue. wherefore, this Doctor ſaith this ſentence. Since tythes were the hires and wages limitted to Leuites and to prieſts of the old law for bearing about of the tabernacle, and for ſlayeng and fleing of beaſts, and for burning of ſacrifice, and for keeping of the temple, and for tromping of battell before the hoſte of Iſraell, and other diuers obſeruances that perteined to their office: Thoſe prieſts that will chalenge or take tithes, deny that Chriſt is come in the fleſh, and do the prieſts office of the old law, for whome tithes were granted: for els (as this Doctor ſaith) prieſts take now tithes wrongfully.

¶ And the archb. ſaid to his clarkes. Heard ye euer Loſell ſpeake thus? Certaine, this is the learning of them all, that whereſoeuer they come, and they may be ſuffered: they enforce them to expugne the freedome of holy Church.

If you take away tithes, you vndoe the church.

☞ And I ſaid. Sir, why call you the taking of tithes, and of ſuch other duties that prieſts chalenge now (wrongfullie) the freedome of holy church: Since neither Chriſt nor his apoſtles, chalenge nor toke ſuch duties. Herefore theſe takings of prieſts now are not called iuſtly the freedome of holy church, but all ſuch geuing and taking ought to be called and holden, the ſlanderous couetouſnes of men of the holy church.

¶ And the archb. ſaid to me. why Loſell, wilt not thou and other that are confedered with thee, ſeeke out of holy ſcripture, & of the ſence of doctors, al ſharpe authorities againſt lords, knights, and ſquiers, & againſt other ſecular men, as thou doeſt againſt prieſts.

Thorpe, preach agaynſt whom thou wilt, ſo thou touch not this ſcabbe.

The viciouſnes and pride of prieſtes infecteth all the world.

☞And I ſaid: Sir, whatſoeuer men or women, lords of ladies, or any other that are preſent in our preaching ſpecially, or in our cõmoning after our cũning, we tell out to thẽ their office & their charges: But ſir, ſince Chriſoſtome ſayth, that prieſts are the ſtomack of yͤ people, it is nedeful in preaching, & alſo in commoning, to be moſt buſy about this prieſthode: Since by the viciouſnes of prieſtes both Lordes & cõmons are moſt ſinfully infected & led into the worſt. And becauſe yͭ the couetouſnes of prieſts & pride, & the boaſt that they haue & make of their dignity and power: deſtroyeth not onely the vertues of prieſthod in prieſts thẽſelues, but alſo ouer this, it ſtirreth God to take great vengeance both vpon the Lords, & vpon cõmons, whych ſuffer theſe prieſts charitably.

A ſpitefull meeknes that is in ſkarlet gownes.

¶And the Archb. ſaid to me. Thou iudgeſt euery prieſt proud yͭ wil not go arayed as thou doeſt. By god I deme him to be more meke yͭ goeth euery day in a ſcarlet gown, thã thou in thy thred bare blew gown. wherby knoweſt thou a proud man?

The ſignes and markes of proud prieſtes.

☞And I ſaid. Sir a proud prieſt may be known, when he denieth to follow Chriſt & his Apoſtles, in wylfull pouerty and other vertues: & coueteth worldly worſhip, and taketh it gladly, & gathereth together with pleding, manaſing, or with flattering, or wͭ ſimony any worldly goodes: And moſt, if a prieſt buſy him not chiefly in himſelfe, & after in all other men and women after his cunning & power, to withſtand ſinne.

Paule ſaith, god ſhall iudge all fornicators, what ſay you my Lord?

¶And the Archb. ſayd to mee. Though thou kneweſt a prieſt to haue al theſe vices, & though thou ſaweſt a pryeſt louely lye now by a womã, knowing her fleſhly: wouldſt thou therfore deme this prieſt dãnable? I ſay to thee yͭ in the turning about of thy hand, ſuch a ſinner may be verily repented.

Prieſtes ought to be examples of good liuing.

☞And I ſayd. Sir I wil not damne any man for any ſinne that I know done or may be done, ſo that the ſinner leaueth his ſinne. But by authoritie of holy Scripture, he that ſinneth thus openly as ye ſhew here, is damnable for doing of ſuch a ſinne: and moſt ſpecially, a prieſt yͭ ſhoulde be example to al other for to hate & flye ſinne. And in how ſhort time that euer ye ſay yͭ ſuch a ſinner may be repẽted: he ought not of him yͭ knoweth his ſinning, to bee iudged verily repentant, without open euidence of great ſhame & harty ſorow for his ſinne. For whoſoeuer (and ſpecially a prieſt) that vſeth pride, enuy, couetouſnes, lechery, ſimony or any other vices: ſheweth not as open euidẽce of repentance as he hath geuen euil exãple & occaſion of ſinning, if he cõtinue in any ſuch ſinne as long as he may: it is likely that ſinne leaueth him, & he not ſinne. And as I vnderſtãd ſuch a one ſinneth vnto death, for whõ no bodye oweth to pray, as S. Iohn ſayth.

Clarkly ſpoken and like a Paraſite.

¶And a Clerke ſaide then to the Archb. Sir, the lenger that ye appoſe him, the worſe he is: and the more ye buſye you to amend him, the waywarder he is. For he is of ſo ſhrewd a kinde, that he ſhameth not onely to be himſelfe a foule neſt, but without ſhame he buſyeth him to make his neſt fouler.

Forget nothing I pray you my Lord.

☞And the Archbiſhop ſaide to hys Clerke. Suffer a while, for I am at an ende with him, for there is an other poynt certyfyed agaynſt hym, and I will heare what hee ſayth thereto.

¶And ſo thã he ſaid to me. Lo it is here certified againſt thee, yͭ thou preachedſt opẽly at Shrewſbury, that it is not lawful to ſweare in any caſe.

Not lawfull to ſweare by any creature.

Men ought not to ſweare when without an othe he may excuſe himſelfe that is compelled to ſweare.

☞And I ſaid, Sir I preached neuer ſo openlye, nor I haue taught in this wiſe in any place. But ſir, as I preached in Shrewſbury, wͭ my proteſtation I ſay to you now here: that by the authoritie of the Goſpell of S. Iames, & by witnes of diuers Saints & doctours: I haue preached opẽly in one place or other, that it is not leful in any cauſe to ſweare by any creature. And ouer this Sir, I haue alſo preached and taught by the foreſaid authorities: yͭ no body ſhould ſweare in any caſe, if that without othe in any wiſe he that is charged to ſweare might excuſe him to them that haue power to compel him to ſweare, in leful thing & lawful. But if a man may not excuſe him without oth, to them that haue power to cõpel him to ſweare, than he ought to ſweare onely by God, taking him onely that is ſouthfaſtneſſe, for to witnes the ſouthfaſtnes.

Well ſaid Sir Iohn of you, your holy mother ſtroke your head.

And then a Clarke aſked me if it were not leful to a ſubiect at the bidding of his Prelate, for to kneele downe and touch the holy Goſpel booke, and kiſſe it, ſaying: So helpe me God and this holydome, for he ſhould after hys cunninge and power, doe all thynges that hys Prelate commaundeth hym.

☞And I ſaid to them: Sirs, ye ſpeake here full generally or largely. what if a prelate commaũded hys ſubiect to do an vnlawful thing, ſhould he obey therto?

Theſe prelates would be thought to be good, be they neuer ſo bad.

¶And the Archb. ſaid to me: A ſubiect ought not to ſuppoſe, that his prelate wil bid him do an vnlawfull thinge. For a ſubiect ought to thinke that his prelate wil bid him do nothing but that he wil aunſwer for before God, that it is leful: And then, though yͤ bidding of the prelate bee vnleful, the ſubiect hath no peril to fulfil it, ſince that he thinketh & iudgeth, that whatſoeuer thing his prelate byddeth him do, that it is leful to him for to do it.

A communication betwixt a lawier and a diuine.

To ſweare by a booke is to ſweare by creatures.

Chriſoſtom blameth booke oath.

☞And I ſayd, ſir I truſt not thereto. But to our purpoſe: Sir I tel you, yͭ I was once in a gentlemãs houſe, and there were then two Clarkes there, a maiſter of diuinity, and a man of law, which man of law was alſo communing in diuinitie. And among other things, theſe men ſoake of othes, & the man of law ſayd: at the bidding of his ſoueraigne, which had power to charge him to ſweare, he would lay his hand vpon a booke, and heare hys charge: anb if his charge to his vnderſtanding were vnlefull, he would haſtely withdraw his hand vpõ the booke, taking there onely God to witnes, that he would fulfil that lefull charge, after his power. And the maiſter of diuinitie ſayde then to him thus. Certaine, he that layeth his hand vpõ a booke in this wiſe, and maketh there a promiſe to do that thing that he is commaunded: Is obliged therby by boke othe, then to fulfil his charge. For no doubt, hee that chargeth him to lay his hand thus vpon a booke (touching the booke, & ſwearing by it, and kiſſing it, promiſinge in this forme to do this thing or that) wil ſay and witnes, that he that toucheth thus a booke, and kiſſeth it, hath ſworne vpon that booke. And al other mẽ that ſee that man thus do, and alſo all thoſe that heare hereof, in the ſame wiſe wyll ſay and witnes, that this man hath ſworne vpon a booke. Wherefore, the maiſter of diuinitie ſayde, it was not lefull neyther to geue nor to take any ſuch charge vpon a booke: for euery booke is nothing els, but diuers creatures, of which it is made of. Therefore to ſweare vpon a booke, is to ſweare by creatures, and this ſwearinge is euer vnlefull. This ſentence witneſſeth Chriſoſtome playnely, blaming them greatly that bring forth a booke for to ſweare vpon, charging Clarkes, that in no wiſe they conſtrayne any body to ſweare, whether they thinke a man to ſweare true or falſe.

Here now lacked Boner, to ſcratch hym by the face.

¶And the Archbiſhop and his Clarkes, ſcorned mee, and blamed me greatly for this ſaying. And the Archb. manaſſed me with great puniſhment & ſharpe, except I left thys opinion of ſwearing.

☞And I ſaid: Sir, this is not myne opinion, but it is the opinion of Chriſt our ſauiour, & of S. Iames, & of Chryſoſtome, & other diuers ſaints and doctours.

¶Than the Archb. bad a clarke read this homely of Chriſoſtom: which homely, this clerke held in his hand writtẽ in a roule: which roule the Archb. cauſed to be taken from my fellow at Cãterbury. And ſo then this clark read this role, til he came to a clauſe where Chriſoſtome ſayth, that it is ſinne to ſweare well.

Fither Malueren, or els Syr Bryan Blowcole.

And then a clark Malueren (as I geſſe) ſaid to yͤ Archb. Sir, I pray you wete of him, how he vnderſtãdeth Chryſoſtome here, ſaying it to be ſin to ſweare well.

And ſo the Archbiſh. aſked me, how I vnderſtode here Chriſoſtome.

Chriſt promiſeth & geueth mouth & vtterance.

The place of Chriſoſtome expounded, how it is ſin to ſweare well.

What it is to ſweare well.

And certaine, I was ſomwhat afraid to aunſwer hereto: For I had not buſied me to ſtudy about the ſenſe thereof, but lifting vp my minde to God, I praied him of grace, And as faſt as I thought how Chriſt ſaid to his apoſtles: when for my name ye ſhall be brought before Iudges, I ſhall geue into your mouth, wiſedome yͭ your aduerſaries ſhal not againſt ſay. And truſting faithfully in the word of God, I ſaid: Sir, I know wel that many men & women, haue nowe ſwearing ſo in cuſtome, that they knowe not, nor wil not know, yͭ they do euil for to ſweare as they do: But they thinke and ſay, that they do wel for to ſweare as they do, though they know wel that they ſweare vntruely. For they ſay, they may by their ſwearing (though it be falſe) voide blame or temporal harme, which they ſhoulde haue, if they ſweare not thus. And ſir, many men and women maintaine ſtrongly that they ſweare well, when that thing is ſooth that they ſweare for. Alſo, full many men & women ſay nowe, that it is well done to ſweare by creatures, when they may not (as the ſay) otherwiſe be beleeued. And alſo, ful many men and women now ſay, that it is wel done to ſweare by God, and by our Ladye, and by other ſaints, for to haue them in minde. But ſince al theſe ſayings are but excuſations, and ſinne: mee thinketh ſir, that this ſenſe of Chriſoſtom may be alleaged wel againſt all ſuch ſwearers: witneſſing that al theſe ſinne greuouſly though they thinke themſelues for to ſweare in thys foreſayd wiſe, well. For it is euil done and great ſinne, for to ſweare truth, when in any maner, a man may excuſe himſelfe without othe.

¶And the Archbiſhop ſayd, that Chryſoſtome might bee thus vnderſtand.

Pope holy Church.

And then a clerke ſayd to me: wilt thou tarye my Lorde no lenger, but ſubmit thee here mekely to the ordinance of holy Church, and lay thy hand vpon a booke touching the holy Goſpell of GOD, promiſing not onelye wyth thy mouth, but alſo with thine hart to ſtand to my Lords ordinaunce?

To touch a booke is to ſweare by a booke.

☞And I ſayd: Sir haue I not told you here, how that I heard a maiſter of diuinity ſay: that in ſuch caſe it is al one to touch a booke, and to ſweare by a booke?

¶And the Archb. ſayd: There is no maiſter of diuinitie in England ſo great, yͭ if he hold this opinion before me, but I ſhall puniſh him as I ſhal do thee, except thou ſweare as I ſhall charge thee.

It is happy that he called not for a candle, and made a Scenola of him, as Boner did of Tomkins.

☞And I ſayd: Sir, is not Chriſoſtome an extentiſe Doctour?

¶And the Archb. ſayd, yea.

☞And I ſayd: if Chriſoſtome proueth him worthye great blame, that bringeth forth a booke to ſweare vpon: it muſt nedes followe, that he is more to blame that ſweareth on that booke.

It is happy that Chriſoſtome was not here, or els he would haue had him by the backe. But that word cannot be touched. Thorpe refuſeth not to ſweare.

¶And the Archb. ſaid: if Chriſoſtome ment accordingly to the ordinance of holy church, we wil accept him.

☞And then ſaid a clerke to me. Is not yͤ word of God & God himſelfe equipollent, that is, of one authoritie?

¶And I ſayd, yea.

☞Then he ſaid to me, why wilt thou not ſweare then by the Goſpell of God, that is gods word, ſince it is al one to ſweare by the word of God, & by God himſelfe.

¶And I ſaid: Sir, ſince I may not now otherwiſe be beleued, but by ſwearing: I perceiue (as Auſten ſaith) that it is not ſpedeful that ye yͭ ſhould be my brethren ſhould not beleue me: therfore I am redy by the word of God (as the lord commaunded me by his word) to ſweare.

☞Then the Clarke ſayd to me. Lay then thine hand vpon the booke, touchinge the holy Goſpell of God and take thy charge.

¶And I ſaid: Sir I vnderſtand that the holy Goſpell of God may not be touched with mans hand.

☞And the Clearke ſayde I fonded, and that I ſayde not truth.

¶And I aſked this clerk whether it were more to reade yͤ Goſpel to touch the Goſpell.

☞And he ſaid it was more to read the Goſpell.

Whether the booke be the Goſpell. Ierom ſaith the Goſpel is not the Goſpel for reading, but for beleuing. The Goſpel is not the leaues of the booke, but the roote of reaſon.

¶Then I ſaid: Sir, by authority of S. Hierome, the goſpel is not the goſpel for reading of the letter, but for the belief that men haue in the word of God. That it is the goſpel that we beleue, and not the letter that we read: for becauſe the letter that is touched with mans hand, is not the Goſpel, but yͤ ſentence that is verily beleued in mãs hart, is the Goſpel. For ſo Hierome ſaith. The Goſpel, yͭ is the vertue of Gods word, is not in yͤ leaues of the boke, but it is in the roote of reaſon. Neyther the Goſpel (he ſayeth) is in the writing aboue of the letters, but the Goſpell is in yͤ marking of the ſentence of ſcriptures. This ſentence approueth S. Paule, ſaying thus. The kingdome of God is not in word but in vertue. And Dauid ſaith: The voice of the Lord that is his word, is in vertue. And after Dauid ſayth: Through the word of God yͤ heauẽs were formed, and in the ſpirite of his mouth is all the vertue of thẽ. And I pray you ſir, vnderſtand ye wel how Dauid ſayth, then in the ſpirit of the mouth of yͤ Lord, is all the vertue of angels and of men.

S. Paule.

Dauid.

This clarke was well ſeene in the Maſſe booke.

And the clarke ſayd to me. Thou wouldeſt make vs to fond with thee. Say we not that the Goſpels are written in the Maſſe booke?

☞And I ſayd. Sir, though men vſe to ſaye thus, yet it is vnperfect ſpeech. For the principal part of a thinge is properly the whole thing. For lo, mans ſoule yͭ may not now be ſene here, nor touched wͭ any ſenſible thing, is properly man. And al the vertue of a tree is in the roote thereof that may not be ſene, for do away the roote, & yͤ tree is deſtroied. And ſir, as ye ſayd to me right now, God & hys word are of one authoritie: And ſir, S. Hierome witneſſeth, yͭ Chriſt (very God & very mã) is hid in the letter of the law: thus alſo ſir, yͤ goſpel is hid in the letter. For ſir, as it is ful likely many diuers men and womẽ here in the earth, touched Chriſt & ſaw him, & knew his bodely perſõ, which neither touched, nor ſaw, nor knewe ghoſtly his godhead. Right thus ſir, many men now touch & ſee, & write, & read yͤ ſcriptures of gods law, which neither ſee, touch, nor read effectually the goſpel. For as the godhead of Chriſt (that is the vertue of God) is knowen by the vertue of beliefe, ſo is yͤ Goſpel, that is, Chriſtes word.

The Goſpel is not the letter but hid in the letter.

Miſty matters for your blind eyes.

¶And a clerke ſaid to me. Theſe be full miſty matters and vnſauery that thou ſheweſt here to vs.

☞And I ſaid: Sir, if ye, yͭ are maiſters, know not plainly this ſentence, ye may ſore dread that yͤ kingdome of heauen be taken from you, as it was frõ the princes of prieſts and from the elders of the Iewes.

¶And then a Clerke (as I geſſe) Malueren, ſayde to me. Thou knoweſt not thine equiuocations: for the kingdom of heauen hath diuers vnderſtandings. What calleſt thou the kingdom of heauen in thys ſentence, that thou ſheweſt here?

The kingdome of God taken for the vnderſtanding of Gods word.

☞And I ſaid: Sir, by good reaſon and ſentence of doctors the Realme of heauen is called here, the vnderſtanding of Gods word.

¶And a clerke ſaid to me. From whom thinkeſt thou that this vnderſtanding is taken away?

This ſalte was ſomewhat two ſharpe for their rotten fleſhe to abide.

☞And I ſayde: Sir (by authoritie of Chriſt himſelfe) the effectuall vnderſtanding of Chriſtes word is taken away from al them chiefly, which are great lettered men, & preſume to vnderſtand high things, & wil be holden wiſe men & deſire maiſterſhip & high ſtate & dignitie: but they wyll not conforme them to the liuing and teaching of Chriſt & of his Apoſtles.

¶Then yͤ Archb. ſaid. wel, wel, thou wilt iudge thy ſoueraignes. By God, yͤ king doth not his duety, but he ſuffer thee to be condemned.

Helpe downe with him ſir Iohn.

☞And then an other Clerke ſayd to me. Why (on Fryday that laſt was) counſailedſt thou a man of my Lordes that he ſhould not ſhriue him to no man but onely to god?

Note here the crafty practiſe of this holy church.

¶And with this aſking I was abaſhed: And then by and by I knew that I was ſubtilly betraied of a mã that came to me in priſon on the Friday before, cõmoning with mee in this matter of confeſſion. And certaine, by his words I thought, that this man came then to me, of ful feruent and charitable will: But now I know he came to tempt me & to accuſe me, God forgeue him if it be his wil. And withal mine hart when I had thought thus, I ſaid to this clerk, Sir, I pray you that ye would fetch this man hether: and all the wordes as nere as I cã repete them, which that I ſpake to him, on Friday in the priſon, I wil rehearſe now here before you all, and before him.

☞And (as I geſſe) the Archbiſhop ſaid then to me. They that are now here, ſuffice to repete them. How ſaidſt thou to hym?

A falſe brother.

¶And I ſayd: Syr, that man came and aſked me in diuers thinges, and after hys aſking, I aunſwered him (as I vnderſtoode) that good was: And as he ſhewed to me by his wordes, he was ſory of hys liuing in court, and right heauy for his owne vicious liuing, and alſo for the viciouſnes of other men, and ſpecially of prieſts euil liuing: & herefore he ſayd to me with a ſorrowfull hart (as I geſſed) that he purpoſed fully within ſhort time for to leaue the court, and to buſie him to know Gods lawe, and to confirme all hys life thereafter. And when he had ſayd to me theſe wordes & moe other whiche I would rehearſe and he were preſent, he prayed me to heare hys confeſſion. And I ſayd to him, ſir, wherefore come ye to me, to be confeſſed of me, ye wote wel yͭ the Archb. putteth & holdeth me here, as one vnworthy either to geue or to take any ſacrament of holy Church.

☞And he ſayd to me. Brother I wote well, and ſo wote many other moe, that you and ſuch other are wrongfully vexed, and therefore I common with you the more gladly. And I ſayd to him, Certayne I wote well that many men of this court, and ſpecially the prieſtes of this houſholde would be full euill apayd both you & with me, if they wiſt that ye were confeſſed of me. And he ſayd, that he cared not therfore, for he had full little affection in them: And as me thought, he ſpake theſe wordes and many other, of ſo good will and of ſo high deſire, for to haue knowne and done the pleaſant will of God. And I ſayd to hym, as with my foreſayd proteſtation I ſay to you now here: Syr, I counſayle you, for to abſent you from all euill company, and to draw you to them that loue and buſie them to knowe and to keepe the preceptes of God: And then the good ſpirite of God will moue you for to occupy buſily all your wittes in gathering together of all your ſinnes, as farre as ye can bethinke you, ſhaming greatly of them and ſorrowing hartely for them: Yea ſyr, the holy Ghoſt will thẽ put in your hart a good will and a feruent deſire for to take and to hold a good purpoſe, to hate euer and to flie, (after your cũning and power) al occaſion of ſinne: and ſo then, wiſedome ſhal come to you from aboue, lightening (with diuers beames of grace and of heauenly deſire) all your wittes, enforming you how ye ſhall truſt ſtedfaſtly in the mercy of the Lorde: knowledging

A crafty trayne of a popiſhe diſſembler.

Auricular confeſsion.

knowledging to him onely all your vicious liuing, praying to him euer deuoutly of charitable counſel and continuance. Hoping without doute, that if ye cõtinue thus, buſying you faythfully to know & to kepe his biddings, that he wil (for he onely, may) forgeue you al your ſinnes. And this man ſaid to me. Though God forgeue men their ſins yet it behoueth men to be aſſoyled of prieſts, & to do yͤ penance that they enioyne them.

God onely forgeueth ſinne, man onely can coũſell to leaue ſinne.

And I ſayde to him, Sir, it is all one to aſſoyle men of their ſinnes, & to forgeue mẽ their ſinnes. Wherefore, ſince it pertayneth only to God to forgeue ſinne: It ſufficeth in this caſe, to counſel men & women for to leaue their ſinne, and to comfort them that buſy them thus to do, for to hope ſtedfaſtly in the mercy of God. And agayneward, Prieſtes ought to tel ſharply to cuſtomable ſinners, that if they wil not make an ende of their ſinne, but cõtinue in diuers ſins while that they may ſinne, all ſuch deſerue payne without any end. And herefore, Prieſts ſhould euer buſye them to liue wel and holyly, and to teach the people buſily & truly the worde of God, ſhewyng to all folke in open preaching and in priuy counſeling, that the lord God only forgeueth ſinne. And therefore, thoſe prieſts yͭ take vpõ thẽ to aſſoyle mẽ of their ſinnes, blaſpheme God: ſince that it pertaineth onely to the Lord, to aſſoile men of all their ſinnes. For no doubt, a thouſand yeare after yͤ Chriſt was man, no Prieſt of Chriſt durſt take vpon him to teach the people, neither priuily nor apertly, that they behoued nedes to come to be aſſoyled of them, as Prieſts now do. But by authoritie of Chriſtes word: Prieſts bounde indurate cuſtomable ſynners, to euerlaſting paines, which in no time of their lyuing, would buſy thẽ faithfully to knowe the biddinges of God, nor to kepe thẽ. And again, al they that would occupy al their wits to hate & to flye al occaſion of ſinne, dreading ouer al thing, to offend God, and louing for to pleaſe him continually: to theſe men & women Prieſts ſhewed, how the Lord aſſoyleth them of all their ſinnes. And thus Chriſt promiſed to confirme in heauen, al the binding and looſing that prieſts by authoritie of his word, binde men in ſinne that are indurate therin, or looſe thẽ out of ſinne here vpon earth, that are verely repentaunt.

Shrift & cõfeſſiõ to prieſtes.

And this mã hearing theſe words ſaid, that he might well in conſcience cõſent to this ſentence. But he ſayd. Is it not nedefull to the lay people yͭ can not thus do, to go ſhriue them to prieſts? And I ſaid, If a man feele himſelfe ſo diſtroubled with any ſinne, yͭ he can not by his own witte auoide this ſynne without counſel of them that are herein wiſer than he. In ſuch a caſe, the counſell of a good Prieſt is full neceſſarye. And if a good prieſt fayle as they do now cõmonly, in ſuch a caſe S. Auguſtine ſayth, that a man may lawfully common and take counſel, of a vertuous ſecular mã.

A good ſecular man may be counſeller, where a prieſt faileth by S. Auguſtine.

But certain, that mã or womã is ouerladen and to beaſtly, which cannot bring their owne ſinnes into their minde, buſying them night and day for to hate & to forſake al their ſinnes, doing a ſigh for them after their cunning and power. And ſir, full accordingly to this ſentence vpõ Midlentõ Sũday (two yeare as I geſſe now agone) I hard a Monk of Feuerſam that men called Morden, preache at Caunterbury at the croſſe within Chriſt Church Abbey, ſaying thus of cõfeſſion.

Morden Monke of Feuerſam preaching of cõfeſſion.

That as through the ſuggeſtiõ of the feend without counſell of any other body, of themſelues many men & women, can imagine and find meanes & ways inough to come to pride, to theft, to lechery, and other diuers vices: In contrary wiſe this Monke ſaid. Since the Lord God is more ready to forgiue ſinne than the feend is or may be of power, to moue any body to ſinne: than whoſoeuer wil ſhame and ſorow hartely for their ſinnes, knowledging them faithfully to God, amending them after their power and cunning, without counſell of any other body than of God and himſelfe (through the grace of God) all ſuch men and women may find, ſufficient meanes to come to Gods mercy, and ſo to be cleane aſſoiled of all their ſinnes. This ſentence I ſayd ſir to this man of yours, and the ſelfe words as neere as I can geſſe.

Harty repẽtãce to God, needeth no confeſſion to a prieſt.

¶ And the Archbiſhop ſaid. Holy Church approueth not this learning.

No nor nothing els that is good.

☞ And I ſaid. Sir, holy Church of which Chriſt is head in heauen and in earth, muſt needs approue this ſentence. For loe, hereby all men & women may, if they will, be ſufficiently taught to know & to keepe the commandements of God, & to hate & to flie continually all occaſion of ſinne, and to loue and to ſeeke vertues buſily, & to beleue in God ſtably, and to truſt in his mercy ſtedfaſtly, & ſo to come to perfect charitie & continue therin perſeuerantly. And more the Lord aſketh not of any man here now in this life. And certaine, ſince Ieſu Chriſt died vpon the croſſe, wilfully to make men free: Men of the Church are to bold and to buſie, to make men thrall, binding thẽ vnder yͤ paine of endles curſe (as they ſay) to do many obſeruaunces and ordynaunces, which neither the liuing nor teachyng of Chryſt nor of his Apoſtles approueth.

Chriſt geueth freedome, the pope geueth thraldome.

And a Clerke ſaid thẽ to me: Thou ſheweſt plainly here thy deceit, which thou haſt learned of them that trauell to ſow popple amõg yͤ wheat. But I cõuſel thee to go away cleane frõ this learning, & ſubmit thee lowly to my lorde, and thou ſhalt finde him yet to be gracious to thee.

¶ And as faſt then, an other Clerke ſaid to me: How waſt thou ſo bold at Paules Croſſe in London, to ſtande there hard with thy tipper bounde about thine head, and to reproue in his Sermon the worthy clerke Alkerton, drawing away al that thou mighteſt: yea, & the ſame day at afternone, thou meeting the worthy Doctour in Watlyng ſtreete, calledſt him falſe flatterer and hipocrite.

☞ And I ſaid: Sir, I thinke certainely that there was no man nor womã that hated verelye ſinne, & loued vertues (hearing yͤ Sermõ of the clerk at Oxford, and alſo Alkertons Sermon) but they ſayd, or might iuſtly ſay, that Alkerton reproued that clerke vntruely, and ſlaundered him wrongfully and vncharitably. For no doubt, If the liuing & teaching of Chriſt chiefly and of his Apoſtles be true, no body that loueth God and his law, wil blame any ſentẽce that the clerke then preached there: ſince by authoritie of Gods word, & by approued Saints & Doctours, & by opẽ reaſon, this Clerke approued all thinges clearely that hee preached there.

¶ And a Clerke of the Archbiſhops ſaide to me, his Sermon was falſe, and that he ſheweth openlye, ſince he dare not ſtand forth and defend his preaching that he thẽ preached there.

☞ And I ſaide: Sir, I thinke that he purpoſeth to ſtande ſtedfaſtly thereby, or els he ſclaundereth fouly himſelf, and alſo many other that haue great truſt that he will ſtand by the truth of the Goſpel. For I wote wel, this Sermon is writen both in Latin and Engliſh, and many men haue it & they ſet great price thereby. And ſir, If ye were preſent with yͤ Archbiſhop at Lambeth when this Clarke appeared and was at his aunſwere before the Archbiſhoppe, ye wote wel that this Clerke denied not there his Sermon, but two daies he maintained it before the Archbiſhop and his Clerkes.

And then the Archbiſhop or one of his Clerkes ſaid (I wote not which of them) that harlot ſhalbe met wyth, for that Sermon. For no man but he and thou, and ſuch other falſe harlots, prayſeth any ſuch preaching.

¶ And then the Archb. ſaid. Your curſed ſect is buſie, and it ioyeth right greatly to contrary & to deſtroy yͤ priuilege and fredome of holy Church.

☞ And I ſaid: Sir, I know no men that trauell ſo buſily as this ſect doth (which you reproue) to make reſt and peace in holy church. For pride, couetouſnes, and ſimony, which diſtrouble moſt holy Church: this ſect hateth & fleeth, and trauayleth buſilye to moue all other men in like maner, vnto meekenes and wilfull pouerty, and charitie, and free miniſtring of the Sacraments: this ſect loueth & vſeth, and is full buſie to moue all other folkes thus to do. For theſe vertues, owe all mẽbers of holy church, to their head Chriſt.

The true freedome of holy church not deſtroyed but increaſed by true preachers.

Then a Clerke ſaid to the Archbiſhop: Sir, it is farre dayes, and ye haue farre to ride to night: therfore make an end with him, for he wil none make. But the more ſir, that ye buſy you for to draw him toward you, yͤ more cõtumax he is made, and the farther frõ you.

¶ And then Malueren ſaid to me: William, kneele down, and pray my Lord of grace, & leaue al thy phantaſies, and become a child of holy church.

Take my Lords bleſſing & ſtand vp.

☞ And I ſaid: Sir, I haue prayed the Archbiſhop oft, and yet I pray him for the loue of Chriſt, that he wil leaue hys indignation that he hath againſt me: and that he wil ſuffer me after my cũning & power, for to do mine office of prieſthode, as I am charged of god to do it. For I couet nought els, but to ſerue my God to hys pleaſing in yͤ ſtate that I ſtand in, and haue taken me to.

¶ And yͤ Archbiſhop ſaid to mee: If of good hart thou wilt ſubmit thee now here meekely, to be ruled from this time forth by my counſel, obeying mekely and wilfully to mine ordinance, thou ſhalt finde it moſt profitable & beſt to thee for to doe thus. Therefore tary thou me no lenger, graunt to do this yͭ I haue ſayd to thee now here ſhortly, or denie it vtterly.

My Lord hath haſt, for being benighted.

☞ And I ſaid to the Archbiſhop: Sir, owe we to beleeue that Ieſu Chriſt was and is, very God and very man?

¶ And the Archbiſhop ſayd Yea.

☞ And I ſaid: Sir, owe we to beleue that al Chriſtes lyuing and his teaching is true in euery point?

¶ And he ſayd, yea.

☞And I ſayd: Syr, owe we to beleue, that the liuinge of the Apoſtles, and the teaching of Chriſt, and all the Prophetes, are true whiche are written in the Bible, for the health and ſaluation of good people?

¶And he ſayd yea.

☞And I ſayd: Syr, owe all Chriſten men & women after their cunning and power, for to conforme all their liuing, to the teaching ſpecially of Chriſt, and alſo to the teaching and liuing of his Apoſtles and of Prophets, in all thinges that are pleaſaunt to God, and edification of his Church?

¶And he ſayd, yea.

☞And I ſayd: Syr ought the doctrine, the bidding, or the counſell of any body, to be accepted or obeyed vnto: except this doctrine, theſe biddings, or this counſel, may be graūted and affirmed by Chriſts liuing and his teaching ſpecially, or by the liuing and teaching of his Apoſtles & Prophetes?

¶And ẏ Archbiſhop ſaid to me: Other doctrine ought not to be accepted, nor we owe not to obey to any mans bidding or counſell, except we can perceiue that his bidding or counſell, accordeth with the life and teaching of Chriſt, and of his Apoſtles and Prophets.

And why compel you this man to the contrary

☞And I ſayd: Syr, is not all the learning, and biddings and counſels of holy Church, meanes and healefull remedies, to know and to withſtand the priuy ſuggeſtions, and the aperte temptations of the fiende? and alſo wayes and healeful remedies, to ſlea pride and all other deadly ſinnes, and the braunches of them, and ſoueraign meanes to purchaſe grace, for to withſtand and ouercome all the fleſhlye luſtes and mouinges?

Thorpe cō- ent to sub- it himſelf o the ordi- aunce of ouncels.

¶And the Archbiſhop ſayd yea.

☞And I ſayd: Syr, whatſoeuer thing ye or any other body bid or counſel me to do, accordingly to this forſayd learning, after my cunning & power, through the helpe of god, I will meekly with all my hart obey therto.

¶And the archbiſhop ſayd to me: Submit thee than now here meekly and wilfully, to the ordinance of holy church, which I ſhall ſhew to thee.

☞And I ſayd: ſir, accordingly as I haue here now before you rehearſed, I will nowe be ready to obey full gladly to Chriſt the head of the holy Church, & to the learning and biddinges, and counſelles of euerye pleaſing member of him.

¶Thē the archbiſhop ſtriking with his hand fiercely vpō a cupborde, ſpake to me with a great ſpirit ſaying: By Ieſu, but if thou leaue ſuch additions, obliging thee now here without any exceptiō to mine ordinance (or that I go out of this place) I ſhall make thee as ſure, as any theefe that is in the priſon of Lanterne. Aduiſe thee now what thou wilt do. And then as if he had bene angred, he went fro the cupborde where he ſtood, to a window.

If Boner had bene ere, hee would not aue ſtrokē e cupbord

¶And then Malueren and an other Clerke came nearer me, and they ſpake to me many words full pleaſantly: and an othe while they manaſſed me, and counſelled full buſily to ſubmitte me, or els they ſayd I ſhoulde not eſcape puniſhing ouer meaſure: For they ſayd, I ſhould be degraded, curſed, and burned, & ſo then damned. But now they ſayd, thou mayſt eſchew all theſe miſchiefes, if thou wilt ſubmit thee wilfully & meekely to this worthye prelate, that hath cure of thy ſoule. And for the pitty of Chriſt (ſayde they) bethinke thee, howe great Clerkes the Biſhop of Lincolne, Hereford, and Purney were, and yet are, and alſo B. that is a well vnderſtanding man. which alſo haue forſaken & reuoked, all the learning and opinions, that thou and ſuch other hold. wherfore, ſince each of them is mikle wiſer thē thou art, we counſell thee for the beſt: that by the example of theſe foure Clerkes, thou follow them ſubmitting thee as they did.

he multi- e is not be folo- d in euil.

e what an is, God ing him o him- e,

And one of the Biſhops Clerkes ſayd then there, that he heard Nicoll Hereford ſay: that ſince he forſook & reuoked all the learning & Lolards opiniōs, he hath had mikle greater fauour and more delite to hold agaynſt them, then euer he had to hold with them, while he held with them.

And therefore Malueren ſaid to me: I vnderſtand and thou wilt take thee to a Prieſt, and ſhriue thee cleane, forſake all ſuch opinions, & take the penance of my Lord here, for the holding & teaching of them: within ſhort time, thou ſhalt be greatly comforted in this doing.

cleane n thrift om ſin,

☞And I ſayd to the Clerkes, that thus buſily counſelled me to folow theſe foreſayd men: Sirs, if theſe mē of whom ye counſell me to take example, had forſakē benefices of tēporall profite, & of worldly worſhip, ſo that they had abſēted them, and eſchewed from al occaſions of couetouſnes & of fleſhly luſtes, and had taken vpon them ſimple liuing, & wilfull pouerty: they had herein geuen good example to me and to many other, to haue folowed thē. But now, ſince all theſe foure men, haue ſlaunderouſly and ſhamefully done the contrary, conſenting to receiue and to haue and to hold tēporall benefices, liuing now more worldly & more fleſhly then they did before, conforming them to the maners of this world: I forſake them herein, and in all their foreſayd ſlaunderous doing. For I purpoſe with the helpe of God (into remiſſiō of my ſinnes, and of my foule curſed liuing) to hate and to flee priuily and apertly, to follow theſe men, teaching and counſelling whome ſo euer that I may, for to flee & eſchew the way that they haue choſen to go in, which will lead them to the worſt end, (if in conuenient time they repent them not) verely forſaking and reuoking opēly the ſlaunder that they haue put, and euery day yet put, to Chriſtes Church. For certayne, ſo open blaſphemy and ſlaunder as they haue ſpoken and done, in their reuoking & forſaking of the truth, ought not nor may not priuily be amēded, duely. wherfore ſirs, I pray you that you buſy not for to moue me to follow theſe mē, in reuoking and forſaking the trueth, and ſothfaſtnes as they haue done, and yet doe: wherein, by open euidence they ſtirre God to great wroth, and not onely agaynſt themſelues, but alſo agaynſt all thē that fauor them, or conſent to them herein, or that communeth with them, except it be for their amendement. For where as theſe mē firſt were purſued of enemies, now they haue obliged them by othe for to ſlaūder and purſue Chriſt in his members. wherfore (as I truſt ſtedfaſtly in ẏ goodnes of God) the worldly couetouſnes, and the luſty liuing and the ſliding from the truth of theſe runnagates: ſhall be to me and to many other men and women, an example & an euidence, to ſtand more ſtifly by the truth of Chriſt.

Other mens examples are ſo to be folowed, as they be the folowers of Chriſt

For certayne, right many men and women, doe marke and abhorre the ruines and cowardnes of theſe foreſayd vntrue men, how that they are ouercome & ſtopped wyth benefices, and withdrawen from the truth of Gods word, forſaking vtterly to ſuffer therfore bodely perſecution. For by this vnfaythfull doing and apoſtaſye of them (ſpecially that are great lettered men) and haue knowledged openly the truth: and now, either for pleaſure or diſpleaſure of tyrauntes, haue taken hire and temporall wages to forſake the truth and to hold agaynſt it, ſlaundering and purſuing them that couet to followe Chriſt in the way of righteouſnes, many men and womē therefore are now moued. But many mo thorow the grace of God, ſhall be moued hereby for to learne the truth of God, and to doe thereafter, and to ſtand boldly thereby.

Promotions commonly and great liuinges, choke truth.

Men folowing the wayes of Balaam.

¶Then the Archbiſhop ſayd to his clerkes. Buſye you no lenger about him, for he and other ſuch as he is, are cōfedered together, that they will not ſweare to be obedient, & to ſubmit them to prelates of holy church. For now ſince I ſtode here, his fellow alſo ſent me word that he will not ſweare, and that this fellow counſelled hym that he ſhould not ſweare to me. And loſell, in that thing that in thee is, thou haſt buſied thee to loſe this young man, but bleſſed be God, thou ſhalt not haue thy purpoſe of him. For he hath forſaken all thy learning, ſubmitting him to be buxum & obedient to the ordinaunce of holy church, and weepeth full bitterly, and curſeth thee full hartily for the venemous teaching which thou haſt ſhewed to him, counſelling hym to do thereafter.

Thorpes felow refuſeth to ſweare to the prelates.

And for thy falſe counſelling of many other & him, thou haſt great cauſe to be right ſory. For long time thou haſt buſied thee to peruert whomſoeuer thou mighteſt. Therfore, as many deathes thou art worthye of, as thou haſt geuen euill counſelles. And therefore by Ieſu, thou ſhalt go thether, where Nicoll Harford & Thom. Puruay were harbered. And I vndertake, or this day viij. dayes, thou ſhalt be right glad for to doe what thing that euer I bid thee to do. And Loſell, I ſhal aſſay, if I can make thee there as ſorowfull (as it was tolde me) thou waſt glad of my laſt goyng out of England. By S. Thomas, I ſhall turne thy ioy into ſorow.

Vide ſupra. pag. 497.

☞And I ſayd: Syr there can no body proue lawfully that I ioyed euer, of the maner of your going out of this land.

But Syr, to ſay the ſoth, I was ioyfull when ye were gone: for the biſhop of London in whoſe priſon ye left me, found in me no cauſe for to hold me lenger in his priſō, but at the requeſt of my frēdes, he deliuered me to them, aſking of me no maner of ſubmitting.

Arundell the Archb. going out of England.

The gentlenes of the B. of Lōdon to Thorpe. So promiſed Wincheſter in Queene Maries time, but that paſſed his power to performe.

¶Then the archbiſhop ſayd to me. wherefore that I yede out of England, is vnknowne to thee: But be this thinge well knowne to thee, that God (as I wote well) hath called me agayn, and brought me into this land, for to deſtroy thee and the falſe ſect that thou art of: as by God, I ſhall purſue you ſo narowly, that I ſhall not leaue a ſlip of you in this land.

A notable aunſwer of Thorpe to the Byſhop, promiſing to deſtroy all the Goſpellers.

☞And I ſayd to the archbiſhop: Syr, the holy Prophette Ieremy ſayd to the falſe Prophet Anany. when the word that is the prophecy of a Prophet, is knowne or fulfilled:

then it ſhalbe knowne, that the Lorde ſent the Prophet in trueth.

¶And the Archbiſhop (as if he had not bene pleaſed with my ſaying) turned him awayward hether and thether, and ſayd. By GOD, I ſhall ſet vpon thy ſhinnes a payre of pearles, that thou ſhalt be glad to chaunge thy voyce.

Such pearles would better beſeeme my Lord your golden ſhooes.

These and many moe wonderous and conuicious wordes, were ſpoken to me, manaſſing me and al other of the ſame ſect, for to be puniſhed and deſtroyed vnto the vttermoſt.

At illi clamabāt dicentes tolle, tolle, crucifige eum. Luke 23.

And the Archbiſhop called then to him a Clerke, and rowned with him: and that Clerk went forth, and ſone he brought in the Conſtable of Saltwode Caſtle, and the Archbiſhop rowned a good while with him: And then the Conſtable went forth, and then came in diuers ſeculars, & they ſcorned me on euery ſide, & manaſſed me greatly. And ſome counſelled the Archbiſhop to burne me by and by, & ſome other counſelled him to drowne me in the Sea, for it is neare hand there.

And a Clerke ſtanding beſide me, there kneeled downe to yͤ Archbiſhop, praying him that he would deliuer me to him, for to ſay Mattins with him: & he would vndertake: that within three dayes I ſhoulde not reſiſt any thing that were commaunded me to do of my Prelate.

And the archbiſhop ſayd, that he would ordayn for me himſelfe.

And then after, came agayne the Conſtable and ſpake priuily to the Archbiſhop: And the archbiſhop cōmaunded the Conſtable to lead me forth thence with him, & ſo he did. And when we were gone forth thence, we were ſent after againe. And whē I came in agayne before the archbiſhop: a Clerke bad me kneele downe and aſke grace, and ſubmit me lowly, and I ſhould finde it for the beſt.

Obedience to God and to hys lawe woulde not ſerue.

☞And I ſayd thē to the archbiſhop. Syr, as I haue ſayd to you diuers times to day, I will wilfully & lowlye obey and ſubmit me to be ordeined euer after the cunning and power, to God & to his law, and to euery member of holy Church, as farre forth as I can perceiue that theſe members accord with their head Chriſt, and will teach me, rule me, or chaſtiſe me by authority, ſpecially of Gods law.

¶And the archbiſhop ſayd. I wiſt wel he would not with out ſuch additions ſubmit him.

In patience and ſilence poſſeſſe your ſoules.

And then I was rebuked, ſcorned & manaſſed on euery ſide: and yet after this, diuers perſons cried vpon me to kneele downe and ſubmit me, but I ſtood ſtill and ſpake no word. And then there was ſpoken of me and to me many great words, & I ſtood and heard them manaſſe curſe and ſcorne me: but I ſayd nothing.

Then a while after, yͤ archbiſhop ſayd to me. Wilt thou not ſubmit thee to the ordinaunce of holy Church?

☞And I ſayd: Syr, I will full gladly ſubmitte me, as I haue ſhewed you before.

¶And then the Archbiſhop bad the Conſtable, to haue me forth thence in haſte.

Thorp caſt in priſon.

And ſo then I was led forth, and brought into a foule vnhoneſt priſon, where I came neuer before. But thanked be God, when all mē were gone forth then from me, & had ſparred faſt the priſon dore after them: By and by after, I therin by my ſelfe, buſied me to thinke on God, & to thanke him of his goodneſſe. And I was then greatlye comforted in all my wits, not onely for that I was then deliuered for a time from the ſight, from the hearing, from the preſence, from the ſcorning, and from the manaſſing of mine enemies: but much more I reioyſed in the Lord, becauſe that through his grace he kept me ſo, both among the flattering ſpecially, and among the manaſſing of mine aduerſaryes, that without heauineſſe and anguiſh of my conſcience, I paſſed away from them. For as a tree layd vpon an other tree, ouerwharte or Croſſe wiſe, ſo was the Archbiſhoppe and hys three Clerkes alwayes contrarye to me, and I to them.

Thorpe comforted & ſtrengthenēd of the Lord, after his conflict with the biſhop

Now good God for thine holy name, and to the prayſing of the moſt bleſſed name: make vs one together, if it be thy will (by authority of thy word, that is true perfite charity) and els not. And that it may thus be, all that this writing read or heare, pray hartely to the lord God, that he for his great goodneſſe that can not be with tongue expreſſed, graunt to vs and to all other, which in the ſame wiſe, and for the ſame cauſe ſpecially, or for any other cauſe be at dyſtaūce, to be knit & made one in true fayth, in ſtedfaſt hope, and in perfite charity. Amen.

¶Beſides this examinatiō here aboue deſcribed, came an other treatiſe alſo to our hands of the ſame W. Thorpe, vnder the name and title of his teſtament: which rather by the matter and handling thereof, might ſeme to be counted a complaynt of vicious Prieſtes: which treatiſe or Teſtament, in this place we thought not meete to be left out.

Chriſt dwelleth in a faythfull ſoule.

MAthew an Apoſtle of Chriſt, and his Goſpeller, witneſſeth truly in the holy Goſpell, the moſt holy liuing and the moſt wholeſome teachyng of Chriſt. He rehearſeth how that Chriſt likeneth thē that heare his wordes and keepe thē, to a wiſe mā that buildeth his houſe vpon a ſtone, that is a ſtable and a ſad ground. This houſe is mans ſoule in whome Chriſt delighteth to dwell, if it be grounded, that is ſtabliſhed faythfully in his liuing & in his true teaching, adourned or made faire with diuers vertues, which Chriſt vſed and taught without any medling of any error, as are chiefly the conditions of charity.

Chriſt is the ſtone wheron we muſt builde.

This foreſaid ſtone is Chriſt, vpon which euery faythful ſoule muſt be builded, ſince vpon none other ground then vpon Chriſtes liuing and his teaching, no bodye may make any building or houſing, wherein Chriſt will come and dwell. This ſentence wytneſſeth S. Paule to the Corinthians, ſhewing to them that no body may ſet any other ground then is ſet, that is, Chriſtes liuing and teaching. And becauſe that all men and women ſhoulde geue all their buſineſſe here in this life, to build them vertuouſly vpon this ſure foundation: S. Paule knowledging the feruent deſire, and the good will of the people of Epheſye, wrote to them comfortablye ſaying: Now ye are not ſtraungers, gueſtes, nor yet comelinges, but ye are the Citizens and of the houſeholde of God, builded aboue vpon the foundement of the Apoſtles and Prophetes. In which foundement, euery building that is builded or made thorough the grace of God, it encreaſeth or groweth into an holy tēple, that is: Euery body that is grounded or builded faythfully in the teaching and liuing of Chriſt, is there through, made the holy temple of God.

Howe we are made the temple of God.

This is the ſtable groūd and ſtedfaſt ſtone Chriſt, which is the ſure corner ſtone, faſt ioyning & holding mightely together, two walles. For through Chriſt Ieſu, meane or middle perſon of the Trinitye: the Father of heauen is pitious or mercifully ioyned and made one together to mankinde. And through dread to offēd God, and feruent loue to pleaſe him, mē be vnſeparably made one to God and defended ſurely vnder his protection. Alſo, this foreſayd ſtone Chriſt, was figured by the ſquare ſtones of whiche the temple of God, was made. For as a ſquare ſtone, whereſoeuer it is caſt or layd, it abideth and lyeth ſtably: ſo Chriſt and euery faythfull member of his Church by example of him, abideth and dwelleth ſtably in true fayth, and in all other heauēly vertues in all aduerſityes that they ſuffer in this valley of teares.

Marke what we haue by Chriſt.

The propertie of a ſquare ſtone

For loe, when theſe foreſayd ſquare ſtones were hewen and wrought for to be layde in the walles or pillers of Gods temple, none noyſe or ſtroke of the workeman was heard. Certaine this ſilēce in working of this ſtone, figureth Chriſt chiefly and his faithfull members, which by example of him, haue bene and yet are, and euer to the worldes end ſhall be ſo meeke and pacient in euery aduerſity, that no ſound nor yet any grudging ſhall any time be perceiued in them.

Neuertheleſſe, this chiefe and moſt worſhipfull corner ſtone which onely is ground of all vertues, proude beggers repriued: but this deſpight and reproofe, Chriſt ſuffered moſt meekely in his owne perſon, for to geue example of all meekeneſſe and pacience to all his faythfull folowers. Certayne, this world is now ſo full of proud beggers which are named Prieſtes: but the very office of working of Prieſthood which Chriſt approueth true, and accepteth, is farre from the multitude of Prieſts that now reigne in this world.

Chriſt is an example of all perfect meekenes.

For from the higheſt Prieſt to the loweſt all (as who ſay) ſtudy, that is, they imagine and trauell buſilye, how they may pleaſe this world and theyr fleſh. This ſentence and many ſuch other dependeth vpon them, if it be well conſidered, other God the father of heauen hath deceiued all mankinde by the liuing ſpeacially and teaching of Ieſu Chriſt, and by the liuing and teaching of his Apoſtles and Prophetes: or els all the Popes that haue bene, ſince I had any knowledge or diſcretion, with all the Colledge of Cardinals, Archbiſhops, and Biſhops, Monks, Canons, and Friers, with all the contagious flock of the communalty of Prieſthood, which haue (all my life time and mikle lenger) reigned and yet reigne, & increaſe damnably from ſinne into ſinne: haue bene and yet bee proud, obſtinate heretickes, couetous ſimoners, and defouled adulterers in the miniſtering of the Sacramentes, and ſpecially in the miniſtring of the Sacrament of the aultar. For as their workes ſheweth whereto Chriſt biddeth vs take heed: the higheſt Prieſtes and Prelates of this Prieſthood, chalenge and occupy vnlefull, tēporall Lordſhips. And for temporall fauour and meed, they ſell & geue benefices to vnworthy and vnable perſons, yea theſe ſimoners ſell ſinne, ſuffering men and women in euery degree and eſtate, to lye, and continue, from yeare to yere, in diuers vices ſlaūderouſly. And thus by euil example of high prieſts in the church, lower Prieſtes vnder them are not onely ſuffered, but they are mayntayned to ſell full deare (to the people for temporall meed) all the Sacraments.

Prieſts ſeke the plea
of this world.

Great odde
betwixt th
life of pop
and Chri
and hys A-
poſtles.

Whē pri
forget Go
truth, ye
whether
they run
headlong.
The great
infect the
ſmall.

And thus all this foreſayd Prieſthoode, is blowne ſo high and borne vp in pride and vaine glory of their eſtate and dignity & ſo blinded with worldly couetouſnes: That they diſdayne to follow Chriſt in very meekeneſſe and wilfull pouerty, liuing holylye and

Fleſhlye
prieſts ca
not away
with thos
thinges.

preaching Gods word truely, freely and continually, taking theyr liuelihood at the free will of the people of their pure almes, where and when they ſuffice not for theyr true and buſy preaching to get their ſuſtenaunce with their handes. To this true ſentence grounded on Chriſtes owne liuing and teaching of his Apoſtles, theſe foreſaid worldly & fleſhly Prieſts wil not conſent effectually. But as theyr workes and alſo their wordes ſhew: boldly and vnſhamefaſtly theſe forenamed Prieſtes and Prelates, couet, and enforce them mightely and buſily, that all holy ſcripture were expounded and drawne accordingly to their maners, and to theyr vngrounded vſages and findinges. For they will not (ſince they hold it but folly and madneſſe) conforme their maners to the pure and ſimple liuing of Chriſt and his Apoſtles, nor they will not followe freely their learning. Wherefore, all the Emperours and Kinges, and all other Lordes and Ladyes, and all the common people in euery degree and ſtate, which haue before time knowne or might haue knowne, and alſo all they that now yet know or might know this foreſayde witnes of Prieſthood, and would not nor yet will, enforce them after theyr cunning and power, to withſtand charitably the foreſayd enemies and traytors of Chriſt, and of his churche: all theſe ſtriue with Antichriſt agaynſt Ieſu. And they ſhall heare the indignation of God almighty without end, if in conuenient time they amend them not, and repent them verelye, doing therefore due mourning and ſorow, after their cunning & power. For through preſumtuouſneſſe and negligence of Prieſtes & Prelates (not of the Churche of Chriſt, but occupying theyr prelacye vnduely in the Church) and alſo flattering and falſe couetouſnes of other diuers named Prieſtes: Louſengers and lounderers, are wrõgfully made and named Heremites, and haue leaue to defraud poore and needy creatures of their liuelode, and to liue by theyr falſe winning and begging, in ſlouth and in other diuers vices. And alſo of theſe Prelates, theſe coker noſes, are ſuffered to liue in pride and hipocriſy, and to defoule themſelues both bodelye and ghoſtly. Alſo by the ſuffering and counſell of theſe foreſayde Prelates and of other Prieſtes, are made both vayne brotherhoodes and ſiſterhoodes, full of pride and enuye, which are full contrary to the brotherhood of Chriſt, ſince they are cauſe of mickle diſſetion, and they multiply and ſuſteyne it vncharitably: for in luſtye eating and drinking, vnmeaſurably and out of time, they exerciſe themſelues. Alſo this vaine confederacy of brotherhoodes, is permitted to be of one clothing, and to hold together.

They hunt after this with tooth and nayle.

An exhortation to all degrees, to ſee prieſthood amended.

Prelates & prieſtes negligent in their duties.

And in all theſe vngrounded and vnlefull doinges, prieſts are parteners and great medlers and counſellers. And ouer this viciouſneſſe, Heremites and Pardoners, Ankers, and ſtrãge beggers, are licenſed and admitted of Prelates and Prieſtes, for to beguile the people with flatteringes and leaſinges ſlaunderouſly agaynſt all good reaſon and true beleue, and ſo to encreaſe diuers vyces in themſelues, and alſo among all them that accept them or conſent to them.

And thus, the viciouſneſſe of theſe foreſayd named Prieſtes & Prelates, haue bene long time, and yet is, and ſhal be cauſe of wars both within the Realme and without. And in the ſame wiſe, theſe vnable Prieſtes haue bene, and yet are, and ſhalbe chiefe cauſe of peſtilence of men, and morein of beaſtes, and of barrenneſſe of the earth, and of all other miſchiefes, to the tyme that Lordes and cõmons able them through grace, for to know and to keepe the cõmaundements of God, inforcing them than faythfully and charitably by one aſſent, for to redreſſe and make one this foreſayde Prieſthood, to the wilfull, poore, meeke, and innocent liuing and teaching, ſpecially of Chriſt and his Apoſtles.

Therefore, all they that know or might know, the viciouſnes that raigneth now curſedly in theſe Prieſts and in theyr learning, if they ſuffice not to vnderſtand this contagious viciouſneſſe: let them pray to the Lord hartily for the health of his Church, abſteining them prudently from theſe indurate enemyes of Chriſt and of his people, and from all their Sacraments, ſince to them all that know them or may know, they are but fleſhly deedes and falſe: as S. Cyprian witneſſeth in the firſt queſtion of decrees, and in the firſt cauſe. Ca. Si quis inquit. For as this Saynt and great Doctour witneſſeth there, that not onely vicious Prieſtes, but alſo all they that fauour them or conſent to them in their viciouſneſſe: ſhall together periſh with them, if they amend them not duely, as all they periſhed that cõſented to Dathan and Abiron. For nothing were more confuſion to theſe foreſayd vicious Prieſtes, than to eſchew them prudently in all theyr vnlefull Sacramentes, while they cõtinue in their ſinnefull liuing ſlaunderouſly, as they haue lõg time done and yet do. And no body need to be afrayde (though death did folow by one wiſe or other) for to dye out of this world without taking of any Sacrament of theſe foreſayd Chriſtes enemyes: ſince Chriſt will not fayle, for to miniſter himſelfe all lefull & healfull Sacramentes and neceſſary at all time (and ſpecially at end) to all them that are in true fayth, in ſtedfaſt hope, and in perfect charity.

Cipr. 1. q. 1. cap. Si quis inquit.

But yet ſome mad fooles ſay (for to eſchew ſlaunder) they wil be ſhriuen once in the yeare, and communed of theyr proper Prieſtes, though they knowe them defouled with ſlaunderous vyces. No doubt, but all they that thus do or conſent priuely or apertly to ſuch doing, are culpable of great ſinne: ſince S. Paul witneſſeth, that not onely they that do euill, are worthy of death and damnation, but alſo they that conſent to euill doers. Alſo (as their ſlaũderous workes witneſſe) theſe aforeſayd vicious Prieſtes, deſpiſe and caſt from them heauenly cunning, that is geuen of the holye ghoſt Wherefore, the Lord throweth all ſuch deſpiſers from him, that they vſe nor do any Prieſthood to him.

No doubt than, all they that wittingly or wilfully, take or cõſent that any other body ſhould take any Sacrament of any ſuche named Prieſt, ſinneth openly and damnably agaynſt all the Trinity, and are vnable to any Sacrament of health.

And that this foreſayd ſentẽce is altogether true, into remiſſion of all my ſinnefull liuing, truſting ſtedfaſtly in the mercye of God, I offer to him my ſoule.

And to proue alſo the foreſayde ſentence true with the helpe of God, I purpoſe fully for to ſuffer meekely and gladly my moſt wretched bodye to bee tormented, where God will, of whom he will, and when he will, and as long as he will, and what temporall payne he will and death, to the prayſing of his name, and to the edification of his Church.

And I that am moſt vnworthy and wretched caytiſe, ſhall now through the ſpeciall grace of God, make to him pleaſaunt ſacrifice with my moſt ſinnefull and vnworthy body. Beſeechyng hartely all folke that read or heare this end of my purpoſed Teſtament, that through the grace of GOD, they diſpoſe verely and vertuouſly all their wittes, and able in lyke maner all their members for to vnderſtand truely, and to keepe faythfully, charitably, and continually all the commaundementes of God, and ſo than to pray deuoutly to all the bleſſed Trinitie, that I may haue grace with wiſedome and prudence from aboue, to end my lyfe here in this foreſayd truth and for this cauſe, in true fayth and ſtedfaſt hope, and perfect charitie. Amen.

What was the ende of this good man and bleſſed ſeruant of God Williã Thorpe, I finde as yet in no ſtory ſpecified. By all coniectures it is to be thought, that the archbiſhop Thomas Arundull being ſo hard an aduerſarye agaynſt thoſe men, would not let him goe. Much leſſe it is to be ſuppoſed, that he would euer retract his ſentence and opinion, which he ſo valiantly mayntayned before the byſhop, neither doth it ſeeme that he had any ſuch recanting ſpirite. Agayne, neyther is it founde, that he was burned. Wherfore it remayneth moſt like to be true, that he beyng committed to ſome ſtraight priſon (according as the Archbyſhop in his examination before, dyd threaten him) there (as Thorpe confeſſeth himſelfe) was ſo ſtraightly kept, that eyther he was ſecretly made away, or els there he dyed by ſickneſſe.

The ende of W. Thorpe vncertayne.

The like end alſo I finde to happen to Iohn Aſton, an other good folower of Wickliffe, who for the ſame doctrine of the ſacrament was condemned by the Biſhops, And becauſe he would not recant, he was committed to perpetuall priſon, wherein the good man continued till his death. An. 1382.

¶ Iohn Puruey.

Furthermore, in the ſayd examinatiõ of Williã Thorpe, mention was made (as ye heard) of Iohn Puruey, of whom alſo ſomething we touched before: promiſing of the ſayd Iohn Puruey, more particularly to entreate in order and proceſſe of time. Of this Puruey, Tho. Walden writeth thus in his ſecond tome, Iohn Puruey ſayth he, was the Library of Lollordes, and gloſer vpon Wickliffe. He ſayde, that the worſhipping of Abrahã was but a ſalutatiõ. And in his third Tome, he ſayth: this Iohn Puruey with Harford a doctour of diuinity, were greuouſly tormented, and puniſhed in the priſon of Saltwood, and at ÿ length recanted at Paules croſſe at London (Tho. Arundel being then Archb. of Canterbury.) Afterward agayne, he was empriſoned vnder Henry Chicheley Archb. of Canterbury, in the yeare of our Lord 1421. Thus muche writeth Walden. The workes of this man which he wrote, were gathered by Richard Lauingame his aduerſarye, whiche I thinke worthy to be remẽbred. Firſt, as touching the Sacrament of the laſt ſupper, the Sacrament of penaunce, the Sacrament of orders, the power of the keyes, the preaching of ÿ Goſpell, of Mariages, of Vowes, of poſſeſſiõs, of the puniſhing and correcting of the Clergy, of the lawes and decrees of the Church, of the ſtate and condition of the Pope and the clergy: Of all theſe generally, he left diuers monuments grauely and exactly written, part whereof, here in the end of his ſtory we thought to exhibite, being tranſlated out of Latine into Engliſh.

Iohn Puruey.

Iohn Puruey priſoned after his recantation.

The articles which he taught, and afterward was forced to recant at Paules croſſe, were theſe hereafter folowing.

Articles of Iohn Puruey recãted,

1. That in the Sacrament of the aultar after the conſecration, there is not, neither can be, any accident without the ſubiect: But there verely remaineth the ſame ſubſtaũce

and the very viſible and incorruptible bread, & likewiſe yͤ very ſame wine the which before the conſecration were ſet vpon the aultar to be conſecrate of the Prieſt: likewiſe as when a Pagan or infidell is baptiſed, he is ſpiritually conuerted into a member of Chriſt through grace, and yet remayneth the very ſame man whiche he before was in his proper nature and ſubſtaunce.

2. Auricular confeſſion or priuate penaunce, is a certeyne whiſpering, deſtroying the libertye of the Goſpell & newly brought in by the Pope and the Clergye, to intangle the conſciences of mē in ſinne, & to draw their ſoules into hel.

He ſpeaketh of prieſtes here, & not of publique miniſters appointed in the Church.

3. Euery lay man being holy, and predeſtinate vnto euerlaſting life (albeit he be a lay man) yet is he a true Prieſt before God.

4. That diuers Prelates and other of the Clergy, do liue wickedly contrary to the doctrine and example of Chriſt & his Apoſtles. Therefore they whiche ſo liue, haue not the keyes neyther of yͤ kingdome of heauen, neither yet of hell: neither ought any chriſtian to eſteme his cēſure any more, then as a thing of no force. Yea albeit the pope ſhould peraduenture interdite the realme, yet could he not hurt, but rather profite vs, for ſo much as thereby we ſhould be diſmiſſed from the obſeruation of his lawes, and from ſaying of ſeruice according to the cuſtome of the Church.

Vowes.

5. If any man do make an othe or vow, to keepe perpetuall chaſtity, or do any thing els whereunto God hath not appoynted him, geuing him grace to perform his purpoſe: the ſame vow or othe, is vnreaſonable and vndiſcreet, neither can any Prelate compell him to keep the ſame, except he will do contrary vnto Gods ordinaunce. But he ought to commit him, vnto the gouernance of the holy ghoſt & of his owne conſcience: for ſo much as euery man which will not fulfill his vow or othe, can not do it for that cauſe.

The charge of prieſts.

6. Whoſoeuer taketh vpon him the office of prieſthood, although he haue not the charge of ſoules cōmitted vnto him according to the cuſtome of the Churche: Not onely they may, but ought to preach the Goſpel freely vnto the people otherwiſe he is a thief, excommunicated of God, and of the holy Church.

Againſt tranſubſtantiation.

7. That Innocentius the third Pope, and 600. biſhops, and a thouſand other Prelates, with all the reſt of the clergy, which together with the ſame Pope agreed and determined: that in the ſacrament of the aultar, after the conuerſion of the bread and wine into the body & bloud of Chriſt, that the accidentes of the ſayd bread and wine do remayne there, without any proper ſubiect of the ſame: the whiche alſo ordeyned, that all Chriſtians ought to confeſſe theyr ſinnes once a yeare vnto a proper prieſt, & to receiue the reuerent Sacrament at Eaſter, & made certaine other lawes at the ſame time: All they ſayth he, in ſo doing were fooles and Blockheades, Heretickes, Blaſphemers and Seducers of Chriſtian people. Wherfore, we ought not to beleue their determinations, or of their ſucceſſours, neither ought we to obey theyr lawes or ordinances, except they be plainly grounded vpon the holy Scripture, or vpon ſome reaſō which can not be impugned.

¶ Other Articles drawne out of Purueyes bookes more at large by Ry. Lauingham.

Articles out of Purueys bookes collected by R. Lauingham.

AS touching the Sacramēt of thanks geuing, he ſayth: That that chap. of repentance and remiſſion: Omnis vtriuſque ſexus, wherin it is ordeined that euery faithfull mā ought once euery yeare at the leaſt, that is to ſay, at Eaſter to receiue the Sacrament of Euchariſt: is a beaſtly thing, hereticall and blaſphemous.

The Sacrament of the popiſh aultar.

Item, that Innocentius the 3. Pope, was the head of Antichriſt, who after the letting looſe of Sathan, inuented a new article of our fayth, and a certayn fayned verity touching the Sacrament of the aultar: That is to ſay, that the Sacramēt of the aultar is an accidēt without a ſubſtance, or els an heape of accidentes without a ſubſtaunce. But Chriſt and his Apoſtles doe teach manifeſtly, that the Sacrament of the aultar is bread, and the body of Chriſt together after the maner that he ſpake: And in that he calleth it bread, he woulde haue the people to vnderſtande as they ought with reaſon, that it is very and ſubſtaunciall bread, and no falſe nor fayned bread.

Pope Innocentius head of Antichriſt.

And although Innocētius that Antichriſt doth allege, that in the councell at Lions where this matter was decided were 600. Biſhops with him, and 1000. Prelates, which were in one opiniō of this determination: Al thoſe notwithſtanding he calleth fooles according to that ſaying of Eccl. 1. Of fooles there are an infinite number. And ſo in like maner he calleth them falſe Chriſtes & falſe prophets, of whom Chriſt ſpeaketh the 24. of Mathew. Many falſe Chriſtes and falſe Prophets ſhall ariſe and deceiue many: And therfore, euery Chriſtian man ought to beleue firmly that the ſacrament of the aultar is very bread in deed, and no falſe nor fayned bread, And although it be very bread in deed, yet notwithſtāding, it is the very body of Chriſt in yͤ ſort he ſpake and called it his body: and ſo it is very bread, and the very body of Chriſt. And as Chriſt concerning hys humanity, was both viſible and paſſible, and by his Diuinity was inuiſible and vnpaſſible: So likewiſe, this ſacrament in that it is very bread, may be ſene with the corporal eie, and may alſo abide corruption. But although a man may ſee that Sacrament, yet notwithſtanding, cannot the body of Chriſt in that Sacrament be ſeene with the corporall eye, although it be the body of Chriſt in that maner he ſpake it: For that notwithſtanding, the body of Chriſt is now incorruptible in heauē. So the Sacrament of the cup is very wine, & the very bloud of Chriſt, according as hys maner of ſpeaking was. Alſo Innocentius 3, with a great multitude of his ſecular Clerkes, made a certayne new determination: that the Sacrament of the aultar is an accidence without a ſubſtance, whereas, neither Ieſus Chriſt nor any of his Apoſtles, taught this fayth (but openly and manifeſtly to the contrary) neither yet the holy Doctours, for the ſpace of a thouſand yeares & more, taught this faith openly.

The ſacrament in ſubſtāce bread: in ſignification the body of Chriſt

Tranſubſtantiation not openlye taught 1000 yeares after Chriſt.

Therefore, when Antichriſt or any of his ſhauelinges doth aſke of thee that art a ſimple Chriſtian, whether that this Sacrament be the very body of Chriſt or not: affirme thou it manifeſtly ſo to be. And if he aſke of thee whether it be materiall bread, or what other bread els: ſay thou, that it is ſuch bread as Chriſt vnderſtood and ment by his proper word: and ſuch bread, as the holy ghoſt ment in S. Paule when he called that to be very breade whiche he brake, and wade thou no further herin. If he aſke thee, how this bread is the body of Chriſt: Say thou, as Chriſt vnderſtode the ſame to be his body which is both omnipotent and true, & in whom is no vntrueth. Say thou alſo, as the holy Doctors do ſay, that the terreſtriall matter or ſubſtaunce, may be conuerted into Chriſt, as the Pagan or infidell may bee Baptiſed: and herby ſpiritually to be conuerted and to be a member of Chriſt, and ſo after a certayne maner to become Chriſt, and yet the ſame man to remayne ſtill in his proper nature. For ſo doth S. Auguſtine graunt, that a ſinner forſaking his ſinne and being made one ſpirite with God by fayth, grace, and charity: may be cōuerted into God, and to be after a maner, God: as both Dauid, and S. Iohn do teſtifye, and yet to be the ſame perſon in ſubſtaunce and nature, and in ſoule and vertue to be altered & chāged. But yet, men of more knowledge and reaſō, may more plainely conuince the falſity of Antichriſt both in this matter and in others, by the gift of the holy Ghoſt working in thē. Notwithſtanding, if thoſe that be ſimple men will hūbly holde and keepe the manifeſt and apparaunt wordes of the holy ſcripture, & the playn ſenſe and meaning of the holy ghoſt, and proceed no farther, but humbly to commit that vnto yͤ ſpirite of God which paſſeth theyr vnderſtanding: Then may they ſafely offer themſelues to death, as true Martyrs of Ieſus Chriſt.

The Sacrament both bread, and the body in diuers reſpectes.

Auricular confeſſion and penance

As touching the Sacrament of penaunce: That chapter Omnis vtriuſque ſexus, by which a certayne newe founde auricular confeſſion was ordeined: is full of hipocriſye, hereſy: couetouſnes, pride, & blaſphemy he ſayth, and reproueth the ſame chapter verbatim, and that by the ſentences of the ſame proces. Alſo, that the penaunce and paynes limited by the Canons, be vnreaſonable and vniuſt, for the auſterity and rigorouſnes which they conteine, more then are taxed by Gods law. He alſo doth exemplify, of the ſolemne and publicke deniall of penitentes to be receiued into orders, according to the decree of the generall Councell Diſtinctione 50. cap Ex pœnitentibus. Alſo of the ſeuenfold penitence of a prieſt committing fornication, according to the chapter. Præſbiter Diſtinct. 82. And farther ſheweth, an other example of the penitence of Prieſtes according to that chater. Qui præſbiterum &c. Whereas the decretall of the generall Counſell ſayth, that ſuch a one ought to remayne continuing his life, in the warres, and not to mary. And how Innocentius 3. brought in a new founde confeſſion: whereby, the Prieſtes do oppreſſe the ſimple lay men. And that many other things they do, compelling them to confeſſe themſelues to blind and ignoraunt Prieſts, in whom is nothing els then pride and couetouſnes, hauing ſuche in contempt as are learned and wiſe. Alſo, that the Decretall of Innocentius 3. touching the foreſayd auricular or vocal confeſſion: was brought in and inuented, to intricate & intangle mens conſciences with ſinne, & to draw thē downe to hell. And furthermore, that ſuch maner of confeſſion, deſtroyeth the Euangelicall libertye, and doth let men to inquire after, & to retayn, the wiſe counſell & doctrine of ſuch as be gods prieſts: which know faithfully how to obſerue his precepts and commaundements, & which would willingly teach the people, the right way to heauē. For which abuſe, all Chriſten men and ſpicially all Engliſhmē, ought to exclayme agaynſt ſuch wicked lawes.

The order of Prieſthood.

As touching the Sacrament of order he ſayth: That al good chriſtians, are predeſtinate and be ordeined of God, & made true Prieſtes to offer Chriſt in themſelues, and to Chriſt, themſelues: as alſo to teach and preach the Goſpell to their neighbors, as well in word as in exāple of liuing. But the worldly ſhauelings do more magnify the naked & bare ſignes of prieſthood (inuented by ſinfull men) then the true & perfect prieſthood of God, grounded by a true & liuely fayth, annexed with good works. Alſo, if it were needfull to haue ſuch ſhauelinges, God knoweth how, & can make when it pleaſeth him, prieſtes (without mans working & ſinfull ſignes, that is to ſay, without either ſacramentes or characters) to be known & diſcerned of the people, by their vertuous life and example, and by their true preaching of yͤ law of God. For ſo made he the firſt made prieſtes & elders before the law of Moyſes: and ſo made he Moyſes a prieſt before Aaron, & before the ceremonies of the law, without mans operation at all: And euen ſo hath God made al ſuch as are predeſtinate, to be his prieſtes. But ſuch as be true Chriſtians, receiue none ſuch as Prieſtes, but vnleſſe they follow Chriſt and his apoſtles, neither do they beleue that they make the ſacrament of the aultar (which they affirme to be Gods body) when it pleaſeth thē: leaſt happely God be not with them, foraſmuch as that they do this thing for couetouſnes ſake, or els to brag of their owne power. And therfore ſuch as be ſimple men, will worſhip that Sacrament in this doubtfulnes, with a ſilent conditiō, that is, if it be made by Gods authority, and to haue their deuotiō to the body of Chriſt in heauen. Alſo, that as ſuch be elders, if they be Gods prieſtes, be Biſhops, Prelates, and Curats of their Chriſtian brethren, whom they may lead to heauē by the example of their holy conuerſatiō, and by preaching of the goſpell although they make no ſacrifice to that Antichriſt of Rome for their confirmation: neither be they dedicated to the world by ſecular diuine thinges, and by conſuming the liuinges of the poore: as be thoſe ſecular biſhops, prelates & curates. Alſo, that although there were no pope according as the cuſtome of the church is: yet Chriſt which is the hed of his church, doth ordeyne ſuch a Pope as pleaſeth him: and that is, whomſoeuer is moſt humble & lowly and beſt doth the office of a true Prieſt, although he be vnknown to yͤ world. And although ther were no ſuch proud biſhop aboue all the reſt, as the church doth vſe: yet all the prieſtes might well gouern the church by common aſſent, as once they did, before ſuch worldly pride crept in amongſt the Biſhops. &c. And admit that no ſuch Prieſtes were according to the accuſtomed vſe now of receiuing of order & tonſure, by ſuch a mytred Byſhoppe and his tonſure: yet: Chriſt knoweth both how to make and chuſe ſuch as ſhall well pleaſe him, both in conuerſation of life, & ſincere preaching of the Goſpell, in miniſtring to his people all neceſſary ſacraments. And euery holy man which is a miniſter of Chriſt, although he be not ſhauen, is a true Prieſt ordeined of God, although no mitred Biſhoppe euer lay his character vpon him: So, that the Pope and Prelates, doe make more eſtimation of their Characters (as tonſures & crownes by them inuented) then of the true and perfect prieſthood ordeined of God: whereas, all thoſe that are predeſtinate, are true Prieſtes made of him.

He meaneth of priuate preaching to theyr neighbours.

True miniſters may be made without ſhauing.

Prieſts here haue a priuate not a publique vnderſtanding.

What if there were no Pope knowen, yet the Church could ſtand.

Tonſure maketh not a Prieſt.

The Popes cēſures, like the blaſt of Lucifer.

As touching the authoritye of the keyes and cenſures, no Chriſtian man ought to eſteeme Sathan (whom men call the pope) and his vniuſt cēſures: more then the hiſſing of a ſerpēt, or the blaſt of Lucifer. Alſo, that no man ought to truſt or put confidence in the falſe indulgences of couetous Prieſtes, which indulgences do draw away the hope which men ought to repoſe in God, to a ſort of ſinful men, and do robbe the poore of ſuch almes as is geuen to them: Such Prieſtes be manifeſt betrayers of Chriſt and of the whole Church, and be Sathans own ſtuardes to beguyle chriſten ſoules by theyr hipocriſy and fayned pardons. Alſo, foraſmuch as thoſe prelates and clergy men liue ſo execrable a life, contrary to the goſpel of Chriſt, and examples of his Apoſtles, & teach not truly the goſpell, but only lies and the traditions of ſinfull wicked men: It appereth moſt manifeſtly that they haue not the keyes of the kingdome of heauen, but rather the keyes of hell. And they may be right well aſſured, that God neuer gaue vnto them authority to make & eſtabliſh ſo many ceremonies & traditions, which be contrary to the liberty of the Goſpell, and are blocks in chriſten mens wayes, that they can neither know nor obſerue the ſame his Goſpel, in liberty of cōſcience, and ſo attayne a ready way to heauen.

Popiſhe prieſts haue not the keies of heauen, but rather of hell.

Alſo, that al maner of religious men, notwithſtanding the chapter Religioſi, touching the priuiledges in the Clementines: may lawfully miniſter all ſacramēts to thē that are worthy the ſame. Foraſmuch as the ſame is a worke of charity, which onely the will and ordinance of the pope and his fautors in this caſe is to hinder and let. Item, if the Pope ſhall interdict this our realme: that cannot hurt vs, but much profite vs: Becauſe that therby he ſhould ſeperate vs from all his wicked lawes, and frō the charges of ſuſtaining of ſo many thouſand ſhauelings, which with ſmal deuotiō or none at all, patter and chatter a new foūd ſong ſecundum vſum Sarum. So that not whatſoeuer yͤ pope in his generall counſell bindeth in earth, is bound of God in heauen: either for that he bindeth vnreaſonably, and contradictorily doth agaynſt himſelf, or els for that he hath forſaken the iudgement of God.

The popes curſe hurteth not, but profiteth.

As touching the preaching of the Goſpell: whoſoeuer receiueth or taketh vpō him yͤ office of a prieſt or of a biſhop and diſchargeth not the ſame by the example of his good cōuerſation and faythfull preaching of the Goſpel: is a theef, excommunicate of God, and of holy church. And further if the curates preach not the word of God, they ſhalbe damned, and if they know not how to preach, they ought to reſigne their benefices: So that thoſe prelates which preach not the Goſpel of Chriſt (although they could excuſe themſelues from the doing of any other euill) are dead in themſelues, are Antichriſtes, and Sathans trāſfigured into angels of light, night theues, manquellers by day light, & betrayers of Chriſt his people.

Goſſopry not ſufficient cauſe to reſtraine matrimony.

Concerning the ſacrament of Matrimony: Notwithſtanding any ſpirituall kinred or goſſopry, a man and woman may lawfully mary together by the law of god, without any diſpenſatiō papiſtical. And in yͤ ſame place he ſayth that if our realm do admit one not borne in matrimony or illegitimate to the imperiall crowne, ſo that he doth well diſcharge the office of a king: God maketh him a king, and by cōſequence doth reiect an other king or heyre of yͤ kingdome, being borne in matrimony and legitimate: So, for ſuch ſpirituall kindred there ought no diuorſe to be made. Alſo notwithſtanding the Cap. Si inter de ſponſalibus: If any man ſhall make any contract with any woman by yͤ wordes of the future tence, by an oth taken: & afterwards ſhall with an other woman make the like contract by the wordes of the preſent tence: that then the ſecond contract ſtandeth. Alſo, if a man make any cōtract with a womā by the wordes of the future tence, vpō his oth taken: & maketh afterwardes the like contract with another not altering the words and hath carnal copulation vpon the ſame: the firſt contract maketh the matrimony good, and not the ſecond. Alſo, if a man before witnes aſſure himſelſe to a woman by a contract made in the preſent tence, & hath children by the ſame woman: & afterward the ſame man marieth another woman, with the like wordes in the preſent tence, before witneſſe: Although the firſt witneſſes be deade, or els by bribes corrupt, and yͤ ſecond bring his witneſſes before the iudge to proue the ſecond contract: the firſt cōtract yet ſtandeth in force, although the Pope (allowing the ſecōd contract) doth compell them to liue in adultery agaynſt yͤ commaundement of God. Alſo, he condemneth the decretall of the reſtitution of things ſtollen Cap. Literas tuas: which willeth, that a man and woman hauing carnall copulation in the degree of conſanguinity forbiddē, and hath no witnes hereof: If the woman will depart from the man ſhe ſhall be compelled by the cenſures, to remayne with him, and to yelde her debt. Alſo, in caſe where a man hath made cōtract with two women, with one ſecretly hauing no witneſſe, and with the other openly hauing witneſſe: Then were it better to acknowledge the inſufficiency of the law, and to ſuffer men to be ruled by their owne conſciences, then by the cenſures to compell them, to committe and lyue in adultery.

The firſt mariage lawfully before witnes made, ſtandeth.

Keeping & making vowes.

As touching the keping and making of vowes: That vow or othe is beaſtly, and is without al diſcretion made: which to performe and keep, a man hath no power but by grace geuen him of God. Becauſe that ſome ſuch there be, whom god doth not accept to perſeuere in the ſtate of chaſtity and perpetuall virginity: and ſuch a one cannot keep his vow, although he make the ſame. Alſo that euery one making a vow of continencye or chaſtitye, when making the ſame he ſhall not be accepted of God: doth very vndiſcretly, and as one without al reaſon maketh the ſame, whē he is not able of himſelf without yͤ gift of God to fulfil his promiſe: according to that ſaying of the wiſe mā. cap. 8. No man hath the gift of cōtinency, vnles that God geue it vnto him. For otherwiſe, if god help not ſuch a one to perform the vow or othe which he hath made and takē: No prelate can compell him, vnles he do cōtrary to Gods ordinance:

but he ought to cōmit himſelf to the gouernment of Gods holy ſpirit,and his owne conſcience.

Poſſeſſions of the Church.

For the poſſeſſions of the Church:In another treatiſe it is declared,how the king,the Lordes and cōmōs may without any charge at all,kepe 15.garriſons,& finde 15000. ſouldiours,(hauing ſufficient landes and reuenues to liue vpon) out of the temporalties gotten into the hands of the clergy & fained religious men:which neuer do that,which pertayneth to the office of curates to doe,nor yet to ſecular lords. And moreouer, the king may haue euery yere 20000 pound to come freely into his cofers and aboue. Alſo,may find or ſuſtaine 15. Colledges more:and 15000. prieſtes and clerkes,with ſufficient liuing: and a 100. hoſpitals for the ſicke & euery houſe to haue one hundreth marks in lands. And all this may they take of the foreſayde temporaltyes, without any charge to the realme:wherunto,the king,the Lords,and the commons are to be inuited. For otherwiſe there ſeemeth to hang ouer our heads,a great and marueilous alteratiō of this realme,vnleſſe the ſame be put in execution. Alſo,if the ſecular Prieſtes and fayned religious, which be ſimoniackes and heretiques, which fayne themſelues to ſay maſſe,and yet ſay none at all, according to the Canons,which to their purpoſe the bring and alledge. 1.q 3.Audiuimus.& cap.Pudenda. & cap.Schiſma: By which chap. ſuch prieſtes and religious do not make the Sacrament of the aultar: That then all Chriſtians,eſpecially all the founders of ſuch Abbeyes and indowers of biſhoprickes,priories,and chaunteries:ought to amend this fault and treaſon committed agaynſt their predeceſſors, by taking from them ſuch ſecular dominiōs which are the mayntenance of all their ſinnes. And alſo,that Chriſtian Lords & princes are bound to take away from the clergy, ſuch ſecular dominion as noſeleth & nouriſheth them in hereſies:& ought to reduce them vnto the ſimple and poore life of Chriſt Ieſus, and his Apoſtles.

1.q.3.24.q.1. *Cap pudenda.*

Belly cheare of yl diſpoſed prelats,and of Monaſteries not to be nouriſhed with temporalties and appropriations.

And further, that all Chriſtian Princes (if they will amend the maledictiō and blaſphemy of the name of God) ought to take away their temporalties frō that ſhauen generation,which moſt of all doth nouriſh them in ſuch malediction:And ſo in likewiſe, the fat tithes from Churches appropriat to rich monks & other religions fained by manifeſt lying,& other vnlawfull meanes, likewiſe ought to debar their golde to the proud Prieſt of Rome,which doth poyſon all Chriſtendome with Simony and hereſy. Further,that it is a great abhomination that Biſhops,mōks, and other prelates,be ſo great Lords in this world,where as Chriſt with his Apoſtles, and diſciples, neuer took vpon thē ſecular dominion, neither did they appropriat vnto them churches as theſe men do:but led a poore life, & gaue a good teſtimony of theyr prieſthood.And therfore,all Chriſtians ought to the vttermoſt of theyr power and ſtrength to ſweare that they will reduce ſuch ſhauelings,to the humility and pouerty of Chriſt and his Apoſtles:And whoſoeuer thus doth not,conſenteth to theyr hereſy.Alſo,that theſe two chapiters of the immunitye of Churches, are to be condemned, that is, cap. Non minus, and cap.Aduerſus. Becauſe they doe decree, that temporall Lordes may neyther require tallages nor tenthes,of any Eccleſiaſticall perſons.

Correction of the clergie.

2 q.5.*Præſul.* *Ibid Nullam.*

Now to the correction of the clergy:By the law of god and by reaſon,the king and all other Chriſtians may take reuenge of Italye,and of all the falſe Prieſts and Clerkes within the ſame,and to reduce them vnto the humble ordinannce of Ieſus Chriſt. Alſo,that the law of Silueſter the Pope,which is declared in 2.q.5.cap.Præſul,and cap.Nullam, is cōtrary to the law of Chriſt & either teſtament.And that proud and ambitious Silueſter by this lawe, ſo defended two Cardinals which were not to be defended by the law of Chriſt: that by no meanes they might be conuinced, although they were both vicious & euil. And although chriſt ſuſteined and ſuffered the iudgemēt of vniuſt temporal iudges:Our mitred prelates in theſe dayes,ſo magnify them ſelues beyond chriſt and his Apoſtles,that they refuſe and will none of ſuch iudgements. Alſo,that thoſe decretals of accuſations cap.Quādo & Qualiter. which do prohibite that any clerkes ſhould be brought before a ſecular iudge to receiue iudgement:do contayne both hereſy,blaſphemy,and error, and bringeth great gayne and commodity to Antechriſtes cofers.

Puniſhing of adultery belongeth to ſecular magiſtrates rather then to prelates.

Furthermore, that all Chriſtian kinges and Lordes, ought to exclayme agaynſt the Pope and thoſe that be hys fautors,and baniſh them out of theyr landes,till ſuch time as they will obey God,and his Goſpell, Kings and other miniſters of Gods iuſtice. Alſo,that biſhops and theyr fauourers,that ſay it appertayneth not to kings and ſecular Lordes(but vnto them and theyr Officials)to puniſh adultery and fornicatiō:do fall into manifeſt treaſon agaynſt the king,and hereſy agaynſt the ſcripture. Alſo,that it appertayneth to the king, to haue the order both of prieſts & biſhops,as theſe kings Salomon and Ioſaphat had.

Good kings ought to depoſe wicked Popes.

Furthermore,that chapter Nullus iudicium de foro competenti, by the which ſecular iudges are forbidden without the Biſhops commaundement to condemne any Clerk to death:Is manifeſtly agaynſt the holy ſcripture,declaryng that kinges haue power ouer clerkes & prieſtes to puniſh thē for their deſerued crimes. Alſo that the decree of Boniface de pœnis in 6.cap.fœlicis,made agaynſt the perſecutors, ſtrikers,and impriſoners of Cardinals, as contrary both to the holy ſcripture & to all reaſon. Alſo,that by the law of God and reaſon a ſecular Lord may lawfully take a Cardinal & put him in priſon for committing the crime of open ſimony,adultery,& manifeſt blaſphemy. Alſo ẏ the chapter Si Papa diſt.40. which ſayth that the Pope ought to be iudged of none,vnles he be deuius a fide,is cōtrary to ẏ goſpell which ſayth: If thy brother ſinne agaynſt thee correct him. Alſo where as S.Gregory and S.Auguſtine called themſelues the ſeruaunts of Gods ſeruants: this proud biſhop of Rome which will not be iudged by his ſubiects (which be in very deed his Lordes,if they be iuſt & good men) doth deſtroy the order of Gods law, and all humility,and doth extoll himſelf aboue God and his Apoſtles. Alſo,that chriſtian kings ought, not onely to iudge this proud biſhop of Rome,but alſo to depoſe him,by the example that Ceſtrenſis lib.6.cap.8.declareth, of Otho the Emperour, which depoſed Iohn the xij.and did inſtitute Leo in his place. And further, he maketh an exhortation to the Princes to iudge the Church of Rome, which he calleth the great and curſed ſtrompet,of whom S.Iohn writeth in the Apocalips, chap.17.

De conſecratione, id eſt.2.cap. Seculares.

The Popes lawes contrarye to themſelues.

The pope & his Cardinals no part of the true Church.

The Canon lawe full of hereſie.

Laſtly, touching the lawes and determinations of the church: Chriſtians haue reaſonable excuſes and cauſes to repell the ſtatutes of the pope and of his ſhauelings,which be not expreſly grounded in the holy ſcriptures, or els vpon reaſon ineuitable. Alſo he ſayth that that law whiche is ſet forth of conſecration diſtinctione.2. cap.Seculares & cap. Omnis homo,& cap.Et ſi non frequentius,& cap.In cœna domini: That ſuch ſecular men as do not receiue the ſacrament of the aultar at Chriſtmas, Eaſter,and Whitſontide, are not to be counted amongeſt the number of Chriſtians,nor are to be eſtemed as chriſtiās:wherby it followeth,that all Clerkes and lay men that obſerue not the ſame, it ſeemeth they go ſtrait to hell. But if this law be of no force,for that the cuſtome and vſe in receiuing is contrary to the ſame: then may we bleſſe ſuch rebellion & diſobediēce to the pope and his law,for otherwiſe we ſhould flee to hel without any ſtay or let. wherby we may conclude,that all Chriſtiās ought well to practiſe this ſchoole of diſobedience againſt ẏ Pope and all his lawes (not founded vpon the holy ſcripture) which do let men to clime to heauen by the keping of charity,and the liberty of the Goſpell. Alſo,that Chriſtian men haue great cauſe to refuſe the lawes and ſtatutes of theſe worldly clerkes,which ẏ people call the papal lawes and biſhoplike ſtatutes, for the couetouſneſſe and voluptuouſneſſe of them:without the which,the church & congregation of God might ſafely run towards heauē by ẏ ſweet yoke of the Lord, as it did 1000.yeres before the ſaid lawes were preſcribed and ſēt to the Vniuerſities,and withdrew mē from ſtudiyng of ẏ holy ſcripture,for the deſire of benefices and worldly goods. Alſo that ſimple men do reuerētly receiue the ſentences of the Doctors and other lawes,ſo farre forth as they be expreſly groūded vpon the holy ſcripture or good reaſon.Alſo,that where as the Popes lawes, & lawes of his miniſters & clerks be both cōtrary to them ſelues,and haue not theyr foūdation neither vpon ẏ ſcripture,nor yet vpon reaſon:ſimple mē ought to bid thē farewell. Alſo,that when all the apoſtles faith fayled thē in the time of the Lords paſſiō, fayth thē reſted in the bleſſed virgin:much more might that proud prieſt of Rome with all his rabble eaſily erre in the fayth, and yet is the Chriſtian fayth preſerued whole and ſafe,in the faythful members of Chriſt,which are his true Church: But the Pope and all his rablement, cannot proue that they be any part of thys Church. Alſo,that the Pope with all his fautours,may as well be deceiued by a lying ſpirite, as was Achab and all his prophetes: and that one true prophet,as was Micheas may haue the verity ſhewed vnto him contra concilium, Alſo, that all good Chriſtians ought to caſt from them the Popes lawes,ſaying: Let vs breake their bandes in ſonder,and let vs caſt from our neckes thoſe heauy yoakes of theyrs. Alſo,that where theſe prelates doe burne one good booke,for one errour perhaps conteyned in the ſame: they ought to burne all the books of the Canon law,for the manifold hereſies contayned in them.

¶And thus muche out of a certaine olde written booke in parchment borowed once of I.B. which booke conteining diuers auncient records of the vniuerſitie: ſeemeth to belong ſometimes to the library of the Vniuerſitie, bearing the yeare of the compiling thereof. 1396. Which computation if it be true, then was it written of him or that he recanted before Thomas Arundell Archbiſhop at Saltwood, where he was impriſoned. Whereunto I thought alſo to annexe, a certayne godly and moſt frutefull Sermon, of like antiquitie, preached at Paules croſſe much about the ſame time, which was in the yeare of our Lord. 1388. by a certaine learned clerke, as I find in one old monument, named R. Wimbeldon. Albeit, among the auncient regiſters and records belonging to the Archbiſhop of Canterbury: I haue an old worne copy of the ſaid Sermon, written in very old Engliſh, and almoſt halfe conſumed with age: purporting the ſaid autor hereof bearing alſo the foreſayd name. The true copy of which Serman, in his owne ſpeech wherein it was firſt ſpoken and preached at the croſſe, on the Sonday of Quinquageſima, and after exhibited to the Archbiſhop of Canterburie (being then as it ſeemeth, William Courtney) here foloweth.

A Sermon no leſſe godly then learned, preached at Paules Croſſe on the Sonday of Quinquageſima. ann. 1389. by R.Wimbeldon.

Redde rationem villicationis tuæ. Luce. xvi.

Math.20. The ſermon of R. Wimbeldon.

My dere frends, ye ſhullen vnderſtond: that Chriſt autor and doctour of trueth, in his booke of the Goſpell (likening the kingdome of heauen to an houſholder) ſaith on this maner. Like is the kingdome of heuen to an houſholding man, that went out firſt on the morow to hire workemen into his vine. Alſo, about the third, ſixt, nieuth and enleuente houres he went out, and found men ſtonding idel. And ſayd to them. Go ye into min vineyerde, and that right is, I wille geue you. Whan the day was agoo, he clepid his ſtuward and high to geue eche man a peny.

The calling of God is diuers.

The ſpirituall vnderſtonding of this houſholder, is our Lord Ieſu Chriſt that is head of the houſhold of holy Church. And thus clepith men in diuerce houres of the day, that is in diuerce agees of the werld. As in time of law of kinde, he cleped by enſpiryng, Abel, Ennok, Noe, and Abraham. In time of the old law, Moſes, Dauid, Iſay, and Ieremy. And in time of grace, Apoſtles Martyrs, and Confeſſours and Virgines. Alſo he cleped men in diuers agees, ſome on childhode, as Iohn Baptiſt: ſome on ſtate of wexing, as Iohn the Euangeliſt: ſome in ſtate of manhoode, as Peter and Andrew: and ſome in old agee as Gamaliel, and Ioſeph of Arimathie. And all theſe he clepeth to trauaile in his vine, that is the Church, and that in diuers maner. For right as yee ſeeth, that in tilling of the materiall vine there ben diuers labours, for ſome kutten awey the voyde braunches, ſome maken forkis and railes to beren vp the vine, and ſome diggen away the olde earth fro the rote, and leyn there fatter. And all this offices ben ſo neceſſary to the vine, that if any of them faile, it ſhall harme greatly, other deſtroy the vine: For but if the vine be kutte, ſhe ſhall waxe wilde, but if ſhe be rayled ſhe ſhall be ouergo with netles and wedis. And but if the rote be fatted with donge, ſhee for feblenes ſhuld waxe baraine.

Right ſo in the Church beth nedefull thes three offices, prieſthood, knythode, and laborers. To prieſts it falleth, to kut away the void braunches of ſinnes with the ſwerd of her tong. To knighthode it falleth to letten wronges, and thefftes to ben done, and to maintaine Goddis law, and them that ben teachers therof, and alſo to kepe the londe from enemies of other londes. And to labourers it falleth, to trauail bodelich, and with ther ſore ſwete, geten out of the earth bodillech liſelode for hem, and other parties. And theſe ſtates beth alſo nedefull to the Church, that none may well ben without other, for if prieſthod lacked, the people for default of knowing of Gods lawe, ſhould waxe wilde in vices, and deyen goſtely. And if the knithod laked, and men to rulin the puple by law and hardineſſe, theeues and enemies ſhulden ſo encres that no man ſhuld liue in peace. And if the laborers were nought, both knightes and prieſtes muſt bicome acre men and herdis: and els, they ſhuld for defaute of bodily ſuſtenaunce deye. And therfore ſaith clerk Auicenne, that euery vnreaſonable beſt if he haue that that kind hath ordeined for him: as kinde hath ordeined it: he is ſuffiſaunce to liue by himſelfe without any helpe of other of the ſame kind. As if there were but one horſe other one ſhepe in the world, yet if he had graſſe and corne as kind hath ordeined for ſuch beaſtes, he ſhuld liue well I now. But if there ne were but O man in the world, though he had all that good that is therein, yet for defaut he ſhuld deie, or his life ſhuld be wors thā if he were naught, & the cauſe is this for that thing that kind ordeineth for a mans ſuſtenaunce, without other arraieng than it hath of kind, accordeth nought to him. As though a man haue corne as it commeth from the earth, yet it is no meate according to him, vnto it be by mans craft, chaunged into bread: and though he haue fleſh other fiſh, yet while it is rawe as kinde ordeined it, till it be by mans trauaile ſodden, roſted, or baken, it cordit not to mans liſelode. And right ſo, wolle that the ſheepe beareth mot by mannis diuers craftis and trauailes be chaunged or it be able to cloth any man: and certis O man by himſelfe, ſhuld neuer doo all theſe laboures. And therefore ſaith this clerke, it is neede that ſome be acre men, ſome bakers, ſome makers of cloth, and ſome marchaunts to ſetch that, that on londe ſetteth from an other there it is plentie.

And certis this ſhuld be a cauſe why, euery ſtate ſhuld loue other. And men of o craft ſhuld not deſpiſe ne hate men of none other craft, ſith they be ſo nedefull euerich to other. And oft thelke craftes that ben moſt vnhoneſt, might worſt ben forbore: and o thing I dare well ſay that he that is neither trauailing in this world, on ſtudieng, on praiers, on preaching, for helpe of the people as it falleth to priſts, neither ruling the people, mainteining ne defending fro enemies as it falleth to knights, neither traueling on the earth, in diuerſe craftes, as it falleth to labourers: Whan the day of rekening commeth that is, the end of this life, right as he liued here withouten trauaile, ſo he ſhall there lack the reward of the penie, that is, the endles ioie of heauen. And as he was here liuing after none ſtate ne order, ſo he ſhall be put than in that place that no order is in, but euerlaſting horror and ſorow, that is in hell. Herfore, eueriche man ſe to what ſtate God hath cleped him, and dwell he therin by trauaile according to his degree. Thou that art a laborer or a crafty man, do this truelly. If thou art a ſeruaunt or a bond man, be ſuget and lowe in drede of diſpleaſing of thy Lord. If thou art a marchaunt, diſceiue nought thy brother in chaffering. If thou art a knight or a Lord, defend the poore man and needy fro handes that will harme them. If thou art a Iuſtice or a Iudge, go not on the right hand by fauour, neyther on the left hand, to puniſh any man for hate. If thou art a prieſt, vndernime, praye, and repreue, in all maner patience and doctrine. Vndernime thilke that ben negligent, pray for thilke that bene obedient, reproue tho that ben vnobedient to God. So euery man trauaile in his degree. For whan the euen is come, that is, the end of this worlde: than euerye man ſhall take reward, good or euill, after that he hath trauailed here.

Iob.10.
2.Cor.7.
1.Peter.2.
1.Theſ.4.
Prou.8.
2.Tim.4.

The wordes that I haue taken to make of my ſermon, be thus muche to ſay: Yelde reconing of thy bayly. Chriſt autour of pitye and louer of the ſaluation of his people, in the proces of this goſpell enfourmeth euery man what is his baylye, by maner of a parable of a bayly that he ſpeaketh of, to aray him to anſwer of the goodes that God hath taken him, when the day of ſtraight reconing ſhall be come, that is the day of dome. And ſo I at this tyme thorowe the helpe of God, folowing him that is ſo great a maiſter of autoritie, becauſe that I know nothing that ſhould more drawe away mans vnreaſonable loue fro the paſſing ioy of thys world, then the minde of the dreadfull reconing. As much as ſuffice, I ſhall ſhewe you how ye ſhall diſpoſe you to auoide the vengeaunce of God, when ther ſhalbe time of ſo ſtraight doome, that we ſhall geue reconing of euery idle word that we haue iſpoken. For than it ſhal be ſaid to vs, and we ſhall not flee it: Yelde reconing of thy bayly.

Nota.

But for forther proces of this firſt party of this ſermon, yee ſhall wete: that there ſhall be three bayliſes that ſhall be cleped to this ſtraight reconing. Twaine to anſwer for them ſelfe and for other, that bene prieſts that haue cure of mens ſoules, & temporal mē that haue gouernayle of people: and the thirde baylyf ſhall acount onely for himſelfe, and that is euerye Chriſten man, of that he hath receiued of God. And euery of theſe ſhall aunſwer to three queſtions: To the firſt queſtion, how haſt thou entred? The ſecond, how haſt thou ruled: And to the third, how haſt thou liued? And if thou canſt well aſſoile theſe three queſtions, was there neuer none earthly Lord that euer ſo well rewarded his ſeruant without compariſon, as thy Lord God ſhal reward thee, that is with bliſſe, and ioye, and life that euer ſhall laſt. But on that other ſide, and thou wilt now be recheles of thine owne welfare, and take none heede of this reconing: If that day take thee ſodainly, ſo that thou paſſe hence in deadly ſinne (as thou wotſt neuer what ſhall fall thee) all the toungs that euer were, or euer ſhall be, mow not tell the ſorrowe and wo that thou ſhalt euer be in, and ſuffer. Therefore, the deſire of ſo great ioy, and the dread of ſo great paine, thoughe loue ne dread of God were not in thine hart: yet ſhould that make thee afeard to ſinne, for to thinke that thou ſhalt giue reconing of thy bayly. Therefore as I ſay to thee, the firſt queſtion that ſhall be propoſed to the firſt bayly, that is a prelat other a Curat of mens ſoules, is this: How haſt thou entred? Math.xxij. Friend, how entredſt thou hether? Who brought thee in to this office? Truth or Symony? God or the Deuill? Grace or mony? The fleſh or the ſpirit? Giue thou thy reconing if thou canſt. If thou canſt not, I rede that thou tary for to learne. For vp hap ere night thou ſhalt be cleped. And if thou ſtande dombe for vn-

Three queſtions
The firſt.
Second.
Third.

Againſt Simony

kunning,or els for confuſion of thy conſcience:thou fall into the ſentence that anon followeth:Binde his handes and his feete,and caſt him in to the vtter warde of darknes, there ſhall be weeping and grenning of teethe.Therfore I rede thee,that thou aduiſe thee how thou ſhalt anſwer to this queſtion. How haſt thou entred? whether by cleeping, or by thine owne procuring: for that thou wouldeſt trauaile in Gods goſpell, other for thou wouldeſt be richly arayed? Anſwere now to thy owne conſcience as thou ſhalt anſwer to God,thou that haſt take now the order of prieſte, whether thou be curate or none: who ſtirred thee to take vpon thee ſo high an eſtate?Whether for thou wouldeſt liue as a prieſt ought to do,ſtudying of Gods law to preach, and moſt hartely to pray for the people:or for to liue a delicious life,vpon other mens trauayle,and thy ſelfe trauaile nought.

Queſtio.

Why alſo ſetten men theyr ſonnes either their couſins to ſchole? Whereto, but for to get them great aduancements, or to make them the better to knowe howe they ſhoulden ſerue God?

Solutio.

This men may ſee openly, by the ſciences that they ſet them to.

Queſtio.

Why I pray you, put men their ſonnes to the law ciuill,or to the kings court to write letters & writs:rather thã toPhiloſophy or Diuinity,but for the hope that theſe occupations ſhoulde be euer means, to make them great in the world. I hope that ther wil no man ſay, that they ne ſhoulde better learne the rule of good liuing in the booke of Gods law, than in any bookes of mans worldly wiſedome?

Solutio.
Iohannes Chriſoſtomus Homelia.27.

But certes now it is ſothe,that Iohn Chriſoſtom ſaith Mothers be louing to the bodies of their children,but the ſoule they deſpiſe, they deſire them to wel fare in this world, but they take none hede what they ſhall ſuffer in the tother: Some ordeinen fees for their children, but none ordeine them to godward: The luſt of their bodies they wol deere by,but the health of their ſoule the reke nought of. If they ſee them poore or ſicke,they ſorrow and ſigheth,but though they ſee them ſinne, they ſorrowe not.

Note.

And in this they ſhew that they brought forth the bodies but not the ſoules. And if we take heede truly, what abhominations be ſcattered and ſpread abrode in holy church now adayes among prieſtes: we ſhul wel wit,that they come not all to the folde of Chriſt by Chriſtes clepping for to profite:but by other wayes to get them worldly welth,and this is the cauſe of leſing of ſoules, that Chriſt bought ſo deare, and of many errours among the people: and therefore, it is iwrit in the booke of mourning, where the prophet ſpeaketh thus to God.

The raſhe making of miniſters.

Tre 1. The enemy hath put his hand to all things deſyrable to him: for he hath let lawles folke enter into the ſanctuary, of the which thou hadſt commaunded, that they ſhould not enter into the church: This enemy is Sathanas, as his name ſowneth, that hath put his hande to all that him liketh. What ſinne I pray you will the fiend haue ſow on men,that nis now yvſed?In what plentie is now pride, enuy, wrath and couetiſe? Whan were they ſo great as they be now,and ſo of all other ſinnes. And why troweſt thou?But for there be a lawles people entred into thy ſanctuarie, that neither keepe in themſelfe the law of God,ne konne teachen other:

Oſe.4.

And to euery ſuch, ſaith God by the prophet, Oſe 4. For that thou haſt put away cunning: I ſhall put thee away that thou ſhal vſe no prieſthoode to me.Lo that God expreſly heere in holy writte, forbiddeth men to take the ſtate of priſthoode on them, but they haue cunning, that needeth them. Thou than that canſt neither rule thy ſelfe ne other,after the lawe of God,beware how thou wilt anſwer to God,at his dreadfull dome,when he ſhall ſay to thee,that which I tooke to my theame.

Yeld the reckening of thy baily, how thou haſt entred.

The ſecond queſtion, that euery curate and prelate of holye Chirch ſhall aunſwer to,is this.How haſt thou ruled? That is to ſay,the ſoules of thy ſuggets,and the goods of poore men: Geue now thine acounte. Firſt, how thou haſt gouerned gods folke that were take thee to keepe: Whether art thou an herde or an hiredman?that dooſt all for loue of bodelich hire?As a father,or as a Wolfe, that eaten his ſheepe and keepeth them nought? Say whome thou haſt turned from his curſed liuing, by thy deuout preaching,

Bernardus.

Whome haſt thou taught the law of God that was earſt vncunning: Ther ſhal ben heard a greuous accuſing of fatherles children,and a hard aledging,that prieſts haue liueden by their wages, and not done away their ſins. Yelde alſo rekoning how thou haſt ruled and ſpended the goodes of poore men.Harke what S.Bernard ſaith.Dreade clarkes, dreade the miniſters of the Church,the which ben in the place of ſaintes,that they do ſo wickedly, nought holding them apayd with ſuch wages that were ſufficient to them: That ouerplus that needy men ſhuld be ſuſtained by, they be not aſhamed to waſt in the houſe of their pride and leachery, and withholden to themſelfe wickedly and curſedly that which ſhould be the lifeloode of poore men. With double wickednes truly they ſinne. Firſt, for they reeuen other mens goods, and ſaith they miſuſe holy things in their vanities and in their filthes.Euery ſuch Bayly therefore beware,for anone,to the laſt farthing he ſhall recken with Chriſt. Troweſt thou not then, that thou ne ſhalt be diſalowed of God of that thou haſt miſpended in in feeding of fat Palfreys,of hounds,of Haukes, and if it ſo be that is worſt of all, on lecherous women?Heare what is ſayd of ſuche. They had led their dayes in wealths. And in a poynt they bene gone down into hell: Think therefore I rede thee, that thou ſhalt yelde reckening of thy bayly.

The third queſtion that this baily ſhal aunſwer to,is this:How haſt thou lyued? What light of holynes haſt thou ſhewed in thy liuing to the people,or what mirrour haſt thou ben of holynes to them? Geue now thy reconing,how thou haſt liued,as a prieſt,or as a leude man,as a man or as a beaſt. That is to wonder truelye how the lyfe of prieſtes is chaunged They be clothen as knights, they ſpeaken as vnhoneſtly as carels, other of wynnyng as Marchaunts: They riden as princes, and al that is thus ſpended, is of the goodes of poore men, and of Chriſts heretage.Therfore ſaith an holy doctor: The clay of Egypt was tough and ſtinking, and medled with bloud.The ſlates were harde to bee vndoe,for they were baked with fire of couetiſe,and with the light of luſt.In this trauayleth riche men, in this they wake,a wayting poore men. In theſe trauaileth prelates,that ben to much blent with to much ſhining of riches, that make them houſes lyke churches in greatnes,that with diuers pointries,coloren their chambers,that with diuers clothinges of colours,make images gay: but the poore mã for default of clothes beggeth,and with an empty wombe cryeth at the doore: And if I ſhall the ſoth ſay,ſaith this doctor, oft tyme poore men be robbed for to clothe the trees and ſtones: Of ſuch ſpeaketh the Prophet.

Eſa.22. quis tu hic aut quaſi quid hic,

Howe art thou here? or as who art thou? Here thou art occupying the place of Peter and of Poule, or of Thomas or of Martine:But how,as Iudas among the Apoſtles,as Symon Magus among the diſciples,as a candle new queinte that ſtincheth all the houſe in ſteede of a light lanterne, as a ſmoke that blindeth mens eyen,in place of cleane fire.If thou contrarye thus the forme of liuing that Chriſt and his diſciples left to prieſts:

Iere.31.

Lo what ſaith the prophet Ieremye. They haue entred, and they haue had and nought ben obedient. They hauen with falſe title or with their falſe and corrupt intention, had poore mens goodes to their miſuſing, and they haue not bee obedient to the lawe of God in their owen liuing.

Sap.6.

Therefore it is writ, that the hardeſt dome ſhall fall on ſuch. An hard dome, for they haue miſentred. An harder dome,for they haue miſruled. And the hardeſt dome, for they haue ſo curſedlie liued. Thinke therefore I rede,how thou wilte giue reckning of thy bayly.

Kinges,Princes and magiſtrates admoniſhed.
How thou haſt entred.

The ſecond Bayliff, that accounteth at this dome for himſelfe and alſo for other, is he: that keping hath of any communite, as kings,princes,Maiers,and Shireues,and iuſtices. And theſe ſhull alſo anſwer to the ſame three queſtions. The firſt queſtion, how haſt thou hentred,that is to ſay, into thine office: Other for help of the people to deſtroy falſhed and forthren treuth? other for deſire of winning or worldly worſhip? If thou take ſuch an office, more for thine owne worldly profite,than for helpe of the comunite, thou art a tirant as the pholoſopher ſeith. For it is to feare leaſt there bene too many that deſiren ſuche ſtates,that they may the rather oppreſſe thilke that they hateth, and take giftes to ſpare to puniſh thilke, that hauen treſpaſſed, and ſo maketh them parteners of their ſinnes. And many ſuch,when they ben ſo high, they reck nought that they beeth poore mens brethren: but they wene to paſſe them in kind, as they paſſeth in worldly worſhip, that is but winde: of which God ſaith by the prophet, they hauen raigned, but nought of me, they haue bene princes but I knowe nought.

Oſe.8.
2.Para.10.

So we reade of Roboam, that was the ſon of king Salomon,what time he was firſt king, the people of Iſraell comen to him, and ſayd: Thy father in his laſt dayes, put on vs great charge. We pray thee ſome deale make it lighter, and we willen ſerue thee. And the king tooke counſayle of the olde wiſe men, and they counſailden to anſwer them faire, and that ſhould be for the beſt. But he left theſe old wiſe mennis counſayle, and did after the counſayle of children that were his playferen, and ſayd to the people, when they came agayne: My left finger, is greater then my fathers riegge. My father greeued you ſomewhat, but I will echen more thereto. And the people heard this, and rebeleden to him, and tooke them another king· and ſithe, the kingdome came neuer whole againe. And therefore it is good, that euery ruler of cominalties, that they be not lad by follies, ne by none other eare rowner, that he ne haue an eygh of loue to the comontie that he hath to rule. For wete ye well, be he neuer ſo high, that he ſhall come afore his higher, to yelde reconing of his bayly.

How haſt thou ruled.

The ſecond queſtion is: How haſt thou ruled the people, and the office that thou haddeſt to gouerne? Thou that haſt bene a Iudge in cauſes of poore men, how haſt thou kept this heſt of God?

Deut.9.

Thou ſhalt not take heede to the perſon of a poore man, to bee to him the harder for his pouertie, ne thou ſhalt not behold a rich mans ſemblance, to ſpare or to fauour him in his wrong for his riches. O Lorde, what abuſion is there among officers of both lawes, now adayes: If a great man pleadeth with a poore man, to haue ought that he holdeth, euery officer ſhall be readie to hye all that he may, that the rich man might haue ſuch an end as he deſired. But if a poore man pleade with a ritch man, than there ſhall be ſo manye delayes, that though the poore mans right be open to all the Countrie, for pure faute of ſpending, he ſhall be glad to ceaſe. Shriues and Bayliffes willen retourne

poore

Pro.13.
Math.7.

poore mens writs, with *tarde venit*, but gif they feelen meede in their hands. And yet I heare ſaie, men that hauen ſeyen both lawes, that ilke court that is cleeped Chriſtes court, is much more curſed. Therefore it is writ: giftes they taken out of mens boſoms, to ouerturne the right way of dome. But it is to dread the word of Chriſt: In what dome ye deeme, ye ſhould be demed when ye comen to yelde a reconing of your bayly.

How haſt thou liued.
Rom.5.

The third queſtion is: Howe haſt thou lyued, thou that deemeſt and puniſheſt other men for their treſpas. A great doctor ſaith: thee behoueth to flee the wickednes of other men, that thou chaſtieeſt them for their treſpas. For if thy ſelfe do vnlawfullich in deeming other men, thou damneſt thy ſelfe, ſythe thou doeſt that thou damneſt. And Poul ſaith: why teacheſt thou nought thy ſelfe, that thou teacheſt other? Why ſtealeſt thou, that teacheſt nought other men to ſteale? Saint Gregorie ſaith: He ſhall not take gouernaile of other, that can not go before them in good liuing. And when anye man ſtand before him in dome, he muſt take heede to fore what Iudge he ſhall ſtand him ſelfe, to take his dome after his deedes. But it is to dread, that manie fareth as the twe falſe prieſts that woulden haue damned to death holie Suſan, for ſhe would not aſſent to their leacherie.

Suſan.
Socrates.
Valerius Maximus libro.7.

Of the which it is writ: they turned awaie their eyen, for they would not ſee heauen, ne haue mynde of rightfull domes. So it happeth ofte, they that were more woorthie to bee hanged, damneth them that be leſſe woorthye, as a clarcke telleth of Socrates the Philoſopher, ſayth hee, vpon a day a man asked of hym why hee laughed. And hee ſayd: for I ſee great theeues leaden a little theefe to hanging. I pray thee, whether is hee a greater theefe that bynimeth a man hys houſe and hys land from hym and from his heyres for euermore, other hee that for making of great neede, ſtealeth a ſheepe or a calfe. Whether trow wee nought, that it happeth ſuch extortioners to be other whyle Iudges, and demeth men thus: But I read thee that thus deemeſt other, thinke on that dome thou ſhalt come to, to yelde the rekening of thine bayly.

The third Baily.
Auſten.
The third admonition in generall to euery chriſtẽ man.
Moralls.
Greg.8.
Zacha.6.

The third Baylife that ſhall be cleped to this dreadfull a count ſhall bee euerie Chriſtian man, that ſhall geue rekening to his Lord God, for goods that he hath had of hys. And heere I wyll ſpeake but of the firſt queſtion, that is this: How entreſt thou. And heere by the waie, yee that haue goten anie worldly good, other take by extortion, by rauayne, by vſurie, other by diſceit: Wo ſhall be to him at this dreadfull daie as Sainct Auſten ſayth. If he be caſt into the fire that hath nought giuen of his owne good: where troweſt thou ſhall he be caſtin, that hath reued other mens from them. And if he ſhulle brenne with the fend that hath nought clothed the naked, where troweſt ſhall he brenne that hath made him naked that was earſt clothed. But as Sainct Gregorie ſayth, two thinges maketh men to liue thus by rauaine of other neighbours, that they deſire heynes and drede pouertie, and what vengeaunce falleth of this ſinne of couetiſe, I may ſee by figure in holy writ, whan the Angell ſayd to Prophet Zacharie. Rere vp thine eyen, and ſee what is that goeth out. And the Prophet ſayd what is it? Then the Angell ſayd, this is the pot going out, this is the eize of hem on all the earth, And there was a weihgt of lede I bore, and there was a woman ſitting in the middle of this potte. And the Angell ſayd, this is impietie: And he tooke her, and caſt her into the middle of this pot, and he tooke the gobette of leed and caſte it into the pots mouth.

Expoſitio.

And the Prophet lift vp his eye, and he ſaw twoo women comming out, and ſpirites in her wingis like two kytes other gledes: and they arerid vp this pot betweene heauen and the earth, and than the Prophete ſpake to the Aungell, whider wol theſe beare this pot? And he ſayd, into the lond of Sennaar: This pot is couetiſe. For right as a pot hathe a wide open mouth, ſo couetiſe gapeth after worldly good: and right as the licour in the pot, profiteth nought to the pot, but to men that draweth and drinketh thereof; ſo worldlie good ofte, profiteth not to churlles, but to other that commeth after, as it is written. He that hath money, ſhall haue no frute of it.

Eccl.5.

And this couetiſe is the eye of couetous men: for they ben blinde to ſee how they ſhuld ſee to go to heauen, but to winning of worldly things they ſee manie wayes, lyke to owles, and nightcrowes, that ſeene better by night than by day. The gobbet of lead, is the ſyn of obſtination. The woman that ſat in the pot, is vnpittie, as the Angell ſayd, that foloweth vnrighteouſnes and auarice. For through auarice, a man leeſeth the pitie that he ſhuld haue of the miſchiefe of his ſoule. For oft tyme, men leeſe the lyfe of theyr ſoule, by deadlie ſinne that they doo to haue worldly winning: and alſo they leeſe the pitie that they ſhould haue of their bodie, putting them ſelfes to manie great bodelye trauayls and perils both by ſea, and land, and all maketh couetiſe. This pot is ſtopped with the gobbet of leade, when vnpitie is thus by ſynne of obſtination cloſed in couetiſe, that he may not goe out of the chinches harte by penaunce.

Iob.22.

For as Iob ſayth: when he is fulfylled, he ſhall bee ſtopped. The two women that bare vp this pot, are pride and luſt of fleſh, that be cleped in holie writ the twey daughtren of the water Lethe, crying: bring, bring. And they had wings: the fyrſt wing is grace ſpirituall, as cunning, wiſedome, and counſell, with ſuch other manie For which gifts manie men wexe proud.

Againſt couetiſe.

The ſecond wing is bodely grace, as ſtrength, fairehood, gentrie, and manie other ſuch, whereof men wexe proud. The winges of the ſecond woman that is fleſhlie deſire, beth glotony and ſlouth.

Gregory.
Auguſt. de conflictu virtutis & viciorum
Bartholomeus de proprietatibus rerum.
Auſten.

Of glotonie ſpeaketh S. Gregorie: when the wombe is fulfilled, the prickes of leacherie beth meued. And of ſlouth S. Auſtine ſayth: Lot the whyle he dwelled in buſines among ſhrewes in Sodome, he was a good man But when he was in the hyll ſlowe, for ſykkernes, he in his dronkennes lay by hys daughtren. And theſe women had wynges lyke Kytes, that with a crieng voyce ſeecheth theyr meate, as Bartholomeus ſayth. And thus fareth couetiſe of men. Witneſſing Sainct Auſtine, what is the greedynes of fleſhlye deſire. In as much as the rauenous fyſhes haue ſometime meaſure, yet when they hunger, they rapin, and when they fulfill, they ſpare: But onely couetiſe of men may not bee fulfilled. For euer he taketh, and neuer hath inough. Neither hee dreadeth God, neither ſhame of men. He ne ſpareth hys father, ne knoweth his mother, ne accordeth with his brethren, neythet keepeth truth with hys frende. He ouerpreſſeth widowes and fatherles children. Freemen he maketh bond, and bringeth foorth falſe witnes, and occupieth dead mens things, as he ſhoulden neuer dye.

Auguſtin.
Pſal.54.
Innocentius.

What manhoode is this, ſayth this doctour, thus to leeſe lyfe and grace, and get death of ſoule? Win gold, and leeſe heauen? And herefore ſayth the Prophet, haue trauaile in the midſt, and leaue vnrighteouſnes. Alſo Innocent ſpeaking of the harmes that come of couetoiſe, ſayth thus: O how manie men hath couetiſe deceiued and ſpilt? When couetiſe Balaam would for giftes that the kinge profered him, haue curſed Gods people, his owne Aſſe reproued hym, and hurt his foote agaynſt a wall.

Nume 22.
Ioſue.7.
4 Reg.5.
Acts.5.

Achor was ſtoned to death, for couetiſe made him ſteale gold and clothes, againſt the commaundement of God. Gieſy was ſmit with meſilrie, for he ſold Naamans heale, that came of Gods grace. Iudas for couetiſe ſold Chriſt, and afterward hoong himſelfe. Anany and Zaphira his wife were dead ſodainlie, for they forſoken to giue Peter theyr money that they had. And couetiſe maketh alſo that rich men eate the poore, as beaſtes done their leſous holding them lowe. This may we ſee all daye, in deede I dread. For if a ritche man haue a field, and a poore man haue in the middeſt or in the ſide thereof one acre, and a riche man haue all a ſtreete ſaueth O houſe, that ſome poore brother of hys oweth, he ceaſeth neuer till he get it out of the poore mans hand, eyther by prayer, or by bying, or by purſuing of diſceit. Thus fared it by kyng Achab, that throughe his falſe Queenes ginne ſlowe the poore man Naboth, for that he woulde not ſell hym hys vyneyard that was nye to the Kings palace.

Ambroſius de ſuo libello de Naboth.

Vpon which proces, thus ſayth Sainct Ambroſe: How far wyll yee ritche men ſtretche your couetiſe? Wyll yee dwell alone vppon the earth, and haue no poore man wyth you? Why put yee out your felow by kynde, and chalenge to your ſelfe the poſſeſſion comen by kynde? In commune to *all* ritch and poore the earth was made, Why will yee ritche chalenge proper right heerein? Kynde knoweth no riches, that bringeth foorth all men poore. For wee bee not got with rich clothes, ne borne wyth golde ne wyth ſyluer. Naked hee bringeth them to this world, needie of meate and of drinke and clothing. Naked the earth taketh vs, as ſhe naked brought vs hyther. She can not cloſe with vs our poſſeſſion in ſepulchre, for kynde maketh no difference betweene poore and rich, in comming hyther, ne in goyng hence. All in o manner hee bringeth foorth, all in o manner he cloſeth in graue. Who ſo wyll make difference of poore and rytch, abyde tyll they haue a little whyle leyne in the graue. Than open and looke among dead bones who was rych, and who was poore, but if it be thus that mo clothes rotteth with the ritche, then wyth the poore: and that harmeth to them that beth on lyue, and profytte not to them that beene deade: Thus ſayth the Doctour of ſuche extortion as it is writ.

Iohn.24.

Other mens fields they repeth, and fro the vyne of hym that the harme oppreſſed, they plucke awaye the grapes: they leueth men naked, and taketh awaye her clothis that hath nought wherewith to helle them in cold, and liften vp this pot bytwene heauen and earth. For couetous men nother haueth charite to ther brethren vpon earth, neyther to God in heauen: and they bare this pot into the lond of Sennaar, that is to ſay, into the lond of Stenche, that is hell, for there ſhall be ſtench, in ſtede of ſweete ſmelling as Iſay ſayth. Beware I rede, that yee nonght haue to do with this pot, ne with the woman therein: and on all maner that ye be nought weddid to her, for than yee muſt be both one. This is thilke foule lecherous woman: the kynges and marchauntis of the earth haue done leachery, and of her vertue they haueth bee made riche, whoſe dampnation is writen in the booke of priuities in theſe wordes. In o day, ſhall come all this vengeaunces of her death, weping and hunger and fire ſhall brenne her, for ſtronge is God that ſhall venge hym on her, and than ſhulleth weepe and howle vp on her the kynges of the earth, that haueth done lechery with her, and haueth liued in delices when they ſhull ſee the ſmoke of her brenning, ſtonding aferre weping and weyling and ſaying.

Alas alas, thilke great citie that was clothed with bis and purpre, and braſile, and ouergilte with gold and precious ſtones and pearle. For in one houre all theſe great riches ſhall be deſtroyed, than ſhall they ſey that ſhall bee damned with her. We haue erred fro the waye of trouth and rightwiſnes, light haue not ſhined to vs, and the ſonne of vnderſtonding haue not reſen to vs: we haue be made weery in euerich way of wickednes and of luſt, and haue gone hard wayes, but the wayes of God we knew nought: what hath pride profited to vs, or the boaſt of riches what hath it brought to vs? All this is as a ſhadow of death, and we mow now ſhew no token of holynes: in our wickednes we be waſted away. Thinke therefore I read, that thou ſhalt yelde rekening of thy bayly. Here endeth the firſt part of this Sermon, and beginneth the ſecond part.

IN which ſecōd part with the helpe of God I will ſhew firſt, who ſhall clepe vs to this recKenyng. Afterward, to fore what iudge we ſhall reckyn: and laſt what puniſhyng ſhall be do to them that ben found falſe ſeruauntes and wicked, and what reward ſhall be gyue to them that be founde good and true. For the firſt ye ſhall wetoen that there ſhall be twey domes. The firſt doome anone after the departyng of body and of ſoule, an this ſhall be ſpeciall. And of this rekenyng or doome ſpeaketh the Goſpell of Luke. The ſecond reckenyng or dome ſhalbe anone after the generall reſurrection, & ſhalbe vniuerſal. And of this is to ſpekē in the Goſpel. To the firſt euery man ſhalbe cleped after other, as the wolrde paſſeth. To the ſecunde ſhall comeo togedre in the ſtroke of an eye all mankynde. To the firſt, men ſhalbe cleped with three ſumners other Sergeauntes: the firſt is ſickneſſe, the ſecond is age, and the third is death: the firſt warneth, the ſecond thretneth, and the third taketh. This is a kyndly order, but otherwiſe it fayleth, for ſume we ſeeth dyeth that neuer wiſt what was ſicknes ne age, as children that ben ſodenly ſlayne. And ſume, ye the moſt part that deyeth now a dayes deyeth, byfore her kynde agee of deeth: therefore I ſay, that the firſt that clepeth to this ſpeciall reckning is ſicknes, that followeth all mankind, ſo that euery man hath it: and ſum is ſickneſſe that ſume men haueth but nought all. Yet the firſt ſickeneſſe is double, for ſume is withinne in the mightes of the ſoule, and ſume is without in feblenes of the bodie that needis mo be ſtroyed, whan time by hem ſelfe is cauſe of corruption as Philoſophie ſayth, that thereby feblenes and ſicknes. And ſo may we ſee hereby, though that a man ſhut out of the houſe of hys hart all maner of worldlie and fleſhlie thoughtes, yet vnneth ſhall a man for ought that he can doo, thinke on God onelie, the ſpace of o Pater noſter, but that ſome other thing that is paſſing, entreth into the ſoule, and draweth her from contemplation. But O Lorde God, what ſeekenes is this, an heuie burden on the ſonnes of Adam, that on fowle moock and fen of the world we may thinke long ynow. But on that the ſoule ſhould moſt delectation haue by kinde, mow we nought thinke ſo little a ſpace, but if the cokle enter among the whete. Of this ſeekenes ſpeaketh Poule, where he ſayth. I ſee a lawe in my limmes fighting agenes the lawe of my ſprite, and taking me into the law of ſinne. So that it fares by vs, as by a man that would looke ageyns the ſun, and may nought do it long for nothing. And forſoth that is for no default that is in the ſunne, for ſhe is moſt cleere in her ſelfe, and ſo by reaſon beſt ſhould be ſeyn, but it is for feblenes of mans eye. Ryght ſo, ſyth Adam our firſt fader was put out of Paradyſe, all hys offſpring haue ben thus ſicke, as the Prophet ſeyth. Our fadres haue eat a bitter grape, and the teeth of the children be wexe an edge. The ſecond ſicknes, that is commune to all mankind, commyth of feblenes of the body: as hunger and thorſt, cold and heate, ſorow & werines, and many other as Iob.18. ſayth. A man that is ibore of a woman, liuing a little whyle, is fulfilled with many miſeaſes. Yet there is other ſicknes that commeth to ſome men, but not to all, as Lepyr, Palſey, Feuer, Dropſie, Blindnes, and many other, as it was ſeyden to the people of Iſraell, in holy writ. But thou keepe the commaundements that be writ in this booke, God ſhal echen the ſicknes of thee and of thy ſeede, great ſickenes and long abiding. Yet yee ſhall vnderſtond, that God ſendeth other while, ſuch ſicknes to good men, and other while to ſhrewes. To good men God doth it for two cauſes, and that is ſooth. Of ſicknes I wol to be vnderſtond alſo, of all maner of tribulations. The firſt cauſe, for they ſhold alway euer know, that they haue none perfection of them ſelfe, but of God onely, and to echen theyr meekenes. And thus ſayth Poule, leaſt the greatnes of reuelations rere me vp into pride, is giuen a pricke of my fleſhe, the Aungell of Sathanas to ſmite me on the necke, wherefore I haue thriſe prayed God, that he ſhuld go fro me, and he anſwered me: My grace is ſuffiſant to thee for vertue is fulfilled in ſicknes, where on thus ſayn the gloſe. The fend axing Iob to be tempted, was herd of God, and nought the Apoſtle axing his temptation to be remoued. God herd him that ſhuld be damned, and he herd nought him, that he ſhuld ſaue. For oft the ſick mā axit many things of the leche, that he wol not geue him, & that is for to make him whole of ſicknes. Alſo God ſendeth Saincts oft ſicknes & perſecution, to giue vs ſinfull wretches example of patience: For if he ſuffer his Saincts to haue ſuch tribulation in this world, and they thankin him thereof, much more wretchis that God ſendeth not the hundred aparty of their ſorowe, ſhulden beare it meekely ſith we haue diſerued a thouſand ſo much as they haueth. Whereof, Tobie that one day whan he was wery of byrying of poore men, the which ſhulden haue ley vnburyed, and haue be etene of houndis, and foules, as caraynes, of other vnreaſonable beſtes, whan for weryneſſe he had leide him to reſte, through Goddis ſufferaunce the ſwallowes that bredden aboue on his hous, maden ordure into his eyen, and he wexet blind. Thus it is writ of this temptation for ſoth: Therefore God ſuffered to come to him, that to them that comen after, ſhuld be geuen enſample of pacience, as by the temptation of holie Iob. For ſith from his childhod, euermore he drede God, and euer kept his heſtes: He was not agreeued ayenſt God that the miſthiefe of blindneſſe fell to him: but vnmoueable dwelled in the dread of God, thanking him all the dayes of his life. Lo that holy writ ſayth expreſly, that God ſuffered this holie man to haue that ſicknes, to geue them that ſhould come after him enſample of pacience. Alſo other whyle, God ſendeth ſyckenes and tribulation to wicked men, and for two cauſes. Firſt for that they ſhould the rather dreade God, and leaue their ſinne. As it is writ: their ſickenes hath bene multiplied, and after they haue hyed to Godward. For we ſee oft men in ſicknes know their God, that neuer would haue turned to him whyle they had beene whole. Alſo God ſendeth them ſicknes oft to agaſt other men, leſt they follow their ſin. As the ſickenes of kyng Antioche, whome God ſmote with ſuch a ſickenes, that wormes fell out of hys body whyle he lyued, in ſo farforth, that he ſtanke ſo foule, that his frends were ſo wearye of it, that they might not ſuffer it. And at the laſt, when he himſelfe might not ſuffer his owne ſtinch, then he began to know himſelfe, and ſayd: It is rightfull, to be ſubiect to God, and a deadly man not to hold himſelfe onely euen with God, and the ſtory ſaith he asked mercie of God, and made a vowe to God, that he would make the Citie of Ieruſalem free, and the Iewes to make them as free as the men of Athens: and that hee would honour Gods temple wyth pretious ary, and multiply the holy veſſels, and finde of his owne rent and ſpenſes perteining to the ſacrifice. And he would become a Iew, and go ouer all the lond to preach Goddes might. And yet God gafe him not ſuch mercy as he deſired. And I trow certein that it was for good. In as much as God knew he would not afterward hold his couenaunt, or els for he axket it too late. What mede was it for him to forſake his wickednes, whan hee was vnmightie to doo good or euill. Neuertheles, I trow he was not dampned, in as much as he had ſuch repentaunce, for repentaunce in this life come neuer too late if it be trew. But by thys vengeaunce that God tooke on thys king, ſhould men ſee, what it is to be vnobedient to God. And alſo it is to take heede, that whan euer ſickenes commeth, euer it ſheweth, that hee that ſuffreth this deadly, ſhall nedes dye. For though he may ſkape of his ſicknes, yet hee may not ſkape death. And ſo thou muſt needs come giue rekening of thy bayly. The ſecond ſomnour that ſhall clepe thee to this particuler doome, is elde or age. And the condition of him is this, though that he tarie with thee, he will not leue thee, till he bring thee to the thirde, that is death. But there be many that though they haue this ſomnour with them, they take none hede, though they ſee ther heare hore, her back crook, her breth ſtynke, her teeth fayle, her yen derk, her viſage riuely, her crene wexit heuy to her. What meneth all this, but that age ſummeth to the dome.

Math.27.

3. ſumners.
Sickneſſe.
Age.
Death.

Iob.14.

Deutero.

Corinth.12.

Tobi.2.

Antioche,

The ſecond ſomner, Properties of death,

But what more madhead may be than a man to be cleped, and drawe to ſo dreadfull a reckenyng there, where but he aunſwere well he forfeteth both body and ſoule to damnation for euer. If ſeing a litle wordly merth on the way, he thinketh ſo mekill theron, that he forgetteth who draweth him, or whether he draweth. So doth he that is ſmiten with age and liketh ſo on the falſe world is wealth, that he forgetteth whether he is away: Herefore ſayth an holy Doctour, that among all abuſions of the world moſt is of an old man that is obſtinate: for he thinketh not on his out going of this world, ne of paſſing into the lyfe that is to come: he heareth meſſengers of death, and he leueth hem not, and the cauſe is this, for the threfold cord that ſuch an old mā is bounden with, is hard to breke. This cord is cuſtome, that is of three plightes, that is, of idel thought, vnhoneſt ſpeach, and wicked deede: the whiche if they groweth in a man from the childhood into mans age, they maketh a treble cord to bynde the old man on cuſtome of ſinne. Herefore ſayth Eſay breake the bondes of ſinne. Thinke herefore whoſoeuer that thou be that art thus ſumned, that thou might not ſcape that thou ne ſhalt yeld the rekenyng of thy baily.

Eſaye.

The third ſomner to this reckenyng, is death. And the condition of him is, that whan euer he come, firſt, other the ſecōd, other the laſt houre he ne ſpareth, neither power, ne yougth, ne he dreadeth no thretning, ne he ne taketh hede of no prayer, ne of no gift, ne he graunteth no reſpit, but withouten delay he bringeth forth to the dome. Herefore ſeyth Sainct Auſten. Well ought euerie man drede the day of his death. For in what ſtate a mans laſt day findeth hym, whan he dyeth out of this worlde, in the ſame ſtate he

The third ſomner
diſtinctio mortis.
Auguſtinus.

he bringeth hym to hys dome. Herfore ſeyth the wiſe man. Sonne, thinke on thy laſt day, and thou ſhalt neuer ſinne. Therfore I rede that thou thinke, that thou ſhalt geue reconing of thy bayly. I ſayd alſo, that there ſhall be another doome, to the which all men ſhall come together, and this ſhall be vniuerſall. And right as to the other dome, euery man ſhall be cleped with theſe three ſumnours: ſo to this dome all this world ſhall be cleped with three generall clepers. And right as the other three meſſengers tell a mans end, ſo theſe tell the end of the world. The firſt cleper is the worldly ſicknes, the ſecond cleper is feblenes, and the third is the ende. The ſicknes of the world thou ſhalt know by charitie a cooling. His elde and febles thou ſhalt knowe by tokens fulfilling, and hys end thou ſhalt know by Antichriſtes purſuing. Firſt I ſayd, thou ſhalt knowe the worldes ſicknes by charitie a cooling. Clerkes that treate of kynde ſayne: that a bodie is ſicke, when his bodely heate is to lite, or when his vnkindely heate is too muche. Sythe then all mankynde is one bodye, whoſe kindly heate is charity (that is loue to God and to our neighbors) vnkindly heate is luſtfull loue to other creatures. When therefore thou ſeeſt that the loue of men to Godwarde and to their neigbour is litle and faynt, and the loue of worldlye thynges and luſtes of the fleſh is great and feruent: then wit thou well, that vnkindly heate is too great, and kindly heate is too little. That this be acknowlich of this ſicknes, I may proue by autoritie of Chriſt. For he himſelfe gaue them as a ſigne of the drawing to the ende of the world: For that wickednes ſhall be in plente, charitie ſhall acoole. Therfore whan thou ſeeſt charitie this little in the worlde and wickednes encreaſe, know well, that this world paſſeth and hys welth, and that this ſomner is come. And thus ſeyth Seint Poule, Wit ye well, that in the laſte dayes ſhall come perilous times, and there ſhall be men louing them ſelfe, that is to ſay, their bodyes, couetous by pride, vnobedient to father and mother, vnkynd fellons, withouten affection, withouten peace, blamers, incontinent, vnmylde, withonten benignitie, traytours, rebels, ſwelling, louers of luſtes more then of God, hauing a lykenes of pietie, and denying the vertue thereof. And theſe flee thou. If thou ſeeſt the people buſied wyth ſuch conditions, wyt thou well that the firſte ſumnour, warneth all the world, that the day of reconing draweth towarde.

The day of iudgement.

To knowen the worlds ſicknes.

Math.21.

Tim.3.

The ſecond Sumnour, that warneth all the world, is elde or age of the world and hys feblenes, and ſheweth tokens fulfillyng. But I know wel, that we be nought ſuffiſaunt to know the times other the whyles that the fader in trinitie hath put on hys owne power, to ſhew certeinly the day, yeere, other houre of this dome, ſith this knowleche was hid fro the priuey Apoſtles of Chriſt, and fro Chriſts manhode as to ſhew it to vs. Natheles, we inough by authoritie of holy writ, wyth reaſons, and expoſitions of Saints, well and openly ſhew, that thys day of wrath is nygh: But yet leaſt any man ſey in hys hert as it is writen of folie baylies, that they ſhall ſeien, my Lord, that is, tarrieth to come to the dome, and vppon hope hereof he taketh to ſmite ſeruauntes and hynen of God, eate and drinke and make him dronk: I ſhall ſhewe that this day is at the hond, howe ny neuertheles, can I not ſeie ne wole For if Poule ſayd now for a thouſand and three hundred yeer, and paſſed moe: we ben thilke, into whome the endis of the worlde ben come, much rather may we ſeie the ſame that been ſo much neere the end than he was. Alſo S. Chryſoſtome ſayth: thou ſeeſt ouer all darkeneſſe, and thou douteſt that the day is go, firſt on the valeyes is darkneſſe whan the day draweth downeward: whan thereſore thou ſeeſt the valeies I derked, why douteſt thou whether it be nigh euen, but if thou ſee the ſunne ſo lowe that derkneſſe is vpon the hilles, thou wolt ſeie doutles, that it is night. Right ſo, if thou ſee firſt in the ſeculers and the lewd chriſten men begynneth derkneſſes of ſinnes and to haue the maiſtrie, it is token that this world endeth. But whan thou ſeeſt prieſts that ben put on the high toppe of ſpirituall dignities, that ſhulden be as hilles abouen the commune people in perfit liuing, that derkneſſe of ſinnes hath taken them, who douteth that the world nis at the end. And alſo Abbot Ioachim in expoſition of Ieremye, ſeyeth: Fro the yeare of our Lord 1200. all times beth ſuſpect to me, and we ben paſſed on thys ſuſpecte time nigh 200. yeare. Alſo mayden Hyldegare in the booke of her prophecie the third partie, the xj. viſion, the vij. chapter, meueth thys reaſon. Ryght as on ſeauen dayes God made the world, ſo in 7000. yeare the world ſhall paſſe. And right as in the ſixt day man was made and fourmed: ſo in 6000. yeares he was brought ageine and reformed. And as in the ſeauenth daye the world was full made, and God left off hys working, right ſo in the 7000. yeare, the number of them that ſhullen be ſaued ſhall be fulfilled, and reſt ſhall be to Seintes full in bodye and ſoule. If that it be ſo as it ſeemeth to followe of this maydens words, that 7000. in paſsing of the world accordeth to ſeauen dayes in hys making it, ſee what lacketh that theſe 7000. yeares ne beth fulfilled. For if wee reken the number of yeeres fro the natiuitie of Chriſt, to the yeares fro the beginning of the world, to Chriſt, and thou wolt folowe Auſtyne, Bede, and Oroſie, and moſt probable doctors treating of this matter, are paſſed now almoſt, ſixe thouſand and ſixe hundred as it is open in a booke that is cleped *Speculum iudiciale* So it ſuweth, that this laſt day is more than a halfe a go, if we ſhulden geue credence to thys maydens reaſun: But if we ſhull lene to the Goſpell, than we ſhall finde in the Goſpell of Mathew, that the Diſciples axiden of Chriſt three queſtions Firſt, what time the Citie of Ieruſalem ſhould be deſtroyed. The ſecond, what token of hys comming to the doome. And the third, what ſigne of the endyng of the world. And Chriſt gaue them no certayne tyme of theſe thinges when they ſhoulden fall, but he gaue them tokens, by which they myght know when they drew nighe, and ſo as to the firſt queſtion of the deſtruction of Ieruſalem, he ſayd: when the Romaines come to beſeege that Citie, then ſoone after ſhe ſhall bee deſtroyed.

Luke.12.

1.Co.10.

Chryſoſtom.

A proper ſimilitude.

Ioachim

Maide Hildegar.

Auguſtine.

Math.24.

Note.

And as to the ſecond and the thirde, hee gaue manye tokens, that is to ſay: that Realme ſhall riſe againſt Realme, and people agaynſt people, and peſtilences and earthquakinges, the which we haue ſeene in our dayes. But the laſt token that hee gaue, was thys: when yee ſeene the abhomination of elengneſſe ſayd of Daniel the Prophet, ſtandyng on the Sanctuary: then who ſo readeth, vnderſtand. Vpon which text, thus argueth a Doctour in a booke that he maketh of the end of the world. If the wordes of Daniel hauen autoritie (as God ſayth that they hauen) it ſufficeth of the number of the yeares of the ende of the world, that Daniell hath written. Now Daniell in the twelfth chapter, ſpeakyng of thys abhomination, putteth betweene the ceaſing of the buſie ſacrifice of the Iewes, the whych fell, when by Titus and Veſpaſianus, Ieruſalem was deſtroyed, and the people of Iewes were diſparkled into all the world. And thys abhomination that Doctors ſayne, ſhall be in the great Antichriſtes dayes. 1290. Nowe proueth thys Doctour, that a daye muſt be taken for a yeare, both by autoritie of holy writ in the ſame place, and in other, and alſo by reaſon: So it ſeemeth to this clerke, that the great Antichriſt ſhoulde come in the 1400. yeare fro the birth of Chriſt, the which nomber of yeares is now fulfilled, not fully twelue yeares and a halfe lacking. And this reaſon put not I as to ſhewe anie certayne tyme of hys commyng, ſithe I haue not that knowledge: but to ſhewe that he is nye, but how nygh I wot neuer. But take we heede to the fourth part of the ſecond viſion of Saint Iohn, put in the booke of Reuelations, in the which vnder the opening of the ſeauen ſeales, is declared the ſtate of the Churche, from the time of Chriſt into the end of the world. The opening of the foure firſt ſeales, ſhew the ſtate of the Church, fro the tyme of Chriſt, to the tyme of Antichriſt and his foregoers, the whych is ſhewed in the opening of the other three ſeales. The opening of the fyrſt ſeale, telleth the ſtate of the Church in the tyme of the preaching of Chriſt and of hys Apoſtles. For the firſt, that is, the Lyon, gaue hys voyce, that betokeneth the preachers of Chriſtes reſurrection and hys aſcenſion. For then yede out a whyte horſe, and he that ſat vppon hym, had a bow in hys hand, and he yede out ouercomming to ouercome. By thys whyte hors we vnderſtand, the cleane life and conuerſation that theſe preachers haden: and by the bowe, their true teaching, pricking ſorow in mens hartes for their ſinnes withouten flatteryng. And they wenten out of Iewry that they comen of, ouercommyng ſome of the Iewes, and maken them to leaue the truſt that they hadden in the olde law, and to beleeue in Ieſus Chriſte, and ſhewen hys teachynge. And they wenten out to ouercome the Paynemes, ſhewyng to them that theyr Images were no Gods, but mens woorkes, vnmighty to ſaue them ſelfe, or any other, drawyng them to the beliefe of Ieſus Chryſt God and man. In the opening of the ſecond ſeale, there cryed the ſecond beaſt, that is, a calfe, that was a beaſt wonted to be ſlayne, and offered to God in the old law. Thys ſheweth the ſtate of the Churche in the time of Martyrs, that for their ſtedfaſt preachyng of Gods true law, ſhed theyr bloud, that is ſignifyed by the red hors that went out at thys ſeale opening: and thys eſtate began at Nero the curſed Emperour, and dured into the time of Conſtantine the great, that endowed the Church. For in thys tyme, many of Chriſtes ſeruaunts, and namely the leaders of Gods flocke were ſlayne. For of xxij. Byſhops of Rome that were betwene Peter and Silueſter the firſt, I reade but of foure, but that they weren Martys for the lawe of Chriſt. And alſo in the tyme of Diocleſian the Emperour, the perſecution of the Chriſten men was ſo great, that in xxx. dayes weren ſlayne xxij. thouſand men and women in diuers countries, for the law of God.

Antichriſt to come an. 1400. This ſermon ergo was made, an. 1389.

Apo.6.

Expoſitio.

Nero.

Conſtantinus magnus.

Silueſter.

The opening of the third ſeale, telleth the ſtate of the Church in time of Heretikis that beth figured by the blacke hors, for falſe vnderſtonding of holy write: for than cryed the third beeſt that is a man, for at that time was it neede to preache the miſtery of Chriſtes incarnation, and his paſsion ayenſt theſe erretikis that feliden mis of theſe pointis: how Chriſt tooke verreyly mans kynde of our Lady, hym beyng God as hee was bifore, and hys moder beeyng mayden byfore and after. The opening of the fourth ſeale, telleth the ſtate of the Church in tyme of ypocritis, that

The 3. ſeale.

Expoſitio.

The 4. ſeale. *Expoſitio.*

that beth ſignified by the pale hors, that beth ſignes of penaunce with outfoorth to blinde the people. And he that ſate vpon thys hors his name was death, for they ſhulle ſlee goſtly them that they leden, and teacheth to truſt vpon other thing than God: and helle foloweth him, for helle receiueth thilke that theſe diſteineth. At that time ſhall it neede, that the fourth beaſt that is the Egle make hys cry, that flyeth higheſt of foules to reare vp Gods Goſpell: and to preiſe that law aboue other, leaſt mens wit, and their traditions ouergone and treden downe the law of God, by enforming of theſe ypocritis, and this is the laſt ſtate, that is, other ſhall be in the Church, biſore the comming of the great Antichriſt. The opening of the fift ſeale, telleth the ſtate of the Church that than ſhall folow, and the deſire that louers of Goddis law ſhulleth haue after the end of this world to be deliuered of thys wo. The opening of the ſixt ſeale telleth the ſtate of the Church, in time of Antichriſtis times, the which ſtate yee may know to be in the Church whan ye ſeth fulfilled, that Saint Iohn Prophecieth to fall on the opening of thys, where hee ſayth thus: After thys I ſaw foure Angels ſtonding vpon foure corners of the earth, holdyng the foure windes of the earth that they blowen nought vpon the earth, ne vpon the ſea, ne vpon eny tree. Theſe foure Angels beth the number of all the Deuils miniſters, that on that tyme ſhulleth in the pleaſance of their Lord Antichrſt, ſtoppe the four windis that beth the foure Goſpels to be preached, and ſo let the breath of the grace of the holie Ghoſt to fall vpon men morning for ſinne, and calling them to amendement, and to other that wolden encreaſe in vertues, other vpon perfit men. What is there after thys to fall, but that the myſtery of the ſeauenth ſeale be ſhewed, that he come in hys owne perſon. That Ieſu Chrſt ſhall ſlee with the ſpirite of hys mouth, whan the fiend ſhall ſhew the vtmoſt perſecution, that he and hys ſeruauntis may doo to Chriſtis limmes, and that ſhall be the third warning that the world ſhall haue to come to thys dreadfull dome.

The5. ſeale.

The 6. ſeale.

In all thys matter haue I nought ſeid of my ſelfe, but of other Doctours that beth proued. I ſeyd alſo in my ſecond principall part, that it were to wete tofore what Iudge we ſhull reken. Wherefore we ſhulleth wite, that God him ſelfe ſhall heere thys rekening, he that ſeeth all our dedis, and all our thoughtes fro the beginning of our lyſe to the end, and he ſhall ſhew there the hid thingis of our hert opening to all the world the rightfulnes of hys dome. So that with the myght of God, euery mans dedis to all the world ſhall be ſhewed, and ſo it ſemeth by the wordes of Seint Iohn, in the booke of preuites, there he ſeith thus. I ſaw dede men litel and great, ſtondyng in the ſight of the throne, and bookes weren opened: and an other booke was opened that was of lyſe, and dede men weren iudged after the thyngs that weren written in the bokes after their worchings. Theſe bokes beth mens conſciences that now beth cloſed. But than they ſhulleth be opened to all the world to reden therein both dedis and thoughtes. But the booke of liſe, is Chriſts liuing and doctrine, that is now hid to men that ſhulleth be damned thrugh theyr owne malice, that demeth men to ſerue the world, rather than God: In the firſt booke ſhall be writ all that we haueth doo, in that other booke, ſhall be write that we ſhulden haue doo, and than ſhulle dede men, be demyd of thilke thingis that ben written in the bokis: For if the dedis that we hauen do, the which ben written in the bookis of our conſcience, bee accordyng to the booke of Chriſtes teachyng and hys liuing, the whych is the booke of lyſe, we ſhulle be ſaued, and els we ſhulle be damned, for the dome ſhall be geuen after our workis. Looke therefore now what thing is written in the booke of thy conſcience, while thou art here: and if thou findeſt ought contrary to Chriſtis life, other to hys teaching, with the knite of penaunce and repentaunce, ſcrape it awaie and write it better, euermore hertly thynkyng that thou ſhalt yelde rekening of thy bayly.

The 7. ſeale.

Apoca.

Alſo I ſaid principally that it were to witen, what reward ſhal be geue on that doome, to wiſe ſeruauntes and good, and what to falſe ſeruauntes and wicked. For the which it is to wite, that our Lord Ieſu Chriſt, ſhall come to the dome here into this world, in the ſame body that he tooke of our Lady, hauyng thereon the wound is that he ſuffred for our agayne bieng. And all that euer ſhullen be ſaued, taking agayne their bodies clyuing to their head Chriſt, ſhull be rauiſhed metyng him in the ayre as Paul ſayth: They that ſhall be damned lyen vpon the earth, as in a tonne of wyne the dreggis dwellen byneth and the cliere wyne houeth aboue. Than ſhall Chriſt axe rekenyng of the deedes of mercy, reprouyng falſe Chriſten men for the leuyng of them, rehearſing the deedes of the ſame, and other truth is by the which his trewe ſeruauntes than folowed hym: than ſhulle thike falſe ſeruauntes goe with the deuill, whom they haue ſerued in the earth, then ſwallowyng into the endleſſe fire. And rightfull men ſhullen goe into euerlaſtyng lyſe, than ſhall be fulfilled that is written, in the booke of priuitees. Woe, woe, woe, to hem that dwellen in the earth. Woe to the paynyme that gaſe that worſhyp to dead Images wrought of mans handes, and to other creatures that hee ſhuld haue gone to GOD that him wrought: Woe to the Iewe that truſteth ſo muchil in the ould law, than ſhall he ſee Maries ſonne deemyng the world whō he deſpiſed and ſet on the Croſſe: Woe to the falſe Chriſten man that knew the will of his Lord, and fulfilled it nought.

Alſo woe for ſinne of thinkyng to thee, that thou haſt ſhyt out the meine of God, that is mynde of his Paſsion, holy contemplation, of his goodneſſe and memorie of his benefites, fro the chaumber of thine herte: and haſt made it an houſe of ſwyn and a den of theeues, by vncleane thoughtes and delites. As thou here haſt ſperd God out of thine hert, ſo he ſhall ſpere thee out of heauen: Thou haſt herberwid the meine of the fiend, and with them in hell thou ſhall thou ſhalt euer abide: woe alſo for ſinne of ſpeach, for thou might nought open they foule and ſtynkyng mouth with the whiche thou haſt ſpoken vnhoneſty, curſyng, fraude, deceite, leaſinges, forſwearyng, ſcornyng, and backebityng, to prayſe God in the felowſhyp of Saintes. For louyng is nought comynlych, in mouthes of ſinners. For in the whiche gif thou haddeſt kept thy mouth cleane, thou ſhouldeſt haue ſongen in felowſhyp of Aungels this bleſſed ſong: *Sanctus, Sanctus, Sanctus, Domonus Deus omnipotens*. Holy, holy, holy, Lord God almighty. Than yellyng and weepyng thou ſhalt cry in company of deuils. *Ve, ve, ve, quante ſunt tenebra*. Woe, woe, wo, how great beth theſe darkenes, wo alſo for ſinne of deede. Thou haſt bene proud, thy pryde ſhall be drawen to hell, as Eſay ſayth, or thou haſt bene brent wyth enuye of the deuill. Enuy entred into the world, and they ſhoulden folowen him that ben on hys ſyde, as Salomon ſayth. Or thou haſt be ſtirred with wrath, and euerich man that beareth wrath to hys brethren, is gilty in dome, as Chriſt in the Goſpell ſayth of Mathew. Or thou haſt be ſlowe to good deedes, myſſawe ſhall come to thee as a wayfaring man, and thy pouert as a man iarmed, as the booke of Prouerbes ſayth. Or thou haſt haunted lechery, glotonye, or couetiſe. That forſoth wete ye, that euerych auouterer, or vncleane man, that is a gloton, other chynch, ſhall neuer haue heritage in the Realme of Chriſt and of God, as Poule ſayth. But fire, brimſtone, and the ſpirit of tempeſts, that is, the fiend of hell, ſhulen be a partie of their payne, as it is written in the Pſaulter, when theſe damned men bee in this woe, they ſhulen ſyng thys reufull ſong that is ywritten in the booke of mourning. The ioye of our hart is a go, our quier is turned into wo, the crowne of our heade is fallen vs fro. Alas for ſynne that we haue do. But ioye and ioye, and ioye to them that be ſaued. Ioy in God, ioy in them ſelfe, ioy in other that ben ſaued. Alſo ioy for theyr trauayle is brought to ſo gracious an end. Ioy, for they ſcaped the payne of hell, ioy fore theyr bliſſe that they han in the ſight of God, *Cui ſit honor & gloria, in ſecula ſeculorum, Amen.*

Note,

Concluſion.

And thus much concerning this worthie and fruitfull Sermon, whych as by the auncientnes of the phraſe ſeemeth to be preached much about the time of Iohn wickleffe: ſo I thought heere, by the occaſion of william Thorpes examination, beſt to place the ſame: for the apt coherence both of the ſpirit, and of the matter. Eſpecially hauing before our eyes, the publique vtilitie of the Reader, to whome by the ſtudious reading thereof, might riſe plentifull matter of true Chriſtian information, both of the wholeſome fearing of God, and of the right guiding of euery Chriſtian mans life.

whereunto I thought good to anexe further in our ſtory, after the examination of william Thorpe, and the martyrdome of william Sawtrey, and of Iohn Badby thus deſcribed (as ye haue heard) which was about the yeare 1409. By the way here is to be conſidered, at leaſt to be admoniſhed, that al this while the ſchiſme in the church of Rome did yet continue, and ſo endured till the councell of Conſtance, which was in whole, the ſpace of xxix. yeres. The origine whereof (as was ſayd page. 000.) firſt began at Urbanus. 5. which Urbanus being dead, an. 1389. next folowed Pope Boniface the 9. who ſate 14. yeares. He in ſelling his pardons was ſo impudent and ſo paſt ſhame, that he brought the keyes of Peter (as ſayth Platina) in contempt. After hym ſucceeded Innocentius. 7. and ſate 2. yeares: who being dead, the Cardinals conſulting together, and ſeeing the foule enormitie and inconuenience growing vpon this contentious ſchiſme in their Church of Rome (minding to prouide ſome remedie for the ſame, after the beſt deuiſe they could) in their conclaue where they were aſſembled for a new election of the Pope, toke this order, promiſing among themſelues with ſolemne vow made to God, to Mary the bleſſed virgine, to Peter and Paule, and to all the bleſſed company of ſaints: That if any of them within the colledge or without the colledge, ſhould be called to that high place of Apoſtolicall preeminence: he ſhould effectuouſly renounce the iuriſdiction and title of his Popedome, if or whenſoeuer the cōtrary Pope for the time being, would in like maner renounce his place and

*Vide ſupra. pag.*429.

Vrbanus.5.
Bonifacius.9.
Innocentius.7.
Gregorius, 12.

The Cardinals deuiſe to ceaſe the ſchiſme.

The vow & othe of the Cardinals made for the ſchiſme.

and title, and his Cardinals in like maner to cōdeſcend to the other Cardinals of Rome. So that both theſe two colledges of Cardinals agreeing together: one chiefe byſhop might be choſen and takē out of them both, to be made the true Pope. Prouided moreouer, that none ſhould ſeeke any releaſement or abſolution from the ſayd promiſe, vow, and bond, once paſſed among them: Unto al which things furthermore, euery one ſubſcribed with his hande. Theſe things thus prefixed and ratified vpon the ſame, they proceeded to ẏ election. In whych was choſen Gregorius the xij. who the ſame day of hys election, in the preſence of all the cardinals: confirmed the vow, ſacrament and promiſe made, ſubſcribing the ſame with his hand in forme as foloweth.

The oth and vow of pope Gregory. 12.

And I Gregorie, thys day being the laſt of Nouember, in the yeare of our Lorde 1407. choſen and elected for biſhop of Rome: do ſweare, vowe, and promiſe, & confirme all the premiſſes aboue contained. &c. Thys being done, ſhortly after he was crowned, being of the age of 80. yeares. As the time thus paſſed, the people and Cardinals were in great expectation, waiting when the Pope according to his othe would geue ouer, wyth the other pope alſo. And not long after, the matter began in deede betwene the two Popes to be attempted, by letters from one to another: aſſigning both day and place, where and whē they ſhould meete together: but yet no effect did folow.

Ex Chron. D. Albani.

The pope falſely periured. Cardinals leaue the periured pope.

This ſo paſſing on, great murmuring was among the Cardinals, to ſee their holy periured father, ſo to neglecte his othe, and vow aforenamed. In ſo much, that at length, diuers of them did forſake the Pope, as being periured (as no leſſe he was) ſending moreouer to kings and princes of other lands, for their counſell and aſſiſtance therein, to appeaſe the ſchiſme. Amongeſt the reſt, Cardinall Bituricenſis was ſent to the king of Englande: who publiſhing diuers propoſitions and cōcluſions (remaining in the regiſters of Thomas Arundell) diſputeth, that the pope ought to be ſubiect to lawes and councels. Then K. Henry (moued to write to Gregory the pope) directeth his letter here vnder enſuing, which was the yeare of our Lorde, 1409. The contents of the letter be theſe.

{ Ann. 1409. }

The letter of king Henry the fourth, to Pope Gregory 12.

King Henry 4. to pope Gregory. 12.

Moſt bleſſed father, if the diſcrete prouidence of the Apoſtolike ſea, would call to mind, with what great pearils the vniuerſall world hath ben damnified hetherto, vnder pretēce of thys preſent ſchiſme: and eſpecially would conſider, what ſlaughter of Chriſten people to the number of two hūdreth thouſand (as they ſay) hath bene throughe the occaſion of warre raiſed vp in diuers quarters of the world, and now of late, to the number of thirty M. ſouldiours which haue bene ſlaine through the diſſention moued about the Biſhopricke of Leodium, betwene two ſet vp, one by the authoritie of one Pope, the other by the authoritie of the other Pope, fighting in campe for the title of that Biſhoprike: Certes yee would lament in ſpirite, & be ſore greeued in minde for the ſame. So that, with good conſcience you wold relinquiſh rather the honour of the ſea Apoſtolike, then to ſuffer ſuch horrible bloudſhed heereafter to enſue, vnder the cloake of diſsimulation, followinge herein the example of the true mother in the booke of kings: who pleading before Salomon for the right of her childe, rather would depart from the childe, then the childe ſhoulde bee parted by the ſword. And although it may be vehemently ſuſpected by the new creation of 9. Cardinals, by you laſt made contrary to your othe (as other men do ſay) that you do but little heede or care for ceaſing the ſchiſme: Yet farre be it from the hearing and noting of the world, that your circumſpect ſeat ſhoulde euer be noted & diſtained with ſuch an inconſtancie of minde: whereby the laſt errour may be worſe, then the firſt. Ex Chron. D. Albani. part. 2.

2. hundred thouſand ſlaine by ſchiſme of Rome.

30 thouſād ſlaine in campe fighting for the biſhoprick of Leodium.

¶ King Henry the 4. to the Cardinals.

King Henry 4. to the Cardinals.

And to the Cardinalles likewiſe, the ſayde King directeth an other letter wyth theſe contentes heere following: Wee deſiring to ſhewe what zeale wee haue had and haue, to the reformation of peace of the Churche: by the conſent of the ſtates of the Realme, haue directed to the Byſhop of Rome our letters after the tenoure of the copie herewith in theſe preſentes encloſed, to bee executed effectually. Wherefore, we ſeriouſly beſeeche your reuerende colledge, that if it chaunce the ſayde Gregory to be preſent at the councell of Piſe, and to render vp hys Popedome, according to your deſire, and hys owne othe: you then ſo ordaine for hys ſtate totally, that chiefly God may be pleaſed therby, and that both the ſayde Gregory, and alſo wee which loue intierly hys honor and commodity, may haue cauſe to geue you worthely condigne thankes for the ſame. Ibid.

Concilium Piſanum.

This being done in the yere of our Lorde 1409. afterward in the yere next folowing, an. 1410. the Cardinals of both the Popes, to witte of Gregorius, and Benedictus: By common aduiſe aſſembled together at the citie of Piſe, for the reformation of vnity and peace in the Churche. To the which aſſembly, a great multitude of Prelates and biſhops being conuented, a newe Pope was choſen, named Alexander 5. But to thys election, neither Gregorius, nor Benedictus did fully agree. whereby there were 3. Popes together in the Romaine churche (that is to vnderſtande) not 3. crownes vpon one Popes head, but 3. heads in one Popiſh churche together. This Alexander being newly made pope, ſcarcely had well warmed his triple crowne: but ſtraight geueth out full remiſſion, not of a fewe, but of all maner of ſinnes whatſoeuer: to all them that conferred any thing to the monaſtery of ſ. Bartlemew by Smithfeld reſorting to the ſaide church any of theſe dayes following: to wit, on Maundy thurſday, good Friday, Eaſter euen, the feaſt of the Annunciation, from the firſt euēſong to the latter. But thys Pope which was ſo liberall in geuing remiſſion of many yeares to other, was not able to geue one yere of life to himſelfe: for within the ſame yere he died. In whoſe ſtead ſtept vp Pope John 23.

Ex chro. D. Albani.

{ Anno: 1410. }

Concilium Piſanum.

Pope Alexander. 5.

3. popes togeather.

The vaine remiſſiō by the popes indulgence.

Pope Alexander dead.

Pope Iohn 23.

In the time of this Alexander, great ſtirre began in the country of Bohemia, by the occaſion of the bokes of John Wickliffe, which then comming to the hands of J. Huſſe, and of other both men & women, eſpecially of the lay ſort, and artificers, began there to doe much good. In ſo much, that diuers of them not onely men, but women alſo, partly by reading of thoſe bookes tranſlated into their tounge, partly, by the ſetting forwarde of John Huſſe, a notable learned man, and a ſingulare preacher at that time in the vniuerſitye of Prage: were in ſhort time ſo ripe in iudgement, and prompt in the ſcriptures, ẏ they began to moue queſtions, yea and to reaſon wyth the Prieſtes, touchyng matters of the Scriptures.

Ex Ioā. Chocle. De hiſtoria Huſſiarū. lib. 1.

The Goſpell beginneth to take roote in Bohemia.

By reaſon wherof, complaint was brought to the ſayd Pope Alexander the fifte, who cauſed eftſoones the forenamed John Huſſe to bee cyted vp to Rome. But when hee came not at the Popes citation, then the ſayde Pope Alexander addreſſed hys letters to the Archbyſhop of Suinco. wherein he ſtraightly charged him to prohibit and forbid, by the authority Apoſtolicall, all manner of preachings or ſermons to be made to the people, but onely in Cathedrall Churches or Colledges, or Pariſh churches, or in Monaſteries, or els in theyr Churchyardes. And that the articles of Wickliffe, ſhoulde in no caſe of any perſon of what ſtate, condition or degree ſo euer, be ſuffered to be holdē, taught, or defended, eyther priuily or apertlye. Commaunding moreouer and charging the ſayde Archbyſhop, that wyth foure Bachelers of Diuinitie, and two Doctours of the Canon lawe ioyned vnto hym: would procede vpon the ſame, and ſo prouide that no perſon in churches, ſchooles, or any other place, ſhould teach, defend, or approue any of the foreſayd Articles. So that who ſo euer ſhould attempt the contrary, ſhould be accounted an hereticke. And vnles he ſhall reuoke ſolemnly and publikely the ſayde articles, and ſhall for euer abiure the bookes wherein the foreſayde articles be contained, ſo that they may be vtterly aboliſhed out from the eyes of the faithfull: the ſame to be apprehended and impriſoned, all appellation ſet apart, the help alſo of the ſecular arme being called thereunto, if nede ſhall require. &c. Theſe were the contentes of this mighty & fierce bull of Pope Alexander.

The letter of pope Alexāder, 5. to the Archbiſh. Swinco of Bohemia.

The Popes cruell bull againſt Iohn Huſſe.

Againſt the whych bull on the other ſide John Huſſe iuſtly complaining, excepteth againe and obiecteth manye things, as appeareth in his boke intituled De Eccleſia. cap. 18. where he declareth thys mandate of the pope to ſtande directly againſt the doings and ſayings both of Chriſt and of his Apoſtles: Conſidering, how Chriſt himſelf preached to the people, both in the ſea, in the deſert, in fields, in houſes, in ſynagoges, in villages: and the Apoſtles alſo in all places did the ſame, the Lord mightely working in them. He declared moreouer, the ſaid mandate or bul of the pope to redound vnto the great detriment of the church, in binding the word of God, that it might not haue his free paſſage. Alſo, the ſame to be preiudicial vnto chappels newly erected for the word of God to be preached in them, wherfore (ſayeth he) from thys commaundement or mandate of Pope Alexander, I did appeale vnto the ſayd Alexander, being better informed and aduiſed. And as I was perſecuting my appeale, the Lord Pope (ſayth John Huſſe) immediately died.

Ihon Huſſe obiecteth againſt the popes cruell Bull.

The popes Bull cōtrary to chriſt.

The notable iudgement of God in ſtriking the aduerſaries of the Goſpell.

Then the Archbiſhop of Suinco aforeſayde, to whome this preſent bul was directed, whē he ſaw the proces, buls and mandates of the biſhop of Rome, to be thus cōtemned of John Huſſe, and hys fellows, neyther hauing any hope of redreſſe in Winceſlaus the king: which ſemed to neglect the matter, went out of hys countrey into Hungarie, to complaine vnto Sigiſmonde kyng of Hungarie, and bꝛother to the ſayd Winceſlaus. But this quarelling Archbyſhop, whether befoꝛe (as the Bohemians ſay) oꝛ after (as Syluius ſayeth) that he had ſpoken with Sigiſmond: immediatly there (by the iuſt iudgement of God) died in Hungary, as the ſtoꝛy ſaith foꝛ ſoꝛrow. Wherby a little moꝛe liberty and quiet was geuen by the Loꝛd vnto hys Goſpel, newly beginning to take rote among the Bohemians. Albeit, this tranquility there, did not long continue without trouble and perſecution, neither coulde it in thoſe furious daies and raigne of Antichꝛiſt. Foꝛ after this Alexander afoꝛeſayde ſucceeded Pope Iohn 23. who likewiſe playing hys parte in this tragedy, bent all his might and maine to diſturbe the Bohemians, as moꝛe heereafter (Chꝛiſt willing) ſhalbe declared in further pꝛoceſſe of our hiſtoꝛy, comming to the yere of our Loꝛd. 1413.

The Goſpel ſeldom times long quiet.

Pope Iohn 23.

Thus the pooꝛe Chꝛiſtians (as ye ſee) like to the ſeely Iſraelites vnder the tyꝛãny of Pharao, were infeſted and oppꝛeſſed in euery place, but eſpecially heere in England: and yͤ ſo much the moꝛe here, becauſe that the king not like to Winceſlaus, went ful and whole wyth the pope and his pꝛelates againſt the Goſpellers.

The pride and glory of the clergie of England in thoſe dayes.

By reaſon wherof, the kingdome of the Pope and hys members here in this realme began to be ſo ſtrong, yͭ none durſt ſtirre oꝛ once mute agaynſt them. The Byſhops hauing the king ſo full on their ſide, armed moꝛeouer wyth lawes, ſtatutes, puniſhments, impꝛiſonments, ſwoꝛd, fire and fagot: raigned and ruled as they liſted, as kings and pꝛinces wythin thẽſelues. So ſtrong were they of power, that no humaine foꝛce was able to ſtande againſt them: ſo exalted in pꝛide and puft vp in gloꝛy, that they thought all things to be ſubiect to their reuerent maieſties. What ſo euer they ſet foꝛth oꝛ decreed, it muſt of all men be receyued and obeyed.

And ſuch was their ſuperſtitious blindneſſe and curious vanitie, that whatſoeuer toy came once in their fantaſye: it was ſtraightwayes determined and ſtabliſhed foꝛ a lawe of all men to be obſerued, were it neuer ſo friuolous oꝛ ſuperſtitious. As wel appeareth by Thomas Arundell Archb. of Cant. and other, who hauing now a litle laiſure from ſlaying and killing the innocẽt people, Martyꝛs and Confeſſoꝛs of the Loꝛd, & hauing nowe bꝛought their enemies (as they thought) vnder fecte: began to ſet vp themſelues, and to inuent newe cuſtomes, as the guiſe is of the Popes church, euer to intrude into yͤ church of God, ſome ceremony oꝛ cuſtome of their owne making, whereby the Churche of Chꝛiſt hath bene hitherto exceedingly peſtred. So likewiſe this Thom. Arundel, thinking the church yet not ſufficiently ſtuffed with ceremonies and vaine traditions of men: bꝛingeth in a new found gaud, commonly called the tolling of Aues, in honour of our Ladye, wyth certaine Aues to be ſaide, and daies of pardon to be geuen foꝛ the ſame. Foꝛ the ratification wherof, vnder the pꝛetence of the kings requeſt, he directed his mandate to the Byſhop of London, well ſtuffed wyth woꝛdes of Idolatry, as by the reading thereof may appeare, in foꝛme of termes as followeth.

Xl. dayes of pardon geuen by Tho. Arundel Archb.

*A mandate of Tho. Arundel directed to the Biſhop of London, to warne men to ſay certayne prayers at the tolling of the Aues, or ringing of Curphew.

Ringing of Curphew.

THomas, &c. To the right reuerend our brother, the Lorde Robert by the grace of God biſhoppe of London, greeting. &c. While we lift our eyes rounde about vs, and beholde attentiuely with circumſpect conſideration, how the moſt high woorde that was in the beginning with God, choſe to him an holy and immaculate virgin of the kingly ſtocke: in whoſe wombe he tooke true fleſh by inſpirall inſpiration, that the mercifull goodneſſe of the ſonne of God that was vncreate, might aboliſh the ſentence of condemnation, which all the poſterity of mankind that was created, had by ſinne incurred. Amongſt other labours in the vine of the Lorde of Sabaoth, we ſong to God our ſauiour with great ioy in him: carefully thinking, that though all the people of the Chriſtian religion did extol with voices of praiſes ſo worthy a virgin, by whõ we receiued the beginnings of our redemptiõ, by whom the holy day firſt ſhined to vs, which gaue vs hope of ſaluation. And although all the ſame people were drawen to reuerẽce her, which being a happy virgin, cõceiued the ſonne of God, the king of heauen, the redemer and ſauiour of all nations, miniſtring light to the people that were miſerably drowned in the darkeneſſe of death: We truely as the ſeruaunts of her owne *inheritance, and ſuch as are wrytten of, to be of her peculiar dower, as we are by euery mans confeſſion acknowledged to be: we I ſay, ought more watchfully then any others, to ſhewe the endeuours of our deuotion in praiſing her. Who being hetherto mercifull to vs, yea being euen cowardes, would that our power being, as it were ſpred abroad euery where through all the coaſtes of the world, ſhoulde with a victorious arme, feare all foreine nations. That our power being on all ſides ſo defended with the buckler of her protection, did ſubdue vnto our victorious ſtandards, and made ſubiect vnto vs, nations both neare at hand and farre off.

*If this be not blaſphemous & derogatory to Chriſt: let the reader iudge.

Likewiſe our happy eſtate (all the time that wee haue paſſed ſince the beginning of our liues) may be well attributed onely to the helpe of her medicine: to whom alſo we may worthely aſcribe nowe of late in theſe our times vnder the mighty gouernment of our moſt Chriſtian king, our deliuerãce from the rauening wolues, and the mouthes of cruell beaſts: which had prepared againſt our bankets, a meſſe of meat mingled full of gall, and hated vs vniuſtly, ſecretly lying in wait for vs, in recompence of the good wil that we ſhewed to them. Wherfore, that ſhee being on high ſitting before the throne of the heauenly maieſtie, the defendreſſe & patroneſſe of vs all, being magnified with al mens praiſes: may more plentifully exhibite to vs the ſonnes of adoption the teates of her *grace, in all thoſe things that we ſhall haue to do. At the requeſt of the ſpeciall deuotion of our Lord the king himſelf, we commãd your brotherhode, ſtraightly enioyning you: that you commaund the ſubiects of your citie and dioceſſe, and of al other ſuffraganes, to worſhip our Lady Mary the mother of God, and our *patroneſſe and protectreſſe, euermore in all aduerſity: with ſuch like kinde of prayer and accuſtomed maner of ringing, as the deuotiõ of Chriſtes faithful people is wont to worſhip her at the ringing of coure le feu. And when before day in the morning ye ſhall cauſe them to ring, that with like maner of praier & ringing, ſhe be euery where honored deuoutly by the aforeſaid our and your ſuffraganes and their ſubiects as wel religious as ſecular, in your and their monaſteries and collegiate churches: That wee ſo humbly calling vpon the mercy of the heauenly father, the right hande of the heauenly piety, may mercifully come to the helpe the protection & defence of the ſame our Lord the king, who for the happy remedy of quietneſſe, and for our ſuccour from tempeſtuous floudes, is ready to apply his hands to worke, and his eyes with all his whole deſire to watching. We therefore coueting more earneſtly to ſtirre vp the mindes of all faithfull people to ſo deuout an exerciſe of God. &c. Wee graunt by theſe preſents, to all and euery man. &c. that ſhall ſay the Lordes prayer and the ſalutation of the Angell fiue times at the morning peale with a deuout mind, totiens quotiens, (how oft ſo euer) 40 dayes of pardon by theſe preſents. Geuen vnder our ſeale in our manor of Lamheth the 10. day of February, Anno noſtræ tranſ. 9. Ex Regiſt. Thom. Arundel.

Theſe men make a Bellona of our Ladie.

Falſe helpe ſought, and ſet vp of Idolaters.

* The Papiſts would ſucke our Ladies pappes.

*Will you ſtand to this doctrine yee Catholikes.

*Popiſhe blaſphemy fighting againſt the grace of Chriſt.

Ringing of Curphew.

Xl. dayes pardon, for 5. Aues.

By this friuolous and barbarous conſtitution wͭ many other of like ſoꝛt heaped into the church by the papiſts: appeareth the pꝛoper nature and cõdition of this catholick generation. Who being thẽſelues not greatly exerciſed noꝛ experienced in any ſerious cogitation of ſpirituall matter (as ſemeth) take vpon them to gouern the ſpiritual church of Chꝛiſt, wherof in deede they haue no ſkill oꝛ very little. And therefoꝛe accoꝛding to their vnſkilfull handling, they lead and rule the church after ſuch outward ſights and ceremonies, ſeemely perhaps to their owne groſſe affection: but not agreeing (nay rather cleane contrary) to the ryght nature & condition, of the ſpiritual houſe and kingdome of the Loꝛd. And like as in their inuentions they ſwarue vtterly from the right handling of all ſpiritual gouernment: ſo in their maners & foꝛme of life likewiſe, they do reſemble little oꝛ no part almoſt, of ſuch as are and ought to be, true paſtoꝛs and miniſters of the myſticall body of Chꝛiſt.

Heaping vp ceremonies in the church.

Examples heereof are plenty and plaine, in theſe Romaine Pꝛelates to be noted: who ſo well conſidering the humble ſtate and lowly ſpirite which ought to be in paſtorall leaders of the church, will compare the ſame wyth the vſuall pompe of theſe gloꝛious poteſtates.

As foꝛ example, what can be moꝛe conuenient foꝛ a true paſtoꝛ eccleſiaſticall, then humility of hart and ſpirit, accoꝛding to the example of the head biſhop himſelfe? So, what greater ſhew of arrogãcy and pꝛide could there be, then in this: whom I haue oft named befoꝛe. Th. Arundel, archb. of Cant. who paſſing by the high ſtreat of London, did not only looke and waite foꝛ the ringing of the belles, foꝛ a triumph of his comming, but tooke great ſnuffe and did ſuſpende all ſuche Churches in London (not onely wyth the ſteeple and bels, but alſo with the oꝛganes) ſo many as did not receiue his comming with the noyſe of bels: accoꝛding as out of his own regiſters may appeare, yͤ woꝛdes wherof wꝛitten to his owne Somner, I haue hereto annexed in his owne foꝛme as followeth.

The pompe of the popes Church noted.

¶A Commiſsion directed to the Somner, to ſuſpende certaine churches of London, becauſe they rong not their bels, at the preſence of my Lord the Archb. of Canterbury.

THomas by the permiſsion of God, &c. To oure well beloued Thom. Wilton our Somner ſworn, health, grace, and bleſsing. The

Churches of London ſuſpended for not ringing at the comming of the Archb.

The comelineſſe of our holy Church of Canterb. ouer whych wee beare rule: deſerueth and requireth, that while wee paſſe throughe the prouince, of the ſame our Churche (hauing our croſſe caryed before vs) euery pariſh church in their turnes, ought & are bounden in token of ſpeciall reuerence that they beare to vs, to rynge theyr bels. Which notwithſtanding, ye on Tueſday laſt paſt, when wee betwixt 8. and 9. of the clocke before dinner, paſſed openly on foote as it were, through the middeſt of the citie of London, with our croſſe caried before vs: Diuers churches whoſe names are heere beneath noted, ſhewed towardes vs willingly (though they certainly knewe of our comming) vnreuerence rather then reuerence, and the duety that they owe to our church of Canterb. ringing not at all at our comming. Wherefore, wee being willing to reuenge this iniurie, *for the honor of our ſpouſe as we are boūden: commaunde you, that by our authoritie, you put all thoſe churches vnder our interditement, ſuſpēding Gods holy organes and inſtruments in the ſame Which we alſo ſuſpend by the tenor of theſe preſentes, till the miniſters of the aforeſayde Churches be able hereafter to attaine of vs the benefit of more plentifull grace. Geuen. &c.

* Oh iniurious enemies to Chriſt his humilitie.

What great reaſon was in this, why this Archb. either ſhould thus looke for the ringing of the belles, or why hee ſhould be ſo diſpleaſed with not ringing, I do not ſee. Belike his minde in the meane time was greatly occupied wt ſome great muſe, as feling of Gods feare, with repentance and remembrance of hys ſinnes, with zelous care and ſolicitude for his flocke, wyth the earneſt meditation of the paſſion & life of our ſauiour, who in this world was ſo deſpiſed: or els was ſet vppon ſome graue ſtudie, while hee ſo waited for the ringing of the bels, which are wont to be ſo noiſome to all ſtudents. And why were not the trūpetters alſo ſhent as well, becauſe they did not ſoūd before his perſon? But and though the bels did not clatter in the ſteples, and therefore his thunderbolt ſhould haue fallen vpon the ſteples which had deſerued: why ſhoulde the bodye of the churche therefore be ſuſpended? At leaſt, the poore Organes (me thinketh) had ſome part of wrong to be put to ſilence in the quier, becauſe the bels rang not in the tower.

Organs ſuſpended in the Church becauſe the belles dyd not ryng.

Of the like matter alſo we read in the ſayde regiſters, falling betweene the B. of Worceſter, and the priorie of the ſame towne, for not ringing at the biſhops comming into the church. Wherupon much ſute and contention was betweene them, till at length the Archb. of Cant. toke vp the matter, moderating it, as in the ſaid regiſters, fol. 441. appeareth to be ſeene as followeth.

Ex Regiſt. Tho. Arundeli. Variance betweene the B. and Prior of Worceſter for not ringing at the Biſhoppes comming.

VNiuerſis. &c. Thomas &c. where as there happened variance lately betwene our reuerend brother the Lorde B. of Worceſter on the one partye, and the religious and diſcrete men the Prior and couent of the ſame churche on the one partye, for not ringing of bels at the comming of our ſaide brother to his foreſayde church, at length the parties (conſidering the great incōuenience that might come therof) at our inſtance and requeſt did agree on this maner: that as often as it ſhall happen our reuerende brother to go to his aforeſaide church, either to celebrate orders, or to viſite his church in the head or in the inferiours, or to make creame and oyle in the ſame church: alſo in the feaſt of the Aſſumption of the bleſſed virgin Mary, which is the chiefeſt feaſt in the Abbey aforeſayde: then the Prior and the couent, and their ſucceſſours for the time being, ſhall ring ſolemnly againſt his comming, or ſhall cauſe to be ronge ſolemnly without all contradiction, or any reclaiming hereafter to be made againſt the ſame. Which agrement that it may be more firmely kept, we let you all vnderſtād by theſe preſents, ſealed with our ſeale. Geuen at our palace of Canterb. 12. Iuly, the 10. yeare of our gouernment.

The like ſtirre for belringing and for proceſſyons had almoſt hapned betwene the Archb. of Can. ſucceſſor to this Tho. Arundel, named Hen. Chichly on the one party, and the abbey of S. Albons on the other party, had not the abbot in time ſubmitting hymſelfe to the Archb. ſo prouided, that the ringing of their bels at hys comming, myght not redounde to any derogation of their liberties. Wherunto the Archb. graunted by theſe his letters as followeth.

Ringing in, the Archb. at S. Albōs.

Ex Regiſt. Hen. Chichely Fol. 365.

HEnry &c. to the religious men, the Abbot and Couent of the Monaſtery of S. Albons in the dioceſſe of Lincoln, health. &c. When as of late there happened a matter of variance betwene vs, and you the Abbot & Couent, by reaſon of not geuing reuerence to vs, being due to our prouince of Cant. that is, for not ringing the bels and meeting vs with proceſsions when wee paſſed by diuers places of our prouince as well due of common cuſtome as of olde vſe, and for the prerogatiue of the Churche of Canterb. as alſo being due of euery one being within the compaſſe of this our ſayd prouince, when and as often as we ſhal paſſe by their places: at length your Lord Abbot (comming perſonally to vs) did grant both for you and the Couent aforeſaye, to do and to geue of your gentleneſſe all reuerence and honour, wyth ſuch reuerence bothe to vs and our church of Cant. as often as wee paſſe by your monaſterie, or the places nigh or adioyning therto, or ſhall hereafter go by: So that it might not be preiudicial to your exemption and nothing be attempted to the violating of your priuiledge: and that it might not be chalenged for duety hereafter. Wherefore, wee deſiring to kepe you from damage, let you vnderſtande by theſe preſents, that it is not our entent to derogate your exemptions or priuiledge whatſoeuer herein: nor by any meanes to be preiudiciall to you by theſe your reuerences or other dueties, whatſoeuer you haue or ſhall graunt to vs of your deuotion and liberalitie, both by you, and in places vnder your dominion. In wytneſſe whereof. &c. Dated the 28. day of Ianuary 1425. at S. Albons, the 12. yere of our gouernment.

W. Courtney Archb, of Cant.

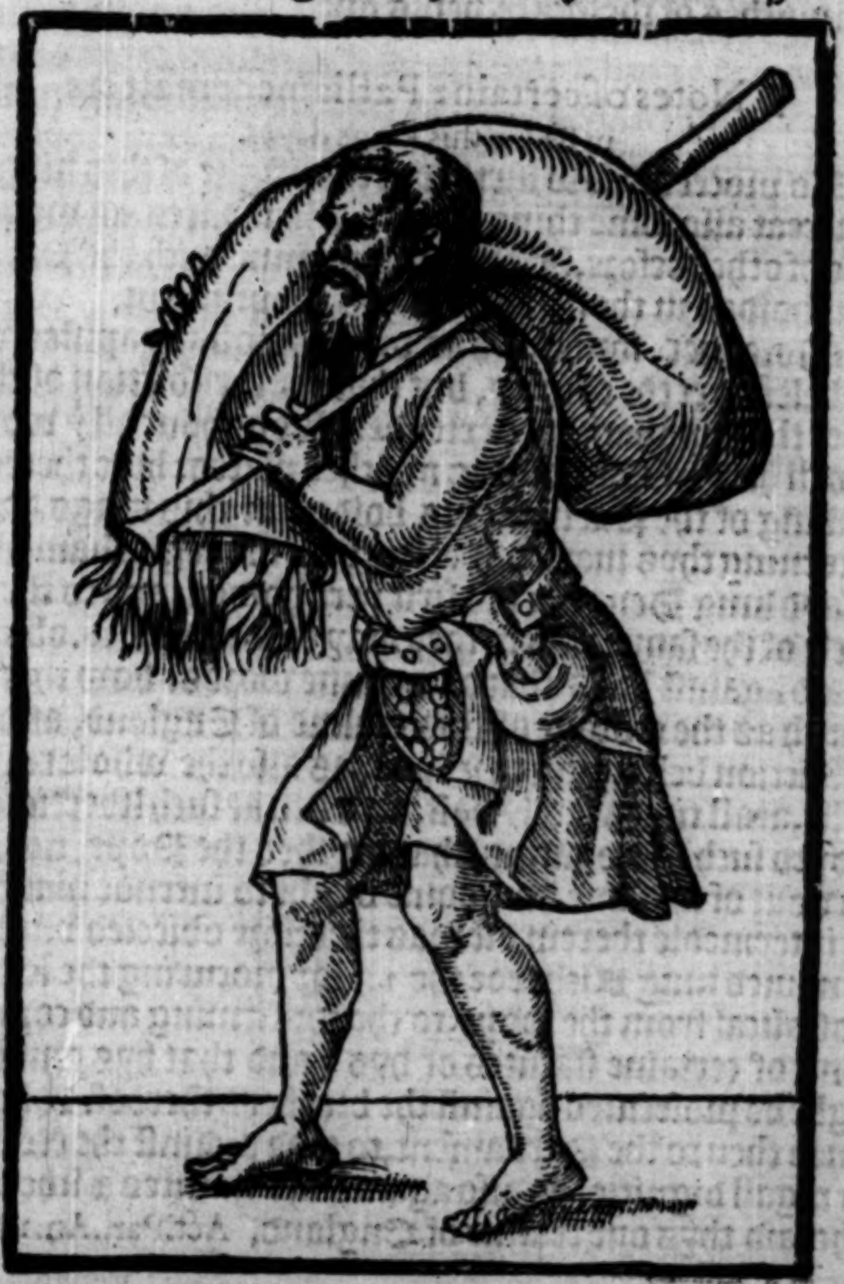
Ex Regiſt. W. Courtney.

To expreſſe moreouer and deſcribe the glorious pompe of theſe princelike prelates in theſe blinde dayes of popiſh religion raigning then in the church: I thought to adioyn hereunto an other example not much vnlike, neither differing muche in time, concerning certaine poore men cited vp, and enioyned ſtraight penance by W. Courtney predeceſſour of the ſayd Tho. Arundel, for bringing litter to hys horſe, not in waines as they ſhould do, but in priuy ſacks, in a ſecrete maner vnder their clokes or cotes. For ye which ſo hainous and horrible treſpaſſe, the ſayd Archbiſhop ſitting in hys tribunall ſeate, did call and cite before hym the ſayde perſons (pro litera. i. for litter, after his owne Latine) and after theyr ſubmiſſion enioyned them penance. Whych penance, what it was, & what were the names of the foreſaid parties, here followeth out of the ſayd Arch. regiſters, both by his owne words, & by picture of the perſons in the ſame regiſters annexed and painted, in all reſemblance, as there ſtandeth, and heere is alſo to be ſeene.

A deſcription of the poore men doing their penaunce, with their ſtrawe on their backe.

This bagge full of ſtrawe I beare on my backe,
Becauſe my Lordes horſe his Litter did lacke.
If ye be not good to my Lordes graces horſſe,
You are like to goe barefoote before the croſſe.

The picture of them drawen in all proportion according to the exemplar ſtanding in the Regiſter.



Ex Regiſtro. W. Courtney.

Mark ye Gramarians *litera* for littour.

ERroris mater ignorantia, quoſdam Hugonem Pennie, Iohannem Forſtall, Iohannem Boy, Iohannem Wanderton, Gulielmum Hayward, & Iohannem White, Tenentes domini de Wengam taliter obcoecauit, quòd ante aduentum dicti domini Archiepiſcopi ad palatium ſuum Cantuariæ in vigilia dominice in ramis palmarum, anno domini milleſimo trecenteſimo nonageſimo, de cariendo & ducendo ad dictum palatium, fœnum, ſtramen, ſiue literam, prout ex tenura terrarum, & tenura ſuorum quas & quæ tenent de domino & eccleſia ſua Cantuariæ aſtringuntur per balliuum domini ibidem iuſsi & legitimè præmoniti debita ſeruitia more ſolito impēdere dedignātes, ſtramē huiuſmodi nō in carrucis & vehiculis publice in ſufficiēti quātitate, ſed modice in ſaccis ſub latibulo, pontificis ad palatium prædictum perduxerſit, in vilipendium domini ac ſubtractionem: iurium eccleſiæ ſuæ Cantua. Vnde ſuper hoc euocati coram domino, die Iouis in hebdomada Paſchæ in caſtro ſuo de Statewode pro tribunali ſedente perſonaliter comparentes, ipſius iudicio in hac parte ſe humiliter ſubmiſerunt, veniam & miſericordiam pro commiſsis deuotè petẽdo. Et deinde dominus præfatus, Hugonem Pennie, Iohannem Forſtal, Iohannem Boy, Iohannem Wanderton, Gulielmum Hayward, & Iohannem White, de ſtando mandatis eccleſiæ, & fideliter peragendo pœnam eis pro eorum demeritis iniungendam, iuratos abſoluit in forma iuris, nunciata eis & eorum cuilibet, pro modo culpæ pœna ſalutari: videlicet, quòd die dominica tunc proximè ſequente, prædicti pœnitẽtes nudi capita & pedes, proceſsionem apud eccleſiam collegiatam de Wengham faciendam cum ſingulis ſaccis ſuper humeris ſuis palam portantes (plenis videlicet fœno & ſtramine) ita quòd ſtramen & fœnum huiuſmodi ad ora ſaccorum patentium intuentibus prominerent, lentis inceſsibus procederent humiliter & deuote.

Ex Regiſt. W. Courtney Archbiſh. Cant.

In Engliſh.

IGnorance the mother of error ſo much hath blinded and deceiued certaine perſons, to witte, Hugh Penny, Iohn Forſtall, Iohn Boy, Ihon Wanderton, Will. Haywarde, and Iohn White, tenaunts of the Lord of Wengham: that againſt the comming of the aforeſayde Archbiſhop to hys palace of Canterbury on Palmes Sonday euen, the yeare of our Lord 1390. where they being warned by the bailiffe, to conuey and cary hay, ſtrawe, and other littour to the aforeſayd palace, as they were bounde by the tenor of theyr landes, which they hold of the ſea of Canterbury: refuſing and diſdaining to doe their due ſeruice, as they were accuſtomed, brought their ſtraw and other littor, not in cartes and waines openly & ſufficiently, but by peece meale, and cloſely in bagges or ſackes, in contempt of their Lord, and derogation of the right and title of the ſea of Canterbury. Wherupon they being aſcited & preſented before the archb. ſitting in iudgement at hys manour of Statewood, yelded and ſubmitted themſelues to hys Lordſhyppes pleaſure, humbly crauing pardon of their treſpaſſe. Then the aforeſayd archbiſhop abſolued the aboue named Hugh Penny, &c. they ſwearing to obey the lawes and ordinance of holy church, and to do the puniſhment that ſhuld be appoynted them for their deſertes, that is: that they going layſurely before the proceſſion, euery one of them ſhould cary openly on hys ſhoulder, his bagge ſtuffed with hay and ſtrawe, ſo that the ſayd hay and ſtrawe ſhould appeare hanging out, the mouthes of the ſackes being open.

Penance enioyned for bringing ſtraw to Lords horſe.

Excommunication and abſolution abuſed.

✻ Notes of certaine Parliament matters paſſed in this kings dayes.

To proceede now further in the raigne of this king, & to intreat alſo ſome thing of his parliamentes, as we haue done of other before, firſt we wil beginne with the Parliament holden in the firſt yere of hys comming in.

Notes of this kings parliaments.

Moreouer, forſomuch as our Catholike papiſtes will not beleue yet the cõtrary, but that the iuriſdiction of their father the pope hath euer extended throughout all yͤ world, as well here in England as in other places: here therefore ſpeaking of the Parliaments holden in this kings dayes concerning thys matter, I refer them to the Parliament of the ſayd king Henry in his firſt yere holden, and to the 27. article of the ſame. Where they may reade in the 10. obiection laid againſt K. Richard in plaine words: how that, for aſmuch as the crowne of this realme of England, and the iuriſdiction belonging to yͤ ſame, as alſo the whole realme it ſelfe, at all times lately paſt, hath ben at ſuch libertie, and enioyed ſuch prerogatiue, that neyther the Pope, nor any other out of the ſame kingdome ought to intrude himſelfe, nor intermedle therein: it was therefore obiected vnto the forenamed king Richarde the 2. for procuring the letters Apoſtolical from the Pope, to the confirming and corroborating of certaine ſtatutes of hys, and that hys cenſures myght be proſecuted againſt the breakers thereof. Whyche ſeemed then to the Parliament, to tend againſt the crowne and regall dignitie, as alſo againſt the ſtatutes & liberties of the ſaid thys our realme of England. Act. Parl. An. 1. Reg. Henrici 4. Act 27.

The popes iuriſdiction excluded out of this realme.

Ex Anno. 1. Reg. Henrici. Act. 27.

Furthermore, in the ſecond yeare of the ſaide king, thys was in the Parliament required, that all ſuch perſones as ſhalbe areſted by force of the ſtatute made againſt the Lollardes, in the 2. yeare of Henry 4. may be bailed, and freely make their purgation: That they be areſted by none other then by the Sheriffes or ſuch like officers, neither that any hauocke be made of their goods. The king granted to take aduiſe therein.

Anno. Reg. Henr. 4. Act. 29.

In the 8. yeare moreouer of thys kings raigne, it was likewiſe propounded in the Parliament, that all ſuche perſons as ſhall procure or ſue in the court of Rome any proceſſe touching any benefice, collation, or preſentation of the ſame, ſhal incurre the paine of yͤ ſtatute of prouiſors, made in the 13. yeare of Richard 2. whereunto the king granted, that the ſtatutes herefore prouided ſhould be obſerued.

An. 8. Reg. Henri. 4. Act. 116.

An. 8. Reg. Hen. 4. act. 114.

Item, in the ſayde Parliament, there it was put vp by petition, that the king might enioy halfe the profits of euery parſons benefice, who is not reſident thereon. Therunto the king aunſwered, that the ordinaries ſhould do theyr duties therein, or els he would prouide further remedie, to ſtay their pluralities.

Item, in the ſayde Parliament, it was required: that none do ſue to the court of Rome for any benefice, but only in the kings courtes.

Ibidē act. 37

¶ In the next yere folowing, which was the 9. of this Kyng, an other petition of the Commons was put vp in Parliament againſt the court of Rome, whych I thought good here to expreſſe as foloweth.

The Commons do beſeeche, that foraſmuch as diuers prouiſors of the benefices of holy Church, dwelling in the Court of Rome, through their ſingular couetouſnes now newly imagined to deſtroy thoſe that haue bene long time incumbents in diuers their benefics of holy church peaceably, ſome of them by the title of the king, ſome by title ordinary, and by the title of other true patrõs therof, by colour of prouiſions, collations, and other grauntes made to the ſayd prouiſors by the Apoſtoil, of the ſayd benefices, do purſue proceſſes in the ſaid court by citation made beyond the ſea, without any citations made within the Realme in deede againſt the ſame incumbents, whereby many of the ſaid incumbents through ſuch priuy & crafty proceſſes and ſentences of priuation and inhabilitation, haue loſt theyr benefices, and others put in the places of the ſaide incumbents before the publication of the ſame ſentẽces, they not knowing any thing, and many are in great haſarde to loſe theyr benefices through ſuch proceſſes, to theyr perpetuall deſtruction and miſchiefe: and foraſmuch as thys miſchiefe cannot be holpen wythout an eſpeciall remedy be had by parliament: Pleaſeth it the king to conſider the great miſchiefe and daunger that may ſo come vnto diuers hys ſubiects without their knowledge through ſuch citations out of the realme, and therupon to ordaine by the aduiſe of the Lords of this preſent Parliament, that none preſented, be receiued by any ordinarie vnto any benefice of any ſuch incumbent for any cauſe of priuation or inhabilitation wherof the proceſſe is not founded vpon citation made wythin the realme, and alſo that ſuch incumbents may remaine in all theyr benefices, vntil it be proued by due enqueſt in the court of the King, that the citations whereupon ſuch priuations & inhabilitations are graunted, were made within the Realme: and that if ſuch Ordinaries, or ſuch preſented or others, doe purſue the contrary, that then they and theyr procurators, fautours and counſellours doe incurre the paines contained in the ſtatute made againſt prouiſors in the 13. yere of the raigne of the late Richard king of England the ſecond, by proceſſes to be made as is declared in the ſtatute made againſt ſuche prouiſors in the 27. yeare of the raigne of king Edward, predeceſſour to our Lorde the king that nowe is, any royall licences or grauntes in any maner to the contrary notwithſtanding, and that all other ſtatutes made againſt prouiſors, and not repealed before this preſent Parliament, be in their full force, and be firmly kept in all poyntes.

Ex Rotulo Parlamenti an. 9. Henrici. 4.

The wickednes of popes prouiſors in citing and depriuing beneficed men in England, their citation being not knowen in the realme.

That the kings counſell haue power by authoritye of Parliament, in caſe that any man finde himſelfe grieued in particular, that he may purſue: and that the ſaid counſel by the aduiſe of the iuſtices do right vnto the parties. This to endure vntil the next parliament, reſeruing alwayes vnto the king his prerogatiue and libertie.

Item, that no Popes collector thenceforth ſhould leuy any money within the realme, for firſt fruites of any eccleſiaſticall dignitie, vnder payne of incurring the ſtatute of prouiſions.

Ann. 9. Regis Henrici. 4. act. 43.

Beſides in the ſayd Parliament holden the 11. yeare of this king, is to be noted: how the commõs of the land, put vp a Bill vnto the kyng, to take the temporall landes out from ſpirituall mens handes or poſſeſſion. The effecte of which Bill was, that the temporalities, diſordinately waſted by men of the Churche, might ſuffice to finde to the K. xv. Earles, xv. C. Knightes, vj. M. CC. Eſquires, and a C. houſes of almoſe, to the reliefe of poore people, moe then at thoſe dayes were wythin England: And ouer all theſe foreſayd charges, the king might put yearely in his cofers xx. M. pounde.

Ex Chronic. D. Albani, Fabiano, & alijs.

Prouided, that euery Earle ſhould haue of yerely rent iij. M. marke, and euery Knight C. marke, and iiij. plough landes: Euery Eſquier xl. marke by yeare, with ij. plough landes, & euery houſe of almoſe C. marke, wyth ouerſight of two true ſeculars vnto euery houſe: And alſo with pro-

uiſion

niſion, that euery towneſhip ſhould keepe all poore people of their owne dwellers, whych might not labour for theyr liuing: with condition, that if moe fell in a towne then the towne might maintaine, than the ſaid almes houſes to releeue ſuch towneſhips.

A computation of Churche goods, to how much they doe mount.

And for to beare theſe charges, they alledged by theyr ſayd bil, yͤ the temporalties, being in the poſſeſſion of ſpirituall men, amounted to iij.C. and xxij.M. marke by yeare. whereof they affirmed to be in the ſee of Cant. with the abbaies of Chriſtes church, of S. Auguſtines, Shrewſbury, Coggeſhale, and S. Oſius xx.M. marke by yere. In the ſee of Yorke and Abbeys there xx.M. marke. In the ſee of Wincheſter, and abbeys there xx.M. marke. In the ſee of London, wͭ abbeys and other houſes there, xx.M. marke. In the ſee of Lincolne, wyth the abbeys of Peterborowe, Ramſey and other, xx.M. marke. In the ſee of Norwych, with the abbeys of Bury and other, xx.M. marke. In the ſee of Ely, Spalding and other, xx.M. marke, In the ſee of Bathe, wyth the abbey of Okinborne and other, xx.M. marke. In the ſee of Worceſter, wyth the abbeys of Eueſham, Abingdon & other, xx.M. marke. In the ſee of Cheſter with the precinct of the ſame, with the ſees of ſ. Dauid, of Saliſbury, and Exceter, wyth their precinctes xx.M. marke. The abbeis of Rauens or Reuans of Fountains, of Gernons, and diuers other to the number of v. moe, xx.M. marke. The abbeys of Leiceſter, Walthan, Goſborne, Merton, Ticetir, Oſney and other, vnto the number of vj. mo, xx.M. marke. The abbeys of Douers, Batil, Lewys, Couentry, Dauentre, & Tourney, xx.M. marke. The abbais of Northhampton, Thortō, Briſtow, Killingworth, Winchcombe, Hailes, Parchiſſor, Frideſwide, Notly, and Grimmiſby, xx.M. marke.

The which foreſaid ſommes amount to the full of iij.C.M. marke. And for the odde of xxij.M. marke, they apointed Hardford, Rocheſter, Huntingdō, Swineſhed, Crowland, Malmeſbury, Burton, Teukeſbury, Dunſtable, Shirborne, Taunton and Biland.

And ouer this they alleaged by the ſayde bill, that ouer and aboue the ſaid ſumme of iij. C. and xxij. M. marke, diuers houſes of religion in England, poſſeſſed as many tēporalties as might ſuffice to find yerely xv.M. prieſts and clerks, euery prieſt to be allowed for his ſtipend vij. marke by the yeare.

To the which Bill no anſwer was made, but that the king of this matter wold take deliberation & aduiſement, and wyth that anſwer ended, ſo that no further labor was made.

Ann. 1413.

Theſe things thus hitherto diſcourſed, touching ſuche actes and matters as haue bene incident in the lyfe time of this king, followeth next the 13. yeare of his raigne. In the which yeare, the ſayd king Henry the 4. after that hee had ſent a little before a certaine company of captaines & ſouldiours to aide the duke of Burgundy in Fraunce (among whome was the Lord Cobham) keping his Chriſtenmas at Eltham, fell greeuouſly ſicke. From thence, he was conueied to London, where he began to call a parliament, but taryed not the end. In the meane time, the infirmitie of the king more and more increaſing, he was takē and brought into a bed in a fair chamber at Weſtminſter. And as he lay in his bed, he aſked how they called the ſame chamber: and they anſwered and ſayde, Ieruſalem. And then he ſayde it was his prophecie, that he ſhould make his ende in Ieruſalem. And ſo diſpoſing himſelfe towarde hys ende, in the foreſayd chamber he died: vpon what ſickneſſe, whether of leproſie, or ſome other ſharpe diſeaſe, I haue not to affirm. Ex vetuſt. Chron. Anglico, cuius initium, That all men called. The like prophecy we read, that pope Silueſter, 2. pa. 180. to whom being inquiſitiue for the time and place where he ſhould die, it was anſwered, that he ſhuld die in Ieruſalē. Who then ſaying Maſſe in a Chappel (called likewiſe Ieruſalem) perceiued his end there to be nere, and died. And thus K. Henry the 4. ſucceſſor to the lawful K. Richard 2. finiſhed hys life at Weſtminſter, and was buried at Cant. by the tombe of Thomas Becket. &c. An. 1413.

The kyng had a prophecie, that he ſhould die in Ieruſalem.

Prophecies deceiueable

Ex vetuſt. Chron. Anglico, cuius initium eſt. That al men called.

The prophecie of pope Sylueſter.2.

¶ King Henry the fift.

King Henry.5.

After thys Henry the 4. reigned Henry the 5. hys ſonne, which was borne at Munmorth in Wales, of whoſe other vertues and great victories gotten in Fraunce, I haue not greatly to intermeddle: Eſpecially, ſeeing the memory of hys worthy proweſſe, being ſufficiently deſcribed in other writers in this our time, may both content the reader and vnburden my labor herein. Eſpecially, ſeing theſe latter troubles and perturbations of the Churche offer me ſo much, that vnneth any vacant laiſure ſhalbe left, to intermeddle wyth matters prophane.

Great tempeſt at the coronatiō of the new king.

After the coronatiō then of this new king, which was the 9. day of April, called then paſſion Sonday, which was an exceding ſtormy day, and ſo tēpeſtuous, that many did wonder at the portent thereof: not long after the ſame, a parliament began to be called & to be holden after the feaſt of Eaſter, at Weſtminſter An. 1413. At whych time, Thomas Arundel the Archbiſhop of Canterburie, collected in Paules church at London, an vniuerſal Synode of all the biſhops and clergie of England. In that Synode among other weighty matters and ponderous, was determined: that the day of S. George, and alſo of S. Dunſtane ſhould be double feaſt, called Duplex Feſtum in holy kitching, in holy Church I would ſay.

A ſynode called at London.

S.George and S.Dunſtanes day made double feaſt.

And becauſe the order and maner of thoſe Pope holy feaſtes, either yet is not ſufficiently knowen to ſome rude and groſſe capacities, or may peraduenture growe out of vſe, and to be ſtraunge & vnknowen to our poſteritie hereafter: Therfore to geue a litle memorandum therof (by the way for eruditiō of times hereafter to come) touching this miſticall ſcience of the Popes deepe and ſecreate diuinitie: here is to be noted, that the feaſtes of the Popes holy mother Catholique churche, be deuided in ſondry members: Like as a plentifull roote in a fruitfull fielde riſeth vp and burgeneth into manifold armes, and the armes againe do multiply into diuers and ſondry brāches, out of the which moreouer although no frute do come, yet both leaues and flowers doe bud and bloſſome in moſt copious wiſe, right beautifull to beholde: Euen ſo thys Feſtum, conteinyng a large matter of great variety of dayes and feaſts, groweth to it ſelfe and multiplieth, being thus deuided: firſt into Feſtum duplex, and into Feſtum ſimplex, that is into feaſt double, and to feaſt ſimple. Againe, thys Feſtum duplex brauncheth foure folde wiſe, to wit, into Feſtum principale duplex: into Maius duplex: into Minus duplex, and inferius duplex, that is, in principal double, in greater double, in leſſer double, and inferior or lower double. Vnto theſe ſeueral ſorts of feaſts what daies were peculiarly aſſigned, it were to long to recite. For this preſent purpoſe it ſhall ſuffice to vnderſtand: that as vnto the principall double feaſt onely belonged 8. daies in the yere: ſo the Maius duplex feſtum, had geuen vnto him by thys conuocation, the day of S. George, and of S. Dunſtane, as is afore remembred: albeit by conſtitution it was ſo decreed, yet by cuſtome it was not ſo vſed. Item, to be noted, that theſe two feaſtes, to witte, Principale duplex, and Maius duplex, did differ and were knowen from all other by foure notes, by ſeruice in the kitching, and by ſeruice in the Church, which was both double: by ringing in the ſteple, which was with double peale: by copes in the quier, and by thurifyeng or cenſing the aultares. For in theſe two principall and greater double feaſts, the vij. viij. and ix. leſſon muſt be read wyth ſilken copes. Alſo at the ſaid feaſts in the time of the leſſons, the altars in the church muſt be thurified, that is, ſmoked with incēſe. &c. And likewiſe the Minus duplex, and Inferius duplex had alſo their peculiar ſeruice to them belonging.

The feaſt of the popes church, deſcribed and deuided.

Feſtum duplex.
Principale duplex.
Maius duplex.
Minus duplex.
Inferius duplex.

Conſtitution againſt councell. Ex tab. feſtorum

Secondly the Simplex feſtum, whych is the ſeconde arme ſpringing of this diuiſion, is thus diuided: Eyther hauing a triple inuitorie, or a double, or els a ſingle inuitorie. Of the which moreouer, ſome haue 3. leſſons, ſome haue 9. &c.

Simplex feſtum in the popes church.

And thus much by occaſion for Popiſh feaſts, not that I doe ſo much deride them, as I lament, that ſo much and manifeſt idolatry in them is committed to the great diſhonor of our Lord our God, whych is onely to be honoured.

¶ The trouble and perſecution of the Lord Cobham.

But to lette this by matter paſſe, againe to returne to the foreſayde vniuerſal Synode aſſembled by Thomas Arundel at S. Paules churche in London, as is before remembred: the chiefe and principall cauſe of the aſſembling thereof (as recordeth the Chronicle of S. Albones) was to repreſſe the growing and ſpreading of the Goſpell, and eſpecially to withſtand the noble & worthy Lorde Cobham: who was then noted to be a principall fauourer, receiuer, and maintainer of them, whome the Byſhop miſnamed to be Lollards, eſpecially in the dioceſſes of London, Rocheſter, and Herforde: ſetting them vp to preache whome the byſhops had not licenſed, and ſending thē about to preach, which was againſt the conſtitution prouinciall, before remembred, pag. 524. holding alſo and teaching opinions of the ſacraments, of images, of pilgrimage, of the keyes and church of Rome, contrary and repugnant, to the receiued determination of the Romiſh church. &c.

Trouble of the Lord Cobham. *Ex Chron. Monac. Albanenſis.*

Vid. pag. 508.

In yͤ meane time, as theſe were in talke amōgſt them, *Walden in faſciculo. Zizaniorum Wicleui.*

concerning the good Lord Cobham: reſorted vnto them the 12. Inquiſitors of hereſies (whome they had appoynted at Oxford the yeare afore, to ſearche out heretickes, wyth all wickleffes bookes) who brought 200. and 46. concluſions, which they had collected as hereſies out of the ſayd bookes. The names of the ſayd Inquiſitors were theſe.

1. Iohn Witnam, a maiſter in the new Colledge.
2. Iohn Langedon, Monke of Chriſt church in Cant.
3. William Vfford, regent of the Carmelites.
4. Thomas Claxton, regent of the Dominickes.
5. Robert Gilbert.
6. Richard Earthiſdale.
7. Iohn Lucke.
8. Richard Snediſham.
9. Richard Flemming.
10. Thomas Rotborne.
11. Robert Ronbery.
12. Richard Grafdale.

The L. Cobham accuſed for maintayning the Goſpel of Chriſt.

The L. Cobham accuſed for his Chriſten beleſe

Theſe things thus done, & the Articles being brought in: further they proceded in their communication, concluding among themſelues, that it was not poſſible for them to make whole Chriſtes coat wͭout ſeame (meaning therby their patched Popiſh ſynagoge) vnleſſe certaine great men were brought out of the way which ſeemed to be the chiefe maintainers of the ſayde Diſciples of wickleffe. Among whõ thys noble knight ſir Iohn Oldcaſtle the Lord Cobham, was complained of by the generall proctors to be the chiefe principall. Him they accuſed firſt for a mighty maintainer of ſuſpected preachers in the dioces of London, Rocheſter, and Hereford, contrary to the mindes of their ordinaries. Not only they affirmed him to haue ſet thether the ſaide preachers, but alſo to haue aſſiſted them there by force of armes, notwithſtanding their Synodall conſtitution made afore to the contrary. Laſt of al, they accuſed him, that he was farre otherwiſe in beliefe of the ſacrament of the altar of penaunce, of pilgrimage, of image worſhipping, and of the Eccleſiaſtical power, then the holy Church of Rome had taught many yeares before.

Proceſſe againſt him.

In the ende it was concluded among them, that wͭout any further delay, proceſſe ſhoulde be awarded out againſt him, as againſt a moſt pernitious hereticke.

A ſpiritual practiſe.

The kyng ſpeaketh for him.

His gentle promiſe.

Some of that felowſhip which were of more crafty experience then the other: thought it not beſt to haue ẏ matter ſo raſhly handled, but by ſome preparation made therunto before. Conſidering the ſayde Lorde Cobham was a man of great birth, and in fauour at that time with the K. their counſaile was to know firſt the kings minde, to ſaue all things vpright. This counſaile was well accepted, and thereupon the Archbyſhop Thomas Arundell wyth hys other biſhops, and a great part of ẏ clergye, went ſtraight waies vnto the king, then remaining at Keningſton. And there laid forth moſt greuous complaints againſt the ſayd Lorde Cobham, to his great infamy and blemiſh, being a man right godly. The king gently heard thoſe bloud thirſty Prelates, and farre otherwiſe then became his princely dignitie: notwythſtanding requiring, and inſtantly deſiring them, that in reſpect of hys noble ſtocke and knighthode, they ſhould yet fauourably deale with him. And that they would if it were poſſible, without all rigor or extreme handling, reduce him againe to the Churches vnitie. Hee promiſed them alſo, that in caſe they were contented to take ſome deliberation, hys ſelfe would ſeriouſly common the matter wyth him.

The kinges admoniſhment to the L. Cobham.

The aunſwere of the L. Cobhã to the king.
Rom. 13.
1. Pet. 2.
L. Cobham obedient to the king.
A moſt chriſten obedience.
2. Theſſ. 2.
Math. 24.
The L. Cobhã forſaken of the king.

Anone after, the king ſent for the ſaide Lorde Cobham. And as he was come, he called him ſecretely, admoniſhing him betwixt him and him, to ſubmit himſelf to his mother the holy church, and as an obedient child, to acknowledge himſelfe culpable. Unto whome the Chriſten knight made this aunſwer: You moſt worthy Prince, ſaith he, I am alwaies prompt & willing to obey, forſomuch as I knowe you a chriſten king, & the appoynted miniſter of God, bearing the ſworde to the puniſhment of euil doers, & for ſafegard of them that be vertuous. Unto you (next my eternal God) owe I my whole obedience, & ſubmit thereunto (as I haue done euer) all that I haue, eyther of fortune or nature, ready at all times to fulfil whatſoeuer ye ſhall in the Lord, commaund me. But as touching the Pope and hys ſpiritualty, I owe them neither ſute nor ſeruice, forſomuch as I knowe him by the Scriptures to be the great Antichriſt, the ſonne of perdition, the open aduerſary of God, & the abhomination ſtanding in the holy place. When ẏ king had heard thys, wͭ ſuch like ſentences more, he would talke no longer with hym, but left him ſo vtterly.

Lord Cobham ſommoned by the Archb.

And as the Archbyſhop reſorted againe vnto hym for an anſwere, he gaue him his full authority to cite him, examin him, & puniſh him according to their deuiliſh decrees, which they called the lawes of holy church. Then the ſayde Archb. by the counſaile of his other Byſhops and Clergy, appoynted to cal before him Sir Iohn Oldcaſtle the Lord Cobham, and to cauſe hym perſonally to appeare, to aunſwere to ſuch ſuſpect Articles as they ſhoulde lay agaynſt hym. So he ſent forth hys chiefe Sommoner, wyth a very ſharpe citation vnto the caſtle of Cowling, where as he at that time dwelt for his ſolace. And as the ſayd Sommoner was come thether, hee durſt in no caſe enter the gates of ſo noble a man wythout his licence, and therfore he returned home againe, hys meſſage not done.

Iohn Butler playeth Iudas part.

Citation ſet vp againſt the Lord Cobham.

The citatiõs takẽ downe.

Then called the Archbiſh. one Iohn Butler vnto him, which was then the doore keper of the kings priuy chamber: and wyth him he couenaunted through promyſes and rewards, to haue this matter craftly brought to paſſe, vnder the kings name. Whereuppon, the ſayde Iohn Butler tooke the Archbyſhops Somner with him, and went vnto the ſaide Lord Cobham: ſhewing him, ẏ it was the kings pleaſure that he ſhould obey that citation, and ſo cited him fraudulently. Then ſaide he to them in few words, that he in no caſe would conſent to thoſe moſt deuiliſh practiſes of the Prieſtes. As they had informed the Archbyſhop of that aunſwere, and that it was for no man priuately to cite him after that, without pearil of life: he decreed by & by to haue him cited by publique proceſſe or open cõmandement. And in all the haſt poſſible, vpon the wedneſday before the Natiuity of our Lady in September: he commaunded letters citatorie, to be ſet vppon the great gates of the Cathedrall church of Rocheſter (whych was but 3. Engliſh miles frõ thence) charging hym to appeare perſonally before him at Ledis the 11. day of the ſame moneth and yeare, all excuſes to the contrary ſet apart. Thoſe letters were taken down anone after, by ſuch as bare fauor vnto the Lord Cobham and ſo conueyed aſide. After that cauſed the Archbiſh. new letters to be ſet vp on the natiuity day of our Lady, whych alſo were rent downe and vtterly conſumed.

Falſe accuſations againſt the Lord Cobham.

L. Cobham excommunicated.

L. Cobham againe cited.

Then forſomuch as he dyd not appeare at the day appoynted at Ledys (where hee ſate in Conſiſtorie, as cruell as euer was Cayphas, with his court of hypocrites about him) he iudged him, denounced him, and condemned him, of moſt depe contumacy. After that, whẽ he had bene falſly informed by his hired ſpies, and other gloſing glauerers: that the ſayd Lord Cobh. had laughed him to ſcorn, diſdained al his doings, maintained his old opinions, contemned the churches power, the dignity of a Biſhop, & the order of prieſthood (for all theſe was he than accuſed of) in his mody madnes wͭout iuſt profe, did he openly excommunicate him. Yet was not withal this, his fierce tiranny ſatiſfied: but commanded him to be cited a freſh, to appeare afore him the Saterday before the feaſt of S. Mathewe the Apoſtle, wͭ theſe cruel threatnings added thereunto: that if he did not obey at the day, he wold more extremely handle him. And to make himſelfe more ſtrong towardes the performãce thereof, he compelled the lay power by moſt terrible manaſings of curſes and interdictions: to aſſiſt hym againſt that ſeditious apoſtata, ſchiſmaticke, and hereticke, the troubler of the publike peace, that enemy of the realme and great aduerſary of all holy Church, for al theſe hateful names did he geue him.

L. Cobham confeſſeth his God before men.

The Apoſtles faith.

Thys moſt conſtant ſeruant of the Lorde and worthy Knight ſir Iohn Oldcaſtle, the Lorde Cobham, beholding the vnpeaceable furie of Antichriſt, thus kindled agaynſt him: perceiuing himſelf alſo compaſſed on euery ſide wyth deadly daungers: He tooke paper and pen in hand, and ſo wrote a Chriſten cõfeſſion or rekening of his faith (whych followeth heereafter) both ſigning and ſealing it wyth his owne hand. Wherein he alſo anſwered to the 4. chiefeſt articles that the Archbyſhop laid againſt him. That done, he tooke the copie with him, and went therewith to the king, truſting to finde mercy & fauour at his hande. None other was ẏ confeſſion of his, then the common beleue or ſumme of the Churches faith, called the Apoſtles Creede, of all Chriſten men than vſed, with a brief declaration vpon the ſame, as here vnder enſueth.

¶The Chriſten beliefe of the Lorde Cobham.

The cõmõ creede of Chriſtians.

I Beleue in God the father almighty, maker of heauen and earth. And in Ieſu Chriſt hys onely ſonne our Lorde, which was cõceiued by the holy ghoſt, borne of the virgin Mary, ſuffred vnder Ponce Pilate, crucified dead and buried, went downe to hell, the thirde day roſe agayne from death, aſcended vp to heauen, ſitteth on the ryght hande of God the father almighty, and from thence ſhal come again to iudge the quicke & the dead. I beleeue in the holy ghoſt, the vniuerſal holy Church, the communion of Saints, the forgeueneſſe of ſinnes, the vpriſing of the fleſh, and euerlaſting life. Amen.

A declaratiõ of his beliefe.

And for a more large declaration (ſayth he) of thys my faith ſayth in the Catholicke Churche: I ſtedfaſtly beleue, that there is but one God almighty, in and of whoſe Godhead are theſe three perſons, the father, the ſonne, and the holye Ghoſt, and that thoſe three perſons are the ſelfe ſame God almighty. I beleue alſo, that the ſecond perſon of this moſt bleſſed Trinitie, in moſt conuenient tyme appoynted therunto afore, tooke fleſh and bloud of the moſt bleſſed virgin Mary, for the ſauegarde and redemption of the vniuerſall kind of man, which was afore loſt in Adams offence.

1. Iohn. 5.
Galla. 4.
Iohn. 1.
Luke. 2.
Chriſt is the onely head of his Church.

Moreouer I beleeue, that the ſame Ieſus Chriſt our Lord thus being both God and man, is the onely head of the whole Chriſtian Churche, and that all thoſe that hathe bene or ſhalbe ſaued, be members of this moſt holy church. And this holy Churche I thinke to be deuided into three ſortes or companyes.

The church deuided in three partes.

Wherof the firſt ſort be now in heauen, and they are the ſayntes from hence departed. Theſe as they were here cõuerſant, conformed alwayes their liues to the moſt holye lawes and pure examples of Chriſt, renouncing Sathan, the world, and the fleſh, with all their concupiſcences and euils.

Contrary wrote he, *ad parliamētū. Ex Walde-n.*

The ſecond ſort are in Purgatory (if any ſuche place be in the ſcriptures) abiding the mercy of God and a full deliueraunce of payne.

The third ſort are here vpon the earth, and be called the Church millitant. For day and night they contend againſt crafty aſſaultes of the deuill, the flattering proſperities of this world, and the rebellious filthines of the fleſh.

The church millitant deuided in three.

This latter congregation by the iuſt ordinance of God is alſo ſeuered into three diuers eſtates, that is to ſay, into prieſthood, knighthood, and the commons. Among whom the will of God is, that the one ſhould ayd the other, but not deſtroy the other. The prieſtes firſt of al ſecluded from all worldlines, ſhould conforme theyr liues vtterly to the examples of Chriſt and his Apoſtles. Euermore ſhoulde they be occupyed in preaching and teaching the ſcriptures purely, and in geuing wholeſome examples of good liuing to the other two degrees of men. More modeſt alſo, more louing, gentle, and lowly in ſpirite, ſhould they be, then ano other ſortes of people.

What the prieſtes ſhould be.

Knighthood what it ſhould doe.

In knighthood are all they, which beare ſword by law of office. Theſe ſhould defend Gods lawes, and ſee that the Goſpell were purely taught, conforming theyr liues to ye ſame, and ſecluding all falſe preachers: yea theſe ought rather to hazard their liues, thẽ to ſuffer ſuch wicked decrees as either blemiſheth the eternall Teſtament of God, or yet letteth the free paſſage therof, whereby hereſies & ſchiſmes might ſpring in the Churche. For of none other ariſe they as I ſuppoſe, then of erroneous conſtitutiõs, craftely firſt creeping in vnder hipocriticall lies, for aduauntage. They ought alſo to preſerue Gods people from oppreſſours, tyrauntes, and theeues, & to ſee the clergie ſupported ſo long as they teach purely, pray rightly, and miniſter the Sacramentes freely. And if they ſee them doe otherwiſe, they are bound by the law of office to compell them to chaung their doinges: & to ſee all thinges performed according to gods preſcript ordinaunce.

Marke here a moſt chriſten hart.

What the commõ people ought to doe.

The latter fellowſhip of this Church, are the common people: whoſe duety is, to beare their good mindes & true obedience, to the aforeſayd miniſters of God, theyr kinges ciuill gouernours and Prieſtes. The right office of theſe, is iuſtly to occupy euery man his facultie, be it marchaundiſe, handicraft: or the tilthe of the ground. And ſo one of them to be as an helper to an other, following alwayes in their ſortes the iuſt commaundementes of the Lord God.

Beliefe of the L. Cobham concerning the Sacramentes.

¶ Ouer and beſides all this, I moſt faythfully beleeue yt the Sacramentes of Chriſtes Churche are neceſſary to all Chriſten beleuers: this alwayes ſeen to: that they be truly miniſtred according to Chriſtes firſt inſtitution and ordinaunce. And foraſmuch as I am maliciouſly & moſt falſly accuſed of a miſbeliefe in the ſacrament of the aulter, to the hurtfull ſlaunder of many: I ſignifie here vnto all men, yt this is my fayth concerning that. I beleue in that Sacrament to be contayned very Chriſtes body and bloud vnder the ſimilitudes of bread and wyne, yea the ſame body yt was conceiued of the holy ghoſt, borne of ye virgine Mary done on the croſſe: dyed, that was buryed, aroſe the thyrd day from the death: and is now glorified in heauen. I alſo beleue, the vniuerſall law of God to be moſt true and perfect, and they which doe not ſo follow it in theyr fayth and works (at one time or an other) can neuer be ſaued: Whereas he that ſeketh it in fayth, accepteth it, learneth it, delighteth therin, and performeth it in loue, ſhall taſt for it the felicitie of euerlaſting Innocencie.

The Sacrament of the aulter.

Gods law to be preferred before mans lawe.

Finally, this is my fayth alſo, that God will aſke no more of a Chriſten beleuer in this life, but onely to obey ye preceptes of that moſt bleſſed law. If any Prelates of the Church require more, or els any other kinde of obedience, then this to be vſed: he contemneth Chriſt, exalting hymſelfe aboue God, and ſo becommeth an open Antichriſt. Al the premiſſes I beleue particularly, and generally all that God hath left in his holy ſcripture: that I ſhould beleeue. Inſtantly deſiring you my liege Lord and moſt worthye king, that this confeſſion of mine, may be iuſtly examined by the moſt godly wiſe and learned men of your Realme. And if it be found in all pointes agreeing to the veritie, thẽ let it be ſo allowed: and I therupon holden for none other then a true Chriſtian. If it be proued otherwiſe: then let it be vtterly cõdemned: prouided alwayes, that I be taught a better beliefe by the word of God: and I ſhall moſt reuerently at all times obey therunto.

A Chriſtẽ deſire of the L. Cobham. This requeſt was lawfull.

Obedience vnto his king.

This briefe confeſſion of this fayth, the Lorde Cobham wrote (as is mentioned afore) and ſo tooke it with him to the court, offering it withall meekenes vnto the kyng to read it ouer. The king would in no caſe receaue it, but cõmanded it to be deliuered vnto thẽ that ſhould be his iudges. Then deſired he in the kinges preſence, that an hundred knightes and Eſquiers might be ſuffered to come in vpon hys purgation, which he knew, woulde cleare hym of all hereſies. Moreouer he offered himſelfe after the lawe of armes, to fight for life or death wt any man liuing, Chriſten or heathen, in the quarrell of hys fayth, the king and the Lordes of hys Councell excepted. Finally with all gẽtlenes he proteſted before all yt were preſent, that he wold refuſe no maner of correction that ſhold after the lawes of God be miniſtred vnto him, but that he would at al times with all meekenes obey it. Notwithſtanding all this, the king ſuffered him to be ſommoned perſonally in his owne priuy chamber. Then ſayd the Lord Cobham to the king that he had appeled from the Archbiſhop to the Pope of Rome, & therefore he ought he ſayd, in no cauſe to be hys iudge. And hauing his appeale there at hand ready writtẽ, he ſhewed it with al reuerence to the king. Wherewith the king was then much more diſpleaſed then afore, and ſayde angerly vnto him, that he ſhould not purſue hys appeale: but rather he ſhould tary in hold, till ſuche time as it were of the Pope allowed. And thẽ, would he, or nild he, ye archbiſhop ſhould be his iudge. Thus was there nothing allowed that the good Lord Cobham had lawfully afore required. But for ſomuch as he woulde not be ſworne in all things to ſubmit himſelfe to the Church, and ſo take what penaunce the archbiſhop would enioyne him: He was areſted agayne at the kinges commaundement, and ſo ledde forth to the Tower of London, to keepe hys day (ſo was it then ſpoken) that the archbiſhop had appoynted him afore in the kinges chamber.

The Chriſtẽ ſtomacke and mãhoode of the L. Cobham.

No reaſonable offer would ſerue.

L. Cobham appealeth frõ the Archb to the pope.

Straight handling of the king.

L. Cobham would not obey the beaſt.

Then cauſed he the foreſayd confeſſion of his fayth to be copyed agayne and the aunſwere alſo (which he had made to the foure articles proponed agaynſt him) to be written in maner of an Indenture in two ſheetes of paper: That when he ſhould come to hys aunſwere, he might geue the one copy vnto the archbiſhop, and reſerue the other to him ſelfe. As the day of examination was come, which was the 23. day of September the Saterday before the feaſt of ſaint Mathewe: Thomas Arundell the Archbiſhop, ſitting in Cayphas rowme in the Chapter houſe of Paules, wyth Richard Clifford Byſhop of London, and Henry Bolingbroke Byſhop of Wincheſter: ſir Robert Morley knight and Liefetenant of the Tower, brought perſonally before hym the ſayd Lord Cobham, and there left him for the time vnto whom the archbiſhop ſayd theſe wordes.

The confeſſion & anſwer of the L. Cobham newly copyed.

Cayphas ſitteth in conſiſtory.

✤ The firſt examination of the Lorde Cobham.

Antichriſt was here in full power.

SIr Iohn, in the laſt generall conuocation of the clergie of this our Prouince, ye were detected of certayne hereſies, and by ſufficient witneſſes found culpable. Whereupon ye were by forme of ſpirituall law cited, and woulde in no caſe appeare. In concluſion, vpon your rebellious cõtumacie, ye were both priuately and openly excommunicated. Notwithſtanding we neyther yet ſhewed our ſelues vnready to haue geuen your abſolution (nor yet doe not to this houre) would ye haue meekely aſked it. Unto this the Lord Cobham ſhewed, as though he had geuen no eare, hauing hys minde otherwiſe occupyed, and ſo deſired no abſolution. But ſayd, he would gladly before him and hys brethren make rehearſal of that fayth which he held and entended alwayes to ſtand to, if it woulde pleaſe them to licence him thereunto. And then he tooke out of his boſome a certayn writing endented, concerning the articles whereof he was accuſed, and ſo opẽly read it before them, geuing it vnto the Archbiſhop, as he had made thereof an ende, whereof this is the copy.

A ſigne of gods true ſeruaunt.

The Sacrament of the Lords body.

I John Oldcaſtle Knight Lord of Cobham, will that all Chriſten men weet and vnderſtãd: that I clepe almighty God into witneſſe, that it hath bene, nowe is, and euer with the helpe of God, ſhall be mine entent and my will, to beleue faythfully and fully all the ſacramentes that euer God ordayned to be do in holy Church: and moreouer to declare me in theſe foure poyntes, I beleue that the moſt worſhipfull Sacrament of the aulter is Chriſtes body in forme of bread, the ſame body that was borne of the bleſſed virgin our Lady ſaynt Mary, done on the croſſe, dead and buryed, the thyrd day roſe from death to life, the which body is now glorified in heauen.

Penaunce.

Alſo as for the ſacrament of penaunce I beleue, that it is needefull to euery man that ſhalbe ſaued to forſake ſinne and do due penaunce for ſinne before done, with true confeſſion, very contrition, and due ſatiſfaction as Gods lawe limitteth and teacheth, and els may he not be ſaued: which penaunce I deſire all men to doe.

Images.

And as of Images I vnderſtand, that they be not of beleue, but that they were ordayned ſith the beleue was geuen of Chriſt, by ſufferaunce of the Church to be Calenders to lewd men, to repreſent and bryng to minde the paſſion of our Lord Jeſu Chriſt, and martyrdome and good liuing of other ſayntes: And that who ſo it be, that doth the worſhip to dead Images that is due to God, or putteth ſuche hope or truſt, in helpe of them, as he ſhould doe to God, or hath affection in one more then in an other, he doth in that the greateſt ſinne of maumetry.

Pilgrimage.

Alſo I ſuppoſe this fully, that euery man in this earth is a pilgrime toward bliſſe, or toward payne: and that he that knoweth not, ne will not know ne keepe the holy commaundementes of God in his liuing here (albeit that he be go on Pilgrimages to all the world, and he dye ſo) he ſhalbe damned: and he that knoweth the holy commaundementes of God, and keepeth them to hys ende, he ſhalbe ſaued though he neuer in hys lyfe goe on pilgrimage, as men now vſe to Caunterbury or to Rome or to any other place.

The aunſwer examined.

Quarel picked where nõe was geuen.

This aunſwere to hys articles thus ended and read, he deliuered it to the Biſhops as is ſayd afore. Than councelled the Archbiſhop with the other two Biſhops, and with diuers of the Doctours, what was to be done in this matter: commaunding hym for the tyme to ſtand aſide. In concluſion by their aſſent & information, he ſaid thus vnto him: Come hether Syr John. In this your wryting are many good thinges contayned, and right Catholicke alſo, we deny it not: but ye muſt conſider ÿ thys day was appoynted you to aunſwere to other pointes concerning thoſe articles, whereof as yet no mention is made in this your Bil. And therefore ye muſt yet declare vs your minde more playnly.

The Chriſten aunſwere of the Lord Cobham vnto their quarellinges.

And thus: whether that ye holde, affirme, and beleeue, that in the ſacrament of the aulter, after the conſecration rightly done by a prieſt, remayneth materiall bread, or not? Moreouer, whether ye do hold, affirme and beleue, that as concerning the ſacrament of penaunce (where as a competent nomber of prieſtes are) euery Chriſten man is neceſſarely bound to be confeſſed of hys ſinnes to a prieſt ordained by the Church, or not.

The wolfe was hungry, he muſt needes be fed with bloud.

After certayn other communication, this was the anſwere of the good Lord Cobham. That none otherwiſe would he declare his minde, nor yet aunſwere vnto hys articles, then was expreſſely in his writing there contayned. Then ſayd the Archbiſhop agayne vnto hym: Syr John, beware what ye do. For if ye aunſwere not clearely to thoſe thinges that are here obiected agaynſt you (eſpecially at the time appointed you onely for that purpoſe) the law of holy Church is, that compelled once by a iudge, we may openly proclayme ye an hereticke. Vnto whome he gaue this aunſwere: Do as ye ſhall thinke beſt, for I am at a poynt. Whatſoeuer he or the other Byſhops did aſke him after that, he bad them reſorte to hys Bill: for thereby would he ſtand to the very death. Other aunſwere woulde he not geue that day, wherwith the Biſhops and Prelates were in a maner amaſed and wonderfully diſquieted.

A tyrannous whore is that mother.

His aũſwer not to their mindes.

At the laſt, the archbiſhop councelled agayne with hys other Biſhops and Doctours, and in the end therof declared vnto him, what the holy Church of Rome (following the ſaying of S. Auguſtine, S. Hierome, S. Ambroſe, and of other holy Doctours) had determined in theſe matters, no maner of mention once made of Chriſt. Whiche determination (ſayth he) ought all Chriſten men both to beleue and to follow.

Antichriſt ſetteth men aboue God.

The L. Cobhã reſorteth vnto Chriſt.

Then ſayd the Lord Cobham vnto him, that he would gladly both beleue and obſerue whatſoeuer holy church of Chriſtes inſtitution had determined, or yet whatſoeuer God had willed him either to beleue or to do. But that the pope of Rome with his Cardinals, Archbiſhops, biſhops and other prelates of that Churche had lawfull power to determine ſuch matter as ſtoode not with his worde throughly: that would he not (he ſayd) at the time affirme. With this ÿ archbiſh. bad him to take good aduiſement til the monday next following (which was the 25. day of September) and then iuſtly to aunſwere, ſpecially vnto thys poynt: whether there remayned materiall breade in the ſacrament of the aulter, after the wordes of conſecration, or not? He promiſed him alſo, to ſend vnto hym in writing thoſe matters clearely determined, that he might then be the more perfect in his anſwere making. And all this was nought els, but to blinde the multitude with ſomewhat. The next day following, according to his promiſe, ÿ Archbiſhop ſent vnto hym into the Tower, this fooliſhe and blaſphemous writing made by him and by hys vnlearned Clergy.

What could be more reaſonably ſaid if they had reaſõ to receaue it.

A doctrine of deuils to blinde the ſimple.

❧ The determination of the Archbyſhop and Clergy.

Ex magno proceſſu Thomæ Arundel.

The firſt Article.

The faith and determination of ÿ holy Church touching the bliſfull ſacrament of the aultar, is this: that after the Sacramentall wordes be once ſpoken by a Prieſt in hys Maſſe, the material bread, that was before bread, is turned into Chriſtes very body. And the materiall wine, that was before wine, is turned into Chriſtes very bloud. And ſo there remayneth in the ſacrament of the aulter, from thenceforth, no materiall bread, nor materiall wine, which were there before the Sacramentall wordes were ſpoken: How beleue ye this article?

The ſecond Article.

Holy church hath determined that euery Chriſten man liuing here bodely vpon the erth ought to be ſhriuen to a prieſt ordeined by the Church, if he may come to him. How feele ye this article?

The third Article.

Chriſt ordayned S. Peter the Apoſtle to be his vicare here in earth, whoſe ſea is the holy churche of Rome: And he graunted, that the ſame power which he gaue vnto Peter, ſhould ſucceed to all Peters ſucceſſours, which we call now Popes of Rome: By whoſe power in Churches particuler, be ordayned Prelates, as Archbiſhops, Byſhops, Parſons, Curates, and other degrees more. Vnto whom Chriſten men ought to obey after the laws of the church of Rome. This is the determination of holy Church. Howe feele ye this article?

The ſeede of the Serpent.

The fourth Article.

Holy churche hath determined, that it is meritorious to a chriſten man, to go on pilgrimage to holy places: And there ſpecially to worſhip holy reliques and Images of Saintes, Apoſtles, and Martyrs, Confeſſours, & all other Saintes beſides, approued by the church of Rome. Howe feele ye this article?

He ſeeth their ignoraunce and malice.

And as the Lorde Cobham had reade ouer this moſt wretched writing, he marueiled greatly of their mad ignorance. But that he conſidered agayne, that God had geuen them ouer for their vnbeliefes ſake, into moſt deepe errors & blindnes of ſoule. Agayne, he perceiued hereby, that their vttermoſt mallice was purpoſed agaynſt him, howſoeuer he ſhould anſwere. And therefore he put hys life into the handes of God, deſiring hys onely ſpirite to aſſiſte hym in his next anſwere. When the ſayd xxv. day of September was come (whiche was alſo the Monday before Michaelmas) in the ſayd yeare of our Lord, 1413. Thomas Arundell the Archbiſhop of Caunterbury commaunded his iudiciall ſeate to be remoued from ÿ chapter houſe of Paules to the Dominicke Friers within Ludgate at Londõ. And as he was there ſet with Richard Byſhop of London: Henry the Byſhop of Wincheſter: and Bennet the Byſhop of Bangor: He called in vnto him his counſell & his officers, with diuers other Doctours and Fryers, of whome theſe are the names here following, maiſter Henry Ware, ÿ Official of Caunterbury: Phillip Morgan, Doctour of both lawes: Howell Kiffin, Doctor of the Canon lawe. John Kempe, Doctor of the Canon lawe. Williã Carleton, Doctour of the Canon law. John Witnã, of the new College in Oxford. John Wighthead, Doctor in Oxford alſo, Rob. Wõbewel, Vicare of S. Laurence in the Jewry, Thomas Palmer, the Warden of Minors, Robert Chamberlayne, Prior of the Dominickes. Richard Dodington, Prior of the Auguſtines. Thomas Walden: Priour of the Carmelites, all Doctours of Diuinitie. John Stephens alſo, and James Cole, both Notaryes, appoynted there purpoſely to write all that ſhoulde be eyther ſayd or done. All theſe with a great ſorte more of Prieſtes, Monkes, Chanons, Friers, Pariſhe Clerkes, belryngers, Pardoners, diſdayned him, with innumerable mockes & ſcornes, reconing him to be an horrible hereticke, and a man accurſed afore God.

He putteth his life in Gods hand

Ex vtroque exemplari.

The coũſell of Cayphas

The phariſeis and Scribes.

A rable of Antichriſtes

Conciliū malignantiū.

Anone the Archbiſhop called for a maſſe booke, & cauſed all thoſe Prelates and Doctors to ſweare there vpon, that euery man ſhould faythfully doe his office and duety that day. And that neyther for fauour nor feare, loue nor hate of the one party nor the other: any thing ſhould there be witneſſed, ſpoken or done, but according to the truth, as they wold anſwer before God & all the world at the day of dome. Then were the two foreſayd Notaryes ſworne alſo, to wryte and to witneſſe the proceſſe that there ſhoulde be vttered on both parties, and to ſay their mindes (if they otherwiſe knew) before they ſhould regiſter it. And al this diſſimulation was but to colour their miſchiefes, before the ignoraunt multitude.

For a falſe coulor ſweare they.

All done to deceiue the ignoraunt.

Conſider herein (gentle reader) what this wicked generation is, and how far wide from the iuſt feare of God for as they were then, ſo are they yet to this day.

Lord Cobham commeth againe before them.

After that, came forth before them Syr Robert Morley Knight and lieftenant of the Tower, and he brought with him yͤ good Lorde Cobhā, there leauing him among them as a Lambe among wolues, to his examination and aunſwere.

✠ An other examination of the Lorde Cobham.

Ex Vetuſto exemplari Londinēſiū.

Then ſaide the archbiſhop vnto him: Lord Cobham ye be aduiſed (I am ſure) of the wordes & proceſſe which we had vnto you vpon Saterday laſt paſt in the chapterhouſe of Paules: which proceſſe were nowe to long to be rehearſed agayne? I ſaid vnto you then, that ye were accurſed for your contumacie & diſobedience to holy Church thinking that ye ſhould with meekenes haue deſired your abſolution.

The curſe of Antichriſt.

Then ſpake the Lord Cobham with a chearful countenaunce, and ſayde, God ſayde by his holy Prophet, Maledicam benedictionibus veſtris, whiche is as much to ſay as I ſhall curſſe where you bleſſe.

Malachi.2.

The archbiſhop made then as though he had continued forth his tale and not hearde him, ſaying: Sir, at that tyme I gently profered to haue aſſoyled you if ye woulde haue aſked it. And yet I doe the ſame if ye will humbly deſire it in due forme and maner, as holy church hath ordayned.

A woluiſhe offer of gentleneſſe.

Then ſaid the Lord Cobham. Nay forſooth will I not for I neuer yet treſpaſſed agaynſt you, and therfore I will not do it. And with that he kneeled downe on the pauement, holding vp his handes towardes heauen, and ſayd, I ſhriue me here vnto thee my eternall liuing God, that in my frayle youth I offended thee (Lord) moſt greuouſly in pride, wrath, and gluttony: in couetouſnes, and in lechery. Many men haue I hurt in mine anger, and done many other horrible ſinnes, good Lorde I aſke thee mercye. And therewith weepingly he ſtoode vp agayne and ſayde with a mighty voyce. Loe, good people, loe. For the breaking of Gods law and his great commaundementes, they neuer yet curſed me. But for their owne lawes and traditions, moſt cruelly doe they handle both me and other mē. And therfore, both they and theyr lawes, by the promiſe of God, ſhall vtterly be deſtroyed.

L. Cobham confeſſeth himſelfe vnto God.

Mans lavv before Gods law preferred.

Hiere.51.

At this the archbiſhop and his companye were not a litle blemiſhed. Notwithſtanding, he tooke ſtomack vnto him agayne after certayne words, had in excuſe of their tyranny, and examined the Lord Cobham of his Chriſten beleue.

Whereunto the Lord Cobham made this godly aunſwere. I beleue (ſayth he) fully and faithfully the vniuerſall lawes of God. I beleue that all is true whiche is conteyned in the holy ſacred ſcriptures of the Bible. Finally I beleue, all that my Lord God would I ſhoulde beleue. Then demaunded the Archbiſhop an anſwere of that Bill whiche he and the Clergie had ſent him into the Tower the day afore, in maner of a determination of the Churche concerning the foure Articles whereof he was accuſed, ſpecially for the Sacrament of the aulter, howe he beleeued therein.

The Chriſten beliefe of the Lord Cobham.

Whereunto the Lord Cobham ſayd, that with that bill he had nothing to doe. But this was his beliefe (he ſayd) concerning the ſacrament. That his Lord and Sauiour Jeſus Chriſt, ſitting at his laſt ſupper with his moſt deare diſciples, the night before he ſhould ſuffer, tooke bread in his hand. And geuing thanks to his eternall father, bleſſed it, brake it, and ſo gaue it vnto them, ſaying: Take it vnto you, and eat therof all, this is my body whiche ſhall be betrayed for you: Doe this hereafter in my remembraunce. This doe I throughly beleue (ſayth he) for this fayth am I taught of the Goſpell in Mathewe, in Marke, and in Luke, and alſo in the firſt Epiſtle of S. Paule to the Corinthians. chap. 11.

Math.26.
Mark.14.
Luke.22.
1.Cor.11.

Then aſked the Archbiſhop, if he beleeued that it were bread after the conſecration or ſacramentall words ſpoken ouer it.

Antichriſt alloweth not this faith.

The Lord Cobham ſaid. I beleue that in the ſacramēt of the aulter is Chriſtes very body in forme of bread, the ſame that was borne of yͤ virgin Mary, done on the croſſe, dead, and buryed: and that the third day aroſe from death to life, which now is glorified in heauen.

Then ſayd one of the Doctors of the law. After the ſacramentall wordes be vttered: there remayneth no bread, but onely the body of Chriſt.

The ſacrament of the aultar.

The Lorde Cobham ſayd then to one Maiſter John Whitehead: You ſayd once vnto me in the caſtell of Couling, that the ſacred hoſt was not Chriſtes body. But I held then againſt you, and proued that therin was his body, though the ſeculars and Friers could not therein agree but held ech one againſt other in that opinion. Theſe wer my wordes then, if ye remember it.

Iohn Whitehead, gone from his opinion.

All this would not helpe.

Then ſhouted a ſorte of them together and cryed wyth great noyſe. We ſay all that it is Gods body.

A blaſphemous broode.

And diuers of them aſked him in great anger, whether it were materiall bread after the conſecration or not?

Quarell pickers.

Then looked the L. Cobham, earneſtly vpon the archbiſhop, and ſaid: I beleue ſurely that it is Chriſtes body in forme of bread. Syr beleue not you thus?

And the archbiſhop ſayd, yes mary do I?

Then aſked him the Doctors, whether it were onely Chriſtes bodye after the conſecration of a Prieſt, and no body or not?

The ſacramēt of Chriſtes body is both the body and bread.

Neither will ſcripture nor reaſon ſerue.

And he ſayd vnto them, it is both Chriſtes body and bread I ſhall proue it as thus. For like as Chriſt dwelling here vpon yͤ earth, had in him both Godhead & manhood, and had the inuiſible Godhead couered vnder that manhode, which was onely viſible and ſeene in him: So in the ſacrament of the aultar, is Chriſtes very bodye and bread alſo, as I beleue the bread is the thinge, that we ſee wyth our eies, the body of Chriſt (which is his fleſh & his bloud) is there vnder hyd and not ſeene, but in fayth.

This opiniō hath S. Auguſtine.

And moreouer, to proue that it is both Chriſtes bodie and alſo bread after the conſecration, it is by playne wordes expreſſed by one of your owne Doctours writing agayne Eutiches, whiche ſaith: Like as the ſelfe ſame Sacraments, do paſſe by the operation of the holy Ghoſt, into a Diuine nature: and yet notwithſtanding keepe the propertie ſtill of their former nature: ſo, that principall miſtery declareth to remayne, one true, and perfect Chriſt. &c.

Gelaſius contra Eutichen.

Then ſmiled they eache one vpon other, that the people ſhoulde iudge him taken in a great hereſie. And with a great brag diuers of them ſayd. It is a foule hereſie.

The popes diuinitie.

Then aſked the Archbiſhop what bread it was? And the Doctors alſo inquired of him whether it were materiall or not?

The Lorde Cobham ſaid vnto thē. The ſcriptures maketh no mention of this worde materiall, and therfore my faith hath nothing to doe therwith. But this I ſay and beleue, that it is Chriſtes body and bread. For Chriſt ſayd in the vi. of Johns Goſpell. Ego ſum panis viuus, qui de cœlo deſcendi. I which came downe from heauen, am the liuing and not the dead bread. Therfore I ſay now agayne as I ſayd afore, as our Lord Jeſus Chriſt is very God and very man: ſo in the moſt bleſſed ſacrament of the aulter, is Chriſtes very body and bread.

Materiall.

Iohn.6.

Then ſayd they all with one voyce. It is an hereſie.

One of the Byſhops ſtoode vp by and by, and ſayd. What? it is an hereſie manifeſt, to ſay that it is bread after the Sacramentall wordes be once ſpoken, but Chriſtes body onely.

An hereſie after the papiſtes making.

The Lord Cobham ſayd: S. Paule the Apoſtle was (I am ſure) as wiſe as you be now, and more gladly learned. And he called it bread, writing to the Corinthians. The bread that we breake, ſayth he, is it not the partakyng of the body of Chriſt? Lo, he called it bread and not Chriſtes body, but a meane whereby we receaue Chriſts body.

1. Cor. 10

The ſacrament is called bread.

Then ſayd they agayne. Paule muſt be otherwiſe vnderſtand. For it is ſure on hereſie to ſay that it is bread after the conſecration, but onely Chriſtes body.

The Lord Cobham aſked, how they could make good that ſentence of theirs?

They aunſwered him thus. For it is agaynſt the determination of holy Church.

The determination of the church muſt ſtand, whatſoeuer Paule ſaith

Then ſayd the archbiſhop vnto him. Syr John, we ſet you a writing concerning the fayth of this bleſſed Sacrament, clearely determined by the church of Rome our mother, and by the holy Doctors.

A moſt chriſten aunſwere.

The iudgement of L. Cobham concerning the determinatiō of the Church.

Then he ſayd agayne vnto him. I know none holyer then is Chriſt and his Apoſtles. And as for that determination I wote, it is none of theyrs: for it ſtandeth not with the ſcriptures, but manifeſtly againſt them. If it be the Churches, as ye ſay it is, it hath bene hers onely ſince ſhe receaued the great poyſon of worldly poſſeſſions, and not afore.

Then aſked they him, to ſtop his mouth therwith. If he beleued not in the determination of the Church?

The Doctours confounded in their owne queſtion.

And he ſayd vnto them. No forſooth, for it is no God. In all our Crede, this word (in) is but thriſe mentioned concerning beleue. In God the father, in God the ſonne, in in God the holy Ghoſt three perſons and one God. The byrth, the death, the buriall, the reſurrection and aſcenſion of Chriſt, hath none (in) for beleue, but in him. Neyther yet hath the Church, the ſacramentes, the forgeuenes of ſinne, the latter reſurrection, nor yet the life euerlaſting nor anye other (in) then in the holy ghoſt.

Then ſayd one of the Lawyers. Tuſh, that was but a word of office. But what is your beliefe concerning holy Church?

The L. Cobhā beleueth not in the Pope.

The Lord Cobham aunſwered. My beliefe is: (as I ſayd afore) that all the ſcriptures of the ſacred Bible are true. All yͭ is grounded vppon them I beleue throughly. For I know, it is Gods pleaſure that I ſhuld ſo do. But in your Lordly lawes and idle determinations, haue I no beliefe. For ye be no part of Chriſtes holy churche, as your open dedes doth ſhew: But ye are very Antichriſtes, obſtinately ſet agaynſt his holy law and wil. The lawes that ye haue made, are nothing to his glory, but onely for your vayne glory and abhominable couetouſnes.

An hereſie after the papiſtes.

This they ſayd, was an exceeding hereſie (and that in a great fume) not to beleeue the determination of holye Church.

Then the Archbiſhop aſked hym, what he thought of holy Church.

Holy church defined.

He ſayd vnto him my beliefe is, that the holye Churche is the number of them, which ſhalbe ſaued, of whō Chriſt is the head. Of this churche, one part is in heauen wyth Chriſt, an other in purgatorye (you ſay) and the thyrd is here in earth. This latter part ſtandeth in three degrees in knighthoode, prieſthoode, and the communaltie, as I ſayd afore playnely in the confeſſion of my beliefe.

Conſider him to be then in ſhrewde handlinge.

Then ſayd the Archbiſhop vnto hym. Can you tell me who is of this church?

The Lord Cobham anſwered: Yea truely can I.

Walden contra Wicleuiſtas. li. ar. 2. Cap. 67

How we may iudge or not iudge by the ſcriptures. Math. 7.

Then ſayd Doctor Walden the Prior of the Carmelits It is no doubt vnto you who is thereof. For Chriſt ſayeth in Mathewe Nolite iudicare, preſume to iudge no man. If ye be here forbidden the iudgement of your neighboure or brother, much more the iudgement of your ſuperiour.

The Lorde Cobham made him this aunſwere: Chriſt ſayth alſo in the ſelfe ſame chapter of Mathew, that like as the euill tree is knowne by hys fruit, ſo is a falſe Prophet by his works, appeare they neuer ſo glorious: But that ye left behind ye. And in Iohn he hath this text: Operibus credite, beleeue you the outwarde doinges. And in an other place of Iohn: Iuſtum iudicium iudicate, when wee knowe the thing to be true, we may ſo iudge it, and not offend. For Dauid ſayd alſo: Rectè iudicate filij hominum. Iudge rightly alwayes ye children of men. And as for your ſuperiority were ye of Chriſt, ye ſhoulde be meeke miniſters, and no proud ſuperiours.

Iohn. 1.
Iohn. 7.
Deut. 16.
Pſal. 56.

Diuerſitie of iudgementes.

Then ſaid Doctor Walden vnto him, ye make here no difference of iudgementes. Ye put no diuerſitie betwene yͤ euill iudgementes, whiche Chriſt had forbidden, and the good iudgementes, which he hath cōmaunded vs to haue. Raſh iudgment, and right iudgement, al is one with you. So ſwift iudges alwayes are the learned ſchollers of Wickliffe.

A perfite aunſwere.
Eſay. 5.
Eſay. 55.

Unto whom the Lord Cobham thus aunſwered: It is wel ſophiſtred of you, forſooth. Prepoſterous are your iudgementes euermore. For as the Prophet Eſay ſayth, ye iudge euill, good, and good, euill. And therefore the ſame prophet concludeth, that your wayes are not Gods waies nor Gods wayes your wayes. And as for that vertuous man Wickliffe, whoſe iudgementes ye ſo highly diſdayne: I ſhall ſay here of my part, both before God and man, that before I knew that deſpiſed doctrine of his, I neuer abſtayned from ſinne. But ſince I learned therin to feare my Lorde GOD, it hath otherwiſe I truſt, bene with me: ſo muche grace coulde I neuer finde in all your glorious inſtructions.

Walden in præfatione doctrina. 7.

A great aduerſary.

Then ſaid Doctor Walden agayne yet vnto him: It were not well with me (ſo many vertuous men liuing, & ſo many learned men teaching the ſcripture, being alſo ſo open, and the examples of fathers ſo plenteous) If I thē had no grace to amend my life, till I heard the deuil preach

Hieroni. in breuiari in minori.

S. Hierome ſayth, that he whiche ſeeketh ſuche ſuſpected Mayſters, ſhall not finde the midday light, but the midday deuill.

The Lord Cobham ſayd: Your fathers the old Phariſeis, aſcribed Chriſtes miracles to Belzebub, and his doctrine to the deuil. And you as their natural children, haue ſtill the ſelfe ſame iudgement, concerning his faythfull followers. They that rebuke your vicious liuing muſt needs be heretickes, and that muſt your doctors proue, whē you haue no ſcripture to do it. Then ſayde he to them all: To iudge you as you be, we neede no further go, then to your owne proper actes. Where do ye find in all Gods law, that ye ſhold thus ſit in iudgement of any Chriſten men, or yet geue ſentence vppon any other man vnto death as ye doe here dayly? No grounde haue ye in all the Scriptures ſo Lordly to take it vppon you, but in Annas and Cayphas, which ſat thus vpon Chriſt, and vppon his Apoſtles after hys aſcenſion. Of them onely haue ye taken it to iudge Chriſtes members as ye doe, and neither of Peter nor Iohn.

Luke 11.
Iohn 10.
Doctours when the ſcripture faile, they begin to raile.
The clergie to ſit on life or death, hath no ground in ſcriptures.
Followers of Cayphas.

Then ſayd ſome of the Lawyers: Yes forſooth ſyr, for Chriſt iudged Iudas.

The Lord Cobham ſayd: No, Chriſt iudged him not, but he iudged himſelfe, and thereupon went forth, & ſo did hange himſelfe: But in deede Chriſt ſayde, woe vnto him, for that couetous act of hys, as he doth yet ſtill vnto many of you. For ſince the venume of him was ſhed into yͤ church ye neuer followed Chriſt: neither yet haue ye ſtande in the perfection of Gods law.

Then the Archbiſhop aſked him, what he ment by that venume?

26. Biſhops of Rome togeather martirs ſaue onely 4.
A cōpariſon betwene the martirs and the Popes tyme.
A cōpariſon betwene Chriſt and the Pope,
Rome is Antichriſtes neaſt,

The Lord Cobham ſayd: your poſſeſſions and Lordſhips. For then cried an aungell in the ayre (as your owne Chronicles mentioneth) wo, wo, woe, this day is venime ſhed into the church of God. Before that time, all the Byſhops of Rome were martyrs in a manner. And ſince that time, we read of very few. But in deede ſince yͤ ſame time, one hath put down an other, one hath poyſoned an other, one hath curſed an other, and one hath ſlayne an other, and done much more miſchiefe beſides, as all the Chronicles telleth. And let all men conſider well this, that Chriſt was meeke, and mercifull. The pope is proude, and a tyraunt. Chriſt was poore and forgaue. The pope is riche and a malicious manſlear, as hys dayly actes doe proue hym. Rome is the very neaſt of Antichriſt, and out of that neaſt commeth all the diſciples of him. Of whome Prelates, Prieſtes, and Monkes, are the body, and theſe pild Friers are the tayle which couereth his moſt filthy part.

Then ſaid the Prior of the Fryers Auguſtines: Alacke ſir, why do you ſay ſo? That is vncharitably ſpoken.

Eſay. 9.
Friers proued ſeditious and yet foūd no traytors.

And the Lord Cobham ſaid. Not onely is it my ſaying but alſo the Prophet Eſayes, long afore my time. The prophet ſaith he, which preacheth lyes, is the tayle behind. For as you Fryers and monkes be (like Phariſeis) deuided in your outward apparell and vſages, ſo make ye deuiſion among the people. And thus, you with ſuch other, are yͤ very naturall members of Antichriſt.

Math. 23.

The religiō of Biſhops.

Then ſaid he vnto them all: Chriſt ſaith in his Goſpell. Woe vnto you Scribes and Phariſeis, Hipocrites. For ye cloſe vp the kingdome of heauen before men. Neyther enter ye in your ſelues, nor yet ſuffer any other yͭ wold enter into it. But ye ſtop vp the wayes therūto with your owne traditions, and therfore are ye the houſholde of Antechriſt: ye will not permit Gods veritie to haue paſſage, nor yet to be taught of his true miniſters, fearing to haue your wickednes reproued. But by ſuche flatterers as vphold you in your miſchiefes, ye ſuffer the common people moſt miſerably to be ſeduced.

Note I pray you how thoſe are counted traitors and ſedidious, that teach or cauſe Gods truth to be taught.

Then ſayd the archbiſhop. By our Lady ſyr, there ſhal none ſuch preach within my dioces (and God will) nor yet in my iuriſdiction (if I may know it) as either maketh diuiſion or yet diſſention among the poore commons.

Luke. 23.
Iohn. 19.
Math. 24.

The Lord Cobham ſayd. Both Chriſt and hys Apoſtles were accuſed of ſedition making, yet were they moſte peaceable men. Both Daniell and Chriſt prophecied that ſuch a troublous tyme ſhoulde come, as hath not bene yet ſince the worldes beginning. And this prophecy is partlye fulfilled in your dayes and doinges. For manye haue yee ſlayne already, and more wil ye ſlay hereafter, if God fulfil not his promiſe. Chriſt ſayth alſo, if thoſe dayes of yours were not ſhortened, ſcarſly ſhold any fleſh be ſaued. Therfore looke for it iuſtly, for God will ſhorten youre dayes. Moreouer, though Prieſtes and deacons for preaching of Gods word, and for miniſtring the ſacraments, with prouiſion for the poore: be grounded on Gods lawe: yet haue theſe other ſectes no maner of ground hereof, ſo farre as I haue read.

Prophecy.

Prophecy.
Prieſtes.
Deacons.

Marke this working of Sathan.

Then a Doctor of lawe, called maiſter Iohn Kempe, plucked out of his boſome a copy of the bil which they had afore ſent him into the tower, by the Archbiſhops counſel, thinking

Act. 6.

The firſt article.

thinking thereby to make ſhorter worke with hym. For they were ſo amaſed with his aunſweres (not all vnlike to them whiche diſputed with Stephen) that they knewe not well how to occupy the time, their wits and ſophiſtry (as God would) ſo fayled them that day.

Tranſubſtantiation of bread into the body.

My Lord Cobham (ſayth this Doctor) we muſt briefly know your minde concerning theſe foure poyntes here following. The reſt of them is this. And then he read vpõ the bill: The fayth and determination of holy churche touching the bleſſed ſacrament of the aulter is this. That after the ſacramentall wordes be once ſpoken of a Prieſt in his maſſe: the materiall bread that was before bread, is turned to Chriſtes very body. And the materiall wine is turned into Chriſtes bloud. And ſo there remayneth in the ſacrament of the aulter from thenceforth no material bread nor materiall wine which were there before the ſacramentall wordes were ſpoken. Sir beleue ye not this?

The L. Cobhãs beliefe in the ſacrament.

The Lord Cobham ſaid: This is not my beliefe. But my fayth is (as I ſayd to you afore) that in the worſhipfull ſacrament of the aulter, is Chriſtes very body in forme of bread.

Then ſayd the archbiſhop: ſir Iohn ye muſt ſay otherwiſe.

The Lord Cobham ſaid: Nay, that I ſhall not, if God be vpon my ſide (as I truſt he is) but that there is Chriſts body in forme of bread, as the common beliefe is.

Then read the doctour againe.

The 2. Article.

The ſecond poynt is this. Holy Church hath determined that euery Chriſten mã liuyng here bodely vpõ earth ought to be ſhriuen of a prieſt ordeined by the church, if he may come to him: ſyr what ſay you to this?

Confeſſiõ of ſinne to God onely.

Malachi. 2.

The Lord Cobham aunſwered and ſaid: A diſeaſed or ſore wounded man, hath need to haue a ſure wiſe Chirurgian and a true, knowing both the ground and the daunger of the ſame. Moſt neceſſary were it therefore to be firſt ſhriuen vnto God which onely knoweth our diſeaſes and can helpe vs. I deny not in this the going to a prieſt, if he be a man of good life and learning. For the lawes of God are to be required of the prieſt, which is godly learned. But if he be an idiote or a man of vicious liuing that is my curate, I ought rather to flee from him then to ſeeke vnto him: For ſooner might I catch euill of him that is nought then any goodnes towardes my ſoules health.

Then read the doctour agayne.

The 3. Article.

The third poynt is this, Chriſt ordayned S. Peter the Apoſtle to be his vicare here in earth whoſe ſea is ẏ church of Rome. And he graunted that the ſame power whiche he gaue vnto Peter, ſhould ſucceede to all Peters ſucceſſours which we call now popes of Rome. By whoſe ſpecial power in churches particular, be ordayned Prelates & archbiſhops, parſons, Curates, and other degrees more. Unto whom Chriſten men ought to obey after the lawes of the Church of Rome. This is the determination of holye Church. Sir beleue ye not this?

Who is next vnto Peter.

Succeſſion not of place but of conditiõs maketh Peters heire

To this he anſwered and ſayd: He that followeth Peter moſt nigheſt in pure liuing, is next vnto him in ſucceſſion. But your Lordly order eſteemeth not greatly ẏ lowly behauiour of poore Peter, whatſoeuer ye prate of him. Neither care ye greatly for the humble manners of them that ſucceeded him, till the time of Silueſter, whiche for the more part were martirs, as I told you afore. Ye can let all their good conditions go by you, and not hurt your ſelues with them at all. All the world knoweth this well inough by you and yet ye can make boaſt of Peter.

With that one of the other doctors aſked him: thẽ what do ye ſay of the Pope?

Antichriſtes head body & taile.

The Lord Cobham anſwered. As I ſaid before. He & you together maketh whole the great Antichriſt. Of whõ he is ẏ great head you biſhops, prieſts, prelates, & monks are the body: and the begging friers are the tayle, for they couer ẏ filthines of you both, with their ſubtile ſophiſtry, Neither will I in conſcience obey any of you all, till I ſee you with Peter follow Chriſt in conuerſation.

Then reade the doctor againe.

The 4. Article. Pilgrimage.

The 4. point is this. Holy Churche hath determined that it is meritorious to a Chriſten man, and to go on pilgrimage to holy places. And there ſpecially to worſhip the holy reliques and images of ſaintes, Apoſtles, Martirs, Confeſſours and all other ſaintes beſides, approued by ẏ Church of Rome. Sir what ſay ye to this?

What is to be dõe with Images.

Wherunto he aunſwered. I owe them no ſeruice by any commaundement of god: and therefore I minde not to ſeeke them for your couetouſnes. It were beſt ye ſwepte them faire from copwebs and duſt, and ſo layde them vp for catching of ſcathe. Or els to bury them fayre in ẏ groũd as ye do other aged people which are Gods Images.

Saintes are becõe now couetous beggers.

It is a wonderfull thing, that ſayntes now being dead ſhoulde become ſo couetous and needy, and thereupon ſo bitterly beg: which all the life time hated al couetouſneſſe, and begging. But this I ſay vnto you, and I would all ẏ world ſhould mark it. That with your ſhrines and Idols your fained abſolutions and pardons, ye draw vnto you the ſubſtaunce, wealth and chiefe pleaſures of all chriſten realmes.

A whelpe of the ſame heare.

Images not to be worſhipped.

Why ſir (ſaid one of the clerkes) will ye not worſhippe good images?

What worſhip ſhould I geue vnto them? ſaid the Lord Cobham.

Then ſaid Frier Palmer vnto him. Sir will ye worſhip the croſſe of Chriſt, that he died vpon?

Where is it, ſayd the Lord Cobham?

The Frier ſaid. I put you the caſe ſir, that it were here euen now before you?

The croſſe whether it is to be worſhipped.

The Lord Cobham aunſwered. This is a great wiſe man, to put me an earneſt queſtion of a thinge, and yet he himſelfe knoweth not where the thing it ſelfe is. Yet once againe I aſke you what worſhip I ſhould do vnto it?

Galat. 6.

A clerke ſaid vnto him. Such worſhip as Paule ſpeaketh of: and that is this. God forbid that I ſhould ioy, but onely in the croſſe of Ieſu Chriſt.

Then ſaid the Lord Cobham, and ſpread his armes abroad. This is a very croſſe, yea, and ſo muche better then your Croſſe of wood, in that it was created of God. Yet will not I ſeeke to haue it worſhipped.

Then ſayd the biſhop of London. Sir, ye wote well that he died on a materiall croſſe?

The materiall croſſe is not materiall to our faith.

What it is to reioyce in the croſſe of Chriſt.

The Lord Cobham ſaid. Yea, and I wote alſo that our ſaluation came not in by that materiall croſſe, but alone by him which died therupon. And well I wote that holy S. Paule reioyced in none other croſſe, but in chriſtes paſſion and death onely, and in his owne ſufferinges of like perſecution with him, for the ſame ſelfe veritie that he had ſuffered for afore:

An other clerk yet aſked him. Will ye then do none honour to the holy croſſe?

He anſwered him. Yes, if he were mine own I would lay him vp honeſtly, and ſee vnto him that he ſhoulde take no more ſcath abroad, nor be robbed of his goodes as he is now a dayes.

Sla͂dered with the truth.

These mẽ ſeeme to ſtand onely vpon their eſtemation amõgeſt the people.

Then ſayd the Archbiſh. vnto him. Sir Iohn, ye haue ſpoken here many wonderfull wordes to the ſlaunderous rebuke of the whole ſpiritualtie, geuing a great euil example vnto the common ſort here, to haue vs in the more diſdaine. Much time haue we ſpent here about you, and al in vaine ſo far as I can ſee. Well, we muſt nowe be at this ſhort point with you, for the day paſſeth away: ye muſt otherwiſe ſubmit your ſelfe to the ordinaunce of holy church or els throw your ſelfe (no remedy) into moſt deepe daunger. See to it in time, for anone it will be els to late.

The Lord Cobham ſayd: I know not to what purpoſe I ſhould otherwiſe ſubmit me. Muche more haue you offended me, then euer I offended you, in thus troubling me before this multitude.

A woluiſhe offer of gentlenes.

Then ſaid the archbiſhop again vnto him, we once agayne require to remember your ſelfe well, & to haue none other maner opinion in theſe matters, then the vniuerſall faith, and beliefe of the holy church of Rome is. And ſo like obedient childe returne agayne to the vnitie of your mother. See to it I ſay in time, for yet ye may haue remedy, where as anone it will be to late.

The Lord Cobham ſayd expreſly before them all. I wil none otherwiſe beleue in theſe poyntes, then that I haue told ye here afore. Do with me what ye will.

Bloudy murtherers.

Finally then the archbiſhop ſayd, wel, then I ſee none other but we muſt needes doe the lawe: we muſt proceede forth to the ſentence diffinitiue, and both iudge you, & condemne you for an hereticke.

And with that, the Archb. ſtood vp, and read there a bill of his condemnation, all the clergy and laity vayling their bonets. And this was the tenour therof.

❧ The diffinitiue ſentence of hys condemnation.

Suffered of god as a plague.

An hereticke for confeſſing of Chriſt.

IN the name of God. So be it. We Thomas by the ſufferaunce of God, Archbiſhop of Caunterbury, Metropolitane, and primate of al England, and Legate from the apoſtolicke ſee of Rome, willeth this to be knowne vnto all men. In a certayne cauſe of hereſy and vpon diuers articles, wherupon ſir Iohn Oldcaſtle knight and Lord Cobham, after a diligent inquiſition made for the ſame, was detected, accuſed, and preſented before vs in our laſt conuocation of all our prouince of Caunterbury, holden in the Cathedrall Church of Paules at London: At the lawfull denouncement and requeſt of our vniuerſal Clergy in the ſayd conuocation, we proceded

Ezec 18.
Ezec 35.

The wolfe would appeare charitable.

See, if they ſhew not themſelues.

ceded agaynſt him according to the law (God to witnes) with al the fauour poſsible. And following Chriſtes example in all that we might, which willeth not the death of a ſinner, but rather that he be conuerted and liue: we tooke vpon vs to correcte him, and ſought all other wayes poſsible to bring him againe to the churches vnitie, declaring vnto him what the holy & vniuerſal church of Rome hath ſayd, holden, determined, and taught in that behalf. And though we founde him in the Catholicke fayth farre wyde and ſo ſtifnecked, that he would not confeſſe hys error, nor purge himſelf, nor yet repent him therof: We yet pittieng him of fatherly compaſsion, and intirely deſiring the health of his ſoule, appoynted hym a competent tyme of deliberation, to ſee if he wold repent and ſeek to be reformed: but ſince that time we haue foūd him worſe and worſe. Conſidering therefore, that he is not corrigible: we are driuen to the very extremitie of the lawe, and wyth great heauines of hart, we nowe proceede to the publication of the ſentence diffinitiue, agaynſt him.

Then brought he forth an other bill, conteyning the ſayd ſentence, and that he read alſo in his beggerly Latine. Chriſti nomine inuocato, ipſumq; ſolum præ oculis habentes. Quia per acta inactitata, **and ſo forth. Whiche I haue alſo tranſlated into Engliſhe, that men may vnderſtand it.**

Ex magno proceſſu Thomæ Arundeli.

That church is an whore.

A true ſhepe heareth the voice of a true paſtor.

A colour of deceite.

As Caiphas did Chriſt.

Chriſt is condēned in his faithful members.

Chriſt we take vnto witneſſe, that nothing els we ſeeke in this our whole enterpriſe, but his onely glory. For as much as we haue found by diuers actes done, brought forth and exhibited by ſundry euidences, ſignes and tokens, and alſo by many moſt manifeſt proues, the ſayd ſir Iohn Oldcaſtle knight and L. Cobham, not onely to be an euident heretické in his owne perſon, but alſo a mighty maintainer of other heretickes agaynſt the fayth and religion of the holy and vniuerſall church of Rome: namely about the two ſacramentes (of the aultar, and of penaunce) beſides the popes power, and pilgrimages. And that he as the childe of iniquitie and darcknes, hath ſo hardened his hart, that he will in no caſe attend vnto the voyce of his paſtor. Neyther will he be allured by ſtraight admoniſhmentes, not yet be brought in by fauourable wordes. The worthines of the cauſe firſt wayed on the one ſide, and his vnworthines agayn cōſidered on the other ſide, his faults alſo aggrauated or made double through his damnable obſtinacie (we being loth that he which is nought ſhoulde be worſe, and ſo with his contagiouſnes infecte the multitude) by the ſage counſel and aſſent of the very diſcrete fathers, our honourable brethren and Lordes, Byſhops here preſent, Richard of London, Henry of Wincheſter, and Bennet of Bangor, and of other great learned and wiſe men here, both doctours of diuinitie, and of the lawes canon and ciuill, ſeculers and religious, with diuers other expert men aſsiſting vs: we ſententially and diffinitiuely by this preſent writing, iudge, declare & condemne the ſayd ſyr Iohn Oldcaſtle, Knight, and Lord Cobham, for a moſt pernitious and deteſtable heretické, conuicted vpon the ſame, and refuſing vtterly to obey the Church agayne, committing him here from hencefoorth as a condemned heretické to the ſecular iuriſdiction, power & iudgement, to doe him thereupon to death. Furthermore, we excommunicate and denounce accurſed, not onely this heretické here preſent: but ſo many els beſides, as ſhall hereafter in fauoure of his errour, either receaue him or defend him, counſell him or help hym, or any other way mayntayne hym: as very fautours receauers, defenders, counſaylers, ayders, and mayntayners of condemned heretickes.

How ſpirituall theſe fathers are

Keepe the ſepulchre neuer ſo much, yet Chriſt will riſe. None office left vndone pertaining to Antichriſt.

What care is here to hold vp their popery.

And that theſe premiſſes, may be the better knowne al faithfull Chriſten men: we commit it here vnto your charges, & geue you ſtraight commandement therupon by this writing alſo: That ye cauſe this condemnation and diffinitiue ſentence of excommunication, cōcerning both this heretick and his fautours: to be publiſhed throughout all dioceſſes, in Cities, towns & villages by your curates and pariſh prieſts, at ſuch time as they ſhal haue moſt recourſe of people. And ſee that it be done after this ſorte. As the people are thus gathered deuoutly together, let the curate euery where goe into the pulpit and there open, declare, and expound, this exceſſe in the mother tongue, in an audible and intelligible voyce, that it may be perceiued of all men: and that vpon the feare of this declaration alſo, the people may fall from theyr euill opinions conceiued nowe of late by ſeditious preachers. Moreouer we will, that after we haue deliuered vnto each one of you biſhops which are here preſent, a copy hereof: that ye cauſe the ſame to be written out agayne into diuers copies, and ſo be ſent vnto the other byſhops and Prelates of our whole Prouince, that they may alſo ſee the contentes thereof ſolemnly publiſhed within theyr dioceſſes and cures. Finally we will that both you and they ſignifie agayne vnto vs ſeriouſly and diſtinctly by your writinges as the matter is, without fayned colour in euery poynt performed: the day wheron ye receaued this proceſſe, the time when it was of vs executed, and after what ſort it was done in euery condition, according to the tenour hereof, that we may knowe it to be iuſtly the ſame.

Tho. Walden in faſciculo Zizaniorū Wicleui.
Richarde Clifford.

Rob. Maſcall.

A copy of this writing ſent Thomas Arundel the archbiſhop of Caunterbury, afterward from Mydſtone the x. day of Octobr, within the ſame yeare of our Lord 1413. vnto Richard Clifford the biſhop of London, which thus beginneth: Thomas permiſsione diuina. &c.

The ſaid Richard Clifford ſent an other copy thereof, encloſed within his owne letters: vnto Robert Maſchall a Carmelite frier, which was then biſhop of Herforde in Wales, written from Haddam the 23. day of October in the ſame yeare, and the beginning thereof is this: Reuerende in Chriſto pater, &c.

This Robert Maſcall directed an other copye thereof from London the 27. day of Nouember in the ſame yeare encloſed in his owne commiſſion alſo, vnto his archdeacon and and Deanes in Hareforde and Shrewſbury. And this is therof the beginning: Venerabilibus & diſcretis viris. &c. In like maner did the other biſhops within their dioceſſes.

Ex vtroque exemplari.

Math. 10.
Iob. 1.

After that the archbiſhop had thus read the bill of hys condemnation, with moſt extremitie before the whol multitude: The Lorde Cobham ſayd with a moſte cheerefull countenaunce. Though ye iudge my body whiche is but a wretched thing, yet am I certayne and ſure, that ye can do no harme to my ſoule, no more then could Sathan vppon the ſoule of Iob. He that created that, will of his infinite mercy and promiſe ſaue it, I haue therein no manner of doubt. And as concerning theſe articles before rehearſed, I will ſtand to them euen to the very death, by the grace of my eternall God.

Math. 10.

And therwith he turned him vnto the people, caſtyng hys handes abroad, and ſaying with a very loude voyce: Good Chriſten people, for Gods loue be well ware of theſe men. For they will els beguile you, and leade you blindling into hell with thēſelues. For Chriſt ſayth plainly vnto you: If one blinde man leadeth an other, they are like both to fall into the ditche.

He prayeth for his enemyes.

After this, he fell downe there vpon his knees, & thus before thē all prayed for his enemies, holding vp both hys handes and his eyes towardes heauen and ſaying: Lorde God eternall, I beſeeche thee of thy great mercies ſake, to forgeue my purſuers, if it be thy bleſſed will. And then hee was deliuered to ſyr Robert Morly, and ſo led forth again to the tower of London. And thus was there an ende of that dayes worke.

Ex vetuſto exemplari Lōdinenſiū.

Whyle the Lord Cobham was thus in the Tower, he ſent out priuely vnto his friendes. And they at his requeſt wrote this little bill here following, cauſing it to be ſet vp in diuers quarters of London, that the people ſhould not beleeue the ſlaunders and lyes that his enemies the Byſhops ſeruauntes and prieſtes, had made on him abroade. And thus was the letter.

A teſtimoniall made by his frendes.

To ſtop lying lippes. A reherſall of his belief. In forme of bread, but not without bread he meaneth.

For as much as Syr Iohn Oldcaſtle knight, and Lorde Cobham, is vntruely conuicted and empriſoned, falſly reported and ſlandered among the common people by his aduerſaries, that he ſhould otherwiſe both thinke & ſpeak of the ſacramentes of the churche, and ſpecially of the bleſſed ſacrament of the aultar, then was written in the confeſſion of his beliefe which was indended and taken to the clergy, and ſo ſet vp in diuers open places in the cittye of London. Knowne be it here to all the worlde, that he (neuer ſince) varied in any poynt therefro, but this is playnly his beliefe: that all the ſacramentes of the churche be profitable and expedient alſo to al them that ſhall be ſaued, taking them after the intent that Chriſt and hys true church hath ordayned. Furthermore he beleeueth, that the bleſſed ſacrament of the aulter is verily and truely Chriſtes body in forme of bread.

The clergie in hate of the people.

A practiſe of falſe prieſts.

These are their cōmon feates.

After this the biſhops and prieſts were in much great diſcredite both with the nobilitie and commons, partly for ẏ they had ſo cruelly handled the good Lorde Cobham: & partly agayn, becauſe hys opinion (as they thought at that tyme) was parfect concerning the ſacrament. The Prelates feared this to grow to further incōueniēce towards thē both wayes, wherfore they drew theyr heads together & at the laſt conſented to vſe an other practiſe ſomewhat cōtrary to that they had done afore. They cauſed it by and by to be blowne abroad by theyr feed ſeruauntes, frends, and babling ſir Iohns: that the ſayd Lord Cobham was becomen a good man, and had lowly ſubmitted himſelfe in all thinges vnto holy Church, vtterly changing his opinion concerning the ſacrament. And thereupon, they counterfayted an abiuration in hys name, that the people ſhoulde take no hold of that opinion by any thing they had hearde of him before, and to ſtand ſo the more in awe of them, cōſidering hym ſo great a man, and by them ſubdued.

This is the abiuration (ſay they) of ſir Iohn Oldcaſtle knight, ſometime the Lord Cobham.

✻ An Abiuration counterfaited of the Byſhoppes.

Walden in faſciculo Zizaniorum Wicleui.

IN Dei nomine. Amen. I John Oldcaſtle denounced, detected and conuicted, of and vpon diuers articles ſauoring both hereſye and error, before the reuerend father in Chriſt & my good Lord, Thomas by the permiſſion of God, Lord Archbiſhop of Caunterbury, and my lawfull and rightfull iudge in that behalfe, expreſſly graunt and confeſſe: that as cõcerning the eſtate and power of the moſt holy father the Pope of Rome, of his Archbiſhops, his Biſhops and hys other prelates, the degrees of the church, and the holy Sacramentes of the ſame, ſpecially of the Sacramentes of the aultar of penaunce and other obſeruaunces beſides of our mother holy Church, as Pilgrimages and pardons: I affirme (I ſay) before the ſayd reuerend father Archbiſhop & els where, that I being euill ſeduced by diuers ſeditious preachers, haue grieuouſly erred, and heretically perſiſted, blaſphemouſly aunſwered, and obſtinately rebelled. And therfore I am by the ſayd reuerend father, before the reuerend fathers in Chriſt alſo, the biſhops of London, Wincheſter, and Bangor, lawfully condemned for an hereticke.

Marke from whence this geare commeth.

Fine wormanſhip I trowe.

Neuertheles yet, I now remembring my ſelfe, and coueting by this meane to auoyd that temporall payn which I am worthy to ſuffer as an hereticke, at the aſſignation of my moſt excellent Chriſten prince and liege Lord, King Henry the 5. now by the grace of God moſt worthy king both of England and of Fraunce: Minding alſo to preferre the wholeſome determination, ſentence and doctrine of the holy vniuerſall Church of Rome, before the vnwholeſom opinions of my ſelfe, my teachers, and my followers: I freely, willingly, deliberately, and throughly cõfeſſe, graũt, and affirme, that the moſt holy fathers in Chriſt, S. Peter the Apoſtle and his ſucceſſors byſhops of Rome, ſpecially now at this time, my moſt bleſſed Lord Pope John, by the permiſſion of God, the xxiij. Pope of that name, which now holdeth Peters ſeat (and each of them in theyr ſucceſſion) hath full ſtrength and power to be Chriſtes Vicar in earth, and the head of the church militant. And that by the ſtrẽgth of his office (what though he be a great ſinner, and afore knowne of God to be damned) he hath full authority and power to rule and gouerne, bynde and looſe, ſaue and deſtroy, accurſe and aſſoyle, all other Chriſten men.

Alas good man, thou art ſlaundered.

And agreeably ſtill vnto this, I confeſſe, graunt, and affirme all other Archbiſhops, Byſhops, and Prelates in their prouinces, Dioces, and Pariſhes (appoynted by the ſayd Pope of Rome, to aſſiſte him in his doinges or buſines) by his Decrees, Canons, or vertue of his office: to haue had in times paſt to haue now at this time, and that they ought to haue in time to come: authoritye and power to rule and to gouerne, binde and looſe, accurſe and aſſoyle, the ſubiects or people of theyr aforeſaid prouinces, dioces, & pariſhes, and that their ſaid ſubiectes or people ought of right in all things to obey them. Furthermore, I confeſſe, graunt, and affirme, that the ſayd ſpirituall fathers, as our moſt holy father the Pope, Archbiſhops, Biſhops, & Prelates: haue had, haue now, and ought to haue hereafter, authority and power for the eſtate, order and gouernaunce of their ſubiectes or people, to make lawes, decrees, ſtatutes and conſtitutions, yea and to publiſhe, commaund, and compell their ſayde ſubiectes and people, to the obſeruation of them.

How proue ye that, by the ſcriptures.

Moreouer I confeſſe, graunt and affirme, that all theſe foreſayd lawes, decrees, ſtatutes and conſtitutions made, publiſhed and commaunded, according to the forme of ſpirituall law, all chriſten people, and euery man in himſelf is ſtraightly bound to obſerue, & meekely to obey according to the diuerſity of the foreſayd powers. As the lawes, ſtatuts, canons and conſtitutions of our moſt holy father the Pope, incorporated in his Decrees, Decretals, Clementines, Codes, Chartes, Reſcriptes, Sextiles, and Extrauagants ouer all the world: and as the prouinciall ſtatuts of Archbiſhopps in their prouinces, the Sinodall actes of Biſhops in their dioces, and the commendable rules & cuſtomes of prelates in their colledges, and Curates in their pariſhes, all Chriſten people are both bound to obſerue, & alſo moſt meekly to obey. Ouer & beſides all thys, I John Oldecaſtle vtterly forſaking and renouncing all the aforeſayd errors and hereſies, and all other errors and hereſies like vnto them, lay my hand here vpon this booke or holye Euangely of God, & ſweare: that I ſhall neuer more from henceforth holde theſe aforeſayd hereſies, nor yet any other like vnto them wittinglye. Neither ſhall I geue counſell, ayde, helpe, nor fauor at any time, to them that ſhall holde, teach, affirme, or maintayne the ſame, as God ſhall helpe me, and theſe holy Euangelies.

No ſcriptures haue they to ſhewe.

Intollerable yokes laye they.

Neuer made he ſuch an othe.

And that I ſhall from henceforth faythfully obey and inuiolably obſerue all the holy lawes, ſtatutes, Canons, and conſtitutions of all the Popes of Rome, Archbiſhops Biſhops, and Prelates, as are conteyned and determined in their holy Decrees, Decretalles, Clementines, Codes, Chartes, Reſcriptes, Sextiles, Summes, papall, Extrauagantes, ſtatutes prouinciall, actes ſynodall, and other ordinary regules and cuſtomes cõſtituted by them, or that ſhall chaunce hereafter directly to be determined or made. To theſe and all ſuch other, will I my ſelfe with all power poſſibly apply. Beſides all this, the penaunce whiche it ſhall pleaſe my ſayd reuerend father the Lord Archbiſhop of Caunterbury hereafter to enioyne me for my ſinnes, I will meekely obey and faythfully fulfill. Finally, all my ſeducers and falſe teachers, and all other beſides, whome I ſhall hereafter know ſuſpected of hereſye or errors: I ſhall effectually preſent, or cauſe to be preſented vnto my ſayde reuerend father, Lord Archbiſhop or to them which haue his authority, ſo ſoone as I can conueniently do it, and ſee that they be corrected to my vttermoſt power.

And this maintaine they ſtill. The pope holy bible of papiſts.

Marke this hãdling.

This charge geue they commonly.

This abiuration neuer came to the hands of the Lord Cobham, neither was it compiled of them for that purpoſe, but onely therewith to bleare the eyes of the vnlearned multitude for a time. After the whiche like fetch and ſubtle practiſe, was alſo deuiſed the recantatiõ of the Archbiſhop Thomas Cranmer, to ſtop for a time the peoples mouthes. which ſubtlely in like manner was alſo practiſed with the falſe recantatiõ of Biſhop Hoper, and diuers other, as in their places hereafter (Chriſt graunting) ſhalbe ſhewed.

And thus much hitherto concerning the firſt trouble of ſir John Oldcaſtle Lorde Cobham, with all the circumſtances of the true time, place, occaſion, cauſes, and order belonging to the ſame. wherin I truſt I haue ſufficiently ſatiſfied all the parties, requiſite to a faythfull hiſtory, without corruption. For the confirmation wherof, to the intent the mind alſo of the wrangling caniller may be ſatiſfied, & to ſtop the mouth of the aduerſary (which I ſee in all places to be ready to barke) I haue therfore of purpoſe annexed with all my ground & foundation taken out of the Archiues and Regiſters of the Archb. of Cant, Ex epiſt. Thom. Arund. ad Rich. Lond. wherby may appeare, the manifeſt error both of Polydorus and of Edward Hall, who being deceiued in the right diſtinction of the times, aſſigne this citation and examination of the Lord Cobham, to be after the councell of Cõſtance: when as Thomas Arundell Archbiſhop of Caunterbury at the councell of Conſtance was not aliue. The copy and teſtimony of his owne letter, ſhall declare the ſame, written and ſent to the biſhop of London in forme as foloweth.

For confirmation of this hiſtorie.

Ex archiuis et Regiſt. Tho. Arund. Archiep. Cant.

Polydorus and Edw. Haull deceiued.

✻ The copy of the Epiſtle of the Arthbiſhop of Caunterbury, written to the Biſhop of London, whereupon dependeth the grounde and certaynety of this foreſayd hiſtory of the Lord Cobham, aboue premiſed.

TO the reuerend father in Chriſt and Lord, the Lord Robert by the grace of God Biſhop of Hereford, Richard by the permiſſion of God biſhop of London, health and continuall increaſe of ſincere loue. We haue of late receiued the letters of the reuerend father in Chriſt and Lord, the Lorde Thomas by the grace of God Archb. of Cant. primate of all England, and Legate of the Apoſtolicke ſee, vnto our reuerend brother the Lord Richard Biſhop of London, health and brotherly loue in the Lord. It was lately concluded before vs in the conuocation of Prelates and Clergye of our prouince of Caunterb. laſt celebrate in our church of S. Paul, intreating amongeſt other thinges with the ſayd prelates & clergy vpon the vnion and reformation of the Church of England by vs, and the ſayd prelates and Clergy: that it was almoſt impoſſible to amende the hole of our Lordes coate whiche was without ſeame, but that firſt of all certayne nobles of the realme, which are authors, fauourers, protectors, defenders, and receiuers of theſe heretickes called Lollardes, were ſharpely rebuked, and if neede were by the cenſures of the Churche, and the helpe of the ſecular power, they be reuoked from their errours. And afterward hauing made diligent inquiſition in the conuocation amongeſt the proctors of the Clergy and others which were there in great number out of euery dioces of our prouince: It was found out amongeſt others, that ſir Iohn Oldcaſtle knight, was and is the principall receiuer, fauourer, protector and defender of them: and that ſpecially in the Dioceſſe of London, Rocheſter, and Herefords, he hath ſent the ſayd Lollardes to preach, not being licenced by the ordinaryes and Biſhoppes of the Dioces or places, contrary to the prouinciall conſtitutions in that behalfe made, and hath

A thing thought right neceſſary that the L. Cobham ſhould be made out of the way, or els not poſſible for papiſtry to floriſh.

bene preſent at theyr wicked Sermõs, greuouſly puniſhing with threatnings, terrors, and the power of the ſecular ſword: ſuche as did withſtand him: alledging and affirming amongeſt others, that we and our felow brethren Suffragans of out prouinces had not, neither haue any power to make any ſuch conſtitutions. Alſo he hath holden, and doth holde opinion and teach as touching the ſacramentes of the aultar, of penaunce, of pilgrimage, of the worſhiping of Sayntes, and of the keyes contrary to that which the vniuerſall church of Rome doth teach ond affirme.

Sir I. Oldecaſtel in fauour with the kyng.

Wherefore, on the behalfe of the ſayd prelates and clergy, we were then required that we would vouchſafe to proceed agaynſt the ſayd ſir Iohn Oldcaſtle vpon the premiſſes. Notwithſtanding, for the reuerence of our Lord the king, in whoſe fauour the ſayde ſir Iohn at that preſẽt was, & no leſſe alſo for honor of his knighthood: we with our fellow brethren and Suffraganes then preſent, with a great part of the Clergy of our prouince, comming perſonally before the preſence of our Lord the king, being then at hys Manor of Kenington, put vp againſt the ſaid ſir Iohn, a complaint, and partly reciting the defaultes of the ſayd ſir Iohn. But at the requeſt of our Lord the king, we deſiring to reduce the ſayd ſir Iohn to the vnity of the church, without any reproche, we deferred all the execution of the premiſſes for a great time. But at the laſt, for ſo much as our ſayd Lord the king after his great trauelles taken about the conuerſion of him, did nothing at all profite, as our ſaid Lord the king vouchſafed to certify vs both by word & writing: We immediatly decreed to call forth the ſayd ſir Iohn perſonally to aunſwere before vs at a certayne time already paſſed, in and vpon the premiſſes, and ſent our meſſengers with theſe our letters of citation to the ſayde ſir Iohn, then being at his caſtle of Cowling, vnto the which meſſenger we gaue commaundement that he ſhould in no caſe go into the Caſtle except he were licenſed. But by the meane of one Iohn Butler, porter of the kings chãber, he ſhould require the ſayd ſir Iohn, that he would either licẽſe the ſayd meſſenger to come into the Caſtle, or that he would cite him, or at the leaſt that he would ſuffer himſelfe to be cited without his Caſtle. The whiche ſir Iohn openly aunſwered vnto the ſayd Iohn Butler, declaring the premiſſes vnto him on the behalfe of our Lord the king: that he woulde by no meanes be cited, neither in any caſe ſuffer his citation. Then we being certified of the premiſſes lawfully proceeded further.

The keyes of the church falſely wraſted.

The L. Cobham excommunicated.

Firſt, hauing faythfull report made unto vs, that he could not be apprehended by perſonall citation, we decreed to cite him by an edict, to be openly ſet vppe in the porches of the Cathedrall Church of Rocheſter next vnto him, litle more then three Engliſh miles diſtant from the ſayd caſtle of Cowling. As we had thus cauſed him to be cited, and our edict aforeſayde to be publickely & openly ſet vpon the porches of the ſaid Church, that he ſhould perſonally appeare before vs the 11. day of September laſt paſt to aunſwere vnto the premiſſes, and certayne other thinges concerning hereſye: The which day being come, we ſitting in the tribunall ſeat in our greater chappell within the Caſtle of Leedes of our dioces, the which we then inhabited, and where as we then kept reſidence with our court, and hauing taken an othe whiche is requiſite in the premiſſes, and the information by vs heard and receiued, as the common report goeth: In the partes whereas the ſayd ſir Iohn dwelleth (fortifying himſelfe in his ſayd caſtle, defending his opinions manifoldly, contemning the keies of the churche and the Arbiſhops power.) We therefore cauſed the ſayde Syr Iohn cited, as is aforeſayd, to be openly with a loude voyce called by the cryer: and ſo being called, long looked for, and by no meanes appearing, we iudged him (as he was no leſſe worthy) obſtinate, and for puniſhment of his ſayd obſtinacye, we did then and there excommunicate him. And for ſo much as by the order of the premiſſes, and other euident tokens of hys doinges, we vnderſtand that the ſayde ſir Iohn for the defence of his errour doth fortify himſelfe, as is aforeſayd againſt the keyes of the Church, by pretence whereof, a vehement ſuſpition of hereſy and ſchiſme riſeth agaynſt him: We haue decreed if he may be apprehended, agayne perſonallye to cite him, or els as before, by an edict that he ſhould appeare before vs the Saterday next after the feaſt of Saint Mathew the Apoſtle and Euangeliſt next comming, to ſhew ſome reaſonable cauſe if he can, why we ſhoulde not proceede agaynſt him, to more greuous puniſhment, as an open hereticke, ſchiſmaticke and open enemy of the vniuerſall church. And perſonally to declare why he ſhould not be pronounced ſuch a one, or that the ayde of the ſecular power ſhoulde not be ſolemnely required agaynſt him. And further to aunſwere, do and receiue as touching the premiſſes, whatſoeuer iuſtice ſhal require. The which time being come, that is to ſay, the Saterday next after the feaſt of S. Mathew being the 24. day of September, ſir Rob. Morley knight Lieftenant of the tower of London appeared perſonally before vs, ſitting in the chapter houſe of the Churche of S. Paule at London, with our reuerent fellowe brethren and Lordes, Richard by the grace of God Biſhop of London, and Henry Byſhop of Wincheſter, and brought with him ſir Iohn Oldecaſtle Knight, and ſet him before vs (for a little before he was taken by the kinges ſeruauntes and caſt into the tower) vnto which ſir Iohn Oldcaſtle ſo perſonally preſent, we rehearſed all the order of the proces, as it is contayned in the actes of the of the daye before paſſed with good and modeſt wordes and gentle meanes. That is to ſay, howe he the ſaid ſir Iohn was detected and accuſed in the conuocation of the prelates and clergy of our ſayd prouince as is aforeſayd vpon the articles before rehearſed, and how he was cited & for hys contumacy excommunicate. And when we were come to that poynt, we offered our ſelues ready to abſolue him. Notwithſtanding, the ſayd ſir Iohn, not regarding our offer, ſayd, that he would willingly rehearſe before vs, and my ſayde fellowe brethren, the fayth which he held & affirmed. So he hauing his deſire & obteining licence, tooke out of his boſome a certayne Scedule indented, and there openly reade the contentes of the ſame, and deliuered the ſame Scedule vnto vs, and the Schedule of the articles, wherupon he was examined, which was as in forme folowing.

The L. Cobham caſt into the Tower.

The teres of the Crocodile.

Popiſh abſolution neglected.

✱ The catholicke fayth and confeſſion of the Lord Cobham.

I Iohn Oldcaſtle knight, Lord of Cobham, deſire to made manifeſt vnto all Chriſtians, & God to be taken to witneſſe, that I neuer thought otherwiſe or would thinke otherwiſe (by Gods helpe) then with a ſtedfaſt & vndoubted fayth to imbrace all thoſe his Sacramentes whiche he hath inſtituted for the vſe of his Church.

The Sacrament of the aultar.

Of penance.

Furthermore that I may the more playnly declare my mynde in theſe iiii. pointes of my fayth: Firſt of all I beleue the Sacramẽt of the aulter to be the body of Chriſt vnder ẏ forme of bread the very ſame body which was borne of his mother Mary, crucified for vs dead and buried, roſe againe the third day, ſitteth on the right hãd of his immortall father, now being a triumphant partaker with him of his eternall glory. Then as touchyng the Sacrament of penaunce this is my belief, that I doe thinke the correction of a ſinnefull lyfe to be moſt neceſſary for all ſuch as deſire to be ſaued and that they ought to take vpõ them ſuch repentaunce of their former lyfe by true confeſſion, vnfayned contrition, and lawfull ſatiſfaction, as the worde of God doth preſcribe vnto vs. Otherwiſe there will be no hope of ſaluation.

Of Images.

Thirdly, as touchyng images, this is my opiniõ, that I do iudge them no poynt of fayth, but brought into the worlde after the fayth of Chriſt by the ſufferaunce of the Church, & ſo growen in vſe that they might ſerue for a kalender for the lay people and ignorãt. By the beholdyng wherof they might the better call to remẽbraunce the godly examples & martyrdome of Chriſt and other holy men: but if any man do otherwiſe abuſe this repreſentatiõ, and geue the reuerence vnto thoſe Images, which is due vnto the holy men whom they repreſent, or rather vnto him whom the holy men themſelues owe all theyr honour, ſetting all theyr truſt and hope in them which ought to be referred vnto God: or if they be ſo affected toward the domb Images, that they do in any behalfe addict vnto them, eyther be more addicted vnto one Saint then another, in my minde they doe little differ from Idolatrye, grieuouſlye offending agaynſt God the author of all honor.

Of pilgrimages.

Laſt of all I am thus perſwaded that there be no inhabitants here in earth, but that we ſhall paſſe ſtraight either to life or puniſhment: for whoſoeuer doth ſo order his lyfe that he ſtumble at the commaundementes of God, whiche either he knoweth not, or he will not be taught them, it is but in vayne for him to look for ſaluation, although he ran ouer all the corners of the world. Contrarywiſe, he which obſerueth his commaundements cannot periſh, although in all his life time he walked no pilgrimage, neither to Rome, Caunterbury, nor Compoſtella, or to any other place, whither as the common people are accuſtomed to walke.

This Scedule with the articles therin conteined being read (as is aforeſaid) by the ſayd ſir Iohn: we with our felow brethren aforeſaid, & many other doctors & learned mẽ had conference vpon the ſame. And at the laſt by the counſell and conſent of them, we ſpake theſe wordes folowing vnto the ſayd ſir Iohn there preſent. Behold ſir Ioh. there are many good and catholicke things conteined in this ſcedule. But you haue this time to anſwere vnto other matters which ſauor of errors & hereſies. wherunto, by the cõtentes of this ſcedule, it is not fully anſwered, and therfore you muſt anſwere therunto & more plainely expreſſe & declare your fayth & opinions as touching thoſe poynts in ẏ ſame bill. That is to ſay, whither you hold, beleue and affirme, that in the ſacrament of the aultar, after the cõſecration rightly done, there remayneth materiall bread or not.

See whether theſe men picke quarelles where they neede not.

Item, whether you hold, beleue, and affirme, that it is neceſſary in the ſacrament of penaunce for a man to cõfeſſe his ſinnes vnto a prieſt appoynted by the church.

The which articles in this maner deliuered vnto him,

amongeſt

amongſt many other thinges he anſwered plainly, that he would make no other declaration or anſwere therunto thẽ was conteyned in the ſayd Scedule. wherupon we fauoring the ſayd ſir Iohn, with benigne & gentle meanes we ſpake vnto him in this manner. Sir Iohn take heed, for if you do not playnly anſwere to theſe things, which are obiected agaynſt you within a lawful time now graũted you by the Iudges, we may declare you to be an hereticke, but the ſaid ſir Iohn perſeuered as before, and would make no other anſwere. Conſequently notwithſtanding, we together with our ſayd felow brethren and others of our counſell took aduiſe, and by their counſell declared vnto the ſaid ſir Iohn Oldcaſtle, that the ſayd holy Church of Rome in this matter following the ſaying of bleſſed S. Auguſtine Ierome, Ambroſe and other holy men, hath determined, yͤ which determinations euery catholicke ought to obſerue. wherupon the ſaid ſir Iohn anſwered, yͭ he would beleue and obſerue whatſoeuer the holy Church determined, and whatſoeuer god would he ſhould obſerue and beleue. But that he would in no caſe affirme that our Lord the Pope, yͤ cardinals, Archbiſhops, and Biſhops or other prelates of the church haue any power to determine any ſuch matters. wherunto, we yet fauoring him, vnder hope of better aduiſement promiſed the ſayd ſir Iohn: that we would geue him in writing certaine determinatiõs vpon the matter aforeſaid. wherunto he ſhould more plainly anſwere, writtẽ in latin, and for his better vnderſtanding tranſlated into Engliſh: wherupon, we commaunded and hartily deſired him that agaynſt monday next folowing, he ſhould geue a playne & full anſwere, the which determinations we cauſed to be trãſlated the ſame day & to be deliuered vnto him the ſonday next folowing. The tenor of which determinations here folow in this maner.

Here is no mention made of the worde of God.

Wolues clothed in ſheeps ſkins.

The ſumme of the popiſh beliefe.

The fayth and determination of yͤ holy Churche vpon the holy Sacrament of the aultar is this. That after the conſecration done in the maſſe by yͤ prieſt, yͤ material bread ſhall be chaunged into the materiall bodye of Chriſt, & the materiall wine into yͤ materiall bloud of Chriſt. Therfore after the conſecratiõ there remayneth no more any ſubſtãce of bread and wine, which was there before. what doe you anſwere to this article?

Confeſſion.

Alſo the holy church hath determined that euery chriſtian dwelling vpon earth ought to confeſſe his ſinnes vnto a prieſt ordeined by the Church, if he may come vnto hym. How thinke you by this article?

Chriſt ordeined S. Peter his Vicare in earth, whoſe ſeat is in the Church of Rome, geuing and graunting the ſame authority whiche he gaue vnto Peter alſo to his ſucceſſours which are now called Popes of Rome, in whoſe power it is to ordeine and inſtitute prelates in particulare churches. As Archbiſhops, biſhops, curates, and other eccleſiaſtical orders, vnto whom the Chriſtian people ought obedience according to the traditiõ of the church of Rome. This is the determination of the holy church. what thinke you by this article?

The Popes ſupremacy.

Pilgrimage.

Beſides this the holy Church hath determined, that it is neceſſary for euery chriſtian to go on pilgrimage to holy places, & there ſpecially to worſhip the holy reliques of the Apoſtles, Martirs confeſſors, & all ſayntes, whoſoeuer the church of Rome hath allowed. what thinke you of this article?

Upon which monday being the 25. day of the ſayd moneth of September before vs and our felow brethrẽ aforeſayd, hauing alſo takẽ vnto vs our reuerẽd brother, Benedict by the grace of God, Biſhop of Bangor, & by our cõmaundement our counſellers and miniſters. Maſter Henry ware officiall of our court of Cant. Philip Morgan D. of both lawes, Howell Kiffin Doctor of yͤ decretals, Iohn Kempe and william Carlton Doctors of law, Ioh. witnã Thomas Palmer, Rob. wombewell, Iohn withe and Robert Chamberlayne, Richard Dotington & Thomas walden profeſſors of diuinity. Alſo Iames Cole, & I. Steuens our notaries appointed on this behalf. They all and euery one being ſworne vpon yͤ holy goſpell of god laying their handes vpon the booke that they ſhoulde geue theyr faythfull counſell in, and vpõ the maner aforeſayde, and in euery ſuch cauſe and to the whole world. By and by appered ſir Robert Morley Knight, Lieuetenant of the Tower of London, and brought with him the foreſayde Syr I. Oldcaſtle ſetting him before vs. Unto whom we gentlye and familiarly rehearſed the actes of the day before paſſed. And as before we tolde him that he both is and was excõmunicate, requiring and intreating him that he would deſire and receiue in due forme the abſolution of the Church. Unto whom the ſaid Syr Iohn then and there plainly anſwered, that in this behalfe he would require no abſolutiõ at our handes but onely of God. Then afterward by gentle and ſoft meanes we deſired and required him to make playne anſwere vnto the articles which were laid againſt him. And firſt of al, as touching the Sacrament of the aultar. To the which article, beſides other thinges he anſwered and ſayd thus: That as Chriſt being here in earth had in him both Godhead & manhoode. Notwithſtanding the Godhead was couered and inuiſible vnder the humanity, the which was manifeſt and viſible in him: ſo likewiſe in the ſacrament of the aultar there is the very body and very bread, bread which we do ſee, the body of Chriſt hidden vnder the ſame which we do not ſee. And playnly denyed, that the fayth as touching the ſaid Sacrament determined by the Romiſh church and holy doctors and ſent vnto him by vs in the ſayd Schedule, to be the determination of the holy Church. But if it be the determination of the Church he ſayd that it was done contrary vnto the ſcriptures, after the church was endowed, and that poyſon was poured into the Churche and not afore. Alſo as touching the Sacrament of penance and confeſſion, he playnly ſayd and affirmed thẽ and there: that if any man were in any greuous ſinne, out of the which he knew not how to riſe, it were expedient and good for him to go vnto ſome holy and diſcreet prieſt to take counſell of him. But that he ſhoulde confeſſe his ſinne to any proper Prieſt, or to any other although he might haue the vſe of him, it is not neceſſary to ſaluation, for ſo much as by only contrition ſuch ſinne can be wiped away, & the ſinner himſelfe purged. As concerning the worſhipping of the croſſe, he ſayd and affirmed that yͤ only body of Chriſt which did hange vpon the croſſe is to be worſhipped. For ſo much as that body alone was & is yͤ croſſe, which is to be worſhipped.

Conuenerunt in vnũ aduerſus dominum & Chriſtum eius. Pſal. 2.

The ſacrament both body and bread in diuers reſpectes.

How confeſſion is to be alowed.

What honour is to be done to the croſſe.

And being demaunded what honor he would do vnto the Image of the croſſe. He aunſwered by expreſſe wordes that he would only do it that honor that he would make it clean and lay it vp ſafe. As touching the power and authority of the keyes, the Archbiſhops, Biſhop, and other prelates, he ſayde that the Pope is very Antichriſt, that is the head: the Archbiſhops, Biſhops and other prelates to be his members, and the Friers to be his tayle. The whiche Pope, Archbiſhops and biſhops a man ought not to obey, but ſo far forth as they be followers of Chriſt & of Peter, in their life, maners & conuerſation, and that he is the ſucceſſor of Peter, whiche is beſt and pureſt in life & maners. Furthermore, yͤ ſaid ſir Iohn ſpreading his handes wyth a loude voyce, ſayd thus to thoſe whiche ſtoode about hym. Theſe men which iudge and would condemne me, wil ſeduce you all & themſelues, and wil lead you vnto hell, therfore take heed of them. when he had ſpoken thoſe wordes, we agayne as oftentimes before with lamentable countenaunce, ſpake vnto the ſaid ſir Iohn, exhorting him wyth as gentle wordes as we might that he would returne to yͤ vnity of the church, to beleue & hold that which the church of Rome doth beleue & hold. who expreſly aunſwered that he would not beleue or holde otherwiſe then he had before declared. wherefore, we perceiuing as it appeared by hym that we coulde not preuayle: at the laſt wyth bitterneſſe of hart, we proceeded to the pronouncing of a definitiue ſentence in this maner.

The pope is Antichriſt, the Byſhops are his members, and fryers his tayle.

The bolde talke of the L. Cobham.

¶In the name of God Amen: We Thom. by the permiſsion of God Archb. and humble miniſter of the holy Church of Cant. primate of all England, and Legate of the Apoſtolicke ſee, in a certayne cauſe or matter of hereſy vpon certeine articles, wherupon ſir Iohn Oldcaſtle knight, Lord Cobham, before vs in the laſt cõuocation of our Clergy of our prouince of Caunterbury holden in the Church of S. Paul in London after diligẽt inquiſition therupon made, was detected & accuſed, & by our ſaid prouince notoriouſly and openly defamed. At the requeſt of the whole Clergy aforeſayd therupon made vnto vs in the ſaid conuocatiõ: with all fauour poſsible that we might (God we take to witnes) lawfully proceding agaynſt him, following the footſteps and example of Chriſt which woulde not the death of a ſinner, but rather that he ſhould be conuerted and liue, we haue endeuoured by all wayes and meanes we might or could to reforme him, and rather reduce him to the vnity of the church: declaring vnto him what the holy vniuerſall Church of Rome doth teach, hold and determine in this behalfe. And albeit that we founde him wandring aſtraye from the Catholicke fayth, and ſo ſtubberne and ſtiffeneckedthat he would not confeſſe his error or cleare himſelfe thereof, to deteſt the ſame: Notwithſtanding we fauouring him with a fatherly affection, and hartily wiſhing and deſiring his preſeruation, prefixed him a certayne competent time to deliberate with himſelf, and if he would to repent and reforme himſelfe. And laſt of all, for ſo much as we perceiued him to be vnreaſonable: obſeruing chiefly thoſe thinges whiche by the lawe are required in this behalfe, with great ſorow and bitternes of hart, we proceeded to the pronouncing of the definitiue ſentence in this maner.

They cal them ſelues humble which rule ouer kinges, and exerciſe the tyranny of the world.

Folowing chriſtes footſteppes cleane contrary.

The vniuerſall church meaning by a figure the part for the whole.

They call light darknes, and darknes light.

Like will to like.

The name of Chriſt being called vpon ſetting him onely before our eyes. For ſo much as by actes enacted, ſignes exhibited, euidences and diuers tokens, beſides ſundry kinde of proofes, we find the ſaid Sir Iohn to be, & haue ben an heretick, and a folower of heretickes in the fayth and obſeruation of the ſacred vniuerſall Church of Rome, and ſpecially as touching the ſacraments of the Euchariſt and of penaunce. And that as the ſonne of iniquitye and darckeneſſe he hath ſo hardened his hart, that he will not vnderſtand the voyce of his ſhepheard, neither will be allured with his monitions, or conuerted with any fayre ſpeech. Hauing firſt of al ſearched and ſought out, and diligently conſidering the merites of the cauſe aforeſayd, and of the ſayd Sir Iohn, his deſertes and faultes aggrauated through his damnable obſtinacy: Not willing that he that is wicked, ſhould become more wicked, & infect other with his contagion, by the counſell and conſent of the reuerent men of profound wiſedome and diſcretion, our brethren the Lordes Richard biſhop of London, Henry Byſhop of Wincheſter, and Benedict Biſhop of Bangor, and alſo of many other doctours of Deuinity, the decretals and ciuill law, and of many other religious and learned perſons our aſsiſtantes, we haue iudged & declared ſententiallye, and definitiuely condemned the ſayde Syr Iohn Oldecaſtle knight, Lord Cobham, being conuict in and vpon that moſt deteſtable guilt, not willing penitently to returne vnto the vnity of the Church, and in thoſe things which the ſacred vniuerſall Church of Rome doth holde, teach, determine, & ſhew forth. And ſpecially as one erring in the articles aboue written, leauing him from henceforth as an heretick vnto the ſecular iudgement.

So did the Phariſies deliuer Chriſt vnto Pilate.

Moreouer we haue excommunicated, and by theſe writinges do pronounce and excommunicate him as an hereticke, and all other which from henceforth in fauour of his errour, ſhall receiue, defend, or geue him counſell or fauour, or helpe him in this behalfe, as fauourers, defenders, and receiuers of heretickes. And to the intent that theſe premiſes may be knowne vnto all faythfull Chriſtians, we charge and commaund you, that by your ſentence definitiue, you do cauſe the Curates which are vnder you, with a loud and audible voyce in their Churches, when as moſte people is preſent, in theyr mother tongue, through all your Cittyes and dioces to publiſh and declare the ſayd Sir Iohn Oldcaſtle as is before ſayd, to be by vs condemned as an hereticke, ſchimaticke, & one erring in the articles aboue ſayde: and all other which from henceforth in fauour of his errours ſhall receiue or defend hym, geuing him any counſell, comfort, or fauour in this behalfe, to be excommunicate as receiuers, fauorers, and defenders of heretiks. As is more effectually cōteined in the proces. That by ſuch meanes the erroneous opinions of the people (which peraduenture hath otherwiſe conceiued the matter) by thoſe declarations of the trueth, how the matter is, may be cut of. The which thing alſo we will and commaund to be written and ſignified by you, word for word, vnto all our fellow brethren: that they all may manifeſt, publiſh, and declare throughout all theyr cittyes and dioces, the maner and forme of this our proces, and alſo the ſentence by vs geuen, and all other ſingular, the contentes in the ſame. And likewiſe cauſe it to be publiſhed by their Curates whiche are vnder them as touching the day of the receipt of theſe preſents, & what you haue done in the premiſſes, how you and they haue executed this our commaundement. We will that you and they duely and diſtinctly certify vs the buſines being done, by you and theyr letters patentes, according to this tenour. Dated in our Manor of Maidſtone, the 10. of October. an. 1413. and in the 18. yeare of our tranſlation.

Syr Rob. Morley.
The L. Cobham returned agayne to the Tower.

Thus haue you here the iudiciall proces of the biſhops agaynſt this moſt noble chriſten knight, deſcribed by their owne letters and ſtile. After all this, the ſentence of death being geuen, the Lord Cobham was ſent away, Syr Robert Morley carying him agayne vnto the Tower, where as after he had remayned a certaine ſpace, in the night ſeaſon, (it is not known by what meanes) he eſcaped out and fled into Wales, where as he continued by the ſpace of 4. yeares.

¶ A defence of the Lord Cobham, agaynſt Nich. Harpſfield, ſet out vnder the name of Alanus Copus.

Alanus Copus Anglus, with his ſixe Dialogues.
Eroſtratus to get him a fame ſet Dianas temple on fire.

AS I was entring into this ſtory of the Lord Cobham, after the tractation of all the former hiſtoryes, hetherto paſſed, hauing next to ſet vpon this preſent matter, luckely, and as God woulde, in ſuch oportunity of ſeaſon, as may ſeeme, God to worke himſelfe for defence of his Sayntes: commeth to my handes a certayne booke of new found dialogues, compiled in latine by Nich. Harpſfield, ſet out by Alanus Copus, an engliſh man, a perſō to me vnknowen, & obſcure hetherto vnto yͤ world, but now to purchaſe himſelfe a name with Eroſtratus, or with the ſonnes of Enachim, commeth out not with his fiue egges, but with his fyre rayling dialogues. In the which dialogues yͤ ſayd Alanus Copus Anglus (whether he vnder the armour of other, or other vnder the title of his name, I knowe not, nor paſſe not) vncurteouſly behauing himſelfe, intemperately abuſing his time, ſtudy, and pen, forgetting himſelf, neglecting all reſpect of honeſty, and milde modeſty, neither dreading the ſtroke of God, nor paſſing for ſhame, neither fauoring the liuing, nor ſparing the dead, who being aliue as they neuer offended him, ſo now cannot aunſwere for thēſelues being gone: thus prouoking both God and man agaynſt him, after an vnſemely ſort, and with a foule mouth, and a ſtincking breath, rageth and fareth agaynſt deade mens aſhes, taking now yͤ ſpoyle of theyr good name, after theyr bodyes lye ſlayne in the field. His gall and choler being ſo bitter agaynſt them, that he cannot abide any memory after them to remayne vpon the earth. In ſo much that for the hatred of them, he ſpurneth alſo agaynſt me, and fleeth in my face, for that in my Actes and Monumentes, deſcribing the hiſtory of the Churche, I would ſay any thing in the fauour of them, whome the Romiſh Catholickes haue ſo vnmercifully put to death. The anſwere to whoſe book although it woulde require a ſeuerall tractation by it ſelfe (as if Chriſt graunt ſpace and leyſure, hereafter it ſhall not be forgotten) yet becauſe ſuch oportunity of the booke is offered to me at this preſent comming now to the matter of the Lord Cobham, Sir Roger Acton & other, with whom he firſt beginneth to quarell, it ſhall be requiſite a little by the way to cope with this Cope, whatſoeuer he be, ſomuch as trueth ſhall geue me for theyr defence to ſay ſomething. And here to cut of all the offalles of his raylinge talke and vnhoneſt rebukes, whiche I leaue to ſcoldes and men of his profeſſion agaynſt they liſte to brawle, let vs briefly and quietly conſider the matter, for diſcuſſing of yͤ truth. wherin firſt I ſhall deſire the Reader with equality and indifferency to heare both the partes to ſpeake, as well what the Martyrs hence gone and ſlayne could ſay for themſelues, if they were preſent, as alſo what this man here doth obiect againſt them now being gone. And ſo according to the ſame to iudge both vpon them as they deſerue, and of me as they ſhall pleaſe.

Alanus Copus Anglus, intemperately abuſeth hys penne.

Copus a barker agaynſt dead me...

Anſwere to Alanus Copus.

Indifferency of the reader craued.

Whether the L. Cobham be to be iudged a traytor or a martyr.

Now to the ſcope of maiſter Copes matter, which is this, whether this foreſayd ſir Iohn Oldcaſtle, L. Cobham (firſt to beginne with him) is rather to be cōmēded for a Martyr, or to be reproued for a traytor. And whether that I in writing of him and of ſir Roger Acton, wyth other moe in my former edition, haue delt fraudulently, and corruptly in cōmending thē in theſe Acts & Monumentes or no. Touching the diſcuſſion whereof, firſt I truſt yͭ gētle M. Cope my frend, neither will, nor wel cā deny any part of all yͭ hetherto, touching yͤ ſtory of yͤ L. Cobham hath ben premiſed, who yet al this while was neither traitor to his country, nor rebell to his prince, as by the courſe of his hyſtory hetherto to the reader may well vnderſtād. Firſt in yͤ time of king Henry the fourth, he was ſent ouer to Frāce to the Duke of Orlyance, he did obey. Afterward K. Henry the fift, cōming to the crowne, he was of him likewiſe well liked and fauored, vntill the time that Tho. Arundel with his clergy, cōplayning to the king, made bate betwene thē. Then the Lord Cobham being cited by the Archbyſhoppe, at his citation, woulde not appeare. But ſent for by the king, he obeied and came. Being come, what lowly ſubiection he ſhewed there to the king the pag. 558. declareth. After he yelded an obedient cōfeſſiō of his fayth, it would not be receiued. Then did he appeale to the biſhoppe of Rome, for the which the king tooke great diſpleaſure with him, & ſo was he repealed by the king to the Archb. and committed to the tower, which alſo he did obey. Frō thēce he was brought to his examination once or twiſe: there like a conſtant martyr and witneſſe of the trueth, he ſtood to his confeſſion and that vnto the very ſentence of death defined agaynſt him. If this be not the effect of a true Martyr, let Alanus Copus ſay what he wil, or what he can. This I ſay, at leaſt I doubt, whether the ſayd Alanus Copus Anglus, put to the like triall himſelfe, would venter ſo narrow a poynt of martirdome for his religion, as this chriſtian knight did for his. Certes it hath not yet appeared.

The L. Cobham true and obedient to Kyng Henry 4.
The Lorde Cobham in the begynning fauoured of kyng Henry the 5.
The kynges diſpleaſure procured agaynſt the L. Cobham by popiſh prelates.

The L. Cobham obedient to the kyng.
The L. Cobham conſtāt in his fayth, to the ſentence of death.

To proceed after this deadly ſentēce, was thus awarded agaynſt him, the ſayd Lord Cobhā was thē returneth agayne vnto the tower, which he with patience and meekenes did alſo obey: from the which tower if he afterward by the Lordes prouidēce did eſcape, whether hath Alanus Copus, herein more to prayſe God for offring to him the benefite, or to blame the man for taking that which was offred. What Catholicke in all Louen hauing his houſe ouer hys head on fire, will not be glad to haue if he might, yͤ dore ſet open to flee the perill? or els why did Alanus Copus flye hys country hauing ſo litle need, if this mā, bleding almoſt vnder the butchers axe, might not enioy ſo great an offer of ſo lucky deliueraunce?

The L. Cobham worthy the name of a Martyr. The name of a martyr what it ſignifieth.

Thus hitherto I truſt, the cauſe of the Lord Cobham, ſtandeth firme and ſtrong agaynſt all daūger of iuſt reprehenſion. who being (as ye haue heard) ſo faythfull and obedient to God: ſo ſubmiſſe to his king: ſo ſoūd in hys doctrine: ſo conſtant in his cauſe: ſo afflicted for the trueth: ſo ready & prepared to death: as we haue ſufficiently declared not out of vncertayne & doubtful chronicles, but out of the true originals & inſtrumēts remaining in aūcient records: what lacketh now, or what ſhould let to the contrary, but that he declaring himſelf ſuch a martyr, that is a witnes to the verity (for the which alſo at laſt he ſuffred ẏ fire) may therfore worthily be crowned with ẏ title of a martir which is in Greek as much as a witnes bearer.

Calumnis.

Syr Roger Actō knight M. Iohn Brown Eſquire. Iohn Beuerley preacher.

But here nowe ſteppeth in Dame ἡ διαβόλη, with her coſē ſcold Alecto. &c. who neither learning to hold her toūg nor yet to ſpeak wel, muſt needs find here a knot in a ruſh and beginning now to quarrell inferreth thus: But after (ſayth he) that the Lord Cobham was eſcaped out of the tower, his felowes and confederates connēted themſelues together, ſeditiouſly agaynſt ẏ king & againſt their coūtry: A great crime no doubt M. Cope, if it be true, ſo if it be not true, the greter blame returneth vnto your ſelf, ſo to enter this action of ſuch ſlaunder, vnles the ground wherupō ye ſtand, be ſure. Firſt what felowes of ẏ L. Cobhā were theſe you meane of? Sir Roger Acton ye ſay, maiſter Brown & Iohn Beuerley, with 36. other hanged and burned in the ſayd field of S. Giles. A marueilous matter, ẏ ſuch a great multitude of 20000. ſpecified in ſtory, ſhoulde riſe againſt ẏ king, & yet but 3. perſons only known and named. Thē to proceed further, I would aſke of maiſter Cope what was the end of this conſpiracy, to rebell againſt the king, to deſtroy their country, and to ſubuert the Chriſtian fayth, for ſo purporteth the ſtory. As like true the one as the other. For euen as it is like, that they being Turkes went about to deſtroy the fayth of Chriſt wherin they died, and to ſubuert their country wherin they were bred: euen ſo like it is that they went about to deſtroy the king, whom God and their conſcience taught to obey.

Rob. Fabian proued with an vntruth.

An vntruth in Alanus Copus.

Yet further proceedeth this fumiſh promoter in his accuſation, & ſayth moreouer: that theſe foreſayd felowes and adherentes of the Lord Cobham, were in the field aſſēbled and there incamped in a great number agaynſt the king & how is this proued? by Robert Fabian which appeareth to be as true, as that which in the ſayde Robert Fabian followeth, in the ſame place where he affirmeth that Io. Cledon, and Richard Turmin, were burnt in the ſame yere, being 1413. when in deede by the true Regiſters, they were not burnt before the yere of our lord, 1415. But what wil maiſter Cope ſay, if the originall copy of the inditemēt of theſe pretenſed conſpirators doe teſtify, that they were not there aſſembled or preſent in the field as your accuſation pretendeth? But they purpoſed (will you ſay) and intended to come. The purpoſe and intent of a mans mind is hard for you and me to iudge, where as no fact appeareth. But geue their intēt was ſo to come: Yet might they not come to thoſe thickets neare to the fielde of Saint Giles, hauing Beuerley theyr Preacher with them (as ye ſay, your ſelf) as well to pray & to preach in that woody place, as wel as to fight? Is this ſuch a ſtraunge thing in ẏ church of Chriſt, in time of perſecution, for chriſtians to reſort into deſolate woods, and ſecrete thickets, from the ſight of enemies, when they would aſſemble in praying and hearing the word of God? In Queene Maryes tyme was not the ſame coulour of treaſon obiected agaynſt George Egle and other moe, for frequenting and vſing into backſides and fields, and ſuffered for that, whereof he was innocent & guiltleſſe? Did not Adam Damlipe dye in like caſe of treaſon, for hauing a French crowne geuen him, at his departure out of Rome, by Cardinal Poole? what can not cankred calumnia inuēt, when ſhe is diſpoſed to cauill? It was not the Cardinals crowne that made him a traytour, but it was the hatred of his preaching, that ſtyrred vp the accuſer.

Praying and preaching in backe corners a common thyng in time of perſecution.

Ill will taketh all thinges to worſt meaning.

In Fraunce what aſſemblyes haue there beene in late yeares of good and innocent chriſtiās, congregating together in backfieldes & couertes in great routes to heare the preaching of Gods holy word, & to pray: yea and not without their weapon alſo, for their owne ſafegard, & yet neuer intēded nor minded any rebelliō againſt their king. wherfore, in caſes of Religion it may & doth happē many times that ſuch congregations may meete without intent of any treaſon ment. But howſoeuer the intent and purpoſe was of theſe fore ſaid cōfederats of the Lord Cobham, whether to come, or what to do (ſeing this is playne by recordes, as is aforeſaid, that they were not yet come vnto ẏ place) how will M. Cope now iuſtify his wordes, ſo confidently affirming, that they were there aſſembled ſeditiouſly together in the field of S. Giles agaynſt the king? And marke here I beſech thee (gentle Reader) how vnlikely and vntidely the poynts of this tale are tide and hang together (I will not ſay without all ſubſtaunce of truth, but without all faſhion of a cleanly lye) wherin theſe accuſers in this matter ſeeme to me, to lacke ſome part of Simons Arte, in conueiing their narration ſo vnartificiallye. Firſt (ſay they) the king was come firſt with his garriſon, vnto the field of S. Giles. And then after the king was there incamped, cōſequently the fellowes of the Lord Cobham (the Captayne being away) came & were aſſembled in the ſaid field where the king was, againſt the king: & yet not knowing of the king, to the number of xx. thouſand: and yet neuer a ſtroak in that field geuen. And furthermore of all this xx. thouſād aforeſayd, neuer a mans name knowne, but onely three, to witte, ſir Roger Acton, ſir Iohn Browne, and Iohn Beuerley, a preacher. How this gear is clamperd together let the reader iudge, and beleue as he ſeeth cauſe.

An other vntruth in Alanus Copus.

An vnlikely tale.

The L. Cobham no traytor.

Alanus Copus pag. 833. lin. 11.

But geue all this to be true, although by no demōſtration it can be proued, yet by the Popes diſpenſation (which in this earth is almoſt omnipotent) be it graunted: that after the king had take S. Giles field before, the cōpanions of the Lord Cobham afterward comming and aſſembling in the thickets neare to the ſayd field, to fight ſeditiouſly agaynſt the king, agaynſt their country, & agaynſt the fayth of Chriſt, to the nūber of xx. thouſand, where no ſtroke being geuen, ſo many were takē, that al ẏ priſons of London were full, and yet neuer a mans name knowen of all thys multitude, but onely three: All this I ſay, being imagined to be true, thē followeth to be demaūded of M. Cope, whether the Lord Cobham was here preſent with this company in the field, or not? Not, in perſon (ſaith Cope) but with his mind and with his counſell he was preſent, and addeth this reaſon, ſaying: And therfore he being brought agayn, after his eſcape, was conuict both of treaſon and hereſye, & therfore ſuſteining a double puniſhmēt was both hanged and burnt for the ſame. &c. And how is al this proued? By Robert Fabian, he ſayth, whereunto briefly I aunſwere, that Rob. Fabian in that place maketh no ſuch mention of the Lord Cobham aſſiſting or conſenting to them either in mind or in counſell. His wordes be theſe: That certaine adherentes of Sir Iohn Oldcaſtle aſſembled in the fielde neare to S. Giles, in great number: of whom was ſir Roger Acton, ſir Iohn Browne, and Iohn Beuerley. The which with 36. mo in number were after conuict of hereſy and treaſon and for the ſame were hanged and burnt, within the ſayd field of S. Gyles. &c. Thus much in Fabian touching the commotion & condemnation of theſe mē: but that the Lorde Cobham, was there preſent with thē in any parte, either of conſent or counſell, as Alanus Copus Anglus pretendeth, that is not found in Fabian, but is added of his liberall cornu copiæ, wherof he is ſo copious and plentifull, that he may keep an open ſhop of ſuch vnwrittē vntruethes, whiche he maye aforde verye good cheape I thinke, being ſuch a plentifull artificer.

Alanus Copus taken with an other vntruth.

Ex ſtatuto. Reg. Hen. 5. an... cap. 7.

But here will bee obiected agaynſt mee the wordes of the ſtatute made the ſeconde yeare of king Henry the fifte wherupon this aduerſary triumphing with no litle glory ὥσπερ τὴν ὀλυμπιάδα ἀνελόμενος, thinketh himſelfe to haue double vauntage againſt me: firſt in prouinge theſe foreſayd complices & adherents of the Lord Cobham, to haue made inſurrection agaynſt the king, and ſo to be traytors. Secondly, in conuicting that to be vntrue, where as in my former booke of Actes and Monumentes I doe reporte: how that after the death of ſir Roger Acton of Browne, & Beuerley, a Parliament was holden at Leiceſter, where a ſtatute was made to this effect: that all and ſingular, ſuche as wer of wickliffes learning, if they would not geue ouer (as in caſe of felony and other treſpaſſes, looſing all theyr goodes to the king) ſhoulde ſuffer death in two manner of kinds, that is, they ſhould firſt be hanged for treaſō againſt the king, and then be burned for hereſy agaynſt God. &c.

The former edition of Acts and Mon. pag. 175.

Wherupon, remaineth now in examining this obiectiō and aunſwering to the ſame, that I purge both them of treaſon, and my ſelfe of vntruth, ſo farre as truth and fidelity in Gods cauſe ſhal aſſiſt me herin. Albeit in beginning firſt my hiſtory of Eccleſiaſtical matters, wherin I hauing nothing to do with abatement of cauſes iudiciall, but onely folowing the ſimple narration of things done and executed: neuer ſuſpected that euer any would be ſo captious with me, or ſo niſe noſed, as to preſſe me with ſuch narrow points of the law, in trying and diſcuſſing euery cauſe and matter ſo exactly, & ſtraining (as ye woulde ſay) the bowels of the ſtatute lawe ſo rigorouſly agaynſt me. Yet for ſo much as I am therunto conſtrained now by this aduerſary, I will firſt lay open all the whole ſtatute made yͤ ſecond yeare of this foreſayd Henry the fift, after the death of the foreſayd ſir Roger Acton and his fellowes, at the Parliament holden at Leyceſter. an. 1415. That done, I will note vpon the wordes therof, ſo as by the circumſtaunces of the ſame may appeare what is to be cōcluded, either for the defence of theyr innocencye, or for the accuſation of this aduerſary. The tenour and purport of the ſtatute here vnder enſueth.

¶ The wordes and contentes of the ſtatute made an. 2. Henrici. 5. cap. 7.

The preface or preamble of the ſtatute.

(A) (B) (C) (D) (E)

Forasmuch as great (A) rumors, congregations, and inſurrections here in England by diuers of yͤ king his maieſties leege people haue bene made here of late, as well by thoſe which were of the ſect of hereſy called Lolardy, as by others of their cōfederatiō, excitatiōs, & abetmēt: to yͤ intēt (B) to adnulle & ſubuert yͤ chriſtian fayth & the law of God within the ſame Realme, as alſo to (C) deſtroy our soueraigne Lord the king himſelfe and (D) all maner of eſtates of the ſame his Realme, as well ſpirituall as temporall (E) and alſo all maner pollicy, & the lawes of the land. Finally the ſame our Lord the king, to the honor of God, in conſeruation and fortification of the Chriſtian fayth, & alſo in ſaluation of his royall eſtate, & of the eſtate of all his realme, willing to prouide a more open & more due puniſhmēt agaynſt the malice of ſuch heretickes & Lolardes, then hath bene had or vſed in that caſe heretofore, ſo that for the feare of the ſame lawes, and puniſhment, ſuch hereſyes and Lolardies may the rather ceaſe in time to come:

Here it appeareth at whoſe ſute and ſupplication this ſtatute was ſet forward as alſo the cauſe why.

Aſtiterūt reges & Phariſæi.

By the aduiſe and aſſēt aforeſayd, & at the prayer of the ſayd commons hath ordeined & eſtabliſhed: that eſpecially the Chaūcellor, the Treaſurer, the Iuſtices of the one bēch and of the other, Iuſtices of Aſſiſe, Iuſtices of peace, Shiriffes, Maiors, and Bailiffes of Cityes and Townes, and all other officers hauing the gouernement of people either now preſent or which for the time ſhalbe, do make an othe in taking of their charge and offices, to extend their whole payne and diligence to put out, to do to put out, ceaſe & deſtroy, all maner of hereſyes and errors commonly called Lolardies within the places in which they exerciſe their charges and offices, from time to time, with all their power: and that they aſſiſt, fauor, and maintaine the ordinaries and their commiſſaries ſo often as they or any of them ſhal be therunto required by the ſaid ordinaries or their cōmiſſaryes: So that the ſayd officers and miniſters, when they trauell or ride to areſt any Lolard or to make any aſſiſtēce at the (F) inſtance and requeſt of the ordinaries or their cōmiſſaryes, by vertue of this ſtatute: that yͤ ſame ordinaries & commiſſaryes do (G) pay for their coſts reaſonably. And that the ſeruices of the king (vnto whō the officers be firſt ſworne) be preferred before al other ſtatutes for the liberty of holy Church & the miniſters of the ſame: And eſpecially for the correction and puniſhment of hereticks & Lolards, made before theſe dayes & not repealed, but being in theyr force. And alſo that all perſons conuict of hereſy of whatſoeuer eſtate, condition or degree they be, by the ſayd ordinaries or their cōmiſſaries left vnto the ſecular power according to the lawes of holy Church, ſhall leeſe & forfayte all theyr lands and tenements, which they haue in fee ſimple in maner and forme as followeth: That is to ſay, that the king ſhall haue all the landes & tenementes, which the ſayd conuictes haue in fee ſimple & which be immediatlye holden of him, as forfayted: And that the other Lordes of whom the lands & tenements of ſuch conuictes be holden immediatly, after that the king is therof ſeiſed & anſwered of the (H) yeare, day, & waſt: ſhall haue lyuery therof out of the hands of the king of the landes & tenements aforeſayde ſo of them holden, as hath bene vſed in caſe of attaynder of felonies, except the lands and tenements, which be holden of the ordinaries or their commiſſaries, before whom anye ſuch empeached of hereſye be conuict, (I) which landes and tenements ſhall wholy remaine to the king as forfeit: And moreouer, that all the goodes and cattels of ſuch conuicted, be forfayt to our right ſoueraigne Lord the king, ſo that no perſon conuict of hereſye & left vnto the ſecular power (according to the lawes of holy Church) do forfeit his landes before that he be dead. And if any ſuch perſon ſo conuicted be enfeoffed, whether it be by fine, or by deede, or without deed, in landes and tenements, rentes, or ſeruices, in fee or otherwiſe in whatſoeuer maner, or haue any other poſſeſſions or cattels by gift or graunt of any perſon or perſons, to the vſe of any other then only to the vſe of ſuch conuicts: That the ſame landes, tenementes, rentes, nor ſeruices, nor other ſuch poſſeſſions nor cattelles ſhall not be forfeite vnto our ſoueraigne Lord the king in no maner wiſe.

(F) (G) (H) (I)

And moreouer, that the Iuſtices of the kinges bench, the Iuſtices of peace, & Iuſtices of Aſſiſe, haue full power to inquire of all ſuch, which hold any errors or hereſies, as Lolards and who be their mayntayners, receiuers, fautors, and ſuſteiners, common writers of ſuch bookes, as well of their ſermons as ſcholes, conuenticles, congregations and confederacies, & that this clauſe be put in the cōmiſſions of the Iuſtices of peace. And if any perſons be indited of any of the points aboue ſaid, that the ſayd Iuſtices haue power to award agaynſt them a Capias, and that the Shriffe be bound to areſt yͤ perſon or perſons ſo indited as ſoone as he can finde them, either by himſelfe or by his officers. And for ſo much as the cogniſance of hereſies, errors, or Lolardies, appertain to the Iudges of holy church, and not vnto the ſecular Iudges, that ſuch perſons indited (K) be deliuered vnto the Ordinaries of the places, or to theyr Commiſſaryes by Indentures betwene them to be made, within x. dayes after their areſt, or ſooner if it may be done, to be therof acquited or conuict by the lawes of holy church in caſe ſuch perſōs be not indited of any other thing, the cogniſaunce wherof appertayneth to the Iudges & ſecular officers, in which caſe after they ſhalbe acquited or deliuered before yͤ ſecular iudges of ſuch thinges as apperteineth to yͤ ſecular Iudges, they ſhalbe ſent in ſafe cuſtody vnto yͤ ſaid Ordinaries or their commiſſaries, & to thē to be deliuered by Indentures as is aforeſayd, to be acquited or cōuicted of the ſame hereſyes, errors and Lolardies, as is aforeſaid, according to the lawes of holy church, & that within the terme aboueſayde. Prouided, that the ſaide indightments be not taken in euidence (L) but onely for information before the Iudges ſpirituall, agaynſt ſuch perſons indighted: but that yͤ Ordinaries begin their proces againſt ſuch perſōs indited, in the ſame maner, as though no ſuch indgement were, hauing no regard to ſuch inditementes. And if any be indited of hereſy, error, or Lolardy, and takē by yͤ Shiriffe or any other officer of the king, he may be let to mayneprise within the ſayde x. dayes, by good ſurety for whō the ſaid Shriffes or other officers wil anſwer, ſo that the perſon ſo indighted be readye to be deliuered vnto the ſayd Ordinaries, or to their Commiſſaryes, before the end of the tenth day aboue recited, if he may be any meanes for ſicknes. And that euery Ordinary haue ſufficiēt Commiſſaries or Commiſſary, abiding in euery Countye in place notable, ſo that if any ſuch perſon indited be taken, that the ſayd Commiſſaryes or Commiſſary may be warned in the notable place of his abiding, by the Shiriffe or any of hys officers to come vnto the Kinges Gayle within the ſayd Countye, there to receiue the ſame perſon ſo indighted by Indenture as is aforeſayd: And that in the Iuqueſtes in this caſe takē, the Shiriffes and other officers vnto whom it apperteineth, do impanell good and ſufficient perſōs not ſuſpected nor procured, that is to ſay, ſuche as haue at the leaſt euery one of thē that ſhal be ſo impanelled in ſuch inqueſtes, within the Realme, a hundred ſhyllinges by the yere of lands, tenements, or of rent, vpon payne to leeſe to the kings vſe xx. poūd. And that thoſe which ſhalbe impanelled vpon ſuch enqueſtes at ſeſſions and gayles, haue euery one of them to the value of xl. ſhillings by the yeare. And if any ſuch perſon areſted, whether it be by the Ordinaries or the officers of the king, (M) either eſcape or breake priſon before he be therof acquit before the Ordinary: that then all his goods and cattelles, which he had at the day of ſuch areſt, ſhall be forfeite to the king: And his landes and tenementes which he had the ſame day, be ſeiſed alſo into the kings handes, and that the king haue the profites therof from the ſame day vntill he render himſelfe to the ſayde priſon from whence he eſcaped. And that the aforeſaid Iuſtices haue full power to enquire of all ſuche eſcapes and breaking of priſons, and alſo of the lands tenements goods and cattels of ſuch perſons indighted. Prouided, that if any ſuch perſon endighted, doe not returne vnto the ſayde priſon, and dyeth (not being conuict) that then it ſhall bee lawfull for his heyres, to enter into the landes and tenements of his or their aūceſter without any other ſute made vnto the king for this cauſe. And that all thoſe which haue liberties or franchiſes royall in England, as the coūty of Cheſter, the county and liberty of Durham and other like: And alſo al the Lordes which haue iuriſdictions and franchiſes royall in wales where the kings writs do not run, haue like power to execute and put in execution in al pointes, theſe articles by them or by their officers in like maner as doe the Iuſtices and other the kinges officers aboue declared.

(K) (L) (M)

¶ Notes touching the ſtatute prefixed.

Thus hauing recited the wordes of the ſtatute, nowe let

Notes vpon the ſtatute aforeſaide.

Prefaces before ſtatutes not to be regarded in triall of truth.

Statut. an.2 Hen.5. cap. 5.

let vs conſider the reaſons & obiections of this aduerſary, who grounding peraduenture vpon ẏ preface or preamble of this foreſaid ſtatute: will proue thereby the L. Cobham, and Sir Roger Acton, with the reſt of their abettours, to haue bin traitors to their king and their countrey. Wherunto I anſwere, firſt in generall, that although the face or preface prefixed before the ſtatute, may ſhew and declare ẏ cauſe & occaſion originall why the ſtatute was made: yet the making of the ſtatute importeth no neceſſary probatiō of the preface alwaies to be true that goeth before, which being but a colour to induce the making therof: geueth no force materiall therunto, nor is any neceſſary part of ẏ body of the ſaid ſtatute. But onely adhereth as a declaration of the circumſtance therof, and ſometime is cleane omitted and differeth much from the ſubſtance of the ſame. For as ſtatutes in ciuile policie moſt commonly do tend to a publike end & are generall: ſo prefaces before ſtatutes, which moſt commonly declare the cauſe or beginning therof, are priuate: and do ſtand only but vpō particular facts, which either of ill will & diſpleaſure may be ſuggeſted, or by colour may be exaggerated, or for feare may be deceiued, at leaſt ſuſpected, as many ſuſpicions do oftimes riſe in princes heads, through falſe ſurmiſes, & malicious cōplaints of certaine euill diſpoſed about them, wherby many cruell lawes riſing vpon a falſe ground, are promulgate to ẏ ruine of much innocēt bloud. Example wherof we haue not onely in this preſent ſtatute, an.2.Reg. Hen.5. but alſo in the like ſtatute, commonly called the ſtatute Ex officio vel de comburendo, made by this kings father and predeceſſour, an.2.Henr.4.cap.5. In the preface of which bloudy ſtatute, is contained an other like cōplaint of the Prelates & clergie, not ſo hainous, as alſo moſt ſhamefully falſe & vntrue againſt the poore Lollards, as by the wordes of the complaint may appeare, beginning: Excellentiſsimo & Gratioſiſ. principi, &c. Wherin, moſt falſely they ſlaunder and miſreport the true ſeruaunts of Chriſt to be Lollardes, heretiques, ſubuerters of the common wealth, deſtroiers of the Chriſtian faith, enemies to all good lawes, and to the Church of Chriſt. The wordes of which ſtatute proceeding much after ẏ like courſe as doth this preſent ſtatute, may eaſely bewray the vntruth and falſe ſurmiſe therof, if thou pleaſe (gentle reader) to marke and conferre the wordes according as they are there to be read and ſeene, as followeth: Conuenticulas & confederationes faciunt, ſcholas tenent & exercent, libros conficiunt atque ſcribunt, populum nequiter inſtruunt & informant, & ad ſeditionem ſeu inſurrectionem excitant, quantum poſſunt, & magnas diſſentiones in populo faciunt, & alia diuerſa enormia auditui horrenda in dies perpetrant, in fidei cathol. & eccleſiæ ſubuerſionem, diuinique cultus diminutionem, ac etiam deſtructionem ſtatus, iurium, & libertatum dictæ eccleſiæ Anglic. And after a few wordes: Ad omnem iuris, & rationis ordinem atque regimen, penitus deſtruendum, &c. He that is or ſhall be acquainted with old hyſtories, and with the vſuall practiſes of Sathan the old enemie of Chriſt, from the firſt beginning of the primitiue Church vnto this preſent time, ſhall ſee this to be no newes, but a common and (as ye would ſay) a quotidian feuer among Chriſtes children, to be vexed with falſe accuſations, and cruell ſlaunders.

The preface before the ſtatute *De cōburēdo*

Ex vetuſtis inſtrumētis.

Falſe accuſatiō no newes in Chriſtes church.

Example of Nemeſion Martir. pag. 62.

Nemeſion the Egyptian and true Martyr of Chriſt, was he not firſt accuſed to be a felon? And when that could not be proued, he was condēned at the ſame iudgemēt for a Chriſtiā: and therfore being caſt into bands, was ſcourged, by the commandement of the Preſident double to the other felons: & at length was burned with ẏ theeues, although he neuer was found theef nor felon vide page. 62.

Example of Cyprian. pag. 69.

Againſt Cyprian in like ſort it was ſlaunderouſly obiected by Galenus Maximus proconſull: Quòd diu ſacrilega mente vixerit, & nephariæ ſibi conſpirationis homines adiunxerit. That he had long continued with a minde full of ſacrilege, and that he had gathered vnto him men of wicked conſpiracie, page. 69.

Example of Iuſtine the Martyr. Example of Cornelius Biſh. of Rōe pag. 65.

So Iuſtinus martyr, what falſe and criminous accuſations ſuffered he by Creſcens? Cornelius Byſhop of Rome and Martyr, was accuſed of Decius, quòd ad Cyprianum literas daret contra rempub. That he wrote letters vnto Cyprian againſt the common wealth vide page. 65.

Lawes and ſtatutes grounded vpō falſe cauſes againſt the Chriſtians.

To conſider the lawes and ſtatutes, made by tyraunts and Emperours in the firſt perſecutions of the primatiue Church, againſt the innocent ſeruaunts of Chriſt, and to compare the ſame with the lawes and ſtatutes in this latter perſecution vnder Antichriſt: A man ſhall find, that as they agreed all in like crueltie, ſo was there no great difference in falſe forging of pretenſed cauſes and crimes deuiſed. For as then, the Chriſtians were wrongfully accuſed of the Gentiles for inſurrections & rebellions againſt the Emperours and Empire, for beeing enemies to all mankind, for murdering of infāts, for worſhipping the ſunne (becauſe they praied toward the Eaſt) for worſhipping alſo the head of an Aſſe, &c. vide pag. 54. 36. vpon the rumors wherof, diuers and ſundry lawes and ſtatutes were enacted, ſome engrauen in braſſe, some otherwiſe wrote, againſt them: So in this foreſaid ſtatute. an.2.Henr.cap.5 alſo, an.2.Henr.4.cap.15. and in ſuch other ſtatutes or inditements made and conceiued againſt the Lolards: the caſe is not ſo ſtrange but it may credibly be ſuppoſed, that the making therof did riſe rather vpō malice & hatred againſt their religion conceaued, then vpon any iuſt cauſe miniſtred of their partes, whome they did wrongfully charge & accuſe. Like as in time of Domitianus, for feare of Dauids ſtocke, all the nephewes of Iude the Lords brother in fleſh, were accuſed to the Emperour, page 48. And alſo the like feare & hatred ſtirred vp other Emperours, and the Senate of Rome, to proceed with perſecuting lawes againſt the Chriſtian flocke of Chriſt. Euſeb. Lib.5. cap. 21. whereupon, roſe vp thoſe malitious ſlaunders, falſe ſurmiſes, infamous lies, and wrongfull accuſations againſt the Chriſtians: ſo that what crimes ſoeuer either malice could inuent, or raſh ſuſpition could miniſter, that was imputed againſt them, vide page 48.

The perſecuting ſtatutes in the primitiue church and of the latter church cōpared.

Feare & hatred cauſers of perſecution.

Vide ſupra, pag.48.

Not vnlike alſo it may ſeeme, that the Pope with hys Prelates fearing and miſdoubting leaſt the proceding of the Goſpell preached by theſe perſons ſhould ouerthrowe the ſtate of their maieſtie: Did therfore by ſiniſter accuſations, inflame the harts of Princes againſt them, and vnder ſome colour couert, to ſhadow their cloked hatred, deuiſed theſe and other like crimes which were not true, but which might cleanely ſerue their purpoſe.

The matter debated by recordes, whether the L. Cobham and ſir Roger Acton were traytors or not.

This hetherto haue I ſaid as in a generall ſumme anſwering to the preamble of the foreſayd ſtatute, for the defence of Sir Iohn Oldcaſtle, and Sir Roger Acton, and other, not as defining preciſely what was or was not (for here I may ſay with Paule, that as I was not preſent at the deed doing, ſo with him I may alſo leaue the ſame at large.) But as one by traſing the footeſteps of the truth, as by all coniectures hunting out in this matter, what is moſt like, would but onely ſay my mynde ſine ſtrepitu (as Lawyers ſay) & ſine figura iudicij.

Now conſequently it followeth, that we deſcend to the ſpeciall points and particulars of the foreſaid preamble: to conſider what thereof may be collected, or neceſſarily is to be iudged, either for profe or diſprofe, of this foreſaide Sir Iohn Oldcaſtle and his felowes.

(A) Rumors. Congregations. Inſurrections.

¶ (A) And firſt, where the proheme of this ſtatute beginneth with rumours, congregatiōs, and inſurrections, &c. As it is not like, that if theſe men had intended any forcible entrees or rebelliō againſt ẏ king, they would haue made any rumours therof before the deed done: ſo is it more credibly to be ſuppoſed, all theſe floriſhes of wordes to be but wordes of courſe, or of office, and to ſauer rather of the rankenes of the inditers penne, who diſpoſed either per amplificationem rhetoricam to ſhew his copy, or els per malitiam Papiſticam, to aggrauate ẏ crime. And to make mountains of mollhilles, firſt of rumours maketh congregations, & from congregations riſeth vp to inſurrections: where as in all theſe rumours, congregations, & inſurrections, yet neuer a blow was geuen, neuer a ſtroke was ſtroken, no bloud ſpilt, no furniture nor inſtruments of war, no ſigne of battaile, yea no expreſſe ſignification either of any rebellious word, or malitious fact deſcribed, neither in recordes, nor yet in any Chronicle. Againe, if theſe rumours were wordes ſpoken againſt the king, as calling him a tirant, an vſurper of the crowne, the Prince of Prieſtes, &c. why then be none of theſe wordes expreſſed in their inditements, or left in recordes? Doth M. Cope thinke for a man to be called a traitour, to be enough, to make him a traytour, vnleſſe ſome euident profe be brought for him to bee ſo in deed, as he is called? Rumours (ſayth he) congregations, and inſurrections were made. Rumours are vncertaine: Congregations haue bene and may bee among Chriſten men in dangerous times for good purpoſes, and no treaſon againſt their princes ment. The terme of inſurrections may be added ἐκ τοῦ περίσσου by practiſe, or ſurmiſe of the Prelates and pen men, who to bring them the more in hatred of the king, might adde this rather of their owne gentlenes, then of the others deſeruing. Certayne it is and vndoubted, that the Prelates in thoſe dayes being ſo mightely inflamed againſt theſe Lollards, were not altogether behind for their parts, nor vtterly idle in this matter, but practiſed againſt them what they could, firſt to bring them into hatred, and then to death.

Examples of which kinde of practiſe among the Popiſh Cleargy, haue not lacked neither before, nor ſince. Moreouer, if theſe men had made ſuch a rebellious inſurrection againſt the king, as is pretended in the preamble before this ſtatute, which were a matter of high treaſon: How chaunceth then, that the whole body of the ſtatute folowing after the ſaid preface or preamble, runneth in all the parts and braunches thereof both in maner of arreſt, of inditement, information, requeſt, alowance of officers, cogniſance of ordinaries, of the forefact, &c. vpon caſes of hereſie and not of treaſon, as by particular tractation ſhall be (Chriſt willing) declared.

Inſurrection of the Lollordes againſt the king not lykely.

And for ſo much as theſe men be ſo greuouſly accuſed of Alanus Copus, for congregating & riſing againſt their K. & the whole Realme, if I had ſo much layſure to defend, as he hath pleaſure to diffame: Here might be demaunded of him, to keepe him ſome further pley (touching this mighty inſurrection, where as they came in nūber of xx. thouſand againſt the king) in what order of battaile ray they marched, what Captaines, vnder Captaines, and pety Captaines they had to guide the wyngs, and to lead the army? whether they were horſemen, or footemen. If they were horſemen (as is pretenſed) what ment they then to reſort to the Thicketes neare to S. Gyles field, which was no meet place for horſes to ſtirre? If they were footemen: how ſtandeth that with the author, which reporteth them to be horſemē? Moreouer, is to be demanded, what inſignes or flagges, what ſhot, what pouder, what armour, weapōs, and other furniture of war: alſo what treaſure of money to wage ſo many, to yͤ nūber of xx. thouſand, what trumpets, drommes, & other noiſe neceſſary for yͤ purpoſe they had. All theſe preparations for ſuch an enterpriſe is requiſite & neceſſary to be had. And peraduenture, if truth were well ſought, it would be found at lēgth, that in ſtead of armies and weapon, they were comming onely with theyr bookes, and with Beuerlay their preacher, into thoſe thickets. But as I was not there preſent at the fact (as is before ſaid) ſo haue I neither certeinely to define vpon theyr caſe, nor yet M. Cope to exclame againſt them, vnles peraduenture he taking an occaſion of the time, will thus argue againſt them: That becauſe it was the hoate moneth of Ianuary, the 2. day after the Epiphany, therefore it is like, that Sir Iohn Oldcaſtle with xx. thouſand Lollards camped together in the fields in al the heate of the wether, to deſtroy the king and all the nobles, and to make hymſelfe Regent of England. And why not as well the King, as regent of England, ſeeing all the nobles ſhould haue bene deſtroyed, & he onely left alone to reigne by himſelfe?

(B)

A ſlaūder of the L. Cobham, that he intēded to deſtroy Chriſten fayth.

¶ It followeth more in the preamble of yͤ foreſaid ſtatute (B) to adnull, deſtroy, and ſubuert the Chriſten fayth, and the law of God, & holy Church, &c. He yͤ was the forger & inuēter of this report (as it appeareth to proceed frō the Prelates) ſeemeth no cunning Dædalus, nor halfe hys craftes maiſter in lying for the whetſtone. Better he might haue learned of Sinō in Virgill, more artificially to haue framed and conueied his narration. Which although in no caſe could ſound like any truth, yet ſome colour of probabilitie ſhould haue bene ſet vpon it, to giue it ſome countenance of a like tale. As if he had firſt declared the L. Cobham to haue bin before in ſecret cōfederacie with the great Turk, or if he had made him ſome termagāt or Mahound out of Babylonia, or ſome Herode of Iudea, or ſome Antichriſt out of Rome, or ſome grandpanch Epicure of this world: and had ſhewed, that he had receiued letters from the great Souldan, to fight againſt the faith of Chriſt and law of God, then had it appeared ſomwhat more credible, that the ſaid Sir Iohn Oldcaſtle with his ſect of hereſie, went about to adnull, deſtroie, and ſubuert the Chriſtian faith, and law of God within the Realme of England, &c.

But now, where will either he or M. Cope finde men ſo mad to beleeue, or ſo ingenious yͭ can imagine this to be true: that the Lord Cobham (being a Chriſtian) and ſo faithfull a Chriſtiā, would or did euer cogitate in his mind to deſtroy and adnull the faith of Chriſt in the Realme of England? Whatſoeuer the report of this purſuant or preface ſaith, I report me vnto the indifferent Reader, how ſtandeth this with any face of truth? That he which before through the reading of Wickliffes works, had bene ſo earneſtly cōuerted to the law of God, who had alſo approued himſelfe ſuch a faithfull ſeruant of Chriſt, that for the faith of Chriſt he being examined and tried before the Prelates, page. 553. not only ventred his life: but ſtood conſtant vnto the ſentence of death, defined againſt him: being a cōdemned and a dead man by law, Et qui, quantum ad eius deuotionem pertinet & timorem, paſſus ſit, quicquid pati potuit, who had as much as to deuotion and feare appertained, ſuffered already what he might or could ſuffer, as Cyprian ſaid by Cornelius. That he (I ſay) which a little before in the moneth of September, ſtoode ſo conſtant in defence of Chriſtes faith, would now in the moneth of Ianuary riſe to deſtroy, adnull, & ſubuert Chriſtes faith, and the law of God, and holy Church within the Realme of England?

Cyprian. lib.4. Epiſt.2.

How can it be not like only but poſſible to be true that he which neuer denied the faith: which euer confeſſed the faith ſo conſtantly, which was for the ſame faith condemned, yea and at laſt alſo burned for the faith, would euer fight againſt the faith, and law of God, to adnull and to ſubuert it? Let vs proceed yet further, and ſee when that he ſhould haue ſo deſtroied and adnulled the Chriſtian faith and law of God in England, what faith or law then could he or did he entend to bring into the realme of England? The Turks faith? or the Iewes faith? or the Popes faith? or what faith elſe, I pray you? For he that will be an enemie to the faith of Chriſt, and will ſhew himſelfe frend to no other faith beſide, I accompt him not out of his right faith, but out of his right wits.

(C)

The Lord Cobham falſely ſlaūdered for intending to deſtroy the king.

(C) And therefore euen as it is true, that ſir Iohn Oldcaſtle with his cōfederates & abettours were vp in armes to ſubuert, and extinguiſh the faith of Chriſt and law of God in yͤ realme of England: ſo by the like truth it may be eſtemed, that yͤ ſame perſons roſe alſo to deſtroy their ſoueraigne Lord the king and his brethren. Firſt thanks be to God, that neither the king, nor any of his brethren had any hurt by him. But his intent, ſaith the preface, was to deſtroy his ſoueraigne Lord the king. Whereunto I anſwere, with this interrogatorie, whether his intent was priuily to haue deſtroied him, or by opē force of armes? If priuily, what needeth then ſuch a great army of xx. thouſand men to atcheue yͤ ſecret feate? Rather I would think, that he needed more the help of ſuch as were neare about the king: as ſome of the kinges priuie chamber, or ſome of his ſecret counſaile: whereof, neither Chronicle nor record doth inſinuate any mention. If his intent was openly to inuade the kyng: You muſt vnderſtand (M. Cope) that to withſtand a king in his owne Realme, many thinges are required, long time, great preparation, many frendes, great aſſiſtance, and ayd of kindred, money, horſe, men, armour, and all other things apperteining for the ſame.

How vnlyke it is that the L. Cobham did riſe againſt the king.

Examples what an heard matter it is to riſe againſt the king.

Earle Godwin of Weſtſaxe, who had maried Canutus daughter being a man both ambitious, and as falſe a traitour, for al his ſixe ſonnes, and great alliance, yet durſt not ſet vpon king Edward to inuade him within his Realme, although he ſought manye occaſions ſo to do, yet neuer durſt enterpriſe openly, that which his ambition ſo greedely preſumed vnto, page 163.

The nobles againſt K. Henry.3.

In the time of King Henry the third, Symon Montford Earle of Gloceſter, Gilbert Clare Earle of Leiceſter, Humfrey Rone Earle of Ferrence, with a great number of Lords and Barons, thought themſelues to haue great right on their ſides, yet durſt not for all their power openly aſſaile the King in his Realme, before great debatemēt and talke firſt had betweene, page 330.

The nobles againſt K. Edward.2.

Likewiſe what murmuring and grudging was in the realme againſt king Edward the ſecond, among the peres and nobles and alſo prelates (only Walter Biſhop of Couentry except) firſt for Gaueſton, then for the Spenſers, at what time Thomas Earle of Lancaſter, Guido Earle of Warwike, with the moſt part of al other Earles and Barons concordly conſenting together to the diſplacing firſt of Gaueſton, then of the Spenſers, yet neither raſhly, nor without great feare durſt ſtirre vp warre in the land, or diſquiet or vexe the king, but firſt by all meanes of moderate counſaile, and humble petition, thought rather to perſwade, then to inuade the king, page 308.

The nobles againſt. K Rich. 2.

In like maner, and with like grudging mindes, in the reigne of King Richard.2. Thomas Wodſtocke Duke of Gloceſter the kings vncle, with the Earles of Arundell, of Warwike, and Darby, with the power almoſt of the whole commons, ſtood vp in armes againſt the king: And yet notwithſtanding all their power ioined together, being ſo great, and their cauſe ſeming to them ſo reaſonable, yet were they not ſo hardy, ſtraightwayes to flee vpon the king, but by way of Parliament thought to accompliſhe that which their purpoſe had conceiued, and ſo did, without any warre ſtriking againſt the king, page. 513.

The nobles againſt K. Henry.4.

After King Richard.2. was depoſed, and was in priſon yet liuing, diuers noble men were greatly inflamed againſt K. Henry the fourth, as Sir Iohn Holland Earle of Huntington, Thomas Spenſer Earle of Gloceſter, yͤ Earles likewiſe of Kent, and of Saliſbury, with ſir Iohn Cheney & other mo, whereof diuers had beene Dukes before, & now depoſed by King Henry.4. although they had conceiued in their harts great grudge and malice againſt the ſaid King Henry: yet had they neither hart nor power openly with mans force to aſſaile the king, but ſecretly were cōpelled to atchieue their conceiued intēt, which notwithſtanding they could not accompliſh. Ex hiſt. D. Alban.

Thus,

The inſurrection of the L. Cobham againſt the king iudged by circumſtãce

Thus, you ſee Maiſter Cope, or els maiſter Harpſfield, or whatſoeuer ye be, to gainſtand a king, and with open force to encounter with him in his owne land, and in his owne chamber of London, where he is ſo ſure and ſtrong, what a matter of how great cheuance it is, wherin ſo many and ſo great difficulties do lye, the attempt ſo dangerous, the chances ſo vncertaine, the furniture of ſo manie things required, that ſcarce in any kings daies heretofore, any peeres or nobles of the Realme, were they neuer ſo ſtrongly aſſiſted with power, wit, or counſaile, yet either were able, or els well durſt euer enterpriſe vpon the caſe ſo dangerous, notwithſtanding were they neuer of themſelues ſo far from all feare of God, and true obedience. And ſhal we then thinke, or cã we imagine (maiſter Cope) that Syr Iohn Oldcaſtle, a man ſo well inſtructed in the knowledge of Gods word, beyng but a poore Knight by his degree, hauing none of all the peeres and nobles in all the world to ioyne with him, being priſoner in the Tower of London a litle before in the moneth of December, could now in the moneth of Ianuary, ſo ſodenly, in ſuch an hoat ſeaſon of the yeare, ſtart vp an army of xx. thouſand fightyng men to inuade the kyng, to kill two Dukes his brethren, to adnulle Chriſten fayth, to deſtroy Gods law, and to ſubuert holy Church? And why doth not he adde moreouer, to ſet alſo all London on fire, and to turne all England into a fiſhepoole? Belike theſe men which geue out theſe figmentes of Syr Iohn Oldcaſtle, dyd thinke him to be one of Deucalions ſtocke, who caſtyng of ſtones ouer his ſhoulder, could by and by make men at his pleaſure, or els that he had Cadmus teeth to ſowe, to make ſo many harneſt men to ſtart vp at once.

A rebellion to be of 20. thowſand, and yet no countrey to be knowen from whẽce they came, it is not like.

But let vs conſider yet further of theſe xx. M. ſouldiours ſo ſodenly without wages, without vitall, or other prouiſion cõgregated together, what they were, frõ whẽce out of what quarter, countrey, or cõtreys they came. In an other kyngs dayes, whenſoeuer any rebelliõ is againſt the king, moued by the commons, as when Iacke Strawe and Wat Tyler of Kent, & Eſſex roſe in the tyme of kyng Richard 2. when William Mandeuill of Abingdon, Iack Cade of Kent, in the tyme of kyng Henry the 6. In the tyme of kyng Henry the 8. when the cõmotion was of rebels in Lyncolnſhyre, then in Yorkeſhyre. When in kyng Edward the 6. tyme Humfrey Arundell in Deuonſhyre, Captaine Kyte in Northfolke made ſtyrre againſt yͤ king, the cõtrey & partes from whence theſe rebels did ſpring, were both noted and alſo diffamed. In this ſo trayterous cõmotion therfore let vs now learne, what mẽ theſe were, and from what cõtrey or countreys in all England they came. If they came out of any, let the Chroniclers declare what countreys they were. If they came out of none (as none is named) then let them come out of Outopia, where belike this figment was firſt forged, and inuented. Wherfore ſeyng neither the countreys from whence they came, nor yet the names of any of all theſe xx. M. doe appeare what they were either in Chronicle or in recorde, but remaine altogether vnknowen, I leaue it (gentle reader) to thy iudgement, to thinke thereupõ, as thy wiſedome ſhall lead thee.

Neuer was any rebelliõ of commons in England but the ſpeciall cõtrey from whẽce they came was noted and knowen.

(D) Another falſe reporte of ſir Iohn Oldecaſtle that he intẽded to kill all maner of eſtates in the realme.

(D) It foloweth more in the foreſaid preface: And to deſtroy all other maner of eſtates, of the ſame Realme of England, as well ſpirituall as temporall, &c. By yͤ courſe of this preamble it appeareth, that the ſayd ſir Iohn Oldcaſtle, was a wonderfull cruell tirant and murderer, who being not yet ſatiſfied with the bloud of the king, nor of the two Dukes his brethren, would alſo make hauoke and ſwepeſtake, of all maner of eſtates in the Realme of England. What, & leaue no maner of eſtate aliue? No, neither Lord ſpiritual nor temporall, but altogether ſhould be deſtroied. And what had all theſe eſtates done, thus ſo miſerably to be deſtroied? Although percaſe the moode of this mã might haue bene incenſed & kindled againſt the king, and the Lords ſpiritual, by whom he had bene cõdemned, as is aforeſaid: yet why ſhould all other maner of other eſtates both ſpiritual and temporal be killed? If none of all the eſtates in Englãd, neither Duke, Earle, Baron, Lord, Knight or other gentleman had bene his frend, but all his enemies, how then is it like, that he hauing all the eſtates, peeres, nobles, and gentlemen of the Realme againſt him, and none to ſtand with him, either could or durſt attempt any commotiõ againſt the whole power of the land, he being but one gentleman onely with ſir Roger Acton, and maiſter Browne left alone? At leaſt, good reaſõ yet would, that thoſe hundreth Knightes ſhould haue bin ſpared out of this bloudy ſlaughter, whom he offred to produce vnto the king before, for his purgation, page. 159. And finally, if this was his purpoſe that all theſe eſtates both ſpiritual & temporall ſhould haue bin cut down, what needed then that he ſhould haue made himſelfe a Regent, when hee might as well haue made himſelfe a king, or what elſe he would, being left then Prince alone?

(E)

An hard matter to deſtroy all policie and lawes of a land.

(E) The preamble as it began with vntruth, and continued in the ſame figure, heaping one vntruth vpon another: ſo now endeth with another miſreport as vntrue as the reſt, ſhewing & declaring, the intent of ſir Iohn Oldcaſtle was alſo to deſtroy all maner of policie, & finally the lawes of yͤ land, &c. We read of William Cõquerer, otherwiſe named William Baſtard: who being a puiſant Duke in his countrey, whẽ that the crown of Englãd was alotted to him, and he cõming ouer with all his peres, nobles, & barons of his whole land, into this Realme, & had with great difficulty obteined victorie againſt king Harold: yet to alter and deſtroy the policy and the lawes of the land: it paſſed his power. Inſomuch that it had not bin permitted vnto him to haue proceded ſo far as he did, vnleſſe he had firſt ſworne to the nobles of this lande, to retaine ſtill the lawes of King Edward, as he found them. And albeit he afterward forſware himſelfe, breaking his othe in altering and changing many of the foreſaid lawes, yet wild he, nild he, could not ſo deſtroy them all (for the which much war and great commotiõs endured long after in the Realme) but that he was conſtrained and alſo contented to allow and admit a great part of the ſaid lawes of king Edward, page. 167. And if he being king and Conquerour with all his ſtrength of Normands and Engliſhmen about him, was too weake and inſufficient to deſtroy all maner of policie, and lawes of this land, which he had conquered: how much leſſe then is it to be ſuppoſed, that Sir Iohn Oldcaſtle being put a priuate ſubiect, and a poore Knight, and a condemned priſoner, deſtitute and forſaken of al Lords, Earles, and Barons, who to ſaue his owne life, had more to do, then he could well compaſſe, would either take in hand, or conceiue in his head anye ſuch exployt, after the ſubuerſion of Chriſtian faith, and law of God, after the ſlaughter of the king, and of all maner of eſtates, as well ſpirituall as temporall, in the Realme of England, after the deſolation of holy Church, to deſtroy alſo all maner of policie, and finally the lawes of the land? Which monſtruous and incredible figment, how true it may ſeeme to M. Cope, or to ſome other late Chroniclers of the like credulitie, I can not tell: Certaine to me, and as I thinke to all indifferent readers it appeareth as true, as is the Verſe of the Satyre, wherewith it may well be compared.

Nil intra eſt oleam, nil extra eſt in nuce duri.

Obiection.

But heere will be ſayd again perhaps, that the matter of ſuch preambles and prefaces being but purſuantes of ſtatutes, and containing but wordes of courſe, to aggrauate, and to geue a ſhew of a thing, which they would to ſeeme more odible to the people, is not ſo preciſely to bee ſcande or exquiſitely to be ſtand vpon, as for the ground of a neceſſary caſe of trouth.

Aunſwere.

This is it (M. Cope) that I ſaide before, and now doo well grant & admit the ſame, that ſuch preambles or forefaces lyned with a non ſequitur, containyng in them matter but of ſurmiſe, and wordes of courſe (and rather monſters out of courſe) and many tymes riſing vpon falſe informatiõ, are not alwayes in themſelues materiall, or neceſſary probatiõs in all pointes to be followed: as appeareth both by this ſtatute, & alſo by the ſtatute of this kynges father. an. 2. Henr. 4. chap. 15. beginnyng Excellentiſsimo. &c. And yet notwithſtandyng out of theſe ſame preambles, & forefrontes of ſtatutes, & other inditementes, which cõmonly riſing vpõ matter of informatiõ, runne onely vpõ wordes of courſe of office, and not vpõ ſimple truth, a great part of our Chroniclers do oftẽ take their matter, which they inſert into their ſtories, hauyng no reſpect or examination of circumſtaunces to be compared, but onely following bare rumours, or els ſuch wordes as they ſee in ſuch fablyng prefaces, or inditementes expreſſed. Whereby it commeth ſo to paſſe, that the younger Chronicler followyng the elder, as the blind leadyng the blind, both together fall into the pit of errour. And you alſo (maiſter Cope) followyng the ſteppes of the ſame, do ſeeme likewiſe to erre together with them, for good felowſhyp. And thus concernyng the face of this ſtatute hetherto ſufficiently.

Ex originali ſtatut. Hen. 4. cap. 15.

The reaſon and cauſe, how chroniclers oft times be deceiued.

Alanus Copus deceiued by his chroniclers.

Now let vs cõſider and diſcuſſe in like maner, firſt the coherence, then the particular contentes of the ſaid ſtatute. As touchyng the which coherence, if it be well examined, a mã ſhall finde almoſt a Chimera of it. In which neither the head accordeth with the body, nor yet the braunches of the ſtatute well agree with themſelues. Wherein he that was the drawer, or firſt informer thereof, ſeemeth to haue forgot his Verſe and art Poeticall.

Horat. art. Poet.

Atque ita mentitur, ſic veris falſa remiſcet,
Primum ne medio, medium ne diſcrepet imo.

For where as the preface of the ſtatute ſtandeth onely vpon matter of treaſon, conceiued by falſe ſuggeſtion and wrong information. The body of the ſayd ſtatute whiche ſhould follow vpõ the ſame, runneth onely vpõ matter of hereſie, pertaining to the Ordinaries, as by euery brãche therof may appeare.

(F) The body of the ſtatute an. 2. Reg Hen.5.cap. 7. examined.

(F) For firſt where he ſayth, at the inſtaunce & requeſt of the ordinaries or their cõmiſſaries. &c. Hereby it appeareth, this to be no cauſe of treaſõ, nor felony. For that euery man of duety is boũd, and by the lawes of the Realme may arreſt & apprehend a traitour, or a felõ, if he cã: where otherwiſe by this ſtatute an officer is not bound to arreſt him which offẽdeth in caſe of this ſtatute, without requeſt made by the ordinaries or their commiſſaries, and therefore this offence ſeemeth neither to be treaſon, nor felonie.

(G)

(G) Secondly, where it foloweth that the ſame ordinaries and commiſſaries doe pay for their coſtes, &c. This allowance of the officers charges in this ſort, proueth this offence neither treaſon nor felonie.

(H)

(H) Thirdly, where the ſtatute willeth the king to bee anſwered of the yeare, day, & waſt, &c. By this alſo is proued the offence not to be treaſon. Or els in caſes of treaſon, the whole inheritance (I trow, maiſter Cope, ſpeaking as no great ſkilfull lawyer) is forfait to the prince.

(I)

(I) The fourth argument I take out of theſe words of the ſtatute, where as ſuch lands and tenements which be holden of the ordinaries, are willed wholy to remaine to the king as forfait, &c. wherby it is manifeſt, that the Prelates (for their matter of Lollardie onely) were the occaſioners and procurers of this ſtatute: and therefore were barred of the benefite of anye forfetriſing thereby, as good reaſon was, they ſhould. And thus it is notorius, that the preface running ſpecially and principally vpon treaſon, and the ſtatute running altogether vpon points of hereſie, do not well cohere nor ioine together.

(K)

(K) Fiftly, In that ſuch perſons indited, ſhal be deliuered vnto the Ordinaries of the places, &c. It can not bee denied, but that this offence concerneth no maner of treaſon. For ſo much as Ordinaries can not be iudges in caſes of treaſon, or felonie, by the lawes of our Realme, Bracton, in fine. 1. Libri.

(L)

(L) Sixtly, by the inditements prouided not to be taken in euidence, but onely for information, before the Iudges ſpirituall, &c. it is likewiſe to be noted: to what end theſe inditements were taken, to wit, only to informe the ordinaries, which can not be in caſes of treaſon.

(M)

Iuſtice Stanford of the plees of the crowne. lib. 1. cap. 33.

(M) Laſtly, where it foloweth toward the end of ẏ ſtatute, touching eſcape or breaking of priſon, &c. by this it may lightly be ſmelt, whereto all ẏ purpoſe of this ſtatute driueth, that is, to the ſpeciall eſcape of the L. Cobham out of ẏ Tower, to this end to haue his lands & poſſeſſiõs forfait vnto the King. And yet the ſame eſcape of the Lord Cobham in this ſtatute conſidered, is taken by Maiſter Iuſtice Stanford in Lib. primo of the plees of the crowne cap 33. to be an eſcape of one arreſted for hereſie, where he ſpeaketh of the caſe of the Lord Cobham.

The firſt procurers of this ſtatute.

Practiſe of prelates to couple treaſon with hereſie.

Moreouer as touching the partes of this foreſaid ſtatute, how will you ioine theſe two braunches together, where as in the former part is ſaid, that the lands of ſuch perſons conuict, ſhall be forfait to the king, not before they be dead: And afterward it foloweth, that their goodes and poſſeſſions ſhall be forfait at the day of their arreſt, to that king. But heerein ſtandeth no ſuch great doubt nor matter to be weied. This is without all doubt, and notoriouſly, euidently, and moſt manifeſtly may appeare, by all the arguments and whole purport of the ſtatute: that as well the preamble and preface thereof, as the whole body of the ſaid ſtatute was made, framed, & procured onely by and through the inſtigation, information, and excitation of the Prelates, & the Popiſh Cleargie, not ſo much for any treaſon committed againſt the king: but only for feare and hatred of Lollardy, tending againſt their law, which they more dreded & abhorred, then euer any treaſõ againſt the Prince. And then to ſet the king & all the ſtates againſt them, whereby the more readily to worke their diſpatch, they thought it beſt and none ſo compendious a policie, as pretely to ioine treaſon together with their Lollardry. Wherein the poore men beeing once intangled, coulde no wayes eſcape deſtruction. Papæ concilium callidum.

This M. Cope, haue I ſaid, and ſay againe, not as one abſolutely determining vpon the matter. At the doyng whereof as I was not preſent my ſelfe, ſo with your owne Halle, I may and do leaue it at large, but as one leadyng the reader by all coniectures and arguments of probabilitie and of due circumſtances, to conſider with themſelues, what is further to be thought in theſe old accuſtomed practiſes and procedings of theſe prelates. Proteſting moreouer (M. Cope) in this matter to you, that thoſe Chroniclers which you ſo much ground vpon, I take them in this matter, neither as witneſſes ſufficient, nor as Iudges competent. Who as they were not themſelues preſent at the deed done, no more then I, but onely folowing vncertaine rumours, and words of courſe and office, bringing with them no certaine triall of that which they do affirme, may therein both be deceiued themſelues, and alſo deceiue you, and other which depend vpon them.

And hetherto concerning this ſtatute enough. Out of which ſtatute you ſee (M. Cope) that neither your Chroniclers, nor you can take any great aduantage, to proue any treaſon in the Lord Cobham or in his felowes, as hath bene hetherto aboundantly declared in the premiſſes.

Alanus Copus. pag. 833. lin. 4.

It remaineth further, that for aſmuch as you in your ſixt Dialogue with your author Edward Halle, do alledge the records Et publica iudicij Acta, to diffame theſe men for traytours (although what records they be, you bring forth neuer a word) I therefore in their defence do anſwere for them, whiche can not now aunſwere for themſelues. And becauſe you, to accuſe them do mention a certaine recorde, and yet do not ſhew vs what record it is, and peraduenture can not, if ye would: I haue taken the paines therfore, for the loue of them whom you ſo hate, to ſearch out ſuch Recordes, whereby any occaſion can be raiſed againſt them. And firſt will declare the commiſſion granted, then the inditement commenſed againſt them.

The which commiſſion, and inditement, albeit in countenance of words will ſeeme to miniſter much ſuſpition againſt them, to the ſimple Reader, before he be better acquainted with theſe ſubtile dealings and practiſes of Prelates: yet truſting vpon the goodneſſe of the cauſe, which I ſee here ſo falſely and ſleightly to be handled, I nothing feare nor doubt, to produce the ſame out of the Records in Latine as they ſtand: to the intent that when the craftie handling of the aduerſaries ſhall be diſcloſed, the true ſimplicitie of the innocent, to the true harted Reader, ſhall the more better appeare. The words firſt of the Commiſſion, here folow vnder written: which when thou ſhalt heare, let thẽ not trouble thy minde, gentle reader, I beſech thee, before thou vnderſtand further, what packing and ſubtile conueyance lieth couered and hid vnder the ſame.

¶ In Rotulo patent. de anno primo Henrici quinti.

The wordes of Commiſſion againſt the Lord Cobham.
(A)

R. Dilectis & fidelibus ſuis Willielmo Roos de Hamlak, Henrico le Scrop. Willielmo Croiomere maiori Ciuitatis ſuæ London. Hugoni Huls, Iohanni Preſton, & Ioanni Mertin ſalutem. Sciatis quòd cum nos plenius (A) informemur, ac notorie & manifeſte dinoſcatur, quòd quam plures ſubditi noſtri Lollardi vulgarie nuncupati, ac alij mortem noſtram contra ligeanciæ ſuæ debitum proditorie imaginauerunt, ac quam plura alia, tam in fidei catholicæ, quàm ſtatus dominorum & magnatum regni noſtri Angl. tam ſpiritualium quam temporalium deſtructionem propoſuerunt, ac diuerſas congregationes, & alia conuenticula illicita pro nephando propoſito ſuo in hac parte per implend. fecerunt in noſtri exheredationem ac Regni noſtri deſtructionem manifeſtam: Nos huiuſmodi Lollardos ac alios prædictos, iuxta eorum demerita in hac parte caſtigari & puniri volentes, ac de fidelitate & circumſpectione veſtris plenius confidentes: aſſignauimus vos quinque, quatuor, & tres veſtrum, quorum vos præfati maior & Hugo, duos eſſe volumus Iuſtic. noſtros, ad inquirend. per ſacrum proborum & legal. hominum de ciuitate prędicta & ſuburbijs eiuſdem, ac de Com. Midd. tam infr. libertates, quam extr. per quos rei veritas melius ſciri poterit de omnibus & ſingulis proditionibus & inſurrectionibus per huius modi Lollardos in ciuitate, ſuburbijs, & com prędictis factis & perpetratis, nec non de omnimodo proditionibus inſurrectionibns, rebellionibus, & felonijs in ciuitate, ſuburbijs, & com. prædictis, per quoſcunque, & qualitercunque factis ſiue perpetratis, & ad eaſdem proditiones inſurrectiones, rebelliones, & felonias audiend. & terminand. ſecundum legem & conſuetudinem Regni noſtri. Angl. Et ideo vobis mandamus, quod ad certos, &c. quos, &c. quorum, &c. ad hoc prouideritis diligentes ſuper premiſsis fac. inquiſitiones & premiſſa omnia & ſingula audiatis & terminetis in forma prædicta facturi, &c. Saluis, &c. Mandauimus enim vicecomitibus noſtris Lond. & Midd. quod ad certos, &c. quos, &c. quorum, &c. eius ſcire fac. venire facietis coram vobis, &c. quorum, &c. tot &c. de Balliua ſua, tam infr. libertates, quam extra per quos &c. & inquiri. In cuius &c. T. R. apud Weſtm. (B) x. die Ianuarij. Per ipſum Regem. (B)

By theſe high and tragicall wordes in this commiſſion ſent downe againſt the Lord Cobham, Sir Roger Acton, and their felowes: It may peraduenture ſeeme to the ignorant and ſimple reader, ſome hainous crime of treaſon to reſt in them, for conſpiring againſt God, the Churche, the kyng & their countrey. But what cannot the fetchyng practiſe of the Romiſh Prelates bryng about, where they haue once conceiued a malice? wherfore maruel not (good reader) at this, nor iudge thou accordinge to the wordes which thou heareſt. But ſuſpēd thy iudgemēt a while, till the matter be more opened vnto thee. Exāples of like hādlyng be not ſo rare, but yͤ maiſt ſoone iudge by other tymes the like alſo of theſe. George Egle, of whom mētion was made before, did but preach in tyme of Queene Mary, and yet cōmiſſiō was directed againſt him, as in caſe of raiſing vp a cōmotion againſt yͤ Queene. Adā Damlip in Calice did but preach, & yͤ receiuing of one poore crowne 2. yeares before at Rome was inough to make him a traitour. In the tyme of K. Henry yͤ 8. one Tingleton chaplein to Queene Anne, the Queenes maieſties mother that now is, did but preach yͤ Goſpel, moued by zeale (as I haue credible witnes of his owne ſcholer that heard him ſpeake it being with him) & yet by vertue of cōmiſſion it was obiected to hym: for rayſing vp commotion agaynſt the kyng, yea and alſo for killing of Pakington, & ſuffered for the ſame as a traytor. So here, what matter or maruell is it, if the kyng incenſed, or rather circumuented by the wrong information of the Prelates (whom he beleued) gaue out his cōmiſſion, agaynſt thynges neuer wrought nor thought.

Examples of diuers falſely accuſed for treaſons.

Wherfore I exhort thee (Chriſtian Reader) as I ſayd before, iudge not by and by the truth, by the wordes of the Commiſſiō: but iudge the wordes rather of the Commiſſion by the truth. Neither meaſure thou the lyne by the ſtone: But the ſtone rather by the line. At leaſt yet differ thy ſentence, till both the Commiſſion and the Inditemēt beyng layd together, thou mayeſt afterward ſee and perceiue more, what is to be iudged in the caſe.

(A)

In the meane ſeaſon marke well theſe wordes of the kyng in this Commiſſion, (A) Cum nos plenius informemur &c. By the which wordes it is eaſie to be vnderſtand, that the kyng himſelfe had no certaine knowledge thereof, but onely by information of others, (of Byſhops no doubt & Prelates) & thereupon gaue forth his Commiſſion aforeſayd. And then how will this ſtand with our Chroniclers & other Epitomes and Summaries whō Maiſter Cope doth alledge. For if it be certaine that Robert Fabiā ſayth, that the kyng himſelfe beyng in the field tooke certayne of them, as Syr Roger Acton, Maiſter Browne, and Iohn Beuerlay, & your owne Edw. Hall, alſo & your Epitome agreeth to the ſame, and ſayth moreouer that they were brought before yͤ kynges preſence. Tho. Couper alſo whō you alledge, addeth further and ſayth, that the kyng there by ſtrength dyd take them.

Our Engliſh Chroniclers examined by the wordes of this Commiſſion.

I pray you (Maiſter Cope) what needed the kyng to write this by information, when as he both himſelfe was preſent at the fact, was the taker of them, and a witneſſe of the deede? The which and if it be true, that the kyng heard this but by way of information, how will you then defend your Chronicos and your Epitomas. But herein I will neither greatly ſticke with you, nor contend with them: Deſiring thee Reader this onely to beare in mynde the date of this preſent Commiſſion when it was geuen, (B) which ſoundeth to be the x. day of Ianuary, & afterward to compare the ſame with the date of Inditemēt here vnder followyng, whiche I will (the Lord willyng) alſo hereunto annexe, leauyng nothyng out: Yea rather miniſtryng to the aduerſary all manner of helpes, whatſoeuer they can ſeeke or require for their moſt aduauntage in this matter, to be deſired. So ſure and confident I am in the innocent cauſe of theſe good men nor fearing whatſoeuer blind malice can cauill agaynſt them. (B

¶The Inditement of the Lord Cobham, Syr Roger Acton and others, with notes followyng vpon the ſame.

PArliamēta coronæ corā domino rege apud Weſtm. de termino ſancti Hillarij, anno regni regis Henrici quinti, poſt cōque. primo Rot. vij. inter parliamēta regis. Alias corā Gulielmo Roos de Hamlak, Henrico le Scrop, Gulielmo Crowmere maiore ciuitatis London, Hugone Huls & ſocijs Iuſtic. domini regis, ad inquirend. per ſacram. proborū & legal. hominū de ciuitate domini regis Lōdon, & ſuburbijs eiuſdē, ac de Com. Midd. tā infra libertates, quā extra de ōnibus et ſingulis proditionibus & inſurrectionibus, per quāplures ſubditos domini regis Lollardos vulgarit. nuncupatos, et alios in ciuitate, ſuburbijs, et com. predictis factis et perpetratis, nec non de ōnibus proditionibus, inſurrectionibus, rebellionibus, et felonijs in ciuitate, ſuburbijs, et com. pred. per quoſcunque et qualitercunq; factis, ſiue perpetratis, et ad eaſdē proditiones, inſurrectiones, rebelliones, et felonias audiend. et terminand. ſecundū legē et conſuetudinē regni domini regis Angliæ, per literas ipſius domini Regis patētes, aſsign. apud weſt. die Mercurij (A) proximo poſt feſtū Epiphaniæ domini āno regni regis Henrici quinti poſt conqueſtum primo, (B) per ſacram. xij. Iur. extitit preſentatū: quod Iohannes Oldcaſtle de Coulyng in Com. Kanc. chi. et alij Lollardi vulgar. nuncupat. qui cōtra fidē catholicam diuerſas opiniones hereticas, et alios errores manifeſtos legi catholicæ repugnantes a diu temerarie tenuerunt, opiniones et errores prædictos manutenere, et in facto minime perimplere valentes, quandiu regia poteſtas et tam ſtatus regal. domini noſtri regis, quā ſtatus et officiū prelaciæ dignitatis infra regnū Angl. in proſperitate perſeuerarēt, falſo et proditorie machinando, tā ſtatum regni, quā ſtatum et officium prælatorū, necnon ordines religioſorū infra dictū regnū Angl. penitus adnullare: Ac dominum noſtrū regē, fratres ſuos, prelatos, et alios magnates eiuſdē regni interficere, necnō viros religioſos, relict. cult. diuinis et religioſis obſeruancijs ad occupationes mūdanas prouocare, et tā eccleſias cathedrales, quam alias eccleſias et domos religioſas de reliquis et alijs bonis eccleſiaſticis totaliter ſpoliare ac fūditus ad terrā proſternere, et dictum Iohānē Oldcaſtel, (C) Regentē eiuſdem regni conſtituere, et quā plura regimina ſecundū eorum voluntatē infra regnum prædictum (D) quaſi gens ſine capite in finalē deſtructionē, tam fidei catholicæ et cleri quā ſtatus et maieſtatis dignitatis regal. infra idē regnum ordinare, falſo et proditorie ordinauerunt et propoſuerunt, quod ipſe inſimul cū quāpluribus rebellibus domini regis (E) ignotis ad numerum viginti millium hominū de diuerſis partibus regni Angl. modo guerrino arriat. (F) priuatim inſurgent. et die Mercurij proximo (G) poſt feſtū Epiphaniæ domini anno regni regis predicti predicto apud villā et parochiam ſancti Egigij (H) extra Barram veteris Templi London. in quodā magno campo ibidem vnanimit. conuenirent et inſimul obuiarent pro nephando propoſito ſuo in premiſsis perimplend. quo quidē die Mercurij apud villā et parochiā predictas predicti I Oldcaſtel et alij in hmodi propoſito proditorio perſeuerantes, predictum dominū noſtrum regem, fratres ſuos, videlicet, (H) Thomam ducem Clarenciæ, Iohannem de Lancaſtre, & Humfredum de Lancaſtre, necnon prelatos & magnates predictos interficere, necnon ipſum dominum noſtrum Regem & heredes ſuos de regno ſuo predicto exheredare, & premiſſa omnia & ſingula, necnon quamplura alia mala & intolerabilia facere & perimplere falſo & proditorie propoſuerunt & imaginauerunt (I) & ibidē verſus campum predictū modo guerrino arriati. proditorie modo inſurrectionis contra ligeancias ſuas equitauerunt ad debellandū dictū Dominum noſtrū Regē, niſi per ipſum manu forti gratioſe impediti fuiſſent. Quod quidē inditament Dominus Rex nunc, certis de cauſis coram eo venire fecit terminandū. Per quod preceptum fuit vic. quod non omitteret, &c. quin caperet prefatum Iohannem Oldcaſtle, ſi &c. Et ſaluo &c. Ita quod haberet corpus eius coram Domino Rege, apud Weſtmonaſteriū ad hunc diē, ſcilicet die Mercurij proximo poſt octauas ſancti Hillarij iſto eodem termino ad reſpondendū Domino Regi de premiſſis &c. Ad quos diem & locum, coram domino Rege vic. quod exigi faceret eum de com. in com. quouſque vtlagetur ſi non &c. Et ſi &c. tunc eum caperet, & ſaluo &c. Ita quod haberent corpus eius coram Domino Rege in octauas Sancti Iohannis Baptiſte ex tunc proximū ſequē. vbicunque &c. ad reſpondendū domino Regi de proditionibus, & felonijs ſuperius ſibi impoſitis. Ad quas octauas ſancti Iohannis Baptiſte, an. regni R. Henrici quinti poſt cōqueſtum ſecūdo, Iohanne Sutton, & Io. Michell vic. Mid. corā domino Rege returnauerūt quod ad com. Midd. centū apud Braynford die Iouis proximo ante feſtum S. Barnabæ Apoſtoli, an. reg. R. Hen. quint. poſt cōqueſtū ſecundo. Et ad quatuor com. ex tunc ex proximo precedentes predictus Iohannes Oldcaſtle exactus fuit, & non cōparuit. Et quia ad nullū eorundē com. cōparuit. Ideo preſentibus coronatoribus com. predicti vtlagatꝰ fuit, per quod inquiratur de terra & catallis ſuis.

(A) (B) (C) (D) (E) (F) (G) (H)

¶Notes or conſiderations vpon the Inditement and Commiſsion aboue prefixed.

(A) The firſt note concerning the date and day both of the Commiſſion & of the verdicte of the Iurers concurring on one day.

(A) Die Mercurij proximo poſt feſtū Epiphaniæ. &c. ¶First here is to be noted & conſidered (good reader) the day and date of geuing out the Commiſſion, & then of the Verdict preſented by the Iurers, which was both in one day, that is, on the wedneſday next after the Epiphanie, in the firſt yeare of the reigne of kyng Henry 5. which was the x. day of the moneth of Ianuary (as the date of the Commiſſion ſayth) an. 1413. after the vſe of Englād, or after the Romiſh vſe. an. 1414. So that after the vſe euer we count whether it be an. 1413. or els an. 1414. the Dominicall letter begynning at the firſt day of Ianuary to chāge, muſt needes be G. for the yeare: & ſo neceſſarily make wedneſday next after the Epyphanie, to be the x. day of the ſayd moneth of Ianuary. Thus then this preſent wedneſday, which was the tenth day of the moneth, being well noted and borne in minde, on the which day both the Commiſſion was directed, & alſo the Verdict preſented, let vs now proceede further

ther in the foreſayd Inditement. It foloweth.

(B)

The ſecōd note of the names of the Iurers left out.

(B) Per Sacramētum xij. iuratorum extitit præſentatum. &c. ¶ If there had bin true dealing in this, the Iurers ſhould haue bene named. But it is not like, that there was euer any ſuch Inditement found by any Iurers, and therefore they did beſt, not to name the Iurours, leaſt they would haue denied this Inditement to be their Acte: it foloweth more in proces of the Inditement.

(C)

The 3. argumēt by making a Regent, the king being not yet gone ouer.

(C) Et dictum Ioan. Oldcaſtel Regentem Eiuſdem regni conſtituere.&c. ¶ If there were no other argument, this were ſufficient to diſproue the manifeſt vntruth of this ſurmiſed Inditement. When as the king was not yet gone to Fraunce, nor determined to go, how could they conſpire then to make a Regent? For the king went in July folowing, vidz. the ſecond yeare of his raigne, leauing behinde him the Queene his mother in law, for Regent, whereby it may be gathered, that this matter was vntruly entred and ſtolen into the Records with an antedate, or els at the leaſt, there appeareth manifeſt vntruth, that they ſhould conſpire to make a Regent, when a Regent was not thought vpon, vnleſſe it were all ready run into the heads of the Cleargie, who ſhortly after fearing their temporalities (as Caxton ſaith) perſwaded the King to make warres in Fraunce. This word Regent therefore proceedeth of the ſecret ſpirit of the Cleargy, and maketh the whole matter very ſuſpicious, to be grounded altogether vpon the malice of the Cleargie, and their vntrue ſurmiſes. It foloweth moreouer.

(D)

The 5. argumēt by cōtrarietie.

(D) Quaſi gens ſine capite in finalem deſtructionem. &c. ¶ How doth this ſtand with that goeth before, that they conſpired to make a Regent, except you will ſay that to make a Regent is to be a people without an head? It foloweth.

(E)

The 6. argumēt, by the perſons vnknowen.

(E) Cum quam pluribus rebellibus dicti regis ignotis ad numerum viginti millium hominum. &c. ¶ A ſtraunge matter that they ſhould knowe of the conſpiracie of twentie thouſand, and yet knowe of no moe names of the rebels, but the Lord Cobham onely, or one or two mo. And all the reſt were ignoti.

(F)

The 7. argumēt by the vnſkilfull penning.

(F) Priuatim inſurgentes. &c. ¶ This ſmelleth of the Cleargies owne penning, without any great aduiſe of learned counſaile: for otherwiſe ſuch as had bene herein ſkilfull, would neuer haue put in priuatim inſurgentes.

(G)

The 8. argumēt by the date and tyme.

(G) Die Mercurij proximo poſt feſtum Epiphaniæ D. anno R.R. prædicto, &c. ¶ This wedneſday next after the Epiphanie, was the x. day of the moneth of January, and the ſame day when both the conſpiracie was put in execution, and the ſame day when the commiſſion was giuen out to enquire, alſo when the fact was by enquirie preſented, whereby it may ſeeme a ſtrange thing that ſo great a conſpiracy knowne beforehand, was not ſuppreſſed nor enquired of by any commiſſion, but onely by a commiſſion bearing date of the ſame day, vpon which day by the purport of the Inditement, the conſpiracie ſhould haue bene put in execution, by open rebellion, as it is aforeſayd.

(H)

The 9. argumēt, by errour and wrong naming the Dukes.

(H) Prædictum D. noſtrum Regem fratres ſuos videl. Thomam Ducem Clarentiæ, Ioannem de Lancaſtre, & Humfredum de Lancaſtre, &c. ¶ If the kings learned counſaile had dealt in this Inditement, as in caſe of treaſon they ſhould haue done, if it had bene a matter of truth, they would neuer haue handled it ſo ſlenderly, and wrongly, as to name the Dukes of Bedford, and of Glouceſter: John of Lancaſter, and Humfrey of Lancaſter, who were made Dukes in the 13. yeare of the raigne of King Henry the fourth their father, as appeareth by Caxtones Chronicle.

(I)

The 10. note or argumēt by the abſence of the partie.

(I) Et ibidem verſus campum prædictum, modo guerrino arriati proditorie modo inſurrectionis, contra ligeantias ſuas equitauerunt ad rebellandum dictum D. noſtrum regem, &c. ¶ This is falſified by plaine euidence of hiſtories. And Cope hymſelfe confeſſeth no leſſe. For he ſo ſayth and confeſſeth page line That Sir John Oldcaſtle was not there in perſon, but onely, that his conſent and good will was there.

The 11. note or argument.

Againe, ſeeing this equitation or riding toward Saint Giles field was vpon the wedneſday next after the feaſt of Epiphany (as in this Inditement and proceſſe of outlawry is aboue teſtified) which was the tenth daye of January, and commiſſion alſo the ſame day was charged, and the Iewry moreouer impanelled the ſame daye, & yet no Iewrer named: Item, the verdict the ſame day preſented, how all theſe can concurre together, and all in one day, let the reader after he haue well conſidered the matter, vſe his iudgement therin, not only whether it be like, but alſo whether it be poſſible.

The 12. note or argument.

Ouer and beſide all this it is to be noted, that if thys matter had bene truely and duly handled, as touching the treaſon, then had it not bene needefull to haue brought ſir John Oldcaſtle into the Parliament houſe, before the Lordes to haue had his iudgement. For by the outlawrie (if it had bene true) he was attainted, and without anie more adoe ſhould haue had iudgement in the Kings Bench as a Traytor. But the chiefe Iuſtice knowing the handling of the matter, durſt not belike enterpriſe ſo far. Wherefore it was deuiſed, that he ſhould certifie the record into the Parliament, which he did together, with the Biſhops ſentence filed to the record, which was verie ſtrange.

The L.Cob, ſir R. Actō, &c. proued no traitors.

And thereupon the Lords gaue ſuch a iudgement, as was not due for a Traytor. For that they gaue no iudgement, that he ſhould be drawne, hanged, and let downe aliue, and then bowelled and quartered, which is the iudgement of a Traytor. And albeit the Parliament might haue attainted him without any more ado: And by the ſame Act of attainder haue ordeined a ſpeciall iudgement, as they ſhould thinke good: yet when hee was before atteinted by the outlawrie, they could not lawfully varie from the common iudgemēt of treaſon. At leaſt how could or ſhould the iudgement of Sir Roger Acton, Maiſter Browne, and John Beuerley, who were iudged in the Guildhall before and without the Parliament, vary from the ſaid common iudgement of Traytors, if they had truly committed, and bene conuicted of ſuch high treaſon?

The 13. note or argumēt.

Adde this moreouer to the foreſaid Notes: that if Sir John Oldcaſtle after his eſcape out of priſon, had bene culpable and ſo atteinted of that high treaſon, wherby his lands had bene immediately forfait vnto the King by the proceſſe of his outlawry: what neded the king then in the ſecond yeare of his raigne, in the Parliament after holden at Leyceſter, haue made that prouiſo to haue his lands forfaite to him by vertue of Parliament, vpon his eſcape on the day of his areſt: when as the lands and cattaile of his had bene forfeite before, by the proceſſe of the outlawry, as is before ſpecified?

Thus you ſee (Maiſter Cope) how little aduantage you can wraſt out of this Commiſſion and inditement againſt the Lord Cobham and his fellowes to proue them traytors. And admit the ſaid Lord Cobham was attainted of treaſon by the Acte, and that the King, the Lordes, and the Commons aſſented to the Act: yet it bindeth not in ſuch ſort (as if in deed he were no Traytour) that anye man may not by ſearch of the truth vtter and ſet forth ſincerely and iuſtly the very true cauſe whereby his death hapt and followed.

Anſwere to the allegations of Fabian, Polydore, and Hall, &c.

Thus then hauing ſufficiently cleared the Lord Cobham and his parteners, from all that you can obiect vnto them out of records and ſtatutes: let vs now come to your Engliſh Chroniclers, wherwith you ſeeme to preſſe me, & to oppreſſe them whome ye name to be Robert Fabian, Edward Halle, Polydor Virgilius, Thomas Cooper, Richard Grafton, with other briefe Epitomes and Summaries, &c. Concerning which authors, as I haue not to ſay, but to their commendation in this place: ſo if that you had auouched the ſame, to the commendation rather then to the reproofe of other, I would better haue commēded your nature, and beleued your cauſe. But now like a ſpidercatcher ſucking out of euery one, what is the worſt, to make vp your leyſtall, you heape vp a donghill of dirtie Dialogues conteining nothing in them but malicious railing, virulent ſlanders, manifeſt vntruths, opprobrious contumelies, & ſtinking blaſphemies, able almoſt to corrupt & infect ỹ aire. Such is the maladie & cacoethes of your pen, ỹ it beginneth to barke, before it hath learned well to write. Which pen of yours notwithſtanding I do not heere reproch nor contemne, as neither do I greatly feare ỹ ſame. God of his mercy keepe ỹ ſword out of the Papiſts hand, it is not the pen of the papiſts I greatly paſſe vpō, though xx. Copes, and ſo many ſurpleſſes, were ſet againſt the booke of Monuments, were I ſo diſpoſed (Maiſter Cope) to dally, or as the Greekes do ſay ἀντιπαίζειν, and to repay againe as I am prouoked. But in deſpightful railing, and in this Satyricall ſort of barking I geue you ouer, and ſuffer you therin to paſſe not only your ſelfe, but alſo Cerberus himſelf if ye will, the great bandog of Pluto. Mildnes and humanitie rather beſeemeth and is the grace of the Latine phraſe. If ye could hit vpon the vaine therof, it would win you much more honeſtie, with all honeſt men. But the Lord hereafter may cal you, which I beſeech him to do, and to forgiue you that you haue done.

Modeſtie commended in writers.

In the meane time ſeeing this your pratling pen muſt nedes be walking, yet this you might haue lerned of theſe your own authors whom you aledge, more ciuilly to haue tēpered your fume, in exclaiming againſt thē, whoſe cauſe is to you not perfectly known. And now briefly to anſwer to theſe your foreſaide wryters, as witneſſes produced againſt theſe men: there be 2. things (as I take it) in theſe chronicle wryters to be cōſidered: Firſt the groūds which they follow: ſecondly in what place they ſerue.

Two things to be obſerued i. ſtory writers.

As touching the order and ground of wryting among theſe Chroniclers, ye muſt conſider, and cānot be ignorant that as none of all theſe by you forenamed, was preſent at the deede, nor witneſſe of the fact, ſo haue they nothyng of thēſelues herein certainely to affirme, but either muſt follow publike rumor and hearſay for their autor, or els one of them muſt borrow of another. whereof neither ſeemeth to me ſufficient. For as publike rumor is neuer certain: ſo one author may ſoone deceiue an other.

The ground of hiſtories to be cōſidered.

By reaſon whereof it commeth oft to paſſe, that as theſe ſtory wryters hit many times the truth; ſo againe al is not the goſpell that they doe wryte. wherefore great reſpect is here to be had, either not to credite raſhly euery one that wryteth ſtories, or els to ſee what groundes they haue whome we doe followe.

All thinges not true, that be foūd in ſtories.

Now to demaund (M. Cope) of you, what authoritye or foundation hath your Robert Fabian, hathe Polydore Virgil, Edward Hal, and other of your authors to proue theſe men to be traytors? what authority do they auouch? what actes, what regiſters, what recordes, or out of what court do they ſhewe? or what demōſtration do they make? And do you thinke it ſufficient, becauſe theſe men doe only affirme it, wythout any further probation, wyth youre αὐτὸς ἔφη, therfore we are boūd to beleue it? Take me not ſo (M. Cope) that I do here diminiſh any thing or derogate from the credit of thoſe wryters you alledge, whoſe labors haue deſerued well, and ſerue to great vtilitie: but cōming now to triall of a matter lying in cōtrouerſie betwene vs, we are now forced to ſeeke out the fountaine and bottome of the truthe, where it is not enough to ſay, ſo it is, but the cauſe is to be ſhewed, why it is ſo affirmed. And what though Robert Fabian, Polydore Virgile, and Edwarde Hall, ſhould all together (as they do not) agree in the treaſon of ſir Iohn Oldcaſtle and of the reſt, yet neither is this any ſufficient ſurety to proue them traitors. Conſidering that wryters of ſtories for moſt part folowing either blind reporte: or els one taking of an other, vſe commonly all to ſound together after one tune, tanquam Dodonæi lebetes, ſo that as one ſayth, all ſay, and if one erre, all do erre. wherfore you ſee M. Cope, howe it is not ſufficient nor ſure to ſticke onely to the names and authorities of Chronographers, vnleſſe the ground be found ſubſtantial wherupon they ſtand themſelues. which yet in none of theſe whome you haue produced, doth appeare.

Wordes without probation are not ſufficiēt in ſtory matters,

Secondly, in alleaging and wryting of Chronicles is to be conſidered to what place and effect they ſerue. If yee would ſhew out of them the order & courſe of times, what yeres were of dearth and of plēty, where kings kept their Chriſtenmaſſe, what condites were made, what Maiors and ſhirifes were in London, what battails were fought, what triumphs and great feaſts were holdē, when kings began their raigne, and when they ended. &c. In ſuch vulgare and popular affairs, the narration of the Chronicler ſerueth to good purpoſe, & may haue his credite, wherein the matter forceth not much, whether it be true or falſe, or whether any liſteth to beleue them. But where as a thyng is denied, and in caſes of iudgement, and in controuerſies doubtfull, which are to be decided and boulted out by euidence of iuſt demonſtration: I take them neither for Iudges of ẏ bench, not for arbiters of the cauſe, nor as witneſſes of themſelues ſufficient neceſſarily to be ſticked vnto. Albeit I deny not but hyſtories are takē many times, and ſo termed for witneſſes of times, and glaſſes of antiquitie. &c. yet not ſuch witneſſes, as whoſe teſtimony beareth alwaies a neceſſary truth and bindeth beliefe.

Chroniclers how farre, and to what effect they ſerue.

The two witneſſes whych came againſt Suſanna, being ſeniours both of auncient yeares, bare a great countenance of a moſt euidēt teſtimony, wherby they almoſt both deceiued the people, & oppreſſed the innocent: had not yōg Daniel by the holy ſpirite of God, haue takē thē aſide, and ſeuerally examining them one from the other, found them to be falſliers both, leauing to vs therby a leſſon of wholſome circumſpection, not raſhly to beleeue euery one that commeth: and alſo teaching vs, how to try thē out. wherfore (M. Cope) following here the like example of Daniel in trying theſe your records whom ye inferre againſt theſe men we wil in like maner examine them, ſeuerally one frō an other, and ſee how their teſtimonie agreeth: firſt beginning wyth your Robert Fabian. which Robert Fabian being neither in the ſame age, nor at the deede doing, can of himſelfe geue no credite herein, without due proofe, and euidence conuenient.

Hiſtories not raſhely to be beleued.

The teſtimony of Fabian againſt the L. Cobham examined.

How thē doth Rob. Fabian proue this matter of treaſon true? what probation doeth he bring? what authoritie doth he alleage? And doth Rob. Fabian thinke, if he were not diſpoſed to conceiue of the L. Cobham, and thoſe men a better opinion but to be traitors, that men are bounde to beleue him only at his word, without any ground or cauſe declared, why they ſhuld ſo do, but only becauſe he ſo ſaith and pleaſed him ſo to write? And if yee thinke (M. Cope) the word only of this witnes ſufficient to make authority ſpeaking againſt the Lord Cobham, and prouing nothing which followed ſo many yeres after him: why may not I as well and much rather take the worde and teſtimonie of Richard Belward a Northfolke man, and of the towne of Criſam, who liuing both in his time, & poſſible knowing the party, & puniſhed alſo for the like trueth, is not reported, but recorded alſo in the regiſters of the church of Norwich, to geue this teſtimonie among other his articles, for the foreſaid L. Cobham, that is, ẏ ſir Iohn Oldcaſtle was a true Catholike man and falſely condemned, and put to death wythout a reaſonable cauſe. &c. Ex Regiſt. Noruic.

The teſtimony of Rich. Belward for the L. Cobham;

Ex Regiſt. Epiſc Noruic.

Agaynſt this man if you take exception & ſay, that one hereticke will hold with an other: why may not I with ẏ like exception reply to you agayne, & ſay as well, one Papiſt hold with an other, and both cōiure together, to make and ſay the worſt agaynſt a true Proteſtant.

Further, yet to examine this foreſayd Fabian, witnes agaynſt Sir Iohn Oldcaſtle, as Daniell examined ẏ witneſſes agaynſt Suſanna. I will not here aſke vnder what tree theſe adherentes of ſir I. Oldcaſtle conſpired agaynſt the king, & ſubuerſion of ẏ land, but in what time, in what yeare and moneth this conſpiracie was wrought? Fabian witneſſeth that it was in the moneth of Ianuary. Cōtrary Edward Hall & other our Abridgementers followyng him, doe affirme that they were condemned in the Guildhall the xij. of December, and that their executiō vpon the ſame was in Ianuary followyng, ſo that by their ſentence the fact was done either in the moneth of Decēber, or els before, & ſo Fabianus mentitus eſt in caput ſuum, vt cū Daniele dicam, or if it were in the moneth of Ianuary as Fabian ſayth, then is Hall and his followers deceiued, teſtifying the fact to be done in the moneth of December.

Witneſſes againſt the L. Cobham agree not togeather.

And yet to obiect moreouer againſt the ſayd Fabiā, for ſo much as he is ſuch a raſh witnes agaynſt theſe burned perſons whom he calleth traytors: it would be demaūded further of him, or in his abſence of Maiſter Cope, in what yeare this treaſon was conſpired? If it were in the ſame yeare (as he cōfeſſeth himſelfe) in which yeare Iohn Cleidon the Skinner, & Richard Turmine Baker were burned, then was it neither in the moneth of Ianuary, nor in the firſt yeare of kyng Henry the fift. For in the regiſter of Cāterbury it appeareth playne, that Iohn Claydon was condemned neither in the tyme of Thom. Arundell Archbyſhop nor yet in the firſt nor ſecond yeare of kyng Henry the v. but was cōdemned in the ſecond yeare of the tranſlation of Henry Chichelly, Archbyſhop of Canterbury, the. 17. day of Auguſt, which was the yeare of our Lord. 1415. So that if this conſpiracie was in the ſame yeare (after the witneſſe of Fabiā) in which yeare I. Cleydon was burned, then doth the teſtimony of Fabian neither accord with other witneſſes, nor to him ſelfe, nor yet with truth. And thus much concerning the witnes of Rob. Fabian.

Fabian conuict of a manifeſt vntruth in his ſtory of the L. Cobhā

Fabian. part. 7. in vita Henr. 5. pag. 390.

Ex regiſt. Archiep. Cant.

Let vs next procede to Polidore Virgill, whoſe parciall and vntrue handling of our hiſtory in other places of of his bookes, doth offer vnto vs ſufficient exception not to admit his credite in this. And yet becauſe we will rather examine him, then exclude him, let vs heare a little what he ſayth, & how he fayleth, & in how many pointes, numbring the ſame vpon my fiue fingers.

The teſtimony of Polydore examyned.

Firſt ending with the life of king Henry 4. hee ſayeth, that hee raigned 14. yeares and 6. moneths and 2. dayes. Angl. hiſt. lib. 21. whyche is an vntruth, worthy to be punyſhed wyth a whole yeares baniſhment (to ſpeake after the maner of Apulenis) when as truth is, he raigned by the teſtimony of the ſtory of S. Albones, of Fabian, of Hall, of our old Engliſh Chronicle, and of Scala mundi, but 13. & 6. moneths, lacking as ſome ſay 5. dayes, Hal ſaieth he raigned but 12. yeares.

5. Vntruthes of Polydore noted in one ſtory.

1. Vntruth.

The ſecond vntruth of Polydore is this, where as hee ſpeaking of this ſedition of ſir Iohn Oldcaſtle and his adherents, affirmeth the ſame to be done after the burning of Iohn Hus, and of Hierome of Prage, whych was ſayeth he An. 1415. in which yere (ſayth he) Thomas Arundell died. Hys wordes be theſe: In eodem concilio damnata eſt Ioh. Wicliffi hæreſis, ac Ioan. Hus, & Hieronymus Pragenſis in ea vrbe combuſti ſunt. Quod vbi reliquis conſocijs, qui etiam tunc in Anglia erant, pateſit, tanquam furijs agitati primùm coniurationes in omnes ſacerdotes, deinde in regē &c. In which wordes he not onely erreth, falſly aſſigning the cauſe and occaſion

2. Vntruth.

of this ſedition to the death of Iohn Hus, and of Ierome, but alſo miſſeth as muche in the order and computation of the yeres. For neither was ſir Roger Acton with his foreſaid fellowes aliue at the time of the councell, neither doth hee agree therein with any of our Engliſh wryters, except onely with Hall, who alſo erreth therein as wide as he.

3. 4. Vntruth.

For the third and fourth vntruth I note this, where he addeth and ſayth, that after this rebelliō raiſed againſt the king, the ſayd ſir Iohn Oldcaſtel being there preſent himſelfe, was taken and priſoned in the tower, and afterward eſcaped out of the ſaide tower by night, wherein is conteined a double vntruth. For neither was Sir Iohn Oldcaſtle there preſent himſelfe, if we beleue Fabian and Cope, Dial.6.pag.833 lin 11. nether yet did he euer eſcape out of the Tower after that conſpiracie, if euer any ſuch conſpiracie was.

Copus pag. 833. lin 11.

5. Vntruth.

His v. but not the laſt vntruth in Polydore is this, that he ſayth, Tho. Arundel to haue died in the ſame yeare, noting the yere to be An.1415. where as by the true regiſters he died. An.1413.

An other Vntruth in Polydore noted.

To this vntruthe an other alſo may be ioyned, where he erring in the computation of the yeres of the ſaid Thomas Arundel Archbiſhop of Canterbury, reporteth hym to ſit 33. yeares, who was there Archbiſhop but onely 18. yeres, as is to be ſene in the recordes of Canterbury. The wordes of Polydore be theſe: Thomas Arundellius Cantuarienſis antiſtes annum iam tunc ſedēs tertium & trigeſimum e vita exceſsit lib.22. Ang.hiſt. All be it in thys I doe not greatly contend wyth Polydore, and peraduenture the aduerſary will finde ſome eaſie ſhift for thys matter.

The teſtimony of Hall againſt the L. Cobham examined.

But let vs paſſe now from Polydore, not (as they ſay) out of the hal into the kitchine, but out of the kitchine vnto the hall, examining and perpending what ſayth Edward Hall an other witnes in this matter: vpon whom maiſter Cope bindeth ſo faſt, that hee ſuppoſeth hys knot is neuer able to be loſed. And moreouer ſo treadeth me downe vnder his feete in the dirt (as a man would thinke hym ſome dirtdaubers ſonne) ſo that the ſpots thereof he ſayeth, will neuer be gotten out while the world ſtandeth, & a day longer. Notwythſtanding I truſt M. Cope that your dirtie penne with your cockiſh brags hath not ſo bedaubed and beſpotted me, nor yet conuicted me to be ſuch a deprauer of hiſtories, but I hope to ſpunge it out. At leaſt way, with a little aſperges of the Popes holy water, I truſt to come to a dealbabor, well enough.

But certes, M. Cope, your maiſterſhip muſt firſt vnderſtand, that if yee thinke ſo to depreſſe me, and diſproue me of vntruth in my hiſtory, you muſt go more groūdly to worke, and bring againſt me other authors then Edward Hal: You muſt conſider (M. Cope) if you will be a cōtroller in ſtorie matters, it is not enoughe for you to bryng a railing ſpirit, or a minde diſpoſed to carpe and cauil where any matter may be picked, diligence is required, and great ſearching out of bookes and authors not only of our time, but of all ages. And eſpecially where matters of religion are touched pertaining to the church: it is not ſufficient to ſee what Fabian, or what Hall ſayth, but the records muſt be ſought, the Regiſters muſt be turned ouer, letters alſo and ancient inſtruments ought to be peruſed, and authors wyth the ſame compared, finally the writers among them ſelues one to be conferred wyth another. And ſo wyth iudgement to be waied, wyth diligence to be labored, and wyth ſimplicitie pure from all addiction and partialitie to be vttered.

Cope a carper of ſtoryes whereof he hath no ſkill.

Thus did Auentinus, thus did Sleidanus wryte. Theſe helpes alſo the eldeſt and beſt Hiſtoricians ſemed to haue, both Titus Liuius, Saluſtius, Quintus Curtius, and ſuche lyke, as by their letters and records inſerted may wel appeare. The ſame helps likewiſe both in your Fabian and in your Edwarde Hall were to be required, but eſpecially in you (M. Cope) your ſelfe, whych take vppon you ſo cockiſhly (rather then wiſely) to be a controller and maiſter moderatour of other mens matters. In which matters (to ſay the truth) you haue no great ſkil, and leſſe experience, neyther haue you either ſuche plenty of authors meete for that purpoſe, nor yet euer trauailed to ſearch out the origens & groundes of that whereof ye write. But onely contented with ſuch as commeth next to hande, or peraduenture receiuing ſuch almoſe as ſome of your poore frends beſtowe vpon you, think it ſufficient if you can alledge Fabian and Hall for your purpoſe.

Now what purpoſe & affection herein doth lead you, rather doeth driue you to the carping and barking againſt the hiſtory of theſe good men, yͭ be hence gone and had their puniſhment, all men may ſee it to be no ſimple ſinceritie of a mind indifferent, but yͤ zeale only of your ſect of Popery, or rather of fury, which ſetteth your railing ſpirite on fire.

Aunſwere to Ed. Hall.

But now out of the fiery kitchin, to come to the hal againe let vs ſee what matter lyeth in the teſtimony of Edward Hall, to proue theſe men to be traytors. And here for ſo much (Maiſter Cope) as you ſeeme neither ſufficiently acquainted with this your owne maiſter and authour Maſter Hall, nor yet well experienced in the ſearchyng out of hiſtories, I wil take a litle paynes for you, in this behalfe, to certifie you concernyng the ſtory of this author, whereof percaſe you your ſelfe are yet ignoraunt.

The truth whereof is this, that as the ſayd Edward Hall, your great maſter & teſtis, was about the compiling of his ſtory, certayne there were which reſorted to hym of whom ſome were drawers of his petigree & vineat, ſome were grauers, the names of whom were Iohn Bets, and Tyrral, which be now both dead. And other there were of the ſame ſodalitie, who be yet aliue, & were then in yͤ houſe of Richard Grafton, both the Printer of the ſayd booke, & alſo (as is thought) a great helper of the pēning of yͤ ſame. It ſo befell that as Hall was entring into the ſtory of Syr Iohn Oldcaſtle, of Syr Roger Acton, & their felowes, the booke of Iohn Bale touching the ſtory of the L. Cobham, was yͤ ſame time newly come ouer, which booke was priuely cōueied by one of his ſeruaūts into the ſtudy of Hall, ſo that in turnyng ouer his bookes, it muſt needes come to his handes. At the ſight whereof, when he ſaw the groūd & reaſons in that booke contained, he turned to the authors in the foreſayd booke alledged, whereupon within two nightes after, moued by what cauſe I know not, but ſo it was, that hee taking his pen, raſed and cancelled all that he had written before, agaynſt Syr Iohn Oldcaſtle & his fellowes, & was now ready to go to the Print, contaynyng neare to the quantitie of three pages. And leaſt (M. Cope) you, or any other ſhould thinke me to ſpeake beſide my booke, be it therefore knowen both to you and to all other, by theſe preſentes, that the very ſelfe ſame firſt copy of Hall raſed and croſſed with his owne penne, remaineth in my handes to be ſhewed & ſeene, as need ſhall require. The matter which he cancelled out came to this effect. wherein he following the narratiō of Polidore, began with like wordes, to declare how the Sacramētaries here in England, after the death of Iohn Huſſe, and Hierome of Prage, beyng pricked as he ſayth, with a demoniacall ſting, firſt conſpired agaynſt the Prieſtes, and after againſt the king, hauing to their Captaines ſir Iohn Oldcaſtle the Lord Cobham, and Syr Roger Acton Knight, with many moe wordes to the like purpoſe and effect, as Polydore & other ſuch like Chronicles doe write agaynſt him. All which matter notwithſtandyng, the ſayd Hall with his penne at the ſight of Iohn Bales booke, did vtterly extinct and aboliſh. Addyng in the place thereof the wordes of M. Bales booke, touchyng the accuſation and condemnation of the ſayd Lord Cobham, before Thomas Arundell Archbyſhop of Canterbury, taken out of the letter of the ſayd Archbyſhop, as is in his owne ſtory to be ſene. In vita Henr.5 .pag.2.lin.30.

Hall raceth out his owne ſtorie writē againſt the L. Cobhā.

Hal. in vita Hen.5.pag.2.b.lin.30.

And thus Edward Hall your author, renoking & calling backe all that he had deuiſed before agaynſt the Lord Cobham (whereof I haue his owne hand to ſhew, & witnes ſubſtaūciall vpō the ſame) in his printed booke recordeth of him no more, but onely ſheweth yͤ proces betwene the Archbyſhop of Cāterbury and him for matters of religion. And ſo ending with Sir Iohn Oldcaſtle, proceedeth further to the aſſemble of ſir Roger Actō (whom he falſely calleth Robert Actō) Iohn Browne, and Beuerley, the narration wherof he handleth in ſuch ſort, that he neither agreeth with yͤ record of other writers, nor yet with truth it ſelfe. For where he excludeth the Lord Cobham out of that aſſemble, he diſcordeth therein from Polidore and other, And where he affirmeth the fact of that conſpiracie to be wrought before, or at the xij. day of December: that is manifeſtly falſe, if the recordes before alledged be true. And where he reporteth this aſſemble to be after the burnyng of Iohn Hus, and of Hierome of Prage, therein he accordeth with Polydore, but not with truth. Moreouer, ſo doubtfull he is and ambiguous in declaration of this ſtory, that no great certaintie can be gathered of him.

Hall in the ſtorie of the L.Cobham. & ſir Roger Acton, agreeth not with other ſtories.

Vntruth in Hall noted.

First, as touchyng the confeſſion of them, he confeſſeth himſelfe, that he ſaw it not, & therfore leaueth it at large. And as cōcernyng the cauſes of their death, he leaueth the matter in doubt, not daring (as doth M. Cope) to define or pronoūce any thing therof, but onely reciteth the ſurmiſes and myndes of diuers men diuerſly, ſome thinkyng it was for cōueying the Lord Cobhā out of the tower, ſome that it was for treaſon and hereſie, and here cōmeth in the mētiō onely of a record, but what record it is neither doth he vtter it, nor doth he examine it: other ſome againe affirming (as he ſayth) yͭ it was for fayned cauſes ſurmiſed by

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Hall doubtfull in the ſtory of ſir R. Actō. &c.

the ſpiritualtie, more of diſpleaſure then trueth. And thus your autor Hall, hauing recited yͤ varietie of mens opinions, determineth himſelfe no certaine thing therof, but as one indifferent, neither boũd to the coniectures of al men, nor to the wrytings of all men, referreth the whole iudgement of the matter free vnto the reader. And ſo concluding his narratiõ forſomuch as he was neither a witnes of the fact, nor preſent at the dede, he ouerpaſſeth the ſtory therof.

Halle no witnes in ſir Roger Actons caſe.

And what witnes then wil you, or can you (M. Cope) take of Edwarde Halle, which denieth himſelfe to be a witneſſe? will you compell him to ſay that he ſawe not? and to witneſſe that he can not? wherfore like as Suſanna, in the ſtorye of Daniel was quite by right iudgement in the caſe of adultry, becauſe her accuſers and teſtes being examined a ſonder were found to vary and halt in their tale, and not to agree in the two trees: So why may not in like caſe of treaſon, ſir Roger Acton, ſir Iohn Oldcaſtle, Browne & the reſt, claime the ſame priuiledge? ſeeing among the teſtes and witneſſe produced agaynſt them, ſuch diſcorde is found, and ſuch halting among them, that neyther do they agree in place, perſon, yeare, day, nor moneth.

Repugnaũce noted in the witnes againſt the L. Cobham & ſir Roger Acton.

1, Repugnaũce in the place.

1. For firſt where Fabian and his fellowes ſay: that they were aſſembled together in a great company, in the fielde neare to S. Gyles, the forged inditement aboue alledged, ſayth, they were but riding toward the fielde.

2. Repugnaunce in the place. *Ala. Copus pag. 833. lin. 12.*

2. Secondly, where the foreſaid inditement and Polydore, geue the Lorde Cobham to be preſent perſonally in that aſſemble, Halle, and Alanus Copus Anglus, doe exclude hys perſonal preſence from thence: and ſo doth Fabian alſo ſeme to agree, ſpeaking onely of the adherentes of Syr Iohn Oldcaſtle.

3. Repugnaũce in the yeare.

3. Thirdly, where Halle and Polydorus report thys aſſemble to be after the burning of Iohn Hus, and of Hierome at the councel of Conſtance, which was An. 1415. that cannot be, but if there were any ſuche conſpiracie in the firſt yeare of Henry 5. it muſt needes be An. 1413. And heere by the way, why do certaine of your Epitome wryters ſpeaking of the Lord Cobham committed firſt to the tower for hereſie, referre the ſayd his impriſonment to the yere 1412. where as, by their owne counte, reckoning the yeare from the Annunciation, it muſt nedes be an. 1413. being done in harueſt time.

4. Repugnaũce in the month.

4. Fourthly, where Halle with his followers affirme that ſyr Roger Acton, Brown and Beuerley were condemned the 12. day of December, the recorde is euident againſt it, which holdeth the fact to be in working the 10. day of Ian.

5. Repugnaũce in the day.

5. Fiftly, where as the foreſayde record of the Inditement geueth the wedneſday next after the Epiphany, whyche was the 10. day of Ian. that preſent yeare, both the facte to be committed, the ſame day, the Commiſſion alſo to be graunted and deliuered to the Cõmiſſioners the ſame day, The ſaide Commiſſioners to ſit in Commiſſion the ſame day: The Shriffes of Midleſex to returne a iurie out of the body of Midleſex the ſame day: and the Iurers to find the inditement the ſame day, and yet no iurer in the inditemẽt named the ſame day.

Item, the L. Cobham, the ſame day, to be founde conſpiring to make him ſelfe Regent, when as the king, that day and yeare, was not yet paſſed into Fraunce: howe all theſe can concurre and hang together and all in one day: I ſuppoſe it wil coſt you two dayes, before you, with al your learned counſel wil ſtudy it out. And whẽ you in your vnlawfull aſſembles haue conſpired and conferred together, all ye can, yet wil ye make it (as I thinke) iij. dayes, before you honeſtly diſpatch your handes of the matter.

And where ye thinke, yͭ you haue impreſſed in me ſuch a foul note of lying, neuer to be clawed of while the world ſtandeth, yet ſhal the poſterity to come iudge betwene you & me, whether ſhall appeare more honeſt and true, my defence for that worthy lord, then your vncourteous and viperous wrangling againſt him, moued wᵗ no other cauſe, but onely with the peuiſh ſpirite of Poperie, whych can abide nothing, but that ſauereth of your owne ſecte. For els how many loud lying legends, yea what legion of lies are daily vſed and receiued in the popiſh church? what doltiſh dreames? what fained myracles? what blaſphemous tales and frierly fables, and idle inuẽtions, fighting againſt the ſincere religion, doctrine and croſſe of Chriſt? And coulde you holde your penne from al theſe, and finde nothing els to ſet your idleneſſe on worke, but onely to wryte agaynſt the Lorde Cobham, Syr Roger Acton, Browne, Onley, Cowbrige, with a fewe other whome wyth much a doe, at length you haue ſought out, not ſo much for any true zeale to rebuke iniquitye, as craftely ſeeking matter by theſe to deface and blemiſh the booke of Actes and Monumentes. which ſeemeth belike to make you ſcratche there, where it itcheth not. And if I ſhoulde after the like dealing take in hand your Popiſh portues, and with like diligence excuſſe euery Popiſh martyr and Saint there canoniſed: thinke you maiſter Cope, I coulde not make you out halfe doſen as ranke traitours and rebels to their kings and princes, as euer were any of theſe of your picking out? what pope almoſt hath there bene theſe laſt 500. yeares, whych hathe not bene a traitour to his Emperor and Prince, and to his countrey? either openly rebelling againſt them, or priuely conſpiring their deſtruction, or proudly ſetting theyr feete vpon their necks, or ſpurning their crownes of from their heads, or making the ſonne to fight againſt yͤ father? How many haue they depoſed, and ſet vp other in theyr ſeates? how many Emperours and kings haue they wrongfully curſed? what Conſulles of Rome haue they reſiſted, depoſed, and put to death? what warres haue they raiſed vp againſt theyr owne countrey of Rome? Yea the continuall holding of the City of Rome, from hys lawfull Emperor, what is it but a continuall poynt of treaſon?

Papiſtes can not ſee great beames in their owne eyes, which ſpye ſmall motes in other.

Popes traytours to their Emperours & princes.

What will you anſwere mee (M. Cope) to the Pope, which conſpired to let fall downe a ſtone vpon the Emperours head, kneeling at his prayers, pag. 177.

And though this treachery being as big as a milſtone, ſeemed but a ſmal mote in your eye, that it could not be eſpied: yet what will you ſay by the Monke of Swinſtede, that poyſoned king Iohn, who was both abſolued by his abbot before his treaſon committed, and after hys treaſon had a perpetuall Maſſe ſonge for him, to helpe hym out of Purgatorie?

The Popes ſaintes and confeſſours many were traytours.

And what thinke ye in your conſcience is to be ſayde of Thomas Becket, who did inough, and more then became him, to ſet the French king, and the king of Englande together by the eares? Of Anſelme likewiſe, and of Stephen Langhton, who departed both out of the Realme to complaine of their princes & ſoueraines? The like may be ſaid alſo of Iohn Peckham. Iohn Stradford Archbyſhop of the ſame ſea notoriouſly reſiſted the Kinges commaundement, being ſent for by king Edward 3. to come to the parliament at Yorke, through the default of whoſe comming, the preſent oportunitie of getting Scotland was the ſame time loſt,

Richard Scrope Archb. of Yorke, was opẽly in armes to rebell & fight againſt K. Henry 4. for the which he was condemned & put to death. And yet notwᵗſtanding Commiſſion was ſent downe from the pope ſhortly after, to excõmunicate them which put him to death, his treaſon notwᵗſtanding. Read yͤ ſtory ſincerely of pope Benedict 12. and of pope Clement 6. And ſee howe the traiterous rebellion of theſe two popes againſt Ludouicus their rightful Emperor can be defended: which Emperor at laſt was alſo empoyſoned, & that not without the practiſe of Pope Clement, as doth Hieronimus Marius credibly witneſſe.

R. Scrope Archb. of Yorke traytor and yet coũted a holy man.

Popes cõmonly traytours.

In the raigne of K. Edward the 2. mention was made before of Thomas Earle of Lancaſter. Who with a great number of other nobles and Barons of the realme, roſe in armour againſt their prince, and therefore at lengthe were put to death as traitours. And yet notwythſtanding thys treaſon committed (M. Cope) if you be ſo ignorant in our ſtories, that you know it not, ſet your ſetters on to ſearch, and you ſhall finde it true, that certaine Noble men went vp to Rome, for the canoniſing of the ſayde Thomas of Lancaſter to be made a Saint, and obtained the ſame. In ſo much that in a certayne olde Calendare, the name of the ſayd S. Thomas of Lancaſter is yet extant to be ſeene.

Tho. Lancaſter traitor and yet made a Sainct by the Pope.

In the former booke of theſe Actes and Monumentes aboue, about the pag. 353. or 354. mention was made of Edmund of Abbenden Archb. of Cant. whom although I do not diſproue, but rather commend in my hiſtory, for his bold and ſage counſail geuen vnto K. Henry the 3. and alſo for offering the cenſure of excommunication againſt the king in ſo neceſſary a cauſe: yet notwithſtanding the ſame Edmund, afterward about his latter end, went vp wyth a rebelling minde to complaine of his king vnto the Pope, and in his iourney died, before his return: who afterward for the ſame, was canoniſed by the Pope, and now ſhineth among the Saintes in the popes Calender.

Edmũd Archb. of Cant. rebelled againſt his princ, and yet made a Saint by the Pope.

Let vs come more neare to theſe dayes and times, and conſider the doings of Tho. Arundell Archb. of Canterb. who being firſt depoſed and exiled for hys contemptuous deſertes againſt the king, and afterward comming in, wyth Henry Bolynbroke Duke of Herford, in open armes and with main force roſe againſt his natural and lawful king: thinke you (M. Cope) thys is not as greate a poynte of treaſon, as that which was done in Thickets fields? And though he be not placed among the portuous Saintes, yet I thinke nothing contrary, but in your heart you will not greatly ſticke to ſay, Sancte Thoma ora pro nobis.

Tho. Arundel a ranck traitour againſt his king, and yet a great piller counted in the popes church.

All theſe thinges well conſidered, tell me (M. Cope) I pray you, is treaſon ſuche a ſtraunge and vnketh thyng in your popecatholike churche, that your burning zeale of obedience to kings and princes, can not read the story of the L. Cobham & ſir Roger Acton, but your pen muſt needes be inflamed to wryte againſt them, and yet ſo many traytors in your owne Calenders neither ſeene, nor once ſpoken of? And if the traiterous conſpiracy and rebellion of ſo many your Calender Saintes committed againſt Emperours, Kings, and Princes, can not ſtirre your zeale, nor moue your pen: Nor if the treaſon of pope Gregory 9. raiſing warre againſt his owne city of Rome, and cauſing 30. thouſande citizens in one battaile to be ſlaine, pag. 281. deſerueth not to be eſpied, and accuſed as much as this treaſon of the Lorde Cobham: yet what will you or can you anſwer to me (M. Cope) as touching the horrible treaſon of pope Gregory the 7. committed not againſt Emperour nor king, nor any mortall man, but againſt the Lord hymſelfe, euen againſt your God of your owne making, being therein as you ſay no ſubſtance of bread, but the very perſonall body, fleſh, bloud, and bone of Chriſt himſelf, which body notwythſtanding the foreſayd Pope Gregory the 7. tooke and caſt with his owne hands into the burning fire, becauſe he would not aunſwere him to a certaine doubt or demaund Benn.Card.pag.172. Southly, if ſir John Oldcaſtle had taken the body of king Henrye the 5. and throwne him into the fire, the facte being ſo notoriouſly certaine as thys is, I would neuer haue beſtowed any worde in hys defence. And could thys, and ſo many other hainous treaſons paſſe throughe your fingers (M. Cope) and no other to ſticke in your pen but the Lord Cobham.

Pope Gregory 7 a traytor againſt the Lords owne body.

Vide ſupra.pag. 172.

Finally and ſimply to conclude wyth you (M. Cope) and not to flatter you, what is ẏ whole working, the procedings, actions, & practiſes of your religion, or hath bene almoſt theſe 500. yeares, but a certaine perpetuall kinde of treaſon, to thruſt downe your princes and magiſtrates, to derogate from their right and iuriſdiction, and to aduance your owne maieſties and dominations: as hath bene ſufficiently aboue proued and laid before your faces in a parliament holden in Fraunce by the Lord Peter de Cugnerijs. vide pag.383. Wherefore if the aſſemble of theſe forenamed perſons, either within or wythout S. Giles field be ſuch a great mote of treaſon in your eies, firſt loke vpõ the great blocks and milſtones of your owne traytors at home, and whẽ you haue well diſcuſſed the ſame, then after poure out your wallet of your trifeling Dialogues or Trialogues if ye liſt againſt vs and ſpare vs not. Not that I ſo thincke thys to be a ſufficient excuſe to purge the treaſon of theſe men, if your popiſh Calenders and legeands be found ful of traytours. Multitudo enim peccatorum non parit errori patrocinium: But thys I thincke, that the ſame cauſe whyche made them to ſuffer as traitors, hath made you alſo to rail againſt them for traitors, that is, mere hatred only againſt their Relygion, rather then any true affection you haue to your princes and gouernors. Who if they had bene as feruent in your Popery, and had ſuffred ſo much for the holy father of Rome, or for ẏ liberties of the holy mother church of Rome, I doubt not, but they as holy children of Rome had bene rong into your Romiſh Calendare with a feſtum duplex, or at leaſt with a feſtum ſimplex of 9. leſſons, alſo wt a vigil peraduenture before them.

Vide ſupra.pag. 383.

Religion cõmõly maketh treaſõ among the papiſtes.

Nowe becauſe they were on the contrary profeſſion, & enemies to your Magna Diana Epheſiorum, you playe wyth them as the Epheſian caruers dyd wyth Saint Paule and worſe. Ye thruſt them out as ſeditious rebels, not only out of life and body, but alſo can not abide them to haue any poore harbour in theyr owne friendes houſes, among our Actes and Monuments to be remembred. In the whyche Actes and Monuments, and if gentle maiſter Ireneus, with hys fellow Critobulus in your clerkely Dialogues, will not ſuffer them to be numbred for martyrs: yet ſpeake a good word for them (M. Cope) they may ſtande for teſtes or witneſſe bearers of the trueth. And thus muche for defence of them.

Now to the other part of his accuſation, wherein this Alanus Copus Anglus in hys ἑξαπλᾶ, or ſixfolde Dialogues contẽdeth and chaſeth againſt my former edition, to proue me in my hiſtory to be a lier, forger, impudent, a miſreporter of trueth, a deprauer of ſtories, a ſeducer of the worlde, and what els not? whoſe virulent words and contumelious termes, howe wel they become his popiſh perſone, I knowe not. Certes for my part I neuer deſerued thys at his handes wittingly, that I do know. Maiſter Cope is a man whome yet I neuer ſawe, and leſſe offended, nor euer heard of him before. And if hee had not in the fronte of hys booke intituled himſelf to be an Engliſh man, by his wryting I would haue iudged hym rather ſome wilde Iriſhman, lately crept out of S. Patrikes Purgatory, ſo wildely he wryteth, ſo ſumiſhly he fareth.

Aũſwere to the ſecond part of Copes accuſatiõ concerning his vntrue charging of the booke of Actes & Monũ.

But I ceaſe here, and temper my ſelfe conſidering not what M. Cope deſerueth to be ſayd vnto, nor howe far the pen here could run if it had his ſcope, but cõſidering what the tractatiõ rather of ſuche a ſerious cauſe requireth. And therfore ſeriouſly to ſay vnto you (M. Cope) in thys matter, wher you charge my hiſtory of Acts and Monuments ſo cruelly, to be full of vntruthes, falſe lies, impudent forgeries, deprauations, fraudulent corruptions, and fayned fables, briefly and in one word to anſwere you, not as the Lacones anſwered to the letters of their aduerſary, wyth ſi, but with oſi. Would God (M. Cope) that in al the whole booke of Actes and Monumentes, from the beginning to the latter end of the ſame, were neuer a true ſtorie, but that all were falſe, all were lies, & all were fables. Would God the cruelty of your Catholikes had ſuffred all them to liue, of whoſe death ye ſay now that I doe lie. Although I deny not but in that booke of actes and monumentes containing ſuch diuerſity of matter, ſome thing might ouerſcape me: yet haue I beſtowed my poore diligence. My intent was to profit all men, to hurt none.

The booke of Actes & Monum. to true, if it had pleaſed god otherwiſe.

If you (maiſter Cope) or any other can better my rude doings, and finde things out more finely or truely, with al my hart, I ſhall reioyce with you and the commõ wealth, taking profit by you. In perfectiõ of wryting, of wit, cunning, dexterity, fines or other induments required in a perfect writer, I contend neither with you, nor any other. I graunt that in a laboured ſtory, ſuch as you ſeeme to require, conteyning ſuche infinite varietie of matter, as thys doth, much more time would be required: but ſuch time as I had, ẏ I did beſtow, if not ſo laboriouſly as other could, yet as diligently as I might.

But here partly I heare what you will ſay: I ſhoulde haue taken more leyſure and done it better. I graunt and confeſſe my fault, ſuch is my vice, I can not ſitte all the day (M. Cope) fining and minſing my letters, and coming my head, and ſmoothing my ſelfe all the day at the glaſſe of Cicero. Yet notwythſtanding doing what I can, and doing my good will, me thinkes I ſhould not be reprehended, at leaſt not ſo much be railed on at maiſter Copes hand. Who if he be ſo pregnant in finding faulte with other mens labours (which is an eaſy thing to do) it were to be wiſhed, that hee had enterpriſed himſelfe vppon the matter, and ſo ſhould haue proued what faults might haue bene found in him. Not that I herein doe vtterly excuſe my ſelfe, yea rather am ready to accuſe my ſelfe, but yet notwythſtanding thynke my ſelfe vngently dealt with all at Maiſter Copes hande: who being mine owne countreyman, an Engliſh man as he ſayeth, alſo of the ſame vniuerſitye, yea colledge and ſchoole that I was of: knowing that the firſt edition of theſe Acts and monuments was begon in the farre parts of Germany, where few frendes, no conference, ſmall information coulde be had. And the ſame edition afterwarde tranſlated out of Latin into Engliſh by others, while I in the meane time was occupied about other Regiſters. And now the ſayde Cope hearing moreouer and knowing that I was about a new edition of the ſame Actes and Monuments, at this preſent time, to be ſet forth, for the amẽding of diuers things therein to be reformed: if he had knowen any fault nedefull to be corrected, he might gentlely by letters admoniſhed me therof. Gentlenes ſo would haue required it. Time would well haue ſuffred it. Neither was he ſo far off, but might ſooner haue wrytten a letter to me, then a boke againſt me. Neither was I ſo ingratefull and inhumane, but wold haue thanked him for hys monition: neither yet ſo obſtinate, but being admoniſhed, wold haue corrected willingly where any fault had bene committed.

But herein your nature (M. Cope) doth right wel appeare. Firſt in the ſayde booke of Actes and Monuments, where many other good things be conteyned, not vnfrutefull nor vnprofitable peraduẽture for ẏ inſtruction of your cõſcience, and wherin my labors perhaps might haue deſerued your thanks, all that you diſſemble and paſſe ouer, only excerping thoſe matters whych make for cauillation. Thus the blacke ſpider out of pleaſant flowres ſucketh his poiſon. And what booke is ſo pleaſant or frutefull, though it were the popes owne Portous, yea hys own decretals, yea hys owne very Maſſe booke, to the reading whereof if I brought the like minde ſo diſpoſed to cauil, as you bring to the reading of my hyſtorie, but I coulde finde out twiſe as many mendacia, maculas, impudentias, dolos malos fabulas, fucos, as you haue done in theſe Actes and Monumentes. And yet you haue done pretely well.

Vngentelenes noted in Cope.

The nature of the ſpider

Beſides al this, yet better to marke the goodnes of your gentle nature: Be it ſo I had bene in ſome piece of my ſtory deceiued, as I do not iuſtify my ſelfe in all poynts therin: yet you vnderſtanding that I was about the correction of my booke againe, might eyther haue taken the beſt, and left the worſt: or els gently take the paines to haue aduertiſed me of ſuche notes as you had, wythout further exclamation, or at leaſt might haue deferred your dialogues for a time, till the comming out of my booke, to ſee firſt what would in the latter edition be altered. But belike your gal was full, your haſt could not tary, your venim muſt nedes bruſt out.

Etſi non aliqua nocuiſſes mortuus eſſes.

Copus Sycophanta.

Seeing therfore the order of your doings to be ſuch, and diſpoſition of your nature ſo farre from al humanity, dealing with me ſo extremely, if I thus prouoked wyth your extremity againe, ſhould now after thys your curriſh nature ſhape you a name accordingly, and in ſteade of Cope godfather you to be a perpetual ſycophāt, could you much blame me? and doth not your ſycophanticall booke wel deſerue it? or thinke you I could not repay you againe wyth like extremitie as you bryng, and dreſſe your drouſie or rather louſie Dialogues in their right colours, if I were ſo diſpoſed? But my purpoſe is wyth pacience to ſpare you, and rather to pray for you, God make you a good manne. Peraduenture he may hereafter call you. And rather had I to win you, then to ſting you. Leauing therefore the conſideratian of your ingrateful doings, I will nowe conſider onely the poyntes wherein you charge me in your booke, anſwering briefly vnto the ſame. Briefly I ſay, becauſe the greatneſſe of thys volume, and aboundance of other more frutefull matter, geueth me little laiſure at thys preſent to ſtand about brawling wordes.

The Calendare of the Actes and Mon. defended.

Ex proœmio ad lectorem.

Firſt he ſeemeth highly to be greued with mee, for my Calendare prefixed before the boke of monuments. wherin hee hath no cauſe eyther to be offended wt me, or to chafe with himſelf. As touching which Calendare I haue ſufficiently and expreſſely declared before ſo muche, as myghte quickly ſatiſfy this ſcruple of M. Cope if he eyther woulde haue taken the paines, or els had had ye laiſure to reade the wordes contained in the Latine preface before the Booke prefixed, whych are thus: Quanquam a me quidem non aliter Calendarium hoc inſtitutum eſt, niſi vt pro Indice duntaxat ſuum cuiuſque Martyris menſem & annum deſignante, ad priuatum lectoris ſeruiret vſum &c. In whych wordes preuenting before the cauilling obiection of the aduerſary, I forewarned the Reader afore hand, touching the Calendare, wherfore it was ordained and prefixed, for no other purpoſe, but to ſerue the vſe only of the reader, in ſtead of a table, ſhewing the yere and moneth of euery Martyr, what time he ſuffered &c. what hurt I pray you is in this Calendar prefixed before the booke of Monumentes, more then in the Table of M. Copes booke, ſet after his Dialogues? But mayſter Cope had no laiſure to peruſe thys place: it made not for hys humour.

Obiection for Martyrs in the Calendare.

Aunſwere.

But this greeueth him in the Calendare, and that very ſore. For that I place in this Calendar, ſir Iohn Oldcaſtle ſir Roger Acton, Browne, Beuerley and other for Martyrs, and diſplace for them, other holy auncient Martyrs and Saints, as Antholius, Sother, Dorothe, Clarus, Lucianus, Seuerinus. &c. Anſwer: If M. Cope can not abide the Lord Cobham, ſir Roger Acton, Browne, and Beuerley, which were hanged (as he ſayeth for treaſon) to haue the name of martyrs, then let them beare the name of witnes bearers, or teſtes of the truth, becauſe they were alſo burned for the teſtimony of their faith. Seing there is no difference in the ſayd names, all is one to me by which they are called.

Vntruth noted in Ala. Copus.

Copus pag. 130. lin. 18.

In præfatione ad dict. lectorem. li. Actes and Mon.

And where hee chargeth me for thruſting & ſhouldring out the olde and auncient holy Saintes aforenamed out of this Calendare, and placing other new come Sayntes in their rowmes: this is not the firſt vntruth that M. Cope hath made in his dialogues, nor yet the leaſt, vnto whome I might therefore fitly anſwere againe with his owne familiar phraſe, or rather the phraſe of Cicero, which he doth ſo muche affectate: Quod nimirum hic ipſe Alanus Copus Anglus, vnde me mendacij coarguit, inde ſibi ipſi ſempiternam ac ineluibilem turpiſsimi mendacij, ac ſingularis impudentiæ notam inurat. For why haue not I as iuſt cauſe to ſay this to him, as he to me? For ſomuch as in the firſt beginning and preface of the ſayde booke of Actes and Monuments, I ſo diligently and expreſſely do warne all men before, firſt that I make here no Calendare purpoſely of any Saintes, but a Table of good and godly men that ſuffered for the truth, to ſhew the day and moneth of their ſuffering. My wordes be extant and euident, whych are theſe: Neque vero ideo inter diuos a me referuntur iſti, quòd inſeruntur in Calendarium. &c. And declaring afterward how the ſayde Calendare dothe ſtand but in ſtede of a table, my words do folow thus: Haud aliter Calendarium hoc inſtitutum eſt, niſi vt pro Indice duntaxat ſuum cuiuſque Martyris menſem & annum deſignante, Lectori ad vſum atque ad manum ſeruiat. &c.

Copus pag. 861. lin penultima.

Copus almoſt called Capus.

The papiſtes would thruſt downe Gods true ſaints out of heuē to hel.

Beckets bloud ſet vp, to the iniury of Chriſtes bloud.

Againe, neither did I receiue theſe men into that Kalendare, that holy Anatholius, Sother, Dorothæa, wyth other ancient holy Saintes ſhoulde be remoued out, as you doe falſly & vntruly affirme, but becauſe the courſe of that ſtory reaching but 500. yeares, did not comprehende thoſe former times of ſuche auncient Martyres, but onely of ſuche as ſuffered in theſe latter dayes: therfore requiſite it was that in the table ſuch ſhould be placed chiefly, of whom ye whole booke did then principally and onely entreat, to demōſtrate thereby the time and day of their Martyrdome. Neither yet were the other excluded out of thys newe Kalendare, whyche were neuer inſerted in the ſame before, but onely becauſe both together coulde not there haue ſtanding, neceſſity ſo required theſe in no caſe to be omitted, and yet no iniury meant to the other to be excluded out of their owne Kalēdars, wherto properly they did perteine. As for thys Kalendare or this table, becauſe they were not pertinent vnto it, they could not therin, neither was it neceſſary, they ſhould be included. And yet neither did I (M. Cope) wtout due & ſolemne proteſtation omit the ſame in my foreſayde Catalogue, to preuent and ſtop all cauilling mouthes: As by ſpeciall words in the ſayd proeme of my booke vnto the Reader doth appeare, folowing in this wiſe: Interim nullius ego boni ſanctique viri (modo qui verè ſanctus ſit) cauſam lædo, nec memoriam extinguo, nec gloriam minuo. Et ſi cui hoc diſpliceat Calendarium, meminerit, non in templis à me collocari, ſed domeſticæ tantum lectioni præparari. &c. And wher is now (M. Cope) thys your reiecting, expelling, remouing, expulſing, exempting, deturbating and thruſting out of Antholius, Sanct. Dorothæ and other holye Saintes out of Catalogues, faſtes, and Calenders? Or what man is that, or where dwelleth he, Qui veros Chriſti Martyres è Cœlo ad Tartara deturbat? That is. which tumbleth downe true Martyrs from heauen, into hell? which if ye meane by me: In one worde I aunſwere, ye falſely belie me maiſter Copus, I had almoſt called you maiſter Capus, ſo lyke a Capon ye ſpeake. Neyther haue you nor any other euer heard me ſo ſay. Neither haue I euer heard of any ſo madde to play ſo the giants with their mountains to clime the heauens, to tumble downe Gods true & holy martyrs out of heauen, downe into hell, vnleſſe it were your ſelfe (as yet ye are, ye may be better) and ſuch other of your gilde and popiſh fraternity, which make of Gods true ſaintes, ſtinking dunghils, (for ſo yee terme them in your bookes) and not onely thruſt into heauen your Pſeudoſanctos, ſaintes of your own making, whom God by his word doth not allow: but alſo depulſe downe from heauen, and make dunghils of Gods welbeloued ſeruants, his faithful people, and bleſſed martyrs, which haue died for the word of god. And what maruel then, if in your blaſphemous bokes, ye caſt down from heauen to hell, the poore Saintes of Chriſt, when in effecte you deiecte alſo the bloude and croſſe of the ſonne of God Chriſt Ieſus himſelfe, ſetting vp in his office and place, tu per Thomæ ſanguinem, quem pro te impendit, fac nos Chriſte ſcandere, quò Thomas aſcendit. Say, maſter Cope, your conſcience indifferently, ſet al Popiſh parcialitie a part, where as the Scripture teacheth vs ſimplely. Quòd citra ſanguinem nulla fit remiſsio. i. wythout blud there is no remiſſion: whether ye thinke, by this bloud of the new Teſtament is meant the bloud of Chriſt alone, or the bloud of other moe beſides? If the bloud of one muſt ſtand alone, why doe yee then with the giants build vp your mountains, and make a ladder of Beckets popiſh bloud, for men to ſcale the heauens? Or in ſo doing, howe can you, but eyther wyth the Proteſtauntes wipe out of your Kalendare, Thomæ ſanguinem, or els demoliſh from heauen Sāguinem Chriſti with the papiſts?

Papiſtes deuout to ſet vp Chriſts croſſe in earth, but enemies to Chriſtes croſſe in heauen.

A double vntruth in Copus

And heere by the way, I cannot but muſe, why you are ſo deuout in ſetting vp the croſſe of Chriſt in your church, which are ſuch enemies to the true croſſe of Chriſt to ſtand in heauen. Looke vpon thys (maſter Cope) and tel me, vtra pars verius veros Chriſti Martyres è cœlo in tartara detrudat? And therfore as you falſely belie me in thys, for detruding and tombling out of heauen Anatholius, Iulianus, Clarus, Lucianus, Agatha, Dorothea and other, againſt whome I neuer yet ſpake any reproching word, but rather in this my volume haue ſet forth their commendatiō: ſo is it vntrue likewiſe, where you affirm that in thys my Kalendar I make an ἀποθέωσιν, or Canoniſation of falſe Martyrs. I tolde you before, when yee were in Englande, I tell you again, being nowe in your tranſmigration, in wordes as plaine as I coulde, Hanc ego Apotheoſin mihi nunquam ſumpſi, quam ſibi tam confidenter ſumpſit Gregorius nonus. Were not theſe wordes of my Proteſtation manifeſt ynough? were they not ſufficient to ſatiſfie a reaſonable Momus? And to make the matter more playne, dyd I not adde moreouer as followeth: Porrò neque eò ſpectat hoc Calendarium, vt nouam aliquam feſtorum dierum legem præſcribam eccleſiæ.&c. And not contented wyth thys foreſeeyng before ſuche wrangling ſpirites to come, as now I ſee in you: I ſhewed alſo the cauſe why I needed not ſo to doe, my wordes were theſe: Feſtorum dierum iam plus ſatis erat in mundo.&c. And yet further, becauſe no caviller ſhould take holde here of any iniurie done to the holy Saintes, eyther old or new in the Church, therefore in expreſſe wordes I remoued away all ſuſpition of any iniurie, preuenting the obiection of the aduerſary in theſe wordes. Habeat & Eccleſia ſuos ſanctos, tum recentes, tum veteranos, modo probatos, modo interim iidem ne adorentur, modo quàm ſint vetuſti, tam etiam verè ſancti ſint.&c.

Copus Momus.
Copus pag.820.

These places of my booke, if ye did ſee: why do you diſſemble them? If yee had not ſomuch leiſure to read them: howe had you ſo much laiſure to wryte againſt any mans booke, not knowing what is in the booke contained? And howe ſtands it then wyth trueth, that ſo like a Mome yee cry out ſo in your booke, againſt theſe new made martyrs, qui non poſſunt niſi per aliorum iniuriam creſcere.&c. And again, where you exclaime againſt me, and ſay that I thruſt out the auncient Martyrs out from their ſeat and poſſeſſion, and place new in their rowmes.&c.

Vntruth in Cope.

Copus pag.820. lin.25.

Alſo where you continuing yet ſtill in your common place of lying (out of which you cannot digreſſe) do charge me farther, that I do appoint out holy dayes and working daies by colours of red and blacke, in my foreſayd Calendare to be obſerued: theſe leude notes of yours, if they had bene picked out of my Calendare by you, wythout myne owne ſpecial declaration before made to the contrary, they might ſeeme to haue ſome bluſh of credite. Now what wil the reader ſay, or what may he iudge, cōſidering and conferring thys your cauilling, with the matter of my premonition made before, but that you are al together ſet to play the perpetuall Syc. I had almoſt called you by your right name maſter Cope. But God make you (as I ſaid) a good man. Reading further in your boke I could not but ſmile and laugh at this your ridiculous and moſt loud lying Hyperboliſmum: where as you cōparing my making of ſaints, with the Popes making, can finde (as ye ſay) in the Pope no ſuch impudent arrogancie in preſuming, as ye finde in me.&c. If the Pope had not abuſed hys arrogant iuriſdiction in canoniſing and deifying his Saintes, more then I haue done: the yeare ſhould not be combred wyth ſo many idle holy dayes, nor the Calendares wyth ſo many raſkall Saintes, ſome of them as good, as euer were they that put Chriſt to death.

Copus pag.819. lin.7.

Double abhomination in the popes Calendare.

The great Saint maker of Rome and who be his Saintes.

But where will you finde (M. Cope) any man to beleue thys your hyperbolical compariſon to be true, whych ſeeth and knoweth the infinit and vnmeaſurable exceſſe of the Popes arrogancie, not only in ſhrining ſuch a rable of blind ſaintes of his owne creating: but alſo in preſcribing the ſame to be receaued vniuerſally in the whole worlde, and not to be receaued onely, but alſo to be inuocated for gifts and graces, alſo to be worſhipped for aduocates and mediatours. Wherin riſeth a double abhomination of the pope, the one for his idolatrous making and worſhipping of ſaintes: the other for his blaſphemous iniurie and derogation to Chriſte, in repulſing him out of his office of mediation, & placing other mediatours of his owne making. And nowe to conſider what Saintes theſe were, or what were the cauſes of their ſancting: what S. almoſt among all the Popes Saintes ſhall you finde (M. Cope) made within theſe 500. yeres, but commonly he was either ſome Pope, or ſome rich Biſhop and Prelate, or ſome fat abbat, or ſome blind Frier, ſome Monke, or Nunne, ſome ſuperſtitious regulare, or ſome builder of monaſteries, or ſome geuer and benefactour to the popiſh clergy, or mainteiner agoniſing for the dignities and liberties of the Popyſhe church? what poore lay man or lay womā, were their liues neuer ſo Chriſtian, their faith and confeſſion neuer ſo pure, their death neuer ſo agoniſing for the witnes of Chriſt, and truth of his word, ſhall finde any place or fauour in all the Popes πονηρόπολις, that is in the Popes Calendar, either in red colour, or els in blacke.

The great Godmaker of Rome.

But heere (M. Cope) if yee had the wit, ſomuch to defend, as yee haue to ouerwhart, you myght take mee wyth the maner, and replie againe for the defence of your great Saintmaker, or rather Godmaker of Rome: that he maketh mo martyrs & Saints of theſe foreſayd poore laymen, & laywomen, then euer he did of any other. For he burneth them, he hangeth them, hee drowneth them, impriſoneth & famiſheth them, & ſo maketh truer martyrs of Chriſt, then any other of his new ſhrined ſaints, whom he hath ſo dignified in his Calendar. For the one he doth rubricate, only wt his red letters, the other he doth rubricate wt their owne bloud. And therefore to aunſwere you (M. Cope) to your compariſon made betwene the pope and me, for making of holy Martyrs and Saintes: Briefly I ſay, and report me to al the world, ẏ herein is no compariſon. For if ye ſpeake of true Martyrs, who doth make them, but the pope? if ye ſpeake of falſ martyrs, who doth make them, but the pope? And farthermore, to compare together the cauſes of theſe Martyred Saintes in my Calendare, wyth them whyche ſhine ſhrined in the Popes Calendare (taking the ſame proportion of time as I do, wythin theſe laſt 500. yeares) why may not I haue as good cauſe to celebrate theſe in my Calendar, which loſt their liues and were ſlain, principally for the cauſe of Chriſt and of hys word: as the pope hath to celebrate his double and ſimple feaſted ſaintes in hys Calendar, who in their doinges, doctrine, and life, as they ſeemed rather to ſerue the Pope, then Chriſt the Lord: ſo in their death appeared no ſuch cauſe, why they ſhuld be ſanctified in the church beyond all other. Let not the Church of Chriſt (M. Cope) be deluded with hypocritical names, nor fained apparitions, and fabulous miracles, neither be you deceiued your ſelfe, but let vs reſort ſincerely to the worde of God. What was in S. Fraunces, looke vpon his ſuperſtitious life, & preſumptuous teſtament, wrought no dout by Sathan, to diminiſh and obſcure the Teſtament of Ieſus Chriſt, why he ſhould be made a Saint, and not an enemy rather of Chriſt?

No cauſe why the popes newe ſaints ſhuld be put in the Calendare.

Tho. Becket

Aldelmus. Anſelmus. Dunſtanus.

S. Elizabeth

What was likewiſe in Frier Dominicke, who before Fraunces x. yeares together perſecuted the poore Waldenſes to death and deſtruction, why ſhould he ſtand a S. and a pillar of the church? I pray you what ſee you in Thomas Becket, but that he died for the ambitious libertyes of the popiſhe church? what in Aldelmus, and in Anſelmus, but only that they chaſed away maried prieſts from the churches, and planted in idle Monkes in their ſteade? The like alſo did Dunſtanus, who was rubricated wyth a duplex feſtum. Elizabeth who was the wife of the Marqueſſe of Thuring, when ſhee had with much perſwaſions got out her huſbande to fight againſt the Turkes, and was there ſlaine, ſhe afterward encloyſtered her ſelfe, and was made a Nunne. And doe you thinke theſe cauſes to be ſufficient, why they ſhuld be made ſaintes, worſhipped in churches, and ſet in Calendares? Long it were to make rehearſal of all this riffraffe, and almoſt infinite. One example may ſuffice for many. S. Gilbert of Sempringhā, was the ſonne of Iocelin a knight, who for his deformitie of his body was ſet to learning, & afterward made Chanon, and was author of the Gilbertines, in the time of king Iohn.

The canoniſation of S. Gilbert of Sempringham.

This Gilbert after he had erected 13. monaſteries of hys order of Sempringham, was afterwarde labored for vnto the Pope to be made a Saint: who hearing of hys myracles, wrote hys letters to Hubert Archbiſhop of Canterbury, in the behalfe of the foreſayd Gilbert, willing & commaundyng per Apoſtolica ſcripta, that the feaſt of the ſayde Gilbert ſhoulde be ſolemniſed through all the prouince of Canterb. Vt meritis nimirum eius & precibus apud miſericordiſsimum iudicem miſericordiam conſequamur.&c.

Ex lib. de Vita S. Gilberti Confeſſoris.

The Popes letter & the Archb. for the canoniſing of ſaint Gilbert.

Whereuppon Hubert the Archb. directeth downe hys wrytings to all the biſhops within hys prouince, the contents of whych his wrytings do folow: Hubertus Dei gratia Cant. Archiepiſcop. totius Angliæ primas, dilectis in Chriſto frat. Epiſco. per prouinciam Cant. Sal. grat. & benedictionem. D. Papa, ſicut ex literis ipſius manifeſtè perpéditur, de conuerſatione, meritis, & moribus b. Gilberti magiſtri ordinis de Sempringham, & miraculis a Deo per eum factis per teſtes & teſtimonia ſufficienter inſtructus, de conſilio fratrum Cardin. ipſum mag. Catalogo ſanctorum decreuit aſcribi, ſolemnitatem eius conſtituit & mandauit per Cant. prouinciam ſolemniter celebrari. Inſuper & corpus eius cum requiſiti fuerimus præcepit ad honorem Dei & gloriam eleuari. Veſtra igitur vniuerſitas huic mandato cum deuotione congaudeat, & ſecundum formam in ipſo mandato præſcriptam, prædicti confeſſoris Domini depoſitionem annuam faciatis cum reuerentia & ſolemniter obſeruari: vt apud Dominum & ab illo veſtra debeat & poſsit deuotio commēdari, necnon & ipſius ſancti ſupplex interceſsio vobis proficiat ad ſalutem. Valete.

The ſumme of the whiche wryting of the Archb. tendeth to thys effecte. That forſomuch as the Pope hearyng of the life and myracles of Gilbert, Maiſter of the order of Sempringham, by ſufficiēt witnes and teſtimonies, hath in his letters commanded him by the aduiſe of hys Cardinals, that the ſayde Gilbert ſhould be canoniſed & aſcribed in the Cataloge of ſaintes, and that his ſolemnity ſhoulde be celebrate ſolemnely throughout al the prouince of Canterb. And alſo hys body to be taken vp and ſhrined to the honour and glory of God: He therefore at the Popes commaundement wryting vnto them, wylleth all the Suffraganes within his prouince of Canterb. yearely to ſolemniſe, and cauſe to be ſolemnized reuerētly the depoſition of the ſayd Saint Gilbert Confeſſor: to the entent that they

Is this good doctrine M. Cope, in the Popes canoniſation.

deuotion may be commended of the Lord, and of him. And alſo, that the humble interceſſion of the ſayd Saint may profite them to their ſaluation.

The blaſphemous collect of the Popes making for S.Gilbert.

Furthermore, for the more full canoniſing (canniſing I had almoſt ſayd) of this new made ſaint, the ſaide Pope Innocent writing to Hubert aforeſayd, adioyneth withall a collect of his owne making, which is this: Plenam in nobis æterne ſaluator tuæ vertutis operare medelam, vt qui præclara beati Gilberti confeſſoris tui merita veneramur, ipſius adiuti ſuffragijs a cunctis animarum noſtrarum languoribus liberemur. Qui viuis & regnas. &c. That is: worke in vs O eternal ſauior full remedy of thy vertue, that we which worſhip the worthy merites of bleſſed Gilbert thy confeſſour, being ſuccoured by his ſuffrages, may be deliuered from all languors & diſeaſes of our ſoules, who liueſt and raigneſt. &c.

Copus pag. 119. lin 7.

The cõſecration of this one Saint (who perhaps was not the worſt) I thought here to cõmemorate, to the intent that the reader meaſuring by this one the Canoniſation of al the reſt, may iudge the better vpõ this cõpariſon of maſter Cope, whether of vs doth venditate more impudent authoritie, the Pope in his Callender, or I in mine: or to make the compariſon more fit, whether is more impudent the pope in his Callendar, or els maiſter Cope in his Dialogues more doltiſhe.

Cope counſailed to ceaſe hys rayling.

No good commeth of rayling.

But briefly to make an end of this matter with you to canoniſe or to authoriſe any ſaintes, for man it is preſumptuous: to preſcribe any thing here to be worſhipped, beſide God alone, it is idolatrous: to ſet vp any mediatours but Chriſt onely, it is blaſphemous. And whatſoeuer the pope doth or hath done in his Calendar, my purpoſe in my Calendare, was neither to deface any old ſaint, or to ſolemniſe any new. In my booke of Actes and Monuments entreating of matters paſſed in the churche, theſe latter fiue hundreth yeares, I did regulate out a Callendare, not for any Canon to conſtitute Saintes, but onely for a table of them which within the ſame time did ſuffer for the teſtimony of the word, whom I did and doe take to be good and godly men. If any haue other iudgement of them, I binde no man to my opinion, as the pope doth to his. The day will come which ſhall iudge both them and you. In the meane ſeaſon it ſhall be beſt for you (M. Cope) in my iudgement to keepe a good thing in your head, and to quiet your rayling mode. A hard thinge it is to iudge before the Lord. Mans iudgement may faile and is vncertayne, the iudgement of God is alwayes ſure. Beſt is therfore either to be ſure by the word and iudgement of God before, what you do ſay, or els to ſay the beſt. Of ſuch ſlaunderous, and intemperate rayling, can come no good, neither to whome ye rayle vpon: nor to your ſelfe, whiche rayleth: nor to the church of God that heareth you rayle. For them you can not hurt, they are gone. To your ſelfe, and thoughe your matters be true, yet little honeſty it will bring, to be counted a rayler, and if it be vncertayne, your ſtate is daungerous, and if be falſe, moſt miſerable: And as to the Church what great edification can proceede of ſuche contentious brawling and barkinge one againſt an other, I doe not greatly ſee. And if the zeale of the biſhop of Romes church haue ſo much ſwallowed you vp, that ye cannot but ſtamp and ſtare at traytours when ye ſee them put in Calenders: (firſt M. Cope) be ye ſure firſt that they be traytours, wiſdome would, whome you call traytours. And if ye can ſo proue thẽ (as ye haue not yet) then let your Irenæus or Critobulus tell me, why doth not this flagrant zeale of yours as hote as purgatory, burne out, and flame as wel againſt your owne traytors, hauing ſo many in your own Calendare and Church at home?

The zeale of M. Cope expended.

And if there be ſuch a Catholicke zeale in you, that hath ſet your gentle breſt on ſuch a pelting chaſe, why then is not this your Catholicke zeale equally indifferent? why take ye on ſo fell on the one ſide agaynſt ſir Iohn Oldcaſtle, ſir Roger Acton, M. Browne &c? A man wold think you played Hercules furens in Orcheſtra. On the other ſyde agayne ye are Oleo tranquillior. What indiffirencie (maiſter Cope) call you this? Or what zeale make you this to be? Albeit your zeale, I iudge not, as I know it not. Swifte iudgement ſhall not become me, which go about to correct the ſame in you. But this I exhorte you, to beware (maiſter Cope) that by your owne fruites and doinges euident ye do not bewray this zeale in you to be Non ſecundum ſcientiam, nor ſuch a zeale as fighteth Pro Domo Dei, ſed pro demo Pontificis. As I ſayde I iudge you not. You haue your iudge to whome ye ſtand or fall. My counſayle is, that ye do not ſo zeale the Byſhop of Rome, that for his ſake ye loſe your owne ſoule. Ye remember the olde vulgar voice it is not good Ludere cum ſanctis, worſe it is Illudere: worſe of all it is Debacchari in immerentes: Becauſe that Deus ipſe vltionum Dominus Many times taketh theyr cauſe in hand according as it is written: Opprobria opprobrantium tibi ceciderũt in me. i. The rebukes of thy rebukers fell vpon me. And ſeldome haue I ſeene any ſuche blaſphemous raylers agaynſt the ende or puniſhment of Gods ſaintes and ſeruauntes, without great repentaunce, to come to anye good end themſelues.

And admit this (as graunted vnto you M. Cope) that theſe mẽ had bene traitors, which ye are not able to proue: well, they had their puniſhment therfore, the worlde can go no further: & what would you haue more? who and if they repented, why may they not haue as good part in Chriſtes kingdome as your ſelfe? Now forſomuch as the ſayd perſons alſo ſuffering a double puniſhement were ſo conſtant in the way of trueth, and moſt principally for the ſame were perſecuted, and chiefly therfore brought to their death: that part of example, becauſe I ſawe, it pertayne to the profite of the church, why might I not inſert it with other church ſtoryes in my booke? Let the churche take that which belongeth to the churche. Let the worlde take that, which to the world pertaineth and go no further. And if ye thinke it much, that I would exemplifie theſe whome you call traytors in the booke of martyrs: firſt ye muſt vnderſtand, that I wrote no ſuche booke bearing the title of the booke of Martyrs, I wrote a booke called the Actes and Monumentes, of thinges paſſed in the church. &c. wherin many other matters be contayned beſide the martyrs of Chriſt. But this peraduenture moueth your colar, that in the Callendar I name them for martyrs. And why may I not in my Calẽdar cal them by the name of martyrs, which were faythfull witneſſes of Chriſtes truth and Teſtament for the which they were alſo chiefly brought vnto that end? Or why may I not call them holy ſayntes, whome Chriſt hath ſanctified with hys bleſſed bloud? And what if I ſhold alſo call the theefe and murderer hanging on the right ſide of the Lord, by the name of an holy ſaint, and confeſſour, for hys witneſſing of the Lord, what can mayſter Cope ſay agaynſt it?

The name of Martyrs in the Calendare defended.

What is a Martyr.

Holy ſaintes of Chriſt.

Martyrs in the Calẽdar coloured with red.

The painter coloureth with redde.

The pope coloureth with bloud.

And as for colouring the names of certaine Martirs in the ſayd Calendare in read or ſcarlet letters (althoughe that pertayneth nothing to me, whiche was as pleaſed the Painter or Printer) yet if that be it that ſo muche breaketh pacience, why rather doth he not expoſtulate in thys behalfe with the great ſaynt maker of rome, who hath readed them much more then euer did I. For he did red and dyed them with theyr owne bloude, where as I did but onely colour them with redde letters. And thus for matter of my Calendar enough.

The authour cleareth himſelfe of lyes and vntruthes laid againſt him

Proceeding now out of the Calendar vnto the booke, where hee chargeth me with ſo many lyes, impudencies, vanities, deprauations, and vntruthes, it remayneth likewiſe I cleare my ſelf, anſwering firſt to thoſe lyes and vntruthes, which to the ſtory of ſir Roger Acton, & ſir Iohn Oldcaſtle do appertain. And after to other particulars, as in order of my booke doe follow. And firſt where he layeth againſt me whole heapes, and cartlodes, I cannot tel how many of lyes and fallities: I here briefly anſwere maiſter Cope agayne (or what Engliſh Harpeſfeld els ſoeuer lieth couered vnder this Engliſh Cope) that if a lye be (after the definition of S. Auguſtine) whatſoeuer thing is pronoũced with the intent to deceaue an other: then I proteſt to you mayſter Cope, and to all the world there is neuer a lie in all my booke. What the intent and cuſtome is of the papiſtes to doe, I cannot tell: for mine owne, I will ſay, although many other vices I haue, yet frõ thys one I haue alwayes of nature abhorred, wittingly to deceaue any mã or childe, ſo neare as I could, much leſſe the church of God whom I with all my hart do reuerence, and with feare obey. And therfore among diuers cauſes, that haue wythdrawne my minde from the Papiſtes faction, almoſt there is none greater then thys, becauſe I ſee them ſo little geuẽ to truth, ſo farre from all ſerious feeling and care of ſincere religion, ſo full of falſe pretenced hipocriſie and diſſimulation, ſo litle regarding the church of Chriſt in their inward hartes, which they ſo much haue in theyr mouthes: ſo, as vnder the title thereof they may hold vp theyr own eſtate, Otherwiſe ſo little reuerence they yeld to the true & honorable church of Ieſus the ſonne of God, that with vnworthy and raſcall miniſters they take into it they paſſe not, what fictions, what lyes and fables, what falſe miracles and abſurde forgeries they inuent to delude it, they care not. I ſpeake not of all.

Some there be of that ſect vnfayned in cõſciences, and more religious, and better diſpoſed natures, onely of ſimple ignoraunce deceaued. But ſuch commonly haue bene & be the chiefe guides and leaders of the Papiſtes Churche, that little true care and ſmall zeale hath appeared in them, The lies and fictions innumerable in the Popes Church.

toward the churche of Chriſt, not muche regarding what corruption encreaſed therein, ſo that there commodities might not decreaſe. Thus out of this fountayne haue guſhed out ſo many prodigious lyes in Churche Legendes, in Saintes liues, in monkiſhe fictions, in fabulous miracles, in falſe and forged Reliques, as in peeces of the holye croſſe, in the bloud of hales, in our Ladies milke in ẏ nails of Chriſt, which they make to a great number. Likewiſe in their falſe and blind errours, corrupt doctrines, abſurd inuentions repugnant to ẏ truth of the worde. Item in their baſtard bookes, forged Epiſtles, their Apocripha, and Pſeudopigrapha. Here commeth in their forged Canons, theyr foyſting and cogging in ancient councels & decrees, as in ὡς ἀπὸ ἐμου πέτρου in Canons of the Apoſtles (if thoſe Canons were the Apoſtles) Excepta Romana ſede, foyſted into the decrees by Gratianus, alſo the cogging in a falſe Canon to the councell of Nice for the mayntenaunce of the ſea of Rome, as appeareth in the 6. Synode of Carthage.

Vntruthe in the popiſhe epiſtle decretall.

Wntruth in the popiſhe Lyturgies.

Vntruth in bookes counterfaite.

Gregories Dialogues.

Sermo ad Conuentū Sāctorū, in fine Euſebii. made by Conſtātine the Emperour.

Here commeth in alſo the Epiſtles of Clement, and other ſondry epiſtles Decretall, which as they are no doubt falſly inſerted by other, ſo are they the welhead of many ſuperſtitious traditions, oppreſſing this day the churche of Chriſt. To ſpeake moreouer of the liturges of S. Iames, of Chriſoſtome and other, of the firſt maſſe ſayde by ſainct Peter at Rome, and that S. Peter ſate 25. yeares Byſhop of Rome. To ſpeake alſo of the works of Auguſtine, Ambroſe, Hierome, and Gregorye, what doctour or famous writer hath there bene in the churche, vnder whoſe name ſome counterfayted bookes haue not falſely bene fathered, and yet ſtand ſtill authoriſed vnder their patronage, to the great detriment of the churche? what ſhoulde I ſpeake of Abdias, Amphilochius, Dionyſius Areopagita. The Dialoges of Gregory, which falſely to this day haue ben aſcribed to Gregory the firſt, where in deede they were firſt written in Greeke, by Gregory the 3. and afterward tranſlated out of Greeke into Latine, by pope Zachary. vide ſupra. pag. 130. Likewiſe that worthy and Imperiall ſermon intituled Euſebij pamphili Sermo ad Conuentum Sanctorum, hath to thys day wrongfully borne the name of Euſebius. where as in very truth it was made by the good Emperour Conſtantinus himſelfe in his owne heroicall ſtile in latine, and afterward tranſlated out of Latine into Greeke by Euſebius, as he himſelfe confeſſeth in hys worke De vita Conſtant. lib. 4. But as touching this ſermon although the name be chaunged, ſo godly and fruitful it is, that it mattereth not much, vnder whoſe name it be read, yet worthy to be read vnder ẏ name of none ſo much, as of the Emperor Cōſtantine himſelfe, who was the true author and owner therof.

Vntruth in the Popes doctrine.

Vntruth in the popes Legendes and Maſſe bookes.

Vntruth in the popes miracles and reliques.

Vntruth in the popes Sacramēts

A maiſter lie.

Briefly except it be the bookes onely of the new Teſtament, and of the olde, what is almoſt in the popes church, but either it is mingled or depraued, or altered, or corrupted, either by ſome additions interlaced, or by ſome diminutiō mangled and gelded, or by ſome gloſe adulterate, or with manifeſt lies contaminate. So that in theyr doctrine ſtandeth little truth, in theyr Legendes, Portues, & maſſe bookes leſſe trueth, in their miracles and Reliques leaſt truth of all. Neyther yet doe theyr ſacramentes remayne cleare and voyd of manifeſt lyes and corruption. And ſpecially here commeth in the mayſter bee, whiche bringeth in much ſweet hony into Popes hiues, ẏ maiſter lye, I meane of all lyes, where the P. leauing not one cromme of bread nor drop of wine in the reuerent communion, vntruly and idolatrouſly taketh away all ſubſtaunce of bread from it, turning the whole ſubſtaunce of bread into the ſubſtaunce of Chriſtes owne body: which ſubſtaunce of bread, if the Pope take from the ſacrament, then muſte he alſo take the breaking from it: for breaking and the body of Chriſt, can in no wiſe ſtand litterally together by the ſcripture. Thus then as this is proued by the word of God to be a manifeſt lye: ſo thinke not much (good Reader hereat, as though I paſſed the bondes of modeſtie in calling it the Archlye or maiſter lie of all lies. Becauſe vppon this one, an infinite number of other lyes and errours in the popes churche, as handmaydes doe wayte and depend.

But forſomuch as I ſtand here not to charge other mē ſo muche, as to defende my ſelfe, ceaſing therefore, or rather differing for a time to ſtir this ſtinking pudle of theſe wilfull and intended lyes and vntruthes whiche in the Popes Religion and in papiſtes bookes be innumerable I will now returne to thoſe vntruthes and impudent lies which M. Cope hath hunted out in my hiſtory of Actes & Monuments, firſt beginning with thoſe vntruthes which he carpeth in the ſtorye of the foreſayde ſyr Iohn Oldcaſtle, and ſyr Roger Acton, Browne and the reſt.

And firſt, where he layeth to my charge, that I cal them Martyrs, whiche were traytors and ſeditious rebels agaynſt the king, and theyr Country: to this I haue anſwered before ſufficiently.

Now here then muſt the reader needes ſtay a little at M. Copes requeſt, to ſee my vanitie and impudencye yet more fully and amply expreſſed in refuting a certain place in my Latine ſtory, concerning the kinges ſtatute made at Leiceiſter, whiche place and wordes by him alledged, be theſe, pag. 167. Quocirca Rex indicto Leceſtriæ concilio (quod fortaſsis Londini ob Cabhami fautores non erat tutum) propoſito edicto immanem denunciat pœnam his, quicunq; deinceps hoc doctrinæ genus ſectarentur, vſq; adeo in eos ſeuerus, vt non modo hæreticos, ſed perduelliones etiam haberi, ac pro inde gemino eos ſupplicio, ſuſpendio ſimul & incēdio afficiendos ſtatuerit. &c. Et mox, Adeo ille vires, rationeſque intendebat omnes aduerſus Wickleuianos. Wicleuiani ad temporis decebantur, quicunq; Scripturas Dei ſua lingua lectitarent &c.

3. Pointes. 1. Obiection

Cope cauilleth without cauſe.

Stat. an. 2. Hen. 5. cap. 7 2. Obiection

Copus. pag. 835. lin 6 Obiection.

Vpon theſe wordes out of my foreſayd Latine booke alledged, maiſter Cope perſwadeth himſelfe, to haue great aduauntage agaynſt me, to proue me a notorious lyer, in three ſondry pointes. Firſt, in that, whereas I ſay, that the king did hold his parliament at Leiceſter, adding thys by the way of Parentheſis (quod fortaſsis Londini ob Cobhami fautores non erat tutum &c.) here he concludeth thereby ſimpliciter and preciſely, that the Lord Cobham and ſyr Roger Acton with his fellowes, were traytors &c. whereby a man may ſoone ſhape a cauiller, by the ſhadowe of mayſter Cope. For where as my Dialyſis out of ẏ texte ſpeaketh doubtfully and vncertaynely by this word (fortaſsis) meaning in deede, the king to be in feare of the Goſpellers, that he durſt not hold his Parliament at London, but went to Leiceiſter: he argueth preciſely therfore, that the Lord Cobham, ſir Roger Acton, and his fellowes went about to kil the king. Secondly, where I affirme that the king in that Parliament made a grieuous law agaynſt al ſuch did hold the doctrine of Wickliffe, that they ſhould be taken hereafter: not for heretiques, but alſo for fellons, or rebels, or traytors, and therefore ſhould ſuſtayne a double puniſhement, both to be hanged, and alſo to be burned &c. Here cōmeth in maiſter Momus, with his Cope on his backe, and prouing me to be a lyer, denyeth playnly ẏ the king made any ſuche ſtatute. vid. pag. 835. line 6. where hys wordes be theſe: Atqui quod hæretici pro perduellionibus & deinceps geminatas pœnas ſuſpēdij & incendij luerent, vt nugatur Foxus, nullo modo illic traditur. &c.

The ſecte of Wickliffe made hereſie and treaſon by K. Hērys

Polyd. Virg. lib. 22.

Firſt here woulde bee aſked of maiſter Cope, what hee calleth patriæ hoſtes, et proditores? if he call theſe traytours, then let vs ſee whether they that followed the ſect of Wycliffe, were made traytours & heretiques by the kings law, or not. And firſt let vs heare what ſayth Polydore Virgil, his owne witnes in this behalfe, whoſe words in his xxij. booke, pag. 441. be theſe: Quare publice edixit, vt ſi vſpiam deinceps reperirentur, qui eam ſequerentur ſectam, patriæ hoſtes haberentur, quò ſine omni lenitate ſeuerius ac ocyus de illis ſupplicium ſumeretur &c. That is, wherefore it was by publique ſtatute decreed, that whoſoeuer were founde hereafter to follow the ſect of Wyckliffe, ſhould be accounted for traytors, whereby without all lenitie, they ſhoulde be puniſhed more ſeuerely and quickly. &c.

Tho. Wald in tomo primo. Doctrinali, ad Mart. papā in prologo.

Waldē tomo 1. De doctrinali eccleſia. cap. 46. lib. 2

Thus haue you (maiſter Cope) the playne teſtimonie of Polydore with mee. And becauſe ye ſhall further ſee your ſelfe more impudent in carping, then I am in deprauing of hiſtories, you ſhall vnderſtand moreouer and heare, what Thomas Walden, one of your owne catholique brotherhode, & who was alſo himſelfe aliue, & a doer in the ſame Parliament, being the prouincial of the Carmelites, ſaith in this matter writing to Pope Martin, whoſe very wordes in Latine here follow, written in his Prologue to the ſayd Martine, in this wiſe: Nec mora longa proceſsit, quin ſtatutum publicum per omne regni concilium in publico emanauit edicto, quod omnes Wicleuiſtæ ſicut dei proditores eſſent, ſic proditores regis, proſcriptis bonis cenſerentur et regni, duplici pœnæ dandi, incendio propter deum, ſuſpendio propter regem &c. That is. And it was not long after, but a publicke law and ſtatute came out, by the common aſſent of the generall parliamēt of the whole Realme, that al Wicleniſtes, as they were traytours to God, ſo alſo ſhould be counted traytors to the king and to the realme, hauing their goods loſt and confiſcate vnto the king. And therefore ſhould ſuffer double puniſhment, as to be burnt for God, and to bee hanged for ẏ king &c. And thus haue you (Maiſter Cope) not onely my ſentence, but alſo the very wordes of my ſtory confirmed by this author: becauſe ye ſhall not think me to ſpeake ſo lightly or impudently without my booke. And moreouer to confirme the ſaid ſentence of Tho. Walden, it followeth alſo in an other place of the foreſayde authour. Tomo. 1. lib. 2. De doctrinali fidei Eccleſie Cathol. Cap. 46. where he writeth in theſe wordes. Et tamen iam cum regnare cœpiſſet Illuſtris rex Henricus 5. qui adhuc agit in ſceptris, et de eorū perfidia per catholicos bin doctos, legem ſtatui fecit, vt vbiq; per regnum Wickliuiſta probatus, vt reus puniretur de crimine leſæ maieſtatis &c. That is. And yet, when the noble king Henry the v. who as yet doth liue and raigne, began firſt to raigne, began to ſet forth a law, by his learned catholickes which were about him, againſt the falſenes of theſe men, ſo that whoſoeuer was proued to be a wickleuiſt, through the whole Realme, ſhould be puniſhed for a traytour. &c. what wordes can you haue M. Cope, more playne then theſe? or what authoritie can you require of more credite, which liued in the ſame tyme, and both did ſee and heare of the ſame thinges done? who alſo writing to Pope Martine, was by the ſayd pope Martine allowed, approued, & ſolemnly commended, as appeareth by the popes Epiſtle to him, wherein yͤ pope declareth: how he cauſed his bookes, Per ſolennes viros videri, & examinari. That is, by ſolemne perſons to be ſeene and examined &c. So that you muſt needes graunt, either this to be true, that walden writeth or els that the Pope (tanquam Papa) in allowing his writings may erre and be deceaued. Chuſe ye (mayſter Cope) of theſe two options whether you will take.

Either Walden writeth true, or els the pope erreth.

Rog. Wallus lib. de geſtis Hē.5 fol.10.

And if ye thinke this my aſſertion yet not ſufficiently reſcued with theſe authorities aboue ſayd, I will alſo here vnto adioyne the teſtimony of an other writer named Roger Walle, who writing De Geſtis Henric 5. and ſpeaking of the ſayd ſtatute of this parliament ſome thing more plainly then the reſt, hath theſe wordes, In hoc etiam Parliamento nobilitas regia hoſtes Chriſti ſibi reputans proditores, volens dare intelligere vniuerſis, quòd ipſe abſq; cuiuſcunq; fluctuationis dubio, q̃ diu auras hauriret vitales, verus & perfectus Chriſtianæ fidei ęmulator exiſteret: ſtatuit & decreuit, vt quotquot Ipſius ſectæ, quæ dicitur Lollordorum, inuenirentur æmuli & fautores eo facto rei proditorij criminis in maieſtatem regiam haberétur &c. In Engliſh. Alſo in this parliament, the noble K. reputing Chriſtes enemies, to be traytors to himſelfe, to yͤ intent that all men ſhould know withall doubt, that ſo lōg as he liued, he woulde be a true and perfect follower of Chriſten faith: did enact & decree, that whoſoeuer ſhoulde be found followers and mayntayners of this ſect, whiche is called the Lollards ſect, Ipſo facto, ſhould be counted and reputed giltie of treaſon againſt the kings maiſtie. &c.

K.Hen. the 5 called Princeps Sacerdotum.

Reg. Wallus. ibid.

By theſe hetherto alledged if M. Cope, will not be ſatiſfied, yet let the reader indifferent iudge: Vtrum in hac re magis nugatur Foxus, an Copus calumniatur. And yet moreouer to make the matter more certayne, marke the clamation of the ſayd Roger walle, added to yͤ end of thoſe wordes aboue recited, whereby we haue to vnderſtand more clearly, both what were the proceedings of the king in the ſaid Parliament & alſo what was the blinde affection of mōks and Prieſtes at that time towarde their kinge and Prince (which was then called princeps ſacerdotum) in condemning and deſtroying the poore Lollardes. The wordes of the monke be theſe, O verus amicus, qui amico illa tam iniuriam ſibi inferri cōſimiliter arbitratur, præiudicium illi intentū reputat eſſe ſuum, & ad eius onera conferenda, auxiliationis humeros ſupponere non veretur. &c. That is: O true frend, who taketh and reckoneth that iniury no leſſe done to him ſelfe which is done to his frend: and that preiudice whiche is intended againſt him, reputeth to bee as his owne. And to beare together the burdens of his friend, ſticketh not to lay to his owne ſhoulders, for the eaſing and helping of him &c.

How can it now be denied (M. Cope) in reading theſe authors, and ſeeing theyr teſtimonies, but that Lollardery in this Parliament was made both treaſon. and hereſie, & had therfore a double iudgement of puniſhment annexed, to be hanged for for the one, and to be burned for the other according as in my former Latin ſtory I recorded, and yet I truſt, I trifled not?

Copus pag. 835. lin. 8.

Obiection.
Aunſwere.

But you will ſay agayne (as ye doe) that there is no mention made for hereſie to be made treaſon, nor of anye double puniſhment to be inflicted for the ſame: In the body of the ſtatute (I graunt) there is no expreſſe mention in wordes of hereſie to be made treaſon, expreſly ſignified in rigour of wordes: but incluſiuely it is ſo inferred, that it can not be denied. For firſt where landes, goodes and cattell of the ſayd Lollardes were loſt and forfeit to the kyng, what doth this importe els, but treaſon or felonie?

Stat. an. 2. Hē.5. cap.7

And where the Lorde Cobham (for whoſe cauſe ſpecially this ſtatute ſeemed to be made) did ſuſtaine afterward both hanging and burning by the vigor of the ſame ſtatute what is here contained: but a double penalty? Again wher in the beginning of the ſtatute mention is made of rumors and congregations, and after vpon the ſame followeth the ſeruices of the king, whereunto the officers be firſt ſworne ſhould firſt be preferred for libertie of holy Churche, & puniſhment of hereticks, made before theſe dayes and not repealed, vt ſupra, pag. 000. what meaneth this, but to make theſe congregations of the Lollardes, to be forcible entres riotes, great ridings, vnlawful aſſemblies, affrayres of the people, armour, routes, & inſurrections, & ſo ſendeth them to the former ſtatutes not repealed, that is, to the ſtatute. an. 13. Henr. 4. chap. 7? where the puniſhment is left to the diſcretion of the king? or els to the ſtatute. an. 15. Richard chap. 2. where the penalty is made fine and raunſome: Or els to the ſtatute. an. 5. Richar. 2. chap. 6. where ſuche aſſemblies be made playne treaſon, in fine ſtatuti.

Vid. ſtat. an. 13. Hen. 4. cap. 7.
Vid. ſtat. an. 15. Rich. 2. cap. 2.
Vid. ſtat. an. 5. Rich. 2. cap.

And as here is matter of treaſon ſufficiently contained ſo for hereſie likewiſe the ſame ſtatute referreth them to yͤ ordinaries, and to the lawes, properly to hereſie appertayning, and to the ſtatute. an. 2. Henr. 4. chap. 15. where the penaltie is burning. Alſo to the ſtatute. an. 5. Richard 2. chap.

Vid. ſtat. an. 2. Hen. 4. cap 15.
Vid. ſtat. an. 5. Rich. 2. cap. 5.

5. So that in this preſent ſtatute here mention is conteined, as ye ſee although not in expreſſe words, yet incluſiuely (by referring to other ſtatutes not repealed) bothe Lollardery which is puniſhed with burning, and forcible entrees which is puniſhed at the kinges pleaſure. And thus much concerning the ſecōd vntruth, which M. Cope vntruely noted in me.

3. Obiection.

Aunſwere.

3. The third vntruth which he noteth in me concerning this matter, is this, wherein he reporteth mee, that I ſay, there was no other cauſe of deuiſing this ſharp law & puniſhment againſt theſe mē, but onely for hauing the ſcripture bookes. And therfore here is noted in the margent Foxi dolus malus, but let M. Cope take heede, hee deceiue not himſelf and other. For my part I remember no ſuch place in this my Latine ſtory where I ſo ſay. Onely my wordes be theſe, added in the latter ende of the place aboue recited: Wicleuiani verò dicebantur quicunq; id temporis Scripturas Dei ſua lingua lectitarent. &c. That is. They were called wicleuiſtes, whoſoeuer at that time read the Scripture in engliſh or vulgare tongue. &c. I ſay not, that for the ſcriptures being read in yͤ engliſh tongue, therfore the law was enacted, but ſo is M. Cope diſpoſed to conſtrue it. What law & ſtatuts were made againſt writing or reading of any booke in Engliſh or in any other tonge cōtrary to yͤ Catholick (that is yͤ Romiſh) fayth, or to the determinatiō of the holy Church (that is of Rome) read I beſeech thee the bloudy ſtatute made. an. 2. Hen. 4. chap. 15. aboue ſpecifyed pag. 523, Alſo read the conſtitution prouinciall of Thomas Arundell aboue mentioned, pag. 524. lin. 9. where it was decreed, that the text of holy ſcripture ſhould not be had or read in the vulgare tongue frō the time of M. Iohn wickliffe, for euer after, vnleſſe the ſayd tranſlation be approued firſt by the ordinary or by prouinciall councell, vnder pain and puniſhment of hereſy. Now let the reader iudge whether yͤ reading of ſcripture bookes in the engliſh tongue, by the making or tranſlating of wickliffe, or from the tyme of wicliffe downward, be coūted hereſy or not. As for the approuing of the ordinary or of the prouincial councell added in the end of the ſayd conſtitution, maketh more for a ſhew or pretence, then for any iuſt exception, or any true intention. For what man hauing thoſe Scriptures tranſlated in Engliſh, would either preſent them to their ordinaries being ſo ſet againſt the reading of ſuch bookes? or what ordinarie would or did euer yet ſince Arundels tyme approue any ſuch tranſlation, preſented vnto them? Or els why did the good Martyrs of Amerſam ſuffer death, in the begynning of kyng Henry the viij. for hauing and reading certaine bookes of Scripture, which were (as is ſaide) onely foure Epiſtles of S. Paule, with certaine other prayers. And the other which heard them but onely reade, did beare fagottes, and the ſame tyme, the children compelled to ſet fagots vnto their fathers, at which time Longlande being then Byſhop of Lincolne, & preaching to them at yͤ ſtake, ſayde: that whatſoeuer they were, that did but moue hys lippes in reading thoſe chapters, were damned for euer: as when we come to that tyme, by the grace of Chriſt, ſhall hereafter more amply and notoriouſly appear. And where thē is this Dolus malus Foxi, margined againſt me, for craftie dealing in my ſtory?

Reading of Scripture bookes contrary to the Romiſhe faith made hereſie.

Statut an. 2. Hen. 4. cap. 14. Vide ſupra pag. 507.

The text of Scripture not to be tranſlated to the vulgare tounge vnder paine of hereſie.

Conſt. prouinc. Tho. Arund. Vide ſupra. pag. 506.

Children of Emerſhā cauſed to ſet fagots to their fathers.

Copus pag. 833. lin. 20.

Copus. pag. 836, lin. 13.

Moreouer where M. Cope proceeding farther in this matter, aſketh me: how was the Lorde Cobham obedient to the king, whē as for the feare of him, the king durſt not then keepe his parliament at London? To whom I aunſwere agayne, aſking likewiſe of M. Cope, howe was the king then afrayd to hold his parliament at London for the Lord Cobham, when the Lord Cobham at that time was in wales: And here M. Cope, thinking to haue me at a narow ſtraight, and to holde me faſt, biddeth me tell him, howe it coulde be otherwiſe, but the Lorde Cobham muſt needes haue fautours. And who ſhould theſe fautours be (ſayth he) but ſyr Roger Acton, Browne & their fellowes.

The which mighty queſtion of M. Cope, I anſwer agayn howe can ſir Roger Acton, Browne and their fellowes be then fautors of the Lord Cobham, for whome the King durſt not hold his parliament at Londō, when as the ſayd Roger Acton, Browne, and the reſt were put to death, a whole yeare almoſt before the Parliament at Leyceſter began?

And now as I haue hitherto briefly, and truely aunſwered your aſkinges (M. Cope) let me be ſo bolde wͭ you agayne, to propounde to you likewiſe an other queſtion, For ſo much as you haue put me to the ſearching of yͤ ſtatutes in this matter, wherewith before I was not muche acquainted: now out of the ſame ſtatutes riſeth a doubtfull ſcruple or queſtiō, worthy to be ſolued. The cauſe is this, yͭ for aſmuch as ſo many good martyrs and Saintes of God hetherto in this realme of England, haue bene burned frō the time of king Henry 4. Hen. 5. Hen. 6. Hen. 8. to yͤ time and in the time of Queene Mary, my queſtion is that you wͭ all your learned councell about you wil tel me, by what law or ſtatute of the realme were theſe men brent? I know the auncient cuſtome hath bene, that hereticks conuicted by a prouinciall councell were wont to be left to the ſecular power. But how wil ye proue me, theſe hereticks were either conuict by ſuch prouinciall councell, or that theſe ſeculare men ought to be your butchers in burning them, whō ye haue committed to them?

Statute of the 6. articles in the time of K. Henry. 8.

Statut. an. 5. Rich. 2. cap. 5.

Statut. de comburendo. an. 2. Hen. 4. ca. 15.

Vide ſupra pag. 507.

Statut. an. 2. Henr. 4. de comburendo. proued not ſufficient, to burne any man.

If ye alledge the vi. Articles made in the reigne of king Henry the 8. thoſe articles neither did ſerue before the time of king Hēry the viii. neither yet were they reuiued after his time. If ye alledge to yͤ ſtatute made. an. 5. Richar. 2. cap. 5. In that ſtatute (I aunſwere) is conteined no matter of burning, but onely of arreſt to be done at the certificatiōs of the prelates, wͭout any further puniſhmēt there mentioned. To conclude, if ye alledge the ſtatute made. an. 2. Henr. 4. chap. 15. and reuiued in the reigne of Queene Mary, mentioned before pag. 523 To that ſtatute I anſwere, that although yͤ pretenſed ſtatute appeareth in forme of wordes in the Printed book to geue vnto the temporall officers authoritie to bring them to the ſtake, and to burne them, whom the Biſhop deliuereth: Yet is it not to be proued, either by you, or any other, that ſtatute to be law or warrant ſufficient to burne anye perſon or perſons committed to the ſeculare power by the Clergy. And that I proue thus, for although the ſame ſtatute of king Henry the fourth in the bookes printed, appeare to haue law and authority ſufficient, by the ful aſſent both of the king, of the Lordes, and of the cōmons: yet being occaſioned by M. Cope to ſearch further in yͤ ſtatutes, I haue found that in the Rolles and firſt originals of that Parliament, there is no ſuch mention either of any petitiō or els of any aſſent of the commons annexed or contained in that ſtatute, according as in the printed bookes vſual in the Lawyers handes to craftely and falſely ſoyſted in, as by the playne wordes thereof may well appeare.

For where the ſaid ſtatute. an. 2. Henry. 4. chap. 15. beyng thus intituled in the Rolles: Petitio cleri contra hæreticos, and aſſented vnto in this forme: hath theſe wordes.

❧ Statut. an. 2. Henri. 4. cap. 15. Intituled in the Rolle thus: Petitiō Cleri contra hæreticos, and aſſented vnto in this forme.

The printed ſtatute an. 2. Hen. 4. cap. 15. falſely corrupted.

QVas quidem petitiones prælatorum & cleri ſuperius expreſſatas do. noſter Rex, de conſenſu magnatum & aliorum procerum regni ſui, in præſenti Parliamento exiſtentium conceſſit, & in omnibus & ſingulis iuxta formam & effectum eorundē ordinauit & ſtatuit de cætero firmiter obſeruari, and ſo forth according to the petition: and moe wordes, are there not in yͤ ſtatute Rolle. wherfore wher as the ſtatute booke printed hath thus: Super quibus quidem nouitatibus & exceſsibus ſupereus recitatis (videlicet in the petition of the Prelates & clergy) prælati & clerus ſupradicti ac etiam communitates dicti Regni in eodem Parliamento exiſten. dicto Domino Regi ſupplicarunt. &c. Qui quidem Dominus Rex. &c. ex aſſenſu magnatum & aliorum procerum eiuſdem Regni &c. conceſsit ordinauit, &c. Theſe wordes Ac etiam communitates dicti Regni. &c. are put in further then the Rolle doth warrant, and ſeemeth to be the practiſe of the clergie, to make that as an Acte of Parliament, and to ſeeme to haue the force of a law, which was neuer aſſented vnto by the commons.

Ex conſtitutionibus prouincialibus oxonia celebratis. Ioan. Antho.

And thus you ſee howe this foreſayd ſtatute, Printed both in Engliſh and in Latine among yͤ Prouincial councels of Oxford (by the vertue whereof ſo many good men haue bene burned ſo long in England) doth vtterly ouerthrow it ſelfe, for that it ſwerueth from the recorde bothe in forme and in matter, and lacketh the aſſent of the commons which doubt I thought at this preſent to propound vnto you (mayſter Cope) for that you haue ſo vrged me to the ſearching out of the ſtatutes, by your declayming agaynſt the Lord Cobham.

Vid Stat. an. 5. Ric. 2. cap. 5

Moreouer vnto this ſtatute aforeſayd, ioyne alſo with all an other Memorandum of like practiſe done. an. 5. Rich. 2. In the which yeare, where as a ſtatute was concluded yͤ parliament. an. 5. Rich. 2. chap. 5. agaynſt certayne preachers ſpecified in yͤ ſame ſtatute, which going about in certaine habites from place to place, did drawe the people to ſermons. And commiſſions were made and directed in the ſayd parliament to the ſhrines, to arreſt all ſuch preachers and to impriſon the ſame, at the certifications of the Prelates. Here is then to be noted, that the ſame ſtatute an. 5. Rich. 2. cap. 5. was reuoked by the king in the parliament. an 6. Rich. 2. vpon the wordes of the commons being theſe videl. Foraſmuch as the ſame ſtatute was neuer aſſented, ne graunted by the commons, but that which therein was done, was done without their aſſent, and now ought to be vndone, for that it was neuer their meaning to be iuſtified and to bind themſelues and their ſucceſſors to the prelates no more, then their auncetours had done before them. Ex Rotul. And yet thys foreſayd reuocation notwithſtanding in Queene Maryes tyme, they inquired vppon that ſtatute.

Ex Rotul. Parliam.

The perſecutors in burning Gods people haue done againſt the lawe.

In ſearching of theſe ſtatutes, as you haue accaſioned me to find out theſe ſcruples: ſo being foūd out, I thought here not to diſſemble them, for ſo muche as I ſee and heare many now a dayes ſo boldly to beare themſelues vpō this ſtatute, and thinking ſo to excuſe themſelues do ſay, yͭ they haue done nothing but the law the law: to the intent that theſe men ſeeing now how inexcuſable they be both before God and man hauing no law to beare them out, may yͤ ſoner repent their bloudy and vnlawfull tyranny, exerciſed ſo long agaynſt Gods true ſeruauntes, yet in time before that the iuſt law of God ſhall finde out their vniuſt dealinges, which partly he beginneth already to do, and more no doubt will doe hereafter.

A neceſſary admonition to the Commons of England.

In the meane tyme this my petition I put vp to the Commons, and to all other which ſhall hereafter put vp any petition to the Parliamēt: that they being admoniſhed by this abuſe, wil ſhew thēſelues heare after more wiſe & circumſpect: both what they agree vnto in Parliamentes, & alſo what commeth out in their name. And as theſe good Commons in this time of king Henry 4. would not conſent nor agree to this bloudy ſtatute, nor to anye other like For ſo we read that the Commons in that bloudy time of king Henry 4. when an other like cruell byll was put vp by the Prelates in an. 8. Hen. 4. againſt the Lollards, they neither conſented to this, and alſo ouerthrow the other: ſo in like maner it is to be wiſhed, that the commons in this our time, or ſuch other that ſhall haue to do in parliaments hereafter following the ſteppes of theſe former times, will take vigilant heede to ſuch cruell billes of the Popes prelacy, being put vp, that neither their conſent do paſſe raſhly: nor that their names in any condition be ſo abuſed, Cōſidering with themſelues that a thing once being paſſed in the parliament, cannot afterward be called back: And a litle inconuenience once admitted, may grow afterward to miſchiefes that cannot be ſtopped. And ſometime it may ſo happen that through raſhe conſent of voices, the ende of thinges being not well aduiſed, ſuch a thing being graunted in one day, that afterward many dayes may cauſe the whole realme to rue. But I truſt men are bitten enough with ſuche blacke parliamentes to beware of afterclaps. The Lord Ieſus onely protector of his church, ſtop al crafty deuiſes of ſubtile enemies, and with his wiſedom direct our Parliamentes, as may be moſt to the aduauntage of his word, and comfort of hys people. Amen. Amen.

And thus much hauing ſayd for the defence of the Lord Cobhā, of ſyr Roger Acton knight, maiſter Iohn Browne Eſquier, Iohn Beuerly preacher, and of other their fellowes agaynſt Alanus Copus Anglus, here I make an ende with this preſēt Interim, till furthur leyſure ſerue me here after (Chriſt willing) to pay him the whole Intereſt which I owe vnto him. Adding this in the meane time, and by the way: that if mayſter Cope had bene a Monus anye thing reaſonable, he had no great cauſe ſo to wrangle with me in this matter, who as I did commend the Lord Cobham & that worthyly, for hys valiaūt ſtanding by yͤ truth, of his doctrine before Thomas Arundell the Archbiſhop ſo touching the matter of this conſpiracie, I did not affirm or define any thing therof in my former hiſtorie ſo preciſely that he could well take any vauntage of agaynſt me, who in writing of this conſpiracy layd agaynſt ſyr Roger Acton, And ſyr Iohn Oldcaſtle, do but diſiūctiuely or doubtfully ſpeake thereof, not concluding certainly this conſpiracie eyther to be true or not true, but only mouing yͤ ſame

Propoſition diſiunctiue.

not to be true at that time, as Polydore Virgill. and Edward Hall in their hiſtories doe affirme: which ſay that this conſpiracie began after the burning of Iohn Huſſe and Hierome of Prage. which could not be. And thereto tendeth my aſſertion. My wordes are playne, and are theſe. pag. 174. col. 2. line. 13. wherefore it is euident that there was eyther no conſpiracie at all agaynſt the king: or els that it was at ſome other tyme, or done by other Captaynes. &c.

Lib. Act. & Monu. 174.

These be my wordes with other moe, pag. col. and line aboue noted. In the which propoſition disiunctiue, if eyther part be true, it is enough for me. His part it was to refell both, which he hath not done. But onely ſtanding faſt vpon the one part, diſſimuleth the other. And this is Alanus Copus Anglus, who by that he ſhall come frõ Rome (whether he is nowe gone as I heare ſay) I truſt he will returne a better Logician home agayne in ſuam Angliam.

Sir Roger Acton contrary to the Biſh. of Rome.

Cauſes coniecturall why Sir Roger Acton with the reſt, were put to death for traytours & Lollardes.

But to the truth of our matter, as I ſayde before, ſo I ſay agayne, whatſoeuer this worthy, noble and vertuous knight ſyr Roger Acton was otherwiſe, this is certaine ẏ he was alwaies of contrary minde, and opinion to the biſhop of Rome, & to that kind of people, for the which cauſe he had great enuy and hatred at their hands: and could as litle beare it: neither do I greatly diſſent from them, which do ſuſpect or iudge that the Lord Cobham, by his friendly helpe eſcaped out of the Tower, and that peraduenture was the cauſe why he was apprehended and brought to trouble, and in the end came to his death. Other cauſes alſo theyr might be, that theſe good men percaſe did frequent among themſelues, ſome cõuenticles (which conuenticles was made treaſon by the ſtatute aforeſayd) either in thoſe Thickets or in ſome place els: for the hearing of Gods word, and for publique prayer, and therefore had they thys Beuerly theyr preacher with them.

But to conclude whatſoeuer this ſir Roger Acton was this is ẏ truth, which I may boldly record, as one writing the Actes and thinges done in the Church, that he was at length apprehended, condemned and put to death or martirdome. 3. yeares and more before the Lord Cobham died Likewiſe M. Iohn Browne, and Iohn Beuerly the preacher, ſuffered with him the ſame kinde of death (as ſome ſay) in the field of S. Giles with other moe, to the number of 36. if the ſtoryes be true. Whiche was in the month of Ianuary. an 1413. after the computation of our Engliſh ſtories, counting the yeare from the annunciation, but after the Latine writers counting from Chriſtes natiuitie. an. 1414. according as this picture is ſpecified.

{ Anno. 1414. }

Diuerſitie in authors.

These men as is ſaid, ſuffered before the Lord Cobham aboot 3. yeares, of whoſe death diuers do write diuerſly. Some ſay they were hanged and burnt in S. Gyles field, of whom is Fabian, with ſuch as follow him. Other there be which ſay that ſome of them were hanged & burnt. Polydorus ſpeaking onely of their burning maketh no mētiõ of hanging. An other certain engliſh Chronicle I haue in my handes borowed of one M. Bowyer, who ſomewhat differing frõ the reſt, recordeth thus of ſir Roger Acton, that hys iudgement before the iuſtice was thus, to be drawne through London to Tyborne, and there to be hanged, and ſo he was naked ſaue certayne partes of him couered with a clothe. &c. And when certayn dayes were paſt (ſayth the author) a Trumpeter of the kinges called Thomas Cliffe gat graunt of the king to take hym downe, and to burye hym, and ſo he did &c. And thus haue you the ſtorye of ſyr Roger Acton, and hys fellow brethren. As touching theyr cauſe whether it were true or els by error miſtaken of the king, or by the fetch of the biſhops ſurmiſed, I referre it to the iudgement of him which ſhal iudge both the quick and dead, & ſeculum per ignem. To whõ alſo I commit you M. Cope, God ſpeed your iorny well to Rome, whether I heare ſay you are going, and make you a good man.

An engliſh ſtory beginning thus. A table of all the kinges.

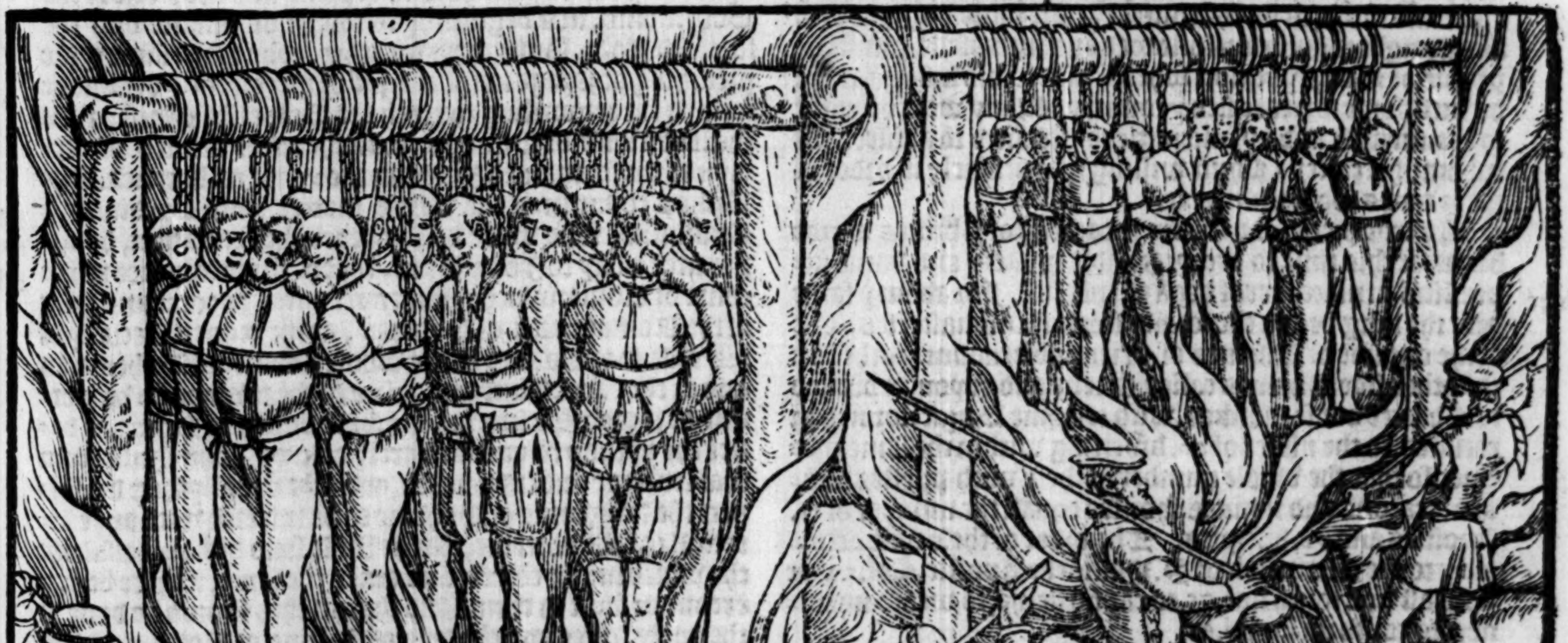
M. Cope gone to Rome.

The death of Thomas Arun. Archb. of Cant. *Ex hiſt. S. Alba.* Gods workes & puniſhmentes to be noted.

After the deceaſe or martyrdome of theſe aboue mentioned, who are executed in the month of Ianuary an. 1414. in the next month following, and in the ſame yere, ẏ 20. day of February, God tooke away ẏ great enemy of his word, and rebell to his king Thom. Arundell Archb. of Cant. Whoſe death following after the execution of theſe good men aboue recited, by the merueilous ſtroke of God ſo ſodenly, may ſeeme ſomewhat to declare their innocẽcy, and that he was alſo ſome great procurer of theyr death, in that God woulde not ſuffer him longer to liue, ſtriking hym with death incontinently vppon the ſame. But as I dyd the other before, ſo this alſo I do refer, to the ſecret iudgement of the Lord, who once ſhal iudge all ſecrets openly.

In the mean time this may ſeeme ſtrange, that the ſame Tho. Arundell, who a litle before ſitting vpon iudgement

¶ The picture of the burning and hanging of diuers perſons counted for Lollardes, in the firſt yeare of the raigne of king Henry the fift.



agaynſt

Tho. Arundell geueth ſentence agaynſt the Lord Cobham: and God geueth ſentence againſt Tho. Arundell. The condemned man ouerliueth his condemner. Polydor Virgill erreth.

agaynſt ẏ Lord Cobham, and pronounced ſentẽce of death vpon him, and did himſelfe fele the ſtroke of death, & the ſentẽce of God executed vpõ him before the other. Who wold haue thought that the Lord Cobham being ſo caſt and cõdemned diſtinitiuely by the archbiſhops ſentence, but ẏ he ſhould haue died long before the archbiſhop? But ſuch be the works of gods almighty hand, who ſo turned ẏ whele ẏ this condẽned Lord ſuruiued his condẽner 3. or 4. yeres.

In the death of this Archb. firſt Polydor Virgil is deceiued, who in his 22. booke, pag. 441. affirmed hys death to be an. 1415. and in the ſecond yeare of king Henr. 5. alſo after the beginning of the Councell of Conſtãce who in dede neuer reached the beginning therof, nor euer ſaw the ſecõd yeare of that king (vnles ye count the firſt day for a yeare) but dyed before, an. 1414. Feb. 20. Ex hiſt. S. Albani & multis. Furthermore concerning the death of this Arundell, and the maner therof, who had not bene ſo heauy a troubler of Chriſtes ſaints in his time, becauſe the thing ſemeth worthy of noting, to behold the puniſhment of God vpon hys enemies, this is to report, as I haue found it alledged out of Thomas Gaſcoin in Dictionario Theologico: Whoſe playne wordes be theſe: Anno. 1414. Tho. Arundel Cant. Archiepiſcop. ſic lingua percuſſus erat: vt nec deglutire, nec loqui per aliquot dies ante mortem ſuam potuerit, diuitis epulonis exemplo: & ſic tantum obijt. Atque multi tunc fieri putabant, quia verbum alligaſſet, ne ſuo tempore prædicaretur. &c.

Tho. Gaſcohius in Dictionario theologico.

An example of Gods working hand againſt the enemies of his word.

That is, Thomas Arundel archbiſhop of Cant. was ſo ſtrikẽ in his tongue that neither he could ſwallow, nor ſpeake for a certayne ſpace before hys death, much lyke after the example of the rich glotton, and ſo dyed vpon the ſame. And thys was thought of many to come vpon him, for that he ſo bound the word of the Lord, that it ſhould not be preached in hys dayes &c. Whiche if it be true, as it doth well here appeare, theſe and ſuch other horrible exãples of gods wrath, may be terrible ſpectacles for ſuch as occupy theyr tongues and braynes ſo buſily to ſtop ẏ courſe of gods wrath, ſtriuing but againſt ẏ ſtreame againſt the force whereof, neither they are able to reſiſte, & many times in reſiſting are ouerturned thẽſelues & drowned therin. And thus much for the death of Tho. Arundel, who cõtinued archb. in ẏ ſee of Cant. the ſpace of 18. yeres.

The maruelous hand of God vpon Tho. Arũdell Archb of Cant.

It is in vaine to gainſtand Gods word.

Hen. Chicheſly Archb. of Cant.

After this Arundel, ſucceeded next in the ſaid ſee of Cãterb. Henry Chicheſly made archb. an. 1414. and ſate xxv. yeares. This Henry following likewiſe the ſteps of hys predeceſſour, ſhewed himſelfe no ſmall aduerſary againſt ẏ fauourers of the truth. In whoſe time was much trouble and great afflictiõ in the church. For as the preaching and teaching of the word did multiply and ſpread abroad daily more and more, ſo on the contrary ſide, more vigilant care and ſtraight inquiſition followed and increaſed againſt the people of God, by reaſon wherof diuers did ſuffer, & were burned, ſome for feare fled ẏ country. Many were brought to examinatiõ, and by infirmitie conſtrained to abiure. Of whome hereafter (Chriſt willing) particularly in order of theyr times we will entreat.

Sion & Bethleẽ builded.

As true pietie, and ſincere preaching of Chriſtes worde began at this time to decay: So idle mõkery and vaine ſuperſtitiõ in place therof begã to encreaſe. For about ẏ ſame yere the king began the foundation of 2. monaſteries, one of the one ſide of Thames of Friers obſeruaunt, ẏ other on the other ſide Thames called Shene and Syon, dedicated to Charter houſe monkes, with certaine Brigit nonnes or recluſes, to the nũber of 60. dwelling within the ſame precinct, ſo that the whole number of theſe with prieſtes, mõkes, deacons and nonnes ſhoulde equall the number of 13. Apoſtles and 72. diſciples. The order of theſe was according to the diſcription of S. Paule the Apoſtle, Col. 1. Eat not, taſt not, touch not, &c. to eat no fleſhe, to weare no linnen, to touch no mony. &c.

About Michaelmas, the ſame yeare the king began his Parliament at Leiceſter, aboue mentioned. In the whiche Parliament the commons put vp theyr bill agayn, which they had put vp before, an. 11. Henr. 4. the tẽpporalties diſorderly waſted by men of the church, might be conuerted & employed to the vſe of the king, of his Earls and knights and to the reliefe of ẏ poore people, as is before recited, pag. 557. In feare of which bill leaſt the king woulde geue therunto any comfortable audience (as teſtifieth Rob. Fabian and other writers) certayne of the Prelates & other headmen of the church put the king in mind to clayme his right in Fraunce. Whereupon Hen. Chicheſly Archbiſh. of Caunterbury made a long and ſolemne oration before the king to perſwade him to the ſame, offering to the king in the behalfe of the Clergie great and notable ſummes. By reaſon wherof (ſayth Fabian) the bill was agayne put of, and the king ſet his minde for the recouery of the ſame: ſo that ſoone after he ſent his letters and meſſengers to the French king concerning that matter, and receiued from him againe anſwere of deriſion, wt a pype of tennis balles (as ſome recorde) ſent from the Dolphin, for him to playe with at home. Whereby the kinges minde was incenſed ẏ more toward that viage. Who then furniſhing hymſelfe wt ſtrength and armour, with powder & ſhot, and gunſtones to play with in Fraunce, and with other artillarye for that purpoſe conuenient, ſo ſet ouer into France, where he got Harfflew with diuers other townes and caſtles in Normandy and Picardy, and at Agyncourt had a great victory ouer the french army, they being counted but 7. thouſand, by pricking ſharp ſtakes before them, &c. After that he wan Cane, Towke, Rowan with other townes mor, as Meldune, or Melione, and maryed with Katherine the french kinges daughter. And yet notwithſtanding the third time he made hys viage agayne into Fraunce, where at length at Bloys he fell ſicke and dyed, Concerning all which viages, becauſe they are ſufficientlye diſcouried in Fabian, Halle, and other Chronographers, referring therfore the reader vnto them, I will return my ſtory to other matters of the Church more effectuall.

Vide ſupra pag. 557.

Fabiã with other

A crafty practiſe of the prelates. The king ſtirred vp to warres by the biſhops.

✻ The entry of the ſtory of the Bohemians.

Vide ſupra, pag. 507

The Bohemians receiuing the Goſpell.

I Declared a little before howe by the occaſion of Queene Anne, which was a Bohemian and maried to king Richard 2. the Bohemians cõming therby to the knowledge of Wickliffes bookes here in England, began firſt to taſte and ſauor Chriſtes goſpell, til at length by the preaching of John Huſſe, they increaſed more and more in knowledge. In ſo much that pope Alexander the v. hearing thereof, began at laſt to ſtyrre coales, and directeth his Bul to ẏ archbiſhop of Suinco, requiring hym to looke to the matter, & to prouide that no perſon in Churches, Schooles or other places ſhould mayntayne that doctrine, citing alſo J. Hus to appeare before him. To whom the ſayd John aunſwering againe, declared that mandate or Bull of the pope vtterly to repugne agaynſt the manifeſt examples & doinges both of Chriſt and of hys Apoſtles, and to be preiudiciall to the liberty of the Goſpell, in binding ẏ word of God not to haue free recourſe. And therefore from this mandate of the P. he appealed to the ſame Pope better aduiſed. But while he was proſecuting hys appeale, Pope Alexander died, as is aforeſayd, pag, 553. Ex Cochleo, in hiſt. Huſsit.

The pope againſt the Bohemiãs. Iohn Hus cited of the Pope. Iohn Huſſe appealeth from the pope to the Pope.

Pope Iohn. 23.

After whome ſucceded Pope John the xxiij. who alſo playing hys part here in this matter like a Pope, ſought by all meanes poſſible how to repreſſe and keep vnder the Bohemians, firſt beginning to worke his malice vpõ the foreſayd John Huſſe theyr preacher. Who at the ſame tyme preaching at Prage in the temple of Bethleem, becauſe he ſeemed rather willing to teach the Goſpell of Chriſt, then the traditions of Biſhops, was therefore accuſed of certayn to the forenamed P. John the 23. for an heretick. The Biſhop committed the whole matter vnto Cardinall de Collumna, who when he had heard the accuſation, he appoynted a day to John Huſſe, that he ſhold appeare in the court of Rome: whiche thing once done, Wenceſlaus king of the Romaynes & of Boheme, at the requeſt ſpecially of his wife Sophia, and of the whole nobility of Boheme, as alſo at the earneſt ſute and deſire of the towne and vniuerſitie of Prage: He ſent his Embaſſadours to Rome, to deſire the byſhop to quit & clearely deliuer John Huſſe from that ſentence and iudgement, and that if the byſhop did ſuſpect the kingdome of Boheme to be infected with anye heretical or falſe doctrine, that he ſhold ſend his ambaſſadors the which might correct and amẽd the ſame, if there be any errour or fault in them. And that all this ſhould be done at the onely coſtes and charges of the king of Boheme, and to promiſe in his name that he would ayde and aſſiſte the Biſhops Legates with all hys power and authoritie, to puniſhe all ſuch as ſhoulde be taken or found in any erroneous doctrine. In the meane ſeaſon alſo John Huſſe before his day appointed, ſent his lawfull and meete procurators vnto the court of Rome, and with moſt firme and ſtronge reaſons, dyd proue hys innocency, whereupon he truſted ſo, that he thought he ſhoulde haue eaſely obtayned that he ſhould not haue bene compelled, by reaſon of the great dãger, to appeare the day appoynted. But when as the Cardinall de Collumna, (vnto whoſe will and iudgement the whole matter was committed) would not admit no defence or excuſe: John Huſſe his procurators, appealed vnto the high Biſhop: yet notwithſtanding, this laſt refuge did not ſo much preuaile with Cardinall de Collumna, but that he would opẽly excommunicate John Huſſe as an obſtinate hereticke, becauſe he came not at hys day appoynted vnto Rome.

Iohn Hus accuſed to pope Iohn.

Iohn Hus excõmunicate by Cardinall de Collumna.

Nothwithſtanding for ſo much as his procurators had appealed vnto the high biſhop, they had other iudges appointed vnto them, as cardinal Aquileianus and cardinal Venetus with certayne others. The which iudges after they had prolonged and differred the matter by the ſpace of one yere and a halfe, at the laſt they returned to the ſentēce and iudgement of cardinall de Columna, and confirming yͤ ſame, commaunded John Hus his Procurators that they ſhould leaue of to defend him any more, for they would ſuffer it no longer. Wherupon when his Procurators would not ceaſe theyr inſtant ſute, certayne of them were caſt into priſō, and greuouſly puniſhed, the other leauing theyr buſines vndone, returned into Boheme.

The Bohemians againſt the Pope & his doings. Ex Cochleo in Hiſt. Huſſit. lib. 1

The Bohemians notwithſtandinge little cared for all this, but continuing ſtil as they grew more in knowledge, ſo the leſſe they regarded the Pope, complayning dayly agaynſt him and the Archb. for ſtopping the word of God, and the goſpel of Chriſt to be preached, ſaying that by their indulgences and other practiſes of the court of Rome, and of the biſhops Conſiſtory, they ſought their owne profit, & not of Jeſus Chriſt: that they pluckt from the ſheepe of Chriſt the wool and milke, and did not feed them, neyther with the word of God nor with good examples. Teaching moreouer and affirming, that the commaūdements of the Pope and Prelates are not to be obeyed, but ſo far as they follow the doctrine and life of Chriſt and of his Apoſtles, and that lay men ought to iudge the workes of the prelates as Paule iudged the workes of Peter in correcting him. Gal. 2. Farthermore, they had amongſt thē certayne notes and obſeruations, whereby they might diſcerne how far & wherin they might obey theyr prelates: they derided alſo & ſcorned the Popes iuriſdiction, becauſe of the ſchiſme that was then in the church, whē there were 3. popes together one ſtriuing agaynſt another for the papacy.

Doubtes of John Hus propounded

Ouer and beſides this, at the ſame time John Hus did propoūd publickly, and by the Notaries cauſed to be written 3. doubtfull queſtions, the tenor wherof foloweth here word for word & is this: Foraſmuch ſayth he as it is good for men being in doubt to aſke counſell, whereby all dubitatiō remoued, they may be able the more firmly to adhere the truth. 3. doubtes here ariſe to be ſolued. The firſt doubt is whither we ought to beleeue in the Pope. The ſecond, whither it be poſſible for any man to be ſaued, which confeſſeth not with his mouth vnto a mortal prieſt. The third doubte is, whither any of the doctors doe holde or ſay that ſome of Pharaos hoſt being drowned in the red ſea, and of the Sodomites being ſubuerted, be ſaued.

Credere in Deum. Credere Deo. Credere Deum. Pet. Lomb. lib. 4. diſt. 17. cap. 11. Againſt Auricular confeſſion.

As concerning the firſt, he did hold negatiuely, alleadging the ſaying of Bede vpon this place of the Apoſtle: To him that beleeueth vpon him which iuſtifieth the wicked, his fayth is imputed to righteouſnes. Rom. 4. Vpon thys place ſayth Bede: Aliud eſt credere in deum, aliud credere deo, aliud credere deum. &c. The ſecond doubt ſayth he, the maiſter of the ſentence doth anſwere. lib. 4. diſt. 17. cap. 11. in theſe wordes: what is then to be holden or ſayd herein? Certes, that without the confeſſion of the mouth, and aſſoyling of the outward payne, ſinnes be forgeuen through contrition and humility of the hart. &c. For the third doubt he brought in the wordes of S. Jerome vpon the Prophet Nahum, ſpeaking of the Egiptians deſtroyed in the ſea, and of the Sodomites deſtroyd with fire, & of the Iſraelites deſtroyed in the deſert. Know you (ſayth Jerome) that God therfore puniſhed them for their ſinnes here temporally, becauſe they ſhould not be puniſhed hereafter perpetually, & therfore becauſe they were here puniſhed, they ſhall not be puniſhed hereafter for els the ſcripture ſhould lie, which is not to be graunted. Theſe 3. queſtiōs belike John Hus did bring in to declare howe the doctors doe not agree in all things neither with the church of Rome, neither are to be followed in all poyntes of all men.

Councell of the prelates of Prage againſt the Goſpellers.

It foloweth moreouer after the death of the Archbiſh. Swinco aboue mentioned, that one named Cōradus was placed by yͤ pope there to be chief general, which Cōradus conferring with the diuines and doctors of the vniuerſity of Prage, required their aduiſes and counſelles, what way they might beſt take to aſſwage the diſſentions & diſcordes betwene the clergy and the people. Wherupon a certayne councell was deuiſed to be holden after this ſort and maner as foloweth.

1. Firſt, that all doctors and maiſters of the vniuerſity of Prage ſhould be aſſēbled in the court of the Archb. and in his preſence that euery doctor and maiſter ſhoulde ſweare, not to holde or mayntayne any of the 45. articles of John Wickliffe before condemned.
2. Item, concerning the 7. ſacraments of the Church, the keyes & cenſures of the church, the maners, rites, ceremonies, cuſtomes, and liberties of the church, concerning alſo the worſhipping of reliques and indulgēſes, the orders & religions of the church, that euery one ſhall ſweare that he doth hold, beleue & mayntayn, and will maintayn as doth the church of Rome and no otherwiſe, of the which church of Rome the Pope is the head, & the colledge of Cardinals is the body: who are the true and manifeſt ſucceſſours of bleſſed S. Peter prince of the Apoſtles, and of the colledge of the other Apoſtles of Chriſt.
3. Item, that euery one ſhall ſweare, that in euery catholicke matter belonging to the Church that he will ſtand to the determination of the Apoſtolicall ſea, and that he wyll obey the prelates in all maner of thinges whereſoeuer, the thing which is pure good is not forbidden: or that which is mere ill, is not commaunded: but is meane or indifferēt betwene both. Which mean or indifferent thing, yet notwithſtanding by circumſtances of time, place or perſon, may be either good or euill.

Purum bonum. Purum malum, Medium.

4. Item, that euery one ſhall ſweare & confeſſe by his oth, that the opinions of Wickliffe and others, touching the 7. ſacraments of the church and other things aboue notified, being contrary to the ſayd church of Rome be falſe.
5. Item, that an othe be required of them all, that none of them ſhall hold, defend or maintaine any of the 45. articles of John Wickliffe aforeſayd; or in any other matter catholick, and eſpecially of the 7. Sacraments and other articles aboue ſpecified, but only as doth the Church of Rome, and no otherwiſe.
6. Item, that euery ordinary in his dioces ſhall cauſe the ſayd premiſſes contained in the 1. 2. 3. 4. articles aforeſayde to be publiſhed in his Sinodes, and by his preachers to be declared to the people in the kingdome of Boheme.
7. Item, that if any Clerke, ſtudent, or lay man ſhal withſtād any of the premiſſes, that the ordinary haue authority if he be conuicted therof to correct him, according to the old lawes and Canons, and that no man ſhal defend ſuch one by any meanes, for none but the ordinary hath power to correct ſuch a man, becauſe the Archbiſhop is chauncellour both of the kingdome and vniuerſity of Prage.
8. Item, that the ſonges lately forbidden, being odious, ſlaūderous and offenſiue to others fame, be not ſong neyther in ſtreetes, tauernes, nor any other place.
9. Item, that maiſter John Hus ſhall not preach ſo long as he ſhall haue no abſolution of the court, neither ſhal hinder the preaching in Prage by his preſence, that by this, his obedience to the Apoſtolicall ſea may be knowne.
10. Item, that this Councell doth appeare to be good and reaſonable for the putting away of ill report and diſſentiō that is in the kingdome of Boheme.
11. Item, if maiſter John Hus, with his complices will performe this, which is conteined in the 4. former Articles, then we will be ready to ſay as they woulde wiſhe vs and haue vs, whenſoeuer need ſhall require, that we do agree with them in matter of fayth, otherwiſe if they wyll not ſo doe, we in geuing this teſtimony ſhould lye greatly vnto our Lord the King & to the whole world. And moreouer, we will be content to write for them to the Court of Rome, and do the beſt we can for them, our honors ſaued.

This counſell and deuiſe being conſidered amongeſt the head of the vniuerſity of Prage, the foreſayd adminiſtrator named Conradus, preſented to the king and to the barons of the realme, and alſo to the Senate of Prage. Wherof as ſoone as word came to John Hus and his adherents, they likewiſe drew out other Articles in maner and forme of a councell as foloweth.

For the honor of God & the true preaching of hys goſpell, for the health of the people, and to auoyd the ſiniſter & falſe infamy of the kingdome of Boheme, and of the Marquiſhip of Morauia, & of the city and vniuerſity of Prage, and for the reforming of peace & vnity betweene the clergy and the ſcholers of the vniuerſity.

1. Firſt, let the right and iuſt decrement of the princes and of the kinges councell, be holden and ſtand in force, which betwene the L. Archbi. Suinco on the one party, and betwene the rector & maiſter John Hus on the other party, was made, proclaimed, ſealed, and ſolemnly on both parts receiued and allowed in the court of our ſoueraigne Lord the king.
2. Item, that the kingdome of Boheme remain in his former rites, liberties & common cuſtomes, ſo as other kingdomes & landes do enioy, that is, in all approbations, condemnations, and other actes concerning the holy mother vniuerſall church.
3. Item, that maiſter J. Hus, agaynſt whom the foreſayd Lord Suinco, could obiect no crime before the coūcell, that the ſayd John Hus may be preſent in the congregation of the Clergy and there whoſoeuer will obiect to him either hereſy or error, let him obiect, binding himſelf to ſuffer the like payne, if he do not proue it.

4. Item, if no man will ſet himſelfe on yͤ contrary part againſt him, then let the cõmaundement be made by our ſoueraigne Lord the king through all his Cittyes, and likewiſe let it be ordeined and proclaimed through all villages and townes, that maiſter Iohn Hus, is ready to render account of his fayth, and therfore if any will obiect vnto him any hereſy or errour, let him write his name in the chauncery of the Lord Archbiſhop, and to bring forth his probations openly before both the parties.

5. Item, if no ſuch ſhalbe founde to obiect, or which will write his name, then let them be called for, which cauſed to be noiſed & rumored in the Popes Court, that in the kingdome of Boheme, in the City of Prage, and in the Marqueſdome of Morania, many there be whoſe harts be infected with hereſy and error, that they may proue who they be: and if they be not able to proue it, let them be puniſhed.

6. Item, that commaundement be directed to Doctors of Diuinity and of the Canon law, and to the Chapter of Cathedrall churches, and that it be required of them all and of euery one particularly, that they wil bring forth his name, if they know any ſuch to be an heretick or erroneous. And if they deny to know any ſuch, then let them make recognition therof, before the publike Notary, confirming yͤ ſame with their ſeales.

7. Item, theſe things thus done & premiſed, then that our ſoueraigne Lord the king, & alſo that the Archb. will geue commaundement vnder payne that no man ſhall call one another hereticke or erroneous, vnles he will ſtand to the probation of that hereſy or error, as it becommeth him.

8. Item, after theſe thinges obteined that our ſoueraigne lord the king, with the conſent of his Barons, will thẽ leuy a ſubſidy, or collect of the clergy, & direct an honeſt ambaſſy to the Popes court, with the which embaſſadors, let thẽ alſo go vpõ theyr owne proper charges or expenſes for theyr purgation, which haue cauſed this kingdome falſly & greuouſly to be infamed in the Apoſtolicall court.

9. Item, in the meane ſeaſon for the preſence of maſter I. Hus no Interdict ought to be made, as it was made of late contrary to the order and determination of our holye mother church. &c.

The Pope maketh warre.

As this matter was thus in altercatiõ betwene yͤ two parts, yͤ one obiecting, yͤ other anſwering in articles, as is aforſayd: In the meane time it happened by the occaſiõ of Ladiſlaus king of Naples, who had beſieged the Popes townes and territories, that Pope Iohn raiſing vp warr agaynſt the ſayd Ladiſlaus, gaue ful remiſſion of ſinnes to all them which would warre of his ſide to defẽd yͤ church. When this Bul of yͤ popes indulgẽce was come to Prage, and there publiſhed, the king Wenſelaus, who thẽ fauored that pope, gaue cõmaundement that no man ſhould attẽpt any thing againſt the ſayd Popes indulgẽces. But Hus wͭ his folowers, not able to abide yͤ impiety of thoſe pardõs, began manifeſtly to ſpeake agaynſt them, of the which cõpany were 3. certayn artificers, who hearing yͤ prieſt preaching of theſe indulgences, did opẽly ſpeak againſt them, & called the pope Antichriſt, which would ſet vp the croſſe to fight agaynſt his euenchriſtened. Wherefore they were brought before the Senate, and committed to warde. But the people ioyning thẽſelues together in armes: came to yͤ magiſtrates, requiring thẽ to be let looſe. The magiſtrates with gẽtle wordes and fayre promiſes ſatiſfied the people, ſo that euery man returning home to his own houſe, yͤ tumult was aſſwaged. But the captiues being in priſon, notwithſtanding were there beheaded, whoſe names were Iohn, Martin, and Stascon. The death and martirdome of theſe three being knowne vnto the people, they tooke the bodies of them that were ſlaine, and with great ſolemnitye brought them vnto the church of Bethlem. At whoſe funerall diuers prieſtes fauoring that ſide, did ſing in this wiſe These be the Sayntes whiche for the teſtament of God gaue their bodies. &c. And ſo their bodyes were ſumptuouſly interred in the church of Bethlem, I. Hus preaching at the ſame funerall, much commending them for theyr conſtancye, and bleſſing God the father of our Lord Ieſus Chriſt, whyche had hidde the way of his verity ſo from the prudent of this world, and had reuealed it to the ſimple lay people and inferior prieſtes, which choſe rather to pleaſe God then men.

Iohn. Martine. Stalcon. Martyrs.

Steuen Paletz a great enemy to Iohn Hus.

I. Huſſe baniſhed out of Prage.

Thus this City of Prage was deuided. The prelates with the greateſt part of the clergy, & moſt of the Barons, which had any thing to loſe, did hold wͭ the pope, eſpecially Steuen Paletz, being the chiefeſt doer on that ſide. On the contrary part the commons, with part of the clergy & ſtudentes of the vniuerſity went with Iohn Hus. Wenſlaus the king fearing leaſt this would grow to a tumult, being moued by the doctors and prelates and councell of his barons thought beſt to remoue Iohn Huſſe out of the City, who had bene excommunicated before by the Pope: And further to ceaſe this diſſention riſen in the church, committed the matter to the diſpoſition of the doctors and the clergy. They cõſulting together among thẽſelues, did ſet forth a decree, ratified and confirmed by the ſentẽce of the king, contayning the ſumme of 18. articles for the mayntenaunce of the Pope and the ſee of Rome, agaynſt the doctrine of Wickeliffe and Iohn Huſſe. The names of the Doctors of Diuinity were theſe: Steuen Paletz: Staniſlaus de Znoyma: Petrus de Ikoyma: Ioannes Heliæ: Andreas Broda: Iohannes Hildeſen: Mattheus Monachus: Hermannus Heremita: Georgius Bota: Simon Wenda. &c. Iohn Hus thus departing out of Prage, went to his cõtry, where he being protected by the Lord of the Soile, continued there preaching, to whom reſorted a great concourſe of people, neither yet was he ſo expelled out of Prage, but that ſometimes he reſorted to his church of Bethleem, and there alſo preached vnto the people.

Moreouer agaynſt the ſayde decree of the doctours, I. Hus with his companye replied agayne, and aunſwered to their articles, with cõtrary articles agayn as foloweth.

✻ The obiections of Iohn Hus and of his part, agaynſt the decree of the Doctors.

Firſt, the fõdation of the Doctors wherupon they fõd all their writings and counſels, is falſe, which fõdatiõ is this, where as they ſay that part of the clergy in yͤ kingdome of Boheme is peſtilent and erroneous, and holdeth falſely of the Sacramentes,

2. The Doctors hereby do defame the kingdome of Boheme, and do rayſe vp new diſcordes.

3. Let them ſhew therefore thoſe perſons of the Clergye, whom they call peſtilent, & ſo let them verify theyr report, binding themſelues to ſuffer the like paine, if they be not able to proue it.

4. Falſe it is yͤ they ſay, the Pope & the cardinals to be the true & manifeſt ſucceſſors of Peter & of the Apoſtles, neyther that any other ſucceſſors of Peter or the Apoſtles, can be fõd vpon earth beſides thẽ. Whẽ as no man knoweth whether he be worthy of hatred or of fauour. And all Byſhops and prieſts be ſucceſſors of Peter & of the Apoſtles.

5. Not the pope, but Chriſt onely is the head: and not the Cardinals, but all Chriſtes faythfull people be the body of the Catholick church, as all holy Scripture and decrees of the holy fathers do teſtify and affirme.

6. And as touching yͤ pope, if he be a reprobate, it is plain that he is no head, no nor member alſo of yͤ holy Church of God, but of the deuill, and of his ſinagogue.

7. The clergy of the goſpellers agreeing with the ſaying of S. Auſten which they alledge, and according to the ſanctions of the fathers, and determinations of the holy mother church, do ſay and affirme laudably: that the condẽnation and prohibition of the 45. articles is vnlawful, and vniuſt, and raſhly done: for that not onely becauſe the doctors, but alſo all Biſhops and Archbiſhops, in ſuche great cauſes, namely, touching faith (as theſe articles doe) haue no authority at all, as appeareth. De baptiſmo et eius effectu cap. Maiores. Et in Can. 17. diſt. cap. Hinc ſedi. &c.

8. The ſecond cauſe of the diſcord which they alledge, alſo is moſt falſe: ſeing the fayth of whole Chriſtendome cõcerning the church of Rome, is deuided in 3. parts by the reaſon of 3. popes, which now together do raigne: And the 4. part is newtrall. Neither is it true, that we ought to ſtand in all things to the determination of the pope, & of the cardinals, but ſo farr forth as they do agree with yͤ holy ſcripture of the old and new Teſtament, from whence the ſanctions of the fathers, did firſt ſpring as is euident. De accuſationibus cap. qualiter. &c.

9. In the 4. Article they braſt out into a certayne dotage, & are contrary to themſelues. By reaſon that they doltiſhly haue reprehẽded the goſpellers, who in all their doings receiue the holy ſcripture (which is the law of God, yͤ way of trueth and life) for their iudge and meaſure: and afterward they themſelues doe alleadge the ſcripture. Deut. 17. where all iudges both popes and Cardinals are taught to iudge & diſcern betwene leaper & leaper, & in euery eccleſiaſticall cauſe, only after yͤ rule of gods law. And ſo are they cõtrary vnto their ſecõd article, wherin they ſay: yͭ in euery catholicke matter we muſt runne to the pope: which is cõtrary to the fooliſh condemnation of the Articles aforeſaid.

26.q.1. Hæ eſt fides.

Auſten called Pope.

10 Conſequently, like idiots they doe moſt falſly alledge for their purpoſe the Canon, vnder the name and authority of Ierome written 24.q.1. Hæc eſt fides papa. &c. where they do apply the wordes of Ierome moſt impertinentlye to the pope of Rome, which he writeth to S. Auſten, calling him a moſt bleſſed Pope.

11. By the whiche place of Ierome, it is manifeſt that the firſt article of thoſe doctors is falſe. Foraſmuch as by theſe

wordes appeareth that other beſides the biſhop of Rome and his Cardinals, are called bleſſed Popes, holding the fayth and ſeat of Peter, and are ſucceſſours of the Apoſtles as was Auſten and other holy byſhops moe.

11. Wherof it followeth moreouer, that yͤ church of Rome is not that place, where the Lord did appoint yͤ principall ſea of his whole Church. For Chriſt, which was the head prieſt of all, did firſt ſit in Jeruſalem, and Peter did ſit firſt in Antioch, and afterward in Rome. Alſo other popes dyd ſit ſome in Bonony, ſome at Peruſium, ſome at Auinion.

13. Item, the foreſayde Prelates are falſifiers of the holy Scriptures and Canons, & therfore are worthy to be puniſhed: which affirme and ſay, that we muſt obey the pope in all thinges. For why it is knowne that many Popes haue erred, and one Pope was alſo a woman. To whome not onely it was not lawful to geue obediẽce, but alſo vnlawfull to communicate with them. As all Rubrices, and infinite Canons do declare.

Pope Ioane a woman.

14. Item, their 6. 7. 8. 9. 10. 11. Articles doe ſtand and are grounded vpon vntrue and falſe perſuaſions. And therfore are to be reiected and deteſted like the other before: Seyng they doe induce not to peace and veritye, but to diſſention and falſity.

15. It is manifeſt alſo to the laitye, that this diſſention among the clergy riſeth for no other cauſe, but onely for the preaching of the Goſpell, which reprehendeth ſuch Simoniacks and ſuch herericks in the church of God, as namely haunt the court of Rome, ſpreading out theyr braunches abroad into all the world. Who deſerue to be remoued & extirpate not onely of the clergy goſpellers, but alſo of the ſecular power. And ſo theſe three vices, to witte, Simonye, Luxurity, & Auarice (which is Idoll worſhip) be the cauſes of all this diſſention amonge the Clergye in the kingdome of Boheme, and not the other, which they falſely aſcribe to the Goſpellers of Prage. Theſe three vices beyng remoued, peace and vnity woulde ſoone be reformed in the Clergy.

Simonie, Luxurie, Auarice, three cauſes of diſſention in the clergie.

16. Moreouer, their laſt article is to much groſſe, and not onely is without all law, but alſo wout all coulour of law: whereas they fondly and childiſhly doe argue thus: that the proceſſes made agaynſt M. John Hus ought to be obeyed, becauſe forſooth the common ſort of the Clergye of Prage, hath receiued them: By the ſame reaſon they may argue alſo, that we muſt obey the deuil, for our firſt parẽts Adam and Eue obeyed him. Alſo our fore auncetours before vs were Paganes, wherfore we muſt obey them, and alſo the Paganes.

17. But let this friuolous opiniõ go, this is certain truth, that the ſaid proceſſes made againſt maiſter John Hus, by law are none. Forſomuch as they were obteyned, drawne, wrought, and executed contrary to the commiſſion of the Pope, againſt the determinatiõ of the holy mother church, as appeareth Cap. Sacro de Sententia excom. and a thouſand other lawes beſides.

18. Finally, whoſoeuer wittingly & obſtinately do defend and execute (the ſayd proceſſes made) or conſenteth vnto thẽ, are all to be counted as blaſphemers, excommunicate, and heretickes, as hath bene afore written and exhibited to yͤ Lord generall biſhop Olomucenſe. And more ſhalbe declared and proued, if audience may be geuen openly before all the Doctors. Ex Ænea Sylui. & Chocleo.

¶ Unto theſe obiections of J. Hus & his part, the Catholique Doctors agayn did anſwer in a long tedious proces: The ſcope wherof principally tended to defend yͤ principality of the Pope, & to mayntayne his obedience aboue all other potentates in yͤ world: affirming & cõtẽding, that although Chriſt is the head alone of the whole multitude of them that are ſleeping in Purgatory, and whiche are labouring in the Church militant, and which are reſting in heauen: yet this letteth not, but the Pope is heade of the church here militant, that is, of all the faithfull, which here in this world liue vnder his office. Like as Chriſt is kyng of all kings, and yet Charles may be the king of Fraunce: So ſay they, Chriſt may be the vniuerſall head, and yet the Pope may be head vnder him of the whole Churche. And thus concluded they that the pope is the head, and that the Colledge of Cardinals is the body of the Romiſh church, which church of Rome is placed in the eccleſiaſticall office here ouer the earth, to know and define vpõ euery eccleſiaſticall and catholicke matter, to correct errors, and to purge them, and to haue care vpon all ſuch vniuerſall matters, & cure vpon all vniuerſall churches, and vpon the vniuerſal flocke of faythfull chriſtians. Foraſmuch as in the regimẽt of the church through yͤ vniuerſal world, there muſt nedes remayne in ſuch office alwayes ſome ſuche manifeſt & true ſucceſſors of Peter, prince of the Apoſtles & of the colledge of the other Apoſtles of Chriſt: neither can there be found or geuen vpon earth any other ſucceſſors, but only yͤ Pope which is the head, and the colledge of Cardinals, which is the body of the forſayd church of Rome. And although the whole vniuerſall multitude of the faythfull do make yͤ body of Chriſt, yet the ſame body of Chriſt is not placed here in office to exerciſe ſuch authority vpon earth. Becauſe that vniuerſal multitude was neuer yet, nor euer can be cõgregate together.

As Charles may be king of Fraunce: So alſo we graunt, the pope may be Biſh. of Italy, and ſo it is a good conſequent. He may ſo be, if God had ſo appointed him but where doth he ſo appoint.

Ex Cochleo in hiſt. Huſsit.

Catholique that is vniuerſal.

And therfore neceſſary it is, that ſome ſuch true and manifeſt ſucceſſors & iudges be appoynted, to whom recourſe muſt be had, in all ſuch catholick and eccleſiaſtical matters determinable. For like as in earthly regiments, euery caſe of diſcord is brought before his iudge, & hath his place aſſigned where to be decided: So like reaſon would requyre, that in principall matters and controuerſies of fayth, ſome ſuch preſidents & places be limited for the purpoſe to haue ſuch doubtes reſolued. And this being graunted, then the doctors proceed, & here muſt nedes cõclude (ſay they) that there cannot be geuen in all the world any other place, but onely the church of Rome: the head wherof is the Pope, & the body is the colledge of Cardinals. For like as Chriſt departing out of this world in his corporal preſẽce, left his body here with vs, vnder the Sacramẽt in another forme, whereby he remayneth with vs (according to his promiſe Mat. vlt.) vnto the conſummation of the worlde: Euen ſo while Chriſt walked here on earth in his bodily preſẽce, he was Pope himſelfe & chiefe biſhop, & ſo head of the church here militant in earth, corporally cõioyned with the ſame, as yͤ head is to his body. But after that he departed out of yͤ world becauſe his body which is the church militant, vpon the earth, ſhould not be headleſſe, therfore he left Peter, & his ſucceſſors to his church, for an head in his place, vnto the conſummation of the world, ſaying to him: Thou art Peter, & vpon this rocke I will build my church. &c. Mat. 16. And agayne he ſayth, feede my ſheepe. Ioan. vlt. That is to ſay, be thou Peter the head ouer thy brethren.

If ye go to humaine policie, who euer ſawe any priuate caſe of Englande brought to the Emperours court to be decided. If ye goe to Gods policy, then ſhew gods word for it.

The promiſe of Chriſt doctourly applyed.

O deepe diuinitie of theſe doctours.

Tedious it were to recite all the bibblebabble of theſe doctors in this their long reſponſall. Who ſo liſteth to ſee yͤ bottome of their profounde writing & knowledge, may reſort either to the hiſtory of Siluius, or els to M. Cochleus, in his firſt booke De hiſt Huſsit.

Vide Eneam. Silu. & Corleum. De Hiſt. Huſsit. lib. 1.

Thus then M. John Hus being driuen out of Prage (as is afore touched) by the motion of theſe Doctours, and moreouer being ſo excõmunicate, that no Maſſe nor other muſt be ſayd there where he was preſent. The people begã mightily to grudge and to cry out agaynſt the Prelates & other popiſh prieſts, which were the workers therof, accuſing thẽ to be Simoniacks, couetous, whoremaiſters, adulterers, proud, ſparing not to lay opẽ their vices to their great ignominy and ſhame. And much crauing a reformation to be had of the clergy.

The king ſeing the inclination of the people, being alſo not ignorant of the wickednes of the clergy, vnder pretence to reforme the church, began to require greater exactions vpon ſuch Prieſtes and men of the Clergy, as were knowne and accuſed to be wicked liuers. Whereupon they on the other part, that fauored John Hus, taking that occaſion preſent, complayned of all, accuſed many, and ſpared none, whomſoeuer they knew to be of the Catholicke faction, or enemies to John Hus. By reaſon wherof yͤ prieſts of the popiſh Clergy were brought, ſuch as were faultye, into great diſtreſſe, and ſuch as were not faulty, into great feare. In ſo much that they were glad to fall in, at leaſt not to fall out with the Proteſtantes, being afrayd to diſpleaſe them. By this meanes maiſter Hus beganne to take ſome more liberty vnto him, & to preach in his church at Bethleem, & none to controll him: by the ſame meanes the people alſo receiued ſome comfort, and the king much gayne & mony by the reaſon.

The prieſtes of Boheme deſplayed and taxed for their yll life.

And thus the popiſh Clergy, while they went about to perſecute John Hus, were inwrapped thẽſelues in great tribulation, and afflicted on euery ſide, as wel of lay mẽ, as of learned men of the clergy. In ſo much that womẽ alſo & children were agaynſt thẽ. And by yͤ ſame reaſõ, wherwith they thought to entangle him, they were ouerthrown thẽſelues. For the Doctors which before condemned this doctrine in John Hus, for an intollerable hereſye, & cried out ſo much agaynſt him, for teaching yͤ tẽporall Lords might take away tẽporall liuings frõ yͤ clergy ſinning habitualiter that is, lying and continuing ſtill in the cuſtome of iniquity: now when the king and the Lords temporall began to mearſe them and bereue them of their tẽporalties for their tranſgreſſions, the ſayd Doctors did keepe ſilence & durſt ſpeake neuer a word. Agayne where the foreſayd doctors, before could not abide in John Hus, that tithes wer to be couted for pure almes, now comming to yͤ Guildhal, were faine to entreat for theyr temporall goodes, not to be taken

The popiſh doctours and prieſts ouerthrowen in their owne reaſon.

from them, pleading the ſame temporalties to be mere almoſe and deuotion of good men, geuen vnto the church. Ex Cochleo.

And thus now did they themſelues graunt the thing, which before they did condemne. The more that the popes clergy was pinched, the more grudge & hatred redounded to Iohn Hus, although he was in no cauſe therof, but onely their owne wicked deſeruinges, for the which cauſe Stephen Paletz, and Andræas de Broda, being the chiefe champions of that faction, though they could not remedy the caſe, yet to eaſe theyr mindes, wrote ſharpe and cruell letters to Maiſter Hus. And to helpe the matter forward, the Pope alſo here muſt helpe at a pinche, who likewiſe writeth hys letters to Wenceſlaus king of Bohemia, which was brother to Sigiſmund Emperor, for the ſuppreſſing of Iohn Hus & of his doctrine. Which was in the fifth and laſt yere of his Popedome. an. 1414. The tenour of whoſe letters to king Wenceſlaus in this wiſe proceedeth.

Steuen Paletz, Andr. Broda, write againſt Iohn Hus.

¶ The letter of Pope Iohn to K. Wenceſlaus.

The letter of Pope Iohn to K. Wenceſlaus.

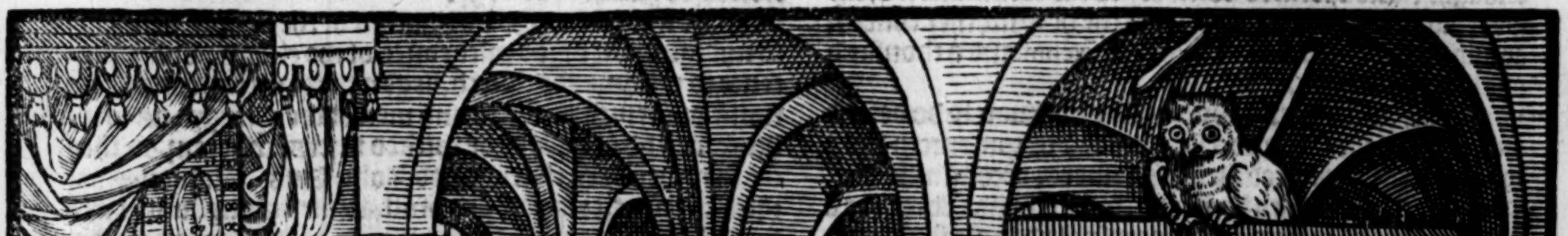
IOhn Biſhoppe ſeruaunt of Gods ſeruanntes, to his welbeloued ſonne in Chriſt Wenceſlaus, King of Romaines and of Boheme, greeting and apoſtolicall benediction. Among other deſires and delightes of our hart: who although vnworthy to repreſent the roome of Chriſt here in earth: this doth chiefly redounde to our ſingular comfort ſo often as we do heare of the brotherly entreaty of peace and of concord (by which concord kingdoms do encreaſe, as contrary by diſcorde they are deminiſhed) which is betweene your honour, and our welbeloued in the Lord Sigiſmund your brother germane & coſin, for the noble king of the Romans &c. And furthermore it foloweth in theſe words. And as we haue cauſe to ioy at the premiſſes: ſo likewiſe agayne the heauy rumors which are here, do trouble and dampe our mindes. For we heare that in diuers places vnder your dominiō, there be certain which do folow and leane to the errors of that archhereticke Wickliffe, whoſe bookes haue bene long ſince condemned in the generall Romain councell to bee erroneous, hereticall, and ſwaruing from the catholicke fayth. And furthermore whiche is worſt of all, the ſayd perſons cleauing to the opinions of the heretickes (leaſt they ſhould be corrected of their ſuperior powers for their exces, to couer theyr naughtines and ſtubberneſſe in deſpiſing the commaundements of the Apoſtolicall ſeat) do openly teach diſobedience and contempt of the keies and eccleſiaſticall cenſure, to the ſubuerſion of the Apoſtolicall dignity, ſetting at nought the decrees of the holy fathers & canons. Wherefore we do exhort your worſhip for the mercy of our God, as hartely as we may or cā, that it would pleaſe you as we deſire & hope you will (ſo effectuouſly) to ſhew forth your regall power, both for the glory of God, & defence of the catholicke fayth (which you go about to defend) and for the conſeruation of your kingly name, ſtate and honor, for the proſperous ſafe gouernement of your kingdome and dominions, as it becommeth a catholicke prince, whereby this blot of hereſye (which doth ſo lamentably and miſerablye ſpring and creepe in thoſe partes and doth ſo infect the mindes of mortall men, to the deſtruction of their ſoules, and doth ſequeſter them from the congregation of the pure and catholick fayth and truth) may be rooted out. &c. Geuen at Bononia in the Ides of Iune, in the v. yeare of our popedome. &c.

In this epiſtle of Pope Iohn aboue prefixed, forſomuch as mention is made of a certaine councell before holden at Rome (which was 4. yeares before) agaynſt the articles & books of Iohn Wickliffe: it ſhall not be impertinēt nor out of purpoſe to repeat a certayn mery hiſtory & worthy otherwiſe to be noted at, written by Nicholas Clemangis of a certayne ſpirite, which ruled the Popiſh Councelles, hys worde are theſe.

The ſtory of an Owle appearing at the councell of pope Iohn. *Ex Nich. Clemangii.*

The ſame pope called a Cōūcell at Rome about foure yeares before, at the earneſt ſute of diuers men. And a mas of the holy Ghoſt being ſayd at the entraunce into the ſayd Councell (according to the accuſtomed maner) the Councell being ſet, and the ſayde Iohn ſitting higheſt in a chayre prepared for him for that purpoſe: Behold a ougly & dreadfull Owle, or as the common prouerbe is, the euill ſigne of ſome miſchaunce of death to followe, comming out of the backe halfe of him, flew to and fro, with her euill fauoured voyce, and ſtanding vpon the middle beame of the church, caſt her ſtaring eyes vpon the Pope ſitting, the whole cōpany began to maruell, to ſee the night Crowe, whiche is wont to abide no light, how ſhe ſhould in ẏ midday come in the face of ſuch a multitude, & iudged (not without cauſe) that it was an illfauored token. For beholde ſayde they, (whiſpering one in on others eare) the ſpirite appereth in the ſhape of an Owle. And as the ſtode beholding one an other, and aduiſing the pope, ſcarcely could keep their coūtenaunce from laughter, Iohn himſelfe, vppon whom the Owle ſtedfaſtly looked, bluſhing at the matter, beganne to ſweate and to fret and fume with himſelfe, and not finding by what other meanes he might ſalue the matter, being ſo confuſed diſſoluing the Councell, roſe vp and departed. After that there followed an other ſeſſion. In the whiche the Owle again, after the maner aforeſayd, although, as I be-

The deſcription of the Popes councell holden at Rome, in which appeared a monſtrous Owle, to the vtter defacing of the Pope and all his Clergy.



leue, not called, was preſent looking ſtedfaſtly vpon the biſhop, whom he beholding to become agayne, was more aſhamed then he was before (and iuſtly) ſaying he could no longer abide the ſight of her, & commaũded that ſhe ſhould be driuen away with battes and ſhottinges: but ſhe being afrayde neither with their noyſe, neither of any thing els, would not away, vntill that with the ſtrokes of the ſticks, which were throwne at her, ſhe fell downe dead before thẽ all. This I learned of a faythfull frend, who at the ſame time came to Rome, the which thing I ſcarſely crediting for the rarenes of the matter, he affirmed by his othe, that it was moſt certayn & true: adding moreouer that all there preſent were much offẽded, & did greatly deride that Coũcell called for ſuch a purpoſe, and by little and litle the Coũcel was diſſolued, nothing done ther as he ſaith. Although it hath not bene alwayes ſeene that ſuch ſpirituall Doues haue bene preſent with Popes and their Councels, & gouerned thẽ: yet their euill doctrine declareth no leſſe. Read gentle reader the booke of Clemangis, and thou ſhalt not thinke thy labor euill beſtowed. For he hath both learnedly, truely, freely, and godly, bewayled the filthines of Antichriſt, and his miniſters, their wickednes, impiety and crueltie, and the miſerable ſtate and face of the Church. &c. And thus much for Pope Iohn.

¶ The Councell of Conſtance.

The councell of Cõſtance.

HEre by the way is to be noted and vnderſtand, that during all this time of Pope Iohn, there were 3. Popes raigning together, neither was yet the the ſchiſme ceaſed, which ſo long time had continued, the ſpace (as I ſayde) of 29. yeares. By the reaſon wherof a generall Councel was ordeined & holden at Conſtance in the ſame yeare. an. 1414. being called by Sigiſmund the Emperor, and Pope Iohn the 23. for the pacifiyng of the foreſayd ſchiſme, which was then betweene three Popes, ſtriuing for the Popedome. The firſt whereof was Iohn, whom the Italians ſet vp. The ſecond was Gregory, whom the Frenchmen ſet vp. The third was Benedict, whom the Spaniardes placed, In this ſchiſmaticall ambitious conflict, euery one defended his Pope, to the great diſturbans of chriſtian nations. This councell endured foure yeares long, wherin all their matters were decided moſt by foure natiõs, to ſay the Engliſh, Germaine, French, & Italian nation. Out of which foure nations were apoynted & choſen foure Preſidentes to iudge and determine the matters of the Councell. The names of which Preſidentes were theſe, Iohn the Patriarke of Antioche for Fraunce, Anthony Archbiſhop of Rigen for Italy, Nicholas Archbiſhoppe of Geneſuenſis for Germany, and Nicholas Biſhop of Bathe for England by whom many great and profitable things to the glory of God, and publike profit, might haue bene concluded, if the rotten fleſh of the churchmen could haue bidden the ſalt of the Goſpell, and if they had loued the truth: but as Gregorius Nazienzenus writeth, there lightly come few generall Councels, but they end more with diſturbance, then tranquility. So it happened in this councell, for wheras Iohn the 13. in the firſt Seſſion exhorteth them by theſe wordes taken out of the 8. of Zachary. Viritatem diligite, that is to ſay: Loue the truth, further, moniſhing them, and ſpecially the Deuines euery man to do his endeuour for the vnitye of the Church, and to ſpeake their minde freely: but howe ſoone this his exhortation was forgottẽ, it appeared ſhortly after by the deſpiſing of the Prophetes, and perſecuting of Chriſt in his mẽbers, as by the grace of Chriſt ſhall appeare hereafter in the proceſſe of this ſtory. Firſt this Iohn did reſigne his Papacy, the Emperor geuing him thankes kiſſed his feet.

Three popes together ſtriuing for the Popedome,

The prelats aſſembled in this councel were numbred together with their deputies. 1940. Philip and Cheyney. &c.

Gregorius in Epiſtola quadam.

Afterward the ſayd Iohn repenting him that he had ſo done, ſought meanes to flee, whereunto Fredericke Duke of Auſtrich did aſſiſt him, for he chaunging his garments, fled by night with a ſmall cõpany. And when he was now come vnto Schaffehouſe to goe into Italy, the Emperour purſuing, tooke him, and proclaymed Fredericke traytour, & for that cauſe tooke away certayne Cittyes from him. At the laſt the matter was appeaſed vnder this cõdition, that Fredericke ſhould require grace of the Emperour, and reſigne all his poſſeſſions vnto him. wherupõ the Emperor receiued him againe into fauor, & reſtored him to his dukedome, This pope being thus depoſed, was committed vnto the County Pallatine, and by him caried to the Caſtle of Manheime, where he was kept priſoner by the ſpace of 3. yeares. Afterward he was agayne by Pope Martine, admitted to the number of Cardinals.

Duke Fredericke of Auſtrich proclamed traytor.

Pope Iohn taken and caſt in priſon

This Pope Iohn was depoſed by the decree of ỹ councell, more then 40. moſt greuous and haynous crimes being obiected and proued agaynſt him: as that he had hyred Marcilus Permenſis a Phyſition, to poyſon Alexander his predeceſſour. Further, that he was an heretick, a ſimoniake, a lyer, an hipocrite, a murderer, an inchaũter, a diceplayer, an adulterer, and a ſodomite, & finally what crime is it, that he was not infected withall?

Marke the good qualities of pope Iohn.

And now to returne vnto the councell, firſt we wil declare the order of their Seſſions, with things therin concluded, in generall: then we will (Chriſt willing) adioyne the ſpeciall tractation of ſuch matters, as perteyne to the ſtory of the Bohemians, and Iohn Hus, and Hierome of Prage, who in the ſame vngodlye councell were condemned and burned.

This councell therfore of Conſtance, which was ſummoned by the Emperour Sigiſmund, and Pope Iohn 23. about the natiuity of our Lord Ieſus, an. 1414. began the ſame yeare to be aſſembled about the latter end of the yere. which firſt beginning as the maner is, with a Maſſe of the holy Ghoſt, as they were ſinging according to their cuſtõe the Hymne, Veni ſancte ſpiritus, there was at the ſame time a certayne Bill ſet vp in the Church by ſome well diſpoſed man, as it ſeemed, wherein was conteyned theſe wordes folowing: Alijs rebus occupati nunc adeſſe vobis nõ poſſumus. That is to ſay. We are otherwiſe occupyed at this tyme, we can not intend to come to you. Here is alſo to be remẽbred the worthye ſaying of the Emperour Sigiſmund, when talke was miniſtred as touching the reformation of the ſpiritualtye, and ſome ſayde quod oporteat in cipere a minoritis, that is, that reformation ought firſt to beginne at the Minorites. The Emperour aunſwering againe: Non a minoritis, ſed a maioritis, that is, not with the Minorites ſayth he, but with the Maiorites. Meaning the reformation ought firſt to begin with the Pope, Cardinals, & Byſhops and other ſuperior ſtates of the church, and ſo to diſcend after to the inferiors. This much by the way, & now to the purpoſe and order of the Seſſions as we promiſed. The which counſell continued as is aforeſayd by the ſpace of iiij. yeares, and had in it 45. Seſſions, wherein many things were concluded, the which altogether were to long to be recited in this place: as the depoſition of three ſeueral Popes, whiche were before ſpoken of, the hearing of certaine Legates. Yet I minde to make ſome briefe recapitulation of the moſt principall matters there done in the ſeſſions orderly enſuing.

A writing ſet vp how the holy Ghoſt had no leyſure to come to the councell of Conſtance.

The worthy anſwere of the Emperour touching the order of reformation.

1. In the firſt Seſſion chiefly was cõcluded, firſt that this Councell was lawfully congregate.

2. Item, that the going away of the pope ſhould be no let or ſtay, but the Councell might proceed.

Wherein note (gentle Reader) that the authority of the generall Councell is aboue the Pope, contrary to their owne doctrine.

Note by this example, the authoritie of councels preferred before the Pope.

3. Item, this Councell ſhould not be diſſolued before the Church were reformed, as well in the ſuperiours, as inferiours.

4. In the 4. Seſſion amongeſt other thinges, this was firſt concluded: That a Synode congregate in the holy Ghoſt, making a generall councel, repreſenting the whole Catholicke Church here militant, hath power of Chriſt immediately, to the which power euery perſon, of what ſtate or dignity ſo euer he be: yea being the pope himſelfe, ought to be obedient in all ſuch things as concerne the generall reformation of the Church, aſwell in the heades, as in the ſubiectes.

Anno. 1415.

Item, the ſayd Pope ſhould not tranſlate the Court of Rome, and the officers of the ſame from the City of Conſtance. And that all his cenſures, doinges and workinges after the time of his departure, whatſoeuer he ſhoulde enterpriſe to do to the preiudice of this Councell, ſhould be of no effect.

5. In the 5. Seſſion the ſame Articles were repeated and concluded agayne.

6. In the 6. Seſſion procuration and citation was ſent out agaynſt the Pope.

Item, commiſſioners were appointed out of the foure nations for the hearing of Iohn Hus, which ſhalbe hereafter mentioned in his ſtory folowing.

Commiſſioners appointed to heare I. Hus.

Item, the memory of Iohn Wickliffe was condemned and the ſentence geuen in the Councel holden at Rome vpon the condemnation and burning of Wickliffes bookes, was there confirmed.

Item, in the ſame Seſſion, Citation was ſent out agaynſt Ierome of Prage. The tenor wherof foloweth after in the ſtory of the ſayd Ierome.

Citation graũted againſt Ierome of Prage.

Item, in this Seſſion, was decreed agaynſt libelles of infamy.

7. In the 7. Seſſion nothing was handled, but that the tenour of the citation agaynſt Pope Iohn was recited.

8. In the 8. Seſſion, the ſentence and condemnation of

Sentence geuen for the burning of Wickliffes bones.

Iohn wickliffe, and his 45. Articles was recited, and ſentence geuẽ againſt his memory & bones to be burned. The tenor whereof is rehearſed in the hiſtory of Iohn wickliffe before paſſed. fol. 449.

9. In the 9. Seſſion, The matter & cauſe of Pope Iohn was agayn intreated, and commiſſioners appoynted to enquire vpon his cauſe, and iudges for the ſame.

10. In the 10. Seſſion, Suſpenſion was geuen out & reade agaynſt the ſayd Pope.

11.12. In the 11. and 12. Seſſions, Notaries were aſſigned & definitiue ſentence geuen agaynſt the ſaid Pope, where alſo was decreed that none of them that contended before for the Papacy, ſhould be choſen Pope.

13. The people of Chriſt excommunicated from the communion of the holy cup.

In the 13. Seſſion was decreed, Quod nullus præſbiter ſub pena excommunicationis comunicet populo ſub vtraque ſpecie panis & vini. This is, that no Prieſt vnder payne of excommunication ſhall communicate vnto the people vnder both kindes of bread aud wine.

14. In the 14. Seſſion, came in yͤ reſignation of pope Gregory the 12. which was one of the 3. before mentioned, ſtriuing for the Papacy, with certayne other Articles concerning the election of the Biſhop of Rome, and the ratification of their reſigning, which gaue ouer the Papacy.

15. The ſolemne publiſhing of the ſentence of condemnation againſt I. Hus.

Then enſueth the 15. Seſſion, in the which ſilence was commanded on all partes vnder pain of excommunicatiõ, and the great curſe that no perſõ or perſons high or low of what eſtate or degree ſo euer he were, Emperour, Kyng, Cardinall, or other ſhould diſturbe the ſayd Seſſion wyth any maner of noiſe, either by hand, foot, or voyce. This being done, the ſentence & condemnation againſt Iohn Hus was read and puliſhed, whiche after in the ſtory of Iohn Hus, foloweth to be ſene more at large.

16. In the 16. Seſſion, Ambaſſadors were aſſigned by the Councell to go into Arragon to Benedictus the 13. to entreat with him for the reſignation of his Papacy, as the other two had done before.

Item, power was geuen to iudges, to cite vnder pain of depriuation, all ſuch as priuily departed away from the Councell, in the whiche Seſſion alſo the ſentence agaynſt Iohn Hus was confirmed and ratified.

17. The Emperours iourney into Arragon.

In the 17. Seſſion, the Emperour tooke vpon him a iourney to the king of Arragon, to entreat with pope Benedictus. An excommunication denounced agaynſt al ſuch as ſhould go about to empeche the Emperours iourney about that matter. &c.

Pardons were here dogge cheape.

Item, prayers and proceſſions were determined to be made by the Councell, euery Sonday for the ſame cauſe, with an hundred dayes of pardon geuen to thẽ that would be preſent thereat, and that all Prelats ſhould be preſent at euery of theſe ſayd Maſſes and proceſſions in theyr Pontificalibus. Graunting beſides to euery Prieſt that ſayd one Maſſe, for the ſame a 100. dayes of pardon. And to all other that once a day ſhould ſay one Pater noſter, and one Aue, for the ſafety of the Emperour xl. dayes of pardon.

18. In the 18. Seſſion, certayne iudges were aſſigned for the hearing of matters, which the Councell had no leaſure to heare.

It was there alſo decreed that ſuche letters and Buls as were written in the name of that councell, ſhould be receiued with no leſſe credite and authority, then the Bulles proceeding from the Sea Apoſtolicall, and that the falſifyers of the ſame ſhould incurre no leſſe penalty then the falſifyers of the other. Legates alſo and Ambaſſadours were ſent into Italy.

19. In the 19. Seſſion which was yͤ ſame yeare in the moneth of September, Ierome of Prage who was cited as is before ſayd, was accuſed of hereſy & caſt in priſon by the ſayd councell, & conſtrayned to abiure. The which his abiuration hereafter foloweth to be ſeene in his hiſtory.

Concilium Foedifragum.

Item, it was decreed: Quod non obſtantibus ſaluis cõductibus Imperatoris Regum. &c. poſsit per iudicem competentem de hæretica prauitate inquiri. &c. That is, notwithſtanding yͤ ſafe conduct geuen by the Emperour and kinges. &c. Inquiry may be made agaynſt a man for hereſy by a ſufficient iudge and proceſſe, to be made according to the law.

The cauſes of hereſies were committed to certain iudges and deputyes.

And how chaũceth it that the charte of Conſtantines donation is not here mentioned.

Item, the Chart called Carolina, and diuers other Chartes and conſtitutions concerning the libertyes of the Church of Rome, being brought forth were approued and confirmed,

20. Prouide that the churchmen looſe nothing in no caſe.

In the 20. Seſſion, letters & inſtrumentes were made and ſet vpon Church dores to require and admoniſh duke Fredericke to reſtore agayne vnto George Biſhop of Auſtriche, ſuch landes, rentes, and reuenues as he deteyned & withheld, vnder payne of interditement, ſuſpending and excommunication.

During the time of this Seſſion, the Ambaſſadors returned out of Arragon from the Pope Benedict and were heard with great audience, wheras certayne Articles and conditions betwene the Pope & the councell were brought forth and agreed vpon to the number of 12.

21. Ann. 1416.

In the yeare of our Lord 1416. was the 21. Seſſion beginning after theyr maner with a Maſſe of the holy ghoſt with proceſſions and ſuch other rites, in the time of which Maſſe, Iames Biſhop of Londy made a Sermon, taking for his Theame theſe wordes. Ex probrauit Deus incredulitatem eorum & duritiam: That is, the Lord rebuked theyr miſbeliefe and hardnes. &c. This ſermon being ended, Ierome of Prage which had abiured, as is ſayd the yeare before, being preſent thereat, ſtoode vp vpon a certayne bench or fourme. Replying agaynſt the foreſayd Iames and hys Sermon, alleadging and preaching diuers and ſundrye thinges, whereupon the Patriarch of Conſtantinople, one of the commiſſioners proceeded agaynſt him, pronouncing the ſentence definitiue, which he had in writing agaynſt the ſayd Ierome, which ſentence being red and approued by the councell (the tenor whereof inſueth in his hiſtorye) the ſayd Ierome was deliuered vnto the ſecular power, & burned.

Ierome of Prage replied agaynſt the ſermon of the Byſhop of Lõdy.

22.23. The 22. and 23. Seſſions contayne no worthy matter, bnt onely the placing of the Ambaſſadours of Alphanſus K. of Arragon, & graunting them voyces in the Councell.

24. In the 24. Seſſion, citatiõ was geuen out agaynſt Benedict, keeping with Alphonſus, king of Arragon.

25. The 25. Seſſion conteineth nothing but a certayne Comendam geuen to the Church of Olemucenſis.

26. The 26. Seſſiõ, there was nothing els handled, but the vniting and incorporating of the Ambaſſadors of the king of Nauarre into the Councell, and alſo concerning the derogation of the priority of voyces.

27.28. Anno. 1417.

After this folowed the 27. and 28. ſeſſions, which were in the yeare 1417. wherein was intreated the relation and declaratiõ, concerning the cauſe betwixt Duke Frederick, and the biſhop of Trident, and proceſſe geuen out agaynſt the ſayd Duke, accuſing him of ſacriledge, and alſo excommunicating him, for not obeying the admonitiõ of the coũcell concerning the vſurpation and deteyning of the city of Tridẽt and other poſſeſſions from Biſhop George, as is afore ſpecified.

29.30. In the 29. and 30. Seſſions, Proctors and Notaryes were geuen out in the cauſe agaynſt Pope Benedict, and order decreed vpon his obſtinacye, wherein alſo the withdrawing of the king of Arragon from the ſame Pope, was recited and approued by the Councell.

31. In the 31. Seſſion, certayne inſtrumentes, and ſpeciall letters monitory were directed from the Councell to a certaine Earle of Italy named Comes virtutum, for laying violent handes vpon Albert, Biſhop of Aſce, and for bringing him to priſon, requiring the ſayd Earle vnder paine of interdiction, and excommunication to ſet the ſayd Byſhop at liberty. Alſo an other decree was ſet forth for the reſtoring agayne the liberties of the Church of Baron.

32.33. Pope Benedict accuſed.

In the 32. and 33. Seſſions, the accuſation of pope Benedict was renued, and his obſtinacy accuſed, and witnes brought in, at which thing doing, the Emperour Sigiſmund was preſent.

34. In the 34. Seſſion, the cauſe of the foreſayd Pope was heard, and proceſſe geuen out agaynſt him.

35. In the 35. Seſſion, the Ambaſſadours of the king of Caſtle were brought in, and vnited to the Councel, and inſtrumentes thereof made and read. Alſo that notwithſtanding the othes made to the foreſayd Pope, mẽ might lawfully forſake his obedience.

36. The Pope curſeth the councell.

In the 36. Seſſion, a certayne citation was made and read againſt the Pope, conteining his depriuation and the ſentence agaynſt him, & inſtruments made vpon the ſame. And whereas this Pope had thundred out his curſes, depriuations and excommunicatiõs agaynſt them: The ſayd Sinode did adnihilate all his doinges.

37. The 37. Seſſion did renue agayne the accuſation of the foreſaid pope, and the ſentence definitiue agaynſt him was publiſhed.

38. In the 38. Seſſiõ certaine decrees were made touching the adnihilating of the penalties of the Ambaſſadours of king Henry ſonne of Alphonſus king of Arragon. Alſo an other decree was made touching the reuocatiõ of yͤ voyces graunted to the Ambaſſadors of the king of Arragon.

39. Thus Pope Benedict being depoſed and excommunicated as is aforeſayd, in the next Seſſions following, they addreſſed themſelues to the election of a new Pope, beginning firſt in the 39. Seſſion to geue out decrees concerning generall Councels, & prouiſion, for the auoyding of ſuche like ſchiſmes hereafter. Decreeing euery x. yeare to haue a general

Decrees for generall counſels.

generall Councell, after the two Councels that ſhould folow immediatly after this, of the which the one ſhould be kept within fiue yeares, then next folowing, and the ſecond within ſeauen yeares after that.

Item, in the ſame Seſſion was drawen out a forme touching ſuch thing as the Pope ſhould profeſſe and bind himſelfe, to obſerue at time of his election, of the which forme the order and tenour is this.

The profeſsion which the pope is bound to.

I N. elected for Pope, profeſſe with hart and mouth vnto almighty God, whoſe Church I take vpon me to gouerne, by his helpe, and to bleſſed S. Peter the Prince of the Apoſtles, ſo long as I ſhall endure in this fraile and brittle life, firmely to beleeue and hold the holy Catholick faith after the traditions of the Apoſtles, of generall Councels, and of other holy fathers, and namely of the eight generall Councels. Nicene the firſt, the ſecond of Conſtantinople, Epheſine the third, Calcedone ẏ fourth, the fift and ſixe of them in Conſtantinople, the ſeauenth of Nice, the eight of Conſtantinople. And alſo of the generall Councels of Laterane, Lyons, and Vienne, willing to obſerue the ſame faith vnuiolate euen to the vttermoſt, and to preach and defend the ſame, euen to the ſpending of my life and bloud, and alſo by all meanes poſſible to proſecute and obſerue the rite of the Sacraments canonically deliuered to the Catholike Church. And this my profeſſion and confeſſion by my commandement, being written out by the Notary of the Arches of the holy Church of Rome, I haue ſubſcribed with mine owne hand, and ſincerely with a pure mind and deuout conſcience, I offer it vnto thee almighty God vpon ſuch an aulter, &c. In the preſence of ſuch witnes. &c. Yeuen. &c.

It was alſo decided in this Seſſion, that no Prelates ſhould be tranſlated againſt their wils.

40. The third of the ſame moneth, and the ſame yeare folowed the 40. Seſſion, wherein certaine decrees were conſtitute and read, as touching reformatiõs to be made thorough the whole church by the Pope, that next ſhould be, with the Councell, before this Synode ſhould breake vp.

Item, that they ſhould ſo proceed to the election of the Byſhop of Rome, notwithſtanding the abſence of thoſe Cardinals which were wyth Pope Benedict in Spaine. This done, the order and maner was decreed for the election of the Pope.

41. After theſe things thus decreed, in the next Seſſion, which was fourty one, the conſtitution of Clement the ſixt was read, concerning the order and diet of the Cardinals being in the Conclaue about ẏ chuſing of the Pope, and vpon the ſame othes were miniſtred vnto the Cardinals and other Electours, binding them to obſerue and keepe all ſuch things as they ſhould be bound to, during the time of the election.

The order & maner of the Conclaue in chuſing the Pope.

Firſt, that they ſhould enter into the Conclaue within ten daies after the fourty Seſſion, which was this preſent day after ſunne ſet.

Secondly, that euery Cardinall ſhould haue but two ſeruitours attending vpon him at the moſt, either of the Laity or Cleargie, as they would themſelues.

Thirdly, that they ſhould remaine together in the ſayd Cõclaue, without any wal betwixt thẽ, or any other couer, ſaue only bare Curtains, if any were diſpoſed to ſleepe.

Fourthly, that the Conclaue ſhould ſo be ſhut vp, and the entry to the priuie chamber to be kept ſo ſtraightly, that none of them ſhould come in or out, nor any to haue recourſe vnto them to talke with them priuely or apertly, nor they to admit any man to come to them, except by the conſent of them all, certaine ſhould be called about matters concerning the election.

Fiftly, that no man ſhould ſend to them either meſſenger or writings.

Sixtly, that a competent windowe ſhould be aſſigned vnto them to receiue in their victuals, but that no perſon might come in thereat.

Seuenthly, that no day after their firſt ingreſſe into the Conclaue, beſide bread, wine and water, they ſhould haue any more diſhes but one of one onely kinde, either of fleſh or fiſh, egges, pottage, made of fiſh or fleſh, not after the deintieſt ſort, beſides ſalades, cheeſe, frute, and conſerues, whereof there ſhall be no principall meſſe made but for ſauce and taſte.

Eightly, that not one ſhould be compelled to go into the Conclaue: But if they did all refuſe to go in, then they ſhould be compelled thereunto.

Ninthly, that ſuch as would go out, might, but if they would all go out before ẏ Pope were elect, they ſhould be compelled to go in againe, except ſuch whome infirmitie did excuſe, but without the excuſe of infirmitie, if anye went out, he ſhould no more be admitted, except they went all out together.

Tenthly, that ſuch as went out by reaſon of infirmitie, for to be abſent, and returne before the election be determined: may be admitted againe into the Conclaue in the ſame ſtate wherein they ſhall finde the election to ſtand.

Further and beſides the keepers of the Cõclaue, ſhould alſo be ſworne to ſee all theſe premiſes obſerued and kept without fraude or guile, and that they ſhould not ſtreighten the Cardinals and other Electours aboue the order here taken.

And if the King be there himſelfe ſitting in his throne of eſtate, he ſhould receiue the ſame othe of the Cardinale.

Vpon this ſuch as ſhould be electours beſide the Cardinals, were choſen.

Furthermore, for as much as the goods and ſubſtance of ſuch as were elect, were accuſtomed to be geuen & granted vnto ſuch as could catch them: whereupon vnder the pretence of the ſame, many did inuade the goods of the Cardinals, and others which were in the Conclaue, falſely faining them to be elected which were not to be elected. To ſtop the greedy rauening of ſuch, a decree alſo was publiſhed in the ſame Seſſion.

Theſe were wiſe Cardinalls, they would not goe into the Conclaue, but they would be ſure to haue their goods ſafe vnſpoyled.

Theſe things thus prepared and ſet in order, the Patriarch of Conſtantinople, with the Cardinals and other Archbiſhops, Biſhops, Abbots, Priours. Deanes, Archdeacons, Doctours, with other electours entring into the Conclaue vpõ Monday, on Thurſday after they had hatched out a Pope, being S. Martins euen, whereupon they named him Martin: This Martin thus being elected, was ſtraight forth brought in by the Emperour and the Councel, into the Church of Conſtance, and there inthroniſed for Pope, not without great ſolemnitie & triumph. The xxi. day of the ſaid moneth, this foreſaid Martin according to their accuſtomed pompe was honourably brought in to bee crowned with ſumptuous proceſſion from the high Church of Conſtance vnto the Monaſterie of S. Auſten. The Emperour on foote, leading his horſe by the bridle on the right hand: And the Marques of Bradenburge Prince Electour, likewiſe leading his horſe on the left hand, the Pope himſelfe riding in the middeſt vpon his palfrey.

Pope Martine hatched. The Emperour leadeth the Popes horſe by the bridle, on the right hand. The prince electour leadeth the popes horſe on the left hand.

And thus being brought into the Monaſtery aforeſaid, and ſo reduced round about againe from thence to the high Church of Conſtance, was there crowned with all magnificence.

42. Notwithſtanding all this, yet all the trifling and fond vanitie of this Councell more great then wiſe, did not end thus, for in the next Seſſion which was the xlij. came out a decree in the name of the Pope and the Councell, diſcharging the bound of the Emperour and the County Palatine, touching the ſafe cuſtody of Pope Iohn, who was by bond committed vnto them to be kept in ſafetie.

43. In the xliij. Seſſion, certaine other decrees and ſtatutes were made by Pope Martin in the ſaid Synod. Annullating and repromuing all the actes and procedings of the other Popes before during the time of the ſchiſme from the time of Gregory the xi. As in matters concerning exemptions, vnions, fruites and profites of the Church, benefices, ſimonie, diſpenſations, tithes and other burdens of the Church. Alſo concerning the apparell of the Cleargy and ſuch other things.

Apparell of the clergie.

44. In the xliiij. Seſſion, the ſage fathers of this Councell were occupied about the determining in what place the next Councell ſhould be kept in, the xlv. Seſſion brake vp and diſſolued this Synode.

45. Now to finiſh our tedious rehearſall of this Synode. The Cardinall Vmbald by the cõmandement of the Pope and the Councell, with a high and loud voice pronounced theſe words Domini ite in pace, which is, Lords depart in peace, whereunto the ſtanders by anſwered, Amen.

Thus the councell being diſſolued, Frier Iohn Biſhop of Catthan by the conſent and commandement of the Pope and the Councell, went vp into the Pulpit to make a Sermon, taking for his theame: Vos autem triſtitiam habetis: iterum autem videbo vos, & gaudebit cor veſtrũ. You are now in ſadnes: I will ſee you againe, and then your harts ſhall reioice. The which collation being ended, an other Cardinall named Anthony, was ſent vp by the Pope and the Councell, with this proclamation, firſt to diſmiſſe the Synode, and to geue euery man leaue to depart home. Alſo to declare the Popes indulgence vnto them, who by the authoritie of God almighty, had granted to them all and euery one preſent at that Councell, full abſolution once in their life, ſo that euery one within two moneths after the hearing of this indulgence, ſhould procure the ſame in forme of writing. Alſo another indulgence was graunted in like maner of plenary remiſſion at the hour of death,

Smell here reader, this made well for the popes purſe.

FF.iiii. and

and that was vnderſtand as well of the houſhold, as of the maiſters themſelues. But vnder this condition, that from the time of notification of the ſame, they ſhould faſt by the ſpace of one whole yeare euery Friday, for the abſolution in their life time. And for the abſolution at the houre of death, to faſt the ſame Friday another yeare, except they had ſome lawfull impediment to the contrary, ſo that after the ſecond yeare, they ſhould faſt vnto their liues end, or elſe to do ſome other good worke. The which being in this maner proclaimed, the Synode brake vp, and euery man departed home.

Ex paralipomeno Albatis Vrſp.

The number of prelates in the counſell of Conſtance.

The number of the foriners reſorting to this Counſell both ſpirituall and temporall, was 60500. whereof, the number of Archbiſhops and Biſhops was 346.

Abbots and Doctours 564.

Secular men	Princes. Dukes. Earles. Knightes. Eſquiers.	16000.

Common women in the councell of Cōſtance. 60500. ſtrangers at the counſell of Conſtance.

Beſides common women, belonging to the ſame Counſell 450.

Barbers 600. Minſtrels, Cookes, and Ieſters 320.

So that the whole multitude which were vewed to be in the Towne of Conſtance betweene Eaſter and Whitſontide, were numbred to be 60500. ſtrangers and forreners at that Councell.

The generall councell aboue the pope.

Here is to be noted that in this Councell of Conſtance, nothing was decreed or enacted worthy of memorie, but this only, that the Popes authoritie is vnder the Councell, and that the Councell ought to iudge the Pope.

Communion in both kindes denyed by this councell.

And as touching the Communion in both kindes, although the Councell did not denie, but that it was vſed by Chriſt and his Apoſtles, yet notwithſtanding by the ſame Councell it was decreed to the contrary.

Hetherto wee haue comprehended the order and diſcourſe of this Councell, with the actes and Seſſions concerning the ſame: which Councell although it was principally thought to be aſſembled, for quieting of the ſchiſme betweene the three Popes: yet notwithſtanding, a great part thereof was for the cauſe of the Bohemians, and eſpecially for Iohn Hus: As appeared by their preparation before the Councell. For before the Councell began, the Emperour Sigiſmund aforeſaid, ſent certain Gentlemen Bohemians, which were of his owne houſhold, giuing them in charge to bring Iohn Hus Bacheler of Diuinitie, vnto the ſaide Councell, and that vnder his ſafe conduict, the meaning and intent thereof was, that Iohn Hus ſhould purge and cleare himſelfe of the blame which they had laid againſt him: and for the more better aſſurance, the Emperour did not only promiſe him ſafe conduict that he might come freely vnto Conſtance: but alſo to returne againe into Boheme without fraud or interruption, he promiſed alſo to receiue him vnder his protection and vnder ſauegard of the whole Empire. For the ſame onely cauſe the Emperour ſent him afterwards the ſaid ſafeconduicts double written, both in Latine and Almaine, the forme whereof doth heereafter enſue.

The ſafe cōduct geuen to maiſter Iohn Hus.

¶ Sigiſmund by the grace of God King of the Romaines, of Hungary and Denmarke, Croatia, &c. To all Princes as well Eccleſiaſticall as Seculer, Dukes, Marqueſſes, and Earles, Barrons, Captaynes, Borowmaiſters, Iudges, and Gouernours, officers of townes, burgages and villages, and vnto all rulers of the cominalty, and generally to all the ſubiects of our Empire, to whome theſe letters ſhall come, grace and all goodnes.

Wee charge and commaund you all, that you haue reſpect vnto Iohn Hus, the which is departed out of Boheme, to come vnto the generall Councell, the which ſhall be celebrate and holden very ſhortly at the towne of Conſtance. The which Iohn Hus we haue receiued vnder our protection and ſafegard of the whole Empire, deſiring you that you will chearefully receyue hym when he ſhall come towards you, and that you intreat and handle hym gently, ſhewing hym fauour and good will, and ſhew hym pleaſure in all thyngs, as touchyng the forwardnes, eaſe, and aſſurance of hys iourney, as well by land as by water.

Moreouer, we will that he and all his company with hys carriage and neceſſaries, ſhall paſſe throughout all places, paſſages, portes, bridges, lands, gouernances, Lordſhips, liberties, cities, townes, bourgages, caſtels and villages, and all other your dominions, wythout payeng of anye manner of impoſition or dane money, peage, tribute, or anye other manner of tolle whatſoeuer it be: we will alſo that you ſuffer hym to paſſe, reſt, tarie, and to ſoiourne at libertie, without dooing vnto hym anye maner of impeachment, or vexation, or trouble, and that if neede ſhall ſo require, you do prouide a faythfull company to conduct hym withall, for the honour and reuerence which you owe vnto our imperiall maieſty. Yeuen at Spire the xviij. of October, in the yeare of our Lord GOD 1414.

¶ By this it may appeare that this ſafe conduct was graunted not in the time of the Councell by the Biſhops, but before the Councell by the Emperour: who was or ought to be the principall ordeiner and directer of the Councell vnder God. Now whether the Biſhops in breaking and adnulling this promiſe of the Emperour, againſt the Emperours mind, becauſe the diſcuſſion therof belongeth Ad materiam iuris, non facti, being a matter rather of lawe then of ſtory, I will differ to reaſon this caſe with maiſter Cope, to ſuch time, as may be more conuenient to the full tractation thereof.

Ala. Copus, pag. 929.

Aunſwer to Ala. Copus.

Notwithſtanding, briefly to touch and paſſe, let vs conſider part of the reaſons of the ſaide Cope, how friuolous and falſe they be, and eaſie to be refelled. What (ſaith he) if he preached by the way comming vp? Firſt that is falſe, vide infra page. What (ſaith he) if he ſtood obſtinate in his hereſie: what if he ſought to eſcape away after hys comming vp? To this the Lords of Boheme doo aunſwere, that his ſafeconduct was broken, and he impriſoned, not onely before he attempted to eſcape, or before hee was condemned for an hereticke, but alſo before he was heard of the Councell what he was. Vide infr. page. Further, where Cope ſayth that the generall Councell was aboue the Emperour, and hath power in caſe of hereſie to breake publique leagues and graunts: to that I ſay, that this ſafeconduct ſtood not only vpon the Emperour, but alſo vpon the conſent of the Pope himſelfe, vide infr. page. And admit that to be true, that the councell had power to make this decree, to breake promiſe wyth hereticks: yet this can not be denied, but that Iohn Hus was condemned and iudged before that decree in the xix. Seſſion was made. Finally, when Cope hath prooued by what ſcripture the councels haue power to defeat the authoritie of their Emperours in ſuch ſecular cauſes touching ſafeconductes, and outward ſafetie: then will I anſwere him more fully heerein. But to the purpoſe againe of the ſtory.

Iohn Hus taketh the Emperours ſafe cōduct.

Iohn Hus ſeeing ſo many faire promiſes, and the aſſurance which the Emperour had geuen vnto him, ſent anſwere vnto the Emperour that he would come vnto the Councell: But before hee departed out of the Realme of Boheme, and ſpecially out of the towne of Prage, he did write certaine billes long inough afore, as well in Latine as in the Bohemian language, and Almaine, and cauſed them to be ſet and faſtened vpon the gates of the Cathedrall Churches and pariſh Churches, Cloyſters and Abbayes, ſignifieng vnto them all, that he would go to the generall Councell at Conſtance, wherof if any man haue any ſuſpition of his doctrine, that he ſhould declare it before the Lord Conrade, or Biſhop of Prage, or if he had rather, at the generall Councell, for there he would render and giue vp vnto euery one, and before them all, an accompt and reaſon of his fayth. The example of his letters and intimations ſet vp were theſe, the copie whereof here followeth.

¶ The Letters of Iohn Hus, ſet vp in common places of the Citie of Prage.

Letters of Iohn Hus ſet vp.

MAiſter Iohn Hus, Bacheler of Diuinitie, will appeare before the moſt reuerend father the Lord Conrade, Archbyſhop of Prage, and Legate of the Apoſtolicke ſeate in the next conuocation of all the Prelates and Cleargy of the kyngdome of Boheme, being ready alwayes to ſatisfie all men which ſhall require him to giue a reaſon of hys fayth and hope that he holdeth. And to heare and ſee all ſuch as will lay vnto his charge either any ſtubburnes of errour or hereſie, that they ſhould write in their names there, as is required both by Gods law and mans. And if ſo be that they could not lawfully prooue any ſtubbornes of errour or hereſie againſt him, that then they ſhould ſuffer the like puniſhmentes that he ſhould haue had, vnto whome altogether he will aunſwer at the next generall Councell at Conſtance, before the Archbyſhop and the Prelates, and according to the decrees and Canons of the holy Fathers, ſhew foorth his innocencie in the name of Chriſt. Dated the Sonday next after the feaſt of Sainct Bartholomew.

¶ The Intimations folowing, were drawne out of the Bohemian tongue.

An other intimation of I. Hus ſet vp for his going to Cōſtance.

I Maiſter Iohn Huſnetz, do ſignifie vnto all men, that I am ready to come and ſtand before the face of my Lorde the Archbiſhop, and to aunſwere to all things whereof I am falſely accuſed in the next conuocation of Bachelers, and cheſly to this point, that in many places they doo report me an hereticke, not hauing reſpect vnto iuſtice or to law, neither yet to my merits or deſerts. Therefore ſince that you which do neuer ceaſe to ſclaunder and backebite me with your words, doo vnderſtand and knowe theſe things, come foorth openly before the face and preſence of the Lord Archbyſhop, and with an open mouth, declare and ſhew foorth what falſe doctrine or other things you haue heard me teach contrary to Catholicke fayth, and if that I ſhall be found faultie in neuer ſo ſmall a matter, contrary or againſt the faith of Chriſt, or in any falſe doctrine, and that I do choſe that or other things contrary to the faith of Chriſt, then I will hold my peace, and ſuffer puniſhment as an hereticke. And if there be no man that will reſiſt againſt me, or accuſe me in this point, once againe I ſay vnto you, that I am ready to appeare at Conſtance in the famous congregation, to the end that I may ſtand in the company of the Diuines, euen before the face of the Pope. Therefore whoſoeuer knoweth any falſe doctrine contrary to the faith of Chriſt in me, let him come thether, and ſhew it foorth boldly, if he haue any thing to lay againſt me, and for my part I will not be ſlacke, if I may vnderſtand or knowe it, to anſwere as well to ſmall as great, as touching the truth which I haue receiued of God, and deſire to be defended. All you good men therefore which loue the truth, ſay now whether by theſe my words I do thinke or go about any thing, either contrary to the law of God or man. If I be not admitted then to be heard, be it knowne and manifeſt vnto all men, that it hapneth not thorough my fault the ſame day.

The offer of I. Hus to his enemies.

✻ This Epiſtle which followeth, was ſet vpon the gates of the Kings Palace, tranſlated into Latin, out of the Bohemian tongue.

A writing of I Hus at the kinges gates.

VNto the Kings maieſtie, the Queene, and to all ſuch as are of his Councell, and to all other Rulers and Magiſtrates, which now are in the Kings Court, I Iohn Hus, doo ſignifie and publiſh, that I haue vnderſtand, not by any vayne rumor or tale, that there be letters brought from the Pope to the Kings Maieſtie, the contents whereof, is this: That the Kyngs Maieſtie ſhoulde bring to paſſe, that the heretickes which were now lately ſprong vp in hys kyngdome and dominions, ſhould not take any firme or ſtrong roote. For ſo much as without any deſert, as I truſt by Gods grace, the fame or noiſe is ſproong and blowne abroade: it ſhall bee our part to foreſee and take heed, that neyther the Kyngs Maieſtie, neyther the noble Kyngdome of Boheme, ſhould bee driuen to beare or ſuffer anye reproche or ſlaunder for mee. Wherefore now of late I haue ſent my letters too and fro, whych I haue with great labour and diligence, cauſed to be openly ſet vp, to thys intent, that I myght thereby cauſe the Archbyſhop to be carefull and diligent about the matter, ſignifyeng openly, that if there were any man in all Boheme, which did knowe mee to be a follower of anye falſe or corrupt doctrine, that he ſhould profeſſe hys name in the Archbyſhop hys Court, and there to ſhew foorth and declare what he thought. And for aſmuch as there would none be fonnd or come foorth, which would accuſe me, the Archbyſhop commaunded me and my procurers to depart in peace. Wherefore I require and deſire the Kings Maieſtie, which is the defender of the truth, alſo the Queene and theyr Counſellers, and all other Rulers and Magiſtrates, that they woud geue me a faithfull teſtimoniall of this matter. For ſomuch as I haue oftentimes willed and attempted this, and no man hath eyther accuſed mee or troubled mee. I doo it moreouer to bee knowne vnto all Boheme, and to all nations, that I wil bee preſent euen at the firſt time before the Councell of Conſtance, in the moſt famous place, in the preſence of the Pope, the Pope beeyng preſident. And finally, in the preſence of all others which will come to that moſt famous place, and that whoſoeuer hath any ſuſpition of me, that I haue eyther taught or defended anye thyng contrarye vnto the fayth of Chriſt, let hym come thether alſo, let hym declare there before or in the preſence of the Pope, and all the Doctors of Diuinitie, what erroneous or falſe doctrine I haue at any tyme followed or holden. More, if hee ſhall conuince me of any errour, or prooue that I haue taught anye thing contrarie vnto the Chriſtian fayth, I will not refuſe to ſuffer whatſoeuer puniſhment ſhall be due for an hereticke. But I hope and truſt euen from the bottome of my hart, that God wyll not geue the victory to vnfaithfull and vnbeleeuing men, the which do willingly kicke and ſpurne againſt the truth.

The ſame time Iohn Hus ſente his procurers to the Lorde Byſhop of Nazareth, ordeyned by the Apoſtolicke Sea Inquiſitour of hereſie of the Citie and Dioces of Prage, requiring hym, that if he had found any errour in him, he would declare it openly. But the ſayd Biſhop before the ſayd procurour, and the publike Notary, wyth many other credible witneſſes aunſwered, that he had often talked with Iohn Hus, and that he neuer knew anye thing in him, but as becommeth a godly and faithfull man, and this his teſtimonie of Iohn Hus, he approoued by his letters, the copie whereof is heere vnder written.

✻ The Byſhop of Nazareth hys teſtimoniall.

The teſtimony of the good biſh. of Nazareth.

WE Nicholas by the grace of God Byſhop of Nazareth, and Inquiſitor, ſpecially deputed by the Apoſtolicke ſeate for hereſies both of the Citie and Dioces of Prage, by theſe preſents we do it to be knowne vnto all men, that wee in times paſt haue often communed and talked with that honorable man, mayſter Iohn Hus, Bacheler of Diuinitie, of the famous vniuerſitie of Prage, and haue had diuers and ſondry conferences with hym, both of the Scriptures and diuers other matters, and in all hys ſayings, doyngs, and behauiour, we haue prooued and found him to be a faithfull and a Catholicke man, finding no maner of euill, ſiniſter, or by any meanes, erroneous doings in him vnto thys preſent. We doo witneſſe and proteſt moreouer, how the ſayd Iohn Hus, of late, in the Cathedrall Church of Prage, and in other both Collegiate and Pariſh Churches, and in the Colledges of the Vniuerſitie of Prage, and in the gates and porches of the moſt noble Prince and Lord, the Lord Wenceſlaus King of Romaines and of Boheme. Alſo in the gates of the reuerend father the Lord Conrade Archbyſhop of Prage, Legate of the Apoſtolicke Sea, and Chauncelour of the Vniuerſitie of Prage, and of other Princes and Barons, then being in the Citie of Prage, hath ſet vp his letters written both in Latine, and in the Bohemian tongue, containing ſententially in effect, how the foreſayd Mayſter Iohn Hus, would appeare before the reuerend father the Lord Conrade, the foreſayd Archbyſhop of Prage, and all the Prelates and Cleargy of the kingdome of Boheme, that ſhall bee congregated and called together by the ſayd Archbyſhop, at the day appoynted in the ſayd Citie of Prage, readie alwayes to ſatisfie euery man that ſhall deſire and require him to ſhew a reaſon of his fayth and hope that he holdeth, and to ſee and heare all and euery one which could prooue any obſtinacie of errour or hereſie, lawfully againſt him, vnder the payne to receyue the like puniſhment: vnto whome altogether he would by Gods helpe, aunſwere in the Councell of Conſtance, which was now at hand, before the ſayd Lord Archbyſhop and vs, with all other Prelates, and there in Chriſtes name, according to the decrees and Canons of the holy Fathers, to declare and ſhew foorth his innocencie. After the which letters as is aforeſayd by the ſayd maiſter Iohn Hus openly ſet vp, there did no man appeare before vs, the which would accuſe the ſayd Maiſter Iohn Hus, of any errour, eyther of any hereſie. For the euident witneſſe of all whyche things, we haue commaunded theſe preſent letters to be made, and confirmed the ſame with the ſetting too of our ſeale. Dated in Prage xxx. of Auguſt, an. M.iiij.C.xiiij.

The Biſh. of Nazareth witneſſeth with Iohn hus.

Vpon which matter alſo, a publicke inſtrument was drawne, teſtified with the hand and ſeale of the publicke Notary, named Michel Pruthatietz. The copie of whych inſtrument heere vnder followeth.

¶ An Inſtrument of Recognition, or proteſtation of the Lord inquiſitor of Hereſies.

IN the name of God, Amen. In the yeare of hys natiuitie 1414. the thirtith of Auguſt, in the fift yeare of the Byſhoprike of the moſt holy Father in Chriſt Iohn by the grace of GOD Pope, the three and twentith of that name, in the vppermoſt parlor of the houſe of the famous man the Lord Peter of Zwogſta, called Znirglits, maiſter of the mynte, of the moſt famous Prince and Lord, the Lord Wenceſlaus, Kyng of Romaines and of Boheme, in the greater Citie of Prage, about the Abbey of Saint Iames the Apoſtle, in the preſence of me the publique Notary heere vnder written, and certayne witneſſes heere within written, ſpecially called for that purpoſe. There was perſonally preſent Mayſter Iohn Ieſſenitz, mayſter of Art, procuror in the name of the honourable man, Mayſter Iohn Hus, Bacheler, formed in Diuinitie of the Vniuerſitie of Prage. He moſt humblie and earneſtly requyred the reuerende father in Chriſt and Lord, Nicholas Byſhop of Nazareth, Inquiſitour of Hereſies for the Citie and dioceſe of Prage, ſpecially appoynted by the Apoſtolike Sea, beeing there alſo preſent, ſayeng: Reuerend father, doe you knowe any error or hereſie in Mayſter Iohn Huſnetz, otherwiſe called Hus. The which ſayd Lord Nicholas, not compelled or conſtrained but of his owne will and accord, freely and openly did there recogniſe, ſayeng theſe or the like words in the Bohemian tongue.

I haue often and many times bene conuerſant with Mayſter Iohn Hus, and haue eaten and dronke with him: alſo I haue bene often preſent at his Sermons, and diuers of his collations which he hath made vpon diuers places of the ſcripture, and I neuer found or perceiued in him any errour or hereſie, but in all his words and deedes I haue found him alwaies a true and a Catholike man, neither haue I found any thing that doth ſauour of any errour or hereſie.

Againe, the ſaid maiſter Iohn his procurer, in the behalfe as aboue, required and asked the ſaid Lord Nicholas Byſhop and inquiſitour, whether any man haue accuſed the ſaid maiſter Iohn Hus of any hereſie before him, being inquiſitour for hereſie, and hath conuicted him of hereſie. He aunſwered, that ſince the time he knew Iohn Hus, and that he was made inquiſitour for hereſie in the Citie and dioceſe of Prage (as is afore ſaide) neuer anie man accuſed, either conuinced the ſaid maiſter Iohn Hus of any hereſie before him vnto this preſent time. Adding moreouer, that he the ſaid maiſter Iohn Hus did openly ſet vp his letters patents this preſent yeare afore ſaid, in the ſaid moneth of Auguſt, vpon the porches of the Cathedrall Church of Prage, and other Collegiate and pariſh Churches of the Citie of Prage, and vpon the gates of our ſaide Lord, our Lord the King, and the Archbyſhop of Prage, conteining in them this effect, how that he would appeare before Conrade Archbiſhop of Prage, and all the Prelates and Cleargy of the kingdome of Boheme, which ſhould be congregated and called together at a certaine day of the moneth aforeſaid, ready alwaies to ſatisfie all men as touching the faith and hope which he helde, and to ſee and heare all and ſinguler that woulde laye anye obſtinacie of error or hereſie vnto him, that they ſhould determine themſelues there, to ſuffer the like puniſhment, according to the extremitie both of Gods lawe and mans lawe, vnto whome altogether he would anſwere in his owne right before the ſaide Archbiſhop of Prage, and the ſayd Lord Nicholas, Biſhop and inquiſitour aforeſaide, and the Prelates, euen in the next generall Councell of Conſtance, and there according vnto the Canons and decrees of the holy Fathers, declare and ſhewe foorth his vprightnes and innocencie, vpon all and ſinguler, which proceedings, maiſter Iohn de Ieſenitz procurer, and in the procurours name or behalfe as afore, required and deſired, that he might haue one or many publique inſtruments made vnto him by me the publique Notary heere vnder written. Theſe things were done the yeare, indiction, day, monthe, houre, place, and byſhopricke, as is afore ſaide, in the preſence of theſe noble and famous men, the Lords William de Zwirgelitz, Baron of the Kingdome of Boheme, Peter his ſonne, the Lord Hlawaczion de Renow, likewiſe Barron, Wenceſlaus de Lunarx, Vnſſone de Miekoniz, Burgraue of the Caſtell of Liechetenburg, Cztiborius de Bodanetz Eſquier, and William de Dupore Knight of the ſaide dioceſe of Prage, with manye other woorthy and credible witneſſes, which were ſpecially deſired and required vnto the premiſſes. And I Michaell, ſometimes the ſonne of Nicholas de Prachatitz, of the dioceſe of Prage, and by the Imperiall authoritie, publique Notary, was preſent, with the witneſſes afore named, at the affaires afore ſaid, at the requeſt, demaund, aunſwere, and petition, and all and ſinguler the dooings within written, and did ſee and heare all theſe things to be done in foreſayd maner and fourme. But being buſied with other matters, I haue cauſed this to be faithfully drawne and written, and ſubſcribing the ſame with mine owne hand, haue publiſhed and reduced it into this forme, and haue ſigned it with my ſeale and name, accuſtomed being called and required to beare witnes of all and ſinguler the premiſſes.

After this, as all the Barons of Boheme were aſſembled in the Abbay of Sainct James, about the affayres of the Realme, where as the Archbyſhop of Prage was alſo preſent: There the ſayde John Hus preſented ſupplications: by the whiche he moſt humbly deſired the Barons, that they woulde ſhewe hym thys fauour towards the ſayde Archbyſhop, that if the ſayd Archbyſhop did ſuſpect him of any errour or hereſie, that he woulde declare it openly, and that he was ready to endure and ſuffer correction for the ſame at hys hands. And if that he had founde or perceiued no ſuch thing in hym, that hee would then gyue hym a teſtimoniall thereof, through the which he being as it were armed, he might the more freely go vnto Conſtance. The ſayde Archbiſhop confeſſed openly before all the aſſembly of Barons, that he knew not that the ſayd John Hus was culpable or faulty in anye crime or offence, and thys was hys onely counſell, that the ſayd John Hus ſhould purge himſelfe of the excommunication he had incurred: this report, which the Archbiſhop had giuen of John Hus, doth appeare by the letters which the Barons of Boheme ſent vnto the Emperour Sigiſmund by the ſaid Hus in the towne of Conſtance.

Conrade the Archb. cleareth Iohn Hus.

Finally, all the Prelates and Cleargie aſſembled together in the Towne of Prage, in the Archbiſhop hys Court, where as appeared perſonally the worſhipfull maiſter John Jeſenitz, Doctour of decretals and procurer, in the name and behalfe of the honourable man maiſter John Hus, requiring that either the ſayde mayſter John Hus, or that hee in the name and behalfe of hym, might bee ſuffered to come into the ſayde Archbiſhops Court, to the preſence of the Archbiſhop, and the Prelates which were there congregated together, forſomuch as maiſter John Hus is readye to ſatiſfie all men which ſhall require hym to ſhew any reaſon of his faith or hope, which he holdeth, and to ſee and heare all and ſingular, whych were there gathered together, that is to ſaye, the Lord Archbyſhop and Prelates, or any of them, whych would lay any maner of obſtinacie, or errour, or hereſie vnto hym, that they ſhould there write in their names, and according both vnto Gods lawe and mans, and the Canon law, prepare themſelues to ſuffer lyke puniſhment, if they could not lawfully proue any obſtinacie of errour or hereſie againſt him: vnto whome altogether he would, by Gods helpe, aunſwere before the ſayd Archbyſhop and the Prelates in the next generall Councell holden at Conſtance, and ſtand vnto the law, and according to the Canons and Decretals of the holy Fathers, ſhewe forth and declare hys innocencie in the name of Chriſt: Unto the which maiſter John of Jeſſenetz Doctour, one called Ulricus Swabe of Swabenitz, Marſhall of the ſayde Archbyſhop, comming forth of the ſayd Court, did vtterly deny vnto the ſayd maiſter Doctour and his partie all manner of ingreſſe and entrance into the Court, and to the preſence of the Archbiſhop aforeſayd, and of the Prelates there gathered together. Pretending that the Archbyſhop, with the Prelates aforeſayd, were occupied about the Kings affaires, requiring the ſayde maiſter Doctour, that hee woulde tary in ſome place without the ſayd Court, that when the Archbyſhop and the Prelates had finiſhed the Kings affaires, hee might then returne, and haue libertie to come into the Court there. The ſaid maiſter John Hus, and the Doctour of lawe tarried a while, intreating to bee admitted into the Archbyſhops Courte. But ſeeing hee coulde preuayle nothyng, he made there a ſolemne proteſtation of hys requeſt, that both hee and alſo maiſter John Hus and his part, could not be ſuffered to come into the Archbyſhops Court, to the preſence of the Archbyſhop and the Prelates. Requiring of the foreſayde Notarie, publicke inſtruments to be made of the ſame, which alſo was done.

Iohn Hus requireth to geue teſtimony of his faith and could not be admitted.

And theſe were the things which were done, before John Hus tooke hys iourney to the generall Councell of Conſtance, the which J minded briefly to reharſe, whereunto J will alſo annexe ſomewhat, as touching his iourney thetherwards.

About the Jdes of October 1414. John Hus being accompanied with two noble Gentlemen, that is to wit, Wencelat of Duba, and John of Clum, he parted from Prage, and tooke hys iourney towardes Conſtance. And in euery place as hee paſſed, he notifyed hys preſence by hys letters which he ſent abroade, and eſpecially in euery good towne or citie of name, the tenour whereof enſueth.

Iohn Hus taketh his iourney to Conſtance.

¶ The copy of the letters which Iohn Hus ſet vp in the common places of the Cities which he paſſed thorough going to the Councell.

Maiſter Iohn Hus goeth now vnto Conſtance, there to declare his fayth which he hath hitherto holden, and euen at this preſent doth hold, and by Gods helpe will defend and keepe euen vnto death. Therefore euen as he hath manifeſted throughout all the kingdome of Boheme by his letters and intimations, willing before his departure to haue ſatisfied and giuen an accompt of his fayth vnto euery man which ſhould obiect or lay anie thing againſt him in the generall conuocation holden in the Archbiſhop of Prages Court: So likewiſe he doth manifeſt and ſignifie, that if there be any man in this noble and Imperiall Citie, the which will impute or lay any errour or hereſie vnto him, that he ſhould prepare himſelfe to come vnto the Councell, for ſo much as the ſayd maiſter Iohn Hus is ready to ſatisfie euery man at the ſayd Councell, which ſhall lay any thing vnto hys charge as touching his faith.

The letters which Iohn Hus ſet vp in cities as he paſſed to Conſtance.

Jn all Cities as he paſſed by, and principally when he was parted out of Boheme, and entred into Almaine, a great number of people did come vnto him, and he was very gently receiued and entertained of hys hoſtes thorough all the townes of Germany, and ſpecially of the Citizens and burgeſes, and oftentimes of the Curates.

How I. Hus was receiued by the way going vp to the counſell.

Inſomuch, as the ſayd Hus did confeſſe in a certayne Epiſtle, that hee founde in no place ſo great enimies as in Boheme. And if it happened that there were any bruite or noiſe before of his comming, the ſtreetes were alwayes full of people, which were deſirous to ſee John Huſſe and gratifie him: and amongſt all other ſpecially at Nurrenberge, where as certaine Merchaunts which went before, certified the Citizens of his comming. In the ſame Citie there were many Curates which came vnto hym, deſiring that they might talke with him ſecretly aparte, vnto whome he aunſwered, that he loued much rather to pronounce and ſhew forth his mind and opinion openly before all men, than in huggermugger, for he would kepe nothing cloſe nor hidden. So after dinner vntill it was night, he ſpake before the Prieſts and Senatours, and diuers other Citizens, inſomuch that they all had hym in great eſtimation and reuerence one onely doctor except, which was a Charterhouſe Monke, and the Curate of Sainct Sebaulde, which did improue all that he had ſaid.

Nurrenburge.

A Charterhouſe mõke againſt Iohn Hus.

The twentith day after that, he parted out of the towne of Prage, which was the third day of Nouember, he came vnto Conſtance, and lodged at an honeſt matrons houſe being a widow named Faith, in ſaint Galles ſtreete.

John Huſſes Hoſtes named faith.

The morrow after, the Gentleman maiſter John de Clum, and maiſter Henry Latzemboge, went to ſpeake with the Pope, and certified him, that John Huſſe was come, whome they had brought to Conſtance to the generall Counſell, vnder the Emperour his ſafe conduict, deſiring him alſo that he on his part would graunt the ſayd John Huſſe libertie to remaine in Conſtance, without anie trouble, vexation, or interruption: vnto whome, the Pope aunſwered, that albeit that John Huſſe had killed his brother, yet would he go about as much as in him lay, that no outrage or hurt ſhould be done vnto him, during his abode in the towne of Conſtance.

The Pope cõſenteth to the ſafe conducte of Iohn Hus.

In this meane time, the greateſt aduerſary that John Huſſe had, named maiſter Steuen Palletz, the which was alſo a Bohemian, was come vnto Conſtance. But hys companion maiſter Stanislaus Znoma, was not yet paſſed the borders of Boheme, when he was ſtriken with an impoſtume, whereof he died. As ſoone as the ſaid Palletz was come to Conſtance, he did aſſociate vnto him one Michael de Cauſis, the which had before falſly accuſed and blamed the ſaide John Huſſe. And this may not be forgotten, that the ſaid Palletz had bene familiarly conuerſant and acquainted with the ſaid John Huſſe from hys youth vpward, but after that there was a bull brought vnto Prage from Pope John the 23. againſt the King of Apulia, named Ladiſlaus, the ſayd John Hus withſtood it openly, for ſo much as he ſaw that it was wicked and nought.

Staniſlaus Znoma Huſſes enemy, going to Conſtance, died by the way.

Steuen Palletz, Michaell de Cauſis cheife enemies to Hus.

And as touching the ſaid Palletz, albeit that he had cõfeſſed at a certaine banquet in the preſence of the ſaid John Hus that the ſaid Bull was contrary to al equity & right: yet notwithſtanding forſomuch as he was obliged & boũd vnto the Pope by meanes of certain benefices receiued at his hand, he mainteined and defended the ſaid bull againſt John Hus. And this was the cauſe of the diſcord and falling out betwene thẽ. As for Michaell de Cauſis the companion of maiſter Palletz, he was ſomtime the Curate of new Prage, but he not being content therwith, but ſeking after a further pray, dreamed and imagined out a new deuiſe how to attayne vnto it, for he made a ſemblaunce that he had found out a new inuention or meane, whereby the mines of gold in Gilory, which were periſhed and loſt, might be renued and ſet on worke againe. By this means he did ſo much with the king Wenceſlaus, that he did put a great ſumme of mony into his hands, to do that withall which he had promiſed.

A Bull againſt Ladiſlaus king of Apulia.

Michaell de Cauſis.

This honeſt man after he had laboured and trauelled certaine daies about it, and perceiuing that he brought nothing to paſſe, and that by that meanes he was vtterly in deſpaire of his purpoſe, hee conueied himſelfe priuily out of the Realme of Boheme with the reſt of the money, and withdrewe himſelfe as a worthy bird for ſuch a neſt, into the court of Rome. Such a man of ſuch conditions was eaſily corrupt with mony, and that by the aduerſaries of the ſaid Hus, & promiſed thẽ to do what he coulde for them, the which hee did ſhortly after. The two iolly roiſters Steuen Palletz, & Michaell de Cauſis drew out certaine articles againſt yͤ ſaid Huſſe, ſayeng that they had gathered them out of his own writings, and ſpecially out of his treatiſe, which he had written of the Church. They trotted vp & downe, hither & thither, taking great paines to ſhewe the ſaide articles vnto the Cardinals, Biſhops, Monks, and ſuch others of that ſort, doing them alſo to vnderſtand, that there were other matters of greater importance which the ſaid J. Hus had committed and done againſt the holy conſtitutions and other ordinances of the Pope and the Church: which if neede were, they ſaid they would propound before yͤ Councell. Through yͤ kindling of this their fire, they did ſo incenſe the Cardinals & all the Prieſts, that all they with one mind and conſent thought to cauſe the good man to be taken and laid hands on.

The wicked life of Mich. de Cauſis Huſſes enemie deſcribed.

The enemies of Hus practiſe againſt him.

The 26. day after the ſaid Hus was come to Conſtãce, during all which time, he was occupied in reading, writing, and familiar talke with his friends, the Cardinals which through the inſtigation and motion of Palletz and Michael de Cauſis, ſent two Biſhops, to wit, the Biſhop of Auguſta, and of Trident, and with them the Borowmaiſter of the towne of Conſtance, and a certaine knight, to the place where John Hus lodged about dinner time, which ſhould make report vnto him, that they were ſent by the Pope and his Cardinals, to aduertiſe him that hee ſhould come to render ſome knowledge or witnes of hys doctrine before them, as he had oftentimes deſired, and that they were readie for to heare him.

Unto whome John Huſſe aunſwered, I am not come for no ſuch intent, as to defend my cauſe particularly before the Pope & his Cardinals: proteſting yͭ I neuer deſired no ſuch thing, but that I would willingly appeare before the whole aſſemble of the Councell, and there anſwer for my defence openly, without any feare or doubt, vnto all ſuch things as ſhould be demanded or required of me. Notwithſtanding ſaid he, foraſmuch as you require me ſo to do, I will not refuſe to go with you before the Cardinals. And if it happen that they euill entreate or handle me: yet neuertheles I truſt in my Lord Jeſus, that he wil ſo comfort and ſtrengthen me, that I ſhall deſire much rather to die for his glory ſake, then to denie the veritie and truth which I haue learned by his holy ſcriptures. Wherfore it came to paſſe that the Biſhops being inſtant vpon him, and not ſhewing any outward ſemblance, that they bare any malice or hatred againſt him in their harts, albeit they had priuily laid garriſons both in the houſe, where they were aſſembled, and alſo in other houſes: John Hus tooke his horſe which he had at his lodging, and went vnto the Court of the Pope and the Cardinals.

I. Hus deſired to plead his cauſe before the whole councell.

When he was come thither and had ſaluted the Cardinals, they began to ſpeake to him in this ſorte: We haue heard many reports of you, the which if they be true, are in no caſe to be ſuffered. For mẽ ſay that you haue taught great and manifeſt errours, and contrary and againſt the doctrine of the true Church, and that you haue ſowed your errours abrode through all the Realme of Boheme, by a long ſpace of time, wherefore we haue cauſed you to bee called hether before vs, that we might vnderſtande and know how the matter ſtandeth.

I. Hus is come before the Pope & the cardinals.

The wordes of the pope & the Cardinals to I. Hus.

Unto whom John Hus anſwered in few words: Reuerend fathers, you ſhall vnderſtand yͭ I am thus minded and affectioned, that I would rather chooſe to die, then I ſhould be found culpable of one only errour, much leſſe of many & great errours: for this cauſe I am the more willingly come vnto the generall Councell which is here appointed, to ſhewe my ſelfe ready euen with all my hart to receiue correctiõ, if any man can proue any errours in me. The Cardinals aunſwered him againe, that his ſayengs pleaſed them very well, and vpon that they went theyr way, leauing the ſaid John Hus with maiſter John de Clum, vnder the gard and keeping of the armed men.

The aũſwere of Iohn Hus to the Pope and the Cardinals.

In the meane ſeaſon, they did ſuborne and furniſh out a certaine diuine, a Frier Franciſcane, a ſubtile and craftie man, and a malicious hypocrite, for to queſtion with the ſaid John Hus, which was compaſſed round about with armed men. This man drawing neare, in his monkiſhe geſture, ſayd: Reuerend maiſter, I a ſimple and rude ideot am come vnto you for to learne, for I haue hard many ſtrange and contrary things againſt yͤ catholike fayth, to be aſcribed vnto you, the which doo diuerſly moue my mind, being wholy inclined to the truth. Wherefore I do deſire you, euen for the loue which you beare vnto yͤ truth, and to all good and godly men, that you woulde teache me moſt ſimple and miſerable mã, ſome certaintie and truth. And firſt men ſay that you hold opinion after the cõſecration and pronuntiation of the words in the Sacrament of the altar, there remaineth only materiall bread. J. Huſſe aunſwered, that it was falſly attributed and imputed to him. Then ſaid he: I pray you is not this your opinion? No verely ſaid John Hus, I do not ſo thinke of it. When the Monke aſked this queſtion the thirde time, Maiſter John de Clum being ſomewhat moued with him, ſayde: Why art thou ſo importunate vpon him? Verely if anye man had affirmed or denied any thing vnto me but once, I woulde haue beleeued him. And thou, albeit hee hath

Dolus malus Cardinalium.

A Frier Minor putteth two queſtions to Iohn Hus.

A frierly Iudas. M.I.Clum ſpeaketh for I. Hus.

ſhewed thee his mind ſo often, yet ceaſeſt not to trouble him. Then ſaide the Monke: gentle maiſter I pray you pardon me a poore idiot and ſimple Frier, ſurely I did it of a good mind & intẽt, being willing & deſirous to learne. This Frier put forth another queſtion vnto him, proteſting his ſimplicitie and ignorance, what maner of vnitie of the Godhead & manhood was in the perſon of Chriſt? when I. Huſſe had heard this queſtiõ, he turned himſelfe vnto Maiſter Iohn de Clum in the Bohemian language ſaid: truly this Frier is not ſimple as he doth pretend, for he hath propoũded vnto me a very hard queſtion. And afterward turning himſelfe to yͤ frier, he ſaid vnto him: brother, you ſay that you are ſimple, but as I haue heard of you, I perceiue very well, that you are double and craftie, & not ſimple. It is not ſo verely ſaid the frier. well, ſayde Iohn Hus, I will cauſe you well to vnderſtand that it is ſo: For as touching the ſimplicitie of a man, it is required in things that concerne ciuilitie & maners, that the ſpirite, the vnderſtãding, the hart, the words, & the mouth ſhould agree together, and I do not perceiue that this is in you. There is in your mouth a certaine ſemblance of ſimplicitie, the which would very well declare you to be an ideot and ſimple, but your deedes ſhew plainely and euidently a great ſubtiltie and craft in you, with a great quicknes and liuelines of wit, in that you haue proponed vnto me ſo hard and difficult a queſtion.

A wolfe in a Lambes ſkinne.

Notwithſtanding I will not feare to ſhew you my mind in this queſtion. And when he had made an end, the Monke gaue him great thanks for his gentlenes and ſo departed. After that, the Popes garriſon which were about the ſaid Iohn Hus, told him, that this frier was called Maiſter Didace, who was eſteemed and counted the greateſt and moſt ſubtile diuine in all Lumbardy. Oh ſaid Hus that I had knowne that afore, I would haue handled him after another ſort and faſhion, but I would to God they were all ſuch, then through the help and aide of the holy Scriptures, I would feare none of them. In this maner the ſaid Hus and maiſter Iohn de Clum, were left vnder the keeping of theſe men of Armes, vntill foure of the clocke at after noone. After which time the Cardinals aſſembled againe in the Popes Court, to deuiſe and take counſaile what they ſhould do with Iohn Hus. Then Steuen Palletz & Michaell de Cauſis, with diuers other of their adherents, made earneſt ſute that he ſhould not be let go at libertie againe, and hauing the fauor of the iudges on their part, they bragged vp and downe in a maner as they had bin mad men, and mocked the ſaid Iohn Huſſe: ſayeng, now we will hold thee well enough, thou art vnder our power and iuriſdiction, and ſhalt not depart, vntill ſuch time as thou haſt paid the vttermoſt farthing.

Didace a crafty Frier.

Many a man beguiled vnder the cloke of ſimplicitie.

I. Huſſes accuſers triumphe ouer him when he was taken.

A little afore night, they ſent yͤ Prouoſt of the Romain court vnto M. Iohn de Clum, to ſhew him that he might returne to his lodging, for as for I. Hus, they had otherwiſe prouided for him, whẽ M. Iohn de Clum hard theſe newes, he was wonderfully diſpleaſed, forſomuch as through their crafts, ſubtleties & gloſing words, they had ſo trained this good man into their ſnares, whereupon he went vnto yͤ Pope, declaring vnto him all that was done, moſt humbly beſeching him, that he would call to remembrance the promiſe which he had made vnto him and maiſter Henry Latzembog, and that he woulde not ſo lightly falſifie and breake his faith and promiſe. The Pope anſwered that all theſe things were done without his cõſent or commandement, and ſaide further to maiſter Clum apart, what reaſon is it that you ſhould impute this deede vnto mee, ſeeing that you knowe well inough that I my ſelfe am in the hands of theſe Cardinals and Biſhops?

The pope breaketh promiſe.

In mine opiniõ, for ſo much as Pope Iohn feared that, which in deed did after follow, that he ſhould be depriued of his dignitie, he thought to win the fauour of theſe Herodian Cardinals and Biſhops, by betraieng this good man vnto thẽ. So the ſaid M. Clum returned very penſifull & ſory: he complained very ſore both priuely & openly, of the iniury and outrage that the Pope had done, but all profited nothing. After this, the ſaide I. Hus was led by the officers to the chapter houſe of the great Church of Conſtance, where hee was kept priſoner by the ſpace of eight daies, frõ thence he was caried vnto the Iacobines, hard by the riuer of Rhine, and was ſhut vp in the priſon of the Abbey, the which was hard by the Bogardes.

The pope to pleaſe the councel was againſt I. Hus.

After he had bene incloſed there a certaine time, he fell ſore ſicke of an agew, by meanes of the ſtench of the place, and became ſo weake, that they deſpaired of his life. And for feare leaſt this good mã ſhould die in priſon, as others are wont to do, the Pope ſente vnto him certaine of hys Phiſitions for to cure and helpe him. In the middeſt of his ſicknes his accuſers made importunate ſute to the principals of the Councell, that the ſayde Iohn Hus might bee condemned, and preſented vnto the Pope, theſe Articles heere vnderwritten.

The impriſomẽt and ſickenes of Iohn Hus.

¶ Articles preſented againſt Iohn Huſſe.

First he doth erre about the Sacraments of the church, and ſpecially about the Sacramẽt of the body of Chriſt, for ſo much as he hath openly preached, that it ought to be miniſtred openly vnto the people vnder both kinds, that is to ſay, the body and bloud. This article is euident, forſomuch as his diſciples at this inſtant in Prage, do miniſter the ſame in both kinds. Moreouer, it is affirmed by diuers, that he hath taught both in the ſchooles and in the Church, or at the leaſt that he doth hold this opinion, that after the words of conſecration pronounced vpon the aulter, there remaineth ſtill materiall bread in the Sacrament, this article ſhall be knowne by his examination.

Articles againſt Iohn Hus.

The ſupper of the Lord.

Secondly, he doth erre, as touching the miniſters of the church, forſomuch as he ſaith that they cannot cõſecrate or miniſter the Sacraments when they are in mortall ſinne. This article ſhall likewiſe be known by his examination. Notwithſtanding all that, which is here conteined, may be gathered by his writings De eccleſia, the which if he denie, let there then be ſome deuines and others appointed, to peruſe and looke ouer his ſaid writings of the Church. Moreouer he ſaith, that other men beſide prieſts may miniſter the Sacraments, this article is euident, for ſo much as his diſciples do the ſame at Prage, the which of themſelues do violently take the Sacrament out of yͤ treaſurie, and communicate among themſelues, whẽ the holy communion is denied vnto them: by this and other things, alſo it is ſufficiently euident, that he hath taught that euerie man being without mortall ſinne, hath yͤ power of orders or prieſthood, for ſo much as ſuch only as hath taken orders, ought to miniſter the ſacraments vnto themſelues. And becauſe he proceedeth from ſmall matters vnto great and waightier, it doth conſequently appeare and followe, that thoſe which be in ſtate of grace, can binde and looſe.

Of the adminiſtration of Sacraments.

Thirdly he doth erre as touching the Church, and ſpecially for that he doth not allow & admit that the Church ſignifieth the Pope, Cardinals, Archbiſhops, and yͤ Clergie vnderneath them, but ſaith that this ſignification was drawne out from the ſchoolemen. And in no caſe to be holden or allowed, this article is manifeſt by his ſaid treatiſe vpon the Church.

Of the Church.

Moreouer he doth erre concerning the Church, in that he ſaith, that the Church ought not to haue any temporall poſſeſſions. And that the temporall Lords may take them away from the Church & the clergy without any offence: this errour is euident, forſomuch as through his doctrine and intiſements many churches in yͤ kingdom of Boheme & in the citie of Prage, are already ſpoiled and robbed of a great part of their temporalties and goods. He ſaith alſo that Conſtantinus & other ſecular princes erred by enriching and enduing churches & monaſteries. This article is manifeſt by that which goeth next before.

Ecleſiaſtical reuenues.

Fourthly, he erreth as touching the Church, in that hee ſayth, that all prieſts are of like power, and therfore affirmeth that the reſeruations of the Popes caſualties, the ordering of Biſhops, and the conſecration of the Prieſtes were inuented only for couetouſnes. This Article doth ſomewhat appeare by thoſe afore going, but by his examination ſhall be more euident.

The biſhops power.

Fiftly, he erreth concerning the church, in that he ſayth, that the church being in ſinne, hath no power of the keies, when as the Pope, Cardinals, and all other of the prieſts and cleargie are in deadly ſinne, the which he ſayth is poſſible enough, this alſo doth appeare in his treatiſe vppon the Church, in his firſt errour as touching the miniſters of the Church.

The power of the keies of the Church.

Sixtly he erreth touching the Church, for as much as through contempt he doth not feare excommunication. This doth notoriouſly appeare by his owne doings, in that he did contemne and deſpiſe the Apoſtolike and ordinary cenſure, and in all the Apoſtolike excommunications & iniunctions he hath borne himſelfe vpon the diuine commandements, and in contempt of the keyes to the ſetting out of his hypocriſie, he hath ſaid maſſe all the wayes betweene this and the citie of Prage, and therby hath prophanate the proceſſe and authoritie of the Church.

Excommunication.

Seuenthly he erreth againe, as touching the Church, becauſe he kepeth not the inſtitutions & inueſtitures thereof, but holdeth opinion that euery man hath authority to inueſt & appoint any man to the cure of ſoules. This is euident by his owne doings. For ſo much as many in the kingdome of Boheme, by their defenders and fauourers,

Inueſtitures

or rather by himſelfe were appoynted and put into pariſh churches, the which they haue long ruled and kept, not being appoynted by the Apoſtolike ſea, neither yet by the ordinarie of the citie of Prage.

The office of preaching.

Eightly, he erreth as touching the Churche, in that he holdeth opinion, that a man being once ordained a Prieſt or a deacon cannot be forbidden or kept backe from the office of preaching, this is likewiſe manifeſt by his own doings, for ſomuch as he himſelfe could neuer be letted from preaching, neither by the Apoſtolick ſea, neither yet by the Archbiſhop of Prage.

Lupus agnũ accuſat quod turbarit fontem.

A heaping togeather of many greeuous crimes.

And to the intent that the ſayd John Hus, who is clothed in ſheepes clothing, & inwardly a rauing wolfe, may be the better knowen by his fruits, for the better information of you moſt reuerend fathers, I ſay, that from the firſt time ẏ he tooke in hand or went about to ſow hys errours and hereſies, ẏ which afterward he did in deede, he vnderſtanding and perceiuing himſelf to be withſtanded and gainſayde by the Germaines, which were in the vniuerſitie of Prage, for ſomuch as he coulde conclude nothing, becauſe they had 3. voyces, and he on hys parte, had but one onely voyce: he went about and brought to paſſe, and that by the ſecular power, that the Germaines ſhoulde haue but one voyce, and he and his partes 3. voyces, the which thing, when ẏ Germanes once perceiued, rather then they wold looſe or forſake any parte of their right, whych they had in voyces, or be in danger in theyr perſons, the which would then haue enſued vppon it, to ſaue themſelues, they wholy with one conſent agreed together to depart out of Prage, and by this meanes this ſolemne & famous vniuerſitie of Prage was made deſolate that had brought forth ſo many notable mẽ in diuers ſciences. Beholde this his firſt fruits which deuided that ſo famous vniuerſitie, for ſo muche as grapes are not gathered of thornes, neyther figs of brambles.

The departure of the Germaines from the vniuerſitie of Prage.

The 45. articles of Wickliffe.

Moreouer, when there were queſtiõs moued amongſt the deuines of the vniuerſitie of Prage vppon the 45. articles of John wickliffe, and that they had called a conuocation, and all the deuines of Boheme, for the Germaines were all ready departed, they concluded that euery one of thoſe Articles were either heretical, ſeditious, or els erroneous. He alone held the cõtrary opinion, ẏ none of thoſe articles were either hereticall, ſeditious, or erroneous, as afterward he did diſpute, holde, and teache in the common ſchooles of Prage, where by it is euidẽtly inough foreſene, that he doeth affirme thoſe articles of wickliffe, the whych are not onely condemned in England, but alſo by ẏ whole church, becauſe they were firſt inuented and ſet forth by the members of Antichriſt.

Moreouer, he being complained of to the Archbyſhop of Prage, ẏ he preached & ſet foorth certaine articles which were heretical, falſe and ſeditious, he was forbidden by the ſayd Archbiſhop to preach any more, and proceded againſt him, according to the canonicall ſanctions, the whych proceſſe is confirmed by the Apoſtolike ſea, and publiſhed as well in the courte of Rome, as wythout: the whych John Hus and his adherents haue diuers and manifold wayes violate & prophanate. And whoſoeuer did ſpeake againſt him, they were depriued of their benefices, and others placed in, which haue ruled, and yet do rule the ſaid churches, & the flockes pertaining to the ſame, not hauing any cure or charge of the ſoules cõmitted vnto them, neyther by the Apoſtolike ſea, neither yet by the ordinary of the place.

The office of preaching forbidden by the Archb.

Alſo as many, as well prieſts as lay men in the citie of Prage & kingdom of Boheme, which haue ſpoken againſt the doctrine of Hus, and the prophanation of the proceſſe aforeſaid, or at the leaſt not alowing the ſame, haue ſuffred moſt mortall hatred and perſecutions, and yet to thys day do ſuffer. But that at this preſent it is diſſimuled vntill the ende of the proceſſe againſt John Hus. wherefore if he be nowe let goe againe, without doubt they ſhall ſuffer great perſecution both in body and goodes, and throughout all the realm of Boheme, houſe ſhalbe againſt houſe, and this miſchiefe will creepe, yea ſodeinly ſpring vp throughout al Germany, and innumerable ſoules ſhalbe infected, ſo that there ſhall be ſuch perſecution of the cleargie and faithfull, as hath not bene ſince the time of the Emperor Conſtantine to this preſent day, for he ceaſeth not to mooue and ſtir vp the laity, againſt the clergy and faithfull chriſtians. And when any of the clergie would draw him away, or cal him from his hereſie, & for that cauſe doth forbid him to preach, that he doe not teach no hereſies: Then ſayeth he, and teacheth that the clergie doth that of enuie and malice, becauſe he rebuketh their vices and faultes: that is to ſay, their ſimonie and pride, and couetouſneſſe.

Inſurrectiõs feared in Boheme againſt the clergie.

Moreouer, hee ſtirreth vp the ſeculare princes againſt the prelates of churches, monaſteries, & vniuerſities, and generally againſt the whole clergy. Going about by thys meanes, he preacheth and teacheth that prelates and other men of the church ought not to haue any temporal goodes or poſſeſſions, but only to liue vppon almes. And by thys meanes he hath done already very much hurt, and auoided diuers and many Prelates, clearkes and Churches in the kingdome of Boheme and citie of Prage. For ſo muche as thereby they are already ſpoiled and robbed of their poſſeſſions. Yea, hee teacheth alſo that it is lawfull for the lay people wythout ſinne, to wythholde and keepe backe the tithes and oblations, or to geue the Church goodes to any other miniſter: all the ſeculare princes are greatly inclined hereunto, but ſpecially the laitie, who foloweth euery mã his owne will.

He hath generally to lay for himſelf all thoſe heretikes which do but very ſmally regard the eccleſiaſtical cenſures and hate the authority of the Romaine church, yea doe vtterly deteſt & abhorre the ſame, the which thing will more and more encreaſe, except it be effectually and manfully withſtand, and if he do by any meanes eſcape from the councel, he and his fauourers wil ſay that hys doctrine is iuſt and true, and that it is allowed by the authority of the vniuerſall ſacred Councell, and that all hys aduerſaries are wicked and noughty men, ſo that he would do more miſchief, then euer any hereticke did ſince the tyme of Conſtantinus Magnus.

Cayphas propheſied.

Wherefore moſt holy fathers prouide and take heede to your ſelues, and to the whole flocke, amongſt whome the holy Ghoſt hath placed you to rule the Churche of Chriſt, the whych he hathe purchaſed wyth his owne bloude, and whileſt the diſeaſe is new and freſh, helpe and remedye it, as well touching him which doth ſo infect and trouble the Church of God, as alſo concerning the occaſions, through the which he hath preſumed, & might doe the ſame: becauſe the Prelates do abuſe the eccleſiaſticall cenſures, & as well the Prelates as thoſe that are vnder them doe not keepe and obſerue the order of the churche whych is appoynted them by God, whereby it commeth to paſſe, that whyleſt they themſelues do walke the broken & vnknowne paths, their flocke falleth headlong into the ditch.

Maiſter Palletz lyeth, for the holy Ghoſt had no leaſure to come to that councell

Wherefore let our ſoueraigne Lord the Pope, and this moſt ſacred Councel ordaine and depute Commiſſioners, the which may examine the ſayd John Hus vpon all afore wrytten, and other thyngs in the preſence of them whych knowe the matter. Let there be alſo certaine Doctors and Maiſters appoynted to reade ouer and peruſe hys bookes which he hath written, whereof ſome are here preſent, that the churche may be ſpedily purged and cleanſed from theſe errours.

Upon this hys accuſation, they ordeined and appoynted 3. commiſſioners or iudges, that is to ſay, the patriark of Conſtantinople, and the byſhop of Caſtle, & the byſhop of Lybuſſe. The which prelates being thus deputed, hard the accuſation & the witnes which was brought in by certaine babling prieſtes of Prage, confirmed by theyr othes, & afterward recited the ſayd accuſation vnto the ſayd Hus in the priſone, at ſuche time as hys ague was feruent and extremely vpõ him.

I. Hus ſicke of an agew in priſon.

Uppon thys John Hus required to haue an aduocate to anſwer for hym, the whych was plainly and vtterly denied him. And the reaſon that the maſters Commiſſioners brought againſt it was this, that the plain canon doth forbid that any man ſhould be a defender of any cauſe of hys, which is ſuſpect of any kind of hereſy: The vanity and folly of the witneſſes was ſuche, that if in caſe they had not bene both the accuſers and iudges themſelues, there ſhuld haue neded no diſtinct confutation. I would haue reherſed the teſtimonies in thys place but that I knew them to to be ſuch, as the prudent and wiſe reader coulde not haue red without great tediouſnes. Howbeit ſome of them ſhal be declared, when we come to the proceſſe of hys iudgement.

I. Hus debarred of his aduocate.

Afterwarde, when John Huſſe had recouered lyttle ſtrength or health by the commandement of the three commiſſioners there was preſented vnto hym certaine Articles, many in number, which they ſayd they had gathered out of his booke which he made of the Churche: of whych articles ſome were forged and inuented by maiſter Palletz, & other ſome were gathered onely by halues, as ſhall be more plainly declared hereafter whẽ we come to ſpeake of the iudgement pronounced and geuen againſt the ſayd Hus.

Thus John Hus remained in the priſon of the couent of the Franciſcanes, vntill the wedneſday before Palme Sonday, and certaine appoynted to keepe hym, and in the meane ſeaſon to employ and ſpende his time wythall, he wrote certaine bookes: That is to ſay, of the ten commandements,

The bookes which I. Hus wrote in priſon.

dementes, of the loue and knowledge of God, of Matrimony, of Penaunce, of the three enemies of mankinde, of the prayer of our Lord, and of the Supper of our Lord.

Pope Iohn fled out of Cōſtance

The ſame day Pope Iohn the 23, chaūged his apparell & conueyed himſelfe ſecretly out of Conſtance, fearing the iudgemēt by the which afterward he was depriued of his Papall dignitie, by meanes of moſt execrable & abhominable forfaites and doynges. This was the cauſe that Iohn Hus was trāſported and caried vnto an other priſon: for the Popes ſeruauntes which had the charge and keeping of Iohn Hus, vnderſtanding that their Maiſter was fled & gone, deliuered vp the keyes of the priſon vnto the Emperour Sigiſmund, and to the Cardinals, and followed their Maiſter the Pope. Then by the whole cōſent of the Councell, the ſayd Iohn Hus was put into the handes of the Byſhop of Conſtance, who ſent him to a Caſtle on the other ſide of the Riuer of Rhine, not very farre from Cōſtance, whereas he was ſhut vp in a Tower, with fetters on his legges, that he could ſcarſe walke in the day tyme, and at night hee was faſtened vp to a racke agaynſt the wall hard by his bed.

Noble men of Boheme labour for Iohn Hus.

In the meane ſeaſon certaine noble men and Gentlemen of Pole & Boheme, did al their indeuour to purchaſe his deliueraunce, hauing reſpect to the good renowne of all the Realme, the which was wonderfully defamed and ſlaundered by certaine naughty perſons. The matter was growne vnto this pointe, that all they which were in the towne of Conſtance, that ſeemed to beare any fauour vnto I. Hus, were made as mockyng ſtocks, and derided of all men, yea euen of the ſlaues and baſe people. wherfore they tooke counſell and cōcluded together to preſent their requeſt in writing vnto the whole Coūcell, or at the leaſt vnto the foure nations of Almaine, Italie, Fraunce, and England: this requeſt was preſented the 14. day of May. an. 1415. The tenour here enſueth.

¶The firſt ſchedule or Bill, whiche the nobles of Boheme deliuered vp to the Councell for the deliueraunce of Iohn Hus, the 14. day of May. Anno. 1415.

Moſt reuerēd Fathers and Lordes. The Nobles and Lordes of Boheme and Pole here preſent, by this their preſent writynges doe ſhew and declare vnto your Fatherly reuerences how that the moſt noble Kyng and Lord, the Lord Sigiſmund kyng of Romaines, alwayes Auguſtus kyng of Hungary, Croatia, Dalmatia, &c. hearyng of the great diſſention that was in the kyngdome of Boheme as heyre, Kyng and Lord ſucceſſour, willyng & myndyng to foreſee and prouide for his owne honour, he ſent theſe Noble men Maiſter wenceſlate de Duba and Iohn de Clum here preſent, that they would bryng and aſſure Maiſter Iohn Hus vnder the kyng his name and ſafe conduct. So that he would come to the ſacred generall Councell of Conſtance, vnder the ſafe conduct of the ſayd kyng, and the protection of the ſacred Empire, openly geuen and graunted vnto the ſayd Maiſter Iohn Hus, that hee might purge himſelfe and the kyngdome of Boheme from the ſlaunder that was rayſed vpon them, and there to make an open declaration of his Fayth to euery man that would lay any thyng to his charge. The which the ſayd Nobles with the forenamed Maiſter Iohn Hus haue performed and done, accordyng to the kynges commaundement.

The ſafe cōduct of the Emperor chalenged.

when as the ſayd Maiſter Iohn Hus was freely of his owne accorde come vnto Conſtance, vnder the ſayd ſafe conduct, & greuouſly impriſoned before he was heard, and at this preſent is tormented both with fetters and alſo with hunger and thirſt. Albeit that in tymes paſt at the Councell holden at Payſan. 1410. yeare of our Lord, the heretickes whiche were condemned, were ſuffered to remayne there at libertie, and to depart home freely: Notwithſtandyng this Maiſter Iohn Huſſe, neither beyng conuicted nor condemned, no not ſo much as once heard, is taken and impriſoned, when as neither any kyng or any Prince Elector, either any Embaſſadour of any Vniuerſitie was yet come or preſent. And albeit the Lord the Kyng, together with the Nobles and Lordes here preſent moſt inſtantly required and deſired, that as touchyng his ſafe conduct they would foreſee and haue reſpect vnto his honour. And that the ſayd Maiſter Iohn Hus might be openly heard, for ſo much as he would render and ſhew a reaſon of his fayth, and if he were found or conuicted obſtinately to affirme or maintayne any thyng agaynſt the truth or holy Scripture, that then he ought to correct and amend the ſame, according to the inſtruction and determination of the Councell: yet could hee neuer obtayne this.

The extremities Iohn Hus ſuffered in priſon

But the ſayd Maiſter Iohn Huſſe, notwithſtandyng all this, is moſt greuouſly oppreſſed with fetters and yrons, and ſo weakened with thinne and ſlender diete, that it is to be feared leaſt that his power and ſtrength beyng hereby conſumed and waſted, hee ſhould be put in daunger of his witte or reaſon.

And although the Lordes of Boheme here preſent are greatly ſlaundered, becauſe they ſeyng the ſayd Maiſter Iohn Hus, ſo to be tormēted and troubled contrary to the kyngs ſafe conduct, haue not by their letters put the kyng in mynde of his ſayd ſafe conduct, that the ſayd Lord and kyng ſhould not any more ſuffer any ſuch matters, for ſo much as they tend to the contempt and diſregard of the kingdome of Boheme, which frō the firſt originall and begynnyng, ſince it receaued the Catholicke fayth, it neuer departed or went away frō the obedience of yͤ holy Church of Rome: yet notwithſtandyng they haue ſuffered & borne all theſe thynges patiently hetherto, leaſt by any meanes occaſion of trouble or vexation of this ſacred Councell might ariſe or ſpryng therof.

Wherfore moſt reuerend fathers & Lordes: The Nobles and Lordes before named do wholy & moſt earneſtly deſire & require your reuerences here preſent, that both for the honour of the ſafe conduct of our ſayd Lord the kyng, & alſo for the preſeruation and encreaſe of the worthy fame and renowme both of the foreſayd Kyngdome of Boheme, & your own alſo, that you will make a ſhort end about the affayres of M. Iohn Hus: for ſo much as by the meanes of his ſtraite handling he is in great daunger by any lōger delay, euē as they do moſt ſpecially truſt vpō the moſt vpright conſciences & iudgementes of your fatherly reuerēces. But foraſmuch as moſt reuerēd fathers and Lordes, it is now come to the knowledge and vnderſtādyng of the Nobles & Lordes of Boheme here preſent, how that certaine backbiters and ſlāderers of the moſt famous kingdom of Boheme aforeſayd, haue declared & told vnto your reuerences how that the Sacrament of the moſt precious bloud of our Lord is caried vp & downe through Boheme in veſſels not cōſecrated or halowed, and that Coblers do now heare confeſſions & miniſter the moſt bleſſed body of our Lord vnto others: The Nobles therfore of Boheme here preſent require and deſire you that you will geue no credit vnto falſe promoters & tale tellers, for that as moſt wicked and naughty ſlaunderers & backbiters of yͤ kingdome aforeſaid, they do report & tel vntruthes: requiring alſo your reuerences, that ſuch ſlanderous perſons of the kingdome aforeſaid, may be named & knowne. And yͤ lord the king together with your reuerēces, ſhal well perceiue and ſee that the Lordes of Boheme will go about in ſuch maner to refell and put away the falſe & friuolous ſlaunders of thoſe naughty perſons, that they ſhall be aſhamed to appeare hereafter before the lord the kyng and your reuerences.

The confutation of certain ſlanders.

The Byſhop of Luthonis.

As ſoone as this their ſupplication was red, yͤ byſhop of Luthonis riſing vp ſaid. Moſt reuerend fathers I well perceiue and vnderſtand that the laſt part of this writing doth touch me, my familiars & frends, as though yͤ kingdom of Boheme were ſlaundered by vs. wherfore I deſire to haue time & ſpace of deliberation that I may purge my ſelfe from this crime that is laid againſt me. The principal of the counſel appointed him yͤ 17. day of May, at yͤ which day the lords of Boheme ſhould be preſent again, to heare both the aunſwer of the councell, and alſo the excuſe of the biſhop of Luthonis, yͤ which thing in dede was afterward performed: for the 17. day of May, which was the 4. day before the whitſontide they met there againe, where firſt of all a certaine biſhop in yͤ name of the whole councel anſwered by worde to the nobles of Boheme, the contentes of whoſe aunſwer may eaſely be knowen by the ſecōd ſupplication, which the Bohemiams put vp to yͤ councel. But firſt I haue here in theſe few wordes following, ſhewed how the biſhop Luthonis defended himſelfe agaynſt that which is before written.

¶The aunſwer of the Biſhop of Luthonis, to the laſt part of the ſupplication, which the nobles of Boheme preſented vnto the Councell.

The anſwer and accuſation of the Biſh. of Luthonis againſt Iohn Hus.

Moſt reuerend fathers and noble Lordes, as Peter de Mladoneywitz bacheler of Arte: in yͤ name of certain of the nobles of yͤ kingdome of Boheme in his writings, amongeſt other thyngs did propounde how that certaine ſlaunderers and backebiters of the ſayd kyngdome haue brought to the eares of your reuerēces, that the moſt precious bloud of Chriſt is caried vp and downe in Boheme in bottels, & that Coblers do heare confeſſions, and miniſter the body of Chriſt vnto others, wherupon moſt reuerend fathers and Lordes: Albeit that I together wyth the other prelates, doctors, maiſters and other innumerable catholikes of the ſayde kingdome, the whych doe deſire as much as in them lieth to defend the faith of Chriſt, haue laboured for the extirpation & rooting out of that moſt wicked and deteſtable ſect of wickliffes, which nowe (alas for ſorow) beginneth to ſpring and riſe in the ſayd kingdome, as it is well knowne. Notwythſtanding, here in thys my oration, not for any ſhame or reprofe, but for the honour of the kingdome aforeſayd, I haue propounded, and declared a certaine new ſect, whych is nowe lately ſprong vp in the ſayd kingdome, the folowers whereof do miniſter & communicate the ſacraments in many cities, townes, & places of the ſaid kingdom, vnder both kindes both of breade and wine, and doe conſtantly teache the common people bothe men and women that it is ſo to be cōmunicated, obſtinatly affirming the ſame, and that the clergy which do repugn or ſay nay vnto it, are to be counted church robbers, as by the wrytings of their aſſertions being directed and preſented hether, ſhall openly appeare.

Moreouer by the report and fame whych goeth here abroade, & by the wrytings which were ſent ouer vnto me, I haue propoūded that it came to my knowledge, that the bloud of Chriſt is caryed about in veſſels not conſecrated, approuing the foreſaide erroneous aſſertion of the wicleuiſts, that affirme it neceſſary for ſaluation, that the people ſhuld communicate vnder both kindes of bread and wine, and that it is neceſſary, as the body of Chriſt is caryed in the pixe or boxe, ſo the bloude of Chriſt ſhould be caryed in bottles, or other neceſſary veſſels from place to place, and ſpecially about the miniſtration of the ſick. Alſo I declared not of my ſelfe, but I hearde it to be declared by others, both great and credible perſons, that there was a certaine woman a folower of that ſecte, the which taking by violence the body of Chriſte out of a prieſts handes, did communicate vnto her ſelfe, and affirmed that all men oughte to doe ſo, if the Prieſts would denye them the Communion. And the ſame woman amongſt many other errours, of the whych ſhee was conuicted, did affirme that a good lay woman myght better conſecrate and geue abſolution, then an euill prieſt: affirming that an euill prieſt can neyther conſecrate nor abſolue. But I know that neyther I, neither any of my aſſiſtance in this matter haue broughte thys at any time into your eares, that coblers in the ſayde kingdome doe heare confeſſion, or miniſter the ſacrament of the body of Chriſt, as is alleaged by the ſayde Peter, in the behalfe of the ſayde ſupplicantes. Notwythſtanding, that we did feare if meanes were not founde to recounter or ſtoppe the offences before named, that thys would immediatly folow vpon it. Wherfore moſt reuerend fathers, leaſt that the kingdome mighte bee defamed any more by ſuch peſtiferous ſectes, and that the Chriſtian faith myght happen to be indaungered: with all reuerence and charity I do deſire you, euen by the bowels of mercy, of our Lord Ieſus Chriſte, that thys moſt ſacred Councel, would prouide ſome ſpeedy remedy for this kingdome, as touchyng the premiſſes.

Moreouer, whether be they backbiters and ſlanderers or wicked and falſe enuiers of the kingdome of Boheme, the which do let the errors aforeſaid, & many others more, which are ſowen by the wicleuiſts in the ſayd kingdome, and alſo els where, whych alſo both do labor and haue laboured for the extirpation and roting out of thoſe errours out of the kingdome aforeſayd, and as catholicke men, for the zeale of their faith haue manfully put forth themſelues againſt the maintainers of the ſayd errours or ſuch as doe maintaine and defend the teachers of thoſe errours. This anſwere I haue here preſented before your reuerences alwaies, wholy ſubmitting my ſelf and aſſiſtance vnto your iudgement, and to the definition of this moſt ſacred councell of Conſtance.

¶ The anſwere of the nobles of Boheme.

The byſhop of Luthonius anſwere confuted.

THe day before Whitſontide, the nobles of Boheme dyd confute this theyr aunſwer made 2. dayes before in the Councel to their former wryting, as here foloweth: Moſt reuerend fathers and Lordes, for ſo much as vpon thurſday it was anſwered in the behalfe of your reuerences to the requeſts of the nobles and Lords of Boheme, that the ſayde Lordes were miſinformed of diuers poynts contained in the declaration of their ſaid bil: therfore the foreſayd Lords haue now determined and decreed to declare their former propounded requeſts more at large vnto your reuerences, not minding hereby to argue or reproue your fatherly wiſedomes and circumſpections, but that youre reuerences (theyr deſires being partly on thys behalf fulfilled) might the more effectuouſly & diſtinctly diſcerne and iudge as touching thys matter.

And firſt of all, where as the Lordes alleaged and ſayd how that maiſter Iohn Hus was come hether vnto Conſtance, freely of his owne good will, vnder the ſafe conduct of the Lorde the king, and the protection of the ſacred Empire: It is aunſwered on the behalfe of your reuerences, how that the ſaid Lords are miſinformed, as touching the ſafe conduict, and that you haue vnderſtand by ſuch as are worthy credit, that the frends and fauorers of the ſayd M. Iohn Hus, did firſt procure and get his ſafe conduicte 15. dayes after hys impriſonment.

The byſhops do quarell about the ſafe conduct of Iohn Hus.

The Lords of Boheme, and ſpecially the Lorde Iohn de Clum heere preſent, whome thys matter doeth chiefely touche, doeth aunſwere, that not onely the 15. day after, but euen the very ſame day that Iohn Hus was apprehended and taken, when as our reuerende father the Pope, in the preſence of all his Cardinals, demaunded of M. Iohn de Clum, whether M. Iohn Hus had any ſafeconduict from the king hys ſonne: he anſwered, moſt holy father & Cardinals, knowe ye that he hath a ſafe conduict, and when he was aſked the queſtion againe the ſecond time, he anſwered in like maner.

The ſafe cōduct of Iohn Hus obteyned and ſhewed before the impriſonment of Iohn Hus.

Yet notwithſtādyng none of them required to haue the ſafeconduict ſhewed vnto them: and againe the thirde day following, the Lord Iohn de Clum complained vnto our Lord the Pope, how notwythſtanding the ſafe conduict of oure ſoueraigne Lorde the king, he detained and kept M. Iohn Hus as priſoner, ſhewing the ſaid ſafeconduict vnto many. And for a further truth herein, he referreth hymſelf vnto the teſtimonies and witneſſes of diuers Earles, Byſhops, knightes, gentlemen, and famous Citizens of the city of Conſtance, the whych altogether at this preſent did ſee the ſaid ſafe conduict, and heard it read, whereupon the ſayde Iohn de Clum is ready to binde hymſelfe vnder what penalty ſhalbe required, euidently to proue and cōfirme that which hee hath promiſed, who ſoeuer ſay to the contrary.

Moreouer, the Lordes of Boheme referre themſelues vnto the knowledge of certaine Princes electors & other Princes, Byſhops, & many other noble men, which were preſent before the kings maieſtie, where and when as the ſaid ſafe conduct was graunted and geuen out by the ſpeciall commaundement of our ſayd Lord the king.

Hereby your fatherly reuerences may vnderſtand and perceiue that the ſayd Lordes of Boheme are not euill informed as touching the ſaide ſafe conducit: But rather they which by ſuch reportes haue falſly and vntruely informed your reuerēces. And firſt of al they haue offended agaynſt the Lord our king, and hys chauncellours. Secondarely, againſt the Lords and nobles of Boheme, as thoughe we had priuely & by ſtealth, purchaſed the ſayde ſafe conduict. Wherefore the Lords aforeſaid moſt humbly require & deſire your reuerēces that you wil not ſo lightly beleue ſuch as be not worthy of credit, but rather hearing the contrary part, to labour and diſcuſſe that the trueth may the more euidently appeare.

The byſhops of the councell falſly enformed touching the ſafe conduct of Iohn Hus.

Secondly, where as the Lordes aforeſayde, alleaging how M. Iohn Hus, cōming vnto Conſtance, of his owne free will, being neither condemned nor heard, was impriſoned, your reuerences haue made aunſwer therunto, that he the ſayd M. Iohn Hus in the time of Alexander 5. was infamed and ſlandered vppon certaine hereſies, and thereupon cited perſonally to apeare in the court of Rome, and there was heard by hys procurers.

Iohn Hus, impriſoned before he was either condemned or heard.

And for ſomuch as he refuſed obſtinatly to appeare, he was excommunicated, in the which excommunication he continued (as you affirme) by the ſpace of fiue yeares, for the whych he was iudged, and counted not onely a ſimple and plaine hereticke, but an hereſiarke, that is to ſay, an inuenter and ſower of newe and ſtraunge hereſies, and that he comming towarde Conſtance, did preache by the way openly. To this the Lordes aforeſayd do aunſwere, that as touching hys ſlaunder and citation, they can affirme nothing, but by report. But as touching that he dyd not perſonally appeare, they ſay they haue heard both him ſelfe, and diuers other credible perſones ſay: yea euen the moſt famous Prince Wenceſlaus king of Boheme, and almoſt all the whole nobilitie is witnes, that he would willingly haue appeared at Rome, or els where, if he myghte ſafely haue commen thether, and that deadly enmitie had not letted: and moreouer his procurers, which he ſent vnto the court of Rome, alleaging reaſonable cauſes for hys non apparance, ſome of them were caſt into pryſon, and others very euill intreated.

Alexander the 5. The anſwere touching the citation of I. Hus to the court of Rome.

I. Hus his procurers euill entreated at Rome.

As for the excommunication which he hath ſo long ſuſtained, they haue heard him often ſay, that he hath not reſiſted againſt the ſame by contumacye, or ſtubberneſſe, but vnder euident appellation, and therupon referreth himſelf vnto the Actes of his cauſes, whyche were pleaded in the court of Rome, wherin all this is more largely contained, the which your reuerences may euidently perceiue and ſee in this our preſent publike tranſumpt, which wee haue offred vnto you vpon certaine poynts aforeſayd.

I. Hus falſly reported to preach openly at Conſtance.

As cōcerning his preaching, wherwithal his enemies do report and charge, that M. John Hus did preach openly in the Citie of Conſtaunce: The Lordes aforeſaide, and ſpecially the Lord John de Clum here preſent do anſwere that hee hath continually lodged wyth the ſayde M. John Hus here in Conſtaunce, and that whoſoeuer they be, that haue bene ſo bolde, or dare be ſo bolde to ſay & affirme that M. John Hus had preached (as is premiſed) or yͤ whyche leſſe is, ſince the time of his comming vnto thys citie, euen vnto the very day & time of hys captiuitie and impryſonment, that he went but one ſtep out of the houſe of his lodging, that the ſaid Lord John de Clum, will and is content to binde himſelfe with any ſuche, as ſhall affirme the ſame, vnder what penalty ſo euer it be, of money or otherwyſe, that which hee hath falſly reported vnto your reuerences, he ſhal neuer be able iuſtly & truely to affirme and proue.

I. Hus falſely charged to preach comming to the councell.

Thirdly, whereas your reuerences do ſay, that you do not vnderſtād or know, what the Lords do meane, by the herettickes condemned, at the councel holden at Piſa, whether the mocking or deriding yͤ Pope, whoſe ambaſſadors came thither for vnitie or concorde, the which were ſuffered and gently entreated, as theyr Lordes were moſt enclined vnto vnitie and peace, or els that they did vnderſtande or meane yͤ perticuler heretickes, which were there condemned adioyning therunto: that the heretickes alſo comming vnto the councell, vnder the pretence of that vnitie, ſhould be gently handled and entreated. &c. Reuered fathers and Lordes, whether they be counted the firſte, or that they be thought the ſecond or laſt, yͤ Lordes aforeſaid require none other thing, but that the ſaid M. John Hus may vſe ſuche liberty as they vſed: forſomuch as he came willingly vnto this moſt ſacred cōucel, not for any other purpoſe, but onely publikely to recogniſe his faith. And in what poynt ſoeuer he ſhall ſeeme to vary from the worde of God, and the vnion of the holy mother the church, that in that poynte he will willingly be vnited and reconciled againe therevnto, and not only himſelf, but alſo his fauorers and adherents, he would moue and prouoke therunto: of whom the greater number are in the kingdō of Boheme. Alſo he is come hether that he might purge and cleare the noble kingdome of Boheme, from the ſiniſter and euil ſlaunder which was raiſed vpon it.

I. Hus had many welwillers in Bohemia.

Laſt of all moſt reuerend fathers & Lordes, for ſo much as your reuerences haue moſt fauourably anſwered vnto the principal requeſt made by the Lords aforeſayd, that the proceſſe of M. John Hus through Gods helpe ſhoulde be determined and ended wͭal expedition and gentlenes: The Lordes aforeſayd do render moſt harty thanks vnto your reuerences, and when ſoeuer theyr deſire by Gods helpe ſhall come to the ende or effecte long wiſhed or looked for, they wil not onely here, but alſo before the whole kingdom of Boheme, and in all other places whereſoeuer they come render moſt immortall thankes vnto your reuerences for euer.

¶ Thys declaration of the nobles of Boheme aboue prefixed, may ſerue not only to the cōfutation of the biſhop Luthonius thys Bohemian, but alſo againſt the cauillacions of Alanus Copus Anglus. Dial. *6*. pag. *929*. touching the ſafe conduct of John Hus, wherof ſufficiently before hath ben ſayd, vide ſupra, pag. *596*.

When as the noble men of Boheme by lōg time could receiue no anſwer of thoſe ſupplications, whych they had alredy put vp, they determined yͤ laſt day of May following by an other ſupplication being put vp vnto the principals of the councell, to entreat that John Hus myght be deliuered out of priſon, and defend his owne cauſe openly: they alſo put the teſtimonial of the biſhop of Nazareth, as touching John Hus. The copy wherof is expreſſed in the beginning of this hyſtorie, word by word.

Vide ſupra. pag. 597.

¶ Another ſupplication of the nobles of Boheme.

An other ſupplication of the Bohemians for Iohn Hus.

MOſt reuerend fathers and Lordes in Chriſt, of late there was a ſupplication put vp vnto your reuerences on the behalfe of the Lordes & nobles of Boheme, and the nation of Pole, wherin they moſt humbly deſired your reuerences to conſider how the informations which were put vp vnto your reuerences, by the enemies of M. Iohn Hus, were inſufficient. And with reuerence be it ſpoken, in many poynts vntrue, as in the ſafeconduict graunted by the kings maieſtie, and alſo in other articles, as more plainely appeareth in the Scedule, which was then offred vnto you: vppon the whych ſayde Scedule and other things at that preſence being put vppe, they coulde not as yet receiue no aunſwere. Wherefore the Lordes aforeſayde, moſte humbly require your fatherly reuerences, that it would pleaſe you to conſider the ſaid ſupplication, and to geue ſome anſwere to the Lordes aforeſayd, therupon and ſpecially hauing reſpect vnto the great iniuries and griefs which are done vnto the ſayd M. Iohn Hus, the which may be vnderſtād and knowen by the Scedule aforeſayde, that you will mercifully conſider and foreſee, that all thoſe griefes and euils ſo farre different from all brotherly loue and charitie are done vnto hym by his enemies euen for very malice and hatred.

The Lordes could haue no anſwere of their ſupplication.

To the intent therefore that the rancour and malice may be confounded and ouerthrowne, and the plaine and euident truth appeare, it may pleaſe your fatherly reuerēces to vnderſtand that it is notified and knowen vnto the Barones, Nobles, Citizens, Clergie and Laitie of the kingdome of Boheme, that M. Iohn Hus in all his actes and doings as well Scholaſticall as Eccleſiaſticall, and ſpecially in all his publike and open ſermons, he hathe made and hathe accuſtomed to make theſe maner of proteſtations, the which without any thing to the contrary, hee hath alwaies endeuoured to haue them ſtrong and firme, as by this his proteſtation here folowing, which he made about the determination of a certaine queſtion, it may moſt euidently and plainely appeare vnto euery man which would beholde and looke vpon the ſame: the forme and tenour whereof here followeth, and is ſuch.

¶ The proteſtation of Iohn Hus.

The proteſtation of I. Hus.

FOr ſo much as aboue all things I doe deſire the honor of God, the profite of the holy Churche, and that I my ſelfe may be a faithfull member of our Lorde Ieſu Chriſt, which is the heade and husband of the holy Church whych hee hath redemed: Therefore as heretofore oftentimes I haue done, euen ſo now againe I make this proteſtation, that I neuer obſtinately ſayd, or heereafter will ſay any thing that ſhall be contrary vnto the truth and verity: and moreouer that I haue alwayes holden, do hold, and firmely deſire for to holde the very true and infallible trueth and veritie, ſo that before that I would defende and maintaine any erroure contrary therunto, I would rather chuſe by the hope and help of the Lorde to ſuffer extreeme puniſhment, euen vnto death: yea, and thorowe the helpe of God I am ready, euen to offer this my miſerable lyfe vnto death for the law of Chriſt, the which I do beleue euery part and parcell thereof to be geuen and promulgate for the ſaluation of mankinde, by the counſaile and determination of the moſt holy Trinitie, and the ſaintes of God. &c.

Vid. in priore edit. pag. 207.

By the whiche his proteſtation, and alſo other proteſtations by the ſayde M. Iohn Hus, being well obſerued and noted, it may be eaſily gathered and known that his whole intent and purpoſe was and is, that hee neither would nor will haue ſpoken or written any thing in hys bookes, treatiſes, doctrines, or publike ſermones, or els to haue affirmed any articles, the whyche willingly and wittingly he did vnderſtand or know to be either erroneous, offenſiue, ſeditious, hereticall, or offending the godly eare. All beit that theſe and ſuche like things are falſely imputed vnto hym by hys enemies. But it hath alwayes bene his chiefe intent and purpoſe, and ſo is, that euery poynt, concluſion or article contained in his bookes or articles, to haue put and affirmed them to thys ende, according to the truth of the Goſpell, the holy Doctors and wryters vppon the holy Scriptures, and to that end and purpoſe, as is before expreſſed in his proteſtations: and if in any poynt, he ſhoulde be founde to varie or goe aſtray, or that he were not well vnderſtanded of others by like information to be informed, vnderſtanded, corrected and amended, and that he wil by no meanes ſuſtaine or defend any maner of article againſt the holy Churche of Rome, or the Catholicke faith.

Wherefore moſt reuerende fathers, the premiſſes notwythſtanding, his ennemies, through the extreeme hatred whych they beare vnto him, hath picked and taken out by piece meale certain articles out of the booke of M. Iohn Hus, reiecting and not looking vppon the allegations and reaſons, neither hauing any relation vnto the diſtinction of their equiuocations, haue compounded and made thereof certaine falſe and fained articles againſte him, to thys ende, that all charitie and loue being ſette aparte, they might the better ouerthrow hym, and bryng hym vnto death contrary vnto the ſafe conducte vppon good and iuſt occaſion openly aſsigned, and geuen vnto the ſayde maiſter Iohn Hus, by the moſt noble Prince the Lorde Sigiſmund king of the Romanes and of Hungarie, for his iuſt defence, againſt all the friuolous accuſations and aſſaultes of the ennemies, not onely of the ſayd M. Iohn Hus, but alſo of the famous kingdome of Boheme, and for

Articles foiſted out of Huſſes bookes by enemies.

the quiete appeaſing of all ſuch tumultes and rumours, riſing and ſpringing in the ſayde kingdome of Boheme, or elſe where: the auoiding of which moſt perillous vprours, the ſaide king of Romaines doth greatly deſire and wiſh, as the right heire and ſucceſſour of the ſayd kingdome.

Whereuppon the Barons and Nobles aforeſayde, moſt humbly deſire and require, the premiſſes being conſidered, and reſpect had vnto the great infamie and ſlaunder which may happen by the premiſſes vnto the ſayde kingdome and inhabitants thereof, that you will put to your handes, and take ſome order & meane, that maiſter Iohn Hus may be diſtinctly hearde by ſome famous men, deuines already deputed, or otherwiſe to be appoynted vpon all and ſingulare ſuch articles as ſhall be laide vnto him to declare his owne minde and intent, and alſo the minde of the doctours alleadged for his purpoſe, with the manifolde diſtinctions and equiuocations: in the which the drawers out of the moſt part of his articles haue alſo made equiuocations, that ſo according vnto the diſpoſition of witneſſes, of the which a great number of them are and haue a long time bene his mortall ennemies, that at the friuolous inſtigation of his enemies, when hee was miſerably deteined priſoner, that he ſhould not be condemned vnheard. For ſo muche as by the ſayde declarations your fatherly reuerences might be the more better informed of the trueth, hee hymſelfe is ready alwaies to ſubmit himſelfe vnder the determination of thys moſt ſacred councell. For your reuerences, by the craftie and faiined perſwaſions of his ennemies, are thus informed, that M Iohn Hus hath bene vncurably obſtinate by a long time in moſt perillous articles, the which your reuerences may nowe plainely perceiue to be vntrue, and for the more euidence heerein to be ſhewed, there is preſented vnto your reuerences an inſtrumente of publike recognition of the moſte reuerend father in Chriſte, the Lorde Nicholas Biſhop of Nazareth and Inquiſitour of hereſies, ſpecially appoynted by the Apoſtolike ſea in the dioces of Prage, the which by your reuerences is more diligently to be hearkened vnto.

The councell euil informed againſt Iohn Hus.

Wherefore it may pleaſe your fatherly reuerences to commaund the ſayd M Iohn Hus neither conuicted nor condemned, to be taken and brought out of his bondes and chaines, in the which he is nowe moſt greeuouſly deteined and kept, and to put him into the hands of ſome reuerend Lordes, Byſhops, or commiſſioners appoynted or to be appoynted by this preſent councell. That the ſayd M. Iohn Huſſe may ſomewhat be releued and recouer againe his health, and be the more diligently and commodiouſlye examined by the Commiſſioners: and for the more aſſurance, the Barons and Nobles aforeſayd of the kingdome of Boheme, will prouide moſt ſure and good ſureties, the which wil not breake their fidelity and faith for any thing in the worlde. Which alſo ſhall promiſe in his behalfe, that hee ſhall not flee or departe out of their handes, vntill ſuche time as the matter be fully determined by the ſayd Commiſſioners. In the execution of the which promiſes wee haue determined to prouide and foreſee vnto the fame and honour of the ſaid kingdome of Boheme, and alſo to the ſafeconducte of the moſte worthy Prince, the king of Romaines, leaſt that the enemies and detractours of the honoure and fame of the kingdome aforeſayd, might not a little ſlander and reproue the ſaid Lordes, pretending and ſhewing forth hereafter, that they had made vnreaſonable or vnlawfull requeſts: for the withſtāding of which miſchiefe, we require your fatherly reuerences, that you will decree, & moſt graciouſly conſent that this our petition and ſupplication may be drawen out againe by your Notarie, and reduced into a publicke forme and order.

The nobles required that Iohn Hus not being conuicte nor cōdemned, ſhoulde be deliuered out of priſon.

A petition for M. Iohn Huſſes deliuerance out of priſon.

After this ſupplication was read before the deputies of the 4. nations, the Patriarche of Antioch anſwered in the name of them all vnto euery article of the ſayd ſupplication, but it was done in few wordes.

First, as touching the proteſtation of Iohn Hus, whether it be true or falſe, it ſhalbe made euident in the proceſſe of his cauſe. Moreouer, wheras they ſay that the aduerſaries of Iohn Hus hath peruerſly drawen certaine thinges out of his bookes, that alſo the matter it ſelfe ſhall declare in the end. where as if it ſhalbe found & decreed that Iohn Hus is vniuſtly & vntruly accuſed, that thē it ſhal come to paſſe, yͤ his aduerſaries ſhall incurre perpetuall ignominy and ſlaunder. But as touching ſureties, albeit there might be a thouſand put in or boūd, yet can it not by any meanes be, that the deputies of the Councell with a ſafe conſcience may receiue or take them in this mans cauſe, vnto whome there is no faith or credite to be geuē. Howbeit thus much they wil do, vpon the 5. day of Iune next, Iohn Hus ſhall be brought againe vnto Conſtance, and there haue free libertie to ſpeake his minde before the Councell, & that they wold louingly and gently heare him: but the matter in the ende fell out farre contrary to thys promiſe.

The anſwer of the councell to the ſupplication

I. Hus in no caſe muſt be baled.

No credite to be kept with an heretique.

The ſame day the ſaide Barons and Lordes preſented a ſupplication of thys tenour vnto the Emperor: Vnto the moſt highe and mighty Prince, the Lorde Sigiſmund king of the Romaines, alwaies Auguſtus king of Hungarie, Croatia, and Dalmatia, our moſt gracious Lord faithful & true ſeruice in al things, and at all times. Moſt noble Prince and gracious Lord, we ſignifie vnto your worthineſſe, that we all together with one minde, conſent and accord haue deliuered vp vnto the reuerend fathers and Lordes, the deputies of the 4 nations, and to the whole ſacred Councel of Conſtance, this our ſupplication here vnder wrytten. as reaſonable, iuſt, and worthy of conſideration, the tenour wherof here followeth word by word, and is this.

Supplication to the Emperour Sigiſmund.

¶ The copie of the ſupplication, which was preſented vnto the deputies of the councel, is before written, whereunto this which followeth was annexed.

WHerefore we moſt humbly require and deſire your princely maieſtie, that both for the loue of iuſtice, and alſo of the fame and renowme of that moſte famous kingdome of Boheme, whereof wee acknowledge you vndoubtedly the true Lorde and heire ſucceſſour, and alſo foreſeeing vnto the liberty of your ſafeconduct, that you wil with your fauourable countenance, beholding theſe moſt reaſonable and iuſt ſupplications, which we haue put vp to the Lordes aforeſayd, put to your helping hand toward the ſayd moſt reuerend fathers and Lordes, that they will effectually heare vs, in this our moſt iuſt petition, which we haue offered vp to them, as is aforeſaide: leaſt that the enemie of the renowme and honour of the famous kingdome of Boheme, and ſuch as oure ſlaunderers alſo hereafter may detracte and ſclaunder vs, that wee ſhould make vnreaſonable and vnlawfull requeſts vnto the ſayde reuerend fathers and Lordes, and therefore we required and deſired of them that it would pleaſe them to decre by ſetting to their publicke hand & ſeale to authoriſe our ſaid ſupplication. Likewiſe we do moſt hartily require your highnes, that you would vouchſafe in like maner to geue vs your teſtimonie of the premiſes.

The Barons ſupplication to the king for I. Hus.

But what anſwere the Emperor made heereunto, we could neuer vnderſtand or know, but by the proceſſe of the matter a man may eaſily iudge, that thys good Emperour was brought and lead euen vnto thys poynt, through the obſtinate miſchiefe of the cardinals and biſhops, to breake and falſify his promiſe and faith, whych hee had made and promiſed, and this was their reaſon, whereby he was driuen thereunto: that no defence coulde or might be geuen either by ſafe conducte, or by any other meane vnto hym, whych was ſuſpected or iudged to be an hereticke. But by the Epiſtles and letters of Iohn Hus, a man may eaſily iudge: what the kings minde was. Now we will procede in the hiſtorie.

The king forced by the importunity of the Cardinals to breake promiſe.

The 5. day of Iune, the Cardinals, Byſhops, and the reſt of the prieſts, al that were almoſt in Conſtance, aſſembled to a great number, at the Couent of the Franciſcanes in Conſtance, and there it was commaunded, that before Iohn Hus ſhoulde be brought forth, in hys abſence they ſhould rehearſe the witneſſes and articles, which they had ſlaunderouſly gathered out of his bookes: the whych articles with Iohn Huſſes anſwer we will hereafter repeate. By chance there was then preſent a certaine Notary, named Peter Mladoniewitz, the whych bare great loue and amity vnto the ſaid Hus, who aſſoone as he perceiued that the Biſhops and cardinals were already determined and appoynted to condemne the ſayde articles in the abſence of Iohn Hus, hee went withall ſpeede vnto maiſter Wenceslate de Duba, and Iohn of Clum, & tolde them al the matter: who incontinent made report therof to the Emperour: who vnderſtanding their intent, ſent Lewes the Countie Palantine of Heydelberge, and the Lord Frederick, Burgraue of Nuremberge, to ſignify vnto them, whych ruled the councel, that nothing ſhould be reſolued or done in the caſe of Iohn Hus, before that it wer firſt heard with equity: and that they ſhould ſend him all ſuch articles as were laid againſt the ſayd Hus, which were either falſe or hereticall, & he would do ſo much, that the ſaid articles ſhoulde be examined by good and learned men. Then according to the Emperors will, the iudgement of the principals of the Councell was ſuſpended, vntill ſuche time as Iohn Hus were preſent.

The miſchieuous counſell of the popiſh band

The craftie coūſaile of the papiſtes ſtopped by the Emperour.

In the meane ſeaſon theſe gentlemen, maſter of Dube and of Clum, did geue vnto the two Princes whych the Emperor had ſent, certaine ſmal treatiſes which the ſayde Hus had made, out of yͤ which they had drawn certain articles to preſent vnto them which ruled the councel, vnder this condition, that they would render them againe, when they ſhould demand them. The intent & meaning of theſe Barons was, yͭ by thys meanes the aduerſaries of Iohn Hus might yͤ more eaſily be reproued, yͭ which of a naughty and corrupt conſcience, had picked out corrupt ſentēces out of the ſaid bookes of Iohn Hus. The bookes were deliuered vnto the Cardinals and Byſhops, and that done, Iohn Hus was brought forth, and the Princes whiche were ſent by the Emperour, departed backe agayne. After they ſhewed the bookes vnto Iohn Hus, and he cõfeſſed openly before the whole aſſembly that hee had made them, & that he was ready, if there were any fault in thẽ, to amend the ſame.

I. Hus forced to keepe ſilence by outrage of the biſhops and prieſtes.

Now harken a litle to the holy proceedynges of theſe reuerẽd fathers, for here happened a ſtraunge & ſhamefull matter. With much a do they had ſcarſly read one article, & brought forth a few witneſſes vpõ the ſame agaynſt him, but as hee was about to apen his mouth to aunſwere, all this mad heard or flocke begã ſo to cry out vpon him, that he had not leaſure to ſpeake one onely worde. The noyſe & trouble was ſo great and ſo vehemẽt, that a man might well haue called it a brute or noyſe of wild beaſts, and not of men, much leſſe was it to be iudged a cõgregatiõ of men gathered together, to iudge and determine ſo graue and waightie matters. And it it happened that the noyſe and cry did neuer ſo litle ceaſe, that hee might aunſwere any thyng at all, out of the holy Scriptures or Eccleſiaſticall Doctours, by and by he ſhoulde here theſe goodly replyes vpon him: That maketh nothyng to the purpoſe.

The like practiſe in theſe latter dayes was vſed at Oxford againſt the godly fathers.

An outragious councel.

Beſide all this, ſome did outrage in wordes agaynſt him, & other ſome ſpitefully mocked him: ſo ẏ he ſeing him ſelfe ouerwhelmed with this rude and barbarous noyſes & cryes, & that it profited nothing to ſpeake, he determined finally with himſelfe to hold his peace & keepe ſilence. Frõ that tyme forward all the whole route of his aduerſaries, thought that they had wonne ẏ battaile of him, and cryed out altogether, now he is dũme, now he is dumme. This is a certaine ſigne and token, that he doth conſent & agree vnto theſe his errours. Finally, the matter came to this poynt, that certaine of the moſt moderate & honeſt among thẽ, ſeing this diſorder, determined to proceede no further, but that all ſhould be deferred & put of vntil an other time. Through their aduiſe the Prelates & others departed frõ the Councell for that preſent, & appointed to meet there agayne the morrow after to proceede in iudgement.

A great Eclipſe of the Sunne.

They wẽt forth with ſwordes & ſtaues, as it had bene to take a theiſe.

The next day, which was the vij. of Iune, on whiche day the ſunne was almoſt wholy eclipſed, ſomwhat after about vij. of the clocke, this ſame flocke aſſembled agayne in the cloiſter of the Friers Minors, and by their appointment Iohn Hus was brought before them, accompanyed wͭ a great number of armed men. Thether went alſo the Emperor, whom the gentlemen, maſter of Dube, & Clum, and the Notarie named Peter, which were great friendes of the ſayd Hus, did folow to ſee what the end woulde be. When they were come thether, they heard that in the accuſation of Michael de Cauſis, they reade theſe wordes folowing: Iohn Hus hath taught the people diuers and many errours both in the chapell of Bethleem, and alſo in many other places of the Citie of Prage, of the which errours ſome of them he hath drawen out of Wickleffs bookes, and the reſt he hath forged and inuented of his owne head, and doth maintaine the ſame very obſtinately and ſtifly.

Peter and Iohn, follow Chriſt into the biſhops houſe.

Matter made againſt I. Hus

Falſe witnes againſt Iohn Hus

Firſt, that after the conſecration and pronunciatiõ of the words, in the ſupper of the Lord, there remaineth materiall bread, and this is proued by the witneſſe of Iohn Protiwate pariſhe Prieſt of ſ. Clements in Prage, Iohn Pecklow preacher at ſ. Giles in Prage, Beniſe preacher in the caſtle of Prage, Andrew Brod, Chanon of Prage, and diuers other Prieſtes. Unto thys Iohn Hus takyng a ſolemne othe, anſwered that he neuer ſpake any ſuch worde, but thus much he did graunt, that at what tyme the Archbiſhop of Prage forbad hym to vſe any more that terme or word bread, he could not allow the biſhops commaundement: for ſo much as Chriſt in the 6. chapter of Iohn doth oftentimes name himſelfe the bread of angels, which came downe from heauẽ, to geue life vnto the whole world. But as touching materiall bread, hee neuer ſpake any thing at all. Then the Cardinall of Cambray taking a certaine bill in hys hand, which he ſayd he receiued the day before, ſayd vnto Iohn Hus, will you put any vniuerſalities a parte rei. i. as touching the thing? When Iohn Hus aunſwered, that he wold, becauſe S. Anſelme, and diuers other had ſo done, the Cardinall did proceed to gather his argument in this maner.

The aunſwer of Iohn Hus.

Naming of bread forbid by the archb.

The Cardinall ſophiſticateth with I. Hus.

It followeth then, ſayde he, that after the conſecration is made, there remaineth the ſubſtance of materiall bread, & that I do thus proue: That the conſecration being done, whiles the bread is chaunged & tranſubſtanciated into the body of Chriſt, as you ſay, either there doeth remaine the common ſubſtaunce of materiall bread, or contrariwiſe. If the ſubſtance do remaine, then is our purpoſe at an end. If contrariwiſe, then doth it folow, that by the deciſion of the ſingularitie, the vniuerſall ceaſeth any more to be, Iohn Hus anſwered, truely it ceaſeth to be in this ſingular materiall bread, by meanes of this trãſubſtantiatiõ, whẽ as it is changed & tranſubſtanciated into the body of Chriſt: but notwithſtanding in other ſingularities, it is made ſubiect.

The diſputation of the Engliſh mẽ.

Then a certaine Engliſh man by ẏ argument woulde proue out of the firſt poſitiõ, that there remained materiall bread. Then ſayd Iohn Hus, that is a childiſh argument, which euery boy in the ſchooles knoweth, and thereuppon gaue a ſolution. Then an other Engliſh man wold proue, that there remained materiall bread in the ſacrament, becauſe the breade after the conſecration was not anihilate. Unto whom Iohn Hus anſwered: Although, ſaid he, that the breade be not anihilate or conſumed, yet ſingularly it ceaſeth there to be by meanes of the alteration of hys ſubſtance into the body of Chriſt. Here an other Engliſh mã, ſtepping forth, ſayd: Iohn Hus ſeemeth vnto me, to vſe the ſame kinde of crafty ſpeach, which Wickleffe vſed, for hee graunted all theſe things, which this man hath done, & yet in very deede was fully perſwaded that material bread remained in the ſacrament after the cõſecration. The whych when Iohn Hus had denied, ſaying that he ſpake nothing but only ſincerely & vprightly, according to his conſcience, the Engliſh man proceeded to demaunde of hym againe, whether the body of Chriſte be totally and really in the ſacrament of the altar. Wherunto Iohn Hus anſwered: verely, I do thincke that the body of Chriſt is really and totally in the ſacrament of the alter, the which was borne of the virgine Mary, ſuffered, died, & roſe againe, and ſitteth on the right hande of God the father almighty. When they had diſputed a good while to and froe, as touching vniuerſalities, the Engliſh man whych before would proue that material bread remained in the ſacrament, becauſe that the bread was not anihilate, interrupting and breaking theyr talke, ſayd: to what purpoſe is this diſputation vpon vniuerſalities, the which maketh nothing to the purpoſe, as touching faith: for as farre as I can perceiue or here, this man holdeth a good opinion, as touching the Sacrament of the aultare.

An Engliſh man.

Iohn Hus agreeth with that blinde rime in the ſacrament.

Stokes an Engliſhe man.

Then an other Engliſh man, named Stokes, ſayd: I haue ſeene at Prage (ſayd he) a certaine treatiſe, the whych was aſcribed vnto thys man Iohn Hus, wherein it was plainely ſet forth, that after the conſecration, there remained materiall bread in in the Sacramẽt. Uerely ſaid Iohn Hus, ſauing your reuerence, that is not true.

False witnes

Then they returned againe vnto the witneſſes of them which were ſpoken of a litle before, who euery mã for himſelfe affirmed with an othe, that which he had ſaid. Amongeſt whom Iohn Protyway pariſhe prieſt of S. Clemẽts in Prage, whẽ he ſhould come to confirme his teſtimony, added more, that Iohn Hus ſhould ſay, that S. Gregory was but a rimer, whẽ he did alleadge his athoritie againſt him. Unto whõ Iohn Hus anſwered, that in this point they did him great iniury, for ſomuch as he alwaies eſteemed and reputed S. Gregory for a moſt holy doctor of the Church.

Iohn Hus falſely accuſed for calling S. Gregory a rimer

The Cardinall of Florence.

These contentions and diſputations being ſomewhat appeaſed, the Cardinall of Florence turned himſelfe toward Iohn Hus, & ſaid: Maiſter, you know well inough that it is written that in the mouth of two or three witneſſes all witnes is firme and ſtable: and heere you ſee nowe almoſt 20. witneſſes againſt you, men of authority & worthy of credite, amongſt the whych ſome haue hearde you teach theſe things themſelues, the other by report & common brute or voice, do teſtify of your doctrine, and altogether generally bring firme reaſons & proofes of theyr witneſſe, vnto the which wee are forced & conſtrained to geue credite, and for my part I ſee not howe you can maintaine & defend your cauſe againſt ſo many notable & wel learned men. Unto whom Iohn Hus anſwered in this maner: I take God and my conſcience to witnes, ẏ I neuer taught any thing, neither was it euer in my minde or fantaſie to teach in ſuch ſort or maner, as theſe men here haue not feared to witneſſe againſt me, that which they neuer hearde. And albeit they were as many more in nũber as they are, for all that, I do much more eſteme, yea and wͭout compariſon regard the witnes of my Lord God, before the wytnes and iudgement of al mine aduerſaries, vpon whom I do in no poynt ſtay my ſelfe. Then ſayde the Cardinall againe vnto him, it is not lawfull for vs to iudge according to your conſcience, for we can not chuſe, but that wee muſt nedes ſtay our ſelues vpon the firme & euident witnes of theſe men heere. For it is not for any diſpleaſure or hatred that theſe men do witnes thys againſt you (as you doe alleadge) for they alleadge and bring forth ſuche reaſons of their witneſſe, that there is no man that can perceyue any hatred in them, or that we can in any caſe be in dout thereof. And as touching M. Steuen Paletz, whereas you ſay, you do ſuſpect him that he hath craftily & deceitfully drawen

Twenty witneſſes preuayled againſt Iohn Hus, but the teſtimony of al Boheme would not ſerue on his part.

The Cardinall of Cambray.

drawen out certaine poyntes or articles out of your bookes for to betray them afterward: It ſemeth that in this point you do hym great wrong, for in myne aduiſe he hath vſed and ſhewed a great fidelitie and amitie towarde you, in yͭ he hathe alleuiated and moderated many of your articles much more then they are in your owne bookes. I vnderſtand alſo that you haue like opinion of diuers other notable men, and ſpecially you haue ſayd, that you do ſuſpect M. Chauncellour of Paris, then whome there is no more excellent and Chriſtian man in all the whole world.

He meaneth Gerſon.

An other accuſation for defending of Wickliffes articles.

Then was there read a certayne article of accuſation in yͤ which it was alledged that Iohn Hus had taught & obſtinately defended certayne erroneous Articles of Wickliffes in Boheme. Whereunto Hus anſwered, that he neuer taught any errours of Iohn Wickliffes, or of anye other mans. Wherefore if it be ſo that Wickliffe : haue ſowed any errours in England, let the Engliſh men look to yͤ themſelues. But to confirme theyr article, there was alleaged that Iohn Huſſe did withſtande the condemnation of Wickliffes articles, the which was firſt condemned at Rome, & afterward alſo, whē the Archb. Swinco with other learned men, held a conuocation at Prage for yͤ ſame matter, when as they ſhould haue bene there condemned for this cauſe, that none of them were agreeing to the Catholicke faith or doctrine, but were either hereticall, erroneous or offenſiue: he aunſwered that he durſt not agree thereunto, for offending hys conſcience, and ſpecially for theſe Articles: that Siluester the pope and Cōſtantine dyd erre in beſtowing thoſe gret gifts & rewards vpō yͤ church Alſo that the pope or Prieſt being in mortall ſinne, can not conſecrate nor baptiſe. This article ſaid he, I haue thus determined, as if I ſhould ſay that he doth vnworthely conſecrate or Baptiſe, when as he is in deadly ſinne, and that he is an vnworthy miniſter of the Sacramentes of God. Here his accuſers, with their witneſſes, were earneſt and inſtant, that the article of Wickliffe was written by the very ſame wordes in the treatiſe which Iohn Huſſe made agaynſt Stephen Paletz. Verely ſaid Iohn Huſſe I feare not to ſubmit my ſelfe, euen vnder the daunger of death, if you ſhall not find it ſo, as I haue ſayd. When the book was brought forth, they founde it written as Iohn Huſſe had ſayd. He added alſo moreouer that he durſt not agree vnto them which had condemned Wickliffes articles, for this Article: the tenthes were pure almes.

Certaine Articles of Wickliffe that I. Hus ſtoode in.

A treatiſe againſt Steuē Palletz.

Whether tenthes be pure almoſe

Here the Cardinal of Florence obiected vnto him this argument, as touching yͤ almes: it is required that it ſhold be geuē freely without bond or duety. But tenthes are not geuen freely without bond or duety: therefore are they no almes. Iohn Hus denying the Maior of this Sillogiſmus brought this reaſon agaynſt him. For ſomuch as rich men are bounden vnder the payne of eternall damnation, vnto the fulfilling of yͤ 6. works of mercy, which Chriſt repeteth in the 25. chap. of Mathew: and theſe workes are pure almes: Ergo, almes is alſo geuen by bond & duety. Then an Archbiſhop of Englād ſtepping vp, ſayd, if we all be boūd vnto thoſe 6. workes of mercy, it doth followe that poore men, which haue nothing at al to geue, ſhould be damned. I anſwere, ſayd Huſſe, vnto your antecedent, that I ſpake diſtinctly of rich men, and of thoſe which had where withall to doe thoſe workes: they I ſay were bound to geue almes vnder payne of damnation.

Almoſe ſtādeth of duty

He anſwered moreouer vnto the Minor of the firſt argument, that tenthes were at firſt geuen freely, and afterward made a bond and duetie. And when as he woulde haue declared it more at large, he could not be ſuffered. He declared alſo diuers other cauſes, why he coulde not with ſafe conſcience, conſent vnto the condemnatiō of Wickliffes articles. But howſoeuer the matter went he did affirme & ſay, that he did neuer obſtinately confirme any Articles of Wickleffes, but only that he did not alow and conſent that Wickliffes Articles ſhould be condemned before that ſufficient reaſons were alleadged out of the holy Scripture for theyr condemnation, & of the ſame minde, ſaith Iohn Hus are a great many other Doctors and mayſters of the Vniuerſitie of Prage. For when as Swinco the archbiſhop commanded all Wickliffes bookes to be gathered together in the whole City of Prage, and to be brought vnto him, I my ſelf brought alſo certayn books of Wickliffes, which I gaue vnto yͤ Archbiſhop deſiring him yͭ if he found any error or hereſie in them that he would note and mark thē, and I my ſelfe would publiſh them openly. But the archbiſhop, albeit that he ſhewed me no errour nor hereſie in them, burned my bookes together with thoſe that were brought vnto him, notwithſtanding that he had no ſuch commaundement from Pope Alexander the fifth of that name. But notwithſtanding by a certaine pollicie he obtayned a Bull from the ſayd Pope by meanes of Iaroſlaus Biſhop of Sarepte of the order of Franciſcanes, that all Wickleffs books for the manifold errours, contayned in them (whereof there was none named) ſhould be taken out of all mens handes.

I. Hus his minde touching the cōdemnation of Wickliffes articles.

Wickliffes bookes burned in prage by Archb. Suinco.

A narration touching Wickliffes bookes.

The archb. vſing the authoritie of this Bull, thought he ſhould bring to paſſe that the king of Boheme and the Nobles ſhold conſent to the condemnation of Wickliffes bookes, but therein he was deceiued. Yet neuertheleſſe he calling together certayn deuines, gaue them in cōmiſsiō to ſit vpon Wickliffes bookes and to proceede agaynſt them by a diffinitiue ſentence in the Canon law. Theſe men by a generall ſentence iudged all thoſe books worthy to be burned. The which when the Doctors, Mayſters and Sholers of the vniuerſitie heard report of, they altogether with one conſent & accord (none excepted but onely they, which before were choſen by the Archbiſhop to ſit in iudgement) determined to make ſupplication vnto the king to ſtay the matter. The king graunting their requeſt, ſent by and by certain vnto the Archbiſhop to examine the matter. There he denyed that he woulde decree anye thing as touchinge Wickleffes bookes contrary vnto the kinges will & pleaſure. Wherupon, albeit that he had determined to burn thē the next day after, yet for feare of the king, the matter was paſſed ouer.

The vniuerſitie of prage maketh ſupplication to the king for ſauing of Wickliffes bookes.

In the meane tyme Pope Alexander the fifth beyng dead, the Archbiſhop fearing leaſt the Bull whiche he had receiued of the pope, would be no longer of any force or effect, priuily calling vnto him hys adherentes, and ſhutting the gates of hys Court round about him, being garded wͭ a number of armed ſouldiors, he conſumed and burned all Wickleffes bookes. Beſide this great iniurie the Archbyſhop by meanes of his Bull aforeſayd, committed an other leſſe tollerable. For he gaue out commaundement that no man after that time vnder payne of excōmunication ſhold teach any more in Chappels. Wherunto I did appeale vnto the Pope, who being dead, and the cauſe of my matter remayning vndetermined, I appealed likewiſe vnto his ſucceſſor Iohn 23. Before whom when as by the ſpace of 2. yeres, I could not be admitted by my aduocates to defend my cauſe, I appealed vnto the high Iudge Chriſt. When I. Hus had ſpoken theſe wordes, it was demaunded of hym whether he had receiued abſolution of the pope or no he aunſwered, no. Then agayne whether it were lawfull for him to appeale vnto Chriſt or no. Whereunto Iohn Hus anſwered: Verely I doe affirme here afore you all that there is no more iuſt or effectuall appeale, then that appeale which is made vnto Chriſt, for aſmuch as the law doth determine that to appeale is no other thinge then in a cauſe of griefe or wrong done by an inferior iudge, to implore and require ayde and remedy at a higher Iudges hand. Who is then an higher Iudge then Chriſt? Who I ſay cā know or iudge the matter more iuſtly or with more equitie? when as in him there is found no deceit, neyther can he be deceiued: or who can better helpe the miſerable & oppreſſed thē he? While Iohn Hus with a deuout and ſober countenaunce was ſpeaking and pronouncing thoſe words, he was derided and mocked of all the whole councell.

Wickliffs bookes burned in Prage againſt the kings will.

A decree that no mā ſhould teach any more in chappels.

Iohn Hus appealed to the pope & from the pope to Chriſt.

A queſtiō of the councell whether it be lawfull to appeale to Chriſt or no.

The popiſhe church derideth Chriſt.

Then was there rehearſed an other Article of his accuſation in this maner: that Iohn Hus for to confirme the hereſie which he had taught the common and ſimple people out of Wickleffes bookes, ſayd openly theſe wordes, that at what time a great number of Monkes and Friers and other learned men, were gathered together in Englād in a certayne Church, to diſpute agaynſt Iohn Wickliffe, & could by no meanes vanquiſhe him or geue him the foyle, ſodenly the church doore was broken open with lightning ſo that with much a doe Wickleffes enemies hardly ſcaped without hurt. He added moreouer that he wiſhed his ſoule to be in the ſame place where Iohn Wickleffes ſoule was. Whereunto Iohn Hus anſwered: that a dowſeine yeares before that any bookes of Diuinitie of Iohn Wickleffes were in Boheme, he did ſee certayne workes of Philoſophie of hys, the which, he ſayd, did meruellous delite and pleaſe hym. And when he vnderſtoode the good and godly life of the ſayd Wickleffe, he ſpake theſe wordes: I truſt ſayde he that Wickleffe is ſaued, and albeit that I doubt whether he be damned or no, yet with a good hope I wiſh that my ſoule were in the ſame place where Iohn Wickleffes is. Then agayne did all the company ieſt and laugh at hym.

Hus accuſed for truſting that Wickliffes ſoule is ſaued.

It is alſo in hys accuſation that Iohn Hus did counſaile the people according to the example of Moyſes, to reſiſt with the ſword agaynſt all ſuch as did gaynſay his doctrine. And the next day after he had preached the ſame, there were found openly in diuers places certaine intimations that euery man being armed with hys ſword about

Sedition laid to his charge.

him, ſhould ſtoutly procede: and that brother ſhoulde not ſpare brother, neyther one neighbor an other. Iohn Huſſe annſwered that all theſe thinges were falſly layd vnto hys charge by his aduerſaries, for he at all times when he preached did dilligently admoniſhe, and warne the people, that they ſhould all arme themſelues to defend the truth of the Goſpell, according to the ſaying of the Apoſtle, with the helmet and ſworde of ſaluation, and that he neuer ſpake of any material ſword, but of that which is the word of God. And as touching intimations or Moyſes ſword, he neuer had nothing to doe withall.

Hus accuſed for mouing certaine tumultes againſt the clergie and deuiſion in the vniuerſitie of Prage.

It is moreouer affirmed in hys accuſation and witnes that many offences are ſprong vp by the doctrine of Hus. For firſt of all he ſowed diſcord betweene the Eccleſiaſtical and the politick ſtate: whereupon folowed the perſecution, ſpoiling: and robbery of the Clergie & Biſhops. And moreouer that he through his diſſention, diſſolued the vniuerſitie of Prage. Hereunto Iohn Hus briefly aunſwered that theſe thinges had not happened by hys meanes or default. For the firſt diſſention that was betweene the Eccleſiaſticall and politicke ſtate, ſprang and grew vpon this cauſe, that pope Gregory the 12. of that name, promiſed at his election that at all times at the wil and pleaſure of the Cardinals: he would depart from, and geue ouer hys ſeate agayne: for vnder that condition he was electe and choſen. This man contrary and againſt Winceſlaus king of Boheme, who was then alſo king of the Romaynes, made Lewes Duke of Bauaria Emperour.

A ſtory of popes

A few yeares after it happened that when as P. Gregory would not refuſe and geue ouer his ſeate and office at the requeſt of the Cardinalles, that the whole Colledge of Cardinalles ſent letters to the king of Boheme requiring him, that together with them he would renounce & forſake his obedience vnto pope Gregory, and ſo it ſhoulde come to paſſe that by ẏ authoritie of a new Byſhop he ſhould recouer againe his imperial dignity. For this cauſe the king cõſẽted to the wil of ẏ Cardinals as touching a neutrality that is to ſay, that he would neyther take part with Pope Gregory, neyther yet with Benedict the xii. Byſhop of Auinion, whiche was then named Pope as it doth appeare by Chronicles. In this cauſe then, for ſomuch as the archbiſhop Swinco with the Clergy, were agaynſt the kyng, and abſtayning from the deuine ſeruice many of them departed out of the Citty, and the archbiſhop hymſelfe breaking down the tombe of the Lord Wincelate contrary and agaynſt the kinges will, did alſo take Wickliffes bookes & burned them: therupon the king without any gaynſaying ſuffered that certayne goodes of theyrs, which of their own wils were fled away, ſhould be ſpoyled, becauſe they ſhold not conſent or accord with the biſhop. Wherupon it is eaſie to be vnderſtanded and knowne, that Iohn Huſſe was falſely accuſed for that matter. Howbeit a certayn man one Naſo riſing vp, ſayd, the Clergy (ſayd he) did not abſtayne from the deuine ſeruice becauſe they woulde not ſweare to conſent vnto the king, but becauſe that they were ſpoyled and robbed of theyr goodes and ſubſtaunce. And the Cardinall of Cambray, who was one of the Iudges ſayd: here I muſt ſay ſomewhat, which is come into my minde.

The cauſe why Swinco & other of the Clergie did flie out of Prage.

This doctor Naſo was counſailer to king Wenceſlus.

When as I came from Rome, the ſame yeare that theſe thinges were done, by chaunce I met on the way certayne Prelates of Boheme. Whome when I demaunded what newes they had brought out of Boheme, they aunſwered that there was happened a wonderfull cruel and haynous fact, for all the Clergy were ſpoyled of all theyr ſubſtaunce and very ill intreated and handled. Then Iohn Hus alledging the ſame cauſe which he did before, went forward vnto the ſecõd part of the Article which was obiected againſt him, denying alſo that it happened thorough his fault, that the Germaynes departed from the Vniuerſitie of Prage. But when as the king of Boheme, according to the foundation of Charles the fourth, his father granted three voices vnto the Bohemes, & the fourth vnto the Germaynes whereat the Germaynes grudging, that they ſhoulde be exemted from theyr voices, of theyr owne accorde departed & went theyr wayes: binding themſelues with a great oth and vnder a great penalty, both of their fame and alſo money, that none of them ſhould returne agayne vnto Prage Notwithſtading: I am not aſhamed to confeſſe that I did approue and allow the doinges of the king, vnto whom of duty I ow obedience for the commoditie and profite of my country. And becauſe you ſhal not thinke that I haue ſpoken any vntrueth, here is preſent Albert Warren Trauius, whiche was deacon of the faculties, who hadde ſworne to depart with the reſt of the Germaynes: he, if that he wil ſay the truth, ſhal eaſly clere me of this ſuſpitiõ.

A declaration how the Germaines departed frõ the vniuerſitie of Prage.

The penaltie of money was 100. ſiluer ſhocke.

But when as Albert would haue ſpoken, he could not be heard. But the foreſayd Naſo, of whome before is made mention, after he had aſked leaue to ſpeak, ſayd, this matter do I vnderſtand wel inough, for I was in the Kinges court, when theſe thyngs were done in Boheme, when as I ſawe the mayſters of the 3. nations of the Germaynes, Bauarians, Saxons, and Sileſians, amongſt whome the Pollonians were alſo numbred, moſt humbly come vnto the king, requiring ẏ he would not ſuffer the right of their voyces to be takẽ from them. Then the kyng promiſed thẽ that he would forſee and prouide for theyr requeſtes. But Iohn Hus and Ierome of Prage with diuers others, perſwaded the king that he ſhould not ſo do. Wherat the king at the firſt being not a little moued, gaue him a ſore checke that he and Hierom of Prage did ſomuch intermedle themſelues, and moued ſuch open controuerſies, in ſomuch that he threatned them, that except they woulde forſee and take heede, hee woulde bring it to paſſe that the matter ſhoulde be determined and decreed by fire. Wherfore moſt reuerẽd fathers, you ſhall vnderſtand that the king of Boheme did neuer fauour with his hart, theſe men whoſe vnſhamefaſtnes is ſuch, that they feared not euen of late, to entreat me euill, being ſo much in the kinges fauour and credite. After hym ſtepped forth Paletz, ſaying: verely moſt reuerend fathers, not onely the learned men of other nations, but alſo of Boheme it ſelfe: are through the Councell of Iohn Hus and his adherentes, baniſhed out of Boheme, of the which number ſome remayne yet in exile in Morauia. Hereunto Iohn Hus anſwered, how can thys be true, ſayd he, ſithẽs I was not at Prage at that tyme, when as theſe men you ſpeake of, departed and went awaye from thence? Theſe thynges were thus debated the day aforeſayd as touching Iohn Hus.

The ſlãder of the vnſhamefaſt Sycophant.

Palletz ſpeaketh againſt Iohn Hus.

This done, the ſayd Iohn Hus was committed to the cuſtody of the biſhop of Rigen, vnder whome Ierome of Prage was alſo priſoner. But before that he was led away ẏ Cardinall of Cambray, calling him backe agayne in the preſence of the Emperour, ſayd Iohn Hus, I haue heard you ſay, that if you had not ben willing of your own mind to come vnto Conſtance, neyther the Emperour himſelfe, neither the king of Boheme coulde haue compelled you to do it. Vnto whom Iohn Hus anſwered, vnder your licẽce moſt reuerend father, I neuer vſed any ſuch kinde of talke or wordes. But this I did ſay, that there was in Boheme a great number of gentle mẽ and noble men, which did fauour and loue me, the whiche alſo might eaſely haue kepte me in ſome ſure and ſecret place, that I ſhoulde not haue bene conſtrayned to come vnto thys towne of Conſtance neyther at the will of the Emperour, neyther of the king of Boheme. With that the Cardinall of Cambray, euen for very anger began to chaunge hys colour, and deſpitefully ſaid do you not ſee the vnſhamefaſtnes of ẏ man here? And as they were murmuring and whiſpering on all partes, the L. Ioh. de Clum, ratifying and confirming that which Iohn Hus had ſpoken, ſayd: that Iohn Hus had ſpoken very well, for on my part (ſayd he) which in compariſon of a great many others am but of ſmall force in the realme of Boheme, yet alwayes if I would haue taken it in hand, I could haue defended hym eaſely by the ſpace of one yeare, euen agaynſt all the force & power of both theſe great and mighty kinges. How much better might they haue done it which are of more force or puiſſance then I am? and haue ſtronger caſtles and places then I haue? After that the L. de Clum had ſpoken, the Cardinal of Cambray ſayd, let vs leaue thys talke. And I tell you Iohn Hus, and counſaile you, that you ſubmit your ſelfe vnto the ſentence and mind of the Councel, as you did promiſe in the priſon, and if that you wyll do ſo, it ſhall be greatly both for your profite and honour.

Hus cõmitted to cuſtodie.

Ierome of Prage.

The Cardinall of Cambray.

Iohn de Clum.

The emperours oratiõ to I. Hus.

And the Emperour hymſelfe began to tell hym ẏ ſame tale, ſaying: Albeit that there be ſome which ſay that the 15 day after you were committed to priſon, you obtayned of vs our letters of ſafe conducte, notwithſtãding I can well proue by the witnes of many Princes and noble men, that the ſayd ſafe conducte was obtayned and gotten of vs by my Lord de Dube and de Clum, before you were parted out of Prage, vnder whoſe garde we haue ſent for you, to the end that none ſhold do you any outrage or hurt, but ẏ you ſhold haue full liberty to ſpeake freely before all the Councell, and to anſwere as touching your fayth and doctrine, and as you ſee my Lords the Cardinalles and Byſhops, haue ſo dealt with you, that we doe very well perceaue theyr good will towardes you, for ẏ whych we haue great cauſe to thanke thẽ. And for ſomuche as diuers haue told vs, ẏ we may not or ought not of right, to defend anye man which is an hereticke or ſuſpecte of hereſie: therefore now we geue you euen the ſame Councell, which the Cardinal of Cambray hath geuen you already, that you be not obſtinate to maynteyne any opinion, but ẏ you do ſubmit your ſelfe vnder ſuch obedience as you owe vnto the authoritie of the holy Councell in all thinges, that ſhall be laid againſt you and confirmed by credible witneſſes. The which thing if you do according to our Counſaile, we will geue order that for the loue of vs and of our brother yͤ whol realme of Boheme, the Councell ſhall ſuffer you to depart in peace, with an eaſie and tollerable penance & ſatiſfactiō. The which thing if you do contrariwiſe refuſe to do, yͤ preſidentes of yͤ Councell, ſhall haue ſufficient wherwithal to procede agaynſt you. And for our part be ye well aſſured, that we will ſooner prepare and make the fire wͭ our own handes to burne you withall, then we wil endure or ſuffer any longer that you ſhal maintayn or vſe this ſtifnes of opinions, which you haue hitherto mayntayned and vſed. wherfore our aduiſe and councell is, that you ſubmit your ſelf wholy vnto yͤ iudgement of the coūcell. Unto whome I. Hus anſwered in this ſort: O moſt noble Emperour, I render vnto your highnes moſt immortall thankes for your letters of ſafeconduct. Uppon this L. Iohn de Clum did break him of his purpoſe, and admoniſhed him, that he did in no poynt excuſe himſelfe of the blame of obſtinacie.

The anſwer of I. Hus vnto the Emperour.

Then ſaid I. Hus, O moſt gentle lord, I do take God to my witnes, that I was neuer minded to mayntain any opinion euer obſtinately, and that for this ſame intent and purpoſe, I did come hether of myne owne good will, that if any man could lay before me any better or more holy doctrine then mine, that then I would chaunge myne opinion without anye further doubt. After he had ſpoken and ſayde theſe thinges, he was ſent awaye with the Sergeantes.

The morow after, which was the viii. day of Iune, the very ſame company which was aſſembled the day before, aſſembled now againe at the Couent of the Franciſcanes. And in this aſſembly were alſo I. Huſſe, hys friends Lord de Dube, and Lord de Clum, and Peter the Notary. Thether was Iohn Hus alſo brought: & in his preſence there were reade about 39. Articles, the which they ſayde, were drawne out of his bookes. Hus acknowledged all thoſe that were faythfully and truly collected and gathered to be his, of the which ſort there were but very few. The reſidue were counterfayted and forged by his aduerſaryes: & ſpecially by Stephen Palletz, the principall authour of this miſchiefe for they could finde no ſuch thinge in the bookes out of the which they ſayde they had drawne and gathered them, or at the leaſt, if they were: they were corrupted by ſlaunders, as a man may eaſely perceiue by the number of Articles.

39. Articles laide to I. Hus.

Theſe be the ſame Articles in a matter whiche were ſhewed before in the priſon to Iohn Hus, and are rehearſed here in an other order. Howbeit, there were more Articles added vnto thē and other ſome corrected & enlarged. But now we will ſhew them one with an other, and declare what the ſayde Hus did aunſwere both openly before them all, as alſo in the priſon, for he left his aunſweres in the priſon briefly written with hys owne hand in theſe wordes.

I Iohn Hus, vnworthy miniſter of Ieſus Chriſt, maſter of Arte and Bachelour of Diuinitie do confeſſe that I haue written a certayne ſmall treatiſe intituled of yͤ church, the copy whereof was ſhewed me by the Notaryes of the three Preſidentes of the Councell, that is to ſaye, the Patriarche of Conſtantinople, the Byſhop of Caſtle, and the Byſhop of Libuſſe: the whiche deputies or preſidentes in reproſe of the ſayd treatiſe, deliuered vnto me certayne articles, ſaying, that they were drawne out of the ſayd treatiſe, and were written in the ſame.

The anſwer of Iohn Hus concerning his booke of the church.

The firſt Article. There is but one holy vniuerſall or Catholicke Church, which is the vniuerſall company of al the predeſtinate. I doe confeſſe that thys propoſition is mine and is confirmed by the ſaying of S. Auguſtin vpon S. Iohn.

The ſecond article. S. Paule was neuer any member of the deuill: albeit that he committed, and did certayne actes like vnto the actes of the malignant Churche. And likewiſe S. Peter which fell into an horrible ſinne of periurie and deniall of his mayſter, it was by the permiſſion of God that he might the more firmely and ſtedfaſtly riſe agayne and be confirmed. I aunſwere, according to Sainct Auguſtine, that it is expedient that the elect and predeſtinate ſhould ſinne and offend.

S.Paule was neuer any member of the deuill.

Hereby it appeareth, that there is two maner of ſeperations from the holy church. The firſt is, not to perdition as all the elect are deuided from the Church. The ſecond is to perdition, by the which certayne heretickes are through theyr deadly ſinne, deuided from the Church. Yet notwithſtanding, by the grace of God they may returne agayne vnto the flocke and be of the fold of our Lord Ieſus Chriſt of whome he ſpeaketh himſelfe ſaying, I haue other ſheep which are not of thys fold. Iohn. xx.

Two maner of ſeparatiōs from the church.

The third article. No part or member of the Churche doth depart or fall away at any time from the bodye, for ſo much as the charitie of predeſtination, whiche is the bond and chayne of the ſame, doth neuer fall. Thys propoſition is thus placed in my booke: As the reprobate of the church proceed out of the ſame, & yet are not as partes or mēbers of the ſame, for ſo much as no part or member of the ſame doth finally fall away, becauſe that the charitie of predeſtination, which is the bond and chayne of the ſame, doth neuer fall away. This is proued by the 13. chapter of the firſt to the Corinthians and to the Romaynes the 8. chapter: All thinges turne to good to them whiche loue God. Alſo I am certayne that neyther death nor life can ſeperate vs from the charitie and loue of God, as it is more at large in the booke.

The members of the church neuer fall finally away.

The fourth Article. The predeſtinate although he be not in the ſtate of grace according to preſent iuſtice, yet is he alwayes a member of the vniuerſall Churche. Thys is an errour, if it be vnderſtand of all ſuch as be predeſtinate, for thus it is in the booke about the beginning of the fift chapter where it is declared that there be diuers maners and ſortes of being in the Church, for there are ſome in the Church according to a miſſhappen fayth, and other ſome according to predeſtination, as Chriſtians predeſtinate now in ſinne, but ſhall returne agayne vnto grace.

The predeſtinate is alwaies a member of the vniuerſal church although not in preſent iuſtice.

The fift article: There is no degree of honor or dignitie neyther any humain election, or any ſenſible ſigne, that can make any man a member of the vniuerſall Church. I aunſwere this article is after this maner in my book. And ſuch ſubtilties are vnderſtanded & knowne by conſidering what it is to be in the Churche, and what it is to be a part or member of the Church, & that predeſtination doth make a man a member of the vniuerſall Church, the whiche is a preparation of grace, for the preſent, and of glory to come: & not degree of dignitie, neyther election of man, neyther any ſenſible ſigne. For the accuſer Iudas Iſcarioth notwithſtanding Chriſtes election, & the temporall graces which were geuen him for his office of Apoſtleſhip, and yͭ he was reputed and counted of men a true Apoſtle of Ieſus Chriſt yet was he no true Diſciple but a wolf couered in a ſheps ſkinne, as ſainct Auguſtine ſayth.

To be in the church: and a member of the church.

Predeſtination.

The vi. Article: A reprobate man is neuer no member of the holy Church. I anſwere, it is in my booke with ſufficient long probation out of the 26. Pſalme, and out of the v. chapter to the Epheſians, & alſo by S. Barnarde ſaying the Church of Ieſus Chriſt is more playnly and euidently his body, then the body which he deliuered for vs to death I haue alſo written in the v. chap. of my booke, that the holy church is the barne of the Lord, in the whiche are bothe good and euill, predeſtinate and reprobate, the good being as the good corne or grayne, and the euill as the chaffe, & thereunto is added the expoſition of S. Auguſtine.

Both good and bad in the Church.

The ſeuenth article: Iudas was neuer no true Diſciple of Ieſus Chriſt. I anſwere and I do confeſſe the ſame. This appeareth by the fift article, which is paſſed afore, & by S. Auguſtine in his booke of penaunce, where he doth expound the meaning of S. Iohn in hys firſt Epiſtle and ſecond chapter, where he ſayd: They come out frō amōgſt vs, but they were none of vs. He knewe from the beginning all them whiche ſhould beleeue, and him alſo whiche ſhould betray him and ſayd: And therefore I ſay vnto you that none commeth vnto me, except it be geuen hym of my father. From that time many of the Diſciples parted from him, and were not thoſe alſo called Diſciples accordyng the wordes of the Goſpell? And yet notwithſtanding they were no true Diſciples, becauſe they did not remayne and continue in the word of the ſonne of God, according as it is ſaid: If you remayne in my word, you be my Diſciples. For ſo much then as they did not continue with Chriſt as hys true Diſciples, ſo likewiſe are they not the true ſonns of God: although they ſeeme ſo, vnto him they are not ſo, vnto whom it is knowen what they ſhall be: That is to ſay of good, euill. Thus much writeth S. Auguſtine. It is alſo euident that Iudas could not be the true Diſciple of Chriſt, by meanes of hys couetouſneſſe for Chriſt himſelfe ſayd in the preſence of Iudas, as I ſuppoſe, except a man forſake all that he hath, he can not be my Diſciple. For ſo much then as Iudas did not forſake all thinges, according to the Lordes will, and follow him he was a theefe as it is ſayd, Iohn the 12. and a deuill, Iohn the 6. whereby it is euident by the worde of the Lord, that Iudas was not hys true, but fayned Diſciple. Whereupon S. Auguſtine writing vpon Iohn, declaring how the ſheepe heare the voice of Chriſt, ſayth, what maner of hearers, thinke we, hys ſheepe were? Truely Iudas heard him and was a wolfe, yet followed he the ſhepherd, but being clothed in a ſheeps ſkinne he lay in wayt for the ſhepheard.

The Church is taken ſometime for the congregation of the elect & faithful, & ſo is the article taken in the Creede.

The eight article: The congregatiō of the predeſtinate whether they be in the ſtate of grace or no, according vnto preſent iuſtice, is the holy vniuerſall Church, and therefore it is an article of fayth, and it is the ſame Churche, whiche hath neither wrinckle neyther ſpot in it, but is holy & vndefiled, the which the ſonne of God doth cal his own. The anſwere. The wordes of the booke out of the which thys Article was drawne are theſe: Thirdly, the Church is vnderſtand and taken for the congregation and aſſembly of ẏ faythfull, whether they be in the ſtate of grace, according to preſent iuſtice or not. And in this ſort it is an Article of our fayth, of the whiche S. Paule maketh mention in the fifth chapter to the Epheſians: Chriſt ſo loued his Church that he deliuered and offered himſelf for the ſame &c. I pray you then, is there any faythful man, the which doth doubt that the Church doth not ſignifie all the elect and predeſtinate the which we ought to beleue to be the vniuerſall Church the glorious ſpouſe of Ieſus chriſt holy and without ſpot? wherfore this Article is an article of fayth, the whiche we ought firmely to beleue according to our Creede. I beleue the holy Catholicke Church, and of this Churche doth S. Auguſtine, S. Gregory, S. Ierome, and diuers other make mention.

Peter neuer was head of the whole vniuerſal Church.

The ix. article: Peter neuer was, neither is the head of the holy vniuerſall Church. The aunſwere. This Article was drawne out of theſe wordes of my booke: All men do agree in this poynt, that Peter had receiued of the rocke of the church (which is Chriſt) humilitie, pouertie, ſtedfaſtnes of fayth, and conſequently bleſſednes. Not as though the meaning of our Lord Ieſus Chriſt was, when he ſaid vpon this rocke I will build my Churche, that he woulde build euery Militant Church vppon the perſon of Peter, for Chriſt ſhould buyld hys Church vpon the rocke which is Chriſt himſelfe, from whence Peter receiued hys ſteadfaſtnes of fayth, for ſomuche as Ieſus Chriſt is the onely head and foundation of euery Church, and not Peter.

The Church builded vpon Peter, how.

The vicare of Christ how he is to be taken.

10. The tenth Article: If he that is called the vicar of Ieſus Chriſt, do followe Chriſt in his life, then he is his true vicare. But if ſo be it, he do walke in contrary pathes and wayes, then is he the meſſenger of Antichriſt, & the enemy and aduerſary of S. Peter, & of our Lorde Ieſus Chriſte, and alſo the vicare of Iudas Iſcarioth. I aunſwere the wordes of my book are theſe: If he which is called the vicare of S. Peter walke in the wayes of Chriſtian vertues aforeſayd, we do beleue verely that he is the true vicar and true Byſhop of the Church whiche ruleth: but if he walke in contrary pathes and wayes, then is he the meſſenger of Antechriſt, cōtrary both to S. Peter, and our Lord Ieſus Chriſt. And therfore S. Bernard in hys 4. book did write in this ſort vnto pope Eugenie: Thou delitеſt & walkeſt in great pride and arrogancie, being gorgeouſly and ſumptuouſly arayd, what fruit or profite do thy flocke or ſheepe receiue by thee? If I durſt ſay it, theſe be rather the paſtures and feedinges of deuils, then of ſheepe. S. Peter & S. Paul did not ſo, wherfore thou ſeemeſt by theſe thy doings to ſucceede Conſtantine, & not S. Peter. These be the very wordes of S. Bernard. It followeth after in my booke that if the maner and faſhion of his life and liuing, be contrary to that which S. Peter vſed, or that he be geuen to auarice and couetouſnes, then is he the vicar of Iudas Iſcarioth, which loued and choſe the reward of iniquitie, & dyd ſet out to ſale the Lord Ieſus Chriſt. As ſoone as they had read the ſame, thoſe which ruled and gouerned the coūcell, beheld one an other, making mockes and moes, they nodded theyr heades at hym.

Bernard, ad Eugenium. lib. 4.

11. The xi. article: Al ſuch as doe vſe Symmony, & prieſts liuing diſſolutely and wantonly, do hold an vntrue opinion of ẏ 7. Sacramentes, as vnbeleuing baſtardes, and not as Children, not knowing what is the office & duety of the keyes or cenſures, rites, and ceremonies, neither of the diuine ſeruice of the Churche, or of veneration or worſhipping of reliques, neither of ẏ orders conſtituted and ordeined in the Church, neither yet of indulgences or pardons. I anſwere, ẏ it is placed in this maner in my book. Thys abuſe of authoritie or power is committed by ſuch as doe ſell & make marchandiſe of holy orders, and get and gather together riches by Symonie, making fayres and markets of the holy Sacramentes, and liuing in all kynd of voluptuouſnes and diſſolute maners, or in any other filthy or vilanous kind of liuing. They do polute and defile the holye eccleſiaſticall ſtate. And albeit that they profeſſe in wordes that they do know God, yet doe they deny it again by their deeds, and conſequently beleue not in God: But as vnbeleeuing baſtardes they holde a contrarye and vntrue opinion of the 7. Sacramentes of the Church. And this appeareth moſt euidently, for ſomuch as all ſuche doe vtterly contemne and deſpiſe the name of God, according to the ſaying of Malachy, the firſt chapter: Unto you O Prieſtes be it ſpoken, which doe deſpiſe and contemne my name.

Prelates making marchandiſe of holy orders.

12. The Pope taketh his originall frō the Emperours.

96. *diſt.*

The xii. Article: The papall dignitie hath hys original from the Emperours of Rome. I anſwere, and mark wel what my wordes are. The preeminence and inſtitution of the Pope is ſprong and come of the Emperours power & authoritie. And this is proued by the 96. diſtinction, for Conſtantine graunted thys priuiledge vnto the Biſhop of Rome, and other after hym confirmed the ſame: That like as Auguſtus for the outward and temporal goodes beſtowed vpon the Churche, is counted alwayes the moſt high king aboue al others: ſo the byſh. of Rome ſhold be called ẏ principal father aboue all other biſhops. This notwithſtanding the papall dignitie hath hys original immediately from Chriſt, as touching hys ſpirituall adminiſtration and office, to rule the Church. Then the Cardinall of Cābray ſayd: in the tyme of Conſtantine there was a generall Councell holden at Nice, in the whiche, albeit the higheſt rowme and place in the Church was geuen to the Biſhop of Rome, for honours cauſe, it is aſcribed vnto the Emperour: wherefore then do you not aſwell affirme and ſaye ẏ the Papall dignitie tooke hys originall rather from that councel, then by the Emperours authoritie and power?

13. The pope is not the head of any particuler church

The 13. article: No man would reaſonably affirme (without reuelation) neyther of hymſelfe nor of any other, that hee is the heade of any particular Churche. I aunſwere I confeſſe it to be written in my booke, and it followeth ſtraight after: Albeit that through hys good liuing he oght to hope and truſt that he is a member of the holy vniuerſal Church, the ſpouſe of Ieſus Chriſt, according to the ſaying of the Preacher: No man knoweth whether he be worthy and haue deſerued grace and fauour, or hatred. And Luke the 17. when ye haue done all that ye can, ſay that you are vnprofitable ſeruauntes.

14. The 14. Article: It ought not to be beleeued that the pope, whatſoeuer he be, may be the head of any particular Churche, vnles he be predeſtinate or ordayned of God. I aunſwere, that I doe acknowledge thys prepoſition to be myne, and thys is eaſie to proue, forſomuche as it is neceſſary that the Chriſtian faith ſhuld be depraued, for ſomuch as the Churche was deceiued by N. as it appeareth by S. Auguſtine.

15. The popes power vaine

The 15. article. The popes power as Vicare, is but vayne and nothing worth, if he do not confirme & addreſſe hys lyfe accordyng to Ieſus Chriſt, and not followe the maners of S. Peter. I anſwere that it is thus in my book that it is meet and expedient that he which is ordayned vicar ſhould addreſſe and frame himſelfe in maners and conditions, to ẏ authoritie of hym, which did put him in place. And Iohn Hus ſayd: Moreouer before the whole councell I vnderſtand that the power and authoritie in ſuch a pope as doth not repreſent the maners of Chriſt, is fruſtrate and voyd as touching the merite and rewarde, which he ſhold obtayne and get therby, and doth not get the ſame: but not as concerning hys office. Then certayne others ſtanding by aſked of hym ſaying, where is that gloſe in your book? I. Hus anſwered, you ſhall finde it in my treatiſe agaynſt M. Palletz, wherat all the aſſiſtaunce (looking one vppon an other) began for to ſmile and laugh.

Diſtinction of merite, and of office

16. Holynes cōmeth not by ſitting, but by folowing

The 16. Article. The pope is moſt holy, not becauſe hee doth ſupply and hold the rowme and place of S. Peter, but becauſe he hath great reuenues. I anſwere that my words are mutilate, for thus it is written: He is not moſt holy becauſe he is called the vicar of S. Peter, or becauſe he hathe great and large poſſeſſions: But if he be the follower of Ieſus Chriſt in humilitie, gentlenes, paciēce, labour and trauayle, and in perfect loue and charitie.

17. The Cardinalles do count it hereſie that they ſhould be compelled to be followers of the Apoſtles

The 17. Article. The Cardinals are not the manifeſt and true ſucceſſours of the other Apoſtles of Ieſus Chriſt if they liue not according to the faſhion of the Apoſtles keping the commaundementes and ordinaunces of the Lord Ieſus, I anſwere, that it is thus written in my booke, and it proueth it ſelfe ſufficiently. For if they enter in by an other way then by the dore whiche is the Lord Ieſus, they be murtheres and theeues.

Then ſayde the Cardinall of Cambray, beholde both this and all other articles before rehearſed, he hath written much more deteſtable thinges in his booke, then is preſented in hys articles. Truely Iohn Hus ẏ haſt kept no order in thy ſermons and writings. Had it not ben your part to haue applyed your ſermons according to your audiēce? For to what purpoſe was it, or what did it profite you before the people to preach agaynſt the Cardinals, when as none of them were preſent? It had bene meeter for you to haue told them theyr faults before them all, then before the laity. Then aunſwered Iohn Hus, reuerend father, for ſo much as I did ſee many prieſtes & other learned men preſent at my ſermons, for their ſakes I ſpake thoſe wordes. Then ſayd the Cardinal thou haſt done very ill, for by ſuch kinde of talke thou haſt diſturbed and troubled the whole ſtate of the Church.

I. Hus condẽneth the crueltie of the prelates in ſeeking the death of heretickes.

18. The 18. Article. An hereticke ought not to be committed to the ſecular powers to be put to death, for it is ſufficient onely that he abide and ſuffer the eccleſiaſticall cenſure. Theſe are my wordes. That they might be aſhamed of their cruel ſentence and iudgement, ſpecially for ſomuch as Ieſus Chriſt byſhop both of the old and newe Teſtament would not iudge ſuch as were diſobedient by ciuill iudgement, neither condemne them to bodily death. As touching the firſt poynt, It may be euidently ſeene in the 12. Chapter of S. Luke. And for the ſecond it appeareth alſo by the woman which was taken in adultery, of whõ it is ſpoken in the 8. chapter of Sainct Iohn. And it is ſayde in the 18. Chapter of Sainct Mathew: If thy brother haue offended thee. &c. Marke therfore what I do ſay: That an hereticke whatſoeuer he be, ought firſt to be inſtructed and taught with Chriſtian loue, and gentlenes by the holy ſcriptures and by the reaſons drawne and taken out of the ſame, as S. Auguſtine and others haue done, diſputing agaynſt the heretickes. But if there were any, which after al theſe gentle and louing admonitions and inſtructions, woulde not ceaſe from, or leaue of their ſtiffnes of opinions, but obſtinately reſiſt agaynſt the truth, ſuche I ſay ought to ſuffer corporall or bodily puniſhment.

The betraying and condemning of innocents.

And how coulde this biſhop of Cambray vnderſtand the bookes of I. Hus being written in Bohemiã ſpeach, which he vnderſtoode not.

As ſoone as Iohn Hus had ſpoken thoſe thinges, the iudges red in hys booke a certayne clauſe, wherein he ſeemed greeuouſly to enuey agaynſt them which deliuered an hereticke vnto the ſecular power, not being confuted or conuicted of hereſie, and compared thẽ vnto the high prieſtes, Scribes, and Phariſeis, which ſayd vnto Pilate, it is not lawfull for vs to put any man to death, and deliuered Chriſt vnto him: And yet notwithſtanding according vnto Chriſtes owne witneſſe, they were greater murtherers then Pilate: for he, ſaid Chriſt: which hath deliuered me vnto thee, hath committed the greateſt offence. Then yͤ Cardinals and Biſhops, made a great noyſe and demaunded of I. Hus, ſaying, who are they, yͭ thou doſt compare or aſſimule vnto the Phariſeis? Then he ſayd, all thoſe whiche deliuered vp anye innocent vnto the ciuill ſworde, as the Scribes and Phariſeis deliuered Ieſus Chriſt vnto Pilate. No, no, ſayd they agayne, for all that, you ſpake here of doctors. And the Cardinall of Cambray, according to his accuſtomed maner ſayd: Truly, they which haue made and gathered theſe articles, haue vſed great lenitie and gẽtlenes, for his writings are much more deteſtable & horrible.

19. The 19. article. The Nobles of the world ought to cõſtrayne and compel the miniſters of the Church to obſerue and keepe the law of Ieſus Chriſt. I anſwere, that it ſtandeth thus word for word in my booke. Thoſe which be on our part do preach and affirme that the church militant, according to the partes, which the Lord hath ordayned, is deuided and conſiſteth in theſe partes. That is to ſay: Miniſters of the Church, which ſhould keepe purely and ſincerely the ordinaunces and commaundementes of the ſonne of God, and the Nobles of the world that ſhould compel and driue them to keepe the commaundementes of Ieſus Chriſt, and of the common people, ſeruing to both theſe partes and endes according to the inſtitution and ordinaunce of Ieſus Chriſt.

The church militant ſtandeth in three partes.
1. Miniſters.
2. Nobles.
3. Commõs

20. The 20. Article. The eccleſiaſticall obedience, is a kynd of obedience, which the prieſtes and monks haue inuented wout any expreſſe authority of yͤ holy ſcriptures. I anſwer and confes, that thoſe words are thus written in my book. I ſay, that there be three kindes of obedience, ſpirituall, ſecular and eccleſiaſticall. The ſpirituall obedience is that which is onely due according to the lawe and ordinance of God, vnder the whiche the Apoſtles of Ieſus Chriſt dyd lyue, and all Chriſtians ought for to liue. The ſecular obedience, is that which is due according to the Ciuill lawes and ordinances. The eccleſiaſtical obedience is ſuch as the Prieſtes haue inuented without any expreſſe authoritie of Scripture. The firſt kinde of obedience doth vtterly exclude from it all euill, as well on his part which geueth the commandement, as on his alſo which doth obey the ſame. And of this obedience it is ſpoken in the 24. chap. of Deut. Thou ſhalt do all that which the prieſtes of the kindred of Leuy ſhall teach and inſtruct thee, according as I haue cõmanded them.

Three kinds of obediẽce.
1. Spirituall.
2. Secular.
3. Eccleſiaſticall.

True obedience ruled by Gods cõmaũdemẽt. Deut. 24.

21. The 21. Article. He that is excõmunicated by the pope, if he refuſe and forſake the iudgement of the Pope, and the generall Councell, and appealeth vnto Ieſus Chriſt, after he hath made hys appellation all the excommunications and curſes of the Pope cannot annoy or hurt hym. I aunſwere, that I do not acknowledge this propoſition, but in deede I did make my complaynt in my booke, that they had both done me and ſuch as fauoured me great wrong, & that they refuſe to heare me in the popes court. For after the death of one pope I dyd appeale to hys ſucceſſor, and all that did profite me nothing. And to appeale from the P. to the Councell, it were to long, & that were euen as much as if a man in trouble ſhould ſeeke an vncertayne remedy. And therfore laſt of all I haue appealed to the head of the Church my Lord Ieſus Chriſt, for he is much more excellent and better, then any pope to diſcuſſe and determine matters and cauſes, for ſomuch as he cannot erre, neyther yet deny iuſtice to him that doth aſke or require it in a iuſt cauſe, neither can he condemne the innocent. Then ſpake yͤ Cardinall of Cambray vnto hym and ſayd: wilt thou preſume aboue S. Paule, who appealed vnto the Emperour and not vnto Ieſus Chriſt? Iohn Hus anſwered: for ſomuch then as I am the firſt yͭ do it, am I therfore to be reputed & counted an hereticke? And yet notwithſtanding S. Paule did not appeale vnto the Emperoure of hys owne motion or will, but by the will of Chriſt, which ſpake vnto hym by reuelation and ſayd: be firme and conſtant for yͧ muſt go vnto Rome. And as he was about to rehearſe his appeale agayne, they mocked hym.

Appealing vnto Chriſt.

Appealing to Chriſt, forbiddẽ by the Cardinal of Cambray.

¶ For ſo much as mention here is made of the appeale of the ſayd Hus, it ſeemeth good here to ſhewe the maner and forme therof.

The copy and tenour of the appeale of Iohn Hns.

The appeale of Iohn Hus from pope Iohn 23. vnto Chriſt.

The feruent cõplaint & prayer of chriſt againſt wicked iudges.

FOraſmuch as the moſt mighty Lorde one in eſſence, 3. in perſon, is both the chiefe and firſt, & alſo the laſt and vttermoſt refuge of al thoſe which are oppreſſed, and that he is the God which defendeth verety and truth throughout all generations, doynge iuſtice to ſuch as be wronged, being ready and at hand to al thoſe whiche call vppon him in veritie and truth, and bindyng thoſe that are bond: and fulfilleth the deſires of all thoſe which honour and feare hym: defending and keeping al thoſe that loue him, and vtterly deſtroyeth and bringeth to ruine the ſtiffnecked and vnpenitent ſinner, and that the Lorde Ieſus Chriſt very God and man, being in great anguiſh compaſſed in with the prieſtes, Scribes and Phariſeis, wicked iudges and witneſſes, willing by the moſt bitter and ignominious death, to redeme the choſen children of God, before the foundation of the world, from euerlaſting damnation, hath left behinde him this godly example for a memory vnto them which ſhould come after hym, to the intent they ſhould commit al their cauſes into the handes of God, who can doe all thinges, and knoweth and ſeeth all thinges, ſaying in this maner: O Lorde, beholde my affliction, for my enemy hath prepared hymſelfe againſt me, and thou art my protector and defendor. O Lorde thou haſt geuẽ me vnderſtanding and I haue acknowledged thee: thou haſt opened vnto me all their enterpriſes, and for mine owne parte I haue bene as a meeke lambe, which is led vnto ſacrifice, and haue not reſiſted agaynſt them. They haue wrought their enterpriſes vpon me, ſaying: Let vs put wood in hys bread, and let vs banyſh him out of the land of the liuing that hys name be no more ſpokẽ of, nor had in memory. But thou O Lord of hoſtes whiche iudgeſt iuſtly and ſeeſt the deuiſes and imaginations of theyr hartes, haſten thee to take vengeance vpon them, for I haue manifeſted my cauſe vnto thee, for ſo much as the number of thoſe which trouble me is great, and haue counſayled together, ſaying: the Lorde hath forſaken hym, purſue hym and catch hym. O Lord my God, behold their doinges, for thou art my pacience, deliuer me from myne enemies, for thou art my God: doe not ſeperate thy ſelfe far from me: for ſo much as tribulation is at hand, and there is no mã which will ſuccour me. My God my God looke downe vpon me wherefore haſt thou forſaken me? So many doggs haue compaſſed me in, and the company of the wicked haue beſieged me round about, for they haue ſpoken agaynſt me with the deceitfull tonges, and haue compaſſed me in with wordes, full of deſpite, and haue inforced me without cauſe. In ſtead of loue towardes me, they haue ſlaundered me and haue recompenſed me wyth euill for good, and in place of charitie, they haue conceaued hatred agaynſt me.

After the example of Chriſt he maketh his prayer to God.

A godly prayer of Iohn Hus.

Wherfore behold I ſtaying my ſelfe vppon this moſt holy and fruitfull example of my ſauiour and redeemer, do appeale before God for this my grief and hard oppreſſiõ from thys moſt wicked ſentence, and iudgement, and the excommunication determined by the Byſhop, Scribes, Phariſeis, and Iudges, which ſit in Moyſes ſeate, and reſigne my cauſe wholly vnto hym, ſo as the holy Patriarke of Conſtantinople Iohn Chriſoſtome appealed twiſe from the Councell of the Byſhops and Clergy. And Andrew Byſhop of Prage, and Robert Byſhop of Lincolne, appealed vnto the ſoueraign and moſt iuſt iudge, the which is not defiled with crueltye, neyther canne he be corrupted with giftes and rewardes, neyther yet be deceiued, by falſe witneſſe. Alſo I deſire greatly

Chriſoſtome. Andrew of Prage.

that

Robert biſhop of Lincolne appealed from mẽ to chriſt.

that all the faythfull ſeruauntes of Ieſus Chriſt, and eſpecially the Princes, Barons, Knightes, Eſquires aud all other whiche inhabite our Country of Boheme, ſhould vnderſtand & know theſe things and haue compaſſion vpon me which am ſo greeuouſly oppreſſed by the excommunication whiche is out agaynſt me, the whiche was obtayned and gotten by the inſtigation and procurement of Michaell de Cauſis my great enemy, and by the conſent and furtheraunce of the Canons of the Cathedrall Churche of Prage, and geuen and graunted out by Peter of Sainct Angelles Deane of the Church of Rome, and Cardinall and alſo ordayned iudge by Pope Iohn the xxiij. who hath continued almoſt theſe two yeares and would geue no audience vnto my Aduocates and Procurators (which they ought not to deny: no not to a Iew or Pagan, or to any hereticke, whatſoeuer he were) neyther yet woulde he receiue any reaſonable excuſe for that I did not appeare perſonally neyther would he accept the teſtimonials of the whole Vniuerſity of Prage with the ſeale hãging at it, or the witnes of the ſworn Notaries, and ſuch as were called vnto witneſſe. By thys all men may euidẽtly perceiue that I haue not incurred any fault or crym of contumacie or diſobedience, for ſomuche as that I did not appeare in the Court of Rome, was not for any contempte, but for reaſonable cauſes.

John Hus complaineth of Michaell de Cauſis, his great enemie.

And moreouer, for ſomuch as they had layd embuſhmentes for me on euery ſide by wayes where I ſhoulde paſſe, and alſo becauſe the perils & dangers of others, haue made me the more circumſpect and aduiſed, and for ſomuche as my procurours were willing and contented to bind themſelues euen to abide the puniſhment of the fire, to anſwere to all ſuch as would appoſe or lay any thing agaynſt me in the Court of Rome, as alſo becauſe they dyd impriſon my lawfull procuratour in the ſayd Court, without any cauſe, demerite or faulte as I ſuppoſe. For ſomuch then as the order and diſpoſition of all auncient lawes, as well deuine of the old and new teſtament, as alſo of the Canon lawes is this, that the Iudges ſhould reſorte vnto the place where the crime or faulte is committed or done, and there to enquire of al ſuch crimes as ſhal be obiected and layd agaynſt hym which is accuſed, or ſlandered and that of ſuch men as by conuerſation haue ſome knowledge or vnderſtanding of the party ſo accuſed (the whiche may not be the euill willers or enemies of hym which is ſo accuſed or ſlaundered but muſt be men of an honeſt conuerſation, no common quarrell pickers or accuſers, but feruent louers of the law of God) and finally that there ſhold be a fit and meete place appoynted whether as the accuſed party might without daunger or perill, reſorte or come, and that the Iudge and witneſſes ſhould not be enemies vnto hym that is accuſed. And alſo forſomuche as it is manifeſt that all theſe conditions were wanting and lacking, as touching my appearaunce for the ſafegard of my life, I am excuſed before God from the friuolous pretended obſtinacie and excommunication. Wherupon I I. Hus do preſent, & offer this my appeale vnto my Lord Ieſu Chriſt, my iuſt iudge, who knoweth defendeth, and iuſtly iudgeth euery mans iuſt and true cauſe.

The procurator of I. Hus laid in priſon at Rome.

The pope proued to do againſt his owne canon lawe.

22.

A knot found in a ruſhe.

The 22. Article. A vicious and naughty man liueth viciouſly and naughtely: but a vertuous and godly man lyueth vertuouſly and godly. I anſwer: my wordes are theſe That the deuiſion of all humaine works is in two parties that is, that they be eyther vertuous or vicious: For ſomuch as it doth appeare that if any man be vertuous and godly, and that he do any thing, he doth it then vertuouſly and godly. And contrariwiſe if a man be vicious & naught that whiche hee doth is vicious and naught. For as vice which is called crime or offence, and thereby vnderſtande deadly ſinne, doth vniuerſally infect or depraue all the acts and doinges of the ſubiect, that is of the man whiche doth them: ſo likewiſe vertue and godlines doth quicken all the actes and doyngs of the vertuous & godly man: in ſomuch that he being in the ſtate of grace, is ſayd to praye and doe good works euen ſleping, as it were by a certayn meanes working. As S. Auguſtine, S. Gregory and diuers other affirme. And it appeareth in the ſixt chapter of Luke: If thine eye that is to ſay, the minde or intention be ſimple, not depraued with the peruerſenes of any ſinne or offence all the whole body, that is to ſay, all the actes and doinges ſhall be cleare and ſhyning, that is, acceptable and grateful vnto God. But if thine eye be euil, the whole body is darkned And in the ſecond to the Corin. x. Chapter. All thinges that you do, do them to the glory of God. And lykewiſe in the firſt Epiſtle to the Corinthians, and laſt chapter it is ſayd: Let all your doinges be done with charitie. wherfore all kinde of lyfe and liuing according vnto charitie, is vertuous and godly: and if it be without charitie, it is vicious and euill. This ſaying may well be prooued out of the 23. chapter of Deuteronomy, where God ſpeaketh vnto ẏ people that hee that keepeth hys commaundementes, is bleſſed in the houſe and in the field, out goyng and in comming, ſleeping and waking: but he that doth not keepe his commaundementes is accurſed in the houſe and in ẏ fieldes in goyng out and comming in, ſleeping, and waking &c. The ſame alſo is euident by S. Auguſtine vpon the Pſal. where he writeth, that a good man in all hys doinges doth prayſe the Lord. And Gregory ſaith that the ſleep of ſaints and holy men doth not lack their merite. How much more then hys doinges which procede of good zeale, be not without reward and conſequently be vertuous and good? And contrariwiſe it is vnderſtanded of hym, which is in deadly ſinne, of whome it is ſpoken in the law, that whatſoeuer the vncleane man doth touch, is made vncleane.

The tree that is good bringeth forth good fruit.

2. Cor. 10.

1. Cor. vlt.

Deu. 23.

To this end doth that alſo appertayne which is before repeated out of the firſt of Malachie. And Gregorie in the firſt booke and firſt queſtion, ſayth: we doe defile the bread, which is the body of Chriſt, when as we come vnworthely to the table, and when we being defiled, doe drinke hys bloud. And S. Auguſtine vpon the 146. Pſalme, ſayth: if thou doeſt exceed the due meaſure of nature, & doeſt not abſtayne from glottony, but gorge thy ſelfe vp in dronkennes whatſoeuer laude or prayſe thy tongue doth ſpeake, of the grace and fauour of God, thy life doth blaſpheme the ſame When he had made an end of this article, the Cardinall of Cambray ſayd: The ſcripture ſayth that we be all ſinners. And agayne, if we ſay we haue no ſinne, we deceiue our ſelues, and ſo we ſhould alwayes liue in deadly ſinne. Iohn Hus aunſwered, the Scripture, ſpeaketh in that place of veniall ſinnes, the whiche doe not vtterly expell or put away the habite of vertue from a man, but do aſſociate themſelues together. And a certayne Engliſh man whoſe name was W. ſayd: but thoſe ſinnes do not aſſociate themſelues with anye acte morally good. Iohn Hus alledged agayne S. Auguſtines place vpon 146. Pſalme the whiche when he rehearſed, they all with one mouth ſayd, what makes this to the purpoſe?

Cardinall of Cambray obiecteth.

Iohn Hus aunſwereth.

The 23. article. The miniſter of Chriſt liuing according to his law, and hauing the knowledge and vnderſtanding of the ſcriptures, and an earneſt deſire to edifie the people, ought to preach, notwithanding the pretended excommunication of the pope. And moreouer if the pope or anye other ruler, doe forbid any prieſtes or miniſter ſo diſpoſed, not to preach, that he ought not to obey him. I aunſwere, that theſe were my wordes. That albeit the excommunication were eyther threatned or come out agaynſt hym, in ſuch ſort that a Chriſtian ought not to doe the commandementes of Chriſt, it appeareth by the wordes of S. Peter, and the other Apoſtles, that we ought rather to obey God, then man. whereupon it followeth that the miniſter of Chriſt lyuing according vnto this lawe. &c. ought to preach notwithſtanding any pretended excommunication For it is euident that it is commanded vnto the miniſters of the Church to preach the word of God. Actes 5. GOD hath commaunded vs to preach and teſtifie vnto the people, as by diuers other places of the ſcripture, and the holy fathers, rehearſed in my treatiſe it doth appeare more at large. The ſecond part of this article foloweth in my treatiſe in this maner.

23.

Forbidding to preach, whether it ought to be obeyed.

Act. 5.

By this it appeareth that for a miniſter to preache, and a rich man to geue almes, are not indifferent workes, but duties and commaundementes. wherby it is further euident, ẏ if the pope or any other ruler of the Church do commaund any miniſter diſpoſed for to preach, not to preach, or a rich man diſpoſed for to geue almes, not to geue, that they ought not to obey hym. And he added moreouer, to the intent that you may vnderſtand me the better. I call that a pretended excommunication, the whiche is vniuſtly diſordered and geuen forth contrary to the order of the law and Gods commaundements. For the which the meete Miniſter appointed therunto ought not to ceaſe from preaching neyther yet to feare damnation.

Preaching & almoſe geuing be not workes indifferent, but duties & commaundementes.

To forbid a miniſter to preach: And to forbid a rich man to geue almoſe, is both one.

Then they obiected vnto him, that he had ſayd ẏ ſuche kinde of excommunications were rather bleſſinges. Verely ſaid Hus, euẽ ſo do I now ſay again, that euery excommunication, by the whiche a man is vniuſtly excommunicate: is vnto him a bleſſing afore God, according to ẏ ſaying of the Prophet: I will curſe where as you bleſſe: and contrariwiſe, they ſhal curſe, but thou O Lord ſhalt bleſſe. Then the Cardinal of Florence, which had alwayes a Notary ready at his hand to write ſuch thinges as he cõmanded him, ſaid: The law is, that euery excommunication, be it neuer ſo vniuſt, ought to be feared. It is true ſayd Iohn Hus, for I do remember eight cauſes, for the whiche excõmunication ought to be feared. Then ſayd the Cardinall, is there no more but eight? It may be, ſaid Iohn Hus, that there be more.

How the popes curſinges are bleſſinges.

The Cardinall of Florence with his Notarie.

8. Cauſes why excommunication ought to be feared.

24.

The xxiiii. Article. Euery man which is admitted vnto ẏ miniſtery of the Church, receiueth alſo by ſpeciall cõmaundement, the office of a preacher, and ought to execute and fulfil that commaundement, notwithſtanding any excommunicacommunication pretendeth to the contrary. The aunſwere. My wordes are theſe: For ſo muche as it doth appeare by that which is aforeſayd, that whoſoeuer commeth, or is admitted vnto the miniſtery, receiueth alſo by eſpeciall commaundement, the office of preaching he ought to fulfill that commaundement, any excommunication to the contrary pretended notwithſtanding. Alſo no Chriſtian ought to doubte but that a man ſufficientlye inſtructed in learning, is more bound to counſel and inſtruct the ignoraunt, to teach thoſe which are in doubt, to chaſtiſe thoſe which are vnruly, and to remitte and forgeue thoſe that do him iniury, then for to to any other works of mercy. For ſo much then as he that is rich and hath ſufficient, is bounden vnder the payne of damnation to miniſter and geue temporall and bodely almes, as appeareth in the 25. chapter of Mathew: how much more is he bound to doe ſpirituall almes?

A miniſter once admitted is more bounde to preach: then to doe any other work of mercy, the popes prohibitió notwithſtanding.

25. The 25. Article. The Eccleſiaſticall cenſures are Antichriſtian, ſuch as the clergy hath inuented for theyr owne preferment, and for the bondage and ſeruitude of the common people. Whereby if the Laity be not obedient vnto the Clergy at theyr will and pleaſure, it doth multiplye theyr couetouſneſſe, defendeth theyr malice, and prepareth a way for Antichriſt. Whereby it is an euident ſigne and token, that ſuch cenſures procede from Antichriſt, the which cenſures in theyr proceſſes they do call Fulminations or lightninges, whereby the Clergy doth chiefly proceede agaynſt ſuch as doe manifeſt and open the wickedneſſe of Antichriſt, which thruſt themſelues into the office of the Clergye. Theſe thinges are conteined in the laſt chapter of his treatiſe of the Church. I aunſwere, and I deny that it is in that forme. But the matter therof is largely handled in the 23. chapter. And in the examination of the audience, they haue gathered certayne clauſes moſt contrary thereunto. The which when they had reade, the Cardinall of Cambray renewed his old ſong, ſaying: truly theſe are much more greeuous and offenſiue, then the Articles which are gathered.

Cenſures of the Popes Churche, multiplyeth the Popes couetouſnes

26. The 26. Article. There ought no interditement to be appoynted vnto the people, for ſo much as Chriſt the high Byſhoppe, neither for Iohn Baptiſt, neither for any iniury that was done vnto him did make any interditement. My wordes are theſe: when as I complayned, that for one Miniſters ſake, an Interditement was geuen out, and thereby all good men ceaſed from the laude and prayſe of God. And Chriſt the high Byſhoppe, notwithſtanding that the Prophette was taken and kept in priſon, then whome there was no greater amongeſt the children of men, did not geue out any curſe or interditement, no not when as Herode beheaded him, neither when he himſelfe was ſpoyled, beaten, and blaſphemed of the Souldiours, Scribes and Phariſies, he did not then curſe them, but prayed for them, and taught his Diſciples to doe the ſame, as it appeareth in the fift chapter of Saynt Mathew. And Chriſtes firſt Vicare folowing the ſame doctrine and learning, ſayth in his firſt Epiſtle of Saynt Peter and the ſecond chapter: Hereunto are ye called: For Chriſt hath ſuffered for vs, leauing vs an example that we ſhould follow his footſteppes, who when he was curſed and euill ſpoken of did not curſe agayne. And Saynt Paule following the ſame order and way in the xij. chapter of the Romaynes, ſayth: bleſſe them that perſecute you. There were beſides theſe many other places of ſcripture recited in that booke, but they being omitted, theſe were onely rehearſed, whiche did helpe or preuayle to ſtyrre vppe or mooue the iudges mindes.

Chriſt interdited none, but prayed for all

1. Pet. 2.

Rom. 12.

And theſe are the Articles which were alledged out of I. Hus his booke intituled Of the Church.

Other Articles moreouer out of other his bookes were collected, & forced agaynſt him, firſt out of his treatiſe written agaynſt Steuen Paletz, to the number of 7. Articles. Alſo 6. other Articles ſtrayned out of his treatiſe agaynſte Staniſlaus Znoyma. Whereunto his aunſweres likewiſe be adioyned, not vnfruitfull to be read.

¶ Here followeth ſeuen Articles, which are ſayde to be drawen out of hys Treatiſe which he wrote agaynſt Stephen Pallets.

1. Articles drawen out of the treatiſe written againſt Steuen Palletz.

The firſt Article. If the Pope, Byſhop, or Prelate, be in deadly ſinne, he is then no Pope, Byſhoppe, nor Prelate. The aunſwere, I graunt thereunto, and I ſend you vnto Saynt Auguſtine, Ierome, Chriſoſtome, Gregory, Cyprian, and Bernarde, the which doe ſay, moreouer that whoſoeuer is in deadly ſinne, is no true Chriſtian, howe much leſſe then is he Pope, or Byſhop, of whom it is ſpoken by the Prophet Amos in his 8. chapter. They haue raigned and ruled and not through me, they became Princes, and I knew them not. &c. But afterward I doe graũt that a wicked Pope, Byſhop, or Prieſt, is an vnworthye miniſter of the Sacrament, by whom God doth baptiſe, conſecrate, or otherwiſe worke to the profit of his Church, and this is largely handled in the text of the booke by the authorityes of the holy Doctours, for euen he which is in deadly ſinne is not worthely a kyng before God, as it appeareth in the firſt booke of kynges 15. chapter. Where as God ſayth vnto Saule by the Prophet Samuel, ſayinge: for ſo muche as thou haſt refuſed and caſt of my worde, I will alſo refuſe and caſt thee off, that thou ſhalt be no more King. Whiles theſe thinges were thus intreating, the Emperour looking out at a certayne window of the cloyſter, accompanyed with the Countye Palentine, and the Burgraue of Norenberg, conferring and talking much of Iohn Hus. At lẽgth he ſayd, that there was neuer a worſe or more pernitious heretické then he. In the meane while when Iohn Hus had ſpoken theſe wordes, as touchinge the vnworthy king, by and by the Emperour was called, and he was commaunded to repeat thoſe wordes agayne, which after that he had done, his duety therein being conſidered, the Emperour aunſwered, no man ſayth he, doth liue without faulte, then the Cardinall of Cambray, being in a great fury ſayd, is it not enough for thee that thou doeſt contemne and deſpiſe the Eccleſiaſtical ſtate, and goeſt about by thy writinges and doctrine to perturbe and trouble the ſame, but that now alſo thou wilt attempte to throw kinges out of theyr ſtate and dignity? Thẽ Paletz began to alleadge the lawes whereby he would proue that Saule was king, euen when thoſe words were ſpoken by Samuel, and therefore that Dauid did forbidde that Saul ſhould not be ſlayne, not for the holyneſſe of his life, the which there was none in him, but for the holyneſſe of hys annoynting. And when as Iohn Hus repeated out of S. Cyprian, that he did take vpon him the name of Chriſtianity in vayne which did not followe Chriſt in his liuing, Paletz aunſwered, beholde and ſee what a folly is in thys man which alleadgeth thoſe thinges which make nothing for the purpoſe, for albeit any man be not a true Chriſtian, is he not therefore true Pope, Byſhop, or Kyng? when as theſe are names of office and to be a Chriſtian is a name of merite and deſert, and ſo may any man be a true Pope, Byſhoppe, or King, although he be no true Chriſtian. Then ſayd Iohn Hus, if Pope Iohn the xxiij. were a true Pope, wherefore haue ye depriued him of hys office? The Emperour aunſwered, the Lordes of the Councell haue now lately agreed thereupon that he was true Pope, but for his notorious and manifeſt euill doinges wherewithall, he did offend and trouble the Church of God, and dyd ſpoyle and bring to ruine the power thereof, he is reiected and caſt out of his office.

The Emperours iudgement of I. Hus.

The Cardinall of Cambray.

The ſecond Article. The grace of predeſtination is the bond whereby the body of the Church and euery parte and member thereof is firmely knitte and ioyned vnto the head. The aunſwere. I acknowledge this Article to be mine, and it is proued in the text out of the eight chapiter to the Romaynes, who ſhall ſeperate vs from the charity and loue of Chriſt. &c. And in the tenth chapter of Iohn, My ſheepe heare my voyce, and I know them, and they followe me, and I geue them eternall life, neyther ſhall they periſh eternally, neither is there any man which ſhal take them out of my handes. This is the knotte of the body of the Church, and of our ſpirituall head Chriſt, vnderſtanding the Church to be the congregation of the predeſtinate. 2.

The third Article. If the Pope be a wicked man, and ſpecially a reprobate, then euen as Iudas the Apoſtle, he is a Deuill, a Theefe, and the Sonne of perdition, and not the head of the holy mylytant Churche, for ſo muche as he is no parte or member thereof. The aunſwere. My wordes are thus, if the Pope be an euill or wicked man, and ſpecially if he be a Reprobate, then euen as Iudas, ſo is he a Deuill, a Theefe, and the Sonne of perdition. How then is he the head of the holy militant Church? where as he is not truely no member or part thereof, for if he were a member of the holy Churche, then ſhoulde he be alſo a member of Chriſt, and if he were a member of Chriſt, then ſhoulde he cleaue and ſticke vnto Chryſte by the grace of Predeſtination and preſent iuſtice, and ſhoulde be one ſpirite with God, as the Apoſtle ſayth in the firſt Epiſtle to the Corinthians, the ſixt Chapter: knowe ye not that your bodyes are the members of Chriſt? 3.

4. The 4. Article. An euill Pope or Prelate, or reprobate is no true paſtour, but a theefe and a robber. The anſwere. The text of my booke is thus. If he be euill or wicked, thē is he an hireling, of whom Chriſt ſpeaketh, he is no ſheepe heard, neither are the ſheepe his owne. Therefore when he ſeeth the wolfe comming he runneth away, and forſaketh the ſheepe, and ſo finally doth euery wicked and reprobate man. Therefore euery ſuch reprobate or wicked Pope or Prelate is no true Paſtour. But a very theefe and a robber, as is more at large proued in my booke. Thē ſayd John Hus, I doe ſo limitte all thinges, that ſuch as touching theyr deſert, are not truely and worthely Popes and ſhepheardes before God, but as touching their office and reputation of men, they are Popes, Paſtors, and Prieſtes.

Then a certayne man riſing vp behinde John Huſſe clothed all in ſilke, ſayd: my Lordes take heede leaſt that John Hus deceiue both you, and himſelfe with theſe hys gloſes, and looke whether theſe thinges be in his booke or not, for of late I had diſputation with him, vpon theſe Articles, in the which I ſayd, that a wicked Pope. &c. was no Pope, as touching merite and deſert, but as touchyng his office, he was truely Pope. whereupon he vſed theſe gloſes which he had heard of me, and did not take them out of his booke. Then John Hus turning himſelfe vnto him, ſayd: did you not heare that it was ſo readde out of my booke, and this did eaſily appeare in John xxiij. whether he were true Pope or a very theefe and robber. Then the Biſhoppes and Cardinals looking one vpon another, ſayd: that he was true Pope, and laughed John Hus to ſcorne. 5.

The 5. The Pope is not, neither ought to be called according vnto his office moſt holy. For then the king ought alſo to be called moſt holy, according to his office. Alſo the tormentors, lictors and deuilles, ought alſo to bee called holy. The aunſwere: My wordes are otherwiſe placed in this maner, ſo ought a fayner ſay, that if any man be a moſt holy Father, then he doth moſt holyly obſerue and keepe hys Fatherlyneſſe. And if he be a naughty and wicked Father, then doth he moſt wickedly keepe the ſame. Likewiſe if the Byſhoppe be moſt holyeſt, then is he alſo moſt good, and when as he ſayth that he is Pope, it is the name of his office.

wherupon it foloweth that the man which is Pope being an euill and reprobate man, is a moſt holy man. And conſequently by that hys office, he is moſt good. And forſomuch as no man can be good by hys office, except he do exerciſe & vſe the ſame, his office very well, it followeth that if the Pope be an euill & reprobate man, he cannot exerciſe or vſe his office wel. Forſomuch as he cannot vſe the office wel, except he be morally good. Mat. 12. How cā you ſpeak good things, when you your ſelues are euil, & immediatly after it foloweth. If ẏ Pope by reaſō of his office be called moſt holy, wherefore ſhould not the King of Romaynes be called moſt holy by reaſon of his office and dignitye? when as the Kyng, according vnto Saynt Auguſtines minde, repreſenteth the Deitye and Godhead of Chriſt, and the Prieſt repreſenteth onely hys humanity. wherefore alſo ſhould not iudges: yea, euen tormentours be called holy, forſomuch as they haue theyr office by miniſtring vnto the Church of Chriſt. Theſe thinges are more at large diſcourſed in my booke, but I cannot finde or knowe ſayth John Huſſe any foundation whereby I ſhoulde call the Pope moſt holy, when as thys is onely ſpoken of Chriſt. Thou onely art moſt holy. Thou onely art the Lord. &c. Shoulde I then truely call the Pope moſte holy? 6.

The 6. Article. If the Pope liue contrary vnto Chriſt. Albeit he be lawfully and Canonically elect and choſen, according to humayne election, yet doth he aſcende and come in another way then by Chriſt. The aunſwere. The text is thus, if the Pope liue contrary vnto Chriſt in pride and auarice, how then doth he not aſcend and come another way into the ſheepe folde, then by the lowlye and meeke doore our Lord Ieſus Chriſt? But admitte as you ſay, that he dyd aſcend by lawfull election, the which I call an election principally made of God, and not according vnto the common and vulgare conſtitution and ordinaunce of men, yet for all that, it is affirmed and proued that he ſhoulde aſcende and come in another way, for Iudas Iſcariot was truely and lawfully choſen of the Lorde Ieſus Chriſt vnto his Biſhopricke, as Chriſte ſayth in the ſixt of John, and yet he came in an other way into the ſheepe folde, and was a theefe and a Deuill, and the ſonne of perdition. Did he not come in another waye? when as our Sauiour ſpake thus of him, he that eateth breade with me, ſhall lift vp his heele agaynſt me.

The ſame alſo is proued by Saynte Bernarde vnto Pope Eugenius. Then ſayde Paletz: beholde the furor and maddeneſſe of this man, for what more furious or madde thing canne there be then to ſay, Iudas is choſen by Chriſt, and notwithſtanding he did aſcende an other way, and not by Chriſt. John Huſſe aunſwered, verely both partes are true, that he was electe and choſen by Chriſt, and alſo that he did aſcende, and come in an other way, for he was a Theefe, a Deuill, and the ſonne of perdition. Then ſayde Palettez, cannot a manne be truely and lawefully choſen Pope or Byſhoppe, and afterwarde liue contrarye vnto Chriſte? and that notwithſtanding he doth not aſcende any other wayes. But I, ſayde John Huſſe doe ſaye that whoſoeuer doth enter into anye Byſhoppricke or like office by Simonye, not to the intent to labour and trauell in the Church of God, but rather to liue delicately, voluptuouſlye and vnrighteouſly, and to the intent to aduaunce hymſelfe with all kinde of pride, euery ſuche man aſcendeth and commeth vppe by an other way, and according vnto the Goſpell, he is a theefe and a robber.

7. The 7. Article. The condemnation of the forty fyue Articles of wickliffe made by the Doctours is vnreaſonable and wicked, and the cauſe by them alleadged is fayned and vntrue: That is to ſay, that none of thoſe Articles are Catholicke, but that euery of them be either hereticall, erronious or offenciue. The aunſwere: I haue wrytten it thus in my treatiſe. the forty fyue Articles are condemned for this cauſe, that none of thoſe forty fyue, is a Catholicke Article, but eache of them is either hereticall, erronious or offenciue.

The Cardinal of Cambray.

O Mayſter Doctour, where is your proofe, you fayne a cauſe which you doe not poue, &c. As it appeareth more at large in my Treatiſe. Then ſayd the Cardinall of Cambraye, John Huſſe, thou diddeſt ſaye that thou wouldeſt not defend any errour of John wickliffes. And now it appeareth in your bookes, that you haue openly defended his Articles. John Hus aunſwered. Reuerend Father, euen as I ſayde before, ſo doe I now ſay agayne, that I will not defende any errours of John wickliffes, neyther of anye other mannes, but for ſo muche as it ſeemed vnto me to be agaynſt conſcience, ſimply to conſent vnto the condemnation of them, no Scripture beyng alledged or brought contrary and agaynſt them, thereupon I woulde not conſent or agree vnto the condemnation of them, And for ſo much as the reaſon whiche is copulatiue can not be verifyed in euery poynt, according to euery part thereof.

Articles drawen out of his treatiſe written againſt Stanislaus de Znoyma.

Nowe there remayneth ſixe Articles of 39. Theſe are ſayd to be drawen out of an other treatiſe which he wrote agaynſt Stanislaus de Znoyma.

1. The firſt Article. No man is lawfully elect or choſen, in that the Electours or the greater part of them haue conſented with a liuely voyce according to the cuſtome of men to elect and chooſe any perſon, or that he is thereby the maniſeſt and true Succeſſour of Chriſt, or Vicare of Peter in the Eccleſiaſticall office, but in that that any man doth moſt aboundantlye worke meritoriouſlye to the profitte of the Churche, he hath thereby more aboundant power geuen him of God thereunto. The anſwere. Theſe things which follow are alſo written in my booke. It ſtandeth in the power and handes of wicked Electours to chooſe a woman into the Eccleſiaſticall office, as it appeareth by the election of Agnes, whiche was called John, who held and occupyed the Popes place & dignitye by the ſpace of two yeares and more.

It may alſo be that they doe chooſe a Theefe, a Murderer, or a Deuil, and conſequently they may alſo elect and chooſe Antichriſt.

It may alſo be, that for loue, couetouſneſſe, or hatred, they doe chooſe ſome perſon whom God doth not allowe. And it appeareth that that perſon is not lawfully elect and and choſen: In ſo much as the Electours or the greater part of them haue conſented and agreed together, according to the cuſtome of men vpon any perſon, or that he is thereby the maniſeſt Succeſſour or Vicare of Peter, the Apoſtle or any other in the Eccleſiaſticall office.

Therefore they which moſt accordingly vnto the ſcripture doe elect and chooſe, reuelation being ſette a parte, doe onelye pronounce and determine by ſome probable reaſon vppon hym they doe electe and chooſe, whereuppon whether the Electours doe ſo chooſe good or euill, we ought to geue creditte vnto the workes of hym that is choſen, for in that poynt that any manne doth moſte aboundauntly worke meritoriouſly to the profitte of the Church, he hath thereby more aboundaunt power geuen 2. him of God therunto. And hereupon ſayth Chriſt in the 10. of Iohn, geue credit vnto workes.

The 2. Article. The Pope being a reprobate, is not the head of the holy Church of God. The aunſwere. I wrote it thus in my Treatiſe, that I woulde willinglye receiue a probable and effectuall reaſon of the Doctour, howe thys queſtion is contrary vnto the fayth, to ſay, that if the Pope be a reprobate, how is he the head of the holy churche. Beholde the trueth cannot decay or fayle in diſputation, for did Chriſt diſpute agaynſt the fayth, when he demaunded of the Scribes and Phariſyes. Math. 12. ye ſtocke and offſpring of Vypers, how can ye ſpeake good thinges, when you your ſelues are wicked and euill? and beholde I demaunde of the Scribes if the Pope be a reprobate, and the ſtocke of Vipers, how is he the head of the holy Church of GOD, that the Scribes and Phariſyes which were in the Councell houſe of Prage make aunſwere hereunto? For it is more poſſible that a reprobate man ſhoulde ſpeake good thinges, for ſo much as he 7. may be in ſtate of grace according vnto preſent iuſtice, then to be the head of the holy Church of God.

Alſo in the 5. of Iohn, our Sauiour complayneth vpon the Iewes, ſaying. How can you beleue which doe ſeeke for glory amongeſt your ſelues, and doe not ſeeke for the glory that commeth onely of God. And I likewiſe doe complayne how that if the Pope be a reprobate, can he be the head of the Church of God, which receiueth hys glory of the world, and ſeketh not for the glory of GOD? For it is more poſſible that the Pope being a Reprobate ſhould beleue, then that he ſhould be the head of the 3. Churche of God. For ſo much as he taketh his glory of the world.

The 3. Article. There is no ſparke of apparance, that there ought to be one head in the ſpiritualtye, to rule the Church, the which ſhoulde be alwayes conuerſant with the militant Church. The aunſwere. I do graunt it. For what conſequent is this. The king of Boheme is head of the kingdome of Boheme. Ergo, the Pope is head of the whole militant Church. Chriſt is the head of the ſpiritualtye, ruling and gouerning the militant Church by much more and greater neceſſity then Ceſar ought to rule the temporalty. For ſo much as Chriſt which ſitteth on the ryght hand of God the Father doth neceſſaryly rule the militant Church as head. And there is no ſparke of apparance that there ſhould be one head in yͤ ſpiritualty ruling the church, that ſhould alwaies be conuerſant with the militant churche, except ſome infidell would heretically affirme, that the militant Church ſhould haue here a permanent and continuall Citty or dwelling place, and not to enquire and ſeeke after that which is to come. It is alſo further euident in my booke, how vnconſequent the proportion of the ſimilitude is for a reprobate Pope to be the head of the 4. militent church, and a reprobate king to be the head of yͤ kingdome of Boheme.

The 4. Article. Chriſt would better rule his Churche by his true Apoſtles diſperſed through out the whole world without ſuch monſtrous heades: I aunſwere, that it is in my booke, as here foloweth, that albeit that yͤ doctor doth ſay, that the body of the militant Church, is oftentimes without a head: yet notwithſtanding we do verelye beleue that Chriſt Ieſus is the head ouer euery Churche, ruling the ſame without lacke or default, pouring vpõ the ſame a continuall motion and ſence, euen vnto the latter day, neither can the doctor geue a reaſon why the Churche in the time of Agnes, by the ſpace of 2. yeares and 5. monethes, liuing according to many members of chriſt in grace and fauour, but that by the ſame reaſon the Church might be without a head, by yͤ ſpace of many yeares. For ſo much as Chriſt ſhould better rule his Church by his true diſciples diſperſed throughout the whole world, without ſuche monſtrous heads. Then ſayd they all together: Beholde now he prophecieth, and Iohn Hus proſecuting his former talke ſayd, but I ſay that the Church in the time of the Apoſtles was farre better ruled and gouerned then now is. And what doth let or hinder that chriſt ſhould not now alſo rule the ſame better by his true Diſciples without ſuch monſtrous heades, as haue bene now a late? For beholde euen at this preſent we haue no ſuch head. And yet Chriſt 5. ceaſeth not to rule his Church, when he had ſpoken theſe wordes, he was derided and mocked.

The 5. Article. Peter was no vniuerſall Paſtour or ſhepheard of the ſheepe of Chriſt, much leſſe is the Byſhop of Rome. The anſwere. Theſe words are not in my book, but thoſe which do follow. Secondly it appeareth by the wordes of Chriſt, yͤ he did not limit vnto Peter for his iuriſdiction, the whole world, no not one onely prouince. So likewiſe neither vnto any other of the Apoſtles. Notwithſtanding certayne of them walked through many regions and other ſome fewer, preaching and teaching the kingdome of God, as Paule which laboured & trauelled more then all the reſt did corporally viſite and conuert moſt prouinces, whereby it is lawfull for any Apoſtle or his vicar to conuert and confirme as much people, or as many prouinces in the fayth of Chriſt, as they are able; neither is there any reſtraynt of their liberty or iuriſdiction. But only by diſability or inſufficiency.

6. The 6. Article. The Apoſtles and other faythfull prieſtes of the Lord haue ſtoutly ruled the Church in al things neceſſary vnto ſaluation before the office of the Pope was brought in to the Church, and ſo would they very poſſibly doe ſtill, if there were no Pope euen vnto yͤ latter day. Then they all cryed out agayne and ſayd: Behold the prophet, but Iohn Hus ſayde verely it is true that the Apoſtles did rule the Churche ſtoutly, before the office of the Pope was brought into the Churche. And certaynely a great deale better then it is now ruled. And likewiſe may other faythfull men which doe follow their ſteppes doe the ſame, for as now we haue no Pope, and ſo peraduenture it may continue and endure a yeare or more. Beſides this were brought agaynſt him other 19. articles obiected vnto him being in priſon which with his anſweres to the ſame here likewiſe follow. Of the whiche Articles, the firſt is thys.

1. Article. Paule how he was both a blaſphemer, & alſo a member of Chriſt.

The firſt Article. Paule according vnto preſent iuſtice was a blaſphemer and none of the Church, and therwithall was in grace, according vnto predeſtination of life euerlaſting. The aunſwere. This propoſition is not in the booke, but this which foloweth: whereby it doth ſeme probable, that as Paule was both a blaſphemer accordyng to preſent iuſtice, and therewithall alſo was a faythfull childe of our holy mother the Church, and in grace accordyng to predeſtination of life euerlaſting. So Iſcariot was both in grace according vnto preſent iuſtice, and was neuer of our holy mother the Church, according to the predeſtination of life euerlaſting, for ſo much as he lacked that predeſtination. And ſo Iſcariot albeit he was an Apoſtle, and a Byſhop of Chriſt, which is the name of his office, yet was he neuer no part of the vniuerſall Church.

2. Article. Predeſtination.

The 2. Article. Chriſt doth more loue a predeſtinate man being ſinnefull, then any reprobate in what grace poſſible ſoeuer he be. The aunſwere. My wordes are in the 4. chapter of my booke intituled of the Church, and it is euident that God doth more loue any predeſtinate beynge ſinnefull, then any reprobate, in what grace ſo euer he be for the time: for ſo much as he will, that the predeſtinate ſhall haue perpetuall bleſſedneſſe, and the reprobate to haue eternall fire. Wherefore God partly infinitely louing them both as his creatures, yet he doth more loue the predeſtinate becauſe he geueth him greater grace, or a greater gift: that is to ſay, life euerlaſting, which is greater & more excellent then onely grace, according vnto preſent iuſtice. And the third Article of thoſe Articles before, ſoundeth much neare vnto this, that the predeſtinate cannot fall frõ grace, for they haue a certayne radicall grace rooted in thẽ, although they be depriued of the aboundant grace for a time. Theſe thinges are true in the compound ſence.

3. Article.

Who ſo committeth deadly ſinne ſwarueth from the faith.

The 3. Article. All the ſinnefull according vnto preſent iniuſtice, are not faythfull, but doe ſwerue from the true Catholicke fayth, for ſo much as it is impoſſible that any man can committe any deadly ſinne but in that point, that he doe ſwerue from the fayth. The aunſwere. I acknowledge that ſentence to be mine, and it appeareth, that if they did thinke vpon the puniſhment which is to be laid vpon ſinners, and did fully beleue, and had the fayth of the diuine knowledge and vnderſtanding. &c. then vndoubtedly they would not ſo offend and ſinne. This propoſition is verified by the ſayinge of the Prophette Eſay. Thy rulers are vnfaythfull, miſbeleuers, fellowes and companions of theeues, they all loue bribes, and followe after rewardes. Beholde the Prophet calleth the rulers of the Church infidels for their offences, for all ſuch as do not keep theyr fayth inuiolate vnto theyr principall Lorde, are vnfaythfull ſeruauntes, and they alſo are vnfathfull children wich keepe not theyr obedience, feare, and loue vnto God their father.

Tit. cap. 1.

Item, this propoſition is verified, by the ſaying of the Apoſtle, the 1. chap. to Titus: They doe confeſſe that they know God, but by their works they do deny him. And for ſo much as they which are ſinnefull, do ſwerue away from yͤ meritorious work of bleſſednes, therfore they do ſwerue from the true fayth grounded vpon charity, for ſo much as ſayth without workes is dead. To this end doth alſo pertaine, that which the Lord ſpeaketh Math.23. of the faythfull and vnfaythfull ſeruaunt.

4.Article.

The 4.Article. Theſe wordes of Iohn in his 22.chap. Receiue the holy Ghoſt: And whatſoeuer you ſhall binde vpon earth.&c. And Mathew 16. and 18.chapter for lack of vnderſtanding ſhall terrifye many Chriſtians, and they ſhalbe wonderfully afrayd, and others ſhalbe deceiued by them, preſuming vpon the fulnes of theyr power and authority. The anſwere. This ſentence I do approue and allow, and therefore I ſay in the ſame place, that it is firſt of all to be ſuppoſed that the ſaying of our Sauiour is neceſſary, as touching the vertue of the word, foraſmuch as it is not poſſible for a Prieſt to binde and looſe, except that binding and looſing be in heauen. But for the lacke of the true vnderſtanding of thoſe wordes, many ſimple Chriſtians ſhalbe made afrayd, thinking with themſelues that whether they be iuſt or vniuſt, the Prieſtes may at their pleaſures, whenſoeuer they will, binde them. And the ignorant Prieſtes do alſo preſume and do take vpon thē to haue power to binde and looſe whenſoeuer they wil. For many fooliſh and ignorant prieſtes do ſay that they haue power and authority to abſolue euery man confeſſing himſelf, of what ſinne or offence ſoeuer it be, not knowing that in many ſinnes it is forbidden them, and that it may happen that an hypocrite do confeſſe himſelfe, or ſuch one as is not cōtrite for his ſinne, wherof proofe hath oftentimes bene founde and it is euident for ſo much as the letter doth kill, but the ſpirite doth quicken.

The wordes of Chriſt for binding and loſing, vnles they be well vnderſtanded, miniſter to much feare or preſumption.

5.Article. Binding & looſing chiefly and principally belong to Chriſt.

The v.Article, The binding and looſing of God, is ſimply & playnly the chiefe and principal. Theanſwere. This is euident, forſomuch as it were blaſphemous preſumption to affirme, that a man may remit and forgeue an euill fact or offence done agaynſt ſuch a Lord, the Lord himſelfe not approuing or allowing the ſame. For by the vniuerſall power of the Lord, it is neceſſary that he doe firſt abſolue and forgeue, before that his vicare doe the ſame, neyther is there one Article of our fayth, which ought to be more cōmon or knowne vnto vs, then that it ſhould be impoſſible for any man of the militant Church to abſolue or binde, except in ſuche caſe as it be conformable vnto the head of the Churche Ieſu Chriſt. wherefore euery faythfull Chriſtian ought to take heed of that ſaying: if the Pope or any other pretend by any maner of ſigne to binde or looſe, that he is thereby bound or looſed, for he that doth graunt or confeſſe that, muſt alſo conſequently graunt and confeſſe that the Pope is without ſinne, and ſo that he is a God, for otherwiſe he muſt needes erre, and doe contrary vnto the keyes of Chriſt. This ſaying proueth the fact of the Pope, who alwayes in his abſolution preſuppoſeth contrition and cōfeſſion. Yea moreouer, if any letter of abſolution be geuen vnto any offender, which doth not declare the circumſtances of the offence which ought to be declared, it is ſayd that thereby the letter of abſolution is of no force and effect. It is alſo hereby euident, that many Prieſtes do not abſolue thoſe which are cōfeſſed, becauſe that either through ſhamfaſtnes they do cloke or hide greater offences, or els yͤ they haue not due contrition or repentance, for vnto true abſolution there is firſt required contritiō. Secondly a purpoſe & intent to ſinne no more. Thirdly, true cōfeſſiō. And fourthly ſtedfaſt hope of forgeuenes, The j.appeareth by Ezech. if the wicked do repent him.&c. The ij. in the v. & 8. of Iohn do thou not ſinne any more. Thethird part by this place of Luke: ſhew your ſelues vnto the Prieſtes. And the fourth is confirmed by the ſaying of Chriſt: My ſonne beleue, and thy ſinnes are forgeuen thee. I alſo added many other probations in my treatiſe out of the holy fathers, Auguſtine, Ierome, and the maiſter of the ſentences.

To true abſolution 4.thinges are required.

6.Article.

The 6.Article. The Prieſtes do gather and heape vppe out of the Scriptures thoſe things which ſerue for the belly but ſuch as pertayne to the true imitation and folowing of Chriſt, that they reiect and refuſe as impertinent vnto ſaluation. The aunſwere. This Saynt Gregory doth ſufficiently proue in his 17. Homely, alledging the ſayinge of Chriſt: The harueſt is great, the workemen are few, ſpeaking alſo that which we cannot ſay without griefe or ſorrow, that albeit there be a great number which willingly heare good things, yet there lacketh ſuch as ſhould declare the ſame vnto them, for behold the world is full of prieſts, but notwithſtanding there is a ſcarcitye of workemen in the harueſt of the Lord. we take vpon vs willingly prieſthood, but we do not fulfil & do the workes & office of prieſthood. And immediately after he ſayth, we are fallen vnto outward affayres & buſines, for we take vpō vs one office for honour ſake, and we do exhibite & geue an other to eaſe our ſelues of labour. we leaue preaching and as farre as I can perceiue we are called Biſhops to our paine, which do retayne the name of honour, but not the verity.

Ex Gregorio.

Prieſtes more geuen to their owne lucre and belly, then to the ſeruice of Chriſt.

And unmediatly after he ſayth, we take no care for our flocke, we dayly call vpon for our ſtipend & wages, we couet and deſire earthly thinges with a gredy mind, we gape after worldly glory, we leaue the cauſe of God vndone, and make haſte about our worldly affayres & buſines, we take vpō vs the place of ſanctity and holines, and we are wholy wrapped in worldly cares & troubles.&c. This writeth ſaynt Gregory with many other thinges more in the ſame place. Alſo in his Paſtorall, in his Morals, in his regiſter. Alſo Saynt Bernard with many other places. Likewiſe in his xxxiij. Sermon vpon the Canonicalles, he ſayth, all frendes, and all enemies: all kinſfolkes and aduerſaryes, all of one houſeholde, and no peace makers: they are the Miniſters of Chriſt, and ſerue Antichriſt: they goe honourably honoured with the goodes of the Lord, and yet they do honour.&c.

7.Article.

The 7. Article. The power of the pope, which doth not folow Chriſt, is not to be feared. The anſwere. It is not ſo in my treatiſe, but contrariwiſe, that the ſubiects are boūd willingly & gladly to obey the vertuous and good rulers, and alſo thoſe which are wicked and euill. But notwithſtāding, if the pope do abuſe his power, it is not thē to be feared as by bondage. And ſo the Lordes the Cardinals as I ſuppoſe, did not feare the power of Gregory the xij. before his depoſition, whē as they reſiſted him, ſaying that he did abuſe his power contrary vnto his owne othe.

The Popes power doing vngodly is not to be feared.

8.Article.

The 8. Article. An euill and a wicked Pope is not the ſucceſſor of Peter, but of Iudas. The aunſwere. I wrote thus in my treatiſe: If the pope be humble and meeck, neglecting and deſpiſing the honors and lucre of the world: if he be a ſhepheard taking his name by the feeding of yͤ flock of God (of the which feeding the Lord ſpeaketh, ſayinge: feede my ſheepe) if he feede the ſheepe with the worde, and with vertuous example, and that he become euen lyke hys flocke with his whole hart and minde: if he doe diligently and carefully labour and trauell for the Church, then is he without doubt the true Vicare of Chriſt. But if he walke contrary vnto theſe vertues, for ſo much as there is no ſociety betwene Chriſt and Belial, and Chriſt himſelfe ſaith: he that is not with me, is agaynſt me: how is he then the true vicar of Chriſt or Peter, and not rather the Vicare of Antichriſt? Chriſt called Peter himſelfe Sathanas, when he did cōtrary him but onely in one word, and that wyth a good affection, euen him whom he had choſen his Vicare, and ſpecially appoynted ouer his church. why ſhould not any other then, being more contrary vnto Chriſt be truely called Sathanas, and conſequently Antichriſt, or at leſt the chiefe and principall miniſter or vicar of Antichriſt? There be infinite teſtimonyes of this matter in S. Auguſtine, S. Ierome, Ciprian, Chriſoſtom, Bernard, Gregory, Remigius, and Ambroſe.&c.

The Pope doing contrarye to Chriſt is not the vicare of chriſt, but Antichriſt.

9.Article. I.Hus neede not proue this article the pope will proue it himſelfe.

The 9. Article. The Pope is the ſame beaſt of whome it is ſpoken in the Apoc. power is geuen vnto him to make warre vpon the ſayntes. The anſwere. I deny this Article to be in my booke.

10.Article. To preach againſt the popes commandement.

The 10. Article. It is lawful to preach, notwithſtāding the Popes inhibition. The anſwere. The Article is euidēt forſomuch as the Apoſtles did preach contrary to the commaundement of the biſhops at Ieruſalem. And S. Hillary did the like, contrary to the cōmaūdement of yͤ pope which was an Arrian. It is alſo manifeſt by the example of Cardinals, which contrary vnto the cōmaundement of Pope Gregory the xij. ſēt throughout all realmes ſuch as ſhould preach agaynſt him. It is alſo lawfull to preach vnder appeale, contrary vnto the Popes commaundement. And finally he may preach which hath the commaundement of God, wherunto he ought chiefly to obey.

11.Article.

The 11. Article. If the Popes commaundement be not concordant and agreeable with the doctrine of the Goſpell or the Apoſtles, it is not to be obeyed. The anſwer. I haue thus written in my booke: The faythfull diſciple of Chriſt ought to wey and conſider whether the popes commaundement be expreſſely & plainely the cōmaūdement of Chriſt or any of his Apoſtles, or whether it haue any foundatiō or groūd in their doctrine or no: and that being once knowne or vnderſtand, he ought reuerētly and humbly to obey the ſame. But if he do certaynly know that the popes cōmaūdement is contrary and agaynſt the holy Scripture, and hurtful vnto the Church: then he ought boldely to reſiſt agaynſt it, that he be not partaker of the crime and offēce by cōſenting thereunto. This I haue handled at large in my treatiſe, and haue confirmed it by the authorityes of Saint Auſtine, Hierome, Gregory, Chriſoſtome, Bernard and Bede, and with the holy Scripture and Canons, the which for breuities cauſe I do here paſſe ouer. I will onely reherſe the ſaying of Saint Iſydore, who writeth thus: He

How farre prelates are to be obeied

Iſydorus.

which doth rule, and doth ſay or commaund any thing cõtrary and beſides the will of God, or that which is euidently commaunded in the Scriptures, he is honoured as a falſe witneſſe of God, and a Church robber. whereupon we are bounden to obey no Prelate, but in ſuch caſe as he do commaund or take councell of the Councels and commaundements of Chriſt.

Concilia. precepta.

Likewiſe S. Auguſtine vpon this ſaying: vpon the chayre of Moyſes. &c. ſayth: Secondly, they teach in the chayre of Moyſes the law of God: Ergo, God teacheth by them: but if they will teach you any of theyr owne inuentions, do not geue eare vnto them, neither doe as they cõmaund you. Alſo in the ſaying of Chriſt, he that heareth you heareth me, all lawfull and honeſt thinges be comprehended, in the which we ought to be obedient, according to Chriſtes ſaying: it is not you which doe ſpeake, but the ſpirite of my father whiche ſpeaketh in you. Let therfore my aduerſaryes and ſlaunderers learne that there be not onely 12. Counſels in the Goſpell, in the which ſubiectes ought to obey Chriſt and his appoynted miniſters, but that there are ſo many Counſels and determinations of God, as there be lawfull and honeſt thinges ioyned with preceptes and commaundementes of God, bindinge vs thereunto, vnder the payne of deadly ſinne: for euery ſuch thing doth the Lord commaund vs to fulfill in tyme and place, with other circumſtaunces at the will and pleaſure of their miniſter.

12. Article. The clergie and laitie may iudge of the works of their prelates.

The 12. Article. It is lawfull for the clergy and laytye by their power and iuriſdiction to iudge and determine of all things pertayning vnto ſaluation, and alſo of the workes of the Prelates. The aunſwere. I haue thus written it in my booke, that it is lawfull for the clergy and laity to iudge and determine of the works of their heades and rulers. It appeareth by this, that the iudgement of the ſecret counſelles of God, in the court of conſcience is one thyng, & the iudgement of the authority and power in the church is an other. wherefore ſubiectes firſt ought principally to iudge and examine themſelues 1. Corinthians. 11. chapter. Secondly they ought to examine all thinges whiche pertayneth vnto their ſaluation, for a ſpirituall man iudgeth and examineth all thinges. And this is alleadged, as touching the firſt iudgement, and not the ſecond, as the enemy doth impute it vnto me. whereupon in the ſame place I doe ſay that the lay man ought to iudge and examine the workes of his Prelate, like as Paule doth iudge the doinges of Peter in blaming him. Secondly to auoyd them according to this ſaying: Beware of falſe Prophets. &c. Thirdly to rule ouer the miniſtery: For the ſubiect ought by reaſon to iudge and examine the works of the Prelats. And if they be good, to prayſe God therefore and reioyce: But if they be euill, they ought with patience to ſuffer them, and to be ſorry for them, but not to do the like, leaſt they be damned with them: according to this ſaying: If the blinde lead the blinde, both fall into the ditch.

Iudgement double. Secret in the court of cõſcience. Open in the court of authoritie.

13. Article.

To Godwarde all wicked miniſters be ſuſpended.

The 13. Article. God doth ſuſpend of himſelfe, euery wicked Prelate from his miniſtery, while he is actually in ſinne. for by that meanes that he is in deadly ſinne, he doth offend and ſinne whatſoeuer he do: and conſequẽtly is forbidden ſo to do: therefore alſo is he ſuſpended from his miniſtery. The aunſwere. This is proued as touching ſuſpenſion from dignitie, by Oſee the iiij. chapter, and Eſay, and Malachy the firſt. And Paule in the 1. Corinthians. 11. chapter, ſuſpendeth all ſuch as be ſinnefull or in any greeuous crime or offence, from the eating of the bodye of the Lord, and the drinking of his bloud, and conſequently ſuſpendeth all ſinneful Prelates from the miniſtration of the reuerent Sacrament. And God doth ſuſpend the wicked and ſinnefull from the declaration of his righteouſneſſe. Pſalme. 49. For ſo much then as to ſuſpend in effect, is to prohibite the miniſtery or any other good thing for the offence ſake, or as the new lawes do terme or cal it, to interdict or forbidde: It is manifeſt by the Scriptures afore rehearſed, that God doth prohibite the ſinnefull, being in ſinne to exerciſe or vſe theyr miniſterye or office, whiche by Gods commaundement ought to be exerciſed without offence. whereupon he ſayth by Eſay the Prophet: ye that cary the veſſels of the Lord, be ye clenſed and made cleane. And to the Corinthians it is ſayd: Let all thinges be done with loue and charity. &c. The ſame thing alſo is cõmaunded by diuers and ſundry Canons, the which I haue alleged in my treatiſe.

14 Article. The laye people ſupplanted by the Clergy.

The 14. Article. The aunſwere which he made to the 25. Article in priſon ſuffiſeth for this, that is to ſay, that the Clergye for theyr owne preferment and exaltation, doth ſupplant and vndermine the lay people, doth increaſe and multiply theyr couetouſnes, cloaketh and defendeth theyr malice and wickednes, and prepareth away for Antichriſt.

The firſt part he proueth by experience, by the example of Peter de Luna, which named himſelfe Benedict: by the example of Angelus Coriarius, which named himſelfe Gregory the 12. and alſo by the example of Iohn 23. Likewiſe by the xiij. and xxiiij. of Ezechiel, and out of Gregory, which ſayth, what ſhalbe come of the flock, when the ſhepheardes themſelues, are become wolues. &c. Alſo out of Oſee, Miche, and other of the Prophets, and many places of S. Barnard.

The ſecond part is proued by the 8. chapter of Ieremy, Gregory in his 17. Homely, and S. Barnard vpon the Canonicals.

The third part of this Article is alſo proued by experience: for who defendeth the wickednes of any ſchiſme but onely the Clergy alledging Scriptures, and bringing reaſons therfore? who excuſeth Simony, but onely the Clergy? likewiſe couetouſnes in heaping together many benefices, luxuriouſnes and fornication? For how many of the Clergy is there now a dayes which do ſay it is no deadly ſinne alledging (albeit diſorderly) the ſaying of Geneſis, increaſe and multiply.

Hereby alſo is the 4. part of the Article eaſily verified. For the way of Antichriſt is wickedneſſe and ſinne: of the which the Apoſtle ſpeaketh to the Theſſalonians: Gregory in his regiſter Paſtorall and moralls: Alſo S. Barnard vpon the Canonicalles playnely ſayth: wicked and euyll Prieſtes prepare the way for Antichriſt.

15. Article. The diſhoneſtie of ſuch as gathered falſe accuſatiõs againſt Iohn Hus.

The 15. Article. Iohn Hus doth openly teach and affirme that theſe concluſions aforeſayd are true. The aunſwere is manifeſt by that which I haue afore written. For ſome of theſe propoſitions I did write and publiſhe, other ſome my enemy did fayne, now adding, then diminiſhing and taking away, now falſely aſcribing and imputing the whole propoſition vnto me: the which thing the commiſſioners themſelues did confeſſe before me. whome I deſired for the falſe inuention and fayning of thoſe Articles, that they would puniſh thoſe, whom they thẽſelues knew and confeſſed to be mine enemies.

16. Article.

The 16. Article. Hereby alſo it appeareth, that it is not true which they haue affirmed in the article followyng: that is to ſay, that all the aforeſayd concluſions be falſe, erronious, ſeditious, and ſuch as do weaken and make feeble the power and ſtrength of the Churche, inuented contrary to the holy Scriptures and the Churche. But if there be any ſuch, I am ready moſt humbly to reuoke and recant the ſame.

17. Article.

The 17. Article. There was alſo an obiection made agaynſt me as touching the Treatiſes whiche I wrote agaynſt Paletz and Staniſlaus de Znoyma. The which I deſired for Gods ſake, they might be openly read in the audience of the whole Councell, and ſayd that I, notwithſtanding my former proteſtation, would willingly ſubmit my ſelfe to the iudgement of the whole Councell.

18. Article.

The 18. article. There was alſo an other article obiected agaynſt me in this forme. Item, Iohn Huſſe ſayd and preached that he ſhoulde goe to Conſtance, and if ſo be that for any maner of cauſe he ſhoulde be forced to recant that he had before taught, yet notwithſtanding he neuer purpoſed to doe it with his minde: for ſo much as what ſo euer he had before taught, was pure and true, and the ſounde doctrine of Chriſt. The aunſwere. This article is full of lyes: to the inuenter whereof I ſuppoſe the Lord ſayth thus: All the day long thou haſt imagined miſchiefe and wickedneſſe, and with thy toung as with a ſharpe raſour, thou haſt wrought deceypte. Thou haſt delighted and loued rather to talke of wickedneſſe and miſchiefe then of equity and iuſtice. Verely I do graunt that I left behinde me a certayne epiſtle to be read vnto the people, the which did conteine that all ſuch as did wey and conſider my carefull labors and trauelles, ſhould pray for me, and ſtedfaſtly perſeuere and continue in the doctrine of our Lord Ieſu Chriſt, knowing for a certainty that I neuer taught them any ſuch errours as mine enemies do impute or aſcribe vnto me, and if it ſhould happen that I were ouercome by falſe witneſſe, they ſhoulde not be vexed or troubled in their mindes, but ſtedfaſtlye continue in the truth.

19. Article.

The 19. Article. Laſt it was obiected agaynſt me, that after I was come into Conſtance, I did write vnto the Kingdome of Boheme, that the Pope and the Emperour receiued me honourablye and ſent vnto me two Byſhoppes to make agreement betweene me and them, and that thys ſeemeth to be wrytten by me to thys ende and purpoſe, that they ſhoulde confirme and eſtabliſhe me and my hearers in the errours, whiche I had preached and taught in Boheme. Thys Article is falſely alledged euen from the beginning. For how manifeſtly falſe ſhould I haue written yͤ the pope & the Emperour did honour me, when as otherwiſe I had written before, that as yet we knew not where yͤ Emperour was: and before the Emperour himſelfe came vnto Conſtance, I was by the ſpace of 3. weekes in pryſon. And to wryte that I was honoured by my impriſonment, the people of the kingdome of Boheme would repute the honour as no great renowne and glory vnto me. Howbeit my enemies may in deriſion ſay vnto me, that according to their willes & pleaſures, I am exalted and honored. wherfore this article is wholy throughout falſe and vntrue.

Articles 19. drawen out by the Pariſians againſt I. Hus.

John Gerſon Chauncelor of Paris.

Vnto theſe articles aboue prefixed, were other articles alſo to be annexed, which the Pariſians had drawne out agaynſt M. John Hus, to the number of 19. The chiefe author wherof, was John Gerſon Chauncellour of the vniuerſity of Paris, a great ſetter on of the Pope againſt good men. Of theſe articles John Hus doth often complayne in his Epiſtles that he had no time nor ſpace to make anſwere vnto them. which articles being falſly collected and wrongfully depraued although John Hus had no time to aunſwere vnto, yet I thought not vnfit here to ſet downe for the reader to ſee and iudge.

¶ Articles formally contayned or picked out of the Treatiſe of Iohn Hus of Prage, which he intituled of the Church folowing in this part or behalfe the errours they terme them of Iohn Wickelyffe.

1. The firſt article. No reprobate is true Pope, Lorde or Prelate. The errour is in the fayth and behauiour and manners, being both of late and many times before condemned, as well agaynſt the poore men of Lions, as alſo agaynſt the waldenſes and Pikardes. The affirmation of which error is temerarious, ſeditions, offenſiue and pernitious, and tending to the ſubuerſion of all humaine policy and gouernance, foraſmuch as no man knoweth whether he be worthy of loue or hatred, for that all men doe offend in many poyntes, and therby ſhoulde all rule and dominion be made vncertayne and vnſtable, if it ſhoulde be founded vpon predeſtination and charity: neither ſhoulde the commaundement of Peter haue bene good, which willeth all ſeruauntes to be obedient vnto their maiſters and Lordes although they be wicked.

2. The 2. article. That no man being in deadly ſinne, whereby he is no member of Chriſt, but of the Deuill, is true Pope, Prelate or Lord. The error of this is like vnto the firſt.

3. The 3. article. No reprobate or otherwiſe being in deadly ſinne, ſitteth in the Apoſtolicke ſeate of Peter, neither hath any Apoſtolical power ouer yͤ chriſtian people This error is alſo like vnto the firſt.

4. The 4. Article. No reprobrate are of the Church neither likewiſe any which doe not followe the life of Chriſt. This error is agaynſt the common vnderſtanding of the doctors, concerning the church.

5. The 5. Article. They onely are of the church, and ſit in Peters ſeat, and haue Apoſtolicke power whiche followe Chriſt and his Apoſtles in their life and liuing. The error hereof is in faith and maners, as in the firſt article, but contayning more arrogancy and raſhnes.

6. The 6. article. That euery man which liueth vprightly according to the rule of Chriſt may and ought openlye to preach and teach, although he be not ſent, yea although he be forbidden or excommunicate by any Prelate or Biſhop euen as he might and ought to geue almes: for his good life in liuing together with his learning doth ſufficientlye ſend him.

This is a raſh and temerarious errour offenſiue and tending to the confuſion of the whole eccleſiaſtical hierarchy.

7. The 7. article. That the Pope of Rome being contrary vnto Chriſt, is not the vniuerſall Biſhop, neither hath the church of Rome any ſupremacy ouer other Churches, except peraduenture it be geuen him of Ceſar, and not of Chriſt. An error lately and playnely reproued.

8. The 8. article. That the Pope ought not to be called moſt holy, neither that his feet are holy and bleſſed, or that they ought to be kiſſed. This error is temerarius vnreuerently and offenſiuely publiſhed.

9. The 9. article. That according vnto the doctrine of Chriſt, heretickes, be they neuer ſo obſtinate or ſtubburne, ought not to be put to death, neither to be accurſed or excōmunicated. This is the error of the Donatiſtes, temerariouſly, and not without great offence affirmed agaynſt the lawes of the eccleſiaſticall diſcipline as S. Auguſtine doth proue.

10. The 10. Article. That ſubiectes and the common people may and ought publickly and openly to detect and reproue the vices of their ſuperiours and rulers, as hauing power geuen them of Chriſt, and example of Saynt Paul ſo to doe: this error is pernitious, full of offence, inducing all rebellion, diſobedience and ſedition, and the curſe and malediction of Cham.

11. The 11. article. That Chriſt onely is head of the church and not the Pope. It is an errour accordyng vnto the cōmon vnderſtanding of the Doctors, if all the reaſon of the ſupremacy, and of being head be ſecluded and taken away from the Pope.

12. The 12. article. That the onely church which comprehendeth the predeſtinate and good liuers, is the vniuerſall Church, whereunto ſubiectes do owe obedience. And this is conſequent vnto the former article. The error is conteined as in the former articles.

13. The 13. article. That tithes and oblations geuen vnto the Church are publicke and common almes. This error is offencive, and contrary to the determination of the Apoſtle. 1. Cor. 9. chapter.

14. The 14. article. That the clergy liuing wickedly, ought to be reproued and corrected by the lay people by the taking away of theyr tithes and other temporall profites. A moſt pernicious errour and offenciue, inducing the ſecular people to perpetrate ſacriledge ſubuerting the eccleſiaſticall liberty.

15. The 15. article. That the bleſſinges of ſuch as are reprobate or euill liuers of the clergye are maledictions and curſinges before God according to the ſaying. I will curſe your bleſſinges. This error was lately reproued of Saynt Auguſtine, agaynſt Saynct Cyprian and his followers, neither is the maiſter of the ſentences allowed of the mayſters in that poynt that he ſemeth to fauor this article.

16. The 16. article. That in theſe dayes and in long tyme before, there hath bene no true Pope, no true Church, or fayth, which is called the Romiſhe Churche, whereunto a man ought to obey, but that it both was and is the ſinagogue of Antichriſt and Sathan. The errour in this article is in this poynt that it is deriued, and taketh his foundation vpon the former articles.

17. The 17. article. That all gift of money geuen vnto the miniſters of the Church, for the miniſtration of any ſpirituall matter, it doth make ſuch miniſters in that caſe vſers of Simony. This errour is ſeditious and temerarius, for ſo much as ſome thing may be geuen vnto the clergy, vnder the title of ſuſtentation or mayntaynyng the miniſter, without the ſelling or buying of any ſpirituall thing.

18. The 18. article. That whoſoeuer is excommunicate of the pope if he appeale vnto Chriſt, he is preſerued that he need not feare the excommunication, but vtterlye to contemne and deſpiſe the ſame. This errour is temerarious and full of arrogancy.

19. The 19. article. That euery deed done with out charity is ſinne. This errour was reproued and reuoked before this time at Paris, ſpecially if it be vnderſtand of deadlye ſinne, for it is not neceſſarye that he whiche lacketh grace ſhould continually ſinne and offend a new. Albeit he be cōtinually in ſinne.

¶ This following, the Maiſters of Paris *by theyr whole voyce and conſent did adde and* adioyne vnto theſe ninetene articles, for theyr reaſon and determination.

We affirme that theſe articles aforeſayd are notoriouſly hereticall, and that they are iudicially to be condemned for ſuch, and diligently to be rooted out with theyr moſt ſeditious doctrines, leaſt they do infect other. For albeit they ſeeme to haue a zeale againſt the vices of the Prelates and the clergy, the which (the more is the pittye and griefe) do but to much abound, yet is it not according vnto learning, for a ſober and diſcreete zeale, ſuffereth and lamenteth thoſe ſinnes and offences, whiche he ſeeth in the houſe of God, that he cannot amend or take away, for vyces cannot be rooted out, and taken away by other vices and errours, for ſo much as Deuilles are not caſt out thorowe Belſabub, but by the power of God whiche is the holy Ghoſt, who willeth that in correction the meaſure and meane of prudence be alwayes kept, according to the ſaying. Marke, who, what, where and why, by what meanes and when, Prelates and Byſhoppes are bound vnder greeuous and expreſſe penaltyes of the lawe diligently and vigilancly to beare themſelues agaynſt the foreſayd errours and ſuch other like, and the mayntayners of them, for let it alwayes be well vnderſtand

and noted that the errour which is not reſiſted is allowed, neither is there any doubt of priuie affinitie or ſocietie of him, which ſlacketh to withſtand a manifeſt miſchiefe.

These things are entermedled by the way vnder correction, as by way of doctrine.

John Gerſon Chauncellour of Paris,
vnwoorthie.

THeſe things thus declared, a man may eaſily vnderſtand, that John Huſſe was not accuſed for holding any opinion contrary to the Articles of our faith, but becauſe hee did ſtoutly preach and teach againſt the kingdome of Antichriſt for the glorye of Chriſt, and the reſtoring of the Churche.

The wordes of the Cardinall of Cambray vnto I. Hus after his accuſation.

Now to returne vnto the ſtory: when as the firſt 39. articles, which I haue before rehearſed, were all read ouer together with their teſtimonies, the Cardinal of Cambray calling vnto John Hus, ſaid: thou haſt heard what greeuous and horrible crimes are laid againſt thee, and what a number of them there are: and now it is thy part to deuiſe with thy ſelfe what thou wilt do. Two waies are proponed and ſet before thee of the Councell, whereof the one of them, thou muſt of force and neceſſitie enter into.

A double inconuenience for I. Hus to fall in.

Firſt, that thou do humbly and meekely ſubmit thy ſelfe vnto the iudgement & ſentence of the Councel, that whatſoeuer ſhall be there determined by their cõmon voice and iudgement, thou wilt paciently beare and ſuffer the ſame. The which thing if thou wilt doe, we of our part both for the honour of the moſt gentle Emperour here preſent, and alſo for the honour of his brother the King of Boheme, & for thy owne ſauegard and preſeruation, will intreate and handle thee with as great humanitie, loue, and gentlenes, as we may. But if as yet thou art determined to defende any of thoſe Articles which wee haue propounded vnto thee, and doeſt deſire or require to be further heard thereupon, we will not denie thee power and licence thereunto: but this thou ſhalt well vnderſtand that heere are ſuch maner of men, ſo cleare in vnderſtãding and knowledge, and hauing ſo firme and ſtrong reaſons and argumentes againſt thy articles: that I feare it will be to thy greate hurt, detriment, and perill, if thou ſhouldeſt any longer will or deſire to defend the ſame.

This do I ſpeake and ſay vnto thee to counſaile and admoniſh thee, and not as in maner of a iudge.

I. Hus aunſwereth.

This Oration of the Cardinals many other proſecuting, euery man for himſelfe, did exhort and perſuade John Hus to the like: vnto whom with a lowly countenance he aunſwered: Moſt reuerend fathers, I haue often ſaid that I came hither of mine owne free wil, not to the intent obſtinately to defende any thing, but if that in any thing I ſhould ſeeme to haue conceiued a peruerſe or euill opiniõ, that I would meekely and paciently be content to be reformed and taught. Whereupon I deſire that I may haue yet further libertie to declare my minde. Whereof except I ſhall alledge moſt firme & ſtrong reaſons, I wil willingly ſubmit my ſelfe (as you require) vnto your informatiõ.

Then there ſtart vp one, which with a loud voice ſayd: Behold how craftely this man ſpeaketh. He termeth it information and not correction or determination. Verely ſayd John Hus, euen as you will tearme it, information, correction, or determination: for I take God to my witnes, that I ſpeake nothing but with my hart and mind.

The Cardinal of Cambray appointeth I. Hus certaine conditions, wherby he may be deliuered.

Then ſayde the Cardinall of Cambray, forſomuch then as thou doeſt ſubmit thy ſelfe vnto the information and grace of this Councell, this is decreed almoſt by threeſcore Doctours, whereof ſome of them are now departed hence, in whoſe roome and place the Pariſians are ſucceeded: and alſo it is approued by the whole Councell, not one man ſpeaking the contrary thereunto.

Firſt of all, that thou ſhalt humbly and meekely confeſſe thy ſelfe to haue erred in theſe Articles, which are alledged and brought againſt thee.

Moreouer, that thou ſhalt promiſe by an othe, that frõ henceforth thou ſhalt not teach, holde, or maintayne anie of theſe Articles. And laſt of all that thou ſhalt openly recant all theſe Articles.

The anſwer of I. Hus.

Upon the which ſentence, when as many others had ſpoken their minds, at the length John Hus ſaid: I once againe do ſay, that I am redy to ſubmit my ſelfe to the informatiõ of the Councell: but this I moſt humbly require and deſire you all, euen for his ſake, which is yͤ God of vs all, that I be not cõpelled or forced to do the thing, which my conſcience doth repugne or ſtriue againſt, or the which I cannot do without danger of eternall damnation: that is, that I ſhould make reuocation by othe to all yͤ Articles which are alledged againſt me. For I remẽber yͭ I haue red in the booke of vniuerſalities, that to abiure is to renounce an error which a man hath before holden. And for ſo much as many of theſe Articles are ſayde to bee myne, which were neuer in my mind or thought to hold or teach, how ſhoulde I then renounce them by an othe? But as touching thoſe articles which are mine in deed, if there be any man which can teach me contrarywiſe vnto them, I will willingly performe that which you deſire.

The Emperour exhorteth Iohn Hus to recant.

Then ſaid the Emperour, why mayeſt not thou without danger alſo renounce all thoſe articles which thou saieſt are falſly alleged againſt thee by the witneſſes? For I verily would nothing at al doubt to abiure all errors, neither doth it follow that therfore by and by I haue profeſſed any errour. To whom John Hus anſwered: Moſt noble Emperour, this word to abiure, doth ſignifie much otherwiſe then your maieſty doth heere vſe it. Then ſayde the Cardinall of Florence: John Hus, you ſhall haue a forme of abiuration, which ſhal be gentle and tollerable inough, written and deliuered vnto you, and then you will eaſily & ſone determine wͭ your ſelfe, whither you will do it or no.

The Emperour rehearſeth the Cardinall of Cãbrayes wordes.

Then the Emperour repeating againe the wordes of the Cardinall of Cambray, ſaid: thou haſt heard that there are two waies layd before thee. Firſt, that thou ſhouldeſt opẽly renounce thoſe thy errors, which are now cõdẽned, and ſubſcribe vnto the iudgement of the Councel, wherby thou ſhouldeſt try and find their grace and fauour. But if thou proceed to defend thy opiniõs, the Councell ſhal haue ſufficient, wherby according to their lawes & ordinances, they may decree and determine vpõ thee. To whom John Hus anſwered: I refuſe nothing (moſt noble Emperour) whatſoeuer yͤ Councell ſhall decree or determine vpõ me. This only one thing I except, that I do not offend God and my cõſcience, or ſay that I haue profeſſed thoſe errors which was neuer in my mind or thought, for to profeſſe. But I deſire you al, if it may be poſſible, yͭ you will grant me further libertie to declare my mind and opiniõ, that I may anſwere as much as ſhall ſuffice, as touching thoſe things which are obiected againſt me, and ſpecially cõcerning eccleſiaſticall offices, and the ſtate of the miniſterie.

The force of falſe witnes.

But when as other men began to ſpeake, the Emperor himſelfe began to ſing the ſame ſong which he had ſong before. Thou art of lawfull age ſaid yͤ Emperor, thou mighteſt haue eaſily vnderſtand what I ſaide vnto thee yeſterday and this daye: for wee are forced to giue credit vnto theſe witneſſes which are worthy of credit: for ſo much as the Scripture ſaith, that in the mouth of two or three witneſſes, all truth is tried: How much more then by ſo manie witneſſes of ſuch worthy men.

The Emperour to Iohn Hus.

Wherfore if thou be wiſe, receiue penance at the handes of the Councell, with a contrite hart, and renounce the manifeſt errors, and promiſe by an othe that from henceforth thou wilt neuermore teach or preach againſte them. The which if thou refuſeſt to do, there are lawes and ordinances, whereby thou ſhalt be iudged of the Councell.

An olde biſhop of Pole.

Heere a certaine very old Biſhop of Pole put to his verdict. He ſaide the lawes are euident as touching heretickes, with what puniſhment they ought to be puniſhed. But John Hus conſtantly anſwered as before: in ſomuch that they ſaide he was obſtinate and ſtubborne. Then a certaine well fed prieſt and gaily apparelled, cried out vnto the preſidents of the Councell, ſayeng: he ought by no meanes to be admitted to recantation: for he hath written vnto his frends, that although hee do ſweare with hys tong, yet he will keepe his mind vnſworne without othe: wherefore he is not to be truſted. Unto this ſlander John Hus anſwered as is ſaid in the laſt Article, affirming that he was not guilty of any errour.

Obiection of a prieſt better fed then taught.

Pallet against Iohn Hus.

Then ſaid Palletz, to what end is this proteſtation, for ſo much as thou ſaieſt that thou wilt defend no error, neyther yet Wickliffe, and yet doeſt defend him? When he had ſpoken theſe words, he brought forth for witnes 9. Articles of John Wickliffes, and red thẽ openly: & afterward he ſaide: when as I and M. Staniſlaus in the preſence of Erneſtus of Auſtrich duke of Prage, preached againſt thẽ, he obſtinately defended the ſame, not only by his ſermõs, but alſo by his bookes which he ſet forth. The which except you do here exhibite, we will cauſe them to be exhibited. So ſaid the Emperor alſo. Unto whome John Hus anſwered, I am very well contented that not onely thoſe, but alſo all other my bookes be brought forth and ſhewed.

A new heape of ſlaunders.

In the meane time there was exhibited vnto the Cõcell a certaine Article, wherein John was accuſed, that he had ſlaunderouſly interpreted a certaine ſentence of the Popes: the which he denied that he did, ſaieng, that he neuer ſawe it, but in priſon, when as the Article was ſhewed him by the Commiſſioners. And when he was demaunded who was the authour thereof, he aunſwered that hee knew not, but that he hard ſay that maiſter Jeſſenitz was the author thereof.

What (ſayd they) then do you thinke or iudge of the interpretation thereof? Then aunſwered Iohn Hus, what ſhould I ſay thereunto, when as I ſaid I neuer ſaw it, but as I haue heard it of you. Thus they were all ſo greuous and troubleſome vnto him, that he waxed faint & wearie, for he had paſſed all yͤ night before without ſleepe, through the paine of his teeth.

I. Hus waxeth faint and weary.

An other quarel againſt I. Hus, touching theſe three men beheaded at Prage. *Vide ſupra. pag. 590.*

Then was there another Article read, in the which was conteined that three men were beheaded at Prage, becauſe that through Wickleffes doctrine and teaching, they were contumelious and ſlanderous againſt the Popes letters: and that they were by the ſame Hus, with the whole pompe of the Scholers, and with a publike conuocation or congregation caryed out to be buryed, & by a publicke Sermon placed amongſt the number of Saints. And the ſame Doctour Naſo, of whome you haue heard certaine teſtimonies already recited, affirmed the ſame to be true, and that he himſelfe was preſent, when as the king of Boheme commanded thoſe blaſphemers ſo to be puniſhed.

I. Hus belied.

Ex puris affirmatiuis non conſiſtit. argum. in 2 figura.

Then ſaid Iohn Hus: both thoſe partes are falſe, that the King did command any ſuch puniſhment to be done, and that the coarſes were by me conueyed with any ſuch pompe vnto their ſepulture or buriall: wherefore you do both iniury vnto me and the King. Then Palletz confirmed the affirmation of Doctour Naſo, his fellow, with this argumēt (for they both laboured to one end and purpoſe:) That it was prouided by the Kings commaundement, that no man ſhould once ſpeake againſt the Popes Bulles: And theſe three ſpake againſt yͤ Popes Bulles: Ergo, by vertue of the kings commanndement they were beheaded. And what Iohn Huſſe his opinion and mind was as touching theſe men, it is euident inough by hys booke intituled Of the Church, wherein he writeth thus: I beleeue they haue read Daniell the Prophet, where as is ſaid: And they ſhall periſh with ſword and fire, and with captiuitie, and many ſhall fraudulently & craftely aſſociate themſelues vnto thē. And afterward he ſaith: how is this fulfilled in theſe two lay men, who not cōſenting, but ſpeaking againſt the fained lies of Antichriſt, haue offred their liues therfore, and many other were ready to do the ſame, and many were fraudulently aſſociate vnto them, which being feared by the threatnings of Antichriſt, are fled, and haue turned their backes, &c.

When theſe things were read, one looking vpon another, as though they had bene all in a maruellous ſtrange ſtudy, they held their peace for a certaine ſpace. For this Palletz, & the foreſaide Doctour Naſo had alſo added that Iohn Hus in an ouen Sermon had inflamed & ſtirred vp the people againſt yͤ Magiſtrates, in ſo much that a great number of the citizens did openly ſet themſelues againſt yͤ magiſtrates: and by yͭ meanes was it, that he ſaid thoſe iij. were ready to ſuffer death for the truth. And this ſedition was hardly appeaſed by any benefite, or help that the king could do. Then the Engliſhmē exhibited the copy of a certaine Epiſtle, which they ſaide was falſely conueyed vnto Prage, vnder yͤ title of the Vniuerſitie of Oxford, & that Iohn Hus did reade the ſame out of yͤ Pulpit vnto yͤ people, that he might cōmend and praiſe Iohn Wickleffe vnto the Citizens of Prage. When they had read the ſame before the Councell, the Engliſhmen demaunded of Iohn Hus, whether he had read the ſame openly or no. Which whē he had confeſſed, becauſe it was brought thether by two ſcholers vnder the ſeale of the Vniuerſitie: they alſo inquired of him what ſcholers they were. He aunſwered: this my frend (meaning Stephen Palletz) knoweth the one of them as well as I, the other I know not what he was.

An other quarel picked by Engliſhe men againſt Iohn Hus

The teſtimonial of Oxford, for Wikliff brought to Prage.

Then they firſt enquired of him, as touching the laſt man, where he was. Iohn Hus aunſwered: I heard ſay (ſaid he) that in his returne into England, he died by the way. As touching the firſt, Palletz ſaid, that he was a Bohemian, and no Engliſhman, and that he brought out of England a certaine ſmall peece of the ſtone of Wickleffes ſepulchre, which they that are yͤ followers of his doctrine at this preſent, do reuerence and worſhip as a thing moſt holy. Hereby it appeareth for what intent all theſe things were done, and that Iohn Hus was the author of thē all.

A peece of the ſtone of Wickliffes ſepulchre brought for a relique to Prage.

Then the Engliſhmen exhibited another Epiſtle, contrary to the firſt, vnder the ſeale of the Vniuerſitie, the effect and argument whereof was this: The Senate of the vniuerſitie, not without great ſorrow and griefe hath experimented & found that the errours of Wickleffe are ſcattered, & ſpread out of yͤ Vniuerſitie throughout all England. And to the intent that through their helpe & labour, meanes may be found to remedy this miſchiefe, they haue appointed for that purpoſe twelue Doctours, men of ſinguler learning, and other maiſters, which ſhould ſit in iudgement vpon the bookes of Wickleffe.

Theſe men haue noted out aboue th[illegible]umber of C C. articles, the which the whole Vniuerſitie haue iudged worthy to be burnt: but for the reuerence of the ſaid ſacred Councell, the ſaid Vniuerſitie hath ſent them vnto Conſtance, referring and remitting the whole authoritie of the iudgement vnto this Councell.

Heere was great ſilence kept for a while. Then Palletz riſing vp, as though he had finiſhed now his accuſation, ſaid: I take God to my witnes before the Emperours maieſtie here preſent, & the moſt reuerend fathers, Cardinals and Biſhops, that in this accuſation of Iohn Hus, I haue not vſed any hatred or euill will: but that I might ſatiſfie the othe which I tooke, when I was made Doctour, that I would be a moſt cruell and ſharpe enemie of all maner of errours, for the profite and commoditie of the holy Catholike Church. Michaell de Cauſis did alſo the like. And I, ſaid Iohn Hus, do commit all theſe things vnto the heauenly Iudge, which ſhall iuſtly iudge yͤ cauſe or quarell of both parties. Then ſaide the Cardinall of Cambray, I cannot a little commend and praiſe the humanitie and gentlenes of Maiſter Palletz, which he hath vſed in drawing out the articles againſt maiſter Iohn Hus. For as we haue heard, there are many things conteined in his booke, much worſe and deteſtable.

The othe of Palletz.

The othe of Michael de Cauſis.

Iohn Hus witneſſeth the Lord.

When he had ſpoken theſe words, the Byſhop of Rygen vnto whom Iohn Hus was committed, commanded that the ſaid Iohn Hus, ſhould be carried againe ſafely vnto priſon. Then Iohn de Clum folowing him, did not a little incourage and comfort him. No toung can expreſſe what a courage and ſtomacke he receiued by the ſhorte talke which he had with him: when as in ſo great a broile and greuous hatred, he ſaw himſelfe in a maner forſaken of all men. After that Iohn Hus was caried away, the Emperour began to exhort the preſidents of the Councell in this maner, ſaieng:

I. de Clum doth cōfort Iohn Hus.

YOu haue heard the manifold and greuous crimes which are layd againſt Iohn Hus, which are not onely prooued by manifeſt and ſtrong witneſſes, but alſo confeſſed by him: of the which euery one of them by my iudgement and aduiſe haue deſerued, and are worthy of death. Therefore, except he do recant them all, I iudge and thinke meete that he be puniſhed with fire: and albeit he doo that which hee is willed and commanded to do: notwithſtanding I do counſell you, that he be forbid the office of preaching and teaching, and alſo that he returne no more into the kingdome of Boheme. For if he bee admitted againe to teach and preach, and ſpecially in the kingdome of Boheme, hee will not obſerue and keepe that which he is commaunded, but hoping vpon the fauour and good will of ſuch as be his adherents and fautours there, he will returne againe vnto his former purpoſe and intent, and then beſides theſe errours, he will alſo ſow new errours amongſt the people, ſo the laſt errour ſhall be worſe than the firſt.

The Emperours oratiō to the preſident of the councell.

Moreouer, I iudge and thinke it good that his articles which are condemned, ſhould be ſent vnto my brother the king of Boheme, and afterward into Pole and other prouinces, whereas mens minds are repleniſhed with his doctrine, with this commandement, that whoſoeuer do proceed to hold or keepe the ſame, they ſhould by the common ayde both of the Eccleſiaſticall and Ciuill power, be puniſhed. So at the length ſhall remedy bee founde for this miſchiefe, if the boughes together with the roote, be vtterly rooted and pulled vp: and if the Byſhops and other Prelates, which heere in this place haue laboured and trauelled for the extirpating of this hereſie, be commended by the whole voices of the Councell vnto the Kings and Princes, vnder whoſe dominion they are. Laſt of all, if there be any founde heere at Conſtance, which are familiars vnto Iohn Hus, they alſo ought to be puniſhed with ſuch ſeueritie and puniſhment as is due vnto them, and ſpecially his ſcholer Hierome of Prage. Then ſaide the reſt, when the maiſter is once puniſhed, we hope wee ſhall finde the Scholer much more tractable and gentle.

That which god plāteth man ſhall neuer roote vp

Hierome of Prage mentioned and promoted by the Emperour.

After they had ſpoken theſe wordes, they departed out of the Cloyſter, where they were aſſembled and gathered together. The day before his condemnation, which was the ſixt of Iuly, the Emperour Sigiſmond ſent vnto him foure Biſhops, accompanied with maiſter Wencelate de Duba, and Iohn de Clum, that they ſhould learne and vnderſtand of him what he did intend to do. When as hee was brought out of priſon vnto them, Iohn de Clum began firſt to ſpeake vnto him, ſaieng.

4. Biſhops ſent to Iohn Hus.

MAiſter Iohn Hus, I am a man vnlearned, neither am I able to counſell or aduertiſe you, being a man of learning and vnderſtanding: notwithſtanding I do require you, if you know your ſelfe giltie of any of thoſe errours, which are obiected and laid againſt

The pitifull and louing oration of I. de Clum vnto I. Hus.

gainſt you before the Councell, that you will not be aſhamed to alter & change your mind to the will and pleaſure of the Councell: if cõtrarywiſe, I will be no author vnto you, that you ſhould do any thing contrary or againſt your conſcience, but rather to ſuffer and endure any kinde of puniſhment, than to denie that which you haue knowne to be the truth. Vnto whome, Iohn Hus turning himſelfe, with lamentable teares, ſayd: verely as before I haue often times done, I do take the moſt high God for my witnes, that I am ready with my whole hart and minde, if the Councell can inſtruct or teach me any better by the holy Scripture: I will be ready with all my hart to alter and change my purpoſe. Then one of the Byſhops which ſate by, ſayde vnto him, that hee would neuer be ſo arrogant or proude, that he would prefer his owne mind or opinion before the iudgemẽt of the whole Councell. To whome Iohn Hus aunſwered, neither doo I otherwiſe minde or intend. For if he which is the meaneſt or leaſt in all this Councell, can conuict me of errour, I will with an humble hart and mind performe and do whatſoeuer the Councell ſhall require of me. Marke ſaid the Biſhops, how obſtinately he doth perſeuer in his errours. And when they had thus talked, they commaunded the keepers to cary him againe vnto priſon, and ſo they returned againe vnto the Emperour with their commiſſion.

The maruelous conſtance of Iohn Hus.

That is no right modeſtie that more regardeth to obey man, then manifeſt veritie.

Iohn Hus aunſwereth.

The next day after, which was Saterday, and the ſixte day of July, there was a generall Seſſion holden of the Princes and Lords, both of the Eccleſiaſtiall and Temporall eſtates in ŷ head Church of the Citie of Conſtance, the Emperour Sigiſmund being Preſident in his Imperiall robes and habite: in the middeſt whereof, there was made a certaine high place being ſquare about like a table, and hard by it there was a deſke of wood, vpon the which the garments and veſtiments pertaining vnto Prieſthode were laide, for this cauſe, that before John Huſſe ſhould be deliuered ouer vnto the Ciuill power, he ſhould be openly depriued and ſpoiled of his Prieſtly ornaments. when John Huſſe was brought thether, he fell downe vpon his knees before that ſame high place, and praied a long time. In the meane while ŷ Biſhop of Londy went vp into the Pulpit, and made this Sermon following.

⁂ The Sermon of the Byſhop of Londy, before the ſentence was giuen vpon Iohn Huſſe.

IN the name of the Father, the Sunne, and of the holy Ghoſt. Truſting by humble inuocation vpon the diuine helpe and ayde, moſt noble Prince, and moſt Chriſtian Emperour, and you moſt excellent Fathers, and reuerend Lords, Byſhops, and Prelates, alſo moſt excellent Doctours and Maiſters, moſt famous and noble Dukes and high Countes, honourable Nobles, and Barons, and all other men woorthie of remembraunce: that the intent and purpoſe of my minde may the more plainelie and euidently appeare vnto this moſt ſacred congregation, I am firſt of all determined to intreate or ſpeake of that which is read in the Epiſtle on the next Sonday, in the ſixt Chapter to the Romaines. That is to ſay: Let the bodie of ſinne be deſtroied, &c.

The ſermon before the ſentence.

The theame

His theame confirmed by Ariſtotle.

It appeareth by the authoritie of Ariſtotle, in his booke intituled *De cælo & mundo*, how wicked, dangerous, and fooliſh a matter it ſeemeth to be, not to withſtand peruerſe and wicked beginnings. For he ſaith, that a ſmall errour in the beginning, is very great in the end. It is very damnable and dangerous to haue erred, but more hard to be corrected or amended. Whereupon that worthy Doctour S. Hierome, in his booke vpon the expoſition of the Catholicke faith, teacheth vs how neceſſarie a thing it is, that heretickes and hereſies ſhould be ſuppreſſed, euen at the firſt beginning of them, ſaieng thus: the rotten and dead fleſh is to be cut off from the body, leaſt that the whole body doo periſh and putrifie. For a ſcabbed ſheepe is to be put out of the fold, leaſt the whole flocke be infected. And a little fire is to be quenched, leaſt the whole houſe be conſumed and burned. Arrius was firſt a ſparke in Alexandria, who becauſe hee was not at the firſt quenched, he preſumed and went about with his wicked and peruerſe imaginations, and phantaſticall inuentions, to ſpot and defile the Catholicke faith, which is founded and eſtabliſhed by Chriſt, defended with the victorious triumphes of ſo manie Martirs, and illuminate and ſet foorth with the excellent doctrines and writings of ſo manie men. Such therefore muſt be reſiſted: ſuch heretickes of neceſſitie muſt be ſuppreſſed and condemned.

Wherefore I haue truely propounded, as touching the puniſhment of euery ſuch obſtinate hereticke, that the body of ſin, is to be deſtroied. Whereupon it is to be conſidered according vnto the holy traditions of the fathers, that ſome ſins are aduerſe and contrarie vnto another. Otherſome are annexed or conioyned together: otherſome are, as it were, branches and members of others. And ſome are as it were the rootes and head of others. Amongſt all which, thoſe are to be counted the moſt deteſtable, out of the which the moſt and worſt, haue their originall and beginning. Wherefore, albeit that all ſinnes and offences are to be abhorred of vs: yet thoſe are ſpecially to be eſchewed, which are the head and roote of the reſt. For by how much the peruerſenes of them is of more force and power to hurt, with ſo much the more ſpeede and circumſpection, ought they to be rooted out and extinguiſhed, with apt preſeruatiues and remedies. For ſo much then as amongſt all ſinnes none doth more appeare to be inueterate, then the miſchiefe of this moſt execrable Schiſme, therefore haue I right well propounded, that the bodie of ſinne ſhould be deſtroied. For by the long continuance of this Schiſme, great and moſt cruell deſtruction is ſproong vp amongſt the faithfull, and hath long continued, abhominable diuiſions of hereſies are growne: threatnings are increaſed and multiplied: the confuſion of the whole Cleargie is growne thereupon, and the opprobries and ſclaunders of the Chriſtian people are aboundantlie ſproong vp and increaſed. And truely it is no maruell, for ſo much as that moſt deteſtable and execrable Schiſme, is as it were, a bodie and heape of diſſolution of the true faith of God: for what can be good or holie in that place, where as ſuch a peſtiferous Schiſme hath raigned ſo long a time? For as Sainct Bernard ſayth, like as in the vnitie and concord of the faithfull, there is the habitation and dwelling of the Lord, ſo likewiſe in the Schiſme and diſſipation of the Chriſtians, there is made the habitation and dwelling of the Diuell. Is not Schiſme and deuiſion the originall of all ſubuerſion, the denne of hereſies, and the nouriſher of all offences? for the knot of vnitie and peace being once troubled and broken, there is free paſſage made for all ſtrife and debate. Couetouſnes is vttered in othes for lukers ſake, luſt and will is ſet at libertie, and all meanes opened vnto ſlaughter. All right and equitie is baniſhed, the Eccleſiaſticall power is iniuried, and the calamitie of this Schiſme bringeth in all kinde of bondage, ſwords and violence doth rule, the laitie haue the dominion, concord and vnitie are baniſhed, and all preſcript rules of Religion vtterly contemned and ſet at naught.

They cannot abide the laitie to rule in any caſe.

Conſider moſt gentle Lords, how that during this moſt peſtiferous Schiſme, how manie hereſies haue appeared and ſhewed themſelues, how manie heretickes haue ſcaped vnpuniſhed, how manie Churches haue beene ſpoiled and pulled downe, how manie Cities haue beene oppreſſed, and regions brought to ruine, what confuſion hath there happened in the Cleargie? What and how great deſtruction hath bene amongſt the Chriſtian people? I pray you marke how the Church of God, the ſpouſe of Chriſt, and the mother of all faithfull, is contemned and deſpiſed. For who doth reuerence the keies of the Church, who feareth the cenſures or lawes, or who is it that doth defend the liberties thereof? But rather who is it, that doth not offend the ſame, or who doth not inuade it, or elſe what is he that dare not violentlie lay hands vpon the patrimonie or heritage of Ieſus Chriſt? The goods of the Cleargie, and of the poore, and the reliefe of Pilgrimes and ſtraungers, gotten together by the bloud of our Sauiour, and of manie Martyres, are ſpoyled and taken awaie, behold the abhomination of the deſolation brought vpon the Church of God, the deſtruction of the faith, and the confuſion of the Chriſtian people, to the ruine of the Lordes flocke or folde, and all the whole companie of our moſt holy Sauiour and redeemer. This loſſe is more great or greeuous then anie which could happen vnto the Martires of Chriſt, and thys perſecution much more cruell then the perſecution of anie tyrants, for they did but only puniſh the bodies, but in this ſchiſme, and diuiſion the ſoules are tormented. There the bloud of men was only ſhed, but in this caſe the true faith is ſubuerted and ouerthrowne. That perſecution was ſaluation vnto many: but this Schiſme is deſtruction vnto all men. When the tirants raged, then the faith did increaſe: but by this diuiſion it is vtterly decaied. During their crueltie and madnes, the primatiue Church increaſed, but through this ſchiſme it is confounded and ouerthrowne. Tiraunts did ignorantly offende: but in this ſchiſme many do wittingly and willingly euen of obſtinacie offend. There came in heretikes, vſers of Symonie, and hypocrites, to the great detriment and deceit of the Church: vnder thoſe tirants the merites of the iuſt were increaſed.

All the popiſhe religion lieth in landes, lordſhips and liberties.

Note here the popes diuinitie, how the bloud of chriſt ſerueth to purchaſe their patrimonie.

But during this Schiſme, miſchiefe and wickednes are augmented, for in this moſt curſed and execrable diuiſion, truth was made an enimie vnto all Chriſtians, faith is not regarded, loue and charitie hated, hope is loſt, iuſtice ouerthrowne, no kinde of courage or valiantnes, but onely vnto miſchiefe: modeſtie and temperance cloked, wiſedome turned into deceit, humilitie fained, equitie and truth falſified, pacience vtterly fled, conſcience ſmall, all wickednes intended, deuotion counted folly, gentlenes abiect and caſt away, religion deſpiſed, obedience not regarded, and all maner of life reprochfull and abhominable. With how great and greeuous ſorowes is the Church of God repleniſhed & filled, whiles that tirants do oppreſſe it, heretikes inuade it, vſers of Symonie do ſpoile and rob it, and ſchiſmatikes go about vtterly to ſubuert it? O moſt miſerable and wretched chriſtian people, whome now by the ſpace of forty yeares, with ſuch indurate and continuall ſchiſme, they haue tormented and almoſt brought to ruine. O the little barke and ſhip of Chriſt, whiche

This Schiſme cõtinued 40. yeares

hath ſo long time wandred and ſtraied now in the middeſt of the whorlepooles, and by and by ſticketh faſt in the rocks, toſſed too and fro with moſt greeuous and tempeſtuous ſtormes. O miſerable and wretched boate of Peter, if the moſt holy father would ſuffer thee to ſinke or drowne, into what dangers and perils haue the wicked pirates brought thee? amongſt what rockes haue they placed thee? O moſt godly and louing Chriſtians, what faithfull deuout man is there, which beholding and ſeeing the great ruine and decay of the Church, would not be prouoked vnto teares? what good conſcience is there that can refraine weeping? becauſe that contention and ſtrife is powred vpon the eccleſiaſticall rulers, which haue made vs to erre in the way: becauſe they haue not founde, or rather would not finde the way of vnitie and concord: Whereupon ſo many hereſies and ſo great confuſion is ſproong vp, and growne in the flocke of Peter, and the fold of our Lord.

He ſtirreth vp the Emperour. Sigiſmund.

Many Princes, Kings and Prelates, haue greatly laboured and trauelled for the rooting out heereof, but yet could they neuer bring to paſſe, or finiſh that moſt holeſome and neceſſary worke. Wherefore moſt Chriſtian King, this moſt glorious and triumphant victory hath tarried only for thee, the crowne and glorie therof ſhal be thine for euer, and this moſt happy victory ſhall be continually celebrate to thy great honour and praiſe, that thou haſt reſtored againe the Church which was ſo ſpoiled, thou haſt remoued and put away all inueterate and ouergrowne Schiſmes and diuiſions, thou haſt troden downe vſers of Symony, & rooted out all hereticks. Doeſt thou not behold & ſee how great perpetuall and famous renowne & glory it wil be vnto thee? For what can be more iuſt, what more holy, what more better, what more to be deſired, or finally, what can be more acceptable, than to roote out this wicked and abhominable Schiſme, to reſtore the Church againe vnto hir auncient libertie, to extinguiſh and put away all Simony, and to condemne and deſtroy all errours and hereſies from amongſt the flocke of the faithfull? Nothing truly can be better, nothing more holy, nothing more profitable for the whole worlde, and finally, nothing more acceptable vnto God. For the performance of which moſt holy and godly worke, thou waſt elect and choſen of God, thou waſt firſt deputed and choſen in heauen, before thou waſt elect and choſen vpon earth. Thou waſt firſt appointed by the celeſtiall and heauenly Prince, before the electours of the Empire did elect or chooſe thee, and ſpecially, that by the Imperiall force and power, thou ſhouldeſt condemne and deſtroy thoſe errours and hereſies, which wee haue preſently in hand to be condemned and ſubuerted. To the performance of this moſt holy worke, God hath giuen vnto thee the knowledge & vnderſtanding of his diuine truth and veritie, power of princely maieſtie, and the iuſt iudgement of equitie and righteouſnes, as the moſt higheſt himſelfe doth ſay: I haue geuen thee vnderſtãding and wiſedome, to ſpeake and vtter my words, and haue ſet thee to rule ouer nations and kingdomes, that thou ſhouldeſt helpe the people, plucke down and deſtroy iniquitie, & by exerciſing of iuſtice, thou ſhouldeſt, I ſay, deſtroy all errours and hereſies, and ſpecially this obſtinate heretike heere preſent, through whoſe wickednes & miſchiefe, many places of the world are infected with moſt peſtilent and hereticall poiſon, and by his meanes and occaſion, almoſt vtterly ſubuerted & deſtroyed. This moſt holy and godly labour, O moſt noble Prince, was reſerued only for thee, vpon thee it doth only lye, vnto whome the whole rule and miniſtration of iuſtice is giuen. Wherfore thou haſt eſtabliſhed thy praiſe & renowne, euen by the mouthes of infants & ſucking babes, for thy praiſes ſhall be celebrate for euermore that thou haſt deſtroied & ouerthrowne ſuch and ſo great enimies of the faith. The which that thou maiſt proſperouſly & happely performe & bring to paſſe, our Lord Ieſu Chriſt may vouchſafe to grant thee his grace & help, who is bleſſed for euer & euer, Amen.

Loripidẽ rectus deridcat, æthiopus album.

Note the vile flattery of theſe papiſtes when they would haue any thing of the Emperor for theirpurpoſe

The proctor of the councell calleth for the ſentence.

When this Sermon was thus ended, the Procurer of the Councell riſing vp, named Henricus de Piro, required that the proceſſe of the cauſe againſt Iohn Hus might be continued, and proceed vnto the difinitiue ſentence. Then a certaine Byſhop, whych was appointed one of the Iudges, declared the proceſſe of the cauſe, which was pleaded long ſince in the Court of Rome and elſewhere, betweene Iohn Hus, and the Prelates of Prage.

The Cardinall of Cãbray cõmãded Iohn Hus. to keepe ſilence. Iohn Hus could not be heard in the councell.

At the laſt he repeated thoſe articles which we haue before remembred, amongſt the which he rehearſed alſo one article, that I. Hus ſhoulde teach the two natures of the Godhead and manhead to be one Chriſt. Iohn Hus went about briefly with a word or two to aunſwer vnto euerie one of them, but as often as he was about to ſpeake, the Cardinall of Cambray cõmanded him to hold his peace, ſaieng: heereafter you ſhall anſwere to all together, if you will. Then ſaid Iohn Hus, how can I at once aunſwere vnto all thoſe things which are alledged againſt me, whẽ as I cannot remember them all? Then ſayde the Cardinall of Florence, we haue heard thee ſufficiently. But whẽ as I. Hus for all that, would not hold his peace, they ſent the officers which ſhould force him therunto. Then began he to intreate, pray, and beſeech them that they woulde heare him, that ſuch as were preſent, might not credite or beleeue thoſe things to be true which were reported of him. But when all this would nothing preuaile, he kneeling downe vpon his knees, committed the whole matter vnto God, and the Lord Ieſus Chriſt, for at their handes he beleeued eaſely to obtaine that which he deſired.

Iohn Hus committeth his cauſe to the Lord Chriſt.

When the articles aboueſaid were ended, laſt of all there was added a notable blaſphemy, which they all imputed vnto Iohn Hus. That is, that he ſaide there ſhoulde be a fourth perſon in diuinitie, and that a certaine Doctour did heare him ſpeake of the ſame. When Iohn Hus deſired that the Doctour might be named, the Biſhop which had alledged the article, ſaid, that it was not needefull to name him. Then ſaid Iohn Hus, O miſerable and wretched man that I am, which am forced and compelled to beare ſuch blaſphemy and ſlaunder.

Marke the vnſhamefaſtnes of thẽ to faine what they liſt.

Iohn Hus againe ſlaundered.

The counceel doth call it hereticall to appeale to Chriſt.

Afterward the Article was repeated, how he appealed vnto Chriſt, and that by name, was called hereticall. Whereunto Iohn Hus anſwered: O Lord Ieſu Chriſt, whoſe word is openly condemned heere in this Councell, vnto thee againe I do appeale: which when thou waſt euill intreated of thine enimies, diddeſt appeale vnto God thy father, committing thy cauſe vnto a moſt iuſt Iudge, that by thy example we alſo being oppreſſed with manifeſt wrongs and iniuries, ſhould flee vnto thee. Laſt of all, the Article was rehearſed, as touching the contempt of the excommunication by Iohn Hus. Whereunto he anſwered as before, that he was excuſed by his aduocates in yͤ court of Rome, wherefore he did not appeare when he was cited: and alſo that it may be proued by the actes, that the excommunication was not ratified: and finally, to the intent he might cleare himſelfe of obſtinacie, he was for that cauſe come vnto Conſtance, vnder the Emperours ſafeconduct. When he had ſpoken theſe words, one of them which was appointed Iudge, reade the definitiue ſentence againſt him, which followeth thus word for word.

Contempt of the popes excõmunication laide to Iohn Pus.

⁂ The ſentence or iudgement of the Councell of Conſtance geuen againſt Iohn Huſſe.

The ſẽtence read againſt Iohn Hus.

The moſt holy and ſacred generall Councell of Conſtance, being congregate and gathered together, repreſenting the Catholike Church for a perpetuall memory of the thing, as the veritie & truth doth witnes, an euill tree bringeth forth euill fruite: hereupon it commeth, that the man of moſt damnable memory Iohn Wickleffe, through his peſtiferous doctrine, not through Ieſu Chriſt by the Goſpell, as yͤ holy Fathers in times paſt, haue gottẽ faithfull children, but cõtrary vnto the holeſome faith of Ieſus Chriſt, as a moſt venemous roote, hath begotten many peſtilent & wicked children, whome he hath left behind him, ſucceſſours and folowers of his peruerſe and wicked doctrine, againſt whome this ſacred Synode of Conſtance is forced to riſe vp, as againſt baſtards and vnlawfull children, and with diligent care, with the ſharpe knife of the Eccleſiaſticall authoritie, to cut vp their errours out of the Lords field, as moſt hurtfull brambles and briers, leaſt they ſhould growe to the hurt and detriment of others.

For ſomuch then as in the holy generall Councell lately celebrated and holden at Rome, it was decreed that the docrine of I. Wickleffe of moſt damnable memory ſhould be condemned, & that his bookes which cõteined the ſame doctrine, ſhould be burned as hereticall, & this decree was approued & confirmed by the ſacred authoritie of yͤ whole Cõſcell: neuertheles one Iohn Hus here perſonally preſent in this ſacred Councell, not yͤ Diſciple of Chriſt, but of Iohn Wickliffe, an Archheretike, after, and contrary or againſt the cõdemnation and decree, hath taught, preached & affirmed the Articles of Wickleffe, which were condemned by the Church of God, and in times paſt by certaine moſt reuerend fathers in Chriſt, Lords, Archbiſhops, and Byſhops, of diuers kingdomes & Realmes, Maiſters of diuinitie of diuers Vniuerſities: eſpecially reſiſting in his open Sermons, and alſo with his adherents and complices in the ſcholes, the condemnation of the ſaid Articles of Wickleffes, oftentimes publiſhed in the ſaid Vniuerſitie of Prage, and hath declared him the ſaid Wickleffe, for the fauour and commendation of his doctrine, before yͤ whole multitude of the Cleargy and people, to be a Catholicke man, and a true Euangelical Doctour. He hath alſo publiſhed and affirmed, certaine & many of his Articles worthely condemned to be Catholicke, the which are notoriouſly conteined in the bookes of the ſaid Iohn Hus.

Wherfore, after diligent deliberation & full information firſt had vpon the premiſſes by the reuerend fathers and

Lords in Chriſt of the holy Church of Rome, Cardinals, Patriarkes, Archbiſhops, Biſhops, and other Prelates, & Doctours of diuinitie and of both lawes in great number aſſembled and gathered together, this moſt ſacred & holie Councell of Conſtance declareth & determineth yͤ articles aboue ſaid (the which after due conference had, are found in his bookes written with his owne hand, the which alſo yͤ ſaid Iohn Hus in opē audience, before this holy Councell, hath confeſſed to be in his bookes) not to be Catholicke, neither worthy to be taught, but that many of them are erroneous, ſome of them to be wicked, otherſome to be offenſiue vnto godly eares, many of thē to be temerarious and ſeditious, and the greater part of them to be notoriouſly hereticall, and euē now of late by yͤ holy fathers and generall Councels, reproued & condēned. And for ſo much as yͤ ſaid Articles are expreſly conteined in the bookes of the ſaid Iohn Hus, therefore this ſaid * ſacred Councell, doth cōdemne & reproue all thoſe bookes which he wrote, in what forme or phraſe ſoeuer they be, or whether they be trāſlated by others, & doth determine and decree, that they all ſhall be ſolemnely & openly burned in the preſence of yͤ clergy & people of yͤ city of Conſtance, & elſewhere: adding moreouer for the premiſſes, that all his doctrine is worthy to be deſpiſed & eſchewed of all faithfull Chriſtians. And to the intent this moſt pernicious & wicked doctrine, may be vtterly excluded & ſhut out of the Church, this ſacred Synode doth ſtraightly cōmand, that diligent inquiſition be made by yͤ ordinaries of the places by the Eccleſiaſticall cenſure, for ſuch treatiſes and works, and that ſuch as are found, be conſumed & burned with fire. And if there be any found, which ſhall contemne or depiſe this ſentence or decree, this ſacred Synode ordeineth and decreeth that the ordinaries of the places, and the inquiſitours of hereſies, ſhal proceed againſt euery ſuch perſon as ſuſpect of hereſy.

* They ſhall bring you before their councells, they ſhall perſecute you, and caſt you in priſō and bring you before kings & preſidents for my nāe. &c. Luke, 21.

* The ſayde *concilium malignantium.*

Wherefore, after due inquiſition made againſt the ſayd Iohn Huſſe, and full information had by the Commiſſaries and Doctours of both lawes, and alſo by the ſaienges of the witneſſes which were worthy of credite, and many other things opēly read before the ſaid Iohn Hus, and before yͤ fathers and prelates of this ſacred Councell (by the which allegatiōs of the witneſſes it appeareth that yͤ ſayd Iohn Hus hath taught many euill & offenſiue, ſeditious, and perilous hereſies, and hath preached the ſame by a long time) this moſt ſacred & holy Synode lawfully congregate and gathered together in the holy Ghoſt, the name of Chriſt being inuocate & called vpon, by this their ſentence which here is ſet forth in writing, determineth, pronounceth, declareth, & decreeth, that Iohn Hus was and is a true and manifeſt hereticke, and that he hath preached openly errours & hereſies lately condemned by the church of God, and many other ſeditious, temerarious, & offenſiue things to no ſmall offence of the Diuine maieſtie, and of the vniuerſall Church, and detriment of the Catholicke faith & Church, neglecting and deſpiſing the keyes of the Church, & Eccleſiaſticall cenſures. In the which his errours he continued with a minde altogether indurate and hardned by the ſpace of many yeares, much offending the faithfull Chriſtians by his obſtinacie & ſtubburnes, when as he made his appeale vnto the Lord Ieſu Chriſt, as the moſt high iudge, omitting and leauing all Eccleſiaſticall meanes. In the which his appeale he alledged many falſe, iniurious, and offenſiue matters, in contempt of the Apoſtolicke ſea, and the Eccleſiaſticall cenſures and keyes.

Many ſhall come in my name and ſhal deceiue many. Marke 13.

To appeale to Chriſt is derogatory to the popes holynes.

Whereupon both for the premiſſes & many other things, the ſaid Synode pronounceth I. Hus to be an hereticke, & iudgeth him by theſe preſents to be condemned & iudged as an heretike, & reproueth yͤ ſaid appeal as iniurious, offenſiue, & done in deriſiō vnto yͤ eccleſiaſtical iuriſdictiō, & iudgeth the ſaid Hus, not only to haue ſeduced the chriſtian people by his writings & preachings, and ſpecially in the kingdome of Boheme, neither to haue bene a true preacher of the Goſpell of Chriſt vnto yͤ ſaid people, according to the expoſition of yͤ holy Doctours: but alſo to haue bene a ſeducer of them, & alſo an obſtinate and ſtifnecked perſon, yea and ſuch a one as doth not deſire to returne againe to the lappe of our holy mother the Church, neither to abiure the errours and hereſies which he hath openly preached and defended. Wherefore this moſt ſacred Councell decreeth and declareth that the ſaid Iohn Huſſe, ſhall be famouſly depoſed and diſgraded from his Prieſtly orders and dignitie, &c.

Veritie condemned for hereſie.

Whileſt theſe things were thus read, Iohn Huſſe, albeit he were forbidden to ſpeake, notwithſtāding he did often interrupt them, and ſpecially whē he was reproued of obſtinacie, he ſaid with a loude voice: I was neuer obſtinate, but as alwaies heretofore, euē ſo now againe I deſire to be taught by the holy Scriptures, and I do profeſſe my ſelfe to be ſo deſirous of yͤ truth, that if I might by one only word ſubuert the errours of all heretickes, I would not refuſe to enter into what peril or dāger ſoeuer it were. When his bookes were condēned, he ſaid: wherefore haue you cōdemned thoſe books, when as you haue not proued by any one Article, that they are cōtrary to the ſcriptures or Articles of faith? And moreouer, what iniury is this yͤ you do to me, that you haue cōdēned theſe bookes written in the Bohemian toung, which you neuer ſaw, neither yet read? And oftētimes looking vp vnto heauē, he prayed.

I. Hus cleareth himſelf of obſtinacy

They condemne the bokes written in the Bohemian tongue, which they neuer read.

Whē the ſentence and iudgement was ended, kneeling downe vpon his knees, he ſaid: Lord Ieſu Chriſt, forgeue mine enimies, by whome thou knoweſt that I am falſely accuſed, and that they haue vſed falſe witnes and ſlanders againſt me: forgeue them I ſay, for thy great mercies ſake. This his praier and oration the greater part, and ſpecially the chiefe of the Prieſts did deride and mocke.

Hus prayeth for his enemies.

At the laſt, the ſeuen Biſhops which were choſen out to diſgrade him of his prieſthood, commanded him to put on the garments pertaining vnto prieſthood, which thyng when he had done, vntill he came to the putting on of the Albe, he called to his remembraunce the white veſture which Herode put vpon Ieſus Chriſt to mock him withall. So likewiſe in al other things he did comfort himſelfe by the example of Chriſt. When he had now put on all his prieſtly veſtures, the Biſhops exhorted him that he ſhould yet alter and change his minde and purpoſe, and prouide for his honour and ſafegard. Then he (according as yͤ maner of the ceremony is) going vp to the top of the ſcaffold, being full of teares, hee ſpake vnto the people in this ſort.

I. Hus commanded to put on the prieſtes garmentes.

Theſe Lords and Biſhops do exhort and councell mee, that I ſhould heere confeſſe before you all that I haue erred, the which thing to do, if it were ſuch as might be done with the infamy and reproch of anye man, they might peraduenture eaſily perſwade me therunto: but now truly I am in the ſight of the lord my God, without whoſe great ignominy, and grudge of mine owne conſcience, I can by no meanes do that which they require of mee. For I doo well knowe, that I neuer taught any of thoſe thinges which they haue falſly alledged againſt mee, but I haue alwayes preached, taught, written, and thought contrary thereunto. With what countenance then ſhould I behold the heauens? with what face ſhould I looke vpon them, whome I haue taught, whereof there is a great number, if thorough me it ſhould come to paſſe that thoſe things which they haue hetherto knowne to bee moſt certaine and ſure, ſhould now be made vncertaine? Should I by this my example aſtoniſh or trouble ſo manye ſoules, ſo manye conſciences, endewed with the moſt firme and certaine knowledge of the Scriptures, and Goſpell of our Lord Ieſu Chriſt and his moſt pure doctrine, armed againſt all the aſſaults of Satan? I will neuer do it, neither commit any ſuch kinde of offence, that I ſhoulde ſeeme more to eſteeme this vile carcas appoynted vnto death, then their health and ſaluation. At this moſt godly worde he was forced againe to heare by the conſent of the Biſhops, that hee did obſtinately and maliciouſly perſeuere in his pernicious and wicked errours.

I. Hus his oration vnto the people.

Then he was commanded to come downe to the execution of his iudgement, and in his comming downe, one of the ſeauen Biſhops afore rehearſed, firſte tooke awaye the chalice from him which he helde in his hand, ſaieng: O curſed Iudas, why haſt thou forſakē the counſell & waies of peace, and haſt counſailed with the Iewes? we take away frō thee this chalice of thy ſaluation. But Iohn Hus receiued this curſe in this maner: but I truſt vnto God the father omnipotent, and my Lorde Ieſus Chriſt, for whoſe ſake I do ſuffer theſe things, that hee will not take away the chalice of his redemption, but haue a ſtedfaſt and firme hope that this day I ſhall drinke thereof in his kingdome. Then followed the other Biſhops in order, which euery one of them tooke away the veſtiments from him, which they had put on, eche one of them geuing hym their curſe. Whereunto Iohn Hus anſwered, that hee did willingly embrace and beare thoſe blaſphemies for the name of the Lord Ieſus Chriſt. At the laſt they came to the raſing of his ſhauen crowne. But before the Biſhops would go in hand with it, there was a great contention betweene them, with what inſtrument it ſhould be done, with a raſour, or with a paire of ſheares.

The diſgrading of Iohn Hus.

In the meane ſeaſon, Iohn Hus turning himſelfe toward the Emperour, ſaide: I maruell that forſomuch as they be all of like cruell minde and ſtomacke, yet they can not agree vpon their kinde of crueltie. Notwithſtanding, at the laſt they agreed to cut off the ſkinne of the crowne of his head with a paire of ſheares. And when they had done that, they added theſe words: now hath the Church

The wordes of I. Hus vnto the Emperour.

The crowne of Iohn Hus pared away with ſheares.

The maruelous conſtancie and courage of the bleſſed martyr.

taken away all her ornaments and priuilegies from hym. Now there reſteth nothing elſe, but that he be deliuered ouer vnto the ſecular power. But before they did that, there yet remained another knacke of reproch. For they cauſed to be made a certaine crowne of paper, almoſt a cubite deepe, in the which were painted three deuils of wonderfull ougly ſhape, and this title ſet ouer their heads, Hereſiarcha. The which when he ſaw, he ſayde: My Lord Ieſus Chriſt for my ſake did weare a crowne of thorne: why ſhould not I then for his ſake againe weare thys light crowne, be it neuer ſo ignominious? Truly I will do it, and that willingly. When it was ſet vpon his head, the Biſhops ſaide: now we commit thy ſoule vnto the deuill. But I, ſayde Iohn Huſſe (lifting his eies vp towardes the heauens) doo commit my ſpirite into thy handes: O Lord Ieſu Chriſt, vnto thee I commend my ſpirit which thou haſt redeemed. These contumelious opprobries thus ended, the Biſhops turning themſelues towards the Emperour, ſaid: This moſt ſacred Synode of Conſtance, leaueth now Iohn Huſſe, which hath no more any office, or to do in the Church of God, vnto the ciuill iudgement and power. Then the Emperour commaunded Lodouicus Duke of Bauaria, which ſtoode before him in his robes, holding the golden apple with the croſſe in his hande, that he ſhould receiue Iohn Huſſe of the Byſhops, and deliuer him vnto them which ſhould do the execution. By whome, as hee was led to the place of execution, before the Church doores hee ſawe his bookes burning, whereat hee ſmiled and laughed. And all men that he paſſed by, he exhorted, not to thinke that he ſhould dye for any errour or hereſie, but only for the hatred and ill will of his aduerſaries, which had charged him wyth moſt falſe and vniuſt crime. All the whole Citie in a maner being in armour, followed him.

The paper with the inſcription ſet vpon Huſſes head.

The proteſtation of Iohn Hus as he was ledde to the place of execution.

The place appointed for the execution, was before the gate Gotlebian, betweene the gardens and the gates of the ſuburbs. When as Iohn Huſſe was come thether, kneeling downe vpon his knees, and lifting his eies vp vnto heauen, he praied, and ſaide certaine Pſalmes, and specially the 50. and 31. Pſalmes. And they which ſtoode by, heard him oftentimes in his praier, with a merrie and cheerefull countenance repeate this verſe, Into thy hands, O Lord, I commend my ſpirit, &c. Which thing when the lay people beheld which ſtood next vnto him, they ſaid: what he hath done afore, wee knowe not, but now wee ſee and heare that hee doth ſpeake and pray very deuoutely and godly. Otherſome wiſhed that he had a Confeſſor. There was a certaine Prieſt by, ſitting on horſebacke in a greene gowne drawne about with red ſilke, which ſaid, he ought not to be heard, becauſe he is an hereticke. Yet notwithſtanding whileſt he was in priſon, he was both confeſſed, and alſo abſolued by a certaine Doctour, a Monke, as Hus himſelfe doth witnes in a certaine Epiſtle which he wrote vnto his frendes out of priſon. Thus Chriſt raigneth vnknowne vnto the world, euen in ye middeſt of his enimies. In the meane time whileſt he praied, as he bowed his necke backward to looke vpward vnto heauen, the crowne of paper fell off from his head vpon the grounde. Then one of the ſouldiours taking it vp againe, ſaid: let vs put it againe vpon his head, that he may bee burned with his maiſters the diuels whome he hath ſerued.

The prayers of I. Hus well liked of the people.

Ex epiſt. Ioan. Hus 31.

The paper with deuils fell from his head.

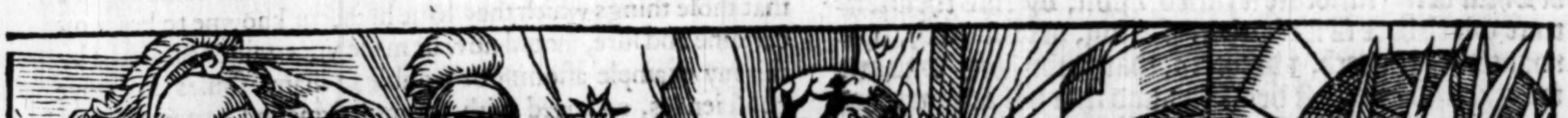
At the praier of Hus the paper with deuils fell downe.

When as by the commandement of the tormentours, he was riſen vp frõ the place of his praier, with a loud voice he ſaide: Lord Ieſu Chriſt aſſiſt and help me, that with a conſtant and pacient mind, by thy moſt gracious helpe, I may beare & ſuffer this cruel & ignominious death, whereunto I am condemned for the preaching of thy moſt holie Goſpel and word. Then as before, he declared the cauſe of his death vnto the people. In ye meane ſeaſon the hangmã ſtripped him of his garments, and turning his hands behinde his backe, tied him faſt vnto the ſtake with ropes that were made wet. And where as by chance he was turned towards the Eaſt, certain cried out that he ſhould not looke towards the Eaſt, for he was an heretick: ſo he was turned towards the weſt. Then was his necke tied with a chaine vnto the ſtake, the which chaine when he beheld, ſmiling he ſaid, that he woulde willingly receiue the ſame chaine for Ieſu Chriſtes ſake, whom he knew was bound with a farre worſe chaine. Vnder his feete they ſet two fagots, admixing ſtraw withall, and ſo likewiſe frõ the feete

Iohn Hus faſtened to the ſtake.

Iohn Hus turned towarde the Weſt.

¶ The deſcription of the burning of Iohn Hus, contrary to the ſafeconduict graunted vnto hym.



vp to the chin, he was incloſed in rounde aboute with wood. But before the wood was ſet on fire, Lodouicus Duke of Bauaria, with another Gentleman with hym, whiche was the ſonne of Clement, came and exhorted Iohn Hus, that he would yet be mindfull of his ſafegard, and renounce his errours. To whome he ſaide, what errour ſhould I renounce, when as I knowe my ſelfe giltie of none? For, as for thoſe things which are falſly alledged agaynſt mee, I knowe that I neuer did ſo much as once thinke them, much leſſe preach them. For thys was

Pardon offered agaïne to I. Hus

was the principall ende and purpoſe of my doctrine, that I might teach all men penaunce and remiſſion of ſinnes, according to the verity of the Goſpel of Ieſus Chriſt, and the expoſition of the holy Doctours: wherefore wyth a chearefull minde and courage I am heere ready to ſuffer death. When he had ſpoken theſe wordes, they left him, and ſhaking hands together they departed.

The laſt cõfeſſion of Iohn Hus.

Then was the fire kindled, and Iohn Hus began to ſing with a loud voice, Ieſu Chriſt the ſonne of the liuing God haue mercy vpon me. And when he began to ſay the ſame the third time, the winde droue the flame ſo vpon his face, that it choked him. Yet notwithſtanding he mooued a while after, by the ſpace that a man might almoſt ſay three times the Lordes prayer. When all the wood was burned and conſumed, the vpper parte of the body was left hanging in the chaine, the which they threwe downe ſtake and all, and making a newe fire burned it, the heade being firſt cut in ſmall gobbets, that it might the ſooner be conſumed vnto aſhes. The heart, which was founde amongeſt the bowels, being well beaten with ſtaues and clubbes, was at laſt pricked vppon a ſharpe ſticke, and roaſted at a fire a parte vntill it was conſumed. Then with great diligence gathering the aſhes together, they caſt them into the riuer of Rhene, that the leaſt remnaunt of the aſhes of that man ſhoulde not be left vppon the earth, whoſe memorie notwythſtanding cannot be aboliſhed out of the minds of the godly, neither by fire, neither by water, neither by anye kinde of torment.

The martyrdome of bleſſed Iohn Hus.

Precious in the ſight of God is the death of hys ſaintes.

The hart of Iohn Hus beaten with ſtaues, and conſumed with fire.

The aſhes of Iohn Hus caſt into the riuer of Rheine.

¶ I know very well that theſe things are very ſlenderly wrytten of me as touching the labours of thys moſt holy Martyr Iohn Hus, with whome the labors of Hercules are not to be compared. For that auncient Hercules ſlew a few monſters: but this our Hercules with a moſte ſtout and valiant courage hath ſubdued euen the worlde it ſelfe, the mother of all monſters and cruell beaſtes. Thys ſtory were worthy ſome other kind of more curious handling, but for ſo muche as I cannot otherwiſe perfourme it my ſelfe, I haue endeuored according to the very truth, as the thing was in deede, to commend the ſame vnto al godly mindes: neither haue I heard it reported by others, but I my ſelfe was preſent at the doing of all theſe things, and as I was able I haue put them in wryting, that by thys my labour, and indeuor howſoeuer it were, I might preſerue the memory of this holy man and excellent Doctour of the Euangelicall truth.

The author and witnes of this ſtory.

What was the name of this author which wrote thys ſtory, it is not here expreſſed. Cochleus in his 2. boke contra Huſſitas, ſuppoſeth his name to be Ioannes Pizibram, a Bohemian. Who afterward ſucceeding in the place of I. Hus at Prage, at laſt is thought to relent to the Papiſts.

M. Iohn Pizibram is thought to be his name. *Ex Cochleo lib. 2. de Hiſt. Huſſit.*

This godly ſeruaunt and Martyr of Chriſt was condemned by the cruel councel, and burned at Conſtance an. 1415. about the moneth of Iuly.

Howe grieuouſly this death of Iohn Hus was taken among the nobles of Boheme and of Morauia, heereafter (Chriſt willing) ſhall appeare by their letters which they ſent vnto the councell, & by the letters of Sigiſmund the king of Romaines, wrytten vnto them, wherin he laboureth, all that he can, to purge and excuſe himſelfe, of Huſſes death. All be it he was not altogether free from that cruell fact, and innocent frõ that bloud: yet notwithſtanding hee pretendeth in words ſo to wipe away that blot from hym, that the greateſt part of that crime ſeemeth to reſt vpon the bloudy prelates of that councel, as the wordes of the king do purport in forme as followeth.

Ex Cochleo de hiſt. Huſſ. lib. 4.

INterea (inquit) nobis adhuc in partibus Rheni exiſtentibus, peruenit ad Conſtantiam &c. i. In the meane time as we were about the coaſtes of Rhene, Iohn Hus went to Conſtance, and there was arreſted, as is not to you vnknowen. Who if he had firſt reſorted vnto vs, & had gone with vs vp to the Coũcel, perhaps it had bene otherwiſe with him. And God knoweth, what griefe and ſorrowe it was to our heart, to ſee it ſo to fall out, as with no wordes can be well expreſſed. Whereof all the Bohemians, which were there preſent, can beare vs witneſſe, ſeeing and beholding howe carefull and ſollicitous we were in labouring for him: In ſo much that wee many times with anger and furie departed out of the Councell: and not onely out of the Councell, but alſo went out of the City of Cõſtance taking his part, vnto ſuch time as the rulers of the Councell ſending vnto vs, ſayde: That if wee woulde not permit them to proſecute that, which right required in the Councell, what ſhould they then do in the place? Whereupon thus we thought with our ſelues, that here was nothing els for vs more to doe, nor yet to ſpeake in this caſe, for aſmuche as the whole Councell otherwiſe had ben diſſolued. Where is to be noted moreouer, that in Conſtance the ſame time there was not one clearke, or two, but there were Ambaſſadours for all kinges and princes in Chriſtendome, eſpecially ſince the time that (Petrus de Luna geuing ouer) all thoſe kinges and princes which tooke his part, came to vs: ſo that whatſoeuer good was to be done, it was nowe to be paſſed in this preſent Councell. &c. Ex Epiſt. Imper. Sigiſmundi. ad Nobiles. &c.

The Emperour excuſeth him ſelf of the death of I. Hus.

¶ By this it may appeare that the Emperour as partly aſhamed and ſory of that which was done, wold gladly haue cleared himſelfe therof, and haue waſhed hys handes with Pilate: yet he coulde not ſo cleare himſelfe, but that a great portion of that murder remained in him to be noted, and well worthy of reprehenſion: as may both appeare by his laſt wordes ſpoken in the Councel to I. Hus, whereof Iohn Hus in his Epiſtles complaineth, wryting to certaine of his friendes in Bohemia in his 33. Epiſtle, as by hys wordes may appeare here following.

Ex epiſt. Iohn Hus. 33.

I Deſire you yet againe for the loue of God, that the Lordes of Boheme ioyning together, will deſire the king for finall audience to be geuen me. For ſo muche as he alone ſaide to me in the Councell, that they ſhoulde geue me audience ſhortly, and that I ſhoulde aunſwer for my ſelfe briefly in wryting: it will be to hys great confuſion, if he ſhall not perfourme that which he hath ſpoken. But I feare that worde of his will be as firme and ſure, as the other was concerning my ſafeconducte graunted by him. Certaine there were in Bohemia, which willed mee to beware of hys ſafeconducte. And other ſayde: he will ſure geue you to your ennemies. And the Lord Mikeſt Dweky told me before M. Ieſſenitz, ſaying: Maiſter, know it for certaine you ſhalbe condemned. And this I ſuppoſe he ſpake, knowing before the intẽtion of the king. I hoped well that hee had bene well affected towarde the lawe of God and trueth, and had therein good intelligence: nowe I conceiue that he is not greatly skilfull nor ſo prudently circumſpecte in himſelfe. He condemned me before mine ennemies did. Who, if it had pleaſed him, might haue kept the moderation of Pilat the Gentile, which ſayde: I finde no cauſe in this man: or at leaſt if hee had ſayde but thus: beholde I haue geuen him his ſafeconducte ſafely to returne. And if hee will not abide the deciſion of the councell, I will ſend him home to the king of Boheme, with youre ſentence & atteſtations, that he with his cleargie may iudge him. But nowe I heare by the relation of Henry Leffl, and of other, that he will ordaine for me ſufficient audience: And if I will not ſubmit my ſelfe to the iudgement of the councel, he wil ſend me ſafe, the contrary way. &c.

The Emperour vncurteous to Iohn Hus.

Pilate more moderate to Chriſt, then this Emperour to Iohn Hus.

This Iohn Hus being in priſon, wrote diuers treatiſes, as of the commaundements, of the Lordes prayer, of mortal ſinne, of matrimony, of the knowledge and loue of God, of 3. ennemies of mankinde, the world, the fleſh, and the deuill, of penaunce, of the Sacrament of the body and bloud of the Lord: of the ſufficiencie of the lawe of God to rule the church. &c. He wrote alſo diuers Epiſtles and letters to the Lordes and to his frendes of Boheme: And in hys wrytings did foreſhewe many things before to come, touching yͤ reformation of the Churche: and ſeemeth in the priſon to haue had diuers prophetical reuelations ſhewed to him of God. Certaine of which his letters, and predictions, I thought here vnderneath to inſert, in ſuch ſort, as neither in reciting all I will ouercharge the volume too much: nor yet in reciting of none, I will be ſo brief, but that the reader may haue ſome taſte, and take ſome profit of the Chriſtian wrytings and doings of this bleſſed man: Firſte beginning, with the letter of the Lorde Clum, concerning the ſafeconduct of Iohn Hus.

⁂ A letter of the Lorde Iohn de Clum concerning the ſafeconduict of Iohn Hus.

TO all and ſingulare that ſhall ſee and heare theſe preſentes, I Iohn de Clum doe it to vnderſtande, howe maiſter Iohn Hus Bacheler of diuinitie, vnder the ſafeconduicte and protection of the renowmed prince and Lorde Sigiſmund of Romaines ſemper Auguſtus, and king of Hungarie, &c. My gracious Lorde, and vnder the protection, defence, and ſafegarde of the holy Empire of Rome, hauing the letters patent of the ſaid my Lorde king of Romaines. &c. came vnto Conſtance to render a full counte of hys faith in publicke audience to al that would require the ſame. This the ſaide M. Iohn Hus, in this Imperiall Citie of Conſtance, vnder the ſafeconduict of the ſaid my Lord king of Romaines, hath bene and yet is deteined. And although the Pope with the Cardinalles haue bene ſeriouſly required, by ſolemne Ambaſſadours of the ſayd my Lord king of Romaines. &c. in the kings name & behalfe, that the ſaid maiſter Iohn Hus ſhould be ſet at libertye, and be reſtored vnto me, yet notwythſtanding, they haue and yet do refuſe hitherto to ſet him at liberty, to the great cõtempt & derogation of the ſafeconduct of the king, & of the ſafegard and protection of the Empire or Emperial maieſtie. Wherefore I Iohn aforeſaide in the name of the king, do here publiſh and make it known, that the apprehending and deteining of the ſayde M.Iohn Hus, was done wholy againſt the wil of the fornamed king of Romains my Lord, ſeeing it is done in the contempt of the ſafeconducte of hys ſubiects, and of the protection of the Empire, becauſe that the ſayde my Lord was then abſent farre from Conſtance, and if he had ben there preſent, woulde neuer haue permitted the ſame. And when hee ſhall come, it is to be doubted of no man, but that hee for this great iniury, and contempt of this ſafeconducte done to him & to the Empire, wil greuouſly be moleſted for the ſame. Geuen at Cõſtance in the day of the natiuitie of the Lord 1414.

¶In this inſtrument aboue prefixed note (gentle reader) 3. things.

Firſt, the goodnes of this gentle Lord Iohn de Clum, being ſo feruent and zelous in the cauſe of Iohn Huſſe, or rather in the cauſe of Chriſt.

Secondly, the ſafeconduct graunted vnto the ſayde I. Hus, vnder the faith and protection of the Emperor, and of the Empire.

Thirdly, here is to be ſene the contempt and rebellion of theſe proud prelates in diſobeying the authority of their high Magiſtrate, who contrary to his ſafeconduct geuen, and the mind of the Emperor, did areſt and impriſon this good man, before the comming of the ſayd Emperor, & before that Iohn Hus was heard. Let vs nowe, as we haue promiſed, adioyne ſome of the epiſtles of this godly man.

An Epiſtle of Iohn Hus, vnto the people of Prage in his owne vulgare ſpeeche.

A letter of Iohn Hus to the people of Prage.

GRace and peace from our Lorde Ieſus Chriſt, that you being deliuered from ſinne, may walke in his grace, and may growe in all modeſty and vertue, and after this may enioy eternall life.

Derely beloued, I beſeeche you which walke after the law of God, that you caſt not away the care of the ſaluatiõ of your ſoules, whẽ as you hearing the word of God, are premoniſhed wiſely to vnderſtand that you be not deceiued by falſ apoſtles: which do not reprehend the ſinnes of men, but rather doe extenuate and diminiſh them: which flatter the prieſts, and doe not ſhewe to the people their offences which magnify themſelues boaſt their own workes, and marueilouſly extol their owne worthines: but follow not Chriſt in his humility, in pouerty, in the croſſe and other manifold afflictions. Of whome our merciful ſauiour did premoniſh vs before, ſaying: falſe Chriſtes and falſ Prophets ſhal riſe, and ſhall deceiue many. And when he had forewarned his welbeloued diſciples, he ſaid vnto them: beware and take hede of falſe Prophets, which come to you in ſhepes clothing, but inwardly are rauening wolues: ye ſhal know them by their fruits. And truth it is, that the faithful of Chriſt haue much neede diligently to beware, and take hede vnto themſelues. For as our ſauiour himſelfe doth ſay: the elect alſo, if it were poſsible, ſhalbe brought into error. Wherefore my welbeloued, be circumſpect and watchful, that ye be not circumuented with the crafty trains of the deuil. And the more circumſpect ye ought to be, for that antichriſt laboureth the more to trouble you. The laſt iudgement is nere at hande: death ſhal ſwallow vp many, but to the electe children of God, the kingdome of God draweth nere, becauſe for them he gaue his own body. Feare not death, loue together one an other, perſeuere in vnderſtanding the good wil of God without ceaſing. Let the terrible & horrible day of iudgement, be alwaies before your eies, that you ſinne not: and alſo the ioy of eternal life, wherunto you muſt endeuor. Furthermore, let the paſsion of our ſauioure be neuer out of youre minds: that you may bear with him & for him gladly, whatſoeuer ſhalbe laid vpon you. For if you ſhal conſider well in your mindes his croſſe & afflictions, nothing ſhalbe greuous vnto you, & patiently you ſhal geue place to tribulations, curſings, rebukes, ſtripes, and priſonment, and ſhal not dout to geue your liues moreouer for his holy truth, if nede require. Knowe ye welbeloued that antichriſt being ſtirred vp againſt you, deuiſeth diuers perſecutions. And many he hath not hurte, no not the leaſt heire of their heads, as by mine owne example I can teſtify, although hee hathe ben vehemently incenſed againſt me. Wherefore I deſire you all, with your praiers to make interceſsiõ for me to the lord, to geue me intelligence, ſufferance, patience and conſtancie, that I neuer ſwarue from his diuine verity. He hath brought me now to Conſtance. In all my iourney openly and manifeſtly, I haue not feared to vtter my name as becommeth the ſeruant of God. In no place I kept my ſelfe ſecrete, nor vſed any diſsimulation. But neuer did I finde in any place more peſtilent and manifeſt ennemies then at Conſtance. Which enemies neither ſhould I haue had there, had it not ben for certain of our owne Bohemians, hypocrites & deceiuers, who for benefits receiued and ſtirred vp with couetouſnes, with boaſting and bragging haue perſwaded the people that I wẽt about to ſeduce them out of the right way. But I am in good hope that through the mercy of our God, and by your prayers I ſhall perſiſte ſtrongly in the immutable veritie of God, vnto the laſt breath. Finally, I wold not haue you ignorãt, that wheras euery one here is put in his office, I only as an outcaſt am neglected. &c. I cõmend you to the merciful Lord Ieſu Chriſt, our true God, and the ſonne of the immaculate virgin Mary, which hath redeemed vs by his moſte bitter death, without all our merites, from eternall paines, from the thraldome of the Deuill, and from ſinne. From Conſtance, the yere of our Lord. 1415.

¶An other letter of Iohn Hus to his benefactours.

An other letter of I. Hus,

MY gracious benefactours and defendours of the truthe, I exhort you by the bowels of Ieſus Chriſt, that now ye ſetting aſide the vanities of this preſent world, will giue your ſeruice to the eternall king, Chriſt the Lord. Truſt not in Princes nor in the ſonnes of men, in whome there is no health. For the ſonnes of men are diſſemblers and diſceitfull. To day they erre, to morrowe they peariſh, but God remaineth for euer. Who hath his ſeruants, not for any neede he hath of them, but for their owne profite: vnto whõ he performeth that, which he promiſeth, & fulfilleth that which he purpoſeth to geue. He caſteth of no faithful ſeruant from him, for he ſayth: where I am there alſo ſhal my ſeruãt be. And that Lorde maketh euery ſeruaunt of his to be the Lorde of all his poſſeſsion, geuing himſelfe vnto him, and with himſelfe, all thinges: that without all tediouſneſſe, feare, and without al defect, he may poſſeſſe all thinges, reioycing with all Saintes in ioy infinite. O happie is that ſeruaunt, whome, when the Lorde ſhall come, hee ſhall finde watching. Happy is the ſeruaunt which ſhall receiue that king of glory with ioy. Wherefore, well beloued Lordes, and benefactours, ſerue you that king in feare: which ſhall bring you, as I truſt, nowe to Boheme at this preſent, by his grace in health, and hereafter, to eternal life of glory. Fare ye wel: For I think that this is the laſt letter that I ſhall write to you: who to morrowe, as I ſuppoſe, ſhall be purged in hope of Ieſu Chriſt, throughe bitter death, from my ſinnes. The things that happened to me this night, I am not able to wryte. Sigiſmund hath done all things wyth mee diſceitfully, God forgeue him and onely for your ſakes. You alſo heard the ſentence which he awarded againſt me. I pray you haue no ſuſpition of faithfull Vitus.

An other letter to the Lord Iohn de Clum.

An other letter of I. Hus,

MOſte gracious benefactour in Chriſte Ieſu, dearely beloued, yet I reioyce not a little, that by the grace of God I maye wryte vnto your honour. By your letter, which I receaued yeſterday, I vnderſtand, firſt how the iniquitie of the great ſtrompet, that is, of the malignaunt congregation (whereof mention is made in the Apocalips) is detected and ſhall be more detected. Wyth the which ſtrumpet the kinges of the earth doe commit fornication, fornicating ſpiritually from Chriſte, and as is there ſayde, ſliding back from the truth, and conſenting to the lies of antichriſt, thoroughe his ſeduction and thoroughe feare, or thoroughe hope of confederacie, for getting of worldly honour. Secondly I perceaued by your letter, how the enemies of the truth, begin nowe to be troubled. Thirdly, I perceiued the feruent conſtancie of your charitie, wherewith you profeſſe the truth boldly. Fourthly, with ioy I perceiued that you minde now to geue ouer the vanity and the painefull ſeruice of this preſent world, and to ſerue the Lorde Ieſus Chriſt quietly at home. Whome to ſerue, is to raign, as Gregory ſayeth. Whome he that ſerueth faithfully, hath Chriſte Ieſus himſelfe in the kingdome of heauen to miniſter vnto him, as hee himſelfe ſayeth: Bleſſed is that ſeruaunt, whome when the Lorde ſhall come, he ſhall finde waking, and ſo doing. Verely I ſay vnto you, that hee riſing, ſhall girde himſelfe, and ſhall miniſter to him. This do not the kings of this worlde to their ſeruauntes: whome onely they doe loue ſo long as they are profitable and neceſſary for their commodities &c.

⁂An other Epiſtle of Iohn Hus, wherein he declareth why God ſuffreth not his to periſh, bringing diuers examples, wherwith he doth comfort and confirme both himſelfe and other.

THe Lord God be with you. Many cauſes there were, welbeloued in God my deare frends, which moued me to thinke that thoſe letters were the laſt, which before I ſent vnto you, lookinge that ſame time for inſtant death. But now vnderſtanding the ſame to be deferred, I take it for great cõfort vnto me, that I haue ſome leſ leſ more to talke with you by letters: & therfore I write again to you, to declare & teſtify at leaſt, my gratitude & mindfull duty toward you. And as touching death, God doth know why he doeth defer it both to me and to my welbeloued brother M.Hier. who I truſt will die holily and without blame: and do know alſo that he doth, and ſuffereth nowe more valiauntly, then I my ſelfe a wretched ſinner. God hath geuen vs a long time, that we myghte call to memorie our ſinnes the better, and repent for the ſame more feruently. Hee hath graunted vs time, that our longe and greate temptation ſhuld put away our greuous ſinnes, & bring the more conſolation.He hath geuen vs time,wherin we ſhould remember the horrible rebukes of our mercifull king and Lorde Ieſus, and ſhoulde ponder his cruell death, and ſo more paciently myght learne to beare our afflictions. And moreouer that we might kepe in remembraunce, how that the ioyes of the life to come,are not geuen after the ioyes of this world immediatly, but through many tribulations the Saints haue entred into the kingdõ of heauen. For ſome of them haue bene cutte and chopt all to peeces, ſome their eies bored through,ſome ſodde: ſome roſted, ſome ſlaine aliue,ſome buried quicke,ſtoned,crucified, grineded betwixt mill ſtones,drawne & hailed hither and thither vnto execution,drowned in waters,ſtrangled and hanged, torne in pieces, vexed wyth rebukes before their death, pined in priſons, & afflicted in bands. And who is able to recite all the tormentes and ſuffringes of the holy Saintes,which they ſuffered vnder the olde and newe Teſtament for the verity of God:namely thoſe which haue at any time rebuked the malice of the prieſtes, or haue preached againſt their wickedneſſe. And it will be a meruaile if any man nowe alſo ſhall eſcape vnpuniſhed,who ſo euer dare boldly reſiſt the wickedneſſe and peruerſity,eſpecially of thoſe prieſts,which can abide no correction. And I am glad that they are compelled now to reade my bookes, in the which, their malice is ſomewhat deſcribed: and I know they haue reade the ſame more exactly and diligently,then the holy Goſpell, ſeeking therein to finde out errours. Geuen at Conſtance vppon Thurſday,the 28.day of Iune. An.1415.

The tormẽts of the martirs vnder the olde and new Teſtament.

¶An other letter of Iohn Hus,wherein he rehearſeth what iniuries he receiued of the Councel,and of the deputies.

IF my letter be not ſent yet to Boheme,keepe it and ſend it not, for hurt may come thereof,&c.

He meaneth belike that he ſhould moue the king in theſe matters contayned in this Epiſtle.

Item, if the king doe aske who ought to be my iudge, ſince that the Councel neither did call me,nor did cite me,neither was I euer accuſed before the Councell, and yet the Councell hath impriſoned me,and hath appoynted their proctor againſt me.

Item, I deſire you right noble and gracious Lord Iohn,if audience ſhall be geuen me,that the king will be there preſent himſelfe, and that I may haue a place appoynted neare vnto him,that he may heare me well and vnderſtand what I ſay:and that you alſo with the Lord Henry,and with Lord Wenſelaus and other mo, if you may,will be preſent, and heare what the Lorde Ieſus Chriſt my procuratour and aduocate,and moſt gracious iudge,will put in my mouth to ſpeake,that whether I liue or die,you may be true and vpright witneſſes with me,leaſt lying lips ſhall ſay heereafter that I ſwarued away from the truth which I haue preached.

Item,know you that before witneſſes and notaries in the priſon,I deſired the commiſsioners that they would depute vnto me a proctor and an aduocate, who promiſed ſo to do,and afterward would not performe it. Wherefore I haue committed my ſelfe to the Lorde Ieſus Chriſt that he will be my procuratour and aduocate and iudge of my cauſe.

Item, know you,that they haue as I ſuppoſe no other quarell againſt mee, but onely this, that I ſtoode againſt the Popes Bull, which Pope Iohn ſent downe to Boheme,to ſanctifie warre wyth the ſigne of the croſſe & full remiſsion of ſinnes,to all them which would take the holy croſſe to fight for the patrimonie of the Romiſh church againſt Ladiſlaus king of Naples,and they haue mine owne wryting which was read againſt me,and I do acknowledge it to be mine. Secondly,they haue alſo againſt me,that I haue cõtinued ſo long in excommunication, and yet did take vppon mee to miniſter in the church and ſay Maſſe.Thirdly they haue againſt me,becauſe I did appeale from the Pope to Chriſt. For they reade my appeale before me,in the which with a willing minde,ſmiling I confeſſed before them all to be mine. Fourthly,becauſe I left a certaine letter behind me, which was read in the church of Bethleem, the which letter my aduerſaries haue very euill fauouredly tranſlated and ſiniſterly expounded, in the which I did wryte that I went out without a ſafeconducte. Whereunto you your ſelues can ſay and beare me recorde, that I in my going out, had no ſafe conducte of the Pope,neither yet did knowe whether you ſhould goe out with me when I wrote that letter.

Vide ſupra. pag. 553.

Item,if audience may be geuen to me,and that after the ſame audience the king would ſuffer me not to be returned againe into priſon,but that I may haue your counſels & others my frends: and if it may pleaſe God that I may ſay ſome thing to my ſoueraigne Lord the king, for the behalfe of Chriſtianitie, and for hys owne profite.&c.

¶An other letter of Iohn Hus, wherein he confirmeth the Bohemians,and deſcribeth the wickedneſſe of that Counſell.

An other letter of Iohn Hus.

IOhn Huſſe in hope the ſeruaunt of GOD, to all faythfull in Boheme, which loue the Lord, greetyng thorough the grace of GOD. It commeth in my mynde, wherein I muſt needes admoniſh you, that be the faythfull and beloued of the Lord,how that the Councell of Conſtance beyng full of pride, auarice, and all abhomination, hath condemned my bookes written in the Boheme tounge, for hereticall, whiche bookes they neuer ſaw, nor neuer heard them read: And if they had heard them,yet they could not vnderſtãd the ſame,being ſome Italians, ſome Frenchmen, ſome Britaines, ſome Spanyardes, Germaines, with other people of other nations moe: vnleſſe peraduenture Iohn Biſhop of Litomiſhe vnderſtoode them, whiche was preſent in that Councell, and certaine other Bohemians, and Prieſtes whiche are agaynſt me, and labour all they may how to depraue both the veritie of God, and the honeſty of our countrey of Boheme: Which I iudge in the hope of GOD, to be a Godly land, right well geuen to the true knowledge of the Fayth, for that it doth ſo greatly deſire the word of GOD, and honeſt maners. And if you were here at Conſtance, ye ſhould ſee the greeuous abhomination of this Councell, which they call ſo holy, and ſuch as can not erre. Of the which Councell I haue heard it by the Swechers reported, that the Citie of Conſtaunce is not able in 30. yeares to be purged of thoſe wicked abhominations in that Cõucell committed. And all be offended almoſt with that Councell, beyng ſore greeued to behold ſuch execrable thynges perpetrate in the ſame.

The Councell condẽne bookes which they vnderſtand not.

Prayſe of Bohemia.

The abhomination of the Cõucell of Cõſtance deſcribed.

When I ſtoode firſt to aunſwere before myne aduerſaries, ſeyng all thynges there done with no order, and hearyng them alſo outragiouſly crying out, I ſayd playnely vnto them, that I looked for more honeſt behauiour, and better order and diſcipline, in that Councell. Then the chief Cardinall aunſwered, ſayeſt thou ſo? but in the tower thou ſpakeſt more modeſtly. To whome, ſayd I: in the Tower no man cryed out agaynſt me, where as now all doe rage agaynſt me. My faythfull and beloued in Chriſt, be not afrayde with their ſentence in condemnyng my bookes. They ſhall bee ſcattered hether and thether abroad, like light Butterfleis, and their Statutes, ſhall endure as Spiderwebbes. They went about to ſhake my conſtancie from the veritie of Chriſt: but they could not ouercome the vertue of God in me, They would not reaſon with the ſcriptures againſt me, as diuers honourable Lordes can witneſſe with me, which being ready to ſuffer contumely for the trueth of God, tooke my part ſtoutly; namely Lorde Wenceſlaus de Duba, and Lorde Iohn de Clum: for they were let in by king Sigiſmund into the Councell. And when I ſayde, that I was deſirous to be inſtructed, if I did in any thing erre, then they heard the chiefe Cardinall aunſwere againe: becauſe thou wouldeſt be informed, there is no remedy, but that thou muſt firſt reuoke thy doctrine, according to the determination of 50. Bachelers of Diuinitie appoynted. O high inſtruction.

I. Hus ſeemeth here to propheſie of the Councell as it came to paſſe.

The Councell afraide to be tried by the ſcriptures.

This cardinall was Cardinall Cambrenſis.

After like maner S. Katherine alſo ſhoulde haue denied and reuoked the veritie of God and faith in Chriſt, becauſe the 50. maiſters likewiſe did withſtand her: which notwithſtanding, that good virgine would neuer doe, ſtanding in her faith vnto death: But ſhee did winne thoſe her maiſters vnto Chriſt, when as I can not win theſe my maiſters by any meanes. Theſe things I thought good to wryte vnto you, that you might knowe howe they haue ouercome me, with no grounded Scripture nor with any reaſon: but onely did aſſay with terrours and diſceits to perſwade me to reuoke and to abiure. But our mercifull God, whoſe lawe I haue magnified, was and is with me, and I truſt, ſo will continue, and will kepe me in his grace vnto death. Wrytten at Conſtance after the feaſt of Iohn Baptiſt, in priſon and in bandes, daily looking for death, although for the ſecrete iudgements of God, I dare not ſay whether this be my laſt Epiſtle: for nowe alſo almighty God is able to deliuer me.

S. Katherine diſputed with 50. doctors, couerted them but I. Hus could not conuert his 50. Doctors.

⁂ An other letter of Iohn Hus, wherein he comforteth his frendes and willeth them not to be troubled for the condemnyng of his bookes: and alſo declareth the wickedneſſe of the Clergy.

MAiſter Iohn Huſſe, in hope the ſeruaunt of God, to all the faythfull which loue him and his ſtatutes, wiſheth the truth and grace of God.

Beloued, I thought it needefull to warne you that you ſhould not feare or bee diſcouraged becauſe the aduerſaries haue decreed that my bookes ſhall be burnt. Remember how the Iſraelites burned the preachynges of the Prophet Ieremy and yet they could not auoyde the thynges that were Prophecied of in them. For after they were burnt, the Lord commaunded to write the ſame Prophecie agayne, and that larger: which was alſo done. For Ieremie ſittyng in priſon ſpake, and Baruch which was ready at his hand, wrote. This is written either in the 35. or 45. chapiter of the Viſion of Ieremie. It is alſo written in the bookes of the Machabees, that the wicked did burne the law of God, and killed them that had the ſame. Agayne, vnder the new Teſtament, they burned the Saintes, with the bookes of the law of God. The Cardinals condemned and committed to fire certaine of S. Gregories bookes, & had burnt thẽ all if they had not ben preſerued of God by the meanes of Peter, Gregories miniſter. Hauing theſe things before your eyes, take heede leaſt through feare, you omit

Good bookes of good men haue bene burned of olde time.

Good men with their bookes to be burned, no newes.

I. Hus ſeemeth to propheſie of the Councell of Conſtance.

The blaſphemous opinion of Lawiers and papiſtes, touching the ſoueraintie of the Pope.

One Symoniſt condemneth an other.

The biſhops of the Councell noted of Symonie.

Pope Ioh. made a pope being knowen to be a murderer.

to read my bookes, and deliuer them to the aduerſaries to bee brent. Remember the ſayings of our mercifull ſauiour, by whych he forewarneth vs. Math. 24. There ſhall be (ſayeth he) before the day of iudgement, great tribulation, ſuch as was not from the beginning, vntill this day, neither ſhall be afterwardes: So that euen the elect of God ſhoulde be deceiued if it were poſsible. But for their ſakes, thoſe dayes ſhal be ſhortened. Whē you remēber theſe things (beloued) be not afraid, for I truſt in God that that ſchoole of Antichriſt ſhall be afraide of you, and ſuffer you to be in quiet, neither ſhall the Councell of Conſtance extende to Bohemia For I thinke, that many of them, which are of the Councell, ſhall die before they ſhall get from you my bookes And they ſhall departe from the Councel and be ſcattred abroad, throughout the partes of the world, like ſtorkes, and then they ſhall knowe when winter commeth, what they did in ſommer. Conſider that they haue adiudged their heade the Pope worthy of death, for many horrible factes that he hath done. Go to nowe: Aunſwer to this you preachers which preach that the Pope is the God of the earth, that he may as the Lawyers ſay, make ſale of the holy things: that he is the head of the whole holy Church in verity wel gouerning the ſame: that he is the heart of the Church in quickening the ſame ſpiritually: that hee is the well ſpring from the which floweth all vertue and goodneſſe: that he is the ſonne of the holy church: that hee is the ſafe refuge to which euery Chriſtian mā ought to flie for ſuccour. Beholde nowe that head is cutte off with the ſworde, nowe the God of the earth is bound, now his ſinnes are declared openly, nowe that well ſpring is dried vppe, that ſunne darkened, that heart is plucked out and throwne away, leaſt that any man ſhould ſeeke ſuccour thereat. The Councell hath condemned that head, and that for this offence, becauſe hee tooke money for indulgences, Biſhopprickes and other ſuch like. But they condemned hym by order of iudgement, which were themſelues the buiers and ſellers of the ſame marchandiſe. There was preſent Iohn Byſhop of Lytomiſsia, who went twiſe about to buy the biſhoprike of Prage, but others preuented him. O wicked men, why did they not firſt caſt out the beame out of their owne eyes? Theſe men haue accurſed and cōdemned the ſeller, but they themſelues which were the buiers and conſenters to the bargaine, are without daunger. What ſhall I ſay that they doe vſe in this maner of buying and ſelling at home in their owne countreis? For at Conſtance there is one Biſhop that bought, & an other which ſold, and the Pope for allowing of both their factes, tooke bribes of both ſides. It came ſo to paſſe in Bohemia alſo as you knowe. I woulde that in that Councell God had ſayde, he that amongſt you is without ſinne, let him geue the ſentence againſt Pope Iohn: Then ſurely they had gone all out of the Councelhouſe, one after another. Why did they bowe the knee to him alwaies, before this his fall, kiſſe hys feete, and call him the moſt holy father, ſeeing they ſaw apparantly before, that he was an hereticke, that hee was a mankiller, that he was a wicked ſinner? all which things nowe they haue found in him. Why did the Cardinals chuſe him to be Pope, knowing before that he had killed the holy Father? Why ſuffered they him to meddle with holy thinges, in bearing the office of the Popedome? for to this ende they are his counſailours, that they ſhoulde admoniſh him of that which is right. Are not they themſelues as guiltie of theſe faults as he? ſeeing that they accoūted theſe things vices in him, and were partakers of ſome of them themſelues? why durſt no man lay ought to his charge, before he had fledde from Conſtance, but aſſone as the ſecular power, by the ſufferaunce of God, laide holde vpon him, then, and neuer afore, they conſpired altogether that he ſhoulde not liue any longer. Surely, euen as at this day is the malice, the abhomination and filthineſſe of Antichriſt reuealed in the Pope and others of this Councell.

Antichriſt now firſt beginneth to be reuealed in the Pope.

A propheſie of Iohn Hus.

Nowe the faithfull ſeruaunts of God may vnderſtande what our ſauiour Chriſt meant by this ſaying: when you ſhal ſee the abhomination of deſolation, which is ſpoken of Daniel. &c. who ſo can vnderſtand it, &c. Surely theſe be great abhominatiōs, pride, couetouſneſſe, ſymonie, ſitting in a ſolitarie place, that is to ſay, in a dignitie voide of goodneſſe, of humilitie, and other vertues: as we do now clearely ſee in thoſe that are conſtituted in any office and dignitie. O howe acceptable a thing ſhould it be (if time would ſuffer me) to diſcloſe their wicked actes, which are nowe apparant, that the faithfull ſeruaunts of God might knowe them? I truſt in God that he wil ſend after me, thoſe that ſhall be more valiant: and there are aliue at this day, that ſhall make more manifeſt the malice of Antichriſt. and ſhall geue their liues to the death, for the truth of our Lord Ieſus Chriſt: who ſhall geue both to you and me the ioyes of life euerlaſting. This Epiſtle was written vppon S. Iohn Baptiſtes day in priſon and in colde yrons, I hauing thys meditation with my ſelfe, that Iohn was beheaded in his priſone and bondes, for the worde of God.

¶ An other letter of Iohn Hus.

IOhn Huſſe in hope the ſeruant of God to all the faithfull at Boheme, which loue the Lord, wiſheth to ſtand and die in the grace of God, and at laſt to attaine to eternall life. Amen.

Ye that beare rule ouer other and be rich, and ye alſo that be poore, well be loued and faithfull in God, I beſeeche you, and admoniſh you all, that ye will be obedient vnto God, make muche of his worde, and gladly hearing the ſame, will humbly perfourme that which yee heare. I beſeeche you ſticke faſt to the veritie of Gods worde, which I haue written and preached vnto you out of his lawe, and the Sermons of his Saintes. Alſo I deſire you if any man either in publicke Sermon or in priuate talke heard of me any thing, or haue read any thing written by me which is againſte the verity of God, that he do not follow the ſame. Albeit I do not finde my conſcience guiltie that I euer haue ſpoken or wrytten any ſuch thing amongſt you.

A note for all noble mē to marke & to folow.

I deſire you moreouer if any man at any time haue noted any leuitie either in my talke or in my conditions, that he doe not follow the ſame: but pray to God for me, to pardon me that ſinne of lightnes. I pray you that ye will loue your prieſts and miniſters which be of honeſt behauiour, to prefer and honor them before others: namely ſuch prieſts as trauaile in the worde of God. I pray you take hede to your ſelues and beware of malitious and deceitful men, and eſpecially of theſe wicked prieſts, of whom our Sauiour doth ſpeake that they are vnder ſhepes clothing, & inwardly are rauening wolues. I pray ſuche as be rulers & ſuperiors, to behaue them ſelues gently towardes their poore inferiours, and to rule them iuſtly. I beſeche the citizens that they will walke euery man in his degree, and vocation with an vpright conſcience. The Artificers alſo I beſeeche, that they will exerciſe their occupations diligently, and vſe them with the feare of God. I beſeeche the ſeruauntes, that they wil ſerue their maiſters faithfully. And likewiſe the ſcholemaiſters I beſeeche, that they liuing honeſtly, will bryng vp their Scholers vertuouſly, and to teach them faythfully: Firſt to learne to feare GOD: then for the glory of GOD and the publicke vtilitie of the common wealth, and their owne health, and not for auarice or for worldly honor, to employ their myndes to honeſt Artes. I beſeech the Studentes of the Vniuerſitie and all Scholes, in all honeſt thynges to obey their Maiſters, and to follow them, and that with all diligence, they will ſtudy to be profitable both to the ſettyng foorth of the glory of God, and to the ſoules health as well of themſelues, as of other men. Together I beſeech and pray you all, that you will yeld moſt harty thankes to the right honorable Lordes, the Lord Wencelaus de Duba, Lord Iohn de Clum, Lord Henry Lumlouio, Lord Vilem Zagecio, Lord Nicholas and other Lordes of Boheme, of Morauia and Polony: that their diligence towardes me, may bee gratefull to all good men: becauſe that they like valiaunt champions of Gods trueth, haue oftentymes ſet themſelues agaynſt the whole Councell for my deliueraunce, contendyng and ſtandyng agaynſt the ſame to the vttermoſt of their power: but eſpecially Lord Wencelaus de Duba, and Lord Iohn de Clum. What ſo euer they ſhall report vnto you, geue credite vnto them: for they were in the Councell when I there aunſwered many. They know who they were of Bohemia, and how many falſe and ſlaunderous thynges they brought in agaynſt me, and that Councell cryed out agaynſt me, and how I alſo aunſwered to all thynges wherof I was demaunded. I beſeech you alſo that ye will pray for the kyng of Romaines, and for your kyng, and for his wife your Queene, that God of his mercy would abide with thē and with you, both now and henceforth in euerlaſtyng life. Amen.

This Epiſtle I haue writtē to you out of priſon and in bandes, lookyng the next day after the writyng hereof, for the ſentence of the Councell vpon my death, hauyng a full truſt that he will not leaue me, neither ſuffer me to deny his truth and to reuoke the errours, whiche falſe witneſſes maliciouſly haue deuiſed agaynſt me. How mercyfully the Lord GOD hath dealt with me, and was with me in maruailous temptations, ye ſhall know, when as hereafter by the helpe of Chriſt, we ſhall all meete together in the ioye of the world to come. As concernyng M. Hierome my dearely beloued brother and fellow, I heare no other but that he is remaynyng in ſtraight bandes, lookyng for death as I doe: and that for the fayth which he valiauntly mainteyned amongeſt the Bohemians, our cruell enemies of Boheme, haue geuen vs into the power and handes of other enemies, and into bandes. I beſeech you pray to God for them.

Moreouer I beſeech you, namely you of Prage, that we will loue the temple of Bethleem, and prouide ſo long as God ſhall permit, that the word of God may be preached in the ſame For, becauſe of that place, the Deuill is angry, and agaynſt the ſame place he hath ſtirred vp Prieſtes and Canons, perceiuyng that in that place his kyngdome ſhould be diſturbed and diminiſhed. I truſt in GOD that he will keepe that holy Church ſo long as it ſhall pleaſe him, and in the ſame ſhall geue greater encreaſe of his worde by other, then he hath done by me a weake veſſell. I beſeech you alſo that ye will loue together, and withholdyng no man from the hearyng of Gods word, ye will prouide and take care that good men be not oppreſſed by any force and violence. Written at Conſtance, the yeare of our Lord. 1415.

¶An

¶ An other right godly letter of Iohn Hus, to a certaine prieſt admoniſhing him of his office, and exhorting him to be faithfull: worthy to be red of all Miniſters.

A worthie leſſon for all miniſters & prelates.

THe peace of our Lorde Ieſus Chriſt.&c. My deare brother be diligent in preaching the Goſpel, and do the worke of a good Euangeliſt: neglect not your vocation: labour like a bleſſed ſouldiour of Chriſt. Firſt liue godly and holily. Secondly, teach faithfully and truely. Thirdly, be an example to other in well doing, that you be not reprehended in your ſayings: correct vice and ſet foorth vertue. To euill liuers threaten eternall puniſhmēt: but to thoſe that be faithfull and godly, ſet forth the comforts of eternall ioy. Preach cōtinually, but be ſhort and fruitfull, prudētly vnderſtanding, & diſcretly diſpēſing the holy Scriptures. Neuer affirme or maintaine thoſe things that be vncertaine and doubtfull, leaſt that your aduerſaries take holde vpon you, which reioyce in deprauing their brethren, whereby they may bring the miniſters of God into contempt. Exhort men to the confeſsion of their faith, and to the communion of both kindes, both of the body & bloud of Chriſt, wherby ſuch as do repent earneſtly of their ſinnes, may the more often come to the holy communion. And I warne you that you enter into no tauernes with gheſtes, & be not a cōmon cōpany keper. For the more a preacher keepeth him frō the company of men, the more he is regarded. All be it, deny not yet your helpe and diligence, where ſoeuer you may profite other. Againſt fleſhlye luſt preache continuallye all that euer you can: For that is the raging beaſt, which deuoureth men, for whom the fleſh of Chriſt did ſuffer. Wherfore my heartily beloued, I beſeech you to flie fornication: for where as a man woulde moſt profite and doe good, there this vice vſeth moſt to lurke. In any caſe flie the company of yong women, and beleeue not their deuotion: For S. Auſten ſayth, the more deuout ſhe is, the more procliue to wantonneſſe, and vnder the pretence of religion, the ſnare and venome of fornication lurketh. And this knowe my welbeloued, that the conuerſation with them, ſubuerteth many, whome the conuerſation of this worlde coulde neuer blemiſh nor beguile. Admit no wom͂e into your houſe, for what cauſe, ſo euer it be, and haue not much talke with them otherwiſe, for auoiding of offence. Finally, howſoeuer you do, feare God and keepe his precepts: ſo ſhall you walke wiſely, and ſhall not peariſh: ſo ſhall you ſubdue the fleſh, contemne the world, and ouercome the deuill: ſo ſhall you put on God, finde life, and confirme other, and ſhall crowne your ſelfe wyth the crowne of glory, the which the iuſt iudge ſhall geue you. Amen.

S. Auguſtin meaneth not here of all, but of the common ſort of light perſons.

¶ This letter of Iohn Hus conteineth a confeſsion of the infirmitie of mans fleſh: Howe weake it is, and repugnant againſt the ſpirite. Wherein he alſo exhorteth to perſeuere conſtantly in the truth.

This Palletz was the chiefeſt enemy of I.Hus, & procurer of his death.

HEalth be to you from Ieſus Chriſt.&c. My deare frend, knowe that Palletz came to me to perſwade me that I ſhuld not feare the ſhame of abiuration, but to conſider the good which thereof will come. To whome I ſayd, that the ſhame of condemnation and burning is greater then to abiure: and why ſhuld I feare then that ſhame? But I pray you tel me plainly your minde. Preſuppoſe that ſuch articles were laid to you, which you knewe your ſelfe not to be true: what would you do in that caſe? would you abiure? Who aunſwered. The caſe is ſore, & began to weepe. Many other things wee ſpake which I did reprehende. Michael de Cauſis, was ſome times before the priſon with the deputies. And when I was wyth the deputies, thus I heard him ſpeake vnto the keepers: Wee by the grace of God wil burne this hereticke ſhortly: for whoſe cauſe I haue ſpent many Florenes. But yet vnderſtand that I wryte not this to the intent to reuenge mee of him, for that I haue committed to God, and pray to God for him with all my heart.

Michael de Cauſis another bitter enemy of Iohn Hus. Iohn Hus prayeth for his enemies.

Yet I exhort you again, to be circumſpect about our letters: for Michael hath taken ſuche order that none ſhall be ſuffered to come into the priſone: no not yet the keepers wiues are permitted to come to me. O holy God, howe largely doth Antichriſt extend his power and crueltie? But I truſt that hys power ſhall be ſhortned, and his iniquitie ſhalbe detected more & more amongſt the faithfull people.

A prophecy of Iohn Hus

Almighty God ſhal confirme the hearts of his faithful, whom he hath choſen before the cōſtitution of the world, that they may receiue the eternall crowne of glory. And let Antichriſt rage as much as he will, yet he ſhal not preuaile againſt Chriſt, which ſhal deſtroy him with the ſpirite of his mouth, as the Apoſtle ſayeth: And then ſhall the creature be deliuered out of ſeruitude of corruption, into the libertie of the glorye of the ſonnes of God, as ſayeth the Apoſtle in the wordes following: we alſo wythin oure ſelues doe grone, waiting for the adoption of the ſonnes of God, the redemption of our body.

I am greatly comforted in thoſe wordes of our Sauiour: happy be you when men ſhall hate you and ſhall ſeperate you, and ſhall rebuke you, and ſhall caſt out your name as execrable, for the ſonne of man. Reioyce and be glad, for beholde, great is your rewarde in heauen, Luke 6. O worthy, yea O moſt worthy conſolation, which not to vnderſtande, but to practiſe in time of tribulation, is a hard leſſon.

This rule ſainct Iames with the other Apoſtles, did well vnderſtand, which ſaieth: count it exceeding ioy my brethren, when yee ſhall fall into diuers tentations, knowing that the probation of your faith woorketh patience: let patience haue her perfecte worke. For certainely it is a great matter for a man to reioyce in trouble, and to take it for ioy to be in diuers temptations. A light matter it is to ſpeake it and to expounde it: but a great matter to fulfill it: For why, our moſt patient and moſt valiaunt champion him ſelfe, knowing that hee ſhoulde riſe againe the thirde day, ouercomming his ennemies by his death, and redeeming from damnation his electe after his laſt Supper was troubled in ſpirite and ſayde: My ſoule is heauie vnto death. Of whom alſo the Goſpell ſayeth, that hee began to feare, to be ſadde and heauie. Who being then in an agonie, was confirmed of the Aungell, and his ſweat was like the droppes of bloud falling vpon the ground. And yet he notwithſtanding, being ſo troubled, ſayde to his diſciples: let not your hearts be troubled, neither feare the crueltie of them that perſecute you: for you ſhall haue me with you alwaies, that you may ouercome the tyranny of your perſecutours. Whereupon thoſe his ſouldiours, looking vppon the Prince and king of glory, ſuſtained great conflictes. They paſſed throughe fire and water and were ſaued, and receiued the crowne of the Lord God, of the which S. Iames in his canonicall Epiſtle, ſayeth. Bleſſed is the man that ſuffereth temptation, for when he ſhall be proued, he ſhall receaue the crowne of life, which God hathe promiſed to them that loue him. Of this crowne I truſt ſtedfaſtly the Lord wil make mee partaker alſo with you, which be the feruent ſealers of the trueth, and with all them which ſtedfaſtly and conſtantly doe loue the Lord Ieſus Chriſt, which ſuffred for vs, leauing to vs example that we ſhould follow his ſteppes. It behooued him to ſuffer, as hee ſayeth: and vs alſo it behooued to ſuffer, that the members may ſuffer together with the head. For he ſayeth: If any man will come after mee, let him denie himſelfe and take vp hys croſſe and followe me.

The example of Chriſt.

O moſt mercyfull Chriſt, draw vs weake creatures after thee, for except thou ſhouldſt draw vs, we are not able to follow thee. Geue vs a ſtrong ſpirite, that it may be ready, and although the fleſh be feeble, yet let thy grace goe before vs, goe with vs, and follow vs: for without thee we can do nothyng, and much leſſe enter into the cruell death for thy ſake. Geue vs that prompt and ready ſpirite, a bold hart, an vpright fayth, a firme hope and perfect charitie, that we may geue our lyues paciently and ioyfully for thy names ſake. Amen. Written in priſon and in bondes in the Vigill of holy S. Iohn the Baptiſt, who beyng in priſon and in bondes for the rebuking of wickedneſſe, was beheaded.

The prayer of I. Hus to Chriſt.

¶ Among diuers other letters of Iohn Hus, which he wrote to the great conſolation of others: I thought alſo here to intermixt an other certaine godly letter writtē out of England, by a faythfull Scholler of Wickleffe, as appeareth, vnto Iohn Hus and the Bohemians, which for the zealous affectiō therein cōteined, ſeemeth not vnworthy to be read.

¶ A letter to Iohn Hus, and to the Bohemians from London.

A zealous letter to I.Hus from London.

GReetyng, and whatſoeuer can be deuiſed more ſweete, in the bowels of Chriſt Ieſu. My dearely beloued in the Lord, whom I loue in the trueth, and not I onely, but alſo all they that haue the knowledge of the trueth, whiche abydeth in you, and ſhall be with you through the grace of G O D for euermore: I reioyſed aboue meaſure, when our beloued brethren came and gaue teſtimony vnto vs of your trueth, and how you walke in the trueth. I haue heard brethren, how ſharpely Antichriſt perſecuteth you, in vexyng the faithfull ſeruauntes of Chriſt with diuers and ſtraunge kyndes of afflictions. And ſurely no maruaile, if amongeſt you (ſince it is ſo almoſt all the world ouer) the law of Chriſt be too too greuouſly impugned, and that redde Dragon hauyng ſo many heades (of whom it is ſpoken in the Apocalyps) haue now vomited out of his mouth that great floud, by whiche he goeth about to ſwallow vp the woman: but the moſt gracious God will deliuer for euer his onely and moſt faythfull ſpouſe Let vs therfore cōfort our ſelues in the Lord our God, and in his vnmeaſurable goodnes, hopyng ſtrongly in him which will not ſuffer thoſe that loue him, to be vnmercifully defrauded of any their purpoſe, if we according to our duety, ſhall loue him with all our hart: for aduerſitie ſhould by no meanes preuaile ouer vs, if there were no iniquitie raignyng in vs. Let therefore no tribulation or ſorrow for Chriſts cauſe, diſcourage vs, knowing this for a ſurety, that whōſoeuer the Lord vouchſafeth to receaue to be his childrē, thoſe he ſcourgeth: For ſo the mercifull father will haue them tried in this miſerable life by perſecutions, that afterwardes hee may ſpare them. For the golde that this high artificer hathe choſen, he purgeth and trieth in this fire, that he may afterwardes lay it vp in his pure treaſurie. For we ſee that the time which we ſhall abide here, is ſhort and tranſitory: the life which we hope for after this, is bleſſed and euerlaſting. Therefore whileſt we haue time, let vs take paine, that we may enter into that reſt. What other thyng do we ſee in this brickle life, then ſorow, heauineſſe aud ſadneſſe, and that which is moſt greuous of all to the faithfull, too much abuſing and contempt of the lawe of the Lord. Let vs therefore endeuoure our ſelues as much as we may, to lay holde of the things that are eternall and abiding, deſpiſing in our mindes all tranſitory and fraile things. Let vs conſider the holy fellowſhip of our fathers that haue gone before vs. Let vs conſider the Sainctes of the olde and newe Teſtament. Did they not paſſe through this ſea of tribulation and perſecution? were not ſome of them cut in peces, other ſome ſtoned, & others of them killed with the ſword? Some others of them went about in pelts and goates skinnes, as the Apoſtle to the Hebrues witneſſeth. Surely they all walked ſtraight wayes, following the ſteppes of Chriſt, which ſayde, he that miniſtreth vnto me, let him follow me, whether ſo euer I go. &c. Therfore let vs alſo, which haue ſo noble examples geuen vs of the Saintes that went before vs, laying away as muche as in vs lyeth, the heauy burden, and the yoke of ſinne which compaſſeth vs about, runne forwarde through patience, to the battaile that is ſet before vs, fixing our eyes vppon the author of faith, and Ieſus the finiſher of the ſame: who ſeeing the ioy that was ſet before hym, ſuffred the paines of the croſſe, deſpiſing death. Let vs call vppon him, which ſuffred ſuche reproche againſt himſelfe of ſinners, that we be not wearied, fainting in our hearts, but that we may heartely pray for helpe of the Lorde, and may fight againſt his aduerſary Antichriſt: that we may loue his law, and not be deceitfull labourers, but that we may deale faithfully in all things, according to that, that God hath vouchſafed to geue vs, and that wee may labour diligently in the Lordes cauſe vnder hope of an euerlaſting reward. Behold therefore brother Hus, moſt dearly beloued in Chriſte, although in face vnknowen to me, yet not in faith and loue (for diſtance of places cannot ſeparate thoſe whom the loue of Chriſt doth effectually knit together) be comforted in the grace which is geuen vnto thee, labour like a good ſouldiour of Chriſt Ieſus, preach, be inſtant in word and in example, and call as many as thou canſt, to the way of truth: for the truth of the goſpel is not to be kept in ſilence becauſe of friuolous cenſures and thunderboltes of Antichriſt. And therefore to the vttermoſt of thy power ſtrengthen thou and confirme the members of Chriſt, whych are weakened by the deuil: and if the Lord wil vouchſafe it, Antichriſt ſhall ſhortly come to an end. And there is one thing wherein I do greatly reioyce, that in your realm and in other places, God hath ſtirred vp the harts of ſome men that they can gladly ſuffer for the word of God, impriſonment, baniſhment and death.

F·amples of the olde martirs

Further, beloued I knowe not what to wryte vnto you, but I confeſſe that I could wiſh to powre out my whole heart, if thereby I might comfort you in the lawe of the Lorde. Alſo I ſalute from the bottome of my heart, all the faithfull louers of the law of the Lord, and ſpecially Iacobellus your coadiutor in the goſpell, requiring that he will pray vnto the Lorde for me in the vniuerſall churche of Ieſus Chriſt. And the God of peace which hath raiſed from the dead the ſhepheard of the ſheepe, the mighty Lorde Ieſus Chriſt, make you apt in all goodneſſe to doe his will, working in you that which may be pleaſant in his ſight. All your friendes ſalute you which haue heard of your conſtancie. I would deſire alſo to ſee your letters wrytten backe to vs, for knowe yee that they ſhall greatly comfort vs.

At London by your ſeruaunt, deſiring to be fellow with you in your labors Ricus Wicceewitze, prieſt vnworthy.

¶ An other letter of Iohn Hus to his friendes of Boheme.

THe Lord God be with you. I loue the counſaile of the Lorde, aboue gold and precious ſtone. Wherfore I truſt in the mercy of Ieſus Chriſt, that he wil geue me his ſpirit to ſtand in his truth. Pray to the Lord, for the ſpirit is ready and the fleſh is weake. The Lord almighty be the eternal reward vnto my Lords, which conſtantly, firmely and faithfully do ſtand for righteouſnes: to whom the Lorde God ſhall geue in the kingdome of Boheme, to knowe the truth. For the following of which truth, neceſſary it is that they returne againe into Boheme, ſetting apart all vaine glory, & following not a mortall and miſerable king, but the king of glory which geueth eternall life.

O howe comfortable was the geuing of the hande of Lorde Iohn de Clum vnto me, which was not aſhamed to reache foorth his hand to me a wretche, and ſuch an abiecte hereticke, lying in fetters of yron, and cried out vpon all men. Nowe peraduenture I ſhall not ſpeake much hereafter with you: Therfore ſalute in time as you ſhall ſee them, all the faithfull of Boheme.

Palletz came to me into priſone. His ſalutation in my vehement infirmitye, was this before the Commiſſaries, that there hath not riſen a more perillous hereticke ſince Chriſt was borne, then was Wickliffe and I. Alſo he ſayd that al ſuch as came to heare my talke, were infected with this hereſie, to thinke that the ſubſtance of bread remained in the ſacrament of the altare. To whome I anſwered and ſayd: O maiſter, what a grieuous ſalutation haue you geuen me? and how greatly do you ſinne? Behold I ſhal die, or peraduenture to morow ſhall be burnt. And what rewarde ſhall be recompenced to you in Boheme for your labour?

Wicked Palletz.

This thing peraduenture I ſhoulde not haue wrytten, leaſt I might ſeeme to hate him. I haue alwayes had this in my heart, truſt not in princes. &c. And againe, curſed be the man whiche truſteth in man, and maketh fleſh to be his arme. For Gods ſake be you circumſpecte how you ſtand and how you returne. Carie no letters with you. Directe your bookes not all by one, but diuerſly by diuers frendes.

Knowe this for certaine, that I haue had great conflictes by dreames, in ſuch ſort as I had much a doe to refraine from crying out. For I dreamed of the Popes eſcape before he went. And after the Lord Iohn had told me therof, immediately in the night it was told me that the Pope ſhuld returne to you again. And afterward alſo I dreamed of the appreheding of maiſter Hierome, although not in ful maner as it was done. Al the priſonments, whether and howe I am caryed, were opened to mee before, although not fully after the ſame fourme and circumſtance. Many ſerpents oftentimes appeared vnto me hauing heads alſo in their taile: but none of them could bite me, and many other things more.

The viſions of I. Hus by dreames.

Theſe thinges I wryte, not eſteeming my ſelfe as a prophet, or that I extoll my ſelfe, but onely to ſignifie vnto you what temptations I had in body and alſo in mind, and what great feare I had, leaſt I ſhoulde tranſgreſſe the commaundement of the Lord Ieſus Chriſt. Nowe I remember with my ſelfe the wordes of maiſter Hierome which ſayde, that if I ſhoulde come to the Councell, hee thoughte I ſhoulde neuer returne home againe. In like maner there was a good and godly man, a tailor, which taking his leaue of me at Prage, ſpake to me in theſe words: God be wyth you (ſaid he) for I thinke verely, my deare and good maiſter Iohn, that you ſhall not returne again to vs with your life. The king, not of Hungarie, but of heauen, rewarde you with all goodnes, for the faithfull doctrine which I at your hands haue receiued. &c.

A Propheſie of Maiſter Hierome of Prage.

This taylers name was Andrew, a Polonian.

¶ And ſhortly after the writing hereof, he ſendeth alſo vnto them an other propheticall viſion of his to be expouded, touching the reformation of the church, written in his 44. Epiſtle: the contentes whereof be theſe.

¶ An other letter of Iohn Hus, ſent to the Lord Iohn de Clum.

I Pray you expound to me the dreame of thys nyght. I ſawe how that in my churche of Bethleem, they came to raſe and put out all the images of Chriſt, and did put them out. The next day after I aroſe and ſawe many painters, which painted and made more fairer Images & many more then I had done before: which Images I was very glad and ioyfull to behold. And the painters wyth much people about them, ſayde, let the biſhops and prieſtes come now, & put vs out theſe pictures. Which being done, much people ſeemed to me in Bethleem to reioyce, and I with them. And I awaking therewith, felt my ſelfe to laugh. &c.

Prophetia.

¶ This viſion Lorde Iohn de Clum, and Iohn Hus himſelfe in his booke of Epiſtles in the 45. Epiſt. ſemeth to expounde, and applyeth theſe Images of Chriſt vnto the preaching of Chriſt and of his lyfe. The which preachyng and doctrine of Chriſt, though the Pope and his Cardinals ſhould extinguiſh in him, yet did he foreſee & declare, that the time ſhould come, wherin the ſame doctrine ſhuld be reuyued againe by others, ſo plenteouſly, that the pope with al his power, ſhuld not be able to preuaile againſt it. Thus much as cōcerning this viſiō of Iohn Hus. wherunto doth wel accord the Propheſie of Hierome of Prage, printed in the coyne called Moneta Huſsi: **of the which coyn I haue my ſelfe one of the plates hauing this ſuperſcriptiō folowing printed about it:** Centum reuolutis annis Deo reſpondebitis & mihi. **That is. After a hundreth yeres come and gone, you ſhal geue a count to God and to me. Wherof (God willyng) more ſhalbe ſayd hereafter.**

Furthermore in 48. Epiſt. the ſayd I. Hus ſeemyng to ſpeake with the like ſpirit of Prophecy, hath theſe wordes folowing: Sed ſpero, quod quæ dixi ſub tecto, prædicabuntur ſuper tecta: **That is: but I truſt that thoſe thinges which I haue ſpoken within the houſe, hereafter ſhalbe preached vpon the top of the houſe.**

Prophetia.

And becauſe we are here in hand with the Propheſies of Iohn Hus, it ſhall ſerue well in place, here moreouer to

recorde his wordes in a certayne treatiſe by hym written, De Sacerdotum & Monachorum carnalium Abhominatione, wherein the ſayd Iohn Hus ſpeaking prophetically of the reformation of the Church, hath theſe wordes following. Ex iſtis vlterius aduerte incidentaliter, quod Dei eccleſia nequit ad priſtinam ſuam dignitatem reduci.&c. That is in engliſh.

Propletia.

Moreouer, hereupon note and marke by the way, that the church of God, cannot be reduced to his former dignitie, or be reformed, before all thinges firſt be made new. The truth whereof is playne by the Temple of Salomon Like as the Clergie and Prieſts, ſo alſo the people and laity: Or els vnleſſe all ſuch as now be addict to auarice, from the leaſt to the moſt, be firſt conuerted and reclaymed, as wel yͤ people as the clergy and Prieſts. Albeit as my mind now geueth me, I beleue rather the firſt, that is, that then ſhall riſe a new people, formed after the new man, whiche is created after God. Of the which people new Clerkes & Prieſtes ſhall come, and be taken: whiche all ſhall hate couetouſnes, and glory of this life, haſting to an heauenly cōuerſation. Notwithſtanding all theſe thinges ſhall come to paſſe and be brought by little and little in order of times diſpenſed of God for the ſame purpoſe. And this God doth and will do for his owne goodnes and mercy, and for the riches of his great longanimity and pacience, geuing time and ſpace of repẽtance to them yͭ haue lōg liue in theyr ſins to amend, and flye from the face of the Lordes fury, whyle that in like manner the carnall people, and carnal prieſtes ſucceſſiuely and in time, ſhall fall awaye and be conſumed as with the moth.&c.

¶ An other letter of Iohn Huſſe.

MAiſter Martin my deare brother in Chriſt, I exhorte you in the Lord, that you feare God, keepe hys commaundementes and flee the company of women, and beware of hearing their confeſſions, leaſt by the hipocriſie of women, Sathan deceiue you, truſt not their deuotion. You know how I haue deteſted the auarice and the inordinate life of the Clergy, wherefore through the grace of God I ſuffer now perſecution, which ſhortly ſhalbe conſummate in me, neither doe I feare to haue my hart powred out for the name of Chriſt Ieſus. I deſire you hartely be not greedy in ſeeking after benefices. And yet if you ſhalbe called to anye cure in the country, let the honour of God, the ſaluation of ſoules, and the trauaile therof moue you therunto, and not the hauing of the liuing or the commodities thereof. And if you ſhall be placed in any ſuch benefice, beware you haue no yong womā for your cook or ſeruant, leaſt you edifie and encreaſe more your houſe, then your ſoule. See that you be a builder of your ſpirituall houſe, being gentle to the poore, and humble of mind, and waſte not your goodes in great fare. I feare alſo if you do not amend your life, ceaſing from your coſtly and ſuperfluous apparell, leaſt you ſhalbe greuouſly chaſtiſed, as I alſo wretched mā ſhalbe puniſhed, which haue vſed the like, being ſeduced by cuſtome of euill men and wordly glory, wherby I haue bene wounded agaynſt God wyth the ſpirite of pride. And becauſe you haue notably knowne both my preaching and outward conuerſation euen from my youth, I haue no neede to write many thinges vnto you, but to deſire you for the mercy of Ieſus Chriſt, that you do not followe me in anye ſuch leuitie and lightnes, whiche you haue in ſeene in me. You knew how before my prieſthoode, whiche greueth me nowe, I haue delighted to playe oftentimes at cheſſe, and haue neglected my time, and thereby haue vnhappily prouoked both my ſelf and other to anger many times by that play. Wherfore, beſides other my innumerable faultes, for thys alſo I deſire you to inuocate the mercy of the Lord, that he will pardon me, and ſo directe my life, that hauing ouercome the wickednes of this preſent life, the fleſh the world and the deuill, I may finde place in the heauenly country, at the leaſt in the day of iudgement. Fare ye well in Chriſt Ieſus, with all them which keepe hys law. My gray coate if you will keepe to your ſelfe for my remembraunce, but I thinke you are aſhamed to wear that gray colour: therfore you may geue it to whō you ſhall thinke good. My white coate you ſhall geue the miniſter. N. my ſcholer. To George or els to Zuzikon. 60. groates, or els my gray coate: for he hath faythfully ſerued me.

Note that then prieſtes were not maried, and therfore he willeth him to auoide all company of women.

He repenteth his gay garmentes.

He repenteth his playing at the cheſſe.

Iohn Hus from his gay garments cōmth to his white coate.

¶ The ſuperſcription

I pray you that you doe not open this letter, before you be ſure and certayne of my death.

✻ The conſolation of Mayſter Hierome to Mayſter Hus.

MY maiſter, in thoſe thinges which you haue both written hetherto and alſo preached after the law of God agaynſt the pride, auarice, an other inordinate vices of the Prieſtes, goe forward, be conſtant and ſtrong And if I ſhall know that you are oppreſſed in the cauſe, and if neede ſhal ſo require, of myne own accorde, I will folow after to helpe you, as much as I can.

BY the lyfe, actes and letters of Iohn Hus hetherto rehearſed, it is euident and playne, that he was condemned, not for any errour of doctrine, which they coulde well proue in hym, who neyther denyed their popiſhe tranſubſtantiation, neither ſpake againſt the authoritie of yͤ church of Rome, if it were well gouerned, nor yet the 7. Sacraments, & alſo ſayd maſſe himſelf, and almoſt in al their popiſh opinions was a papiſt wͭ them: but onely of euil wil was accuſed of his malicious aduerſaries, becauſe he ſpake agaynſt the pompe, pride, and auarice, & other wicked enormities of the pope, Cardinals, & Prelates of yͤ Church; and becauſe he could not abide the high dignities & liuings of the Churche, and thought the doinges of the pope to be Antichriſtlike. For this cauſe he procured ſo many enemies & falſe witneſſes agaynſt him. who ſtrayning and picking matter out of hys bookes and writinges, hauing no one iuſt article of doctrine to lay vnto him, yet they made hym an hereticke, whether he would or no, and brought him to hys condemnation. This can hatred and malice do, where the charitie of Chriſt hath no place. whiche being ſo, as thy charitie (good reader) may eaſely vnderſtand, in peruſing the whol courſe of hys ſtory: I beſeech thee thē, what cauſe had Iohn Cochleus to write his 12. bookes agaynſt Iohn Hus and Huſſites? In which bookes how bitterly & intemperately he miſuſeth hys penne, by theſe few words in hys ſecond booke thou mayſt take a little taſt: which wordes I thought here briefly to place in Engliſh to the ende that all Engliſh men may iudge thereby, with what ſpirite and truth theſe Catholickes be caryed. Hys wordes be theſe. Lib.2.Hiſt. Dico igitur Ioan Huſſ neque ſanctum neque beatum habendum eſſe, ſed impium potius.&c. That is, I ſay therfore Iohn Huſſe is neither to be counted holy nor bleſſed: but rather wicked and eternally wretched: inſomuche that in yͤ day of iudgement, it ſhalbe more eaſie, not onely with the infidell Pagans, Turks, Tartarians, and Iewes, but alſo wͭ the moſt ſinfull Sodomites, & the abhominable Perſians, which moſt filthily doe lye with their daughters, ſiſters or mothers,, yea & alſo with moſt impious Cain killer of hys owne brother, with Thyeſtes killer of hys own mother, and yͤ Leſtrygones & other Andropophagi, which deuour mans fleſh, yea more eaſie wͭ thoſe infamous murderers of infants, Pharao, & Herode, then wͭ him &c. Theſe be the words of Cochleus. whoſe rayling books although they deſerue neyther to be read, nor aunſwered, yet if it pleaſed God, it were to be wiſhed that the Lord would ſtir vp ſome towardly yong man, that hath ſo much leaſure, to defend the ſimplicitie of thys Iohn Hus, whiche cannot now aunſwere for himſelfe. In the meane tyme, ſomething to ſatiſfie or ſtay the readers mynde agaynſt thys immoderate, hyperbole of Cochleus, in like fewe wordes I wyll bryng out Iohn Hus to ſpeake and to cleare hymſelfe agaynſt this ſlaunder: whoſe wordes in hys booke De ſacerdotum & Monachorum abhominatione deſolationis.pag.84.&c. I beſeech the reader to note. Nam & iſta ſcribens fateor, ꝙ nihil aliud me in illis perurget, niſi dilectio Dom. Noſtri Ieſu cruſſifixi.&c. That is. For in writing theſe things, I confeſſe nothinge els to haue moued me hereunto, but onely the loue of our Lorde Ieſus crucified, whoſe printes and ſtripes, (according to the meaſure of my weakenes and vilenes) I couet to beare in my ſelfe, beſeeching hym ſo to geue me grace, that I neuer ſeek to glory in my ſelfe or in any thing els, but onely in his croſſe, and in the ineſtimable ignominy of his paſſion which he ſuffered for me. And therefore I write and ſpeake theſe thinges, which I do not doubt will like all ſuch as vnfaynedly do loue the Lord Chriſt crucified: and contrary will miſlike not a little all ſuche as be of Antichriſt. Alſo agayne, I confeſſe before the moſt mercifull Lord Ieſus Chriſt crucified, that theſe thinges which I do now write, and thoſe that I haue written before, neither I could haue writtē, nor knew how, nor durſt ſo haue written, vnleſſe he by hys inward vnction had ſo commaunded me. Neither yet do I write theſe things as of authority, to get me fame and name: For as S. Auguſtine & Hierome do ſay, that is onely to be geuen to the ſcriptures and writinges of the Apoſtles, Euangeliſtes and Prophetes, and to the Canonicall Scriptures, which doe abounde in the fulnes of the ſpirite of Ieſus. And whatſoeuer is there ſayd, is full of veritie and wholeſome vtilitie.&c. And here place alſo would require ſomething to ſay to Æneas Siluius to Antoninus, and to Laziardus, which falſly impute articles to him, whiche he neuer mayntayned. But becauſe tyme ſuffereth not, I wil proceed to the ſtory of maiſter Hierom of Prage.

Iohn Hus condemned for no erroneous doctrine wherein he was culpable

Cochleus railleth againſt Iohn Hus without cauſe.

Ex Chocleo. Lib. 2. Hiſt. Huſſitarum. pag. 88.

✠ The Tragicall and lamentable hiſtory of the famous learned man and godly Martyr of Chriſt, maiſter Hierome of Prage, burned at Conſtance for like cauſe and quarrell as Maiſter Iohn Hus was. 1416.

The ſtory of Hierome of Prage.

These thinges hetherto being diſcourſed touching the lyfe, Actes and Conſtant martyrdom of M. Iohn Hus with part alſo of his letters adioyned to the ſame, whoſe death was on the 6. of Iuly. an. 1416. now remayneth cōſequently to deſcribe the like Tragedy and cruell handeling of his Chriſtian companion and fellow in bandes M. Hierome of Prage: who grieuouſly ſorrowing the ſlaunderous reproch and diffamation of his coūtry of Boheme, and alſo hearing tell of yͤ manifeſt iniuries done vnto that man of worthy memory M. Iohn Hus: freely and of hys own accord came vnto Conſtance, the 4. day of Aprill. an. 1415. who there perceiuing that Iohn Hus was denyed to be heard, and that watche and wayte was layd for hym on euery ſide, he departed to Iberling a Citty of the Empire, vntill the next day: the which Citty was a myle of frō Conſtance, and from thence he wrote hys letters by me vnto Sigiſmund kyng of Hungry and hys Barons, and alſo vnto the Councell, moſt earneſtly requiring that the kyng and the Councell would geue him a ſafe conduct freely to come and go, and that he woulde then come in open audience to aunſwere vnto euery man, if there were any of the Councell that would lay any cryme vnto hym, as by the tenour of his intimation, ſhall more at large appeare.

Hierome commeth to Conſtance.

The ſafe cōduct was required but in vaine of the Emperour.

When as the ſayd king of Hungary was required therunto, as is aforeſayd, being in the houſe of the Lord Cardinall of Cambray, he denyed to geue M. Hierome anye ſafeconducte excuſing himſelfe for the euil ſpeede he had wͭ the ſafe conduct of Iohn Hus before, and alleadging alſo certayne other cauſes. The deputies alſo of the foure nations of yͤ Councell, being moued thereunto by yͤ Lords of yͤ kingdome of Boheme, aunſwered: wee (ſay they) will geue hym a ſafeconduct to come, but not to depart. Whoſe aunſweres, when they were reported vnto maiſter Hierome, he the next day after wrote certaine intimations according to the tenour here vnder written, which he ſent vnto Conſtance to be ſet vpon the gates of the Citty, and vpon the gates of the Churches and Monaſteries, and of the houſes of the Cardinals, and other nobles and prelates. The tenour wherof here followeth word for word in thys maner.

The intimations of Hierome of Prage, ſet vp in diuers places of the towne of Conſtance.

Unto the moſt noble Prince and Lord, the Lord Sigiſmund, by the grace of God king of the Romanes, alwaies Auguſtus, and of Hungary &c. I Hierome of Prage maiſter of Arte of the generall vniuerſities of Paris, Colleyn, Heldeberg & Prage, by theſe my preſent letters do notifie vnto the King together with the whole reuerend Councell and as much as in me lyeth, do all men to vnderſtand and know, that becauſe of the crafty ſlaunderers, backbiters & accuſers, I am ready freely & of myne owne will, to come vnto Cōſtance, there to declare openly before the Councell the puritie and ſinceritie of my true fayth and myne innocencie, and not ſecretly in corners before any priuate or particulare perſon. Wherfore if there be any of my ſlaūderers, of what natiō or eſtate ſoeuer they be, which will obiect agaynſt me anye crime of errour or hereſie: let them come forth openly before me in the preſence of the whole Councell, and in theyr owne names obiect agaynſt me, and I will be ready, as I haue written, to aunſwere openly and publikely before the whole Councell of myne innocencie, and to declare the puritie and ſinceritie of my true fayth. And if it be that I ſhalbe foūd culpable in errour or hereſie, then I will not refuſe openly to ſuffer ſuch puniſhment as ſhall be meete and worthy for an erroneous perſon, or an hereticke.

Wherefore I moſt humbly beſeech my Lord the King and the whole ſacred Coūcell, that I may haue to this end and purpoſe aforeſayd, ſafe and ſure acceſſe. And if it happē that I offering ſuche equitie and right as I do, before any fault be proued agaynſt me, be areſted impriſoned, or haue any violence done vnto me, that thē it may be manifeſt vnto the whole worlde that this generall Councell doth not proceede according to equitie and iuſtice, if they woulde by any meanes put me backe from this profoūd and ſtraight iuſtice, being come hether freely and of myne owne minde and accorde. The whiche thing I ſuppoſe to be farre from ſo ſacred and holy Councell of wiſe men.

Safe conduct denied to Hierome.

When as yet he through ſuch intimations copied out in the Bohemian, Latine, and Germayne tongue, being ſet vp as is aforeſayd, could not get any ſafeconduct thē the Nobles, Lords, and Knightes ſpecially of the Bohemian nation, preſent in Conſtance, gaue vnto maiſter Hierome their letters patentes, cōfirmed with their ſeales for a teſtimony and witneſſe of the premiſſes. With the which letters the ſayd M. Hierome returned agayne vnto Boheme, but by the treaſon and conſpiracy of his enemies was taken in Hirſaw by the officers of Duke Iohn, and in Zultzbach was brought backe agayne to the preſence of the Duke. In the meane time ſuch as were the ſetters forward of the Councell agaynſt M. Iohn Hus, and M. Ierome, that is to ſay Michael de Cauſis and M. Palletz and other their accomplices, required that the ſayde mayſter Hierome ſhould be cited by reaſon of hys intimations: & certayne dayes after the citation hereunder written, was ſet vpon the gates and porches of the citty, and Churches, which followeth here in this maner.

Hierome returneth toward Boheme, with the teſtimonies of the Lordes of Boheme.

Hierom apprehēded in the way by Duke Iohn. Michaell de Cauſis, and Palletz enemies to Hierome.

Hierome of Prage cited by the councell whē he was taken.

This moſt ſacred and holy Synode and general councell of Conſtance, faithfully congregated and gathered together in the holy Ghoſt, repreſenting the vniuerſall militant Church, vnto Hierome of Prage, which writeth himſelfe to be a mayſter of Arte of ſo many Uniuerſities, and pretendeth thoſe things which are onely pertayning vnto ſobriety and modeſty, and that he knoweth no more then he ought. &c. Know thou that there is a certayne writinge come vnto our vnderſtanding and knowledge, the whiche was ſet vp as it were by thine owne perſon vpon yͤ gates of the Churches and Citty of Conſtance, vppon the Sonday, when there was ſong in the Church of God: *Quaſi modo geniti.* Wherein thou doeſt affirme, that thou wilt openly anſwere vnto thy accuſers and ſlaunderers which ſhall obiect any crime, errour or hereſie agaynſt thee, whereof yͭ art meruailouſly infamed and accuſed before vs, and ſpecially touching the doctrine of Wickleff, and other doctrines contrary vnto the catholicke fayth, ſo that thou mighteſt haue graunted vnto thee a ſafe conduct to come. But for ſo much as it is our part principally and chiefly to foreſee and looke vnto theſe crafty Foxes which goe about to deſtroy the vyneyarde of the Lord of hoſtes, therefore we do cite & and call forth by the tenour of theſe preſentes, thy perſon manifoldly defamed and ſuſpected for the temerarious affirming and teaching of manifold errours, ſo that within the term of 15. dayes to be accompted from the date of theſe preſentes, wherof 5. dayes are appoynted for the firſt term fiue for the ſecond, and other fiue for the third, we do ordein and appoynt by Canonicall admonition and warninge, that thou do appeare in the publique Seſſion of the ſacred Councell, if there be any holden the ſame day, or els yͤ firſt day immediately following, when as any Seſſion ſhalbe, according to the tenour of thy ſayd writing, to anſwere to thoſe thinges, which any perſon or perſons ſhall obiect or lay agaynſt thee in any cauſe of thy fayth, and to receiue & haue, as iuſtice ſhall require. Wherupon, ſo much as in vs lyeth, & as catholike faith ſhall require, we offer & aſſigne to thee by the tenour hereof, our ſafe cōduct frō all violence (iuſtice alwayes being ſaued) certifying thee yͭ whether yͧ doeſt appeare or not, the ſayd terme or tyme appoynted notwithſtanding, proceſſe ſhall goe forward agaynſt thee by the ſayd ſacred Councell, or by their Cōmiſſary or Cōmiſſaries, for the time aforeſayd not obſerued and kept, thy contumacie or ſtubburnes in any thing notwithſtanding Geuen in the 6. Seſſion of the generall Councell, the 17. day of Aprill, vnder the ſeale of the preſidentes of the foure nations.

¶ Grumpert Faber Notary of the Germaynes.

After that Sigiſmund king of Hungary with the reſt of the Councell, vnderſtood by the foreſaid Duke Ioh, that M. Hierome was taken, they were earneſtly in hand, requiring that M. Hierome ſhold be brought before them vnto the Councell. The whiche Duke Iohn, after hee had receiued letters of the kyng and the Councell, brought M. Hierom bound vnto Conſtance, whom his brother Duke Ludouicus lead through the Cittie to the Cloyſter of the Friers Minors in Conſtance, whereas the chiefe Prieſtes and Elders of the people, Scribes & Phariſeis, were gathered together attending and wayting for hys comming. He the ſayd mayſter Hierome caryed a great handbolte of iron with a long chayne in hys hand, and as he paſſed the chayne made a great ratlyng and noyſe, and for the more confuſion and deſpite towardes hym, they led him by the ſame chayne after Duke Ludouicus aforeſaid, holding and ſtretching out the chayne a great way from him: with the whiche chayne, they alſo kept him bounde in the Cloyſter. When he was brought into the Cloyſter, they reade before hym the letter of Duke Iohn, which was ſent with yͤ ſayd mayſter Hierome vnto the Councell, contayning in effect how that the ſayd Duke Iohn had ſent mayſter Hierome

This Duke Iohn in hiſtorics is cōmōly called the ſonne of Clement.

Hierome is brought bound vnto Conſtance by Duke Iohn.

vnto the councell, who by chance was fallen into his handes, becauſe he heard an euill report of hym, ẏ he was ſuſpected of the hereſies of wickleffe: that the Councell might take order for him, whoſe part it was to correct & puniſh ſuch as did erre and ſtray from the truth, beſides many other flattering tales which were written in the ſayd letter for the prayſe of the Councell. After this they read the citation which was geuen out by the councell agaynſt maiſter Hierome, wherof we haue ſpoken before. Then certayne of the Byſhops ſayd vnto hym: Hierom why diddeſt thou flye & runne awaye, and diddeſt not appeare when ẏ waſt cited? He anſwered, becauſe I could not haue any ſafecōduict, neither from you, neither from the king, as it appeareth by theſe letters patentes of the Barons, whiche you haue, neither by my open intimations could I obtain any ſafe conduict.

The coūcell neither would geue him libertie ſafely to come nor freely to go.

wherfore I perceauing many of my greuous & heauy frendes to be here preſent in the Councell, would not my ſelfe be the occaſion of my perils and daungers, but if I had known or had any vnderſtanding of this citation, without al doubt, albeit I had bene in Boheme, I would haue returned agayne. Then all the whole rabble riſing vp, alledged diuers and ſondry accuſations and teſtimonies agaynſt him with a great noyſe and tumulte. when the reſt held their peace, then ſpake maiſter Gerſon the Chauncellour of Paris: Hierome when thou waſt at Paris, thou thoughteſt thy ſelfe by meanes of thy eloquence to be an Angell, & diddeſt trouble the whole Uniuerſitie, alledging openly in the ſchooles many erroneous concluſions with their correlaria, and ſpecially in the queſtion de vniuerſalibus & de Idæis, with many other very offenſiue queſtiōs. Unto whom Mayſter Hierome ſayd: I anſwere to you mayſter Gerſon: Thoſe matters which I did put forth there in the Schooles at Paris, in the whiche alſo I aunſwered to the argumentes of the Mayſters, I did put them forth Philoſophically and as a Philoſopher, and mayſter of the Uniuerſitie: and if I haue put foorth anye queſtions whiche I ought not to haue put forth, teache me that they be erroneous, and I will moſt humbly be informed, and amend the ſame.

M. Hierome was accuſed by M. Gerſō with cōmendation of his eloquence.

Gerſon reneweth olde matters.

whiles he was yet ſpeaking, an other (as I ſuppoſe, the mayſter of the Uniuerſity of Colleyne vpon the Riuer of Rheine) riſing vp ſayd: when thou waſt alſo at Colcyn in thy poſition whiche thou diddeſt there determine, thou diddeſt propound many erroneous matters. Then ſayd M. Hierome vnto hym, ſhew me firſt one errour whiche I propounded. wherwithall he being in a maner aſtoniſhed, ſayd, I do not remember them now at the firſt, but hereafter they ſhalbe obiected agaynſt you.

The maiſter of the vniuerſitie of Coleine. This man would accuſe but he lacked matter.

And by and by the thirde man riſing vp, ſayde: when ẏ you were alſo at Heidelberg, you propounded many erroneous matters as touching the Trinitie, and there painted out a certayne ſhield or ſcutchine, comparing the Trinitie of perſons in diuinitie vnto water, ſnow, and yſe, and ſuch like. Unto whō M. Hierome anſwered: Thoſe thinges that I wrote or paynted there, the ſame will I alſo ſpeake, write and paynt here, and teach me that they be erroneous, and I will moſt humbly reuoke and recant the ſame.

The maiſter of the vniuerſitie of Heidelberg.

Then certayne cryed out, let hym be burned, let him be burned. Unto whom he anſwered: if my death doe delight or pleaſe you, in the name of God let it be ſo.

Crucifige, Crucifige eum.

Then ſayd the archbiſhop of Saliſburg, not ſo mayſter Hierome, forſomuch as it is written: I will not the death of a ſinner, but rather that he conuert and liue. when theſe and many other tumultes and cryes were paſſed, whereby they did then moſt diſorderly and outragiouſly witnes agaynſt them, they deliuered the ſayd mayſter Hierome being bound, vnto ẏ officers of the City of Conſtance, to be caryed to priſon for that night: and ſo euery one of them returned to their lodginges.

In the meane tyme, one of the friendes of M. I. Hus, looking out at a window of the Cloyſter, ſayd vnto hym, M. Hierome. Then ſayd hee, you are welcome my deare brother. Then ſayd Peter vnto hym: Be conſtant & feare not to ſuffer death for the truth ſake, of the whiche whē you were in tymes paſt at libertie, you dyd preache ſo muche goodnes. Unto whome Hierome aunſwered, truely brother I do not feare death, and forſomuch as we know that we haue ſpoken much therof in times paſt: let vs now ſee what may be knowne or done in effect. By and by hys keepers comming to the window, threatning hym wyth ſtrokes, dyd put away the ſayd Peter from the window of the Cloyſter.

Hierome is cōforted by the Notarie.

Then came there one Uitus vnto M. Hierome & ſayd mayſter how doe you? Unto whom he aunſwered: truely brother, I do very well. Then hys keepers comming about him, layd hold of the ſayd Uitus, ſaying, this is alſo one of the number, and kept hym. when it drew towardes euening, the archb. of Rigen, ſent certayne of hys ſeruants which lead away M. Hierome, being ſtrōgly bound with chaynes, both by the handes and by the neck, and kept him ſo for certayne houres. when night drew on, they caryed hym vnto a certayn tower of the Citie in Sainct Paules Churchyarde, where as they tying him faſt vnto a great blocke, and his feete in the ſtockes: hys handes alſo being made faſt vppon them, they left hym: where as the blocke was ſo high, that he could by no meanes ſit therupon, but that his head muſt hang downward. They caryed alſo the ſayd Uitus vnto the archbiſhop of Rygen, who demaunded of him, why he durſt be ſo bold to talk with ſuch a man being a reprobate of all men, and an hereticke: and when as he could finde no cauſe of impriſonment in hym, and ẏ he ſayd he was maiſter Iohn de Clums friend (taking an othe and promiſe of him that he ſhould not go about to endamage the Councell, by reaſon of that impriſonment and captiuitie) ſo diſmiſſed hym and ſent him away.

Et tu de illis es. Luc. 22.

Vitus the companion of Iohn de Clum.

Hierom ſtraightly bound hande and foote.

Vitus had to the Archbiſhop of Rigen.

Vitus bound by othe.

Maiſter Hierom, vnknowen vnto vs whether he was caryed, lay in the ſayd tower two dayes & two nightes releeued onely with bread and water. Then one of hys keepers comming vnto M. Peter, declared vnto him howe ẏ M. Hierome lay hard by in bondes and chaines, and how he was fed. Then M. Peter deſired that hee might haue leaue geuen hym to geue him meat, becauſe he would procure the ſame vnto hym. The keeper of the priſon graunting hys requeſt, caryed meate vnto hym. within eleuen dayes after, ſo hanging by the heeles: he vſed ſo ſmall repaſt, that he fell ſore ſicke euen vnto the death. when as he lying then in that captiuitie and priſon, deſired to haue a Confeſſor, they of the Councell, denyed that he ſhold haue any, vntill ſuch time as by great importunitie he obtayned to haue one: hys friends being then there preſent in ẏ ſame priſon and tower, wherein he then lay by the ſpace of one yeare lacking but ſeuen dayes.

Hierome hanging in the ſtocks was fedde with bread & water.

Peter bringeth meate to Hierome.

Hierome in great ſicknes calleth for a confeſſor.

M. Hierome was kept in irons in priſō the ſpace of one yeare.

After they had put Iohn Hus to death, then about the feaſt of the natiuitie of Mary the Uirgine, they brought forth M. Hierome, whom they had kept ſo long in chains, vnto the Churche of S. Paule: and threatning hym with death, being inſtant vpon him, they forced him to abiure & recant, and cōſent vnto the death of M. Iohn Hus, that he was iuſtly and truely condemned and put to death by thē. He, what for feare of death and hopyng thereby to eſcape out of their handes, according to their will and pleaſure: & according to the tenour whiche was exhibited vnto hym: did make abiuration, and that in the Cathedrall Churche and open Seſſion, the draught whereof penned to hym by the Papiſtes, here enſueth.

¶ The abiuration of M Hierome of Prage.

The forced abiuration of Hierome.

I Hierome of Prage, Mayſter of Arte, acknowledging the Catholicke Church and the Apoſtolicke fayth: do accurſe and renounce all hereſies, & ſpecially that, whereof I haue hetherto bene infamed, and that which in tymes paſt Iohn Hus and Iohn wickleffe haue holden and taught in theyr workes, treatiſes and ſermons, made vnto the people and Clergy: for the whiche cauſe the ſayde wickliffe and Hus, together with the ſayde doctrines & errours, are condēned by this Sinode of Conſtance, as hereticackes and all the ſaid doctrine ſentencially condemed, and eſpecially in certayne articles expreſſed in the ſentences and iudgementes geuen agaynſt them by this ſacred Councell.

Alſo I do accorde and agree vnto the holy Churche of Rome, the Apoſtolick ſeate in this ſacred Councel, & with my mouth and hart do profeſſe in al thinges, and touching all thinges, and ſpecially as touching the keyes, Sacramentes, orders and offices and eccleſiaſticall cenſures, of pardons, reliques of Saintes, Eccleſiaſticall libertie, alſo ceremonies and all other thinges pertayning vnto Chriſtian Religion, as the Church of Rome, the Apoſtolick ſea and this ſacred Councel do profeſſe: and ſpecially that many of the ſayd Articles are notoriouſly hereticall and lately reproued by the holy fathers, ſome of them blaſphemous, other ſome erroneous: ſome offenſiue vnto godly eares, & many of them temerarious and ſeditious. And ſuche alſo were counted the Articles lately condemned by the ſacred councell, and it was inhibited and forbidden to all and ſingular Catholicke men hereafter to preach, teach or preſume to hold or mayntayne any of the ſayd Articles, vnder payn of being accurſed.

And I the ſayd Hierome, forſomuch as I haue laboured by Scholaſticall Artes, to perſwade the opinion, De Vniuerſalibus realibus, and that one ſubſtance of the common kinde ſhould ſignifie many thinges ſubiect vnder the ſame and euery one of them as S. Ambroſe, Hierom, Auguſtin do affirme, and likewiſe others. For the teaching hereof by a playne example I deſcribed as it were a certayne triangle, forme or figure, the which I cald the ſhield of fayth.

Therfore vtterly to exclude and take away the erroneous and wicked vnderſtanding therof, the which peraduẽture ſome men may gather thereby: I do ſay, affirme: & declare, that I neuer made the ſayd figure, neither named it the ſhield of faith to yͤ intent or purpoſe, yͭ I woulde extoll or preferre the opinion of vniuerſalities aboue or before yͤ contrary opinion, in ſuch ſort as though that were yͤ ſhield of faith, & yͭ without the affirmation therof, the Catholicke faith coulde not be defended or maintained, when as I my ſelfe would not obſtinately ſticke thereunto. But this I ſaid, becauſe I had put example in the deſcription of the Triangle or form, that one diuine eſſence conſiſted in three ſubiectes or perſons in themſelues diſtinct: that is to ſaye, the father, the ſonne, and the holy Ghoſt. The article of the which Trinitie, is the chiefe ſhield of fayth, and foundation of the Catholicke truth.

Furthermore that it may be euident vnto all mẽ what the cauſes were for yͤ whiche I was reputed & thought to ſtick to, and fauour ſome time I. Hus. I ſignifie vnto all men by theſe preſentes, that when as I heard him oftentimes both in his ſermons and alſo in the ſchooles: I beleued that he was a very good man, neither that he dyd in any poynt gaynſay the traditions of our holy mother the Church or holy doctors: in ſomuch as when I was lately in this Citty, and the articles, which I affirmed were ſhewed vnto me, whiche were alſo condemned by the ſacred Councell, at the firſt ſight of them I did not beleeue that they were hys, at the leaſt not in that forme. But when as I had further vnderſtood by certayn famous Doctours & mayſters of Diuinitie, that they were hys articles: required for my further information and ſatiſfaction, to haue yͤ bookes of hys own hand writing ſhewed vnto me, wherein it was ſayd, thoſe articles were contayned. The which books, when they were ſhewed vnto me written with his owne hand, which I did know as well as mine owne, I found all, and euery one of thoſe articles therein written in like forme as they are condemned. Wherfore I do worthely iudge and thinke him and his doctrine with his adherents to be condemned and reproued by this ſacred coũcell, as hereticall and without reaſon. Al which yͤ premiſſes with a pure minde and conſcience I do heare pronounce & ſpeake, being now fully and ſufficiently informed of yͤ foreſaid ſentences and iudgementes geuen by the ſacred councell agaynſt the doctrines of the ſayd Iohn Wickleffe and Iohn Hus, and agaynſt their own perſons: vnto yͤ which iudgement, as a deuout Catholike in all thinges, I doe moſt humbly conſent and agree.

Hierom is made here to ſay not his own minde, but what pleaſed them.

Alſo I the foreſayd Hierom, which before the reuerend fathers the Lordes Cardinals, and reuerend Lordes Prelates and Doctours, and other worſhipful perſons of this ſacred Councell in this ſame place, did heretofore frely and willingly declare and expound myne intent, and purpoſe amongeſt other thinges ſpeaking of the Churche, did deuide the ſame into three partes. And as I did perceaue afterward, it was vnderſtanded by ſome yͭ I would affirme that in the triumphant Church, there was fayth. Whereas I do firmly beleue that there is the bleſſed ſight and beholding of God, excluding all darke vnderſtanding & knowledge: And now alſo I do ſay, affirm & declare, that it was neuer my intent and purpoſe, to proue that there ſholde be fayth, ſpeaking of fayth as fayth is commonly defined, but knowledge farre exceeding fayth. And generally whatſoeuer I ſayd, eyther there, or at any time before, I do referre and moſt humbly ſubmit my ſelfe vnto the determination of this ſacred Councell of Conſtance.

Moreouer, I do ſweare both by the holy Trinitie, and alſo by the moſt holy Goſpell, that I will for euermore remayne and perſeuere without all doubt, in the truth of the Catholicke Churche. And all ſuch as by their doctrine and teaching, ſhall impugne this fayth, I iudge them worthy together with their doctrines, of eternall curſe. And if I my ſelfe at any time (which God forbid I ſhould) doe preſume to preach or teach, contrary thereunto, I will ſubmit my ſelf vnto the ſeueritie of the Canons, and be bound vnto eternall payn and puniſhment. Whervpon I do deliuer vp this my cõfeſſion and tenour of my profeſſion willingly before this ſacred generall councell, and haue ſubſcribed and written all theſe thinges with myne owne hand.

Hierome after his abiuration returned into priſon.

AFter all this, they cauſed hym to be caryed agayn vnto the ſame priſon, but not ſo ſtraightly chayned & bound as he was before: notwithſtanding kept euery day wyth ſouldiors and armed men. And when as afterward, his enemies which were appoynted agaynſt him, as Michaell de cauſis, & wicked Palletz, with other their companions in theſe affayres, vnderſtood & knew by the wordes & talke of M. Hierome and by other certayn tokens, that he made the ſame abiuration & recantation, not of a ſincere & pure minde, but onely to the intent thereby to ſcape their hands they together with certayne Friers of Prage, of the order of Carmelites, then comming in, put vp new accuſations agaynſt the ſayd M. Hierome, and drew the ſame into Articles, being very inſtant and earneſt that he ſhoulde anſwere thereunto. And forſomuch as his iudges & certaine Cardinals, as the Cardinall of Cambray, the Cardinal de Vrſinis, the Cardinall of Aquilegia, and of Florence, conſidering the malice of the enemies of M. Hierome, dyd ſee the great iniurie that was done vnto him, they laboured before the whole Councell for hys deliuery.

Hierom accuſed a new by Cauſis, Palletz, and the Carmelites.

The Cardinal of Cambray with certaine other Cardinalles labour for the deliuery of Hierome.

It happened vpon a certayn day, as they were labouring in the Councell for the deliuery of the ſayd M. Hierome: that the Germaynes and Bohemians his enemies, with al force and power reſiſted againſt it, crying out, that he ſhould in no caſe be diſmiſſed. Then ſtart vp one called Doctor Naſo, which ſaid vnto the Cardinalles, we maruaile much of you moſt reuerend fathers, that your reuerences will make interceſſion for ſuch a wicked hereticke, for whoſe ſake we in Boheme with the whole clergy, haue ſuffered much trouble & miſchiefe, and peraduenture your fatherhoodes ſhall ſuffer: and I greatly feare leaſt that you haue receiued ſome rewardes, eyther of yͤ king of Boheme or of theſe heretickes. When as the Cardinalles were thus rebuked, they diſcharged themſelues of mayſter Hieromes cauſe and matter.

Si dimittis hunc non es amicus Cæſaris.

Then his enemies aforeſaid, obtayned to haue other iudges appointed, as the Patriarcke of Conſtantinople, & a Germayne doctour, forſomuch as they did knowe that the Patriarch was a greeuous enemy vnto M. Hierome, becauſe he being before appoynted iudge by the Councell, had condemned Iohn Hus vnto death.

The Patriarke of Cõſtantinople gaue ſentẽce of death both againſt M. Hus, and M. Hierome of Prage.

But M. Hierome would not aunſwere them in priſon requiring to haue open audience, becauſe he woulde there finally declare vnto them hys minde, neyther would he by any meanes conſent vnto thoſe priuate iudges. Wherupon the Preſidents of yͤ Councell thinking yͭ the ſayd M. Hierome woulde renue hys recantation, before the ſayd audience and confirme the ſame: did graunt him open audiẽce.

{ Ann. 1416. }

In the yeare of our Lord. 1416. the 25. day of May, which was the Saterday before the Aſcention of our Lord the ſayd M. Hierom was brought vnto open audience before the whole Councell, to the great Cathedrall church of Conſtance, whereas by the Commiſſioners of the Councell, in the behalfe of hys foreſayd enemies, there was layd agaynſt him of new. C. and vii. Articles, to the intent that he ſhould not ſcape the ſnare of death, which they prouided and layd for him: in ſo much as the iudges had before declared that by the ſaying of the witneſſes it was already concluded in the ſame audience. The day aforeſayd, from morning vntill noone, he aunſwered vnto more then 40. Articles, moſt ſubtletie obiected agaynſt him: denying that he held or mayntayned any ſuch articles as were either hurtfull or falſe, & affirming yͭ thoſe witneſſes had depoſed thẽ agaynſt him falſly and ſlaunderouſly as his moſt cruel and mortall enemies. In the ſame Seſſion they had not yet proceeded vnto death, becauſe that the noone time drew ſo faſt on, that he could not anſwere vnto the Articles. Wherfore for lacke of time ſufficient to aunſwere vnto the reſidue of the Articles, there was an other time appoynted, which was the third day after the foreſaid Saterday, before the Aſcenſion of our Lord, at whiche time againe early in the morning, hee was brought vnto the ſayde Cathedrall Church to anſwere vnto all the reſidue the Articles.

Hierome brought againe before the councell

Falſe witneſſe againſt Hierome.

In all which articles, as well thoſe which he had aunſwered vnto the Saterday before: as in the reſidue, he cleared himſelfe very learnedly, refelling his aduerſaries (who had no cauſe) but onely of malice & diſpleaſure were ſet agaynſt him, & did him great wrong) in ſuche ſort that they were themſelues aſtonyed at his oration, and refutation of their teſtimonies brought agaynſt him, and with ſhame enough were put to ſilence: As when one of them had demanded of him, what he thought by yͤ ſacrament of the aultar: He anſwered, before conſecration (ſayd he) it is bread & wine: after the conſecration it is the true body and bloud of Chriſt, adding withall moe wordes according to theyr catholicke fayth. Then an other riſing vp, Hierome, ſayde he: there goeth a great rumor of thee, that thou ſhouldeſt hold, bread to remain vpon the aultar. To whom he pleaſantly anſwered, ſaying: that he beleued bread to be at the Bakers. At which wordes being ſpoken, one of the Dominicke Friers fumiſhly tooke him vp and ſayd, what doeſt yͧ

The dexteritie of Hierom in confuting his aduerſaries.

deny, that no man doubteth of? whoſe peuiſhe ſauſines, Hierome wͭ theſe wordes did well repreſſe: holde thy peace (ſaid he) thou monke, thou hipocrite And thus the monke being nipped in the head, ſate downe dumme. After whom ſtarted vp an other, who with a loude voyce cryed out: I ſweare (ſayd he) by my conſcience, that to be true, that thou doeſt deny. To whom ſayd Hierome agayne, ſpeaking in latine: Heus inquit, ſic iurare per conſcientiam tutiſsima fallendi via eſt. That is, thus to ſweare by your conſcience, is the next way to deceiue. An other there was, a ſpitefull and a bitter enemy of his, whom he called by no other name then dogge, or aſſe. After he had thus refuted them: one after an other, that they could finde no crime againſt him, neyther in this matter nor in anye other, they were all driuen to keepe ſilence.

This done, then were the witneſſes called for, who cõming in preſence, gaue teſtimony vnto the Articles before produced. By reaſon wherof, yͤ innocent cauſe of Hierome was oppreſſed, and began in the councell to be concluded. Then Hierome riſing vp begã to ſpeak, forſomuch (ſayth he) as you haue heard mine aduerſaries ſo diligẽtly hether to, conuenient it is, that you ſhould alſo nowe heare me to ſpeake for my ſelfe. whereupon wͭ much difficultie, at laſt audience was geuẽ in yͤ Councell for hym to ſay his mind which being granted, he from morning to noon continuyng, entreated of diuers and ſondry matters, with great learning and eloquẽce. who firſt beginning with his prayer to God, beſought him to geue him ſpirite, habilitie and vtterance, which might moſt tend to the profite & ſaluation of his own ſoule. And ſo entring into hys Oration.

Falſe witneſſes.

Audience hardly geuẽ to Hierome to ſpeake for himſelfe.

The oration of Hierome had before the councel.

I Know ſayth he, reuerend Lords, yͭ there haue bene many excellẽt men, which haue ſuffered much otherwiſe thẽ they haue deſerued, being oppreſſed with falſe witneſſes, & condemned with wrong iudgementes. And ſo beginning with Socrates he declared howe hee was vniuſtly condemned of hys countrimen, neither woulde he eſcape when hee might: taking from vs the feare of two thinges, whiche ſeeme moſt bitter to men, to wit, of priſonment and death. Then he inferred the captiuitie of Plato, the baniſhment of Anaxagoras, and the tormentes of Zeno. Moreouer he brought in the wrongfull condemnation of many gentiles as the baniſhment of Rupilius: reciting alſo the vnworthy death of Boetius and of others, whom Boetius himſelfe doth write of.

Socrates.

Plato.
Anaxagoras
Zeno.
Rupilius.
Boetius.

From thence he came to the examples of the Hebrues, and firſt began with Moyſes the deliuerer of the people, & the law geuer, how he was oftentimes ſlaundered of hys people as being a ſeducer and contemner of the people. Ioſeph alſo, ſayth he, for enuy, was ſold of hys brethren, and for falſe ſuſpicion of whoredome, was caſt into bandes. Beſides theſe, he reciteth Eſayas, Daniell, and almoſt all the Prophetes, who as contemners of god, and ſeditious perſons, were oppreſſed with wrongfull condemnation. Frõ thence he proceeded to the iudgement of Suſanna, and of diuers other beſides, who being good and holy men, yet were they vniuſtly caſt away with wrongfull ſentence. At the length he came to Iohn Baptiſt, and ſo in long proceſſe he deſcended vnto our ſauiour, declaring how it was euident to all men, by what falſe witneſſes both he and Iohn Baptiſt, were condemned. Moreouer how Stephen was ſlayne by the Colledge of the prieſtes, and how all the Apoſtles were condemned to death, not as good men but as ſeditious ſtyrrers vp of the people, and contemners of the Gods, and euil doers. It is vniuſt ſayth he, vniuſtly to be condemned one prieſt of an other, and yet he proued that yͤ ſame hath ſo happened moſt vniuſtly in that Councell of Prieſtes. Theſe thinges did he diſcourſe at large, wͭ marueilous eloquẽce, and with ſinguler admiration of all that heard hym.

Moſes.
Ioſeph.

Eſayas.
Daniell.
The Prophetes.
Suſanna.

Iohn Baptiſt
Chriſt.

The Apoſtles.

And foraſmuch as all the whol ſumme of the cauſe dyd reſt only in the witneſſes, by many reaſons he proued that no credite was to be geuen vnto them, eſpecially ſeing they ſpake all thinges of no truth, but onely of hatred malice, & enuy. And ſo proſecuting the matter, ſo liuely and expreſſely he opened vnto them the cauſes of their hatred, that hee had almoſt perſwaded them. So liuely and likely their hatred was detected, that almoſt no truſt was geuen to their teſtimonies, ſaue onely for the cauſe and quarrell wherein they ſtood touching the popes doctrine. All mens mindes here were moued and bending to mercye towardes hym. For he told them how that he of hys owne accord came vp to the Councell, and to purge hymſelfe he did open vnto them all hys life and doinges, being full of vertue & godlines. This was (ſayth he) the old maner of auncient and learned mẽ and moſt holy Elders, that in matters of fayth they did differ many times in argumentes, not to deſtroy the fayth, but to finde out the veritie. So did Auguſtine and Hierome diſſent, not onely being diuers, but alſo contrary one from the other & yet wͭout al ſuſpition of hereſy.

The falſe witneſſe of Hierome refelled.

All this while the popes holy Councell did wayt ſtill, when he would beginne to excuſe himſelfe, and to retracte thoſe thinges, whiche were obiected agaynſt him, and to craue pardon of the Councell. But he perſiſting ſtill in hys conſtant oration, did acknowledge no errour, nor gaue any ſignification of retractation.

At laſt entring into the prayſe & commendation of M. Iohn Hus, he affirmed that he was a good, iuſt, and holy man, and much vnworthy that death, whiche he did ſuffer. whom he did know from his youth vpward, to be neither fornicator, drunkard, neither anye euill or vicious perſon: but a chaſt & ſober man, & a iuſt and true preacher of yͤ holy Goſpell: and whatſoeuer things mayſter Iohn Hus and wicklyff had holden or written ſpecially agaynſt the abuſe and pompe of the clergie, he would affirme euen vnto the death, that they were holy and bleſſed men, and that in all pointes of the Catholicke fayth, he doth beleue as the holy Catholicke Church doth hold or beleue. And finally he did conclude that al ſuch articles, as Iohn wickleffe & Iohn Hus had written & put forth agaynſt yͤ enormities, pompe and diſorder of the Prelates, he would firmely & ſteadfaſtly, without recantation, hold & defend euẽ vnto the death, And laſt of all, he added yͭ al the ſinnes that euer he had cõmitted, did not ſo much gnaw and trouble his conſcience, as did yͤ onely ſinne, whiche he had committed in that moſt peſtiferous fact, when as in his recantation, he had vniuſtly ſpoken againſt that good and holy man & his doctrine, & ſpecially in cõſenting vnto his wicked cõdẽnation concluding yͭ he did vtterly reuoke & deny that wicked recantatiõ which he had made in that moſt curſed place, & that he dyd it through weakenes of hart and feare of death: And moreouer that whatſoeuer thing he hath ſpokẽ againſt that bleſſed man, he hath altogether lyed vpõ him, and that he doth repent him with his whole hart, that euer he did it.

Hierome commendeth the life, and bewayleth the death of Iohn Hus.

Hierome repenteth his ſpeaking againſt Iohn Hus.

And at the hearing hereof, the hartes of yͤ hearers were not a little ſory. For they wiſhed and deſired greatly that ſuch a ſingular man ſhold be ſaued if otherwiſe their blind ſuperſtition would haue ſuffered it. But he continued ſtill in his prefixed ſentence, ſeeming to deſire rather death then lyfe. And perſiſting in the prayſe of Iohn Huſſe, he added moreouer, that he neuer mayntayned anye doctrine agaynſt the ſtate of the Church, but onely ſpake agaynſt the abuſes of the clergye, againſt the pride, pompe and exceſſe of the Prelates. For ſomuch as yͤ patrimonies of the churches were firſt geuen for the poore, then for hoſpitality and thirdly to the reparations of the Churches: it was a griefe to that good man (ſayd he) to ſee the ſame miſſpent and caſt away vpon harlots, great feaſtings, and keping of horſes and dogges, vpõ gorgeous apparell and ſuch other things vnſeming Chriſtian Religion. And herein he ſheweth himſelfe marueilous eloquent: yea neuer more.

Hus neuer maintained any doctrine againſt the Churche of Rome: but onely ſpake againſt their naughtie lyfe.

And when his oration was interrupted many tymes by diuers of them, carping his ſentences as he was in ſpeaking: yet was there none of all thoſe that interrupted hym which ſcaped vnblanckt, but he brought them all to confuſion, and put them to ſilence. when any noiſe began, he ceaſed to ſpeake, & after began againe, proceeding in his Oration and deſiring them to geue him leaue a while to ſpeak whõ they hereafter ſhould heare no more: neither yet was his mind euer daſhed at all theſe noyſes and tumults.

Hierome did put them to ſilence.

And thys was marueilous in him to behold, notwithſtanding he continued in ſtrait priſon, 340. dayes, hauing neither booke, nor almoſt light to read by: yet how admirably his memory ſerued him: Declaring howe all thoſe paynes of his ſtrait handling, did not ſomuch greeue him, as he did wonder rather to ſee their vnkind humanitie towardes him.

Hierome in priſon 340. dayes. The excellent memory in M. Hierome.

when he had ſpoken theſe and many other thinges as touching the prayſe of Iohn wickleffe, & Iohn Hus, they which ſat in the Councell, whiſpered together, ſaying: by theſe his wordes it appeareth that he is at a poynt wͭ hym ſelfe. Then was he agayne caried into priſon, & greeuouſly fettered by the hands, armes and feete with great chaines and fetters of yron.

M. Hierome brought agayne before the cõucell.

The Saterday next before the Aſcenſion day, early in the morning he was brought with a great number of armed men vnto the Cathedral Church before the open congregation, to haue his iudgement geuen hym. There they exhorted him, that thoſe thinges which he had before ſpokẽ in the open audience, as is aforeſayde touching the prayſe and commendation of M. Iohn wickleffe, and M. Iohn Hus, confirming and eſtabliſhing their doctrine, he would yet recant the ſame: but he merueilous ſtoutly without all feare, ſpake agaynſt them, & amõgſt other things ſaid vnto them: I take God to my witnes, and I proteſt here be-

fore

M.Hierom holdeth all the articles of the Catholicke Church.

The eloquence of M.Hierome.

fore you all, that I do beleeue and holde the articles of the fayth, as the holy Catholicke Church doth hold and beleue the ſame: but for this cauſe ſhall I now be condemned, for that I will not conſent with you vnto the condemnation of thoſe moſt holy and bleſſed men aforeſayd, whome you haue moſt wickedly condemned for certaine articles, deteſting and abhorring your wicked and abhominable life. Then he confeſſed there before them all his beliefe, and vttered many thinges very profoundly and eloquently, in ſo much that all men there preſent, could not ſufficiently cōmend & prayſe hys great eloquēce & excellent learning and by no means could they induce or perſwade him to recant.

Then a certayne biſhop named the Biſhop of Landy made a certayne ſermon exhortatiue agaynſt M.Hierome perſwading to his condemnation.

The prophesie of M.Hierome.

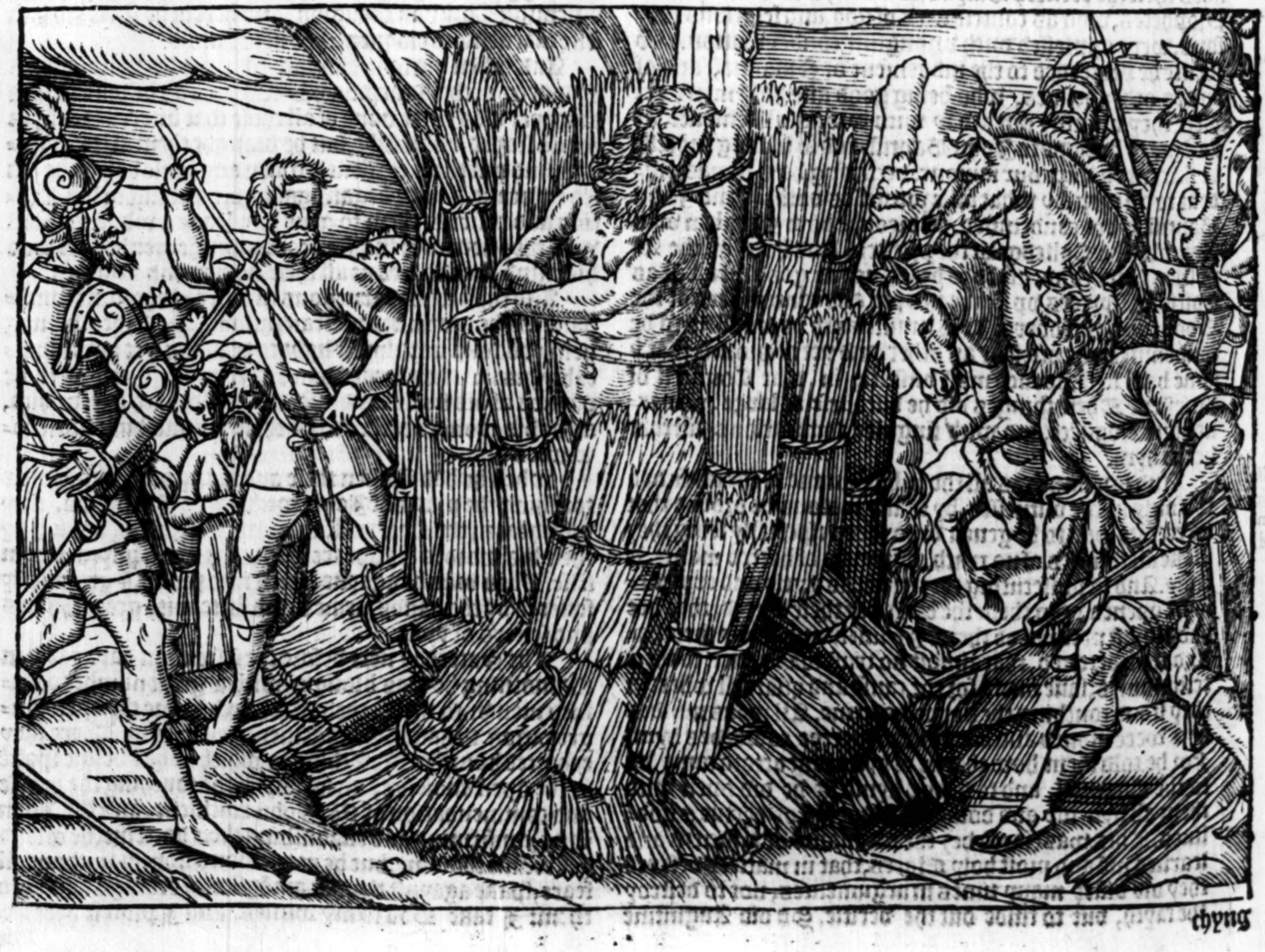
After the Byſhop had ended the ſayd ſermon, M.Hierome ſayd agayn vnto them: You ſhall condemne me wickedly and vniuſtly. But I after my death will leaue a remorſe in your conſcience, and a nayle in your hartes, ET CITO VOS OMNES, VT RESPONDEATIS MIHI CORAM ALTISSIMO ET IVSTISSIMO IVDICE POST CENTVM ANNOS: that is. And here I cite you to aunſwere vnto me before the moſt high and iuſt Iudge, within a C. yeares.

No penne can ſufficiently write or note thoſe thinges which he moſt eloquently, profoundly, & Philoſophically had ſpoken in the ſayd audience, neither can anye tongue ſufficently declare yͤ ſame, wheerfore I haue but onely touched here the ſuperficiall matter of his talke, partly, & not wholly noting the ſame, Finaly, when as by no meanes he might be perſwaded to recant the premiſſes, immediately euen in his preſence, the ſentence & iudgement of hys concondemnation was geuen againſt him, & read before him.

The ſentence read againſt M. Hierome.

IN the name of God Amen. Chriſt our God and our Sauiour being the true vyne, whoſe father is the huſbandman, taught hys Diſciples and all other faythful men, ſaying: If anymā dwel not in me, let him be caſt out as a bow or braunch, & let him wither and dry. &c. The doctrine and preceptes of which moſt excellent doctor and mayſter, this moſt ſacred Synode of Conſtance, executing & following in the cauſe of inquiſition agaynſt hereticks, being moued by this ſaid ſacred Sinode, through report, publicke fame, and open infamation: procedeth agaynſt Hierome of Prage, Mayſter of Arte, lay man. By the Actes & proceſſes of whoſe cauſe it appeareth that the ſayd mayſter Hierome hath holdē, mayntayned, and taught diuers Articles hereticall and erroneous, lately reproued and condemned by the holy fathers, ſome being very blaſphemous, other ſome offēding godly eares, & many temerarious & ſeditious which haue bene affirmed, mayntayned, preached and taught by the men of moſt damnable memory I. Wickleffe & Iohn Hus, the which are alſo written in diuers of their workes & books. Which articles of doctrine and books of the ſayd Iohn Hus and Wickleffe together with their memory, and the perſon of the ſayd Iohn Hus, were by the ſayd ſacred Synode condemned of hereſie. The which ſentence of condemnation this Hierome afterward during yͤ time of inquiſition, acknowledged in the ſayd ſacred Synode, & approued the true Catholicke & Apoſtolicke faith, thereunto conſenting, accurſing all hereſie, ſpecially that whereof he was enfamed, & confeſſed himſelf to be infamed & that which in times paſt I. Hus & I. Wickleffe maintained & taught in their works, ſermōs & books: for yͤ which the ſayd Wickleffe & Hus together with theyr doctrine and errors, were by the ſayd ſacred Synode as hereticall, condemned. The condemnatiōs of all which the premiſſes, he did openly profeſſe and allow, and did ſweare that he wold perſeuere and continue in the veritie of that fayth. And if that he ſhold preſume at any time to hold opiniō or preach contrary thereunto, that he would ſubmitte himſelfe to the triall and truth of the Canons, and be bound to perpetual puniſhment. And this his profeſſion writtē with his own hand, he deliuered vp into the holy Councell. Many daies after hys ſayd profeſſion and abiuration, as a dogge returning vnto hys vomite, to yͤ intent he might openly vomit vp the moſt peſtilent poyſon whiche had long lurked and laien hid in his breſt, he required and deſired that he might be openly heard before the Councell. The whiche being graunted vnto him, he affirmed, ſayd and profeſſed before the whole Synode, being publickely gathered together, yͭ he had wickedly conſented and agreed to the ſentence & iudgement of the condemnation of the ſaid Wickleffe and Hus, and that he had moſt ſhamefully lyed in approuing and allowing the ſayd ſentēce, neyther was he aſhamed to confeſſe that he had lyed: yea he did alſo reuoke and recant his confeſſion, approbation and proteſtation, which he had made vpon their condemnation, affirming that he neuer at any tyme had read any errours or hereſie in the bookes & treatiſes of the ſaid Wickleffe and Hus. Albeit he had before confeſſed it, and it is euidently proued that he did dilligently ſtudy, read and preache their bookes, wherein it is manifeſt that theyr are contayned many errours and hereſies. Alſo the ſayd Mayſter Hierome did profeſſe as tou-

¶ The burning of maiſter Hierome of Prage.



ching the Sacrament of the aulter, and the tranſubſtantiation of the bread into the body of Chriſt, that he doth hold ⁊ beleue as the church doth hold ⁊ beleeue, ſaying alſo that he doth geue more credit vnto S. Auguſtine, and the other Doctors of the Church, then vnto wickliffe and Hus. It appereth moreouer by the premiſſes, that the ſayd Ierom is an adherent ⁊ maintainer of the ſaid wickliffe ⁊ Hus, ⁊ theyr errors, and both is and hath bene a fauourer of them. wherfore the ſaid ſacred Synode determineth the ſayd M. Hierome as a rotten and withered braunch not growing vpon the vine, to be cut of and caſt out. The ſayd Synode alſo pronounceth, declareth ⁊ condemneth him as an heretick, and drowned in all kinde of hereſies, excommunicate and accurſed, leauing him vnto the arbitrement and iudgement of the ſecular iudge, to receiue iuſt and due puniſhment, according to the quality of ſo great an offence: The ſayd ſacred Synode notwithſtanding intreating that the ſayd iudge would moderate his ſentence of iudgemẽt without perill of death.

Hierome geuen to the ſecular power.

A paper with redde deuilles put vpon the head of M. Hierome, by deueliſhe papiſtes.

The which ſentence ſo geuen before his face, ⁊ ended. A great ⁊ lõg miter of paper was brought vnto him, painted about with red deuils: the whiche when he beheld and ſaw, throwing away his hood vpon the ground amongeſt the Prelates, he tooke the miter, and put it vpon his head: ſaying, Our Lorde Ieſu Chriſt, when as he ſhoulde ſuffer death for me moſt wretched ſinner, did weare a crowne of thorne vpon his head: and I for his ſake in ſtede of that crowne, will willingly weare this miter and cappe. Afterward he was layd hold of by the ſecular power.

M. Hierome committed to the ſecular power.

M. Hierome went ſinging vnto his martirdome.

After that he was ledde out of the ſayde Church to the place of execution, when he was going out of the Churche with a cherefull coũtenance ⁊ a loud voyce lifting his eyes vp into heauen, he began to ſing Credo in vnum Deum, as it is accuſtomed to be ſong in yͤ church. Afterward as he paſſed a long, he did ſing ſome Canticles of the Church. The which being ended, in the entring out of the gate of the city, as men go vnto Gothlehem, he did ſing this himne, fœlix namque And that reſpond being ended, after he came to the place of execution where as Maiſter Iohn Hus before had ſuffred death innocently, kneeling downe before an image which was like vnto the picture of M. Iohn Hus, which was there prepared to burne M. Hierom, he made a certayne deuout prayer.

M. Hierome prayeth.

M. Hierome tied to an Image like to Iohn Hus.

Whyle he was thus praying, the tormentors tooke him vp and lifting him vp from the ground, ſpoyled him of all his garmentes, and left him naked, and afterward girded him about the loynes with a linnen cloth, and bound him faſt with cordes and chaynes of Iron to the ſayde Image, whiche was made faſt vnto the earth: and ſo ſtandinge vpon the ground, when as they beganne to lay the woode about him, he ſonge Salue feſta dies. And when the himne was ended, he ſonge agayne with a loude voyce, Credo in vnum Deum, vnto the end. That being ended, he ſayde vnto the people in the Germaine toung in effect as foloweth. Dearely beloued children, euen as I haue now ſong, ſo do I beleue and none otherwiſe. And this Creede is my whole fayth: notwithſtanding nowe I dye for this cauſe, becauſe I would not conſent, and agree to the councel, and with them affirme and hold that maiſter Iohn Hus, was by thẽ holily and iuſtly condemned: For I did know well enough that he was a true preacher of the Goſpell of Ieſu Chriſt.

M. Hierome ſingeth at his burning.

The wordes of Hierome to the people.

M. Hierome geueth teſtimony of Iohn Hus.

After that he was compaſſed in with the wood vp to the crowne of the head, they caſt all his garments vpõ yͤ wood alſo, and with a firebrand they ſet it on fire. The which being once fired, he began to ſing with a loud voyce: In manus tuas domine commendo ſpiritum meum: when that was ended, and that he began vehemently to burne, he ſayd in the vulgar Bohemian tongue: O Lord God father almighty, haue mercy vpon me and be mercifull vnto mine offẽces, for thou knoweſt how yͤ ſincerely I haue loued thy trueth. Then his voyce by the vehemency of the fire, was choked ⁊ ſtopped, that it was no longer heard, but he moued continually his mouth and lips, as though he had ſtill prayed or ſpoken within himſelfe.

The laſt wordes of M. Hierome

The crueltie of his death.

When as in a maner his whole body ⁊ his beard was burned round about, and that there appeared through the great burning vpon his body certayne great bladders, as big as an egge, yet he continually very ſtrongly ⁊ ſtoutlye moued, ⁊ ſhaked his head ⁊ mouth, by the ſpace almoſt of one quarter of an houre. So burning in the fire, he liued in great paine ⁊ Martyrdome, whiles one might eaſily haue gone from S. Clementes ouer the bridge, vnto our Lady Church: he was of ſuche a ſtout and ſtrong nature. After that he was thus deade in the fire, by and by they brought his bedding, his ſtrawbed, his bootes, his hood, ⁊ all other thinges that he had in the priſon, and burned them all to aſhes in the ſame fire. The which aſhes, after that the fire was out, they did diligently gather together, and cary thẽ in a cart, and caſt them into the riuer of Rheine, which ran hard by the City.

The aſhes of M. Hierome caſt into the riuer of Rheine.

The witnes of the writer.

That man whiche was the true reporter hereof, and which teſtified vnto vs the actes and doinges about the condemnation Maiſter Hierome, and ſent the ſame vnto vs to Prage in writinge, doth thus conclude: All theſe thinges (ſayth he) I did beholde, ſee and heare to be done in this forme ⁊ maner. And if any man do tell you the contrary, do not credite him, for al thoſe things which happened vnto him, when he came toward Conſtance, and alſo at his firſt comming vnto Conſtance of his own free will, and afterward when he was brought bounde vnto Conſtance, as is aforeſayd, I my ſelfe did ſee and perfectly beholde: and for a perpetuall memory thereof to be had for euer, I haue directed the ſame vnto you, not lying or falſifying any poynte thereof, as he which is the ſearcher of all mennes hartes can beare me witneſſe: willing rather to ſuſtaine the note of ignoraunce ⁊ rudeneſſe of ſtile, to beare witneſſe vnto the trueth, then I would by any meanes bee compelled by tickling or flattring the eares of the hearers, with fayned and cloked ſpeach to ſwerue or goe aſide from the truth,

The truth of this ſtorie.

Thus end the tragicall hiſtories of M. Iohn Hus, and M. Hierom of Prage, faythfully gathered and collected by a certain Bohemian, being a preſent witnes and beholder of the ſame, written and compiled firſt in Latine, ⁊ ſo ſent by the ſaid Bohemian into his country of Boheme: and agayne tranſlated out of the Latine with like fidelitye, into our Engliſh toung.

In the meane time while Maiſter Hierome was in this trouble, and before the Councell, the nobles and Lordes of Boheme and of Morauia (but not a little agreeued thereat) directed theyr letters vnto this barbarous Councell of popiſhe murderers, in tenour and forme of wordes as followeth.

¶ The letter of the 54. Nobles of Morauia written vnto the Councell of Conſtaunce in the defence of Mayſter Iohn Hus, and Hierome of Prage.

☞ To the right reuerend Fathers and Lordes in Chriſt, the Lordes, Cardinals, Patriarkes, Primates, Archbiſhops, Biſhops, Amballadours, Doctors, ⁊ Mayſters, and to the whole Councell Conſtaunce. we the Nobles, Lordes, Knightes and Eſquyres, of the famous Marqueſdome of Morauia, wiſhe the deſyre of al goodnes, and the obſeruation of the commaundementes of our Lord Ieſu Chriſt.

FOrſomuch as euery man both by the law of nature, and alſo by Gods law, is commaunded to doe that vnto an other man, which he woulde haue done vnto himſelfe, and is forbidden to do that thing vnto an other, which he would not haue done vnto himſelfe, as our Sauiour ſayth: all things whatſoeuer you wyll that men ſhould do vnto you, the ſame doe you vnto thẽ, for this is the law and the Prophetes, yea the lawe is fulfilled in this one poynt: thou ſhalt loue thy neighbour as thy ſelf: We therfore (God being our author) hauing reſpect asmuch as in vs lieth vnto the ſaid law of God: & the loue of our neighbor, before did ſend our letters vnto Conſtaunce for our dearelye beloued frende of good memorye Mayſter Iohn Huſſe Bacheler of Diuinitye and Preacher of the Goſpell. Whome of late in the Councell of Conſtaunce (wee knowe not with what ſpirite beeing ledde) you haue condemned as an obſtinate hereticke: neither hauing confeſſed any thing, neither being lawfully conuict as were expediẽt: hauing no errours or hereſies declared or layde agaynſt him, but onely at the ſiniſter, falſe and importune accuſations, ſuggeſtiõs and inſtigations of his mortall enemies, and the traytours of our kingdome and Marqueſdome of Morauia. And being thus vnmercifully condemned, you haue ſlayne him with moſt ſhamefull and cruell death: to the perpetuall ſhame and infamy of our moſt chriſtian kingdome of Boheme, and the famous Marqueſdome of Morauia (as we haue written vnto Conſtance, vnto the moſt noble Prince and Lord, the Lord Sigiſmund king of Romaynes, and of Hungary, the Heyre and Succeſſor of our kingdom) the which was alſo read and publiſhed in your congregations, whiche wee will here alſo haue enrolled: and haue burned him, as it is reported, in the reproch and contempt of vs.

Math. 7.

Rom. 13.

The cauſe of I. Hus cleared by the teſtimony of the nobles of Bohemia.

Wherfore we haue thought good, euen now to direct our letters patentes to your reuerences nowe preſent, in the behalfe of Maiſter Iohn Hus, openly profeſsing and proteſting both wyth hart and mouth, that he the ſayd Mayſter Iohn Hus, was a iuſt, good and Catholicke man, and a long ſeaſon worthely commended and allowed in our kingdome, for his life and conuerſation. He alſo preached and taught vs and our ſubiectes the law of the Goſpell, and of the holy Prophets, and the bookes of the olde and new Teſtament, according to the expoſition of the holy Doctors approued by the church, & left many Monumẽts in writing, moſt conſtantly deteſting and abhorring all errors and and hereſy, continually admoniſhing both vs and all faithfull chriſtians to do the like, diligently exhorting all men as muche as in him lay by hys words, writings and trauel, vnto quietneſſe and concord: ſo that vſing all the diligence that we might, we neuer heard or coulde vnderſtand, that Mayſter Iohn Hus had preached, taught or by any meanes affirmed any error or hereſy in his Sermons, or that by any maner of meanes he had offended vs or our ſubiectes, either by word or deed, but that he alwayes led a quiet and a godly life in Chriſt, exhorting all men diligently, both by his word and workes, as much as he might, to obſerue and keepe the law of the Goſpel, and the inſtitutiōs of the holy fathers, after the preaching of our holy mother the church, & to the edifying of mens ſoules. Neither did theſe premiſſes, which you had ſo perpetrated to the reproch both of vs and our kingdom and Marqueſdom, ſuffice & content you, but that alſo without all mercy and piety, you haue apprehended, impriſoned, and condemned, and euen now peradventure, like as you did Mayſter Iohn Hus, you haue moſt cruelly murdered the worſhipfull man, Mayſter Ierome of Prage, a man abounding in eloquence, Mayſter of the ſeuen liberall artes, and a famous Philoſopher, not being ſeene, heard, examined, neither conuict: but onely at the ſiniſter and falſe accuſation of hys and our accuſers and betrayers.

All that will liue godly in Chriſt. 2. Tim. 3.

Defence of M. Hierome of Prage.

Furthermore, it is come to our knowledge and vnderſtanding (which we do not without great grieſe rehearſe) as we may alſo euidently gather by your writings, how that certayne detractors, odible both to God and men, priuy enuyers and betrayers, haue wickedly and greuouſly, albeit falſly and trayterouſly, accuſed vs, our kingdome, and Marqueſdome aforſayde, before you in your councell, that in the ſayde kingdome of Boheme and Marqueſcome of Morauia, diuers errors are ſprong vp, which haue greuouſly and manifoldely infected both our hartes, and alſo the hartes of many faythfull men: in ſo much, that without a ſpeedy ſtop or ſtay of correction, the ſayd kingdome and Marqueſdome together with the faythfull Chriſtians therein, ſhould incurre an irrecuperable loſſe and ruine of theyr ſoules.

These cruell and pernitious iniuries which are layd vnto vs, and to our ſayd kingdome and Marqueſdome, albeit moſt falſly & ſlaunderouſly, howe may we ſuffer? for ſo muche as through the grace of God (when in a maner all other kingdomes of the world haue oftentimes wauered, making Schiſmes and Antipapes) our moſt Chriſtian kingdome of Boheme, and moſt noble Marqueſdome of Morauia, ſince the time they did receiue the Catholicke fayth of our Lord Ieſus Chriſt, as a moſt perfecte * quadrant haue alwayes without reproofe ſtucke vnto the Church of Rome, and haue ſincerely done theyr true obedience. Alſo with how greate coſtes and charges and great trauell, with what worſhip and due reuerence they haue reuerenced the holy mother the church and her paſtors, by theyr princes and faythfull ſubiects, it is more manifeſt then the day light vnto the whole world: and your ſelues, if you will confeſſe the truth, can witnes the ſame alſo.

He meaneth the longe ſchiſme ſpoken of before where three popes were ſtriuing one againſt an other.

* A quadrant being foure ſquare prouerbially ſignifieth a man that is conſtant and immutable. Rom. 12.

Wherfore that we, according to the mind of the Apoſtle, may procure honeſt and good thinges, not onely before God but before men alſo, and leaſt by neglecting the famous renowne of the kingdom and Marqueſdom, we be foūd cruel towards our neighbours: hauing a ſtedfaſt hope, a pure and ſincere conſcience and intent, and a certayne true fayth in Chriſt Ieſu our Lord, by the tenour of theſe we ſignify and declare vnto your fatherhoods, & to all faythfull Chriſtians, openly profeſsing both with hart and mouth, that whatſoeuer man, of what eſtate, preheminence, dignity, condition, degree, or religion ſo euer he be, which hath ſayd or affirmed, eyther doth ſay or affirme, that in the ſayd kingdome of Boheme and Marqueſdome of Morauia, hereſyes haue ſprong vp which haue infected vs and other faythfull Chriſtians, as is aforeſayd (the onely perſon of our moſt noble prince and Lord, Sigiſmund king of Romaynes and of Hungary. &c. our Lord and heire ſucceſſor, being ſet apart, whom we truſt and beleue, not to be guilty in the premiſſes) all and euery ſuch man (as is aforeſaid) doth lye faſly vpon his head, as a wicked and naughty traytour & betrayer of the ſayd kingdome and Marſqueſdome, and moſt traiterous vnto vs, & moſt pernitious hereticke, the ſonne of all malice and wickedneſſe, yea and of the deuill himſelſe, who is a lyar and the father of all lyes.

Iohn 8. Deut. 38. Pſal. 30.

Notwithſtanding, we for this preſent committing the foreſayd iniuryes vnto God, vnto whom vengeance perteyneth, who will alſo aboundantly reward workers of iniquity, will proſecute them more amply before him whom God ſhall appoynt in the Apoſtolicke ſea, to gouerne his holy Churche as the onely and vndoubted Paſtour. Vnto whom God willling, we exhibiting our due reuerence & obedience as faythfull children, in thoſe things which are lawfull, honeſt, and agreeable to reaſon and the law of God, wil make our requeſt and petition, that ſpeedy remedy may be prouided for vs, our ſayde kingdome and Marqueſdome, vpon the premiſes, according to the law of our Lord Ieſus Chriſt, and the inſtitutions of the holy fathers. The premiſſes notwithſtanding we ſetting apart all feare and mens ordinances prouided to the contrary, will maynetayne and defend the law of our Lord Ieſus Chriſt, and the deuout, humble and conſtant preachers thereof, euen to the ſhedding of our bloud.

These noble men offered their obedience to the Pope, no further then was lawful, honeſt and agreeable to reaſon and the lawe of God. Marke this and learne you noble men.

Dated at Sternberg, in the yeare
of our Lord. 1415. vpon S. Wēceſlaus day, Martyr of our
Lord Ieſu Chriſt.

Round about the ſayd letters there were 54. Seales, hanging and their names ſubſcribed, whoſe Seales they were. The names of which noble men, I thought it good here to annexe with all, partly for the more credite of that hath bene ſayd, partly alſo for examples ſake, to the intent that our noble men and gentlemen in this our Realme of England, now liuing in this cleare light of the Goſpell, may by their example vnderſtand, that if they ioyne themſelues with the Goſpell of Jeſus, zealouſlye and as they ſhould do, yet are they neither the firſt, nor the moſt that ſo haue done before them: if not, yet the trueth may here remayne in the ſtory to theyr ſhame, or els to theyr inſtruction, ſeing ſo many noble and worthy gentlemen, within the ſmall kingdome of Bohemia, to be ſo forward in thoſe ſo darcke dayes and among ſo many enemyes 200. yeares agoe, to take part with Chriſt: And yet our Gentlemẽ here in ſuch long cõtinuance of time, being ſo diligẽtly taught, are neyther in number nor in zeale to thẽ to be compared, but will ſtill take part, contrary both to Chriſt, and to the example of theſe nobles whoſe names they may ſee & read here folowing.

1	Alſſokabat de Wiſcowitz.
2	Vlricus de Lhota.
3	Ioan. de Ksimicz.
4	Ioſſko de ſezitowicz
5	Pærdus Zwiranowicz.
6	Ioan. de Ziwla.
7	Ioā. de Reychēberg.
8	Wildo Skitzyny.
9	Drliko de Biela.
10	Kos de Doloylatz.
11	Ioan. de Simuſin.
12	Dobeſsim' de Tiſſa.
13	Drazko de Aradeck
14	Steph. de Hmodorkat.
15	Ioan Dern de Gabonecx.
16	Barſo dictus Hloder de Zeinicz.
17	Ioan Hmrſdorfar.
18	Pſateska de Wilklek
19	Petrus Mg. de Sczitowicy.
20	N. Studenica.
21	N. Briſchell.
22	N. de Cromaſſona-
23	Arannifick Donant de Poloniæ.
24	Ioan. Donant de Poloniæ.
25	Ioan. de Cziczow.
26	Wenceſlaus de N.
27	N. de N.
28	N. N.
29	Ioſſeck de N.
30	Henricus de N.
31	Waczlals de kuck.
	This noble man did accompanye Hus, and with certain horſemen conducte him to Conſtance.
32	Henr. de. Zrenowicz
33	Baczko de Cōuald.
34	Petr. dictus Nienick de zaltoroldeck.
35	Czēko de Moſſnow.
36	N.
37	Zibilutz de Clezā.
38	Ioan. de Peterſwald.
39	Parſifal de Namyeſcz.
40	Zodoni de Zwietzick.
41	Raczeck Zawskalp.
42	Ion de Toſſawicz.
43	Diwa de Spiſſnia
44	Steff ko de Draczdw.
45	Iſſko de Draczdw.
46	Odich de Hlud.
47	Wosfart de Paulowicz.
48	Pirebbor de Tirezenicz.
49	Rynard de Tyrczewicz.
50	Bohunko de Wratiſdow.
51	Vlricus de Racdraw
52	Deſlaw de Nali.
53	Bonesb de Frabenicz.
54	Eybl de Roiſſowan.

After theſe things thus declared and diſcourſed cōcerning the hiſtory of John Hus, and Hierome of Prage, the order of place and countrye next woulde require, conſequently to infer and comprehend the great troubles & perturbations, which happened after & vpō the death of theſe men in the cōutry of Boheme: but the order of time calleth me backe, firſt to other matters here of our owne country, which paſſed in yͤ meane time with vs in England, which things being taken by the way and finiſhed, we wil (Chriſt

willing) afterward returne to the tractation hereof, to proſecute the troubles and conflictes of the Bohemians, with other things beſide perteyning to the latter end of the coūcell of Conſtance, and choſing of Pope Martin, as the order of yeares and time ſhall require.

Vid ſupra. pag. 588. Henry Chicheſley Archb. of Caunt.

Ye heard before pag. 588. how after the death of Thomas Arundell Archb. of Caunt. ſucceeded Henry Chicheſley. an. 1414. and ſate 25. yeres. In whoſe time was much trouble and great affliction of good mē here in England: of whom many were compelled to abiure, ſome we burned, diuers were driuē to exile. Wherof partly now to entreat, as we finde them in regiſters & hiſtoryes recorded, we will firſt begin with Iohn Claydon Currier of Londō, & Richard Turming, whom Rob. Fabian, doth falſly affirm to be burned in the yeare wherein Syr Roger Acton and M. Browne ſuffered: who in deed ſuffered not before the ſecōd yeare of Henry Chicheſley being Archb. of Caunt. whiche was an. 1413. The hiſtory of which Iohn Claydon, in the Regiſters is thus declared.

The ſtory of Iohn Claydon Currier, and of R. Turming Baker.

The hiſtorie of I. Claidō ſkinner of London, & of Robert Turming Baker. *Ex regiſt. Cant.*

I. Claidon examined.

THe 17. of August 1415. did perſonally appeare I. Claydon Currier of London (arreſted by the Mayor of the ſayd City for the ſuſpition of hereſy) before Henry Archbiſhop of Caunterbury, in Saynt Paules Church: whiche Iohn (being obiected to him by the Archbiſhop, that in ẏ City of London & other places of the prouince of Canterbury, he was ſuſpected by diuers godly and learned mē for hereſy, and to be contrary to the catholick fayth, and determinatiō of the church) did openly confeſſe and denyed not, but that he had bene for the ſpace of xx. yeres, ſuſpected both about the City of London, & alſo in the prouince of Caunt. and ſpecially of the common ſort for Lollardy and hereſy, & to be contrary to the catholick fayth and determination of the church of Rome, and defamed of the ſame all the tyme aforeſayd.

I. Claydon firſt impriſoned by R. Braybroke Biſhop of London.

I. Claidon before abiured.

In ſo much that in the time of M. Robert Braybrooke B. of London deceaſed, he was for the ſpace of two yeares commaunded to the priſon of Conwey, for the foreſayd defamation and ſuſpition, and for the ſame cauſe alſo he was in priſon in the fleete for 3. yeares. Out of which priſon he (in the raigne of King Henry the 4.) was brought before Lord Iohn Scarle then Chauncellor to the king, & there did abiure all hereſy and errour. And the ſayd Iohn Claydon being aſked of the ſayd Archbiſhop whither he did abiure the hereſye of which he was ſuſpect before any other: did confeſſe that in a Conuocation at London in Paules Church before Thomas Arundell late Archbiſhop deceaſed, he did abiure all ſuch doctrine which they called hereſy and error contrary to the Catholick fayth and determination of the Church, and that he had not onely left ſuch articles and opiniōs, wherin he was defamed, but alſo did abſtaine from all company that were ſuſpected of ſuch opinions ſo that he ſhould neither geue ayd, helpe, councell, nor fauor vnto them.

Engliſhe bookes.

The iudgement of the Maior of London.

Claidon beſtowed much money vpon Engliſhe bookes.

And moreouer, the ſayd Iohn was aſked by the ſayde Archbiſhop, whether he euer had in his houſe ſince his abiuration, in his keeping, any bookes written in Engliſhe. Whereunto he confeſſed that he would not deny, but that he had in his houſe, and in his keeping many engliſh bookes: for he was areſted by the Mayor of the city of London, for ſuch bookes as he had, which bookes (as he thought) were in the Mayors keping. Upon the which, the Mayor did openly confeſſe that he had ſuch bookes in his keping, which in his iudgement were the worſt and the moſte peruerſe that euer he did read or ſee, and one booke that was well bound in red leather of partchment, written in a good engliſh hand: and among the other bookes found with the ſaid Iohn Claydon, the Mayor gaue vp the ſayd booke afore the Archbiſhop. Whereupon the ſayde Iohn Claydon being aſked of the Archbiſhop if he knewe that booke, dyd openly confeſſe that he knew it very well, becauſe he cauſed it to be written of his owne coſtes and charges, for he ſpēt muche money thereupon ſince his abiuration. Then was he aſked who wrote it. He did aunſwere, one called Iohn Grime.

Iohn Claydon could not read.

Richard Turming Baker.

This Turming belike, was then in priſon.

And further being required what the ſaid Iohn Grime was, he aunſwered, he coulde not tell. Agayne, being demaunded whether he did euer read the ſame booke, he dyd confeſſe that he could not read, but he had heard the fourth part therof red of one Iohn Fullar. And being aſked whether he thought the contentes of that booke to be Catholicke, profitable, good and true, he aunſwered that many thinges which he had hearde in the ſame booke, were both profitable, good and healthful to his ſoule: and as he ſayde, he had great affection to the ſayd book, for a Sermon preached at Horſaldowne, that was written in the ſayd booke. And being futher aſked, whether, ſince the tyme of hys ſayd abiuration, he did commune with one Richard Baker of the City aforeſayd, he did anſwere yea: for the ſayde Richard Baker did come often vnto his houſe to haue cōmunication with him. And being aſked, whether he knew the ſaid Richard to be ſuſpected, and defamed of hereſy: he did aunſwere agayne that he knew well that the ſayd Richard was ſuſpectēd & defamed of many men and women in the City of Londō, as one whom they thought to be an hereticke.

William Lindewood doctor of both lawes.

An Engliſhe booke intituled: The Lanterne of light.

Which confeſſion being made, did cauſe the ſayd bookes to be deliuered to maiſter Robert Gilbert, Doctour of diuinity: to William Lindewood Doctor of both lawes, and other Clerkes, to be examined, and in the meane time Dauid Beard, Alexander Philip, and Balthaſar Mero, were taken for witneſſes agaynſt him, and were committed to be examined, to Maiſter Iohn Eſcourt generall examiner of Canterbury. This done, the Archbiſhop continued hys Seſſion till Monday next in the ſame place. Which Monday being come, which was the xx. of the ſayd moneth, the ſayd Maiſter Eſcourt openly and publickely exhibited the witneſſes, being openly read before the Archbiſhop and other Biſhops: which being read, then after that were read diuers tractations, founde in the houſe of the ſayde Iohn Claydon: out of the which, being examined, diuers points were gathered and noted for hereſies and errors, and ſpecially out of the booke aforeſaid: which booke the ſaid Iohn Claydon confeſſed by his owne coſtes to be written and bound, which booke was intituled, the Lanterne of light. In the which and in the other examined, were theſe Articles vnder written conteyned.

1. Firſt, vpon the text of the Goſpell, how the enemy dyd ſowe the tares, there is ſayd thus: that wicked Antichriſt ẏ Pope hath ſowed among the lawes of Chriſt, his popiſh and corrupt decrees, which are of no authoritye, ſtrength, nor valure.

2. That the Archbiſhops and Biſhops, ſpeaking indifferently, are the ſeates of the beaſt Antichriſt, when he ſitteth in thē and raigneth aboue other people in the darck caues of errors and hereſyes.

3. That the Biſhops licence for a man to preach the word of God, is the true caracter of the beaſt. i. Antichriſt, & therfore ſimple and faythfull Prieſtes may preache when they will agaynſt the prohibition of that Antichriſt, and without licence.

The head & taile of Antichriſt.

4. That the court of Rome is the chiefe head of Antichriſt and the Biſhops be the body: & the new ſectes, that is, the monks, canons, and friers, brought in not by Chriſt, but damnably by the pope, be the venimous & peſtiferous tail of Antichriſt.

This is true ſpeaking of the inuiſible Church.

5. That no reprobate is a member of the Church but onely ſuch as be elected and predeſtinate to ſaluation: ſeing the church is no other thing but the congregation of faythfull ſoules, which doe and will keepe their faith conſtantly, as well in deed as in word.

6. That Chryſt did neuer plante priuate religions in the church, but whileſt he liued in this world he did root them out. By which it appeareth that priuate religiōs be vnprofitable branches in the church and to be rooted out.

7. That the materiall churches ſhould not be decked with golde ſiluer & precious ſtone ſumptuouſly, but the folowers of the humility of Ieſus Chriſt, ought to worſhip their Lord God humbly in mean & ſimple houſes, & not in great buildings, as the churches be now a dayes.

Two cauſes of perſecution noted.

8. That there be ij. chiefe cauſes of the perſecution of the chriſtians: one is the prieſtes vnlawfull keeping of tēporal and ſuperfluous goods, the other is ẏ vnſatiable begging of the friers with their hye buildings.

Foure conditiōs in geuing almes

9. That almes is not geuen vertuouſly nor lawfully except it be geuen with theſe 4. conditions: firſt vnleſſe it be geuen to the honor of God. 2. vnleſſe it be geuen of goodes iuſtly gotten. 3. vnleſſe it be geuē to ſuch a perſon as the geuer therof knoweth to be in charity. And 4. vnles it be geuē to ſuch as haue need and do not diſſemble.

10. That the often ſinging in the church is not founded in the ſcripture, and therefore it is not lawfull for prieſtes to occupy thēſelues with ſinging in the Church, but with the ſtudy of the law of Chriſt, and preaching his word.

That bread remaineth in the Sacrament.

11. That Iudas did receiue the body of Chriſt in breade, & his bloud in wine In the which it doth playnly appeare that after conſecration of breade and wine made, the ſame bread and wine that was before, doth truely remayne on the aultar.

12. That all eccleſiaſticall ſuffrages do profit all vertuous and godly perſons indifferently.

13. That the Popes and the Biſhops indulgences be vnprofitable, neither can they profite them, to whom they be geuen by any meanes.

14. That the laity is not bound to obey the prelates what ſo euer they commaūd, vnles the prelats do watch to geue God a iuſt account of the ſoules of them.

15. That Images are not to be ſought to by pilgrimages, neither is it lawfull for Chriſtians, to bow theyr knees to them, neither to kiſſe them, nor to geue them any maner of reuerence. For the which Articles the Archbiſhoppe with other Biſhops, and diuers learned commoning together, firſt condemned the bookes as hereticall and burned them in fire: and then becauſe they thought the ſaid Iohn Claydon to be forſworne and fallen into hereſy, the Archbiſhop did proceed to his definitiue ſentence againſt the ſaid Iohn perſonally appearing before him in iudgement (his cōfeſſions being read and depoſed againſt him) after this maner.

The bookes of I. Claidon burned.

The ſentence & condemnation of Iohn Claidō.

IN the name of God. Amen. We Henry by the grace of GOD Archbiſhop of Caunterbury, primate of all England, and Legate of the Apoſtolicke ſea, in a certayne cauſe of hereticall prauity & of relapſe into the ſame, wherupon I. Claidon lay man of the prouince of Caunterbury, was detected, accuſed and denounced, & in the ſayd our prouince of Caunterbury publickely defamed (as by publick fame and common report notoriouſly to vs hath bene known) firſt, ſitting in iudgement ſeat & obſeruing all things lawfully required in this behalfe, do proceed to the pronouncing of the ſentence definitiue in forme as followeth. The name of Chriſt being inuocated & onely ſet before our eies, foraſmuch as by the actes and thinges enacted, producted, exhibited and confeſſed before vs, alſo by diuers ſignes & euidences we haue found the ſaid Iohn Claydon to haue bene and to be publickly and notoriouſly relapſed agayne into his former hereſye, heretofore by him abiured: according to the merites and deſertes of the ſayd cauſe, being of vs diligently ſearched, weyed and pondered before, to the intēt that the ſayd I. Claidon ſhall not infect other with his ſcab, by the conſent and aſſent of our reuerend brethrē Richard Biſhop of Lōdon, Iohn Biſhop of Couentry and Liechfield, & Steuen Biſhop of S. Dauids, and of other Doctors as well of diuinity as of both lawes, and alſo of other diſcreet and learned men aſsiſting vs in this behalfe, do iudge, pronounce, and declare the ſayd I. Claydon, to be relapſed agayne into his hereſy, which he before did abiure, finally and definitiuely appoynting him to be left vnto the ſecular iudgement, and ſo do leaue him by theſe preſentes.

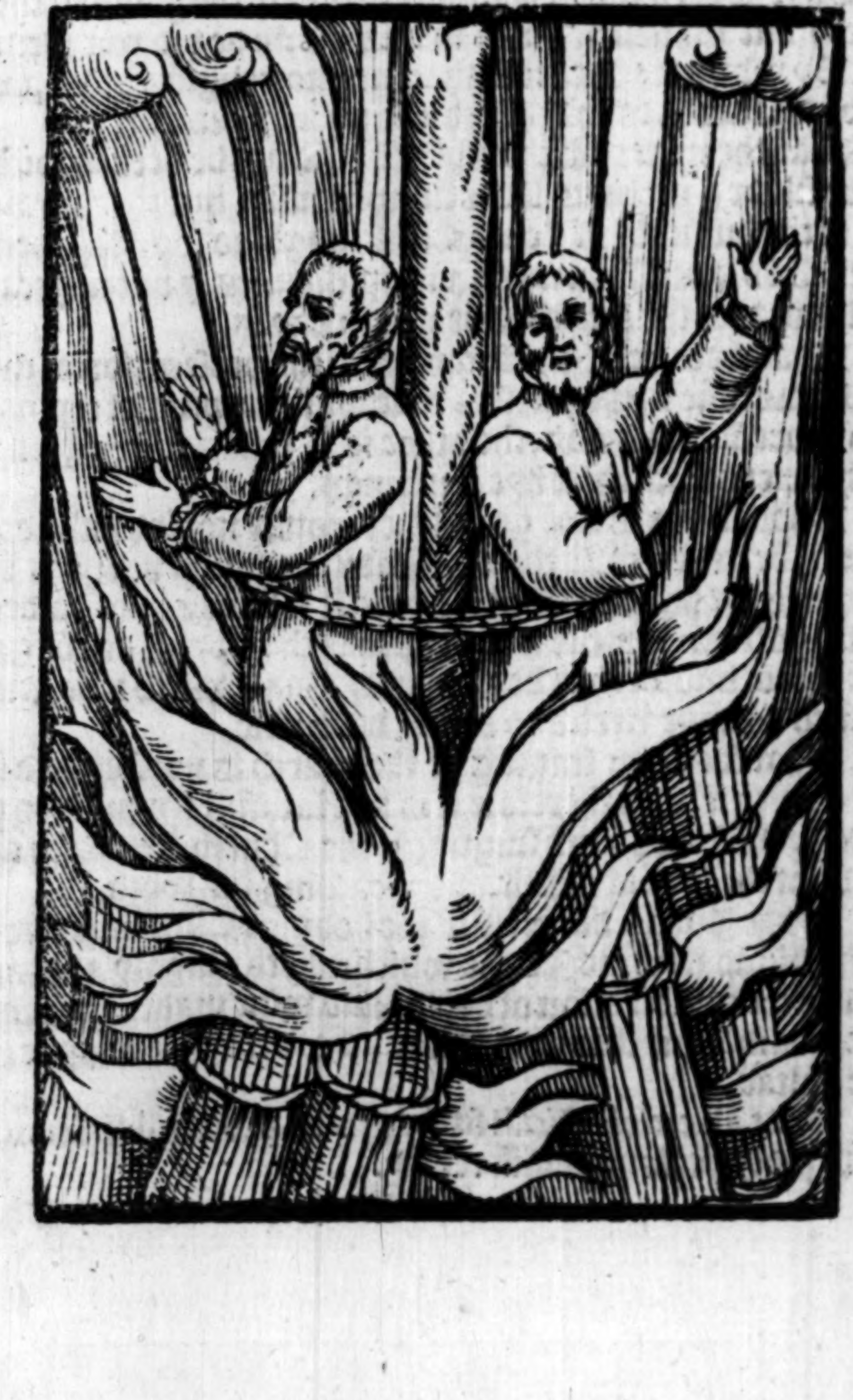
Iohn Claidon cōmitted to the ſecular power.

Thus Iohn Claidon receiuing his iudgement & condemnation of the Archbiſhop, was committed to the ſecular power, and by them vniuſtly & vnlawfully was cōmitted to the fire, for that the tēporall magiſtrate had no ſuch law ſufficient for them to burne any ſuche man for religion condēned of the prelats, as is aboue ſufficiently proued & declared pag. 523. But to be ſhort, *Quo iurè quaque iniuria*, Iohn Cleydon notwithſtanding by the temporall magyſtrats, not lōg after, was had to ſmithfield, where meekely he was made a burnt offering vnto the Lord. an. 1415.

The law de comburendo, inſufficient.

The death and martirdome of Iohn Claidon.

The burning of Iohn Claydon, and Richard Turming.



Robert Fabian, and other Chronologers which folow him, adde alſo that Richard Turming Baker, of whome mention is made before in the examination of Iohn Claydon, was likewiſe ẏ ſame time burned with him in ſmithfield. Albeit in the Regiſter I finde no ſentence of condemnation geuen againſt the ſayd Turming, neither yet in the ſtory of S. Albons is there any ſuch mētiō of his burning made, but only of the burning of Iohn Claydon aforeſaid: wherfore the iudgement hereof I leaue free to the reader. Notwithſtanding, concerning the ſayd Turming thys is certaine that he was accuſed vnto the biſhops, & no doubt was in their handes, & bands. what afterward was done with him, I refer it vnto the authors.

I. Claidon, Richard Turming, martirs.

The next yeare after the burning of theſe two aforeſaid and alſo of Iohn Hus being burnt at Conſtaunce, whiche was an. 1416. the Prelates of England ſeing the dayly increaſe of the Goſpell, and fearing the ruine of theyr papall kingdome, were buſily occupied with all theyr counſel and diligence, to mayntayne the ſame. wherefore to make their ſtate and kingdome ſure, by ſtatutes, lawes, conſtitutions, and terrour of puniſhment, as Thomas Arundell and other Prelates had done before, ſo the forenamed Henrye Chicheſley Archbiſhop of Canterbury, in his conuocation holden at London, maketh another conſtitutiō (as though there had not enough bene made before) agaynſt the poore Lollardes: the coppy and tenor wherof he ſendeth abroad, to the biſhop of London, and to other his Suffraganes by them to be put in ſtraight execution, conteyning in wordes as foloweth.

Anno 1416.

HEnry by the grace of God Archbiſhop of Canterbury, Primate of all England, and Legate of the chiefeſt ſeat: to our reuerēd brother in the Lord Richard, by the grace of God biſhop of London, health, & brotherly loue, with continuall increaſe. Lately in our laſt conuocation in Sayncte Paules Church in London, being kept by you and other our brethren and clergy of our prouince, we do remember to haue made this order vnderwritten by your conſentes, when as among many other our cares this ought to be chiefe, ẏ by ſome meanes we take thoſe herretickes, whiche like foxes lurke & hide thēſelues in the Lordes vineyard: & that the duſt of negligēce may be vtterly ſhakē from our feete and from the feete of our fellow brethren: In thys the ſayd conuocation of the Prelats and clergy, we haue ordeined, and that our fellowe brethren, our Suffraganes and Archdeacons of our prouince of Canterbury by thēſelues, their Officials or Commiſſaryes in all their iuriſdictiōs, & euery of their charges in theyr country, twiſe euery yere at the leaſt, do diligētly enquire of ſuch perſons as are ſuſpect of hereſy: And that in euery ſuche their Archdeaconries in euery pariſh, wherin is reported any hereticks to inhabit, they cauſe three or more of the honeſteſt mē and beſt reported of, to take their othe vpon the holy Euangeliſt, that if they ſhall knowe or vnderſtand any frequenting either in priuy conuēticles, or els deferring in life or maners frō the common conuerſation of other Catholick men, or els that holde any, either hereſyes or errors, or els that haue any ſuſpected bookes in the Engliſh tong, or that do receiue any ſuch perſons ſuſpect of hereſyes and errours into theyr houſes, or that be fauorers of them that are inhabitants in any ſuch place, or conuerſant with them, or els haue any recourſe vnto them: they make certificats of thoſe perſons in writing: with all the circumſtances wherewith they are ſuſpect, vnto the ſaid our Suffraganes or Archdeacons, or to theyr Commiſſaryes, ſo ſoone, & with as much ſpede as poſſibly they can: And that the ſayd Archdeacon and euery of their Commiſſaryes aforeſayd: do declare the names of all ſuch perſons denounced together with all the circūſtāces of thē, the dioces, & places, & ſecretly vnder theyr ſeales do ſend ouer vnto vs the ſame: And ẏ the ſame dioceſſans effectually direct forth lawfull proces agaynſt them, as the quality of the cauſe requireth, & that with all diligence they diſcerne, define and execute the ſame.

Ex Regiſt. Chicheſley. 217.

You ſhould be better occupied to ſhake of the duſte from your dutty pulpets. Twiſe euery yeare to enquire for Lollardes.

Againſt priuie conuenticles. To differ frō the common ſort in life and maners, againſt the popes lawe. Againſt Engliſhe bookes.

And if perhaps they leaue not ſuch perſons cōuict vnto the ſecular court, yet notwithſtanding let them commit thē vnto the perpetuall or temporall priſons, as the quality of the cauſe ſhall require, vntil the next conuocation of ẏ prelates and Clergy of our prouince of Canterbury, there perſonally to remaine: and that in the ſame priſons they cauſe thē to be kept according as the lawe requireth: And that of all and ſingular the things aforeſayd, that is, what inquiſition they haue made, and what they haue found, and how in the proceſſe they haue behaued themſelues, and what perſons ſo conuict they haue cauſed to be put in ſafe keeping, with what diligence or negligence of the Commiſſaryes aforeſayd, with all and all maner of other circumſtances premiſed, and therunto in any wiſe apperteining, and ſpecially of the abiurations, if in the meane time they ſhall chaunce to abiure any hereſyes: that then in the next conuocation of the Prelates and Clergy vnder the forme aforeſayd, they cauſe the ſame diſtinctly and apertly to be certified to vs and our ſucceſſours: And that they deliuer effectually to the Officiall of our Court, the ſame proceſſe to remain with them, or els in the regiſter of one court of Canterbury, ſo that euery one, to whom ſuch things appertaineth for the further execution of the ſame proces, may haue recourſe vnto the ſame officiall, with all effect.

We therefore commaund, that as touching the conſtitution brought vnto your City & Dioceſan, you cauſe the ſame in conueniēt place and time to be publiſhed, and that in all pointes you both obſerue the ſame your ſelues and cauſe it alſo of others to be diligently obſerued: Commaunding furthermore, all and ſingular our felow brethren and Suffraganes, that they in likewiſe cauſe the ſame to be publiſhed throughout all their Cities and Dioces, & both diligently obſerue the ſame themſelues, and alſo cauſe al others to do the ſame: and what thing ſoeuer you ſhall do in the premiſſes, that you certify vs betwixt this and the feaſt of S. Peter ad vincula, next comming, that you duely certify vs of theſe thinges, by your letters patentes, contayning the ſame effect, ſealed with your ſeales. Dated at our houſe in London, the firſt day of Iuly. an. 1416.

The trouble of I. Barton, and Robert Chapell in cauſe of religion.

This Philip ſeemeth to be Philippe Repington afore mentioned in the ſtory of Wickleffe.

During the time of this conuocatiō, in the yere aboue ſayd, two prieſtes were preſented & brought before the biſhops, noted and defamed for hereticks: one named Iohn Barton, vnto whom it was obiected by Philip Biſhop of Lincolne, that he had bene excommunicated about 6. or 7. yeares before, vpon Articles concerning religion, and yet neither would appeare being cited, nor woulde ſeeke to be reconciled agayne vnto the Church. Which thinges being ſo prooued agaynſt him, he was committed to the cuſtody of the foreſayd Philip Biſhoppe of Lincolne, and ſo to be holden in priſon, till he ſhould heare further what ſhould be done.

The other was Robert Chapel, otherwiſe named Holbech, Chaplain ſometime to the Lord Cobham: vnto whō likewiſe it was obiected, that he being vnder the ſentence of excommunication about three or foure yeares, yet notwithſtanding to the contempt of the keyes, did continue ſaying Maſſe, and preaching, & ſought not to be recōciled, Chapel denying that he did know any ſuch excommunication geuen out agaynſt him. Then was the copy of his excommunicatiō firſt made by the biſhop of Roff. afterward denoūced by ẏ Biſhop of Lōdon at Paules croſſe brought and read before him: & ſo that done, that Seſſion brake vp for that time, which was about the latter ende of May, an. 1416.

The xij. day of the moneth of Iuly next following, the ſayd Chappell appeared agayn before the Archbiſhop and the Prelates. To whom when it was obiected as before, how he had preached without the Biſhops licence, in dyuers places, as at Cobham, at Cowling, and at Shorne, at length he confeſſing and ſubmitting himſelf, deſired pardō. Which although it was not at the firſt graunted vnto him, yet at the laſt the Biſhop of Roff. putting in his hands the decree of the canon law. 1. q. 7. cap. Quoties. &c. and cauſing him to read the ſame, made him to abiure all his former articles & opinions as hereticall and ſchiſmaticall, neuer to holde the ſame agayne, according to the contentes of the foreſayd Canon. Wherupon the ſayd Robert being abſolued by the authority of the Archb. (ſaue only that he ſhould not intermeddle with ſaying Maſſe, before he had bene diſpenſed from the Pope himſelfe for his irregularity) was enioyned by the Archb. himſelfe for his penance, ſtanding at Paules to publiſh theſe articles folowing vnto the people, in ſtead of his confeſſion geuen him to be read.

R. Chapell abiureth.

Articles obtruded to R. Chapel to confeſſe.

In primis, I confeſſe that Biſhops, Prieſtes, and other Eccleſiaſticall perſons, hauing no other profeſſion to the contrary, may lawfully haue, receiue, and reteyne landes and poſſeſſions temporall, to diſpenſe and diſpoſe the ſame and the rentes thereof, to the behoofe of themſelues or of theyr Church where they dwell, according as ſemeth good to them.

2. Item, I confeſſe that it were very vnlawfull, yea rather vniuſt, that temporal men vpon any occaſion, whatſoeuer it be, ſhould take away temporall landes and poſſeſſions from the church either vniuerſal or particular, to whō they are geuen, the conſideration of the abuſe of mortall prelates, prieſt, or other miniſters in the Church conuerſant (which are mixt together good with bad) abuſing the ſame to the contrary notwithſtanding.

3. Item, I confeſſe that peregrinations to the reliques of ſaintes and to holy places, are not prohibited, nor to be cōtemned of any Catholicke, but are auaylcable to remiſſion of ſinnes, and approued of holy fathers, and worthy to be commended.

Marke well this catholicke doctrine of the Popes Church, concerning remiſſion of ſinnes. Marke how this doctrine ioyneth with Gods cōmaundement. & with his word.

4. Item, I confeſſe that to worſhip the images of Chriſt or of any other ſaynts being ſet vp in the church, or in any other place is not forbiddē: neither is any cauſe inductiue of Idolatry, being ſo vſed as the holy fathers do will them to be worſhipped: But rather ſuch images do profit much to the health of Chriſtians, becauſe they do put vs in remēbraūce of the merits of thoſe ſayntes, whom they repreſent and the ſight of them doth moue and ſtirre vp the people to prayers and deuotion.

5. Item, I confeſſe that auriculer confeſſion vſed in the Churche is neceſſarye for a ſinner to the ſaluation of hys ſoule, and neceſſary to be done of ſuch a prieſt, as is ordeyned by the Church, to heare the confeſſion of the ſinner, & to enioyne him penance for the ſame: without which confeſſion (if it may be had) there is no remiſſion of ſinnes to him that is in ſinne mortall.

Ergo, by this doctrine the iuſt man liueth not by his faith, but by his confeſſion auricular.

6. Item, I confeſſe and firmely do hold, that although the Prieſt be in mortall ſinne, yet may he make the bodye of Chriſt, and miniſter other Sacramentes and Sacramentals: which neuertheleſſe are profitable to all the faythfull, whoſoeuer receiueth them in fayth and in deuotion of the Church.

How can theſe prieſtes be ſeruantes of Chriſt, which be makers of Chriſt.

7. Item, I confeſſe that biſhops in their own dioces, may forbid, decree, & ordayn vpō reaſonable cauſes, that prieſts ſhould not preach without theyr ſpeciall licēce, the word of God, and that thoſe that do agaynſt the ſame, ſhould ſuffer the eccleſiaſticall cenſures.

8. Item, I confeſſe that priuate religiōs as wel of monks canons and other, as alſo of the begging Friers, being allowed by the church of Rome, are profitable to the vniuerſall church, and in no meanes contrary to Gods law, but rather founded and authoriſed thereon.

Priuate religiōs profitable, if ye could tell wherfore.

9. Item, I promiſe and ſweare vpon theſe holy Euangelies, which I hold here in my hands, that I will hēceforth neuer hold, affirme, nor by any meanes teach any thing cōtrary vnto the premiſſes either openly or priuately.

After the ſetting out of the conſtitution aforeſaid in the dayes of the aboue named Henry Chicheſley Arbiſhop of Caunterbury great inquiſition hereupon followed in England, and many good men whoſe harts began to be won to the Goſpell, were brought to much vexation and cauſed outwardly to abiure.

Straight inquiſition in Englād.

Chriſt had the hartes of ment they had their bodies

Thus, while Chriſt had the inward hartes of men: yet the Catholicke Antichriſt would needes poſſeſſe their outward bodyes, and make them ſing after his ſong. In the number of whom, being compelled to abiure, beſides the other aforeſayd was alſo I. Taylor of the pariſhe of Saynt Michaels at Querne. William Iames maiſter of Art and Phiſition, who had long remained in priſon, and at length after abiuration, was licēced with his keper, to practiſe his Phiſicke.

A briefe ſumme of ſuch as abiured, vnder Hen. Chicheſley.
I. Tailour
W. Iames.
I. Dwerffe.

Alſo Ioh. D'werf, ſo named for his low ſtature, which was ſent by the Duke of Bedford to the foreſayd Chicheſly and other biſhops to be examined before them in the cōuocation: there he at length reuolting from his doctrine recanted and did penaunce.

Iohn Iourdelay.

In like maner Iohn Iourdelay of Lincolnſhire, well commended in the regiſters for his learning, accuſed by ẏ prieſtes of Lincoln for a certayn book, which he contrary to the former decree of the biſhops did conceale & dyd not exhibite vnto thē, was therfore enforced to abiure. After whō was brought likewiſe before the Byſhops, one Katharin Dertford a Spinſter, who being accuſed and examined vpon theſe 3. articles concerning the Sacrament of the popes altar, adoration of Images, and of pilgrimage, anſwered that ſhe was not able, being vnlearned, to anſwere to ſuch high matters, neither had ſhe any further ſkil, but only her Creed and x. commaundements: and ſo was ſhe committed to the vicar general of the B. of Wint. (for that ſhe was of the ſame dioces) to be kept and further to be examined of the ſame. Ex Regiſt. Hen. Chicheſley.

I. Iourdelay abiureth.

Rob. perſon of Heggeley examined.

At the ſame ſitting was alſo brought before the ſayde Archb. and his fellow biſhops, by the liuetenant of ẏ Tower, the perſon of Heggely in Lincolneſhyre, named M. Robert, who being long kept in the tower, at lēgth by the kinges writte was brought and examined the ſame tyme vpon the like articles, to witte: touching the ſacrament of their aultar, peregrinatiō, adoration of images, & whether it was lawfull for ſpirituall men to enioy temporall Lordſhips. &c. To the which articles he anſwered (ſaith the Regiſter) doubtely and mockingly, ſaue onely in the ſacramēt he ſemed ſomething more conformable, albeit not yet fully to their contētation, wherfore being committed to the cuſtody and examination of Richard Biſhopp of Lincolne, where in the end he was alſo induced to ſubmit himſelfe.

W. Henry of Tenterdon examined.

The ſame likewiſe did W. Henry of Tenterden being ſuſpected and areſted for company keping with thē, whom the Biſhops called Lollardes, and for hauing ſuſpected bookes.

A booke of the new laW. I. Galle. R. Monke. Bart. Cornmōger N. Hoper. Tho. Granter troubled for their doctrine.

Beſides theſe, diuers other there were alſo which in the ſame conuocation were conuented, and reuoked theyr opinions, as Iohn Galle a Prieſt of London, for hauing a booke in Engliſh intituled: A booke of the new law. Item, Richard Monke, vicar of Cheſham in Lincolnſhyre, who ſubmitted himſelfe likewiſe. In this race and number folowed moreouer, Bartholomew Cornmonger, Nic. Hoper ſeruaunt to the Lord Cobham. Tho. Granter, with other mo, mentioned in the foreſayd regiſter.

Among the reſt which were at this time troubled for theyr fayth, was one Radulph Mungin prieſt, who for the ſame doctrine was areſted and ſent vp by the L. Chancellor of England, to the foreſayd Arch. and by him committed to Dauid Price, Vicar generall to the B. of London: where after he had endured 4. moneths in priſon, he was by the ſayd Dauid preſented to the conuocation, agaynſt whom diuers articles were obiected.

A ſubſidie gathered by the pope to fight againſt the faithfull of Bohemia.

But for the better explaining of the matter, firſt here is to be noted, that during the time of this conuocation prouinciall, Pope Martine had ſent downe to the Clergye of Englande, for a ſubſidye to be gathered of the Church, to mayntayne the Popes warre agaynſt the Lolards (ſo the Papiſtes did terme them) of Bohemia. Alſo an other ſubſidy was demaunded to perſecute one Peter Clerke mayſter of art of Oxford, who flying out of England, was at ẏ councell of Baſill, diſputing on the Bohemians ſide. And thirdly, an other ſubſidy was alſo required to perſecute W. Ruſſell, warden of the Gray Friers in London, who the ſame time was fled from England to Rome, to mayntayne his opinion before the Pope, and there eſcaped out of priſon. &c. of whom more largely hereafter (Chriſt willing) we ſhall entreat. In the meane time marke here the prety ſhiftes of the Pope to hooke in the Engliſh mony by all maner of pretences poſſible.

Romiſhe ſleightes to get the Engliſhe money.

Articles obiected againſt Rafe Mungin.

Thus Rafe Mungyn, the foreſayd examinate appearing before the biſhops in the conuocation, it was articulated agaynſt him, firſt that he ſhould affirme and hold, not to be lawfull for any Chriſtian to fight and make warre agaynſt the heretickes of Bohemia.

Item, it was to him obiected, that he did holde & ſay, not to be lawfull for any man to haue propriety of goodes, but the ſame to be cōmon, which he expreſſely denyed that euer he ſo ſayd or affirmed. Whereby we haue to obſerue, how the crafty malice of theſe aduerſaries vſeth falſely to collect and ſurmiſe of men, what they neuer ſpake, wherby to oppreſſe them wrongfully, whom by playne truth they cannot expugne.

Trialogus. The Goſpells tranſlated by Iohn Wickliffe.

Moreouer, they obiected agaynſt him, that he ſhoulde keepe company with Mayſter Clarke aforeſayde, and alſo that he diſperſed in the City of London, certayn bookes of Iohn Wickliffe and of Peter Clarke, namely, the booke Trialogus and the Goſpels of Iohn Wickleffe, &c. He was charged moreouer to haue ſpoken agaynſt the Popes indulgences, for that the Pope had no more power to geue indulgences, then he had.

Radulph Mungin condēned to perpetual priſō.

Vpon theſe and other ſuch Articles obiected, the ſayde Mungyn being aſked if he would reuoke, aunſwered that it ſeemed to him not iuſt or meet ſo to doe, whiche dyd not know himſelf guilty of any hereſy. Thus he being reſpited for that time, was cōmitted to priſon till the next ſitting, who then being called diuers and ſundry times afterward before the Biſhops, after long inquiſition and ſtraight examination made, alſo depoſitions brought in agaynſt him ſo much as they could ſearch out, he notwithſtanding ſtyll denyed as before, to recant. Wherefore the foreſayd Henry the Archbiſhop, proceeding to his ſentence definitiue, condemned him to perpetuall priſon.

Tho. Granter. Richard Monke.

After whoſe condemnation, the ſonday next folowing, the recantation of Tho. Granter, and of Richard Monke Prieſtes aboue mentioned, were openly read at Paules croſſe, the Byſhop of Rocheſter the ſame time preached at the ſayd croſſe. The tenour of whoſe recantation, with his Articles in the ſame expreſſed, here vnder foloweth.

The recantation of Tho. Granter. Note the doctrine & opinions in thoſe daies, where the Goſpell tooke place.

IN the name of God. Before you my Lord of Canterbury, and all you my Lords here being preſent, & afore you all here gathered at this time, I Thomas Granter prieſt vnworthy, dwelling in this City of Londō, feeling & vnderſtanding, that afore this time I affirmed open errours and hereſies, ſaying, beleuing, and affirming within thys City, that he that Chriſtian men callen Pope, is not verye Pope, ner Gods vicary in earth, but I ſayd he was Antichriſt. Alſo I ſayd, beleued, and affirmed, that after the ſacramentall wordes ſayd by a Prieſt in the Maſſe, there remayneth materiall bread and wine, and is not turned into Chriſtes body and his bloud. Alſo I ſaid and affirmed that it was not for to doe in no wiſe, to goe on pilgrimage, but it was better I ſayd to abide at home and beate the ſtooles with theyr heeles, for it was, I ſayde, but tree & ſtone that they ſoughten. Alſo I ſayde and affirmed that I held no Scripture catholicke ner holy, but onely that is conteyned in the Bible. For the Legendes and liues of Sayntes, I held hem nought, and the miracles written of hem I helde vntrue. Becauſe of which errours and hereſies I was tofore M. Dauy Price, Vicar generall of my Lord of London, and ſince tofore you my Lord of Caunterbury & your brethren in your councell prouinciall, & by you fully informed, which ſo ſayd, mine affirming, beleuing & teaching, bene open errors and hereſies, and contrarious to the determination of the chirch of Rome. Wherfore I willing to follow and ſewe the doctrine of holy chirch, and depart fro all maner errors and hereſye, and turne with good will & hart to ẏ onehead of the chirch, cōſidering that holye chirch ſhitteth ner cloſeth not her boſome to him that will turne agayne, ne God will not the death of a ſinner, but rather he ben turned & liue: with a pure hart I confeſſe, deteſt, & deſpiſe my ſayd errours and hereſies, and the ſayd opinions I confeſſe as hereſies and errours, to the fayth of the Chirch of Rome, & to all vniuerſally holy Chirch repugnaunt. And therfore theſe ſayd opinions in ſpeciall, and all other errours and hereſies, doctrines and opiniōs, ayen ẏ fayth of the Church and the determination of the Churche of Rome, I abiure and forſweare, here tofore you all, and ſweare by theſe holy Goſpels by me bodily touched, that from henceforth I ſhall neuer hold teach, ne preach errour errours, hereſie, ne hereſies, nor falſe doctrine agaynſt the faith of holy chirch, & determination of the chirch of Rome ner none ſuch thing I ſhall obſtinately defend, ne any man holding or teaching ſuch maner thinges by me or an other perſon, openly or priuily I ſhal defend. I ſhall neuer after thys tyme be receitor, fautor, councellor, or defendor of heretičks, or of any perſon ſuſpect of hereſie, ner I ſhal trow to him: ner wittingly fellaſhip with him, ner yeue him counſeil, fauour, yiftes, ne cōfort. And if I know any heretickes, or of hereſie, or of ſuch falſe opinions, anye perſon ſuſpect, or anye man or woman making or holding priuy conuenticles, or aſſemblies, or any diuers or ſingular opinions from the common doctrine of the Church of Rome, or if I may know any of their fautors, comforters, councelours, or defenſers, or any that haue ſuſpect bookes or quiers of ſuch errours and hereſies: I ſhall let you my Lord of Canterbury, or your officers in your abſence, or the Dioceſans and Ordinaries of ſuch men, haue ſoone and ready knowing, ſo help me God and holydeme, and theſe holy Euangelies by me bodely touched.

One head, that is, the vnitie of the Church.

Men tied to the Church of Rome.

¶ After this recantation at the Croſſe thus publiſhed, and his ſubmiſſion made, the ſayd Granter then was by the aduiſe of the Prelates, put to 7. yeares priſonment, vnder the cuſtody and charge of the biſhop of London.

After this, followed in like maner the recantation of Richard Monke. Alſo of Edmund Frith, which was before Butler ſo ſir Iohn Oldcaſtle.

The affliction and trouble in Kent, vnder Chicheſley.

Beſide theſe aboue remembred, many and diuers there be in the ſayd regiſter recorded, who likewiſe for their faith and religion were greatly vexed and troubled, eſpecially in the Dioces of Kent, in the townes of Romney, Tenterden, Wodcherche, Cranbroke, Staphelherſt, Beninden, Halden, Roluenyden and others, where as whole houſholdes, both man and wife, were driuen to forſake theyr houſes and townes for daunger of perſecution: as ſufficiently appeareth in the proceſſe of the Archb. Chicheſley agaynſt the ſayd perſons, and in the certificat of Burbath his officiall, wherein are named theſe perſons following.

Perſons perſecuted in Kent.

1. W. White Prieſt.
2. Tho. Grenested. Prieſt.
3. Bartho. Cronmonger.
4. Iohn Wadnon.
5. Ioan his wife.
6. Tho. Euerden.
7. William Euerden.
8. Steuen Robin.
9. W. Chiueling.
10. Iohn Tame.
11. Iohn Fowlin.
12. Will. Somer.
13. Marion his wife.
14. Iohn Abraham.
15. Rob. Munden
16. Laurence Coke.

Theſe being cited vp together by the biſhop would not appere. Wherupon great inquiſition being made for them by his officers, they were conſtrained to flie their houſes & townes, & ſhift for themſelues as couertly as they might. When Burbach and other officers had ſent worde to the

Arch

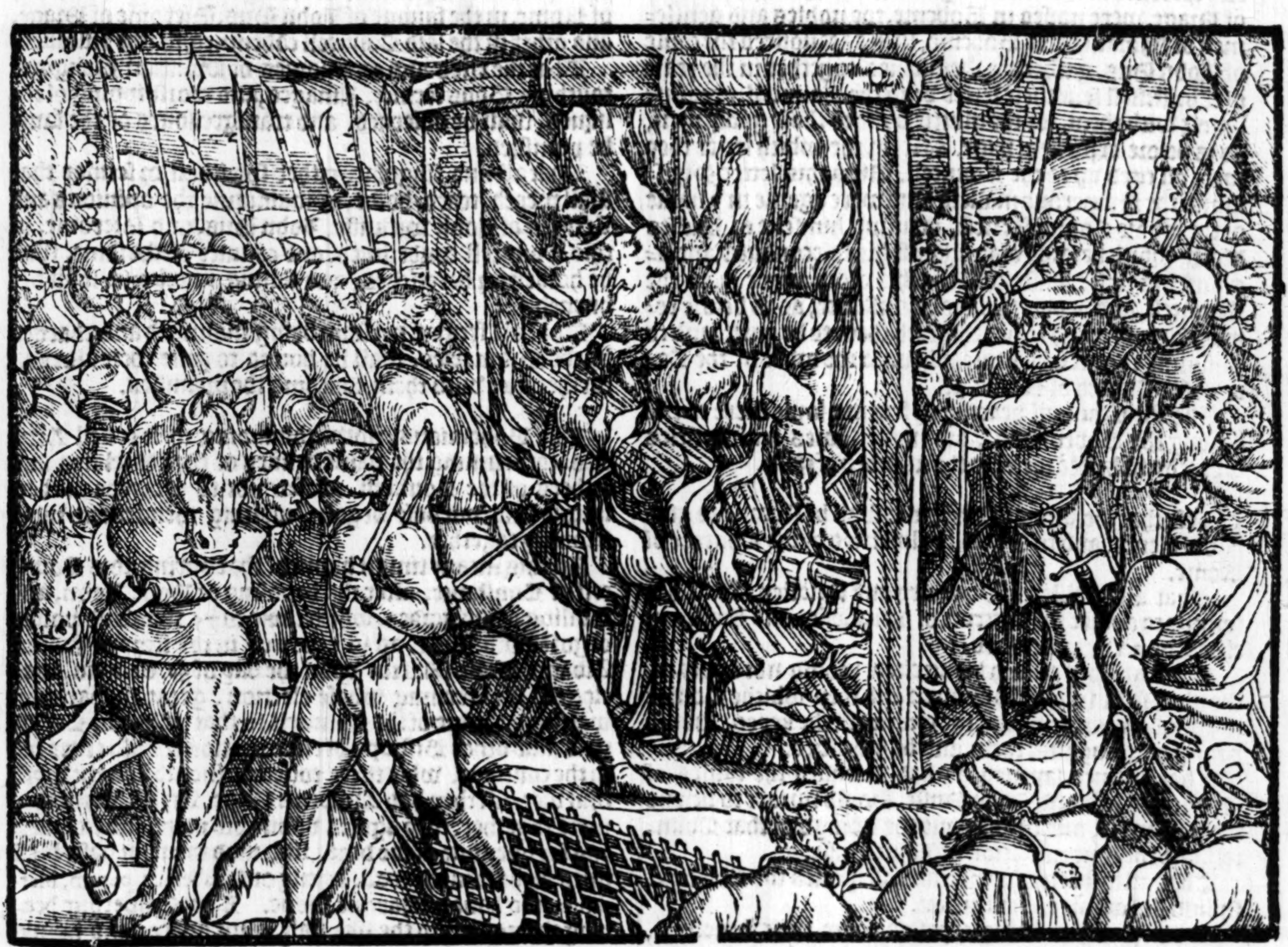
Archbiſhop that they coulde not be founde, then he directed downe order that Citations ſhould be ſet vp for them on euery Church dore through all townes where they did inhabite: appointing them a day & terme whē to appeare. But notwithſtanding, when as they yet could not be taken, neither would appeare, the Archbiſhop ſitting in hys tribunall ſeate, proceedeth to the ſentence of excommunication againſt them. What afterward happened to them, in the regiſter doth not appeare: but like it is, at length they were forced to ſubmit themſelues.

The ſeconde apprehenſiō of the Lord Cobham.

The Lord Powes plaieth Iudas.

Concerning ſir Iohn Oldcaſtle the Lord Cobham, and of his firſt apprehenſion, with his whole ſtory & life, ſufficiently hath bene expreſſed before, pag. 575. how he being committed to the Tower, and condēned falſely of hereſie, eſcaped afterward out of the Tower, and was in Wales about the ſpace of foure yeares. In the which meane time, a great ſumme of money was proclaimed by the King, to hym that could take the ſayde ſir Iohn Oldcaſtle, eyther quicke or dead. About the ende of which foure yeares beeing expired, the Lord Powes, whether for loue and greedines of the money, or whether for hatred of true and ſincere doctrine of Chriſt, ſeking all maner of wayes how to play the parte of Iudas, at length obteined his bloudie purpoſe, and brought the Lorde Cobham bound vp, to London: which was about the yeare of our Lord. 1417. and about the moneth of December. At which time, there was a Parliament aſſembled at London, for the reliefe of money the ſame time to be ſente to the King, whome the Byſhops had ſente out (as yee heard before) to fight in Fraunce. The recordes of which Parliament do thus ſay: that on Tweſday the xiiij. day of December, and the xxix. day of the ſayd Parliament, Sir Iohn Oldcaſtle of Cowling, in the Countie of Kent, Knight, being outlawed (as is afore minded) in the Kings bench, and excommunicated before by the Archbiſhop of Canterbury for hereſie, was brought before the Lordes, and hauing heard his ſaid conuictions, aunſwered not thereto in his excuſe. Vpon which record and proceſſe, it was adiudged, that he ſhould be taken as a traytour to the King and the Realme: that he ſhould be carried to the Tower of London, and from thence drawne thorough London vnto the new gallowes in S. Gyles without Temple barre, and there to bee hanged, and burned hanging.

¶ The deſcription of the cruell Martyrdome of Sir Iohn Oldcaſtle, Lorde Cobham.



Treaſon falſly ſurmiſed.

Vide ſupra. pag. 575.

As touching the pretenced treaſon of this Lord Cobham falſely aſcribed vnto him in his inditement, riſing vpon wrong ſuggeſtion and falſe ſurmiſe, and aggrauated by rigour of wordes, rather then vpon any ground of due probation, ſufficiently hath bene diſcourſed before in my defence of the ſaide Lorde Cobham, againſt Alanus Copus, page. 575. where againe is to be noted, as I ſaide before, how by this appeareth, that the Lorde Cobham was neuer executed by force of the inditement or outlawry, becauſe, if he had, he ſhould then haue bene brought to the barre in the Kings bench, and there the Iudges ſhoulde haue demaunded of him, what he could haue ſaid, why hee ſhoulde not haue died: and then not ſhewing ſufficiente cauſe for the diſcharge or delay of execution, the Iudges ſhould haue awarded and geuen the iudgemente of treaſon: which being not ſo, it is cleare he was not executed vpon the Inditement. Beſides, to proue that he was not executed vpon the Inditement, and the outlawry, the maner of the execution proueth it, becauſe it was neither the execution of a Traitour, nor was the whole puniſhment thereof pronounced by the Iudge, as by due order of lawe was requiſite.

Finally, as I ſaid before, heere I repeate againe, that albeit the ſayd Lord Cobham was attainted of treaſon by the Act, and that the King, the Lords, and the commons aſſented to the Act: yet all that bindeth not in ſuch ſorte (as if in deede he were no traytour) that any man may not by ſearch of the truth, vtter and ſet forth ſincerely and iuſtly, the very true and certaine cauſe, whereupon his execution did follow. Which ſeemeth by all circumſtances and firme arguments, to riſe principally of his Religion, which firſt brought him in hatred of the Biſhops: the Biſhops brought him in hatred of the King: the hatred of the King brought him to his death and Martirdome. And thus much for the death and execution of this worthy ſeruaunt of Chriſt Lord Cobham.

Iudas ſeeketh for his reward.

Moreouer, in the recordes aboue mentioned it followeth, how in the ſayd Parliament, after the Martirdome of this valiant Knight, motion then was made, that the Lord Powes might be thanked and rewarded, according to the Proclamation made, for his great trauaile taken in the apprehenſion of Sir Iohn Oldcaſtle Knight, hereticke. Thus ſtand the wordes of the recorde. Where two things are to be noted: Firſt, how Sir Iohn heere in the record is called not traitour, but hereticke only. Secondly, marke how this brother of Iudas heere craueth hys reward for betraieng the innocent bloud. wherein it is not to be doubted, but that his light fee, and quid vultis mihi dare in this world, will haue an heauie reward hereafter in the world to come, vnleſſe he repented. &c.

An.5. Henr.5 act. 17.

Furthermore, in the ſayde Parliament, Act.17. it was enacted, that the Church and all eſtates ſhould enioy all their liberties, which were not repealed, or repealeable by the common lawe: meaning belike, the excluding of the iuriſdiction of the Popes forreine power, which hath alwaies by the common lawe bene excluded out of thys Realme.

An.5. Henr.5. act. 17.

In the ſame Parliament alſo a greeuous complainte was made (by the Biſhops no doubt) againſt inſurrections. In the ende, they ſuſpected that they were the Lollards, hereticks, and traitours, with a requeſt that commiſſions might at all times be graunted to inquire of them. whereunto aunſwere was made, that the ſtatutes therefore made, ſhould be executed, &c. Thus the Cleargy Tanquam leones rugientes, ceaſed not to roare after Chriſtian bloud: And whoſoeuer was elſe in fault, ſtill the Clergy cried: crucifie Chriſt, and deliuer vs Barrabas: For then all horrible facts and miſchieues, if anye were done, were imputed to the poore Lollards.

All the blame laide to the Lollardes.

And now from our Engliſh matters, to returne againe to the ſtory of the Bohemians, from whence wee haue a little digreſſed, when as the newes of the barbarous crueltie exerciſed at Conſtance againſt John Hus, & Hierome of Prage, were noiſed in Boheme, the nobles and gentlemen of Morauia and Boheme, ſuch as fauoured the cauſe of John Hus, gathering themſelues together in the zeale of Chriſt: firſt ſent their letter vnto the Councell, expoſtulating with them, for the iniurie done to thoſe godly men, as is before expreſſed, page. 602. for the which letter they were all cited vp to the Councell. Unto this letter Sigiſmund the Emperour maketh aunſwere againe in yͤ name of the whole Councell: firſt, excuſing himſelfe of Huſſes death, which he ſaide was againſt his ſafeconduict, and againſt his will: Inſomuch that he roſe in anger from the Councell, and departed out of Conſtance, as is before remembred. Secondly, he requireth them to be quiet, and to conforme themſelues peaceably vnto the order of the Catholicke Church of Rome, &c.

Alſo the Councell hearing or fearing ſome ſtirre to riſe among the Bohemians, did make lawes and Articles whereby to bridle them, to the number of xxiiij.

Articles decreed in the Councell of Conſtance againſt the Bohemians.

First, that the King of Bohemia ſhall be ſworne to giue obedience, and to defend the liberties of the Churche of Rome.

That all Maiſters, Doctours and Prieſtes, ſhall bee ſworne to abiure the doctrine of wickleffe, and Huſſe, in that Councell condemned.

That all they which being cited, would not appeare, ſhould alſo be ſworne to abiure: and they whiche woulde not appeare, contemning the cenſure of the keyes, ſhould haue proceſſe againſt them, and be puniſhed.

That all ſuch lay men as had defended the cauſes of John wickleffe and John Huſſe, ſhould ſweare to defend them no more, and to approoue the doings of that Councell, and the condemnation of John Huſſe.

That all ſuch ſeculare men as had ſpoiled the Cleargie, ſhould be ſworne to reſtitution.

That Prieſtes being expelled from their benefices, ſhould be reſtored againe.

That all prophaners of Churches ſhould bee puniſhed after the Canonicall ſanctions.

That ſuch as had bene promoters in the Councell againſt John Huſſe, ſhould be permitted ſafely to returne into Boheme againe, and to enioy their benefices.

That the reliques and treaſure taken out of the Church of Prage, ſhould be reſtored fully againe.

That the vniuerſitie of Prage ſhould be reſtored againe and reformed, and that they which had bene the diſturbers thereof, ſhould be really puniſhed.

That the principall heretickes and doctors of that ſecte, ſhould be ſente vp to the ſea Apoſtolique, namely, Ioannes Ieſſenetz, Iacobellus de Miſna, Symon de Tyſna, Symon de Rochinzano, Chriſtiannus de Brachatitz, Ioannes Cardinalis, Zdenko de loben, The prouoſt of Alhalowes, Zaiſlaus de Suiertitz, and Michael de Czisko.

The fauorers of I. Hus in Boheme.

That all ſecular men which communicated vnder both kinds, ſhould abiure that hereſie, and ſweare to ſtoppe the ſame heereafter.

That they which were ordeined Prieſtes by the ſuffragane of the Archbiſhop of Prage, taken by yͤ Lord Zenko, ſhould not be diſpenſed with, but ſent vp to the Sea Apoſtolicke.

This ſuffragane was a good man and helde with Iohn Hus.

That the treatiſes of John wickliffe, tranſlated into the Bohemian tongue by John Huſſe, and Jacobellus, ſhould be brought to the Ordinary.

Wickliffes bookes tranſlated by I. Hus and Iacobellus, into the Bohemiã ſpeach.

That the treatiſes of John Huſſe condemned in the Councell, ſhould alſo be brought to the Ordinarie.

That all the tractations of Jacobellus De vtraque ſpecie, de Antichriſto (wherein he calleth the Pope Antichriſt) Et de remanentia panis poſt conſecrationem, ſhould likewiſe be brought and burned.

That all ſongs and balates made to the preiudice of the Councell, and of the Catholike perſons of both ſtates, ſhould be forbid to be ſong in Cities, townes and villages, vnder great and extreame puniſhment.

That none ſhould preach the word without the licence of the Ordinarie, or of the parſon of that place.

That Ordinaries and Prelates, hauing iuriſdiction, ſhould not be ſtopped in their iuriſdiction, by the ſecular power, vnder paine of excommunication.

That all and ſingular parſons ſhall be commaunded to obedience, vnder paine of excommunication: and that whoſoeuer knoweth any perſon to fauour any wickliuiſtes or their doctrine, or that keepeth company with ſuſpect perſons, he ſhall preſent the ſame to his Dioceſans or his officials.

That the confederacie of the ſeculars made betweene themſelues, or any of the ſpiritualtie, to the preiudice of the foreſaid Councell, and of the Apoſtolicke ſea & Church of Rome, in the fauour of John Hus, Hierome of Prage, and other in the ſaid Councell cõdemned, ſhalbe diſſolued.

That the rites and ceremonies of Chriſtian Religion, touching Gods ſeruice, Images, and worſhipping of reliques, ſhall be obſerued, and tranſgreſſours of the ſame be puniſhed.

Concilium malignantium.

That all and ſingular, either ſpirituall or ſecular that ſhall preach, teach, holde, or maintaine the opinions and Articles of John wickliffe, John Hus, and Hierome, in this Councell condemned, and conuict of the ſame, ſhall be holden for heretickes, and falling in relapſe, ſhall bee burned.

That all ſecular perſons being moniſhed and charged by the Ordinaries, ſhall be bound to geue their aide and furtherance vnto them, touching the premiſſes.

The Bohemians, notwithſtanding theſe cruell Articles, contemning the vaine deuiſes of theſe Prelates and fathers of the Councell, ceaſed not to procede in their league and purpoſe begon, ioyning themſelues more ſtrongly together.

In this meane time it happed, that during this Councell of Conſtance, after the depoſing of Pope John, and ſpoiling of his goodes, which came to 75. thouſand poũds of golde and ſiluer, as is reported in the ſtory of Saint Albans, Pope Martin vpon the day of S. Martin, was elected. Concerning whoſe election, great preparation was made before of the Councell, ſo that beſide the Cardinals, fiue other Biſhops of euery nation ſhould enter into the conclaue. who there together ſhould be kept wyth thin diet, till they had founded a Pope. At laſt, when they were together, they agreed vpon this man, and not tarieng for opening of the dore, like mad men, for haſt, braſt open an hole in the wall, crieng out, habemus papam, Martinum, we haue a Martine Pope. The Emperour hearing thereof, with the like haſt, came apace, and falling downe, kiſſed the new Popes feete. Then went they all to the Church together, and ſang, Te Deum.

Depoſing of Pope Iohn. 23. *Ex hiſt. Albani.*

The election of Pope Martine. The Emperour kiſſeth the popes feete.

The next day following, this Martine was made prieſt (which before was but a Cardinall Deacon) and the next day after was conſecrate Biſhop, and ſang his firſt maſſe, whereat was preſent 140. mitred Biſhops. After thys, the next morow, the new holy Pope ordeined a generall proceſſion, where a certaine Clarke was appointed to ſtand with flaxe and fire, who ſetting the flaxe on fire, thus ſaid: Ecce pater ſancte, ſic tranſit gloria mundi. i. behold holye father, thus vadeth the tranſitorie glory of this worlde. which done, the ſame day the holy father was brought vp vnto an high ſcaffold (ſaith the ſtory) I will not ſay to an high mountaine, where was offered to him all the glory of the world, &c. there to be crowned for a triple Kyng. This done, the ſame day, after dinner, the new crowned Pope was with great triumph brought through yͤ middeſt of the Citie of Conſtance, where all the Biſhops and Abbots followed with their miters. The Popes horſe was all trapt with red ſkarlet downe to the ground. The Cardinals horſes were all in white ſilke, the Emperour on the right ſide, and prince Electour on the left, playeng both the Popes footemen, went on foote, leading the Popes horſe by the bridle.

Pope Martiud.

The coronation of pope Martine.

Meretrix equitans ſuper beſtiam Apocalip.

The pope on horſebacke, the Emperour on foote. Why then doth the pope keepe ſtill the olde Iewes ceremonies, if all thinges be made new.

As this Pagcant thus with the great gyant proceeded, and came to the market place, there the Iewes (according to the maner) offered to him their lawe and ceremonies. Which the Pope receiuing, caſt behind him, saieng: Recedant vetera, noua ſunt omnia. i. Let olde thinges paſſe, all things be made new, &c. Ex hiſt. S. Alb. ex paralip. Vrſperg. This was an. 1417.

Anno. 1417.

Thus the Pope being now cōfirmed in his kingdome, firſt beginneth to write his letters to the Bohemians, wherin partly he moueth them to Catholicke obedience, partly he diſſembleth with them, faining, that if it were not for the Emperours requeſt, he woulde enter proceſſe againſt them. Thirdly and finally he threatneth to attempt the vttermoſt againſt them, and with all force to inuade them, as well with the Apoſtolicall, as alſo with the ſecular arme, if they did ſtill perſiſt, as they begon.

Albeit theſe new threates of the new Biſhop, did nothing moue the conſtant harts of the Bohemians, whome the inward zeale of Chriſtes word had before inflamed.

Although it had bene to be wiſhed, ſuch bloudſhead and warres not to haue followed: yet to ſay the truth, how could theſe Rabines greatly blame them heerein, whome their bloudy tirannie had before prouoked ſo iniuſtly, if nowe with their gloſing letters they could not ſo eaſely appeaſe them againe.

A yearely memoriall of Iohn Hus & Hierome kept among the Bohemians.

Wherfore theſe foreſaid Bohemians, partly for the loue of Iohn Hus and Hierome their countreymen, partly for the hatred of their malignant Papiſtry, aſſembling together, firſt agreed to celebrate a ſolemne memoriall of the death of Iohn Huſſe and Hierome, decreeing the ſame to be holden & celebrate yearely. And afterward, by meanes of their frends, they obteined certaine Churches of the King, wherin they might freely preach and miniſter the Sacraments vnto the congregation. This done, they ſuppreſſed diuers monaſteries, phariſaicall temples, and idolatrous phanes, beginning firſt with the great monaſterie of the blacke Friers, eight miles from Prage, and driuing away the wicked and vicious Prieſts & Monkes out of them, or compelling them vnto a better order. And thus their number more and more encreaſing vnder the conduict of a certaine noble man named Nicholas, they went againe vnto the King, requiring to haue more and ampler Churches graunted vnto them. The King ſeemed at the firſt willingly and gently to giue eare vnto the ſaid Nicholas intreating for the people, and commaunded them to come againe the next day.

K. Wenceſlaus, threatneth Nicholas.

When the people were departed, the kyng turning himſelfe to yͤ noble man Nicholas, which taried ſtill behynde, ſaid: Thou haſt begun a webbe to put me out of my kingdome, but I will make a rope of it, wherewithall I will hang thee. Whereupon he immediatly departed out of the Kings preſence, and the King himſelfe went into the Caſtle of Wiſſegrad: within a while after, into a new Caſtle, which he himſelfe had builded fiue ſtones caſt frō thence, ſending Ambaſſadours to his brother to require aide.

These Proteſtants beeing aſſembled in the Towne of Prage, holding their conuentions: the king ſent forth his Chamberlaine with CCC. horſemē, to runne vpō them: but he hauing reſpect vnto his life, fled. Whē newes thereof was brought vnto yͤ king, all that were about him being amaſed, vtterly deteſted the fact: but the Kings cupbearer ſtādyng by, ſaid: I knew before that theſe thynges would thus come to paſſe. Whom yͤ king in a rage taking hold of, threw him downe before his feete, and with hys dagger would haue ſlaine him: but being letted by ſuch as were about him, with much ado, he pardoned him his life. Immediatly the king being taken with a palſey, fell ſicke, and within 18. daies after, whē he had marked the names of ſuch, whom he had appointed to put to death, inceſſantly calling for aide of his brother, and other his frends, he departed this life before the Princes which he had ſente vnto, were come with aide, whē he had raigned 55. yeares, and was about the age of 57. yeares.

The death of King Wenceſlaus.

The marueilous worke of Gods iudgemēt to be noted, in defending his people.

✠ The ſtory of Ziſca.

Out of Eneas Siluius.

Immediatly after the death of Wenceſlaus, there was a certaine noble man named Ziſca, borne at Troſnouia, which from his youth vpwarde, was brought vp in the kyngs court, and had loſt one of his eies in a battel, where as he had valiantly borne himſelfe. This man beeing ſore greeued for the death of I. Hus, and Hierome of Prage, minding to reuenge the iniuries which the Councell had done, greatly to the diſhonour of yͤ kingdom of Boheme, vpon their complices and adherēts: he gathered together a number of mē of warre, and ſubuerted the Monaſteries and idolatrous temples, pulling downe, and breaking in peeces the images and idols, driuing away the Prieſtes and Monkes, which he ſaide were kept vp in their Cloyſters, like ſwine in their ſtyes to be fatted. After this, hys army beeing increaſed, hauing gathered together aboute fortie thouſande men, hee attempted to take the Caſtle of Wiſſegrade, which was but ſlenderly warded. Frō thence the ſaid Ziſca vnder the conduict of Coranda, wente ſpeedely vnto Pelzina, whereas he knew he had many frends of his faction, and tooke the towne into his power, fortifieng the ſame very ſtrongly, and thoſe which tarried behinde, tooke the Caſtle of Wiſſegrade.

Ziſcha getteth Pelzina.

The queene ſendeth for Sigiſmund the Empeerour.

Then the Queene Sophia beeing very carefull, ſente letters and meſſengers vnto the Emperour Sigiſmund, and other nobles adioining vnto her, requiring aide and helpe: but the Emperour made preparation againſt the Turke, which had then lately wonne certaine Caſtels of him. Whereupon the Queene ſeeing all ayde ſo farre off, together with Zenko Wartenberge, gathered an hoſt with the kings treaſure, and fortified the Caſtle of Prage, and the leſſer Citie which ioineth vnto the Caſtle, making gates and Towers of wood vpon the bridge, ouer the Riuer Multane, to ſtoppe that the Proteſtants ſhoulde haue no paſſage that way. Then it hapned that at the Ile of S. Benedict, one Peter Steremberge fought an equall or indifferent battaile with them.

In the meane time the number of the Proteſtantes beeing increaſed in Prage, they fought for yͤ bridge. In which battaile many were ſlaine on both parts, but at the length the Huſſites wanne the bridge, and the neather part of leſſer Prage, the Queenes part fleeing into the vpper parte thereof: whereas they turning againe fierſly, renued the battaile, and fought continually day and night by yͤ ſpace of fiue daies. Many were ſlaine on both parts, goodly buildings were raſed, and the councell houſe, which was in a low place, was vtterly defaced and burned.

The Emperours Ambaſſadours agree with the citizēs of Prage

During the time of this troublous eſtate, the Ambaſſadours of the Emperour Sigiſmund were come: whyche taking vpon them the rule and gouernāce of the Realme, made a truce or league with the Citie of Prage vnder this condition, that the Caſtle of Wiſſegrad beeing rendred, it ſhould be lawful for thē to ſend Ambaſſadours to yͤ Emperour Sigiſmund to intreat as touching their eſtate, and that Ziſca ſhould render Pelzina & Pieſta, with the other forts which he had taken. Theſe conditions thus agreed vpon and receiued, all the forreine Proteſtants departed out of the Citie, and the Senate of the Citie began to gouerne againe according to their accuſtomed manner, and all things were quieted. Howbeit, yͤ Papiſts which were gone out of yͤ Towne, durſt not returne againe: but ſtill looked for the Emperour, by whoſe preſence they thought they ſhould haue bene ſafe. But this their hope was fruſtrate by meanes of certaine letters which were ſent from the Emperour, wherein it was written that he woulde ſhortly come and rule yͤ kingdome, euen after the ſame order and maner as his father Charles had done before him. Whereby the Proteſtants vnderſtoode that their ſect and Religion ſhould be vtterly baniſhed, which was not begon during the raigne of the ſayd Charles.

About Chriſtmaſſe, the Emperour Sigiſmund came to Brunna a Citie of Morauia, and there he pardoned the Citizens of Prage, vnder condition that they woulde let downe the chaines and barres of the City, and receiue his rulers and magiſtrates. Wherunto the whole city obeied, and the Magiſtrates thereof lifting vp their handes vnto heauen, reioiced at the comming of the new king. But the Emperour turned another way, and wēt vnto Wratiſlauia, the head city of Sileſia, where as a little before, the cōmunalty of the City had ſlaine in an inſurrection, the magiſtrates, which his brother Wēceſlaus had ſet in authority: the principals wherof he beheaded. The newes wherof when they were reported at Prage, the Citizēs being feared by the example of the Wratiſlauians, diſtruſting their pardō, rebelled out of hand, and hauing obteined Cencho on their part, which had the gouernaunce of the Caſtle of Prage, they ſent letters into all the Realme, that no man ſhould ſuffer yͤ Emperour to enter, which was an enemie vnto Boheme, and ſought nothing elſe, but to deſtroy the kingdome: which alſo bound the aunciēt citie of the Prutenitants, vnto order by pledges, and put the Marques of Brandenburge from the Bohemian crowne: and had not onely ſuffered Iohn Hus & Hierome of Prage to be burned at yͤ Councel of Conſtance, but alſo procured the ſame, & with all his endeuour did impugne the doctrine & faith which they taught and folowed. Whileſt theſe things wer thus done. Ziſca hauing giuen ouer Pelzina by cōpoſitiō, was twiſe aſſaulted by his enemies, but through policy he was alwaies victor. The places where they fought, were rough

The citie of Prage fell from the Emperour.

The complainte of the citie of Prage againſt Sigiſmund.

The policie of Ziſca.

rough and vnknowne, his enimies were on horſebacke, and all his ſouldiours on foote, neither could there be any battaile fought, but on foote. Whereupon, when his enemies were alighted from their horſes. Ziſca commaunded the women which cuſtomably followed the hoſt, to caſt their kerchieffes vpon the ground, wherein the horſemen being entangled by their ſpurres, were ſlaine before they could vnloſe their feete.

After this, he went vnto Auſca, a towne ſituate vpon the Riuer Luſinitius, out of which towne Procopius and Vlricius, two brethren Papiſts, had caſt out many Proteſtants. This Towne Ziſca tooke by force of armes the firſt night of Lent, raſed it, and ſet it on fire. He alſo tooke the Caſtle of Litius, which was a mile off, whether as Vlricius was fled, and put Vlricius and all his familie to the ſword, ſauing one only.

The citie of Thabor builded.

Then, forſomuch as he had no walled or fenſed towne to inhabite, he choſe out a certaine place vpon the ſame riuer, which was fenſed by nature, about eight miles from the Citie of Auſca. This place he cōpaſſed in with walles, and commaunded euery man to build them houſes, where they had pitched their tents, and named this City Thabor, and the inhabitants his companions Thaborites, bicauſe their Citie, by all like, was builded vpon the top of ſome hill or mount. This Citie, albeit that it was fenſed with high rockes and cleaues, yet was it compaſſed with a wall and vaumure, and the riuer Luſinitius fenſeth a great part of the towne, the reſt is compaſſed in wyth a great brooke, the which running ſtraight into the riuer Luſinitius, is ſtopped by a great rocke, and driuen backe towards the right hand, all the length of the Citie, and at the further end it ioineth with the great riuer. The way vnto it by land is ſcarſe thirtie foote broade, for it is almoſt an Iland. In this place there was a deepe ditch caſt, and a triple wall made, of ſuch thicknes, yͭ it could not be broken with any engine. The wall was full of towers & forts ſet in their cōuenient & meete places. Ziſca was the firſte that builded the Caſtle, and thoſe that came after him, fortified it, euery man according to his owne deuiſe. At that time the Thaborites had no horſemen amongſt them, vntill ſuch time as Nicholas, maiſter of yͤ mint (whom the Emperour had ſent into Bohemia with a M. horſemen to ſet things in order, & to withſtand the Thaborites lodging all night in a village named Vogize) was ſurpriſed by Ziſca comming vpon him ſodenly in yͤ night, taking away all his horſe and armour, & ſetting fire vpon the village. Then Ziſca taught his ſouldiours to mount on horſeback, to leape, to runne, to turne, to caſt in a ring, ſo that after this he neuer led army without his wings of horſemen.

Sigiſmund getteth the caſtle of Prage.

Ziſca getteth the citie of Prage.

Prage beſieged of Sigiſmund.

In this meane time Sigiſmundus the Emperour gathering together, yͤ nobles of Sleſia, entred into Boheme, and went vnto Grecium, and frō thence with a great army vnto Cuthna, alluring Cencho with many great and large promiſes, to render vp yͤ Caſtle of Prage vnto him, and there placed himſelfe to annoy the towne. Thus Cencho infamed with double treaſon, returned home. The Citizens of Prage ſent for Ziſca, who ſpeding himſelfe thether with the Thaborites, receiued the citie vnder his gouernance. In the Bohemiās hoſt there was but only two Barons, Hilco Cruſſina of Lituburge, and Hilco of Waldeſtene, with a few other nobles. All the reſidue were of yͤ common people. They went about firſt to ſubdue the Caſtell, which was by nature very ſtrongly fenſed, and could not be won by no other meanes then with famine: wherupon all yͤ paſſages were ſtopped, that no vittailes ſhould be carried in. But the Emperour opened the paſſages by dint of ſword, & when he had geuen vnto them which were beſieged, all things neceſſary, hauing ſente for ayde out of the Empire, he determined ſhortly after to beſiege the Citie. There was in the Emperours campe the Dukes of Saxon, the Marqueſes of Brandenburge, and hys ſonne in law Albert of Auſtrich. The Citie was aſſaulted by the ſpace of vj. weekes. The Emperor Sigiſmūd was crowned in the Metropolitane houſe in the Caſtle, Conradus the Archbiſhop ſolemniſing the ceremonies of the coronation. The city was ſtraightly beſieged. In the meane time the Captaines Roſenſes & Chragery, which had takē the tentes of the Thaborites, being ouercome in battaile by Nicholas Huſſe, whome Ziſca had ſent with parte of hys power for that purpoſe, were driuen out of their tentes, and Gretium the Queenes Citie was alſo taken.

The Marques of Miſnia ouercome in the ſkirmiſh.

Sigiſmund the Emperour rayſeth his ſiege.

There is alſo aboue the Towne of Prage a high hill, which is called Videchon. On this hill had Ziſca ſtrongly planted a garriſon, that his enemies ſhould not poſſeſſe it, with whome the Marques of Miſnia ſkirmiſhing, loſt a great part of his ſouldiours. For when as the Miſnians had gotten the top of the hill, being driuen back into a corner, which was broken & ſteepe, and fierſly ſet vpon, whē as they could no longer withſtād the violent force of their enimies, ſome of them were ſlaine, and ſome falling headlong from the hill, were deſtroied. Whereupon the Emperour Sigiſmund raiſing his ſeege, departed vnto Cuthna and Ziſca with his company departed vnto Thabor, and ſubdued many places: amōgſt which he ſubuerted a town pertaining to the captaine of Viſgrade. During this tyme the Caſtell of Viſgrade was ſtrongly beſieged, whereas, when other vittailes wāted, they were compelled to eate horſe fleſh. Laſt of all, except the Emperour did aide them by a certaine daye, they promiſed to yeld it vp, but vnder this condition, that if the Emperour did come, they within the Caſtle ſhould be no more moleſted.

The Emperour fighting againſt Ziſca, had the ouerthow.

The Abbeis of Pelſina ſubuerted.

The Emperour was preſent before the day, but beeyng ignorant of the truce taken, entring into a ſtraight vnderneath the Caſtle, was ſodenly ſet vpon by the ſouldiours of Prage, where he had a great ouerthrow, and ſo leauing his purpoſe vnperformed, returned backe againe. There were ſlaine in that conflict xiiij. noble men of the Morauians, and of the Hungarians, & other a great number. The Caſtle was deliuered vp vnto them. Whileſt theſe things were in doing, Ziſca toke Boſlaus a captaine, which was ſurnamed Cigneus, by force, in a very ſtrōg towne of his, and brought him vnto his religion. Who a few yeares after, leading the proteſtants hoſt in Auſtria, was wounded before Rhetium, and died. Ther were in the territorie of Pelſina many monaſteries, of yͤ which Ziſca ſubuerted and burned fiue. And forſomuch as yͤ monaſtery of Saint Clare was the ſtrongeſt, there he pitched himſelfe.

Ziſca putteth the Emperour to flight.

Thether alſo came the Emperour with his army: but when Ziſca brought forth his power againſt him, he moſt cowardly fled, and not lōg after, he departed and left Boheme. Then Ziſca went with his army vnto Pelzina: but forſomuch as hee ſawe the Citie ſo fenced, that hee was in doubt of winning the ſame, he went from thence to Commitauia a famous Citie, the which he tooke by force, burning all the Prieſts therein.

Ziſca loſeth hys other eye in battel

Ziſca, albeit he loſt his eyes, yet would not forſake his army.

Afterward, when as he lay before the towne of Raby, and ſtrongly beſieged the ſame, he was ſtricken wyth a ſhaft in the eye, hauing but that one before to ſee withall. From thence, hee was carried to Prage to Phiſicians, whereas he being cured of his wound, and his life ſaued, yet he loſt his ſight, and for all that, he woulde not forſake his army, but ſtill tooke the charge of them.

Ziſca taketh diuers townes.

The Saxons retyre.

The Emperour with his power entreth againe into Boheme.

The Emperour afrayde of Ziſca, flyeth.

The powch of Antichriſt.

A noble victory of Ziſca.

Ziſca deſtroyeth images and idols in Churches.

After this, the garriſons of Prage went vnto Varona, where as there was a great garriſon of the Emperours, & tooke it by force, many being ſlaine of eyther parte. They alſo tooke the towne of Broda in Germany, and ſlue the garriſon, and afterward tooke Cuthna and many other cities by compoſition. Further, when as they ledde their army vnto a town called Pons, which is inhabited by the Miſnians, the Saxons meeting thē by the way, becauſe they durſt not ioine battaile, they returned backe. After all this, yͤ Emperour appointed the Princes electours a day, that at Bartilmewtide, they ſhould with their armie inuade the Weaſt part of Boheme, and he with an hoſt of Hungarians would enter on the Eaſt part. There came vnto his ayde the Archbiſhop of Mentz, the countie Palatine of Rheine, the Dukes of Saxon, the Marques of Brandenburge, & many other Biſhops out of Almaine: all the reſt ſente their aydes. They encamped before the towne of Sozius, a ſtrong & well fenced place, which they could by no meanes ſubdue. The countrey was ſpoiled & waſted round about, and the ſiege continued vntill yͤ feaſt of S. Galle. Then it was broken vp becauſe the Emperour was not come at his day appointed, but he hauyng gathered together a great army of the Hungarians, and Weſt Morauians, about Chriſtmas entred into Boheme, and tooke certaine townes by force, and Cuthna was yelded vnto him. But when Ziſca (although he was blinde) came towardes him, and ſet vpon him, he being afeard, & many of his nobles ſlaine, fled. But firſt he burned Cuthna, which the Thaborites, by meanes of the ſiluer mines, called the powch of Antichriſt. Ziſca purſuing the Emperour a dayes iourney, got great & rich ſpoyle, and taking the towne of Broda by force, ſet it on fire: the which afterward almoſt by the ſpace of xiiij. yeares, remained diſinhabited. The Emperour paſſed by a bridge ouer the riuer of Iglaria. And Piſo a Florentine, which had brought xv. M. horſemen out of Hungary to theſe warres, paſſed ouer the Iſe, the which by the multitude & number of his horſemen being broke, deuoured & deſtroied a great number. Ziſca hauing obteined this victory, would not ſuffer any image or idoll to be in the Churches, neither thought it to be borne withall, that Prieſts ſhoulde miniſter wyth copes or veſtiments: for the which cauſe he was much the

more

Ioãnes Premõſtratenſis

more enuied amongſt the ſtates of Boheme. And the Cõſuls of Prage beeing agreeued at the inſolencie of Iohn Premonſtratenſis, called him and nine other of his adherents, whome they ſuppoſed to be the principals of thys faction, into the Councell houſe, as though they woulde conferre with them as touching the common wealth: and when they were come in, they ſlew them, and afterwarde departed home euery man to his owne houſe, thinking the Citie had bene quiet, as though nothing had bin done: But their ſeruaunts beeing not circumſpect inough, waſhing downe the court or yarde, waſhed out alſo the bloud of thoſe that were ſlaine, through the ſinkes or canels: the which being once ſeene, the people vnderſtood what was done. By and by there was a great tumult: the Councell houſe was ſtraightway ouerthrowne, and eleuen of the principall Citizens, whiche were thought to be the authours thereof, were ſlaine, and diuers houſes ſpoiled.

The martirdome of certaine godly Bohemians falſely circũuented and killed with ſword.

Priuie murther at length commeth out.

About the ſame time, the Caſtell of Purgell, wherein the Emperour had left a ſmall garriſon (whether as alſo many Papiſtes with their wiues and children were fled) was thorough negligẽce burned, and thoſe which eſcaped out of the fire, went vnto Pelſina. After this, diuers of the Bohemian Captaines, and yͤ Senate of Prage, ſent Ambaſſadours to Witolde Duke of Lituania, and made hym their king. This did Ziſca and his adherentes gaineſay. This Witold ſent Sigiſmũd Coributus, with two thouſand horſemen into Boheme, who was honourably receiued of the inhabitants of Prage. At his comming they determined to lay ſiege vnto a Caſtle ſituate vppon a hill, which was called Charles ſtone.

Heere Sigiſmundus had left for a garriſon foure Centurions of ſouldiours. The tentes were pitched in iij. places. The ſiege continued vj. moneths, and yͤ aſſault neuer ceaſed day and night. Fiue great ſlyngs threw continually great ſtones ouer yͤ walles, and about two thouſand veſſels, tubbs, or baſkets, filled with dead carcaſes and other excrements, were caſt in amongeſt thoſe which were beſieged: whiche thing did ſo infect them with ſtench, that their teeth did either fall out or were all loſe. Notwithſtãding they bare it out with ſtout courage, & continued their fight vntill the winter, hauing priuily receiued medicine out of Prage, to faſten their teeth againe.

Stench very hurtfull for the teeth.

In the meane time Fridericke the elder, prince of Brãdenburge entring into Boheme with a great power, cauſed them of Prage to raiſe the ſiege. And Witoldus at the requeſt of Wladiſlaus king of Pole, which had talked with the Emperour in the borders of Hungary, called Coributus his vncle with his whole army out of Boheme. Wherupon yͤ Emperour ſuppoſed yͭ the Proteſtãts being deſtitute of foreine aid, would yͤ ſooner do his commandement: but he was farre deceiued therein, for they leading their armies out of Boheme, ſubdued yͤ borderers thereupon adioining. It is alſo reported yͭ Ziſca went into Auſtrich, and whẽ as the huſbandmẽ of the countrey had caried away a great number of their cattell by water into an Iſly of the riuer called Danubius, and by chaunce had left certaine calues and ſwine in their Villages behind them: Ziſca draue them vnto the riuer ſide, and kept thẽ there ſo long, beating them, and cauſing thẽ to roare out and cry, vntill that the cattell feeding in the Iland, hearing yͤ lowing and grunting of the cattell on the other ſide the water, for the deſire of their like, did ſwimme ouer the riuer: by the meanes whereof, he got and draue away a great booty.

An other warlike pollicy of Ziſcha. Stratagema.

About the ſame time the Emperour Sigiſmũdus gaue vnto his ſonne in law Albert Duke of Auſtrich, the countrey of Morauia, becauſe it ſhould not want a ruler. At the ſame time alſo Ericius king of Denmarke, & Peter Infant, brother to yͤ king of Portingal and father of Iames, Cardinall of S. Euſtachius, came vnto yͤ Emperour, being both very expert men in the affaires of warre: which did augment yͤ Emperours hoſt with their aid and power. Wherupon, they ſtraightway pitched their camp before Lutemperge, a towne of Morauia, and continued the ſiege by the ſpace of iij. moneths. There was at that time a certaine Knight at Prage ſurnamed Aqua, which was very rich and of great authority. This mã, forſomuch as he had no child of his owne, adopted vnto him his ſiſters ſonne, named Procopius: whom when he was of meane ſtature and age, he caried with him into France, Spayne, and Italy, and vnto Ieruſalem, and at his returne cauſed hym to be made Prieſt. This man when the Goſpell began to flouriſh in Boheme, tooke part with Ziſca, and forſomuch as he was ſtrong and valiant, and alſo painefull, he was greatly eſteemed.

This Procopius for his valiaunt actes, was afterward called Procopius Magnus, and had committed vnto him the whole charge of the prouince of Morauia, and the defence of the Lutemperges: who receiuing a great power by force (maugre all the whole power which lay in the ſiege) carried vittailes into the towne which was beſieged, and ſo did fruſtrate the Emperours ſiege. The Emperour before this had deliuered vnto the Marqueſſes of Miſnia the bridge and towne of Auſca, vpon the riuer of Albis, that they ſhould fortifie them with their garriſons. Wherupon Ziſca beſieged Auſca, and Fridericke the Marqueſſe of Miſnia, with his brother the Lantzgraue of Turyng, gathering together a greate army out of Saxonia, Turing, Miſnia, and both the Luſaces, determined to reſcue and ayde thoſe which were beſieged.

Procopius Magnus.

The valiant courage of Procopius.

There was a great battaile fought before the Citie, and the victory depẽded long vncertaine, but at laſt it fel on the Proteſtantes part. There were ſlaine in that battaile, the Burgraues of Miſnia or Chyrpogenſes, the Barons of Glychen, and many other nobles, beſide ix. thouſand cõmon ſouldiours, and the Towne of Auſca was taken and vtterly raſed.

The victorie of the proteſtantes.

At the laſt, diſſention riſing betweene Ziſca and them of Prage, they of Prage prepared an army againſt him, wherwith he perceiuing himſelfe ouermatched, fled vnto yͤ Riuer of Albis and was almoſt takẽ, but that he had paſſage through the town of Poggiebras, but they of Prage purſuing the taile of yͤ battaile, ſlue many of his Thaborites. At the length they came vnto certaine hils, whereas Ziſca going into the valley, knowing the ſtraights of the place, that his enimies could not ſpread their army, he commanded his ſtanderd to ſtand ſtill, and exhorting and encouraging his ſouldiours, he gaue them battaile.

The battaile betweene the citie of Prage & Ziſca.

This battaile was very fierce and cruell: but Ziſca hauing the vpper hande, ſlue 3000. of them of Prage, and put the reſt to flight, and ſtraightwaies tooke the Citie of Cuthna by force (which they of Prage had repaired) and ſet it on fire: then withall ſpeed he went with his army to beſiege Prage, and incamped within a bowe ſhoote of the towne. There wer many both in the City, and alſo in his hoſt which grudged ſore at yͤ ſiege: ſome accuſing Ziſca, otherſome them of Prage. There was great tumultes in the campe, yͤ ſouldiours ſaieng that it was not reaſonable, that the City ſhould be ſuppreſſed, which was both the head of the kingdome, and did not diſſent frõ them in opinion: ſaieng that yͤ Bohemians power would ſoone decay, if their enimies ſhould know yͭ they were deuided within themſelues: alſo that they had ſufficient warres agaynſt the Emperour, and that it was but a fooliſh deuiſe to moue warres amongſt themſelues. This talke came vnto the eare of Ziſca, who calling together his armie, ſtandyng vpon a place to be heard, ſpake theſe words.

The noble victory of Ziſca.

Ziſca beſiegeth Prage.

Brethren be yee not agreeued againſt me, neither accuſe hym which hath ſought your health and ſauegard. The victories which ye haue obteined vnder my conduict, are yet freſh in memorie, neither haue I broughte you at anye time vnto any place, from whence you haue not come victours. You are become famous and rich, and I for your ſake haue loſt my ſight, and dwell in darkeneſſe Nothing haue I gotten by all theſe fortunate battailes, but only a vaine name. For you haue I fought, and for you haue I vanquiſhed, neither do I repente me of my trauailes, neyther is my blindneſſe greeuous vnto me, but onely that I can not prouide for you, according to my accuſtomed manner: Neither do I perſecute them of Prage for mine owne cauſe, for it is your bloud that they thirſt and ſeeke for, and not mine. It were but ſmall pleaſure for them to deſtroy me being now an old man and blind: it is your valiantneſſe and ſtoute ſtomackes which they feare. Either muſt you or they periſh: who whileſt they ſeeme to lye in wait for me, do ſeeke after your liues. You muſt rather feare ciuill warres then foreine, and ciuill ſedition ought firſt to be auoided. We will ſubdue Prage, and baniſh the ſeditious Citizens, before the Emperour ſhall haue any newes of this ſedition. And then hauing but a few of his faction left, we may wyth the leſſe feare looke for it: better then if theſe doubtfull Citizens of Prage were ſtill in our campe. But becauſe ye ſhall accuſe me no more, I geue you free libertie to do what you will. If it pleaſe you to ſuffer them of prage to liue in quietneſſe, I will not be againſt it, ſo that there be no treaſon wrought. If you determine to haue warre, I am alſo readie. Looke which part you will decline vnto, Ziſca will be your ayde and helper.

A notable oration of Ziſca to his ſouldiours.

When he had ſpoken theſe words, the ſouldiours minds were changed, and wholly determined to make wars, ſo that they ran by and by to take vp their armour and weapon, to run vnto the walles to prouoke their enemies to fight for the gates of the citie. Ziſca in the meane time prepared all things ready for the aſſault. There is a litle from Pelſina a certain vilage named Rochezana. In this place, there was a child borne of pore and baſe parẽtage, whoſe

The hartes of the ſouldiours altered by the oratiõ of Ziſca.

name was John: he came vnto Prage, and got his liuing there by begging, and learned Grammer & Logick. When he came to mā ſtate, he became yͤ Scholemaſter of a noble mans child, and for ſo much as he was of an excellent wit and ready toung, he was receiued into the Colledge of the poore, and laſt of all being made Prieſt, he began to preach the word of God to the Citizēs of Prage, and was named Iohannes de Rochezana, by the name of the Towne where he was borne. This mā grew to be of great name and authoritie in the towne of Prage. Wherupon when as Ziſca beſieged Prage, he by the conſent of the Citizēs went out into the camp, and reconciled Ziſca againe vnto the Citie.

Peace betweene Ziſca and Prage by the meanes of Iohn de Rochezana.

When as the Emperour perceiued that all things came to paſſe according vnto Ziſca his will and minde, and that vpon him alone the whole ſtate of Boheme did depend, he ſought priuie meanes to recōcile and get Ziſca into his fauour, promiſing him yͤ gouernance of the whole kingdom, the guiding of all his hoſtes & armies, and great yearely reuenues, if he would proclaime him King, and cauſe the Cities to be ſworne vnto him. Vpō which cōditions, whē as Ziſca for the performance of the couenants went vnto the Emperour being on his iourney at the Caſtle of Priſcouia, he was ſtricken with ſickneſſe and died.

The Emperour glad to be recōciled with Ziſca.

It is reported, that when he was demaunded beyng ſicke, in what place he would be buried, he commaunded the ſkinne to be pulled off from his dead carkaſe, and the fleſh to bee caſt vnto the foules and beaſtes, and that a drumme ſhould be made of his ſkinne, which they ſhould vſe in their battailes, affirming, that as ſoone as their enimies ſhould heare the ſound of that drumme, they would not abide, but take their flight. The Thaborites deſpiſing all other Images, yet ſet vp the Picture of Ziſca ouer the gates of the Citie.

The death of Ziſca.

The wordes of Ziſca at his death.

¶ The Epitaphe of Iohn Ziſca, the valiant Captaine of the Bohemians.

The Epitaphe of Ziſca.

I John Ziſca, not inferiour to any Emperour or Captain in warlike policie, a ſeueare puniſher of the pride and auarice of the Clergy, and a defender of my countrey, do lie heere. That which Appius Claudius by geuing good counſell, and M. Furius Camillus by valiantneſſe did for the Romaines: the ſame I being blinde, haue done for my Bohemians. I neuer ſlacked oportunitie of battaile, neither did fortune at any time faile me. I being blinde, did foreſee all oportunitie of well ordering or doing my buſineſſe. Eleuen times in ioining battaile, I went victour out of the field. I ſeemed to haue worthely defended the cauſe of the miſerable and hungry, againſt the delicate, fatte, and glotonous Prieſts, and for that cauſe to haue receiued help at the hande of God. If their enuy had not let it, without doubt I had deſerued to be numbred amongſt the moſt famous men. Notwithſtanding my bones lye heere in this halowed place, euen in deſpite of the Pope.

Ziſca eleuen times, victor in the fielde.

ΙΩΑΝΝΕΣ ΣΙΣΚΑΣ ὁ βοιημὸς τῶν ἀισχρο κερδῶν ἱερέων ἀιχθρὸς ἀλλὰ ἐνθείῳ ζήλῳ.

¶ Iohn Ziſca a Bohemian, enemy to all wicked and couetous Prieſtes, but with a godly zeale.

And thus haue you the actes and doings of this worthy Ziſca, and other Bohemians, which for the more credite we haue drawne out of Æneas Syluius, onely his rayling tearmes excepted, which we haue heere ſuppreſſed.

All this while the Emperour with the whole power of the Germaines, were not ſo buſie on yͤ one ſide, but Martin the Pope was as much occupied on the other ſide: who about the ſame time directed downe a terrible Bull, full of all poiſon to all Byſhops and Archbyſhops, agaynſt all ſuch as tooke any part or ſide with Wickleffe, John Hus, Hierome, or with their doctrine and opinions. The copie of which Bull, which I found in an olde written monument, I wiſh the reader thoroughly to peruſe, wherein he ſhall ſee the Pope to poure out at once all his poiſon.

✻ The Bull of Pope Martine directed foorth againſt the followers of Iohn Wickliffe of England, of Iohn Huſſe of Boheme, and Hierome of Prage.

Pope Martins bloudy bull, to all Byſhops and Archbiſhops.

Martine Biſhop, the ſeruant of Gods ſeruants, to our reuerend brethren the Archbiſhops of Salzeburgen, Gueznen, and Pragē, & to the Biſhops of Olumcen, Luthomuſlen, Bambergen, Miſnen, Patauiē, Vratiſlauien, Ratiſponen. Cra. ouien, Poznamen, and Nitricn, & alſo to our beloued children the Inquiſitours appointed of the Prelates aboue recited, or where elſe ſoeuer, vnto whome theſe preſent letters ſhall come, greeting, and Apoſtolicall benediction. Amongſt all other paſtorall cares wherewith we are oppreſſed, this chefly and ſpecially doth inforce vs, that heretikes with their falſe doctrine and errours, being vtterly expulſed from amōgſt the cōpany of Chriſten mē, and rooted out (ſo farre forth as God will make vs able to do) the right and Catholike faith may remaine ſound and vndefiled: and that all Chriſtian people, immoueable and iuiolate, may ſtande and abide in the ſinceritie of the ſame fayth, the whole vayle of obſcuritie being remoued. But lately in diuers places of yͤ world, but eſpecially in Bohemia, and the Dukedome of Morauia, and in the ſtraights adioining thereunto, certaine Archheretickes haue riſen and ſprong vp, not againſt one only, but againſt diuers & ſundry documēts of the Catholike faith, being landlopers ſchiſmatikes, and ſeditious perſons, fraught with diueliſh pride & woluiſh madnes, deceiued by the ſubtlety of Sathan, and frō one euill vanity brought to a worſe. Who although they roſe vp & ſprang in diuers parts of yͤ world, yet agreed they all in one, hauing their tailes as it were knit together: to wit, John Wickliffe of England, J. Hus of Bohemia, & Hierome of Prage of damnable memorie, who drew with thē no ſmall nūber to miſerable ruine and infidelitie. For when as thoſe & ſuch like peſtiferous perſons did in yͤ beginning of their poiſoned doctrine, obſtinately ſow and ſpread abroad peruerſe & falſe opinions, yͤ prelates who had the regiment & execution of the iudiciall power, like dumme dogs, not able to barke, neither yet reuenging ſpeedely with the Apoſtle, all ſuch diſobediēce, nor regarding corporally to caſt out of the lords houſe (as they were enioined by yͤ canons) thoſe ſubtill and peſtilēt Archheretickes, and their woluiſh fury and cruelty, with all expedition, but ſuffering their falſe and pernicious doctrine negligētly, by their ouerlong delaies, to growe and waxe ſtrōg: a great multitude of people in ſtead of true doctrine receiued thoſe things, which they did lōg falſly, perniciouſly and damnably ſow among them, and geuing credite vnto them, fell from the right faith, and are intangled (the more pitie) in the foule errors of Paganiſme.

All theſe errours and hereſies be, for that they ſpeke againſt the pride of prelates and their exceſſiue dignities.

In ſo much, that thoſe Archheretickes, and ſuche as ſpring of them, haue infected the Catholicke flock of Chriſt in diuers climates of the world and parts bordering vpon the ſame, and haue cauſed them to putrifie in the filthie dunghill of their lies. Wherefore the generell Synode of Conſtance, was compelled with Saint Auguſtine to exclaime againſt ſo great and ruinous a plague of faythfull men, and of the ſound and true faith it ſelfe, ſaieng: What ſhall the Soueraigne medicine of the Church do, wyth motherly loue ſeeking the health of hir ſheepe, chafing as it were, amongſt a companie of men franticke, and hauing the diſeaſe of the Lethargie? What? ſhall ſhe deſiſt and leaue off hir good purpoſe? No not ſo. But rather let hir, if there be no remedie, be ſharpe to both theſe ſorts, which are the greeuous enemies of her wombe. For the Phiſition is ſharpe vnto the man beſtraught and raging in his frenſie, and yet is he a father to his owne rude and vnmanerly ſonne, in binding the one, in beating the other, by ſhewing therein his great loue vnto them both. But if they be negligent, and ſuffer them to periſh (ſayth Auguſtine) this manſuetude is rather to be ſuppoſed falſe crueltie.

All be Pagans with the Pope, that like not his ſuperſtitious and idolatrous traditions.

A great difference betweene a louing mother and the frantike whore of Babilon.

And therefore the foreſaide Synode, to the glory of almighty God, and preſeruation of his catholicke faith, and augmenting of Chriſtian religion, and for the ſaluation of mens ſoules: hath corporally reiected and caſt forth of the houſhold of God, the foreſaid J. Wicklieffe, J. Hus, and Jerome: who amongſt other things, did beleeue, preach, teach, and maintaine of the Sacrament of the aultar, and other ſacramēts of the church & articles of the faith, cōtrary to that yͤ holy Church of Rome beleueth, holdeth, preacheth and teacheth, & haue preſumed obſtinately to preach, teach, hold, and beleue many other moe, to the damnation of themſelues and of others: and the ſayde Synode hath ſeparated the ſame, as obſtinate and malipert heretickes from the Communion of the faithfull people, and haue declared them to be ſpiritually throwne forth: and many other things both wholeſome & profitable hath the ſame Councell as touching the premiſſes, ſtabliſhed and decreed, whereby they, which by the meanes of thoſe Archheretikes, and by their falſe doctrine, haue ſpiritually departed from the Lords houſe, may by the canonicall rules be reduced to the ſtraight path of truth and veritie.

And moreouer (as we to our great griefe do heare) not only in yͤ kingdome of Bohemia, and Dukedome of Morauia and other places aboue recited, but alſo in certaine parts and prouinces neere adioining and bordering vpon the ſame, there be many other of yͤ ſecretaries and followers of the foreſayd Archheritickes and hereticall opinions caſting behind their backes as well the feare of God, as yͤ ſhame of the world, neither receiuing fruit of conuerſion & repentaunce by the miſerable deſtruction of the foreſayde Iohn Hus and Hierome, but as men drowned in the dungeon of their ſinnes, ceaſe not to blaſpheme the Lord God taking his name in vayne (whoſe minds the father of lies hath damnably blinded) and do read and ſtudy the foreſaid bookes or workes, contayning hereſies & errours, being lately by the foreſayd Synode condẽned to be burned: alſo to the perill of themſelues and many other ſimple men, & againſt the ſtatutes, decrees, and ordinaunces in the Synode aforeſayd, and the Canonicall ſanctions, do preſume to preach & teach the ſame, to the great perill of ſoules, the derogation of the Catholicke fayth, and ſclaunder of many other beſides. We therfore conſidering that errour, when it is not reliſted, ſeemeth to be allowed and liked, and hauing a deſire to reſiſt ſuch euill and pernicious errours, and vtterly roote them out from amongſt the companie of faythfull chriſtians, eſpecially frõ the afore recited places of Bohemia, Morauia, and other ſtraights and Iſlands ioyning and bordering vpon the ſame, leaſt they ſhold ſtretch out & enlarge their limites: we will and commaund your diſcretions by our letters Apoſtolicall, the holy Councell of Cõſtance approuing and allowing the ſame, that you that are Archbiſhops, Biſhops, and other of the clergy, and euery one of you by himſelf or by an other or others, being graue and fit perſons to haue ſpirituall iuriſdiction: do ſee that al and ſinguler perſons, of what dignitie, office, preeminence ſtate, or conditiõ ſo euer they be, and by what name ſoeuer they are knowne, which ſhall preſume otherwiſe to teache preach, or obſerue, touching the moſt high and excelent, the moſt wholeſome and ſuperadmirable Sacrament of the bloud of our Lorde Ieſus Chriſte, or els of the Sacrament of Baptiſme, confeſſion of ſinnes, penaunce for ſins and extreme vnction, or els of any other Sacramentes of the Church, & articles of the faith, then that, which yͤ right holy & vniuerſal church of Rome doth hold, teach, preach, & obſerue: or els yͭ ſhall preſume obſtinately by any wayes or meanes, priuily, or apertly, to hold, beleue, and teach the Articles, bookes, or doctrine of the foreſayd Archhereticks Iohn wickleffe, Iohn Hus, & Hieronimus of Prage, being by the foreſayd Synode of Conſtaunce with theyr authours (as is ſayd) damned and condemned, or dare preſume publikly or priuily to allow or commend in any wiſe yͤ death and end of yͤ ſaid archheretiks, or of any other their receiuers, ayders and fauourers, in the fauour or ſupportation of the foreſayd errors, as alſo their beleuers and adherentes: that then as before, you ſee and cauſe them and euery of them to be moſt ſeuerly puniſhed, & that you iudge and geue ſentence vpon them as hereticks, and that as arrant hereticks you leaue them to the ſecular court or power. Let the receiuers alſo, and fauourers and defenders of ſuch moſt peſtiferous perſons, notwithſtanding they neyther beleue, fauour, nor haue deuotion, towardes their errors but happely ſhal receaue or entertain ſuch peſtiferous perſons, becauſe of carnall affection, or friendly loue, beſides yͤ puniſhmene due vnto thẽ by both lawes, ouer and aboue the ſame puniſhment, by competent iudges be ſo afflicted, & for ſo haynous actes of theirs, with ſo ſeuere payn & puniſhment excruciated, that the ſame may be to other in like caſe offending, an example of terrour: that at the leaſt, thoſe whome the feare of God by no meanes may reuoke from ſuch euill doing, yet the ſeueritie of this our diſcipline may force and conſtrayne.

We fooles thought their life to be madnes, and their ende without honour. Sapiens. 5.

Et os eius ſicut os Leonis. 1. And his mouth is like the mouth of a Lyon. Apoc. 13.

Draconis lex ſaguine ſcripta.

The popes religiõ hath left all ſence of humanitie.

As touching the third ſort, which ſhalbe any maner of wayes infected with this damnable ſect, and ſhall after cõpetent admonition repẽt and amend themſelues of ſuch errours and ſectes aforeſayd, and will returne agayn into the lap and vnitie of our holy mother the Churche, & fully acknowledge and confeſſe the Catholike fayth: towardes them let the ſeueritie of iuſtice, as the quallitie of the facte ſhall require, be ſomewhat tempered with a taſt of mercy.

* And furthermore, we will and commaund, that by thys our authoritie Apoſtolicall, ye exhort and admoniſh al the profeſſours of the catholicke fayth, as Emperours, kings, Dukes, Princes, Marqueſſes, Earles, Barons, Knights and other Magiſtrates, Rectors, Conſuls, Proconſuls, Shires, Countries and Vniuerſities of the kingdomes, Prouinces, Cities, otwnes, Caſtles, villages, their lands & other places, & al other executing tẽporal iuriſdiction according to the form & exigence of the law, yͭ they expell out of their kingdoms, prouincies, Cities, towns, caſtles, villages & lands, & other places, al & all maner of ſuche heretickes, according to the effect and tenour of the Councell of Laterane, beginning, Sicut ait eccleſia. &c. yͭ thoſe whom publikely and manifeſtly by the euidence of their deedes, ſhall be knowne to be ſuch as like ſicke and ſcabed ſheepe infect the Lords flock, they expell and baniſh till ſuch tyme as from vs or you or els other eccleſiaſticall iudges or Inquiſitours holding the fayth and communion of the holye church of Rome, they ſhall receiue other order and countermaund: and that they ſuffer no ſuch within theyr ſhyres and circuites, to preach or to keepe either houſe or familye either yet to vſe any handicrafte or occupations or other trades of merchaundiſe, or els to ſolace themſelues anye wayes, or frequent the company of Chriſten men.

*Et vidi & beſtiam & reges terræ & excercitus eorum pugnantes cum illo qui ſedebat in equo, & excercitu eius. Apoc. 13. Et data eſt illi poteſtas in omnem tribum, et populum et linguam, & gentem.

1. And power is geuen him ouer all tribes, and people and tongues, and nations. &c. Apoc. 13.

And furthermore if ſuche publike and knowne heretiques ſhall chaunce to dye (although not ſo denounced by the Church) yet in this ſo great a crime, let hym and them want Chriſtian buriall, and let no offeringes or oblations be made for them nor receiued. Hys goodes and ſubſtance alſo frõ yͤ time of his death, according to yͤ Canonical ſanctions being confiſcate, let no ſuch enioy them to whõ they appertayne, till that by the eccleſiaſticall iudges hauing power and authoritie in this behalfe, ſentence vpon that his or their crime of hereſie, be declared, and promulgate, & let ſuch owners as be found ſuſpect or noted with anye ſuche ſuſpition of hereſie, before a competent and eccleſiaſticall iudge, according to the conſideration and exigence of that ſuſpicion, and according to the quallitie of the perſon, by yͤ arbitrement of ſuch a iudge: ſhew and declare hys proper & own innocẽcy with deuotion as beſeemeth in that behalf, And if in hys purgation, being Canonically interdicted, he do fayle, or be not able Canonically to make his purgation, or that he refuſe to take hys othe by damnable obſtinacie, to make ſuche purgation: then let him be condemned as an hereticke. But ſuch as thorough negligence or thorough ſlothfulnes, ſhall omit to ſhew their ſayd innocencie and to make ſuch purgation, let them be excommunicate, and ſo long put out from the company of Chriſten men, til yͭ they ſhall make condigne ſatiſfactiõ: ſo that if by the ſpace of one whole yeare they ſhall remayne in ſuch excommunication, then let them as heretickes be condẽned.

And further, if any ſhalbe found culpable in any point of the foreſayd peſtiferous doctrine of the Archheretickes aforeſayd, or in any Article thereof, whether it be by the reporte of the ſeditious, or els well diſpoſed: let them yet be puniſhed, according to the Canons. If onely through infamy and ſuſpition of the foreſaid Articles or any of them, any man ſhalbe found ſuſpect, & in his purgation Canonicall for this thing being interdicted, ſhall fayle: let hym be accompted as a man conuict, & as a conuict perſon by the Canons let him be puniſhed.

Note the tendernes of this louing mother, the Church of Rome.

And furthermore we innouating and putting in execution the Canon of our predeceſſour of happy memory pope Boniface the 8. which beginneth thus: Vt inquiſitionis negocium. &c. In exhorting wiſe require and alſo commaund all temporall potentates, Lordes & Iudges afore recited, by whatſoeuer dignities, offices, and names they are knowen: that as they deſire to be had, eſtemed, & counted for the faythfull members and children of the Church, and do reioyce in the name of Chriſt: ſo in likewiſe for the defẽce of the ſame faith, they wil obey, intẽd, giue their ayd, and fauorable help, to you that are Archbiſhops, Biſhops, and Eccleſiaſtical men, inquiſitours of al hereticall prauitie, and other Iudges and Eccleſiaſticall perſons by you hereunto, as aforeſayd, appoynted (holdyng the fayth and communiõ of our holy mother the church) for the ſearching out, taking, & ſafe cuſtody, of all the foreſayde heretickes, their beleuers, their fauorers, their receiuers, and their defenders, when ſo euer they ſhalbe therunto of them required.

Et facies omnes puſillos, et magnos, & diuites, et pauperes, et ſeruos, accipere characterem in manu ſua dextra. 1. And he ſhall make both little and great, riche and poore, free & bond to take his character in their right hand &c. Apoc. 13.

And that they bring and cauſe to be brought (al delay ſet aparte) the foreſayde peſtiferous perſons ſo ſeeking to deſtroy others with them, into ſuche ſafe keeping and pryſons, as by you the Archbyſhops, Byſhops, Clergie, and Inquiſitors aforeſaid, are to be appointed, or els vnto ſuch other place or places, as eyther you or they ſhal commaũd within any of their dominions, gouernements, and rectories, where they by catholicke men, that is, by you the Archbiſhops, byſhops, the Clergy, and inquiſitours, or any other that ſhalbe by you appointed, or are already appointed by any of you, may be holden and kept in ſafe keping, putting them in fetters, ſhackles, boltes, and manacles of yrõ vnder moſt ſtraight cuſtody for eſcaping away, tyll ſuche tyme as all that buſines which belongeth vnto them, be by the iudgement of the church finiſhed and determined, and that of ſuche hereſie, by a competent eccleſiaſticall iudge (which firmely holdeth the faith and communiõ of the ſaid holy church of Rome) they be cõdemned.

Satan ratteleth his chaines.

The reſidue, let the foreſayde temporall Lordes, Rectours, Iudges, or other their officers and Purſiuauntes, take amongeſt them, with condigne deathes without anye delay to puniſh. But fearing leaſt to the preiudice & ſclander of the foreſayd catholicke fayth and religion, thorough the pretext of ignoraunce, any man herein ſhoulde be circumuented, or that any ſubtile and craftie men ſhould vnder the vayle of friuolous excuſe, cloke and diſſēble in thys matter, and that as touching the cōuincing or apprehending of the foreſaid hereticks, their receiuours & defēdors, fauourers, beleeuers and adherentes, and alſo of ſuche as are ſuſpect of hereſie, and with ſuche like peruerſe doctrine in any wiſe ſpotted, we might geue more perfect inſtruction: Therfore as well to the kingdom of Bohemia & parts neare adioining to the ſame as all other where this ſuperſtitious doctrine firſt began to ſpread, we haue thought it good to ſend the articles here vnder written concerning yͤ ſecte of thoſe Archheretickes, for the better direction of the foreſayd Catholicke fayth.

Touching which articles, by vertue of holy obedience we charge and commaund you and all other Archbiſhops and Biſhops, all maner of commiſſaries and inquiſitours that euery of them within the Dioces and limites of theyr iuriſdiction, & alſo in yͤ foreſaid kingdom & dukedome and places neare adioyning, although the ſame places be beyond the ſame their iuriſdiction: in the fauour of the catholicke faith, do geue moſt dilligent and vigilant care about the extirpation and correction of thoſe erroures, archhereſies, and moſt peſtiferous ſect aforeſayd: and alſo that they compell all diffamed perſons and ſuſpecte of ſo peſtiferous a contagion, whether it be vnder the penaltie of the crime confeſſed, or of excommunication, ſuſpenſion or interdicte, or any other formidable payne canonicall or legall, when and whereſoeuer it ſhall ſeeme good to them, and as the quallitie of the facte requireth, by an othe corporally taken either vpon yͤ holy Euangeliſtes, or vpon the reliques of Saintes, or vpon the image of the crucifixe, according to the obſeruauntes of certayne places, and accordyng to the interrogatories, to make conuenient anſwere to euery article within written. For we intend agaynſt all and ſingular archbiſhops, Byſhops, Eccleſiaſticall perſons, or inquiſitours, which ſhall ſhew themſelues negligent and remiſſe in the extirpation of the leauen of this hereticall prauitie, and purging their territories, dioces, and places to them appoynted, of ſuch euill and wicked men: to proceed and to cauſe to be proceeded, vnto the deprauation and depoſition of their pontificall dignities, and ſhall ſubſtitute ſuch other in their places, which can and may be able to cōfound the ſayd hereticall prauitie, and procede to further paynes agaynſt ſuch by the lawe limitted, and vnto other yet more grieuous (if neede require) we our ſelues will procede and cauſe to be proceeded, according as the party his fact, and filthines of his crime committed, ſhall deſerue The tenour of thoſe articles wherof we haue made mention in this our owne writing are in wordes as follow.

The olde maner of the popiſhe othe.

✻ The articles of Iohn Hus to be inquired vpon.

1, There is one onely vniuerſall Church, whiche is the vniuerſitie of the predeſtinate, as ſhall after be declared.

3. The vniuerſall Church is onely one: as there is one vniuerſitie of thoſe that are predeſtinate.

3. Paule was neuer a member of the Deuill, although he did certayne actes like vnto the actes of the Church malignant.

4. The reprobate are not partes of the Churche, for that no part of the ſame finally falleth from her, becauſe that the charitie of predeſtination, which bindeth the ſame Church together, neuer fayleth.

Speaking of the inuiſible church the article is true.

5. The two natures (that is) the Diuinitie, and the humanitie, bee one Chriſt.

6. The reprobate, although he be ſometime in grace, according to preſent iuſtice, yet is he neuer a part of the holy Churche: and the predeſtination is euer a member of the Churche, although ſometime he fall from grace aduentitia, but not from grace of predeſtinatiō: euer taking the church for the conuocation of the predeſtinate whether they be in grace or not according to preſent iuſtice. And after this ſort the church is an article of our beliefe.

This article ſeemeth to be wraſted out of the wordes of Hierome of Prage.

7. Peter is not, nor neuer was the head of the holy catholicke Church.

8. Prieſtes, liuing viciouſly, doe defile the authoritie of prieſthood, and ſo, as vnfaythfull Children do vnfaythfully beleue of the ſeuen ſacraments, of the keyes of yͤ Church of offices, of Cenſures, of ceremonies, of the worſhippyng of reliques: indulgences, orders, and other holy things of the Church.

9. The papill dignitie came and grew from the Emperor and hys gouernement and inſtitution, ſprang from the emperours gouernment.

The papall dignitie touched.

10. No man can reaſonably affirme eyther of himſelfe or other that he is the head of any particular Churche, or that the biſhop of Rome, is the head of the Church of Rome.

11. A man ought not to beleue, that he which is byſhop of Rome is the head of euery particuler Churche, vnles god haue predeſtinate hym.

12. None is the vicare of Chriſt, or els of Peter, vnleſſe he follow him in maners and conditions, ſeing that there is no other following more pertinent, nor otherwiſe apte to receiue of God this power procuratory. For vnto yͤ office of a vicegerent of Chriſt is required, the conformitie of maners and the authoritie of the inſtitutor.

13. The pope is not the manifeſt and true ſucceſſor of Peter the Prince of the Apoſtles, if he liue in maners contrary to Peter: and if he hunt after auarice, then is he the vicar of Iudas Iſcarioth. And likewiſe the Cardinalles be not the true and manifeſt ſucceſſors of the Colledge of the other Apoſtles of Chriſt, vnles they lyue according to the maner of the Apoſtles, keeping the commaundementes & counſels of our Lord Ieſus Chriſt.

14. The Doctors alledging, that if a man, which will not be amended by the Eccleſiaſticall cenſures, is to be deliuered to the ſecular powers: do follow in this poynt, the byſhops, Scribes and Phariſeis, that deliuered Chriſt to the ſecular power (ſaying it is not lawfull for vs to kill anye man) becauſe he would not obey them in all thinges, and that ſuch be greater homicides then Pilate.

15. The eccleſiaſticall obedience is ſuch an obedience as yͤ Prieſtes of the church haue found out, beſides the expreſſe authoritie of the ſcripture. The immediate deuiſion of humaine works, is yͭ they be either vertuous or vicious, & if a man be vicious, and doth any thyng, then doth he it viciouſly, & if he be vertuous, and doth any thinge, thē doth he it vertuouſly. For like as vice which is called a great offēce or mortall ſin, doth ſtayne all yͤ doyngs of a vicious man: ſo vertue doth quicken all the doinges of a vertuous man.

16. A prieſt of God liuing after hys lawe, and hauing the knowledge of the ſcripture, and a deſire to ediſy the people ought to preach, notwithſtanding any excommunication, pretended of the pope, And further, if the pope, or anye other magiſtrate doeth forbid a prieſt ſo diſpoſed to preache, he ought not to be obedient vnto him. For euery one that taketh vpō him the order of prieſthood, receiueth in charge the office of a preacher: and of that burden ought he well to diſcharge himſelfe, any excommunication againſt him pretended in any wiſe notwithſtanding.

17. By the Cenſures eccleſiaſticall, as of excommunication, ſuſpending, and interdicte, the clergy to their owne aduauncement cauſe the lay people to ayd them: they multiply their auarice, they defend their malice, and prepare the way to Antichriſt. And it is an euident ſigne that ſuch cenſures procede from Antichriſt, which in their proces they call Fulminationes, that is, their thunderboltes wherewith the clergy principally proceedeth agaynſt thoſe that declare the wickednes of Antichriſt, who ſo greatly for hys owne commoditie hath abuſed them.

18. If the pope be euill, eſpecially if he be a reprobate, thē is he with Iudas a very deuill, a theefe and the ſonne of perdition, and is not the head of the holy Church militant nor any member of the ſame.

19. The grace of predeſtination is the band, wherwith the body of the church and euery member of the ſame is indiſſolubly ioyned to their head Chriſt.

20. The pope or Prelate that is euill and a reprobate, is a Paſtor in name, and not in deede, yea he is a theefe and a robber in very deede.

21. The P. ought not to be called the moſt holy one for his office ſake, for then ought a king to be called by hys office yͤ moſt holy one: and hangmen with other ſuch officers alſo were to be called holye, yea the deuill hymſelfe ought to be called holy, for aſmuch as he is Gods officer.

Iohn Hus expoundeth this article with this diſtinct. non ratione meriti, ſed ratione officii.

22. If the pope liue contrary vnto Chriſt, although he clime vp by the right and lawfull election according to the common cuſtome of men: yet notwithſtanding ſhoulde he otherwiſe clime then by Chriſt, yea though wee admitte that he ſhoulde enter by the election principally made by God. For Iudas Iſcarioth was lawfully elect of GOD Chriſt Ieſus to hys byſhopricke, and yet came not he the ſame way he ought to do vnto the ſhepefold.

Iohn Hus declareth his mind touching this article ſufficiently before.

23 The condemnation of 45. articles of Iohn wickleffe by the doctors made, is vnreaſonable, wicked and naught, & the cauſe by them alledged is fayned that is, that none of them are Catholicke, but euery on of them hereticall, erroneous, or ſlaunderous.

14. Not for that the electours, or the moſt part of thē haue

conſented together with liuely voyce according to the cuſtome of men vpon the perſon of any, therfore, that perſon is lawfully elect, or therfore is the true and manifeſt ſucceſſors & vicar of Peter the Apoſtle, or of any other yͤ Apoſtles in yͤ eccleſiaſtical office. wherfore, whether yͤ electors haue either wel or euil made their election, it behoueth vs to beleue the ſame, by the workes of him that is elected. For in that that euery one that worketh more meritoriouſly to the profite of the Church, he hath ſo much the more greater authoritie from God.

Election maketh not the ſucceſſor of Pet. but immitation.

25. There is not ſo muche as one ſparke of appearaunce that there ought to be one head, ruling and gouerning the church in ſpirituall cauſes, which ſhould alwayes be conuerſaunt in the church militant. For Chriſt without anye ſuch monſtrous heds, by his true diſciples ſparſed through the whole world could better a great deale rule his church.

One head of the vniuerſall church beſide Chriſt hath no foundation in all ſcripture.

26. The Apoſtles and faythfull prieſts of God, haue right worthily in al thinges neceſſary to ſaluation gouerned the church before the popes office tooke place, and ſo might they doe agayne, by like poſſibilitie vntill Chriſt came to iudgement, if the popes office ſhould fayle.

Let euery one that is ſuſpected in the foreſayd articles, or els otherwiſe found with aſſertion of them, Be examined in maner and forme as followeth.

The forme and maner of the popes inquiſition.

IN primis, whether he knew John wicleffe of Englande, John Hus of Bohemia, and Hierome of Prage, or anye of them, and how he came by the knowledge of them, whither that during the liues of them or any of them, they had eyther bene conuerſant with them, or found any frendſhip at their handes.

2. Item, whether he knowing them or any of them to be excommunicate, did willingly participate with them: eſteming & affirming the ſame their participaciõ to be no ſin.

3. Item, whither that after their deathes, he euer prayed for them or any of them, openly or priuily, doing any work of mercy for them, affirming them to be either ſaintes, or els to be ſaued.

Hereſie to pray for I. Wickliffe or I. Hus, &c.

4. Item, whether he thought them or anye of them to be Saintes, or whether that euer he ſpake ſuch wordes, and whether euer he did exhibite any worſhippe vnto them as vnto ſaintes.

5. Item, whether he beleue, hold, and affirme, that euery generall councell, as alſo the Councell of Conſtance, doth repreſent the vniuerſall Church.

6. Item, whether he doth beleue that that which the holy Councell of Conſtance: repreſenting the vniuerſall church hath and doth alow in the fauour of the fayth, and ſaluatiõ of ſoules, is to be approued and allowed of all the faythfull Chriſtians: and that whatſoeuer the ſame Councell hath condemned, and doth condemne to be contrary both to the fayth and to all good men, is to beleued, holden, and affirmed for condemned or not.

Hereſie not to beleeue the councell of Conſtãce

7. Item, whether he beleueth that the condemnations of John Hus, John wickleffe, and Hierome of Prage, made as well vpon their perſons, as their bookes and doctrine by the holy generall Councell of Conſtance, be rightly & iuſtly made, and of euery good Catholicke man, are ſo to be holden and affirmed, or not.

8. Item, whether he beleue, hold, and affirme, that John wickleffe of England, John Hus of Bohemia, and Hierome of Prage, were heretickes or not, and for heretickes to be nominated & preached, yea or not, and whether theyr bookes and doctrines were and be peruerſe or not, for the which together with their pertinacie, they were condemned by the holye ſacred Councell of Conſtaunce for heretiques.

9. Itẽ, whether he haue in his cuſtody any treatiſes, ſmal workes, Epiſtles, or other writinges in what language or tongue ſoeuer, ſet forth and tranſlated by any of theſe heretickes John wickleffe, John Hus, and Hierome or any other of their falſe Diſciples and followers, that he may deliuer them to the ordinaries of that place, or his commiſſary, or to the inquiſitours, vpon hys othe. And if he ſay that he hath no ſuche writing about him, but yͭ they are in ſome other place: that then you ſweare him to bring the ſame before his Ordinary or other aforenamed, within a certayne time to him prefixed.

10. Item, whether he knoweth any that hath yͤ treatiſes, works, Epiſtles, or anye other writinges of the aforeſayd John wickleffe, John Hus, and Hierome, in whatſouer tong they are made or tranſlated, and that he detect & manifeſt the ſame, for the purgation of their fayth and execution of iuſtice.

11. Item, eſpecially let the learned be examined, whether he beleueth that the ſentence of the holy Councell of Conſtance vpon the 45. articles of John wickleffe, and the 30. Articles of John Hus be not Catholicke: which ſayth that ſome of them are notorious hereticall, ſome erroneous, other ſome blaſphemous, ſome ſlaunderous, ſome raſh and ſeditious, ſome offenſiue to godly eares.

12. Item, whether he beleeueth and affirmeth, that in no caſe it is lawfull for a man to ſweare.

13. Item, whether he beleueth, that at the commaundement of a iudge or any other, it is lawfull to take an oth to tell the truth in anye conuenient cauſe, although it be but purging of an infamy or not.

14. Item, whether he beleueth that periury wittingly cõmitted, vppon what cauſe ſoeuer, whether it be for yͤ ſafegard of hys owne life, or of any other mans lyfe, (yea, although it be in the cauſe and defence of the fayth) be a ſinne or not.

14. Item, whether a man contemning purpoſedly the rites of the Churche, and the ceremonies of exorciſme of Cathechiſme, and the conſecration of the water of Baptiſme, be deadly ſinne or not.

16. Item, whether he beleue, that after the conſecration of the prieſt in the ſacrament of the aultar vnder the figure of bread and wyne, be no materiall bread and wyne: but in al poyntes, the ſame very Chriſt which was crucified vppon the Croſſe, and ſitteth vpon the right hand of the father.

17. Item, whether he beleeue, that after the conſecration made by the prieſt vnder the onely forme of bread and beſides the forme of wyne, be the very fleſh of Chriſt and hys bloud, hys ſoule and hys deitie, and ſo whole Chriſt as he is, and in likewiſe, vnder the forme of wine without the forme of bread, bee the very fleſhe of Chriſt and hys very bloud, his ſoule, and deitie, and ſo whole Chriſt, & the ſame body abſolutely vnder euery one of thoſe kinds ſingularly.

18. Item, whether he doth beleue, that the cuſtome of houſeling of the lay people vnder the forme of bread onely, obſerued of the vniuerſall Church, and allowed by the onely Councell of Conſtance, be to be vſed, and not without the authoritie of the Churche, at mens pleaſures to be altered, and that they that obſtinately affirme the contrary to this, are to be puniſhed as heretickes, or not.

Hereſie to miniſter in both kindes.

19. Item, whether he beleue that thoſe whiche contemne the receiuing of the ſacramentes of confirmation, or extreme vnction, or els the ſolemniſation of matrimony, cõmit deadly ſinne or not.

20. Item, whether he beleeue, that a Chriſtian man, ouer and beſides the contrition of hart, being licenſed of a conuenient prieſt, is bound to confeſſe himſelfe only to a prieſt and not to any lay man, be he neuer ſo deuout or good, vpon the neceſſitie of ſaluation.

21. Item, whether he beleue, that in the caſes before put, a prieſt may abſolue a ſinner confeſſing himſelf, and being contrite, from all ſinnes and enioyne him penaunce for the ſame.

22. Item, whether he beleueth, that an euill Prieſt, with due maner and forme, and with the intentiõ of doing, doth verily conſecrate, doth verily abſolue, doth verily baptiſe and doth verily diſpoſe all other ſacramentes euen as the Church doth.

23. Item, whether he beleeue that Saint Peter was the Vicar of Chriſt, hauing power to bynde and to loſe vppon the earth.

24. Item, whether he beleue that the Pope being canonically elect, whiche for the tyme ſhall be, by that name expreſly be the ſucceſſor of Peter or not, hauing ſupreme authoritie in the Church of God.

25. Item, whether he beleue that the authoritie of iuriſdiction of the Pope, an archbiſhop or a Biſhop in binding & looſing, be more then the authorititie of a ſimple prieſt or not although he haue charge of ſoules.

26. Item, whether he beleue, that the pope may vpon a iuſt and good cauſe, geue indulgẽces and remiſſion of ſins to all Chriſtian men, being verily contrite and confeſſed, eſpecially to thoſe that go on pilgrimage to holy places and good deedes.

27. Item, whether he beleue, that by ſuch graunt the pilgrimes that viſite thoſe Churches, and geue thẽ any thing may obtayne remiſſion of ſinnes or not.

Hereſie to deny the Popes indulgences.

28. Item, whether he beleue that all Biſhops may graũt vnto their ſubiectes according as the holy Canons doe limit, ſuch indulgences or not.

29. Item, whether he beleue and affirme, that it is lawfull for faythfull Chriſtians to worſhip Images and the reliques of ſayntes or not.

Hereſie not to worſhip images

30. Item, whether, he beleue that thoſe religions, whiche the Churche hath allowed, were lawfully and reaſonably brought in of the holy fathers or not.

31. Item, whether he beleueth that the pope or any other Prelate for the time being, or their vicars may excommunicate their ſubiect Eccleſiaſticall or ſecular for diſobediēce or contumacie, ſo that ſuch a one is to be holden and taken for excommunicate or not.

32. Item, whether ye beleue that for the diſobediēce and contumacie of perſons excommunicate, increaſing: the prelates or their vicares in ſpirituall thinges haue power to agrauate and to reagrauate, to put vpon men the interdict and to call for the ſecular arme: and that the ſame ſecular arme or power ought to be obedient to the cenſures, by their inferiors called for.

33. Item, whether he beleue that the pope and other prelates or els their vicares, haue power in ſpirituall things to excommunicate prieſtes and lay men that are ſtubberne and diſobedient, from theyr office, benefice or entrance into the church, and from the adminiſtration of the ſacraments of the Church, alſo to ſuſpend them.

34. Item, whether he beleue, that it is lawfull for eccleſiaſticall perſons without committing ſinne, to haue anye poſſeſſions & temporall goodes: and whether he beleeue, yͭ it is not lawfull for lay men to take away the ſame from thē by their authoritie: but rather that ſuch takers away & incrochers vpō eccleſiaſticall goods, are to be puniſhed as committers of ſacriledge, yea although ſuch Eccleſiaſticall perſons liue naughtely that haue ſuch goodes.

These Popes wil be ſure to loſe nothing.

Wealthy wickednes maintained.

35. Item, whether any ſuch taking away or incrochyng vpō any prieſt raſhly or violently made, although yͤ prieſt be an euill liuer, be ſacriledge or not.

36. Item, whether he beleue that it is lawfull for lay mē of whether ſexe ſoeuer: that is men and women, to preache the word of God or not.

37. Item, whether he beleue that it is lawfull to al prieſtes freely to preach the word of God wherſoeuer, whenſoeuer, and to whom ſoeuer it ſhal pleaſe them, althogh they be not ſent at all.

The pope neyther preacheth himſelfe, nor yet will ſuffer other good prieſts to preach

38. Item, whether he beleue that all mortall ſinnes, and eſpeciall ſuch as be manifeſt and publike, are to be corrected and to be extirpate or not.

Furthermore, wee will commaunde, and decree, that if any by ſecrete information by you or any other to be receiued, ſhall be founde either enfamed or ſuſpected of anye kind of yͤ peſtiferous ſect, hereſie & doctrine of the moſt peſtilence men I. wickleffe, I. Hus and Hierome of Prage the archhereticks aforeſaid, or of fauoring, receiuing or defending the foreſayd damned men whileſt they liued on the earth, their falſe followers and diſciples, or any that beleeueth their errours, or any that after their death pray for thē or any of them, or that nominateth them to be amongſt the number of catholick men, or yͭ defendeth them to be placed amongſt the number of yͤ saintes, either by their preaching worſhipping, or otherwaies wherin they deſerue to be ſuſpected: yͭ then they by you or ſome of you, may be cited perſonally to appeare before you or ſome of you, wᵗout either Proctor or Doctor to anſwere for them, an oth being opēly taken by them as is aforeſayd, to ſpeak the plain & mere veritie of the articles aboue written and euery of them, or other oportune, as caſe and circumſtance ſhall require, according to your diſcretion, as you or anye of you ſhall ſee expediēt to proceed againſt them, or any of them according to theſe preſentes or otherwiſe canonically, as you ſhall thinke good.

Alſo that you do publiſh ſolemnly & cauſe to be publiſhed, theſe preſent letters, omitting the articles & interrogatories herein contayned, in the citties & other places of your dioces, where conueniently you may, vnder our authoritie, & there to denounce and cauſe to be denounced all & ſingular ſuch hereticks, with their abbetters & fauorers of their hereſies & errours, of what ſexe or kinde ſoeuer, that do hold, & defend the ſayd errours, or doe participate any maner of way with heretickes, priuely or apertly, of what ſtate, dignitie, or condition ſoeuer he or they be, Patriarche, Archbiſhop, king, Queene, Duke or of what other dignitie either Eccleſiaſticall or ſeculare he be: alſo with their aduocates and procurators whoſoeuer, whiche are beleuers, followers, fauourers defenders, or receiuers of ſuch heretickes, or ſuſpected to be beleuers, followers, fautors, defenders or receiuers of them, to be excommunicate, euery ſonday and feſtiuall day, in the preſence of the people.

Papa ſpirat minas & cædes.

Furthermore, that you dilligently do to be inquired by the ſayd our authoritie, vpon all and ſingular ſuch perſons both men and women, that mayntayne, approue, defend, & teach ſuch errours, or that be fauourers, receauers and defenders of them, whether exempt or not exempt, of what dignitie, ſtate, preeminence, degree, order, or condition ſoeuer. And ſuch as you ſhal finde in the ſayd your inquiſition, either by their own confeſſion, or by any other meane to be diffamed, or otherwiſe infected with the ſpot of ſuche hereſie or errour, you, through the ſentence of excommunication, ſuſpenſion, interdict, and priuation of their dignities, perſonages, offices, or other benefices of the Church, and fees, which they hold of any church, monaſtery and other Eccleſiaſtical places, alſo of honours and ſecular dignities and degrees of ſciences or other faculties, as alſo by other paynes and cenſures of the Church, or by wayes and meanes whatſoeuer els ſhall ſeeme to you expedient, by taking and impriſoning of their bodies, and other corporall puniſhmentes wherwith heretickes are puniſhed, or are wont, and are commaunded by canonical ſanctions to be vſed: and if they be clerkes, by degradation, doe correcte and puniſhe, and cauſe them to be corrected and punyſhed with all dilligence.

Furthermore, that you do riſe vp ſtoutly and couragiouſly agaynſt ſuche heretickes, and the goodes as well of them, as of the lay men, according to the canonicall ſanctiō made agaynſt heretickes, and their followers, vnder the which we will and commaunde them and their partakers to be ſubiect. And alſo ſuch perſons, as ſhall be infamed of the hereſies or errors aforeſayd, or any of yͤ premiſſes, ſhall be bounde to purge themſelues, at your arbitrement: but the other which either be witneſſes, or by their owne confeſſions, or other allegations or probations, ſhalbe conuicted of the foreſaid hereſies, or articles, or of any the premiſſes, they ſhalbe compelled to reuoke and abiure publikely and ſolemnly the ſayd articles and errours, and to ſuffer condigne penaunce and puniſhment, yea euen to perpetuall impriſonment, (if need be) for the ſame.

See here the Dragon caſting out whole floudes to ſwalow vp the Saintes.

And to the intent yͭ they ſhall not nouriſh any kinde of hereſies hereafter, either in word, deede, or geſture, or ſhall induce other, either in worde or deede, priuely or apertly, directly or indirectly to beleeue yͤ ſame, they ſhalbe forced to put in ſufficient ſuretie. Who, if it ſo chaunce that they wil not publikely and ſolemnly renounce and abiure their articles and errors, and take at your handes condigne penaunce, though it be to perpetual, or tēporal puniſhment, according to your diſcretion, neither wil be cōtented to put in ſufficient ſuretie that they will not hereafter holde nor nouriſh thoſe errours and hereſies, neither wil induce other by word or deed, priuily or apertly, directly or indirectly, or by any other maner of colour, to beleue the ſame: that then you ſhall procede agaynſt them, according to yͤ qualty of their errours and demerites, yea and if you ſee it ſo expedient, as againſt heretickes, & as infected with hereſie by our authoritie, according to the canonical ſanctions ſummarily and ſimply and plainly, ſine ſtrepitu & figura iudicij, & of office, all appellatiō or appellations whatſoeuer ceaſing and that you puniſh the ſame, according to the ſanctions & traditions canonicall, yea if neede be, in leauing and committing them to the ſecular power: and agaynſt ſuch as be ſuperiors or learned doctors, laying the cenſures of eccleſiaſticall excōmunication, al appellation ſet aſide, alſo innocating, if neede ſhall require, ayd of the ſecular arme: The conſtitution as wel of our predeceſſor P. Boniface 8. of bleſſed memory, wherein is decreed that no man without hys City or dioces (except in certayne caſes) or in places being one daies iorney diſtant from thence where he inhabiteth, ſhalbe called into iudgement, & that no man do preſume to depute iudges frō yͤ ſea Apoſtolicke, wᵗout the city & dioces where they are deputed, to procede agaynſt any: or do preſume to cōmit their authority to any other perſon or perſōs or to fetch & remoue any man beyond one dayes iorny frō out his Dioces where he dwelleth, or at moſt two dayes iourny, if it be in a generall councell: as alſo all other conſtitutions of any byſhop of Rome, touching as well, Iudges delegate, as perſons not to be called to iudgement beyond a certaine number: or els any other edict indulce, priuelege, or exemption generall or ſpecial graunted from the Apoſtolike ſea, for anye perſon or perſons not to be interdicted, ſuſpended, or excommunicated, or cited vp to iudgement without the compaſſe of certaine limites: or els whatſoeuer thing otherwiſe may hinder, ſtop, or impeache your iuriſdiction, power, and free proceeding herein by anye meanes to the contrary notwithſtanding. Dat Conſtant. the firſt yeare of our popedome.

Pope Martin 5. contrary to Pope Boniface 8.

Pope Martyn vndoeth the acts and edictes of al other popes.

This bloudy and abhominable commiſſion of pope Martine, which I haue copied out of a certaine olde monument remaining in the handes of Maiſter Hackluyt, ſtudent in the Temple, ſeemeth to be directed and geuen out to the publike deſtruction of all faithful Chriſten men, about the latter end & breaking vp of the councel of Conſtance, an. 1418. By the which the prudent reader hath this

to

Note howe Antichriſt rageth and ryſeth againſt chriſt

to note and conſider, what labour, what pollicie, what coũſaile, & what lawes haue bene ſet, what wayes haue bene takẽ, what ſeueritie hath bene ſhewed, how mens power, wit, and authoritie of the whole world haue conſpired together from time to time, cõtinually by all maner meanes to ſubuert and ſupplant the worde, and way of the Lorde: And yet notwithſtanding man hath not preuayled, but all his force & deuiſed pollicies haue bene ouerthrowen, diſpatched and wt the councell of Achitophell and Ammon, haue bene brought to nought, and contrary to the furye of the world, the goſpell of Chriſt hathe ſtill increaſed.

Mans power and counſaile too weake againſt chriſt

Neither yet for all this, will the Pope ceaſe to ſpurne and rebell ſtill againſt the kingdome of Chriſte, and of hys Goſpell agaynſt which, neyther he, nor yet ye gates of hell ſhall euer preuayle. The Lord of hoſtes be mercifull to hys poore perſecuted flocke. Amen.

Agaynſt this peſtilent Bull and Inquiſition of Pope Martine the great antechriſt, I thought good here to adioyne and annexe an other contrarye writing of the Bohemians, bearing the name and ſubſcription of Procopius, Conradus, and other Captaynes of ye Bohemians, which ſeemeth not long after the death of Ziſca, to be written agaynſt the peſtiferous ſea of Rome, the tenour whereof here followeth.

✻ A fruitfull and Chriſtian exhortation of the Bohemianes to kinges and princes, to ſtir them vp to the zeale of the Goſpell.

An exhortation of the Bohemians.

THe almighty God the father, by hys welbeloued ſonne Ieſus Chriſt, may in hys holy ſpirite open the vnderſtanding both of you and of all Chriſtians, & lighten your hartes with the light of hys doctrin of righteouſnes, and may make you to continue therin, ſurely eſtabliſhed to the end. This we deſire of you for your ſaluation, all ye honourable, wiſe, & honeſt noble men, & al the Comminaltie, ye rich and poore, heare and conſider with dilligent heede, the wordes of this preſent letter, which is ſent vnto you from the Country of the Bohemianes.

The Pope and prelates by their letters ſtirred them to fight.

It is manifeſt and well knowne to you and many other citties, Kynges, princes, and Lordes, that now a certayne number of yeares, there hath ben great diſcord betwixt vs and you, and there haue bene ſome which haue moued you by letters, and prouoked you to make warre againſt vs, and to deſtroy vs. And as well on your part as on ours: many men, as wel noble as vnnoble, haue fooliſhly loſt their lyues. Yet neuer hetherto haue ye in any parte vnderſtoode our fayth by our owne confeſſion, neither whether we be able to proue the ſame out of the ſcriptures, yea or no: and yet in the meane time, kinges, Princes, Lordes, and Citties, haue ſuſtayned great dammage. And hereof we greatly merueile, that ye do ſo much truſt and beleue the pope and hys prieſtes, which geue you drinke full of poyſon, and ſuch comfort as no man can vnderſtand,

Faire words doe make fooles faine.

in that they ſay that they wil geue you forgeuenes of all your ſinnes, and great grace & pardon, to this end, that you ſhould warre vpon vs & deſtroy vs: wheras their graces and pardons are none other then great lies, and a great ſeducing of the body and ſoule of all them that beleue them: and put their truſt in them.

The Pope ſeduceth the world with vaine promiſes of thinges, which he cannot geue

Thys we would proue vnto them, & ouercome them by the holy ſcripture, and we wold ſuffer: that whoſoeuer is deſirous to heare the ſame, ſhoulde heare it. For the Pope and all hys prieſtes, herein deale with you as the deuill woulde haue done wyth our Lorde Ieſus Chriſt. Of whome Luke writeth in hys 4. chap. that he brought him vpon an high hill, & ſhewed vnto hym in the twinckling of an eye, al the kyngdomes that are in the compaſſe of the earth, & ſaid vnto him: I wil geue thee &c. So the deuill deceiueth the pope, and all the prieſtes with the riches of the worlde, and worldly power: And they thinke they can geue grace and pardon when they wyll, and they themſelues ſhall neuer finde fauour before almighty God, except they repent and make amendes, becauſe of theyr great deceauing of Chriſtedom. And how can they geue that to others, which they themſelues haue not? So dyd the Deuill, who was rich in promiſing, and poore in geuing.

The deuil & the Pope riche in promiſing and poore in geuing.

And like as the Deuill is not aſhamed to tell a lye, ſo all they are not aſhamed to ſpeake that which ſhall neuer be found true, nor be proued by the holy ſcriptures, becauſe for no cauſe, they ſtirre vp kinges, Princes, Lordes, and Citties, to make warre agaynſt vs, not to the end that the Chriſtian fayth ſhoulde therby be defended, but becauſe they feare ye theyr ſecret vices and hereſies ſhalbe diſcloſed and made manifeſt. For if they had a true cauſe, & a godly loue to the Chriſtiã faith they would then take the books of the holy ſcripture, and would come vnto vs, and ouercome vs with the weapõs of Gods word, and that is our chiefe deſire, For ſo dyd the apoſtles of our Lord Ieſus Chriſt, who came to ye Paganes and Iewes, and brought them from their infidelitie to the true fayth of our Lorde Ieſus Chriſt, and this they dyd in the ſpirite of meekenes, as the Apoſtle Paule writeth in the 6. chap. to the Galat. Brethren if anye man be agreeued. &c.

Galat. 6.

So ought they alſo to doe, if they perceiued that they were iuſt, and we vniuſt. And if we woulde not abide inſtruction: then they might take to them kinges, Princes, Lordes, and imperiall citties, and reſiſt vs according to the commaundementes of the holy ſcripture.

False pretenſes of the papiſtes.

But this is the ſubtile defence of all the Byſhops and Prieſtes that they ſay that mayſter Hus and Hierome which were burnt at Conſtance, were ouercome of the holy father the Pope, and of the whole Councell: For ye muſt vnderſtand that they were not ouercome by the holy Ghoſt, but vniuſtly, with wrongfull violence, which God may yet hereafter greeuouſly puniſhe in all them that gaue their counſel and ayd thereto:

M. Hus & Hierom by wrongful violence put to death.

and they ſaye it ought not to be ſuffered, tha we ſhould be heard in confeſſing our fayth. How may that be proued by the holy ſcripture, ſince chriſt heard the deuill as it is written in the fourth chap. of Mathewe? And they are not better then Chriſt, nor we worſe then the Deuill.

Chriſt heard the deuill: bu the pope wil not heare men confeſſe their fayth.

2. Eſdras 3.

Iohn 14.

Iohn 8.

If they be iuſt and haue the truth with them (as they ſaye they haue) and we be vnrighteous, why do they feare, ſince the truth ought not to be afeard of falſhod, as Eſdras writeth in hys ſecond booke, the third chapiter. Zorobabell declared that truth is of all thinges the moſt mightye, and ouercommeth all thinges. For Chriſt is the trueth. Iohn 14. I am the way, the trueth. &c. And the deuill is the father of lies. Iohn. 8. He is a lyer from the beginning, and neuer abode in the truth, & there is no truth in him. Therfore if the pope and hys prieſtes haue the truth, let them ouercome vs with the word of God. But if they haue lyes, then they cannot long abide in al their preſumptiõ. Wherfore, we exhort and beſeech al the imperiall Cities, al kings Princes, noble men, rich and poore, for Gods ſake, and for hys righteouſnes, that one of them write hereof to an other, and that there may be ſome meanes made howe we may cõmune wt you ſafely and friendly, at ſome ſuch place as ſhal be fit both for you and vs, and bring with you your Byſhops and teachers, and let them & our teachers fight together with the word of God, and let vs heare them, and and let not one ouercome the other by violence or falſe ſubtiltie, but onely by the word of God.

A iuſt and ly requeſt Bohemians.

And if your Biſhops and teachers haue better proofes of theyr fayth out of the holy ſcripture, then we, and our fayth be found vntrue, we will receiue penaunce and ſatiſfaction: according to Goſpell. But if your Byſhops and teachers be ouercome of ours by the holy Scripture, then doe ye repent and harken to vs, and hold with vs. And if your Byſhops & teachers will ceaſe from their ſpirituall pride, and repent and make ſatiſfaction: then wil we helpe you according to our power, and will compell them, eyther to ioyne with vs, or els we will expell them out of Chriſtendome. And if your Byſhops and teachers will ſay, that it is not lawfull for lay men to heare ſuch reaſoning, or to be preſẽt at it: that may you vnderſtand to tend to no other end, but that they feare they ſhould be ouercome and put to ſhame in the ſight of you:

Wherefore the popes clergie wil abide no cõferẽce with the laytie.

For if they knew that they ſhould ouercome therein, out of doubt, they would deſire that euery mã ſhould heare it, & thereby, their glory ſhould become the greater, & their fame and prayſes ſhould be encreaſed vpon the earth. And if your Biſhops and teachers coũſell you to come to no hearing with vs, thẽ do it whether they will or no, & ſuffer not your ſelues at any time to be ſo fooliſhly ſeduced with their foliſh pardons, but tary at home in your houſes wt your wiues and children. And let ye pope of Rome come to vs with all his Cardinals and byſhops, and with all hys prieſtes, with his owne perſon & power to warre with vs, & let themſelues deſerue the abſolution of ſinnes, grace, and pardon, which they preach to you (for they haue great nede of forgeuenes of ſinnes, grace, & pardõ) & by the grace of god we will geue them pardõ enough as they ſhall neede.

The Popes pretenſed excuſe detected.

But theyr ſubtile excuſe is this: they ſay that it belõgeth not to prieſtes to fight wt bodily weapons & true it is that belongeth not to them: but it belongeth as little to them to ſtirre vp, to counſaile, & to fortifie others thereto: For Paule ſaith in the ye 1. to the Rom. & in ye fift to ye Galath. that all that do ſuch thinges are worthy of euerlaſting death.

Rom. 1.

And if ye will not determine to do any other thing then to fight againſt vs, then will we take the Lord to our helpe and his trueth, & we will defend it to the death, & we will not be afraid for the excommunicatiõ or curſe of the Pope, or his cardinals, or of ye biſhops, becauſe we know that ye Pope is not god as he maketh himſelfe, that he can curſe and excommunicate when he will, or bleſſe when he will:

Experience of Gods bleſſing where the pope hath curſed.

Obiection.

who hath now theſe many yeares curſed and excõmunicated vs, & yet notwithſtanding, God and his gratious bleſſing hath bene our helpe. But peraduẽture ye wil ſay, that though we ſee that biſhops and prieſts be euill & wicked, yet we cãnot lacke them: for who ſhould baptiſe our children, who ſhould heare confeſſions, & miniſter the holy ſacraments? and then alſo we ſhould be win the excommunication of the pope & of his biſhops. welbeloued, ye nede to take no care for theſe matters. The excõmunicating of the Pope hurteth you nothing. Feare ye the excommunicating of God, and the Lorde wil prouide for thoſe things wel enough. If ye would baniſh euil biſhops and prieſts, ye ſhuld haue good prieſtes which ſhuld baptiſe your children, heare cõfeſſions, and miniſter the holy myſteries, bicauſe when yͤ deuill is baniſhed, then place is made for the holy ghoſt: So when yll biſhops and prieſtes ſhall be baniſhed, then place ſhal be made for good prieſtes & biſhops Alſo, your biſhops and prieſts ſay, that we are miſcreants and hereticks, & that we beleue not on purgatory, vpõ the virgine Mary, nor vpon the ſayntes: wherein they ſay ill for we will proue by the holy ſcripture, that we know better by Gods grace how we ought to beleue vpon Purgatory, & vpon Mary the mother of our Lord, & vppon hys welbeloued ſaints, thẽ they can tell vs. Alſo they ſay, yͭ we wil not be obediẽt vnto the P. Truly when he ſhalbe come holy and iuſt, then we know well that we ought to be obedient to him in al things and not before. They ſay alſo that we deſtroy Gods holy ſeruice, in that we deſtroy monaſteries, baniſhing thence the wicked Monkes and Nunnes. Truely we dyd it, thinking once that they were holy, that they did the reuerend ſeruice of god, but after that we well perceiued and conſidered their lyfe & works, then we perceiued that they were falſe lowly hipocrites, and wicked builders on high, and ſellers of pardõs and maſſes for the dead, and ſuch as deuoured in themſelues the ſinnes of the people. And where as they ſayd that they riſe at midnight when other men ſleepe, and pray for the ſins of the people: foraſmuch as their ſelling of their praiers and maſſes for yͤ dead for gifts, is no better then hipocriſie and hereſie: therfore if we do ſpeake agaynſt them and deſtroy their monaſteries, we do not therin deſtroy the ſeruice of God, but rather the ſeruice of the deuill, and the ſchooles of heretickes. And if ye knew them as we know them, ye would as diligently deſtroy them as we do. For Chriſt our Lord did not ordayn anyſuch order, & therfore it muſt needs come to pas that ſhortly it ſhal be deſtroyd as our lord ſaith in the Goſpel of S. Mathew the 15. chapter. Euery plant whiche my father hath not planted, ſhalbe rooted vp. We deſire you alſo that ye woulde dilligently conſider the articles here written, wherein your biſhops and prieſtes are guilty.

Aunſwere.

The popes falſe accuſation anſwered.

Math. 15.

The abuſe of popiſhe religion in making prieſts Cardinals&c.

The 1. article is, that when your biſhops will ordaine prieſts, they do it not, except he yͭ is to be made prieſt haue ſufficient liuing, eyther inheritance left him of hys parents or of benefices: wheras notwithſtanding, Chriſt wold that prieſtes ſhould be poore, foraſmuch as it is enough for the ſcholar to be as his maiſter is, and for the ſeruaunt to be as his Lord is: and the biſhops wil that they ſhould be rich v vpon earth, which is vniuſt before the Lord.

Actes. 8.

The 2. article is, that biſhops take mony of ſuch as are to be ordained, but S. Peter did therfore ſharply rebuke Simon Magus, when he would haue geuen him mony, as it is written in the 8. of the actes.

The abuſe of popiſhe religion, in taking orders.

The 3. article is, that they that come to be prieſtes enter into prieſthoode, not for gods ſeruice ſake, becauſe they mean to preach and encreaſe it among the Chriſtiã people, ſo as the people may be edified and made better: but rather for an idle life, and that they may eate well and drinke wel and that they may be honoured and reuerẽced vpon earth For euery one wayteth vpon hys prieſt as a theefe and a robber, as Iohn writeth in his x. chap.

Popiſhe excommunication abuſed.

1. Cor. 16.

The 4. article is of excommunication, which the Pope and all his prieſtes take to themſelues, and therwith fetter & bind all Chriſtian people as they will, and they thinke yͭ whoſoeuer they excommunicate or curſe, hee is accurſed and excommunicate before God: And we wil proue by the holy Scripture, that they themſelues are excommunicate & accurſed before God, becauſe they kepe not the commaundement of the loue of God, wherof the Apoſtle writeth in yͤ 1. to the Cor. the 16. chap. If any man loueth not our Lorde Ieſus Chriſt, he is excommunicate in the day of the comming of the Lord. For they cannot excommunicate you, who are already bound and excommunicate before God & hys ſaintes: and therefore why feare ye their excommunication?

The popes church poyſoned with buying and ſelling their praying and ſinging, and all their doing for money.

The 5. Article is, that they take gifts for to pray for the dead, and to ſay maſſe for theyr ſoules. This is a wickednes and hereſie before the Lord, & all they that contribute to them to this end, do wickedly, for that hereby prieſts become merchantes of prayers and of maſſes: and herewyth is all the church of Rome poyſoned and defiled. For if they would pray for the dead and ſay maſſe for their ſoules, yet no man ought to hire thẽ thereto, foraſmuch as they ought to take no giftes, neither little nor great. And euery one that taketh rewardes to this end, to redeeme ſoules out of purgatory, do therwithal caſt their own ſoules down into hel. And they yͭ geue any thing to that end, doe altogether loſe yͭ which they geue. And with ſuch deuiliſhe ſubtlety, yͤ Pope with all his prieſtes hath deceiued, ſpoyled and diſherited kinges, princes, Lordes and knights, & good houſholders and many other, of their lawful inheritaunces, becauſe their anceſtors & progenitours gaue it to Colledges, monaſteries & churches, yͭ they might make memorials of thẽ & to ſing or ſay prayers or maſſes for their ſoules, that they might be redeemed out of Purgatorye. And wyth ſuch goodes, Byſhops, Canons, and Monaſteries haue made themſelues ſo riche, that now they fall at variaunce with cities, & princes: & wheras they ſhould procure peace betwixt cities and rulers, there they are the firſt that begin warre: and as long as they haue ſuch goodes, they wil neuer ceaſe to be at ſtrife with Lordes and cities, neither wil they begin to teach you the true foundation of yͤ truth: For they do as a dogge, which as long as he holdeth a bone in his mouth and knaweth it: ſo long he holdeth his peace & cannot barcke. Euen ſo, as long as they haue this bone of pleaſaunt riches, it wyl neuer be well in the world. wherfore all kinges, princes and imperiall Citties ſhould doe a great worke of godlines and mercy, if by them they were compelled to do this, as the dog is when the boane is takẽ from hym.

Feare of purgatory hath robbed almoſt all the whole world.

So long as prieſtes be rich, they will neuer be true teachers.

The ſubtiltie of the deuill in making the church rich.

Eccle. 19.

And therfore ye noble men, Kinges, princes, Lordes, imperiall Citties, and all the communaltie, both riche and poore, if ye haue bene a ſleep yet now awake and opẽ your eyes and behold the ſubtiltie of the deuill, how he hath blinded the Church of Rome, and take agayne that is youres, and not theirs. And if you wil make a good memoriall for your ſoules, then do as the wyſe man ſaith, Eccle. 19: Lay vp almes. &c.

Popiſhe prieſts with their long & ſumtuous gownes more like to the Phariſes then Chriſt.

1. Tim. 3.

The 6. article is, that they are full of pride and of high mynde, which is manifeſtly knowne by their long, coſtlye and ſuperfluous garmentes, wherein they walke very vnlike to Chriſt our Lord, who had a garmẽt without a ſeam and to the welbeloued Iohn Baptiſt, who had a garment of Camels heare, and they wyl be honoured and worſhypped, and they preach and ſay that Prieſthood ought to be honoured, and ſo it ought in deede to be, but there is none yͭ do ſo much ſclander and abaſe it, as they themſelues, with their euill works, gay apparell, and with their euil words wherein they paſſe all other men. Paul ſayth the 1. to Tim. the 3. chapter. Let the Elders that gouerne wel, be honoured with double honour, chiefly they that labour in yͤ word and doctrine of the Lord. Conſider, that he ſayth they that gouerne well.

Honor in well gouerning.

The popes church poyſoned with couetouſnes. Tim. 1.

The 7. article is, that they are couetous from yͤ higheſt to the loweſt, and for couetouſnes they preach many foliſh deedes & manifeſt lies, & ſell the holy ſacramentes, whiche is a great hereſie: for God commaunded that they ſhoulde geue freely. Paule writeth in the firſt to Timothy: Couetouſneſſe is the roote of all miſchief, wherunto many haue ben geuen, and therefore they are ſeparated from the fayth and haue denyed the truth.

The popes church poyſoned much with whoredome.

The viij. article is, that they commonly are called notorious whoremongers. This is manifeſtly ſeene in theyr concubines and children, which walke openly in all mens ſight, and make many mens wiues whoores, or corrupte their daughters being virgins, and make thẽ prieſts harlots and rybauldes.

The Popes church and monaſteries commonly poyſoned with deueliſhe enuie.

The ix. Article is, that they are ful of deuiliſh enuy, and eſpecially in al Monaſteries they haue great enuy and hatred amongeſt themſelues, becauſe when any thing is geuen or diſpoſed to one Monaſtery or Colledge, then there are others, that hate it, and enuy at it, and woulde more gladly haue it themſelues: Like as among dogs when any thing is geuen to the one and not to the other, which the other ſeing, enuyeth hys fellow, & the other likewiſe wil rather deuour all himſelfe then geue any part to his fellowe. Wherefore it were well that they were brought from that great ſin of enuy in geuing nothing vnto thẽ: And it were better that their poſſeſſions were takẽ from them, and that they ſhould do that which the Lord ſpake to hys diſciples ſaying: Go ye and preach the Goſpell to all men.

The x. article is, that they are idle, and chiefly the Byſhops, Chanons, and other Prelates, which wil not labor dilligently in the holy Scripture, wherewith they might cure the miſeries of Chriſtendome, wherto they haue boũd

themſelues

The popes church poyſoned with idlenes and belly cheare.

thēſelues, and they eate the bread therof in idlenes, becauſe when other men watch and labour to mayntaine themſelues and their little ones, thē are they with their lemmons or els they walke in ſome Cittie, carying hawkes on their fiſtes, or els they ſit at the good wyne wͭ their Concubines. and there they ſing and play the Lucians, & eat of the beſt and therfore al that willingly bring and geue to them, ſhal be made partners of that curſe whiche is geuen them of God, becauſe they eate their bread vniuſtly, whereof Paul writeth in the 2. to the Theſſ. the 3. chapter: He that laboureth not, let him not eate.

The Popes church infamous with notorious lies.

The 11. article is, that they are notorious liers, becauſe to the end that they may pleaſe men, they tel many tales & lies, which in the holy Scripture haue no foundation nor proofe. Of ſuch wryteth Iohn in the Apoca. 21.

The Popes church erreth in diminiſhing one part of the Sacrament.

The 12. article is, that they doe not rightly giue or miniſter to the people the body of our Lord Ieſus Chriſt, and they geue it not as God hath inſtituted it and commanded. This is a great & a deuiliſh ſinne and to great malapertneſſe. Heerein we woulde ouercome them, wyth the teſtimonies of the Euangeliſtes: I ſay we woulde ouercome the Pope, and all his Prieſtes, with the authorityes of Marke, Luke and Paule. Rom. 13. and we woulde ſuffer, that Kinges, Princes, Lordes and all that are willing to heare, ſhould heare it.

The Popes church charged with partialitie.

The 13. Article is, that they ſit in ſpiritual iudgement, and then many times they iudge according to fauour, and not according to the righteouſneſſe of God, and they take bribes giuing ſentence for hym, which in Gods ſight hath the wrongfull cauſe. wo be to ſuch ſentēces, as it is wrytten in Iſay 5. wo be to ye that. &c.

The 14. Article is, that they ſit hearing cōfeſſions, and when there come to them vſurers, rauenerṡ, and theeues, they take bribes of them of their ill gotten goodes, to ſpare them: and they willingly ſuffer them in cities and towns. And likewiſe of adulterers, and other notorious whoremongers and whores, and they neuer let or ſtay them in their great ſinnes, to the end that the ſcripture may be fulfilled in them, which ſayeth: Giftes and the loue of money do draw to hell, and do blinde the eyes of iudges.

He meaneth of claiming tithes by mere neceſſitie of the olde lawe: and not by the poſitiue law of princes.

The 15. Article is, that they receiue tithes of men, and will of right haue them, and preache and ſay that men are bound to giue them tithes, and therin they ſay falſly: For they can not proue by the new Teſtament, that our Lorde Ieſus Chriſt commanded it, and his diſciples warned no man to do ſo, neither did themſelues receiue them. But although in the old Teſtament, it were commanded to geue tithes, yet it can not thereby be proued, that chriſtian men are bound thereto: For this precept of the olde Teſtament had an end in the firſt yeare of our Lord Ieſus Chriſt, like as the precept of Circūciſion. wherfore welbeloued, conſider and ſee, how your biſhops ſeduce you and ſhut youre eyes with things that haue no proofe. Chriſt ſayeth in the 11. of Luke. Geue almes of thoſe thinges that remaine, but he ſaid not, geue the tenth of the goodes, which yee poſſeſſe, but geue almes. But when they heare the word, they may ſay as the lawyer ſaid to Chriſt: Maiſter when thou ſayeſt ſo, thou geueſt offence. Luke 11.

The Popes church charged with vſury.

The 16. Article is, that they in many places lende money or goodes to haue treaſure or vſurie, and they haue in cities and townes, yearely paiments and perpetual reuenues, as great Princes and Lordes. wherein they doe againſt the Goſpel, which ſayth, do not ye poſſeſſe gold nor ſiluer. And wheras they lend for gaine and vſury, againſte that ſpeaketh the Lord, Deu. 24. Lend not to vſury to thy brother. &c. Ye honeſt diſcrete and well beloued Lords, all the foreſaide Articles we wil proue againſt the Pope, and all his prieſts, with many teſtimonies of the holy Scripture, which for breuities ſake, we haue not here mētioned. But note ye chiefly theſe 4. Articles, for which wee ſtriue, and deſire to defend them to the death.

The firſt Article is, that all publicke, and cuſtomably mortall ſinnes ought to be forbidden and prohibited to all Prieſts and lay men, according to the commaundement of the holy Scripture.

He meaneth the immoderate riches & tēpo all poſſeſſions.

The ſeconde Article is, that richeſſe ought to be taken from the Pope and all hys Prieſtes, from the hygheſt to the loweſt, and they ought to bee made poore, as the Diſciples of our Lord Ieſus Chriſt were: who had nothyng of their own, neither poſſeſſiōs in this world, neither worldly power.

Mē appointed to preach may preach though the Pope forbid them.

The third Article is, that the word of God ought to be free for euery mā appointed and ordained therto, to preach and read in al places, whether they ſhal come, without reſiſtance of any man or without any inhibitiō of either ſpirituall or earthly power openly or manifeſtly.

The fourth article is, that the body of our Lord Ieſus Chriſt ought to be deliuered to euery chriſtian as our lord hath ordained it, and as the holy Euangeliſts haue wrytten. we haue alſo vnderſtood that there ſhalbe a Councell in Baſile: wherfore let no mā be exalted, but let them diligētly kepe their wiues, their daughters and their virgins from Byſhops, Prieſts, and Monkes. And do not thinke ẏ there is made any holy aſſembly of Biſhops and Prieſts for the common commodity and profit of Chriſtendom, but onely to thys end that they may hide their ſecret vices and hereſies, with the cloke of hypocriſye, and let and hinder ẏ righteouſneſſe of God, which is muche contrary to them: and for this cauſe conſider ye diligently, that they will not make an holy aſſembly, but the congregation of Sathan. And take ye heede that it be not done as ſome did at Conſtance, who tooke money of Biſhops and Prelates, & ſuffered them to ſleepe with their wiues. Ye welbeloued and honeſt Lordes, if ye finde any thing in theſe aforeſaide Articles or wordes wrytten ſomewhat ſharply, we did it not to offend or contemne you, but to the ende that ye ſhoulde diligently conſider and deuiſe howe Chriſtendome is ſo ill kept and led by the Prieſts of this preſent age. Our Lorde Ieſu Chriſt keepe you both in body and ſoule. Amen. In the yeare of our Lord. 1430.

When the Pope holdeth his councell, let mē looke to their wiues & daughters where the councell is kept.

Preropus, Smahors, Conradus, Samſſmolich, Capitaines of Bohemia.

Ex Vetuſtiſsimo codice manu ſcripto.

Great lamētatiō for Ziſca.

Nowe to proſecute the warres of the Bohemians againe, after Ziſca was dead, wherof we did intreat before, there was great feare, ſorrow, and lamentation in the army, the ſoldiers accuſing fortune which gaue ouer ſuch an inuincible captaine to be ouercome with death. Immediatly there was a diuiſion in the hoſt, the one parte chuſing Procopius Magnus to be their captaine, the other parte ſaying, that there was none could be found worthy to ſuccede Ziſca: whereuppon they chuſing out certaine to ſerue the warres, named themſelues Orphanes.

The army of Ziſca deuided.

Thus the Thaborites being deuided into two armies, the one part retained their olde and accuſtomed name, and the other by meanes of the death of their captayne, named themſelues Orphanes. And all be it, that oftentimes there was diſſenſion betwene them, yet when ſoeuer any forein power came towards them, they ioyned their powers together in one campe, and defended themſelues. They ſeldome went vnto any fenſed townes except it were to buy neceſſaries, but liued with their wiues and childrē in theyr campe & tents. They had amongſt them many cartes, the which they vſed as a Bulwarke: For when ſo euer they went vnto battell, they made two wings of them, whyche cloſed in the footemen. The winges of the horſe men were on the out ſide, and when as they ſawe their time for to ioyne battell, the wagon men which led the wings, going forth vnto the Emperors ſtanderd, and compaſſing in ſuch part of their enemies as they woulde, did cloſe themſelues in together, whereby the ennemies being incloſed, ſo that they could not be reſcued, they were partly by the footemē, & partly by the men that were in the carres wͭ their dartes ſlaine. The horſemen fought without the fortification: and if it happened that they were oppreſſed or put to flight, by and by the carres opening themſelues, receiued them as it were into a fenſed Citie: and by this meanes they got many victories, for ſo much as their enemies were ignorant of their pollicies.

The order and policie that the armie of Ziſca vſed in warre after his deceaſe.

Theſe 2. armies went forth, the one into Sleſia, and the other into Morauia, and returned againe wyth great pray, before their enemies knewe of their comming. After this they beſieged ẏ towne of Swetley in Auſtrich, where as the Thaborites and the Orphanes, two nightes continually aſſaulted the walles wythout ceaſing, but Albert Duke of Auſtrich comming with his hoſte to aide the Citizens, they fought by the ſpace almoſt of foure houres, the valiaunteſt warriers being ſlaine on both partes. At the length the battaile was broken of, and the Thaborits loſt their carres, and Albert was put out of his camp & tents. within a while after, Procopius Magnus came agayne and incloſed the citie of Rhetium in Auſtria wͭ a notable ſiege. They of Prage were in his army, and Boſlaus Cygneus, of whome we ſpake before, was ſlaine there with a dart, & the city of Rhetium was taken by force, ſacked and burnt. The Burgraue of Malderburge Lord of the towne, was alſo taken and caried vnto Prage, where alſo hee dyed in priſon.

Procopius Magnus.

Theſe thinges thus done, the Emperour ſent for the nobles of Boheme, which went vnto him vnto a town of Hungary, called Poſonium in the borders of Auſtria, vpō the bāks of the riuer of Danubius: but they wold not enter into the towne, but remained wͭout the towne in their tents, whether as the Emperoure going out vnto them, Sigiſmund the Emperor which burned Hus and Hierom before, now is fayne to entreat for hys kingdome.

The death of I. Hus & Hierome reuenged.

communing muche wͭ them as touching his right & title, and the recouering of his fathers kingdome, promiſing if there were any cauſe, which did alienate the Bohemians minds from him, that he would take away al the occaſion therof. They made anſwer, that he had made warre vpon them without cauſe, and that he had ſuffred their countrey men cõtrary to his promiſe, to be burnt at Conſtance not being heard, and the kingdom to be contumeliouſly interdited, and the Nobles of Boheme to be condemned by the church of Rome as heretickes: and that he ſhould thincke the force and power of the Bohemians not to be ſo ſmall, but that they would prouide for their owne honor. Wherunto the Emperor anſwered very gently, & offered them a general councel, wherein they might declare their innocency, if they woulde ſubmit themſelues to the iudgement of the vniuerſal Church: but the Bohemians which were now become valiant victors in armes, would not now be ouercome with wordes, and ſo nothing being finally concluded, the Emperor returned home.

The Cardinall of Wincheſter ſent into Germany to rayſe warre agaynſt the Bohemians.

Then pope Martin perceiuing the Goſpell to increaſe daily more and more, ſent the Cardinall of Wincheſter an Engliſhman, borne of a noble houſe, into Germanie to moue them vnto warre againſt the Bohemians. Whereunto the Emperor alſo did aſſiſte him.

There were three armies prouided. In the firſt armie were the Dukes of Saxonie, and the lower cities.

The 2. armye, which was gathered of yͤ Franconians, was vnder yͤ conduct of the Marques of Brandenburge.

Three armies ſet againſt the Bohemians.

God reſcueth his people newly conuerted.

The popes army flyeth.

Lyke captayne, lyke ſouldiour.

The 3. army was led by Otho the archbiſhop of Treuers, whom the Rhenenſes, the Bauarians, and the Imperiall cities of Sweuia followed. Theſe armies entring into Boheme, in 3. ſeuerall partes, after they were paſſed the woode, they ioyned together & pitched before Miſna. This towne a certaine learned and eloquent proteſtãt, named Prichicho, the night before, had won frõ the Papiſts: wherfore the army was determined firſt to recouer yͤ citie, before they woulde goe any further. But when as newes came vnto the hoſt, how the Proteſtants had gathered an army, and came wall ſpede towards them: they fled before they ſaw their enemies, and went vnto Thaconia, leauing behind them their warlike engins with a great pray. The Cardinall was not yet come into the campe, but meeting them in their flight at Thacouia, he maruailed at the cowardly flight of ſo many Noble and valiaunt men, deſiring them that they woulde turne againe vnto their ennemies, which he ſayde, were farre weaker then they. Which thing when he had long trauailed about in vaine, hee was faine to be a companion with them in their flight. They were ſcarſly entred the woode, when as the Bohemians comming vpon thẽ, ſet vpon their rereward. Then was their flight muche more diſordered and fearfull then before, neither did they leaue flying before the Bohemiãs left folowing. Then all impediment or let being taken away, they vanquiſhed Thacouia: and hauing obtained great ſtore of warlike engines, they deſtroyed Miſna. And when they would haue returned home by Franconia, they had great ſummes of mony ſent vnto them yͭ they ſhuld not waſt or deſtroy the Countreis of Bramberge and Noremberge: wherby the hoſt of the Bohemians was greatly enriched.

{ Anno. 1421. }

The Pope rayſeth warre the ſecond time againſt the Bohemians.

Sigiſmundus the Emperour hauing newes of theſe things, went ſtraighte vnto Noremburge, and gathered there new aide and helpe. Alſo Pope Martin ſent Iulian the cardinall of S. Angel into Germany with his ambaſſade, to make warre againſt the Bohemians, and that hee ſhould in the Counſell of Baſill, which doth nowe ſhortly draw on, be preſident in the popes name. He entring into Germany, went ſtraight to Norenberge to the Emperor, wheras many of the nobles of Germany were aſſembled.

A newe warre rayſed by the pope againſt the Bohemians.

There was a new expedition decreed againſt the Bohemians, againſt the 8. Kalendes of Iuly, and Fredericke Marques of Brandenburge appoynted generall of that warre, which ſhould follow the Cardinal. He entred into Boheme by the way that leadeth vnto Thopa, and Albertus prince of Auſtrich was appoynted to bring hys armie thorough Morauia.

The number of the popes army againſt the Bohemians.

In this expedition was Albert & Chriſtopher of Bauaria, and Friderike Dukes of Saxony, Iohn and Albert princes of Brandenburge, wyth their father, which was generall of thoſe warres. Alſo the biſhops of Hyperbolis, Bamberge, and Eiſten. Alſo the company of the Sweuians, which they called the company of S. George, and the Magiſtrates of the imperial cities, the biſhops of Mentz, Treuers and Colen ſent their aides, and wyth them the chieftaines of their prouinces. It is ſayd that the number of their horſemen were aboue 40000. But their footemen were not full ſo many, for the Germains for the moſt part do vſe to fight their battels on horſebacke,

Alſo Rhenatus prince of Loraine promiſed to come to theſe warres, but being letted by his ciuill warres, for ſomuch as hee went about to vanquiſh the Earle of Vandome, wherby he could not keepe his promiſe, neyther the County Pallatine of Rheine, which did aide and ſuccour the Earle of Vandome, coulde not goe againſt the Bohemians. The Cardinal ſtaying for them, deferred his iourney vntill the Kalends of Auguſt. In the meane time, Albert leading his armie out of Auſtria, vnderſtanding that the Cardinall was not preſent at the day appoynted, and ſeeing himſelfe vnable to encounter wyth the Bohemian power, he returned backe againe. After this the Cardinall entred into Boheme with an huge army, & deſtroyed many of the proteſtantes townes, killing men, women, and children, ſparing neither olde nor yong: notwithſtanding, this his tiranny was exerciſed in the vttermoſt borders of Boheme, for his captaines feared to enter farre into the land. The Bohemians aſſone as they that heard tel yͭ their enemy was come, made ready, & gathered their hoſt with all ſpeede, and laid ſiege to a towre called Stiltiuerge, and brought it vnder ſubiection.

Cardinall Iulian with a maine hoſt entreth Boheme.

The cruell ſlaughter done by the Cardinall.

God ſtriketh a feare in the popes army.

In the meane ſeaſon there fel ſuch a maruelous ſodein feare amongs al yͤ papiſts throughout the whole campe, yͭ they begã moſt ſhamefully to run away before any enemy appearing in ſight. The cardinal Iulianus maruelling at this moſt ſodein feare, and what ſhould moue ſo great an army to flie, went about vnto yͤ captains, exhorting them to put on armor, to order their battels, & coragiouſly to abide their enemies, ſaying: they did not fight for the glory of their kingdom, or for the poſſeſſiõ of lands, but for their liues, and the honor & * religion of Chriſt, and for the ſaluation of ſoules. How ignominious a thing is it (ſaith he) for the Germains to flie in battell, whoſe courage and valiantnes all the world doth extoll? It were much better for to die, then to geue place to any enemies, before they were ſeene: for they can by no meanes liue in ſafetie wythin the walles, which geue place vnto their enemy in the field, for it is the weapon that defendeth a man and not the walles, and except they would euen preſently defend their libertie with the ſworde, they ſhould ſhortly be in greater bõdage, more miſerable then any death. But this exhortation was all in vaine, for feare had put away all boldnes: for the enſignes were ſnatched vp, and as though there had bene no captaine in the hoſte, euery man ran headlong away. No man regarded any commandement, neither once tooke his leaue of his captaine, but caſting away their armour with ſpeedy flight they ranne away, as though their enemy had bene at their backes. The Cardinall alſo, although it were againſt his will, was forced to doe the like.

*Rather for the religion of Antichriſt This Cardinall belike loued to preach rather in the campe then in the church.

The Cardinals army ranne away for feare.

Thus the proteſtants by yͤ feare of their enemies made the more bolde and couragious, purſued them thorow the woodes, and had a great pray & ſpoile of them. Notwithſtanding, Albertus, when he heard tell that the Cardinall was entered into Boheme, with all ſpeede came agayne out of Auſtrich with his army, & beſieged the ſtrong town of Prezorabia: but when he vnderſtode howe the Cardinall was fled, he left of his purpoſe, and returned through Morauia, which was not yet ſubiecte vnto him, and deſtroyed aboue 50. townes wyth fire and ſword, toke many of their cities by force, and ſpoiled them, committing great murther and ſlaughter, and ſo afflicted them, that they toke vpon them his yoke, and promiſed to be ſubiecte and obedient to him vnder this condition, that as touching religion he would be bounde to doe that whych the Councel of Baſil ſhould determine.

Great ſlaughter in Boheme by Duke Albert.

The councel of Baſill.

A letter of the Emperour to the Bohemians.

Then was there an ambaſſade ſent out of Boheme vnto Baſil, where as Sigiſmund held the Councel, who during the time of warres, had kept himſelf at Noremberge. When as hee ſhoulde take his iourney vnto Rome to bee crowned Emperour, hee wrote letters vnto the nobles of Boheme, wherin was contained, how that he was a Bohemian borne, and how he was not more affectioned to any nation, then to his own, and that he went to Rome for none other cauſe, but to be crowned, the which his honor ſhoulde alſo be a renowne to the Bohemians, whome to aduaunce it hath bene alwaies his ſpeciall care.

Alſo, how that through his endeuor the Councel was begon at Baſill, exhorting all ſuche as were deſirous to be heard as touching religion, that they ſhuld come thether, and that they woulde not maintaine any quarell contrary to the holy mother church, that the Councel wold louingly and gentlely heare their reaſons: that they ſhould onely endeuour themſelues to agree wyth the Synode as touching religion, and reſerue and kepe a quiet and peaceable kingdome for hym, againſt his returne: Neyther ſhoulde the Bohemians thinke to refuſe his regiment, whoſe brother, father, and vncle, had raigned ouer them, and that hee would reigne ouer them after no other meane or ſort, then other Chriſtian kings vſed to doe.

The Bohemians ſent for by the Councell.
Safeconduct geuen to the Bohemians to come to the councell
A doubt among the Bohemians, whether to goe to the councell of Baſill or no.
This Maynardus was after a great backfriend to the faithful Bohemians.
300. horſemen of the Bohemians ſent Ambaſ. to the councell.
This engliſh man was Peter Paine
The receiuing of the Bohemians at Baſill.
Procopius famous among the Germaynes.

The councel of Baſil alſo wrote their letter to the Bohemians, that they ſhould ſend their Ambaſſadors which ſhould ſhew a reaſon of their faith, promiſing ſafeconducte to go & come, and free liberty to ſpeake what they woulde. The Bohemians in this point were of 2. opinions, for the Proteſtants & almoſt all the common people, ſayd, it was not good to go, alledging the examples of Iohn Hus and Hierome of Prage, which going vnto Conſtance vnder the ſafeconduct of the Emperour, were there openly burned. But the nobility folowing the minde of Maynardus, prince of the new houſe, ſayde, that they ought to goe vnto the Councell, and that they are not to be ſuffred which had inuented thoſe new and ſtrange opinions of faith, & newe kinde of religion, except they would render accõpt of theyr doings and ſayings before the vniuerſall church, & defend thoſe things, which they had openly taught, before learned men. This opinion tooke place, and an ambaſſade of 300. horſe was ſent vnto Baſil. The chiefe wherof were william Coſca a valiant knight, & Procopius ſurnamed Magnus, a mã of worthy fame for his manifold victories. Ioh. Rochezana preacher of Prage. Nicolas Galecus, miniſter of the Thaborites, and one Peter an Engliſhman, of excellent prõpt and pregnant wit. The people came in great number out of the towne, and many out of the ſynode and councell, attending before the gates to ſee the comming of this valiãt and famous people: other ſome gathered together in great nõber into the ſtreetes where as they ſhould paſſe through. The matrones, maids and children, filled ẏ windowes and houſes to behold and ſee, and to maruel at their ſtrange kinde of apparel, and ſtoute couragious cõtenãces, ſaying that it was not vntrue which was reported of them: notwithſtanding all men behelde Procopius, ſaying, this is he which hath ouerthrowne the papiſtes in ſo many battels, which hathe ſubuerted ſo many townes, and ſlaine ſo many men, whom both his enemies and alſo his owne ſouldiours, do feare and reuerence: alſo, that hee was a bold, valiant and inuincible captaine, which coulde not be ouercome with no terrour, labour or trauaile.

The oration of Cardinall Iulian.

These Bohemian Ambaſſadors were gently receyued. The next day after, Cardinall Iulianus ſending for them vnto the councell houſe, made a gentle, long, and eloquent Oration vnto them, exhorting them to vnitie and peace, ſaying, that the church was the ſpouſe of our ſauior Chriſt, and the mother of all faithful, that it hath the keyes of binding and loſing, and alſo that it is white and fair, without ſpot or wrinkle, and cã not erre in thoſe poynts which are neceſſary to ſaluation, and that he which doeth contemne the ſame church, is to be coũted as a prophane, Ethnike, & publicane, neither can this church be repreſented better by any meanes then in this councel. Hee exhorteth them alſo to receiue the decrees of the councell, and to geue no leſſe credite vnto the councell then vnto the Goſpell, by whoſe authority, the ſcriptures themſelues are receiued & allowed. Alſo ẏ the Bohemians which call them ſelues, the children of the church, ought to heare ẏ voice of their mother, which is neuer vnmindful of her children, how that nowe of late they haue liued apart from their mother, albeit (ſaid hee) that is no newe or ſtraunge thing, for there haue bene many in times paſt, which haue forſakẽ their mother, and yet ſeeking after ſaluation haue returned to her againe: That in the time of Noes floud, as many as were wythout the arke periſhed: That the Lordes paſſeouer was to be eaten in one houſe: that there is no ſaluation to be ſought for out of the church, and that this is the garden & famous fountaine of water, wherof whoſoeuer ſhal drinke, ſhall not thirſt euerlaſtingly: That the Bohemians haue done as they ought, in that they haue ſought the fõtains of this water at the councel, and haue determined nowe at length to geue eare vnto their mother. Nowe all hatred ought to ceaſe, all armor and weapon is to be laid apart, & all occaſion of warre vtterly to be reiected: For the fathers would louingly and gently heare whatſoeuer there they would ſay in their owne cauſe or quarell, requiring onely that they woulde willingly receiue and embrace the good counſels and determinations of the ſacred ſynode: whereunto not onely the Bohemians, but alſo all other faithfull Chriſtians, ought to conſent and agree, if they wil be partakers of eternall life.

The Bohemians aunſwere to the Cardinals oration.

This Oration of the Cardinal, was heard & very wel allowed of the fathers. wherunto the Bohemians anſwered in fewe wordes, that they neither had contemned the Church nor the councels: that the ſentence geuen at Conſtance againſt thoſe which were vnheard, doeth diminiſhe nothing of the Chriſtian religion: that the authoritie of the fathers hath alwaies remained amongſt them inuiolate, and whatſoeuer thing the Bohemians had taught, to bee confirmed by the ſcriptures and Goſpell, and that they are nowe come to manifeſt their innocencie before the whole Church, and to require open audience, where as the laitie may alſo be preſent. The requeſt was graunted them: and being further demanded in what poynts they did diſagree from the church of Rome, they propounded 4. Articles.

The articles wherin the Bohemians diſſented from the church of Rome

First, they affirmed, that all ſuche as woulde be ſaued, ought of neceſſitie to receiue the Communion of the laſte ſupper vnder both kindes of bread and wine.

The ſecond Article, they affirmed all ciuil rule and dominion to be forbidden vnto ẏ Clergy by the law of God.

The thirde Article, that the preaching of the worde of God is free for all men, and in all places.

The fourth Article, as touching open crimes and offences which are in no wiſe to be ſuffered for the auoiding of greater euill.

These were the onely propoſitions whyche they propounded before the Councell in the name of the whole realme. Then another ambaſſador affirmed that he had hard of the Bohemians diuers and ſundry thinges offenſiue to Chriſtian eares, amongſt the which this was one poynte, that they ſhould preach that the inuention of the order of begging Friers was diabolicall.

Then Procopius riſing vppe, ſayde, neither is it vntrue, for if neyther Moiſes, neyther before hym the Patriarkes, neither after him the Prophets, neyther in the new lawe Chriſte and hys Apoſtles did inſtitute the order of begging friers, who doth dout but that it was an inuention of the deuil, and a worke of darkeneſſe?

Certaine appointed by the Bohemians and the councell to diſpute.

This anſwere of Procopius was derided of them all: And Cardinall Iulianus went about to prooue that not onely the decrees of the Patriarkes and Prophetes, and thoſe things which Chriſt and his Apoſtles had inſtituted to be onely of God, but alſo all ſuch decrees as the church ſhuld ordaine, being guided through the holy ghoſt, be the workes of God. All be it as he ſayde, the order of begging Friers, might ſeeme to be taken out of ſome parte of the goſpel. The Bohemians choſe out 4. diuines which ſhuld declare their Articles to be taken out of the Scriptures. Likewiſe on the contrary part there was 4. appoynted by the councell. This diſputation continued 50. dayes, where many thinges were alledged on either parte, whereof, as place ſhal ſerue, more hereafter (by the grace of Chriſt) ſhal be ſayd, when we come to the time of that Councel.

The death of K. Henry 5. called prince of prieſts for fauouring the pope.

In the meane ſeaſon, while ẏ Bohemians were thus in long conflicts wyth Sigiſmund the Emperour and the Pope, fighting for their religion, vnto whome, notwithſtanding all the fulneſſe of the Popes power was bent againſt them, God of his goodneſſe had geuẽ ſuch noble victories, as is aboue expreſſed, and euer did proſper them ſo lõg as they could agree among thẽſelues: as theſe things (I ſay) were doing in Boheme: King Henry the 5. fighting likewiſe in Fraunce, albeit for no like matters of religion, fell ſicke at Boys, and died after he had raigned 9. yeres 5. monethes 3. wekes and odde daies from his coronation. This king in his life and in all hys doings was ſo deuout & ſeruiceable to the Pope and his chapleins, that he was called of many the Prince of prieſts: who left behind him a ſonne being yet an infant 9. monthes and 15. dayes of age, whom he had by Quene Katherine daughter to the French king, married to him about 2. or 3. yeares before. The name of which Prince ſucceeding after his father, was Henry 6. lefte vnder the gouernement and protection of his vncle named Humfrey Duke of Glouceſter.

¶The names of the Archbiſhops of Canterbury in this fifte Booke conteined.

54	Simon Iſlepe.	17
56	Simon Langham.	2
57	William Witleſey.	5
58	Simon Sudbery.	6
59	William Courtney.	15
60	Thomas Arundel.	18
61	Henry Chicheſly.	29

THE SIXT PART OR SECTION, pertaining to the laſt 300. yeares.

A preface to the reader.

According to the fiue ſondry diuerſities and alterations of the Churche, ſo haue I deuided hetherto the order of thys preſente Church ſtory into fiue principall partes, euery part containing 300. yeares. So that nowe comming to the laſte 300. yeares, that is, to the laſt times of the Church, counting from the time of Wickleffe: For as muche as in the compaſſe of the ſayd laſt 300 yeres, are contained great troubles and perturbations of the Church, with the meruailous reformation of the ſame through the wonderous operation of the almighty, all which things cannot be comprehended in one booke, I haue therefore diſpoſed the ſayd latter 30. yeares, into diuers bookes, beginning nowe with the ſixt booke, at the raigne of king Henry the vj. In which booke, beſide the greeuous and ſundry perſecutions raiſed vp by Antichriſt, to be noted, here in is alſo to be obſerued, that where as it hath of long time bene receyued and thought of the common people, that this religion now generally vſed, hath ſprong vp and riſen but of late, euen by the ſpace (as many do thinke) of 20. or 30. yeares, it may now manifeſtly appeare, not onely by the Acts and Monuments heretofore paſſed, but alſo by the hyſtories here after following, howe this profeſſion of Chriſtes religion hath bene ſpread abroade in Englande of olde and auncient time, not onely from the ſpace of theſe 200, late yeares, from the time of Wyckleffe, but hathe continually from time to time ſparkled abroade, although the flames thereof haue neuer ſo perfectly burſt out, as they haue done within theſe hundred yeares and more: As by theſe hyſtories here collected & gathered out of Regiſters, eſpecially of the Dioceſſe of Norwich, ſhall manifeſtly appeare: wherein may be ſeene what men, and how many both men and women within the ſayde Dioceſſe of Norwich, haue bene, which haue defended the ſame cauſe of doctrine, which now is receiued by vs in the Church. Which perſones althoughe then they were not ſo ſtrongly armed in their cauſe and quarel, as of late yeres they haue bene, yet were they warriours in Chriſtes churche, and fought for their power, in the ſame cauſe. And although they gaue backe through tyrannie, yet iudge thou the beſt good Reader, and referre the cauſe therof to God, who reuealeth all things according to his determined will and appoynted time.

King Henry 6.

Anno. 1422.

Ex Scala mundi.

Ex Regiſt. Cant.

This yong prince being vnder the age of one yeare, after the death of his father, ſucceeded in his reigne and kingdom of England, Anno 1422. and in the 8. yeare was crowned at Weſtminſter: and the 2. yeare after was crowned alſo at Paris, Henry biſhop of Wincheſter, Cardinall being preſent at them both, & raigned 38. yeres, and then was depoſed by Edwarde the 4. as heere after (Chriſt willing) ſhall be declared in his time. In the firſte yeare of his raigne was burned the conſtant witneſſe bearer and teſtis of Chriſtes doctrine, William Tailour, a Prieſt vnder Henry Chicheſley Archbiſhop of Canterbury. Of this William Tailour I read, that in the dayes of Thomas Arundell, hee was firſt apprehended, and abiured. Afterwarde in the daies of Henry Chicheſley, aboute the yeare of our Lorde 1421. which was a yeare before hys burning, the ſaid William Tailour appeared again in the conuocation before the Archbiſhop being brought by the Biſhop of Worceſter, being complained of to haue taught at Briſtow theſe Articles folowing.

William Taylour the firſt tyme apprehended.

W. Taylour againe appeareth before the Archbiſhop.

Three articles firſt obiected to W. Taylour.

Firſt, that whoſoeuer hangeth any ſcripture about his necke, taketh away the honor due onely to God, & geueth it to the Deuill.

Secondly, that no humaine perſone is to be worſhipped, but onely God is to be adored.

Thirdly, that the Saints are not to be worſhipped nor inuocated.

Upon theſe Articles the ſayde William Tailour being examined, denied that he did preache or hold them in way of defending them, but only did commune and talke vpon the ſame, eſpecially vpon the ſecond and third article, only in way of reaſoning, and for argument ſake. And to iuſtify his opiniõ to be true in that which he did hold, he brought out of his boſome a paper or libell wrytten, wherein were contained certaine Articles, wyth the teſtimonies of the Doctours alleaged, and exhibited the ſame vnto the archbiſhop. Who then being bidde to ſtande aſide, the Archbyſhop conſulting together with the byſhops and other prelates, what was to be done in the matter, deliuered the wrytinges vnto M. John Caſtle, and John Kikinghale, the two vicechauncelors of Oxforde and Cambridge, and to John Langdon monke of Canterbury. Who aduiſing with themſelues, and with other deuines, about the Articles and allegations, on the monday following, preſented the ſayde Articles of William Tailour, to the Archbiſhop and Prelates, as erroneous and hereticall. Whereuppon William Tailour being called before them, in concluſion was contented to reuoke the ſame, and for hys penaunce was by them condemned to perpetuall priſon.

Notwithſtanding, through fauour they were contented, that he ſhould be releaſed from his carceral indurance, in caſe hee woulde putte in ſufficient ſurety in the kinges Chancerye, and ſweare that he ſhall neuer holde or fauour any ſuch opinions hereafter. And thus the ſayde William Tailor apoynted to appeare the next Wedneſday at Lambeth before the Archbiſhoppe, to take his abſolution from his long excommunication during yͤ time from Thomas Arundell, appeared againe before him, where he laying a ſide his Armilouſa, that is: his cloke, his cap, and ſtripped vnto hys doublet, kneeled at the feete of the Archbyſhop. Who then ſtanding vp, and hauing a rodde in hys hande, began the Pſalme Miſere. &c. hys chaplaines aunſwering the ſecond verſe. After that was ſayde, the Collect, Deus cui proprium. &c. with certaine other prayers. And ſo taking an oth of him, the Archbiſhop committed him to the cuſtodie of the Byſhop of Worceſter, to whome power and authority was permitted to releaſe him, vpon the conditions aforeſaide. And thus was William Tailour, for that time abſolued, being enioyned notwythſtanding to appeare at the next conuocation whẽſoeuer it ſhuld be, before the ſaid Archbiſhop or his ſucceſſour that ſhould follow him.

The forme of canonical abſolution in the church vſed againſt thẽ that were excommunicate.

In the meane time, while William Tailour was thus in the cuſtody of the Biſhop of Worceſter, there paſſed certaine wrytings betweene hym, and one Thomas Smith prieſt at Briſtowe, in the which wrytings William Tailour replied againſt yͤ ſayd Thomas, concerning the queſtion of worſhipping Saints. Upon the occaſion of which reply, being brought to the hands of the byſhop of Worceſter, William Tailour began a newe to be troubled, & was broughte againe before the publicke conuocation of the cleargy, by the ſaid biſhop of Worceſter, to aunſwere vnto his wrytings. This was an. 1422. the 11. day of Februarie. Unto the which conuocation the ſayd William being preſented, his wrytings were read to him, which he woulde not, nor could not deny to be of his owne hand wryting.

The tenour and effect of whoſe wryting onely tended to prooue, that euery petition and prayer for any ſupernaturall gift, ought to be directed to God alone, & to no creature. All be it in this his wryting he did not vtterly deny, that it was not lawfull in no reſpecte to pray to Saintes, (and bringeth for the ſame Thomas Aquine) but onely in reſpect of that worſhip, whych is called Cultus latriæ: And further ſo proſecuteth his minde herein, that he ſemeth litle or nothing to differ from the ſuperſtition of the papiſts: as moſt plainely appeareth by his owne wordes, ſaying: Nunquam tamen negaui, aut negare intendo, merita aut ſanctorum ſuffragia tam beatorum, quam viantium, tam viuis, quam mortuis ad hoc diſpoſitis, quantum poſſunt, ſuffragari, vel proficere, quia hoc eſt elicibile ex Scriptura, quæ non fallit, & ex conſona ratione. &c. And moreouer hee inferreth the example of Moſes, who prayed vnto God, alleadging the merites of Abra-

The opinion of Wil. Taylour cõcerning worſhipping of Saintes.

Cultus latria, that is, worſhip which is onely due to God.

Abraham, Iſaac, and Iacob, which were deade. &c. And furthermore paſſing from the teſtimony of Hierome, and alledging the example of Steuen, ſayeth: Quod nunc magis exauditur pro veneratoribus ſuis, quam tunc exauditus eſt pro lapidatoribus. And at length he commeth to this cōcluſion, prouing by S. Auſten, in this maner: Ne igitur cum impijs & idolatris in veteri teſtamento, in circuitu ambulemus, nunquam deueniendo ad centrum, ſanū eſt quod faciamus ſecundum conſilium Apoſtoli ſic dicentis: Accedamus cum fiducia ad thronum gratiæ eius, vt miſericordiam conſequamur & gratiam inueniamus in auxilio oportuno. &c. That is. And therfore leaſt we runne about in circles with the wicked, and wyth the idolaters of the old Teſtament, and neuer come to the center, therfore it is wholeſome & good counſaile, that we followe the minde of the Apoſtle, ſaying: Let vs reſorte wyth boldnes vnto the throne of his grace, that we may obtaine mercy, and finde grace in time of oportune helpe. &c.

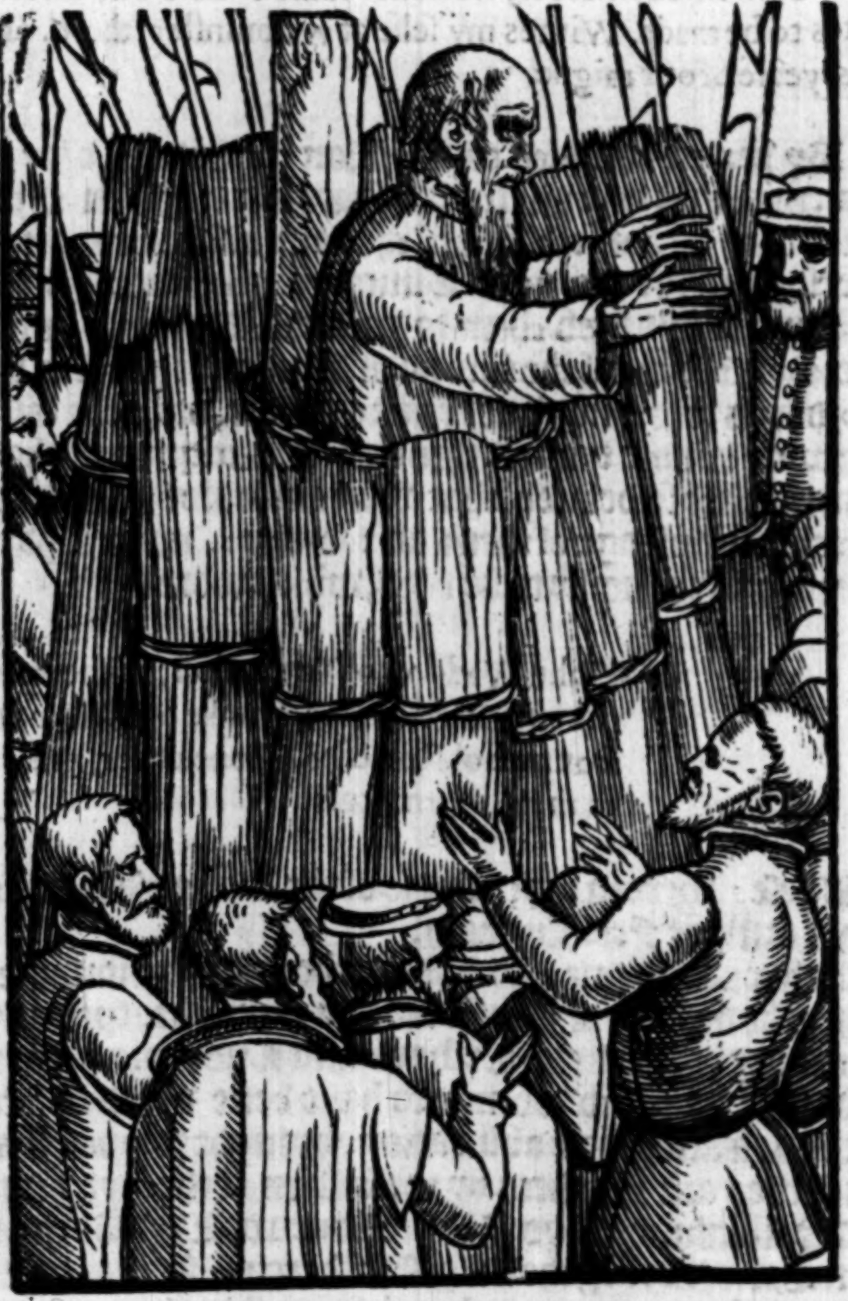
Aug. ſuper. Pſal. 21.

Thus much out of the foreſayde wryting of W. Tailor I haue excerped, to the intent that the indifferent reader, vſing his iudgement herein, may ſee how litle matter was in this, wherefore he ſhould be condemned by the Papiſts. And yet notwythſtanding the ſame wryting being deliuered by the archbiſhop, to the four orders of Friers of London to be examined, was founde erroneous and hereticall in theſe poyntes.

4. articles by the 4. orders of Friers laid againſt W. Taylout.

1. Firſt, that euery prayer, which is a petition of ſome ſupernaturall gift or free gift, is to be directed onely to God.
2. Item, that prayer is to be directed to God alone.
3. Item, to pray to any creature is to commit idolatry.
4. Alſo, an other opiniō there was much like to the other, to make vp the fourth, ſo that although all theſe opinions agreed in one, yet to make vp a number euery order of the foure ſortes of Friers, thought to finde out ſome matter to offer vp to the Archb. againſt him, leaſt one order ſhoulde ſeeme more cunning or pregnant in finding out more, then could an other: or els perchaunce leaſt any of them ſhould ſeeme to fauor the party, in bringing nothing againſt him, as the reſt had done.

⁂ The burning of William Tailour, Prieſt.



When the Saterday was come, which was the 20. day of February, vppon the which day the 4. orders were appoynted to declare theyr cenſure vppon the Articles in the chapiter houſes of Paules, firſt appeareth Frier Tylle, for the Blacke Friers, then Frier Winchelſey: then Frier Low: After Frier Aſhwel, eche Frier for his order ſeuerally bringing his hereſy, as is aboue ſpecified.

Thus the verdict of theſe 4. orders being geuen vp to the Archb. and ſeuerally, eche order comming in with hys hereſye, which was the 20. day of February. Hereuppon commeth downe a wryt from the king, directed to the lord Maior and Sheriffes of London. De heretico comburendo, dated the 1. day of March. Anno 1. of his raigne. The copie whereof remaineth in the recordes of the Tower, beginning thus, Rex Maiori & vicecomitibus. Wherupon the ſayd William Tailour condemned as a relapſe, firſt was diſgraded, and after to be burned, and ſo was committed to the ſeculare power. Who then being had to Smithfield, the 1. day of Marche, with Chriſtian conſtancie, after long impriſonment, there did conſummate his Martyrdom. 1422.

W. Taylour diſgraded.
W. Taylour Martir, burned in Smithfield.

The maner of his diſgrading was all one with the diſgrading of Iohn Hus before: for the Papiſtes vſe but one forme for all men. Firſt diſgrading them from Prieſthode, by taking from them the chalice and patine. From deaconſhip, by taking from them the goſpell booke and tunicle. From Subdeaconſhip, by taking from them the Epiſtle booke and Tunicle. From Accoluteſhip, by taking from them the Cruet and Candleſticke. From an Exorciſte, by taking away the booke of Exorciſmes or Graduall. From the Sextonſhip, by taking away the churchdoore key and ſurplis. And likewiſe from Benet, in taking away the ſurplis, and firſt tonſure. &c. Al which they orderly accompliſhed vpon this godly Martyr, before his burning.

The popes maner of degradation.

Iohn Florence a Turner.

Iohn Florence a Turner.

IHon Florence a Turner, dwelling in Shelton, in the Dioceſſe of Norwich, was attached for that he helde and taught theſe hereſies heere vnder wrytten (as they called them) cōtrary to ye determination of the Church of Rome.

In primis, that the pope and Cardinals haue no power to make or conſtitute any lawes.

Item, that there is no day to be kept holy, but onely the Sonday which God hath halowed.

Item, that men ought to faſt no other time, but of the Quatuor temporum.

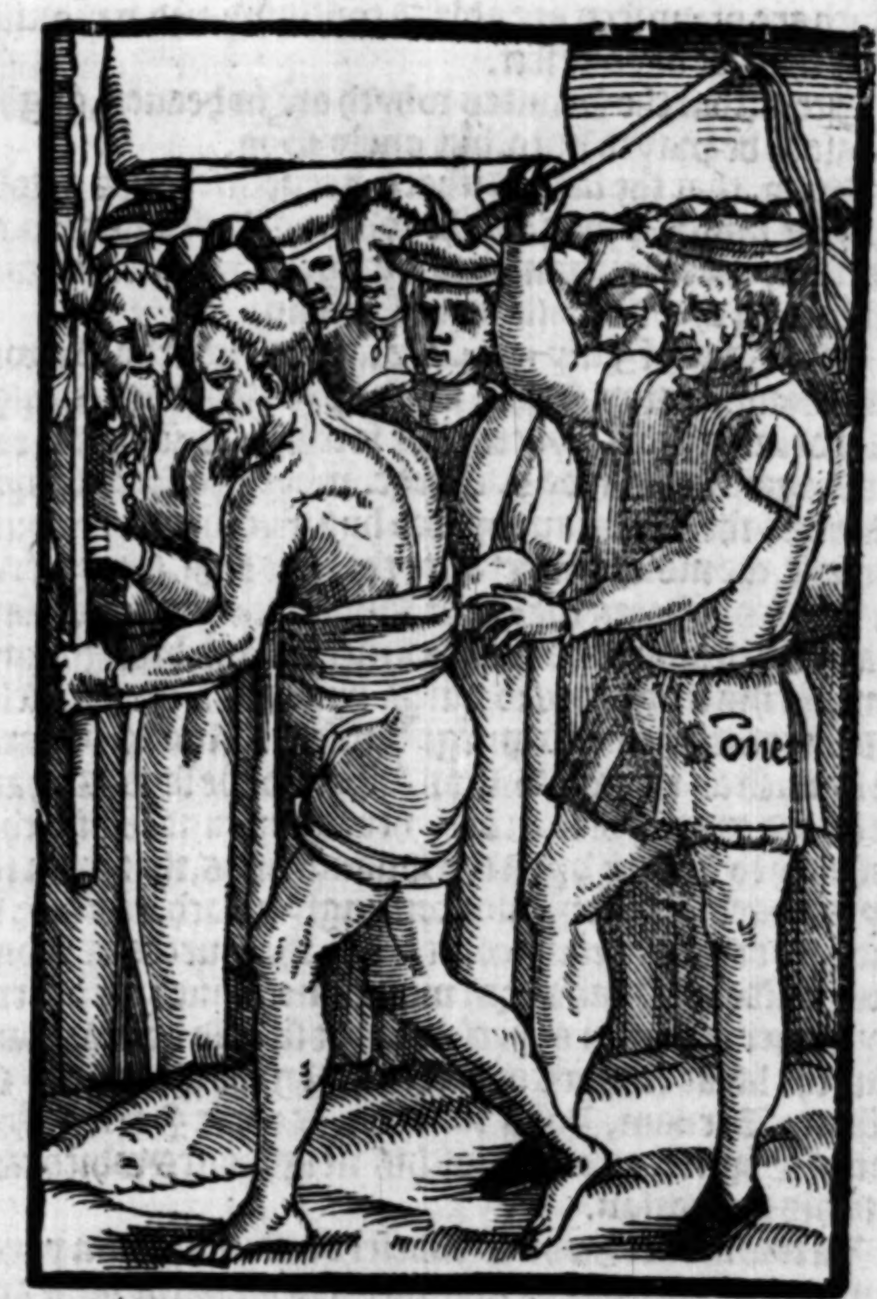
Item, that Images are not to be worſhipped, neyther that the people ought to ſet vp any lightes before them in the Churches, neither to go on pilgrimage, neither to offer for the dead, or with women that are purified.

Item, that Curates ſhould not take the tithes of theyr pariſhioners, but that ſuch tithes ſhuld be deuided amōgſt the poore pariſhioners.

He meaneth they ſhould not claime ſuch tithes by any exaction.

Item, that al ſuch as ſweare by their life or power, ſhal be damned, except they repent.

The diſpling of Iohn Florence.



Vpon Wenſday, being the ſecond day of Auguſt in the yeare of our Lorde 1424. the ſayde Iohn Florence perſonally appeared before William Bernam, Chauncellour to William byſhoppe of Norwich, whereas he proceeding againſt him, obiected the firſt article touching the power of the Pope and Cardinals: to which Article the ſayde Iohn Florence anſwered in thys manner. If the pope liued vprightly as Peter liued, he hath power to make lawes: otherwiſe, I beleeue hee hathe no power. But being afterward threatned by the iudge, he acknowledged that he had erred, and ſubmitted himſelfe to the correction of ye church, and was abiured, taking an othe that from that time forward he ſhould not hold, teach, preach, or willingly defend any

{ Anno. 1424. }

THE SIXT PART OR SECTION, pertaining to the laſt 300. yeares.

A preface to the reader.

ACcording to the fiue ſondry diuerſities and alterations of the Churche, ſo haue I deuided hetherto the order of thys preſente Church ſtory into fiue principall partes, euery part containing 300. yeares. So that nowe comming to the laſte 300. yeares, that is, to the laſt times of the Church, counting from the time of Wickleffe: For as muche as in the compaſſe of the ſayd laſt 300 yeres, are contained great troubles and perturbations of the Church, with the meruailous reformation of the ſame through the wonderous operation of the almighty, all which things cannot be comprehended in one booke, I haue therefore diſpoſed the ſayd latter 30. yeares, into diuers bookes, beginning nowe with the ſixt booke, at the raigne of king Henry the vj. In which booke, beſide the greeuous and ſundry perſecutions raiſed vp by Antichriſt, to be noted, here in is alſo to be obſerued, that where as it hath of long time bene receyued and thought of the common people, that this religion now generally vſed, hath ſprong vp and riſen but of late, euen by the ſpace (as many do thinke) of 20. or 30. yeares, it may now manifeſtly appeare, not onely by the Acts and Monuments heretofore paſſed, but alſo by the hyſtories here after following, howe this profeſſion of Chriſtes religion hath bene ſpread abroade in Englande of olde and auncient time, not onely from the ſpace of theſe 200. late yeares, from the time of Wyckleffe, but hathe continually from time to time ſparkled abroade, although the flames thereof haue neuer ſo perfectly burſt out, as they haue done within theſe hundred yeares and more: As by theſe hyſtories here collected & gathered out of Regiſters, eſpecially of the Dioceſſe of Norwich, ſhall manifeſtly appeare: wherein may be ſeene what men, and how many both men and women within the ſayde Dioceſſe of Norwich, haue bene, which haue defended the ſame cauſe of doctrine, which now is receiued by vs in the Church. Which perſones althoughe then they were not ſo ſtrongly armed in their cauſe and quarel, as of late yeres they haue bene, yet were they warriours in Chriſtes churche, and fought for their power, in the ſame cauſe. And although they gaue backe through tyrannie, yet iudge thou the beſt good Reader, and referre the cauſe therof to God, who reuealeth all things according to his determined will and appoynted time.

King Henry 6.

Anno. 1422.

Ex Scala mundi.

Ex Regiſt. Cant.

THis yong prince being vnder the age of one yeare, after the death of his father, ſucceeded in his reigne and kingdom of England, Anno 1422. and in the 8. yeare was crowned at weſtminſter: and the 2. yeare after was crowned alſo at Paris, Henry biſhop of wincheſter, Cardinall being preſent at them both, & raigned 38. yeres, and then was depoſed by Edwarde the 4. as heere after (Chriſt willing) ſhall be declared in his time. In the firſte yeare of his raigne was burned the conſtant witneſſe bearer and teſtis of Chriſtes doctrine, william Tailour, a Prieſt vnder Henry Chicheſley Archbiſhop of Canterbury. Of this william Tailour I read, that in the dayes of Thomas Arundell, hee was firſt apprehended, and abiured. Afterwarde in the daies of Henry Chicheſley, aboute the yeare of our Lorde 1421. which was a yeare before hys burning, the ſaid william Tailour appeared again in the conuocation before the Archbiſhop being brought by the Biſhop of worceſter, being complained of to haue taught at Briſtow theſe Articles folowing.

William Taylour the firſt tyme apprehended.

W. Taylour againe appeareth before the Archbiſhop.

Three articles firſt obiected to W. Taylour.

Firſt, that whoſoeuer hangeth any ſcripture about his necke, taketh away the honor due onely to God, & geueth it to the Deuill.

Secondly, that no humaine perſone is to be worſhipped, but onely God is to be adored.

Thirdly, that the Saints are not to be worſhipped nor inuocated.

Vpon theſe Articles the ſayde william Tailour being examined, denied that he did preache or hold them in way of defending them, but only did commune and talke vpon the ſame, eſpecially vpon the ſecond and third article, only in way of reaſoning, and for argument ſake. And to iuſtify his opiniõ to be true in that which he did hold, he brought out of his boſome a paper or libell wrytten, wherein were contained certaine Articles, wyth the teſtimonies of the Doctours alleaged, and exhibited the ſame vnto the archbiſhop. who then being bidde to ſtande aſide, the Archbyſhop conſulting together with the byſhops and other prelates, what was to be done in the matter, deliuered the wrytinges vnto M. Iohn Caſtle, and Iohn Rikinghale, the two vicechauncelors of Oxforde and Cambridge, and to Iohn Langdon monke of Canterbury. who aduiſing with themſelues, and with other deuines, about the Articles and allegations, on the monday following, preſented the ſayde Articles of william Tailour, to the Archbiſhop and Prelates, as erroneous and hereticall. where vppon william Tailour being called before them, in concluſion was contented to reuoke the ſame, and for hys penaunce was by them condemned to perpetuall priſon.

Notwithſtanding, through fauour they were contented, that he ſhould be releaſed from his carceral indurance, in caſe hee woulde putte in ſufficient ſurety in the kinges Chancerye, and ſweare that he ſhall neuer holde or fauour any ſuch opinions hereafter. And thus the ſayde william Tailor apoynted to appeare the next wedneſday at Lambeth before the Archbiſhoppe, to take his abſolution from his long excommunication during ŷ time from Thomas Arundell, appeared againe before him, where he laying a ſide his Armilauſa, that is: his cloke, his cap, and ſtripped vnto hys doublet, kneeled at the feete of the Archbyſhop. who then ſtanding vp, and hauing a rodde in hys hande, began the Pſalme Miſere. &c. hys chaplaines aunſwering the ſecond verſe. After that was ſayde, the Collect, Deus cui proprium. &c. with certaine other prayers. And ſo taking an oth of him, the Archbiſhop committed him to the cuſtodie of the Byſhop of worceſter, to whome power and authority was permitted to releaſe him, vpon the conditions aforeſaide. And thus was william Tailour, for that time abſolued, being enioyned notwythſtanding to appeare at the next conuocation wheſoeuer it ſhuld be, before the ſaid Archbiſhop or his ſucceſſour that ſhould follow him.

The forme of canonical abſolution in the church vſed againſt thẽ that were excommunicate.

In the meane time, while william Tailour was thus in the cuſtody of the Biſhop of worceſter, there paſſed certaine wrytings betweene hym, and one Thomas Smith prieſt at Briſtowe, in the which wrytings william Tailour replied againſt ŷ ſayd Thomas, concerning the queſtion of worſhipping Saints. Vpon the occaſion of which reply, being brought to the hands of the byſhop of worceſter, william Tailour began a newe to be troubled, & was broughte againe before the publicke conuocation of the cleargy, by the ſaid biſhop of worceſter, to aunſwere vnto his wrytings. This was an. 1422. the 11. day of Februarie. Vnto the which conuocation the ſayd william being preſented, his wrytings were read to him, which he woulde not, nor could not deny to be of his owne hand wryting.

The tenour and effect of whoſe wryting onely tended to proue, that euery petition and prayer for any ſupernaturall gift, ought to be directed to God alone, & to no creature. All be it in this his wryting he did not vtterly deny, that it was not lawfull in no reſpecte to pray to Saintes, (and bringeth for the ſame Thomas Aquine) but onely in reſpect of that worſhip, whych is called Cultus latriæ: And further ſo proſecuteth his minde herein, that he ſemeth litle or nothing to differ from the ſuperſtition of the papiſts: as moſt plainely appeareth by his owne wordes, ſaying: Nunquam tamen negaui, aut negare intendo, merita aut ſanctorum ſuffragia tam beatorum, quam viantium, tam viuis, quam mortuis ad hoc diſpoſitis, quantum poſſunt, ſuffragari, vel proficere, quia hoc eſt elicibile ex Scriptura, quæ non fallit, & ex conſona ratione. &c. And moreouer hee inferreth the example of Moſes, who prayed vnto God, alleadging the merites of Abra-

The opinion of Wil. Taylour cõcerning worſhipping of Saintes.

Cultus latria, that is, worſhip which is onely due to God.

any errour or hereſie contrary to the determination of the church of Rome, neither maintaine, helpe, or aide any that ſhal teach or hold any ſuch errors or hereſies, either priuely or apertly, and for his offence in thys behalfe done, hee was enioyned thys penance following.

Three Sondaies in a ſolemne proceſſion in the cathedral Church of Norwich, he ſhould be diſpled before al the people. The like alſo ſhuld be don about his pariſh church of Shelton, three other ſeuerall Sondaies, hee being bare headed, bare footed & bare necked, after the maner of a publicke penitentiarie, his body being couered wyth a canues ſhirt, and canues breches, carying in his hande a taper of a pounde waight, and that done he was diſmiſſed.

The maner of this diſpling was with a white rodde, thriſe laid vpon the head of the penitenciary.

Richard Belward of Eriſam in the Dioces of Norwich.

RIchard Belward of Eriſam, in the Dioceſſe of Norwiche, was accuſed for holding and teaching theſe errours and opinions heere vnder wrytten, contrary to the determination of the church of Rome.

In primis, that Eccleſiaſticall miniſters and Ordinaries haue no power to excommunicate, neither can excommunicate: And all be it that a Biſhop doe excommunicate any man, God doth abſolue him.

He meaneth the wicked byſhops of that time, whoſe curſes God did bleſſe.

Item, that he held the erronious opinions and concluſions, that Syr John Oldcaſtle helde when he was in priſon, & affirmed that Syr John Oldcaſtle was a true Catholicke man, and falſly condemned and put to death without any reaſonable cauſe.

This proueth Sir I. Oldecaſtle to be no traytour.

Item, that ſuch as go on pilgrimage, offering to images made of woode and ſtone, are excommunicate becauſe they ought to offer to the quicke, and not to the dead: and that the Eccleſiaſticall Miniſters, that is to ſay the curates do ſell God vppon Eaſter day, when as they receiue offerings of ſuch as ſhould communicate before they do miniſter the Sacrament vnto them.

Item, that he counſelled diuers women, yͭ they ſhould not offer in the Churche for the dead, neither wyth women that were purified.

Item, that he blamed diuers of his neighbors that refuſed his doctrine, ſaying vnto thē: truly ye are fooles that deny to learne the doctrine of my ſect, for your neighbours which are of my ſect, are able to confound and vanquiſh al other that are of your ſect.

The wordes of the Regiſter.

Item, that the Saintes whych are in heauen, ought in no caſe to be prayed vnto, but onely God.

Item, that the ſayd Richard keepeth ſchooles of lolardy in the Engliſh tong, in the towne of Dychingham, and a certaine Parchment maker bryngeth hym all the bookes containing that doctrine from London.

The 5. day of July 1424. the ſayde Richarde Belward was brought before John, Byſhop of Norwich ſitting in place of iudgement, wheras the foreſaid Articles were obiected againſt the ſayde Richarde, whych he there denyed: wherupō the biſhop appoynted him an other day to purge himſelfe, the monday next after the feaſt of S. Marget: vpon which day being the 24. of July, in the yeare aforeſayd, he appeared againe before the Biſhop, and brought wyth him 9. of his neighbors to purge hym vpon thoſe articles, and there did ſolemnely purge himſelfe. And afterwarde, for ſomuch as the ſaid Biſhop ſuſpected the ſayd Richarde Belward greatly of lolardie, hee commaunded him there preſently to ſweare vpon the Euangeliſtes, that from that day forwarde he ſhould not wittingly preach, teach, or defend any error or hereſy, contrary to the churche of Rome, neither aide, aſſiſt, fauour or maintaine, priuely or apertly, any maner of perſon or perſons, that ſhould hold or maintaine the ſayde errours or hereſies. In the preſence of M. William Bernam, John Wadden, Robert Serle & John Berne Eſquire, and other of his neighbours which came vnto his purgation.

In like maner John Goddeſel of Dichingham parchmentmaker, was detected and accuſed vpon the ſame articles, and thereupon brought before the biſhop: whereas he denying them, purged himſelfe by his neighbours, as Richard Belward before had done, being ſworne alſo in lyke maner, as he was, and ſo was diſmiſſed and ſet at libertie, vntill the yeare of our Lord 1428. when as he was againe apprehended, accuſed and abiured, as ſhalbe more at large declared in the hyſtorie when we come to that yeare. Syr Hugh Pie alſo, chaplaine of Ludney in the dioces of Norwich, was likewiſe accuſed and brought before the byſhop of Norwich yͤ 5. day of July. An. 1424. for holding of theſe opinions following.

Iohn Goddeſell of Dichingham.

Sir Hugh Pye Prieſt.

That the people ought not to go on pilgrimage.

Item, that yͤ people ought not to geue almes, but only vnto ſuche as begge at theyr dores.

Item, that the image of the croſſe and other images are not to be worſhipped. And that the ſaid Hugh, had caſt the croſſe of Bromeholde into the fire to be burned, which hee tooke from one John Welgate of Ludney. Which articles as is aforeſayde, being obiected againſt him, he vtterly denied: whereupon he had a day appoynted to purge himſelfe by the witnes of 3. lay men and 3. prieſts. That ſo done, he was ſworne as the other before, and ſo diſmiſſed.

Image of the croſſe not to be worſhipped.

After this, in the yeare of our Lorde 1428. king Henry the 6. ſent downe moſt cruel letters of commiſſion vnto J. Exetor and Jacolet Germaine, keeper of the caſtle of Colcheſter, for the apprehending of ſir William White Prieſt, and others ſuſpected of hereſies, the tenor wherof, hereafter enſueth.

¶ The copie of the kings letters directed to Iohn Exeter, and Iacolet Germaine, keeper of the caſtle of Colcheſter, for the apprehending of ſir William White prieſt and other, (as they called them) lollards.

HEnry by the grace of God king of Englande and of Fraunce, Lord of Ireland, to his well beloued Iohn Exetor, and Iacolet Germaine, keeper of the caſtle of Colcheſter health.

A letter of the king.

Ye ſhall vnderſtand that we fully truſting vnto your fidelitye and circumſpections, haue appoynted you ioyntly and ſeuerally to take and arreſt William White prieſt, and Thomas, late chaplaine of Setling, in the countie of Norfolke, and William Northampton prieſt, and al other whatſoeuer they be that are ſuſpect of hereſy or lollardy, whereſoeuer they may be founde within the liberties or without, and ſtraight way being ſo taken, to ſend thē vnto our next gaile or priſon, vnto ſuch time, as we ſhall haue taken other order for their deliuery: And therefore wee ſtraightly commaunde you, that ye diligently attende about the premiſſes, and fulfill the ſame in forme aforeſayde. Alſo we charge and command all and ſinguler Iuſtices of peace, Maiors, Shriues, Bailiffes, Cunſtables, and all other our faithfull officers, by the tenoure of theſe preſents, that they do aſsiſt, aide, and counſaile you & euery of you, in the execution of the premiſſes, as it ſhall be comely for them In witnes whereof, we haue cauſed theſe our letters patentes to be made. Witnes my ſelfe at weſtminſter, the 6. of Iuly, the 6. yeare of our raigne.

By vertue of which commiſſion we finde in olde Monuments, that wythin ſhorte ſpace after. John Exeter, which was appointed one of the commiſſioners, attached 6. perſons in the towne of Bungay in the dioceſſe of Norwich, and committed them to William Day, and William Roe, Conſtables of the towne of Bungay, to be ſent within 10. dayes folowing vnder ſafe cuſtodie, vnto the caſtle of Norwich. Whoſe names, through the antiquity of the monument were ſo defaced that we coulde not attaine to the perfecte knowledge of them all: onely 3. names partlye remained in the booke to be read, which were theſe.

¶ Iohn Waddon of Tenterdon, in the countie of kent, Bartlemewe, Monke of Erſham, in the countie of Norfolke, Corneleader, a marryed man. William Skuts.

Theſe 3. were in the cuſtodie of the Duke of Northfolk, at hys caſtle of Fremingham.

Beſides theſe, we alſo finde in the ſaid old monuments within the dioceſſe of Norffolke and Suffolke, ſpecially in the townes of Beckels, Erſham, and Ludney, a great nūber both of men and women to haue bene vexed and caſte in priſon, & after their abiuration, brought to open ſhame in churches and markets by the biſhop of the ſayd dioceſſe called William, and hys Chancellour William Bernham, John Exceter being the Regiſter therein, ſo that wythin the ſpace of 3. or 4. yeares, that is from the yeare 1428. vnto the yeare 1431. about the number of 120. menne and women are examined and ſuſtained great vexatiō for the profeſſion of the Chriſtian faithe: of whome ſome were onely taken vppon ſuſpition onely for eating of meates prohibited vpon vigil dayes, who of their purgation made, eſcaped more eaſily away and wyth leſſe puniſhment, whoſe names here follow ſubſcribed.

William Biſhop of Norwich, William Bernhā hys Chaūcelor.

The

The names of them that were taken and examined vpon ſuſpition of hereſye.

A cataloge of good mē and women troubled for ſuſpition of hereſie.

Robert Skiruing of Harlſtone.
Wiliam Skiruing.
Iohn Terry of Erſham.
Iohn Abtre of Erſham.

Iohn Middleton of Haluergate.
Iohn Wayde of Erſham.
Rich. Clarke of Sething.
Tho. White of Bedingham.

M. Rob. Beete of Berry.
Rich. Page of Clipſly.

The other were more cruelly handled, and ſome of them were put to death and burned, of whō we do ſpecially finde mention made of theſe three.

Father Abraham of Colcheſter.

William white Prieſt.

Iohn Waddon prieſt.

The reſidue, for a great number of good men and women, were forced to abiure, ſuſtayning ſuch cruell penaunce as pleaſed then the ſayd Biſhop and his Chauncellor to lay vpon them. The names of which both men and wōmē here folow together in this briefe Catalogue to be ſeene.

Iohn Beuerley.
Iohn Wardon.
Iohn Baker. Iohn Midleton.
Iohn Kynget.
Margery Backſter.
Iohn Skilley.
Iohn Godhold.
Thomas Albecke. Iohn Pierce.
Nicholas Canon of Eye.
Thomas Pye.
Iohn Mendham.
Iohn Middleton.
Thomas Chatris.
Thomas Wade.
William Taylor.
Iohn Cupper, vicar of Tunſtall.
Sir Hugh Pye Prieſt.
Bartholomew Tatcher.
Thomas Iames.
Iohn Fouling.
Bertram Cornmonger.
Thomas Swerdin.
Alanus Andrew.
William Wright.
William Euerden.
William Taylor.
Auis the wife of Thomas Moone and her daughter.
Richard Fletcher of Beckles.

Nicholas Belward.
Thomas Grenemere.
Iohn Clarke. William Bate.
William Scherming.
William Oſburne.
Iohn Rene of Beckles.
Baldwine Copper of Beckles.
Iohn Pert. M Mones ſeruant.
Rob. Brigs, Iohn Finch.
Iohn Wropham. Thomas Mone.
Iſabell Chaplaine of Martham.
William Maſſe of Erſham.
Iohn Goodwine of Erſham.
Henry Latchcold of Erſham.
Henry Boode of Erſham.
Rich. Horne of Erſham.
Iohn Belward ſenior of Erſham.
Iohn Belward iunior of Erſham.
Iohn Spire of Bungay.
Rob. Colle of Turning.
The heard of Shepemedow.
Iſabell Dauy of Coſtes.
Sibill wife of Iohn Godeſell of Dicham.
Iohn Pyry of Bartham.
Iohn Baker. Margery Wright.
Thomas Burrell and his wife.
Iohn Pert. Edm. Archer.
The Clarke of Ludney.

Rich Clarke of Sething.
Katherine the wife of William Wright, William Colin of Southcreke.
Rich. King of Windeham.
Tho Plowman. Iohn Fellis.
Tho. Loue of Rokeland.
Rich. Knobbing of Beckles.
Rich. Grace of Beckles.
Iohn Eldon of Beckles.
William Hardy, Wil. Bate.
Iohn Weſton.
Katherine Hobs.
Iohn Daw.
Rob. Grigs of Martham.
Wil. Calis Prieſt.
Tho. Pert. Prieſt.
Katherine Dauy.
Iacob Bodhome, & Margaret his wife.
Iohn Manning of Marton.
Iohn Culling of Beemſter.
Rich Fletcher of Beckles and Matild his wife.
Iohn Eldon of Beckles.
Rob. Canel Prieſt.
Nich. Drey.
Wil. Hardy of Mundham.
Iohn Poleyne.

Theſe forenamed perſons and ſouldiors of Chriſt, being much beatē with the cares and troubles of thoſe dayes although they were conſtrayned to relent and abiure, that is to proteſt otherwiſe with their tonges, then theyr harts did thinke, partly through correction and partly through infirmity (being as yet but new trayned Souldiours in Gods field) yet for theyr good will they bare vnto ẏ trueth, although with theyr tongues they durſt not expreſſe it, we haue thought good that theyr names ſhould not be ſuppreſſed, as well for other ſondry cauſes, as eſpecially for this: either to ſtop the mouthes of malignant aduerſaryes, or to aunſwere to theyr ignorance: who folowing rather blinde affection thē the true knowledge of times and antiquities, for lacke of knowledge, blame that they know not, accuſing the true doctrine of the worde of God, for newelty and carping, the teachers therof for new broched brethrē. who, if they did as well foreſee times paſſed, as they be vnwilling to follow times now preſent, they ſhould vnderſtand as well by theſe ſtoryes as other before, how this doctrine of the grace of God lacking no antiquity, hath from time to time continually ſought to burſt out, and in ſome places hath preuayled, although in moſt places through tyrāny and the malice of men, Chriſtes proceedinges haue bene ſuppreſſed and kept vnder from riſing, ſo muche as mans power and ſtrength ioyned with craft and ſubtlety, coulde labor to keepe downe the ſame: as here by theſe good men of Northfolke and Southfolke, may well appeare. For if the knowledge and the good towardneſſe of thoſe good mē, had had the like liberty of time, with the helpe of like authority as we haue nowe, and had not ben reſtrayned thorough the iniquity of time and tyranny of Prelates: it had well appeared how olde this doctrine woulde haue bene, which now they contemne and reiect for the newnes therof: neither needed Boner to haue aſked of Tho. Hawkes; and ſuch other, where their Church was for xl. yeares ago, in as much as for xl. yeares ago, and more, within the coūtry of Norfolke and Suffolke, was then foūd ſuch plenty of ẏ ſame profeſſiō & like doctrine which we now profeſſe.

Boner might ſee the church here in this age, more then xl. yeres before he was borne.

And thus much for the nūber of the names of theſe perſōs.

Now touching theyr Articles whiche they did mayneteine and defend: firſt this is to be conſidered, as I finde it in the regiſters, ſuch ſociety and agrement of doctrine to be amongſt them, that almoſt in theyr aſſertions and articles there was no difference. The doctrine of the one was the doctrine of all the other, what theyr articles were, partly it is ſhewed in the leafe before: and partly here followeth to be declared more at large.

Although it is to be thought concerning theſe Articles that many of them either were falſly obiected agaynſt thē, or not truely reported of the notaryes, according as the cōmon maner is of theſe aduerſaryes, where the matter is good, there to make hereſy, and of a litle occaſion, to ſtyrre vp great matter of ſlaunder, as they did before by the articles of Iohn wickliffe and Iohn Hus, and others mo: So in like maner it ſemeth they did in the Articles of theſe mē, either miſtaking that which they ſaid, or miſunderſtanding that which they ment, eſpecially in theſe two articles concerning baptiſme and paying of tithes. For where as they ſpeaking agaynſt the ceremonicall and ſuperfluous traditions then vſed in baptiſme, as ſalt, oile, ſpittle, taper, light criſomes, exorciſing of the water, with ſuch other, accoūted them as no materiall thing in the holy inſtitution of Baptiſme, the notaryes ſlaunderouſly deprauing this theyr aſſertion, to make it more odious to the eares of the people, ſo gaue out the article as though they ſhould holde that the ſacrament of Baptiſme vſed in the church by water, is but a light matter and of ſmall effect,

Theſe men are falſely ſlaundered about Baptiſme.

Agayne, in ſpeaking agaynſt the Chriſtening the midwiues vſe in priuate houſes, agaynſt the opinion of ſuche as thinke ſuche children to be damned, which depart before they come to theyr Baptiſme, they are falſely reported as though they ſhoulde ſay, that Chriſten people be ſufficiently baptiſed in the bloud of Chriſt, and nedeth no water, and that infants be ſufficiently baptiſed, if their parents be baptiſed before them. Whiche thing is ſo contrary to the manifeſt worde, that it is not to bee thoughte anye to bee ſo ignorant of the goſpell,that euer would or did affirme the ſame.

Moreouer, they thought or ſayd peraduenture that in certayne caſes, tithes might be withholden from wicked prieſtes ſometime, and be conferred to better vſes, to the behoofe of the poore: Therfore they are falſly ſlaundered, as ſaying and affirming that no tithes were to be geuē to the miniſters and curates of the churches.

The papiſtes are but quarel pickers.

And likewiſe for matrimony, wherin they are reported to hold and affirme as though it conſiſted onely in the mutuall conſent betwixt the man & woman, neding no other ſolemnizing in the publicke church and all becauſe(as it is like)they denyed it to be a Sacramēt. Other articles were obiected agaynſt them as theſe which hereafter folow.

Articles.

That auricular confeſſiō is not to be made vnto a prieſt but vnto God onely, becauſe no prieſt hath any power to abſolue a ſinner from his ſinne.

Item, that no Prieſt hath power to make the body of Chriſt in the ſacrament of the aultar, but that after the ſacramentall words, there remayneth pure materiall bread as before.

Item that euery true chriſtian man is a prieſt to God.

Item, that no man is bound vnder paine of damnatiō vnto Lent or any other dayes prohibited by the Church of Rome.

Item, that the Pope is Antichriſt, and his Prelats the Diſciples of Antichriſt, and the Pope hath no power to binde and looſe vpon earth.

* In caſe of neceſſitie,vrgent they meane.

*Item, that it is lawfull for euery Chriſtian to doe any bodely worke(ſinne onely except) vpon holy dayes.

Item that it is lawfull for prieſtes to haue wiues.

Item, that the excommunications and eccleſiaſtical cēſures geuen out by the Prelates are not to be regarded.

Item, it is not lawfull to ſweare in priuate caſes.

Item, that men ought not to go on pilgrimage.

Item that there is no honor to be geuē to the Images of the crucifixe, of our Lady, or any other ſaynt.

Item, that the holy water halowed in the church by the prieſt, is not holyer or of more vertue then other running or well water, becauſe the Lord bleſſed all waters in theyr firſt creation.

The death of Thomas Becket.

Item, that the death of Thomas Becket, was neyther holy neither meritorious.

Item, that reliques as dead mens bones, ought not to be worſhipped or digged out of theyr graues, or ſet vp in Shrynes.

Item, that prayers made in all places are acceptable vnto God.

Item, that men ought not to pray to any ſaynt but only to God.

Item that the bels and ringing in the church was ordeyned for no other purpoſe then to fill the priſtes purſes.

Item, that it is no ſinne to withſtand the eccleſiaſticall preceptes.

Item that the catholick church is onely the congregation of the elect.

In this article is ment that the wicked be in the church but not of the Church.

These were the Articles, which were generally obiected agaynſt them all, wherin they did ſo agree in one vniforme fayth, that whatſoeuer one did hold, all the other did mayntayne & hold the ſame. By the which theyr conſent & doctrine it appeareth that they all receiued it of ſome one inſtructor, who was William White: which being a ſcholer and folower of I. Wickliffe, reſorted afterward into thys country of Norfolke and there inſtructed theſe men in the light of the goſpell. And now as we haue declared the names and Articles of theſe good men, ſo it remayneth ſomewhat to ſpeake of theyr troubles how they were handled, beginning firſt with William White.

¶William White Prieſt.

W.White, Martyre.
Anno. 1428.
Ex Waldeno.
* Eccle.50.

This William White being a folower of Iohn Wickliff and a prieſt not after the common ſort of prieſts, but rather to be reputed amongſt the number of them, of whom the wiſe man ſpeaketh: * He was as the morning ſtarre in the midſt of a cloud, &c. This man was well learned, vpright & a well ſpoken prieſt. He gaue ouer his prieſthood & benefice, & took vnto him a godly yong woman to his wife named Ioane: notwithſtanding he did not therefore ceaſe or leaue frō his former office & duty, but continually labored to the glory and prayſe of his ſpouſe Chriſt, by reading, writing & preaching. The principal points of his doctrine were theſe, which he was forced to recant at Canterbury.

That men ſhould ſeeke for the forgeuenes of their ſins onely at the handes of God.

That the wicked liuing of the Pope and his holyneſſe, is nothing els but a deuiliſh eſtate and heauy yoke of Antichriſt, and therfore he is an enemy vnto Chriſtes trueth.

That men ought not to worſhip Images or other Idolatrous payntings.

That mē ought not to worſhip the holy men which are dead.

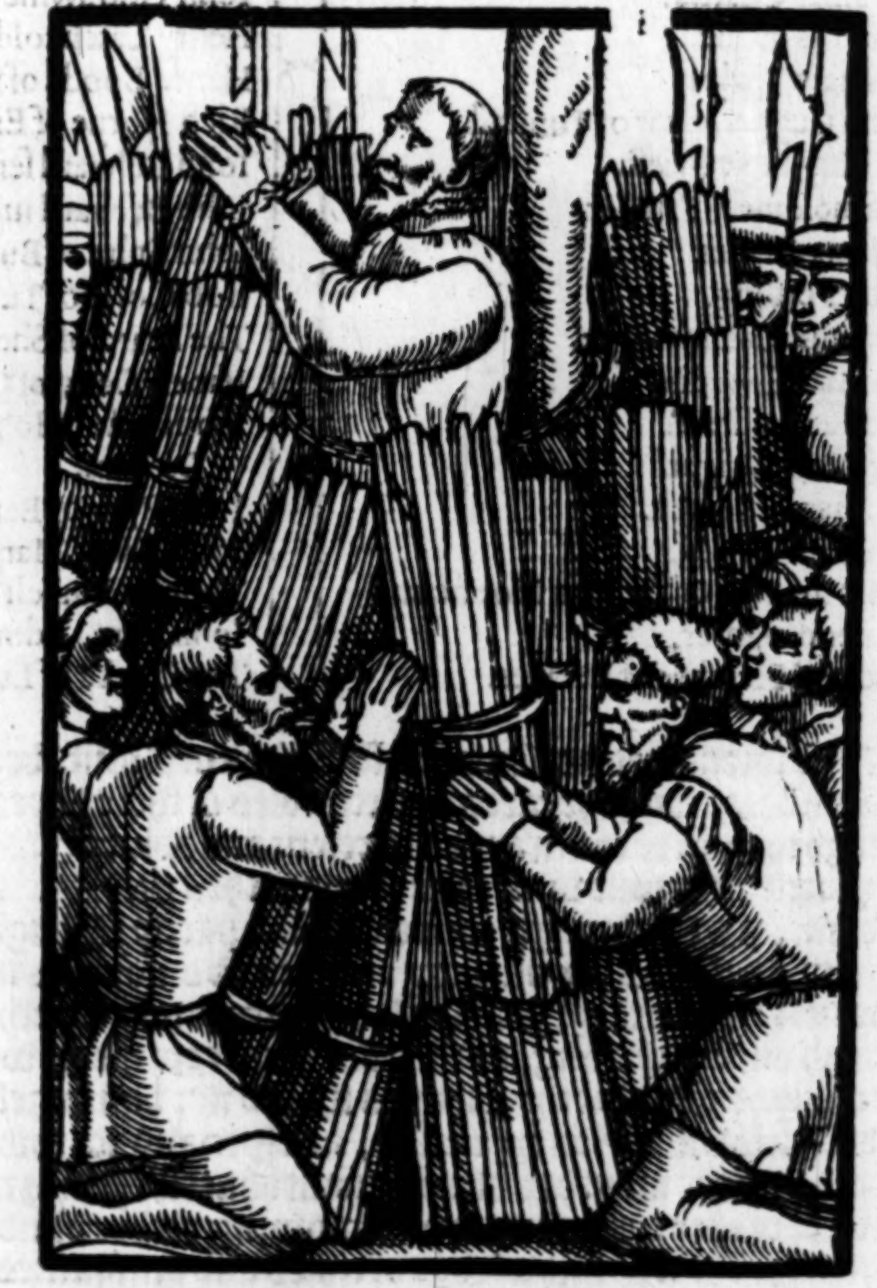
The Romiſh church aptly reſembled to the curſed fig tree.

That the Romiſh church is the fig tree which the Lord Chriſt hath accurſed, becauſe it hath brought forth no fruit of the true beliefe.

That ſuch as weare coules, or be annointed or ſhorne are the lanceknightes and ſouldiors of Lucifer: & that they all, becauſe theyr lamps are not burning, ſhall be ſhut out, when as the Lord Chriſt ſhall come.

Upon which articles he being attached at Cant. vnder the Archb. Henry Chicheſley in the yeare of our Lord 1424. there for a certayne ſpace ſtoutly and manly witneſſed the truth whiche he had preached: but like as there he loſt hys courage and ſtrength, ſo afterward he became again much more ſtouter and ſtronger in Ieſu Chriſt and confeſſed his own error & offence. For after this he going into Norfolk with his ſaid wife Ioane, & there occupying himſelf buſily in teaching & conuerting the people vnto the true doctrine of Chriſt, at the laſt by meanes of yͤ kings letters ſet down for that intent and purpoſe, he was apprehended & taken & brought before Wil. biſhop of Norwich, by whom he was conuict & condemned of 30. articles & there was burned in Norwich, in the moneth of September. an. 1424.

¶The burning of William White.



This William White and his wife had his moſt abode with one Tho. Moone of Ludney. This mā was of ſo deuout and holy life, that all yͤ people had him in great reuerence, and deſired him to pray for them: in ſo much that one Margaret Wright confeſſed, that if any ſayntes were to be prayd to, ſhe would rather pray to him then to any other. When he was come vnto the ſtake thinking to open hys mouth to ſpeak vnto the people, to exhort & confirme them in the verity, one of the biſhops ſeruants ſtroke hym on yͤ mouth, therby to force him to keepe ſilence. And thus thys good man receiuing the crowne of martyrdome, ended this mortall life to the great dolor & griefe of all the good men of Norfolke. Whoſe ſayd wife Ioane, folowing her huſbāds footſteps according to her power, teaching and ſowing abroad the ſame doctrine, confirmed many men in Gods truth: wherefore ſhe ſuffered much trouble and puniſhmēt the ſame yeare at the handes of the ſayd biſhop.

The biſhops man ſmiteth him on the mouth, exhorting the people.

Father Abraham, Iohn Waddon prieſt, martyrs and burned.

About the ſame time alſo was burned father Abraham of Colcheſter, and Ioh. Waddō prieſt, for the like articles.

Concerning them, which abiured, how & by whom they were examined, what depoſitions came in agaynſt them, and what was the order & maner of the penance inioyned them, here it might be ſet out at large: but for auoyding of prolixity, it ſhall be ſufficient briefly to touch certaine of the principals, wherby the better vnderſtanding may be geuē to the Reader, after what maner & order al the other were intreated.

Firſt amongſt them which were areſted and cauſed to abiure in this yeare afore ſpecified. 1428. was Thom. Pye, and Iohn Mendham of Aldborough, who being conuict vpon diuers of the Articles before mentioned, were enioined penance to be done in theyr own pariſh Church, as by the biſhops letter directed to the Deane of Rhodenhall, & ẏ pariſh prieſt of Aldborough, doth more at large appeare, the tenour wherof here enſueth.

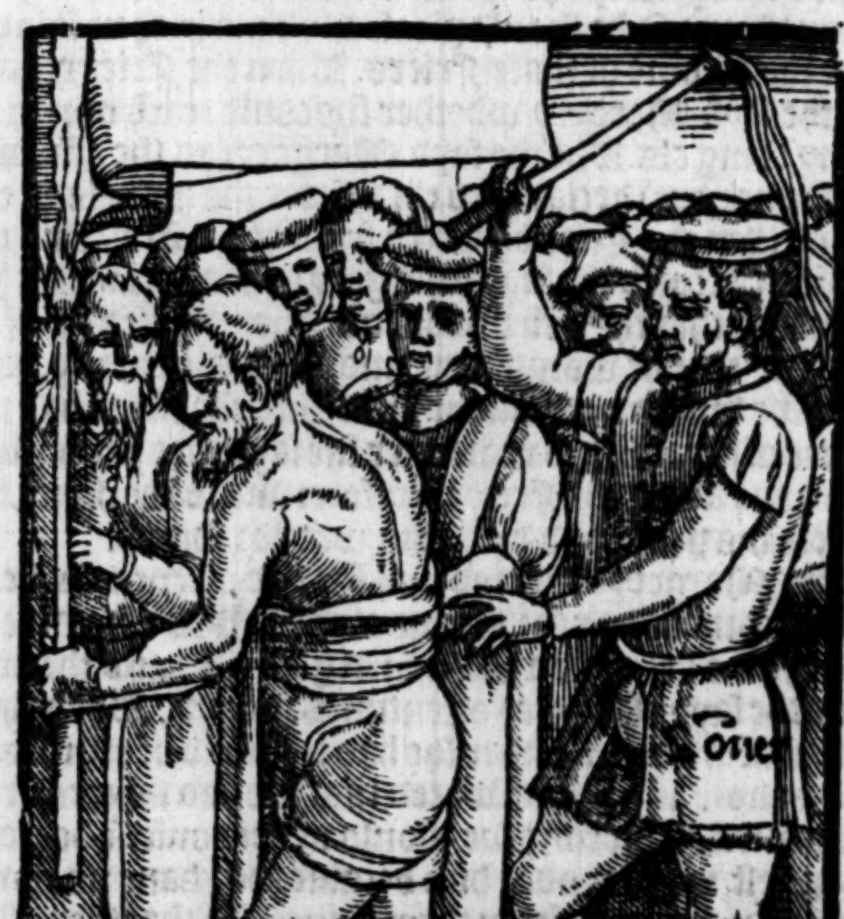
The copy of the Biſhop of Norwich his letter.

A letter of the biſhop of Norwich.

WIlliam by the ſufferance of God Biſhop of Norwich to our welbeloued ſonnes in Chriſt the Deane of Rodéhal of our Dioces, and to the pariſhe prieſt of the pariſh Churche of Aldborough of the ſame our dioces, health, grace and benediction. For ſo much as we, according to our office lawefully proceeding to the correction and amendment of the ſoules of Thomas Pye and Iohn Mendham of Aldborough of the dioces aforeſayd, becauſe they haue holden, beleued and affirmed, diuers and many errours and hereſyes, contrary to the determination of the holy Churche of Rome, and the vniuerſall church and catholicke fayth, haue enioyned the ſayd Thomas and Iohn appearing before vs perſonally and confeſsing before vs iudicially that they haue holden, beleued and affirmed, diuers and many errors and hereſyes, this penaunce hereunder written for theyr offences to be done and fulfilled in maner, forme and time hereunder written, according as iuſtice doth require, that is to ſay, ſixe fuſtigations or diſplinges about the pariſh church of Alborough aforeſayd, before a ſolemn proceſsion, ſixe ſeuerall ſondayes and three diſplinges about the market place of Herelſton of our ſayde Dioces, three principall market dayes, bare necked, head legs and feet, theyr bodyes being couered onely with theyr ſhyrtes and breeches either of them caryіng a taper in his hand of a pound waight, as well rounde about the Church, as about the market place, in euery of the foreſayd appoynted dayes, which tapers the laſt ſonday after theyr penance finiſhed, we will that the ſayde Iohn & Thomas do humbly and deuoutly offer vnto the high aultar of the pariſh church of Alborough at the tyme of the offertory of the high Maſſe the ſame day, and that either of them going about the market place aforeſayd: ſhall make foure ſeueral pauſes or ſtayes, and at euery of thoſe ſame pauſes, humbly and deuoutly receiue at your handes three diſplinges: Therefore we ſtraightly charge and commaunde you and either of you, ioyntly and ſeuerally by vertue of your obedience, that euery ſonday and market day, after the recept of our preſent commaundement, you do effectually admoniſhe and bring foorth the ſayde Thomas Pye and Iohn Mendam to begin and accompliſhe theyr ſayde penance, and ſo ſucceſsiuely to finiſh the ſame in maner and forme afore appoynted But if they wil not obey your monitions or rather our commaundementes in this behalfe, and begin and finiſh their ſayd penance effectuallye, you or one of you ſhall cite them peremptoryly that they or eyther of them appeare before vs or our Commiſſary, in the chappell of our palace at Norwich, the 12. day after the citatiõ ſo made if it be a court day, or els the next court day folowing, to declare if they or any of them haue any cauſe why they ſhould not be excommunicate for theyr manifeſt offence in this behalfe committed, according to the forme and order of lawe, and further to receiue ſuch puniſhmẽt, as iuſtice ſhall prouide in that behalfe. And what you haue done in the premiſſes, whether the ſayde Thomas and Iohn haue obeyed your admonitions, and performed the ſaid penance or no: we will that you or one of you which haue receiued our ſayd commaundement, for the execution thereof, do diſtinctly certify vs betwene this & the laſt day of Nouember next comming. Dated at our palace of Norwich vnder our Commiſſaryes ſeale, the 8. day of October. an. 1428.

The maner of the popes penaunce.

The deſcription of the penance of Tho. Pye, and Iohn Mendham.



This (gentle Reader) was for the moſt part, the order of theyr whole penaunce: howbeit, ſome were oftentimes more cruelly handled, & after theyr penance they were baniſhed out of the dioces, and other ſome more ſtraightly vſed by longer impriſõmẽt, wherof we will briefly rehearſe one or two for example.

Iohn Beuerley alias Battild,

Iohn Beuerley.

IOhn Beuerley alias Battild a labourer was attached by the Vicar of Sowthcreke, the pariſh prieſt of waterden and a lawyer, and ſo deliuered vnto Mayſter wil. Bernã the Byſhops Commiſſary, who ſent him to the Caſtle of Norwich there to be kept in irons: wheras afterward he being brought before the commiſſary, and hauing nothing proued agaynſt him, he took an othe, that euery yeare afterward he ſhould confeſſe his ſinnes once a yere to his curat and receiue the Sacrament at Eaſter, as other Chriſtians did: and for his offence was enioyned that the Friday and Saterday next after he ſhould faſt bread and water, and vpon the Saterday to be* whipped from the pallace of Norwich, going round about by Tomelands, & by S. Michaels Church by Cottle rew, and about the market, hauyng in his hand a waxe candle of two pẽce, to offer to ẏ image of the Trinity after he had done his penaunce. And for ſo much as he confeſſed that he had eatẽ fleſh vpõ Eaſter day and was not ſhriuen in all lent, nor receiued vpon Eaſter day, the iudge enioyned him that he ſhoulde faſt Tueſday, wedneſday and Friday in whitſonweke, hauing but one meale a day of fiſh and other whitte meates, and after hys penãce ſo done, he ſhould depart out of the dioces, & neuer come there any more.

* *alias* fuſtigated.

Iohn Skilley of Flixton Miller.

Iohn Skilley. The penance of Iohn Skilley.

IOhn Skilley of Flixton Miller being apprehended and brought before the biſhop of Norwich ẏ 14 day of March 1428. for holding & mayntayning the Articles aboue written, was therupon conuict and forced to abiure: and after his abiuration ſolemnly made (which here to auoyd tediouſnes we omit) he had a moſt ſharpe ſentence of penance pronoũced agaynſt him, the effect wherof being briefly collected, was this: That forſomuch as the ſaid Skilley was conuict by his owne confeſſion, for holding and mayntayning the Articles before written, and for receiuing certain good and godly mẽ into his houſe, as ſir wil. white prieſt, and Iohn wadden, whom they called famous, notorious, and damnable heretickes, and had now abiured the ſame, being firſt abſolued from the ſentence of excommunication which he had incurred by meanes of his opinions, he was enioyned for penaunce 7. yeares impriſonment in the monaſtery of Langley, in the dioces of Norwiche. And forſomuch as in times paſt, he vſed vpon the Fridayes to eate fleſh, he was enioyned to faſt bread & water euery Friday, by the ſpace of that 7. yeares to come, and that by the ſpace of 2. yeares next immediately after the 7. yeares expired, euery wedneſday in the beginning of Lẽt, & euery Maundy thurſday, he ſhould appeare before the biſhop or his ſucceſſor, or cõmiſſary for the time being, in the cathedrall church of Norwich together with the other penitentiaryes, to do open penance for his offences.

Beſides theſe there were diuers other of ẏ ſame cõpany which ẏ ſame yeare were forced to like abiuratiõ & penãce, And ſo to proceed to the next yeare following, which was 1429. there enſueth a great nũber in ẏ ſame regiſter, which were examined and did penaunce in like ſorte to the number of 16, or 17. In the number of whom was Iohn Baker otherwiſe called Vſher Tunſtall, who for hauing a booke with the Pater noſter, the Aue and Creed in Engliſh, and for certayn other articles of faſting, confeſſion and inuocation contrary to the determination of the Romiſh Church after much vexation for the ſame, was cauſed to abiure and ſuſtayne ſuch penaunce, as the other before him had done.

The ſtory of Margery Backſter.

Margery Backſter.

ANother was Margery Backſter, wife of Wil. Backſter wright in Marthã, the ſame yere accuſed: againſt whom one Ioane wife of Cliffelande was brought in by the biſhop, and cõpelled to depoſe, and was made to bring in, in forme following.

A woman brought in for witnes in the popes court. The Bee will ſtinge.

Firſt, that the ſayde Margerye Backſter did informe this deponent, that ſhe ſhould in no caſe ſweare, ſaying to her in engliſh, dame beware of the Bee, for euery Bee will ſting, and therefore take heede you ſweare not, neyther by God, neither by our Lady, neither by none other ſaynt: & if ye do contrary, the Bee will ſting your tongue and venome your ſoule.

Againſt Images

Itẽ, this deponẽt being demaũded by yͤ ſaid Margery, what ſhe did euery day at church, ſhe anſwered yͭ ſhe kneled down & ſaid 5. Pater noſters, in worſhip of the crucifixe, & as many Aue Maries in worſhip of our Lady. Whõ Margery rebuked ſaying: you do euill to kneele or pray to ſuch Images in yͤ churches, for God dwelleth not in ſuch churches, neither ſhall come downe out of heauen, & will geue you no more reward for ſuch prayer, then a candle lighted & ſet vnder the couer of the font, wil geue light by night to thoſe which are in the church: ſaying moreouer in engliſh, lewd wrightes, of ſtockes hew and forme ſuch croſſes and Images, and after that, lewd paynters glere thẽ with colours. And if you deſire ſo muche to ſee the true croſſe of Chriſt, I will ſhew it you at home in your owne houſe. Which this deponent being deſirous to ſee, the ſayd Margery ſtretching out her armes abroad, ſayd to this deponẽt this is the true croſſe of Chriſt, & this croſſe thou oughteſt and mayſt euery day beholde and worſhip in thine owne houſe, and therfore it is but vayne to run to the Church to worſhip dead croſſes and Images.

The ſacrament is not God.

Itẽ this deponent being demaunded by the ſaid Margery how ſhe beleued touching the ſacramẽt of the aulter, ſayd that ſhe beleued the Sacrament of the aulter after the conſecratiõ, to be the very body of Chriſt in forme of bread. To whom Margery ſayd: your beliefe is nought. For if euery ſuch Sacrament were God, & the very body of chriſt there ſhould be an infinite number of Gods, becauſe that a thouſand prieſts and more doe euery day make a thouſand ſuch Gods, and afterward eat them, and voyd them out again by theyr hinder partes filthily ſtincking vnder yͤ hedges, wheras you may find a great many ſuch Gods, if you will ſeek for them. And therfore know for a certaynty, that by the grace of God it ſhall neuer be my God, becauſe it is falſly and deceitfully ordeyned by the prieſts in the church, to induce the ſimple people to idolatry, for it is onely materiall bread.

Tho. Becket a traytour.

Thomas Becket ſlain, not before the aulter, but in his flying.

Moreouer the ſayd Margery ſaid to this deponẽt, that Thomas of Canterbury, whom the people called S. Thomas, was a falſe traytor and damned in hell, becauſe he iniuriouſly endowed the churches with poſſeſſions, and raiſed vp many hereſyes in the church, which ſeduce the ſimple people, and therefore if God be bleſſed, the ſayd Thomas is accurſed, and thoſe falſe prieſts that ſay that he ſuffered his death patiently before the aulter, do lye: For as a falſe cowardly traytor he was ſlayne in the church dore as he was flying away.

Father Abraham, W. White, I. Wadden.

Moreouer, this deponent ſayth, that the ſayd Margery told her that the curſed Pope, Cardinals, Archbiſhops, and biſhops, & ſpecially the biſhop of Norwich & others that ſupport and mayntayne hereſies and Idolatry, raigning & ruling ouer the people, ſhall ſhortly haue the very ſame or worſe miſchiefe fall vpon them, thẽ that curſed mã Thomas of Canterbury had. For they falſly and curſedly deceiue the people with theyr falſe mammetries & lawes, to extort mony of the ſimple folke to ſuſtayn theyr pride, riot and idlenes: And know aſſuredly that the vengeance of God will ſpeedely come vpõ them, which haue moſt cruelly ſlayne the children of God, Father Abraham, & William White, a true preacher of the law of God, and Iohn Wadden, with many other godly men: which vengeaunce had come vpon the ſayd Cayphas, the Biſhop of Norwich & his miniſters, which are members of the deuill, before this time, if the Pope had not ſent ouer thoſe falſe pardons vnto theſe parties, which the ſayd Cayphas had falſly obteyned to induce the people to make proceſſion for the ſtate of them and of the church. Which pardõs brought the ſimple people to curſed idolatry.

Againſt the popes faſting dayes.

Item the ſayd Margery ſayd to this deponent, that euery faythful man or woman is not bound to faſt in Lent, or other dayes appoynted for faſting by the church, & that euery man may lawfully eat fleſh and all other meates vpon the ſayd dayes and times: and that it were better to eat the fragments left vpõ Thurſday at night on yͤ faſting dayes, thẽ to go to the market to bring themſelues in debt to buy fiſh: and that Pope Silueſter made the Lent.

W. Whyte willing to ſpeake at the ſtake, was ſtroken on the mouth.

Item, the ſayd Margery ſayd to this deponẽt, that W. White was falſly condẽned for an hereticke, & that he was a good and holy mã, and that he willed her to folow him to the place of execution, wheras ſhe ſaw that whẽ he would haue opened his mouth to ſpeak vnto yͤ people to inſtruct them, a deuill one of biſhop Cayphas ſeruants ſtrake him on the lips, and ſtopped his mouth, that he could in no caſe declare the will of God.

Item, this deponent ſayth yͭ the ſayd Margery taught her that ſhe ſhould not goe on pilgrimage, neither to our Lady of Walſingame, nor to any other ſaynt or place.

Alſo this deponent ſayth, that the ſayd Margery deſired her that ſhe & Ioane her mayde would come ſecretly in the night to her chamber, & there ſhe ſhould heare her huſband read the law of Chriſt vnto them, which law is written in a booke that her huſbande was wont to reade to her by night, and that her huſband is well learned in the Chriſtian verity.

Alſo that the ſame Margery had talked with a woman named Ione Weſt, and that the ſayde woman is in a good way of ſaluation.

Alſo that the ſaid Margery ſaid to this deponẽt: Ione, it appeareth by your countenaunce, that you intend to diſcloſe this that I haue ſayde vnto you: and this deponent ſware that ſhe woulde neuer diſcloſe it, without the ſayde Margery gaue her occaſion. Then ſayde Margery vnto this deponent if thou do accuſe me vnto the Biſhop, I wil do vnto thee, as I did once vnto a certayne Frier a Carmelite of Yarmouth which was the beſt learned Frier in all the country. Then this deponẽt deſired to know what ſhe had done to the frier. Unto whom Margery anſwered that ſhe had talked with the ſayd Frier, rebuking him becauſe he did beg, ſaying that it was no almes to geue hym any good thing, except he would leaue his habite, and go to the plough, and ſo he ſhould pleaſe God more, then folowing the life of ſome of thoſe Friers. Then the Frier requyred of the ſayd Margery whether ſhe could teach him or tel him any thing els. Thẽ the ſayd Margery (as ſhe affirmed to this deponent) declared to this Frier the goſpels in engliſh, and then the Frier departed from her. After this the ſame Frier accuſed the ſayd Margery of hereſy, and ſhe vnderſtanding that the Frier had accuſed her: accuſed the Frier agayne, that he would haue knowne her carnally, and becauſe ſhe would not conſent vnto him, the Frier had accuſed her of hereſy. And moreouer ſhe ſayd that her huſbãd would haue killed the Frier therefore: and ſo the Frier for feare held his peace, and went his way for ſhame.

Agaynſt auricular confeſſion.

This Margery alſo ſayd that ſhe had oftentimes bene faynedly confeſſed to the Deane of the fieldes, becauſe he ſhould thinke her to be a woman of good life, and therfore he gaue the ſayd Margery oftentimes money. Then thys deponent aſked her whether ſhe had confeſſed her ſinnes to a prieſt or not. And ſhe anſwered that ſhe had neuer offended any prieſt, & therfore ſhe would neuer confeſſe her ſelfe to any prieſt, neyther obey him becauſe they haue no power to abſolue any man from theyr ſinnes, for that they offẽd dayly more greeuouſly then other men, and therefore that men ought to confeſſe themſelues onely vnto God and to no prieſt.

Againſt Image worſhip.

Item, the ſaid Margery ſaid to this deponent, that the people did worſhip deuils which fell frõ heauen with Lucifer, which deuils in theyr fall to the earth, entred into the Images which ſtand in the Churches, and haue long lurked & dwelled in thẽ, ſo that the people worſhipping thoſe Images, commit Idolatry.

Item, ſhe ſayd more to this deponent that holy bread & holy water were but trifles of no effect or force, & that the belles are to be caſt out of the Church, and that they are excommunicate which firſt ordeined them.

Moreouer that ſhe ſhould not be burned, although ſhe were conuict of Lollardy, for that ſhe had a charter of ſaluation in her body.

Alſo the ſayd deponent ſayth, yͭ Agnes Bethem her ſeruant being ſent to the houſe of the ſayd Margery the Saterday after Aſhweſday, the ſaid Margery not being wͭin, found a braſſe pot ſtanding ouer the fire with a piece of baken and Otemeale ſething in it, as it is ſaid Agnes reported to this deponent.

There were alſo beſides this deponent, diuers other ſworne and examined vpon the ſayde Margery, as Iohn Grimley and Agnes Berthẽ, ſeruauntes to William Cliſland, which altogether confirmed the former depoſitions.

Thus much we haue thought good to note as concerning Margery Backſter, which we haue gathered out of the old monumentes and regiſters. But what became of her after this her accuſation, becauſe we finde no mention made in the ſayd regiſters, we are not able to declare.

The ſame yeare alſo, were the like depoſitions made by one William Wright agaynſt diuers good men, as here foloweth.

Iohn Piry.
Iohn Bũgay
Iohn Vſher.

Firſt, this deponent ſayth that William Taylor, tolde Iohn Piry of Ludney, in the houſe of Iohn Bungay of Beghton, in the preſence of I. Bungay, Robert Grigges wright of Martham, and Iohn Vſher, that all the good men of Martham which were fauorers & helpers to that good man William White are euill troubled now a dayes, and that the ſayd William White, was a good & holy doctor: and that the beſt doctor after him was William Euerden, whiche wrought with the ſayde William Taylour, of Ludney by the ſpace of one moneth, and that the firſt Sonday of the ſame moneth, the ſayd William Euerden did ſit all day vpon the table at worke, ſaying to the ſayd William Taylor, that he would not go to Church to ſhew hymſelfe a Scribe or Phariſy: and the ſecond ſonday he put on Gentle mans apparell, and went to Norwiche to harken how the Byſhop and his miniſters vſed the poore Chriſtians there in priſon.

William Euerden.

Alſo the ſayd William Wright, depoſed that Willyam Taylour of Ludney was one of the ſecte, & went to London with Syr Hue Pye, and had conuerſation oftẽtimes with Syr William White, hauing often conference vpon the Lollardes doctrine.

W. Tailour of Ludney.

Item, that Aniſe, wife of Thomas Moone, is of the ſame ſect and fauored them, and receiueth them often, and alſo the daughter of Thomas Moone is partly of the ſame ſect, and can read Engliſh.

The wife & daughter of Tho. Moone

Item, that Richard Fletcher of Beckils, is a moſt perfect doctor in that ſect, and can very well and perfectly expound the holy Scriptures, & hath a booke of the new law in Engliſh, which was Syr Hughe Pyes firſt.

Rich. Fletcher.

Itẽ, that Nicolas Belward, ſonne of Iohn Belward dwelling in the pariſhe of Southelham, is one of the ſame ſect, and hath a new Teſtament which he bought at London for 4. markes and 40. pence, and taught the ſayd William Wright and Margery his wife, and wrought wyth them continually by the ſpace of one yere, and ſtudied diligently vpon the ſayd new Teſtament.

Nicho. Belware.

A new teſtament then coſt 4. markes and 40. pence

Itẽ, that Thomas Gremner Turner of Dychingame is perfect in that ſect and law.

Tho. Gremner.

Iohn Clarke the younger of Bergh, had the beddinge and apparell of William Euerden in his cuſtody, after the returne of William White from Bergh, and is of the ſame ſecte.

I. Clarke.

Item, William Bate, Taylour of Sething, and hys wife and his ſonne, whiche can reade Engliſhe very well, are of the ſame ſect.

W. Bate.

Item, William Skiruing of Sething, receiued Ioane the wife of W. White into his houſe, being brought thither by William Euerden, after theyr departure from Martham.

W. Skiruing

Item, William Oſborne of Sething, I. Reue glouer, and Bawdwin Cooper of Beckels are of the ſame ſect.

W Oſberne
Iohn Reue.
Bawdwin Cooper.
Iohn Pert.

Item, Iohn Pert late ſeruaunt of Thomas Moone, is of the ſame ſecte, and can read well, & did read in the preſence of William White, and was the firſt that brought Sir Hugh Pye into the company of the Lollardes, which aſſembled oftentimes together, at the houſe of the ſayd Tho. Moone, and there conferred vpon theyr doctrine.

Item, Syr Hugh Pye bequeathed to Alice, ſeruaunt to William White, a new Teſtament, which they then called the booke of the new law, & was in the cuſtody of Oſwald Godfrey of Colcheſter.

Sir Hugh Pie Prieſt.

Iohn Perker Mercer of a village by Ipſwitch, is a famous Doctour of that ſecte. Alſo he ſayd that father Abraham of Colcheſter is a good man.

I. Perker.

Item, the ſayd William Wright depoſeth that it is read in the Propheſies amonges the Lollardes, that the ſect of Lollardes ſhalbe in a maner deſtroyed: Notwithſtanding at the length the Lollards ſhall preuayle and haue the victory agaynſt all theyr enemyes.

A propheſi.

Alſo, he ſayd that Tucke knoweth all of that Sect in Suffolke, Norfolke and Eſſex.

Beſides theſe, there were many other the ſame yeare troubled, whoſe names being before expreſſed in the table of Norfolke men, here for breuityes ſake we omit further to intreat of, paſſing ouer to the next yere folowing, which was 1430. Ex Regiſt. Norw.

Ex Regiſt. Norw

IOhn Burrell ſeruaunt to Thomas Moone of Ludney, in the Dioces of Norwiche, was apprehended and arreſted for hereſy, the 9. day of December, in this yeare of our Lord 1430. and examined by Mayſter William Bernam the Biſhops commiſſary, vpon the articles before mentioned, and diuers others hereafter following, obiected agaynſt him.

Iohn Burrell.

In primis, that the Catholicke Churche is the ſoule of euery good Chriſten man.

Item, that no man is bounde to faſt the Lent or other faſting dayes appoynted by the Church, for they were not appoynted by God, but ordeyned by the prieſtes: and that euery man may eat fleſh or fiſh vpon the ſame dayes indifferently, according to his own will, & euery friday is a free day to eat both fleſh and fiſh indifferently.

Lent faſt, fiſhe dayes.

Item, that pilgrimage ought not to be made but onely vnto the poore.

Pilgrimage to the poore.

Item, that it is not lawefull to ſweare, but in caſe of life and death.

Item, that Maſſes and prayers for the deade, are but vayne, for the ſoules of the dead are eyther in heauẽ or hell: and there is none other place of purgatory but this world. Vpõ the which Articles he being cõuict, was forced to obiure and ſuffred like penance as the other before had done.

Maſſes for the dead vnprofitable.

THomas Moone of Ludney, was apprehended and attached for ſuſpition of hereſy, agaynſt whom were obiected by the Biſhop, the articles before written, but ſpecially this article, that he had familiarity & communication with diuers herretickes, and had receiued, comforted, ſupported, and mayntayned diuers of them, as ſir William White, ſyr Hugh Pye, Thomas Pert, and William Callis Prieſtes, with many other more: vpon the which articles, he being cõuict before the biſhop, was forced to abiure, and receiued the like penance, in like maner as before.

Tho. Moone of Ludney.

William White.
Hugh Pye.
Thomas Pert.
W. Callis, prieſts perſecuted.

In like maner Robert Grigges of Martham was brought before the Biſhop the 17. day of February, in the yeare aforeſayd, for holding and affirming the foreſayd articles, but eſpecially theſe hereafter folowing.

Robert Grigges of Martham.

That the ſacrament of confirmation miniſtred by the Byſhop, did auayle nothing to ſaluation.

Articles.

That it was no ſinne to withſtand the ordinaunces of the Church of Rome.

That holy bread and holy water were but trifles, and that the bread and the water were the worſe for the coniuracions & characters which the prieſtes made ouer them.

Vpon which Articles he being conuict, was forced to abiure, and receiued penance in maner and forme as the other had done before him.

The like alſo (albeit ſomewhat more ſharp) happened vnto Iohn Finch of Colcheſter, the 20. day of September, who albeit he was of the dioces of London, being ſuſpecte of hereſye, was attached in Ipſwich in the dioces of Norwich, & brought before the biſhop there, before whom he being conuict of the like articles: as all the other before him, was enioyned penance, three diſplings in ſolemne proceſſion about the Cathedrall Church of Norwich, three ſeuerall Sondayes, & three diſplinges about the market place of Norwich three principall market dayes, his head, necke and feet being bare, & his body couered onely with a ſhort ſhirt or veſture, hauing in his handes a taper of waxe of a pound waight, which the next Sonday after his penance, he ſhoulde offer to the Trinity: and that for the ſpace of 3. yeres after, euery Aſhwedneſday & Maundy Thurſday he ſhould appeare in the Cathedrall Church of Norwich, before the Biſhop or his Vicegerent, to do open penaunce amongeſt the other penitentiaries, for his offences.

Iohn Finch of Colcheſter.

Popiſhe penãce.

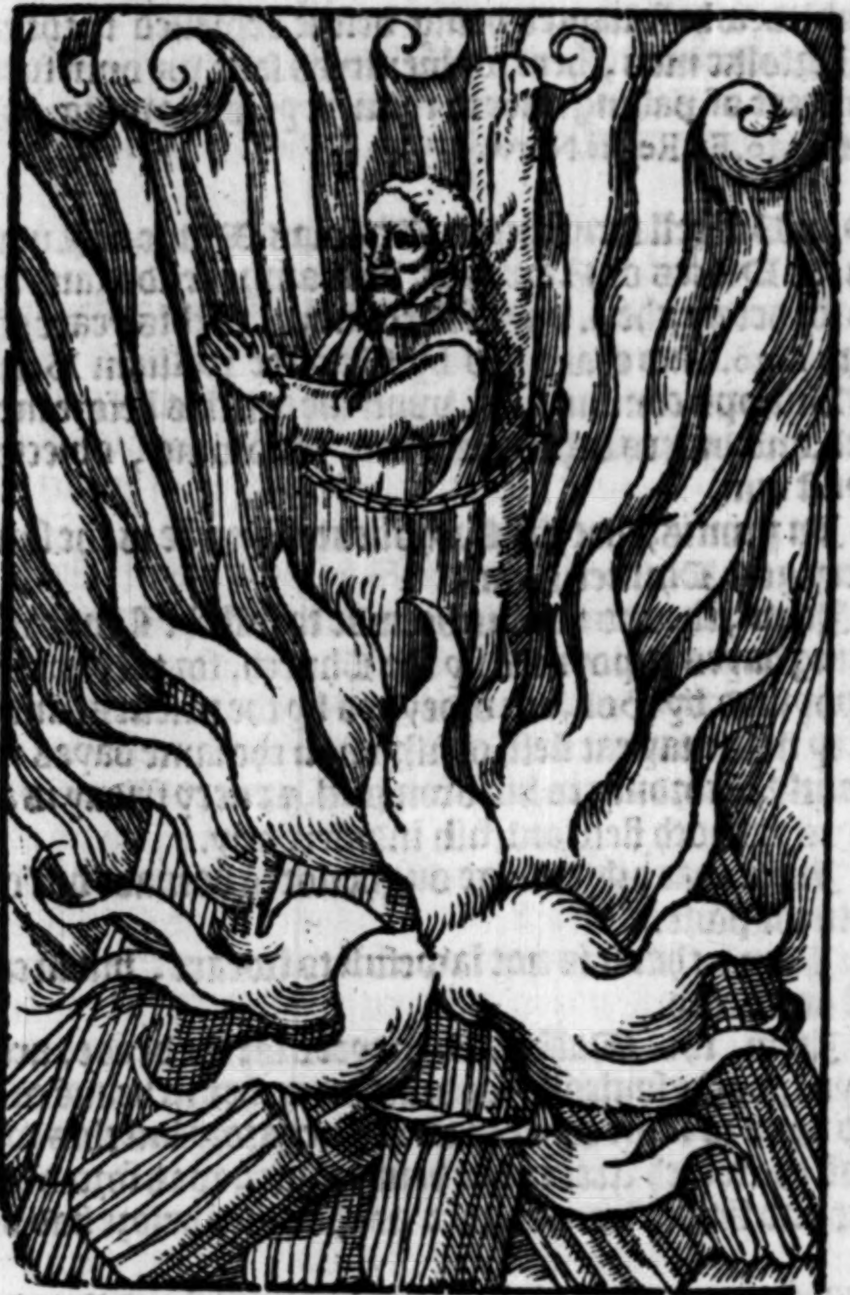
There were beſides theſe men which we haue here rehearſed, diuers and many other, who, both for the concordaunce of the matter, and alſo for that theyr Articles & puniſhmẽts were all one, we haue thought good at this time to paſſe ouer, eſpecially forſomuch as their names be before recited in the Catalogue.

ABout the ſame time, euen the ſame yeare. 1430. ſhortlye after the ſolemne Coronation of Kyng Henrye the ſixt a certayne manne named Richard Houeden a woll winder, and Citizen of Londõ, receiued alſo the crowne of Mar-

{ Anno. 1430. }

Rich Houeden Martir.

¶The burning of Rich, Houeden.



Martyrdome. which man when as he coulde by no perſwaſions be withdrawne or plucked backe from the opinions of Wickliffe, he was by the Rulers of the church condemned for hereſy, and as Fabian writeth, burned hard by the tower of London.

Nicholas Canon of Eye.

Nicholas Canō of Eye. Anno. 1431.

NOw to proceed in our ſtory of Norfolke and Suffolk in folowing the order of yeres, we finde that in yͤ yere of our Lord. 1431. one Nich. Canon of Eye was brought before the Biſhop of Norwich for ſuſpicion of hereſy, with certayne witneſſes ſworne to depoſe againſt him touching his maners and conuerſatiō, which witneſſes appointing one William Chriſtopher to ſpeak in the name of them all, he depoſed in maner and forme folowing.

First that on Eaſter day when all the pariſhners wēt about the church of Eye ſolemnely in proceſſiō as yͤ maner was, the ſayd Nicholas Canon as it were mocking & deriding the other pariſhioners, went about the Church the contrary way, and met the proceſſion.

Depoſitions.

This article he confeſſed and affirmed that he thought he did well in ſo doing.

Item, the ſayd Nicholas aſked of maiſter Iohn Colman of Eye, this queſtion. Maiſter Colman, what think you of the Sacrament of the aulter? To whome the ſayde Colman aunſwered: Nicholas, I thinke that the Sacramēt of the aultar is very God and very man, the very fleſh and very bloud of our Lord Ieſus Chriſt vnder forme of bread and wine. Unto whom Nicholas in deriſion ſayde: Truly if the Sacrament of the aultar be very God & very man, and the very body & bloud of our Lord Ieſu Chriſt: then may very God and very man be put in a ſmall roome: as when it is in the prieſts mouth, that receiueth it at mas. And why may not we ſimple men, as well eate fleſh vpon Fridayes and al other prohibited dayes, as the prieſt to eat the fleſh and the bloud of our Lord euery day indifferētly? The which article, the ſayd Nicholas denied that he ſpake vnto Maiſter Colman, but vnto a Monke of Hockeſney, And furthermore, he thought he had ſpoken well in that behalfe.

If the Sacramēt be very fleſhe, then the prieſts eat fleſhe on Friday.

Item that on Corpus Chriſti day at the eleuation of high maſſe, when all the pariſhioners & other ſtraungers kneeled downe holding vp their handes, and doing reuerence vnto the ſacrament, the ſayd Nicholas went behinde a piller of the church, and turning his face from the high aulter, mocked them that did reuerence vnto the ſacrament.

This article he alſo acknowledging, affirmed that he beleued himſelfe to do well in ſo doing.

Item, when his mother would haue the ſaid Nicholas to lift vp his right hand, and to croſſe himſelfe frō yͤ craftes and aſſaults of the deuill, forſomuch as he deferred the doing therof, his mother tooke vp his right hād & croſſed him ſaying: In nomine patris filij, & ſpiritus ſācti. Amen. Which ſo ended, the ſayde Nicholas immediately deriding hys mothers bleſſing, tooke vp his right hand of his owne accord, and bleſſed him otherwiſe, as his aduerſaryes reporte of him. This Article the ſayde Nicholas acknowledged to be true.

Item, that vpon Alhallowen day in the time of eleuation of high maſſe, when as many of the pariſhioners of Eie lighted many torches and caried thē vp to the high aultar kneling down there in reuerence and honor of the Sacrament, the ſayd Nicholas carying a torche, went vp hard to the high aultar, and ſtanding behind the prieſtes backe ſaying maſſe, at the time of the eleuation he ſtood vpright vpō his feet, turning his back to the prieſt, and his face toward the people, and would do no reuerence vnto yͤ ſacrament. This article he acknowledged, affirming that he thought he had done well in yͤ behalfe. All which Articles the Byſhops cōmiſſary cauſed to be copied out word for worde, & to be ſēt vnto M. William Worſted, Prior of the cathedrall church of Norwich, and to other doctors of diuinity of the order of begging Friers, that they might deliberate vpon them, and ſhew their mindes betwene that and Thurſday next folowing. Upon whiche Thurſdaye being the laſt of Nouember, the yeare aforeſayd, the ſayd Nicholas was agayne examined before M. Barnam and diuers other vpō two other articles which he had confeſſed vnto I. Exetor notary, & Tho. Geruſten bacheler of diuinity and others. Whereof the firſt Article was this: that the ſayd Nicholas Canon being of perfect minde and remembrance, confeſſed that he doubted whether in the Sacrament of the aulter, were the very body of Chriſt or no. This article he confeſſed before the Commiſſary to be true.

Nicholas Canon turned his backe to the ſacrament.

An other examination of Nicholas Canon.

Item, that he beyng of perfecte minde and remembraunce, beleued that a man ought not to cōfeſſe his ſinnes to a Prieſt. This Article he alſo confeſſed that he doubted vpon.

Articles obiected.

Now remayneth to declare what theſe doctors aforeſayd concluded vpon the articles: whoſe aunſwere vnto the ſame was this.

First of all as touching the firſt article, they ſayde that the article in the ſame termes as it was propoūded, is not ſimply an hereſy but an error.

The iudgement of the Prior and doctors vpon his articles.

Item, as touching the ſecond article, the doctors agree as in the firſt.

Item, as touching the third Article, they affirme that it is an hereſy.

Unto the fourth Article they aunſwered as vnto the firſt and ſecond.

Item, the doctors affirme the 5. article to be an hereſy.

Item, as touching the 6. Article, the doctors conclude that if the ſayd Nicholas being of perfect mind and remēbrance, did doubt whether the ſacrament of the aulter were the very perfect body of Chriſt or no, then that Article is ſimply an hereſy.

An hereſie to doubt whether the ſacrament be the perfect body of Chriſt or no.

Whereupon the ſayd Commiſſary declared & pronounced the ſayd Nicholas Canon vpō the determinatiō of the foreſaid doctors, to be an heretick: and therupon forced the ſayd Nicholas to abiure all the ſayd Articles. That done, he enioined the ſayd Nicholas penance for his offēces, thre diſplinges about the cloyſter of the Cathedrall Churche of Norwich, before a ſolemne proceſſion, bare headed & barefoote, carying a Taper of halfe a pound in his hand, going after the maner aforeſayd, like a mere penitētiary: yͤ which his penance, the iudge commaunded ſhould be reſpited vntill the comming of the Biſhop into his dioces, and that in the meane time he ſhould be kept in priſon, to the end that he ſhould not infect the flock with his venime and poyſon of errors and hereſyes.

Nicholas Canon declared an hereticke.

Penance enioyned to Nicholas Canon.

Thus haue we briefly diſcourſed vnto you, the greate troubles and afflictions, which happened in Norfolke and Suffolke by the ſpace of thoſe 4. yeares before mentioned, hauing drawen out briefly for euery yere, certayne notable examples, sufficient for the declaration of all the reſt, for ſo much as their opinions being nothing different, their penaunce and puniſhment did alſo nothing differ, otherwiſe then by thoſe particuler examples may be playnely ſeene.

Thomas Bagley Prieſt.

Tho. Bageley prieſt, Martir.

AND now to procede as we haue begon, to our former ſtoryes generally, we find in Fabians Chronicles that in the ſame yere of our Lord. 1431. Thomas Bagley a prieſt Uicar of Monenden beſide Malden, being a valiant diſciple and adherent of Wickliffe, was condemned by the Byſhops of hereſy at London about the midſt of Lent, was diſgraded and burned in Smithfield.

¶ Paule Craw a Bohemian.

Paule Craw martir.
Ex Hector. Boetio.

THe ſame yeare alſo was Paule Crawe a Bohemian taken at S. Andrewes by the Biſhop Henry, and deliuered ouer to the ſecular power to be burnt, for holding contrary opinions vnto yͤ Church of Rome touching the ſacramēt of yͤ Lords ſupper, the worſhipping of Saincts, auricular confeſſion, with other of Wickleffes opinions.

✠ The ſtory of Thomas Rhedon, a French man, and a Carmelite Frier, burnt in Italy for the profeſsion of Chriſt.

Tho. Rhedonenſis, Martir.
Ex Antonin. 3 parte hiſt. fol. 165.
Tho. Rhedonenſis cōmeth into Italy.
The golden citie of Rome.
All thinges corrupt at Rome.

WE haue declared before, how this cruell ſtorme of perſecution which firſt began with vs in England, after it had long raged heere againſt many good and godly men, it brake out & paſſed into Boheme, and after within a ſhort time, the fire of this perſecution increaſing by little and little, inuaded Scotland, and from thence now wyth greater force and violence, this furious deuouring flame hath entred Italy, and ſuffereth not any part of the world to be free from the murther and ſlaughter of moſt good & godly men. It hapned about this time, that one Thomas Rhedon, a Frier of that ſect, which taketh his name of the mount Carmelus, by chance came with the Venetiā Ambaſſadours into Italy. This mā, although he was of that ſort and ſecte, which in ſtead of Chriſtians, are called Carmelites, yet was he of a farre other religion, & vnderſtood the word of God, iudging that God ought not to be worſhipped, neither in that mount, nor at Ieruſalem onely, but in ſpirit & truth. This man being a true Carmelite, & ſauoring with his whole hart that new ſweet muſt of Ieſu Chriſt, with earneſt ſtudy & deſire ſeeking after a Chriſtiā integritie of life, prepared himſelfe firſt to go into Italy, truſting yͭ he ſhould find there, or elſe in no place, ſome by whoſe good life and liuing he might be edified and inſtructed. For where ought more aboundance of vertue & good liuing to be, then in that place, which is counted to be the forte and fountaine of all religion? And how could it otherwiſe be, but that wheras ſo great holines is profeſſed, whereupon all mens eies are bent, as vpon a ſtage, whereas S. Peters ſeate is, and is thought to be the ruler & gouernour of all the Church, all things ſhould floriſh and abound worthy of ſo great expectatiō in that place? This holy man hauing theſe things before his eies, and conſidering the ſame with himſelfe, forſooke his owne countrey & Citie, & went vnto Rome, conceiuing a firme & ſure hope, that by the example of ſo many notable and worthy mē, he ſhould greatly profite in godlines & learning: but the ſucceſſe of the matter did vtterly fruſtrate his hope, for all things were cleane cōtrary. Whatſoeuer he ſaw, was nothing elſe but meere diſſimulatiō and hypocriſie. In ſtead of gold, he found nothing but coales: and for to ſay yͤ truth, he found nothing elſe there but gold and ſiluer. In ſtead of heauenly gifts, there raigned amongſt them the pompe and pride of the world. In place of godlines, riot. In ſtead of learning and ſtudy, ſlouthfulnes and ſuperſtition. Tyrannie and hautineſſe of mind had poſſeſſed the place of Apoſtolicke ſimplicitie: that now there remained no more any place or libertie for a man to learne that whiche hee knew not, or to teach that which he perfectly vnderſtoode.

The wickednes & pride that raigneth at Rome
The corruptiō of Rome will admitte no reformation.
Pietie rewarded with perſecutiō.
Hereſie made, where none is.
Popery armed with policie and defended with tirannie.

Finally, all things were turned arſie verſie, all things hapned vnto him contrary to his expectation whereſoeuer he went. But nothing ſomuch offended this good mās mind, as the intolerable ambition, and pompous pride in them, whome example of humilitie ſhould eſpecially commend and praiſe to the whole worlde. And albeit that hee ſaw here nothing, which did accord & agree with the rule of the Apoſtles: yet theſe things did ſo much paſſe all meaſure and pacience, that he could by no meanes refraine his tong in ſo great abuſe and corruption of the Church, ſeing ſuch ambitious pride in their buildings, apparell, in their places, in their daintie fare, in their great traynes of ſeruants, in their horſſe and armour, & finally in all things pertaining vnto them. Which things, how much they did vary from the preſcript rule of the Goſpel, ſo much yͤ more was this good mā forced to ſpeake. Albeit he did well vnderſtand how litle he ſhoulde preuaile by ſpeaking: for if admonition would profite any thing at all, the bookes of Wickleffe and diuers other were not wanting. The famous teſtimonies of Iohn Hus, & of Hierome of Prage, and their bloud ſhed for the ſame, was yet preſent before their eies: at whoſe moſt effectual exhortations, they were ſo little correct and amended, that they ſeemed twiſe more cruell than they were before. Yet all this could not feare this good man, but that in ſo neceſſary and wholeſome an office, he would ſpend his life if need ſhould be. So by this meanes, he which came to be a ſcholer vnto others, was now forced to be their teacher. And he which determined to follow other mens liues and maners, had now contrarywiſe ſet before them his life to be marked and followed. For he liued ſo amongſt them, that his life might be a rule vnto them all, and ſo taught, as he might alſo be theyr ſchoolemaiſter. For euen as Paule had foreſhewed vnto ſuch as deſired to liue godly in Chriſt, that they ſhoulde ſuffer perſecution: ſuch like reward hapned vnto this mā. He gaue vnto them the fruite of godlineſſe, whiche they ſhould follow: they againe ſet vpon his head the diademe of Martirdome. He ſheweth them the way to ſaluation, and they for the benefite of life rewarded him death: and whereas no rewards had bene worthy for his greate labours and trauailes, they with moſt extreame ignominie perſecuted him euen vnto the fire. For when as by continuall preaching he had gotten great enuie and hatred, the rulers began to conſult together, by what meanes they might circumuent this mans life. Heere they had recourſe to their accuſtomed remedies: for it is a peculiar and continuall cuſtome amongſt the prelates of the Church, that if any man did diſpleaſe them, or that his talke be not according to their minde, or by any meanes hurtfull, or a hinderance to their lucre and gaine, by and by they frame out Articles of ſome hereſie, which they charge him withall. And like as euery liuing thing hath his peculiar and proper weapon to defend himſelfe from harme, as nature hath armed the Bore with his tuſkes, the Hedgehogge with his prickles, the Lyon is feared for his clawes, the Dogge for his biting, the Bull fighteth with his hornes, neither doth the Aſſe lacke his houes to ſtrike withall: euen ſo this is the only armour of the Biſhops, to ſtrangle a man with hereſie, if he once go about to mutter againſt their will and ambition: which thing may be eaſily perceiued and ſeene in this moſt holy man, beſide a greate number of other. Who, when as now he began to waxe greeuous vnto them, and could no longer be ſuffred: what did they? ſtraightwayes flee vnto their old policies, and as they had done with Hus, and Hierome of Prage, euen ſo went they about to practiſe againſt this man. They ouerwhelme him with ſuſpition, they ſeeke to intangle him with queſtions, they examine him in iudgement, they compile Articles againſt him, and lay hereſie vnto hys charge, they condemne him as an hereticke, and beeing ſo condemned, they deſtroy and kill him. This was theyr godlines: this was the peaceable order of thoſe Carmelites, whoſe religion was to weare no ſword nor ſhield, notwithſtanding they did beare in their hearts, malice, rancour, vengeāce, poiſon, craft and deceipt, ſharper then any ſword. With how great care and policie is it prouided by law, that none of theſe Cleargy men ſhould fight wyth ſword in the ſtreates? when as in iudgement and accuſations (where as it is not lawfull for a man to oppreſſe his brother) there is no murtherer which hath more readie vengeaunce, or that doth more vily eſteeme his brothers ſoule then they. They ſhead no bloud themſelues, they ſtrike not, nor kill, but they deliuer them ouer vnto others to be ſlaine. What difference is there I pray you, but that they are the authours, and the other are but the miniſters of the cruell fact? they kill no man as murtherers do. How then? Although not after the ſame ſort, yet they do it by another meane.

His articles.

The Articles which they falſly gathered againſt thys man, are affirmed by ſome to be theſe.

That the Church lacketh reformation, and that it ſhall be puniſhed and reformed.

That Infidels, Iewes, Turkes, and Moores ſhall bee conuerted vnto Chriſt in the later dayes.

That abhominations are vſed at Rome.

That the vniuſt excommunication of the Pope, is not to be feared: and thoſe which do not obſerue the ſame, do not ſinne or offend.

Ex Antonin. 3. part. hiſt fol 165
W. Cardinalis Rhotomagenſis. his perſecutour.
Tho. Rhedonenſis brought before Pope Eugenius.

But yet there lacked a miniſter for theſe articles: albeit he could not long be wanting at Rome, where all things are to be ſold, euen mens ſoules. For this office and miniſtery, there was no man thought more meete, then William of Rowne, Cardinall of Sainct Martines in the Mount, Vicechancelour of the Court of Rome. Eugenius at that time was Pope, who had a litle before ſucceded Pope Martin aboue mentioned. Before the whyche Eugenius, this godly Rhedonenſis the Frenchman, was brought, and from thence ſent vnto priſon. And againe after his impriſonment, and diuers and ſondry greeuous torments, he was brought before the Iudges. The wolfe ſate in iudgement: the Lambe was accuſed. Why? becauſe he had troubled the ſpring. But heere neede not manie words. This good Thomas, not beeing able to reſiſt the malice of theſe mighty potentates, had offended inough, and was caſely conuict and condemned to be burned: but in ſuch ſort, as firſt of all he ſhould be depriued of all ſuch degrees as he had taken to Prieſthode: For it is counted an vnlawfull thing, that a Prieſt ſhould be puniſhed with prophane puniſhment, when as notwithſtanding it is lawfull inough for Prieſts to put any lay man to death, be he neuer ſo giltles.

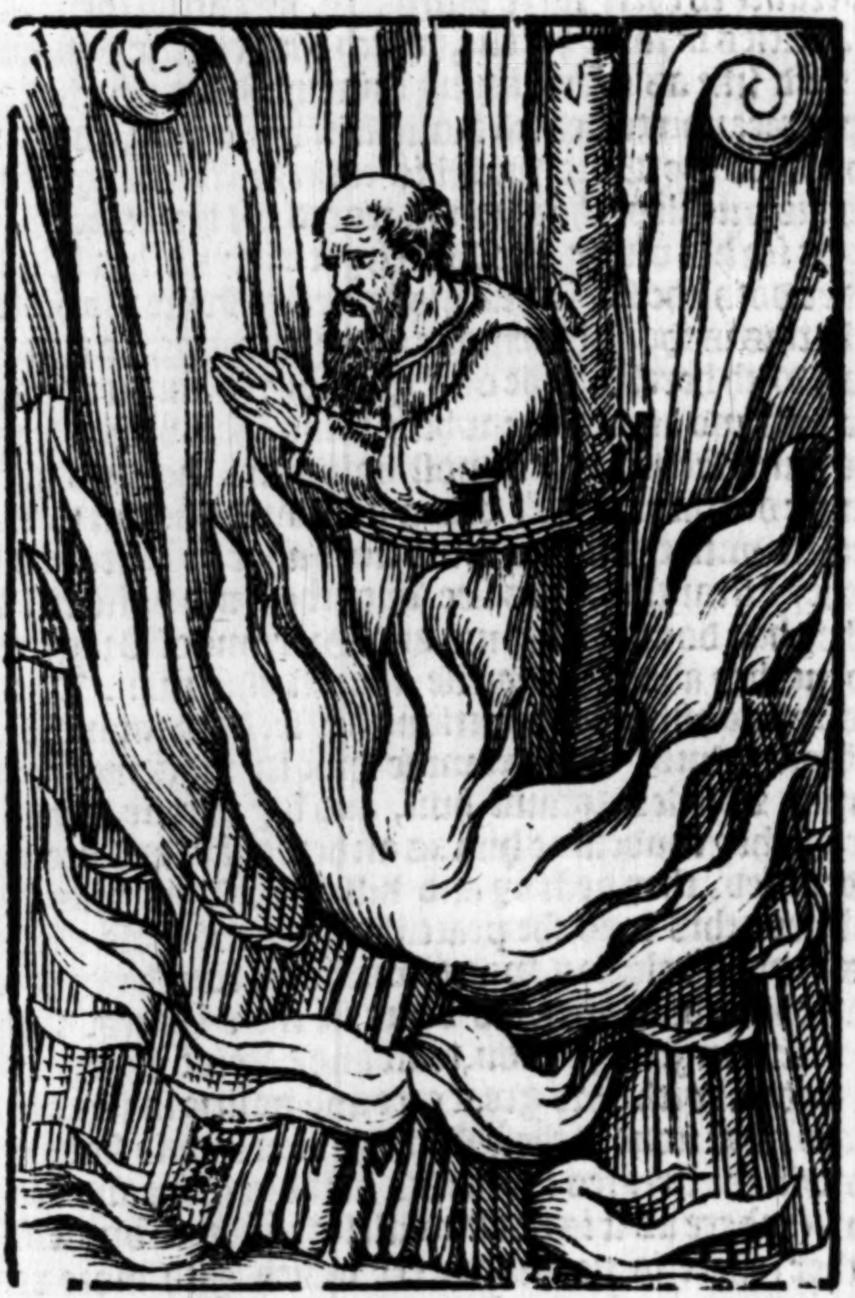
Thomas degraded.

How religiouſly and earneſtly do they forſee, that the maieſty of Prieſtly dignitie ſhould not in any caſe be hurt? But how little care haue they, that their conſciences bee not hurt with falſe iudgements, and oppreſſing the giltles? wherefore, before that he ſhould come vnto puniſhment, this good man muſt be diſgraded. The order and maner of this Popiſh degrading is partly before touched in the ſtory of william Taylor, fol. 517.

Tho. Rhedonẽſis a French man burned at Rome.

After that it had pleaſed the Byſhops to diſgrade thys man frõ the degrees wherewith before they had conſecrated him, and thought not that ſufficiẽt, by and by after they depriued him of his life alſo, & burned him four yeres after that he came to Rome. In the yeare of our Lord. 1436.

* The burning of Tho. Rhedonenſis.



And thus through the crueltie of theſe moſt tyrannous Prelates, this bleſſed Martyr dyed. Albeit it is not to be thought that he died, but made a loſſe of this bodie, for a greater gaine of ſaluation, before the iuſt iudgement of God: Neither is it to be doubted, but that he liueth eternally vnder the aultar, with them whoſe bloud the Lorde will reuenge, peraduenture too ſoone for ſome of them, whome the earth hath heere ſo long holden vnpuniſhed.

Henry Grunfelder prieſt, Henry Radtgeber prieſt, Ioh. Draendorfe prieſt, Pet. Thoraw, Mat. Hager, Martyrs.

As this Thomas aboueſayd ſuffered at Rome: ſo were diuers other in other places about Germany executed neare about the ſame time, after the burning of Iohn Hus: as Hẽry Grunfelder, Prieſt of Ratiſpone, an. 1420. alſo Henry Radtgeber Prieſt, in the ſame Citie, an. 1423. Iohn Draendorfe of noble birth, and a Prieſt, was burned at wormes. an. 1424. Peter Thoraw, at Spyre, an. 1426. Math. Hager, alſo ſuffered at Berline in Germany, not long after. Ex Balei Centur. ſept.

Pope Eugenius. 4.

After the death of Pope Martine, who reigned foureteene yeares, ſucceeded Eugenius, the fourth of that name, about the yeare of our Lord 1431. Of whome Antoninus thus writeth, that he was much geuen to wars, as may well declare his conflictes and fighting with the Romaines: alſo the battailes betweene the Venetians and the Florentians.

This Pope began firſt to celebrate the Councell of Baſill, which Councell Martin his predeceſſour had before intended, according to the inſtitution of the Councell of Conſtance. Notwithſtanding the ſaid Eugenius perceauing afterward this Councell of Baſill not to fauour him and his doings, and fearing ſome detriment to come to him by the ſame, afterward laboured by all ſubtill practiſe to diſſolue and interrupt the ſaide Councell, and from Baſill to tranſlate it firſt to Ferraria, then to Florentia, more neere to his owne ſea of Rome. Concerning the which Councell of Baſill, forſomuch as we haue begon heere to make mention, it ſhall be no great digreſſion out of the way, to diſcourſe ſomething thereof (the Lorde ſo permitting) more at large, ſo much as for the moſt principall matters thereof ſhall ſeeme ſufficient or neceſſary to be knowne.

¶ Heere foloweth the order and maner of the Councell of Baſill, touching the principall matters concluded therein, briefly collected and abridged heere in this preſent booke: The reſt wherof we haue referred vnto our former edition, wherein the full diſcourſe of the whole diſputation is to be ſeene more at large, for ſuche as haue liſt and leiſure to ſee more thereof.

The Councell of Baſil.

Ex Aenea Sylvio. Ex Cocleo in Hiſt. Huſsit. Et ex paralipom. Abbat. Vrſperg.

IN the 39. ſeſſion of the Councell of Conſtance (as is before mentioned, page. 594.) it was decreed and prouided concerning the order and times of ſuch generall Councels as ſhould heereafter followe: The firſt that ſhoulde next enſue, to be kept the fift yeare after the ſaid Councell of Conſtance: the ſecond to be holden the ſeauenth yeare after that, and ſo orderly all other to follow ſucceſſiuely from ten yeare to ten yeare. wherefore, according to this decree, followed a generall Councell, fiue yeares after the Councell of Conſtance, celebrate and holden at Sene, vnder Pope Martine, an. 1424. but it ſoone broke vp. After the which Councell, the tearme of ſeauen yeares being expired, another Councell was holden at Baſill, in the yere of our Lord 1431. The which Councell is noted to haue bene the moſt troubleſome, and to haue endured longer then any other Councell beforetime celebrate and holden in the Church. This Councell continued almoſt the ſpace of ſeauenteene yeares: wherein it was concluded, as before in the Councel of Conſtance, that the generall Councels were aboue the Pope, and both of theſe two Councels did attribute the chiefe authoritie in decreeing and determining vnto the generall Councell: which is the cauſe that the contrary part doth derogate ſo much from the authoritie of this preſent Councell.

The death of P. Martin

Pope Eugenius. 4.

when as Pope Martine the fift had appointed Iulian, Cardinall and Deacon of S. Angell, his Legate, to celebrate and holde a generall Councell at Baſill for the reformation of the Churche, and rooting out of hereſies, within ſhort ſpace after Pope Martin died, in whoſe ſeate Eugenius the fourth ſucceeded, who confirmed vnto the ſaid Cardinall Iulian, the ſame authoritie which his predeceſſor before had giuen him. Vnto this Councell of Baſill beeing begon, came the Emperour Sigiſmund, who during his life time, with his preſence and authoritie, did protect and defend the ſaid Synode. After the Emperours death, Pope Eugenius altering his former minde & purpoſe, would tranſport the Councell vnto Bononie, and thereby hindred the ſucceſſe of the Councell of Baſill. And firſt he helde a contrary Councell at Ferraria, and afterward at Florence: For after the death of the Emperour Sigiſmund, there was no Princes or noble men, that had any care or regard of the Councell. Eugenius the Pope pretended cauſes, as touching the Greekes, which ſhould come vnto the Councell, and the vniting of their Church vnto the weſt Church, the which Greekes woulde in no wiſe paſſe the Alpes: Alſo as touching his owne incommoditie, that he could not come vnto Baſill being ſo long a iourney, and that all his men might haue eaſie acceſſe vnto Bononia, and that amongſt the Germaines (which in their owne countrey are ſo intractable) nothing can be attempted for their reformation: wherupon he cited Cardinall Iulian and the fathers of the Councel vnto Bononia, vnder great penaltie. They againe cited the Pope, that either he ſhould come himſelfe vnto the Councell, or ſend Ambaſſadors vnder the like penaltie. For this cauſe the Ambaſſadours of Albert King of the Romaines, and of the other Princes of Germany, aſſembled together firſt at Norenberge, and when as they coulde determine nothing there, they aſſembled againe at Frankford, to appeaſe the diſſention betweene the Councell and the Pope: for it was thought, that the Electors of the Empire might beſt aſſemble and meete in that place. In the meane time, the Emperours Ambaſſadours, and the Ambaſſadours of the Electors, went vnto Baſill, and hauing conference with the Ambaſſadours of the other Princes which were there, they did earneſtly exhort the fathers of the Councell, that they would embrace and receiue the vnitie, which they

Pope Eugenius ſeeketh to diſſolue the councell of Baſill.

Diſſention betweene the councell of Baſill, and Pope Eugenius.

they

The prelats of the councell refuſed the Popes requeſt.

they would offer. The requeſt of the Princes was, that the fathers would tranſport the Councell, and go vnto another place: the which onely thing Pope Eugenius ſeemed alwaies to ſeeke and deſire, that therby he might either diuide the fathers of yͤ Councell, or take away their libertie.

Notwithſtanding this ſacred Synode thought good neither to deny the princes requeſt, nor to graunt that, which Pope Eugenius required. During this doubt, the Emperours Ambaſſadours, the Biſhops of Patauia and Auguſta (being much required and ſtirred thereunto) appointed a noble and valiant Baron called Conrad weinſperge, by the Kings commandement, to be Protector and defender of the Councell, and the fathers. whereby as the enemies perceiued the Emperours minde to be alienate from the Pope, ſo the Fathers of the Councell vnderſtood his good will towards them: forſomuch as he would not haue ſent them a protector, if he had not iudged it a lawfull Councell: neither againe would he haue iudged it a Coūcell in Baſill, if he had geuen credit to Pope Eugenius. But by meanes of a great peſtilēce which began to grow, the aſſembly that ſhould haue bene holden at Frankford, was tranſported vnto Mentz. The Ambaſſadours of the princes alſo thought good to go thether, if they might find any meanes of vnity, whereby they might vnite and knit the Pope againe vnto the Councell.

The princes aſſembled at Mentz, to make vnitie betweene the councell & the pope.

The aſſembly was very famous, for there were preſent the Archbiſhops of Mentz, Colen & Treuers, Electours of the ſacred Empire, and all the Ambaſſadours of the other Electours. Notwithſtanding, the Archbiſhop of Colen was the chiefe fauourer of yͤ Coūcell in this aſſembly, who with all his labour and diligēce went about to bring the matter vnto a good ende. Rabanus the Archbiſhop of Treuers ſhewed himſelf ſomewhat more rough. The ſacred Synode alſo thought good to ſend thether their Ambaſſadours, and appointed out the Patriarke of Aquileia, the Biſhop of Vicene, and the Biſhop of Argen diuines, John Segouius, and Thomas de Corcellis, with diuers others. Ther was no mā ther preſent which would name himſelfe the Ambaſſadour of Eugenius: Albeit there were many of his fauourers and frends come thether, both frō the Coūcell, and alſo out of Florēce, the which, albeit they had ſworne to the contrary, yet fauoured they more Eugenius then the Councell. But the chiefe Hercules of all the Eugenians, was Nicholas Cuſanus, a man ſingularly well learned, and of great experience. After diuers cōſultations had, the Electours of the Empire, and the Ambaſſadours of the other Princes of Germany, thought good to geue out commandement throughout their whole nation and countrey, that the Decrees of the Councell of Baſill ſhould be receiued and obſerued.

whileſt theſe things were thus debated at Mentz, there ſprang a certaine very doubtfull queſtion amongſt the Diuines, which remained at Baſill, whether Eugenius might be called an heretike, which had ſo rebelliouſly contemned the commaundements of the Church. Hereupon they gathered thēſelues together, diſputing long amongſt themſelues, ſome affirming, and otherſome holding the negatiue part. Vpon this their diſputation, there aroſe three ſeuerall opinions, ſome affirming that he was an hereticke, otherſome, not onely an Hereticke, but alſo a relapſe. The third ſort would neither grant him to be an hereticke nor a relapſe. Amongſt theſe diuines, the chiefe and principal both in learning and authority, was the Biſhop of Ebrun, Ambaſſadour of the king of Caſtell, and a certaine Scottiſh Abbot: which, as two moſt valiant Champions, ſubdued all their enemies, ſo that all the reſt did either conſent vnto their argumēts, or gaue place vnto thē, and ſo their determinatiō tooke place, and Eugenius was pronounced both an heretike and relapſe. Eight concluſions were there determined and allowed amongſt the Diuines, which they called verities: the copie whereof they did diuulgate throughout all Chriſtendome.

Three opinions touching the Pope.

The Ambaſſadours returne frō Mentz.

when the Ambaſſadours of the Councell were returned from Mentz, and that certain report was made of the allowing of their decrees, the fathers of yͤ Coūcel thought good to diſcuſſe the cōcluſiōs of the diuines more at large. whereupon, by the commandement of the deputies, al the Maiſters and Doctours & Cleargy, were called together, with all the reſidue of the Prelates, into the Chapterhouſe of the greate Churche, there openly to diſpute and diſcuſſe Eugenius hereſie. The which thing ſore greeued the Byſhop of Millaine, fearing leaſt this diſputation would worke the depriuation of Eugenius, the which, as he ſaid, he had alwaies letted for feare of ſchiſme: wherfore he ceaſed not by all manner of waies to labour, to ſtop & trouble the matter, exhorting thē that were abſent by his letters, and encouraging thoſe that were preſent by his words, to the defēce of Eugenius. But at the laſt, there was a great aſſembly in the Chapter houſe, ſome commyng thether to diſpute, and other ſome to heare. This diſputation continued ſixe dayes, both forenoone and afternoone, amongeſt whō Cardinall Lodouicus Archbiſhop Arelatenſis, was appointed as Iudge and Arbiter of the whole diſputatiō: who beſide many other notable vertues, was both valiaunt & conſtaunt. Nicolas Amici, which was alſo a Proctor of the faith, a famous mā amongſt the Diuines of Paris demaunded of euery man what their opinion was. John Deinlefiſt, publicke Notary, wrote euery mās ſentence and iudgement. The concluſions of the Diuines, whiche were the ground and foundation of their diſputation, were theſe here following.

The Popes hereſie diſcuſſed.

The biſhop of Millaine taketh Eugenius part for feare of a ſchiſme.

Concluſions of the diſputation.

1. It is a veritie of the Catholicke fayth, that the ſacred generall Councell, hath power ouer the Pope, or any other Prelate.

2. The Pope cannot by his owne authoritie, either diſſolue tranſport or proroge, the generall Coūcell being lawfully congregate, without the whole conſent of the Councell: and this is of like veritie.

3. He which doth obſtinately reſiſt theſe verities, is to be counted an hereticke.

4. Pope Eugenius the fourth hath reſiſted theſe verities, when as at the firſt, by the fulneſſe of his Apoſtolicke power, he attempted to diſſolue or to tranſport the Councell of Baſill.

5. Eugenius being admoniſhed by the ſacred Councell, did recant the errours repugnaunt to theſe verities.

6. The diſſolution or tranſlation of the Councell attempted the ſecond tyme by Eugenius, is agaynſt the foreſayd verities, and containeth an inexcuſable errour touchyng the fayth.

7. Eugenius in going about to diſſolue and tranſport the Coūcell agayne, is fallen into his before reuoked errours.

8. Eugenius beyng warned by the Synode, that hee ſhould reuoke the diſſolution or trāſlation the ſecond time attempted: after that his contumacie was declared, perſeuering in his rebellion and erecting a Councell at Ferraria, ſhewed himſelfe thereby obſtinate.

Theſe were the cōcluſiōs which were read in yͤ Chapter houſe before the fathers of yͤ Coūcell. Vpon the which, when they were deſired to ſpeake their mindes, they all, in a maner, cōfirmed & allowed them. Notwithſtāding Panormitane Archbiſhop, diſputed much againſt them. Likewiſe did the Biſhop of Burgen the king of Arrogons Almoner. Yet did they not gaynſay the 3. firſt cōcluſions, but onely thoſe wherein pope Eugenius was touched. This Panormitane as he was ſubtill, ſo did he ſubtelly diſpute agaynſt the laſt cōcluſiōs, endeuouring himſelfe to declare that Eugenius was not relapſed, & had great contention with the Biſhop of Argens, John Segouius, & Frāūces de Fure, Deuines. He diuided the Articles of the faith into three ſortes: ſtraightly: as in the Creede: largely, as in the declarations made by yͤ Church, moſt largely of all, as in thoſe things which riſe of the premiſſes, affirming that Eugenius did by no meanes violate his fayth in his firſt diſſolution that he made, becauſe it is not contayned in the Creede, neither yet in the determinations of the Church, that the Pope cannot diſſolue the Councels: & that it ſeemeth not vnto him to riſe of yͤ determination before made, but rather of the decrees of the Councell of Conſtāce: And further, that this, as a caſe omitted, is reſerued for yͤ Pope to be diſcuſſed, forſomuch as in the chapter beginning Frequēs, it appeareth that the place where the Coūcell ſhould be kept, ought to be choſen by the Pope, the Councell allowing the ſame, and nothing is therof at all ſpoken. And if peraduēture Eugenius had offended in the firſt diſſolution, notwithſtāding he ought to be holdē excuſed, becauſe he did it by the Coūcell of the Cardinals, repreſenting the Church of Rome: whoſe authoritie he ſayd to be ſuch, that the iudgemēt therof ſhould be preferred before all yͤ world. Neither had there bene any ſacred Coūcell found to haue proceeded agaynſt Eugenius as an hereticke, & that is an euident ſigne, that the Councell hath not thought him to haue ſwarued from the faith, neither to haue any occaſion, that he ſhould be called hereticke for his errours reuoked, & that he himſelfe hath read the whole text, that the Pope did not reuoke the diſſolutiō as cōtrary vnto the faith, but as breding offence: Alſo that yͤ laſt diſſolutiō hath no ſuch cauſe in it: forſomuch as likewiſe he had done it by yͤ coūſell of the Cardinals, and for the vniting of the Greekes, that he might not be compelled in a criminall cauſe, to aūſwere by his procuratour, whē as he being letted by ſickenes, could not come perſonally. So, for as much as in the firſt diſſolutiō Eugenius hath fallē into no errour of faith, he cannot be perſwaded that he cā be called a relapſe, for ſo much

Panormitane ſpeaketh againe for the Pope.

Articles of faith deuided into 3. ſortes.

Panormitane preferreth the iudgement of the Cardinals of Rome, before all the world.

The pope pretendeth the vniting of the Greekes, when he meaneth an other thing.

much as he neither in the firſt, neither yet in the ſeconde diſſolution did violate his faith.

The pope no relaps, but prolaps.

Iohn Segouius anſwereth to Panormitane.

The pope neglecting to doe good, is a member, not of chriſt, but of the deuil.

This Oration of Panormitane was more praiſed then allowed of all men. Notwithſtanding this effect it wrought, that afterward this word relapſe was taken out of the cōcluſions, & in ſtead therof this word prolapſe put in. Neither durſt Panormitane himſelfe, altogether excuſe Eugenius of hereſie, but defended more the firſt diſſolution, then the ſecond: yet departed he not without anſwere: for Iohn Segouius an expert Diuine, riſing vp, anſwered him reuerently as was comely for ſuch a Prelate. He ſaid he granted that which Panormitane had ſpoken touching the diuiſion of the Articles of the faith into three points, for becauſe it made for his purpoſe. For if thoſe things are to be holden for Articles of faith, ſayd he, which may be gathered of the determinations of the Church, it were manifeſt that the concluſions whereupon we now cōtend, redound and come of the determinations of the Church: that is to ſay, of the Councell of Conſtance: for, if therein the Pope be made ſubiect vnto the generall Councell, who is it that will ſay that the Pope hath power ouer yͤ Councell which is aboue him? or that Eugenius ought to remaine Pope, becauſe he could not diſſolue the Councell which is aboue him, without the conſent thereof? The which Article vndoubtedly, he hath violate and broken. And if any mā will ſay that in the firſt diſſolution this Article was not violate, becauſe there was no declaration made therof, let him which ſo thinketh, thus vnderſtand: that the Byſhop of Rome ought not only to knowe the plaine and manifeſt, but alſo the ſecret and hidden things of the fayth, for he being the vicare of Chriſt, and the head of all other, ought to inſtruct and teach all men. But if ſo be he wil not, then hee ſhall be conuicted for being head, becauſe he cōtinued long in yͤ diſſolutiō after the declaratiō of yͤ councell, neither did cōſent vnto yͤ determination of yͤ church, & therfore, if peraduēture he did not erre in yͤ faith, in diſſoluing of yͤ coūcel, yet did he er in perſeuering in yͤ ſame, as it manifeſtly appeareth by yͤ ſaieng of Clemēt oftētimes alledged by Panormitan, wherin it is ſaid, yͭ he which liueth rebelliouſly & neglecteth to do good, is rather a mēber of the deuill thē of Chriſt, and rather an infidell then a true beleuer: ſo that Eugenius by diſobeieng yͤ Church, may worthely be called an infidell. Neither is it true that yͤ Pope hath not offended in the fayth: For ſomuch, as well in that aunſwere which beginneth Cogitanti, as alſo in the aunſwere which beginneth Sperant, made vnto the Popes Ambaſſadours, theſe words are manifeſt: this Article cōcerneth faith, and we had rather die then through cowardlines to giue place. By the which ſaieng it is euident, the Synode to haue ſufficiently admoniſhed yͤ Pope that he did againſt the faith, and therfore it ſeemed that afterward when as Eugenius reuoked the diſſolution, he alſo reuoked the errour of faith cōteined in the ſame. There are alſo diuers offences ſprōg and riſen through the errour of faith: for ſome ſay that the Pope is vnder the Councell, otherſome denie it, and this diuerſitie of doctrine bringeth offence. Alſo it is expreſſely againſt the authority of the Councell, that the Pope did reuoke the aſſertions made in their name.

Councels boūd to no poſitiue lawe.

And albeit in ſuch reuocations, yͤ ſtile & order of iudgements is not obſerued, notwithſtanding it doth ſuffice in ſuch caſe, when as the Councell doth proceed againſt the Pope: in which caſe onely the truth is to be obſerued, neither is the Councell ſubiect vnto any poſitiue law, that it ought to obſerue any tearmes or iudiciall orders. Alſo he ſaid that he vtterly cōtemned that ſingular gloſe which did prefer yͤ Pope before all the world, ſo that it might well be called ſingular, which decreed ſo fooliſh and fonde things and vnworthy to be followed of any man: and that he did much maruaile of Panormitane, and other Doctours of thoſe daies, which whileſt they went about to extoll yͤ authoritie of the gloſes, do abaſe yͤ ſame by adding a ſingularitie therto: for that gloſe is ſingular whiche is alone. But who would not more eſteme a gloſe conſtantly writtē and agreeable in all places, then that which in any one place teacheth any thing which may ſeeme to be an errour: and that as touching the veritie & truth. S. Hierome a graue and auncient Doctour is cōtrary to this gloſe, who doubteth nothing at all, but that the world, as touching authoritie, is aboue the Citie it ſelfe, that is to ſay, Rome.

Segouius, could ſcarſely finiſh this his Oration without interruption: for Panormitane oftentimes enterrupting him, went about to confute now this, and now that reaſon. Wherupon the Biſhop of Argen riſing vp, a man not onely eloquent, but alſo of a ſtoute courage, troubled Panormitane in his reaſons and argumēts, and put him from his purpoſe: yet they proceeded ſo farre, that they paſſed the maner of diſputation, and did not abſteine from opprobrious tauntes.

Panormitā appointeth the Pope Lord of the Church.

The Pope & the clergy deſire dominion contrary to the ſcriptures.

When the Biſhop of Argen chaunced to ſay that the Biſhop of Rome ought to be the miniſter of the Church, Panormitane could not ſuffer that: in ſo much that he ſo forgot himſelfe that day, and his knowledge (which otherwiſe was great) did ſo faile him, that he was not aſhamed to ſay and affirme, that the Pope was Lorde ouer the Church. Whom Segouius anſwered: Marke (ſayth he) O Panormitane, what thou ſayeſt: for this is the moſt honourable title of the Biſhop of Rome, wherin he calleth himſelfe the ſeruaunt of the ſeruaunts of God. Which is gathered vpon this point, when as Chriſt ſayd vnto hys diſciples, when they demanded of him which of them was the greateſt, you know he aunſwered them: The Princes of the people haue rule and dominion ouer them, but amongſt you it is not ſo, &c. Wherein he doth vtterly prohibit Lordſhip and dominion. And Peter which was the firſt vicar of Chriſt, ſaith, feede the flocke of Chriſt which is committed vnto you, prouiding for them not by compulſion, but willingly. And immediatly after he ſayd, not as Lords ouer the Cleargie. For if Chriſt yͤ ſonne of God, came not to be miniſtred vnto, but to miniſter & to ſerue, how then can his vicar haue any dominion, or be called Lord, as you Panormitane will affirme: forſomuch as the diſciple is not aboue his maiſter, nor the ſeruaunt aboue his Lord. And the Lord himſelfe ſaith: be yee not called maiſters, for ſo much as your only maiſter is Chriſt, and he which is the greateſt among you, ſhal be your ſeruant. Panormitane being ſomewhat diſquieted with this aunſwere, the councell brake vp and departed.

The French kinges Ambaſſadour.

The next day, there was a generall congregation, and they returned all againe vnto the chapter houſe after dinner, whereas the Archbiſhop of Lyons, the Kings Orator being required to ſpeake his minde, after he had by diuers and ſundry reaſons proued Eugenius to be an hereticke, he bitterly complained, deteſting the negligence and ignauie, of thoſe that had proferred ſuch a man vnto the papacie, and ſo moued all their harts which were preſent, that they altogether with him did bewaile the calamities of the vniuerſall Church.

The Byſhop of Burgen.

The councel aboue the Pope.

Then the Byſhop of Burgen, the Ambaſſadour of Spaine, diuided the concluſions into two parts, ſome he called generall, & otherſome perſonall, diſputing very excellently as touching the three firſt cōcluſions, affirming yͭ he did in no point doubt of them, but only that the additiō which made mention of yͤ faith, ſeemed to be doubtfull vnto him. But vpon this point, he ſtaied much, to proue that the Councell was aboue yͤ Pope. The which, after he had ſufficiently proued both by Gods law and mans lawe, he taught it alſo by Phiſicall reaſon, alledging Ariſtotle for witneſſe. He ſaid that in euery well ordered kingdome, it ought ſpecially to be deſired, that the whole realme ſhould be of more authoritie then the King, which if it happened contrary, it were not to be called a kingdome, but a tirannie: ſo likewiſe doth he thinke of the Church, that it ought to be of more authoritie, then the Prince thereof, that is to ſay, the Pope. The which his Oration he vttered ſo eloquently, learnedly, and truly, that all men depended vpon him, and deſired rather to haue him continue his Oration, then to haue an end thereof.

The force of truth which appeared alſo in Eneas himſelfe: the writer hereof, although afterwarde when he was pope, he denied the ſame. Note what it is, a man to labour againſt hys knowledge.

But whē as he entred into yͤ other cōcluſions, he ſemed to haue forgottē himſelf, & to be no more the ſame mā that he was: for neither was there yͤ ſame eloquēce in his wordes, neither grauitie in Oration, or cherefulnes of countenance, ſo that if he could haue ſene himſelfe, he would peraduēture greatly haue marueiled at himſelfe. Euery man might wel ſee & perceiue thē the power & force of the truth, which miniſtred copy of matter vnto him, ſo long as hee ſpake in yͤ defēce therof. But whē as he begā once to ſpeak againſt hir, ſhe tooke away euē his naturall eloquence frō him. Notwithſtanding Panormitane, and the Biſhop of Burgen, ſhewed this example of modeſty, that albeit they would not confeſſe or grant the laſt cōcluſions to be verities of faith: yet they would not that any mā ſhould folow or leane vnto their opiniō, which wer but meane diuines, but rather vnto yͤ opinions of the Diuines. But the king of Aragons Amner, being a ſubtill & crafty man, did not directly diſpute vpō the concluſions: but picking out here and there certaine argumēts, ſought to let and hinder the Councell. Againſt whome an Abbot of Scotland, a man of an excellent wit diſputed very much: and Thomas de Corcellis a famous Diuine, alledged much againſt him out of yͤ Decrees of yͤ ſacred Councell, and with a certaine modeſt ſhamefaſtnes, alwaies beholding the ground, did very largely diſpute in the defence of the concluſions.

But now to auoide tediouſnes, I will only proceed to declare arguments, wherby the concluſions were ratified

and

The concluſions of the diſputation. The firſt cõcluſion.

A king is not of more authoritie then is his kingdome.

and confirmed: not minding to intreate of th v. laſt cõcluſions, which cõcerne yͤ perſon of Eugenius, but only vpõ yͤ three firſt, wherunto I wil adioine certaine probable argumẽts gathered out of yͤ diſputation of the fathers. In yͤ firſt cõcluſion is the greateſt force, and firſt to be diſcuſſed: touching the which, two things are to be required, & examined. The one whether the generall Councel haue authoritie ouer the Pope. The other, whether the Catholike faith commaundeth it to be beleued. As touching that the Pope is ſubiect to the generall Councell, it is excellently well proued by yͤ reaſon before alledged, by the Biſhop of Burgen. For the Pope is in the Church, as a king in his kingdome: and for a king to be of more authority then his kingdome, it were to abſurd: Ergo, neither ought the pope to be aboue the Church. For like as oftentimes, Kings which do wickedly gouerne the cõmon wealth, & exerciſe cruelty, are depriued of their kingdome, euẽ ſo it is not to be doubted, but that the Biſhops of Rome may be depoſed by the Church, that is to ſay, by the generall Councels.

Theſe kinde of flatterers came now in our daies.

What a king is.

Neither do I heerein allow them, which attribute ſo ample and large authoritie vnto kings, that they will not haue them bound vnder any lawes: For ſuch as ſo do ſay, be but flatterers, which do talke otherwiſe thẽ they think. For albeit that they do ſay that the moderation of the law is alway in the Princes power: that do I thus vnderſtãd, that when as reaſon ſhall perſwade, he ought to digreſſe from the rigour of the law: for hee is called a King, which careth and prouideth for the common wealth: taketh pleaſure in the commoditie and profite of the ſubiectes, and in all his doings hath reſpect to the cõmoditie of thoſe, ouer whom he ruleth: which, if he do not, he is not to be counted a King, but a tyraunt, whoſe propertie it is onely to ſeeke his owne profit: for in this point a King differeth from a tyraunt, that the one ſeeketh the commoditie and profit of thoſe whom he ruleth, and the other only his owne. The which to make more manifeſt, the cauſe is alſo to be alledged, wherefore Kings were ordeined.

The inſtitutiõ of kings.

At the beginning (as Cicero in his Offices ſayth) it is certaine, that there was a certaine time when as the people liued without kings. But afterward when lands and poſſeſſiõs began to be deuided according to the cuſtome of euery natiõ, then were kings ordeined for no other cauſe, but only to exerciſe iuſtice. For when as at the beginning, the common people were oppreſſed by rich & mighty men, they ran by and by to ſome good and vertuous man, which ſhould defend yͤ poore frõ iniurie, & ordeine lawes, whereby the rich and poore might dwell together. But when as yet vnder the rule of Kings, the poore were oftentimes oppreſſed, lawes were ordeined and inſtituted, the which ſhould iudge neither for hatred nor fauour, and geue lyke eare vnto the poore as vnto the riche: whereby we do vnderſtand and know, not only the people, but alſo the King to be ſubiect to the lawes. For if we do ſee a King to contemne and deſpiſe the lawes, violently rob and ſpoile his ſubiects, defloure virgins, diſhoneſt matrones, and do all things licentiouſly and temerariouſly: do not the nobles of the kingdome aſſemble together, depoſing him from his kingdome, ſet vp another in his place, which ſhall ſweare to rule and gouerne vprightly, and be obedient vnto the lawes? Verely as reaſon doth perſwade, euen ſo doth the vſe thereof alſo teach vs. It ſeemeth alſo agreeable vnto reaſon, that the ſame ſhould be done in the Church, that is to ſay, in the Councell, which is done in any kingdome. And ſo is this ſufficiently apparant which we haue before ſayd, that the Pope is ſubiect vnto the Councell.

The pope ought to be ſubiect vnto the councell

This place Tu es Petrus &c. expounded.

Sinnes are the gates of hell.

But now to paſſe vnto the argumentes of Diuinitie, the foundation of the matter which we do intreate vpon, are the wordes of our Sauiour Ieſu Chriſt in diuers places, but ſpecially where as he ſpeaketh vnto Peter: Tu es Petrus, & ſuper hanc petram ædificabo Eccleſiam meam, & portæ inferi non præualebunt aduerſus eam. i. Thou art Peter, and vpon this rocke will I build my Church, and the gates of hell ſhall not preuaile againſt it. Vpon whyche wordes it ſeemeth good to begin this diſputatiõ, forſomuch as ſome were wont to alledge theſe wordes, to extoll yͤ authority of the Biſhop of Rome. But (as it ſhall by and by appeare) the wordes of Chriſt had another ſenſe and meaning then diuers of them do thinke, for he ſaith: & the gates of hell ſhall not preuaile againſt it. Verely this is a great promiſe, and theſe wordes of the Lord are of great importance. For what greater word could there haue bene ſpoken, then that the gates of hell ſhould not preuaile againſt the church? Theſe gates of hel, as S. Hierome ſaith, do ſignifie ſins. wherfore if ſinnes can not preuaile againſt the Church, neither can any maligne ſpirites preuaile againſt the ſame, which haue no power at all ouer mankinde, but only through ſinne. And for that cauſe, where as it is ſayd in Iob, that there is no power vpon the earth that may be cõpared vnto the power of the maligne ſpirite, whereby it followeth that the power of the Church is aboue all other power.

Againſt the papiſtes opinion that the pope can not erre.

The interpretatiõ of this place, Oraui pro te Petre, is ment of the Church.

We may alſo vpon the ſame ſaying, reaſon after an other ſort: for ſomuch as yͤ gates of hel: that is to ſay, ſinnes can not preuaile agaynſt the Church, the Church thereby is declared to be without ſinne: the which cã not be ſpokẽ of yͤ pope which is a mortall mã, for ſomuch as it is written, ſeuen tymes in the day the iuſt mã doth offend: If the Church be without ſpot becauſe it can not be defiled with ſinne, who is it that will preferre a ſinnefull mã: before an vndefiled Churche? Neither let vs geue eare vnto thoſe whiche will not referre theſe wordes of Chriſt vnto the Church, where as he ſayth: Oraui pro te Petre, vt non deficiat fides tua. That is to ſay, Peter I haue prayed for thee, that thy fayth ſhould not fayle thee. For as S. Auguſtine ſayth in the expoſition of the Pſalmes, certaine thyngs are ſpoken as though they ſeemed properly to pertaine vnto the Apoſtle Peter, notwithſtãding, they haue no euident ſenſe but when they are referred vnto the Churche, the perſon wherof he is vnderſtãded figuratiuely to repreſent. Wherupõ in an other place in the queſtiõs of yͤ new & old Teſtament, vpon the wordes: Rogaui pro te Petre, I haue prayed for thee Peter: what is doubted? Did he pray for Peter, & did he not pray for Iames and Iohn, beſide the reſt? It is manifeſt that vnder the name of Peter, all other are conteyned. For in an other place of S. Iohn he ſayth: I pray for them, whom thou haſt geuen me, & I will that whereſoeuer I am, they ſhall be alſo with me. Wherupon we do oftentymes by the name of Peter vnderſtand the Church, which we do nothing at all doubt to be done in this place: otherwiſe the truth could not conſiſt, for ſomuch as within a while after, the fayth of Peter, fayled for a tyme by the deniall of Chriſt, but the fayth of the Church, whoſe perſon Peter did repreſent, did alwayes perſeuere inuiolate.

Biſhops of Rome are heretiques.

He meaneth Silueſter the ſecõd.

The church is without ſinne & the pope is a ſinner.

As touching the Biſhops of Rome, if time would ſuffer vs, we could rehearſe many exãples, how that they either haue ben heretickes, or repleniſhed with other vices. Neither are we ignoraunt how that Marcellinus at the Emperours commaundement, did ſacrifice vnto Idols, & that an other (whiche is more horrible) did attaine vnto the Papacy by a deuiliſh fraude & deceite. Notwithſtanding the teſtimony of Paule vnto the Hebrues ſhall ſuffice vs at this tyme, who ſayth euery Biſhop to be compaſſed in with infirmitie: that is to ſay, with wickedneſſe and ſinne. Alſo the teſtimonies of Chriſt him ſelfe do approue, that yͤ Church remaineth alwayes without ſinne: for in Mathew he ſaith, I am with you euen vnto the end of the world. The which wordes were not onely ſpoken vnto the Apoſtles (for they continued not vnto the end of the world) but alſo vnto their ſucceſſours: neither would Chriſt then ſignifie that he was God, diſperſed throughout all the world, as he is alſo perceiued to be amongeſt ſinners, but would declare a certain gift of grace, through his aſſiſtaũce, whereby he would preſerue yͤ holy Churche conſiſting amongeſt his Apoſtles and their ſucceſſours, alwayes immaculate and vndefiled.

The church one fleſh with chriſt

The Church is without ſpot or ſinne, is to be vnderſtand not by nature, but onely by imputation.

And agayne in an other place I (ſayth he) will pray, & he ſhal geue you an other cõforter, that he may remaine wͭ you for euer, euẽ the ſpirite of truth whõ the world cã not receaue, becauſe the world ſeeth him not, neither knoweth him, but you ſhall know him, becauſe he ſhall remayne wͭ you. The which wordes being ſpoken vnto the Diſciples of Ieſus, are alſo vnderſtãded to be ſpokẽ vnto their ſucceſſours, & ſo cõſequently vnto the Church. And if the ſpirite of truth be cõtinually in the Church, no man cã deny, but that the Church ought to continue vndefiled. By the ſame authoritie alſo that Chriſt is called the ſpouſe of the Church, who ſeeth not, but that the Church is vndefiled? For the huſband & the wife (as the Apoſtle ſayth) are two in one fleſh, & (as he doth alſo adde) no mã hateth his own fleſh: thereby it commeth to paſſe, that Chriſt can not hate the Church, for ſomuch as ſhe is his ſpouſe, and one fleſh with him, & no mã cã hate himſelfe: Ergo, the Church doth not ſinne: for if it did ſinne, it ſhould be hated, for ſinners the Lord doth hate. The which authorities being gathered together we ought with the Apoſtle to confeſſe that the Church of God hath neither ſpot nor wrincle. Alſo he writyng vnto Timothe affirmeth the Churche to be the piller & foundation of the truth: whereupõ in this ſong of the ſpouſe it is ſayd: My frend thou art altogether fayre & beawtifull neither is there any ſpot in thee.

Theſe wordes peraduenture may abaſh ſome, that I do go about to proue the Church to be without ſinne. For when as the Church doth containe all men which are called Chriſtiãs, which alſo do agree & come together in one beliefe of faith, and participation of the Sacraments, I do feare leaſt ſome men will thinke, that I do affirme all mē to be without ſinne: which is ſo far frō my meaning, that I do verely thinke the cōtrary to be moſt true. For I ſuppoſe, that there is no man in the Church being clothed in this mortall fleſh, without ſinne. Neither do theſe things vary or diſſent among themſelues: For the Church hath this gift, that albeit euery part and mēber therof may ſin, yet the whole body can not ſinne. For there bee alwayes good men in the Church, the which, albeit that they be ſubiect vnto humaine fragilitie, notwithſtāding they haue ſo perfect a gift of ſincere and pure vertue, that ſubduing all carnall deſires and affectiōs, they keep themſelues a pleaſant and acceptable ſacrifice vnto God. Neither do I conſent or agree vnto the opiniō of diuers, which affirme that the Virgin Mary onely perſeuered in faith at the Lordes paſſion. Whereupon diuers haue not bene aſhamed to ſay that the faith might be ſo debilitate and weakened, that it ſhould returne to one only old woman. Whoſe opinion or rather madnes, Saint Paule ſeemeth opēly to reiect, writing thus vnto the Romaines: do ye not know (ſaith he) what the Scripture writeth of Helias, how inceſſantly he called vpon God againſt the childrē of Iſraell (ſaieng) O Lord, they haue ſlayne thy Prophets, and digged downe thine aultars, and I alone am left, and they ſeeke after my ſoule? But what anſwere receiued he of God? I haue left vnto my ſelf yet vij. M. men, which haue not bowed their knees vnto Baal. What other thing doth this anſwere of God declare, then that it is a fooliſh opiniō of them which thinke the Church of God to be brought vnto ſo ſmall a number? we ought to beleeue the words of Chriſt, which are altogether repugnāt vnto thoſe mē who affirme yͭ the Virgine onely did perſeuere in faith. For Ieſus ſayd vnto his Father, O holy father ſaue thē in thy name, whome thou haſt geuen me, that they may be one as we are one. Whē I was with them, I kept them in thy name: I haue kept them that thou gaueſt vnto me, and none of them periſhed, but onely the ſonne of perdition. And I do not deſire that thou ſhouldeſt take them out of the world, but that thou ſhouldeſt preſerue them from euill.

The church with out ſinne how to be vnderſtand.

The errour of thoſe which ſay that onely the virgin Mary did perſeuer conſtāt at the time of hriſtes paſſion.

Beholde, Chriſt praieth that his diſciples ſhoulde not fall, but ſhould be preſerued from euill, and he ſo praieng, without doubt is heard: for he ſaith in another place, I know yͭ thou heareſt me. But how is he heard, if all thoſe for whome he praieth, ſwarued at the time of his paſſion? As for example: By what meanes did Chriſt hanging vpō the Croſſe, commende his dearely beloued mother vnto Iohn, if ſo be he were either then ſwarued, or ſhould by and by after haue ſwarued from the faith: Moreouer, did not the Centurion by and by cry out and ſay: truly this is the ſonne of God? The Iewes alſo which at that time were farre diſtant from Ieruſalem, might both be called faithfull, and alſo ſaued by their faith: ſeeing that (as the Apoſtle ſayth) men are bound vnto the Goſpell, after it is once knowne and reuealed vnto them. But let vs leaue theſe men, and ſpeake of that which is more likely, and let vs iudge that there hath bin and is a great number of good mē in the Church, and by thē as by the more worthy part, let vs name the Church holy and immaculate, the whyche doth comprehend as well the euill as the good. For the Church is compared vnto a net, which is caſt into the ſea, and gathereth together all kinde of fiſhes.

The Church comprehendeth both the euill and good.

Math. 20.

And agayne it is compared vnto a King, which made a marriage for his ſonne, and ſent forth his ſeruants to call thoſe which were bidden, vnto the wedding, and they gathered together good & euill, as many as they could finde. Wherfore, their opinion is erroneus, which affirme, that only good men be comprehēded in the Church: the which, if it were true, it would confound all things, neither could we vnderſtand or know where the Church were. But forſomuch as the Scripture ſaith: no man knoweth whether he be worthy of loue or hatred, their opiniō is more to be alowed & truer, which include all yͤ faithfull in yͤ Church: of whom, although a great part be geuen to voluptuouſnes and auarice, yet ſome notwithſtāding are cleane frō deadly ſinne. The which part, as it is the moſt worthy, it geueth the name vnto yͤ church, to be called moſt holy: which is ſo often done, that we are commaunded to ſing in our Crede, vnam ſanctam Catholicam & Apoſtolicam Eccleſiam, that is to ſay, one holy Catholicke & Apoſtolicke Church: the which Article the Synode of Conſtantinople, added vnto the reſt: wherefore if the Church be holy, it is alſo without ſinne. But to returne to our former purpoſe, this word Sanctum, which ſignifieth holy (as Macrobius alledging Trebatius, affirmeth) is ſometimes taken for religious, and ſometimes for cleane and vncorrupt. And after the ſame maner, we call the Church holy, as the Apoſtle Peter calleth it immaculate, as we read in the famous Epiſtle of Clement.

This ſaying of Eccleſiaſtes is not tranſlated & alſo ſerueth to other ſenſe then is here ment.

To this end alſo tendeth that whiche is ſpoken by S. Paule, that Chriſt is the head of the Churche: For if the Churche ſhould wholy ſinne, ſhe ſhould not agree with her head Chriſt, who is in no pointe defiled. This alſo Chriſt himſelfe would ſignifie vnto vs in Mathew, when he cōmendeth the houſe which was builded vpō the ſtrōg rocke, againſt the whiche, neither the windes, neither the ſtormes could preuaile. In the houſe of God (ſayth the Apoſtle) which is the Church builded vpō the ſtrong rocke, which rocke (as the ſayd Apoſtle declareth) is Chriſt. Who then is ſo vnſhamefaſt that hee will affirme the Churche, which is founded vpō Chriſt, to be ſubiect to ſinne? & will not rather cry out with the Prophet and ſay: Domine, dilexi decorem domus tuæ. That is to ſay. O Lord, I haue loued the beawtie of thy houſe. Hereupon wrote Iohn Chriſoſtome this golden ſentence: The Church neuer ceaſeth to be aſſaulted, neuer ceaſeth to be layne in wayte for: but in the name of Chriſt it hath alwayes the vpper hād & ouercame. And albeit that other do lye in wait for it, or that the floudes do beate agaynſt it: yet the foūdatiō which is layd vpon the rocke, is not ſhaken. S. Hillary alſo ſayth, that it is the propertie of the Churche to vanquiſh, when it is hurt, to vnderſtād when it is reproued, to be in ſafetie whē it is forſaken, & to obtaine victory, when as it ſeemeth almoſt ouercome. Thus by many reaſons & teſtimonies, it is proued that the Church doth not erre: which is not ſpoken or affirmed of the Biſhops of Rome, ſo that this reaſon doth make the Pope ſubiect vnto the Church, for it is conuenient, that the leſſe perfect be ſubiect vnto the more perfect. There be alſo many other teſtimonies & reaſons, wherof we will now ſomewhat more entreate.

Chriſt is the rocke wherupon the Church is builded.

If authoritie be ſought for, ſayth S. Hierome (for I willingly occupie my ſelfe in his ſentēces, as in a moſt fertile field) the world is greater then a Citie. What then I pray you Hierome? Is yͤ Pope mighty becauſe he is head of the Church of Rome? His authoritie is great, notwithſtanding the vniuerſall Church is greater, which doth not onely cōprehēd one Citie, but alſo the whole world. Hereupon it followeth, that if the Churche be the mother of all faithfull, then ſhe hath the Biſhop of Rome for her ſonne. Otherwiſe as S. Auguſtine ſaith, he can neuer haue God for his father, which will not acknowledge the Church for his mother. The which thing Anacletus vnderſtandyng, called the vniuerſal Church his mother, as the writers of the Canons do know. And Calixtus ſayth: as a ſonne he came to doe the will of his father, ſo we do the will of our mother, which is the Church. Whereby it appeareth, that how much the ſonne is inferiour to the mother: ſomuch yͤ Church is ſuperiour or aboue the Biſhop of Rome.

He proueth by authoritie the pope to be vnder the coūcell.

If the Church be the mother, the Pope muſt be her ſonne.

Alſo we haue ſayd before, that the Churche was the ſpouſe of Chriſt, & the Pope we know to be a Vicare: but no mā doth ſo ordaine a Vicar, that he maketh his ſpouſe ſubiect vnto him, but that the ſpouſe is alwayes thought to be of more authoritie, then the Vicar, for ſomuch as ſhe is one body with her huſbād, but the Vicar is not ſo. Neither will I here paſſe ouer the wordes of S. Paule vnto the Romaines: Let euery ſoule (ſayth he) be ſubiect vnto the higher powers: Neither doth he herein except yͤ pope: For albeit that he be aboue all other mē, yet it ſeemeth neceſſary yͭ he ſhould be ſubiect to yͤ Church. Neither let him thinke himſelfe hereby exēpt, becauſe it was ſaid vnto Peter by Chriſt, whatſoeuer thou bindeſt. &c. In this place, as we wil hereafter declare, he repreſēted the perſon of the Church, for we finde it ſpoken afterward vnto thē: Quæcunque ligaueritis ſuper terrā, ligata erūt in cœlis. i. Whatſoeuer ye ſhal binde vpō earth, ſhall be alſo bounde in heauē. And furthermore, if all power be geuē of Chriſt, as the Apoſtle writeth vnto the Corinthiās, it is geuen for the edifying of the Church, & not for the deſtruction therof: why then may not the Church correct the Pope, if he abuſe the keyes, and bring all thinges vnto ruine?

The church being the ſpouſe, the pope cā not be the head therof, but he muſt alſo be the head of Chriſt, forſomuch as Chriſt & his ſpouſe be both one

The expoſition of this place, quodcunque ligaueris. The church may depoſe the pope, if he abuſe the keyes.

Adde hereunto alſo an other argument. A man in this life is leſſer then the aungels, for we read in Mathew of Iohn Baptiſt, that he whiche is leaſt in the kingdome of heauen, is greater then he. Notwithſtanding Chriſt ſayth in an other place, that amongeſt the children of women there was not a greater then Iohn Baptiſt. But to proceede: mē are forced by the exāple of Zacharias to geue credite vnto aūgels, leaſt through their miſbelief they be ſtriken blind as he was. What more? The Biſhop of Rome is a mā: Ergo, he is leſſe then the aungels, and is bound to geue credite to the aungels. But the aungels learne of the Church, and do reuerētly accorde vnto her doctrine, as the Apoſtle writeth vnto the Epheſiās: Ergo, the pope is boūd to do the ſame, who is leſſe then the aungels, and leſſe then

The church and not the pope compared to the Sunne.

the Churche, whoſe authoritye is ſuche, that worthely it is compared by S. Auguſtine vnto the Sunne: that lyke as the Sunne by his light doth ſurmount all other lightes, ſo the church is aboue all other authority and power. Whervpon S. Auguſtine writeth thus: I would not beleue the Goſpel ſaith he, if the authority of the church did not moue me thereunto: the which is not in any place foũd to be ſpoken of the biſhop of Rome, who repreſenting the Church, and being miniſter thereof, is not to be thought greater or equall to hys Lorde and maiſter. Notwythſtanding, the wordes of our Sauiour Chriſt do ſpecially proue the Byſhop of Rome to be ſubiect to the church, as we will hereafter declare: For he ſending Peter to preach vnto yͤ church ſayd, go, and ſay vnto the Church. To the confirmation of whoſe authoritye, theſe wordes do alſo pertaine: hee that heareth you heareth me. The which wordes are not onely ſpoken vnto the Apoſtles, but alſo vnto their ſucceſſours and vnto the whole Church.

The pope if he do not harken to the church is an Ethnicke and Publicane. It is to be feared leaſt the church hath had many ſuch Popes.

Wherevpon it foloweth, that if the Pope do not harken & geue eare vnto the Church, he doeth not geue eare vnto Chriſt, & conſequently he is to be counted as an Ethnicke & Publicane. For as S. Auguſtine affirmeth, when as the Church doth excommunicate, he which is ſo excommunicate is bounde in heauen, and when the Church looſeth, he is looſed. Likewiſe if he be an heretike, which taketh away the ſupremacie of the Churche of Rome, as the Decrees of the councel of Conſtance doth determine, how much more is he to be counted an hereticke, which taketh away yͤ authoritye from the vniuerſall Church, wherein the Church of Rome and all other are conteined? Wherefore it is now euident, that it is the opinion of al men before our daies (if it may be called an opinion, which is confirmed by graue authors) yͭ the Pope is ſubiecte vnto the vniuerſall church. But this is called into queſtion, whether he ought alſo to be iudged of yͤ general Councel. For there are ſome, which (whether it be for deſire of vaine glory, or that thorough their flattery they looke for ſome great reward) haue begon to teach new and ſtrange doctrines, and to exempt the byſhop of Rome from the iuriſdiction of the generall Councel. Ambitiõ hath blinded them, wherof not only this preſent Schiſme, but alſo all other Schiſmes euen vnto thys day haue had their originall. For as in times paſt the gredy deſire & ambition of the papacy, brought in that peſtiferous beaſt, which through Arrius then firſt crept into the church: euen ſo they do ſpecially noriſh and mainteine this preſent hereſie, whych are not aſhamed to begge. Of the which number, ſome cry out & ſay, the workes of the ſubiects ought to be iudged by the Pope, but the Pope to be reſerued only vnto the iudgemẽt of God. Others ſaid that no man ought to iudge the high and principall Seate, and that it can not be iudged either by the Emperour, either by the Clergy, either by any king or people. Other affirme, that the Lord hath reſerued vnto himſelfe the depoſitions of the chiefe Biſhop. Others are not aſhamed to affirme, that the Byſhop of Rome although hee cary ſoules in neuer ſo great number vnto hell, yet hee is not ſubiect vnto any correction or rebuke.

Whether the pope is to be iudged by the generall councell, &c.

These are the Canons and the ſchoole diuines, and begging friers.

Diuerſitie of iudgementes touching the B. of Rome.

And becauſe theſe their words are eaſily reſolued, they runne ſtraight waies vnto the Goſpell, and interprete the wordes of Chriſt, not according to the ſenſe and meaning of the holy Ghoſt, but according to their owne wil and diſpoſition. They doe greatly eſteeme and regard this which was ſpoken vnto Peter: Tu vocaberis Cephas i. Thou ſhalt be called Cephas: by the which worde, they make hym the head of the Church. Alſo I will geue thee the keyes of the kingdome of heauen, and whatſoeuer thou ſhalt bind vpon earth. &c. I haue prayed for thee Peter, that thy Faith would not faile. And againe, fede my ſheepe: Caſt thy net into the depe: Be not afrayd, for from thẽceforth thou ſhalt be a fiſher of men: Alſo that Chriſt commaunded Peter as the Prince of the Apoſtles, to pay tolle for them bothe: and that Peter drew the net vnto the land, full of great fiſhes: & that onely Peter drew his ſword for the defence of Chriſt. Al which places theſe mẽ do greatly extol, altogether neglecting the expoſitions of the fathers: the which if (as reaſon were) they would conſider, they ſhuld manifeſtly perceiue by the authorities aforeſayde, that the Pope is not aboue them when they are gathered together in Councell, but when they are ſeparate and deuided.

How foliſhly the church of Rome doth wraſt the the ſcriptures neglecting the expoſitions of the fathers.

But theſe things being paſſed ouer, for ſomuch as anſwere ſhall appeare by that which heereafter ſhall followe we will now declare what was reaſoned of by the learned men vppon thys queſtion. But firſt wee woulde haue it knowen, yͭ all men which are of any name or eſtimation, do agree, that the Pope is ſubiect to the Councell, and for the proofe therof they repeat (in a maner) al thoſe things which were before ſpoken of the church: for they ſuppoſe all that, which is ſpoken of the Churche, to ſerue for the generall Councell: And firſt of all, they alledge this ſaying of the Goſpel, Dic Eccleſiæ, tell it vnto the Church. In the whych place it is conuenient to vnderſtand, that Chriſt ſpake vnto Peter, inſtructing him what he ſhould doe as touching the correction of his brother. He ſaith, if thy brother offend or ſinne againſt thee, rebuke him betwene thee and him alone. If hee geue eare vnto thee, thou haſt wonne thy brother: but if he doe not geue eare vnto thee, take wͭ thee one or two, that in the mouth of two or thee witneſſes all truth may ſtand: if thẽ he wil not geue eare vnto thee, Dic Eccleſiæ, tell it vnto the Church.

Thoſe thinges, which were ſpokẽ of the church ſerue alſo for the generall councell.

What ſhal we vnderſtand by the church in that place? ſhall we ſay that it is the multitude of the faithfull diſperſed throughout the whole worlde? My yoke is pleaſaunt ſayth the Lord, & my burden is light. But howe is it light, if Chriſt commaunde vs to doe that which is impoſſible to be done? For howe coulde Peter ſpeake vnto the Churche which was diſperſed, or to ſeeke out euery Chriſtian ſcattered in euery Towne or Citie? But the meaning of theſe words, is farre otherwiſe, and they muſt be otherwiſe interpreted: for which cauſe it is neceſſary that we remember the double perſon, which Peter repreſented, as the perſon of the high byſhop, and a priuate man. The ſenſe and meaning of his words are euident and plaine inough of themſelues, yͭ they neede no ſupplement or alteration. We muſt firſt marke and ſee, what thys worde Eccleſia ſignifieth, the which we do find but only to be twiſe ſpoken of by Chriſt: once in this place, and againe when as he ſaid vnto Peter: Tu es Petrus, & ſuper hanc Petram ædificabo Eccleſiam meam, That is: Thou art Peter, and vpon this rock wil I build my Church. Wherfore the Church ſignifieth the conuocation or congregation of the multitude. Dic Eccleſiæ, tell it vnto the church. That is to ſay, tel it vnto the Congregation of the faithful: the which forſomuch as they are not accuſtomed to come together, but in a generall Councel, this interpretation ſhall ſeeme very good, Dic Eccleſiæ, tel it vnto the Church, that is to ſay, Dic generali Concilio, tel it vnto the generall Councell.

Peter repreſenteth the double perſon.

Chriſt nameth the Church but twiſe in the Goſpell.

What the Church is.

The interpretatiõ of this place, dic eccleſiæ.

In this caſe I would gladly heare if there be any man, which doth thinke theſe words to be more properly expreſſed in any Prelate, then in the councell, when as they muſt put one man for the multitude: whych if it be admitted in the ſcriptures, we ſhall from henceforth finde no firme or ſtable thing therein. But if any man doe maruaile at thys interpretation, let him ſearch the old wryters, and he ſhall finde that thys is no newe or ſtraunge interpretation, but the interpretation of the holy fathers and olde Doctours, whyche haue firſt geuen lyght vnto the Churche, as Pope Gregorie witneſſeth (a man worthy of remembrance, both for the holines of his life, and his ſingular learning) whoſe wordes are theſe, wrytten in his Regiſter vnto the biſhop of Conſtantinople: And wee (ſayde hee) againſt whome ſo great an offence is committed through temerarious boldneſſe, do obſerue and keepe that which the truth doth commaunde vs, ſaying, Si peccauerit in te frater, that is: If thy brother do offend againſt thee, &c. And afterward he addeth more, if my rebukes and corrections be deſpyſed, it remaineth that I do ſeeke helpe of the church. The which words doe manifeſtly declare the Church heere to be taken for the generall Councell. Neither did Gregory ſay, that he wold ſeeke helpe of the Church that is diſpearſed abroad in euery place, but of that which is gathered together, that is to ſay, the generall Councell, for that whych is diſpearſed abroad, cannot be had, except it be gathered together. Alſo Pope Nicholas reprouing Lotharius the king for adultery, ſayd: if thou doeſt not amend the ſame, take heede that we tell it not vnto the holy Church.

The church taken for the generall councell.

In the which ſaying, Pope Nicholas did not ſay, that he wold go throughout yͤ world to certifie euery one, man by man: but that hee would call the Church together, that is to ſay the general councell, and there would publiſh and declare the offence of Lotharius, yͭ he which had contemned the Popes commaundements, ſhoulde feare the reuerence of the general councell. I could recite an infinite nũber of witneſſes for that purpoſe, the which all tende vnto one ende: but this one teſtimony of the Councell of Conſtance ſhall ſuffice for them all, wherein it is ſayde that not onely the Pope in the correction of his brother is remitted vnto the Councell, when as he can not correct him of hym ſelfe: but alſo when as any thing is done as touchyng the correction of the Pope himſelfe, the matter ought to be referred to the councel. Wherby it appeareth our interpretation to be moſt true, which doth expound the Church to be in the generall Councell. Hereupon the Actes of the Apoſtles, the Congregations whych were then holden, were called the Church. Alſo in the councell of Nice and in other

The councell of Conſtance decreeth the Pope to be vnder the Councell.

The actes of the Apoſtles, The councell of Nice.

The title of the Councels.

The conſtitutions of the B. of Rome are not the lawes of the church.

Councels, whē as any man ſhuld be excommunicated, alwayes, in a maner, thys ſentence was adioyned: Hunc excommunicat Catholica & Apoſtolica Eccleſia. The Catholicke and Apoſtolicke Church doth excommunicate thys man. And heereuppon that title is geuen vnto the Councelles, whereby we do ſay, that the generall Councell doth repreſent the vniuerſall Church. Wherefore the lawes and decrees of the Councell are called the lawes of the Churche, for that the Church doth not ſet forth any lawes in any other place, then in the general councell: except we will call the Popes cōſtitutions the lawes of the church, which can not be properly ſaid but of the Councel: whereas, albeit all thoſe which are of the church do not aſſemble and come together, yet the moſt part of them are accuſtomed to be there preſent, and in thoſe whiche come, the whole power of the Church doth conſiſt: whereupon we read in the Acts of the Apoſtles: It pleaſed the Apoſtles and Elders with all the Church. For albeit that al the faithfull were not there preſent (becauſe a great nūber of them remained at Antioche) yet notwithſtanding it was called the whole Church, becauſe the whole power of the Church conſiſted in the cōſcell. Thus for this preſent it is ſufficient that we vnderſtand by the Church the generall Councell.

By the church the councell is vnderſtand.

And nowe to returne vnto our purpoſe, lette vs heare what our Sauiour ſayeth vnto Peter: If thy brother doe offend againſt thee, vnto this text folowing, tell it vnto the church: and let vs vnderſtand the Councel by the Church. Who is greater in thys place, hee whych is ſent vnto the Councel, or the Councel whereunto Peter was ſent? The verity doth remit the Byſhop of Rome vnto the generall Cōſcell. And why ſo? verely becauſe the biſhops of Rome ſhould not diſdaine to acknowledge ſome power in earth, to be aboue them, the which they ſhould conſult withall in matters of importaunce, and agree vnto the determinations thereof. Whereupon Peter is alſo called by an other name Symon, the which, as Rabanus in hys Homilies wryteth, is interpreted in the Hebrew tounge, obedience, that all men might vnderſtande obedience to be neceſſary, euen in the Biſhop of Rome.

Simons obedience neceſſary in the Byſhops of Rome.

The fauourers and mainteiners of the pope goe about to mainteine & preferre the pleaſure & profit of one before a common commoditie.

The authority of the Councel of Conſtance might ſuffice vs in this poynte, but we thinke it good to ſtay a little vpon thys matter, & to leaue no place open for our aduerſaries: which, whileſt they goe about to maintaine the vnſatiable wilfulnes of one man, preferring a priuate wealth before a commō commodity, is it incredible how great errors they doe ſtirre vp. Againſt the which, beſides many other, Zacharias biſhop of Chalcedon, a man both famous and eloquent, did earneſtly ſtriue: who in the great and ſacred Synode of Chalcedon, when as the ſentence of the B. of Rome was obiected vnto him, that the Canon of Pope Nicholas and other Patriarkes was aboue the Councell, he replied againſt it. And Zoſimus the Pope ſayth thus as touching the decrees of the general Councel: the authority of this ſeat cannot make or alter any thing contrary to the decrees of the fathers. Neither doth he heare ſpeake of the decrees of the fathers, which are diſperſed abroad in cities or wilderneſſe, for they do not binde the Pope: but of them which are made and publiſhed by the fathers in the generall Councel. For the more manifeſt declaration whereof, the words of pope Leo the moſt eloquent of all the biſhops of Rome, are here to be annexed, who wrote vnto Anatholius, that the decrees of the Councel of Nice are in no part to be violate and broken: thereby (as it were) excluding himſelfe and the high Patriarke.

The authoritie alſo of Damaſus vppon thys ſentence, is more manifeſt, wryting vnto Aurelius the Archbiſh. as Iſidorus declareth in the booke of Councels, whoſe worthy ſaying as touching the authority of the ſynode is thys: That they which are not cōpelled of neceſſity, but of theyr owne wil either frowardly do any thing, either preſume to do any thing, or willingly conſent vnto thoſe which wold do any thing contrary and againſt the ſacred Canons, they are worthely thought and iudged to blaſpheme the holy ghoſt. Of the which blaſphemy, whether Gabriel whyche calleth himſelfe Eugenius, be preſently partaker, let them iudge which haue heard him ſay, that it is ſo farre from his office and duety to obey the general Councels, that he ſaith he doeth then beſt merite and deſerue, when as he contemneth the decrees of the Cōſcel. Damaſus addeth yet moreouer. For this purpoſe, ſayeth he, the rules of the ſacred canons, which are conſecrated by the ſpirite of God and the reuerence of the whole world, are faithfully to be knowne and vnderſtand of vs, and diligently looked vpon, that by no meanes, wythout a neceſſitye which cannot be eſchued (which God forbid) we do tranſgreſſe of the decrees of the holy fathers. Notwithſtanding, we daily ſee in al the Popes Bulles and letters, theſe wordes Non obſtante, that is to ſay: notwithſtanding: which no other neceſſitie hath brought in, then onely vnſatiable deſire of gathering of mony. But let them take heede to theſe things whych be the authours thereof.

The pope can abide no generall Councels.

Non obſtante in the Popes Bulles.

The councel to be aboue the pope.

But nowe to returne againe vnto Damaſus, mention is made in the Epiſtles of Ambroſe biſhop of Millaine of a certaine Epiſtle which is ſaid to be writtē by Damaſus, vnto the iudges deputed by the Councel of Capua, where he declareth that it is not his office, to meddle wt any matter which hath ben before the Councell. By the which ſaying he doth manifeſtly reproue all thoſe which affirme and ſay the Byſhop of Rome to be aboue the Councell. The which if it were true, Damaſus might haue taken into his handes the cauſe of Bonoſius the Byſhop to determine, which was before begon by the Councell: but for ſomuche as the Councell is aboue the Pope, Damaſus knewe hym ſelf to be prohibited. Whereupon Hilarius alſo acknowledging the Sinode to be aboue him, would haue his decrees confirmed by the Councell. Alſo the famous Doctour S. Auguſtine in his Epiſtle whych hee did wryte vnto Glorius & Eleuſius, and Felix the Gramarian, declareth the caſe. Cecilianus the Byſhoppe, was accuſed by Donatus, wyth others. Melchiades the pope with certaine other biſhops abſolued Cecilian and confirmed him in hys biſhopricke. They being moued wyth thoſe doinges, made a ſchiſme in the partes of Africa. S. Auguſtine reproueth them, which hauing an other remedy againſt the ſentence of ẏ Pope, did raiſe a ſchiſme, and doth inuey againſt them in this maner. Behold, let vs thinke thoſe Biſhops which gaue iudgemēt at Rome, not to haue ben good iudges: ther remained yet the iudgemēt of the vniuerſall church, where as the cauſe might haue ben pleaded euen with the iudges themſelues, ſo that if they were conuict not to haue geuen iuſt iudgement, their ſentence might be broken.

The full iudgemēt of the church is not to be found, but in the generall Councel.

Wherby it appeareth, that not only the ſentence of the Pope alone, but alſo the Pope wyth hys Byſhops ioyned with him, might be made fruſtrate by the Councell: for the full iudgement of the vniuerſall Church is not founde els where, then in the generall Councell. Let not any manne doubt, in that S. Auguſtine ſeemeth here onely to ſpeake of Byſhops: for if the text of hys Epiſtle be read ouer, hee ſhall finde the Byſhoppe of Rome to be comprehended amongſt the other Biſhops. It was alſo prohibited by the councels of Africa, that the Biſhops of Rome ſhoulde not receiue or heare the appeales of any which did appeale frō the Councell: whych altogether declare the ſuperioritie of the Cōſcell. And this appeareth more plainly in the Actes of the Apoſtles, where as Peter is rebuked by the congregation of the Apoſtles, becauſe he went in to Cornelius a Heathen man, as if it had not bene lawfull for him to attempt any great matter wout the knowledge of the congregation: and yet it was ſaid vnto him as wel as others. Ite & Baptizate &c. Go & baptiſe. But this ſeemeth to make more vnto the purpoſe, which S. Paule wryteth vnto the Galathians, whereas he ſayth, he reſiſted Peter euen vnto his face, becauſe he did not walke according to the verity of the Goſpell. Which words if they be wel vnderſtand, ſignifie none other thing by the veritie of the Goſpel, then the Canon of the Councel decreed amongeſt the Apoſtles: for the Diſciples being gathered together, had ſo determined it. Whereupon S. Paule doth ſhew, that Peter ought to haue obeyed the generall Councell.

No appeale to be made frō the cōſcel to the P.

Acts 13.

Gal. 2.

Peter conſtrayned to obey the generall councell.

The decree of the councel of Conſtance.

The pope bound vnder the obedience of the generall Councel.

But nowe to finiſh thys diſputation, we will here adioyne the determination of the Councell of Conſtance, the which Councell aforeſayd, willing to cut off al ambiguitie and doubts, and to prouide a certain order of liuing, declared by a ſolemne decree that all men, of what eſtate or condition ſo euer they were, yea although ẏ they were Popes themſelues, be bound vnder the obedience and ordinances of the ſacred generall Councels. And although there be a certaine reſtraint, where as it is ſayde, in ſuche thinges as pertaine vnto the faith, the extirpation of ſchiſme, and the reformation of the Churche, as well in the heade as in the members: notwithſtanding thys amplificatiue clauſe whych is adioyned, is to be noted, Et in pertinentibus ad ea, that is to ſay, withall the appertenauntes. The which addition is ſo large, that it containeth all thinges in it, whych may be imagined or thought. For the Lord ſaid thus vnto hys Apoſtles, goe ye forth and teach all people. He did not ſay in three poynts onely, but teach them to obſerue and keepe al thinges what ſoeuer I haue commaunded you. And in an other place he ſayeth, not thys or that, but whatſoeuer yee ſhal binde. &c. which altogether are alledged for the authority of the Church and generall Councels. For the preferment whereof, theſe things alſo come in place. He that heareth you, heareth me. And againe: It is geuen vnto you to knowe the myſteries of God. Alſo where 2, or 3. bee ga-

Diuers places rehearſed out of the Goſpels and Apoſtles, for authoritie of the Church and generall councels aboue the Pope.

thered in my name. &c. Againe, whatſoeuer yee ſhall aſke. &c. O holy father, ſaue them whom thou haſt geuen me. &c. And I wil be with them euen vnto the ende of the worlde. Alſo out of S. Paul theſe places are gathered. we are helpers of God. &c. which hath made vs apt miniſters of the new Teſtament. &c. And he appoynted ſome Apoſtles and ſome Prophetes. &c. In all which places both Chriſt and the Apoſtles ſpake of the authority of many, which altogether are alledged for the authority of ẏ vniuerſall Church.

Weightie matters intreated but onely in generall councels.

But for ſomuche as that Churche being diſperſed and ſcattered abroad, can not decree or ordaine any thing: therfore of neceſſity it is to be ſaid, that the chiefe and principall authority of the church, doth conſiſt in the generall Councels, where as they aſſemble together. And therfore it was obſerued in the primatiue Church, that hard and waightie matters were not intreated vpon, but onely in the general councels & congregations. The ſame is alſo founde to be obſerued afterward. For when as the churches were deuided, general councels were holden. And in the Councel of Nice, we do finde the hereſie of Arrius condemned. In the Councel of Conſtantinople the hereſy of Macedonius. In the Councell of Epheſus, the hereſye of Neſtorius. In the Councell of Chalcedon, the hereſies of Eutichius were alſo condemned: for ſomuch as they thought the iudgement of the biſhop of Rome, not to ſuffice to ſo great, & waighty matter, and alſo they thought, the ſentence of the Councell to be of greater force, then the ſentence of the Pope, for ſomuch as he might erre as a man, but the Councell, wherein ſo many mē were gathered together, being guided with the holy ghoſt, could not erre. Alſo it is a very excellēt ſaying of Martianus the Emperour, which ſerueth for that purpoſe, whoſe wordes are theſe: Truely he is to be coūted a wicked and ſacrilegious perſon, which after the ſentence of ſo many good and holy men, wil ſticke to withdraw any part of his opinion. For it is a poynt of meere madneſſe, at the noone time & faire day light, to ſeeke for a fained lighte: for he which hauing found the truth, ſeketh to diſcuſſe any thing further, ſeeketh but after vanities and lies.

The Pope not ſufficient of him ſelfe to conuince or iudge heretickes.
The pope may erre.

Whether the pope may be depoſed by the councell or not.

Now I thinke it is euident inough vnto all men, that the biſhop of Rome is vnder the Councell. Notwithſtanding ſome do yet ſtill doubt, whether he may alſo be depoſed by the Councel or not: For albeit it be proued that he is vnder the Councell, yet for all that, will they not graunt, that hee may be alſo depoſed by the Councell. wherefore, it ſhall be no digreſſing at all from our purpoſe, ſomewhat to ſay vpō that matter: and firſt of all, to ſpeake of theſe railers, which are yet ſo earneſt for the defence of the Byſhop of Rome: which being vanquiſhed in one battaile, ſtill renew an other, and cōtend rather of obſtinacie then of ignoraunce. They would haue here recited againe, that whych we haue before ſpoken, as touching the preeminence of the Biſhop of Rome, or the Patriarcke. And as there are many of thē more ful of wordes then eloquent, they ſtay much of this poynt, where as Chriſt ſayd vnto Peter: Tibi dabo claues regni cœlorum. I wil geue thee the keies of the kingdom of heauen, & what ſoeuer thou ſhalt binde vpon earth ſhalbe bounde in heauen: as though by thoſe wordes, hee ſhould be made head ouer ẏ other. And againe they do amplify it by this: Paſce oues meas: Feede my ſheepe, whyche they do not finde to be ſpoken to any other of the apoſtles. And becauſe it is ſayde that Peter was the chiefe and the mouth of the Apoſtles, therefore they iudge it well ſpoken, that no man ſhall iudge the chiefe and principall ſea: being all of thys opinion with Boniface, which ſayde ẏ the Pope ought to be iudged for no cauſe except he bee perceyued or knowen to ſwarue from the faith, although he do cary innumerable people with him, headlong into hel, there to be perpetually tormented: as though hee coulde not open the kingdome of heauen to others, if any other could ſhut it againſt him, neither that he could feede other, if hee himſelfe lacked paſture.

The places, Tibi dabo claues regni cœlorum. Paſce oues meas, make nothing for the popes ſupremacye.

The Popes ſupremacie confuted,

But we count theſe as things of no force or difficulty. For S. Auguſtine in the Sermon of the natiuity of Peter and Paule, ſayeth in this wiſe: Our Lorde Ieſus Chriſte before hys Paſſion, choſe hys diſciples (as yee doe knowe) whom he called brethren. Amongeſt thoſe, Peter alone almoſt in euery place repreſented the perſon of the Church, & therefore it was ſayde vnto him, Tibi dabo claues regni cœlorum That is to ſay. Vnto thee will I geue the keyes of the kingdome of heauen. Theſe keies did he not receiue as one man, but as one he receiued them for the Church. And in an other place, where hee wryteth of the Chriſtian agony, he ſayth: the keyes of the kingdome of heauen were geuen vnto the churche: when as they were geuen vnto Peter: And when as it was ſpoken vnto him: Amas me? Paſce oues meas. That is to ſay. Loueſt thou me? feede my ſheepe: it was ſpoken vnto them all. And S. Ambroſe in ẏ beginning of his paſtorall, ſayth which ſheepe and which flocke, the bleſſed Apoſtle S. Peter tooke not charge of alone, but together with vs, and we altogether with him. By which wordes the foundation and principall arguments of thoſe flatterers, are vtterly ſubuerted and ouerthrowen. For if Peter repreſented the perſon of the Church, we ought not to aſcribe the force of theſe words vnto Peter, but vnto the Church. Neither do I ſee how that can ſtand, whych Boniface doth affirme, for it is farre diſtant from the truth, except it be vnderſtand otherwiſe then it is ſpoken.

Peter repreſenteth the perſon of the church, and not of the Pope.
The keyes geuē to the church and not to one man.

Pope Boniface erreth.

But it may peraduenture ſeeme a great thynge vnto ſome, that it is ſayd, the Byſhop of Rome to be the head of the Militant Churche. For, as in the body of man, Phiſitions do neuer geue councell to cut of the head for any maner of ſicknes & diſeaſe, although it be neuer ſo full of vlcers or infected: ſo in this myſticall body of the church, the head ought alwayes to be kept: and albeit it be neuer ſo wicked, yet is it to be ſuffered and borne withall. But now conuert this argument. If it were poſſible in ẏ body of man, when one hed is taken away, to find an other to put in his place, as we ſee it may be done in the Church, ſhould not heades then be oftentimes chaunged for diuers diſeaſes? Moreouer, if we will thus reaſon, that the head of the church ſhuld be in reſpecte of his body, as the head of man in reſpecte of the body of man: then doeth it neceſſarily followe that the head being dead the body muſt alſo die, as is manifeſt in ẏ body of man: So ſhould it grow into an abſurditie to confeſſe that the Pope being dead, the Church alſo ſhoulde bee dead: the which how farre it diſſenteth from the truth, it is moſt manifeſt. Therfore what ſoeuer other men ſay, I am not of opinion wyth them, whych affirme the Biſhoppe of Rome to be head of the Church, except peraduenture they doe make hym the miniſteriall head: for we doe reade that Chriſt is the heade of the Churche and not the Pope: and that he is the true head immutable, perpetuall, and euerlaſting, and the Church is his body, whereof the Pope hymſelfe is alſo a member and the vicare of Chriſte, not to the deſtruction but to the maintenaunce & edifying of the ſame body of Chriſt. wherefore, if he be founde a damnable deſtroyer of the Churche, he may be depoſed and caſt out, becauſe he doth not ẏ he was ordeined to doe: and we ought, as Pope Leo ſayeth, to be mindeful of the commaundement geuen vs in the Goſpell: that if our eye, our foote, or oure right hand, do offend vs, it ſhould be cut of from the body. For the Lorde ſayeth in an other place: Euery tree whych bringeth not forth fruite, ſhall be cut downe and caſte into the fire. And in an other place alſo it is ſayde vnto vs: take away all euill and wickedneſſe from among you. It is very iuſt and true, whiche is wrytten in the Epiſtle of Clement vnto Iames the brother of our Lorde, that he whych will be ſaued, ought to be ſeparate from them whych will not be ſaued.

The B. of Rome vnproperly called the head of the Church.

They dote which ſay that the pope cannot be depoſed for any other cauſe then for hereſie.

But for the more manifeſt declaration hereof, we muſt haue recourſe to that which is ſpoken by the Lorde, in the Goſpell of Iohn: I am the true vine ſayth the Lorde, and my father is the huſbandman, and ye are the braunches: euery braunch therfore that bryngeth not forth fruite in me, my father wil cut off. Theſe wordes were ſpoken vnto the Apoſtles, amongſt whom alſo Peter was preſent, whome ẏ Lord wold haue cut off, if he brought not forth his fruit. Alſo S. Hierome vpon theſe wordes of Mathewe: Vnſauery ſalte is profitable for nothing, but to be caſt forth and troden of ſwine. whereuppon in the perſone of Peter and Paule, he ſayth thus: It is no eaſie matter to ſtande in the place of Peter and Paule, and to keepe the chaire of them which raigne with Chriſt. This vnſauery ſalte, that is to ſay a fooliſh Prelate, vnſauery in preaching, and fooliſh in offending, is good for nothing, but to be caſt foorthe, that is to ſay depoſed, and to be troden of ſwine, that is of wicked ſpirits, which haue dominion ouer the wicked and naughty Prelates, as their owne flocke and herde. Beholde, thys teſtimonie of Hierome is plaine and euident. Let hym be caſt out ſayth he.

Fruiteles braunches are to be cutt of.

If the pope be vnſauery ſalt, he is to be caſt away.

Hee expoundeth and ſpeaketh it of the Prelate, whych vſurpeth the place of Peter, and ſo conſequently of the byſhop of Rome, who being vnſauery in preaching, and fooliſh in offending, oughte to be depoſed (as Hierome affirmeth) from hys degree and dignitie. Neyther as ſome doe dreame, is he to be depoſed for hereſie only. Iſidorus in the booke of Councels, rehearſeth a certain epiſtle of Clement the ſucceſſour of Peter wrytten vnto Iames the Apoſtle, wheras the ſaid Clement referring ẏ words of Peter vnto himſelfe, ſayeth thus: If thou be occupied wyth worldly cares, thou ſhalt both deceiue thy ſelfe, & thoſe which ſhall geue eare vnto thee: for thou canſt not fully diſtribute vnto euery man, thoſe thinges which pertaine vnto ſaluation:

A note for all naughty prelats.

The wordes of Peter to Clement.

whereby it ſhall come to paſſe, that thou as a man for not teaching thoſe things which pertaine vnto ſaluation, ſhalt be depoſed, & thy diſciples ſhall periſh through ignorance. Notwithſtanding in an other place, in ſtead of this word depoſed, it is found thou ſhalt be puniſhed: which 2. wordes, if they be wel vnderſtode, do not much differ, for depoſition is oftẽtimes vſed in the place of puniſhment. But peraduenture ſome wil here obiect, that this Epiſtle is not to be iudged Clements, becauſe it is ſayd to be wrytten vnto Iames, who as the Eccleſiaſticall hyſtory affirmeth, was deade before that Peter was put to death. But Clement might thinke that Iames was aliue when as hee wrote: whych were farre diſtant a ſunder, and meſſengers of the chriſtians, came not often vnto Rome. Moreouer, there is mẽtion made of thys Epiſtle in diuers places of the decretals, as moſt true, and therfore it ſhalbe nothing from the purpoſe, to rehearſe other ſayings out of the ſame Epiſtle, where he ſayth, that he which liueth rebelliouſly, and refuſeth both to learne and to doe good, is rather a member of the deuill, then of Chriſt, and doth ſhew himſelfe rather to be an infidel, then a faithful Chriſtian. Upõ which words, the gloſe which Panormitane calleth ſingular, & is muche allowed, ſayeth, that if the crime or offence of the biſhop of Rome be notorious, wherby the Church is offended, if he be incorrigible, he may be accuſed therof. If then he may be accuſed, Ergo alſo he may be puniſhed, and according to the exigent of the fault depoſed: Otherwiſe he ſhould be accuſed in vaine.

The epiſtle of Clement to Iames doubted.

The pope may and ought to be both accuſed & puniſhed for ill doing.

Now is there no more any place of defence left for our aduerſaries, but that the Pope may be depoſed: Notwithſtanding it is not yet euident whether hee may be depoſed by ẏ councel or no, which we now take in hãd to diſcours. And firſt of all, the aduerſaries will graunt thys vnto vs, that the Biſhop of Rome may be depoſed by the Church, forſomuch as the Pope being the vicare of the Church, no man doubteth, but that a Lorde may put out his vicare at his wil & pleaſure, neither is to be douted but that ẏ Pope is more truly called the vicare of the church, then of chriſt. But if the church may depoſe the pope: Ergo the coũcel alſo may do the ſame. Alſo the gloſe which Panormitane in his wryting doth ſo greatly commend, hath this ſentence: that the general coũcel is iudge ouer the pope in al caſes. Likewiſe the moſt ſacred Synode of Conſtantinople, whych is allowed of all men, doth appoynt the biſhops of Rome to be vnder the iudgement of the councel: and the councell to iudge and determine of euery doutfull matter or queſtion that doeth ariſe, concerning the biſhop of Rome. Neither let any mã doubt hereof, becauſe this worde depoſition is not mentioned: for it is ſayde, of euery doutfull matter or queſtion: For if the Synode do iudge of euery doubt: Ergo it ſhall alſo iudge, whether the pope ſhalbe depoſed or no: for that may alſo come in doute. And becauſe we will not ſeeke examples farre of, Iohn 23. whom all the world dyd reuerence, was depoſed of his Papacie by the Councell of Conſtance. Neither yet was he cõdemned for any hereſy: but becauſe he did offend the Church by his manifolde crimes, the ſacred Synode thought good to depoſe him: and euer ſince continually, the church hath proceded by like example, that their opinion might ceaſe, which affirme that the Pope cannot be depoſed but onely for hereſy.

Whether the pope may be depoſed by the counſell or no.

The pope is rather to be called the vicar of the Church, then of Chriſt.

Pope Iohn 23. depoſed and yet for no hereſie.

But heere is yet one thing not to be omitted, that certaine men do affirme the general Councels to be of no effect, except the Pope do cal and appoynt them, and his authoritie remaine with them. Wherupon they ſaid that Dioſcorus did rebuke Paſchaſius the biſhop of Cicill, and legate of Pope Leo, becauſe that hee did enterpriſe wythout the authoritie of the Apoſtolicke Sea, to call a Councell at Epheſus. They alſo alledge an other teſtimony of the Sinode of Chalcedone: wheras, when mention was made of the Councel of Epheſus, al the Biſhops cried out, ſaying: we ought not to call it a Councell, becauſe it was neyther gathered by the apoſtolike authority, neither rightly kept. By the which authorities, they which ſay that the Councels cannot be holden without the conſent of the Pope, do thinke themſelues marueilouſly armed. Whoſe ſentence & opinion, if it take place and preuaile as they deſire, it ſhall bring with it the great ruine and decay of the Church. For what remedy ſhall we finde, if that a wicked Pope doe diſturbe the whole Church, deſtroy ſoules, ſeduce the people by his euil examples, if finally he preach contrary vnto the faith and fill the people full of hereſies, ſhal we prouide no ſtay or ſtoppe for him? Shall we ſuffer all things to runne to ruine and decay with him? Who woulde thinke that the biſhop of Rome would cõgregate a councell for hys owne correction or depoſition? for as men are prone vnto ſinne, ſo would they alſo ſinne wythout puniſhment. But when as I do peruſe ancient hyſtories, and the Acts of the Apoſtles, I do not finde this order, that councels ſhould be gathered only at the will of the Pope: for the firſt Councel of all, after that Mathias was ſubſtitute in the place of Iudas, was not congregate at the commandement of Peter, but at the commandement of Chriſt, who commanded the Apoſtles that they ſhould not depart from Ieruſalem, but looke for the promiſe of the father.

Whether councells may be cõgregated without the authority of the Pope.

They erre that ſay the Pope ought onely to appoint the councells. Marke wherefore the popes will haue no generall coũcell.

The firſt councell of the apoſtles.

The ſeconde Councell as touching the election of the deacons, Peter alone did not congregate, but the 12. Apoſtles: for it is wrytten. The 12. Apoſtles calling together the multitude. &c.

The 2. coũcell of the Apoſtles.

The thirde Councell, whych was holden as touching the taking away of circumciſion & other ceremonies of the lawe, was gathered together by a generall inſpiration: for it is written: The Apoſtles and Elders came together. &c.

The 3. coũcell of the Apoſtles.

The fourth Councell, whereas certaine thyngs contained in the law are permitted, ſeemeth to be gathered by Iames, & ſo diſcourſing throughout all, there can nothing be founde in the primatiue Church, whereby it ſhould appeare ẏ the authority of congregating of Councels ſhould pertaine onely vnto Biſhoppes of Rome. Neither afterwards in the time of Conſtantinus Magnus, and other Emperours, was the conſent of the biſhops of Rome greatly required to the congregating of Councels, and therefore it is wrytten thus of the Synode of Chalcedon: The ſacred and vniuerſall Synode gathered together at Chalcedone the chiefe Citie of the prouince of Bethunia, according vnto the grace of God, & the ſanctions of the moſt godly and Chriſtian Emperours Ualentinian and Martian, doeth not make any mention of the Byſhop of Rome, although hys conſent were there.

The 4. coũcell of the Apoſtles.

Generall councells in tymes paſt cõgregated by Emperours & not by popes.

Wherfore, if the pope would reſiſt, and would haue no Councell congregate, yet if the greater part of the Church do iudge it neceſſary to haue a Councel, the Councell may be congregate whether the Pope wil or no. The Councel holden at Piſa, was not congregate by the authoritie and conſent of any Pope, when as Gregorie did condemne it, and Benedict curſed it. The ſame alſo may be ſayde of the Coũcel of Conſtance, whych was aſſembled by the authority of Pope Iohn, who in reſpect of the Spaniardes was no true Pope. And if the Councell of Piſa were no true Councell, Pope Iohn was no true Pope: wherupon his conſent to the congregating of the Councel of Conſtance, was of no effect. Moreouer it is more then folly to affirme, that when the pope hath once geuen his conſent, if it ſhuld be called backe, that the Councel ſhould then ceaſe, for then it is no more in his power to reuoke his cõſent: And of neceſſity he muſt be obedient vnto the Councel, wherof he is a member, and geue place vnto the greater part: and if hee ſeparate himſelfe from the conſent of the greater part, and depart from the vnity of the Church, he maketh himſelfe a Schiſmaticke.

If the greater part of the Church do conſent, a councell may be holdẽ whether the Pope will or no.

How the Pope is a Schiſmaticke.

Now, to come vnto the ſecond concluſion, if it be true, as it is in deede, that the Pope is vnder the Councell, how can the Pope then diſſolue, alter and tranſporte the Councell, againſt the will of the ſame? For wyth what countenance can we ſay, that the inferior hath power ouer the ſuperior? How can the Synode correct the Pope, if the Pope may diſſolue the Synode contrary to the will thereof? Admit that the Pope be libidinous, couetous, a ſower of war and diſcorde, and a moſt mortall enemie vnto the Church, and the name of Chriſt, how can the Councel reprone him, if he haue authority to diſſolue the Councel? For aſſoone as euer that the biſhop of Rome ſhall vnderſtande that in the Councell they doe intreat or talke of his correction or puniſhment, ſtraightwaies he wil ſeke remedy by diſſoluing the Councel. For as Macrobius ſayth: he that hath liberty to do more then is fit or neceſſary, wil oftentimes do more then is lawfull. If ſo be that the Biſhop of Rome may exempt himſelf from correction by diſſoluing or tranſporting the Councell, it followeth that the Councell is not aboue him. Therfore we muſt either deny that which is aforſaid, that the Pope is vnder the Councell, or els deny that the Pope hath power to diſſolue the Councell, contrary to the will and determination of the Councell.

The Pope can not diſſolue a generall councell againſt the will of the ſame.

The ſaying of Macrobius.

And as this firſt concluſion is moſt true, ſo are al other concluſiõs falſe, which ſeeme to impugne the ſame. Wherfore ths ſeconde concluſion of the diuines is alſo manifeſt: albeit that ſome doe admit it in certaine caſes, and in other ſome exclude it agaime. For if we do admit, that for certain cauſes the Pope may diſſolue the Councel contrary to the will and determination thereof, that is to ſay, to make the Pope iudge of the Councell, it were cleane contrary vnto the firſt concluſion.

Whether the pope in certaine caſes may diſſolue the councell.

Now it is proued that ẏ Councell is aboue the Pope, & can not be diſſolued by the Pope wythout conſent thereof. Nowe we muſt further ſee, whether it be an Article of our faith to beleeue it: which matter hath reſpect vnto the third concluſion. For there haue bene many, which all beit they did confeſſe theſe two concluſions to be true, yet they doubted whether it were a veritie of the Catholicke fayth or no. Therefore this ſecond part muſt be confirmed. And we muſt ſee whether it be an article of faith that the Pope be vnder the councel. which being proued, it ſhall alſo appeare to be an article of faith, that the pope can not diſſolue the councell without the conſent therof. which conſequent none of the contrary part hath refuted. Firſt of al therefore we muſt inquire what faith is, that wee may thereby the better vnderſtand, what pertaineth thereunto.

The definition of faith

Faith, as the Diuines do define it, is a firme and ſtedfaſt cleauing vnto things, beleued by the authority of hym that ſpeaketh. If then we beleeue as is aforeſayde, that the Pope of Rome is vnder the councell, ſome authority doth moue vs therunto: ſo is it the faith of him which beleeueth it: but the queſtion is not whether it be an Article of faith onely, but whether it be an Article of the Catholike faith. wherefore we muſt againe enquire what the Catholicke faith is. This word catholike is a Greke word, and ſignifieth vniuerſal. The catholike faith, that is to ſay ẏ vniuerſal faith, is not ſo called becauſe that euery man holdeth it, but becauſe euery man ought to beleeue it. For all men doe not beleue that God is incarnate, but euery man ought ſo to beleue. And albeit ẏ many be againſt this faith, yet doth it not ceaſe to be vniuerſall. For what wryteth the Apoſtle vnto the Romains? If ſome of them hath not beleued, doth their miſbeliefe make the faith of God vaine? God forbid. Verely God is true, but euery man is a lyer. Therefore to beleue that the pope is vnder the councell, is a poynt of the Catholike faith, although ſome thincke the contrary: for we are bound to beleeue it, for ſomuch as it is taken out of the Goſpell. For we are not bounde onely to beleeue thoſe things which are noted to vs in ẏ Crede, but alſo all thoſe things which are cõtained in the holy Scriptures, wherof we may not deny one iote. And thoſe things whych we alledge for the ſuperiority of the general Councel, are gathered out of the ſayings of our Sauiour Ieſu Chriſt, and the Epiſtles of S. Paule: Ergo, we are all bound to beleeue it. And to proue that theſe things are taken out of the goſpel, the councell of Conſtance doth witneſſe, the which groundeth his authority vpon theſe wordes: Dic Eccleſiæ, that is to ſay, tel it vnto the Church. And, where 2. or 3. are gathered together in my name. &c. And, whatſoeuer ye ſhal bind &c. with other ſuch like texts.

The definition of the catholicke faith.

Rom.3.

Catholicke what it is.

The councel of Cõſtance *Vid.ſupra. pag.650.*

Whereuppon Pope Martine the 4. being yet at Conſtance, vnder the licence of ẏ Councell, ſent out his bulles, which do recken vp the Articles, wherupon they ought to be examined, which had fallẽ into any hereſy, amongſt the which articles he putteth this article: whether hee doe beleue the ſacred generall Councel to haue power immediatly from God, and that the ordinances therof are to be receiued of all faithfull Chriſtians, which if any man would deny, he ſhould be counted an hereticke. wherefore, when as the ſacred Synode of Conſtance, doth ſet forth this verity, as touching the ſuperiority of the general Councell, what ſhould let but that we alſo ſhoulde confeſſe the ſame to be a verity of the Catholike faith? For the catholike church being congregate at Conſtance, receiued that faith, that is to ſay, beleued it by the authority of hym whych ſpake it, that is Chriſt and his Saintes.

The wordes of the councel of Chalcedõ, where by he is declared an hereticke that holdeth any opinion contrary to the councell.

To this purpoſe alſo ſerueth very well the wordes of the ſynode of Chalcedon written in this maner: It is not lawfull for hym that is condemned by the whole Synode to nominate any Byſhop. The determination pleaſeth all men. Thys is the faith of the fathers. He that holdeth any opinion contrary vnto this, is an hereticke. And againe it is a rule, that it is not lawfull to appeale from the elect and choſen Synode.

Marke the manifeſt witneſſe of this moſte ſacred Synode, which ſaid that he is an hereticke, which holdeth any opinion contrary vnto the Councell: But hee is no hereticke, except hee refuſe the Catholike faith: Ergo, it was the Catholicke faith to beleeue that it was not lawfull to appeale from the ſacred Councel. But howe was the ſame any poynt of the Catholike faith? Verely for ſomuch as the ſacred Synode peruſing ouer the holy Scriptures, hathe receiued thys concluſion out of the wordes of Chriſt and other holy fathers. And like as the Synode of Chalcedon tooke their concluſion out of the holy ſcriptures, ſo did the Councell of Conſtance, this which we now reaſon vpon. And like as the one is an Article of the Catholicke faithe, ſo is the other alſo. And he which holdeth any opinion cõtrary to either of both, is an hereticke.

Furthermore, they ſeeme vnto me to dreame and dote, which confeſſing them to be verities, wil not confeſſe them to be verities of faith. For if they be verities, I pray you wherof are they verities? Truely not of Grammer, much leſſe of Logike, and from Aſtronomy and Phiſicke they are farre diſtant. Neither is there any other man but a diuine, that will graunt this veritie, whome Scripture doth force vnto it of neceſſity, if he do beleeue Chriſt or his Apoſtles. Therefore this is a verity of the Catholicke faith which all men ought to embrace, and he which obſtinatly reſiſteth againſt the ſame, is to be iudged an hereticke, as the thirde concluſion doth affirm. Neither let any man thinke it hard or cruell, that he ſhould be called an hereticke which goeth about to derogate any thing frõ the power of the generall Councel, which is confirmed by ſo many teſtimonies and authorities. Alſo Panormitan alledgeth S. Hierome, ſaying: He which vnderſtandeth the ſcripture otherwiſe then the conſent of the holy Ghoſt doth require, albeit he do not depart from the Church, may be called an hereticke.

Panormitan is noted and verie well nipped by his owne ſuppoſition.

Tell the church that is to ſay, the generall councell.

Wherupon it foloweth that he which vpon the wordes of Chriſt ſaying vnto Peter, Dic Eccleſiæ. i. Tel it vnto the Church, doeth not vnderſtand by the Church the generall Councell, vnderſtandeth it otherwiſe then the ſenſe of the holy Ghoſt doth require, and there by may be noted as an hereticke. And to proue that the ſenſe of the holy Ghoſt is otherwiſe then he doth iudge it, the councell of Conſtance, doth declare: The which interpreting thoſe words, Dic Eccleſiæ. i. Tel it vnto the churche, ſpoken by the holy Ghoſte, vnderſtandeth them to be ſpoken of the generall councell. By theſe and many other waightier reaſons, the 3. aforeſaid concluſions, ſemed true vnto the Diuines, & thorough them they alſo allowed the reſidue.

Now haue we ſufficiẽtly ſayd, as touching that which was before promiſed: neither do I think any man now to be in doubt of theſe 3. firſt concluſions. Now to returne againe vnto our ſtorie, it is our purpoſe to declare thoſe thinges which happened after the concluſions of the Diuines: for there are many things worthy of remẽbraunce, which alſo may happely be profitable vnto the poſteritie.

When the diſputation was ended and a final concluſion of theſe matters euen at hand, the Archbiſh. of Millaine and Panormitane with the reſidue of their fellow ambaſſadors of the king of Arragon, and duke of Millain, armed themſelues with all their power to lette the matter, exhorting all men of their faction to withſtand it with ſtout and valiant ſtomackes.

The Byſhop of Burgen.

And firſt of all, aſſoone as the congregation was aſſembled together, the byſhop of Burgen exhorted them to deferre the concluſion, & to tary for the Ambaſſadors of other Princes, which would returne from Mentz.

Panormitanes oration.

After him Panormitane with a graue and Rhetoricall Oration, ſpake (in a maner) as followeth.

I haue (ſaide he) had a cõmaundement by the prophet, to cry without ceaſing: which prophet ſayd: Cry out, ceaſe not, lift vp thy voice as a trumpet. If that in any matter at any time before, hee ought to haue cried, this matter ſpecially which is now in hand lacketh crying and roaring out, when as the ſtate of the vniuerſal churche is intreated vpon, either to be preſerued, or vtterly ouerthrown: and that he hath cried ſo much in thys matter, that he doubted not, but the ſaying of Dauid was fulfilled in hym, where hee ſayeth: Laboraui clamans, raucæ ſunt factæ fauces meæ. I haue laboured, crying out, that my iawes are become horce.

Foure thinges to be conſidered in euery requeſt.

Notwythſtanding that he would both now, and as often as neede ſhould require, wythout ceaſing ſtill crie out, and ſpecially now in this moſt difficult and waighty matter: wherein hee required the ſacred Councell gentlely to heare both hym, and the Ambaſſadours of other Princes: adding moreouer foure thinges to be conſidered in all requeſtes made of any man. The which he alſo required the fathers now preſently, to marke & conſider. who it is that maketh the requeſt. what is required. why it ſhuld be required, and what effect woulde come by the requeſt eyther graunted, or denyed. As touching the firſt poynt he ſayde: The moſt noble kynges and excellent Princes wyth their prelates to be of great power: and then reconed vp ẏ kyng of Caſtill, the king of Arrogon, the Duke of Millaine, and the Byſhops of the ſame Princes, rehearſing alſo the merites & good deedes of the ſayde kings, & alſo of the duke of Millaine. But when as hee came to make mention of the prelates, he coulde not refraine himſelf, but began to wax ſomewhat hoate, ſaying that the greateſt number of Prelates were on his parte. For if the Byſhops and Abbotes were counted, it were not to be doubted, but the greateſt part of them would haue this preſent matter deferred: and forſomuch as the whole power of the councell doth conſiſt in the Biſhops, it is not to be ſuffered, that they being neglected and contẽned, that ſhould be concluded whych pleaſed the greater part of the inferiours: For the keyes (ſayde he) were geuen to the Apoſtles, & to their ſucceſſors which are the Byſhops: alſo, that there are three kindes of Synodes, Epiſcopall, Prouinciall, and Generall, and none of all theſe without Biſhops.

Panormitane would haue dignitie to be cõſidered in coũcell & not voices.

Wherfore the maner and order of the preſent Councell ſeemed vndecent, wheras thinges were not weyed according as men excell in dignitie, but by moſte voyces: Notwithſtanding according to yͤ moſt famous Epiſtle of Clement, the Byſhops were the pillers and keyes of heauen, and the inferiours had no determining voyce, but onely a conſultatiue voyce with them: wherefore there would be a great offence in thys behalfe, if a matter of faith ſhoulde be determined without the biſhops: in which matter not only the biſhoppes, but alſo the ſecular Princes ought to bee admitted. And for ſo much as they, in yͤ name of their princes, deſired to be admitted to the examination of thys preſent matter, and would examine the matter more fully, hee cõplained greatly how vnworthy a thing it was that they ſhould be contemned or deſpiſed.

Panormitane ſeemeth to delay the proces againſt the pope.

After many things ſpoken to this ende & effect, he paſſed ouer to the ſecond part of his Oration, declaring what it was yͭ he required: not gold, nor ſiluer, neither precious ſtones, neither prouinces nor kingdomes, neither a thing hard to be done: but that only the delay of the ſacred councell was required, & that the fathers would ſtay in the proceſſe againſt the Pope, and in the concluſion and determination of matters which are now in hand. Neither ſhuld the delay be long, but only vntil the returne of the Ambaſſadors from Mentz, whome he knew well would returne very ſhortly. That this was but a ſmall matter, and to be ſmall intreatie, becauſe there was no danger in it. And alſo it ſhuld ſeme iniurious, not to tary for the Ambaſſadors of the Princes which were then at Mentz, when as they were not abſent for their owne priuate commoditie, but about the affaires of the common wealth, and the commodity of peace: neither had he forgotten, yͭ at their departure they had deſired, that during their abſence, there ſhould be nothing renued concerning the matters of Eugenius.

The 3. part of Panormitans oration.

Then immediatly adioyning the third part of his Oration, wherfore this delay was required, he concluded, that it was not required for the priuate commoditie of any one man, but for a common wealth: not to cauſe any trouble or vnquietneſſe, but for the better examination of the matter, yͭ all things might paſſe with peace and quietnes, that the matter might be ſomuch the more firme and ſtable, by how much it is ratified & allowed by the conſent of many. And ſo he proceded to yͤ laſt part of his argument, requiring the fathers that they would conſider and wey in their mindes the effect that would follow, if they ſhould graunt or deny thys requeſt. For (ſayth he) if ye ſhall deny this ſmall petition of the Princes, they al wil be agreeued therewith, and take this repulſe in ill parte. They will ſay, they are contemned of you, neither will they be obedient vnto you, or receiue your decrees. In vaine ſhall ye make lawes except the Princes do execute them, and all your decrees ſhall be but vaine: yet woulde I thinke this to be borne wall, if I did not feare greater matters to enſue. What if they ſhuld ioyne themſelues with Eugenius, who not onely deſireth to ſpoyle you of your liuings, but alſo of your liues. Alas, what ſlaughter and murther doe the eyes of my minde behold and ſee? would God my opinion were but vain. But if you do graunt and conſent vnto their petitions, they wil thincke themſelues bounde vnto you: they wil receiue and embrace your decrees, and whatſoeuer you ſhal require of them ſhall be obtained. They will forſake your aduerſary, they will ſpeake euil of him and abhorre him: but you they wil commend and praiſe, you they will reuerẽce: vnto you they wil wholy ſubmit themſelues, and then ſhall followe that moſt excellent fruit of reformation and tranquillity of the church. And thus he required the matter to be reſpited on all partes. At the laſt he ſayde, that except the Ambaſſadors of yͤ Princes were heard, he had a proteſtation, wrytten, which he would commaund to be read before them all.

Perſuations of Panormitane.

The praiſe of Lodouicus the prothonotarie.

When Panormitan had made an ende of his Oration, Lodouicus the Prothonotary of Rome roſe vp, a man of ſuch ſingular wit and memory, that he was thought not to be inferior vnto any of the famous men afore time. In ſo much that he had alwaies in memory whatſoeuer hee had heard or red, and neuer forgate any thyng that he had ſene. This man firſt commending Panormitane, ſayde that he came but the day before from the baths, & that it ſemed vnto him a ſtrange thing which was now brought in queſtion: wherin he deſired to heare other mens minds, and alſo to be heard of others, and that thoſe prelates which were at Mentz ſhuld be taried for, to be preſent at the diſcuſſing of this matter, in the name and behalfe of their Princes, which prelates were men of great eſtimation, and the Orators of moſt mighty Princes.

Biſhops onely to haue determining voyce in councells.

He allowed alſo the ſaying of Panormitane touching the voices of the inferiors, that it ſeemeth not to be againſt the truth, that only Biſhops ſhould haue a deciding or determing voice in Councels. And all be it that ſome in thys diſputation doe thinke that, which is writtẽ in the 15. chapter of the Actes, to be their force or defence: notwythſtanding he was nothing moued therewith, nor tooke it to be of any effect, albeit it was ſayd: It ſeemed good vnto the holy Ghoſt and to vs, where as both the Apoſtles and the elders were gathered together: whereby it appeared: that yͤ others had a deciding voice wͭ the Apoſtles. For he ſayde, that there was no argument to be gathered of the Acts of the Apoſtles, whoſe examples were more to be meruailed at, then to be folowed: and that it doth not appeare there, yͭ the Apoſtles called the Elders of duety, but that it is onely declared that they were there preſent: whereupon nothing could be inferred. And that it ſemed vnto him, that the inferiours in the Councell of Baſill, were admitted to determine with the Biſhops but of grace and fauour onely, becauſe the Biſhops may communicate their authority vnto others. He alledged for teſtimony, the biſhop of Cancen, a man of great authority, who woulde not ſuffer any incorporation or felowſhip of the meaner ſort, and therfore, neither any inferiour, neither himſelfe, which as yet was not made Byſhop, to haue any deciding voyce in the councel. Wherefore, for ſomuch as the matter was waighty, which was nowe in hand, and that the Byſhops ſpake againſt it, he required the Councell that they would of neceſſitie ſtay and tary for the Ambaſſadours of the Princes comming from Mentz.

It is no maruell why he alleadged no more or better matter: for of noughty Lether no man can make a good ſhoe. And note here how God with draweth his giftes when men diſſemble & cloke the truthe.

His Oration was ſo much the more greeuous, in that many were touched with his wordes, and ſpecially in that poynt, that he ſaid, the apoſtles were not to be folowed: for that al men did impugne as a blaſphemy. But here a man may meruel, that a mã of ſuch excellency, alledged no more or better matter. But in this poynt the memory of the man is to be pardoned, which did not willingly ſpeake in thys matter, and deſired nothing ſomuch, as not to obtaine that which he intreated for. After him many other ſpake theyr minds, but al to this end that they might protract the time and deferre the concluſion of theſe matters.

Then Lodouicus the Cardinall Arelatenſis, a man of marueilous conſtancy, & borne for the gouernaunce of general councels, gathering together the wordes of all the orators, ſpake in this wiſe: Moſt reuerend fathers, this is no new or ſtrange buſines, nor begon to day or yeſterday. For it is now many wekes ago, ſince the concluſiõs were diſputed vppon amongſt the diuines, & ſent vnto Mentz, and to all other partes of the world. After thys, they were diſputed vpon 6. daies continually, and fully diſcuſſed, and after that not without great delay approued by the deputies, and as the truth ſeketh no corners, ſo all things were done publikely and openly. Neyther can any man pretend ignoraunce, neither are the Prelates or Princes contemned: For wee called all that were preſent at Baſill, and exhorted al yͤ reſt for to be preſent. And for ſomuch as mention is made of the moſt noble King of Caſtell: who is it that is ignoraunt, that the kings Orators were there preſent? The biſhop of Burgen and Ebrun, men of ſingulare learning and eloquence, and you alſo Panormitane youre ſelfe, which heere repreſent the perſon of the moſte famous King of Arragon, were twiſe preſent your ſelf in the chapter houſe, and diſputed twiſe moſt ſubtilly, and twiſe declared your minde, what you thought in that matter. What do you deſire any more? Alſo out of the territory of yͤ Duke of Millaine, there was preſent the Archbiſh. of Millaine, who albeit, he be no Ambaſſador, yet howe famous a Prelate he is, you are not ignorant. When he had ſpoken theſe words, the Archbiſhop being ſomewhat moued, ſayd vnto him. My Lord Cardinal, you ſupply the roume of a preſident no better, then I doe the place of a Dukes Oratour, and began to taunt him wyth many words. But the Cardinall, (as he was a man moſte pacient: and woulde not be prouoked to anger by no meanes) ſayd: this is it yͭ I euen now deſired. For if the Archb. be an Ambaſſador, then hath the Duke no cauſe to complaine, which had his Oratour preſent at the diſcuſſing of thoſe matters.

Truth ſeeketh no corners.

The patiẽce and anſwere of Arelatenſis.

I paſſe ouer other Princes, becauſe they doe not complaine. Notwythſtanding the moſt Chriſtian Kynge of Fraunce, had there the Byſhop of Lyons, a graue and ſober man, his Ambaſſadour at the diſputation. As for other princes, I ſee no cauſe why they ſhuld be taried for, which knowing the councel to be congregate for ſuch matters as pertaine vnto faith, do not thinke it abſurd, that the doutfull

full matters of fayth ſhoulde be declared in the Councell: whereunto, if they had bene willing to come, they would haue bene preſent or this.

Why this matter ſhould neede ſo much diſcuſſing, as ſome will haue, I doe not vnderſtand. For if I be wel remembred, Panormitane and alſo Ludouicus, haue oftentimes affirmed in this place, euē yͤ very ſame thing which the concluſions ſignifie. And if any of them now will go about to gaynſay it, it will happen vnto them, as it did vnto Didimus. To whom, when as on a tyme, hee repugned agaynſt a certayne hiſtorye, as vayne and friuolous, hys own book was deliuered vnto him, wherin the ſame was written: So likewiſe theſe two men (meaning Panormitane & Ludouicus the Prothonotary) Although they be excellently learned, & eloquent: yet may they be confuted by their owne writinges. Beſides this: there are Synodall Epiſtles and decrees of this Councell, whiche are full of ſuch cōcluſions. What is it then whereupon any difficultie can be rayſed? What is it that may be impugned? Shal we now bring that againe in doubt, whiche hath ſo often bene declared, affirmed, and decreed? But (ſay they) the princes & Ambaſſadours are abſent whiche are byſhops by whoſe preſence the decrees ſhould be of more authority. Wel, they are not onely abſent which are gone to Mentz: but almoſt an infinite number of others, diſperſed throughout yͤ whol world: whō if we ſhould tary to looke for, nothing at any tyme ſhould be decreed. They are al called vnto the councel: they might haue come if they would. To thoſe that are preſent power is geuen, and they ought to debate theſe matters. If any man will ſay, yͤ they which are abſent, are about the affayres of the common wealth: truely we ſent them not thither, but they went rather agaynſt the will of the Councell, then with the conſent therof.

Didimus reprehended that which was in his owne booke founde.

He meaneth Panormitane, and Lodouicus the Prothonotary.

And admit that they had bene ſent by the Councel: yet were not our power ſo much reſtrayned, but yͤ we might reforme the Church, for otherwiſe there ſhould neuer any thing be done in yͤ Councell: for ſomuch as alwayes ſome are ſent out by the Councell, and ſome are alwayes to be looked and taryed for, and therfore we muſt eyther do nothing at all, or ſende out no Prelates from the Councell. Where as he ſayd that Prelates and ſpecially Biſhops are cōtemned, that is moſt far from the truth, for they haue the chiefe and firſt places. They ſpeake firſt, and geue their voices firſt of all vnto all thinges: and if ſo be they do ſpeake learnedly and truely, all the inferiors without any gaynesaying, did ſoone follow their mynde.

Neither peraduenture ſhall it be founde vntrue, that there was neuer any Synode: which dyd more amplifie yͤ power & authoritie of Byſhops then this. For what haue the Byſhoppes bene in our dayes, but onely ſhadowes? Might they not well haue bene called ſhepheardes wͭout yͤ ſheep? What had they more thē their miter and their ſtaffe, when as they could determine nothing ouer their ſubiects Verely in the primitiue Church, the Byſhops had yͤ greateſt power & authoritie: but now was it come to yͤ poynt that they exceeded the cōmon ſort of prieſtes onely in theyr habite and reuenewes? But we haue reſtored them agayn to their old ſtate, we haue reduced the colation of benefices agayn vnto thē: we haue reſtored vnto thē yͤ confirmation of elections: we haue brought agayn the cauſes of the ſubiectes to be heard, into their handes: & haue made them biſhops which were none before. What cauſe is there then, yͤ the Byſhops ſhould ſay, they are contemned of the Councel? Or what iniurious thing haue we at anye time done vnto them? But Parnormitan ſayth, yͤ forſomuch as moſt biſhops are on hys parte, and few agaynſt hym, the concluſion is not to be determined by the multitude of the inferiours, but let Panormitan remember himſelf, that this is no new kinde of proceeding.

Marke, O ye Biſhops, the coūcell of Baſill contendeth for you and ye will not vnderſtād it.

This order of proceeding, the Councell ordeined from the beginning, neither hath it bene chaunged at any tyme ſince. And this order Panormitan, in times paſt hath pleaſed you well enough, when as the multitude did followe your minde. But now, becauſe they do not followe your mynd, they do diſpleaſe you. But the decrees of the Councels are not ſo mutable, as the wils of mē. Know ye moreouer, yͤ the very ſame biſhops which doe conſent with you in word and do not conſent wͭ you in minde, neither ſpake the ſame ſecretly, which they now do openly. They do fear that which you told them at home in their country, that except they would follow your minde, they ſhoulde diſpleaſe the king. They feare the power of the Prince, & to be ſpoyled of theyr temporalties: neither haue they free libertye to ſpeak as is requiſite in Councels. Albeit if they were true Biſhops, & true paſtors of ſoules, they woulde not doubt to put their liues in venture for their ſheepe, neither be afeard to ſhed their bloud for their mother the Church.

This was a true Cardinall: out of whoſe mouth the veritie did ſpeake, which feared not the threatnings of princes, neither ſought any worldly glory or dignitie.

But at this preſent (the more is the pittie) it is to rare to finde a Prelate in this world, whiche doth not preferre hys temporalties before hys ſpiritualties: wͭ the loue wherof, they are ſo withdrawne, that they ſtudy rather to pleaſe Princes then God, and confeſſe God in corners, but Princes they will opēly confeſſe. Of whome the Lord ſpeaketh in hys Goſpell. Euery one ſayth he, that confeſſeth me before men. I will confeſſe him before my father which is in heauen. And contrariwiſe the Lord will not confeſſe him before his father which is afeard to confeſſe the Lord before men. Neither is it true which Panormitan ſayth, moſt biſhops to be on hys part, for here are many byſhops proctors whō he doth not recken, becauſe they are not of his opinion. Neither is the dignities of the fathers, to be reſpected in the Councell, as he ſayth, but onely reaſon, nor anye thyng more to be looked for then the truth: neyther will I for my part, preferre a lye of any byſhop, be he neuer ſo rich before a veritie or truth of a poore prieſt. Neither ought a byſhop to diſdayne, if he be rude or vnlearned, yͤ the multitude doth not follow hym, or that yͤ voyce of a poore learned and eloquent prieſt ſhould be preferred before his. For wiſedome dwelleth oftner vnder a bare and ragged cloke, then in rich ornamentes and apparell.

Marke what worldly pompe, dignitie and wealth had brought the prelates to in thoſe dayes.

Note here the great godlynes & moſt chriſtian ſaying of this good Biſhop.

Truth many times dwelleth vnder the ragged cloke.

Steuen the firſt martir.

Wherfore I pray you my Lord byſhops, do not ſo much contēne your inferiours, for the firſt which dyed for Chriſt the which alſo opened vnto all other the way of Martyrdome, was no byſhop but onely a Leuite. As for yͤ whiche Ludouicus and Panormitane do allege touchyng yͤ voyces of Biſhops, I know not where they haue it. Wherfore I deſire them yͤ they would tell me, where they haue foūd it. But if we repeat the examples of old councels, we ſhall finde that the inferiours were alwayes preſent with yͤ Biſhops. And albeit that Ludouicus do forbid vs the examples of the apoſtles, I ſtay my ſelf moſt vpon their doings For what is more comely for vs to followe, then the doctrine & cuſtomes of the primitiue Church? It is ſayd therfore in the 15. chapter of the Acts of the Apoſtles, it ſeemed good vnto the holy ghoſt and to vs. The whiche word (to vs) is referred vnto them which are before named, the Apoſtles and the Elders. Neither this word, (it ſemed good) ſignifieth in this place conſultation, but deciſion and determination, whereby it appeareth, yͤ other beſide yͤ byſhops had determining voyces. In an other place alſo of the ſayd Actes, when as the apoſtles ſhoulde intreate vppon anye wayghty matter, they durſt not determine by themſelues, but the xii. called together the multitude.

Note the ſinceritie of this good Biſhop, which ſtayed himſelfe vpon the examples of the primitiue church, & not vpon cuſtomes & popes.

Here Ludouicus ſayth, yͤ it doeth not appeare yͤ the Apoſtles called other of neceſſitie: but I ſay vnto hym, how knoweſt thou yͤ they did not call thē of neceſſitie? But forſomuch as both partes are vncertayne: nothing doth prohibite vs to follow the Apoſtles. For ſeeing that all thinges were written for our learning, it appeareth that the Apoſtles wold geue vs exāple, yͤ in wayghty matters we ſhold admit our inferiours. And therfore in all Councels which were celebrate & holden afterwards, we find that Prieſtes were alſo preſent: as in the Councell of Nice, whiche of all other was moſt famous, Athanaſius being then but onely a prieſt, withſtood the Arrians, and infringed their argumentes: Albeit there were alſo other prieſtes. And albeit mention be made of 322. byſhops, yet is not denyed, but yͤ the inferiours were there, whome I thinke to be omitted for this cauſe, for that they were almoſt innumerable: for as you know well enough, the denomination for the moſt part, is taken of the moſt worthy.

Athanaſius beeing but a prieſt, and no Biſhop, vanquiſhed an Archb.

In the Synode of Calcedon (which was counted one of the foure principall Synodes) it is ſayd that there were preſent 600. prieſtes: the which name is common both vnto byſhops and Prieſtes. In other Councels the name both of Biſhops and Prieſtes is omitted, & mention made onely of Fathers, which hath the ſame ſignification yͤ thys worde Elders had in the actes of the Apoſtles. Wee haue alſo a teſtimony of the eccleſiaſticall hiſtory, how that ther was a Councell gathered of Rome of lx. Byſhops, and as many Prieſtes & Deacons agaynſt the Nouations which called themſelues Cathari. Alſo, when Paule the Byſhop of Antioche, in the tyme of Galiene the Emperoure, preached yͤ Chriſt was a man of common nature, the Councell aſſembled agaynſt hym in Antioche: wherunto there came Byſhops out of Ceſaria, Capadotia, out of Pontus, Aſia, and from Ieruſalem, and many other Byſhops, Prieſtes and Deacons: and it is ſaid that for that cauſe the Councel was often holden.

The name of prieſts or elders commō both to Biſhops and prieſts.

Paule Biſhop of Antioch.

And at the laſt, in the ſame place, vnder Aurelius the Emperour Paule was condemned of al Chriſtian Churches which were vnder heauē: neyther was there any mā, which did more confound the ſayd Paul, then Malchiona Prieſt of Antioche, which taught Rhetorike in Antioche.

Paule the hereticke with his godly eloquēce. S. Auguſtines minde vpon this ſentence, *Tibi dabo claues regni cælorum.*

Byſhops are of greater power then prieſts, rather by cuſtome, then diſpenſation of truth.

Byſhops and prieſtes ought to rule the church together

But to make no long digreſſion from the matter, we haue moſt euident teſtimonies, for the defence of the inferiours. For the chiefe and principall amongſt all the Diuines S. Auſten vpō the wordes of Mathew, where as Chriſt ſaith vnto Peter: I wil geue thee the keyes of the kingdome of heauē, ſayth that by thoſe words, the iudiciall power was geuen, not only vnto Peter, but alſo to the other Apoſtles and to the whole Churche the byſhops and Prieſtes. If then Prieſtes haue a iudiciall power in the churche, what ſhold let yͭ they haue not alſo a determining voyce in yͤ coūcels? The famous Doctour S. Hierome doth alſo agree with S. Auſten, whoſe wordes are theſe vpon the Epiſtle of Paule vnto Titus. Before that difference was made in Religion by the inſtigation of the deuill, or that it was ſpoken amongeſt the people, I holde of Paule, I of Apollo, & I of Cephas, the Churches were gouerned by yͤ common conſent and Councell of the Prieſtes: for a prieſt is the very ſame that a byſhop is. Wherefore all Byſhops ought to vnderſtand, that they are of greater power then Prieſtes, rather by cuſtome then by yͤ diſpenſation of yͤ truth of God and yͭ they ought to rule the church together. And this we do alſo gather out of Paule vnto Titus, which maketh ſo much concordaunce betweene biſhops and prieſts, that oftentimes he calleth prieſtes Byſhops, whereby it doth euidently appeare, that prieſtes are not to be excluded from the conuentions of byſhops, and determinations of matters. And albeit as S. Hierom writeth, that byſhops onely by cuſtome are preferred before Prieſtes, it may be, that a contrary cuſtome may take away that cuſtome. For if prieſtes ought to rule the church together with the byſhops, it is euident that it alſo pertayneth vnto them to decide and determine the doubtfull matters of the Church.

Wherfore the teſtimony of S. Paule is euident: for (as he writing vnto the Epheſians ſayth:) If Chriſte inſtituted hys Apoſtles, Prophetes, Paſtours, and Teachers to the worke of the miniſtery, for the edifying of hys Church vntill ſuch tyme as we ſhould meete hym, for this purpoſe that there ſhould be no doubt in the diuerſitie of doctrine, who doubteth then, but that yͤ gouernaunce of the Church is committed vnto others together with the Apoſtles? Let theſe our champions now hold their peace, and ſeeme to be no wiſer then they ought to be. The memoriall of the coūcell of Conſtance, is yet freſh in memory, wheras diuers of vs were preſent, and I my ſelfe alſo whiche was neither Cardinall nor byſhop, but onely a Doctour, where I dyd ſee, without any maner of doubt of difficultie, the inferiors to be admitted with the biſhops, to the deciding of hard & doubtfull matters. Neither ought we to be aſhamed to follow the example of that moſt ſacred and great Councell which alſo followeth the examples of the Councell of Piſa and the great Councell at Lateran, wherein it is not to be doubted, but that the Prieſtes did ioyntly iudge together with the byſhops.

Aeneas Siluius.

Note that Abbots were not inſtituted by Chriſt.

Italy ſurmounteth all other nations in number of Byſhops.

Moreouer, if Abbotes, as we do ſee it obſerued in all Councels, haue a determining voice, which notwithſtanding were not inſtituted by Chriſt: why ſhould not prieſts haue the ſame, whoſe order Chriſt ordayned by hys Apoſtles? Hereupon alſo, if one byſhops ſhoulde haue a determining voice, nothing ſhould be done, but what pleaſed yͤ Italian nation, the whith alone doth exceed all other nations, or at the leaſt is equall wͭ them, in number of byſhops And howſoeuer it be, I iudge it in this behalf to be a work of God, that the inferiours ſhold be admitted to the determinations: for God hath nowe reuealed that vnto little ones which he hath hidden from the wiſe.

Note the terrible perſecution of thoſe dayes and the great conſtancie of the godly, for the truthes ſake.

O zeale of fayth, worthie the crowne of martyrdom.

Behold you do ſee the zeale, conſtancy, vprightnes, and magnanimitie of theſe inferiours. Where ſhould the councell now be, if onely biſhops and Cardinals ſhoulde haue their voice? Where ſhould the authoritie of the Councels be? Where ſhould the Catholicke fayth be? Where ſhoulde the decrees and reformation be? For all things haue now a long time bene vnder the will of Eugenius, and he had now obtained hys wicked & naughty purpoſe, except theſe inferiours, whome you now contemne, had withſtād him. Theſe are they which haue contemned the priuation made by Eugenius. Theſe I ſay, are they which haue not regarded hys threatninges, ſpoyle and perſecution. Theſe are they which being takē, impriſoned, & tormented: haue not fered to defend the trueth of the Councell, yea euen theſe are they, who albeit they were by Eugenius deliuered ouer for a pray, yet would they ſtill continue in yͤ ſacred coūcell, and feared not to to ſuffer warre, famine, & moſt cruel peſtilence: and finally what thing is it, that theſe men haue not willingly ſuffered for the right and equity of the councel? you might haue heard this inferior ſort euen in yͤ midſt of their tribulations, with a loud voyce cry out and ſay, albeit that all men become obedient vnto that ſubuerter of yͤ Church Eugenius, and that euery man do depart from yͤ veritie of the fayth and conſtitutions of the fathers, conſenting vnto the commaundementes of Eugeneus, yet we & our brethren will be conſtant, and doubt not to dye for the truth and traditions of the holy fathers, the which in deed they haue done. Neither could they be feared with threatnings or diſcouraged with any ſpoyles, neither could any feare or hope, turne them from their moſt bleſſed purpoſe: and (to ſpeake ſomewhat of mine own order) whether any Cardinals haue done the like or no, that iudge you.

Eccle. 7.

The biſhops feare the earthly power, but not God.

As for Byſhops, whō Panormitane alone wold haue to determine, you ſee how few of them are on our part, & euen they which are here preſent, are not able, by vertue to ouercome iniquitie, they feare the terrene power, and commit offence with their haſt. Haue ye not heard how they al ſayd: they would conſent vnto the kinges will and pleaſure? But yͤ inferiors are they which haue had truth, righteouſnes, & god himſelfe, before their eyes, & they are greatly to be commended for ſhewing themſelues ſuch men vnto yͤ Church of God. But why do I defend yͤ cauſe of theſe inferiours? When as ſome will alſo exclude thoſe byſhops which are but byſhops by name and title, and haue no poſſeſſion of the Church, from our company, not vnderſtanding that whileſt they go about to put backe thoſe mē, they do condemne Peter, and the other Apoſtles, who (as it is euident) were long without any great flocke, neither was Rome vnto Peter, nor Ieruſalem vnto Iames, at anye tyme wholy obedient: for at that tyme no great number of people, but a ſmall flocke beleued in Chriſt.

The biſhops of the primitiue church what they were.

Poore men more meete to geue iudgement then riche, for riches, wealth, and dignitie bringeth feare: but pouertie cauſeth libertie.

* The Byſhoppes in this age of the church, what they are.

For I pray yon, what is that we ſhold require of theſe byſhops? They haue no flocke, but that is not their fault. They haue no reuenues, but money maketh not a byſhop, and as the Lord ſayth Beati pauperes ſpiritu. i. Bleſſed are yͤ poore in ſpirite. Neither was there anye rich Byſhops in the primitiue Church, neither did the auncient Church reiect Dionyſius Byſhop of Millayne, Euſebius Biſhop of Vercelles, or Hillary Byſhop of Pictauia, although they were neuer ſo poore, and baniſhed without a flocke. But if we will graunt the truth, the poore are more apte to geue iudgement then the rich, becauſe that riches bringeth feare and their pouertie cauſeth libertie. For the poore men doe not feare tyranny as our rich men do, whiche being geuen ouer vnto all kinde of vanities, idlenes and ſloth, will rather deny Chriſt, then lacke theyr accuſtomed pleaſures: * whom not theyr flock, but theyr reuenues make biſhops deliting ſo muche in riches, that they iudge all poore men vnhappy. But, as Cicero ſayth: nothing can happen better vnto a wiſe man, then mediocritie of ſubſtaunce. Whervpon it is written in the Goſpel: It is eaſiar for a Cammel to paſſe through a needle eye, then for a riche man to enter into the kingdome of heauen.

In matters of faith and religion, there ought to be no delayes.

But now to returne to a more full declaration of Panormitans words, I determine to paſſe ouer two poynts which he pronounced in the beginning of hys Oratiō, that is: Qui petant, & cur petant, i. who maketh the petition, and for what cauſe they make their petition. We graunt yͭ they are great men, & men of power, and (as he doth affirme) yͭ they haue deſerued good of yͤ church, neither do I doubt but that they are moued thereunto, with a ſincere affectiō. But whether it be a ſmall matter that is required, or that the ſame effectes would ryſe thereupon, which he ſpake of: it is now to be enquired. A delay (ſayth he) is required: a delay for a few dayes. A ſmall matter: a matter of no importaunce: a matter eaſy to be graunted. Notwithſtanding let Panormitane here marke well, that he requireth a delay in a matter of faith. The verities are already declared: they be already diſcuſſed and determined. If now there ſhoulde be but a little delay, it would grow to a long delay: for oftē times yͤ delay of one momēt, is yͤ loſſe of a whole yere, hereof we haue many examples. Hanniball whē he had obteined his victory at Cannas, if he had gone ſtraight vnto Rome, by all mens iudgementes, he had takē the city. But for ſo much as he did deferre it vntill the next day, the Romaines hauing recouered theyr force agayne: he was ſhutt out, and deſerued to heare this opprobry.

Vincere ſcis Hannibal, vti victoria neſcis.

Hannibal thou knoweſt victory to get,
But how to vſe it thou knoweſt not yet.

Likewiſe the French men, after they had taken Rome and beſieged the Capitoll, whiles that they gredely ſought to haue great ſummes of mony, & delayed the time in making of their truce, Camillus cōming vpon them, did moſt ſhamefully driue them out againe. But what need I to rehearſe old hiſtories, when as our own examples are ſufficient for vs? Ye know your ſelues how often theſe delayes haue bene hurtfull vnto you, & how oftẽ the delay of a few dayes hath growne to a long tracte of tyme. For now this is the 8. yeare that you haue ſpent in delayes: & you haue ſeene, that alwayes of one delay an other hath ſprong and riſen. Wherfore I do require that Panormitan ſhuld conſider, that yͤ concluſion being this day diſturbed, we know not whether it will be brought to paſſe hereafter againe or no. Many impedimentes or lets may riſe. Neither doth Panormitan ſay, that this delay being obtayned, he wold afterward conſent with his fellowes vnto the concluſiõs: for he denyeth that he hath any commaundement therunto & (which is more to be conſidered) he ſayth that the Ambaſſadours at their returne from Mentz, may bring ſuch newes, wherby theſe concluſions may be omitted: as though any thyng were more excellent then the truth.

The eight yeare of the councell of Baſill. How ſubtelly they ſought delayes.

The which thing doth manifeſtly declare, that they do not ſeeke delayes for the better examination of the matter but for to impugne the concluſions the more ſtrongly. Neither do I agree with Panormitan, as touching the effects which he ſayd ſhould ryſe eyther of the denyall, or graunting of yͤ requeſts: For I ſee no cauſe why yͤ Princes ſhould ſo greatly require any delay. There are no letters of anye Prince come vnto vs as touching ſuch requeſt, neyther is there any man lately come from them, neyther is it greatly materiall vnto them, but that the matters of faith ſhoulde be determined. But this is a moſt pernicious concluſion which Panormitane hath made, and not to be looked for at the handes of thoſe moſt godly princes, wheras he ſaith if we do pleaſe them, they will take our part. If contrariwiſe, they will decline vnto Eugenius, and wholy reſiſt & rebell agaynſt vs. This is a meruailous word, & a wonderfull concluſion, altogether vnworthye to be ſpoken of ſuch a man. The decrees of the Councell of Conſtance are, yͭ all maner of men, of what ſtate or condition ſoeuer they be, are bound to the ordinaunces and decrees of the generall Councels. But Panormitanes wordes do not tend to that effect, for he would not haue the Princes obedient vnto yͤ Councel, but yͤ councell to be obedient vnto yͤ princes.

The decrees of the councell of Conſtance.

Alas moſt reuerend Fathers alas, what times & dates what maners and conditiõs are theſe? Into what miſery are we now brought? How ſhall we at anye time bring to paſſe, that the Pope being Chriſtes Vicare (and as they ſay) an other Chriſt in earth, ſhould be ſubiect vnto yͤ coũcell of Chriſtians, if the Councell it ſelfe ought to obey worldly Princes? But I pray you look for no ſuch things at the Princes handes. Do not beleeue that they will forſake theyr mother the Church. Do not thinke them ſo farre alienate frõ the truth, yͭ they would haue iuſtice ſuppreſſed.

If theſe thinges ſeeme ſo vntollerable what ſhall we ſay, whẽ as they make the Pope a God?

The concluſions whereupon the controuerſie is, are moſt true, moſt holy, moſt allowable. If the princes do refuſe them, they do not reſiſt agaynſt vs, but againſt the holy Scriptures, yea and agaynſt Chriſt himſelfe: which you ought neither to beleue, neither was it comely for Panormitane ſo to ſay. Panormitan (by your licẽce be it ſpoken) you haue vttered moſt cruell words, neyther do you ſeeme to go about any other matter, then to inculcate terrour and feare into the mindes of the Fathers: for you haue rehearſed great perils and daungers, except we ſubmitt our ſelues vnto the princes.

But you moſt reuerend fathers, ſhall not be afearde of them which kill the body, the ſoule they cannot kill: neyſhal ye forſake the truth, although you ſhould ſhedde your bloud for the ſame. Neither ought we to be any whit more ſlacke in the quarrell of our mother the church and the Catholicke fayth, then thoſe moſt holy Martyrs, whiche haue eſtabliſhed the Church with theyr bloud. For why ſhould it be anye greeuous matter vnto vs to ſuffer for Chriſt, which for our ſakes hath ſuffered ſo cruel & greuous death? Who when he was an immortall God, voyd of all paſſiõs toke vpõ him yͤ ſhape of a mortal man, & feared not for our redemption to ſuffer tormentes vpon the croſſe. Set before your eyes the Prince of the Apoſtles, Peter, Paule, Andrew, Iames, and Barthelmew, and not to ſpeake onely of Biſhops) Marke what Stephen, Laurence, Sebaſtian & Fabian did. Some were hanged, ſome headed, ſome ſtoned to death, other ſome burned, and others tormented wͭ moſt cruell and grieuous tormentes ſuffered for Chriſtes ſake. I pray you for Gods ſake let vs follow the example of theſe men. If we will be byſhops and ſucceed in honour let vs not feare Martyrdome. Alas what effeminate harts haue we? Alas what faynt harted people are we? They in tymes paſt by the contempt of death, conuerted the whole world, which was full of gentilitie and idolatrye: and we through our ſluggiſhnes & deſire of life, do bring the Chriſtian Religion out of the whole world into one corner, & I feare greatly, leaſt yͤ little alſo which is left, we ſhall loſe through our cowardlines: if that by following Panormitanes minde, we do commit the whole gouernaunce & defence of the Church vnto the princes. But nowe play the ſtout and valiaunt men in this time of tribulation, & feare not to ſuffer death for the Churche, whiche Curtius feared not to doe for the cittie of Rome: which Menchotheus for Thebes, & Codrus for Athens, willingly tooke vpon them.

They which teach this doctrine, are heretickes & ſchiſmaticks but bleſſed are theſe heretickes, for theirs is the kingdome of heauen.

A chriſtian exhortation to conſtancy and martirdome.

This came ſo to paſſe 23. yeares after, when Chriſtendome loſt Conſtantinople and all the eaſt partes vnto the Turkes.

Not onely the martyrs, but alſo the Gentiles might moue and ſtirre vs to caſt of all the feare of death. What is to be ſayd of Theremens the Athenien? with how ioyfull hart and minde, and pleaſaunt countenaunce, did he drink the poyſon? What ſay you vnto the Socrates that moſt excellent Philoſopher? did he eyther weepe or ſigh, when he ſupped vp the poyſon? They hoped for that whiche we are moſt certayne of. Not by dying to dye, but to chaunge this preſent life for a better.

Examples of good men dying for their coũtrey

Truly we ought to be aſhamed, being admoniſhed by ſo many examples, inſtructed with ſo great learning, yea and redeemed with the precious bloud of Chriſt, ſo greatly to feare death.

Cato writeth not of one or two men, but of whole legions, which haue chearfully & couragiouſly gone vnto thoſe places, frõ whence they knew they ſhuld not return. Wyth like courage did yͤ Lacedemoniãs geue thẽſelues to death at Thermopilis, of whom Simonides writeth thus.

Dic hoſpes Spartanos te hic vidiſſe iacentes,
Dum ſanctis patriæ legibus obſequimur.

Report thou ſtraunger, the Spartaines here to lye,
Whiles that their coũtry lawes they obeyed willingly.

Neither iudge the contrary, but that the Lacedemonians went euen of purpoſe vnto death: vnto whome theyr Captayne Leonidas ſayd: O ye Lacedemonians, goe forward couragiouſly, for this day we ſhal ſup together with yͤ infernall Gods, but I moſt reuerend fathers, do not inuite you vnto the infernals as he did his Lacedemonians, but vnto the celeſtiall and euerlaſting ioyes of Paradiſe, if that you can ſuffer death for the truthes ſake, and paciently abide the threatnings of theſe princes, if there be any threatninges at all. I call you vnto that eternal glory: where as there is no alteration of ſtate, nothing decayeth or fadeth: where all good and perpetuall things do abound: wheras no man wanteth, no man enuyeth an other, no man ſtealeth frõ an other, no man violently taketh frõ an other, no man baniſheth, no man murdereth, and finally no man dyeth. Where as all men are bleſſed and happy, all are of one minde & one accord, all are immortall, all are of lyke eſtate, & that all men haue, euery man hath, & that euery mã hath all men haue. Which thinges if we will conſider, we ſhall truely anſwere Panormitan, as Theodorus Cyrenſis is ſaid to haue anſwered Liſmachus the king, whẽ he threatned to hang hym: who ſayd, I pray you threaten theſe horrible thinges vnto your Courtiers, as for Theodorus, it maketh no matter whether he rotte aboue the grounde or vnder the ground. So likewiſe let vs aunſwere vnto the princes, if there be anye that do threaten vs, and let vs not feare their tormentes.

The noble Lacedemonians.

The bleſſed ſtate of the life to come.

The worthy aunſwere of Theodorus Cyrenenſis.

What doth a longer life preuayle to help vs? No man hath liued to ſhort a tyme, which hath obtained the perfect gift of vertue. And if the death which a man ſuffereth in the quarrell of his country, ſeemeth not onely to be glorious amongſt the Rhetoricians, but alſo happy & bleſſed, what ſhall we ſay for theſe deathes whiche are ſuſtayned for the country of all countryes, the Church? Truely moſt reuerend fathers, it is to muche that our aduerſaries doe perſwade themſelues of you, for they iudge you fearful, ſluggiſh and faynt harted: and therefore they do obiect Princes vnto you, becauſe they thinke that you wil not ſuffer hunger, thyrſt, exile in the quarrell & defence of the church. But I thinke you will eſteeme it no hard matter, for the obteyning of euerlaſting lyfe, to do the ſame which ſhipmen do for the obteyning of tranſitory riches, to put themſelues in danger of the ſea & wind, and ſuffer moſt cruell ſtormes.

No death to be feared for chriſts Church.

The hunters lye abroad in the nightes in the ſnowe in the hilles and woodes, & are tormented with cold: yet haue they none other reward, but ſome wilde beaſt of no value or priſe. I pray you what ought you then to doe, whoſe reward ſhalbe Paradiſe? I am aſhamed of our ignauie, whẽ as I read that women, yea euen yong maydens haue violently obtayned heauen through their Martyrdome, and we are made afrayd onely with the name of death. Thys riuer of Rhein which runneth along by the cittie in tymes paſt hath caryed 11. thouſand virgines vnto Martyrdome. In India (as Cicero writeth) whẽ any mã was dead, hys wiues (for there they had many wiues) came not into contention who ſhuld be burned with him: and ſhe whom he loued beſt, hauing vanquiſhed the other, all yͤ reſt ioyfully

Example of Mariners & Hũters.

Example of the 11. thouſand virgins.

following her, was caſt into the fire with the dead Carcaſe of her huſband and burnt. The other whiche were ouercome, departed full of heauines and ſorow, wiſhing rather to haue dyed then liue.

The which courage we now taking vpon vs for Chriſtes ſake, will aunſwere Panormitan euen as the Lacedemonians aunſwered Philip, who when as by his letters he threatned them, that he would ſtop all that whiche they went about, they aſked him whether he would alſo let thē to dye. Therfore as you are excellent men, ſo vſe your vertue, which is alway free, and remayneth alwayes inuincible. For you do know that power is geuē you of yͤ Lord and ſtrength from yͤ moſt higheſt: who will take accompt of your workes and examine your thoughtes: vnto whom ye ſhould be carefull to render a good accompt, iudgyng rightly and keeping the lawe of righteouſneſſe, and in all thinges walking according to the will of God. And not according to the will of men.

And whereas the Embaſſadours of Eugenius, doe openly preach and declare a new doctrine, extolling the byſhop of Rome aboue the vniuerſall church: to the end that ignorant ſoules be not ſnared, ye ſhall not ceaſe or leaue to publiſh the three firſt concluſions, following the example of yͤ Apoſtle Paul, which would in no point geue place vnto Peter when he walked not according to the Goſpel. As for the other matters, which doe reſpect the only perſon of Eugenius (becauſe Panormitan and the other Ambaſſadours of the princes, ſhall not ſay that we doe paſſe oure bonds) ye ſhall deferre them for this preſent.

Lewes Patriarke of Aquileia Duke of Decke in Sweuia.

When as Cardinall Arelatenſis had made an ende of his Oration, there was a great noyſe crying, out & brawling euery where. The Preſidents cōmaundements were not regarded, neither was the accuſtmed order obſerued: for ſometimes they ſpake vnto Panormitan, ſometime vnto Lodouicus: no man was ſuffered to ſpeake but in haſte the biſhops brawled with byſhops, and the inferiours wͭ their fellowes. All was full of contention & debate: which when as Lodouicus the Patriarck of Aquileia perceiued a man of no leſſe courage and ſtomacke, then of nobilitie and byrth, being alſo a Duke, for the zeale whiche he bare vnto the vniuerſall church, turning himſelfe vnto Panormitan & Lodouicus the Prothonotary, ſayd: Do not think the matter ſhall ſo paſſe, you know not yet the maners of yͤ Germaynes, for if you go forward on this faſhion, it wil not be lawfull for you to depart out of this country wyth whole heades: with which wordes Panormitan, Lodouicus, and the Archbiſhop of Millaine, being ſtriken (as it were with lightning from heauen, roſe vp, & ſayd: Is our libertie thus taken from vs? what meaneth it that the patriarcke doth threaten vs, that our heades ſhoulde be broken? And turning themſelues vnto Iohn Earle of Dierſtene, which then ſupplied the protectors place, they demāded of him whether he would defend the Councel and preſerue al men in their libertie, or no.

The Earle of Dierſten.

The prayſe of the citizens of Baſill.

The Citizens alſo and Senators were preſent to prouide and foreſee that no offence ſhoulde riſe, for the Cittizens obſerued alwayes this order, that they would be preſent in all affayres, which they ſuppoſed would breede diſſenſion, foreſeeing ſpecially that no tumultes ſhold ryſe, otherwiſe then with wordes. They vſed alwayes ſuche a marueilous foreſight & prouidence, that no man vnto this day, could haue any cauſe agaynſt them, to complayne for violating their promiſe. Wherefore if at any time, any citizens haue deſerued wel at the hands of the churche, ſurely this prayſe is to be geuen vnto yͤ Baſilians. Theſe men together with Iohn Earle of Dierſtene, being preſent in the aſſembly of yͤ fathers, gaue a ſigne of preſeruatiō of their libertie. The Earle (albeit he was moued at the ſtrangenes of yͤ matter, for he would not haue thought ſo great contētions could haue riſen amongſt wiſe mē) anſwered by his interpreter, yͭ they all ſhould be of good cheare. For yͤ Emperours ſafe conduict ſhould be obſerued and kept euē to the vttermoſt, neither ſhould the Patriarck, nor any other once violate the libertie, or take away the aſſurance granted by the Emperour. Notwithſtanding he deſired the patriarche yͭ he would call backe hys wordes agayne, & not to ſpeake any more in ſuch ſort. But that famous father, being nothing at all moued, or troubled, cōmitted his whole minde vnto Iohn de Bacheiſtein, auditor of the chamber, a man both graue and eloquent, to be declared. Who affirmed that the patriarches minde was not to threaten anye man, or diſturbe the libertie of the councell, but to moue yͤ fathers vnto Conſtancie, that they ſhould be mindefull of the reformation, which they had promiſed vnto the whole world, and not ſo ſay one thing to day, & an other to morrow: for if they would ſo do, it were to be feared, leaſt yͤ laytie ſeeing themſelues deluded, and diſpayring of reformation ſhould riſe agaynſt the Clergy.

Therfore he moniſheth the fathers to foreſee and prouide for the perill, that they ſhoulde not depart from the Councell, nothing being determined or done: and finally he deſired pardon, if in his wordes he had offended eyther agaynſt the Councel, Panormitā, or any other mā. Whereby he declared it to be true which is commonly ſayd, that Humilitie is the ſiſter of nobilitie: both which did very excellently appeare in this man. Yet for al this, could not the humilitie of the patriark ſtop or ſtaye their noyſe or cryes: For as often as mention was made of reading the Concordatum, great noyſe and rumours were ſtil made, for to ſtop the ſame. Then Amodeus archbiſhop of Lyons, and primate of al Fraunce, a man of great reuerence and authoritie, being touched with the zeale of fayth, whiche he ſawe there to be ſtopped and ſuppreſſed, ſayd: Moſt reuerend fathers, I haue nowe a great occaſion for to ſpeake: for it is now 7. yeares or more, that I haue bene amongſt you, yet haue I neuer ſeene the matter at that poynt whiche it is now at, moſt like vnto a miracle, for euen preſently I doe behold moſt wōderfull ſignes of miracles, for it is no ſmal matter that the lame do walke, the dumme do ſpeake, and that poore men preach the Goſpel. Wherupon I pray you commeth this ſodayne chaunge? Howe happeneth it that thoſe which lie lurking at home, are now ſodenly ſtart vp, who hath geuen hearing to the deafe, and ſpeache to the dumme? who hath taught the poore men to preach yͤ goſpell? I do ſee here a new ſorte of prelates come in, whiche vnto this preſēt haue kept ſilence, and now begin to ſpeak. Is not this like to a miracle? I would to God they came to defend the truth, and not to impugne iuſtice.

Humilitie ſiſter to nobilitie.

Amodeus Archbiſhop of Lions.

Anno. 1438.

Biſhops that lie at home, haue tōgue here to ſpeake for the Pope.

But this is more to be marueiled at then any miracle, that I doe ſee the beſt learned men of all, impugne our cōcluſions which are moſt certayn and true: And they which now reproue them, in times paſt allowed them. You are not ignoraunt howe that Lodouicus the Prothonotarye preached theſe verities at Louain and at Collē, & brought them from thence, confirmed with the authoritie of the Uniuerſities. Wherfore, albeit that he be now changed, yet is the truth in no poynt altered. And therefore I deſire you & beſeech you all, that ye will not geue eare vnto theſe men, which albeit they are moſt excellētly learned, yet haue they no conſtancy in them: which doth adorn all other vertues.

Marke how they are turned back which ſomtime fauoured the truth & are now become liers & flatterers. Conſtancie lacked in diuers of this councell.

When he had ended his Oration, Lodouicus the Prothonotary riſing vp, ſayde: It is moſt true that I brought thoſe verities, but you do cal them verities of fayth, which addition ſemeth very doubtful vnto me. When he had ſpoken theſe wordes, Cardinall Arelatenſis requred that the Concordatum of the twelue men ſhould be read, and many whiſpered him in the eare, that he ſhould go forward, and not aulter his purpoſe.

Panormitane ſpeaketh like himſelfe.

Then Panormitan, as ſoone as the Concordatum began to be read, riſing vp with his companions and other Arragons, cryed out wͭ a loud voyce, ſaying: You fathers do contemne our requeſtes, you contemne kinges & Princes, and deſpiſe Prelates, but take heede leaſt whileſt that ye deſpiſe all men, you be not deſpiſed of all men. You would conclude, but it is not your part for to conclude. We are the greater part of Prelates, we make the Councell, & it is our part to conclude, and I in yͤ name of all other prelates do conclude, that it is to be deferred & delayed. With this worde, there ſprang ſuche a noyſe and rumour in the Councell as is accuſtomed to be in battaile with the ſound of Trumpets and noyſe of horſemē, when as two armies ioyne. Some curſing that which Panormitan went about other ſome alowing the ſame: So that diuerſitie of minds made diuers contentions.

Nicholas Amici, a diuine of Paris.

Then Nicholas Amici, a Diuine of Paris, according vnto his office, ſayd. Panormitan I appeale frō this your concluſion, to the iudgement of the councell here preſent, neither do I affirme any thinge to be ratified whiche you haue done, as I am ready to proue, if it ſhall ſeeme good. The contrary part ſeemed nowe to bee in the better place, for they had already concluded. The other part had neither cōcluded, neither was it ſeene how they could conclude amongeſt ſo great cryes and vprores. Notwithſtanding amongeſt al this troublous noyſe, Iohn Segouius, a ſingular Diuine of yͤ vniuerſitie of Salamantine lacked not audiēce: for yͤ whol coūcel was deſirous for to hear him: wherfore al mē as ſoon as he roſe vp kept ſilence, & he perceiuing yͭ they were deſirous to heare him ſpeak, begā in this ſort.

The oration of Segouius

Moſt reuerend fathers, the zeale and loue of the houſe of God forceth me nowe to ſpeake: and I woulde to God that I had ben either blind this day, not to haue ſene thoſe thinges whiche haue happened, or that I had bene deafe, yͭ I ſhould not haue heard thoſe words, which haue bene ſpoken. Who is it that is ſo ſtony or hard harted, which cā

abſtayne

Ambroſ. ad Valentinianum.

How farre & wherein Biſhops ought to iudge vpon Emperours.

abſtayne from teares, when as the authoritie of the church is ſo ſpoyled, libertie taken away both from vs and ẏ councell, & that there is no place geuẽ vnto the veritie. O ſweet Ieſu, why haſt thou forſaken thy ſpouſe? Behold and looke vpon thy people, and helpe vs if our requeſtes are iuſt. We come hether to prouide for the neceſſitie of the Church we require nothing for our ſelues, our deſire is only that truth might appeare. We truſted now to haue concluded vpon ẏ verities which were ſometimes alowed in ẏ ſacred deputations. The Oratours of the Princes are preſent, & require the concluſions to be deferred. But we be not vnmindfull of thoſe thinges which Ambroſe wrote vnto Valentinian the Emperour in this maner: if we ſhall intreate vpon the order of the holy Scripture and auncient times paſt; who is it that will deny but that in caſe of faith (I ſay in caſe of faith) the biſhops ought to iudge vpon Chriſtian Emperours, and not Emperours vpon Biſhops. Neyther doe we admit their petition but vpõ moſt vrgent cauſes: Notwithſtanding we heard them paciently and willingly, whiles that they did ſpeake euen ſo long as they would.

He excuſeth the Patriarke.

But now if any of our part would ſpeake, by and by he is interrupted, troubled and letted. What honeſty is this? what modeſty or grauitie? is it lawfull ſo to do in the councell? where is the decree of ẏ Councel of Tholoſe now become (where are our decrees, which do not only prohibite tumultes, but alſo all ſmall bablinges & talk) They ſay, it is becauſe we contemne them: but they are they, which not onely conteme the Councell: but alſo reſiſt the ſame. The patriarke ſpake but one ſmall worde agaynſt them, & that of no euill intent or purpoſe, and by and by they complayned ẏ their liberty was broken, but they, when as they do inforce the councell, when as they forbid the Preſident to ſpeake, and will not ſuffer the ordinaunces to be read, doe not iudge that they doe any thing contrary to the liberty of the Councell. They ſay, they are the Councell themſelues and yet they intreat the Councell. Theſe thinges doe not I vnderſtande: for if they be the Councell, why doe they intreat thẽſelues? If they be not the Councell, why do they not ſuffer the Councel for to ſpeake? why do they not looke for an anſwere of him to whom they make their petitiõs?

He meaneth Panormitan which did conclude without the examination of the 12. mẽ.

Truely this is to much violence, and certes our pacence is alſo to much, to ſuffer ſuch exceſſe euen in the face of the Church. But this doth moſt of all greeue me, and thys do I moſt maruell at, that Panormitan a man of ſingular wit and doctrine did cõclude without any diſcuſſing or deciding of the deputies, and without the examination of the 12. men, or any rite or order. The which, except mine eies had beheld & ſeene, I would ſcarſly beleue, if any other mã ſhould report it vnto me, of him: Neither do I yet know, whether I may ſufficiently credite my ſelfe, the matter ſeemeth ſo horrible: for I do not ſee by what authoritie his cõcluſion doth ſtande, except it be by the authoritie of hys king whom he ſayth will haue it ſo. But you moſt reuerẽd fathers take heed that ye bring in no ſuch cuſtome: for ſo it ſhall come to paſſe, that in all matters, a few froward prelates ſhall haue me to conclude for them.

Paul would geue to Peter no reſpite when he ſwarued awry.

Marke the great Conſtancie and Chriſtian zeale of this man.

An exortation to conſtãcie.

And albeit Paruormitan hath proued (as he thinketh) by ſtrong reaſons that the veritie ought to be deferred, yet notwithſtanding I do require you moſt reuerend fathers to follow the example of the Apoſtle, who (as Arelatenſis hath very wel declared) would not geue one houres reſpite vnto Peter, when he ſwarued frõ the truth of the Goſpel. The fayth is ſpeedely to be relieued & holpen, neither doth any thing ſuſtaine more danger by delayes, thẽ faith doth. For hereſies, except they be rooted out at the firſt, whẽ they are once growne, are hardly taken away. Wherfore I deſire you ſpeedily to helpe and ayd. Hoyſe vp your ſayles, & launch out your ores. What ſhould we tary looking for either the Prelats or the princes? You are now in conflict: I onely deſire that you would haſten vnto the victory. Regard not the threatnings of thoſe Princes, neyther the opprobries of thoſe contumelious perſons, for you are bleſſed ſayth the Lord, whẽ as men curſe you & perſecute you, ſpeaking all euill agaynſt you, making lyes and ſlaunders vpon you for my ſake: reioice and be glad, for great is your reward in heauen. What is it I pray you that the princes do ſo much obiect agaynſt vs? Is not our Lord God able to take vs out of the furnace of hote burning fire, and deliuer vs out of ẏ hands of thoſe princes? I beſeech you moſt reuerend fathers and louing brethren, haue no leſſe hope in Ieſus Chriſt, thẽ Sidrach, Miſach, and Abednago had, which feared not that old king Nabuchodonoſor: and let ẏ princes know, ẏ the moſt high ruleth ouer ẏ kingdomes of men, and geueth them vnto whom he pleaſeth. God beholdeth all thinges from aboue (he is I ſay) in the midſt amongſt vs, wherefore are ye then afrayd? Be of good courage, and ſhew your ſelues as a ſtrong wall for the church of God: ſuffer not the fayth to periſh vnder your handes. The almighty God is preſent with you. He is preſent that will defend you. Feare not them which ſeeke onely to kill the body. Do iuſtice and equitie, and be aſſured that he wil not deliuer you ouer into the handes of the bacbiter and ſlaunderer. Againe I ſay vnto you, ſhow your ſelues valiant and ſtout: Defend your mother the Church. And vnto thee, O thou preſident I ſay, that thou oughteſt rather to pleaſe God then man, for if thou depart thence without a ſmall concluſion, know aſſuredly that thou ſhalt render accompt in the ſtraight iudgment of God, and thus without any more wordes, he ſate downe in his place.

The Biſhop of Burgen ſeeketh concorde.

In the meane tyme, many graue and auncient men had exhorted Panormitan that he ſhuld geue ouer his concluſion. The biſhop of Burgen was very inſtant and earneſt with him, that he ſhould make vnitie and concord amõgſt the fathers, and went about to make an vnitie with al mẽ. But neither the fathers of the Councell were determined to depart without a concluſion, neither Panormitan was minded to aulter his intent and purpoſe. All thinges were diſturbed, neither did the prelates ſit in their ſeats, as they were accuſtomed, but as euerye mans affection led hym. Some went to the Cardinall Arelatenſis, ſome vnto Panormitan and exhorted them, as if they had bene princes or rulers of armies. Then Arelatenſis knowing ẏ matter to be in danger, and that there was no ready way to make a cõcluſiõ, thought to vſe ſome policie, to appeaſe ẏ tumult.

How men be readie to heare newes.

Note the godly policye of the Cardinall.

The concluſion of the councell.

Moſt reuerend fathers ſaid he, we haue receiued nowe letters out of Fraũce, which declare vnto me maruellous thinges; that there are incredible newes ſprong vp there which if you will geue me willing audience, I will declare vnto you. By this meanes there was a ſodayne ſilence throughout the whole Councel, & by this maruellous policie he made al men attentiue to heare. When as he ſaw he had free liberty to ſpeake, without either fable or hiſtory of any letters ſent, he opened the whole order of the matter, & as it is requiſite in an Orator, came by little and little to ẏ principal poynt, ſaying, ẏ Eugenius his meſſengers filled all France, preaching a new doctrine, and extolling ẏ authoritie of the biſhop of Rome, aboue the generall Councels: agaynſt whom, except ſpeedy remedy were founde, it would come to paſſe, ẏ man woulde geue credite vnto thẽ, and therfore the ſacred Councell ought of neceſſitie, to prouide remedy, and of neceſſitie to conclude vpõ the verities which were examined, that therby the temeritie of the Eugeniãs might be repreſſed, which verities, albeit they were 8. in number, yet was it not the Fathers intẽt to conclude vpon them al, but onely the three firſt: euen as I alſo (ſaith he) here do conclude, in the name of the Father, the ſonne, and the holy Ghoſt.

The holy Ghoſt working againſt the Pope.

The ſorow of Panormitane for impugning the trueth.

When he had finiſhed his Oration, with a cheerful and mery countenaunce riſing vp, he departed. Some of them kiſſed him, and ſome of them kiſſed the ſkirtes of his garmentes. A great number followed him, and greatly commended his wiſedome, that being a Frenche man borne, had that day vanquiſhed the Italians, which were men of great pollicy. Howbeit this was all mens opinion, that it was done rather by the operation of the holy Ghoſt, then by ẏ Cardinals owne power. The other of ẏ contrary faction, as men bereft of their mindes, hanging downe theyr heades, departed euery man to his lodging. They wẽt not together, neither ſaluted one an other: ſo that their countenaunces declared vnto euery man ẏ they were ouercome. Something more alſo is reported of Panormitane, that when he came to his lodging, & was gone vnto his chamber, he complained with himſelf vpon his king, which had compelled him to ſtriue agaynſt the truth, and put both his ſoule and good name in daunger of looſing, and that in the middeſt of his teares and complayntes he fell a ſleepe, and did eate not meate, vntill late in ẏ euening for very ſorow for that he had neither ignorauntly, neither vnwillingly impugned the truth.

The Biſhop of Lyons & Burgẽ.

The iuſt aunſwer of the Councell.

After this, there was great conſultation amongeſt the Eugenians, what were beſt to be done in this matter. Some thought good to depart and leaue ẏ Councel, other ſome thought it meeter to tary, and wᵗ al endeuour to reſiſt ẏ nothing ſhould further be done agaynſt the Eugenians: & this opinion remained amongeſt them. The next day after, being ẏ 15. day of Aprill, the Archbiſhop of Lyons and the biſhop of Burgen, calling together the prelates into ẏ Chapter houſe of the great church began many thinges as touching peace. The Biſhop of Burgen perſwaded that there ſhuld be deputations appoynted that day, vnto whõ the Archbiſhop of Lyons ſhoulde geue power to make an agreement. Unto whome aunſwere was made, as they thought, very roughly, but as other iudged, gẽtly, but not withſtanding iuſtly and truely: For, they ſayd there could be no vnitie or concorde made, before the aduerſaries confeſſed their fault and aſked pardon therefore.

The aunſwere of them both.

The day following, the ſayd Byſhop of Burgen, with the other Lombards and Cathelans, went vnto the Germaines, and from thence vnto the Senate of the citie, ſpeaking much as touching the prohibiting of Schiſmes. The Germaynes referred themſelues to thoſe thinges which ẏ deputation ſhould determine. The Senate of the Citie (as they were great mē of wiſedom, which would do nothing without dilligent aduiſe and deliberation) anſwered, that the matter pertayned not vnto them, but vnto ẏ Councel, The fathers whereof were moſt wiſe men, and were not ignoraunt what pertayned vnto the Chriſtien fayth, and if there were any daunger toward, it ſhuld be declared vnto the Councell and not to the Senate: For they beleue that the Elders of the Councell, if they were premoniſhed, would foreſee ẏ there ſhould no hurt happen: as for ẏ Senate of the Cittie, it was there ducty onely to defend the fathers and to preſerue the promiſe of the citie. With this anſwere the byſhop of Burgen departed.

The forme of the decree is written and approued.

In the meane time the fathers of the councell had drawen out a forme of a decree vpon the former concluſions, and had approued the ſame in the ſacred deputations. By this time the Princes Orators were returned from the aſſembly at Mentz, & holding a Councel among themſelues they had determined to let the decree: The 9. day of May there was a generall conuocation holdē, wherunto all mē reſorted, either part putting forth himſelfe vnto the cōflict.

The Princes Ambaſſadours were called by the biſhop of Lubecke and Conrade de Winſperg the protectour into the quier, and there kept: whereas they intreated of a vnity and by what meanes it might be had, and there they taryed longer then ſome thought to doe: the whiche matter gaue occaſion to bring thinges well to paſſe, beyond al expectation. The onely forme of the decree was appoynted to be concluded that day, wherupon, as ſoon as Cardinall Arelatenſis perceiued the congregation to be full, and that the twelue men had agreed, and that there was a great expectation, with ſilence, he thought good not to delay it for feare of tumult, but commanded, by and by the publick cōcordaunces to be read, wherein this was alſo contayned, that the Cardinall Arelatenſis might appoynt a Seſſion when ſoeuer he would. Which being read, he being deſired by the promotors, concluded according as the maner of cuſtome is. The Ambaſſadours of princes being yet it in the Quier, as ſoone as they vnderſtoode how the matter paſſed, being very much troubled & vexed, they brake of theyr talke, imputing all thinges to ẏ biſhop of Lubecke, which of purpoſe had kept them in the Quier and protracted the time. Wherupon they entring into the congregation, filled the church full of complayntes.

The policie of the Cardinall Arelatenſis.

First of all, the Oratour of Lubecke complayned both in his owne name and the name of the protectour, as touching the concluſion, & required ẏ the councell woulde reuoke the ſame. If that might be graunted, he promiſed to intreate a peace, and to be a protector betweene the Councell and the Ambaſſadours of the Princes. But the Archbyſhop of Turnon ſaid, that it ſeemed vnto him euery mā to haue free libertie to ſpeake againſt that law whith ſhold be promulgate, vntill the Seſſion, whē the Canons ſhuld be conſecrated and receiue their force: whē as the biſhops in their pōtificalibus, after the reading of the decree in the Seſſion, ſhould aunſwere that it pleaſed them: otherwiſe the demaund which was made by the promoters in the Seſſion, to be but vayne, and for that the cōcluſions were not yet allowed in the Seſſion, and therefore he ſayd that he might without rebuke, ſpeake ſomewhat as touching the ſame, and that it was a great and hard matter, and not to be knit vp in ſuch a ſhort time, and that he had the knowledge thereof but euen now: notwithſtāding that he being an Archbiſhop ought to haue knowne the matter, that at hys return home, he might informe the king & alſo inſtruct thoſe which were vnder him. And that he and his fellowes before any Seſſion ſhould be: would both heare & be heard of others. Neither doth it ſeeme good vnto him that the Seſſion ſhould be holdē, before report were made of thoſe things, which the Ambaſſadours of the Princes had done at Mentz which would, peraduenture be ſuch as might alter and chaunge the mindes of the fathers. Then the Byſhop of Concen Ambaſſadour of the king of Caſtell, which was alſo lately returned from Mentz, a man of great vnderſtanding, but lacking vtteraunce, greeuouſly complayned that the prelates were contemned. Neither had it bene (ſayd he) any great matter if they had ben taried for, which not without great daunger and expences, went to Mentz, not for theyr pleaſure, but of neceſſitie. And afterward as it were ſmiling, he ſayd, how mad am I ẏ would haue the Prelates, to be taryed for, vntil they returne from Mentz when as they are not taryed for, whileſt they came out of the Quier of the Churche? doo therfore as ye liſt. If there riſe any offence or miſchiefe hereupon, neyther are we the Ambaſſadours of Caſtell to be blamed, neither can anye man of right impute any thing to our moſt noble king.

The Biſhop of Tournon.

The Biſhop of Cōcen ſpeaketh.

Marke what the truth muſt ſuffer.

Here were it long to repeate, with what rebukes and taunts they inueyed agaynſt the Cardinall Arelatenſis: but eſpecially the byſhop of Millaine rayled moſt cruellye vpon him, ſaying ẏ he foſtred & mayntained a table of Sophiſtes and Scholemaiſters, & that he had concluded in matters of faith with them: calling him alſo an other Cataline vnto whom al deſperate and noughty perſons had refuge that he was their Prince, & ruled the Church with them: and that he woulde not geue eare vnto the Ambaſſadours of the moſt noble princes, or to the moſt famous Prelates in this moſt wayghty matter. Albagenſis & a man of great nobilitie, deſcended of the Emperours bloud, albeit he had neuer alienate hys minde before from the Councell: yet leaſt he ſhould ſeeme to diſſent from other Ambaſſadours of ẏ princes, made the like complaynt as touching the atempt of the prelates. After this it came vnto Panormitā to ſpeake, who as he had a greater vehemency in ſpeaking: ſo alſo he did declare a more angry ſtomacke and mind: for in the beginning of hys Oration, he ſeemeth not to go about according to the preceptes of Oratours, to get the good will of the hearers, but rather theyr hatred: for he ſayd that our ſauiour ſheweth foure ſignes in the Goſpell, whereby we ſhould know the good from the reprobate: for he whiche is of God (ſayth he) heareth ẏ wordes of God, but you heare not the wordes of God, becauſe yee are not of God. And agayne, he that doth euill hateth the light. And in an other place alſo, by their fruites you ſhal know them. And a good tree cannot bring forth euill fruit.

O maruelous deſpight and contumely in a Biſhop: for if Arelatenſis had kept whoores or concubines, he would haue prayſed him: but to maintaine learned mē was a great offence.

The fathers of the councells ſlaundered by Panormitane.

4. ſignes to know the good from the badde.

All which ſayinges he wreſted agaynſt the fathers of ẏ Councel, becauſe they would not heare the wordes of God that is to ſay, the wordes of peace which the Ambaſſadors had ſpoken, becauſe they fled from the light in the abſence of the Ambaſſadours, priuilye concluding, and becauſe in their deputation they had not holden and kept the holye day but had cōcluded thereupon, alſo becauſe they had the vpper hand in the foreſayd cōcluſion, not by reaſon, but by deceit. As touching the fruits, he ſayd that the fathers themſelues ſhuld meditate and conſider how that, if their fruits were not good, they alſo themſelues were not good: & that he did ſee an other Councell at hand, where as he feared leaſt theſe concluſions ſhould be reuoked, as the fruit of an euill tree: and therefore, they ought not ſo ſodaynly to proceede in ſo wayghty matters: and ẏ he woulde be yet more fully heard before the Seſſion, as well in hys owne name becauſe he was an archbiſhop, as in the name of his prince which raygned not ouer one kingdome alone but ouer many: Alſo he ſaid that he heretofore by his wordes, deeds and writinges, hath extolled the authoritie of the Councel: and that he feared, leaſt by theſe meanes, the authoritie thereof ſhuld be ſubuerted. At the laſt he required pardon if he had offended the fathers of the Councell, for ſo muche as very ſorrow and griefe forced hym to ſpeake ſo.

Looke if it be not ſpokē of them in the Goſpel, where mention is made of the beaſt which is fallen into the ditche.

What is it that ambition will not doe.

The Abbot Vergiliacenſis would haue made anſwere to thoſe thinges whiche Panormitan had touched concerning hyis deputation: but Arelatenſis thought good that all the contrary part ſhould ſpeake firſt, amongſt whome, laſt of all, Ludouicus the Prothonotary, the Homere of Lawyers, roſe vp. And albeit that he ſpake vnwillingly, yet when he had begon, he could not refrayne his wordes. And whiles he went about to ſeeme learned and eloquent he vtterly forgat to be good. He ſayd ẏ the Councell ought to take heed, that they intreated no matter of fayth, againſt thr Prelates, leaſt any offence ſhould follow, for that ſome would ſay it were a matter of no force or effect. For albeit that Chriſt choſe 12. Apoſtles and 70. Diſciples, notwithſtanding in the ſetting forth of the Creede, onely the Apoſtles were preſent, thereby (as it were) geuing example, ẏ the matters of fayth did pertayne onely vnto the Apoſtles & ſo conſequently vnto biſhops. Neither that they ought haſtely to proceede in matters of fayth, whiche ought to be cleareely diſtinct, for ſomuche as Peter affirmeth the triall of fayth to be much more precious then golde, which is tryed by the fire. And if the Biſhops be contemned, which are called the pillers and keyes of heauen, the fayth cannot ſeeme to be well proued or examined. But at length he confeſſed, ẏ the inferiours might determine with the Biſhops but denied that the leaſt part of the Biſhops with the moſt part of the inferiours might determine any thing. From thence he paſſing to the matter of fayth, ſayd, that thoſe verities whereupon queſtion was nowe had, are Articles of

fayth

Abbot Virgiliacenſis.

Lodouicus the prothonotarie in labouring to ſeeme learned, forgot to be good.

The Apoſtles principally gathered the Crede.

ſayth, if they were verities of fayth. And forſomuch as euery man ſhould be bounde for to beleue thoſe, therefore he would be better inſtructed & taught in that matter whiche he ſhoulde beleue as an Article of fayth. Neither ſhould it be comely for the Councell to deny him his requeſt, which according to the rule of the Apoſtle, ought to be ready, to geue account vnto euery man whiche ſhall require it, touching the fayth, which it holdeth.

The oration of Cardinal Arelatenſis. To the imperiall Ambaſſadours.

To the Ambaſſadours of Fraunce.

To the Biſhop of Concen.

To Lodouicus the prothonotary.

After euery man had made an end of ſpeaking, the Cardinall Arelatēſis calling his ſpirites together, made an Oration wherin he aunſwered now the one, & now the other. And firſt of all he commended the deſires of the Imperiall Ambaſſadours, which offered to intreat a peace and vnity, but neither neceſſity, nor honeſty (he ſayde) woulde ſuffer thoſe thinges whiche are concluded to be reuoked. He aunſwered alſo that the petition of the Ambaſſadors of Frauce is moſt iuſt, in that they required to be inſtructed touching the fayth: and that the coũcell would graunt their requeſt, and ſend vnto them certayn diuines, which ſhould inſtruct them at home at theyr lodgings: but the matter was already concluded & could no more be brought in queſtion: that the Seſſion was onely holden, rather to beautify the matter, then to confirme the ſame. And as touching that which the biſhop of Concen ſo greatly cõplayneth of, he doth not much maruell: for he could not know the proceſſe of yͤ matter, when he was abſent, who being better inſtructed, he ſuppoſed would ſpeak nomore any ſuch words, forſomuch as a iuſt man would require no vniuſt thing. Alſo that his proteſtatiõ had no euill ſenſe or meaning, in that he would not haue it imputed, neither vnto him, neither vnto hys king, if any offence ſhould riſe vpon the concluſions. Notwithſtanding it is not to be feared, that any euill ſhoulde ſpring of good workes. But vnto the Biſhop of Millayne he would aunſwere nothing, becauſe he ſaw him ſo moued and troubled, for feare of multiplying of more greuous and hainous words. As for Panormitane he reſerued vnto the laſt. But vnto Ludouicus the Prothonotary, whiche deſired to be inſtructed, he ſayd: he willed him to be ſatiſfied wͭ yͤ wordes which were ſpokē vnto the Biſhop of Turnon.

Nicolas Picenius an Italian.

Articles of the Creede not all put in by the Apoſtles, but ſome by the coũcels. The Article of the holy Ghoſt put in by the councell of Lyons.

Panormitan wounded with his owne darts.

Notwithſtanding, he left not this vntouched which Ludouicus had ſpoken concerning the Apoſtles Creede. For albeit that in the ſetting forth of the Creede, the Apoſtles be onely named, yet it doth not follow (ſayth he) that they onely were preſent at the ſetting forth therof. For it happeneth oftentimes that Princes are commended and prayſed as chiefe authors and doers of thinges, when as notwithſtanding they haue other helpers, as it appeareth in battayles, which although they are foughte with the force of all the ſouldiors, yet the victory thereof is imputed but vnto a fewe. As in theſe our dayes, they do aſcribe all thinges which the army doth either fortunately or wiſely, vnto Nicolas Picenius, that moſt valiaunt Captayne which hath obteined ſo many famous victories: albeit that oftentimes other haue bene the inuentors of the pollicy, and workers of the feate. And therefore Ludouicus ought to knowe and vnderſtand, that they are not onely articles of fayth which are conteyned in the Creede, but all other determinations made by the Councels, as touching the fayth. Neyther is he ignorant, that there be ſome articles of the Creed which we now vſe in the Church, that were not put too by the Apoſtles, but afterward by generall Councels: as that part wherein mention is made of the holy Ghoſte, whiche the Councell of Lyons did adde, in whiche Councell alſo it is not bee doubted, but that the inferiours dyd iudge together with the Byſhoppes. But for ſo much as he had ſufficiently declared that matter in the congregation before paſſed, he would ſtay no longer thereupon. But comming vnto Panormitan, he rehearſed his wordes: Qui ex Deo eſt, verba Dei audit, He that is of God, heareth Gods word, which is very well takē out of the Goſpell, but not well applyed vnto the councell (ſayd he:) for he firmely beleued, that his predeceſſors haue iudged holy Ghoſt to be in the middeſt of the Councels, and therfore the wordes of the Councels to be the wordes of the holy Ghoſt: which if any man do reiect, he denieth himſelfe to be of God. Neither doth the councell hate the light, which doth all things publickly and openly, whoſe congregatiõs are euidēt vnto all men, neither doth it as the conuenticles of the aduerſaries, admit ſome, and exclude other ſome. Moreouer, the thing which is now in hand, was begon to be intreated of for two monethes agoe, & firſt the concluſions were largely diſputed vpon in the diuinity ſcholes, and afterward ſēt vnto Mentz and other places of the world.

After all this, the fathers were called into the Chapter houſe of the great Church, to the number of 120. amongeſt whom Panormitan which now cõplaineth, was alſo preſent, and according to his maner, did learnedly and ſubtilly diſpute, and had liberty to ſpeak what he would. Likewiſe in the deputations, euery man ſpake his mind freely, & in that deputation where Panormitan was, the matter was 3. dayes diſcuſſed. After this the 12. men did agree vpon it, and the general congregation did conclude it. Neither hath there bene at any time any thing more ripelye or exactlye handled both openly, & alſo without any fraud or deceite. And whereas the deputatiõ did ſit vpõ a holy day, there is no hurt in yͭ, neither is it any new or ſtraunge thing, foraſmuch as they haue oftē holden their Seſſion vpon feſtiuall dayes, whenas the matter hath had haſte, and ſpecially for that the matter of fayth hath no holy dayes. And further he ſaid that he did not conclude craftely and deceitfully in the congregatiõ, as Panormitane hath reported, but publickly & opēly at the requeſt of the Promotors. Neither hath any mā any iuſt cauſe to cõplayne vpõ him, forſomuch as, whē he was made Preſident, he was ſworne that al times whē 4. or 3. of the deputations did agree, he ſhould conclude therupõ. And forſomuch as he had already concluded, in diuers cauſes touchinge the Pope, he ſawe no cauſe why hee ſhould not conclude in the matter of fayth, for that he was a Cardinall, & did weare his red hat for this purpoſe, that he ſhould ſhed his bloud in the defēce of the fayth. Neither hath he done any thing now agaynſt the Pope, for that omitting the fiue concluſions touching Eugenius, he had concluded but onely the generall concluſions: which except he had done, the fathers ſhould haue had iuſt cauſe to complayne agaynſt him (in that they truſting in his fidelitye & faythfulnes, had choſe him Preſidēt) if by him they ſhould now be forſaken in this moſt neceſſary cauſe of fayth. And turning himſelfe vnto the people, he deſired the fathers to be of good comfort, forſomuche as he woulde neuer forſake them, yea although he ſhould ſuffer death: for he had geuen his fayth and fidelity vnto the Councell, which he would obſerue and keepe: neither ſhould any mannes flattery or threatninges put him from his purpoſe: that he would be alwayes ready to do whatſoeuer the Councel ſhould commaund him, and neuer leaue the commaundements of the deputies by any meanes vnperfourmed.

Arelatenſis concluded not, but at the requeſt of the proctours.

Theſe 4. deputations were 4. ſortes of choſen men, which did diſcuſſe and determine thoſe thinges which the fathers did conclude vpon. Verely this is no Babilonical Cardinal, but of the immaculate ſpouſe Ieſus Chriſt.

He ſpeaketh to the whole coũcell.

As touching that Panormitan had extolled the authority of the Councell, he ſayd that he was greatly to be thāked. But yet he ought to vnderſtand and know the authority of the Councell to be ſuch, as cannot be augmented or increaſed by any mans prayſe or cõmendation, or be diminiſhed by any opprobry or ſlaūder. Theſe things thus premiſed he cõmaunded the forme of yͤ decree to be read. Thē Panormitane & thoſe which tooke his part, would needes haue a certayn proteſtatiõ to be firſt read. There was great contention on euery ſide. Notwithſtanding at the laſt, Arelatenſis preuayled, and the forme of the decree was read vnto this word, Decernimus, that is to ſay, we decree. Thē Panormitan riſing vp, would not ſuffer it to be heard any further: And the Biſhop of Catania cryed out ſaying, that it was vncomely that Arelatenſis, with a few other Byſhops by name, ſhould conclude the matter. The like did alſo all thoſe which fauoured Panormitane. The Cardinall of Terraconia alſo (which vntill that time had holden hys peace) did greuouſly rebuke his partakers, that as men being a ſleep or in a dreame, they did not read the proteſtatiõ, and commaũded by and by one of his familiars to read it. But like as the aduerſaries before did perturbe the reading of the concordaunces, ſo would not the Fathers of the Councell now geue place to the reading of the proteſtatiõ. Which when Albiganenſis did conſider he cõmaunded the writing to be brought vnto him, and as he began to ſpeak, ſodenly Arelatenſis roſe vp, with a great number of the fathers to depart: which thing pleaſed yͤ cardinall of Terraconia and Panormitan very well, for that they hoped that they alone with theyr adherentes, ſhoulde remayne in the Church. They exhorted Arelatēſis to reuoke the concluſiõ, and to make another.

Euery man may determine in matters of faith, hauing the ſcripture on his part.

Contention in the councell about reading of the proteſtation.

There was in that congregation in his place George the Prothonotarye of Bardaxina, ſitting ſomewhat beneath his vncle, the Cardinall of Terraconia, a man but yong of age, but graue in wiſedome, and noble in humanity: who as ſoone as he ſawe the Cardinall Arelatenſis riſe, he determined alſo to depart, and when as his Vncle called him, commaunding him to tary, he ſayd: God forbid father that I ſhould tary in your congregatiõ, or do any thing cõtrary to the othe which I haue takē. By which words he declared his excellent vertue and nobility, & admoniſhed our men which remained, of thoſe things which they had to do. His voyce was the voyce of the holy ghoſt, and words more neceſſary, then could be thought. For if he had not ſpoken that word, the fathers of the Councell had peraduenture departed, and gone theyr way, and the other remaining in the church, had made another cõcluſiõ which

How God worketh by occaſiõ.

they would haue affirmed to haue ben of force, becauſe they would ſay the laſt concluſion was to be receiued. But many being warned by the wordes of the Prothonatary, and calling to remembraunce the like chaunce of other Councels before, called backe agayne the multitude which were departing, and cried vpon the Cardinall and the Patriarke to ſit downe agayne, & that they ſhould not leaue ẏ church voyd and quiet for theyr aduerſaryes. Whereupon, ſodenly all the whole multitude ſate downe, and the gates were ſhut agayne. In the meane time Matheus Albiganenſis a biſhop, read the proteſtation to none els but to himſelfe alone, for it could not be heard for noyſe: which being ended the Lombardes and the Cathelanes confirmed the proteſtation. When the Cardinal of Terraconia ſayd that he did agree to that diſſenſion, they marueiled at that ſaying. And whẽ ſome ſmiled & laughed at him: what ſayd he, ye fooles, do ye mocke me? do not the Ambaſſadors of my king diſſent from you? what do you marueil then if I do ſay I cõſent vnto theyr diſſention? And with theſe wordes, he and almoſt all the Arragones, Lombardes and Cathelanes departed, all the other taryed ſtill. And albeit it was ſomewhat late (for it was paſt ij. at after noone) Arelatenſis ſeeing the congregation quiet, commaunded the affayres of priuate perſons to be read, as the maner is: which beynge ended, he commaũded alſo the publicke affayres to be read, & willed the concluſions & the forme of the decree to be red agayne. There remayned in the congregation, the Ambaſſadors of the Empyre and of Fraunce, talking together of theyr affayres. Notwithſtanding the biſhop of Turnõ heard mention made of the cõcluſions, & turning himſelfe to the Biſhop of Lubecke, ſayd: lo, the matters of fayth are now in hand again, let vs go hẽce I pray you that we be not an offence vnto others, or that we be not ſayd to diſſent from the other Ambaſſadors. To whom the Biſhop of Lubecke aunſwered: tary father, tary here, are not the concluſions moſt true? why are you afrayd to be here for ẏ truth? theſe wordes were not heard of many, for they ſpake them ſoftely betwene themſelues. Notwithſtanding I heard it, for I ſitting at theyr feet, did diligẽtly obſerue what they ſaid. Arelatenſis, after all thinges were read, which he thought neceſſary, at the requeſt of the deputyes concluded, and ſo making an end diſmiſſed the congregation. Twiſe it is declared, with how great difficulty Arelatẽſis concluded forſo much as neither the matter nor the forme could be cõcluded without diſſenſion:* and the concluſions were miraculous, and paſt all mens hope, but were obteined by the induſtry of Arelatenſis, or rather by the ſpeciall gift of the holy Ghoſt.

Albiganenſis readeth the proteſtation, but none could heare him.

The affaires of the councell are read.

Eneas Syluius being preſent collected this. Arelatenſis cõcludeth here, as he did alſo before, not without the conſent of the deputies according to the order of the Councel.

*Eneas, you dyd not ſo praiſe this councell after you were byſhop your ſelfe.

After this, it was determined betwene the Lõbardes and Aragons to abſteine frõ the deputations for a certaine time, whiche they did not long obſerue, notwithſtanding ẏ deputations were holdẽ very quietly for a certein ſpace, neither was there any thing done worthy of remẽbraũce vntill the 15. day of May, during whiche time, all meanes poſſible were ſought to ſet a concorde betwene the fathers, but it would not be. Then Nicolas Amici promoter of the faith, was called into the congregation, & briefly rehearſed thoſe things which were done the dayes before, and declared how that Arelatenſis might poynt a Seſſion. Wherefore, forſomuch as delay in matters of fayth was daungerous, he required that a ſeſſiõ ſhould be appoynted againſt the morow after, requiring the Cardinall for his dignities ſake, in that he was called the principall of the church, and the other biſhops, that (as they had promiſed in theyr conſecration) they would not now ſhrinke from the church in theſe wayghty affayres, and ſuffer the faith to be oppreſſed: but the other inferiors he required vpon theyr othe which they had taken, to ſhew themſelues faythfull and conſtant herein. Then againe there fell a great contention vpõ theſe wordes: for Arelatenſis, as he was required, did appoynt a Seſſion, and exhorted all men to be there preſent in theyr Robes. The Biſhop of Lubecke riſing vp, made a proteſtation in his owne name, and alſo in the name of his protector, that he would not conſent, that there ſhoulde be any Seſſion, if it ſhoulde in any part derogate from the agreement had at Mentz. Georgius Miles alſo, his felow Ambaſſadour conſented to this proteſtation. When as the protector of the Councel appoynted by the Emperour, vnderſtood himſelfe for to be named by the biſhop of Lubecke, he marueiled a while what the matter ſhoulde be. But being certified by an enterpreter, he aunſwered that he would in no caſe conſent vnto the proteſtation of the Biſhop of Lubecke, and that he did not know any thing of their doings at Mentz: alſo that he was ſent by the Emperour to the ſacred Councell, and hath his charge whiche he doth well remember, and would be obedient therunto. After whom the Biſhop of Concenſe, according to his accuſtomed maner, made his proteſtatiõ & after him alſo folowed Panormitane. Whoſe wordes before I will repeat, I deſire that no man woulde marueil that I make mention ſo often of Panormitane: for it is neceſſary to declare the matter in order as it was done.

The Byſhop of Lubecke.

Conrade Winſperge a Baron.

It happened in theſe matters euen as it doth in warlike affayres: For as there, ſuche as are moſt valiaunt and ſtrong, and doe moſt worthy feates, obteine moſt fame, as in the battell of Troy, Achiles and Hector: ſo in theſe ſpirituall warres and contentions, thoſe which moſt excell in learning and eloquence, and do more then other, ſhould be moſt renowmed & named: for on ẏ one part Panormitane was prince and Captayne, on the other, Arelatenſis: but his owne will made not the one Captain, but onely neceſſity, for it behoued him to obey his prince. Notwithſtanding he was not ignoraunt of the truth and verity, neither did he reſiſt willingly againſt it: for I haue ſene him oftentimes in his library complayne of his prince, that he followed other mens Cõſell. When as his time came to ſpeak he ſayd that he did not a little marueil why the protector of the fayth, ſhoulde require the Prelates to haue a Seſſion, whiche was nothing perteining to his office, and that he ought not to vſurpe the Preſidentes place. And agayne he complayned touching the contempt of the Prelates, for the matter did preſently touch the ſtate of the Apoſtolicke ſea, & for that cauſe the ſea ought to be heard before any Seſſion be holdẽ. Neither it is to be regarded (ſaid he) that the cõſell of Conſtance ſeemeth to haue decreed, that it ſhould now be ſpoken of, for ſo much as Pope Iohn was not heard at Conſtaunce, neither any man els, to ſpeake for the ſea, by which words he ſeemed both to contẽne and bring in dout all the decrees of that moſt great and ſacred ſynode of Cõſtance: therefore there was a great tumult, and all men cried out with one voyce, ſaying: that the Synod of Cõſtance is holy and the authority thereof ought to be inuiolate. But he being ſtill inſtant, with a ſtoute and hauty courage, affirmed that the matter coulde not be finiſhed without the Ambaſſadours of the Princes, and that the Princes ought to be heard in a matter of fayth. And agayne that the Ambaſſadors themſelues cannot conſent, for ſo much as in the Colloqui holden at Mentz they had promiſed during the treaty of peace by them begunne, they woulde receiue & allow nothing that the Pope ſhoulde either doe agaynſt the councell, or the councell agaynſt the Pope: & that he doubted not, but that the three firſt concluſions declared Eugenius an hereticke, in ſo much that it was euident, that Eugenius did vehemently reſiſt the two firſt. And therefore for ſo much as the Seſſion was not yet holden, and that it was lawful for euery man before ẏ Seſſion to ſpeak what he will, he deſired and required them moſt inſtauntly, that there might be no Seſſion as yet holden. Unto whom Arelatenſis anſwered, that it was not to be doubted but that the promoter of the fayth, by his office might call the prelates to determine a matter of fayth, & ſpecially for ſo much as the deputation of the fayth and the whole councell, had ſo geuen him in commaundement.

Panormitan the Achilles of the Eugenians, and Arelatenſis the Hector of the councell.

The Papiſts extoll that which maketh for their purpoſe, but the contrary they contemne, whether it be ſcripture or prophane.

Arelatenſis anſwere to Panormitan This deputation of faith, was that cõpany of choſe mẽ which dyd determine matters of faith.

As touching the prelates, he ſayth, that albeit without all doubt biſhops haue chiefe authority: yet notwithſtanding it is accuſtomed in Councels, not to make any concluſion in the name of the biſhops, but in the name of ẏ whole councell: and the vniuerſall Church hath decreed certayne lawes in this Councell, which ſhoulde remayne inuiolate. Neither let the biſhops thinke the preſence of the inferiors greuous vnto them, when as oftẽtimes vnder a bare and torne coate, wiſedome lyeth hid, and vnder rich veſtures & ornaments, folly lurketh. Biſhops ought alſo to be mindfull of the ſaying of Domitius (whiche as S. Hierome reporteth) ſayd: why ſhould I eſteme thee as a prince, if thou doeſt not regard me as a Senator? For the byſhops ought to eſteme Prieſtes as Prieſtes, if they will haue reuerence done vnto them as Biſhops. Neither ought the Princes to be looked for, to the deciding of this matter, for ſo much as the Church is not congregated in the name of the princes: but in the name of Chriſt, which hath not receiued hys power from princes: but immediatly from God: to the defence wherof, he ſhould perceiue the inferiors to be no leſſe leſſe encouraged thẽ the biſhops, for that he did wel vnderſtand and know, that they would not onely ſpend theyr tẽporall good, but alſo theyr liues for the defence thereof. As for ſome biſhops, rather thẽ they will loſe any part of their tẽporalties, they wil ſel the liberty of ẏ church vnto ẏ princes & make them iudges and Lords ouer the Councel. As touching the actes at Mentz, he doth not regard them, for ſo muche as (as it is ſayde) they accompted without theyr hoſte: for he ſayth, he doth not vnderſtand how this can be that they had decreed neither to obey the pope, nor the councell. The one or the other they muſt needs be obedient vnto:

Saint Hierome vnto *Nepotianus de vita clericali.*

Marke how politickly and ſincerely he doth confute hys aduerſaries.

to: for there is no third tribunall, whereunto any obediẽce is due in theſe matters which concern the fayth and the ſaluation of ſoules: And finally that the Church woulde not ſuffer that theyr affayres & matters of fayth ſhoulde be determined by the iudgement of princes: for the holy ghoſt is not ſubiect vnto princes, but princes vnto him: and vpon this concluſion he would not feare, neither the loſſe of hys goods, neither any death or martirdome. And wheras Panormitane doth nowe ſhew himſelfe ſo great a defender of Eugenius, he ſayth that he doth not a litle maruell at it, for that in times paſt no man hath more publiſhed Eugenius his errors then he: by whoſe ſpecial labor & councel, both a decree monitory, & alſo yͤ ſuſpẽſion was admitted & ſet out againſt Eugenius: And now, wherupō this ſodein chaũge ſhould come, he ſaith yͭ he was vtterly ignorant, forſomuch as neither Eugenius had altered his life, neither could the church continue in ſuch a ſchiſme. wherfore he deſired Panormitane diligently to conſider, whether he ſpake according to his conſcience or not: for (ſayth he) the concluſions which nowe ſhall be decreed, are moſt generall: neither is there any mention in them of the Pope, and moreouer the verity of fayth is contayned in them: agaynſt the whiche if Eugenius did contend, it were more meete that the Pope ſhould be corrected, then the veritye omitted. And thus he making an end all were warned to come the next day vnto the Seſſion. The protector alſo deſired the ſacred Councel, that none ſhould be ſuffred to bring any weapon to the ſeſſion. For ſo much as he was ready to obſerue the ſafe conduct of the Emperour, and together with the Senate of yͤ city, to prohibite all quarrellers for doing of iniury.

No man hath heretofore more then Panormitane publiſhed the errours of Eugenius: whom he now ſo greatly defẽdeth.

The Seſſion proclaymed.

When the 16. day of May was come, all they whom the Seſſion contẽted and pleaſed, aſſembled at the houre. The Ambaſſadours alſo of the princes were come together into the quier of the church, to attempt further what they could do, and ſending the biſhops of Lubeck and Concenſe, and the Deane of Turnon, an excellent learned man, they offered themſelues to be preſent at the Seſſion, if that the depoſition of Eugenius might yet be deferred foure monethes. Who, when they had receiued a gentle anſwere of Arelatẽſis, and the other principals, returning agayn vnto yͤ Embaſſadors, they would only haue the firſt concluſion decreed, and therupon ſent agayne vnto Arelatenſis: vnto whō anſwere was made, that the chief force did conſiſt in yͤ two other concluſions, and that the Cōucel would ſpecially determine vpon them. If the Ambaſſadors would not be preſent, they ſhould vnderſtand that the concord was broken by them, which would not obſerue yͭ which they had offered. With which anſwere they departed, & the Seſſiō begā to be celebrate. There was no Prelate of the Aragons preſent at it, neither out of Spayn: and out of Italy, onely the biſhop of Groſſetane, and the Abbot of Dona, whiche for theyr conſtancy & ſteadfaſt good will toward the vniuerſall church, could not be chaũged from their purpoſe, but of doctors and other inferiors, there were a great number of Aragons, and almoſt all the inferiors of Spayne and Italy (for the inferiors feared not the princes, as the Biſhoppes did) and then the worthy ſtoutnes of the Aragones & Cathelanes appeared in the inferiour ſort, which woulde not ſhrinke away in the neceſſity of the church. Of the two other nations there were only preſent 20. biſhops. The reſidue lurked in theyr lodginges, profeſſing the fayth in theyr hartes but not in theyr mouthes. Arelatenſis conſidering afore what would come to paſſe, cauſed praiers to be made, & after their praiers made vnto almighty god, with teares and lamẽtation, that he would ſend them his holy ſpirit to ayde and aſſiſt them, they were greatlye comforted and encouraged. This congregatiō was famous, and albeit that there were not many biſhops preſent, yet al the ſeats were filled with the Biſhoppes, Proctors, Archdeacons, Preſidents, Priors, Prieſtes and Doctors of both lawes, which I iudged to be about the number of 400. or more: amongſt whō there was no noyſe, no chiding, no opprobrious wordes or contẽtion, but one exhorted another to the profeſſion of the fayth, and there appeared a full and whole conſent of them all to defend the church. The biſhop of Maſſilia a noble man read the decree, which was attentiuely harkened vnto, and not one word interrupted. When it was ended: Te Deum laudamus was ſong with great ioy and gladnes, & ſo the Seſſion diſſolued, whiche was in number the xxxiij. Seſſion, and amongeſt all the reſt the moſt quiet and peaceable.

In all Italy there were ſcarſly two prelates found which ſought the commoditie of the vniuerſall church, in Spaine there was none.

Prayers made with teares.

Amongeſt 400. doctors that were preſent, ther was not one yll worde.

The 33. Seſſion.

The day following, being the xxij. of May, the Princes Embaſſadors without all mens expectation, came vnto the general congregatiō, by that theyr doing at the leaſt, geuing theyr aſſent vnto the Seſſion before paſſed. In celebrating wherof, if yͤ fathers had erred, it had not bene lawfull for the Princes and Embaſſadours, to haue holden the councell with thoſe fathers. But it was thought that they were touched with remorſe of conſcience, and euen now to deteſt and abhorre that which they had done: as it was not hidden to the Embaſſadours of the Empyre and Fraũce. For the biſhop of Lubecke ſayde, that the cauſe of his abſence was, for that he was appointed by the Emperors cōmaũdement, to intreat a peace: wherfore it was not comely for him to be preſent at any buſineſſe, whereby he ſhould be vexed or troubled, with whome the peace ſhould be intreated. Notwithſtanding he did much commend the ſeſſion before holdẽ, and beleued the decree therein promulgate to be moſt good and holy, and the verities therin conteined to be vndoubted, & ſayd that he would ſticke therunto both now, and euen vnto the death. But the biſhop of Turnō a man both learned and eloquent, ſpeaking for him and hys felowes, ſayd that he heard how that they were euill ſpokẽ of amongſt ſome, in that they had not honored theyr king in that moſt ſacred Seſſiō, whom it becommed ſpecially to exalt and defend the fayth: which alſo for that cauſe aboue all other kings was named moſt chriſten: notwithſtãding he ſayd that they had a lawfull excuſe, in that it was cōuenient that they, which were ſẽt to intreat peace, ſhould doe nothing whereby theyr Ambaſſade ſhold be ſtopped or letted. Alſo there are two kindes of iniuſtice (ſayd he) wherby either thinges are done that ſhould not be done, or thinges yͭ ſhould be done are not done. The firſt doth not alwayes bind, becauſe it is conuenient to haue reſpect of time, place, and perſō. But the laſt doth alwayes bind, wherin he ſayd they were not culpable. But as touching the firſt poynt, they might ſeme vnto ſome to haue erred, becauſe they wer not preſent at the Seſſion: but yet in this poynt they had ſufficient to anſwere, forſomuch as if they had bene preſent at that Seſſion, they ſhould haue bene vnmeete to haue intreated any peace with Eugenius: And therfore albeit they were wanting at ſo holy a buſineſſe, in that point they followed the example of Paule, which albeit he deſired to be diſſolued & to be which Chriſt, yet for the further profit and aduauncement of the church, it was deferred. So likewiſe he ſayd, that they had now done, for that they were not abſent becauſe they doubted of the concluſions (whiche they iudged to be moſt true and holy, & whereunto they would ſticke euen vnto the death) but becauſe they woulde not be vnmeet for the treaty of peace for which they came: and yet that which they had not done in theyr owne perſō, they had fulfilled (ſayd he) by theyr ſeruaunts and houſehold, whom altogether they commaunded to reuerence that Seſſion. I would that I had bene then in the place of ſome great prelate: ſurely they ſhould not haue gone vnpuniſhed, whiche thought to haue playd bo peepe. For what doth the declaration of the trueth hinder the treatye of peace? Or if it doe hurt, why is he not counted as great an offender, which cōſenteth to him that declareth the truth, as he which doth declare it? what ſhal we need any further teſtimony? for now the Embaſſadors of the Princes haue declared Eugenius to be an enemy vnto the truth. But to paſſe ouer theſe thinges, it is ſufficient that Eugenins wrote afterward vnto the king of Fraunce, that he did vnderſtand the Biſhop of Tournon to be become his enemy.

The Embaſſadours conſent to the former Seſſion.

Two kindes of iniuſtice.

O Aeneas, you ſhould haue vſed ſuch ſinceritie when you were Pope. Beholde, the princes Ambaſſadours declare Eugenius an enemy vnto the truth.

After that the Biſhop of Tournon had made an ende, Cardinall Arelatenſis gaue thanks vnto God, which had ſo defended his Church, & after great ſtormes and cloudes, had ſent fayre & cleare weather: & cōmending yͤ good wyll of the Emperour and the King of Fraunce towarde the Church, he alſo prayſed the biſhop of Lubecke and Tournon, for that oftentimes in the Councell, and alſo of late at Mentz, they had defended the authority of the cōucell. But ſpecially he cōmẽded this theyr preſent doings, that they had opẽly confeſſed the trueth, and had not ſequeſtred themſelues from the fayth of the Church.

Arelatenſis commendeth the Ambaſſadours.

Afterward, he entring into the declaration of the matter, ſayd that he was at Pyſis and at Conſtance, and neuer ſaw a more quiet or deuout Seſſion then this, affirming yͭ this decree was moſt neceſſary, to repreſſe the ambition of the Biſhops of Rome, whiche exalting themſelues aboue the vniuerſall church, thought it lawfull for them to doe all things after their owne pleaſure, and that no one man frō henceforth ſhould tranſport the councell from one place to another, as Eugenius attẽpted to doe, now to Bononia, now to Florentia, thẽ agayne to Bononia, after to Ferraria, and after that agayne to Florentia, and that hereafter the Biſhops ſhould withdraw theyr minds from the carefulnes of temporall goodes, whiche (as he himſelfe did ſee) had no mind at all on ſpiritual matters: & therfore by how much this Seſſiō was moſt holy and neceſſary, by ſo much more the aſſent of the Ambaſſadours was moſt laudable & acceptable to all the fathers. Theſe wordes thus ſpoken, he roſe vp, and the congregation was diſſolued.

This Councel was gathered to take a way the ambition of the Biſhoppes of Rome, that they ſhuld not think they might do all things according to theyr own pleaſure: and further to reuoke them frō the care of temporal things vnto ſpirituall things, which now they regarded not.

The councell doth deliberate vpon the popes election.

Lx. dayes muſt be delayd after the ſea is voyde.

Note the Chriſtian zeale of theſe mē, which would refuſe no daunger for Gods cauſe.

Now after that Gabriel Condulmarius was depoſed from the biſhopricke of Rome, the principall fathers of the Councell being called together in the Chapter houſe of the great Church conſulted together, whether it were expedēt that a new biſhop ſhould be created out of hād, or deferred for a time. Such as thought good that the election ſhoulde be done with ſpeed, ſhewed how daungerous a thing it was for ſuch a cōgregatiō to be without a head: alſo what a peſtiferous ſicknes was in al the City, which not onely conſumed young men and children: but alſo men of middle age, and old men in like maner, and that this plague came firſt by ſtraungers vnto the poore of the Citty, and ſo infected the rich, & now was come vnto the fathers of the councell: amplifiyng moreouer, and encreaſing the terror therof, and making the thing worſe then it was, as the maner is. Neither doth the decree (ſayd they) any thing let or hinder, wherein it is prouided that there ſhould be delay of lx. dayes after the ſea is voyde: for that is to be vnderſtand, when as the ſea is voyd at ſuch time as there is no Councell holden, neyther ought we to tary or make any delay, leaſt the Princes being perſwaded by Gabriel, ſhould reſiſt: Vnto whom the depoſition of Gabriell, and the election of ſome other, is to be certified all vnder one meſſage. The other which thought good that there ſhould be a delay ſayde: that the Councell did lacke no head, for ſo muche as Chriſt was the head therof: neither did lacke a ruler, for ſo much as it was gouerned by the Preſidents & other officers: and that no mention ſhoulde be made of any peſtilence in ſuch caſe, ſeing that, vnto ſtout & ſtrong men, death is not to be feared, neither can any thing daunt or feare thē which contend for the Chriſtian fayth. As for that peſtilēce which doth now encreaſe and grow in the City, foraſmuch as iudgement is now geuen, it is to be hoped that it wyll aſſwage, which was thought to haue come for the neglecting of iuſtice. Alſo that in ſo doubtful a matter, they ought rather to vſe the princes agaynſt theyr will, then to neglect them: and that it is not be feared, but that in this caſe, God will helpe thoſe that are ſtoute & valiaunt. The matter being thus diſcuſſed amongeſt them, (albeit that there was as many mindes, as there was men) yet it ſeemed vnto them all, that it was moſt profitable to chooſe the Byſhop by and by, but moſt honeſt to deferre it.

John Segouius.

Hereupon John Segouius, a man of excellent learning ſayd: Moſt reuerend fathers, I am diuerſly drawne by ſundry reaſons, to this ſide and that. But as I way the matter more deeply in my minde, this is my opinion, that to come to a ſpeedy election, it ſeemeth good, to ſpeake after mans iudgement: but to delay it for two moneths, to ſpeak after Gods iudgement, it ſeemeth much better. I do iudge that not onely the wordes, but alſo the meaning of our decree, ought to be obſerued. Wherefore, if ye will geue any credite vnto me, folow rather daungerous honeſty, thē ſecure vtility: albeit that in deede, vtility cannot be diſcerned from honeſty. This opinion of delay took place among the Fathers, and they determined to ſtaye for the ſpace of two monethes.

Dangerous honeſtie preferred before ſecure vtilitie.

In the meane time, meſſēgers were ſent vnto the princes to declare the depoſition of Eugenius by the Synode, and publiſh it abroad.

During this time, the corrupt ayre was nothing at all purged, but the mortality dayly encreaſing, many died and were ſicke. Whereupon a ſodayne feare came vpon the fathers. Neyther were they ſufficiently aduiſed what they might do: for they thought it not to be without daunger, either to depart or to tary. Notwithſtanding they thought it good to tary, & alſo they cauſed other to tary: that ſince they had ouercome famine, and the aſſaults of theyr enemies on earth, they would not ſeeme to ſhrinke for the perſecutiō of any plague or ſicknes. But forſomuch as the could not all be kept there, it was politickly prouided, that the councell ſhould not ſeme to be diſſolued for any mās departure. And for the more eſtabliſhmēt of the matter, there were certaine thinges read before the fathers, which they called De ſtabilimento, whoſe authority continued long time after. When as the Dogge dayes were come, and that all herbes withered with heat, the peſtilence dayly encreaſed more & more, that it is incredible how many dyed. It was to horrible to ſee the corſes hourely caryed through the ſtreetes, when on euery ſide there was weeping, wayling, & ſighing. There was no houſe voyd of mourning: no myrth or laughter in no place, but matrones bewayling their huſbandes, & the huſbandes theyr wiues. Men & women went through the ſtreetes, and durſt not ſpeake one vnto another. Some taryed at home, and other ſome that went abroad, had perfumes to ſmell vnto to preſerue them agaynſt the plague.

A great peſtilence in Baſil.

The common people dyed without nūber: and like as in the cold Autumne, the leaues of the trees do fall, euen ſo did the youth of the City conſume and fall away. The violence of the diſeaſe was ſuch, that yͤ ſhould haue met a mā mery in the ſtreet now, and within x. houres heard that he had bene buryed. The number of the dead corſes was ſuch alſo that they lacked place to bury them in: in ſo much that all the Churchyards were digged vp, and filled with dead corſes, & great holes made in the Pariſh Churches, whereas a great number of corſes being thruſt in together, they couered them ouer with earth. For which cauſe the fathers were ſo afraid, that there appeared no bloud in their faces: and ſpecially the ſodayne death of Lodouicus the Prothonotary did make all men afrayd, who was a ſtrong man & floriſhing in age, & ſingularly learned in both lawes: whō theſame enuious and raging ſicknes tooke away in a few houres. By and by after dyed Lodouicus the Patriarke of Aquileia, a man of great age, and brought vp alwayes in troubles and aduerſity, neither coulde he ſee the day of the Popes election which he had long wiſhed for: Notwithſtanding he tooke partly a conſolation in that he had ſeene Gabriel depoſed before his death. This mans death was greuous vnto all the fathers, for now they ſayde that two pillers of the Councel were decayed & ouerthrown, meaning the Prothonotary and the Patriarke, whereof the one by the law: and the other with his deedes defended the verity of the Councell.

Lodouicus the prothonotary dyed of the plague

About the ſame time alſo dyed the king of Arragones Amner in Switzerland, a man of excellent learning, being biſhop of Ebron. The Abbot of Vergilia dyed at Spyre & John the biſhop of Lubecke, betwene Vienna and Buda.

Theſe two laſt rehearſed, euen at the point of death, did this thing worthy of remembraunce. Whē as they perceiued the houre of theyr death approche, calling vnto them certayne graue and wiſe mē, ſayd: All you that be here preſent, pray to God, that he will conuert ſuch as knowledge Gabriell for high Biſhoppe, for in that ſtate they cannot be ſaued: and profeſſing themſelues that they would die in the fayth of the Councell of Baſill, they departed in the Lord. In Boheme alſo departed the biſhop of Conſtance, which was Ambaſſador for the Councell. There was great feare and trembling throughout all the Coūcel. There had bene alſo in the Councell, by a long time, the Abbot of Dona, of the Dioces of Cumana, a man poore vnto the worlde, but rich vnto God, whom neither flatterings nor threatnings could turne away from his good purpoſe & intent, chuſing rather to begge in the truth of the fathers, then to abounde in riches with the falſe flattering aduerſaryes.

The exhortation of thoſe which dyed.

The Byſhop of Cōſtance dyeth.

The Abbot Dona, a true Abbot.

Wherupō, after the Lords were departed, which gaue him his liuing, he remayning ſtill, was ſtricken with the plague and died. Likewiſe a great number of the regiſters and Doctors dyed: and ſuch as fell into that diſeaſe, few or none eſcaped. One amongeſt all the reſt, Æneas Syluius, bying ſtrickē with this diſeaſe, by Gods helpe eſcaped. This man lay 3, dayes euen at the poynt of death, all men being in deſpayre of him: notwithſtādıng it pleaſed God to graūt him longer life. When as the peſtilence was moſt feruent & hote, & that daily there dyed about one hundred, there was great intreatye made vnto Cardinall Arelatenſis, that he would goe to ſome other towne or village neare hand: for theſe were the words of all his frendes & houſehold: what do you moſt reuerend father? At the leaſt void this wane of the Moone, and ſaue your ſelfe: who being ſafe, all we ſhall alſo be ſafe: if you dye, we all periſh. If the plague oppreſſe you, vnto whom ſhall we flye? Who ſhall rule vs? or who ſhall be the guide of this moſt faythfull flocke? The infectiō hath already inuaded your chamber. Your Secretarye and chamberlayne are already dead, Conſider the great daūger and ſaue both your ſelfe and vs. But neither the intreatye of his houſehold, neither yͤ corſes of thoſe which were dead coulde moue him, willing rather to preſerue the Councell with perill of his life, then to ſaue his life with perill of the coūcel: for he did know that if he ſhould depart, few would haue taryed behinde, and that deceite ſhoulde haue beene wrought in his abſence.

Eneas the author hereof eſcaped death hardlye.

The inuincible conſtancie and fortitude of the Cardinall Arelatenſis.

Wherfore, like as in wars the ſouldiors feare no daunger, when as they ſee theyr Captayne in the midſt of theyr enemyes: ſo the fathers of the Councell were aſhamed to flye from this peſtilence, ſeing theyr Preſident to remayne with them in the middeſt of all daungers. Which theyr doinges did vtterly ſubuert the opinion of thē, which babled abroad, that the fathers taryed in Baſill to ſeeke their own profite and commodity, and not the verity of the fayth: for there is no commodity vpon the earth, which men would chaunge for theyr liues: for that all ſuche as doe ſerue the world, do prefer before all other thinges. But theſe our fathers ſhewing themſelues an inuincible ſtrōg wall for the houſe of God, vanquiſhing all the craftye deceites whiche Gabriell vſed, and ouercōming all difficultyes, which this moſt cruell and peſtiferous yeare brought vpon thẽ, at the length all deſire of liue alſo being ſet a part, they haue ouercome all daungers, and haue not doubted with moſt conſtant mindes to defend the verety of the councell, euen vnto this preſent.

The time of the decree being paſſed, after yͤ depoſition of Gabriel, it ſemed good vnto the fathers, to proceed to the election of another Biſhop. And firſt of all they nominated thoſe that together wͭ the Cardinals, ſhould elect yͤ Pope.

The commendation of Arelatẽſis.

The firſt & principall of the Electours was the Cardinall Arelatẽſis a man of inuincible conſtancy, and incomparable wiſedome: vnto whoſe vertue I may iuſtly aſcribe whatſoeuer was done in the coũcell: for without him, the prelats had not perſeuered in theyr purpoſe, neither could the ſhadow of any Prince haue ſo defended thẽ. This man came not to the election by any fauor or denomination, but by his owne proper right. The reſt of the Electours were choſen out of yͤ Italian, French, Germayne and Spaniſh nations, & their Sels & chambers appoynted to them by lots, without reſpect of dignity or perſon, & as the lots fel, ſo they were placed: wherby it chaunced a Doctor to haue the higheſt place, and a Biſhop the laſt. Wherein the diſtribution of lots was very ſtraunge, or rather a Diuine diſpenſation, reprouing the deuiſes of man, wheras the prelates had determined to haue the beſt Chambers appoynted for themſelues, & had earneſtly contẽded before to haue theyr chambers appoynted according to theyr dignity.

The councel of Marcus.

The next day after, there was a Seſſion holdẽ, wherein Marcus a famous Diuine, made an Oration vnto the Electors, wherein he reckoned vp the manifolde crimes of Gabriel, whiche was depoſed. He endeuored to perſwade the Electours to chooſe ſuch a man, which ſhoulde in all pointes, be contrary vnto Gabriel, & eſchew all his vices: that as he, through his manifolde reproches, was hurtfull vnto al men: ſo he which ſhould be choſẽ, ſhould ſhew himſelf acceptable vnto all men, through iuſtice: and as Gabriel was couetous and full of rapine, ſo this man ſhould ſhew himſelfe continent.

There was ſo great a nũber of people gathered together to behold this matter, that neither in the church, neyther in the ſtretes, any man could paſſe. There was preſẽt Iohn Earle of Dieſtein, who ſupplyed the place of the Emperours Protector: alſo the Senatours of the Citty, with many other noble men, to beholde the ſame, whereof you ſhall heare (Chriſt willing) more largely hereafter. The Citizens were without in armour to prohibite that there ſhould be no vproare made. The Electours receiued the Communion together, and afterwardes, they receiued theyr oth: & the Cardinall Arelatenſis opening the booke of Decrees, read the forme of the othe in yͤ audiẽce of all mẽ, & firſt of all, he taking the othe himſelf, began in this maner.

The godly othe of Arelatenſis.

Moſt reuerend Fathers, I promiſe, ſweare and vowe before my Lord Ieſus Chriſt (whoſe moſt bleſſed body I vnworthy ſinner haue receiued: vnto whom in the laſt iudgement I ſhall geue accompt of all my deedes) that in this buſines of election, wherunto now by the will of the Coũcell we are ſent: I wil ſeeke nothing els, then the onely ſaluation of the Chriſten people, and the profit of the vniuerſall Church. This ſhall be my whole care and ſtudye, that the authority of the generall Councels be not contemned: that the Catholick fayth be not impugned, and that the fathers which remayne in the coũcell, be not oppreſſed. This will I ſeek for: this ſhall be my care: vnto this, withall my whole force and power, will I bend my ſelfe: neyther will I reſpect any thing in this poynt, eyther for mine owne cauſe, or for any frend, but onely God and the profite of the Church. With this minde and intent, and with this hart will I take mine othe before the Councell.

The other Electours take their othe.

His wordes were liuely and fearefull. After him al the other Electours in theyr order, did ſweare and take theyr othe. Then they went with great ſolemnity vnto the Cõclaue: where they remayned 7. dayes. The maner of their election was in this ſort. Before the Cardinals ſeate was ſet a Deſke, wherupon there ſtood a baſen of ſiluer: into the which baſen all the Electors did caſt their ſchedüls: which the Cardinall receiuing, read one by one, and foure other of the Electors wrote as he read them.

The tenour of the Schedules was in this maner. I George Biſhop of Vicene doe chuſe ſuch a man, or ſuche a man, for biſhop of Rome, and peraduenture named one or two: euery one of the electors ſubſcribed his name vnto the Schedule, that he might thereby know his owne, and ſay nay, if it were cõtrary to that which was ſpokẽ: wherby all deceit was vtterly excluded. The firſt ſcrutiny thus ended, it was found that there were many named to yͤ papacy. Yet none had ſufficiẽt voices, for that day there were xvij. of diuers natiõs nominate. Notwithſtanding Amedeus duke of Sauoy, a man of ſinguler vertue, ſurmounted them all: for in the firſt ſcrutiny he had the voyce of xvj. Electors which iudged him worthy to gouerne the church.

A ſcrutinie is a priuie election by voyces. Amedeus Duke of Sauoy.

After this, there was diligent inquiſition had in the Councell, touching thoſe whiche were named of the Electors, and as euery mans opinion ſerued him, he did either prayſe or diſcommẽd thoſe which were nominate. Notwithſtanding there was ſuche reporte made of Amedeus, that in the next Scrutiny, which was holden in the Nonas of Nouember, the ſayd Amedeus had 21. voices, and likewiſe in the 3. and 4. Scrutinye 21. voyces. And for ſo muche as there was none found in all the ſcrutiny to haue 2. partes all yͤ other ſchedules were burnt. And forſomuch as there lacked but onely one voyce to the election of yͤ high biſhop, they fell vnto prayer, deſiring God that he would vouchſafe to direct theyr mindes to an vnity and concorde, worthely to elect and chuſe him which ſhoulde take the charge ouer the flocke of God. Forſomuch as Amedeus ſeemed to be nearer vnto the papacy then all other, there was greate cõmunication had amongſt them touching his life and diſpoſition. Some ſaid that a lay man ought not ſo ſodenly to be choſen: for it would ſeeme a ſtraunge thing for a ſecular prince to be called vnto the Byſhopricke of Rome: which would alſo to much derogate frõ the eccleſiaſticall ſtate, as though there were none therein meete or worthy for that dignity. Other ſome ſayde that a man which was maryed and had children, was vnmeete for ſuch a charge. Other ſome agayn affirmed that the biſhop of Rome ought to be a Doctor of law, and an excellent learned man.

Prayer for vnitie and concord.

When theſe wordes were ſpoken, other ſome riſing vp, ſpake farre otherwiſe, that albeit Amedeus was no Doctour, yet was he learned and wiſe, for ſo muche as all his whole youth, he had beſtowed in learning & ſtudye, & had ſought not the name, but euen the groũd of learning. Thẽ ſayd another, if ye be deſirous to be inſtructed further of this princes life, I pray you geue eare vnto me, which doe know him throwly. Truely this man from his youth vpward, and euen from his yong and tender yeares, hath lyued more religiouſly then ſecularly, being alwaies obediẽt to his parentes and mayſters, and being alwayes indued with the feare of God, neuer geuen to any vanity or wantõnes: neither hath there at any time bene any childe of the houſe of Sauoy, in whom hath appeared greater wytte to towardnes, whereby al thoſe which did behold and know this man, iudged and foreſaw ſome great matter in him: neyther were they deceiued. For if ye deſire to know his rule & gouernance, what and how noble it hath bene: Firſt know ye this, that this man hath raigned ſince his fathers deceaſe, about xl. yeares.

Let lying Pogius be aſhamed of his falſe inuectiue againſt Amedeus.

During whoſe time, iuſtice, the Lady and Queene of all other vertues, hath alwayes floriſhed: For he hearing his ſubiectes himſelfe, woulde neuer ſuffer the poore to be oppreſſed, or the weake to be deceiued. He was the defender of the fatherles, the aduocate of the widowes, and protector of the poore. There was no rapine or robbery in all his territory. The poore and rich liued all vnder one lawe, neither was he burthenous vnto his ſubiectes, or importune againſt ſtraungers throughout all his country: there was no greuous exactions of mony, throughout all his dominion. He thought himſelfe rich enough, if the inhabitãts of his dominions did aboũd and were rich, knowing that it was the poynt of a good ſhepheard to ſheare his ſheepe, and not to deuour them. In this alſo was his chiefe ſtudy and care, that his ſubiectes might liue in peace, and ſuche as bordered vpon him, might haue no occaſion of grudge.

By which pollicies he did not onely quietly gouern his Fathers dominion, but alſo augmẽted the ſame by others, which willingly ſubmitted themſelues vnto him. He neuer made warre vpon any, but reſiſting agaynſt ſuch as made war vpon him, he ſtudied rather to make peace then to ſeeke any reuenge, deſiring rather to ouercome his enemies with benefites, then with the ſword. He maried onely one wife, which was a noble virgin, & of ſinguler beauty and chaſtity. He would haue all his family to keep their handes and eyes chaſte, and continent, and throughout all his houſe, honeſty and integrity of maners was obſerued. When as his wife had chaũged her life, and that he perceiued his Duchy to be eſtabliſhed, & that it ſhould come without any controuerſye vnto his poſteritye, he declared hys mind which was alwayes religious, & dedicate vnto god, & ſhewed what will and affectiõ he had long borne in hys hart. For he contẽning the pompe and ſtate of this world, calling vnto him his deare frends, departed and went into a wildernes: where as building a goodly Abbey he addicted himſelfe wholy to the ſeruice of God, and taking his croſſe vpon him, folowed Chriſt. In which place he being cõuerſant by the ſpace of many yeares, ſhewed forth great

Commendation of Amedeus Pope elect.

To haue a wife is no let for a good man to be elected Pope.

examples of holyneſſe, wearing no other garmentes then ſuch as could withſtand the cold, neither vſing any kind of daynty fare, but onely to reſiſt hunger, watching and praiing the moſt part of the night. Wherfore this Prince is not newly come vnto the Church (as ſome do ſuppoſe) but being a Chriſtian borne of progenitours, a thouſand yeares and more being Chriſtians, doth now ſerue God in a monaſtery.

Popes haue ben maried.

Read the 5 Epiſtle of Ignatius and you ſhal ſee that the Apoſtles had wyues, & Baptiſta Mantuanus maketh mention how that Hilarius Byſhop of Pictauia had a wife.

Eccle. 4.

But as touching that, alſo which is ſpokē concerning a wife, I do not regarde it: when as not onely he whiche hath had a wife, but he alſo which hath a wife may be elect & choſen pope. For why do the doctors diſpute, whether a maried man choſen pope, ought to performe his ducty toward his wife, but onely becauſe a maryed man might bee receiued and choſen? For as you know well enough, there were many Popes that had wiues: and Peter alſo was not without a wife. But what doe we ſtande about this? for peraduenture it had bene better that more prieſtes had bene maried, for many ſhoulde be ſaued through maryage, which are now dāned through theyr ſingle life. But hereof we will (ſayth he) ſpeak in another place. But this ſemeth vnto me, rather to be laughed at, then worthy any anſwer which is obiected touching his children, for what can children (ſpecially being of great age) be impediment or let vnto the father, being a Biſhop? Doth not the Scripture ſay wo be vnto him that is a lone, for if he fall, he hath none to helpe him vp agayne? This can not be imputed vnto the prince, for he hath 2. ſonnes, both comely and wiſe. Whereof the one is prince of Piemont, the other Earle of the Gebennians: theſe men will rule the country of Sauoy in the abſence of theyr father, & will helpe him, if he haue need, for they haue already learned to rule ouer that people. I pray you what hurt is it for a Byſhop of Rome, to haue valiant childrē, which may helpe theyr father agaynſt tyrants? O moſt reuerent fathers, the more I do beholde the ſtorme of this moſt peruerſe and froward time, the more I do cōſider the vexations and troubles which the church is now tormented withall: I do ſo much the more thinke it profitable, yea & neceſſary, that this man ſhould be choſen prince and head: I will thinke that God hath ſhewed his mercye vpon vs, if I may ſee him haue the gouernance ouer thys boate, I pray you cōſider into what ſtraights we are now driuen, with what perils we are now vexed & toſſed. What prince is it that is obedient vnto this coūcel? For ſome will not confeſſe that the Coūcel is here, neither receiue our decrees: other ſome confeſſe it in theyr wordes, but by theyr deedes they declare it to be at Florence. For albeit that by theyr wordes & letters, they do not denye that the churche is here, yet do they procure promotiōs at the hands of Gabriell, which is depoſed. This is the ſtate of the Churche: with theſe ſtormes and tempeſtes the ſhippe is ſhaken and bruſed: wicked children haue riſen vppe agaynſt theyr mother, which being vnmindefull of theyr mothers labours & kindneſſe towards them, deſpiſe her, contēn her & beat her. What is to be done herein? Shall we chuſe a bare manne, which ſhall rather be derided of our princes, thē had in reuerēce? The dayes are not now, that mē haue reſpect onely vnto vertue: for (as the Satyricall Poet writeth) vertue is prayſed, but is coldly folowed. A poore man ſpeaketh & they aſke what he is? Truely vertue is good: but for our purpoſe, it muſt be marked and looked vpon, whether it be in a riche man or a poore man, you muſt chuſe a gouernour which may rule the ſhip not onely by Councell, but by power alſo. The winde is great: wherfore except the Councell be good, and the power ſtrong, the ſhip ſhall be broken, & all put in daunger. The memorial is yet freſh before our eyes: that the princes doe neglect the authority which is of no force or power. Is there not great valiantneſſe ſhewed in this poynt, in that you fearing no perill or daunger, eyther of life or goods, haue ſo long contended for the truth of Chriſt? But the moſte mighty & high God looketh downe from on high, and will reſiſt this theyr pride. I haue often conſented vnto theyr opinion, which ſayde it was expedient, that yͤ tēporall dominions ſhould be deuided from yͤ Eccleſiaſticall ſtate: for I did think that the prieſts ſhould therby be made more apt to the diuine miniſtery, & the ſecular princes more obedient to the clergy: but for ſo much as at this preſēt, yͤ churches of the world are poſſeſſed, partlye by Eugenius & partly by other tyrannts, we muſt prouide that we chuſe ſuch a one, which may recouer agayn the patrimony of the Church, and in whom the office of Chriſtes vicar may not be contemned: through the ſhielde of whoſe power, theyr contumacy may be ſuppreſſed, which contēne both verity & reaſon. Whereunto no man ſeemeth vnto me more apt or meet, thē Amadeus duke of Sauoy, which holdeth the one part of his poſſeſſions in Italy, and the other in Fraunce: Unto whom all chriſten princes are allied either by conſanguinity, or ioyned by amity and frēdſhip, & whoſe vertue, how famous it is, I haue already declared. Why doe we then ſtay or doubte to chuſe him? then whome Gabriell feareth no mā more. Let him therfore periſh with the ſword wherewithall he hath ſtricken. There is no man which can more pacify the church then he. Do you require deuotion in a biſhop? there is no man more deuout thē he. Do you require prudēce? Now ye vnderſtād by his former life, what maner of man he is. If ye ſeek for iuſtice, his people are a witnes therof: ſo yͭ whether you ſeeke for vertue or power, all are here preſent before you. Wherupon do ye ſtay? Go to I pray you: chuſe this man. He will augment the fayth: he will reforme maners, and preſerue the authority of the Church. Haue ye not heard theſe troubles of the church to haue bene afore ſpoken of, and that the time now preſent ſhould be an end of al troubles? Haue ye not heard that about this time, there ſhould a Pope be choſen, which ſhould comfort Syō, and ſet all things in peace? And who I pray you ſhould he be that could fulfill theſe thinges, except we chuſe this man? Beleue me, theſe ſayinges muſt be fulfilled, & I truſt that God will moue your minds thereunto. Notwithſtāding, do whatſoeuer ye ſhall think moſt good and holy.

Schiſme in the Church.

Good it were that temporall dominions were deuided from the Church.

Amedeus Duke of Sauoy choſen Pope.

When he had ſpoken theſe wordes, the greateſt nūber of the electors ſemed to conſent vnto him, and his wordes tooke ſuch effect, that in the next Scrutiny, the matter was finiſhed and ended, and when the Scrutiny was opened, it was found that Amedius, the moſt deuout duke of Sauoy according to the decree of the Councell, was choſen Pope. Wherfore ſodenly there was great ioy & gladnes amongſt them, and all men highly commended theyr doings. Then the Cardinall Arelatenſis, publiſhed vnto thē the name of the elect biſhop. After this, al the prelats in their robes, pōtificalibus, and miters, and all the clergye of the city cōming vnto the conclaue, the electours being likewiſe adourned, they brought thē vnto yͤ great church, where as after great thankes geuen vnto God, and the electiō agayne declared vnto the people, a Hymne being ſong for ioy, the cōgregation was diſſolued.

Pope Felix. 5.

The numb of people a the coronati on of P. Felix.

The popes two ſonnes ſeruing at the coronation.

The valuation of the popes crown

This Amedeus aforeſayd, was a man of reuerent age, of comely ſtature, of graue and diſcreet behauiour: alſo before maried. Who thus being elect for Pope about Nouember, was called Felix the v. and was crowned in the city of Baſill, in the month of Iuly. There were preſent at his coronation Lewes Duke of Sauoy: Philip Earle Gebenēſ. Lewes Marques of Salutze: The Marques of Rotelen: Cōrade of Winſperghey, Chāberlain of the Empire: The Earle of Dierſtein: The Ambaſſadours of the Cittyes of Straſbrough, Berne, Friburge, Solatorne, with a great multitude of other beſide, to the vew of 50000. perſons. At this coronation, the Popes two ſonnes did ſerue and miniſter to theyr father. Lewes Cardinal of Hoſtia did ſet on his head, the pontificall Diademe, which was eſteemed at 30. thouſand crownes. It were long here to recite yͤ whole order and ſolemnity of the proceſſion, or the Popes ryding about the City. Firſt proceeded the Pope vnder his Canaby of cloth of gold, hauing on his head a triple crown, and bleſſing the people as he went. By him wēt the Marques of Rotelen, and Conrade of Winſperge, leading his horſe by the bridle. The proceſſion finiſhed, they went to dinner, which laſted foure full houres, being exceſſiuely ſumptuous: where the Popes two ſonnes were butlers to his cup. The Marques of Salutze was the ſtuard. &c.

The Popes dinner and ſeruice.

Volat. lib. 3.

A note for our gentlemē, & lords, to learne how to hūt, and what dogges to keepe.

Of this Fœlix, thus writeth Volaterane in his 3. booke, that he being deſired of certayne of the Ambaſſadours, if he had any dogges or houndes to ſhew them: he willed them the next day to repayre to him, and he woulde ſhew vnto them ſuch as he had. When the Ambaſſadours, according to the appoyntment, were come, he ſheweth vnto them, a great number of poore people and beggers ſitting at his tables at meat, declaring, that thoſe were hys houndes, which he euery day vſed to feede: hunting with them (he truſted) for the glory of heauen to come.

And thus you haue heard the ſtate of this Councell hetherto, which Councell endured a long ſeaſon, the ſpace of 17. yeares.

The death of Sigiſmūd the Emperour.

Albertus 2. Emperour.

Anno 1438.

The death of Albertus 2.

About the 6. yeare of the Coūcell, Sigiſmund the Emperour dyed, leauing but one daughter to ſucceede hym in his kingdomes: whom he had maryed to Albert 2. Duke of Auſtricke, which firſt ſucceeded in the kingdome of Hūgary and Boheme, being a ſore aduerſary to the Bohemians: and afterward was made Emperour. an. 1438. and raigned Emperour but 2. yeares, leauing his wyfe, which was Sigiſmūd his daughter, great wͭ childe. After which Albert, ſucceeded his brother Frederick the third Duke of Auſtrich, in the Empire. &c. whereof more (Chriſt willing) hereafter.

In the meane time, Eugenius hearing of the death of Sigiſmund aboue recited, began to worke the diſſolutiō of the Councel of Baſill, and to transferre it to Ferraria, pretending the comming of the Grecians. Notwithſtanding the Councel of Baſill, through the diſpoſition of God, and the worthines of Cardinall Arelatenſis, conſtantly endured. Albeit in the ſaid Councell were many ſtops and practiſes to empeach the ſame, beſide the ſore plague of peſtilence, which fell in the Citie, during the ſayd Councell. In the which plague time, beſides the death of many worthy men, Æneas Syluius alſo himſelfe, the writer & compiler of the whole hiſtory of that Councell ſitting at the ſeete of the Biſhops of Tournon, and of Lubecke, lay ſicke iij. dayes of the ſame ſore, as is aboue touched, and neuer thought to eſcape. They that died, departed with this exhortation, deſiring mē to pray to God, that he would conuert the harts of them that ſtooke to Eugenius as Pope, againſt that Councell, as partly is afore noted, and now repeated againe for the better marking. Arelatenſis being moſt inſtantly exhorted by his frends to flie that danger, could by no meanes be intreated to auoide, fearing more the daunger of the Church, then of his owne life.

The plague at Baſill, in time of the councell.

Aeneas Siluius, ſick of the plague at Baſil.

The cōſtant zeale of Arelatenſis to the truth.

Beſide theſe ſo great difficulties & obſtacles to ſtay and hinder this Councell, ſtrange it was to behold the mutation of mens minds. Of whom, ſuch as firſt ſeemed to fauour yͤ Councell, after did impugne it: and ſuch as before were againſt it, in the end ſhewed themſelues moſt frends vnto the ſame. The chiefe Cardinals & prelates, the more they had to looſe, the ſooner they ſlipt away, or els lurked in houſes or townes neare, and abſented thēſelues for feare: ſo that the ſtay of the Councell moſt reſted vpō their Proctours, Doctours, Archdeacōs, Deanes, Prouoſtes, Priours, and ſuch other of yͤ inferiour ſort. Whereof Æneas Syluius in his 183. Epiſtle, maketh this relation, where one Caſpar Schlicke the Emperours Chauncelour writeth to the Cardinal Iulian in theſe words: Thoſe Cardinals (ſaith he) which ſo long time magnified ſo highly the authoritie of the Church, and of generall Councels, ſeeming, as though they were ready to ſpend their liues for yͤ ſame, now at the ſight of one letter from their king (wherin yet no death was threatned, but onely loſſe of their promotions) ſlipt away frō Baſil. And in yͤ ſame Epiſtle deridingly commendeth thē, as wiſe men, that had rather loſe their faith, then their flocke. Albeit (ſaith he) they departed not farre away, but remained about Solotorne, waiting for other commandements from their Prince. Whereby it may appeare, how they did ſhrinke away not willingly, but the Burſe (quoth he) bindeth faſter, then true honour.

Quid enim ſaluis infamia nummis? That is to ſay: what matter maketh the name of a man, ſo his money be ſafe? Hæc Æneas.

Aeneas Sil. epiſt. 183. The welthy prelats ſlide away from the councel.

Welthie prelates afrayde of truth.

Fide quam plebe, carere malunt.

Promotions choke the clergie.

Moreouer in one of the Seſſions of the ſaid Councell, the worthy Cardinall Arelatenſis is ſayde thus to haue reported, that Chriſt was ſold for xxx. pence: but I (ſaide he) was ſolde much more deare. For Gabriell, otherwiſe called Eugenius, Pope, offered 60. thouſand crownes, who ſo would take me, & preſent me vnto him. And they that tooke the ſaid Cardinall, afterward excuſed their fact by another coulour, pretending the cauſe, for that the Cardinals brother, what time the Armiakes waſted Alſatia, had wrought great dammage to the inhabitants there, and therfore they thought (ſaid they) that they might lawfully lay handes vpon a Frenchman, whereſoeuer they might take him. At length by the Biſhop of Straſbrough, Rupert, and the ſaid City, the matter was taken vp, and he reſcued. Wherein, no doubt, appeared the hand of God, in defending his life from the peſtilent danger of the Pope his aduerſary. Ex Paralip. Abbat. Vrſper.

60. thouſand crownes offred by pope Eugenius, for the betraying of Arelatenſis.

Arelatenſis taken and reſcued. Gods defēce toward hys ſeruantes.

Ex paralip. Abb. Vrſper.

And thus farre hauing proceeded in the matters of this foreſayd Councell, vntill the election of Amadeus, called Pope Fœlix v. before we proſecute the reſt, that remaineth thereof to be ſpoken, the order and courſe of times requireth to intermixt withall the reſidue pertaining to the matters concluded betweene this Councell, and the Bohemians, declaring the whole circumſtances of the Ambaſſade, their Articles, diſputations, and anſweres, which they had firſt in the ſaid Councel, then in their own countrey with the Councels Ambaſſadours: alſo with theyr petitions and anſweres vnto the ſame.

Touching the ſtory of the Bohemians, how they being ſent for, came vp to the Councell of Baſill, & how they appeared, and what was there concluded and agreed, partly before hath bin expreſſed, pag. 675. Now, as leiſure ſerueth frō other matters, to returne againe vnto the ſame, it remaineth to proſecute the reſt that lacketh, ſo farre as both breuitie may be obſerued, and yet the reader not defrauded of ſuch things, principally worthy in the ſame to be noted and knowne.

The ſtory of the Bohemians proſecuted.

The Bohemians then (as is before declared) hauing alwaies the vpper hād, albeit they were accuſed by yͤ new Biſhop Eugenius, yet it was thought good that they ſhould be called vnto Baſill, where as the Councell was appointed. Wherupon Cardinall Iulian ſent thether before, Iohn Pullumair Doctour of yͤ law, & Iohn de Raguſio, a Diuine. Who cōming vnto Baſill in the moneth of Auguſt, anno. 1431. called by their letters vnto yͤ Councell, Iohn, Abbot of Mulbrun, and Iohn Gelhuſius, Monke of the ſame cloiſter: which men for the dexteritie of their wit, and experience and knowledge of countreis, were very meete and neceſſary for Ambaſſades.

Within a few daies after, Iulianus alſo came thether, as he had promiſed, and immediatly ſent out Iohn Gelhuſius, and Hammon Offenbourg, a Senatour of Baſill, firſt vnto the Emperour Sigiſmund being at Feldkirch, and afterward vnto Friderike Duke of Auſtrich, for the appeaſing of the wars betweene him & Phillip, Duke of Burgony. This done, to the intent that peace being had, not onely the Eccleſiaſticall Prelates, but alſo the Marchants might haue ſafe acceſſe vnto Baſill, and ſo bring in all things neceſſary for ſuſtentation.

They going on this Ambaſſade, receiued letters from the Sinode to be deliuered vnto yͤ Emperour Sigiſmūd, whereby the Bohemians and Morauians, were called vnto the Councell. Theſe letters he by and by, cauſed to be carried vnto Boheme. But for ſo much as he hymſelfe went into Italy, to receiue the Imperiall Crowne of the Biſhop, he left William Duke of Bauaria, as his Deputy, to be protectour vnto yͤ Councell. Furthermore, when as yͤ Synode vnderſtood that our men would take a peace with the Bohemians, after their moſt ſhamefull fighte, they ſent Iohn Niderius a Diuine, & Iohn Gelhuſius, to comfort the people which ioined vpon Boheme, and earneſtly to moue the Morauians & Bohemians, which were before called, to come vnto the Councell.

The Bohemians inuited to come to the councell.

They departing from Baſill about the end of October, tooke their iourney toward Monacum, a towne of Bauaria: where, after they had ſaluted Williā Duke of Bauaria and his brother Erneſtus, and Albert the ſonne of Erneſtus, and had declared yͤ Cōmiſſion of their Ambaſſade, and had ſhewed vnto Duke Williā, how that as ſoone as he ſhould come vnto Baſill, the protection of the Councel ſhould be committed vnto him by the Emperour: they exhorted Fridericke, Marques of Brandenberg, and Iohn Duke of Bauaria, the Senate of Noremberg, and other Princes and Lords, partly by letters from yͤ Councell, and partly by wordes of mouth, that they ſhould by no meanes, take any truce with the Bohemians, for that it might be hurtfull vnto the Church, and ſaid they ſhould haue ayd out of hand. They deſired them alſo in the name of the Councell, that if the Bohemians would ſende their Ambaſſadours vnto Baſill, they would guide them, euery man through his countrey in ſafety: which they promiſed to do. It is incredible how all men reioiced, that the Bohemians was ſent for.

After this, when as they counſelled with the Senate of Noremberg, touching the ſending of the Councels letters vnto Boheme, it ſeemed beſt, firſt of al to inquire of yͤ rulers of Egra, whether yͤ Bohemiās had made any anſwer to the former letters of yͤ coūcell which they had ſent. The rulers of Egra being aduertiſed by theſe letters, ſent him, which caried yͤ Councels letters into Boheme, vnto Noremberg. He reported how reuerētly the Councel of yͤ greater city of Prage receiued yͤ letters, and how he was rewarded.

Wherupon they conceiued great hope of the good ſucceſſe of the Ambaſſade. Therefore the Ambaſſadours vſing the Councel of yͤ Senate of Noremberge, and diuers others, ſent the meſſenger backe agayne vnto Egra, wyth theyr owne priuate letters, and with letters of the Councell: for there was no better meane to ſend the letters vnto Boheme. Much trauaile was taken by them of Egra, Friderike Marques of Brandenberg, and Iohn Duke of Bauaria, in this matter, for that they were very deſirous that peace might be had amongſt all Chriſtians. The copy of thoſe letters, whereby the Synode did call the Bohemians vnto the Councell, and other letters exhortatorie of the Ambaſſadours, and the Bohemians anſwere vnto the ſame: for breuities cauſe we haue heere pretermitted. The Bohemians not in all points truſting vnto the Ambaſſadours, required by their letters, that the Councels Ambaſſadours with the other Princes, would come vnto Egra, whereas their Ambaſſadours ſhoulde alſo be preſent, to intreate vpon the ſafeconduict and other matters.

The Bohemians laboured to come to the Councell.

The day was appointed for the meeting, the Sonday

The Ambaſſadours of the Bohemians, and of the councell meete together at Egra.

after Eaſter, which was ẏ xxvij. day of Aprill. Then came the Ambaſſadours of the Councell vnto Egra, with ẏ noble Princes, Friderike Marques of Brandenberg, and Iohn Duke of Bauaria, with other nobles, almoſt to the number of 252. horſe. But none of the Bohemians were preſent, becauſe the inhabitants of Pilſana, and the Lord Swambergius had not ſent their ſafeconduict. When they vnderſtood this by their letters, they brought to paſſe that the Ambaſſadours of the Bohemiãs, Nicolaus Humpeltzius, ſecretary of the greater Citie of Prage, and Mathew Clumpezane, Preſident of Pieſta, ſhould be brought forth by them of Egra, and the Elenbogenſes, and ſo they came vnto Egra with xix. horſe, the viij. day of May. The next day after, Henry Tocgye, receaued ẏ Bohemian Ambaſſadours before ẏ Marques, with an eloquent Oration, taking this part of the Goſpell for his Theame, Pax vobis. i. Peace be with you. Then they propounded what great iniuries they had hetherto receiued at their hands, which was the cauſe of ſo many great ſlaughters on either partie, and that they were glad that yet now at the length there was ſome hope that they ſhould be heard.

The Bohemians require pledges.

After this, they conferred as touching the ſafeconduict. The Bohemiãs required pledges, and that not of ẏ common ſort, but Princes & nobles. Which thing, for ſo much as it did not content the Ambaſſadours, and that the matter ſhould ſo be put of, the common people of Egra began to cry out that it was long of the Eccleſiaſticall Princes, that a concord was not made with ẏ Bohemians. Then Friderike Marques of Brandẽberge, and Iohn Duke of Bauaria, bound themſelues of their owne good will. The like alſo did William Duke of Bauaria, at the requeſt of the Councell. Likewiſe alſo did the Councel and the Emperour Sigiſmũd. Furthermore promiſe was made, that all the Princes and Cities, ſhoulde do the like, thorough whoſe dominion they ſhould come, and the Citie of Baſill alſo. The copie of which ſafeconduict was afterward ſent vnto Prage. This alſo was required by the Bohemians, that if it were poſſible, the Emperour ſhould be preſent at the Councell.

Princes bound to the Bohemians.

The Bohemians require the Emperour to be preſent at the Councell.

This conuention at Egra continued xxj. daies. But the Bohemiãs, albeit they heard the Coũcels Ambaſſadours make great promiſes, yet did they not fully giue credit vnto them. Whereupon they choſe out two Ambaſſadours, Nicholas Humgolizius, & Iohn Zaczenſes, which ſhould go to Baſill, & diligently enquire out all thinges. These men, Conrade Biſhop of Ratiſbone, and Conrade Seglauer Deane of Eſteine, brought vnto Cattelſpurg, where as the Marques dwelt, being ſente out by the Synode a little before, to enquire whether the Bohemian Ambaſſadours woulde come or not. When they were come vnto Biberacke, one being ouercurious, enquired of one of the Bohemian Ambaſſadours, of what Countrey he was. He aunſwered that he was a Zaczen. There (ſaid he) are moſt execrable hereticks and noughty men, &c. Who for that ſlaunderous word, as a breaker of ẏ truce, was ſtraightway carried to priſon, and there ſhoulde haue ſuffered more puniſhment, if the Bohemian Ambaſſadours, and the Abbot of Ebera, had not intreated for him. When they came vnto Baſill, they were honourably receiued wyth wine and fiſh. They tarried there fiue daies and a halfe. The tenth day of October, they came vnto the Synode, which was aſſembled at the Friers Auguſtines.

The Bohemians ſend two ambaſſadours to the councel.

Good iuſtice vpon a ſlaunderous rayler.

The gentlenes of the Bohemians Ambaſſadours.

These Ambaſſadours, when as they were returned home with the Chartour of ẏ Synode, and declared thoſe things which they had ſeene, and that the matter was earneſtly handled without fraud or diſceipt: there were Ambaſſadours choſen to be ſent vnto the Councell, both for the kingdome of Boheme, and the Marqueſdome of Morauia, which comming vnto Tuſca, were brought from thence, with xxxij. horſe, & diuers noble men, vnto Chambia. From thẽce they came to Swenkendorph, and ſo vnto Noremberg, where as beſide their entertainement of wine & fiſh, xxij. horſemen accompanied thẽ vnto Vlmes: from thence, they of Vlmes brought thẽ vnto Biberacke, and Sulgotia: there Iames Tunches a Knight receiuing them, brought them to Stockacum, and from thence the bands of the Duke of Bauaria brought thẽ vnto Schafhuſe. There they taking ſhip the fourth day of Ianuary, came vnto Baſill the ix. day of the ſame moneth. What were the names of theſe Ambaſſadours of the Bohemians, which were brought vp with 300. horſe, and how they were receiued at Baſill, mention is made before, pag. 675. When as they came vnto the Synode, Cardinall Iulian made an Oration, that whatſoeuer was in any place in doubt, the ſame ought to be determined by the authority of the Councell, for ſomuch as all men are bounde to ſubmit themſelues to the iudgement of ẏ holy Church, which the Generall Councell doth repreſent. Which Oration was not allowed of all the Bohemians.

The Bmbaſſadours of the Bohemians turn home.

The Bohemians ſend vp to the councell other ſolemne Ambaſſadours.

The oration of the Cardinall Iulian to the Bohemians. *Vide ſupra. pag.* 675.

Then Rochezanus made an Oration, requiring to haue a day appointed whẽ they ſhould be heard, which was appointed the xvj. day of the ſame moneth. Vpõ which day, Iohn Rochezanus hauing made his preface, begã to propound ẏ firſt Article touching the Communion to be miniſtred vnder both kindes, and diſputed vpon the ſame by the ſpace of three daies alwaies before noone. Then Venceſlaus the Thaborite diſputed vpõ the ſecond article, touching the correctiõ and puniſhing of ſin, by the ſpace of ij. daies. After whome Vldaricus prieſt of ẏ Orphanes propounded & diſputed vpon the third Article by ẏ ſpace of ij. dayes, touching the free preaching of the worde of God.

The firſt article of the Bohemians, by the firſt Ambaſſ.

The ſecond article of the Bohe. by the ſecõd Ambaſſ.

The third article of the Bohe. by the third Ambaſſadour.

Laſt of all, Peter Paine, an Engliſh man, diſputed iij daies vpõ ẏ fourth article touching ẏ ciuill dominion of ẏ Clergy, and afterward gaue copies of their diſputations in writing vnto ẏ Councell, with hartie thanks that they were heard. The three laſt did ſomewhat inuey againſt the Councell, Commending Iohn Hus & Iohn Wickliffe for their doctrine. Whereupon Iohn de Raguſio a Diuine, riſing vp, deſired that he might haue leaue to aunſwere in his owne name, to the firſt article of the Bohemians. The Councell conſented thereunto: ſo that by the ſpace of viij. daies in the forenoone, he diſputed therupõ. But before he began to anſwer, Iohn the abbot of Siſtertia made an oration vnto ẏ Bohemians, that they ſhould ſubmit themſelues to the determination of the holy church, which this councell doth repreſent. This matter did not a little offend the Bohemians. Iohn Raguſinus a diuine, after Scholers faſhion: in his anſwere ſpake often of hereſies and of heretickes. Procopius could not ſuffer it, but riſing vp with an angry ſtomacke complained openly to the councel of this iniury. This our countreymã (ſaith he) doth vs great iniury, calling vs oftẽtimes heretickes. Whereunto Raguſinus anſwered: forſomuch as I am your coũtreymã both by toung and nation, I do the more deſire to reduce you againe vnto ẏ Church. He was a Dalmatian borne, and it appeareth that ẏ Dalmatians going into Boheme, tooke their name by their coũtrey which they poſſeſſed. It came almoſt to this point, that through this offence, ẏ Bohemians woulde depart from Baſill, and could ſcarſly be appeaſed. Certaine of the Bohemians would not heare Raguſinus finiſh his diſputation.

The fourth article of the Bohe by the 4. Ambaſſ.

The oration of the Abbot of Siſtertia offẽſiue to the Bohemians.

Iohn Raguſinus replyeth againſt the firſt article.

The Bohemians diſpleaſed with Raguſinus.

After him, a famous Diuine, one Egidius Carlerius, Deane of ẏ Church of Cambrey, anſwered vnto the ſecond article, by the ſpace of iiij. dayes. To the third article anſwered one Henricus, ſurnamed Frigidum ferrũ iij. daies together. Laſt of all, one Iohannes Polomarius, maiſter of the requeſts of the pallace, aunſwered vnto the fourth article likewiſe by the ſpace of three daies, ſo that the long time which they vſed in diſputations, ſeemed tedious vnto ẏ Bohemians. Notwithſtanding this anſwere, the Bohemians ſtill defended their articles, & ſpecially the firſt, inſomuch as I. Rochezanus did ſtrõgly impugne Raguſinus anſwer by the ſpace of vi. daies. But forſomuch as one diſputation bred another, and it was not perceiued how that by this meanes any concord could be made: the prince William Duke of Bauaria, Protector of the Councell, attempted another remedie, that all diſputations being ſet apart, the matter ſhould be friendly debated.

Egidius Carlerius anſwereth againſt the ſecond Article.

Henr. Coldyron anſwereth to the 3. article

Iohn Pollomarius anſwereth to the 4. article.

There were certain appointed on either part to intreate vpõ the concord: who comming together the eleuenth day of March, thoſe which were appointed for the Councell, were demanded to ſay their mindes. It ſeemeth good, ſaid they, if theſe men would be vnited vnto vs, & be made one body with vs, that this body might then accord, declare and determine all maner of diuerſities of opinions and ſects, what is to be beleeued or done in them.

Certayne choſen on both ſides to determine the matter.

The Bohemians, when they had a while pauſed, ſayd: this way ſeemed not apt inough, except firſt of all, the foure articles were exactly diſcuſſed, ſo that either we ſhould agree with them, or they with vs, for otherwiſe it woulde be but a friuolous matter, if they now being vnited againe, diſagree in the deciding of the articles. Here aunſwere was made to the Bohemians, that if they were rightly vnited, and the ayde of the holy Ghoſt called for, they ſhould not erre in the deciding of the matter, forſomuch as euery Chriſtian ought to beleeue that determination: which if they woulde do, it would breede a moſt firme & ſtrong concord and amity on either part. But this anſwer ſatiſfied them not, in ſo much the other three roſe vp, and diſputed againſt the anſwers which were geuen. At that time Cardinall Iulian Preſident of the Councell, made this oration vnto the Bohemian Ambaſſadours.

This ſacred Synode, ſayth he, hath now by the ſpace of ten daies, patiently heard ẏ propoſitions of your foure articles, The oration of Cardinal Iulian.

articles, and afterward he annexed: you haue propounded ſaith he, four articles, but we vnderſtand that beſide theſe foure, you haue many other ſtrange doctrines, wherein ye diſſent from vs. Wherefore it is neceſſary, if that a perfect vnity and fraternity ſhall follow betweene vs, that al theſe things be declared in the councell, to the end that by the grace of the holy Ghoſt, which is the author of peace and truth, due prouiſion may be made therein. For wee haue not gathered theſe things of light coniectures, but haue heard them of credible perſons, and partly heere are ſome preſent, which haue ſeene them with their owne eies in Boheme, and partly we do gather it by our owne report: for maiſter Nicholas, which was the ſecond that did propound, amongſt other things alledged, that Iohn Wickliffe was an Euangelicall Doctor. If ye beleeue him to be a true Doctor, it followeth that you muſt repute his works as authentike: If ye do not ſo thinke, it is reaſon that it ſhould be opened vnto vs.

Nicolas the 2. propounder, charged by the Cardinall, for the commẽding of Ioh. Wickliffe.

Wherefore we deſire you, that you will certifie vs vpon theſe and certaine other pointes, what you do beleue, or what credite you do giue vnto them. But we do not require that you ſhould now declare your reaſons, but it ſhall ſatiſfie vs, if you will anſwere vnto euery article by this word. Credimus aut non credimus: that is, we beleeue or beleeue not. Which if you will do (as we truſt you will) then we ſhall manifeſtly perceiue that you deſire that wee ſhould conceiue a good eſtimation of you. If there be any thing, whereof you would be certified by vs, aſke it boldly, and we will giue you an anſwere out of hand: For we are ready according to the doctrine of S. Peter, to render accompt vnto euery man which ſhall require it, touching the faith which we hold. Heereunto the Bohemian Ambaſſadours aunſwered in few words, that they came only to propound thoſe four articles, not in their owne name, but in the name of the whole kingdome of Boheme, and ſpeake no more. Wherupon, William the noble protectour of the councell, calling vnto him four men on either part, intreated touching the pacifieng of the matter, by whoſe aduice, the Coũcell decreed to ſend a famous Ambaſſade, with ỹ Bohemian Ambaſſadors vnto Prage, wheras the people ſhould aſſemble vpõ Sonday. But they would not receiue theſe conditions of peace, which were offred, but made haſt to depart. Whereupon, the foureteene day of Aprill, there was ten choſen out of the councell, to go with the Bohemian Ambaſſadours vnto Prage.

A prudent anſwere of the Bohemians to the Cardinall Iulian.

The Ambaſſadours of the Bohemians return without agreement.

It were to long here to declare what honour was done vnto theſe Ambaſſadours, all the way in theyr iourney, and ſpecially when they came vnto Boheme by the Citizens of Prage, when as a great number of Bohemians were aſſembled at Prage at the day appointed, both of the Cleargy, Nobility and common people.

The cõming of the Legates to Prage.

Ioh. Rochezanus ſpeaketh.

After the comming of thoſe Ambaſſadours, much contention begã to riſe betwene the parties. Firſt begã Ioh. Rochezanus: who ſpeaking in the publike perſon of the communaltie, laboured to commend and prefer the iiij. verities of the Bohemians before propounded: charging alſo the Prelates and Prieſts for their ſlandrous obtrectations, and vndeſerued contumelies, wherwith they did infame ỹ noble kingdome of Boheme, complaining alſo that they would not receiue thoſe chriſtian verities, left & allowed by their king Wenceſlaus, now departed. Wherefore he required thẽ in the behalfe of ỹ whole nation, that they would leaue off hereafter to oppreſſe thẽ in ſuch ſort, that they would reſtore to thẽ againe their Ioſephes veſture, that is, the ornament of their good fame and name, whereof their brethren, their enimies had ſpoyled them, &c.

Ex Cochleo, hiſt. lib. 7.

Polomas anſwereth to the Bohemians.

To this Polomar maketh aunſwere againe, wyth a long and curious oration, exhorting them to peace and vnitie of the Church, which if they woulde embrace, all other obſtacles and impediments (ſaid he) ſhoulde be ſoone remoued, promiſing alſo that this their veſture of honor and fame, ſhould be amply reſtored again: and afterward, if there were any doubtfull matters, they might & ſhoulde be the better diſcuſſed.

The Bohemians reply againe to Polomar.

But all this pleaſed not the Bohemians, vnleſſe they might firſt haue a declaration of their four articles, which if they might obteine, they promiſed then to embrace peace and concord, which peace (ſaid they) began firſt to be broken by themſelues, in that the Councell of Conſtance by their vniuſt condemnation, burned Iohn Hus, and Hierome of Prage, and alſo by their cruel Buls and cenſures, raiſed vp firſt excommunication, then warre againſt the whole kingdome of Boheme.

Heereunto Polomar reclaiming againe, began to aduance and magnifie the honor and dignity of general coũcels. To conclude, as much as the ſayde Polomar did extoll ỹ authoritie of the Councels, ſo much did the anſwere of the Bohemians extenuate the ſame: ſaying that the later Councels whiche are not expreſſed in the law of God, haue erred, & might erre, not onely in faith, but alſo in maners. For that which hath chaunced to the greene wood, may alſo chaũce vnto the dry. But of other, the moſt ſtrõg pillers of the militant Churche, the Apoſtles I meane: ſeeme all to haue erred, and the Catholicke faith to haue remained three dayes ſound & incorrupt onely in the virgin Mary. No Chriſtian man therefore ought to be compelled to ſtãd to the determination of the Pope or the Coũcell, except it be in that, whiche is plainely expreſſed in the law of God. For it is euident, that all the generall Councels whiche haue bene of long tyme, haue reformed very few thinges as touching the faith, peace, and maners of the Churche: but haue alwayes both in their life and decrees, notoriouſly ſwarued, and haue not eſtabliſhed them ſelues vpon the foundatiõ, which is Chriſt. Wherfore the ſayd Bohemians proteſted that they would not ſimply & plainly (God being their good Lord) yeld themſelues to their doctrine, nor to ſuch raſh and haſty decrees: leaſt thorough that their haſty and vncircumſpect ſubmiſſion, they ſhould binde their faith and life, cõtrary to the wholeſome and ſound doctrine of our Lord Chriſt Ieſus. In ſumme, in no caſe they would enter into any agreement of peace, except their foure Articles, which they counted for Euangelicall verities, were firſt accepted and approued. Which being obtained (ſayd they) if they would condeſcend with them in the veritie of the Goſpell, ſo would they ioyne together, & be made one with them in the Lord. &c. Ex Cochleo Hiſt. Lib. 7.

Polomar extolleth the Councelles.

Generall councelles may erre and haue erred.

Ex Cochleo hiſt. lib. 7.

The Ambaſſadours of the councel and the Bohemians, could not agree.

Whẽ the Ambaſſadours ſaw the matter would not otherwiſe be brought to paſſe, they required to haue thoſe Articles deliuered vnto them in a certaine forme, whiche they ſent vnto the Councell by three Bohemian Ambaſſadours.

A declaration of 3. articles promiſed to the Bohemians by the Councell.

Afterward the Councell ſent a declaration into Boheme, to be publiſhed vnto the people, in the commõ aſſemblies of the kingdome, by the Ambaſſadours, which were commaunded to report vnto the Bohemians, in the name of the Councell, that if they would receiue the declaration of thoſe three Articles, and the vnitie of the Church, there ſhould be a meane founde whereby the matter touching the fourth Article, of the Communiõ vnder both kindes, ſhould be paſſed with peace and quietneſſe.

They propounded in Prage, in an open aſſembly of the Nobles and commons, the declarations of the three Articles in forme folowing.

A declaration of the Councell to the Bohemians, concernyng the firſt 3. articles.

The 2. propoſition propounded by the Bohemians, with the declaration from the Councell.

For ſomuch as touching the doctrine of the veritie, we ought ſo to proceede ſoberly & warely, that the truth may be declared, with wordes being ſo orderly conceiued & vttered, that there be no offence geuẽ to any mã, whereby he ſhould fall or take occaſion of errour, & (to vſe the wordes of Iſidore) that nothing by obſcuritie bee left doubtfull: whereas you haue propounded touching the inhibition & correction of ſinnes, in theſe wordes: all mortall ſinnes, & ſpecially open offences, ought to be rooted out, puniſhed, & inhibited, by them whoſe dutie it is ſo to do, reaſonably & according to the law of God: here is to be marked and vnderſtand, that this word (whoſe duty it is) is too generall, and may be an offence: & according to the meaning of the Scripture, we ought not to lay any ſtombling ſtocke before the blinde, and the diches are to be cloſed vp, that our neighbours Oxe do not fall therein: all occaſion of offence is to be takẽ away. Therfore we ſay that according to the meaning of the holy Scripture, and the doctrine of the holy Doctours, it is thus vniuerſally to be holden: that all mortall ſinnes, ſpecially publicke offences, are to be rooted out, corrected and inhibited, as reaſonably as may be, according to the law of God, & the inſtitutiõs of the fathers. The power to puniſh theſe offenders, doth not pertaine vnto any priuate perſon, but onely vnto them which haue iuriſdiction of the law ouer them, the diſtinction of law & iuſtice, being orderly obſerued.

Puniſhing of publicke offences how and by whom.

Note here the popes addition.

The 3. article of the Bohemians with the declaration from the councell.

Liberty of preaching, how farre and to whom it extendeth.

As touching the preaching of the word of God, which Article you haue alledged in this forme, that the word of God ſhould be freely and faithfully preached by the fit and apt miniſters of the Lord: leaſt by this word (freely) occaſion may be taken of diſordred libertie, which (as you haue often ſaid ye do not meane) the circumſtaunce therof is to be vnderſtand: and we ſay, that (according to the meaning of the holy Scripture, and doctrine of the holy Fathers) it is thus vniuerſally to be beleued: that the word of God ought freely, but not euery where, but faithfully & orderly, to be preached by the Prieſts and Leuites of the Lord, beyng allowed and ſent by their ſuperiours, vnto whom that office apperteineth, the authoritie of the Byſhop alwayes reſerued, who is the prouider of all thynges accor-

dyng

ding to the inſtitution of the holy fathers.

The 4. article of the Bohemians with the declaration from the Councell.

As concerning the laſt Article expreſſed vnder theſe wordes: it is not lawfull for the Chriſtian Cleargy, in the time of yͤ law of grace, to haue dominion ouer temporall goodes: we remẽber that in the ſolemne diſputation holden in yͤ ſacred Councell, he which was appointed by yͤ Coũcell to diſpute, propounded two concluſions in this ſorte.

Temporal poſſeſſions in the clergie mens handes.

Firſt, that ſuch of the Cleargy as were not religious, and had not bound thẽſelues thereunto by a vow, might lawfully haue and poſſeſſe any temporall goodes, as the inheritance of his father or any other, if it be left vnto him, or any other goodes iuſtly gotten by meanes of any gift or other lawfull contract, or elſe ſome lawfull arte.

The papiſts ſtãd hard for their temporal Lordſhips.

The ſecond concluſion: The church may lawfully haue and poſſeſſe temporall goodes, moueable and vnmoueable, houſes, landes, townes, and villages, caſtles and Cities, and in thẽ haue a priuate and ciuill dominion. Your Ambaſſadour which diſputed againſt him, graunted thoſe cõcluſions, ſaieng that they did not impugne the ſence of his Article, being well vnderſtand, forſomuch as he vnderſtandeth his Article, of ciuill dominion formally meant: whereby, and alſo by other things, it may be vnderſtand, that thoſe wordes, to haue ſecular dominion expreſſed in the foreſaid Article, ſeemeth to be referred to ſome ſpeciall maner or kind of dominiõ. But forſomuch as the doctrine of the Church is not to be intreated vpon by any ambiguous or doubtfull wordes, but fully and plainely: therefore we haue thought good more plainly to expreſſe that, which according to the law of God, and the doctrine of the holy Doctours, is vniuerſally to be beleeued: that is to ſay, the two aforeſayde concluſions to be true. And alſo, that the Cleargy ought faithfully to diſtribute the goodes of the Church, whoſe adminiſtratours they are, according to the decrees of the holy fathers: and that the vſurpation of the adminiſtration of the Church goodes, done by any other then by them, vnto whome the adminiſtration is Canonically committed, can not be without gilt of ſacrilege.

Thus the ſacred Councell (ſayd they) hath diligently gone about according to the verity of the Goſpell, all ambiguitie ſet apart, to expounde the true ſence of the three foreſayd Articles. Wherefore, if there do yet remaine any doubt: according to the information which we haue receiued in the ſacred Councell, we are ready by Gods helpe (who is the principall veritie) to declare the truth vnto you: If ye do receiue and embrace the declaration of the ſayd three Articles, which is grounded vpon the veritie of the holy Scripture, as you are bound, and will effectually haue a pure, ſimple, and perfect vnitie, touching the libertie of the communion vnder both kindes, which you deſire and require, which alſo you can not lawfully haue, without the licence of holy Church: we haue authoritie from the generall Councell, by certaine meanes, to intreate and conclude with you, truſting that you will ſhew your ſelues as you will continue.

The Bohemians take a deliberatiõ of the fourth article.

Theſe things thus declared, after the Bohemians had taken deliberation, they ſaid that they would giue no anſwere vnto the premiſſes, before they vnderſtode what ſhould be offered them as touching the Communion. Wherefore, it ſhall be neceſſary to declare the matter, as it was written in forme following.

A declaration of the councel touching the fourth article of the communion.

In the name of God and our ſauiour Ieſus Chriſt, vpon the Sacrament of whoſe moſt bleſſed laſt ſupper we ſhall intreate, that he which hath inſtituted this moſt bleſſed Sacrament of vnitie & peace, will vouchſafe to worke this effect in vs, to make vs that we may be one in the ſaide Lord Ieſu our head, and that he will ſubuert all the ſubtilties of the deuill, which through his enuious craftines, hath made the Sacrament of peace and vnitie, an occaſion of warre and diſcorde, that whileſt Chriſtians do contend touching the maner of communicating, they bee not depriued of the fruite of the communion. Whereupon S. Auguſtin in his Sermon vpon infants, in the decrees De conſ. diſtinct. 2. Quia paſſus, ſaith thus: So the Lord Ieſu Chriſt certified vs and willed, that we ſhoulde appertaine vnto him, and conſecrated the miſtery of our peace and vnitie vpon the table. He that receiueth the miſtery of vnity, and doth not keepe the bond of peace, doth not receiue a miſtery for himſelfe, but a teſtimonie againſt himſelfe. This we thought good aboue all things to be premiſed, that the generall cuſtome of the Church, which your fathers and you alſo in times paſt haue obſerued, hath a long time had and ſtill vſeth, that they which do not conſecrate, communicate only vnder the kind of bread. Which cuſtome beeing lawfully brought in by the Churche and holy fathers, and now a long time obſerued, it is not lawfull to reiect, or to change at your will and pleaſure, without the authority of the Church. Therefore to change the cuſtome of the Churche, and to take in hand to communicate vnto the people vnder both kindes, without the authority of holy Church, is altogether vnlawfull. For holy Church vpon reaſonable occaſions, may graunt libertie to communicate vnto the people vnder both kindes. And euery communion which, beeing attempted without the authority and licence of the Church, ſhould be vnlawfull when it is done with the authority of holy Church, ſhall be lawfull, if other things let it not: becauſe (as the Apoſtle ſaith) he that eateth and drinketh vnworthely, eateth and drinketh his owne damnation.

Conſecrat. diſt. 2 quia paſſus.

This is to ſet vp the church aboue the ſcripture.

The holie communion requireth amendment of lyfe.

Whereupon Saint Iſidore in the ſecond diſtinct. vpon the conſecration, writeth thus: They which liue wickedly and ceaſe not dayly to communicate in the Church, thinking thereby to be cleanſed, let them learne that it doth nothing at all profite them to the cleanſing of their ſins. And S. Auguſtine in the ſame diſtinctiõ ſaith, holy things may hurt the euil, for vnto the good they are ſaluation, but vnto the euill damnation. There are beſides this, many other authorities. The Apoſtle Iudas was amongſt thẽ which did firſt communicate, but forſomuch as he receiued vnworthely, hauing that ſinne of treaſon in his hart, it did profit him nothing, but the deuill by and by exerciſed more the power and authority ouer him. This is declared by a great reaſon: which of you is it, that if you ſhoulde receiue your Lorde into your houſe, woulde not with all diligence and care, ſtudy to make cleane and adorne his houſe, that he may receiue the Lord honeſtly? much more he that ſhall receiue his Lorde and Sauiour into the houſe of his ſoule, ought diligently to make cleane and decke his ſoule, to cleanſe it by the Sacrament of penance, with ſorrow and contrition of hart, humbly, purely, and truely confeſſing his ſinnes, and receiuing due ſatiſfaction and penance, to adorne and decke the ſame with the purple or rich aray of deuotion, that the hart being ſo purged and adorned with feruent deſire, he may come to that moſt holy Sacrament, whereby God reconcileth all the world vnto him.

Holy things nothing profit the wicked.

The reuerẽt receiuing of the ſacraments.

Wherfore, the moſt ſacred Synode admoniſheth, exhorteth, and commandeth, that all Prieſts ſhoulde diligently exhort & admoniſh the people, and that they ſhould vſe all their care & indeuor, that no man come to that moſt bleſſed ſacramẽt, except he be duely prepared with great reuerence & deuotion, leaſt that which is receiued for the ſaluation of the ſoule, redounde to the condemnation, through the vnworthy receiuing thereof.

Moreouer, Doctours do ſay, that the cuſtome of communicating vnto the people, only vnder yͤ kinde of bread, was reaſonably introduced by yͤ Church & holy fathers, for reaſonable cauſes, ſpecially for yͤ auoiding of ij. perils: of errour and vnreuerẽce. Of errour, as to think yͭ the one part of Chriſtes body were in yͤ bread, & the other parte in the cup, which were a great errour. Of vnreuerence, for ſo much as many things may happen, as wel on the part of yͤ miniſter, as on the part of the receiuer: As it is ſaid that it happened whẽ as a certaine Prieſt, carieng the Sacrament of the cup vnto a ſicke man, whẽ he ſhould haue miniſtred, he found nothing in the cup, beeing all ſpilt by the way, with many other ſuch like chaunces. We haue heard moreouer that it hath often hapned, that the Sacrament conſecrate in the cup, hath not bin ſufficiẽt for the number of communicants, whereby a new conſecration muſt bee made, which is not agreeable to the doctrine of the holy fathers, and alſo yͭ oftentimes they do miniſter wine vncõſecrate for conſecrate wine, which is a great perill. By this meanes then it ſhall be brought to paſſe, that if you will effectually receiue the vnity & peace of the Church, in all other things beſides the vſe of the Communion vnder both kindes, cõforming your ſelues to the faith & order of the vniuerſall Church, you yͭ haue that vſe and cuſtome, ſhall cõmunicate ſtil by the authority of the Church vnder both kindes, and this Article ſhall be diſcuſſed fully in the ſacred Councell, where you ſhall ſee what, as touchyng this Article, is to be holden as an vniuerſall veritie, and is to be done for the profite and ſaluation of the Chriſtian people, & all things being thus throughly handled, then if you perſeuere in your deſire, & that your Ambaſſadors do require it, the ſacred Councell will grant licence in the Lorde, vnto your miniſters, to cõmunicate vnto yͤ people vnder both kindes: that is to ſay, to ſuch as be of lawfull yeares & diſcretiõ, and ſhall reuerently & deuoutly require the ſame, this alwaies obſerued, that the miniſters ſhall ſay vnto thoſe which ſhall communicate, that they ought firmely to beleeue not the fleſh only to be conteined vnder the forme of bread, and the bloud only vnder the wine, but vnder each kinde to be whole and perfect Chriſt.

Receiuing vnder one kinde, for auoiding two perils.

Error grounded vpon errour.

Cauſes why to miniſter vnder one kinde.

Receiuing in both kindes permitted to the Bohemians.

The condition annexed.

Thus hetherto we haue declared the decree of yͤ Councell, Doubtes or queſtions of the Bohemians.

Aunſwere.

cell. As touching the other doubts & queſtiõs which were afterward moued by the maiſters & Prelates of Boheme, the Ambaſſadours of the Councell anſwered thus.

Permiſsion of both kindes graunted to the Bohemians, not of ſufferance, but by full authoritie.

Puniſhing of offences conſidered.

How and by whom offēders ought to be puniſhed.

Firſt they ſayd, that it was not the meaning of the ſacred Councell, to ſuffer yͤ Communion vnder both kindes by toleration, or as the libell of diuorſemēt was permitted to the Iewes: for ſo much as the Councell intending euen to open the bowels of motherly charity and pity, vnto the Bohemians and Morauians, doth not meane to ſuffer it with ſuch kinde of ſufferance, which ſhoulde not exclude ſinne, but ſo to grant it, that by the authoritie of our Lord Ieſus Chriſt, and of his true ſpouſe the Church, it may be lawfull, profitable & healthfull vnto thoſe which worthely receiue the ſame. Alſo, as touching that which was ſpoken by the ſaid Bohemians of the puniſhing of offences, that it is in Scriptures, how that God oftētimes ſtirreth vp the harts of priuate perſons, to the correction & puniſhing of ſinnes, and ſo it ſhould ſeeme lawfull vnto the inferiours to correct and puniſh their ſuperiours: they anſwered, alledging the text of S. Auguſtin in the xxiij. decree: He that ſtriketh wicked men in that they are wicked, & hath cauſe of death againſt them, is the miniſter of God: but he which without any publike adminiſtratiõ or office murdereth or maimeth any wicked theefe, ſacrilegious, adulterous or periured perſon, or any other offender, ſhall be iudged as an homicide, and ſo much yͤ more ſharply, in that he feared not to abuſe & vſurpe the power not graunted him of God: and truly, this City woulde take it much more greuouſly, if any priuate man ſhould attempt to puniſh an offēder, & ſet vp a gallowes in yͤ ſtreate, and there hang him, then if one man ſhould kill another in brawle or quarell. They alledged alſo other textes of S. Ambroſe & S. Hierome agreeable to yͤ ſame. They ſaid that no mā doubteth yͭ the law of God is duly & holily appointed, and therein is ſimply writtē, thou ſhalt not ſteale. And notwithſtanding by the commandement of God the childrē of Iſraell caried away the goods of the Egyptians, which they had borowed of thē. Alſo in yͤ ſame law it is plainely writtē, thou ſhalt do no murther. Wherupon S. Auſten in his firſt booke De Ciuitate Dei, prooueth that it is not lawful for any mā to kill himſelfe: and whē as he maketh example of Sampſon, he anſwereth with theſe words: when as God commandeth & doth affirme himſelfe to command without any doubt, who is he that will call obedience ſinne? or who will accuſe the obedience to God?

To doe that God commaundeth is obedience, and no ſin, though it be extraordinary.

The Iſraelites dyd ſteale from the Egyptians without ſinne.

Sampſon killed himſelfe without ſinne.

Here in this propoſition, you haue the words of S. Auſten for an anſwer. But let euery man well foreſee, if God do commaund, or that he do intimate the commandemēt without any circumſtances, and let him proue the ſpirites whether they be of God. But in ſuche caſes there are no lawes to be geuen, neither are they much to be talked of, for therby there ſhould eaſely occaſiõ riſe to make ſeditiõ, & for yͤ inferiours to riſe againſt the ſuperiours. For whē any man had ſtollen any thing, or killed any mā: he would ſay that he was moued thereunto by the ſpirite of God: but without manifeſt proofe therof, he ſhould be puniſhed.

Of extraordinary commaundementes, no generall lawes to be made.

Obiection.

Aunſwere.

How the laitie hath power ouer the clergie, and wherin.

The Pope wil be iudged by his own law.

Againe they ſayd that there were certaine caſes wherein the Laity had power ouer the Clergy. It was anſwered, that there were certaine caſes in the law, wherein the Laity hath power ouer the Cleargy, and oftentimes ouer Cardinals. For if the Pope being dead, the Cardinals would not enter yͤ Cõclaue to elect a new Pope, the king, prince, or other Lord or ſecular power may compel them: but in theſe caſes he is now no priuate perſon, but vſeth his iuriſdiction by the authority of the law. The like is to be vnderſtand of all other caſes expreſſed in the law.

Obiection.

They ſaid further, that no common law hath any right or iuſtice, except Gods law do allow the ſame.

Aunſwere.

It was anſwered that no common law hath right or iuſtice, if it be againſt the law of God, for becauſe yͤ law of God is the rule of all other lawes. But there is great cūning and knowledge in applieng the rule to that which is made by the rule, for oftentimes, it ſeemeth that there is diuerſitie in the thing made by the rule, when there is none in deede: but the default is in the applieng, becauſe the rule is not duely applied to the thing made by it.

Obiection.

As touching the Article of preaching the word of God, it was moued that oftentimes ſome Prelates, thorough their owne enuie and malice, without any reaſonable cauſe, do inhibite a good and meete Preacher that preacheth Catholickely and well.

Aunſwere.

Abuſe of prelates in inhibiting true preachers.

Remedie of appeale.

Aunſwer was made, how that they vnderſtood well inough that the abuſe of certaine Prelates, which did inordinately behaue themſelues, gaue a great occaſion of thoſe troubles. Alſo that they neuer heard of any ſuch cõplaints in thoſe parties, but that yͤ Prelates do fauour good preachers, and ſtirre them vp to preach, by intreaty, fauour, & promotiõ. In al ſuch caſes, there are remedies already prouided by the law: for when any mā is ſo prohibited to vſe his right, he hath remedy to appeale: and if he do truſt his appeale to be iuſt, he may vſe his right, all violēce both of the ſpirituall and ſecular power ſet apart, for the end of the matter ſhall declare if he had iuſt cauſe to appeale. Then ſhalbe declared that the ſuperiour hath done euill in prohibiting, & the pleantiue iuſtly in doyng, and the ſuperiour for his vniuſt prohibition ſhalbe puniſhed. But if he be iuſtly prohibited, and that through his temeritie, he do cõtemne the iuſt cõmaundement of his ſuperiour, he is worthy to be puniſhed with condigne puniſhment.

Obiection.

Aunſwere.

Actes of ſecular dominion to be exerciſed of the clergie, after a double reſpecte, *Vel per ſe, Vel per alium.*

Where it was moued cõcerning the third Article, whether it were lawfull for the Eccleſiaſticall Prelates to exerciſe in their proper perſon, the actes of ſecular dominiõ, hereunto it was aunſwered, that if by this word actes of ſecular dominion are vnderſtand actes whiche a ſecular Lord may do or exerciſe, then is it to be ſayd, that a Prelate may lawfully exerciſe ſome ſuch actes in his proper perſon, as to ſell, to paune or pledge, to infeofe by maner and forme ordeined by law: but there are ſome actes, which it is not lawfull for them to exerciſe in their proper perſon, but ought to haue afterward, a Vicegerent or Proctor, to doe the ſame: whereupon there is prohition made in the law in the Rubrike, Ne clerus vel Monachus ſecularibus negotijs ſe immiſceat, & in alijs rebus.

Obiection.

It was alſo moued, whether that coactiue power, whiche ought to be exerciſed by a Steward. &c. be in the handes of an Eccleſiaſticall Prelate.

Aunſwere.

Coactiue power whether it belongeth to the clergie, and how.

Whereunto Iohn Polomair aūſwered, that this queſtion preſuppoſeth an other: wherof there are diuers opinions amõgeſt the Doctours, in whoſe power the dominion of the Church ſhould be: and furthermore, whether the actiõs be in the perſon of the tutor or proctor, or if they be not in their perſon, notwithſtandyng by the conſtitutiõ of any actor or proctor (whoſe exerciſing of thoſe actions do geue authoritie vnto the actor or proctor) they be: with other difficulties, whereof it is not needefull to ſpeake at this preſent. But for ſomuch as he was vrged to ſay his opinion: he ſayd, that to ſuch as had either leyſure or pleaſure in diſputation, & would argue agaynſt him, he would be cõtēted to geue the choiſe to take which part he would, but his opinion was rather that the dominion of Church matters ſhould bee in the power of Chriſt: and the Prelates, with the other Clergy, are but Canonicall adminiſtratours in maner of tutors: but they haue more power & adminiſtration then tutors, and by conſtitutyng a Steward or Vicegerent. &c. Their conſtitution beyng duely made, the Steward or Vicegerent hath the ſame coactiue power and exerciſe of iuriſdiction.

Alſo as touching the fourth Article, for the declaration of the firſt concluſion, it is agreed that theſe wordes, Iuſte requiſita. i. iuſtly gotten, alledged, therein, determine all thynges conteined in the ſame.

The goods of the church in whoſe poſſeſsion they be properly.

12. q. 1 cap. expedit.

Alſo as touchyng the ſecond concluſion, where as the ſacred Canons and holy Doctours ſpeake thus: the goods of the Church, the ſubſtaunce of the Church, and the poſſeſſions of the Church, and diuers other opinions there be amongeſt the Doctours, in whoſe power the rule thereof ſhould be, as it is noted in the Gloſe. Cap. expedit. xij. quæſt. i. they do not intend to conſtraine any man to any of thoſe opinions, neither to exclude any of them, but that euery man ſhould haue libertie, probably to mainteine which of them he thinketh beſt.

The clergie be adminiſtratours, not Lordes of the temporalties of the Church.

The agreement betweene the Bohemians and the Councell.

Anno. 1438.

Moreouer, the Bohemians ſayd, that they did beleue that the Clergy are but adminiſtratours of the tēporalties of the Church, and not Lordes thereof, accordyng to the maner of ſpeaking of the Scriptures, holy Doctours, and Canons. Alſo the Bohemians ſayd, that in all occaſions which ſhall hereafter riſe, they would wholy ſtand to the determination of the iudge, agreed vpon in Egra, with one conſent. In this maner did the Ambaſſadours make aunſwere vnto the Bohemians. At the laſt, after much communication had to and fro, a concorde and vnitie was concluded and confirmed by ſetting to their handes. The Bohemians promiſed to receiue the peace and vnitie of the Church, and the declaratiõ of the three Articles. This was done in the yeare of our Lord. 1438. About the feaſt of S. Martin, it was afterward agreed both by the Ambaſſadours of that Councel, and of Boheme, that whatſoeuer remayned, ſhould be determined & agreed vpõ: firſt at Ratiſbona: afterward at Bruna in the Dioces of Olymutes: then at Alba in Hungary, before the Emperour Sigiſmūd, but the matter could not be ended in no place.

At the laſt the concorde was confirmed by writyng with their ſeales at Inglauia, a Citie of Morauia, the fift day of Iuly in the preſence of the Emperour.

¶Cer-

¶ Certaine petitions, which the Bohemians put vp laſt of all in the ſacred Councell of Baſill.

An. 1438. in the moneth of Nouemb.

Certaine petitions of the Bohemians put vp to the Coũcell. Anno. 1438.

VNto the moſt reuerẽd fathers in Chriſt, and our moſt gracious Lords. we the Ambaſſadors of the kingdom of Boheme, do moſt humbly and hartely require you that for the perpetuall preſeruation of the peace & concord, and for the firme preſeruation of all things conteined in the compoſition, you will vouchſafe of your clemencie, to giue and graunt vnto vs all and ſingular our requeſts, heere vnder written, with effectuall execution of the ſame.

Firſt and aboue all things, we deſire and require you, for the extirpation of diuers diſſentions and cõtrouerſies, which will vndoubtedly folow amongſt our people vpon yͤ diuerſitie of the communion, & for the aboliſhing of infinite euils, which we are not able to expreſſe as we haue conceiued them, that you will gently vouchſafe of your goodnes & liberality, to giue, grant & command, vnto our kingdome of Boheme, & Marqueſdome of Morauia, one vniforme order of the cõmunion vnto all mẽ, vnder both kindes: that is to ſay, vnto yͤ Archb. of Prage, the Byſhop of Luthonus, Olimutz, & other prelates of the kingdome and Marqueſdome, hauing charge of ſoules, & to their vicares, & alſo to their flocks & ſubiects, & that according to thoſe things which are cõteined in yͤ Bull of the Ambaſſadours, & in the cõpoſitions made in the name of the whole Councel, written in the chap. Pro firmitate, where it is thus ſaid, and all other things ſhall be done, which ſhall be meete and neceſſary for the preſeruation of the peace and vnitie. For thys done by your benefite, the whole kingdome ſhall be comforted aboue meaſure, and eſtabliſhed in brotherly loue: whereby an vniforme ſubiection and obedience ſhall be perpetually attributed vnto the holy Church.

The communiõ in both kindes to be generally graunted.

Item, we require and deſire (as before) that for the auoiding of all falſe ſuſpition and doubtfulnes of manie, which ſuppoſe that the ſacred Councell hath graunted the ſaide Communion vnder both kindes vnto vs but for a time, as neither profitable nor wholeſome, but as the libell of diuorcement: that you will vouchſafe, according to this chapter alledged in the compoſitions: Firſt they ſayde, that it was not the entent of the ſacred Councell, &c. wholeſomely and ſpeedely to prouide for our ſafety and your graunt in this behalfe, and with the Bulls of your letters, to confirme that chapter together with the other, perteining to the office of your Ambaſſadours.

Item, we beſeech you (as afore) that for the confirmation of obedience, and for the diſcipline of all the Cleargy, and for the finall defence and obſeruation of all things determined and agreed vpon, and for yͤ good order in ſpiritualties, ye will vouchſafe effectually to prouide for vs a good & lawfull paſtor, Archbiſhops and Biſhops, which ſhall ſeeme vnto vs moſt meete and acceptable for our kingdome, to execute thoſe offices and dueties.

To haue a good and lawfull paſtor, and Biſhop,

Item, we require you (as aforeſaid) that your fatherly reuerẽces will vouchſafe, for yͤ defence of the worthy fame of the kingdome and Marqueſdome, to declare and ſhew our innocencie, in that they haue cõmunicated, do, & hereafter ſhall communicate vnder both kindes: to giue out, ordaine, and direct the letters of the ſacred Councell, in maner and forme moſt apt and meete for ſuch declaration, vnto all Princes, as well ſecular as ſpirituall, Cities and communalties, according to the compoſitions, and as the Lords the Ambaſſadours are bound vnto vs for to do.

Free communiõ vnder both kindes to be permitted to all princes.

Item, we deſire you, that in the diſcuſſing of the matter for the Communion vnder both kindes, and of the commandement thereof giuen vnto all faithfull, yee will not proceed otherwiſe then according to the concordatum agreed vpon in Egra: that is to ſay, according to the law of God, the order of Chriſt, and his Apoſtles, the generall Councels, and the mindes of the holy Doctours, truly grounded vpon the law of God.

Item, we deſire that your fatherly reuerences, conſidering the great affectiõ of our people, will giue vs the deſired libertie to communicate vnto the yonger ſort, the Sacrament of the Supper. For if this vſe of communicating ſhould be taken away, which our kingdome being godly moued by the writings of moſt great and holy Doctours, and brought in by examples, hath receiued as Catholicke, and exerciſed now a long time: verely it ſhoulde raiſe vp an intollerable offence amongſt yͤ people, and their minds would be greeuouſly vexed and troubled.

Item we require you (as before) that for like cauſes your fatherly reuerẽces, would vouchſafe to permit, at the leaſt the Goſpels, Epiſtles, and Creede to be ſong & read in the Church in our vulgare tong, before yͤ people, to moue thẽ vnto deuotion: for in our Slauon language it hath bene vſed of old in the Church, and likewiſe in our kingdome.

The Goſpells & Epiſtles to be read in the vulgare tongue. The ſcriptures read in the Slauons tongue of olde time.

Item, we require you in yͤ name of the ſaide kingdome, and of yͤ famous Vniuerſitie of Prage, that your fatherly reuerences would vouchſafe to ſhew ſuch diligence and care towards the deſired reformation of that Vniuerſitie, that according to the maner and forme of other Vniuerſities reformed by the Church, Prebends and collations of certaine benefices of Cathedrall and Pariſh Churches, may be annexed and incorporate vnto the ſaid Vniuerſitie, that thereby it may be increaſed and preferred.

Incorporations to be graunted to vniuerſities, an vnlawfull requeſt,

Item, we deſire you (as before) as hartily as we may, & alſo (ſauing alwaies your fatherly reuerẽce) require you, and by the former cõpoſitions we moſt inſtãtly admoniſh you, that with your whole minds and endeuours, & with all care & ſtudy, your reuerẽces will watch & ſeeke for that long deſired & moſt neceſſary reformation of the Church & Chriſtian Religion, and effectually labour for the rooting out of all publike euils, as well in the head, as in the members, as you haue often promiſed to do in our kingdome, in the cõpoſitions, & as our fourth Article touching the auoiding of all publicke euils, doth exact and require.

A requeſt for neceſſary reformation & diſcipline.

There were certaine anſweres prouided by the Councel, to theſe petitions of yͤ Bohemiãs, which were not deliuered vnto thẽ, but kept backe, for what purpoſe or intent we knowe not. Wherefore, becauſe we thought them not greatly neceſſary for this place, & alſo to auoid prolixitie, we haue iudged it meet at this preſent to omit them. Thus haue ye heard compendiouſly the chief & principal matters intreated & done in this famous Councell of Baſill. And here (to cõclude withall) we haue thought good to declare vnto you, for yͤ aid & helpe of the ignorant people (whych iudge many things to be of lõger time & continuãce, then in deed they be, & thereupon haue eſtabliſhed a great parte of their opinions) how that, toward the latter end of thys Coũcell, that is to ſay, in the xxxvi. Seſſion of yͤ ſame, holdẽ the xvij. day of September, in yͤ yeare of our Lord 1439. the feaſt of yͤ Conception of our Lady, was ordeined to be holden and celebrate yearely. In like caſe alſo in the xliij. Seſſion of the ſame Councell, holden the firſt day of Iuly, an. 1441. was ordeined the feaſt of the Viſitation of our Lady, to be celebrate and holden yearely in the moneth of Iuly. We haue alſo thought it good, before we do end this ſtory, to annexe hereunto certaine decrees, profitably and wholeſomely ordeined in yͤ ſaid Coũcell, againſt yͤ inordinate geuing of the Eccleſiaſticall benefices and liuings by the Pope, with certaine other conſtitutions alſo, fruitfull for the behalfe and edification of the Church.

The cõception of our Lady brought into the Church. The viſitation of our Lady brought in.

During the time that the generall Councell at Baſill, was ſo diligent and carefull about the reformation of the Church, this one thing ſeemed good vnto them to be proſecuted & folowed with an earneſt care and diligence, that through euery Church, apt and meete miniſters might be appointed, which might ſhine in vertue & knowledge, to the glory of Chriſt, and the healthfull edifieng of yͤ Chriſtian people: whereunto the multitude of expectatiue graces hath bene a great impedimẽt and let, in that they haue bin foũd to haue brought greuous troubles, diuers diſorders, and many dangers vpon the eccleſiaſticall ſtate. For hereby oftentimes, ſcarſely apt or meete miniſters haue bene appointed for the churches, which are neither knowen nor examined: and this expectation of void benefices (as yͤ old lawes do witneſſe) doth geue occaſion to deſire another mans death, which is greatly preiudiciall vnto ſaluation: beſides that, innumerable quarels & contentions are moued amongſt the ſeruants of God: rancour and malice nouriſhed: the ambition and gredy deſire of pluralities, of benefices mainteined: and yͤ riches and ſubſtance of kingdomes and prouinces marueilouſly conſumed. Poore men ſuffer innumerable vexations, by running vnto the court of Rome. They are oftentimes ſpoiled and robbed by the way: troubled & afflicted with diuers plages, and hauing ſpent their patrimony and ſubſtance left them by their parents, they are cõſtrained to liue in extreme pouerty. Many do chalenge benefices, which without any iuſt title (yea ſuch in deed as ought not to haue thẽ) obtaine and get the ſame: ſuch I ſay as haue moſt craft and ſubtiltie to deceiue their neighbour, or haue greateſt ſubſtance to contend in yͤ law. It happeneth oftentimes that vnder the intrication of theſe prerogatiues, antelations, and ſuch other as do aſſociate theſe expectatiue graces, much craft and diſceit is found. Alſo, oftentimes the miniſtery is taken away from yong men, by their ordinary geuers, whiles that by the trouble of thoſe contentions, & diuers diſcourſes, running to & fro by meanes of thoſe graces, they are vexed & troubled, the Eccleſiaſticall order is cõfounded, whiles that euery mans authority and iuriſdiction is not preſerued: & the Biſhops of Rome alſo, by chalenging and taking vpõ them

Vowſons & giftes of benefices before they were voide, debarred by the coũcell: which vowſons here ar called expectatiue graces. Incõueniẽces that riſe by vowſons of benefices.

them too much the office of the inferiours, are wythdrawen from more waighty and fruteful matters, neither doe they diligently attend to the guiding and correction of the inferiors, as the publike vtility doth require. Al which things do bring a great confuſion vnto the clergy, and Eccleſiaſticall ſtate, to the great preiudice and hinderaunce of Gods true worſhip, and publicke ſaluation.

No controuerſies to be brought to Rome beyond 4. daies iourney from thence.

No friuolous appeales to be made to the Pope.

Againſt the ſuperfluous number of errours.

Againſt the popes firſt fruites.

In the ſame Councell alſo diuers other conſtitutions were made, not vnprofitable for reformation, & for remouing of certaine abuſes & diſorders brought in, eſpecially by the B. of Rome, as touching cauſes not to be brought vp and trāſlated to the court of Rome: wherin it was decreed, that no actions nor controuerſies ſhuld be brought from other countries, to be pleaded at Rome, which were beyonde 4. dayes iourney diſtant from the ſayde Courte of Rome, a few principall matters onely excepted. Alſo, that no friuolous appeales ſhould be made to the pope hereafter. It was moreouer in the ſame councell decreed, for the number, age, and condition of the Cardinals, yͤ they ſhuld not excede the number of 24. beſides them that were alredy, and that they ſhould be frely taken out of al countries: and that they ſhould not be of kin to the biſhop of Rome, or to the Cardinals, nor yet be blemiſhed wyth any ſpot or crime. Alſo for Annates or firſt fruites, or halfe fruites, it was there prouided, that no ſuch Annates or confirmation of elections, or collation of benefices, ſhould be paide or reſerued any more to the pope, for the firſt yeres voidance. All which thinges there agreed and concluded by them, were afterward cōfirmed and ratified by the French king, Charles 7. with the full conſent of all his Prelates, in his high court of Parliament in Bitures, & there called Pragmatica Sanctio. An. 1438. whereupon great vtility enſued afterward to the kingdome of Fraunce. All beit in proceſſe of time, diuers Friers there were, whych wrote agaynſte the ſame. Ex lib. Pragin. Sanctionis.

Pragmatica Sanctio per Carolum. 7.

Amongſt many decrees of the ſaide Councell of Baſil, in the 19. Seſſion there was alſo a decree made touchyng the conuerting of Iewes and yong noueſſes in Religion, vnto the Chriſtian faith.

An Acte made for the conuerſion of the Iewes.

Alſo that all Ordinaries ſhould yearely at appoynted times, prouide certaine men wel learned in the holy ſcriptures, in ſuch places where Iewes and other infidels did dwell, to declare to them the truth of the Catholicke faith, that they acknowledging their erreur, might forſake the ſame: vnto the which preaching, the ſaid miniſters ſhould compell them to reſort, and to heare, vnder paine of excluding them from occupying any more in yͤ place: prouided that the ſaid Dioceſanes and preachers ſhould behaue thēſelues towardes thē, mercifully & with all charitie, whereby they might winne them to Chriſt, not onely by the declaring of the veritie, but alſo in exhibiting their offices of humanitie.

An Acte for ſtudying the Hebrue, Latine, and Chaldey.

And to the intēt their preaching might be yͤ more fruitfull, & that the preachers might be the better inſtructed in the tongues, it was alſo in the ſame Councell prouided & cōmaūded, that the conſtitutiō made before in the councell of Vienna for learning the Hebrew, Chaldey, Araby, & Greeke tongue, ſhould by all meanes be obſerued & kept, and ordinary ſtipendes prouided for thē that ſhould teache the ſame tongues.

Againſt prieſtes that kept Concubines.

An other decree morouer in the 20. Seſſion was enacted, yͤ whoſoeuer was knowē or publiquely noted to be a keper of Concubines, ſhould be ſequeſtred from all fruites of his benefices, for the ſpace of 3. monethes, which fruites ſhould be conuerted by the ordinary, to the reparations, or ſome other vtilitie of the Church, & if he did not ſo amend, it was by the Sinode decreed that he ſhould be clearely depoſed from all his benefices.

Furthermore, yͤ ſaid Sinode did greatly inuey againſt them, which hauing the iuriſdiction of the Church, did not ſhame to ſuffer ſuch whoremaiſters for bribes and money, ſtill to continue in their filthines, &c.

By theſe decrees of the Councell aboue ſpecified, it is to be ſeene, what corruptiō had bene thē frequented in the Church of God, through the Byſhop and courte of Rome. For the more expreſſe declaration whereof, we thought it not much impertinent here to inferre the wordes of one Martin Meyre, writing to Aeneas Syluius, touching and noting the ſaide corruptions: the tenour of whoſe epiſtle here enſueth.

An Epiſtle of Martin Meyr to Aeneas Siluius, tranſlated into Engliſhe the latine wherof is extant in the former edition of this booke. *Ex Orth. Grat.*

Vnto the reuerend father, the Lord Aeneas Cardinal of Sene, Martin Meyr, Chancellor to the biſhop of Mentz, wiſheth health.

I Haue vnderſtand by certaine of my frends letters, that you are created Cardinall. I am glad for your part, that you haue receiued ſo worthy rewardes for your vertues. I reioyce alſo for my owne part, that my frend hath attained vnto ſuch a dignity, wherin he may in time to come, both helpe me and my frends: But this is a griefe vnto me, that you haue hapned vpon thoſe dayes, which ſeme to be troubleſom vnto the Apoſtolike ſea. For there are many complaintes made vnto my Lorde the Archb vpon the Pope, that he wil neither kepe the decrees of the councel of Conſtance, neither of Baſil, neither yet thinketh himſelfe bounde to the couenants of his predeceſſours, and ſeemeth vtterly to contemne our nation, and to ſeeke the vtter ruine thereof. For it is euident that the election of Prelates, is euery where reiected: benefices & dignities, of what ſorte ſoeuer they be, are reſerued for the Cardinals and chiefe notaries: and you your ſelf haue obtained the reſeruation of 3. Prouinces of Germany, vnder ſuche a forme as hath not ben accuſtomed, or heard of. Vowſons or giftes of benefices are graunted without number: yerely ſtipends and half the reuenues are exacted without delay, and it is euident that there is more extorted then is due. The regiment of churches are not committed vnto ſuch as beſt deſerue them, but vnto ſuch as offer moſt mony for them, and new pardons are graunted out daily to ſcrape and gather together monye. Tithes are commaunded to be exacted without the conſent of our Prelates, for the Turkiſh warre, and thoſe matters which were accuſtomed to be debated and determined at home, are now caried vnto the Apoſtolike ſea of Rome. A thouſand waies are inuented and deuiſed, how the ſea of Rome may by ſubtlety and by craft, extort and gette golde and treaſure from vs, euen as it were of the Turkes or Barbarians; whereby our nation, which was ſometime famous and valiant, which by their power and bloud, conquered the Romaine Empire, and was once the Lady and Queene of all the world, nowe being brought vnto pouerty, is made a handmaid, & become tributary, & being nowe in extreme miſery, hath of long time bewailed her cruell fortune and pouerty. But now our nobles being (as it were) wakened out of their ſlepe, haue begon to conſider and deuiſe with themſelues, by what meanes they might withſtand this calamity, and vtterly ſhake of this yoke and bondage, and haue determined with them ſelues to chalenge againe their former liberty. This wil be no ſmal loſſe vnto the court of Rome, if the Princes of Germany bring to paſſe that which they haue deuiſed. Wherfore as much as I do reioyce of your late obtained dignity, ſo much alſo am I moued & greued that theſe things happen in your daies. But peraduenture Gods determination is otherwiſe, & his wil ſhal ſurely take place. You in the meane time be of good chere, and deuiſe according to your wiſedome, by what meanes the vehemencie of theſe floudes may be ſtaied. Thus fare ye well.

The corruption of the Church of Rome detected.

From Haſthaſſenberge, the laſt
day of Auguſt.

The authoritie of the councell of Baſill expended.

The epiſtle of the Cardinall Iulian to the Pope, in the commendation of the councell of Baſill.

Concerning the authoritie of this generall councell of Baſill, what is to be eſteemed by the Actes & fruites therof may be vnderſtand of all good men. Neither was it of any man doubted in the firſt beginning, ſo long as the Pope agreed and conſented vnto it, But after the Pope began to draw backe, many other followed, eſpecially of the richer ſort of Prelates, which had any thing to loſe: whereof ſufficiently hath bene ſayde by Arelatenſis the Cardinall before. In the number of thoſe vnconſtant Prelates, beſides many other, was firſte Cardinall Iulian, the firſte collector of this councell, and Vicegerent of the Pope, as by hys feruent and vehement letter written to pope Eugenius in defence of this councel, may well appeare: wherin he moſt earneſtly doth expoſtulate with the foreſaide Pope Eugenius, for ſeeking to diſſolue the Councell, and declareth in the ſame many cauſes, why he ſhoulde rather reioyce, and geue God thankes, for the godly proceedings, and ioyfull agreement betwene the councell and the Bohemians, and ſo exhorteth him wͭ manifolde perſuaſions, to reſort to the councel him ſelfe, & not to ſeeke the diſſolution of the ſame. The copie & tenor of whoſe Epiſtle to the Pope, if any be diſpoſed to peruſe the ſame, we thought heere good to ſette downe to be ſeene.

The copie of an Epiſtle, which Iulian Cardinall of S. Angen, and the Popes ambaſſadour into Germanie, wrote marueilous boldly and frely vnto Eugenius B. of Rome, for that he went about to diſſolue rhe coūcel of Baſil.

Moſt bleſſed father, after the deuout kiſſes of your bleſſed fete.

NOw ſhall the whole worlde vnderſtande and know, whether that your holines haue in you the bowels of fatherly loue & charity, and the zeale of the houſe of God, whether you be ſent to make peace or diſcord, to congregate or diſperſe, or whether you be that good ſhepheard, which geueth hys life for his ſheepe. Beholde the doore beginneth now to be opened, whereby the loſt ſheepe may returne againe vnto their owne folde, nowe is there good hope euen at hand, of the reconciliation of the Bohemians. If that your holineſſe as it is your duety do helpe and further the ſame, you ſhall obtaine greate glory, bothe in heauen and earthe. But if peraduenture, you goe about to lette the ſame (whiche is not to be hoped for at your handes) all menne will reprooue you of impietie. Heauen and earth will conſpire againſte you, all men will forſake you. For how is he to be folowed, wich wyth one worde may reſtore peace and quietnes to the church, and refuſeth to do it? But I cõceiue a better hope in you, how that your holines without any excuſe, wil with your whole hart & mind, fauor this moſt ſacred coũcel, & giue thankes vnto almighty God, this great goodneſſe that this congregatiou hath not departed. Behold the ambaſſadors of this ſacred councell are returned with great ioy and gladnes from Egra, reporting how that thorow the grace of the holy Ghoſt, they haue firmly concluded with the ambaſſadors of the Bohemians, that is to ſay of the Prages, Orphants and Thaborites, amongs whome was alſo preſent the captaines of their ennemies, and ſpecially Procopius. That a ſolempne ambaſſade of all the ſtates of the realme ſhould come vnto the councell of Baſill. After that a ſafeconduite is ſent vnto them by the ſayde councel in fourme conditioned, which ſhall be done with ſpeede, This ſacred congregation is maruellouſly exhilerate and ioyfull. For thoſe our ambaſſadours affirme, that all things were handled with ſuch charitie at Egra, & that they did ſee ſuch things amõgs the Bohemians, that not without cauſe, they doe conceiue great hope of their reconciliation.

Thambaſſadors of the Councell are returned from Egra.

And at the laſt gentlely imbraſing one another, euẽ with teares of gladneſſe, they departed from Egra. The Bohemians requiring our ambaſſadors, that the matter might be ended wyth all expedition. They reporte alſo that manie thinges happened in that Treatie, whyche if any manne hearde, and didde not weepe for ioy, he might well thinke him ſelf to be but ſmally affectioned vnto Chriſt. As for 3 of the 4. articles, they ſeeme not to make any great difficulty vpon. As touching the 4. that is of the communion vnder both kindes, there is good hope that they wil followe the iudgement of the councel. Who is it then that dare councell your holines to perſeuere any lõger in the purpoſe of diſſolution, for if the councell had not ben appoynted at all, for ſo great hope and neceſsity: it ought to haue ben appoynted in this place How worthy praſe and commendation ſhould your holines doe, if that you woulde leaue Italy and all other affaires, and come hether in your owne perſon. Although you ſhoulde neede to be caried in a wagon or litter. The keping & defence of the temporal patrimony of the church, may well be diſpoſed and done by legates and vicares. This is the true patrimonie of the church to winne ſoules. For the church is not a heap of ſtones and walles. Chriſt hath not made you a keper of caſtles & fortes, but a paſtor of ſoules. Therfore you ſhuld do that in your owne perſon, which is moſt neceſſary and acceptable vnto Chriſt, and al other things be your ſubſtitutes. For ſo did the Apoſtles, which to the intẽt they might the more frely intend to the preaching of the word of God, did inſtitute 7. to ſerue the tables, and for the miniſtration of other inferior things. I heare that by the grace of God, your holineſſe doth daily recouer and amend, & if ſo be, as it is ſaid, you do viſit ſome churches on fote, ye may alſo come hether on horſebacke, for you can not go vnto any thing more profitable or cõcordant to your office, then to go vnto that place, whereas innumerable benefits and goodnes may ſpring. Let your holines vnderſtand and conſider wherin Chriſt whoſe vicar you are, and S. Peter whoſe ſucceſſor you are, and the apoſtles and holy biſhops, did exerciſe & occupy themſelues, and as you do ſuccede them in office, ſo ſuccede them in maners. But if peraduenture your holines can not come hither, I doe councell you that for ſo great a benefite, you would ſend the more part of the reuerend Lords Cardinals of the court of Rome, and command al other prelates to come hether, doe not let or hinder them that are willing to come, as it is reported you do, but rather allure them to come hither.

What the church is.

Your holines may beleue me, that only charity mooueth me to councell you in this ſort, be ye not ſeperate from your members, nouriſh your children as the henne doeth her chickens vnder her wings. And if ſo be, that you will doe nothing els, yet ſpeake this only word, Placet. That is to ſay, that it pleaſeth you, that the coũcel of Baſil ſhuld go forward. For a few daies paſt, there came newes hither, for the which your holines ought alltogether to ceaſe from your diſſolution. The reuerend father the Archb. of Lyons, hath wrytten vnto the councell, and vnto me alſo, howe that the Prelates of France, haue aſſembled togither in the city of Beturia, and there after long and exacte examination haue concluded that the councel is lawfully cõgregate in this place. And that it is neceſſary, that it ſhuld be holden and celebrate here at this preſent, and how the Prelates of France ſhuld come vnto it, he alſo directed hither the cauſe which moued them ſo to conclude, the copye whereof I ſuppoſe is ſent vnto your holineſſe by ſome other. Wherupon then doth your holines ſtay? You haue gone about as much as in you lay, by your meſſengers, letters & diuers meanes to draw backe the Prelates, and haue laboured with al your endeuor to diſſolue the councell, yet notwithſtanding as you do ſee, it is increaſed day by day. And the more it is forbidden, the more is all mens minds inflamed to the contrary, is not this then to reſiſt the wil of God? Why do ye prouoke the church to anger? Why do ye ſtirre vp the Chriſtian people? vouchſafe I pray you ſo to doe, that ye may get the loue and fauor of the people & not the hatred for all nations are greatly offended when they heare: theſe your doings. Suffer not your holines to be ſeduced by any man, whych peraduenture ſhall inculcate feare vnto you, whereas there is nothing at all to be doubted, or that doe perſwade you this to be no lawſul councel I know I ſhuld offend your holines if I ſhuld go about to proue the contrary, but it is better that I do offend you a litle in words, and profit you in my deedes, for a Phiſition layeth a burning corriſiue vnto the diſeaſe, and healeth the ſore. For the medicine can not profit, except it be ſharpe and bitter in taſt. Vnder this hope and confidence I will not feare to declare the truth. That it being knowen, your holines may the better prouide both for your ſelfe and the church It dependeth vppon the councell of Conſtance whether this councell be lawfull or not. If that were a true councel, ſo is this alſo. No man ſemeth to dout whether that councel were lawfull, and likewiſe whatſoeuer was there decreed to be lawful, for if any man will ſay, that the decrees of that councel are not of force, he muſt nedes graunt, that the depriuation of Pope Iohn which was done by the force of thoſe decrees to be of no effect. If that depriuation were not of effecte. Neither was the election of Pope Martine of any force, which was done he being yet aliue. If Martin were no true Pope, neither is your holineſſe, which was choſen by the Cardinalles that hee made, wherefore, it ſtandeth no man more vpon to defend the decrees of that coũcel, then your holines, for if any decree of that councel be called into doubt: By like meanes may all the reſt of the decrees be reuoked. And by like meanes, ſhall the decrees of any other councell be of no force and effect, for by like reaſon, as the faith of one councell is weakened, all the reſt ſhal alſo be weakned, according to S. Auguſtins ſaying in the 9. diſtinction capitulo. Si ad ſcripturas, Then ſayeth he, both the faithe and all other ſacraments ſhall be put in doubt, if that there be once any doubt made, of the force and power of any councell lawfully cõgregate. There was a decree made in the councel of Conſtance, intituled frequens. Whereby it was ordained, that the firſt councel after that, ſhould be holden within 5. yeres, and another within 7. yeres after that again. The councel of Conſtance being ended, and the 5. yeres paſſed, the councel of Papia or Sene was holden, after which 7. yeares being alſo run ouer, this councell is begon to be celebrate. To what ende then is it expreſſed in the Bull of the diſſolution, amongeſt other cauſes, that the 7. yeare is already paſt. When as of neceſsitye it ought to be paſſed before the councell can be celebrate. For theſe wordes, from 7. yere or 5. yere, ſignify according to the law, that all partes of time ſhould be paſſed, and the laſt day looked for. Wherefore it behoued that 7. yeres to be fully complete, before this councel of Baſil ſhould begin.

Eugenius prouoketh the Church.

A ſtrong argument againſt Eugenius.

Like as 5. yeares was fully expired, before that the councell of Papia did begin, but peraduẽture ſome man will ſay, that it ought to haue begun the firſt day after the 7. yere was expired. For otherwiſe the terme of the councell is paſſed. But heereunto we may anſwer that it is not contained in the chapter Frequens, that except it were holden the firſt day, it ſhould not be holden at al, neither can it be gathered either by the wordes or meaning. For it is only required that it ſhould be holden after 7. yeares expired, but whether it be the 2. or 3. day, or the 3. or 4. moneth after the 7. yere it doth ſatiſfy the chapter Frequens. For whẽ the firſt day is come then beginneth the power and liberty to celebrate the councell, but not afore, but it is not prohibited to celebrate it after, neither doth this word, In quinquennium. That is to ſay againſt 5. yeare, next following, which is alleaged in the chapter Frequens, and ſemeth to be repeated. Alſo for the 7. yeres, for it is not vnderſtãd that it is neceſſary to be holden the firſt day preciſely after the 7. yere, but becauſe it ſhould not be vnderſtand of other 7 yeares to come. For in ſpeaking ſimply of 7. yere, it is vnderſtand of 7. yeare next enſuing. Admit alſo that in the chapter Frequẽs, any of theſe wordes had bene ioyned with immediatly following, as by & by, out of hãd, immediatly, or ſtraightwaies after, or ſuch other words yet ought they to be vnderſtand with a certaine moderation, and diſtance of time, that aſſone as might be cõuenient, as theſe wordes are expounded by the lawes and the doctors, for they are enlarged and reſtrained according, to the ſubiect and diuers circũſtaunces of the matters and affaires. For it is not by any meanes likely that it was the mindes of thoſe which made the decree, that conſidering the long iourneis and harde preparation of ſuche affaires, and alſo the manifolde impedimentes which may happen, that they woulde reſtraine ſo preciſe a time, euen at the firſt daye, that if it were not then celebrated, it ſhould not be holden at all, for by ſuch ſubtill meanes, it ſhuld alſo be holden euen in the firſt moment and very inſtant after the ſame yere.

But forſomuch as wordes are ciuilly to be vnderſtand, this ſence or vnderſtanding is to farre diſagreable. For if any man will ſay, then it is commaunded to be proroged, that is alſo forbidden in the chapter frequẽs. He that doth ſo argue, doth not vnderſtãd himſelfe, nor the force of the woordes. It is not proroged if it be begon, the 2. or 3. month, but rather a continuation or execution of that which is in their power. For if it were a prorogation, then for ſo muche as a progation doth ſauour of the nature of the firſte delay, it could not be begon in the firſt month, but in the 2. and 3. it is not therby concluded that it could not be begon in the firſt, but if there had ben any prorogation made til the ſecõd month, then it coulde not haue bene begon in the firſt, as for example. I promiſe to geue a hundred after Eaſter, afore Eaſter it can not be required, but by and by after Eaſter it may be required, and all be it that I be not vrged for it notwythſtanding I doe not ceaſe to be bounde, and if ſo be I be demanded it in the 2. or 3. month after, it is not therby vnderſtand that ther is any prorogation made: Neither doth it followe, but that it might haue bene demaunded in the beginning which could not haue ben done, that there had ben any prorogation made. Alſo it is nature of prorogation to bee made before the firſt terme or day be paſſed. For otherwiſe it is no prorogation, but anew appoyntment. And albeit it may be ſaide, that then it may be long delaide, it is aunſwered that in thys poynt, we muſt ſtande vnto the iudgement of the Churche, which conſidering diuers circumſtances wold think the time mete. For the liberty of celebrating of councels was inſtitute for the profit and fauor of the church. What if it ſhuld happen that whẽ the time commeth, in the place where a councell ſhould be kept, there be a great plague, or ſome ſiege, which ſhuld continue by the ſpace of 3. or 4. moneths, and the Pope in the mean time doth not chaunge the place according to the forme of the Chapter frequens, & that thorow ſuch impediments, the prelates did not come the firſt day vnto the place, or if any were comming & were taken by the way which if they had not ben taken, had ben preſent at the firſt day in the place appoynted. Is it to be ſaid that the power of the coũcel is paſt? or that the impediment ceaſing, & the prelates cõming thither, the councell can not be holden? that truely were greatly abſurd & to much preiudiciall to the church of God, but in this our caſe, the cauſe is probable why that the prelats did defer to come at the beginning of the time appoynted For ſomuch as when the time drew neare, Pope Martin died the 20. of February. For which cauſe, the prelates might wel dout vpon ſome impediment of the councell. Alſo they taried loking that ſome ſhuld come thether in the name of the Pope, becauſe they wold not tary in that place in vaine without a preſident. As for the legate which was appoynted for the councel, whoſe preſence al men taried for, before he wold prepare him ſelfe to that iourney, he came not at the time apoynted vnto the councell, but went vnto Norrenberge, to perſecute the Bohemians according to the cõmandement of Pope Martin, which had enioyned him to go firſt thither before he wẽt to Baſil.

The cauſe of the long delay of the Prelates.

The councel of Sene.

And the ſame Legate, being oftẽtimes required at Norenberg, that he ſhuld go to Baſil to hold the councell, he anſwered, that he wold not go before he had the cõſent of the new biſhop. This was the cauſe of the prelates delay, neither is it greatly to be imputed vnto the prelates, which ſuſpected that Pope Martin woulde not haue holden the councell, & feared to bring thẽſelues in trouble, and good cauſe had they ſo to feare, thorowe thoſe things which hapned in the councel of Sene. For there were many things ſpoken which cauſed great ſuſpition. It was reported vnto me that many had ſaid, I came vnto Germany to diſturbe the councell.

Alſo this was Pope Martins minde and intent, that all beit the councel was not begon at the beginning of March, notwithſtanding the autority of holding the councel ſhould not be void. For he, when as the time of the councell approched, willed me that I ſhuld firſt go vnto Boheme, before I went vnto the coũcel, wherof alſo mention is made in the Bull of the conſiſtorie diſſolution.

But what nede we any other profe, then by your holineſſe letters, which by your letters dated the 2 Kalendes of Iune, and were deliuered vnto me lõg after the time, by the ſpace of 3. moneths, you do commaund me that my buſineſſe being done in Boheme, I ſhuld take my way vnto Baſil to hold the councel, & there to forſee vnto all things as it was enioyned me, & ordained in the coũcel of Conſtance. The ſame alſo ye repeat in the Bul of the diſſolution brought vnto me by the Lord Parentine, the wordes wherof are theſe. Vnto you circũſpection. Since your going into Germany no Prelates haue aſſembled in Baſill for the celebrating of the councel, we gaue you in cõmandement that in the meantime you ſhuld be diligent, about the expedition againſt the Bohemian heretickes which is committed to your charge, & afterward you ſhould come vnto Baſil the place appoynted for the councell, and there to rule in our place in the name of the church. What is more euident then this? If any thing were doutful by the tenure of theſe letters it were euidently takẽ away, if any man wold ſay that neither Pope Martine nor Eugenius could confirme the councel by wryting of ſuche letters, becauſe there was a prorogation which is prohibited by the chapter frequens it is anſwered, that there is no prorogation, but execution of that which is in power, or a declaration that it is not neceſſary to hold the councel preciſely euẽ at the beginning. Alſo it is no prorogation. For a prorogation is made before the terme is expired and not after, for after, it is rather called an new indiction or appoyntment. And if any mã will ſay that there cã be no new indiction made, then may this be obiected. Howe could the councel of Bononia be newly appoynted? If they wil anſwer, that the appoyntment of the coũcell of Bononia was of force, becauſe the councell of Baſill was diſſolued by your holines, then I haue my intent. For if it were diſſolued. Ergo, it was a coũcel before, bicauſe it preſuppoſeth the habit. If it were a councell before, then, as hereafter ſhalbe proued, it could not be diſſolued without the conſent of the councell, what can be more anſwered heereunto? for the greater declaration and euidence of this matter, the Abbot of Virgilia euen vpon the ſame day of the time appoynted or afore, gathering together the Prelates of the great churche and many other prelates and notable men, made a ſolemne proteſtation, howe the time was come to celebrate and hold the councel, & that he was come vnto Baſil for the ſame purpoſe, requiring them that they wold confer and intreat together, vpon matters touching the councel, and hereupon there is a publike inſtrument or teſtimoniall.

Within a month after the ambaſſadors of the vniuerſity of Paris came thither, & began to intreat of maters touching the coũcel, wryting alſo vnto the Emperour, and to the other Princes of Germany, that they ſhould ſend vnto the councel, which letters I my ſelf did ſee, neither doth the ſmal nomber of men let, for wher as aucthority is, a great nomber is not required, according to the ſaying of Chriſt, wheras 2. or 3. are gathered together in my name, I am in the midſt of them. Vpon the which auctority, the coũcels are grounded. Now therfore your holines doth manifeſtly ſee, the ſaid obiection to be but friuolous. For to what end ſhuld any diſſolution be made if it had not ben a councel: wherfore it is not to be doubted, but that it was a lawful councel, & canonically congregate. And peraduenture it is ſcarſly found where any councel hath ben confirmed by ſo many authorities as this, that is to ſay, by the two councels before paſſed, of Conſtance and of Sene, and confirmed by two Biſhops of Rome.

Beſides this, I haue heard that ſome doe report at Rome that I could not call the Prelates vnto the councell, becauſe that clauſe was not added in the Bul of Pope Martine. I greatly meruaile why this ſhuld be obiected, ſpecially ſeeing that, not I alone, haue called them, but I to gether with the reſt, which are here aſſembled in the coucel. It is a maruelous matter, Pope Martin gaue me autority by the aduice of the councel to rote out hereſies, to pacifie kingdoms, to reforme the maners of euery ſtate of chriſtendome, & yet they wil ſay that I can not cite them. Power is geuen me to iudge & to condemne, and haue I not alſo power to cite? The law doth ſay, vnto whom any power or iuriſdiction is committed, all things ſeme to be committed vnto him, without the which he cã not exerciſe his iuriſdiction, for howe coulde all the premiſſes be done, if the Prelates or others ſhuld not come hither? Alſo why is it ſaid in the chapter, Ego enim de iure iurando? I will come vnto the Sinode if I be called, if he can not be called: By whome then is it preſuppoſed that he ſhuld be called but only by the councel, or by him which ruleth the councell? Alſo the whole 18. diſtinction intreateth of no other matter, but that the biſhops being called vnto the councel, if they come not, that they may be excommunicate and ſuſpended. Let theſe men read the boke of councels of S. Iſidore, and they ſhall finde howe that in many councelles the Prelates haue bene called by the Sinode. Nowe it remaineth, that we ſhuld declare, whether the diſſolutiõ be of force or no. Wherin I do againe feare to moue your holines vnto anger. But charity forceth me therunto, for peraduenture, your holines doth thinke the diſſolution to be effectual, & therfore do perſeuer in it, wherby, for ſomuche as many offences may riſe, my conſcience doeth moue me, not to hold my peace. Firſt of all the chapter Frequens, declareth that it is not of force, for if prorogation be forbidden & prohibited, which is a ſmal mater, much more is diſſolutiõ, which is a greater matter, for it is a greater matter to take away then to defer, for by proroging, a thing is but deferred, & by diſſoluing it is vtterly taken away. Alſo theſe men ſay, that the ſaid cõſtitution in the chapter Frequens, may be made void, for ſomuch, aſſone as the councel is begon, it may be diſſolued without any thing don, as it is ſaid that it was done at Senes, and nowe they ſay alſo that your holines hath ben peruerſly informed touching the diſſolution. They ſay alſo that the ſayd diſſolution doth manifeſtly tend to the ſubuerſion of faith, the ruine of the church, and the trouble of the chriſtian people. Therfore it can not be done, neither obeid.

They ſay moreouer that the ſaid diſſolutiõ could not be made, by meanes of a certen decree of the councel of Conſtance in that behalfe prouided. That in ſuch matters as pertaine vnto faith, the extirpation of ſinne, and reformation of the church in the head & in the members, that all men of what eſtate or condition ſo euer they be, yea the Pope himſelf ſhuld be bound to obey the ſtatutes, precepts, and ordinãces of euery general councell, & except they did obey to puniſh them. Marke how that theſe things to haue power to determine vpon any man, to commaund him and puniſh him, if he be not obedient, are ſignes of ſuperioritye, in thoſe matters which he doth decree, command or puniſh, and to be bound to obedience, to be ſubiect and obey the ſame, are ſignes of inferiority in the ſaid caſes. Ergo, in the foreſaid caſes, ſeeing that the Pope as they ſay, is vnder the coũcel, which alſo hath ben. In that for one of the ſaid 3. caſes the councel did depriue Iohn, & for the other Benedict, neither coulde the Pope diſſolue the councell, in that he is inferior vnto the councel, cannot bind or cõpel the ſuperior. As in the chapiter Cum inferior, otherwiſe it ſhoulde containe in it a contradiction, that hee is bounde to obey, and is not bound to obey, becauſe he may diſſolue, for howe ſhould he be obedient vnto the ordinance and decree of the councell, if he may anihilate and take away the ſame ordinaunce and decree. Thys councell is cõgregate for the rooting out of hereſies, for the making of peace and reformation of maners, and in the firſt Seſsion it did ordeine, that their whole intent and reſpect ſhould be thereunto, and that he which ſhould procure to let the coũcell, to proroge or alter it, ſhould be puniſhed and haue proceſſe againſt him as againſt a common diſturber of the peace. &c. If it may be diſſolued it is euident that they doe not obey the ſaide ordinaunce, whereby this alſo muſt of neceſsity be graunted, that if it may be diſſolued, the decree of the councell of Conſtance is of no force.

This is alſo proued by an other reaſon. No man doubteth but if any controuerſie of hereſie ſhoulde be mooued againſt any Biſhop of Rome, that he coulde not diſſolue the Councell: For if he might diſſolue the councell he could not be iudged, whych were cõtrary to the cha. Si Pa. diſt. 40. Ergo, like as it is in hereſy, ſo is it in the two other caſes. For theſe three were pacified by the coũcel of Cõſtance, for thus ſpeaketh the councel. As it is in the Chapter, Si Papa in illo vno. And as I haue before ſaide, the Councell of Conſtance, allowed this decree, thorow the which they depriued Peter de Luna, for making of a Schiſme, and Pope Iohn for the deformitie of his life.

And all be it there be certaine lawes that ſay, the principall ſeat can not be iudged of any man, and againe, no man iudgeth the chiefe ſeate. And no man ſayth vnto him ſelfe why doeſt thou ſo. There are to be vnderſtande in theſe three caſes, firſt that there was prouiſo made for the faith in the chapter Si Papa, and in the other two poynts by the decree of Conſtance. Otherwiſe it ſhuld be vnderſtande, without any exception, that the firſt ſeate. &c. and then the chapter Si Papa. 40. Diſtinct. and the ſayd decree of Conſtance ſhoulde be falſe. If the chapter Si Papa had added cauſes of hereſies, no man would haue doubted vpon theſe two caſes, touching the ſayd ſentence, ſo likewiſe no man ought to doubt of the decree of the councell, that it was made by the authoritie of the Pope, and repreſenteth the vniuerſal church, and if any man wold ſay, that in all councels the authoritye of the Pope is excepted, I aunſwere that it is true, when as the perſone of the Pope is not ſpecially included. But if hee be ſpecially included, he can not be excepted, becauſe it ſhould ſauour of contradiction. Moſt bleſſed father, God is my witneſſe, that I haue ſpoken theſe thinges wyth great anguiſh and ſorowe of minde, but I am forced ſo to ſpeake, that your holineſſe may ceaſe from the ſaide diſſolution, leſt there might happen infinite euels in the church of God. If your holines did ſee my pure mind, my vpright conſcience, and entier affection towardes you, whereby I am mooued to wryte thoſe thinges, euen for very loue you would embrace and kiſſe me, and wythout doubt loue me as your owne ſonne, I haue often ſayde and nowe doe ſay and proteſt before God and mã, that you wil be the cauſe of Schiſme and infinite miſchieues, if you doe not alter & change your minde and purpoſe. Almighty God preſerue your holineſſe in the proſperity of a vertuous man. Vnto whoſe feete, I do moſte humbly recommend me. From Baſil the 5. day of Iune.

Thus endeth the Epiſtle of Cardinal Iulian wrytten vnto Pope Eugenius. Wherein for ſo much as mention is made, howe that the Bohemians had promiſed to ſende their Ambaſſadours vnto the Councell, and as before is partly touched in the Bohemian ſtorie, their commyng into Baſill, and propounding of certaine articles, wherein they diſſented frõ the Pope, we doe not thinke it any thing differing from our purpoſe, to annexe a briefe Epitome, declaring the whole circumſtance of their Ambaſſade, their articles, diſputations and anſweres, which they had at the ſayd councell of Baſil, with their petitions and anſweres vnto the ſame. Faithfully tranſlated out of Latin by F.W.

In like maner Æneas Syluius **alſo with his owne hand and wryting, not onely gaue teſtimony to the authoritie of thys councell, but alſo beſtowed his labour and trauaile in ſetting forth the whole ſtorie thereof. Notwythſtanding, the ſame Sylnius afterward being made Pope, wyth hys new honour, did alter and change his olde ſentence, the Epiſtle of which Aeneas, touching the commendation of the ſayde Councel, becauſe it is but ſhort, and will occupy but litle roume, I thought heere vnder, for the more ſatiſfying of the readers minde, to inſerte.**

✻ An Epiſtle of Aeneas Syluius, to the Rector of the Vniuerſitie of Colen.

An epiſtle of Eneas Siluius in defence of the councell of Baſill.

TO a Chriſtian man, whiche will be a true Chriſtian in deede, nothing ought to be more deſired, then that the ſinceritie and purenes of faith, geuen to vs of Chriſt by our forefathers, be kept of all men immaculate: and if at any time, any thing be wrought or attempted againſt the true doctrine of the Goſpell, the people ought with one conſent, to prouide lawfull remedy, & euery man to bring with him ſome water to quench the general fire: Neither muſt we feare how we be hated or enuied, ſo we bring the truth. Wee muſt reſiſt euery mã to his face, whether he be Paul or Peter, if he walke not directly to the truth of the Goſpell, which thing I am gladde, and ſo are we all, to heare that your Vniuerſitie hathe done in this Councell of Baſill. For a certaine treatiſe of yours is brought hether vnto vs, wherein you reprehend the rudeneſſe, or rather the raſhneſſe of ſuch, which do deny the Biſhop of Rome, and the Conſiſtorie of his iudgement, to be ſubiecte vnto the generall Councell, and that the ſupreame tribunall ſeate of iudgement, ſtandeth in the Church, and in no one Biſhop. Such men as deny this, you ſo confound with liuely reaſons and trueth of the Scriptures, that neither they are able to ſlide away like the ſlippery Eeles, neither to cauill or bring any obiection againſte you. Theſe be the wordes of Siluius.

The tribunal ſeate ſtandeth not in one Biſhop.

Furthermore, as touching the autority and approbation of the foreſayd Councel, this is to be noted, that during the life of Sigiſmund the Emperour, no man reſiſted this Councell. Alſo continuing the time of Charles the 7. the French king, the ſaid Councel of Baſil was fully & wholly receiued through all France. But after the death of Sigiſmund, when Eugenius was depoſed, and Felix Duke of Sauoy, was elected Pope, greate diſcordes aroſe, and much practiſe was wrought. But eſpecially on Eugenius part, who being nowe excommunicate by the Councell of Baſill, to make his part more ſtrong, made 18. new Cardinals. Thẽ he ſent his Orators vnto ẏ Germains, labouring by all perſwaſions to diſſolue the councell of Baſill, the Germaines at that time were ſo deuided, that ſome of them did hold with Felix, and the Councell of Baſil: other ſome, with Eugenius and the Councell of Ferraria: and ſome were neuters. **After this the French king being dead, which was Charles the 7. about the yeare of oure Lorde 1444. the Pope beginneth a newe practiſe, after the olde guiſe of Rome, to excite (as is ſuppoſed) the Dolphine of Fraunce, by force of armes, to diſſipate that Councell collected againſt him. Who leading an army of xv. M. men in to Alſatia, did cruelly waſte and ſpoyle the countrey: after that, laide ſiege vnto Baſil to expel & driue out the prelates of the Councell. But the Heluetians moſt ſtoutly meeting their enemies wͭ a ſmall power, did vanquiſh the Frenchmen, and put them to ſword and flight: like as the Lacedemonians onely with CCC. did ſuppreſſe, and ſcattered all the mighty army of** Xerxes, **at** Thermopylæ.

The authoritie of the Councell of Baſill maintained by the Emperour and the French king ſo long as they liued

The practiſe of Pope Eugenius, to vndoe the Councell of Baſill.

The Pope ſtirreth vp warre.

The Dolphin driuen away by a few Germaines.

Although Baſil thus by the valiantnes of the Heluetians was defended, yet notwithſtanding the Councell thorough theſe tumultes, could not continue by reaſon of the princes Ambaſſadours, which ſhronke away, and woulde not tary: So that at length Eugenius brought to paſſe, partly through the help of Fredericke (being not yet Emperor, but laboring for the Empire, partly by his Orators) in the number of whome was Eneas Sylums, aboue mentioned (amongſt the Germans) ẏ they were content to geue ouer both the councel of Baſil and their neutrality.

The diſſolution of the Councell of Baſill.

This Fridericke of Auſtrich being not yet Emperour, but towards the Empire, brought alſo to paſſe, that Felix, which was choſen of the Councell of Baſill, to be Pope, was contented to renoũce and reſigne his Papacie to Nicolaus the fift, ſucceſſour to Eugenius, of the which Nicolaus, the ſayde Fredericke was confirmed at Rome to be Emperour, and there crowned. An. 1451.

Fredericke of Auſtrich crowned Emperour, great grand father to this Ferdinando.

As theſe things were doing at Baſil, in the meane ſeaſon, pope Eugenius brought to paſſe in his conuocation at Florence, that the Emperour, and the Patriarke of Conſtantinople, wyth the reſt of the Grecians there preſent, were perſwaded to receiue the ſentence of the Churche of Rome, concerning the proceeding of the holy Ghoſt: alſo to receiue the communion in vnleauened bread, to admitte Purgatorie, and to yeelde them ſelues to the authoritye of the Romiſh Biſhop. Whereunto notwythſtanding, the other Churches of Grecia would in no wiſe aſſent, at theyr comming home: In ſo much, that with a publike execreation they did condemn afterward al thoſe Legates, which had conſented to theſe Articles, that none of them ſhoulde be buryed in Chriſten buriall: whych was Anno. 1439. Ex Caſp. Peucer.

The Legats of the Greekes cõdeſcend firſt to the popes law.

The Greeke Churches refuſe the Popes doctrine.

And thus endeth the ſtorie, both of the Councel of Baſil, and of the councel of Florence, alſo of the Emperor Sigiſmund, and of the ſchiſme betwene pope Eugenius, and Pope Felix, and alſo of ẏ Bohemians. The which Bohemians notwythſtanding all theſe troubles and tumultes, aboue ſaid, did rightwel, and were ſtrong enough againſt all their enemies, till at length, through diſcord, partly betwene the 2. preachers of the old and newe citye of Prage, partly alſo through ẏ diſcord of the meſſengers & captains, taking ſides one againſt the other, they made their ennemies

The inconuenience of diſcorde.

mies ſtrong and enfeebled themſelues. Albeit afterward, in proceſſe of time, they ſo defended the cauſe of their religion, not by ſworde, but by argument and diſputation, that the Biſhop of Rome could neuer yet to this day, remoue the Thaborites, and Citie of Prage, from the communion of both the kindes, nor coulde euer cauſe them to keepe the conditions, which in the beginning of the Councell, was enioyned their prieſtes to obſerue, as teſtifieth Cochleus. lib. 8. hiſt. Huſs. with whom alſo recordeth Antoninus, who in 3 part. hiſt. ſaith, that the doctrine of the Bohemians, which he termeth by the name of Zizania, did take ſo deepe roote wyth them, and grewe ſo faſt, that afterwarde, neyther by fire nor ſword, it could be extinct. An. 3. part. hiſt. tit. 22. cap 10

Ex Cochleo. lib. 8. hiſt. Huſſit.

Ex Antonin 3. part. tit. 22, c. 10.

Concerning the which Bohemians, briefly & in a generall ſumme, to recapitulate their whole actes & doings, here is to be noted, that they in their owne defence, & in the quarel of Iohn Hus, and Hierome of Prage, prouoked by their catholike aduerſaries to warre, fighting vnder Ziſca their Captaine, had eleuen battailes with the Popes ſide, and euer went away victours. Ex paral. Abb. Vrſp. in Epitaphio, Ioan. Ziſc. Moreouer, in the hiſtory of Peucer it is teſtified that pope Martin 5. ſending for the B. of wint. then Cardinal, had leuied 3. maine armies, intending to ouerrunne al the Bohemians: one army of the Saxons, vnder the prince Elector, the ſeconde of the Francones, vnder the Marques of Brandeburge, the thirde of Renates, Bauarians and Suechers, vnder Octo archb. of Treuers. with theſe, Sigiſmund alſo the Emperor, and Cardinal Iulian the popes Legate (who at laſt was ſlain in war, and being ſpoiled of all his attire, was left naked in the fielde) ioyned al their force. who ioyning together 5. times (ſayth the ſtory) which 5. ſondry battailes, aſſailed and inuaded the Bohemians: at euery which battail, 5. times the ſayd aduerſaries ſtroken and daunted with a ſodain feare, ranne away out of the field, leauing their tents wt all their implements and furniture behind them, before any ſtroke was geuen. Ex Caſp. Peuc. lib. 5. whereby it may appeare, the holy aungels of God to fight for them which embraced the ſyncere doctrine of Chriſtes goſpell.

Ex hiſt. Caſpari Peucer lib. 5.

Maruelous feare fallen vpon the popes army.

Gods holy angels pitch their tentes about them which feare him. Pſal.

Thus the Bohemians through the mighty protection of almighty God, cōtinued a long time inuincible, during all ẏ life of Ziſca, & alſo of Procopius, til at length through diſcord growing betwene them & theyr captains Procopius & Mainardus, they were ſubdued vnto their enemies.

And heere by the way is not to be omitted the wicked and cruel facte of Mainardus, who after the death of Procopius, thinking to purge the realme of Boheme of thoſe chiefe and principal ſoldiours, which had bene long expert and trained vp in warres, found meanes by a proclamation made, as though he woulde warre againſt other countreis of their enemies bordering about them, craftily to traine all them which were diſpoſed to take wages, into certaine barnes or houels, prepared for the ſame purpoſe, and ſo ſhutting the dores vppon them, the wicked diſſembler ſet fire vpon them, & brent of them diuers thouſands, and ſo brought the reſt by that meanes, vnder ſubiection to the Emperor during his lyfe time, which after that continued not long. Ex Æne. Syl. The which ſoldiours, if they had fought ſo much for the catholike liberties of the Pope and his churche, as they had fought againſt him, it is maruaile if the Pope had not dignified them all for holy martyrs. But they that kill with the ſword (ſayeth Chriſt) ſhall periſh with the ſword. Notwithſtanding, the cruell deceit of Mainardus, is worthy of all men to be deteſted.

The cruell deceite and wicked facte of Mainardus againſt the ſouldiours of Boheme. Certaine thouſandes of the Bohemiā ſouldiors brent.

Ex Aenea Silu. lib. de hiſt. Boem. cap. 51.

During this buſineſſe among the biſhops beyonde the ſea in the meane time our biſhops here alſo in Englande, were not vnoccupied. Whether it be ẏ nature of the countrey that ſo geueth: or whether ẏ great liuings and welthy promotions of the clergy, do draw wt them a more inſenſible vntowardneſſe in Gods religion, hard it is to ſay: this is manifeſt to all them which will read and marke our ſtories from time to time, that in Englande is more burning and ſlaying for Religion and for all other matters: more bloudſhed among vs then in any other lande or nation in Chriſtendome beſides. After the burning of Rich. Houeden, of Nicho. Canon, and of Thom. Bagley prieſt, aboue recorded, pag. 666. whom the biſhops condemned to death An. 1431. not long after, about the yere of our Lorde 1439. which was the 18. of the raign of king Hen. 6. they had another poore man by the backe, named Rich. Wiche Prieſt, mentioned both in Rob. Fabian, and alſo in another olde engliſh chronicle borowed of one Herminger. What his opinions were, they do not expreſſe. This they recorde, that this Rich. wich, firſt was degraded, then burned at the tower hil for hereſy. Some do affirm that he before his death reuoked, but that ſeemeth by his burning, not to be true.

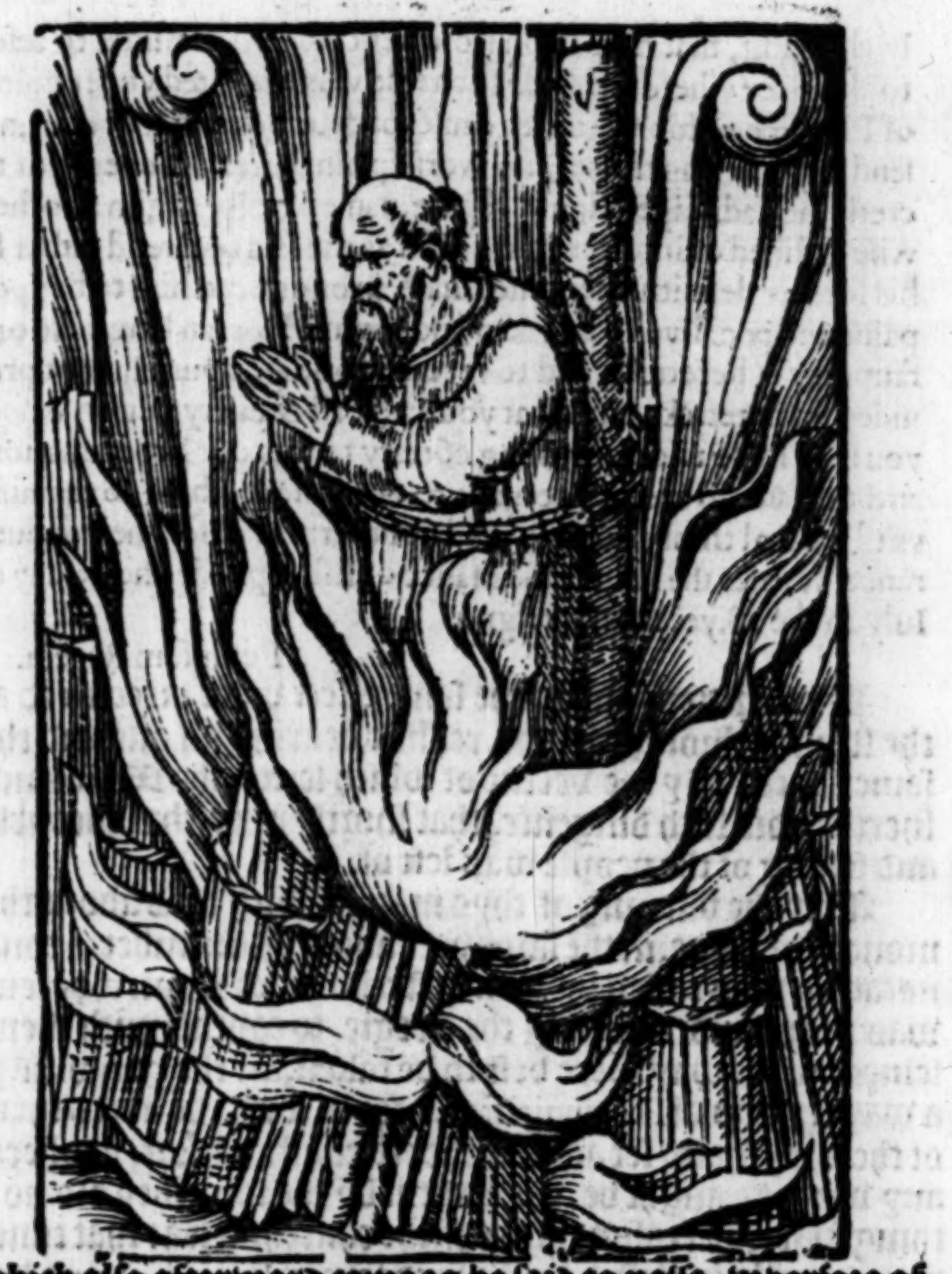
England noted of crueltie.

Burning & ſlaying in England.

Anno 1439.

R. Wiche Prieſt, Martir.

Ex Fabian part. 7. Ex antiquo alio Chronico.



It is alſo teſtified of him, that before his death, he ſpake (as propheſying) that the poſterne of the tower ſhuld ſink, which alſo afterward came as he ſaid to paſſe, wherfore of many of the people he was counted for an holy man: In ſo much that (as it is affirmed) they came to ẏ place where he was burnt, and there made their oblations and prayers, and areired a great heap of ſtones, and ſet vp a croſſe there by night: ſo that by this meanes a great clamor ran vppon the Churchmen, and eſpecially vppon ſuche as put hym to death. Then to ceaſe the rumor, the king gaue commandement to puniſh ſuch, as went thether on pilgrimage. The copy wherof is here to be ſene as foloweth.

Rich. Wiche after his death taken for a ſaint.

Rex vicecomitibus London. & Midd. ſalutem. Albeit Richard Wyche late clearke, who heretofore long ſithence heretically did hold, teach, & publikely preache certaine hereſies and erroneous opinions in many places within our realme of England. And for the ſame many yeares nowe paſt being iudicially conuicted, did before a iudge in that behalfe ſufficient abiure all hereſy generally, and afterward as a dogge returning to his vomit, did preſume to maintain, teach, & publikely preach his former errors and hereſies, ſo that hee was worthely adiudged a Relapſe. And againe being impeached for the ſame before the reuerend father in God Robert B of London his lawfull Ordinarie was called foorth to iudgement, and being before him, did iudicially confeſſe hys errors and hereſies. For the which cauſe the ſaide reuerende father, vppon mature deliberation by hym the ſayde Reuerende father firſt had with the aduiſe of the learned in the lawe, his aſſiſtantes lawfully proceeding againſt the ſaide Richard did by his ſentēce defintiue pronounce and adiudge him to bee a Relapſe, and did diſgrade him from the order and dignitie of Prieſthoode, & tooke from him all prieſtly ornaments, and depriued him of all prieſtly function and Priuiledge (according to iuſtice) and laſt of all turned him ouer to the ſecular power as the manner is: And afterwards you, by our Princely commandement and warrant did according to the lawe of oure realme for his laſt puniſhment conſume the body of the ſayd Richard to aſhes, being a Relapſe conuict, and diſgraded as a notorious traitour, not only againſt God, but alſo againſt vs and our crowne and dignity. All which notwithſtanding certaine our ſubiects (as we haue ben ſundry times enformed) being pricked foreward with a Diabolical ſpirite, practiſing of all likelihode not only ſedition, but alſo Idolatry within our Realme are not afraide publikely to affirme that the ſayde Richard was altogether innocent of heretical prauity Nay rather they do moſte ſhamefully with their vaine deuiſes, and wickedly conceiued imaginatiōs blaſe abroad that he was, & died a good, iuſt and an holy man, and that he doeth many myracles (whereas in deede no ſuche myracles be done by him.) Which diſordinate perſones we may well and vpon probable cauſes repute & deme culpable, not only of heretical prauitie, but alſo of high treaſon, and as rebels to our perſone, Maieſtie, and violatours of the peace and dignity of our Realme, as with all breakers and treſpaſſours againſt the ſacred Canons of the Churche, who dare ſo preſumptuouſly aduenture to worſhip the ſaid Richard as a Sainct, whereas it is not lawfull to worſhip any manner of perſon be he neuer ſo holy before he be canoniſed by the authority of the B. of Rome. We therefore being very carefull for the good preſeruatiō of our peace, and deſirous to aboliſh from out al the coaſtes of the ſame al maner Idolatry, do charge & command you that in certain places within your liberties where you ſhal think moſt cōuenient, you cauſe forthwith proclamatiōs to be made on our behalf, ſtraightly charging, that no perſon from hencefoorth preſume to reſort to the place where the ſaide Richarde was executed vnder colour of Pilgrime,or for any other cauſe of deuotion what ſo euer,nor ſend any offering thither,nor worſhip him hereafter openly or ſecretly,nor adiudge,eſteme, repute,name or talke of him as otherwiſe iuſtified or innocent,then ſuch as the ſaid reuerend father by his former definitiue ſentence hath pronounced him to be vpon paine and penaltye to be taken and reputed for an hereticke or a fauourer of hereticks, and to receiue condigne puniſhment prouided for hereticks.And that you arreſt all & euery perſon whom you ſhall finde to do any thing cōtrary to this our Proclamation, and the ſame ſo areſted, commit to our priſone, there to remaine vntil we ſhal thinke good to ſend countermaund for their deliuerance.Witnes the king at his Manor of Eſtampſtede,the 15.day of Iuly in the 18.yere of his reigne.

Per ipſum Regem.

Like writtes, and to the ſame effect were directed to al the ſhriues through all the realme bearing all one and the ſame Date. By the vertue of which letter,the Maior and ſheriffes did ſuch diligence, that ſhortly after,that cōcourſe and ſeking of the people was left of.

Ex Regiſt. Hen. Chicheſlei.

After the burning of thys man, which was about the moneth of Iune,in the ſame yere about Nouember,a conuocation was called by Henry Archbiſh. of Cant. wherein was propounded among the clergie, to conſult with them ſelues, what way were beſt to be taken,for the remouing a way the law of Premuniri facias, for ſo were the harts then of the temporalty ſet againſt the eccleſiaſticall ſort, ẏ where any vantage might be geuen them by the law,they did nothing ſpare, by reaſon whereof, the churchmen at that time were greatly moleſted by the ſayd law of Premuniri,and by the kings writtes,and other inditements,to their no ſmal anoyance, By long conſultation and good aduiſement, at laſt this way was taken,ẏ a petition or ſupplicatiō ſhould be drawen and preſented to the king, for the aboliſhing of the foreſaid lawe of Premuniri facias,and alſo for the reſtraining of other briefes, wryts, and inditements, which ſeemed then to lie heauy vppon the Clergy. This bill or ſupplication being contriued and exhibited by the Archbiſh. of Canter. and of Yorke, vnto the king ſtanding in neede the ſame time,of a ſubſidie to be collected of the cleargie : thys aunſwer was geuen to their ſupplication on the kings behalfe : that for ſomuche as the time of Chriſtenmaſſe then drewe neare, whereby he had as yet no ſufficient leiſure to aduiſe vppon the matter, he woulde take therein a farther pauſe. In the meane time,as one tendering theyr quiet,he would ſend to al his officers and miniſters ẇin his realm, that no ſuch briefe of Premuniri, ſhoulde paſſe againſt them or any of them, from the ſaide time of Chriſtenmas, till the next Parliament. An. 1439. Ex Regiſt. Cant.

The biſhops cōſult to aboliſh the lawe of *Premuniri facias.*

The kings aunſwere to the bill of the Clergy touching the law of Premuniri.

In my former edition of Acts & monuments,ſo haſtely raſhed vp at that preſent, in ſuch ſhortneſſe of time,as in the ſayde booke thou mayſt ſee (gentle reader) declared and ſignified : among many other matters therein contained, there is a ſhorte note made of one Eleanor Cobham Ducheſſe of Glouceſter, & of Syr Roger Onley knight (prieſt it ſhould haue ben printed,) which two perſons,about the yeare of our Lord. 1440. or the next yeare following, were condemned,the one to death,the other to perpetual priſon. Of this litle ſhort matter, maiſter Cope the Popes Scout, lying in priuie wait to ſpie faults in al mēs works, wherſo euer any may appeare, taketh pepper in the noſe, & falleth againe vnto his olde barking againſt mee, for placing theſe foreſayd perſons in my booke of Martyrs, but eſpecially he thinketh to haue great vantage againſt me, for that in the ſame ſtory,I do ioyne withal, one Margaret Iourdeman, the witch of Eye, condemned alſo wyth them the ſame time,and burned for practiſing the kings death by an image of waxe, &c. To anſwere hereunto, firſt I ſay (as I before ſayde) that I profeſſe no ſuch title to wryte of Martyrs : but in generall to wryte of rites and Monuments paſſed in the church and realme of England. wherin, why ſhould I be reſtrained from the free walke of a ſtory wryter, more then other that haue gone before me?

A briefe aunſwere to Cope, concerning Lady Eleanor Cobham.

Secondly, touching my commendation of Sir Roger Onley, and the Lady Eleanor, if maiſter Alane be therewith offended, I aunſwer that I commended them for ſauoring and fauoring of the truth of Chriſtes doctrine: For the fact, if any ſuch were in them, I do not commend them. And although I did commend them, yet neither did I it ẇ any long tarying vppon it, nor yet all together vpon mine owne head, without ſome ſufficient warrant of authoritie. For why may not I as well beleeue Iohn Bale, as M. Alane beleue M. Fabian? eſpecially ſeeing I do knowe, and was priuie, that the ſaide Iohn in recogniſing his Centuries, followed altogether the hiſtory of Leland. De Catalogo virorum illuſtrium, which booke being borowed of maſter Cheke, I my ſelfe did ſee in the hands of the foreſayd Iohn Bale, what time we were both together, dwelling in the houſe of the noble Lady Duches of Richmond. wherefore if he thinke me ſo leud to ſpeake without mine authors, he is deceiued. And if he thinke mine authors not to be beleeued, then let thys Nomothetes, or iolly Dictator, come forth and preſcribe vs a law, what authors he would haue vs to take, and what to refuſe. For els why is it not as free for me to credite Iohn Bale, and Leland, as for him to credite Robert Fabian, and Edw. Hall, eſpecially ſeeing they had ſeene hys bookes and workes left behinde him, wherupon they might better iudge, and ſo did neuer theſe?

Thirdly, for the name of Roger Onley, if Cope denie that there was any ſuch name in ſtories mētioned, but that there was one called Roger Bolingbroke. &c. heereby it may appeare that either his prompter out of England deceiued him, or els that hee going no further but to Fabian and Hall, lacketh no good wil in him, but only a little matter to make a perfect ſycophant. And admit the ſayde name of Onley could not be founde in thoſe wryters, yet it were not vnpoſſible for a man to haue two names, eſpecially if he were a religious man, to beare the name of the towne where he was born, beſide his own proper ſurname. But nowe what if I (M. Cope) can auouch and bring forth to you the name of Roger Onley out of ſufficient recorde, which you ſeeme not to haue yet read? Haue yee not then done well and properly (thinke you) ſo bitterly to flee in my face, and to barke ſo egerly all this while at moneſhine in the water, hauing no more cauſe almoſte againſt me, thē againſt the man in the Moone? And now leaſt you ſhoulde thinke me ſo much vnprouided of iuſt authority for my defence, as I ſee you vnprouided of modeſtie and patience, wryte you to your prompter or ſuborner (where ſo euer he lurketh here in England) to ſende you ouer vnto Louane the booke of Iohn Harding a Chronicler, more auncient then either Fabian or Hall, printed in the houſe of Richard Grafton, Anno 1543. where turne to the fol. 223. fac. b. lin. 19. and there ſhall you finde and reade theſe wordes.

To the third obiection.

Againe the Church and the king curſedly:
By helpe of one maiſter Roger Onley. &c.

By the whyche wordes yee muſt neceſſarily confeſſe Roger Onley to be the name of the man, either els muſt ye needes deny the author. For otherwiſe that maſter Roger Bolingbroke was the onely helper to the Ducheſſe in that fact, by no wiſe it can ſtande with the ſtory of theſe authors which ſay, that 4. other beſides hym were cōdemned for the ſame crime. &c. And moreouer thought the ſayd Sir R. Onley was no knight (as I haue ſaide in my former edition) yet this yee cannot deny, by the teſtimonie of them that haue ſene his workes, but that he was a Prieſt, which you wil graunt to be a knights fellow. And thus much for the name and condition of M. Roger Onley.

Vid. Centu. 8. Ral. ca. 4.

Fourthly, as concerning Margaret Iourdeman, whō ye call the witch of Eye, ye offer me herein great wrong, to ſay that I make her a martyr, which was a wytche : when as I here profeſſe, confeſſe, and aſcertaine both you, and all Engliſh men, both preſent & al poſterity hereafter to come, that this Margaret Iourdeman I neuer ſpake of, neuer thought of, neuer dreamed of, nor did euer heare of, before you named her in your booke your ſelfe. So farre is it of, that I eyther with my will, or againſt my will, made any martyr of her.

To the 4. obiection.

Furthermore, I profeſſe and denounce in like manner, ẏ neither haue you any iuſt or congrue occaſion in my boke ſo to iudge, much leſſe to raile of me. For where, in expreſſe words I do ſpeake of the mother of the Lady Yong, what occaſion haue you thereby to ſlander me and my boke with Margarete Iourdeman? which Margarete whether ſhee was a witche or not, I leaue her to the Lorde. As for me, neither did I knowe of her then, nor did I meane of her nowe. But becauſe I couple her in the ſame ſtory, you ſay. To this I ſay, becauſe ſhee was the mother of a Ladie, I thought to ioyne her ẇ an other Lady in the ſame ſtory, as in one pue together, although in one cauſe I will not ſay. And yet notwithſtanding I doe ſo couple the ſaide mother ẇ the Ducheſſe, in ſuch diſtinct difference of yeares, that you M. Cope might eaſily haue vnderſtande, or beſide you, no man els would haue thought the contrary, but that Margaret Iourdeman was neither heere in my booke, nor yet in my memento. For the wordes of my ſtorie are playne, where as the condemnation of the Lady Eleanor, & of the mother of Lady Young being referred to the yeare of our Lord 1441. I doe alſo in the ſame ſtory (through the occaſion of that Ladie) inferre mention of the mother of the Ladie Yong, declaring in expreſſe wordes, that ſhee folowed

M. Cope rayleth without a cauſe.

See the former edition, pag. 371.

certayne yeares after, & in the end of that chapter, do name alſo the yeare of her burning to be. 1490. whiche was 50. yeares after the death of Onely, and Margaret Iourdeman: by the computatiõ of which yeares it is playne, that no other woman could be noted in that place, but only the Lady Younges mother.

But M. Cope continuing ſtill in his wrangling mood obiecteth agayne, for that in my Callendar, the ſayd Ladye Younges mother hath the next day in the Catalogue next after the death of Roger Onley, whiche day pertayneth properly to Margaret Iourdeman which was burned the ſame day in Smithfield, & not to the Ladyes mother. &c.

What order was taken in placing the names & dayes, what is that to me? If he whiche had the diſpoſing of the Catologue, did place them ſo in monthes, as he ſawe them ioyned in chapiters, not peruſing peraduenture nor aduiſing the chapters, that doth nothing preiudice the truth of my ſtory, which ſufficiently doth clare it ſelfe in diſtincting thẽ rightly in names & alſo in yeares, as is afore declared.

The 5. obiection.

The ſtory of the Ladie Eleanor and Rog. Onley here pretermitted.

Fiftly and laſtly, hauing thus ſufficiently aunſwered to your circumſtaunces of perſons, names, and times (M. Cope) I will nowe enter to encounter with you concerning the fact: and crime obiected to the Lady Duches, and to the reſt: with this proteſtation before premiſed vnto the reader, that if the fact be true and ſo done is reported in yͤ hiſtories of Fabian, Halle and harding, I deſire the reader then ſo to take me, as though I do not here deale withall, nor ſpeake of the matter, but vtterly to haue pretermitted, and diſpuncted the ſame. But for ſomuch as the deed and offence layd and geuen forth agaynſt theſe parties, may be a matter made, & of euil wil compacted, rather then true in deede: therefore I doe but onely moue a queſtion by way of hiſtory, not as defending, nor commending nor commemorating the thing, if it be true, but onely mouing the queſtion, whether it is to be iudged true, or ſuſpected rather to be falſe and forged, and ſo hauing briefly, propounded certayne coniectural ſuſpicions or ſuppoſals concerning that matter, to paſſe it ouer, neither medling on the one ſide nor on the other.

A queſtion whether Eleanor the Duches was culpable in treaſon agaynſt the king.

Certaine coniectures of the crime not to bee true.

1. Coniecture.

The firſt cõiecture, why it may be poſſible that this act of treaſon layd to the charge of the Duches, & Roger Onely, agaynſt the king, may be vntrue is this: that the ſayde Oneley (otherwiſe named Bolingbroke) tooke it vppon hys death, that they neuer intended any ſuch thing as they were condemned for.

2. Coniecture.

The ſecond coniecture: for that the Lady Eleanor, and Onely ſeemed then to fauour and ſauour of that religion ſet forth by wickleffe, and therefore like enough, that they were hated of the clergy. Furthermore what hatred & practiſe of Papiſtes can do, it is not vnknowne.

3. Coniecture.

The third coniecture: for that the ſayd mayſter Roger Onely falſly noted and accuſed of Nicromancie, wrote a booke in purgation of himſelfe, intituled: de Innocentia ſua. Alſo an other booke intituled. Contra vulgi ſuperſtitiones, recorded in Centu 8. Bale. cap. 4. Whereupon it is not credible, that he which wrote profeſſedly agaynſt the ſuperſtitions of the people, was ouertaken with that filth of Nicromancie himſelfe.

4. Coniecture.

The fourth coniecture: becauſe this accuſation againſt the Duches of Gloceſter, Duke Humfries wife began not before, but after the grudge kindled betweene the Cardinall of Wint. and Duke Humfrey, her Huſband.

5. Coniecture.

An other coniecture may be hereof, for that, if the Duches had entended any ſuche haynous treaſon againſt the kings life, as by burning of a waxe candle to conſume him it is not like (neyther was there anye ſuch neede) that ſhe would haue made ſo many priuy to ſuch a pernicious coũcell, as the witch of Eye, M. Rog. Bolingbroke, M. Tho. Southwell and Iohn Hume.

6. Coniecture.

Sixtly, it is not to be ſuppoſed, if anye ſuch hie treaſon had bene wrought or pretended agaynſt the kinges perſon by theſe that eyther the Duches ſhould ſo eſcape with bearing a taper and baniſhment, or that Iohn Hune ſhoulde be pardoned hys life, the fact being ſo haynous, that neyther any durſt aſke hys pardon, nor if it had bene aſked, it had not bene like to be graunted.

7. Coniecture.

To theſe we may alſo adde an other ſuppoſall, riſing vpon the wordes and forme of theyr accuſation, as it ſtandeth in Harding: Polychronicon, and other moe, wherein they were accuſed for working ſorcery, and inchantmentes agaynſt the church and the king. Now what ſorcery can be wrought agaynſt the church, that is, the whole multitude of Chriſtians, let the reader iudge, and by the truth of this conſider alſo the truth of the other, which was agaynſt the king. Furthermore, if by this Church is ment the Cardinall of Wint. as like it is: then it may be coniecturall, that all this matter roſe of that Cardinall, who was then a mortall enemy to the houſe of Glouceſter. &c.

8. Coniecture.

Eightly: And that all this was done and wrought by the ſayd Cardinall of Wint. the witch concerning Eye maketh the matter the more ſuſpitious, ſeeing that towne of Eye as Fabian witneſſeth, was neare beſide Wincheſter, and ſea of that Byſhop.

9. Coniecture.

Moreouer, for ſomuch as Polydore Virgill, among other ſtory authors, being a mã as may be ſuppoſed, rather fauouring the Cardinalls parte then the Dukes, made no mention at all touching this treaſon, hys ſilence therof may miniſter matter not alſo to muſe, but onely to coniecture, that he had found ſomething whiche made hym to miſtruſt the matter. Otherwiſe it is vnlike that he wold haue ſo mewed vp the matter, and paſſed it ouer without ſome mention.

10. Coniecture.

Finally and briefly: The frequent practiſes and examples of other times, may make this alſo more doubtfull, cõſidering howe many ſubtile pretences, after like ſorte haue bene ſought, and wrongfull accuſations brought agaynſt many innocent perſons For (not to repeate the like forgeries agaynſt the Lord Cobham and ſyr Roger Acton. &c.) why may not this accuſation of the Duches and Onley, be as falſe as that in the time of king Edward the 5. whiche was layd to the charge of the Queene, and Shores wife by the Protectours, for inchaunting & bewitching of his withered arme? which to be falſe, all the world doth know, and but a quarell made, only to oppreſſe the life of the L. Haſtings & yͤ L. Standley. &c. And thus mayeſt thou ſee, gentle reader, according to yͤ wiſe mans ſaying: Nihil nouũ eſſe ſub ſole: Nihilque dictum, quod non ſit dictum prius. &c.

Althoughe theſe wͭ many mo coniectures, may be alledged in ſome part of Defence of this Duches, and of her Chaplaines and Prieſtes: yet becauſe it may be not vnpoſſible againe, the matter laide againſt them, to be true, I leaue it therfore at large as I finde it: ſaying as I ſaide before, that if it be true which the ſtories ſay in this matter, thinke I beſeech thee gentle Reader, that I haue ſaide nothing hereof. Onely, becauſe the matter may be diſputable, and not vnpoſſible to be falſe, I haue but moued thereof a queſtiõ, and brought my coniectures, leauing the determinatiõ and iudgement hereof, to thy indifferent and free arbitrement. And if M. Cope, be ſo highly offended with me, becauſe in my firſt edition of Actes and Monumentes I durſt name yͤ Lady Eleanor Cobham, and Roger Onely: let him take this for a ſhort aũſwer, becauſe my leiſure ſerueth not to make long braules wͭ him: yͭ if I had thought no imperfectiõs to haue paſſed in my former editiõ before, I would neuer haue taken in hand the recognition thereof now yͤ ſecõd time, wherby to ſponge away ſuch motes, as I thought would ſeeme great ſtombling blockes in ſuche mens walkes, which walke with no charitie to edefie: but with malice to carpe and reprehend, neither admoniſhing what they ſee amiſſe in others, neither tarying while other men reforme themſelues, & finally finding quarels where no great cauſe is iuſtly geuen. And here an end with M. Cope for this time.

A briefe aunſwer to Maiſter Copes cauillations, concerning Duke Humfreyes wyfe.

The contention betwene the Cardinall of Wint. & Duke Humfrey, Lorde protectour.

Anno. 1440.

Forſomuch as in the proceſſe before, mentiõ was touched concerning the grudge betweene yͤ Cardinall, called the rich Cardinal of Wincheſter, and the good duke Humfrey duke of Gloceſter, the kings vncle, and protector of yͤ realme: order of ſtory now requireth to open ſome parte of yͤ matter more at large. Wherein this firſt is to be vnderſtand, that long before, great flames of grudge and diſcorde did burſt out betweene theſe two. For as the noble hart of the Duke could not abide the proud doinges of the Cardinall: ſo much againe the Cardinall in like maner ſore enuied & diſdayned at the rule of the Duke of Gloceſter. Notwithſtanding by the meanes of the Duke of Bedford, the braſting out betweene them was before appeaſed & cured; yet not ſo, but that vnder imperfect amitie, priuy hatred, as ſparcles vnder the imbers, did ſtill remaine: So that the Cardinal, ioyning with the Archbiſhop of Yorke, attempted many thinges of their owne preſumption, contrary to the conſent, not onely of the king (being then vnder age) but alſo of the protectour & gouernor of the realme. Wherwith the Duke (like a true harted prince) being not without iuſt cauſe offended, declared in writing to the king certaine complaintes contained in 21. Articles, wherein the Cardinall and Archbiſhop had tranſgreſſed, both againſt the king & his lawes. The tenour whereof, more at large is in other ſtories expreſſed, yͤ briefe abſtract therof followeth in a ſhort ſummarie here to be ſeene.

Ex Polychro.

¶ Certaine pointes or articles obiected by the Duke Humfrey, againſt the Cardinall of Wincheſter.

Wint. preſumeth to be Cardinall againſt the minde of his king.

FIrſt complayned to his ſoueraigne Prince his right redoubted Lord duke Humfrey, his vncle and protector of the realm, that the biſhop of wincheſter, in the dayes of his father king Henry the 5. took vppon him the ſtate of a cardinall, being denyed by the king, ſaying that he had as liefe ſet his owne crowne beſide hym, as to ſee him weare a cardinals hatte, and that in Parliamentes, he not beyng contented with the place of a biſhop among the ſpirituall perſons preſumed aboue hys order, whiche the ſayd Duke deſired to be redreſſed.

Wint. incurreth the law of premuniri.

2. Item, whereas he being made Cardinal, was voyded of his biſhopricke of wincheſter, he procured from Rome the Popes Bull, vnknowing to the king, whereby he took agayne his biſhopricke, contrary to the common lawe of this realme, incurring therby the caſe of prouiſion, and forfeiting all his goodes to the king, by the law of premuniri facias.

Wint. intrudeth himſelfe to be the kinges gouernour.

3. Item, he complayned that the ſaid Cardinall, with the Archbiſhop of Yorke, intruded themſelues to haue the gouernaunce of the king, and the doing vnder the king, of tẽporall matters, excluding the kings vncle, and other temporall Lordes of the kinges kinde, from hauing knowledge of any great matter.

The Cardinall defraudeth the king of his iewels.

4. Item, wheras the king had borowed of the Cardinall 4000. pounds, vpon certayne Iewels, and afterward had his mony ready at the day to quite his iewels: the Cardinall cauſed the treaſurer to conuert that mony, to the payment of an other armye, to keepe the Iewels ſtill to hys owne vſe and gayne.

The Cardinall deliuereth the K. of Scottes. vpon his owne authoritie.

5. Item, he being then biſhop of wincheſter, and Chancellour of England, deliuered the king of Scottes, vpon his own authoritie, contrary to the act of parliament, wedding his nece afterward to the ſayd king. Alſo where the ſaid king of Scottes ſhoulde haue payd to the king forty thouſand pounds, yͤ cardinall procured x. thouſand marks therof to be remitted, and yet the reſt very ſlenderly payd.

The Cardinall playeth the marchant.

6. Item, the ſayd cardinall, for lending notable ſommes to the king, had the profite of the port of Hampton: where he, ſetting his ſeruauntes to be the Cuſtomers, wolle and other marchandiſe was, vnder that clok, exported not ſo much to his ſingular vauntage, being the chiefe marchant, as to the greate preiudice of the king, and detriment to his ſubiectes.

7. Item, the cardinall, in lending out great ſummes to yͤ king, yet ſo differred and delayed the loane thereof, yͤ comming out of ſeaſon, the ſame did the king litle pleaſure, but rather hinderaunce.

The Cardinall a defrauder of the king.

8. Item, where iewels & plate were priſed at a 11. thouſand poundes in weight, of the ſayd Cardinall forfeited to the king: the cardinall for loane of a little peece, gat him a reſtorement thereof, to the Kings great dammage, who better might haue ſpared the commons if the ſomme had remayned to him cleare.

9. Item, where the kinges father had geuen Elizabeth Bewchampe. CCC. markes of liuelode, with this condition if ſhe wedded with in a yeare, the Cardinall, notwithſtanding ſhe was maryed two or three yeares after, yet gaue her the ſame, to the kinges great hurt, and diminiſhing of hys inheritaunce.

The Cardinall taketh vpon him like a king.

10. Item, the Cardinall hauing no authoritie nor intereſt to the crown, preſumed notwithſtanding to cal before him, like a King, to the kinges high derogation.

11 Item, that the Cardinall ſued a pardon from Rome, to be freed from all diſmes, due to the Kyng by the church of wincheſter, geuing thereby example to the Clergye, to withdraw their diſmes likewiſe, and lay all the charge only vpon the temporaltie, and poore commons.

12.13. Item, by the procuring of the ſayd Cardinall and Archbiſhop of Yorke, great goodes of the kings were loſt and diſpended vpon needles Ambaſſades, firſt to Arras, then to Calice.

14. Item it was layd to the charge of the ſayd Cardinall and archbiſhop, that by their meanes, goyng to Calice, the ij. enemies of the king, the Duke of Orleance, and Duke of Burgoyne, were reduced together in accorde & alliaunce, who being at warre before betwene themſelues, and now cõfederate together, ioyned both together agaynſt yͤ kings townes and countryes ouer the ſea, to the great daunger of Normandy, and deſtruction of the kinges people.

The Cardinall traytour to the crowne.

15. Item, by the archbiſhop of Yorke, and the Cardinall perſwaſiõs were moued opẽly in the kings preſence, with allurementes and inducementes, that the king ſhoulde leaue hys right, his title and honour of his crowne, in nominating him king of Fraunce, during certayne yeeres, & that he ſhoulde vtterly abſteyne, and be content onely in writing, with Rex Angliæ, to the great note and infamye of the king and of all his progenitours.

16.17. Item, through the ſleight and ſubtlety of the ſayde Cardinall and his mate, a new conuention was intended betweene the king and certayne aduerſaryes of Fraunce. Alſo yͤ deliueraunce of the Duke of Orleance was appointed in ſuch ſort, as therby great diſworſhip & inconueniẽce was like to fall, rather of the kinges ſide then of the other.

The Card. a purchaſer of of the kings landes.

18. Item, that the Cardinall had purchaſed great landes and liuelodes of the king, the Duke being on the other ſide the ſea occupyed in warres, whiche redounded little to the worſhip and profite of yͤ king: and moreouer had the kinge bound, to make him as ſure eſtate of all thoſe landes by Eaſter next, as could be deuiſed by any learned councel, or els yͤ ſaid cardinal to haue and enioy to him and his heyres for euer, the landes of the Duchie of Lancaſter in Northfolke to the value of 7. or 8. hundred markes by the yeare.

Peruerſe counſaile of the Cardinall.

19. Item, where the Duke the kinges vncle, had often offered his ſeruice for the defence of the Realme of France, and the duchie of Normandy, the Cardinall euer laboured to the contrary, in preferring other, after this ſingular affection: whereby a great part of Normandy hath bene loſt.

The Card. a deceauer of the king & a briber.

20. Itẽ, ſeeing yͤ Cardinall was riſen to ſuch riches & treaſure, which could grow to him, neyther by his Church, nor by enheritãce (which he then had) it was of neceſſitie to be thought, that it came by his great deceites, in deceiuinge both the king, and hys ſubiects, in ſelling offices, preferments, liuelodes, captaynſhips both here and in yͤ realm of Fraunce and in Normandy, ſo that what hath ben there loſt, he hath bene the greateſt cauſer thereof.

The Card. purchaſeth a pardon againſt his premuniri.

21. Furthermore, when the ſayd Cardinal had forfeited al hys goods by the ſtatute of prouiſion, he hauing the rule of the king, and of other matters of the realme: purchaſed frõ the pope a charter of pardon, not onely to the defeating of the lawes of the Realme, but alſo to the defrauding of the king, who otherwiſe might and ſhould haue had where wͭ to ſuſteine his warres, without any tallage of his poore people. &c.

Prelates holde one with an other.

Malice burſt out.

When the king heard theſe accuſations, he committed yͤ hearing therof to his counſaile: wherof yͤ moſt part were ſpirituall perſons. So, what for feare, and what for fauour the matter was wincked at, & dalied out, and nothing ſaid thereunto, and a fayre countenaunce was made to yͤ Duke as though no diſpleaſure had bene taken, nor malice borne in theſe ſpirituall ſtomaches. But ſhortly after, the ſmoke hereof, not able to keepe in any longer within the ſpiritual breſtes of theſe charitable churchmen, braſt out in flames of miſchiefe. For vpon the necke of this matter, as witneſſeth Fabian Polychronicon, and Hall whiche followeth Polych, firſt enſued the condemnation of L. Elianour the Duches and her Chapleynes, as ye haue heard before. Whereby it may appeare the ſayd Duches more of malice, then any iuſt cauſe, this to haue bene troubled. Alſo within vi. yeares after, followed the lamentable deſtruction of the Duke himſelfe, as hereafter more is to be declared.

Paules ſteeple ſet on fire by lightning

About which time, or not long after, an. 1443. the ſteeple of Paules was ſet on fire by lightening, and at laſt by dilligent labour of helpers, the fire was quenched.

Anno. 1445

The death of Henry Chichelley Archb. of Cant.

The building of Alſolne Colledge and Barnard Colledge in Oxforde.

And after the condemnation of lady Elianour the Duches, aforeſayd, within few yeares. an. 1445. followed the death of Henry Chichelley Archbiſhop of Cant. by whom ſhe was condemned in S. Stephens chappell at weſtin. for penaunce to beare a taper through cheapſide three ſondry times, and afterward outlawed to the Ile of Manne, vnder the cuſtody of ſyr Iohn Standly knight. This Henry Chichelley builded in hys time, 2. Colledges in the vniuerſitie of Oxford, the one called Alſolne Colledge, the other named Barnard Colledge.

Anno. 1447

The ſtorie & death of Humfrey, Duke of Glouceſter.

Duke Humfrey cõmended for his learning.

Proceeding now to the yeare, wherein ſuffered Humfrey yͤ good Duke of Glouceſter, which was the yeare of yͤ Lord. 1447. firſt we will begin in few wordes to intreat of his life & conuerſation: then of the maner and cauſe of hys death. As touching the offſpring and diſſent of this Duke, firſt he was the ſonne of Henry the fourth, brother to kyng Henry the fift, and vncle to kyng Henry the ſixt, aſſigned to be the gouernour and protector of his perſon. Of manners he ſeemed meeke and gentle, louing the common wealth, a ſupporter of the poore commons, of wit & wiſdome diſcreet and ſtudious, well affected to religion, and a frend to veritie, & no les enemy to pride & ambitiõ, eſpecially in hauty prelates, which was his vndoing in this preſẽt euil world: And, which is ſeldome & rare in ſuch princes of yͤ calling, he was both learned himſelfe: & no leſſe geuen to ſtudy, as alſo a ſingular fauourer & patron to them which were ſtudious & learned. And that my commendation of him may haue the more credite, I wil produce the teſtimony of learned writers, who liuing in hys time, not only do cõmend his famous knowledge, and ripenes of learning in him: but alſo commit & ſubmit their works to his iudgement to be examined. Of whiche writers one is Petrus de

Monte

Petrus de Monte, De virtutum et vitiorum differentia, ad D. Humfredum.

Lapiſcaſtellius De comparatione ſtudiorum et rei militaris ad D. D. Humfredum.

Monte, writing De virtutũ & vitiorum differentia: who in his Epiſtle dedicatory beginning with the ſinguler commendation of this Duke, and afterward ſpeaking De optimarum artium, liberaliumque ſcientiarum peritia, ſayeth thus: Cui tu quidem omni conatu, omni ingenio, atque ſtudio incumbis: adeo vt nihil tibi ſine librorum lectione, iucundum gratum, aut certe delectabile videatur. &c. And in further proceſſe of his worke, thus he further declareth, ſaying: Delectaris autem non vna tantum arte, aut ſcientia, quanquam & id quidem eſſet ſatis: verum fere omnibus, earumq; codices magna quadam auiditate legiſti. &c. Beſides this Petrus de Mõte, let vs heare alſo the iudgement of an other writer of the ſame age, named Lapiſcaſtellius, who likewiſe dedicating to the ſayd Duke Humfry, his booke intituled Comparatio ſtudiorum & rei militaris, amongſt diuers other words cõmẽdatory, hath theſe as follow: Ad te potiſſimum mitto, quod horum te optimum, & ſapientiſsimum iudicem fore exiſtimo, qui vt ex integerrimo pat. domino, Zenone Baiocenſi epiſcopo, homine tuæ laudis cupidiſsimo, accepi: ita in his humanitatis ſtudiis inuigilares, vt nullus toto terrarũ orbe princeps, nec doctrina, nec eloquentia, nec humanitate tecum comparandus ſit. &c. Many other argumentes and places may be brought, to declare what is to be eſteemed of the learning and ſtudious wit of this noble Prince.

Furthermore, as the learning of this Prince was rare and memorable, ſo was the diſcreete wiſedome and ſingular prudence in him no leſſe to be conſidered: as for yͤ more manifeſt proofe thereof, I thought here good amongſt many other his godly doings, to recite one example, reported as well by the penne of ſyr Thomas More, as alſo by M. William Tindall, the true Apoſtle of theſe our latter dayes, to the intent to ſee and note, not only the craftye working of falſe miracles in the clergye, but alſo that the prudent diſcretion of this high and mighty prince, the foreſayd Duke Humfrey, may geue vs better to vnderſtand what man he was. The ſtory lyeth thus.

A falſe miracle eſpied.

In the yong dayes of this king Henry the ſixt, beyng yet vnder the gouernance of this Duke Humfrey his protector, there came to S. Albones a certayne begger wyth his wife, and there was walking about yͤ towne, begging fiue or ſixe dayes before the kinges comming thether, ſaying yͭ he was borne blind and neuer ſaw in his lyfe, & was warned in hys dreame, that he ſhuld come out of Barwik, where he ſayd he had euer dwelled, to ſeek S. Albon, and that he had bene at his ſhrine, and had not bene holpẽ, and therefore he would go and ſeek him at ſome other place: for he had heard ſome ſay, ſince he came, that S. Albones body ſhoulde be at Colon, and in deede ſuche a contention hath there bene. But of truth as I am ſurely informed, he lyeth here at S. Albones, ſauing ſome Reliques of him, whiche they there ſhew ſhryned. But to tell you ſoorth, when the king was comen, and the towne full, ſodainly this blynde man at S. Albones ſhrine had hys ſight agayne, and a miracle ſolemnly ronge, and Te Deum ſong, ſo that nothing was talked of in al the towne, but this miracle. So happened it thẽ, that Duke Humfrey of Gloceſter, a man no les wiſe, then alſo well learned, hauing great ioye to ſee ſuche a miracle, called the poore man vnto him, and firſt ſhewing himſelfe ioyous of Gods glory, ſo ſhewed in the getting of his ſight, and exhorting him to meekenes, and to no aſcribing of any part of yͤ worſhip to himſelf, nor to be proud of the peoples prayſe, which would call him a good & godly man therby, at laſt he looked well vpon his eyne, and aſked whether he could ſee nothing at al, in al his life before. And when as well his wife as himſelfe affirmed faſtly no, then hee looked aduiſedly vpon his eyen againe, and ſayd: I beleue you very well, for me thinketh ye cannot ſee well yet. Yes ſyr, quod he, I thanke God and hys holy martyr, I can ſee now as well as any mã. (Yea can (quod yͤ duke) what colour is my gowne? Then anon the begger tolde him. What colour (quoth he) is this mans gowne? He told him alſo, and ſo forth without any ſticking, he told him the names of all yͤ colours that could be ſhewed him. And when the Duke ſaw that, he bad him walke traytour, and made him to be ſet openly in the ſtockes: For though he could haue ſeene ſodenly by miracle the difference betwene diuers colours, yet could he not by the ſight ſo ſodeinly tell the names of al theſe coulours, except he had known them before, no more then the names of all the men, that he ſhuld ſodaynly ſee.

Diſsimulation wel puniſhed.

By this may it be ſeene howe Duke Humfrey had not onely an head to diſſerne and diſſeuer trueth from forged and fayned hipocriſie, but ſtudy alſo and dilligence lykewiſe was in him, to reforme that which was amiſſe.

Commendation of Duke Humfrey.

And thus much hetherto for the noble prowesse & vertues, ioyned with yͤ like ornamentes of knowledge, & literature ſhining in this Princely duke. For the which, as he was both loued of the poore commons, and wel ſpoken of all men, & no les deſeruing the ſame, being called the good Duke of Gloceſter, ſo neither yet wanted hee his enemies and priuy enuiers, whether it was through the fatall and vnfortunate lucke of the name of that houſe which is but a vayn & friuolous obſeruation of Polydore, & Halle which followeth hym, bringing in the examples of Hugh Speſer of Thomas of Woodſtock, ſonne of K. Edward the thyrd of this Duke Humfry, and after of king Richard the thyrd Duke likewiſe of Glouceſter: or whether it was that yͤ nature of true vertue cõmonly is ſuche, that as the flame euer beareth his ſmoke, and the body his ſhadow: ſo the brightnes of vertue neuer blaſeth, but hath ſome diſdayne or enuy wayting vpon it: or els whether it was rather for ſome diuorcement from his wife, or for ſome other vice or treſpaſſe done (as ſeemeth moſt like truth) which God as well in dukes houſes correcteth, as in other inferiour parſons, eſpecially where he loueth: But howſoeuer the cauſe is to vs vnknowne, this good Duke of Gloceſter, albeit beyng both yͤ kinges ſole vncle, & hauing ſo many well willers thorough yͤ whol realme, yet lacked not hys Sathan: lacked not his ſecret maligners. Of whom ſpecially was Hẽry Beuford Cardinal, Biſh. of Wincheſter and Chaunceller of England: who of long time diſdayning and enuying the rule and authoritie of this Duke: firſt had diſpoſed and appoynted himſelfe, to remoue the kings perſon from Eltham vnto Winſor out of the Dukes handes, and there to put in ſuch gouernours, as him liſted. After that, entẽding the Dukes death, he ſet men of armes and Archers at the end of London bridge, and for barring the hye waye wyth a draw chain, ſet men in chambers, ſellers and windowes with bowes and arrowes and other weapons, to the purpoſed deſtructiõ both of the duke & his retinue, if God had not ſo diſpoſed, to turne his iourny an other way. Beſide other manifold iniuries and moleſtations, the Ambitious Cardinall, ſeeking by all meanes to be Pope, procured ſuch trouble agaynſt him, that great deuiſion was thereby in the whole Realme: in ſomuch that all the ſhops within yͤ city of London, were ſhut in, for feare of the fauourers of theſe two great perſonages, for each part had aſſembled no ſmall number of people. For the pacifying whereof yͤ archbiſhop of Caunterbury, and the Duke of Quinber, called the prince of Portingall, rode 7. tymes in one day betwene thoſe two aduerſaryes. Such were then the troubles of this tumultuous diuiſion within the realme, and al by the excitation of this vnquiet Cardinall.

The good Duke of Gloceſter.

Polyd. Hiſt lib. 23 Hall in 25. Hen. 6.

The enemies to the Duke of Gloceſter.

The malicious working of the cardinall againſt the Duke of Gloceſter.

W. De la Pole Duke of Suffolke, the cauſe of the Duke of Gloceſters death.

Ouer and beſide, this Cardinall afore mentioned, an other Capitall enemy to the ſaid Duke, was William de la Pole, firſt Earle, then Marques, at laſt Duke of Suffolke a man very ill reported of in ſtoryes, to be not only yͤ orgã & inſtrument of this good mans death, but alſo to be the noyance of the common wealth, & ruine of the realme. For by him and hys onely deuiſe, was firſt concluded the vnprofitable and vnhonourable mariage betweene the kyng & Lady Margaret daughter of yͤ Duke of Angeow: where as the king had concluded & contracted a mariage before wͭ the daughter of the Earle of Arminik, vpon conditions ſo much more profitable and honourable, as more conuenient it is for a Prince to mary a wife with riches & frends then to take a mayd wͭ nothing, & disherite himſelfe, & hys realme of old rightes, & ancient inheritance, which ſo came to paſſe. And all this the good Duke did well foreſee, & declared no leſſe: but hys counſel would not be taken. Whereupon followed firſt the geuing away the Duchy of Angeow: & the Citie of Mayne, with the whole Country of Mayne, to Reyner Duke of Angeow & father of the Damoſell, called then K. of Sicile & of Hieruſalẽ, hauing ther of no peny profite, but onely a vayne name to play withal.

The vnprofitable mariage betweene K. Hen. 6. and Queene Margaret.

Queene Margaret mortall enemy to the Duke of Gloceſter.

An other ſore enemy and mortall plague to this Duke was the Queene her ſelfe, lately before maried to the king. Who being of haute ſtomack, and all ſet vpon glory of wit and wilynes lacking nothing, and perceiuing her huſband to be ſimple of wit, and eaſy to be ruled, tooke vpon her to rule and gouerne both the king & kingdome. And becauſe the aduiſe & counſaile of Humfrey duke of Gloceſter, was ſomewhat a ſtay that her authoritie and regimẽt could not ſo fully procede, and partly becauſe the ſayd Duke before dyd diſagree from that mariage, this manly women and couragious Queene ceaſed not by all imaginations and practiſes poſſible, to ſet forwarde his deſtruction, hauing alſo for her helper herein the Duke of Buckingham. &c.

The malice of a woman.

A ſnare to catch the innocent.

Theſe being his principall enemies and mortall foes, fearing leaſt ſome commotion might ariſe, if ſuch a Prince ſo neare the kinges bloud, and ſo deare to the people, & of all men ſo beloued, ſhold be openly executed & put to death, deuiſed how to trap him, and circumuẽt him vnknowing and vnprouided. For the more ſpeedy furtherance wherof,

a Parlia-

Anno. 1447.

A parliament at Bery.

a Parliament was ſũmoned to be kept at Bery, an. 1447. farre from the citizens of London, as william Tyndall in his booke of practiſe, writeth. where reſorted all the peres of the realme, and amongſt them the Duke of Glouceſter, thinking no harme to any man, & leſſe to himſelfe. who on the ſecond day of the Seſsion, was by the Lord Beamonde high Conſtable then of Englande, accompanied with the Duke of Buckingham and other, arreſted, apprehended, and put in ward, and vpon the ſame all his ſeruaunts diſcharged and put from him, of whome 32. of the principall being alſo vnder arreſt, were diſperſed into diuers priſõs to the great murmuring and greuance of the people. After this arreſt thus done, and the Duke put in to warde, the night after (ſaith Halle) 6. nightes after (ſayth Fabian and Polychron, he was found dead in hys bed the 24. of February and his body ſhewed to the Lordes and Commons, as though he had bene taken naturally with ſome ſodayne diſeaſe. And although no woũd in his body could be ſeene: yet to al indifferent perſons it might wel be iudged, that he dyed of no naturall pang, but of ſome violent hand. Some ſuſpected him to be ſtrangled, ſome that a whole ſpytt was priuily forced into his body, ſome affirme yͭ he was ſtyfeled betweene to fether beds. After the death of this Duke, and hys body being enterred at S. Albons, after he had politikely by the ſpace of 25. yeares gouerned this realme, 5. of his houſholde to wit, one knight, 3. Eſquiers, and a Yeoman, were arreigned, & conuict to be hanged, drawn & quartered. who being hanged and cut downe halfe aliue, yͤ Marques of Suffolke, there preſent ſhewed the charter of the kinges pardon, and ſo they were deliuered. Notwithſtanding, all this could not appeaſe the grudge of the people, ſaying that the ſauing of the ſeruauntes, was no amends for the murdering of the mayſter.

The cruel death or martyrdome of the good Duke of Gloceſter.

The iudgement of god vpon thẽ which perſecuted the Duke of Gloceſter.

In this cruell facte of theſe perſons, which did ſo conſpire and conſent to the death of this noble man, & whiche thought thereby to worke their owne ſafety, the meruailous work of gods iudgement, appeareth herein to be noted: who as in all other like cruell pollices of mã, ſo in this alſo turned al theyr pollices clean contrary. So that where yͤ Queene thought moſt to preſerue her huſband in honor, and her ſelfe in ſtate, thereby both ſhe loſt her huſband, her huſband loſt his realm, the realm loſt Angeow, Normãdy the Duchy of Aquitane, with all her partes beyond yͤ ſea, Calice only except, as in ſequele of the matter, who ſo will read the ſtoryes, ſhall right well vnderſtand.

Anno. 1448.

The death of the Cardinall, and maner of the ſame.

The wordes of the Cardinall of Wincheſter at his derth.

The next yeare following, it followed alſo, that yͤ Cardinall, who was the principall artificer and ringleader of all this miſchiefe, was ſuffered of God no lõger to liue. Of whoſe wicked conditions being more largely ſet foorth in Edward Halle, I omitte here to ſpeake. what he himſelfe ſpake in his deathbed for example to other, I thought not beſt to pretermit. who hearing that he ſhuld dy, & that ther was no remedy, murmured & grudged, wherfore he ſhuld dye, hauing ſo much riches, ſaying: that if the whole realm would ſaue hys life, he was able either by pollicy to get it, or by riches to buy it: adding & ſaying moreouer, fie (quod he) will not death be hyred? nor will money doe nothing? whẽ my nephew of Bedford dyed, I thought my ſelfe halfe vp the wheele, but whẽ I ſaw mine other nephew of Gloceſter deceaſſed, then I thought my ſelfe able to be equal wͭ kinges, and ſo ought to encreaſe my treaſure, in hope to haue worne the triple crown. &c. Ex Edou Hallo. And thus is the rich byſhop of wincheſter, with all his pompe and riches gone, with the which riches, he was able not onely to build ſcholes, colledges and Vniuerſities, but alſo was able to ſuſteine the kinges armies in warre (as is ſpecified in ſtoryes) without any taxing of the commons.

Will. Wanflet Biſhop of Wint.

Magdalen Colledge in Oxford builded.

In whoſe ſeate next ſucceded william wanflet, preferred to the byſhopricke of wincheſter who though he had leſſe ſubſtaunce, yet hauing a minde more godly diſpoſed, did found and erecte the Colledge of Mary Magdalen in Oxford. For the which foundation, as there haue ben, and be yet many ſtudentes bound to yeld gratefull thanks vnto God, ſo I muſt needes confeſſe my ſelfe to be one, except I will be vnkinde.

Gods puniſhment vpon the Marques of Suffolke.

Among yͤ other miſchieuous aduerſaries which ſought and wrought the death of Humfrey Duke of Glouceſter, next to the Cardinall of wincheſter (who, as is ſayd, dyed yͤ next yere following) was william de la Pole, Marques of Suffolk, who alſo liued not long after, nor long eſcaped vnpuniſhed. For although he was highly exalted, by the meanes of yͤ Queene (whoſe maryage he onely procured) vnto yͤ fauour of yͤ king, & was made Duke of Suffolke, & magnified of the people, and bare the whole ſway in the realme, whoſe actes and facts his vayne glorious head cauſed alſo by the aſſent of the commons, to be recorded, & ſubſtantially to be regiſtred in the rolles of the Parliament, for a perpetuall renowne to him, and all his poſteritie for euer: yet notwſtanding the hand of Gods iudgement ſtill hanging ouer hym, he enioyed not long this his triũphant victory. For within 3. yeares after the death and ruine of yͤ Cardinall, the voyces of the whole commons of England were vtterly turned againſt him, accuſing him in the Parliament at the blacke Fryers, for deliuery of the Duchye of Angeow, and Earledome of Maine: alſo for the death of yͤ noble Prince Humfry Duke of Gloceſter. They imputed moreouer to hym the loſſe of all Normandye, laying vnto him that he was a ſwallower vp and conſumer of yͤ kings treaſure, the expeller of al good and vertuous counſaylers from the king, and aduancer of vicious perſons, apparant aduerſaryes to the publicke wealth: ſo that he was called in euery mouth a traytour, a murderer, and a robber of the kinges treaſure.

The vaine glory of mans hart forgetting himſelfe in honour. The commons vncõſtant.

The Duke of Suffolke accuſed by the cõmons.

The Queene, albeit ſhe tenderly loued the Duke, yet to appeaſe the exclamation of the commons, was forced to committe hym to the tower, where he, with as much pleaſure and liberty as could be, remayned for a month whiche being expired, he was deliuered and reſtored agayne into his old place, & former fauour with the kyng: where at the people more grudged then before. It happened by the occaſion of a commotion then beginning amongeſt the rude people, by one whom they called Blewbeard, that the parliament, was for that tyme, adiourned to Leyceſter, thinking to the Queene, by force and rigour of lawe to repreſſe there the malice and euill will conceiued againſt the duke. But at that place few of yͤ nobilitie would appeare, wherfore it was againe reiourned vnto Londõ, & kept at weſtminſter, where was a whole company, & a ful appearance with the king and Queene, & with them the duke of Suffolke, as chiefe counſailour. The commons not forgetting their old grudge, renewed agayn their former articles and accuſations agaynſt the ſayde duke, agaynſt the byſhop of Saliſb. & ſyr Iames Fynies, Lord Say, and other. when the kyng perceaued yͭ no gloſing nor diſſimulation would ſerue to appeaſe the continual clamour of the importunate cõmons, to make ſome quiet pacificatiõ, firſt he ſequeſtred from hym the Lord ſay, treaſurer of Englande, & other the Dukes adherentes from theyr offices. Then he put in exile the Duke of Suffolke, for the terme of 5. yeares, ſuppoſing by that ſpace the furious rage of yͤ people would aſſwage.

The Duke of Suffolke againe accuſed.

Example of Gods iudgement and of bloud reuenged.

The Duke of Suffolke beheaded

But the hand of God woulde not ſuffer yͤ giltles bloud of Humfrey Duke of Gloceſter, to be vnreuenged, or that flagitious perſon further to continue. For whẽ he ſhipped in Suffolke, intending to be tranſported into Fraunce: he was encountred with a ſhippe of warre belonging to the tower: whereby he was taken, and brought into Douer rode, and there on the ſide of a ſhip boat, one ſtrake of his head: which was about the yeare of our Lord. 1450.

And thus haue ye heard the full ſtorye, and diſcourſe of Duke Humfrey, and of all hys aduerſaries, alſo of Gods condigne puniſhment vpon them for their bloudy cruelty. But before I remoue from the ſayde ſtory of the foreſayde Duke, and of the proud Cardinall his enemy, I will here by the way, annexe a certaine inſtrument by the kyng and aduiſe of his counſayle, made agaynſt the ſayde Cardinall, taking vpon him to enter into this realme, as Legate frõ the Pope, contrary to the old lawes and cuſtomes of thys realme, as by the wordes of the ſayd inſtrument here in Latine may well appeare.

Publicum inſtrumentum nomine Regis.

IN Dei nomine Amen, Per preſens publicum inſtrumentum cunctis appareat euidenter quod an. Dom. 1428. Indictione ſeptima pontificatus Sanct. in Chriſto pat. & D. noſtri D. Martini &c.

Ego Richardus Candray, procurator & nomine procuratorio Chriſtianiſsimi principis Domini Henrici, Dei gratia Regis Angliæ & Franciæ, & Domini Hiberniæ, Domini mei ſupremi, de aſſenſu pariter & aduiſamento Illuſtris & potentis Principis Humfridi Ducis Glouceſtriæ, Comitis Penbrochiæ, protectoris & defenſoris regni Angliæ, & Eccleſiæ Anglicanæ, & cæterorum dominorum meorum de conſilio ſuæ Regiæ celſitudinis, ac conſiliũ eiuſdem facientiũ & hac vice repreſentantiũ, dico, allego, & in his ſcriptis propono, quod dictus Chriſtianiſsimus, princeps dominus meus ſupremus, ſuiq; inclytiſsimi progenitores dicti regni Angliæ Reges, fuerunt & ſunt, tam ſpeciali priuilegio: quam conſuetudine laudabili legitimeq; præſcripta, nec non a tẽpore & per tẽpus (cuius contrarij memoria hominum non exiſtat) pacifice & inconcuſſe obſeruata, ſufficienter, dotati legitimeq; muniti, quod nullus Apoſtolicæ ſedis Legatus venire debeat in regnum ſuum Angliæ, aut alias ſuas terras & dominia, niſi ad Regis Angliæ pro tempore exiſtentis vocationem, petitionem, requiſitionem, inuitationem, ſeu rogatum: Fueruntq, & ſunt dicti Chriſtianiſsimus princeps dominus meus ſupremus ac ſui inclyti progenitores huiuſmodi Reges Angliæ, in poſſeſsione quaſi iuris &

facti priuilegij,& conſuetudinis prædictorum, abſq; interruptione quacunq;, toto & omni tempore ſupradicto,pacificè & quiete Romanis pontificibus per totum tempus ſupradictum, præmiſſa omnia & ſingula,ſcientibus,tolerantibus, & iiſdem conſentiẽtibus tam tacite quam expreſſe, ac extra omnem & omnimodam poſſeſsionem,quaſi iuris &facti,Legatũ huiuſmodi (vtpræfertur) in regnum Angliæ aut alias ſuas terras et dominia mittendi , niſi ad vocationem,petitionem,requiſitionem:& Rogatum Regis Angliæ,pro tempore exiſtentis.Et quia reuerendiſ.in Chri.pat.& D. D.Henricus Dei gratia &c.ſancti Euſebij præsbyter, Cardinalis ſanctæſedis Romanæ,Legatum ſe affirmans,more Legati,inſignijs Apoſtolicæ dignitatis vtens,abſq; vocatione,petitione, requiſitine,inuitatione, aut rogatu Chriſtianiſsimi domini noſtri Regis prædicti,inclytum regnum Angliæ de facto eſt ingreſſus, proteſtor igitur palam, & publico in his ſcriptis nomine & vice quibus ſupra, ac omnium ipſius domini noſtri Regis ſubditorum , quod non fuit,aut eſt intentionis, præfati Chriſtianiſſ.principis,domimini ſupremi, ac dictorum dominorum meorum de cõſilio in derogationem legum,iurium,conſuetudinum,libertatum & priuilegiorum dicti D.noſtri Regis ac regni, ingreſſum huiuſmodi dicti reuerendiſſ.patris,vtLegati in Angliam,authoritate ratificare,vel approbare, ſeu ipſum vt Legatum ſedis Apoſtolicæ in Angliam, contra leges,iura,conſuetudines , libertates & priuilegia prædicta quouiſmodo admittere ſeu recognoſcere: aut exercitio legationis ſuæ huiuſmodi,aliquibuſue per ipſum,vt Legatum ſedis Apoſt.actis, ſeu agendis, attentatis, ſeu attentandis, aduerſus præmiſſa,leges,iura,conſuetudines,libertates,& priuilegia,in aliquo conſentire,ſed diſſentire:ſicq; diſſentit dictus domin⁹ noſter Rex, atq́; diſſentiunt dicti domini mei de conſilio,per preſentes.&c,

An inſtrument by the king againſt the admitting the Popes legate.

The ſumme and effecte whereof in Engliſhe is this, that in the yeare of our Lord.1428.as the King with Duke Humfrey Lord protectour,& the reſt of the counſayle, were in the Dukes houſe in the Pariſh of S.Bennets by Paules warfe,one Richard Candray procuratour, in the kinges name and behalfe did proteſt and denounce by thys publicke inſtrument,that where as the kyng and all hys progenitours,kinges before him of thys realme of Englãd haue bene heretofore poſſeſſed tyme out of mynde, with ſpeciall priuiledge and cuſtome vſed and obſerued in thys Realme from tyme to time,that no Legate from the Apoſtolicke ſea ſhould enter into thys land or anye of the kynges dominions, without the calling,petition,requeſt,inuitement or deſire of the kyng, and for ſo much as Henry byſhop of Wint. and Cardinall of S.Euſebius, hath preſumed ſo to enter as Legat from the Pope, beyng neyther called,ſent for,required, or deſired by the kyng: therfore the ſayd Richard Candray in thekynges name doth proteſt by this inſtrument,that it ſtandeth not with the kinges minde or intent,by the aduiſe of hys counſayle,to admit, approue, or ratifie the cõming of the ſayd Legate in anye wiſe, in derogation of the rightes,cuſtomes and lawes of this hys realme : or to recogniſe,or aſſent to any exerciſe of this hys authoritie Legantine,or to anye actes,attempted, or hereafter by hym to be attempted in this reſpect cõtrary to the foreſayd lawes,rightes,cuſtomes, and liberties of this Realme,by theſe preſentes.&c.

And thus much as an Apendix, annexed to the ſtory of Duke Humfrey,and the Cardinal of wint. extracte out of an olde written volume,remaining in the handes of maiſter william Bowyer.

¶The benefite and inuention of Printing.

Anno. 1450.

The arte of printing inuented.

Ex Tipographia per Mattheum Iudicem.

IN following the courſe and order of yeares, we find this foreſayd yeare of our Lord.1450. to be famous and memorable,for the diuine and miraculous inuention of printing. Nauclerus,and wymſelingus folowing him,referre the inuention thereof to the yeare 1440. In paralipom. Abbatis Vrſp. **it is recorded this facultie to be found. an. 1446. Auentinus and Zieglerus do ſay,an.1450. The firſt inuẽtour thereof (as moſte agree) is thought to bee a Germayne dwelling firſt in Argentine, afterward Cittizen of Mentz,named Iohn Fauſtus,a goldſmith. The occaſiõ of this inuention firſt was by engrauing yͤ letters of yͤ Alphabet in mettal:who then laying blacke incke vpon the mettall,gaue the forme of letters in paper. The man being induſtrious, and actiue,perceiuing that, thought to proceed further, and to proue whether it woulde frame as well in words, and in whole ſentences,as it did in letters. which when he perceaued to come well to paſſe,he made certayne other of his counſaile, one Iohn Guttemberge & Peter Schafferd,binding them by their othe,to keepe ſilence,for a ſeaſon. After x. yeares, Iohn Guttemberge compartner wͭ Fauſtus,began then firſt to broch the matter at Strauſbrough. The Arte beyng yet but rude, in proceſſe of tyme, was ſet forward by inuentiue wittes, adding more and more to the perfection thereof. In the number of whome, Iohn Mentell , Iohn Prus , Adolphus Ruſchius, were great helpers, Vlricus Han , in latine called** Gallus, **firſt brought it to Rome. whereof yͤ Epigram was made.**

Carmen Ant. Campani.

Anſer Tarpeij cuſtos,vigilando quòd alis
Conſtreperes,Gallus decidit vltor adeſt
Vlricus Gallus,nequem poſcantur in vſum,
Edocuit pennis nil opus eſſe tuis.

Printing came of God.

Printing likened to the giftes of tongues.

Notwithſtanding, what man ſoeuer was the inſtrument,without all doubt God himſelfe was the ordayner and diſpoſer thereof,no otherwiſe,then he was of the gifte of tongues,and that for a ſinguler purpoſe. And well may this gift of printing be reſembled to the gift of tongues:for like as God then ſpake with many tongues, and yet all yͤ would not turne the Iewes,ſo now, when the holy ghoſt ſpeaketh to yͤ aduerſaries in innumerable ſorts of bookes, yet they will not be conuerted:nor turne to the Goſpell.

Now to conſider to what ende and purpoſe the Lorde hath geuen this gift of Printing to the earth, and to what great vtility and neceſſity it ſerueth, it is not hard to iudge who ſo wiſely perpendeth both the time of the ſending, & the ſequele which therof enſueth.

The time conſidered when Printing was founde.

And firſt,touching the time of this faculty geuen to the vſe of man, this is to be marked : that when as the Byſhop of Rome,with all the whole & ful conſent of the Cardinals,Patriarches,Archbiſhops,byſhops,Abbots,Priours,Lawyers,Doctors,Pronoſtes, Deanes, Archdeacons,aſſembled together in the councell of Conſtance,had condemned poore Iohn Hus,& Hierom of Prage to death for hereſie,notwithſtanding they were no heretickes, and after they had ſubdued the Bohemians, and all the whole world vnder the ſupreme authority of the Romiſh ſea:and had made all Chriſtẽ people abedienciaries & vaſſals vnto the ſame,hauing(as one would ſay)all the worlde at theyr will,ſo that the matter now was paſt not only the power of al men,but the hope alſo of any man to be recouered. In this very time ſo daungerous and deſperate,where mans power could do no more,there the bleſſed wiſedome & omnipotent power of the Lord began to work for his church not with ſword and tergate to ſubdue his exalted aduerſary, but with Printing, writing, and reading to conuince darkenes by light,errour by truth, ignorance by learning So that by this meanes of printing, the ſecret operatiõ of God hath heaped vpon that proud kingdome a double cõfuſion. For where as the byſhop of Rome,had burned I. Hus before,and Hierome of Prage , who neither denyed his tranſubſtantiation, nor hys ſupremacie, nor yet hys Popiſhe Maſſe, but ſayd Maſſe,and heard maſſe themſelues, neither ſpake agaynſt his purgatory, nor anye other great matter of his popiſhe doctrine, but onely exclaymed agaynſt his exceſſiue and pompous pride, hys vnchriſtian or rather Antichriſtian abhomination of life:thus while he could not abide his wickednes onely of life to be touched, but made it hereſie,or at leaſt matter of death, what ſoeuer was ſpoken agaynſt hys deteſtable conuerſation,and maners,God of hys ſecret iudgement,ſeing tyme to helpe his Church,hath found a way by this facultie of Printing,not onely to confound his life, and conuerſation,which before he could not abide to be touched,but alſo to caſt downe the foundatiõ of his ſtanding,that is,to examine,confute, and detect his doctrine,laws, and inſtitutions moſt deteſtable in ſuch ſort,that though his life were neuer ſo pure:yet his doctrine ſtanding,as it doth,no man is ſo blinde,but may ſee,that eyther the pope is Antichriſt,or els that Antichriſt is neare coſine to the pope:And al this doth,and wil hereafter more and more appeare by Printing.

Double confuſiõ vpon the Pope by printing.

The fruit & profite of printing.

The reaſon whereof is this:for yͤ hereby tongues are knowne,knowledge groweth,iudgemẽt increaſeth,books are diſperſed,the Scripture is ſeene,the Doctours be read ſtories be opened,times compared,truth decerned,falſhod detected,and with finger poynted,and all (as I ſayd) thorough the benefite of printing. wherfore I ſuppoſe that eyther the pope muſt aboliſh printing, or he muſt ſeek a new world to raygne ouer:for els,as this world ſtandeth, printing doubtles will aboliſh hym. But the pope, and all hys Colledge of Cardinals,muſt this vnderſtãd, that through the light of printing, the worlde beginneth nowe to haue eyes to ſee,and heades to iudge. He cannot walke ſo inuiſible in a net,but he will be ſpyed. And although thorough might he ſtopped the mouth of Iohn Hus before , and of Hierome,that they might not preache, thinking to make his kingdome ſure:yet in ſtede of Iohn Hus & other God hath opened the preſſe to preach, whoſe voyce the Pope is neuer able to ſtop with all yͤ puiſſance of his triple crown. By this printing, as by the gift of tongues, and as by the ſingular organe of the holy Ghoſt,the doctrine of the Goſpell ſoundeth to all nations and countryes vnder heauen: and what God reuealeth to one man, is diſperſed to many

and what is knowne in one nation, is opened to all.

Good counſaile to the Pope.

The firſt and beſt were for the biſhop of Rome, by the benefite of printing, to learne and know the trueth. If he will not, let him well vnderſtand that printing is not ſet vp for naught. To ſtriue againſt the ſtreame, it auayleth not. what the pope hath loſt, ſince printing and the preſſe began to preach, let hym caſt hys counters. Firſt when Eraſmus wrote, and Frobenius Printed, what a blow therby was geuen to all Fryers and monks in the world? And who ſeeth not, that the penne of Luther following after Eraſmus and ſet forward by writing, hath ſet the triple crown ſo awry on the popes head, that it is like neuer to be ſet ſtreight agayne.

Briefly, if there were no demonſtration to leade, yet by this one argument of printing, the biſhop of Rome might vnderſtand the counſayl and purpoſe of the Lord to worke agaynſt him, hauing prouided ſuch a way in earth, that almoſt how many printing preſſes there be in yͤ world ſo many blockhouſes there be agaynſt the high caſtle of S. Angell. So that eyther the pope muſt aboliſhe knowledge and Printing, or printing at length will roote him out. For if a man wiſely conſider the holde and ſtanding of the pope, thus he may repute with himſelfe, that as nothing made the pope ſtrong in time paſt, but lacke of knowledge and ignoraunce of ſimple Chriſtians: ſo contrariwiſe now nothing doth debilitate and ſhake the high ſpire of his Papacie ſo much as reading, preaching, knowledge & iudgement, that is to ſay, the fruit of printing: whereof ſome experience we ſee already, and more is like (the Lord before) to follow. For although, through outward force and violẽt cruelty, tonges dare not ſpake, yet the hartes of men dayly (no doubt) be inſtructed through this benefite of printing. And though the pope both nowe by cruelty, and in tymes paſt by ignoraunce, had all vnder hys poſſeſſion: yet neyther muſt he thinke, that violence will alwayes continue, neyther muſt he hope for that now, which he had then: for ſo much as in thoſe former dayes, bookes then were ſcarſe & alſo of ſuch exceſſiue price, that few coulde attayne to the buying, fewer to yͤ reading & ſtudying therof: which bookes now by yͤ meanes of this arte, are made eaſie vnto al men. Ye heard before, pag. 665, how Nicholas Belward, bought a new teſtament in thoſe dayes for foure markes and 40. pence, where as now the ſame price will ſerue well 40. perſons with ſo many bookes.

So preached the vicar of Croydẽ in K. Henry the 8. dayes, at Paules croſſe, ſaying that either we muſt roote out printing or elſe printing, will roote out vs.

Moreouer in the pag. 411. col. 1. it was noted and declared by the teſtimony of Armachanus, how for defect of bookes and good authors, both vniuerſities were decaied and good wits kept in ignoraunce, while begging Fryers ſcaping all the wealth from other prieſtes, heaped vp all bookes that coulde be gotten, into theyr owne Libraryes: where eyther they dyd not diligently applye them, or els did not rightly uſe them, or at leaſt kept them from ſuch as more fruitfully would haue peruſed them.

In this then ſo great raritie, and alſo dearth of good books, when neither they which could haue books, would well vſe them, nor they yͭ woulde, could haue them to vſe, what maruell if the greedines of a few prelates did abuſe the blindnes of thoſe daies, to the aduauncement of themſelues? wherefore, almighty God of hys mercifull prouidence, ſeeing both what lacked in the church, and how alſo to remedy the ſame, for yͤ aduauncement of his glory, gaue the vnderſtanding of this excellent arte or ſcience of printing, whereby three ſingular cõmodities at one time came to the world. Firſt, the price of all bookes diminiſhed. Secondly the ſpeedy helpe of reading, more furthered. And thirdly the plenty of all good authours enlarged: according as Aprutinus, doth truely report.

Triple commodity by printing.

Imprimit ille die, quantum non ſcribitur anno. 1.

The preſſe in one day will do in printing,
That none in one yeare can do in writing.

By reaſon whereof, as printing of bookes miniſtred matter of readyng: ſo readyng brought learning: learning ſhewed light, by yͤ brightnes wherof blind ignorance was ſuppreſſed errour detected, & finally Gods glory, wͭ trueth of hys worde, aduaunced. This facultie of Printing was after the inuention of Gunnes, the ſpace of 130. yeares: which inuention was alſo found in Germany, an. 1380. And thus much for yͤ worthy commendation of printing.

When Gunnes were firſt inuented.

¶ The lamentable loſing of Conſtantinople.

{ Anno. 1458. }

ANno. 1453. Conſtantinus Paloelogus, beyng Emperour of Conſtãtinople, the 29. day of the month of May, the great Cittye of Conſtantinople was taken by the Turke Mahometes, after the ſiege of 54. dayes, which ſiege began in the beginning of April. within the city, beſide the Citizens were but onely 6000. reſcuers of the Greekes. And 3000. of the Venetians & Gennues. Againſt theſe, Mahometes brought an army of 400. thouſand, collected out of the countryes and places adioyning nere about, as out of Grecia, Illirico, Wallachia, Dardanis, Triballis, Bulganis, out of Bithynia, Galatia, Lydia, Cecilia, and ſuche other: which places had the name yet of Chriſtians. Thus one neighbour for lucre ſake, helped to deſtroy an other.

The loſing of Conſtantinople.

The Cittie was compaſſed of the Turkes, both by the ſea & land. Mahometes the Turke deuided his armye in 3. ſondry partes, which in 3. partes of the citty, ſo bette the walles and brake them downe, that they attempted by the breaches therof to enter the cittye. But the valiauntnes of the Chriſtians therein wanne much cõmendation, whoſe Duke was called Iohn Iuſtinianus, of Genua. But for ſo much as the aſſaultes were great, and the number of the Chriſtian ſouldiours dayly decreaſed, fighting both at the walles and at the Hauen, agaynſt ſuch a multitude of the Turkes, they were not able long to hold out. Beſide the armyes which lay battering at the walles, the Turke had vpon the ſea his nauy of 200. and 50. ſayle, lying vpon the hauen of the City, reaching from the one ſide of the hauens mouth vnto the other, as if a bridge ſhould be made frõ the one banke to the other. which hauen by the cittizens was barred with yron chaines, whereby the Turks were kept out a certayne ſpace. Agaynſt whiche nauy 7. ſhips there were of Genua, within the hauen, and 3. of Creta, and certayne of Chio, which ſtoode agaynſt them. Alſo the ſouldiours iſſuing out of the Cittie, as occaſion would ſerue, did manfully gaynſtand them, and wͭ wild fire, ſet their ſhips on fire, that a certayn ſpace they could ſerue to no vſe. At length the cheynes being braſt, & a way made, the Turkes nauy entred the hauen, and aſſaulted the Cittie, whereby yͤ Turke began to conceiue great hope, and was in forwardnes to obtain the Citie. The aſſault and ſkirmiſh thẽ waxing more hoate, Mahometes the tyraunt ſtode by vppon an hill, with hys warriours about him, crying & houling out vnto them to ſkale the walles and enter the towne, otherwiſe, if any reculed, he threatned to kill them, and ſo he did. Wherefore a great number of his ſouldiours in theyr repulſe and retire, were ſlaine by the turkes men, being ſet by his commaundement to ſlay them: and ſo they were iuſtly ſerued, and well payd theyr hyer.

The tirannie of the Turke toward his owne men.

Although this was ſome comfort, to the Chriſtians, to ſee and behold out of the Cittie, the Turkes retinue ſo conſumed, yet that hope laſted not long. Shortly after by rage of warre, it happened Iuſtinian the Duke aboue named, to be hurt, who notwithſtanding that he was earneſtly deſired by Paloelogus the Emperour, not to leaue his Tower which he had to keepe, ſeeing hys wound was not deadly daungerous, yet could he not be intreated to tary, but lefte his ſtanding, and his fort diſfurniſhed, ſetting none in his place to award the ſame. And ſo this doughty Duke, hurte more with hys falſe hart, then with force of weapon, gaue ouer and fled to Chius, where ſhortly after for ſorrow, rather then for ſorenes of wound, he died. Many of his ſouldiours ſeeing their captayne flee, followed after, leauing their fort vtterly deſtitute without defence. The Turkes vnderſtanding yͤ vantage, ſoone braſt into the cittie. The Emperour Paloelogus ſeeing no other way but to flee, making toward the gate, eyther was ſlayne, or els troden down wͭ the multitude. In the which gate 800. dead mẽs bodies were found and taken vp.

The cowardnes of Duke Iuſtinian.

The Emperour of Cõſtantinople ſlaine.

The Cittie of Conſtantinople thus being gotte, the Turkes ſacking and raunging about the ſtreetes houſes, and corners, did put to the ſword moſt vnmercifully, whoſoeuer they found, both aged and young: matrones, virgins, children, and infants: ſparing none, the noble matrones and virgins were horriblye rauiſhed, the goods of yͤ cittie, the treaſurers in houſes, the ornaments in churches were all ſackt and ſpoyled, the pictures of Chriſt approbriouſly handled, in hatred of Chriſt. The ſpoyle and hauocke of the citie laſted three dayes together, while yͤ barbarous ſouldiours murdered and rifeled what them liſted.

Cõſtãtinople wonne of the Turkes.

The bloudy victory of the Turkes.

Theſe things thus being done, and the tumult ceaſed, after three dayes, Mahometes the Turke, entreth into the Citie, and firſt calling for the heades and auncientes of the Citie: ſuch as he found to be left aliue, he commaunded thẽ to be mangled and cut in peeces. It is alſo (ſayth my author) reported, that in the feaſtes of the Turks, howſoeuer matrones and virgins, and ſuch as were of the kinges ſtocke, after other contumelies, were brought and cut in peeces for their diſport.

The horrible tirãny of the Turkes.

And this was the end of that princely and famous citty of Conſtantinople, beginning firſt by Conſtantinus, and

ending

Conſtantinople called new Rome.

ending alſo with Conſtātinus: which for the princely royalty thereof, was named and euer honoured, from the time of the firſt Conſtantine, equally with the City of Rome, & called alſo by the name thereof new Rome, & ſo continued the ſpace of 1120. yeares. I pray God that olde Rome may learne of new Rome, to take heed and beware by tyme.

A warning to all Chriſtendome, by Conſtantinople.

This terrible deſtruction of the Citty of Conſtantinople, the Queene of Cittyes, I thought here to deſcribe, not ſo much to ſet forth ẏ barbarous cruelty of theſe filthy rakehels and mercileſſe murtherers: as ſpecially for this, that we being admoniſhed by the dolefull ruine and miſery of theſe our euenchriſtened, may call to minde the plagues & miſeryes deſerued, whiche ſeeme to hang no leſſe ouer our owne heades, and thereby may learne betime to inuocate and call more earneſtly vpon the name of our terrible and mercifull God, that he for his ſonnes ſake, will keepe vs, & preſerue his church among vs, and mitigate thoſe plagues and ſorrowes, whiche we no leſſe haue deſerued, then theſe aboue minded, before vs. Chriſt graunt it. Amen. Ex hiſt. Wittenbergica Peucer.

✱ The hiſtory of Reynold Pecocke Byſhop of Chicheſter, afflicted and impriſoned for the Goſpell of Chriſt.

The ſtory of Reinold Pecocke.

AFter the death of Henry Chichiſley before mentioned, pag. 657. next ſucceeded Iohn Stafford. an. 1445. who continued 8. yeares. After hym came Iohn Kempe. ann. 1453. who ſate but three yeares. Then ſucceeded Thomas Burſchere. In the time of which Archbiſhop, fell the trouble of Reynold Pecocke, Biſhop of Chicheſter, afflicted by the Popes Prelates for hys fayth and profeſſion of the Goſpell. Of this Byſhoppe, Halle alſo in his Chronology toucheth a little mention, declaring that an ouerthwart iudgement (as he termeth it) was geuen by the Fathers of the ſpiritualty agaynſt him. Thys man (ſayth he) beganne to moue queſtions not priuatly, but openly in the Vniuerſityes, concerning the Annates, Peter pence, and other iuriſdictions and authorities perteyning to the ſea of Rome, and not onely put forth the queſtiōs, but declared his mind and opinion in the ſame: wherefore he was for thys cauſe abiured at Paules Croſſe. Thus muche of hym wryteth Hall. Of whom alſo recordeth Polychronycon, but in few wordes. This biſhop, firſt of S. Aſſaphe, then of Chicheſter, ſo long as Duke Humfrey lyued (by whome he was promoted and much made of) was quiet and ſafe, and alſo bolde to diſpute and to write hys mynde, and wrote (as Leland recordeth) diuers bookes and treatiſes. But after that good Duke was thus (as ye haue heard) made away, this good man lacking his backſtay, was open to his enemies, and matter ſoone found agaynſt hym. Wherupon he being complayned of, and accuſed by priuy and malignant promoters vnto the Archbiſhop, letters firſt were directed downe from the Archbiſhop, to cite al men to appeare that could ſay any thing agaynſt hym. The forme of which citation here enſueth.

✱ The copy of the Citation ſent by the Archbyſhoppe.

The citatiō of the Arch. Tho. Bowcher, alias Bourtchet.

THomas by the permiſſion of God, Archb. of Canterbury, primate of all England and Legate of the Apoſtolicke Sea, to all and ſinguler Parſons, Vicares, Chaplaynes, Curates, & not Curates, Clerkes and learned men, whatſoeuer they be, conſtitute & ordeined in any place throughout our prouince of Caunterbury, health, grace and benediction.

We haue receiued a greeuous complaint of our reuerend felow brother, Reynold Pecocke Byſhop of Chicheſter, conteyning in it, that albeit our ſayd reuerend felow brother, the Byſhop, deliuered vnto vs certayne bookes written by him in the Engliſh tongue, by vs and our authority to be examined, corrected reformed and allowed: notwithſtanding many (the examination and reformation of the ſayde bookes depending and remayning before vs vndiſcuſſed) haue openly preached and taught at Paules croſſe in London, and in diuers other places of our prouince of Canterbury, that our ſayd felow brother the Byſhop, hath propoūded, made and written, or cauſed to be writen in the ſayde bookes, certayne concluſions repugnaunt to the true fayth, and that he doth obſtynately hold and defend the ſame.

By the pretence of which preaching and teaching, the ſtate & good name and fame of the ſayd Lord Reynolde the Byſhoppe, are greeuouſly offended and hurt, and he and his opinion marueillouſly burdened. Wherefore we charge you all together, and ſeuerally apart do commaund you, firmely enioyning you, that openly and generally you doe warne or cauſe to bee warned, all and ſingular ſuch perſons, whiche will obiect any thing contrary and agaynſt the concluſions of our ſayd reuerēd felow brother the Biſhop, had or conteined in his bookes or writings: that the 20. day after ſuch monition or warning had, they do freely of theyr own accord appeare before vs and our Commiſſaryes in this behalfe appoynted whereſoeuer we ſhall then be in our Citty, Dioces, or prouince of Canterbury, to ſpeake, propound, alledge, and affirme fully & ſufficiently in writinge, whatſoeuer hereticall or erroneous matter they wil ſpeak, propound, or obiect agaynſt the ſayde concluſions conteyned in his ſayde bookes: and both to ſatiſfye and receiue, whatſoeuer ſhall ſeeme meete and right in this behalfe by the holy inſtitutions and ordinaunces.

And forſomuche as this matter depending yet vndetermined and vndiſcuſſed, nothing ought to be attempted or renewed: we charge you that by this our authority, you inhibite and forbid all and euery one ſo to preach and teach hereafter. Vnto whom alſo we by the the tenour of theſe preſents, do likewiſe forbid, that during the examination of the concluſions and bookes aforeſayde, depending before vs and our Commiſſaryes vndiſcuſſed, they do not preſume by any meanes, without good aduiſe and iudgemēt, to preach, iudge, and affirme any thing to the preiudice or offēce of the ſayd Lord Reynold the Byſhop and if ſo be, you do finde any in this behalfe gayneſaying or not obeying this our inhibitiō, that you do cite or cauſe thē peremptorily to be cited, to appeare before vs or our Commiſſaryes, in this behalfe appoynted, the 10 day after theyr citation, if it be a courte day or els the next courte day following, whereſoeuer we ſhall then be, in our City, Dioces, or prouince of Canterbury, to make further declaration by form of law of the cauſe of their diſobediēce & to receiue ſuch puniſhment as iuſtice and equity ſhall determine in that behalfe: & that by your leters, you do duely certify vs or our Commiſſaries, what you haue done in the premiſſes at the day and place aforeſayd: or that he which hath ſo executed our commaundement, do ſo certifie vs by his letters. Dated at our Manour of Lambeth the xxij. day of October. an. 1457 and in the 4. yeare of our tranſlation.

Pecocke appeareth at Lambeth before the Archb.

This citation being directed, the Byſhop vpon the ſumon thereof, was brought, or rather came before ẏ iudges and Biſhops, vnto Lambeth, where the foreſaid Thomas the Archbiſhop, with his doctors and Lawyers, were gathered together in the Archbiſhops Court. In which conuention alſo the Duke of Buckingham was preſent, accōpanyed with the Biſhop of Rocheſter, and of Lyncolne. What were the opiniōs and articles agaynſt him obiected, after in his reuocation ſhall be ſpecified. In his anſwering for himſelfe in ſuch a company of the Popes frendes, albeit he coulde not preuayle, notwithſtanding he ſtoutly defending himſelfe declared many thinges worthye great commendation of learning, if learning agaynſte power coulde haue preuayled.

Great labour, to reduce Pecocke from his opiniōs

But they on the contrary part, with all labor and trauel, extended themſelues, either to reduce him, or els to cōfound him. As here lacked no bluſtring wordes of terrour and threatning: ſo alſo many fayre flattering wordes and gentle perſuaſions, were admixt with al. Briefely, to make a ſhort narration of a long and buſy trauers, here was no ſtone lefte vnturned, no wayes vnprooued, eyther by fayre meanes to entreat him, or by terrible manaſſes to terrifye his mind, till at the length, he being vanquiſhed and ouercome by the biſhops, began to faynt and gaue ouer. Wherupon, by & by a recantation was put vnto him by the Byſhops, which he ſhould declare before the people. The copy of which his recantation here foloweth.

¶ The forme and maner of the retractation of Reynold Pecocke.

The retractation of B. Pecocke.

Ex regiſt.

IN the name of God Amen. Before you, the moſt reuered Father in Chriſt and Lorde, the Lorde Thomas, by the grace of God, Archbiſhop of Canterbury, primate of England and Legate of the Apoſtolicke ſea, I Reynolde Pecock, vnworthy Biſhop of Chicheſter, do purely, willyngly, ſimply, and abſolutely, cōfeſſe and acknowledge, that I in times paſt, that is to ſay, by the ſpace of theſe 20. yeares laſt paſt and more, haue otherwiſe conceiued, holdē, taught and written, as touching the Sacramentes and the Articles of ẏ fayth, then the holy Church of Rome and vniuerſall Church: and alſo that I haue made, written, publiſhed and ſet forth many & diuers pernitious doctrines, bookes, workes, writings, hereſyes, contrary and agaynſt the true Catholicke, and Apoſtolicke fayth, contayning in them, errours cōtrary to the Catholicke fayth, & eſpecially theſe errours and hereſies here vnder written.

His Articles.

1. Firſt of all, that we are not bounde by the neceſſitye of fayth, to beleue that our Lord Ieſus Chriſt after his death deſcended into hell.
2 Item, that it is not neceſſarye to ſaluation to beleeue in the holy Catholicke Church.
3, Item, that it is not neceſſary to ſaluation, to beleue the

communion of Sayntes.

4. Item, that it is not neceſſary to ſaluation, to affirme the body materially in the Sacrament.

5. Item that the vniuerſall Churche may erre in matters which perteyne vnto fayth.

6. Item, that it is not neceſſary vnto ſaluation, to beleue, that that, which euery generall Councell doth vniuerſally ordeine, approue, or determine, ſhould neceſſaryly, for the helpe of our fayth, and the ſaluation of ſoules, be approued and holden of all faythfull Chriſtians.

Wherfore I Reynold Pecocke wretched ſinner, which haue long walked in darckeneſſe, and now by the merciful diſpoſition and ordinaunce of God, am reduced & brought agayne vnto the light and way of truth, and reſtored vnto the vnity of our holy mother the Church: renoũce and forſake all errors and hereſyes aforeſayd.

Notwithſtanding (godly reader) it is not to be beleued that Pecocke did ſo geue ouer theſe opinions, howſoeuer the wordes of the recantation pretend. For it is a pollicy & play of the biſhops that when they do ſubdue or ouercome any mã, they cary him whither they liſt, as it were a yoũg Stere by the noſe, and frame out his words for him before hand, as it were for a Parate, what he ſhould ſpeake vnto the people: not according to his owne will, but after theyr luſt and fantaſy. Neither is it to be doubted, but that thys Biſhop repented him afterward of his recantation: which may eaſely be iudged hereby, becauſe he was committed agayn into priſon, & deteined captiue, where as it is vncertaine, whether he was oppreſſed with priuy and ſecret tyranny, and there obteined the crown of Martyrdom, or no.

The articles of Reynolde Pecocke mentioned by Thomas Gaſcoigne.
Ex Tho. Gaſcoig. lib. De Dictionario. Theolog part. 3.

The Dictionary of Thomas Gaſcoigne, I haue not in my handes preſent. But if credite be to be geuen to ſuch as haue to vs alledged the booke, this we may finde in the 8. Century of Iohn Bale. chapter 19. that the ſayd Thomas Gaſcoigne in his third part of his ſayd dictionary, writing of Reinold Pecocke, maketh declaration of his articles cõteining in them matter of ſore hereſy. Firſt (ſaith he) Reynold Pecock, at Paules croſſe preached openly, that the office of a Chriſten Prelate, chiefly aboue all other things is, to preach the word of God. That mans reaſon is not to be preferred before the Scriptures of the old and new Teſtament. That the vſe of Sacraments, as they be now handled, is worſe, then the vſe of the lawe of nature. That Byſhops which buy theyr admiſſions of the Biſhop of Rome do ſinne. That no man is bound to beleue and obey the determination of the Churche of Rome. Alſo that the riches of Biſhops, by inheritage, are the goods of the poore. Item that the Apoſtles themſelues perſonally were not the makers of the Creed, & that in the ſame Creede, once was not the Article he went downe to hell. Item, that of the foure ſenſes of the Scripture, none is to be taken, but the very firſt and proper ſenſe. Alſo, that he gaue litle eſtimation in ſome poyntes, to the authority of the olde Doctors. Item, that he condemned the wilfull begging of the Friers, as a thing idle and needles. This out of Thomas Gaſcoigne. Leland alſo adding this moreouer, ſayth: that he, not contented to folow the Catholicke ſentence of the Churche in interpreting of the Scripture, did not thinke ſoundly (as he iudged it) of the holy Euchariſt.

B. Pecocke deteyned in priſon

At length, for theſe and ſuche other Articles, the ſayde Reynold Pecocke was condemned for an hereticke by the Archbiſhops, and Biſhops of Roſſe. Lyncolne and Wincheſter, with other diuines moe. Wherupon he being driuẽ to his recantation, was notwithſtanding deteyned ſtill in priſon. Where ſome ſay, that he was priuily made away by death.

Polydore noted.

Halle addeth that ſome ſay, his opinions to bee, that ſpirituall perſons by Gods lawe, ought to haue no temporall poſſeſſions. Other write that he ſayde, that perſonall tithes were not due by Gods lawe. But whatſoeuer the cauſe was, he was cauſed at Paules Croſſe to abiure, and all his bookes brent, and he himſelfe kepte in his owne houſe, during his naturall life. I marueil that Polydore, of this extremity of the Biſhops handling, and of his Articles, in his hiſtory, maketh no memoriall. Belike it made but little for the honeſtye of his great maiſter the Pope.

Eugenius warred againſt Sfortia and diuers other.

From perſecution & burning in England, now out of the way, to digreſſe a little, to ſpeake of forraine matters of the church of Rome: you remẽber before, in ye latter end of the Councell of Baſill, howe Eugenius was depoſed. Of whoſe conditiõs and martiall affayres, how he made war agaynſt Sfortia a famous Captaine of Italy, and what other warres he raiſed beſide, not onely in Italy, but alſo in Germany, agaynſt the City and Councell of Baſill, I ſhal not need to make any long rehearſall. After his depoſitiõ, ye heard alſo how Fœlix duke of Sauoy was elected pope. Wherupõ another great ſchiſme folowed in the church during all the life of Eugenius.

Pope Fœlix.

Pope Nicholas 5.

After his death, his next ſucceſſor was pope Nicholas the fift, who (as you before haue heard) brought ſo to paſſe with the Emperour Fredericke the third that Fœlix was contented to renounce and reſigne his papacy to Nicolas, and was therfore of him afterward receiued to the rowme of a Cardinall, for his ſubmiſſion: & Friderick for his working, was confirmed at Rome to be full Emperor, & there crowned. an. 1451. For Emperors before they be cõfirmed & crowned by the pope, are no Emperors, but onely called kinges of Romaynes.

Emperours are but kinges of Romaines, before they be crowned by the Pope.

Ex Platina de vitis.

The example of Idolatrie puniſhed.

The fruit of Idolatry.

This Pope Nicholas here mentioned, for to get & gather great ſũmes of mony, appoynted a Iubile in the yeare of our Lorde 1450. at whiche time there reſorted a greater number of people vnto Rome, thẽ hath at any time before bene ſeene. At which time, we reade in the ſtory of Platina to haue happened, that I thought here not vnworthy to be noted for the example of the thing. As there was a great concourſe of people reſorting vp to the mount Vaticane to behold the Image of our Sauior, which there they had to ſhew to Pilgrimes, the people being thicke going to & fro betwene the mount & the City, by chaunce a certayn Mule of the Cardinals of ſaynt Marke came by the way, by reaſon whereof the people not being able to auoyde the way, one or two falling vpon the Mule, there was ſuch a preaſe and throng vpon that occaſion on the bridge, that to the nũber of two hundred bodyes of men, and three horſes, were there ſtrangled, and on each ſide of the bridge many beſides fell ouer into the water and were drowned.

By meanes of which occaſiõ, the Pope afterward cauſed the ſmal houſes to be plucked downe, to make the way broder. And this is the fruite that commeth by Idolatrye. Ex Platin.

Mat. Palmerius, a Florentine, martyr.

In the time of this Pope, one Mat. Palmerius wrote a booke De Angelis, in defending whereof, he was condemned by the Pope, and burned at Corna. an. 1448 Ex Tritemio.

Toling of Aues.

After him ſucceeded Calixtus the thyrd, who amongeſt diuers other things ordeined both at noone and at euening the bell to tole the Aues, as it was vſed in the popiſh time, to helpe the ſouldiours that fought agaynſt the Turkes: for which cauſe alſo he ordeined the feaſt of the transfiguration of the Lord, ſolemniſing it with like pardons and indulges, as was Corpus Chriſti day.

S. Edmund of Cant. canoniſed.

Alſo this Pope proceding contrary to the Councels of Conſtance and Baſill, decreed that no man ſhould appeale from the Pope to any Councell. By whome alſo Sayncte Edmunde of Caunterbury with diuers other, were made Sayntes.

Pope Pius. 2.

Promotion choketh religion.

Next after this Calixtus, ſucceded Pius ſecundus, otherwiſe called Æneas Syluius, who wrote the two bookes of Commentaries vpon the Councell of Baſill before mẽtioned. This Æneas, at the time of the writing of thoſe hys bookes, ſeemed to be a man of an indifferent and tollerable iudgement and doctrine, from the which he afterward being Pope, ſeemed to decline and ſwarue, ſeeking by all meanes poſſible, how to deface & aboliſh the bookes which heretofore he had written.

¶ Sentences attributed vnto this Pius.

The Prouerbes of Pius.

The diuine nature of God may rather be comprehended by fayth, then by diſputation.

Chriſtian fayth is to be conſidered, not by what reaſon it is proued, but from whom it proceedeth.

Neyther can a couetous man be ſatiſfied with money, nor a learned man with knowledge.

Learning ought to be to poore men, in ſtead of ſiluer, to noble men in ſtead of golde, and to Princes in ſtead of precious ſtones.

An artificiall oratiõ moueth fooles, but not wiſe men.

Suters in the Lawe, bee as Byrdes, the Courte is the bayte, the Iudges be the nettes, and the Lawyers be the Foulers.

Men are to bee geuen to dignityes, and not dignityes to men.

The office of a Byſhoppe is heauy, but it is bleſſed to him that doth wel beare it.

A Biſhop without learning may be likened to an Aſſe.

An euill Phiſition deſtroyth bodies, but an vnlearned Prieſt deſtroyeth ſoules.

Mariage of prieſtes allowed by Aeneas Syluius.

Mariage was taken from Prieſtes, not without great reaſon, but with muche greater reaſon it ought to be reſtored agayne.

The like ſentence to this he vttereth in his ſecond book of the Councell of Baſil before ſpecified, ſaying, peraduenture it were not the worſt, that the moſt part of prieſtes had theyr wiues: for many ſhoulde be ſaued in Prieſtly mariage, whiche nowe in vnmaryed Prieſthoode are damned. The ſame Pius alſo, as Celius reporteth, diſſolued certayne orders of Nunnes, of the order of S. Briget and S. Clare, bidding them to depart out, that they ſhould burne no more, nor couer a Harlotte vnder the veſture of Religion.

This Pius, if he had brought ſo much piety and godlineſſe, as he brought learning vnto his Popedome, had excelled many Popes that went before him.

It ſhall not be impertinent here to touch, what the ſaid Eneas called Pius, the Pope, writeth touchinge the peace of the church, vnto Gaſper Schlick, the Emperors Chancellor, in his 54. Epiſtle.

Ex epiſt. 54. Pii. ſecund. ad Gaſparum Schlick.

All men do abhorre and deteſt ſchiſme. The way to remedye this euill Charles the French king hath ſhewed vs both ſafe and briefe, which is, that princes or their Oratours ſhould conuent & aſſemble together in ſome cōmon place, where they may cōclude vpon matters amongeſt themſelues. To bring this to paſſe, it were needfull, writinges to be ſent agayne to all Kynges and Princes, to ſend theyr Oratours to Strawesborow, or to Conſtance, with theyr full authority: there to entreate of matters appertayning to the peace of the Church. Neyther woulde it require ſo great expenſes: Foraſmuch as we ſee the yeare before 300. gildernes to be ſufficient. Conſtantine the Emperour beſtowed not muche more in the congregation of the Councell of Nice. And this way could not be ſtopped: neyther could the Pope or the Councell withſtād it, or make excuſe: as though this might not eaſily be done without them. For why? the ſecular princes may conuent and aſſemble together, will they, nill they: and yet notwithſtanding, vnity may there be concluded: For he ſhould be an vndoubted Pope, whom all Princes would obey. Neyther do I ſee any of the clergy ſo conſtant to death, which wil ſuffer Martirdom either for the one part or the other. Al we lightly hold that faith which our princes hold, which if they would worſhip Idols, we would alſo do the ſame, & not onely deny the Pope, but God alſo, if the ſecular power ſtrayn vs thereunto, for charitye is waxed colde, and all fayth is gone. Howſoeuer it be, let vs all deſire and ſeeke for peace, the whiche peace, whether it come by a councell, or by aſſemblye of Princes, call it what you will, I care not: for we ſtand not vpon the terme, but vpon the matter. Call breade if you will, a ſtone, ſo you geue me to aſſwage my hunger. Whether you call it a Councell or a conuenticle, or an aſſembly or a congregation, or a ſynagogue, that is no matter, ſo that ſchiſme may be excluded and peace eſtabliſhed. Thus much out of the Epiſtle of Pius.

The way to exclude ſchiſme, is concord of princes.

The Popes Clergie wil not abyde the fyre, eyther for prince or pope.

By this may it appeare, of what ſentence and minde this Pius was in ẏ time of the Councell of Baſill, before he was made Pope. But as our common prouerbe ſayth, honors chaungeth maners, ſo it happeneth with this Pius, who after he came once to be Pope, was much altered from that he was before. For where as before he preferred generall Councels before the Pope, nowe being Pope, he did decree that no man ſhould appeale from the high Byſhop of Rome: to any generall Councell.

The breath of this peſtilent ſeate corrupteth all that ſit in it, whatſoeuer they were before

And likewiſe for prieſtes mariage, where as before he thought it beſt to haue theyr wiues reſtored, yet afterward he altered his mind otherwiſe: In ſo much that in his book intreating of Germany, and there ſpeaking of the noble city of Auguſt, by occaſion he inueyed agaynſt a certayne Epiſtle of Hulderike once biſhop of the ſayd City, written agaynſt the conſtitution of the ſingle life of prieſts. wherby it appeareth how the minde of this Pius was altered frō that it was before. This Epiſtle of Hulderick is before expreſſed at large in the pag. 137.

Aeneas Syluius now puffed vp with worldly pompe and glorie, impugneth the trueth whiche he did before both know and profeſſe.

Here alſo might I touch ſomething concerning the diſcord betwixt this Æneas Syluius and Diotherus, Archbiſh. of Mentz, and what diſcorde was ſtyrred vp in Germany vpon the ſame betwene Frederick the Palatine, and duke of wittenberge, with others, by the occaſion whereof, beſides the ſlaughter of many, the City of Mentz, which was free before, loſt theyr freedome, and became ſeruile.

Diſcord betwene Pope Pius & the Archbiſhop of Mentz.

The cauſes of the diſcord betwixt Pope Pius and Diotherus, were theſe.

Firſt, becauſe that Diotherus would not conſent vnto him in the impoſition of certaine tallages and taxes, within his country.

Secondly, for that Diotherus would not be bound vnto him, requiring that the ſaid Diotherus being prince Electour, ſhould not call the other Electors together, wythout hys licence that is, without the licence of the Biſhop of Rome.

And thirdly, becauſe Diotherus would not permit to the Popes Legates, to conuocate his Clergy together after theyr owne luſt. This Pope Pius began his ſea, about the yere of our Lord. 1458.

Anno. 1458.

Pope Paulus. 2.

After this Pius ſecundus, ſucceded Paulus ſecūdus, a pope wholy ſet vpon his belly and ambition, and not ſo muche voyd of all learning, as the hater of all learned men. Thys Paulus had a daughter begotten in fornication, which becauſe he ſawe her to be had in reproch, for that ſhe was gotten in fornication, began (as the ſtoryes reporte) to repent him of the law of the ſingle life of prieſtes, and went aboute to reforme the ſame, had not death preuented him. Ex Staniſlao Rutheno.

Ex Staniſlao Rutheno. Vide Cent. 8. Bal.

After this Paulus, came Sixtus the fourth, whiche builded vp in Rome a ſtewes of both kindes, getting thereby no ſmall reuenues and rents vnto the church of Rome. This Pope amongeſt his other actes, reduced the yeare of Iubely from the 50. vnto the 25. He alſo inſtituted the feaſt of the Conception, and of the preſentation of Mary & of Anna her mother, and Ioſeph. Alſo he canoniſed Bonauenture, and S. Fraunces for Sayntes.

The feaſt of the conception and preſentation of our Lady.

Beades brought in.

By this Sixtus alſo, beades were brought in, and inſtituted to make our Ladyes Pſalter, thorowe the occaſion of one Alanus and his order, whome Baptiſta maketh mention of in thys verſe. Hi filo inſertis numerant ſua murmura baccis. That is, theſe menne putting theyr beades vpon a ſtring number theyr prayers. This Sixtus the Pope made xxxij. Cardinals in his time, whom Petris Ruerius, was the firſt, who for that time that he was Cardinall, which was but two yeares, ſpent in luxurious ryot, waſted and conſumed, 2. hundred thouſand Florences and was left 60000. in debt. Weſellus Groningenſis, in a certayne Treatiſe of his, de Indulgentijs papalibus, writing of thys Pope Sixtus, reporteth this, that at the requeſte of the foreſayde Peter Cardinall, and of Ierome his brother the ſayd Pope Sixtus permitted and graunted vnto the whole family of the Cardinall of S. Lucy, in the iij. hoate monethes of ſommer, Iune, Iuly, and Auguſt (a horrible thing to be ſpoken) free leaue and liberty to vſe Sodomitry, with this clauſe, Fiat vt petitur: That is, be it as it is aſked.

Weſellus Groningenſis.

The pope licenſeth the whole familie of a certaine Cardinall, to play the Sodomites three monethes in the yeare.

Next after this Sixtus, came Innocentius the eight as rude and as farre from all learning, as his predeceſſor was before him. Amongeſt the noble factes of this Pope, this was one, that in the towne of Polus apud Æquicolos, he cauſed 8. men and 6. women, with the Lord of the place to be apprehended and taken, and iudged for hereticks, becauſe they ſayd that none of them was the vicare of Chriſt which came after Peter, but they which folowed onely the pouerty of Chriſt. Alſo he condemned of hereſy, George the king of Boheme, and depriued him of his dignity, and alſo of his kingdome, and procured his whole ſtocke to be vtterly reiected and put downe, geuing his kyngdome to Mathias king of Panonia.

Pope Innocentius. 8.

8. men and 6. wemen condemned of hereſie by Pope Innocentius. 8.

George king of Boheme condemned of hereſie.

Now from the Popes to deſcend to other eſtates, it remayneth likewiſe ſomewhat to write of the Emperours incident to this time, with matters and greuaunces of the Germaynes, as alſo of other princes, firſt beginning with our troubles & mutations here at home, perteining to the ouerthrow of this King Henry and of his ſeate nowe folowing, to be ſhewed. And briefly to cōtract long proces of much tumult and buſines, into a ſhort narration, here is it to be remēbred, which partly before was ſignified, how after ẏ death of the Duke of Gloceſter, miſchiefes came in by heapes vpon the king and his realm. For after the geuing away of Angeow, and Mayne to the Frenchmen, by ẏ vnfortunate mariage of Queen Margaret aboue mentioned, the ſayd frenchmen perceiuing now by the death of ẏ duke of Gloceſter, the ſtay and piller of this common wealth to be decayed, and ſeing moreouer the harts of the nobility, amōg themſelues to be deuided, foreſlacked no time, hauing ſuch an open way into Normandy, that in ſhort time they recouered the ſame, & alſo gate Gaſcoigne, ſo that no more now remayned to Englād, of al the parts beyond ẏ ſea but onely Calice. Neither yet did all the calamity of ẏ realme onely reſt in this: For the king now hauing loſt his frendly vncle, as the ſtay & ſtaffe of his age, whiche had brought him vp ſo faythfully from his youth, was now therby the more open to his enemies, & they more emboldened, ſo ſet vpon him: As appeared firſt by Iacke Cade, the Kentiſhe Captayne, who encamping firſt in Blackheath, afterward aſpired to Londō, and had the ſpoyle therof, the king being driuen into warwickſhyre. After the ſuppreſſing of Cade, enſued not long after the duke of York, who being accompanied with 3. Erles, ſet vpon the king nere to S. Albons where the king was taken in the field captiue, & the Duke of York was by Parliamēt declared protector, which was

Miſchieues to England, after the death of the Duke of Gloceſter.

Angeow, Main, Normandy, and Gaſcoyne, recouered of the Frenchmen.

Iacke Cade.

The Duke of Yorke againſt kyng Henry.

Anno. 1459.

in the yeare of our Lord 1453. After this folowed long diuiſion and mortal warre betwene the two houſes of Lancaſtar and Yorke, continuing many yeares. At length about the yeare of our Lord 1459. the Duke of Yorke was ſlayne in battell by the Queene, neare to the towne of Wakefield, and with him alſo his ſonne Earle of Rutlande. By the which Queene alſo ſhortly after, in ỹ ſame yeare, were diſcomfited the Earle of Warwicke, and Duke of Northfolk, to whom the keeping of the king was committed by the Duke of Yorke, and ſo the Queene agayne deliuered her huſband.

The Northern men intended the ſubuerſion of London.

Ex hiſtoria manuſcripta, cui titulus Scala mundi.

London reſcued by prince Edw.

After this victory obteined, the Northren men aduaũced not a litle in pride and courage, began to take vpon thē great attemptes, not onely to ſpoyle and robbe Churches, and religious houſes, & villages, but alſo were fully entēded partly by themſelues, partly by the inducemēt of theyr Lords and Captaynes, to ſacke, waſte, and vtterly to ſubuert the City of London, and to take the ſpoyle therof: and no doubt (ſayth my hiſtory) woulde haue proceeded in thyr cōceiued gredy intēt, had not ỹ oportune fauor of God prouided a ſpeedy remedy. For as theſe miſchiefes were in bruing, ſodenly commeth the noble Prince Edward vnto Lōdon, wt a mighty army, the 27. day of February, who was the ſonne and heire to duke of Yorke aboue mentioned, accompanyed with the Earle of Warwicke, and diuers moe. King Henry in the meane time, with his victory, went vp to York: when as Edward being at London, cauſed there to be proclaymed certayn articles concerning his title to ỹ crowne of England, which was the 2. day of March.

Anno. 1461.

Wherupon, the next day following, the Lords both tēporall & ſpirituall being aſſēbled together, the ſayd articles were propoſided, and alſo well approued. The fourth day of the ſayd moneth of March, after a ſolemne generall proceſſion (according to the blinde ſuperſtition of thoſe dayes) the Biſhop of Exceter made a Sermon at Paules Croſſe, wherein he commended and proued by manifold euidēces, the title of Prince Edward to be iuſt and lawfull, anſwering in the ſame, to all obiections whiche might be to the contrary.

The title of Edward, to the crowne proued at Paules croſſe.

K. Edward taketh poſſeſſion of the crowne.

This matter being thus diſcuſſed, Prince Edward accompanied with the Lordes ſpirituall & temporall, & with much concourſe of people, rode ỹ ſame day to Weſtminſter Hall, and there by the full conſent, as well of the Lordes, as alſo by the voyce of all the Commons, tooke his poſſeſſion of the Crowne, & was called K. Edward the fourth.

Theſe thinges thus accompliſhed at London, as to ſuch a matter apperteined, and preparation of money ſufficiently being miniſtred of the people and commons, wyth moſt ready and willing mindes, for the neceſſary furniture of his warres: he with the Duke of Northfolke, and Earle of Warwicke, and Lord Fauconbrige, in all ſpeedy wiſe, tooke his iourney toward king Henry: who being now at Yorke, and forſaken of the Londoners, had all his refuge onely repoſed in the Northren men.

The fierce and cruell battaile betweene king Henry. 6. & K. Edward. 4.

When king Edward with his army had paſt ouer the Riuer of Trent and was commē nere to Ferebrig: where alſo the hoſt of king Henry was not far of, vpō Palm Sonday, betwene Ferebrig and Tadcaſter, both the armyes of the Southren and Northren men, ioyned together battell. And althoughe at the firſt beginning, diuers horſemen of king Edwardes ſide, turned theyr backes, and ſpoyled the king of cariage & victuals, yet the courageous prince, with his Captaynes little diſcouraged therewith, fiercely and manfully ſet on theyr aduerſaryes. The whiche battell on both ſides was ſo cruelly fought, that in the ſame conflict were ſlayne to ỹ nūber, as is reported, beſide men of name, of 30000. of the poore commons. Notwithſtanding, the cōqueſt fell on king Edwardes part, ſo that king Henry hauing loſt all, was forced to flye into Scotland, where alſo he gaue vp to the Scottes, the towne of Barwicke after he had raigned 38. yeares and a halfe.

King Henry. 6. conquered.

Barwicke geuen to the Scottes by K. Henry. 6.

The clayme and title of the Duke of Yorke, and after him, of Edward his ſonne, put vp to the Lords & cōmons, wherby they chalenged the crowne to the houſe of York, is thus in the ſtory of Scala mundi, word for word, as hereunder is conteyned.

The title of the houſe of Yorke to the crowne of England.

The title of the houſe of Yorke.

EDward the 3. right king of Englande, had iſſue firſt prince Edward the 2. W. Hatfield. 3. Lionell, 4. Iohn of Gaunt. &c. Prince Edward had Richard the 2. which dyed without iſſue, W. Hatfielde dyed without iſſue. Lionel duke of Clarence, had iſſue lawfully begot, Phillip his onely daughter and heyre, the which was lawfully coupled to Edwund Mortimer, Earle of March, and had iſſue lawfully begotte, Roger Mortimer Eare of March and heyre: Whych Roger had iſſue Edmund Earle of March, Roger, Anne, and Alienor, Edmund and Alienor died without iſſue, and the ſayd Anne by lawfull matrimonye was coupled vnto Richard Earle of Cambridge, the ſonne of Edmund of Lāgley, who had iſſue & lawfully bare Richard Plantagenet now Duke of Yorke. Iohn of Gaunte gate Henry, which vnrightfully entreated king Richard: then being aliue Edmund Mortimer Earle of Marche, ſonne of the ſayde Philip, daughter to Lionell. To the which Richard duke of Yorke, and ſonne to Anne, daughter to Roger Mortimer Earle of March, ſonne and heyre to the ſayde Philip daughter and heyre to the ſayd Lionel, the 3. ſonne of king Edward the 3. the right & dignity of the crowne apperteyned & belonged, afore any iſſue of the ſayd Iohn of Gaunt. Notwithſtanding the ſayd title of dignity of the ſayde Richard of Yorke, the ſayd Richard deſiring the wealth, reſt, and proſperity of England, agreeth and conſenteth that king Henry 6. ſhould be had and taken for king of England, during his naturall life from thys time without hurt of his title.

Rich. Plantagenet.

Wherefore the king vnderſtanding the ſayd title of the ſayde duke to be iuſt, lawfull, true and ſufficient, by the aduiſe and aſſent of the Lordes ſpirituall and temporall, and the commons in the Parliament, and by the authoritye of the ſame Parliament declareth, approueth, ratifieth, confirmeth, accepteth the ſayde title for iuſt, good, lawfull and true, and thereunto geueth his aſſent and agreement of his free will and liberty. And ouer that, by the ſayde aduiſe and authority, declareth, calleth, ſtabliſheth, affirmeth and reputeth the ſayd Richard of Yorke very true and rightfull heyre to the crowne of England and Fraunce: and that all other ſtatutes and acts made by any of the Henryes late, contrary to this aduiſe, be annulled, repelled, damned, cancelled, voyd, and of no force or effect. The king agreed and conſented, that the ſayd Duke and hys heyres ſhall after his naturall life enioy the crowne. &c. Alſo, that all ſayinges and doinges agaynſt the duke of Yorke ſhall be hygh treaſon, and all actes of Parliamentes contrary to this principall act, be voyd and of none effect. &c.

Ex Scala mundi.

And thus much for the reign of king Henry the 6. who now lacked his vncle and protector, Duke of Glouceſter, about him. But commonly the lacke of ſuch frendes, is neuer felt before they be miſſed.

Leaden Hall bilded.

In the time of this king was builded the houſe in Lōdon called Leadē hall, foūded by one Simon Eyre, Maior once of the ſayd City of London. an. 1445.

The Standard in Chepe.

The Conduite in Fletſtrete.

Newgate builded.

Alſo the ſtandard in cheape builded by Iohn Wels, an. 1442. the Conduite in Fleetſtreet by William Eaſtfield. an 1438. Item, Newgate builded by goods of Rich. Whittington, an. 1422.

The Colledge of Eton, and the kings Colledge in Cambridge founded.

Moreouer the ſayde Henry 6. founded the Colledge of Eton, and another houſe hauing then the title of S. Nicolas in Cambridge, now called the kinges Colege. Ex Scal. mundi.

The king reiecteth the popes Bulles.

In the reigne of this Henry 6. it is not be paſſed ouer in ſilence which we finde noted in the Parliament rolles how that Lewes Archbiſhop of Rhoen, after the death of the late Biſhop of Eley, had graūted vnto him by ỹ popes Bulles, during his life, all ỹ profites of the ſayd biſhoprick by the name of the adminiſtratour of the ſaid Biſhopricke, Lewes the foreſayde Archbiſhop ſheweth his Buls to the king, who vtterly reiected his Bulles. Notwithſtanding for his ſeruice done in Fraunce, the king graunted to hym the adminiſtration aforeſaid, the which to all intents at the petition of the ſayd Lewes, ſhould be affirmed to bee of as great force as though he were biſhop, touching profits, liberties and hability.

Ex Vetuſto codic. cui initium, Nomina cuſtodum. &c. et ex Fabiano

Neither agayn is here to be ouerpaſt a certayn tragicall Acte done betweene Eaſter and Whitſontide of a falſe Britone, an. 1427. Which murdered a good widdow in her bed (who had brought him vp of almes, without Algate in the ſuburbes of London) and bare away all that ſhe had, & afterward he tooke ſuccor of holy church at S. Georges in Southwarke: but at the laſt he tooke the croſſe & forſwore the kings land. And as he went his way, it happened him to come by the ſame place where he had done that curſed deed, and women of the ſame pariſh, came out with ſtones and cannell dong, and there made an end of him in the hye ſtreete, ſo that he went no further, notwithſtandinge the Conſtables and other men alſo which had hym vnder gouernaunce to conduct him forwarde: for there was a great company of them, ſo that they were not able to withſtande them.

Example of Gods rodde and iudgement.

Kyng Edward the fourth.

Anno. 1461.

King Edward. 4.

KIng Edward, after his conqueſt and victorye achieued agaynſt king Henry, returned again to London, where, vpon the Vigil of S. Peter and Paul, being on Sonday, he was crowned king of England, & raigned 22. yeares, albeit notwithout great diſquitnes, and much perturbation in his reigne.

Queene Margaret fledde the lande.

Queene Margaret hearing how her huſband was fled into Scotland, was alſo fayne to flye the land, and went to her father Duke of Angeow: From whence the next yeare following ſhe returned again to renue warre againſt king Edward, with ſmall ſuccor and leſſe lucke: For being encountred by the Earle of warwicke, about Nouember ſhe was driuen to the ſeas agayne, and by tempeſt of weather, was driuen into Scotland.

Anno. 1462.

K. Edward ſitteth his own perſon in the kings bench iudging.

In this yere we read that king Edward in the cauſe of a certayne widow for rape, ſate his owne perſon in weſtminſter hall vpon his owne Bench, diſcuſſing her cauſe. Ex Scal. mundi.

Anno. 1463.

K. Henry 6. againe repulſed in the battaile of Exham.

The yeare folowing, king Henry iſſuing out of Scotland with a ſufficient power of Scottes and Frenchmen came into the Northcountrey to recouer the crowne, vnto whom the Lord Radulph Percy, & Lord Radulph Grey flying from king Edward, did adioyn themſelues: but the Lord ſo diſpoſing, king Henry with his power was repulſed in the battaile of Exham by the Lord Mountacute, hauing then the rule of the North: where the Duke of Somerſet, Lord Hungerford, Lord Roſſe with certayne other were taken. The Lord Radulph Percy was ſlayne, the reſidue fled. Albeit the hiſtory of Scal. mūdi, referreth this battel to the yeare 1464. the 15. day of May. In the which moneth of May, were beheaded the duke of Somerſet, Lorde Hungerford, Lord Roſſe, L. Philip wentworth, L. Tho. Huſſy, L. Tho. Findern, beſide 21. other belonging to the retinue and houſehold of king Hēry 6. Queene Margaret finding no reſting place here in England, tooke her progres agayne from whence ſhe came, learning in her own country to drinke that drinke, which ſhe her ſelfe had brued here in England.

K. Henry. 6. taken, areſted, & committed to the Tower.

Anno. 1465.

And not long after, the next yeare, an. 1465. on the day of S. Peter and Paule, king Henry being founde & knowne in a wood by one Cantlow (as they ſay) was areſted by the Earle of warwicke, and at laſt of a king made priſoner in the tower of London.

The kyngs ſodeine mariage with Queene Elizabeth.

The firſt falling out betweene K. Edwarde & the Earle of Warwick

In this meane time, king Edward (after the motion of mariage for him being made, and firſt the Lady Margaret ſiſter to Iames the 4. K. of Scottes thought vpon, but that motion taking no effect, afterward the Lady Elizabeth ſiſter to Henry king of Caſtelle, being intended, but ſhe being vnder age, the Earle of warwick turning then his legation and voiage to the French king Lewes the 11. to obteyne Lady Bona, daughter of the duke of Sauoy, and ſiſter to Carlot the French Queen, and obteining the ſame) had caſt fauour vnto one Elizabeth Grey, widow of Syr Iohn Grey Knight, ſlain before in the battell of S. Albōs, daughter to the Duches of Bedford, and Lord Riuers, and firſt went about to haue her to his concubine: But ſhe, as being vnworthy (as ſhe ſayde) to be the wife of ſuch a high perſonage, ſo thinking her ſelfe to bee to good to be his concubine, in ſuch ſort wanne the kings hart, that incontinent, before the returne of the Earle of warwicke, he maried her: at the which mariage were no moe then onely the Duches of Bedford, two gentle women, the prieſt & clark. Vpō this ſo haſty & vnlucky mariage, enſued no litle trouble to the king, much bloudſhed to the realme, vndoing almoſt to all her kyndred, and finally confuſion to the K. Edwardes 2. ſonnes, which both were declared afterward to be baſtards and alſo depriued of theyr liues: For the Earle of warwicke, who had bene the faythfull frend, and chiefe mayntener before of the king, at the hearing of this maryage, was therwith ſo greuouſly moued and chaffed in hys mind, that he neuer after ſought any thing more, then how to worke diſpleaſure to the king, and to put him beſide his cuſſhion. And although for a time he diſſembled his wrathfull mood, till he might ſpye a time conuenient, and a world to ſet forwarde his purpoſe, at laſt finding occaſion ſomewhat ſeruing to his mind, he breaketh his hart to his two brethren: to witte, the Marques Mountacute, & the Archbiſhop of Yorke, conſpiring with them how to bring hys purpoſe about. Then thought he alſo to proue a farre of, the mind of the duke of Clarence, king Edwards brother, & likewiſe obteined him, geuing alſo to him his daughter in Mariage.

Conſpiracie againſt king Edward.

This matter being thus prepared agaynſt the kyng, the firſt flame of this cōſpiracy began to appeare in ẏ North country: where the Northernmen in ſhort ſpace gathering thēſelues in an open rebellion, & finding captaines of their wicked purpoſe, came down from Yorke toward London. Againſt whom was appoynted by the king, W. lord Harbert Earle of Penbroke, with the Lord Stafford, and certayne other Captaynes, to encounter. The Yorkeſhyre mē geuing the ouerthrow firſt to the lord Stafford, thē to the Earle of Penbrok and his company of welchmē, at Banbery fielde, at laſt ioyning together with the army of the Earle of warwicke, and Duke of Clarence, in the dead of the night, ſecretly ſtealing one the kinges field at wolney by warwick, killed the watch, and tooke the king priſoner, who firſt being in the caſtle of warwicke, then was conueyed by night to Midleham Caſtle in Yorkeſhyre, vnder the cuſtody of the Archbiſhop of Yorke, where he hauinge looſe keeping and liberty to go on hunting, meeting wyth ſyr william Standley, ſyr Thomas of Brough, and other his frendes, was to good for his keepers, and eſcaped the handes of his enemies, and ſo came to York, where he was well receiued: from thēce to Lankeſter, where he met with the Lord Haſtinges his Chamberlayne, well accompanied, by whoſe helpe he came ſafe to London.

K. Edward takē priſoner by the Earle of Warwicke.

The rebellion in Lincolnſhire repreſſed.

After this tumult, when reconciliation could not come to a perfect peace & vnity, although much labor was made by ẏ nobility, the Earle of warwick raiſeth vp a new war in Lincolnſhyre, the captaine wherof was Sir Rob. wels knight, who ſhortly after being taken in battell wyth hys father, and ſir Thomas Dunocke were beheaded, the reſidue caſting away their coates, ran away and fled, geuing ẏ name of the field, called Loſecoat field. The erle of warwicke after this put out of comfort and hope to preuayle at home, fled out of England. An. 1470. firſt to Calice, then to Lewes the French king, accompanyed with the Duke of Clarence. The fame of ẏ Earle of warwicke and of his famous actes, was at that time in great admiration aboue meaſure, and ſo highly fauoured, that both in England & Fraunce all men were glad to behold his perſonage. wherfore the comming of this Earle & of the Duke of Clarence, was not a litle gratefull to the French king, and no leſſe oportune to Queene Margaret, King Henryes wife, and Prince Edward her ſonne, who alſo came to the Frenche Courte to meete and conferre together, touching their affayres: where a league betwene thē was cōcluded, & moreouer a mariage betwene Edward prince of wales, & Anne the ſecōd daughter of the Erle of warwick was wrought. Thus all things falling luckely vpō the Erles part beſide the large offers, and great promiſes made by the Frenche king, on the beſt maner, to ſet forwarde their purpoſe, the Earle hauing alſo intelligence by letters that the harts almoſt of all men went with him, and lōged ſore for his preſence, ſo that there lacked now but onely haſt with al ſpeed poſſible to returne: he with the duke of Clarence wel fortified with the French nauy, ſet forward toward England: For ſo was it betwene them before decreed, that they two ſhould proue the firſt venture, and then Queen Margaret with Prince Edward her ſonne, ſhould folow after. The ariuall of ẏ Earle was not ſo ſoone heard of at Dartmouth in Deuonſhyre, but great cōcourſe of people by thouſands went to him from all quarters to receiue & welcome hym, who immediatly made proclamation in the name of kyng Henry the ſixt, charging all men able to beare armour, to prepare themſelues to fight agaynſt Edwarde Duke of Yorke vſurper of the Crowne. Here lacked no frendes, ſtrength of men, furniture, nor pollicy conuenient for ſuch a matter.

The Earle of Warwicke and the Duke of Clarence fly into Fraunce.

The Earle of Warwick & the Duke of Clarence returne into England.

The receiuing of the Earle of Warwicke into England.

K. Henry againe proclaymed kyng.

When king Edwarde (who before not paſſing for the matter, nor ſeking how, either to haue ſtopped his lāding, or els ſtraight wayes to haue encountred with him before the gathering of his frendes, but paſſing forth the time in hunting, in hauking, in all pleaſure & daliance) had knowledge what great reſort of multitudes inceſſantly repaired more and more dayly about the Erle and the Duke began now to prouide for remedy, when it was to late. who truſting to much to his friendes and fortune before, dyd nowe right well perceiue what a variable and inconſtant thyng the people is, & eſpecially here of Englād, whoſe nature is neuer to be contēt long with the preſent ſtate, but alwayes delighting in newes, ſeketh new variety of chaunges, eyther enuying that which ſtādeth, or els pitying that which is fallen. which inconſtant mutability of the light people, chaunging with the winde, and wauering with the reede, did well appeare in the courſe of this kinges ſtory. For he, through the people when he was down, was exalted: now being exalted of the ſame, was forſaken. wherby this is to be noted of all princes, that as there is nothing in this mutable world firme and ſtable: ſo is there no truſt nor aſſurance to be made, but onely in the fauor of God and in the promiſes of his word, onely in Chriſt his ſonne, whoſe onely kingdome ſhall neuer haue ende, nor is ſubiecte to anye mutation.

The inconſtant leuitie of the people of England.

The conſtant hart and truth of the Lord Haſtinges.

Theſe thinges thus paſſing in England on the Earles ſide agaynſt king Edward, he accompanyed with ẏ Duke of Gloceſter his brother, and the Lord Haſtings, who had maried the erle of warwicks ſiſter, and yet was neuer vn-

K.Edward forſaken of his people in his neede.

The weake ſtate of king Edward.

true to the king his maiſter: and the Lord Scales brother to the Queene, ſent abroad to all his truſty frendes for furniture of able ſouldiors for defence of his perſon to wͭſtand his enemies. Whē litle reſcue & few in effect would come, the king himſelfe ſo deſtitute, departed to Lincolneſhyre, where he perceiuing his enemyes dayly to encreaſe vpon him, & all the countryes about to be in a rore, making fiers & ſinging ſongs, crying king Henry, king Henry, a Warwicke, a Warwicke, and hearing moreouer his enemyes yͤ Lancaſtrians to be within halfe a dayes iourney of him, was aduiſed by his frendes to flie ouer the Sea to yͤ Duke of Burgoyne, which not long before had maryed king Edwardes ſiſter.

Whether godly ſimplicitie, or mans policie be ſtronger.

¶ Here might be thought, by the common iudgement and pollicy of man, peraduēture that king Edward, as he had in his handes the life of king Henry of his Queene and Prince: ſo if hee had diſpatched them out of the way, when as he might, he had not fallen into this miſery: but becauſe he tooke not the vauntage, whiche time rather then godly reaſon gaue him, therefore that ſparing pitty of hys turned now to his confuſion and ruine. And certes, I ſuppoſe no leſſe, but if the ſame caſe had fallen in theſe our pitileſſe dayes, in which charity now waxeth vtterly colde, and humanitye is almoſt forgotten, the occaſion of ſuche a tyme ſhould not be ſo neglected. But let vs here note and learn, how godly ſimplicity alwayes in the end of thinges gayneth more then mans pollicy, forſomuche as man worketh with the one, but God worketh with the other.

The double caſe of theſe two kings conſidered

K.Edward taketh the Waſhes.

God prouideth

K.Edward taketh ſhipping.

K. Edward near taken of the Eſterlings.

God againe prouideth.

And ſo farre is it of, that the euēt and ſucceſſe of thinges be gouerned by mans aduiſed pollicy, or vnaduiſed affection in this world, that that is iudged to be weaker that floriſheth in man, then that which is caſt downe in the Lord: as in the double caſe of both theſe kings may wel appeare. And firſt let vs conſider the caſe of king Edward who being ſo beſet and compaſſed with euils and diſtreſſes on euery ſide, firſt was compelled to take the Waſhes betwene Lincolneſhyre and Lynne (which was no leſſe daungerous to his life then it was vnſemely for his eſtate.) Being come to Linne, in what perill was he there, through the doubtfull mutabilitye of the townes men, if he had beene known to his enemyes? And how could he be but known, if he had taried any ſpace? But though men and frends forſooke him, yet the mercy of God not forſaking the life of him which ſhewed mercy vnto other, ſo prouided, that at yͤ ſame preſent there was an Engliſhe ſhippe, and two hulkes of Holland ready to theyr iourney. Thus king Edward without prouiſion, without bag or baggage, without clothſacke or male, without ſtore of money, without rayment, ſaue onely apparell for warre, alſo without all frendes, excepte onely his brother Duke of Gloceſter, the Lord Scales, & Lord Haſtinges, with a fewe other truſtye frendes, to the number of 7. or 8. hūdreth perſons tooke ſhipping toward Holland: at which time he was in no leſſe ieoperdy almoſt on the ſea, then he was on the land. For certayne Eſterlinges hauing many ſhippes of warre, which lay rouing the ſame time on the ſea, and had done much domage the yeare before, as well to the Engliſhe Marchauntes, as to the French nation, ſpying the kinges ſhip, with ſeuen or eight gallaunt ſhippes made ſayle after the king and hys company. The kinges ſhippe was good of ſayle, and gate ſome ground, albeit not much of the Eſterlinges, that ſhe came to the coaſt of Halland, before Alquemare, and there caſt anker: for otherwiſe, being an ebbing water, they coulde not enter the hauen. The Eſterlings with theyr great ſhippes approched as nere as they could poſſible come for the low water, purpoſing at yͤ flood to obtein their pray, & ſo were like to do, if the Lord had not there alſo prouided Mounſiour de Grounture, gouernour for Duke Charles in Holland, at that ſeaſon to be perſonally preſent in the towne of Alquemare, who hearing of the ieopardy of the king, being there at anker, prohibited the Eſterlings on payne of death, not to meddle with any Engliſh men, which were the Dukes frendes and alies.

K.Edward deliuered from the Eſterlinges.

Thus K. Edward well chaſtiſed of God for his wantonnes both by ſea and land, but not vtterly geuē ouer frō his protection, eſcaping ſo many hard chaūces, was ſet on land with his company, who there well refreſhed, & newly apparelled, were conducted to Hage.

Charles Duke of Burgoyne, K.Edwardes brother in law.

Duke Charles at the hearing of the vnproſperous caſe and condition of king Edward his brother in lawe, was greatly amaſed and perplexed in himſelf, much caſting and doubting what he ſhould do: For, being then in war with the French king, he could not well prouoke the Engliſhe nation agaynſt him, without his manifeſt greuaunce and decay: neither yet could he without great ſhame and obloquy, leaue the king his brother in that neceſſity. Notwithſtanding, ſo he demeanured himſelfe through fayre ſpeach, pretending to the Engliſh men to ioyne part with yͤ houſe of Lancaſter, being himſelfe partly deſcended of the ſame family by his Graundmothers ſide: that he both was his owne frend openly, and the kinges friend couertly, pretending that he did not, and doing that he pretended not.

Queene Elizabeth taketh ſanctuary.

Prince Edward borne in ſanctuary.

Whē tidings was ſpred in England of king Edwards flying, innumerable people of al hands reſorted to yͤ Earle of Warwicke, to take his part, agaynſt K. Edward a fewe onely except of his conſtant friends which tooke ſanctuary. Among whom was alſo Elizabeth his wife, who deſperat almoſt of all comfort, tooke alſo ſanctuarye at Weſtminſter, where ſhe in great penury forſakē, was deliuered of a fayre ſonne called Edw. which without all pompe was baptyſed like another poore womans childe, the Godfathers being the Abbot and Prior of Weſtminſter, the Godmother was Lady Scrope.

K.Henry 6. brought out of the tower

K.Henry reſtored again to his kingdome.

To make the ſtory ſhort, the Earle of Warwick hauing now brought all things to his appetite, vpon the 12. day of October, rode to the Tower, which was then deliuered to him, and there tooke king Henry out of the ward, & placed him in the kinges lodging. The 25. day of the ſayd moneth, the Duke of Clarence accōpanyed with the Erles of Warwick, Shrewſbury, and the Lord Standley, with a great company, brought him in a long gown of blew veluet thorow the hye ſtreetes of London, firſt to Paules Church, to offer, then to the biſhops palace of London, and there he reſumed agayne the crowne royall, an. 1471. which he did not long enioy.

K.Edward returneth againe into England.

After this followed a Parliament, in the whiche king Edwarde with all his partakers were iudged traytours, Queene Margarete with her ſonne Prince Edwarde, all this while was tarying for a fayre winde, thinking long belike, till ſhe came to an euill bargayne, as it proued after. For king Edwarde within ſixe monethes after his departure out of Englande vnto the Duke of Burgoyne, whether by letters from his frendes ſollicitate, or whether by his aduēturous courage incited, made inſtant ſute to duke Charles his brother, to reſcue him with ſuch power, as he would beſtow vpon him, for he was fully reſolued to defer the matter and to protract the time no longer.

The Duke damped in double feare, in ſuch a daungerous caſe, notwithſtanding ouercome by nature and affinity, ſecretly cauſed to be deliuered to him 50000. Florence, & further cauſed foure great ſhippes to be appoynted for him in a hauen in Zeland where it was free for al men to come. Alſo the ſame Duke had for him hired 14. ſhippes of the Eſterlinges well appoynted, taking band of them to ſerue him truely, till he were landed in England, and 15. dayes after.

K.Edward onely with 2000. ſouldiours commeth to Rauenſpurre, *alias* Rauenſport.

The diſſembling policy of king Edward.

K.Edward commeth to Yorke.

K.Edward repelled by the citizens of Yorke.

K.Edward chaungeth his title.

The gentle and fayre wordes of K.Edward.

Thus king Edwarde being furniſhed but onely with 2000. men of warre, with more lucke then hope to ſpeede, ſped his voyage into England, and landed at Rauenſpur in the coaſt of Yorkeſhyre. Although there was no way for the king with ſuch a ſmall company of ſouldiors to do any good, yet to vſe pollicy, where ſtrength did lack, firſt he ſent forth certayne light horſemen, to proue the countrey on euery ſide, with perſuaſions, to ſee whether the vplandyſhe people would be ſtyrred to take king Edwards part. Perceiuing that it woulde not be, king Edwarde flyeth to hys ſhiftes, diſſembling his purpoſe to be, not to clayme the crowne and kingdome, but onely to clayme the Duchy of Yorke, whiche was his owne title, and cauſed the ſame to be publiſhed. This being notified to the people, that he deſired no more, but onely his iuſt patrimony and lineall inheritaunce, they began to be moued with mercy and compaſſion toward him, either to fauour him or not to reſiſte him, and ſo iournying toward Yorke, he came to Beuerly. The Marques Mountacute, brother to the Earle of Warwicke, was then at Pomfret, to whom the Earle had ſent ſtrayght charge, with all expedition to ſet vpon him, or els to ſtop his paſſage: and likewiſe to the Citizens of Yorke and all Yorkeſhyre, to ſhut theyr gates and take armour agaynſt him, King Edward being in the ſtreetes, proceded notwithſtanding nere to Yorke, without reſiſtaunce: where he required of the Citizens, to be admitted into theyr City. But ſo ſtoode the caſe then, that they durſt not graunt vnto him, but contrary ſent him word to approch no nearer, as he loued his owne ſafegarde. The deſolate king was here driuen to a narow ſtrait, who neyther could retyre backe, for the opinion of the countrey and loſſe of his cauſe: neither could goe farther, for the preſent daunger of the City. Wherefore vſing the ſame policy as before, with louely words, and gentle ſpeech he deſired the meſſengers to declare vnto the Citizens, that his comming was not to demaund the realme of England, or the title of the ſame but onely the Duchye of Yorke, his olde inheritaunce, and therefore determined to ſet forward, neither wͭ armie, nor weapõ. The meſſẽgers were not ſo ſoone within yͤ gates, but he was at the gates in a manner, as ſoone as they. The Citizens hearing his courteous anſwere, and that he intended nothing to the preiudice of the king, nor of the realme, were ſomething mitigated toward him, and began to common with him from the walles, willing him to withdrawe his power to ſome other place, and they would be the more ready to ayde him, at leaſt he ſhoulde haue no damage by them.

Two conditions put to K. Edward.

Notwithſtanding, he again vſed ſuch lowly language, and deliuered ſo faire ſpeach vnto them, entreating them ſo curteouſly, and ſaluting the Aldermen by their names, requiring at their hãds no more, but only his own towne whereof he had the name and title, that at length the Citizens, after long talke, and debating vpon the matter, partly alſo intiſed with faire and large promiſes, fell to this cõuention, that if he would ſweare to be true to king Henry, & gentle in entertaining his citizens, they woulde receiue him into the Citie.

K. Edward put to hys othe.

Victory got by periury, puniſhed at length in poſteritie.

K. Edward lately commeth to Nottinghã.

K. Edwards friends reſort vnto hym.

K. Edward reſumeth the name of a kyng.

K. Edward commeth to Leyceſter.

K. Edwarde commeth to Warwicke.

The Earle of Warwick flyeth to Couentry.

The Duke of Clarence commeth with a great army.

Concord of brethren.

This being concluded, the next morning, at the entring of the gate, a prieſt was ready to ſay Maſſe, in yͤ which, after receiuing of the ſacrament, the king receiued a ſolemne othe, to obſerue the ij. articles afore agreed. By reaſon of which othe ſo raſhly made, & as ſhortly brokẽ, and not lõg after puniſhed (as it may wel be thought) in his poſterity, he obteined yͤ city of Yorke. Where he, in ſhort time forgetting his oth to make al ſure, ſet in garriſons of armed ſoldiors. Furthermore, perceiuing all things to be quiet, and no ſtirre to be made againſt him, he thought to forſlacke no oportunitie of time, and ſo made forward toward Lõdon, leauing by yͤ way the Marques Mountacute, which lay then with his army at Pomfrete, on the right hande, not fully foure miles diſtant from his campe: and ſo returning to the hye waye againe, wente forwarde without anye ſtirring to the towne of Notingham: where came to him, ſir W. Parre, ſir Thomas of Borough, ſir Tho. Montgomery, & diuers elſe of his aſſured frends, with their aydes, which cauſed him by proclamation, to ſtand to his own title of king Edward the fourth, ſayeng that they woulde ſerue no man, but a king. At the fame hereof being blowne abroade, as yͤ Citizẽs of Yorke were not a little offended (& that worthely) ſo frõ other townes and cities, Lords and noble men began to fall vnto him, thinking with thẽſelues, that the Marques Mountagew either fauoured his cauſe, or was afraide to encounter wͭ the mã. Howſoeuer it was, K. Edward being now more fully furniſhed at al points, came to yͤ towne of Leiceſter, and there hearing that yͤ earle of Warwicke accompanied with yͤ earle of Oxford, were together at Warwicke, with a great power, minding to ſet on the Earle, he remoued from thence his army, hoping to geue him battaile. The Duke of Clarence in the meane time, about London had leuied a great hoſte cõming toward yͤ earle of Warwicke, as he was by the Earle appointed. But when the Earle ſawe the Duke to linger the time, he began to ſuſpecte (as it fell out in deede) that he was altered to his brethrens part. The king auanſing forward his hoſt, came to Warwicke, where he found all the people departed. Frõ thence he moued toward Couentry, where the Earle was: vnto whome the next day after, he boldly offered battayle. But the Earle expecting yͤ Duke of Clarence his cõming, kept him within the walles. All this made for the king. For he hearing that his brother, Duke of Clarence was not farre off, comming toward him with a great army, rayſed hys campe, and made toward him, either to entreate, or elſe to encounter with his brother. When ech hoſte was in ſight of the other, Richard Duke of Glouceſter, brother to thẽ both, as arbitour betweene thẽ, firſt rode to the one, then to the other. Whether all this was for a face of a matter made, it is vncertaine. But hereby both the brethren, leauing all army and weapon aſide, firſt louingly and familiarly commoned: after that, brotherly and naturally ioyned together. And that fraternall amitie, by proclamation alſo was ratified, and put out of all ſuſpition.

The Earle of Warwicke refuſeth to be reconciled.

K. Edward commeth to London.

Londiners take part with kyng Edward.

K. Henries cõſaylours flye away.

K. Henry againe taken and committed to priſon.

Then was it agreed betwene yͤ iij. brethren to attempt the earle of Warwicke, if he likewiſe would be reconciled: but he crieng out ſhame vpõ the Duke of Clarence, ſtoode at vtter defiance. From thence king Edward ſo ſtrongly furniſhed, & daily encreaſing, taketh his way to London: where, after it was knowne yͭ the duke of Clarence was come to his brethren, much feare fell vpõ the Londoners, caſting with thẽſelues what was beſt to do. The ſodaynnes of time permitted no long cõſultation. There was at London the ſame time, the Archbiſhop of Yorke, brother to yͤ Earle of Warwicke, and the duke of Somerſet, wyth other of K. Henries counſaile to whom the earle had ſent in cõmaundement a litle before, knowing the weaknes of the Citie, that they ſhould keepe the Citie from their enemies ij. or iij. dayes, and he would follow with all poſſible ſpeede, with a puiſſaunt army. Who, according to their cõmaundement, defended the Citie with all their power, but yet to litle purpoſe: For the Citizens conſulting with thẽſelues for their owne moſt indẽnitie, hauing no walles to defend thẽ, thought beſt to take that way, which ſeemed to thẽ moſt ſure & ſafe, & therfore concluded to take part with kyng Edward. This was not ſo ſoone knowne abroad, but the cõminaltie rane out by heapes to meete kyng Edward, & to ſalute him as their king. Wheupon the Duke of Somerſet, with other of kyng Henries Cõſaile, hearing therof, & wonderyng at the ſodayne chaunge of the world, to ſhift for themſelues, fled away & left there kyng Henry alone: who the ſame day beyng cauſed by the Archbyſhop of Yorke, to ryde about London like a kyng, was before night made captiue, and reduced agayne to the Tower.

The Earle of Warwicke commeth to Barnet.

It was not long after theſe thyngs thus done at London, but the cõming of the Earle of Warwicke was heard of, who thinking to preuẽt miſchiefes with making ſpeede came a litle to late & miſſed of his purpoſe. In the Earles army were Iohn Duke of Exceter, Edmũd Earle of Somerſet, Iohn Earle of Oxford, and Marques Mõtacute the Earles brother. The Earle had now paſſed a great part of his iourney, whẽ he hearing newes of the world ſo chaũged, & of the captiuitie of king Henry, was not a litle thereat appalled in his mynde: wherfore he ſtayd with his army at S. Albons, to ſee what way further to take. And forſomuch as there was no other remedy, but either he muſt yeld, or one conflict muſt finiſh the matter: he remoued to Barnet x. myles from S. Albons.

The battayle at Barnet.

The Earle of Warwicke and his brother ſlain

Againſt him ſet forth K. Edward, well appointed with a ſtrong army of piked & able perſons, with artillerie, engines & inſtrumẽtes meete for the purpoſe: bringing with him alſo kyng Hẽry. On Eaſter euẽ he came to Barnet, & there he embattelled himſelfe. In the mornyng vpon Eaſter day the battaile begã, and fiercely cõtinued almoſt till noone, with murder on ech ſide much doubtfull, till both partes were almoſt wery with fightyng and murderyng. King Edward thẽ deſirous to ſee an end, of or on, with a great crew of new freſh ſouldiours, ſet vpon his weried enemies. Wherby the Earles mẽ, although encouraged wͭ wordes of their captaine, ſtoutly fought, but they ſore woũded & weried, could not lõg hold out. The Earle ruſhing into the middeſt of his enemies, ventured ſo farre, that he could not be reſcued: where he was ſtrikẽ downe & ſlayne, and there lay he. Marques Mountacute thinkyng to ſuccour his brother whõ he ſaw to be in great ieopardy, was likewiſe ouerthrowne and ſlaine. After that Richard Neuell, Earle of Warwike, & his brother were gone, the reſt fled, & many were takẽ. The number of them which were in this field ſlayne, are iudged about x. thouſand, as Polydore Virgill reciteth. Fabian numbreth of them that were ſlayne, but xv. hundreth. The Duke of Somerſet & Earle of Oxford thinkyng to flye to Scotland, turned to Iaſper Earle of Pẽbroke in Wales. The Duke of Exceter hardly eſcaped to Weſtminſter, & there tooke ſanctuary. For the death of the Earle of Warwike the K. was not ſo glad, as he was ſory for the Marques Mountacute, whõ he tooke to be his frend. The corpes of theſe two were brought to the Church of Paules, where they lay open in two coffins two dayes, and then were interred. Ex Polyd. & alijs.

Difference betweene Polydore & Fabian.

Hall folower of Polydore.

Polydore is ſaid to haue burned a number of our Engliſh writers.

¶ In the narration of this Hyſtory, Polydore Virgill, whom Hall followeth word for word, doth ſome deale differ from Rob. Fabian. Neither doe I doubt, but both theſe had their authors, by whõ they were directed. Notwithſtãdyng this I marueile, that Polydore writyng of ſo many thynges which he neuer ſaw, doth not vouchſafe to cite vnto vs thoſe writers of whom he borowed. And more do I merueile or rather lamẽt, if it be true that I haue heard, that he not onely nameth no author vnto vs, but alſo buried an heape of our Engliſh ſtories vnknowen, after the finiſhyng of his, in the dayes of kyng Henry the 8. But now to our text agayne.

The returne of Queene Margeret into England.

All this while yet Queene Margaret with yõg prince Edward her ſonne, was ſcarce come ouer, beyng long let with contrary windes, who at length in the moneth of Aprill arriuyng at Waymouth in Dorſetſhire, & hearing the ſorrowfull tidings of theſe thinges lately happened to her huſbãd, and to the Earle of Warwike and his brother, and of the proſperous ſucceſſe of K. Edward: was ſo diſmayd diſquieted, and pierced with ſorrow, ſeyng all things contrary to her expectatiõ, ſo to frame agaynſt her, that ſhe fared and tooke on with her ſelfe, lamenting her huſbãd, be-

Queene Margaret for ſorow ſwoundeth.

Ex Polyd. lib. 24

Queene Margaret taketh ſanctuary.

wayling hir ſonne, curſing her comming, and crieng out of Fortune, as though blinde Fortune were ſhe that gouerneth times and tides, rewarding iuſt puniſhments to vniuſt deſeruings of men, and not the ſecret power and terrible iuſtice of almighty God. Such was then the impaciency of that Queene, being not able to beare the vehemency of her paſſion (who rather ſhould haue ſorowed the dolorous death of Duke Humfrey, whome before ſhe neglected, but now ſhe lacked) that her ſenſes failed, her ſpirites were taken, her ſpeach decayed, and life almoſt gone, ſhe fell to the ground as one that would rather dye, then liue. In this deſolate caſe, Queene Margaret learning now to know her friends frō her foes, when it was too late, fraught ful of heauines, without ſolace, or hope of remedy, ſhe with her ſon & her company departed for her next refuge, to a Monaſtery of Monkes called Beaulie in Hamſhire, there to take ſanctuary, & priuiledge of yͤ houſe.

Queene Margaret moued by her friendes to renue warres againſt King Edward.

Yet all harts were not ſound nor ſubdued in England, eſpecially Edmond Duke of Somerſet, with Lord Iohn his brother, Thomas Courtney, Earle of Deuonſhire, Iaſper earle of Pembroke, Lord Wenlocke, Iohn Longſtrother, being Prior of the Knights of Rhodes in Saint Iohns. Theſe hearing of yͤ Queenes returne, with ſpeede reſorted to her, by whome ſhe being ſomewhat quickened in her ſpirits, and animated to warre, began to take ſome hart, and to follow their counſaile: which was, in all the whote haſt, to renew warre againſt King Edward, being now vnprouided, by reaſon his army was now diſperſed, and chiefeſt of his ſouldiours waſted. Heere great hope of victory was ſhewed, great promiſes made. Although the Queenes mind was, beeing more carefull for the yong Prince, then for her ſelfe, to ſende him ouer into France, before ſome proofe of triall made: yet following the contrary counſaile of them, and partly cut off by ſhortneſſe of time, which required haſte, ſhe began with all expedition to gather power. Likewiſe Iaſper Earle of Pembroke poſted into Wales to do the ſame.

K. Edward warreth againſt Queene Margaret.

Queene Margaret debarred from Gloceſter.

The battayle of Teukesbury.

A great matter to take a thing in tyme.

King Edward hauing intelligence of all theſe doings, firſt ſendeth out certain light horſemē, to eſpy abroad thorough the weſt parts, what waies his enemies did take. In the meane time, he vſing al celeritie to meete them before they came to London, gathered a power, ſuch as hee could make about Lōdon, and firſt cōmeth to Abyngdon: from thence to Marlebridge, hearing that yͤ Queene was at Bathe, thinking to encounter with them, before they diuerted into Wales to the Earle of Pembroke, whether he thought (as they in deede intended) that they woulde take. But yͤ Queene vnderſtanding the king to be ſo nie, remoueth from Bathe to Briſtow, ſending word in the meane while to yͤ citizens of Glouceſter, that they would graunt her leaue ſafely to paſſe by their Citie, Which whē it could not be obteined, with her army ſhe departeth frō Briſtow to Teukeſbery: where the D. of Somerſet knowing king Edward to be at hand at his very backe, willed the Queene there to ſtay, & in no wiſe to flie backward for certaine doubts that might be caſt. Although this coūſaile was againſt the conſent of many other captaines, who thought it beſt rather to draw aſide while the Earle of Pembroke with his army were with them aſſociate: yet the mind of the Duke preuailed. The place was prefixed, the field pitched, the time of battaile came, the King was looked for: who being within one mile of Tewkeſbury, with like induſtry & policy, as his enemies had done, diſpoſed his army likewiſe in their aray. This celeritie of the King taking the time, was to him great aduantage: who otherwiſe, if he had differred, till they had conioined with the Earle of Pembroke, had put the matter in great hazard. Such a matter it is to take a thing in time.

Queene Margaret take in battayle.

Prince Edwarde brought to the kyng. The ſtoute anſwere of the Prince to the kyng.

Of this battayle Hall this reporteth, adding more then Polidore, yͤ the D. of Somerſet, although he was ſtrōgly intrenched, yet through yͤ occaſion or policie of the Duke of Glouceſter, which had the fore ward of the kings part, a little reciling back, followed the chaſe, ſuppoſing that yͤ Lord Wenlock, who had yͤ middle ward, would haue followed hard at his backe. The duke of Glouceſter, whether for ſhame, rather then of policie, eſpieng his aduantage, ſodenly turned face to his enemies. Whereupon the cōtrary part was eftſoones diſcomfited, and ſo much the more, becauſe they were ſeparate frō their company. The Duke of Somerſet not a litle aggreeued at this ſo vnfortunate caſe, returneth to yͤ middle ward, where he ſeeing the L. Wenlocke abiding ſtill, reuileth him, and calleth him traytour, and with his axe ſtriketh the braine out of his head. Thus much addeth Hall beſides Polydor, but ſheweth not his author where he had it. Polydore writing of this conflict, writeth no more but this, that yͤ Queenes army being ouerſet with the number and multitude of their enemies, and ſhe hauing no freſh ſouldiours to furniſh yͤ field was at laſt ouermatched, and for yͤ moſt part ſlaine or taken. In which battaile were named to be ſlaine, yͤ Earle of Deuonſhire, the Lord Wenlocke, Lord Iohn Duke of Somerſet his brother, beſide other. Among thē that were taken, was Queene Margaret found in her chariot almoſt dead for ſorow, Prince Edward, Edmund D. of Somerſet, Iohn Prior of S. Iohns, with xx. other knightes: all which were beheaded within ij. dayes after, the Queene only and the yong prince excepted. Which prince Edward being then brought to the Kings preſence, was demaunded of him, how he durſt be ſo bold to ſtand in battaile againſt him. To this Edward Hall addeth more, and ſaith: that after the field was finiſhed, the King made Proclamation, that whoſoeuer would bring Prince Edward to him, ſhould haue annuitie of an C. li. during his life, and the Princes life to be ſaued. Whereupon ſir Rich. Croftes not miſtruſting the kings promiſe, brought forth his priſoner, &c. And ſo the king demanding of the Prince (as is ſaid) how he durſt ſo preſumptuouſly enter this Realme with his banner diſplayed againſt him, he anſwered, ſayeng: that he came to recouer his fathers kingdome and inheritance from his grandfather and father, to him deſcending: whereat (ſaid Polydor) the King with his hande diſdainingly thruſt him from him. Other ſay that the king ſtroake him on the face with his gauntlet.

Prince Edward ſonne to K. Henry ſlaine.

At the ſpeaking of theſe words was preſent George Duke of Clarence, Richarde Duke of Glouceſter, and the Earle Lord William Haſtings. Who vpon the ſame, vncourteouſly falling vpon the Prince, did ſlaye hym.

Queene Margaret raunſomed for a great ſumme of money.

Publique proceſſions for victory gotte.

Anno. 1471.

Queene Margaret being brought priſoner to London, was afterwarde raunſomed of hir father Duke of Angeow, for a great ſumme of money which he borrowed of the French King, and for the paiment therof, was faine to yeeld vnto him the title of the kingdome of Sicile, and Naples, &c. King Edward for theſe proſperous warres, rendred to God his hartie thanks, and cauſed publikely through his realme, ſolemne proceſſions to be kepte three daies together. And thus much, and too much, touchyng the warres of King Edward the fourth, which was done anno. 1471. Ex Polid. & alijs.

The death of K. Hen. 6.

Ex Scala mundi.

K. Henry buryed at Cherteſey.

The ſame yeare, and about the ſame tyme, vppon the Aſcenſion euen, king Henry being priſoner in the Tower, departed, after he had reigned in all xxxviij. yeares, and vi. moneths. Polydore and Hall folowing him, affirme that he was ſlaine with a dagger by Rich. Duke of Gloceſter, the Kings brother, for the more quiet and ſauegard of the King his brother. In the hiſtory intituled Scala mundi, I finde theſe words, Quod in turri, in vigilia Aſcenſionis Dominicæ ibidem feliciter moriens, per Thameſiam nauicula vſque ad Abbathiam de Cherteſey deductus, ibi ſepultus eſt. That is, that king Henry being in the Tower vpon the Aſcenſion euen, there happely or quietly departing, was brought by Thames in a boate, to the Abbey of Cherteſey, and there buried.

Polydores myracles.

A K. ſainct, is dear ware in the popes market.

Ex Edu. Hallo.

The cauſe examined of the fall of Lancaſter houſe. Example of Gods iuſt rodde of correction.

Polydore, after he hath deſcribed the vertues of thys king, recordeth that king Henry yͤ ſeuenth did afterwarde tranſlate the corps of him frō Cherteſey to Windſore, and addeth moreouer, that by him certayne myracles were wrought. For the which cauſe the ſayde King Henry the ſeauenth (ſayth he) laboured with Pope Iulius, to haue him canoniſed for a Saint, but the death of the king was the let, why yͤ matter proceeded not. Edward Hall writing of this matter, addeth more, declaring the cauſe, why king Henries ſaincting went not forward, to be this: for that the fees of canoniſing of a King, were of ſo great a quantitie at Rome (more then of another Biſhop or prelate) that the ſaid king thought it better to keepe the money in his cheſtes, then with yͤ empoueriſhing of yͤ realme to buy ſo deare, & pay ſo much for a new holy day of ſainct Henry in the Calender, &c. Ex Hallo. Which if it be true, it might be replied therto the Pope Iulius, that if Popes be higher then kings in the earth, and eſpecially in heauē, why then is a Pope Saint ſo cheape in yͤ market place of Rome, and a King Saint ſo deare? Againe, if the valuation of things in all markets and buries, be according to the price & dignity of the thing that is bought, what reaſon is it, ſeing the ſaincting of a king beareth a bigger ſale then the ſaincting of any Pope in heauen, but that Kings ſhould be aboue Popes alſo vpon the earth? Sed extra locum; as I do not doubt, but that K. Henry was a good & a quiet prince, if he had not otherwiſe bin abuſed by ſome: ſo touching the ruine of his houſe, I thinke not contrary, but it came not without the iuſt appointmēt of the Lord, either for that Henry of Lancaſters houſe were ſuch enemies to Gods people, & for the burning of the Lord Cobham and many other: or elſe for the vniuſt diſplacing of

King Richard 2. or elſe thirdly for the cruell ſlaughter of Humfrey the good Duke of Glouceſter his vncle: whereof ſufficiently hath bene ſaid before.

A ſore here ſ preched at Pauls croſſe

Contention in the churche, whether Chriſt was a begger or not.

Times compared.

During the time of theſe doings, being about yͤ yeare of our Lord 1465. There was here in England a certaine Frier Carmelite, who about the tearme of Michaell the Archangel preached at Paules in London, that our Lord Ieſus Chriſt, being heere in this preſent worlde, was in pouertie, and did beg. To whoſe opiniõ and doctrine, the prouinciall of that order ſemed alſo to incline, defending yͤ ſame both in his reading and preaching, with other Doctours moe and brethren of yͤ ſame order: vnto whom alſo adioined certaine of the Iacobites, and ſtifly did take their partes. On yͤ cõtrary ſide, many doctours & alſo lawyers, both in their publicke lectures & preaching, to the vttermoſt of their cunning, did withſtãd their aſſertion, as being a thing moſt peſtiferous in the Church to be heard. Such a bitter cõtention was among them, that the defendent part was driuen for a while to keepe ſilence. Much like to thoſe times I might well reſemble theſe our dayes now preſent, with our tumultuous contention of formes and faſhions of garments. But I put my ſelfe here in Pythagoras ſchoole, and keepe ſilence with theſe Friers. In the ſtory moreouer it foloweth, that this beggerly queſtiõ of the begging Friers, whether Chriſt did begge, or no, went ſo far, yͭ at length it came to yͤ Popes eares. Paulus 2. who was no beggar ye may be ſure. After that, the fame of this doctrine, mounting ouer the Alpes, came fleing to the court of Rome, which was about yͤ Aſſumption of the virgin Mary, yͤ yeare next folowing, an. 1465. it brought with it ſuch an euill ſmell to yͤ fine noſes there, that it was no neede to bid them to ſtirre: for begging to them was worſe thẽ hie hereſie. wherfore the holy father pope Paulus the 2. to repreſſe the ſparkles of this doctrine, which otherwiſe perhaps might haue ſet his whole kitchin on fire, taketh yͤ matter in hand, & eftſoones directeth downe his Bull into England, inſinuating to the Prelates here, Hæreſim illam peſtiferè aſſerentem, quod Chriſtus publice mendicauit, eſſe antiquitus a Romanis pontificibus, cum ſuis Concilijs damnatam, & eam pro damnata, vndique declarandam, & conculcandam, &c. That is, that this hereſie, which peſtiferouſly doth affirme that Chriſt did openly begge, was condemned of old time by the Biſhops of Rome, and his Councels, and that the ſame ought to be declared in all places for a damned doctrine, and worthy to be troden downe vnder all mens feete, &c. This was in the ſame yeare when Prince Edward, King Edwards ſonne was borne in the Sanctuary at weſtminſter an. 1465.

Ex hiſt. Scala mundi. fol. Vlt.

The Popes determined ſolutiõ, that Chriſt was no beggar

K. Edward vanquiſhed 9 battailes, being himſelfe preſent at them all.

Charles Duke of Burgoyne fayled hys promiſe with the kyng.

Peace betweene the two kinges, bought with the French kyngs money.

Mariage betwene the Frẽch kings ſonne, and K. Edwards daughter, made and broken.

King Iames of Scotland goeth from his promiſe of mariage.

Barwick recouered.

As touching the reſt of the doings and affaires of thys king (which had vãquiſhed hetherto ix. battailes, himſelfe being preſent) how afterward he, through the incitemẽt of Charles duke of Burgoine his brother in law, vẽtred into France with a puiſſant army, & how the Duke fayled him in his promiſe, alſo how peace betwene yͤ two kings was at length cõcluded in a ſolẽne meeting of both yͤ ſayd kings together (which meeting is notified in ſtories, by a white doue ſitting the ſame day of meeting, vpõ the top of king Edwards tent) alſo of yͤ mariage promiſed betwene yͤ yong Dolphin & Elizabeth K. Edwards eldeſt daughter, but afterward broken of the French kings part: moreouer as touching the death of the duke of Burgoine ſlaine in war, & of his daughter Mary, neece to King Edward, ſpoiled of her lands & poſſeſſions wrõgfully, by Lewes yͤ French king, & maried after to Maximilian: furthermore, as touching the expeditiõ of king Edward into Scotlãd, by reaſon of King Iames, breaking promiſe in marieng with Cecilie the ij. daughter of king Edward, & of driuing out his brother, & how yͤ matter was compoſed there, & of the recouery againe of Barwicke: of theſe (I ſay) & ſuch other things mo, partly becauſe they are deſcribed ſufficẽtly in our cõmon engliſh ſtories, partly alſo becauſe they be matters not greatly perteining to the Church, I omit to ſpeake, making of thẽ a ſuperſedeas. Two things I finde here among many other, ſpecially to be remembred.

Anno. 1473.

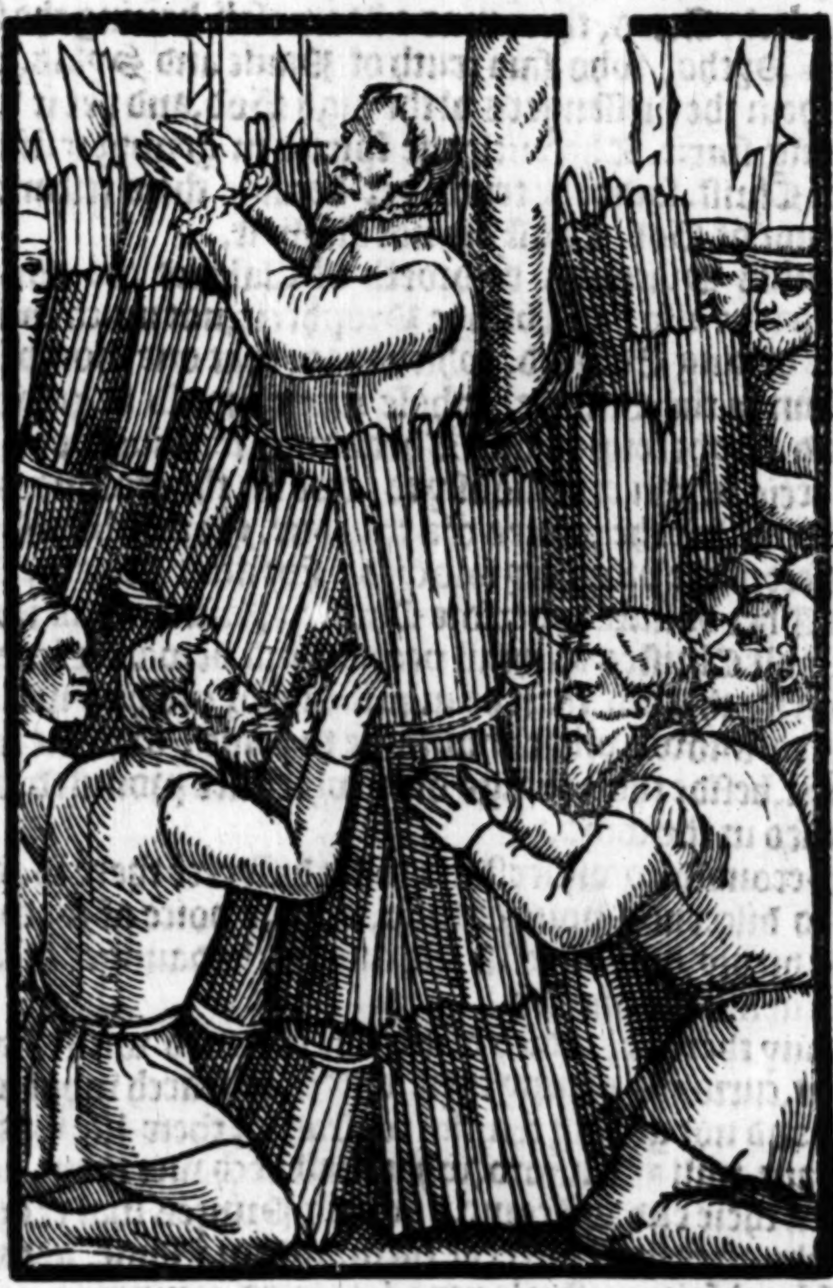
Iohn Gooſe Martyr.

Iohn Gooſe in Engliſh, is as much as Iohn Hus in the Boheman tongue

The firſt is concerning a godly and conſtant ſeruant of Chriſt, named Iohn Gooſe, which in the time of this king was vniuſtly condemned and burnt at the tower hill. an. 1473. in the moneth of Auguſt. Thus had England alſo his Iohn Hus, as well as Boheme. wherein moreouer this is to be noted, that ſince the time of King Richard 2. there is no reigne of any King to be aſſigned hetherto, wherin ſome good mã or other hath not ſuffred the paines of fire, for yͤ Religion & true teſtimonie of Chriſt Ieſus. Of this ſaid Iohn Gooſe, or Iohn Hus, this moreouer I find in another Engliſh monumẽt recorded, that the ſayd Iohn being deliuered to Robert Beliſdone, one of yͤ Shiriffes, to ſee him burnt the after noone: the Shiriffe like a charitable man, had him home to his houſe, and there exhorted him to deny (ſayth the ſtory) his errours. But the godly man after long exhortation heard, deſired the Shiriffe to bee content, for he was ſatiſfied in his conſcience. Notwithſtãdyng this he deſired of the Shiriffe, for Gods ſake to geue him ſome meate, ſaying that he was very ſore hungered. Then the Shiriffe commaunded him meate: whereof he tooke and did eate, as he had bene toward no maner of daunger: and ſayd to ſuch as ſtoode about him: I eate now a good and a competent dinner: for I ſhall paſſe a litle ſharpe ſhower, ere I goe to ſupper. And when hee had dyned, he gaue thankes, and required that he might ſhortly be lead to the place, where hee ſhould yeld vp his ſpirite vnto God. Ex Polychron.

Iohn Gooſe taketh his dynner before hee went to Martyrdome.

¶The burnyng of Iohn Gooſe.



The vnworthy death of the Duke of Clarence.

The Duke of Clarẽce drowned in a butte of Malmeſey.

The ſecond thyng herein to be noted, is the death of George Duke of Clarence, the kynges ſecond brother: Of whom relation was made before, how he aſſiſted K. Edward, his brother, agaynſt the Earle of warwicke at Barnet field, and helped him to the crowne, and now after all theſe benefites, was at lẽgth thus requited, that (for what cauſe it is vncertaine) he was apprehended and caſt into the Tower, where he beyng adiudged for a traytor, was priuely drowned in a but of Malmeſey. what yͤ true cauſe was of his death, it can not certainely be affirmed. Diuers coniectures and imaginations there be diuerſly put forth. Some partly impute it to the Queenes diſpleaſure. Other ſuppoſe it came for taking part in the cauſe of his ſeruaunt, which was accuſed and cõdemned for poyſonyng, ſorcery, or inchantmẽt. An other fame there is, which ſurmiſeth the cauſe hereof to riſe vpõ the vayne feare of a fooliſh Prophecie, commyng no doubt (if it were true) by the craftie operation of Sathan, as it doth many tymes elles happen among infidels and gentiles, where Chriſt is not knowen: where among high Princes and in noble houſes, much miſchief groweth, firſt murther and parricide, & thereby ruine of auncient families, and alteration of kingdomes. The effect of this Prophecie (as the fame goeth) was this, that after kyng Edward, ſhould one reigne, whoſe name ſhould begyn with G. And becauſe the name of the Duke of Clarence, beyng George, began with a G. therfore he began to be feared, and afterward priuely (as is aforeſayd) was made away.

The cauſes of his death expended.

The miſchiefe that Sathan worketh by falſe propheſies.

The propheſie of G.

Propheſies not raſhly to be beleeued.

Sathan can ſay truth for a wicked end.

¶By theſe experimentes and miſchieuous endes of ſuch Prophecies, and alſo by the nature of them, it is ſoone to be ſeene, from what fountaine or author they proceede: that is (no doubt) from Sathã, the auncient enemy of mãkynd, and Prince of this world: agaynſt whoſe deceitfull deluſions. Chriſten men muſt be well inſtructed, neither to maruell greatly at them, though they ſeeme ſtraunge, nor yet to beleue them, though they happen true. For Sathã being the Prince of this world, in ſuch thyngs worldly can foreſee what will follow, and cã ſay truth for a miſchie-

Deueliſhe propheſies although they tell truth, yet are not to be followed.

Ex Inſt. lib. 1.

Merlines propheſies.

1. Reg. 18.

Act. 16.

* A ſpirite of diuination which could gheſſe & foredeeme thinges paſt, preſent, and to come, which knowledge God many times permitteth to the deuill.

chicuous end, and yet for all that is but a Sathan. So the dreame of Aſtiages, ſeeing a vine to growe out of his daughter, which ſhould couer all Aſia, and fearing thereby that by his nephew he ſhould loſe his kingdome, proued true in the ſequeale thereof, and yet notwithſtanding of Sathan it came, and cauſed cruell murther to folow, firſt of the ſhepheards child, then of the ſonne of Harpagus, whome he ſet before his owne father to eate. Ex Iuſt. lib. 1. Likewiſe Cyrus was Prophetically admoniſhed by his dreame, to take him for his guide, whome he firſt met the next morow. In that alſo his dreame fell true, and yet was not of God. In the ſame number are to be put all the blind Oracles of the Idolatrous Gentiles, which although they procede of a lieng ſpirit, yet ſometime they hit the truth, to a miſchieuous purpoſe. The like iudgement alſo is to be giuen of Merlynes Prophecies. The Sorcereſſe, mentioned 1. Reg. 28. raiſing vp Samuell, told Saule the truth, yet was it not of God. In the 16. chap. of the Actes, there was a Damoſell hauing the ſpirit of * Pytho, who ſaid truth of Paule and Sylas, calling them the meſſengers of the high God, and yet it was a wrong ſpirit. The vncleane ſpirits in geuing teſtimonie of Chriſt, ſaide the truth, yet becauſe their teſtimony came not of God, Chriſt did not allow it.

Ex Paulo Diac.

Paulus Diaconus recordeth of Valence the Emperour that he alſo had a blinde Prophecie, not much vnlike to this of king Edward, which was, that one ſhould ſucceed him in the Empire, whoſe name ſhould begin with θ.ο. and δ. Whereupon one Theodorus, truſting vpon the prophecie, began rebelliouſly to hope for the crowne, & for his labour felt the paines of a traitour. Notwithſtanding the effect of the prophecy folowed: For after Valence ſucceded Theodoſius. wherfore Chriſten Princes, and noble men, & all Chriſtes faithfull people muſt beware & learne.

Three thinges to be noted cõcerning falſe propheſies.

1. Firſt, that no man be inquiſitiue or curious in ſearching to knowe what things be to come, or what ſhall happen, beſide thoſe things only which are promiſed, and expreſſed in the word.
2. Secondly, to vnderſtand what differẽce there is, and how to diſcerne ẏ voice of God, frõ the voice of Sathan.
3. Thirdly, how to reſiſt and auoide the daunger of falſe and diueliſh prophecies.

Many there be, which being not cõtented with things preſent, curiouſly occupy their wittes to ſearch what is to come, and not geuing thanks to God for their life whiche they haue, will alſo know, what ſhall bechance them, how & when their end wil come, how lõg Princes ſhal reigne, and who after ſhall ſucceede them, and for ẏ ſame, get vnto thẽ ſouthſaiers, aſtrologers, ſorcerers, coniurers, or familiars. And theſe are not ſo much inquiſitiue to ſearch or aſke, but the deuill is as ready to aunſwere them: who either falſly doubleth with thẽ, to delude thẽ: or elſe telleth them truth, to worke them perpetuall care & ſorow. Thus was Pope Siluester the ſorcerer, circumuented by the diuell, who told him that he ſhould be at Hieruſalem, before he died, and ſo it fell. For as he was ſaieng his Maſſe, at a chappell in Rome, called Hieruſalem, there he fell ſicke, and within three daies after died, vide ſup. pag. 167. To King Henry the fourth alſo it ſeemeth it was prophecied, that he ſhould not die, before he went to Hieruſalem, who being brought to the Abbots chamber of weſtminſter, and hearing the name of the chamber to be called Hieruſalem, knew his time to be come, and dyed, pag. 557.

Vid. ſup. pag. 180.

Vid. ſup. pag. 535.

False truſt by deuiliſh propheſies.

By ſuch deceitfull prophecies, it can not be lamented inough to ſee what inconuenience both publikely and priuately groweth to the life of men, either cauſing thẽ falſly to truſt where they ſhould not, or elſe wickedly to perpetrate that they woulde not: as may appeare both by this king, and alſo diuers moe. So was Pompeius, Craſſus, and Cæſar (as writeth Cicero) deceiued by the falſe Chaldeis, in declaring to them, that they ſhould not but die in their beds, and with worſhip, and in their olde age. Of ſuch falſe truſt, riſing vpon falſe prophecies, S. Ambroſe in his booke of Exameron, writeth, ſpeaking of rayne, which being in thoſe parties greatly deſired, was promiſed and prophecied of one certainely to fall vpõ ſuch a day, which was at the changing of the new Moone: but (ſayth S. Ambroſe) there fell no ſuch raine at all, till at the praiers of the Church, the ſame was obteined: geuing vs to vnderſtand, that raine commeth not by the word of man, nor by the beginnings of the Moone, but by the prouidẽce and mercie of our creatour. Ex Ambroſ. in Examer.

Ambroſius in Exameron.

Ioan. Pic. Mirandul. contra Aſtrog. lib. 2. cap. 9

Experience of falſe propheſies.

Ioan. Picus Earle of Mirandula, in his excellent bookes written againſt theſe vaine ſtartellers and Aſtrologers, Lib. 2. writeth of one Ordelaphus a prince, to whom it was prognoſticate by a famous cunning man in that ſcience, called Hieronimus Manfredus, ẏ he ſhoulde enioy long continuance of health, and proſperous life, who notwithſtanding, the ſelfeſame yeare, and in the firſt yeare of his mariage, deceaſſed: and after diuers other examples added moreouer vpon the ſame, he inferreth alſo mention, and the name of a certaine rich matrone in Rome, named Conſtantia, who in like maner departed the ſame yeare, in which ſhe receiued great promiſes by theſe Southſayers and Aſtrologers, of a long and happy life, ſaieng to her huſband theſe words: behold (ſaith ſhe) how true be the prognoſtications of theſe ſouthtellers? If it were not for noting of thẽ, which now are gone, and whoſe names I would in no caſe to be blemiſhed with any ſpot, otherwiſe I could recite the names of certaine, eſpecially one, which taking his iourney, in a certaine place, after diligent calculation, and forecaſting of the ſucceſſe and good ſpeede of his iourney, was notwithſtanding in the ſame iourney, apprehended and brought where he would not, after that neuer enioieng good day, in ſhort time he departed. In Baſill this I my ſelfe heard of one, which knew and was conuerſant with the partie, who hauing a curious delight in theſe ſpeculations of chances and euents to come, by his calculation noted a certaine day, which he miſtruſted ſhould be fatall vnto him, by ſomething, which at that day ſhould fall vpon him. Whereupon he determined with himſelfe, all that day to keepe him ſure and ſafe within his chamber, where he reaching vp his hand to take downe a booke, the booke falling downe vpon his head, gaue him his deathes wounde, and ſhortly after he died vpon the ſame. Of theſe and ſuch like examples, the world is full, and yet the curiouſnes of mans head will not refraine, ſtill to plucke the apple of this vnluckie and forbidden tree.

This man by falſe diſſemblers, was taken, betrayed, and brought into England.

A perilous matter for a man to be curious, of tymes and things to come.

Beſide all this, what murther and parricide commeth by the feare of theſe prophecies, in great blouds and noble houſes, I referre it vnto them, which reade and well aduiſe the ſtories, as well of our Kings heere in England, as in other kingdomes moe, both Chriſtened, and Turkiſh, whereof another place ſhall ſerue as well (Chriſt willing) more largely to entreat, and particularly to diſcourſe. To this perteineth alſo the great inconuenience & hinderance that groweth by the feare of ſuch Prophecies, in the vocation of mẽ, forſomuch as many there be, which fearing ſome one danger, ſome another, leaue their vocations vndone, and follow vnordinate waies. As if one hauing a blinde prophecie, that his deſtruction ſhould be on the day, would wake and do all his buſines by night and candle light: and ſo forth in other ſeuerall caſes of mẽ and women, as euery one in his owne conſcience knoweth his owne caſe beſt.

The ſeconde part, how prophecies are to be diſcerned.

The ſecond thing to be conſidered in theſe prophecies, is rightly to diſcerne and vnderſtand, as neare as we cã, the differẽce betwene the prophecies proceeding frõ God, and the falſe prophecies counterfeited by Sathan. For Sathan ſometime plaieth Gods Ape, and transformeth himſelfe into an Angell of light, bearing ſuch a reſemblaunce and colour of truth and Religion, that vnneth a wiſe man is able to diſcerne the one from the other, and the moſt part is begiled. Concerning prophecies therefore, to know which be of God, which be not, three things are to be obſerued.

In the ſecõd part three things to be conſidered.

1. Firſt, whether they go ſimply and plainely, or whether they be doubtful and ambiguous: wherof the one ſeemeth to taſte of Gods ſpirit, ſuch as be the Prophecies of the ſcripture: the other to come otherwiſe, hauing a double or doubtfull interpretation. Although ẏ time of Gods prophecies, as alſo of miracles is commonly, and ordinarily expired: yet if the Lord in theſe daies, now extraordinarily do ſhew any prophecie, by the ſimplenes & plaines thereof, partly it may be diſcerned.

The ſeconde thing to be conſidered in propheſies.

2. Secondly, this is to be expended, whether they bee priuate, tending to this familie, or that family, or publike. For as the Scriptures, ſo commonly the Prophecies of God haue no priuate interpretation, but generall: for ſo much as the care of Gods holy ſpirit is not reſtrayned partially to one perſon, more then to another, but generally and indifferently reſpecteth the whole Churche of his elect in Chriſt Ieſus his ſonne. Wherefore ſuch Prophecies as priuately are touching the armes of houſes, or names of men, riſing or falling of priuate and particular families, are worthely to be ſuſpected.

The 3. thing to be conſidered in propheſies.

3. The third note & ſpeciall argument to diſcry the true prophecies of God, from the falſe prophecies of Sathan, and his falſe Prophets, is this, to conſider the matter and the end thereof, that is, whether they be worldly, or whether they be ſpirituall, or whether they tende to any glory or ſtate of this preſent world, or whether they tend to the ſpirituall inſtruction, admonition, or comfort of the pub-

licke Church.

The 3. part how to auoyde the daunger of ſiniſter propheſies.

Now remayneth thirdly, after we know what propheſies be of God, and what not, that we be inſtructed next, how to eſchew the feare and perill of all diueliſh Propheſies, which make againſt vs. wherein two ſpeciall remedies are to be marked of euery Chriſten man, whereby he may be ſafe and ſure againſt all daunger of the enemie. The firſt is, that we ſet ỹ name of Chriſt Jeſus the ſonne of God againſt them, through a true faith in him: knowing this, that the ſonne of God hath appeared, to diſſolue the works of the Diuell. And againe, this is the victory (ſaith the Scripture) that ouercommeth the world, euen our faith. whatſoeuer then Sathan worketh or cã worke againſt vs, be it neuer ſo forceable, faith in Chriſt will vanquiſh it. Such a maieſtie is in our faith, beleeuing in the name of the Sonne of God.

Two remedies againſt diuiliſhe propheſies. The firſt remedie.

The ſeconde remedy againſt dangerous propheſies.

The other remedy is faythfull prayer, which obteineth in the name of Chriſt, all things with the Lord. So that wicked feende, which had killed before ſeuen huſbands of Tobias wife, could not hurt him, entring his matrimony with earneſt praier: ſo no more ſhall any ſiniſter prophecie preuaile, where praier out of a faithful hart, doth ſtriue againſt it. Neither am I ignoraunt, that againſt ſuch temporall euils and puniſhments to this life inflicted, a great remedy alſo lieth in this, when Sathan findeth nothing, wherin greatly to accuſe our conſcience. But becauſe ſuch a conſcience is hard to be founde, the next refuge is to flie to repentaunce, with amendment of life. For many times where ſinne doth reigne in our mortall bodies, there alſo the operation of Sathan is ſtrong againſt vs, to afflicte our outwarde bodyes heere, but as touching our eternall ſaluation, neyther worke nor merite hath any place, but onely our fayth in Chriſt. And thus much briefly touching the two ſpeciall remedies, whereby the operation of all diueliſhe Prophecies may be auoyded and defeated.

Mans policy can nothing doe againſt the deuil.

No power can withſtand Sathã, but onely Chriſt, and our fayth in hym.

Now, many there be, which leauing theſe remedyes aforeſayd, and the ſafe protection which the Lorde hath ſet vp in Chriſt, take other wayes of their owne, ſeeking by their owne policie, how to withſtande and eſcape ſuche Prophecies, either in eſchuing the place and time ſubtilly, or elſe cruelly by killing the partie whome they feare: whereof commeth iniury, murther, and parricide, with other miſchiefes in cõmon weales vnſpeakable. To whom commonly it cõmeth ſo to paſſe, that whereby they thinke moſt to ſaue themſelues, by the ſame meanes they fal moſt into the ſnare, being ſubuerted and confounded in theyr owne policie, for that they truſting to their owne deuiſe, and not vnto the Lord, which only can diſſolue the operation of Satan, the Lord ſo turneth their deuiſe into a trap, thereby to take them, whereby they thinke moſt ſurely to eſcape. Examples whereof we ſee not onely in Aſtyages King of the Medes aforeſaid, and Cyrus: but in infinite other like euents, which the trade of the world doth dayly offer to our eies. So Queene Margaret thought her then cockeſure, when Duke Humfrey was made away: when nothing elſe was her confuſion ſo much, as the loſſe and lacke of that man.

So if King Richard the ſecond had not exerciſed ſuche crueltie vpon his vncle Thomas, Duke of Gloceſter, he had not receiued ſuch wrong by King Henry the fourth as he did, pag. 594. Likewiſe this King Edwarde the fourth, if he had ſuffered his brother Gorge, Duke of Clarence to haue liued, his houſe had not ſo gone to wracke by Richard, his other brother, as it did. what befell vpon the Student of Aſtrology in the Vniuerſitie of Baſill, ye heard before, who if he had not mewed himſelfe in hys chamber for feare of his diuination, had eſcaped the ſtroke that fell. Now, in auoiding ſuch Propheticall euentes, which he ſhould not haue ſearched, he fell into that which he did feare. Theſe few examples for inſtruction ſake, I thought by occaſion to inferre, not as though theſe were alone: but by theſe few to admoniſh the Reader of infinite other, which dayly come in practiſe of life, to the great daunger & decay, as well in priuate houſes, as in weales publicke.

A briefe rehearſall of the matter of propheſies, before paſſed.

wherfore briefly to repete, what before ſimply hath bin ſaid touching this matter, ſeeing that Sathan thorough ſuch ſubtile Prophecies, hath & yet doth dayly practiſe ſo manifold miſchiefes in the world, ſetting brother againſt brother, nephew againſt ỹ vncle, houſe againſt houſe, and realme againſt realme, gẽdring hatred, where loue was, & ſubuerting priuely ỹ ſimplicity of our chriſtian faith, therfore ỹ firſt thing & beſt is, for godly men not to buſie their braines about ſuch phãtaſies, neither in delighting in thẽ, nor in harkening to thẽ, nor in ſearching for thẽ, either by ſouthſaier, or by cõiuratiõ, or by familiar, or by aſtrologer: knowing and conſidering this, that whoſoeuer ſhalbe deſirous or ready to ſearch for them, the Deuill is as ready to aunſwere his curioſitie therein. For as once in the old tyme of Gentilitie, hee gaue his Oracles by Idols, and Prieſtes of that tyme: ſo the ſame deuill, although he worketh not now by Idols, yet he craftely can geue now aunſwere by Aſtrologers, and coniurers in theſe our dayes, & in ſo doyng, both to ſay truth, and yet to deceaue men whẽ he hath ſayd. wherfore, leauyng of ſuch curioſitie, let euery Chriſten man walke ſimple in his preſent vocation, referryng hid thynges not in the word expreſſed, vnto him which ſayth in his word: Non eſt veſtrum ſcire tẽpora & momenta temporum. &c. It is not for you to know the tymes, and ſeaſons of tymes, which the Father hath kept in his owne power. &c.

The deuil ready to anſwere in matters of diuination.

Curioſitie of propheſies to be auoyded.

Secondly, in this matter of Prophecies, requiſite it is (as is ſayd) for euery Chriſten man to learne, how to diſcerne and diſtinct the true Prophecies, which procede of God, and the falſe Prophecies, whiche come of Sathan. The difference wherof, as it is not hard to be diſcerned: ſo neceſſary it is, that euery good man do rightly vnderſtand the ſame, to the entent that he knowing & flying the daunger of the one, may be the more certaine and cõſtant in adhering to the other.

Thirdly, becauſe it is not ſufficient that the deceitfull Prophecies of the deuill be knowen, but alſo that they be reſiſted, I haue alſo declared, by what meanes the operation of Sathans workes and Prophecies are to be ouercome: that is, not with ſtrength and policie of mã, for that there is nothyng in man, able to counteruayle the power of that enemy. Vnder heauen there is nothyng elles that can preuayle agaynſt his workes, but onely the name of the Lord Jeſus the ſonne of God, not outwardly pronoũced onely with our lippes, or ſigned in our foreheads with the outward croſſe, but inwardly apprehended and dwellyng in our hartes by a ſilent fayth, firmely and earneſtly truſtyng vpon the promiſes of God, geuen and ſealed vnto vs in his name: For ſo it hath pleaſed his fatherly wiſedome, to ſet him vp, to be both our righteouſneſſe before himſelfe, and alſo to be our fortitude agaynſt the enemy, acceptyng our fayth in his ſonne, in no leſſe price, then he accepteth the workes & worthyneſſe of the ſame his ſonne, in whom we do beleue.

The ſtrength of a Chriſtiã mans fayth in Chriſt.

Onely Chriſt able to withſtãd the power of Sathan. Pſalm. 90.

Such is the ſtrength and effect of faith both in heauen, in earth, & alſo in hell: In heauen to iuſtifie, in earth to preſerue, in hell to cõquere. And therfore when any ſuch Prophecie, or any other thing is to vs obiected, which ſeemeth to tend agaynſt vs, let vs firſt conſider whether it ſauour of Sathan, or not. If it doe, then let vs ſeeke our ſuccour, not in our ſelues, where it doth not dwell, neither let vs kill, nor ſlay, nor chaunge our vocation therfore, folowing vnordinate wayes: but let vs runne to our Caſtle of refuge, whiche is to the power of the Lord Jeſus, remembring the true promiſe of the Pſalme: Qui habitat in adiutorio altiſsimi, in protectione Dei coeli commorabitur. That is. who ſo putteth his truſt in the ſuccour of the Lord, ſhall haue the God of heauen to his protector. And then ſhall it afterward follow in the ſame Pſalme. Ipſe liberabit te a laqueo venantium, & a verbo aſpero. That is. And he ſhall deliuer him from the ſnare of the hunter, and from all euill wordes, and Prophecies, be they neuer ſo ſharpe, or bitter agaynſt him. &c. And thus much by the occaſion of kyng Edward, of Prophecies.

Sigiſmundus Emperour.

Sigiſmundus vnproſperous in his warres.

Sigiſmundus ouercome of the Turkes.

Sigiſmundus ouercome of the Bohemians.

Now hauing lõg taried at home in deſcribyng the tumultes and troubles within our owne land, we will let out our ſtory more at large, to conſider the afflictions and perturbatiõs of other parties and places alſo of Chriſtes Church, as wel here in Europe vnder the Pope, as in the Eaſt partes vnder the Turke, firſt deducyng our ſtory frõ the tyme of Sigiſmund, where before we left: which Sigiſmund, as is aboue recorded, was a great doer in the Councell of Conſtance agaynſt John Hus, and Hierome of Prage. This Emperour had euer euill lucke, fightyng agaynſt the Turkes. Twiſe he warred agaynſt them, and in both the battailes was diſcomfited and put to flight: once about the Citie of Myſia, fightyng agaynſt Baiazetes the great Turke. an. 1395. the ſecond tyme fightyng againſt Celebinus the ſonne of Baiazetes, about the towne called Columbacium. But ſpecially, after the Councell of Conſtance, wherein were condemned and burned thoſe two godly Martyrs, more vnproſperous ſucceſſe did then folow him, fightyng agaynſt the Bohemians, his owne ſubiectes. an. 1420. by whom he was repulſed in ſo many battailes, to his great diſhonour, during all the life of Ziſca, & of Procopius, as is afore more at lẽgth expreſſed: who was ſo beaten both of the Turkes, & at home of his owne people, that he neuer did encounter with the Turkes after. Then followed the Councell of Baſill, after the beginnyng wherof, within vi. yeares, this Sigiſmũdus, which was Emperour, king of Hungary, and kyng of Boheme, dyed, in Morauia. an. 1437.

¶ Albertus Emperour.

Albertus Duke of Auſtrich, Emperour, kyng of Hungary, king of Boheme

THis Sigiſmund left behinde him one only daughter Elizabeth, who was married to Albert, Duke of Auſtrich: by reaſon whereof, he was aduanced to the Empire, and ſo was both Duke of Auſtrich, Emperour, king of Hungary, and king alſo of Boheme. But this Albert (as is afore declared) being an enemy and a diſquieter to the Bohemians, and eſpecially to the good men of Thabor, as he was preparing and ſetting forth againſt the Turkes, in the meane time died, in the ſecond yeare of his Empire, an. 1439. leauing his wife great with child, who lieng then in Hungary, and thinking to be great with a daughter, called to her the Princes and chiefetaines of the Realme, declaring to them that ſhe was but a woman, and vnſufficient to the gouernãce of ſuch a ſtate: and moreouer how ſhe thought her ſelfe to be but with childe of a daughter, and therefore required them to prouide among them, ſuch a Prince and gouernour, (reſeruing the right of the kingdome to hir ſelfe) as were fit and able vnder her, to haue the regiment of the land committed. The Turke in the meane while being eleuated and encouraged with his proſperous victories againſt Sigiſmundus aforeſaide, began then more fiercely to inuade Hungary and thoſe parties of Chriſtendome. wherefore the Hungarians making the more haſte, conſulted among themſelues, to make Duke Vladiſlaus, brother to Caſimirus King of Polony, their King.

Albertus Emperour but two yeares.

Elizabeth daughter to Sigiſmund, wife to Albert Emp.

The Turke beginneth to inuade Hungary.

Vladiſlaus brother to Caſimirus K. of Polonia, made king of Hungary.

But while this was in working betwene the Hungarians and Vladiſlaus the Duke, in the meane ſpace Elizabeth brought forth a ſonne called Ladiſlaus, who being the lawfull heire of the kingdome, the Queene calleth backe againe her former word, minding to reſerue the kingdome for her ſonne, being the true heire thereof, and therefore refuſeth marriage with the ſaide Vladiſlaus, which ſhe had before pretended. But Vladiſlaus ioyning with a great part of the Hungarians, perſiſting ſtil in the condition before graunted, would not geue ouer: by reaſon whereof, great contention and diuiſion kindling amõg the people of Hungary, Amurathes ẏ great Turke, taking his aduantage of their diſcord, and partly ſurpreſſed with pride of his former ſucceſſe againſt Sigiſmund aforeſaid, with his whole maine & force, inuaded the realme of Hũgary: where Huniades ſurnamed Vainoda, Prince of Tranſiluania, ioining with the new King Vladiſlaus, did both together ſet againſt the Turke, anno. 1444. and there Vladiſlaus the new King of Hungary, the fourth yeare of his kingdome was ſlaine. Elizabeth with her ſonne, was fled in ẏ meane while, to Fridericke the Emperour. Of Huniades Vainoda the noble Captaine, and of his Actes and alſo of Ladiſlaus (Chriſt willing) more ſhall be ſayd heereafter, in his time and place.

Elizabeth Q. of Hũgary brought to bedde of a man childe.

Ladiſlaus prince of Hungary borne.

Diuiſion & diſcord in Hungarie.

The Turk warreth agaynſt Hungarie.

Huniades Vainoda.

Vladiſlaus K. of Hungary, ſlayne in warre.

¶ Fridericus the third Emperour.

Fridericus 3. Emperour.

AFter the deceaſſe of Albert, ſucceded in the Empyre Fridericus the third, Duke of Auſtria, an. 1440. By whome it was procured (as we haue before ſignified) that Pope Fœlix elected by the Councell of Baſill, did reſigne his Popedome, to Pope Nicholas the fift, vpon this condition, that the ſaid Pope Nicholas ſhould ratife the acts decreed in the ſaid Councell of Baſil. In the daies of this Emperour, much warre and diſſention raged almoſt thorough all Chriſtian Realmes, in Auſtria, Hungaria, Polonia, in France, in Burgoine, and alſo heere in Englãd, betweene King Henry the ſixt, and King Edward the fourth, as ye haue already heard: whereby it had bene eaſie for the Turke, with little maiſtry, to haue ouerrunne all the Chriſtian Realmes in Europe, had not the prouidence of our mercifull Lord otherwiſe prouided to keepe Amurates the Turke, occupied in other ciuill warres at home in the meane while. Vnto this Fridericke came Elizabeth (as is aforeſaide) with Ladiſlaus her ſonne: by whome he was nouriſhed & enterteined a certaine ſpace, till at length, after the death of Vladiſlaus aforeſaid, king of Vngarie (which was ſlaine in battaile by the Turkes) the men of Auſtria, through the inſtigation of Vlricus Eizingerus, and of Vlricus Earle of Cilicia riſing vp in armour, required of Fridericke the Emperour, either to giue thẽ their yong king, or els to ſtãd to his own defence.

Vladiſlaus K. of Hungary ſlayne in battell by the Turke.

When Fridericke heard this, neither would he render to them a ſodaine anſwere, neither would they abide any longer delay: and ſo the matter growing to warre, the new Citie was beſieged, where many were ſlaine, and much harme done. At length the Emperours part beyng ẏ weaker, the Emperour through the interuẽtion of certaine Nobles of Germany, reſtored Ladiſlaus vnto their hands, who being yet vnder age, committed his iij. kingdomes to three gouernours. whereof Iohn Huniades the worthy Captaine aboue mentioned, had the ruling of Vngarie: George Pogiebracius had Boheme: and Vlricus the Earle of Cilicia, had Auſtria. which Vlrice, hauing the chiefe cuſtody of the King, bare the greateſt authority aboue the reſt, a man as much full of ambitiõ and tirannie, as he was hated almoſt of all the Auſtrians, and ſhortly after by the meanes of Eizingerus, was excluded alſo from the King and the Court, but afterwarde reſtored againe, and Eizingerus thruſt out. Such is the vnſtable condition of them which be next in place aboute Princes. But this contention betwene them I ouerpaſſe.

Ioh. Huniades, gouernour of Hũgary vnder the kyng.

George Pogiebracius gouernour of Boheme.

Vlricus gouernour of Auſtria.

Not long after, Ladiſlaus the yong King went to Boheme, there to be crowned, where George Pogiebracius (as is ſaid) had the gouernaunce. But Ladiſlaus during all the time of his being there, though being much requeſted, yet would neither enter into the Churches, nor heare the ſeruice of them, which did draw after the doctrine of Hus. In ſomuch that when a certaine Prieſt in the hygh tower of Prage, was appointed and addreſſed, after the maner of Prieſts, to ſay ſeruice before the King, beeyng knowne to hold with Iohn Hus and Rochezana, the King diſdaining at him, commaunded him to giue place and depart, or elſe he woulde ſende him downe headlong from the rocke of the Tower: and ſo the good miniſter repulſed by the King, departed. Alſo another time the ſayde Ladiſlaus, ſeeing the Sacrament carried by a Miniſter of that ſide, whome they called then Huſſites, woulde doo thereunto no reuerence. Ex Æne. Syluio.

Ladiſlaus a young popiſh kyng.

Ladiſlaus could not abide the doctrine of Hus.

At length the long abode of the King, although it was not very long, yet ſeemed to the godly diſpoſed to be lõger then they wiſhed: and that was not to ẏ king vnknowen, which made him to make the more haſt away. But before he departed, he thought firſt to viſit the noble Citie Vratiſlauia in Schleſia. In the which Citie, the foreſaid King Ladiſlaus being there in the high Church, at ſeruice many great Princes were about him: Among whome was alſo George Pogiebracius, who then ſtoode neareſt to the King, vnto whome one Chilianus, plaieng the Paraſite about the King (as the faſhion is of ſuch as faine themſelues fooles, to make other men as very fooles as they) ſpake in this wiſe as foloweth: with what countenance you do behold this our ſeruice, I ſee right well, but your hart I do not ſee. Say then, doth not the order of this our Religion ſeeme vnto you decent and comely? Do you not ſee how many and how great princes, yea the king himſelfe, do follow one order and vniformitie? And why doo you then follow rather your Preacher Rochezana then theſe? Do you thinke a few Bohemians to be more wiſe then all the Church of Chriſt beſides? why then do you not forſake that rude and ruſticall people, and ioine to theſe Nobles, as you are a noble man your ſelfe.

Chilianus a Paraſite about kyng Ladiſlaus.

The wordes of a Popiſh Paraſite to Pogiebracius.

Vnto whome, thus Pogiebracius ſagely againe doth aunſwere. If you ſpeake theſe words of your ſelfe, ſayth he, you are not the man whome yon faine your ſelfe to be: and ſo to you I aunſwere, as not to a foole. But if you ſpeake this by the ſuggeſtion of others, then muſt I ſatiſfie them. Heare therefore. As touching the Ceremonies of the Church, euery man hath a conſcience of his owne to follow. As for vs, we vſe ſuch Ceremonies, as we truſt do pleaſe God: Neither is it in our arbitrement to beleeue what we will our ſelues. The mind of man being perſwaded with great reaſons, is captiuated, wil he, nill he: and as nature is inſtructed and taught, ſo is ſhe drawne, in ſome one way, and in ſome another. As for my ſelfe, I am fully perſwaded in the Religion of my preachers. If I ſhould follow thy Religion, I might perchance deceiue men, going contrary to mine owne conſcience, but I can not deceiue God, who ſeeth the harts of all: Neither ſhall it become mee to frame my ſelfe lyke to thy diſpoſition. That which is meete for a Ieſter, is not likewiſe conuenient for a noble man. And theſe wordes eyther take to thy ſelfe, as ſpoken to thee, if thou bee a wiſe man, or elſe I referre them to thoſe which ſet thee a worke. Ex Æn. Sylu. in Hiſt. Bohem.

An anſwere proceeding of a heauenly wiſdome.

After the King was returded from the Bohemians againe to Auſtria, ẏ Hungarians likewiſe made their petitions to the king, that he would alſo come vnto thẽ. The gouernour of Hũgarie (as ye before haue heard) was Ioannes Huniades, whoſe victorious acts againſt ẏ Turks are famous. Againſt this Huniades, wicked Vlricus Earle of Cilicia, did all he could with the King, to bring him to deſtructiõ, and therfore cauſed the king to ſend for

Vlricus ſeeketh the death of Huniades.

him vp to Vienna, and there priuely to worke hys death. But Huniades hauing thereof intelligence, offereth hymſelfe wythin Hungary to ſerue hys Prince, to all affaires: Out of the lande where he was, it was neyther beſt (ſayde hee) for the Kynge, nor ſafeſt for hym ſelfe, to come. The Earle being ſo diſappoynted, came downe wyth certaine Nobles of the Courte, to the borders of Hungarie, thynking eyther to apprehend him and bryng hym to Vienna, or there to diſpatch hym. Huniades, without in the fieldes, ſayde hee woulde common wyth hym, wythin the Towne he would not be brought. After that, an other trayne alſo was laide for hym, that vnder pretence of the kings ſafeconduct, he ſhoulde meete the king in the broade fieldes of Vienna. But Huniades ſuſpecting deceit, came in dede to the place appoynted, where hee neither ſeeing the Kyng to come, nor the Earle to haue any ſafe conduct for hym, was mooued (and not without cauſe) againſt the Earle, declaring howe it was in hys power there to ſlay him, which went about to ſeeke hys bloud, but for the reuerence of the king, he would ſpare him and let him goe.

Huniades ſpareth his enemie.

Not long after this, the Turke wyth a great power of fighting men, to the number of an hundreth and fifteene thouſande, arriued in Hungarie, where he laid ſiege to the Citie Alba. But through the mercifull hand of God, Iohn Huniades, and Capiſtranus a certaine Minorite, wyth a ſmall garriſon of Chriſtian ſouldiors, gaue him the repulſe and put him to flight, wyth all hys mighty hoſte: whereof more (Chriſt willing) heereafter. Ex hiſt Bohemic. Aen. Syluij. Huniades ſhortly after this victorie, deceaſed. Of whoſe death when the king and the Earle did vnderſtande, they came the more boldly into Hungarie, where hee being receiued by Ladiſlaus Huniades ſonne, into the Towne of Alba, there vewed the places where the Turkes before had pitched theyr tentes. When thys Ladiſlaus heard that the king was comming firſt toward the towne, obediently he opened to hym the gates. Foure thouſand only of armed ſouldiours he debarred from entring the Citie.

Alba beſieged of the turke.

The power of God by the meanes of Huniades & Capiſtranus againſt the turke.

King Ladiſlaus cõmeth into Hungary.

In the meane time while the King was there reſident in the Citie, the Earle with other nobles did ſitte in counſaile, requiring alſo Ladiſlaus to reſorte vnto them: who firſt doubting with hymſelfe what he might doe, at length putteth on a priuie coate of maile, and commeth to them. Whether the Earle firſt beganne wyth him, or he wyth the Earle, it is not knowen. The opinion is of ſome, that Vlricus firſt called him traitor, for ſhutting the gates againſt the kings ſoldiours. Howſoeuer the occaſion began, thys is vndoubted, that Vlricus taking his ſworde from hys page, let flie at his head. To breake the blowe, ſome putting vp their hands, had their fingers cut of. The Hungarians hearing a noiſe & tumult wythin the chamber, brake it vpon them, & there incontinent ſlewe Vlrike the Earle, wounding and cutting him almoſt alto peeces: The King hearing thereof, although he was not a little diſcontented thereat in his minde: yet ſeeing there was then no other remedy, diſſembled his griefe for a time,

Ladiſlaus Huniades ſonne.

Debate betweene Vlricus and Ladiſlaus Huniades ſonne. Vlricus Earle of Cicilia ſlayne.

Frõ thence the king tooke his iourny againe to Buda, accompanied wyth the foreſayde Ladiſlaus, who paſſyng by yͤ towne, where the wife of Huniades was mourning for the death of her huſband, ſeemed wͭ many faire wordes to comfort her: and after he had there ſufficiently repaſted hym ſelfe, wyth ſuch pretence of diſſembled loue, and fained fauour, that they were without all ſuſpition & feare: from thence he ſet forward in hys iourney, taking wyth him the two ſonnes of Huniades, Ladiſlaus and Mathias, who were right ready to wait vpon him. The king being come to Buda (whether of his owne head, or by ſiniſter counſell ſet on) when hee had them at a vauntage, cauſed bothe the ſonnes of Huniades: to witte, Ladiſlaus and Mathias, to be apprehended. And firſt was brought forth Ladiſlaus the elder ſonne, to the place of execution, there to be beheaded: where meekely he ſuffered, being charged wyth no other crime, but thys, publiſhed by the voyce of the cryer, ſaying: Thus are they to be chaſtened, which are rebelles againſt their Lord. Peucerus wryting of his death, addeth thys moreouer, that after the hangman had 3. blowes at his necke, yet notwythſtanding the ſayd Ladiſlaus hauing his hands bound behinde hym, after the thirde ſtroke, roſe vpright vppon hys feete, and looking vp to heauen, called vpon the Lord, and proteſted his innocency in that behalf: and ſo laying downe his necke againe, at the fourth blowe was diſpatched. Mathias the other brother was led captiue with the king vnto Auſtria. The reſt of the captiues brake the priſon and eſcaped.

The cruell diſſimulatiõ of Ladiſlaus the king,

The 2. ſõnes of Huniades Ladiſlaus & Mathias. Ladiſlaus Huniades ſonne, innocently put to death,

A miraculous token at the death of Ladiſlaus

Ex Peucer. Chro. lib. 5.

It was not long after thys cruelty was wrought vpon Ladiſlaus, the king being about the age of twentye & two yeares, that talke was made of the kings marryage, wyth Magdalene daughter to the French king. The place of the marryage was appoynted at Prage, where greate preparation was for the matter. At the firſt entraunce of the King into the Citie of Prage, Rochezana wyth a company of Miniſters, ſuch as were fauourers of Iohn Hus, and of ſincere Religion, came with all ſolemnity to receiue the king, making there hys oration to gratulate the kings moſt ioyful and proſperous acceſſe into the ſame his owne Realme and countrey of Boheme. Vnto whych Rochezana, after he had ended hys Oration, ſcarce the king woulde open hys mouth to geue thankes to him, nor any chearefull countenaunce vnto hys companye, but fiercely ſeemed to frowne vppon them. In the next Pagen after theſe, came forth the Prieſtes of the high Minſter, after the moſt Popiſh maner, meeting him wyth Proceſſion, and wyth the Sacrament of the aultare: For as Panacea among Phiſitions ſerueth for all diſeaſes, ſo the ſacrament of the popes aultare ſerueth for all pompes and Pagens. Firſt it muſt lie vppon the aultare, then it muſt be holden vp wͭ hands, then it muſt hang in the pixe, it muſt ſerue for the quicke, it muſt alſo helpe the dead, it muſt moreouer viſite the ſick, it muſt walk about yͤ churchyard, it muſt go about the ſtreets, it muſt bee caried about the fieldes to make the graſſe to growe, it muſt be had to the battaile, it muſt ride on horſebacke before the Pope. And finally, it muſt welcome kings into Cities. Wherein theſe Catholicke fathers doe ſeeme ſomewhat to forget themſelues. For if the Pope, being inferiour to the Sacrament of the aultar, at the commyng of kings, doe vſe to ſitte ſtill while the kings come and kiſſe hys feete, what reaſon is it that the Sacrament of the aultare, whyche is (I trowe) aboue the Pope, ſhoulde meete kings by the way, and welcome them to the towne? But thys by the way of parentheſis: Let vs nowe continue the text.

Preparation to the kinges mariage.

Ladiſlaus the king, receaued in Boheme. Ladiſlaus the king, an infeſt enemie againſt the Huſſians. The ſacrament of the aulter vſed to many purpoſes.

When Ladiſlaus thys Catholicke king, who had ſhewed hymſelfe before ſo ſtoute and ſterne againſt Rochezana and his company, had ſeene theſe Catholique prieſts with theyr Proceſſion, and eſpecially wyth their bleſſed Sacrament, to come: wyth all reuerence and much deuotion, hee lyghted downe from his horſe, hee embraced the croſſe and kyſſed it, and wyth chearefull countenaunce ſaluted the Prieſtes in order. All thys while his young wife was not yet come out of Fraunce, but Legates were ſent, after moſt ſumptuous wiſe, to conduct her. Other Legates alſo were ſent the ſame time, to the Emperour Fredericke, for conconcluſion of peace. The thirde Legacie was directed likewiſe to Pope Calixtus about Religion, howe to reduce the Bohemians to the Churche of Rome. The authour of thys ſtory (which was Pope Pius hymſelfe) declareth further the opinion of ſome to be, that king Ladiſlaus yͤ ſame time had entended, to make a finall ende and deſtruction of all that ſecte in Bohemia, whych helde with the doctrine of Iohn Hus, and Hierome, by the aſſemble and cõcourſe of the Catholique Princes, and popiſh Prelates, whyche were appoynted there to meete together at that marriage in Prage. For there ſhoulde be firſt the Emperour Fredericke, Elizabeth the kings mother, and hys ſiſters Elizazabeth, and Anna, the Princes of Saxonie. Baioria, Sileſia, Franconia, the Palatine, and other Princes of Rhene: many alſo of the Lordes of Fraunce, beſides the Popes Cardinals, Legates, Prelates and other poteſtates of the Popes Church. Who if they had all together conuented in Boheme, no doubt but ſome great miſchiefe hadde beene wrought there againſt the Huſſites: againſt whome thys Ladiſlaus, following the ſteppes of Sigiſmundus hys graundfather, and Albertus hys father, was euer an vtter enemie. But when man hath purpoſed, yet God diſpoſeth as pleaſeth hym,

Ex Aenea Siluio in Hiſto. Bohe.

A great cõcourſe of Catholique princes intended againſt the Huſſites.

Man purpoſeth but God diſpoſeth.

And therefore, truely it is wrytten of Aeneas Syluius in the ſame place, ſaying: De regimine Ciuitatum, de mutatione regnorum, de orbis imperio, minimum eſt, quod homines poſsint (tum vero De religionis conſtitutione multo minus) magna magnus diſponit Deus. That is. In regiment of Cities, in alteration of kingdomes, in ruling and gouerning the world, it is leſſe then nothing that man can do: it is the hygh God that ruleth high things. Whereunto then I may wel adde thys moreouer, and ſay: that if the gouernance of worldly kingdomes ſtandeth not in mans power, but in the diſpoſition of God, muche leſſe is it then, that mans power can doe in the regiment and gouerning of Religion. Example wherof in this purpoſed deuiſe of Princes, doth euidently appeare. For as thys great preparation and ſolemnitie of mariage was in doing, and the Princes ready to ſet forth, with a litle turne of Gods holy hand, al theſe great purpoſes were ſodeinly turned and daſhed. For in the middeſt of this buſines, about the 21. day of Nouember. An. 1461. this great aduerſarie of Chriſtes people, king Ladiſlaus, king of Boheme, of Hungarie, and Prince of Auſtria ſickened,

Ex Aenea Siluio.

Gouernance of Imperies and kingdoms, is not in mans power, much leſſe the gouernãce of Religiõ.

The great worke of God in defending his poore ſeruantes.

The death of king Ladiſlaus.

and wythin 36. houres died, ſome ſay of a Peſtilent ſore in hys grine, ſome ſay of poyſon. But howe ſo euer it was, as it came not wythout the iuſt iudgement of God, reuenging the innocent bloude of Ladiſlaus Huniades ſonne, wrongfully put to death before: ſo by the oportune deathe of thys King, the poore Churches of Boheme were graciouſly deliuered. And thys ende made Ladiſlaus, one of the mightieſt Princes at that time in all Europe: in whome three mighty kingdomes were conioyned and combined together, Auſtria, Hungaria, and Bohemia: which countreys doe lie Southeaſt from Englande, in the fartheſt partes of all Germanie, towarde Conſtantinople, and the dominion of the Turks, & contain theſe principal townes in them.

Bloud reuenged by God.

The large dominion of Ladiſlaus.

AVſtria, called once Panonia ſuperior.
Vienna, whyche was beſieged of the Turke. Anno 1533.
Melck.
Neuſtat. noua Ciuitas.
Gretz.
S.Hypolit.
Lintz.
Stein.
Haynberg.
Kremſz.
Karolsburg.
Teben.
Kotzo.
Raba.
Lindenburg.

¶ To Auſtria bee adioining alſo certaine Prouinces & Earledomes, as

Stiria. Carinthia. Croaia. } Prouinces.
Cilicia. Tyrolétz. } Earldomes.

HVngaria, which once called Pannonia inferior.
Buda. Ofen.
Strigonium.
Kalachia.
Varadinum.
Nitria. } Noua.
Nicopolis. } Vetus.
Agria.
Agria.
Orſzaw.
Boſſen.
Sabaria.

¶ Thys Vngaria, was firſt called Pannonia, or Pœonia. After ye comming of ye Hunes it was called Hungaria. Of which came Attila, which deſtroied Italy, about the yeare of the Lorde 440. Thorough Vngaria, rūneth Danubius, hauing on the weſt ſide, Auſtria, and Bohemia, on the Eaſt, Seruia, on the Southſide, Polonia. &c. The moſt of this Hūgary, is nowe vnder the Turk: which Turks firſt came into Europe. An. 1211.

BOhemia.
Praga.
Pilzen.
Thabor.
Buduuis.
Kolin, or Koelu.
Egra.
Kuttenberg.
Leimiritz.
Laun.
Rakonicke.
Glataw.
Bern. or Beraun.
Bruck. Moſt.
Gretz. Hradetz.
Auſt.
Maut. Myto.
Hof.
Iaromir.
Dub. Biela.
Lantzhut.
Gilowy.
Krupka.
Krumaw.
Pardubitz.
Chumitaun.
Loket. Teplitz.
Hantzburg. Zbraſlau.
Labe. Vltawa.

George Pogiebracius.

After the deathe of Ladiſlaus, the kingdome of Boheme fell to George Pogiebracius aboue mentioned, whō Pope Innocent the eight, did excommunicate and depoſe for hys religion, as is afore declared.

Mathias Huniades.

Furthermore, the kingdome of Hungary, was geuen to Mathias ſonne of Huniades, who was in captiuity (as is ſayd) with king Ladiſlaus, and ſhould haue bene put to death after his brother, had not the king before bene preuented wyth death, as is aboue recorded. Moreouer, heere is to be noted that the ſayde king Ladiſlaus, thus dying wythout wife and iſſue, left behinde hym two ſiſters aliue: to witte, Elizabeth, which was maried to Caſimirus king of Polonia: and Anna, maried to william, duke of Saxonie, Elizabeth by her huſbande Caſimirus, king of Polonia, had Vladiſlaus, who at length was king both of Boheme and Hungarie. This Caſimirus, firſt was maryed to Beatrix, wife before to Mathias. Then being diuorced from her by the diſpenſation of Pope Alexander, maryed a newe wife a Counteſſe of Fraunce, by whome he had two children, Lewes, and Anna, Lewes which was heire of both kingdomes of Boheme, and Hungarie, was ſlayne fighting againſt the Turkes, Anna was maried to Ferdinandus, by whome he was Archduke of Auſtria, kyng of Boheme. &c.

Sigiſmundus left onely onedaughter.	Elizabeth, wife to Albertus Emperour. who had 3. children.	Ladiſlaus, king of Hungarie, Boheme, and Auſtria.		
		Elizabeth, wyth of Caſimirus, kynge of Polonie: who had	Vladiſlaus, kyng of Boheme and Hungary, who by hys seconde wife, Counteſſe of Fraunce, had	Ludouicus, King of Boheme & Hungarie. Anne, wife to Ferdinandus, Father to thys Maximilian nowe Emperour.
		Anna, wyſe to William Duke of Saxon.		

Warre betwene Mathias and Fridericke the Emperour.

Ye heard before, howe after the deceaſe of Ladiſlaus, the Hungarians by their election preferred Mathias ſurnamed Coruinus, which was ſonne of Huniades, to ye kingdome of Hungary. For which cauſe diſſention fel betwene Friderick the Emperor and him, for that the ſaid Friderick was both nominated himſelfe by diuers vnto that kyngdom, & alſo becauſe he had the crown of Hungary then remaining in his hands, which Elizabeth mother to K. Ladiſlaus, had brought to the Emperor, as was before declared. But this warre betweene them, was ceaſed by the interceſſiō of the Princes of Germany, ſo that Mathias ranſomed that crowne of Fridericke for 8000. Florences.

Georg Pogiebracius by the Pope depoſed from his kingdome, for fauoring of I. Hus.

Not long after, Pope Innocent being diſpleaſed with George Pogiebracius (or Boiebracius) king of Bohemia, for fauouring of Iohn Hus, & his Religion, that is to ſay, for playing the part of a godly Prince, dyd excommunicate & depoſe him, conferring his kingdome to Mathias. But for ſomuch as Fridericke the Emperour would not thereto conſent, and eſpecially after the death of the foreſayde George, when the Emperour and the Bohemians, leauing out Mathias, did nominate Vladiſlaus ſonne of Caſimirus, king of Polonie, and of Elizabeth, to be kyng of Boheme, therefore great warre and trouble kindled betweene him and Fridericke the Emperour: wherein the Emperour had vtterly gone to ruine, had not Albertus Duke of Saxonie reſcued the Emperour, and repreſſed the vehemencie of Mathias.

Albert Duke of Saxonie.

The noble actes of Ioh. & Mathias Huniades, againſt the Turkes.

The noble actes of Iohn Huniades, and of this Mathias hys ſonne, were not onely great ſtayes to Hungary, but almoſt to al Chriſtendom, in repelling backe ye Turke. For beſide the other victories of Iohn Huniades the father, afore mentioned, thys Mathias alſo his ſonne ſucceding no leſſe in the valiantnes, then in the name of hys father, did ſo recouer Sirminn, and the confines of Illyrica, from the hands of the Turks, & ſo vanquiſhed their power, that both Mahometes, and alſo Baiazetes hys ſonne, were enforced to ſeeke for truce.

Syrmum & the borders of Illirica, recouered from the Turkes.

Ouer and beſides, the ſame Mathias, conducting hys army into Boſna (which lyeth South from Hungary) recouered againe Iaitza, the principall towne of that kyngdome, from the Turkes poſſeſſion. who, if other Chriſten Princes had ioyned their helpes withal, would haue proceded farther into Thracia. But behold here the malitious ſubtilty of Sathan, working by the Pope. For while Mathias was thus occupied in hys expedition agaynſt the Turkes, wherein he ſhould haue bene ſet forward and ayded by Chriſten Princes, and Byſhoppes: the Byſhop of Rome, wickedly and ſinfully miniſtreth mater of ciuil diſcord betwene him & Pogiebracius aforeſayd, in remouing him from the right of hys kingdome, and transferryng the ſame to Mathias. wherupon, not only the courſe of victory againſt the Turkes was ſtopped, but alſo great warre

Iaitza recouered.

The ſubtile practiſe of Sathan to ſtoppe good proceedings and bloudſhed followed in Chriſten realmes, as well betweene thys Mathias, and Pogiebracius, wyth hys two ſonnes Victorinus and Henricus, as alſo betweene Caſimirus, Vladiſlaus, and Mathias warring about Vratiſlauia, till at length the matter was taken vp by the Princes of Germanie.

The Popes excommunication not obeyed of diuers in Bohemia. Mathias adioyned Morauia & part of Sleſia vnto Hungarie. Anno. 1474.

Albeit, for al the execrable excõmunication of the Pope againſt Pogiebracius, a great part of Boheme would not be remoued from the obedience of their King, whome the Pope had curſed, and depoſed: yet Mathias toke from him Morauia, and a great portion of Sleſia, and adioyned it to his kingdome of Hungarie. An. 1474.

The religiõ of the Bohemians, defended by God againſt the 4. greateſt princes in Europe.

¶ Where this by the way is to be noted, that the Religion in Bohemia, planted by J. Hus, could not be extinct or ſuppreſſed withall the power of foure mightie Princes, Venceſlaus, Sigiſmundus, Albertus, and Ladiſlaus, notwithſtanding they wyth the Popes, did therein what they poſſibly coulde: but ſtill the Lorde maintained the ſame, as ye ſee by thys Pogiebracius king of Boheme, whome the Pope coulde not vtterly remoue out of the kingdome of Bohemia.

Mathias a great louer of learning and of learned men. The noble library of Mathias king of Hungary. *Ex 5. lib, Peuc.*

This forementioned Mathias, beſide his other memorable actes of chiualry, is no leſſe alſo commended for hys ſingulare knowledge and loue of learning and of learned men, whom he with great ſtipends, procured into Pannonia: where by the meanes of good letters, and furniture of learned mē, he reduced in ſhort ſpace the barbarous rudeneſſe of that countrey, into a flouriſhing common wealth. Moreouer, ſuch a Library he did there erect, and repleniſh with all kinde of authors, ſciences, and hyſtories, which he cauſed to be tranſlated out of Greeke into Latine, as the like is not thought to be foũd, next to Italy, in all Europe beſide. Out of which Librarye we haue receaued diuers fragments of wryters, as of Polybius, and Diodorus Siculus which were not extant before. Ex Peucer.

Commendation of George Pogiebracius. *Ex pij pont. Deſcriptione Europæ.* Gods fauor to the ſõnes of Pogiebracius.

The conſtante fortitude alſo of Georgius Pogiebracius king of Boheme, is not vnworthy of commendation: of whom alſo Pope Pius himſelfe, in Deſcriptione Europæ, doth honeſtly report (as a Pope may ſpeake of a proteſtãt) in theſe words wryting: Magnus vir alioqui, & rebus bellicis clarus. &c. Who although Pope Innocent did execrate & hys children, yet hee left not of the profeſſion of the veritie & knowledge which he had receyued. Moreouer, the Lord ſo proſpered hys ſonnes, Victorinus, and Henricus; that they ſubdued their ennemies, and kept their eſtate: In ſo much, that when Fredericke the Emperor at Vienna was in cuſtody encloſed by the Citizens. Victorinus did reſtore and deliuer him out of their hands: wherefore the Emperour afterward aduaunced them to be Dukes. Alſo God gaue them ſometimes proſperous victory againſt Mathias, as at the City of Glogonia. &c.

The death of Pogiebracius.

After the deceaſe of Georgius Pogiebracius, King of Boheme, Friderike the Emperor aſſigned that kingdom, not to Mathias, vppon whome the Pope had beſtowed it before, but vppon Vladiſlaus ſonne of Caſimirus, king of Polonye, and of Elizabeth, daughter of the Emperor Albert, and ſiſter to Ladiſlaus. For the which, Mathias being diſcontented, and for that the Emperor had denied him his daughter Kunegunda, went about to exclude Vladiſlaus out of Boheme, and alſo proclaimed warre agaynſt Fridericke. But before he accompliſhed his purpoſed preparation, death preuented him, who wythout iſſue departed, Anno 1490.

Vladiſlaus Caſimirus ſonne, made king of Hungary.

After the death of Mathias, departing wythout iſſue, Vladiſlaus ſonne of Caſimirus, king of Polonie, and of Elizabeth daughter to Albert Emperour, and ſiſter to K. Ladiſlaus maried his wife Beatrix, whom Mathias left a widow, and with her was elected king of Hungary, with this condition made betwene him and Friderike the Emperour, that if he died without lawfull iſſue, then the kingdomes of Hungary and of Boheme, ſhoulde retourne to Maximilian, ſonne to Fridericus. But Vladiſlaus not long after, did repudiate his wife Beatrix, and depriuing her of her kingdome, cauſed the ſaid Beatrix to ſwear and to conſent to the marying of an other woman, whych was the daughter of the French king, named Anne, procuryng from Pope Alexander, a diſpenſation for the ſame, as is before ſignified. By this Anne, Vladiſlaus had Lewys, & Anne, which Anne afterwarde was maried to Ferdinandus.

Vladiſlaus forſaketh his firſt wife.

Diſpenſatiõ from Pope Alexander to forſake his firſt wife, and to marry an other.

Ludouicus Vladiſlaus ſonne, king of Hungary & Boheme.

Lewys ſucceeding after hys father, had both the ſayde kingdomes of Boheme and Hungarie. An. 1492. and maried Mary ſiſter to Charles the 5. Emperour. Anne, as is ſayd, was coupled to Ferdinandus. &c.

Warre betwene Charles Duke of Burgoyne & Fredericke the Emperour.

Of Charles Duke of Burgoine, ſomewhat was before touched, who had maryed king Edwardes ſiſter: and what troubles by him were ſtirred vp in Fraunce, partly was before notified. Thys Charles after hee had beſieged the Citie Nuſſia, or Nouaſium, the ſpace of a whole yere, went about to alienate the territorie of Colen, from the Empire to hys owne dominion: wherefore warre began to be moued betweene him and Fredericke the Emperor. At length through communication had, peace was concluded, and a marriage appoynted betweene Mary the only daughter of Charles, and Maximilian the Emperours ſonne. Anno 1475. Then from Nouaſium, Charls leadeth hys armie towarde Heluetia, againſt Renatus or Reinhardus Duke of Lotharing: then againſt the Heluetians. Where hee being thriſe ouercome, firſt at Granſon, then at Moratum or Murta, in the hier parte of Heluetia, at laſt at the towne of Nanſe, was ouerthrowne and ſlain. Anno 1477. The procurer of which warres: was chiefly Lewys the 11, the French king, to the entent hee might compaſſe the dominion of Burgundie vnder hys ſubiection: whych afterwarde by open wrong and priuie fraude, hee brought about, defrauding Mary the daughter of Charles, of her rightfull inheritance: For the whych cauſe the Burgundians were the more willing to ioyne her in marriage wyth Maximilian, ſonne of Friderike the Emperour: by reaſon whereof the title of Burgundie, was firſte ioyned to the houſe of Auſtria.

Anno. 1475.

Charles Duke of Burgoyne ſlaine in warre.

Anno. 1477.

Mary daughter of Charles of Burgoyne maried to Maximiliã

Warre & diſſention among Chriſten princes

And thus haue you the miſerable vexations and contentions among our Chriſtian Princes heere in Europe deſcribed, vnder the raigne of thys Fredericke the thyrde Emperour, ſo that almoſt no angle nor portion of al Chriſtendome (whether we conſider the ſtate of the Churche, or ciuill gouernement) was free from diſcorde, tumults, and diſſentions. Thys cankerde worme of ambition ſo myghtely creepeth, and euery where preuaileth in theſe latter endes of the worlde, that it ſuffereth neither reſt in common weales, nor peace in the Churche, nor any ſparckle of charitie almoſt to remaine in the life of men. And what maruaile then, if the Lorde ſeeing vs ſo farre to degenerate, not onely from hys preceptes and counſailes, but almoſte from the ſenſe and bounde of nature, that brother wyth brother, vncle wyth nephewe, bloude wyth bloude cannot agree in ſtriuing, killing, and fighting for worldly dominions, do ſend therfore theſe cruell Turkes vpon vs ſo to ſcourge and deuoure vs? Of whoſe bloudy tiranny & daily ſpilling of Chriſtian bloude, heereafter (by the grace of Chriſt) we will diſcourſe more at large, when wee come to the peculiar conſideration of the Turkiſhe ſtoryes. In the meane time, thys ſhalbe for vs to note and obſerue, not ſo much the ſcourge howe greeuous it is: but rather to beholde the cauſes which being the whippe vpon vs, whych is our owne miſerable ambition and wretched warres among our ſelues.

The diſcord of Chriſtians ſcourged by the Turkes.

Diſcord and diſſention in the Church noted.

And yet if this Chriſtian peace and loue, left and commended ſo heartely vnto vs by the mouth of the ſonne of God being nowe baniſhed out of Chriſtian realmes and ciuile gouernaunce, myght at leaſt finde ſome refuge in the Church, or take Sanctuarie among menne profeſſing nothyng but Religion, leſſe cauſe we had to mourne. Nowe ſo it is, that as we ſee little peace and amitie amonge ciuil Potentates: ſo leſſe we finde in the ſpiritual ſorte of them, which chiefly take vpon them the adminiſtration of Chriſtes Churche. So that it may well be doubted, whether the ſcourge of the Turke, or the ciuill ſworde of Prynces haue ſlaine moe in the fieldes, or the Popes keyes haue burnt moe in Townes and Cities. And all be it ſuch as be profeſſed to the Churche, do not fight wyth ſword and targate for dominions and reuenewes, as warlike Princes doe: yet thys ambition, pride, and auarice, appeareth in them nothyng inferiour to other worldly poteſtates: eſpecially if wee beholde and aduiſe the doings and inſatiable deſires of the court of Rome. Great argument and profe hereof neither is hard to be found, nor farre to be ſoughte. What realme almoſt through all chriſtendom hath not only ſeene with their eyes; but haue felt in their purſſes the ambitiõ intollerable, and auarice inſatiable of that deuouring church, and alſo haue complained vpon the greuance thereof, but neuer coulde be redreſſed? what exactions and extortions haue bene here in England out of biſhopricks, monaſteries, benefices, deanries, Archdeaconries, and all other offices of the Churche, to fill the Popes coffers: and when they had all done, yet euery yeare brought almoſte ſome newe inuention from Rome, to fetch in our Engliſh money: and if all the floudes in Englande (yea in all Europe) did runne into the ſea of Rome, yet were that Ocean neuer able to be ſatiſfied.

Ambition & auarice of the church of Rome

In Fraunce lykewiſe, what floudes of money were ſwalowed vp in this ſea of Rome, it was openly complained of in the councel of Baſil as is teſtified by Henry Token, Canon and Ambaſſadour of the Archbiſhop of Maidenburge, written in his boke intituled Rapularium, where as hee wryteth that in the Councell of Baſill. An.1536. the Archbyſhop of Lions did declare, that in the time of Pope Martine, there came out of France to the court of Rome, 9.millions of golde, which was gathered of the Byſhops and Prelates, beſides thoſe whych could not be counted of the poore clergy, which daily without number, runne vnto the court of Rome, carying with them all their whole ſubſtance, The archbiſhop of Turonne ſayde alſo at Baſil, in yͤ yeare of our Lord 1439. that three millions of gold came vnto Rome in his time, within the ſpace of 14.yeres, from the prelates & prelacies, wherof no accompt could be made beſide the poore cleargy, which daily run to that court. Let the man which feareth God, iudge what a deuouring gulf this is. A million containeth x.C.M.

Ex Rapulario Henrici Token.

The ſea of Rome is turned into an Oceane, that hath no bottome.

What a million is.

Concilium Bituriense.

And what made Pope Pius the 2. to labor ſo earneſtly to Lewes the 11. the French Kinge (who as is aforeſayde was a great enemy to the houſe of Burgoin) that he wold (according to his former promiſe) aboliſhe & vtterly extinct the conſtitution eſtabliſhed before at the Counſell of Bitures, by king Charles the 7. his predeceſſour, called Pragmatica Sanctio, but onely the ambition of that ſea, which had no meaſure, and their auarice which had no ende, the ſtorie is this. King Charles 7. the French king, willing to obey and folow the councel of Baſil, did ſommon a Parliament at Bitures. where by the full conſent of all the ſtates in Fraunce, both ſpiritual and temporal, a certain conſtitution was decreed and publiſhed, called Pragmatica Sanctio. wherein was comprehended, briefly the pith and effect of all the Canons and decrees cõcluded in the councel of Baſil. The which conſtitution the ſaide king Charles willed and commaunded through all his realme, inuiolably to be obſerued and ratified for the honor and increaſe of Chriſtian religion for euer. This was An.1438.

Pragmatica Sanctio.

Ex Ioan. Maria Belga. de Schiſmat. & Conciliis. cap.24.

It followed, that after the deceaſe of thys foreſayde Charles the 7. ſucceded king Lewys 11. who had promiſed before, being Dolphine to Pope Pius, that if he euer came to the crowne, the foreſayd Sanctio Pragmatica ſhould be aboliſhed. wherupon Pope Pius hearing him to be crowned, did ſend vnto him Iohn Balucus a Cardinall, wyth hys great letterg patent, willing him to be mindful of hys promiſe made. The king eyther willing, or els pretending a will to performe, and accompliſh what he had promiſed, directed the Popes letters patẽt, wyth the ſayd Cardinal, to the counſaile of Paris, requiring them to conſult vpon the cauſe.

Pope pius laboreth that *Pragmatica Sanctio* ſhould be aboliſhed.

Thus the matter beyng brought and propoſed in the Parliament houſe, the kings Atturney named Ioannes Romanus, a man wel ſpoken, ſingularly witted, and wel reaſoned, ſtepping forth, with great eloquence, and no les boldnes, proued the ſayd Sanction to be profitable, holy, and neceſſary for the wealth of the realme, and in no caſe to be aboliſhed. Unto whoſe ſentence the Uniuerſity of Paris adioyning their conſent, did appeal from the attempts of the Pope, to the next generall Councell. The Cardinall vnderſtanding this, toke no litle indignation thereat, fretting and fuming, and threatning many terrible things againſt them: but al his minatory words notwithſtanding, he returned againe to the king, hys purpoſe not obtained, An.1438. Ex Ioan.Mario.

The counſaile of Paris appealeth from the pope to the generall Councell Vid. ſupra pag. 670.

Thus the Popes purpoſe in France was diſappoynted, which alſo in Germanie had come to the like effect, if Fredericke the Emperor had there done his part lykewiſe toward the Germaines: who at the ſame time bewailing their miſerable eſtate, wẽt about wyth humble ſute to perſwade the Emperor that he ſhould no longer be vnder the ſubiection of the Popes of Rome, except they had firſt obtained certaine things of them as touching the Charter of Appeales, declaring their eſtate to be far worſe (although vndeſerued) then the Frenchmen or Italians: whoſe ſeruants (and eſpecially of the Italians) they are worthely to be called, except that their eſtate were altered. The nobles & comminalty of Germanie, did inſtantly intreate wᵗ moſt waighty reaſons & examples, both for the vtilitie and profite of the Empire, to haue the Emperours aide and helpe therin, for that which he was bound vnto them by an oth: alledging alſo the great diſhonor & ignominie in that they alone had not the vſe of their owne lawes, declaring how yͤ French natiõ had not made their ſute vnto their king in vaine againſt the exactions of Popes: by whom they were defended, whych alſo prouided decrees and ordinances for the liberty of his people, & cauſed the ſame to be obſerued: the which thing the Emperor ought to foreſee within hys Empire, & to prouide for hys people and ſtates of his empire, as well as other Kings doe. For what ſhall come to paſſe therby, if that forreine nations hauing recourſe vnto their kings, being relieued and defended by them from the ſaid exactions, and the Germains, & ſtates of the Empyre flying vnto theyr Emperour, be by him forſaken or rather betraied & depriued of their owne lawes and decrees? The Emperor being moued, & partly ouercome by theyr perſwaſions, promiſed that he wold prouide no leſſe for them, then the king of Fraunce had done for the Frenchmen, and to make decrees in that behalfe: but the graue authoritie of Æneas Syluius, as Platina wryteth in the hiſtory of Pius the ſecond, brake of the matter, who by his ſubtile and peſtiferous perſwaſions did ſo bewitche the Emperour, that hee contemning the equall, iuſt, and neceſſary requeſtes of hys ſubiects, choſe the ſayd Aeneas to be hys Ambaſſadour vnto Calixtus then newly choſen Pope, to ſweare vnto hym in his name, & to promiſe the abſolute obedience of al Germany, as the only coũtry (as they call it) of obedience, neglecting the ordinances & decrees of their country, as before he had done vnto Eugenius the 4. being Ambaſſadour for the ſayd Frederike, promiſing that he & all the Germaines would be obedient vnto him from hẽceforth in al matters, as well ſpirituall as temporall.

The complaint of the Germaines to the Emperour, for helpe and ayde, againſt the oppreſſion of the Pope

Thus twiſe Friderike of Auſtrich contemned and derided the Germaines, & fruſtrating them of their natiue decrees and ordinances, brought them vnder ſubiection and bondage of the Pope: whych partly was the cauſe that 7. yeres before his death, he cauſed his ſonne Maximiliã, not only to be choſen, but alſo crowned king of Romains, and did aſſociate hym to yͤ miniſtration of the Empire, leaſt after hys death (as it came to paſſe) the Empire ſhoulde bee tranſported into an other family, ſuſpecting yͤ Germains, whom he had twiſe cõtrary to his lawes made ſubiect and in bondage vnto the Popes exactions: firſt before he was crowned in the time of Eugenius the 4. and again the ſecond time after hys coronation, and death of Pope Nicholas the 5. denying their requeſts. wherupon Germany being in this miſerable pouerty and greuous ſubiection vnder the Popes tiranny and polling, with teares and ſighs lamenting their eſtate, continued ſo almoſt vnto Luthers time, as the hyſtories hereafter following do teſtify.

Fredericke made the Germaines twiſe ſubiect vnto the Pope.

And here ceaſing with the ſtory of Fredericke, we will now procede to the raigne of Maximilian his ſonne, omitting diuers things els incident in the time of this Emperour: as firſt touching the vnbrotherly contention & conflicts betwene this Fredericke and Albertus hys brother, and Sigiſmundus his vncle, for the dukedome of Auſtria, after the death of Mathias afore mentioned: Omitting alſo to ſpeake of the long and cruel war betwene the Pruſſians, and Polonians, with the religious ſect of them, which were called Tentones fratres ſanctæ Mariæ, in the time of Uladiſlaus: Omitting alſo the ſtrife and variaunce for the dukedome of Millain, betwene Fredericus the Emperor, Alfonſus, Carolus duke of Orleance, & Franciſcus Sfortia: And howe the ſayde Princedome being after geuen to Sfortia, great warres were kindled & long continued betwene Sfortia and the Milleners, then betwene the Milleners and Uenetians, and after betweene the Frenchmen and the Milleners. All which tumultes and commotions, as not pertinent greatly to the purpoſe of this ſtory, I referre to other wryters, where they are to be founde more amply diſcourſed.

Frid. Albertus his brother, and Sigiſmundus ſtriue for the dukedome of Auſtria.

Warre betwene Franciſcus Sfortia and the Venetians about Millaine.

Warre betwene Lewes the Frenchking and the citie of Millaine.

Thys as more properly belonging to the ſtorye of the Church, I thought good not to paſſe ouer touching ſuch as were condemned, & ſuffered the paines of fire for teſtimony of Chriſt and his truth: Of whom one was Iohn a paſtor or a netcheard, which was a keper of cattel: The other was Ioannes de weſalia, although not burned, yet perſecuted neere to death vnder the raigne of thys Emperour Fredericus the 3.

And firſt touching thys Iohn the Netehearde, Thus wryteth Sebaſt.Munſterus. That the Biſhop of Herbypolis, condemned and burned for an hereticke one Iohn, whych was a keeper of cattel at a towne called Niclas Hauſen in Franconia, becauſe hee taught and helde that the lyfe of the cleargy was ignominious and abhominable before God. An.1476.Ex Munſtero.

Iohn a Netherde of Franconia Martyr.

Anno. 1476.

The other was Doctour Ioannes de weſſalia, who was complained vpon vnto Dietherus the Archbiſhop of Mentz, by the Thomiſts, vppon certaine articles and opinions, gathered out of hys bookes. wherefore the ſayde Dietherus, fearing elſe to be depoſed againe from his Biſhopricke, directeth forth commiſſion to the vniuerſities of Heidelberg and Colen, to haue the mater in examination, who conuenting together the yere aboue mentioned, called thys Doctour de weſſalia before them, making hym to ſweare that he ſhuld preſent and geue vp all his treatiſes, workes and wrytings, what ſo euer hee had made or preached:

Iohn de Weſailia perſecuted.

Anno. 1479.

ched: that being done, they deuided hys bookes amongeſt them ſelues, ſeuerally euery man to find out what hereſies and errors they could. His articles & opinions were theſe.

The articles and opiniõs of Iohn de Weſalia.

Free will nothing.

Prelates haue no more power ouer ſcriptures, then other men.

Extreme vnction reproued.

Againſt the primacy of the Pope.

That all men be ſaued freely, and through meere grace by faith in Chriſt. Free will to be nothing. Onely that we ſhoulde beleeue the word of God, and not the gloſe of any mã, or fathers. That the worde of God is to be expounded with the collation of one place with an other. That Prelates haue no authoritie to make lawes, or to expounde the ſcriptures by any peculiare right, geuen them more then to an other. That mennes traditions, as faſtings, pardones, feaſts, long prayers, peregrinations and ſuch like, are to be reiected. Extreme vnction and confirmation to be reprooued: confeſsion and ſatisfaction to be reprehended. The primacie of the Pope alſo he affirmed to be nothing.

Certaine other articles alſo were gathered out of hym by his aduerſaries, but in ſuch ſort, that they may ſeme rather to followe their owne malicious gathering, then any true intelligence of his minde: whereof more is to be vnderſtanded in this proceſſe hereafter.

Thus when Weſalianus was commanded to appear, there conuented together, firſt the Archbiſhop, the inquiſitor, the doctors of Colen, and the doctors of Heidelberge, with the maſters of the ſame, and the Rector of the vniuerſity of Mentz, the Deane of faculties, Bachelers of diuinity, and many other maiſters of the ſame vniuerſitie, Canons, doctors, with the biſhops Chanceller, and his councellers, beſides many religious prelates, ſchollers, wyth a doctor of Franckforte, the ſumner & bedels, which all met together in the great hall of the Minorites, for the examination of this Ioannes de Weſalia.

Iohn de Weſalia brought before the prelates.

The Inquiſitour ſpeaketh.

The anſwer of Weſalianus reaſonable.

Frier Elton the Inquiſitor, firſt ſitteth in the hygheſt place, then after him others according to their degree. In the beginning of the examination, firſt the Inquiſitor beginneth with theſe wordes: Moſt reuerent father and honorable doctors. &c. Our reuerent father and prince Elector hath cauſed this preſent cõuocation to be called, to hear the examination of M. Iohn de Weſalia, in certaine ſuſpected articles concerning the catholique faith. But ſomething I will ſay before, that may doe hym good, and deſire that two or three of them that fauoure hym, or ſome other, will riſe vppe and geue him counſaile, to forſake and leaue his errours, to recogniſe himſelfe, & to aſke pardon, which if he wil do, he ſhal haue pardon: if he wil not, we wil procede againſt him without pardone. And thus Weſalianus being cited and brought in the midſt betwixt 2. minorites, being very aged, and hauing a ſtaffe in his hand, was ſette before the Inquiſitor. Who beginning to anſwer for hymſelf with a long proteſtation, could not be ſuffred to proſecute his Oration, but was cutte off and required briefly, to make an end, and to tell them in fewe wordes whether he would ſtand to his opinions, or to the determination of the church. To this he aunſwered, ẏ he neuer ſpake any thing againſt the determination of the Church, but ſayde that he had written diuers and ſondry treatiſes, in the which if hee had erred, or were found to ſay otherwiſe then wel, he was content to reuoke and cal backe the ſame, and do al things that was requiſite. Then ſaid the Inquiſitor, do you aſke then pardon? The other anſwered, why ſhuld I aſke pardon, when I know no crime or error committed? The inquiſitour ſayd: well we will call you to the remembraunce thereof, and proceede to the examination.

The cruell proceeding of the Inquiſitour.

The greater cauſe of the Pope deſcribed.

Scio.

Credo.

In the meane time, others called vppon him inſtantly to aſke pardone. Then ſayd Weſalianus. I aſke pardone. Notwithſtanding the Inquiſitor proceeded to the examination, reading there two inſtruments, declaring that hee had authority from the Apoſtolicke ſea: after this cited the ſaid Iohn to appear to hys examination. Thirdly he commaunded him vnder paine of diſobedience, in the vertue of the holy Ghoſt, and vnder paine of excõmunication of the greater curſe, (from the which no man coulde abſolue him, but onely the Pope or the Inquiſitour, except onely at the poynt of death) to tell plainly the truth vppon ſuch things as ſhould be demanded of him concerning his faith, without ambages and ſophiſtication of wordes. And ſo being demanded firſt, whether he did beleue vpon his oth taken, that hee was bounde to tell the trueth, although it were againſt himſelfe or any other: to this he anſwered, Scio, that is: I know: Thẽ the Inquiſitour biddeth him ſay, Credo, that is, I beleeue. To the which hee aunſwered agayne, what nede I ſay that I beleeue that thing I know. There the Inquiſitor ſomething ſtirred wyth the matter, as hote as a toſte (as they ſay) cried out with a loude voice, maiſter Ioannes, maiſter Ioannes, maiſter Ioannes, ſay Credo, ſay Credo. Then he anſwered Credo.

After thys, being demaunded whether he had wrytten any treatiſe, concerning the binding of humaine lawes, to one Nicolas of Boheme, and whether he had written any treatiſe of the Eccleſiaſticall power of indulgences & pardons, and of faſting and other treatiſes: he beleued that he had ſo written, and had conferred wͭ diuers learned men: Alſo that he had ſent to the Biſhops of Wormes, a certaine treatiſe of faſting.

Many other interrogatories were miniſtred vnto him, whereof ſome were vaine, ſome falſe. Such as were more principal, here we will briefly touch, leauing out ſuperfluities.

His opinion of the ſacrament.

Being demaunded whether hee was a fautour of the Bohemians, he ſayde he was not. Alſo being demaunded concerning the Sacrament of the holy body and bloude of our Lorde, whether he thought Chriſte there to be contained really, or only diuinely, and whether he dyd beleeue in the ſayde Sacrament the ſubſtaunce of breade there to remaine, or onely the fourme thereof: to thys he aunſwered, not denying but the body of Chriſte was there really contained, and alſo wyth the body of Chriſte, the ſubſtaunce of bread to remaine.

His opinion of Monkes and Nunnes.

The vowe of chaſtitie.

After this he was demaunded his opinion concerning religious men, as Monkes, Nunnes, or begwines, whether he thought them to be bound to the vow of chaſtitie, or to the keping of any other vow, and whether he ſaid to the Friers Minorites any ſuch worde in effecte: I can not ſaue you in this your ſtate and order. Thys he confeſſed, that he had ſayde, howe that not your religion ſaueth you, but the grace of God, &c. not denying but they might be ſaued.

Mortall ſinne founnd by the Pope, beſide that which is expreſſed to be mortall in the ſcripture.

What is this article, but to make the Pope a god. Chriſt left no vicar in earthe.

Item, being required whether he beleued or had wrytten, that there is no mortall ſinne, but whyche is expreſt to be mortal in the canon of the holy Bible: to this he anſwered, that he did ſo beleue as he hath written, til he was better informed. Likewiſe being required what he thought of the vicar of Chriſt in earth, he aunſwered, that he beleeued that Chriſte left no vicare in earth: For the confirmation whereof he alledged and ſayde, that Chriſt aſcending vp to heauen, ſaid: Ecce ego vobiſcum ſum. &c. Behold I am with you. &c. In the which wordes he plainly declared, that hee would ſubſtitute vnder him no vicare in earth, and ſayde moreouer, if a vicare ſignified any man, which in ẏ abſence of the principal hath to do the works of the principall, then Chriſt hath no vicar here in earth.

Pardons and indulgences be of no effect.

The treaſure of ſaintes merites is not in earth.

In like maner, concerning indulgences and pardons, ſuch as the church doth vſe to geue, they demanded of him, whether they had any efficacy, & what he thought thereof: who anſwered againe that he had written a certaine treatiſe of that matter, & what hee had wrytten in that treatiſe, he would perſiſt therin, which was thus: that he beleeued, that the treaſure boxe of the merits of Saints could not be diſtributed of the Pope to others, becauſe that treaſure is not left here in earth: For ſo it is wryttẽ in the Apocalips: Opera enim illorum, ſequuntur illos, &c. that is: their workes follow them.

Item, that theyr merites could not be applied to other men, for the ſatiſfaction of theyr paine due vnto them, and therefore that the Pope and other Prelates cannot diſtribute that treaſure to men.

This ſaying was taken out of one Cantor Parienſis, which was wont to ſay, that pardõs were holy decertes, becauſe that laye men there were prouoked, by naughtie decertes to geue good almes.

It was obiected to him moreouer, that in the ſayde his treatiſe, he called pardons & indulgences, Pias fraudes fidelium, that is, holy fraudes and deceits of the faithful.

Alſo, being demaunded what he thought of the halowing and bleſſings of altars, chalices, veſtiments, wax candels, palmes, herbes, holy water and other diuine things, &c. Hee aunſwered that they had no ſpirituall vertue and power in them to driue away deuils, and that holye water hath no more efficacie then other water not hallowed, as concerning remiſſion of veniall ſinnes, and driuing away deuels and other effectes, which the ſchoole doctours do attribute to it.

Degrees in ſcripture forbidden to marry.

Item, for degrees of mariage forbidden in the Scryptures, he beleueth that all Chriſtian men vnder deadly ſin, are bound vnto the ſame.

Item, that he beleeueth that God may geue grace to a man hauing the vſe of reaſon, without all motion of Free wil. Alſo he thinketh that S. Paule in his conuerſion, dyd nothing of his owne free wil for his conuerſion. He beleeueth moreouer, that God may geue ſuch grace to a manne hauing the vſe of reaſon, not doing that which in hym is.

Nothing to be beleued, but which is in ſcripture conteyned.

Item, he affirmed that nothing is to be beleued, which is not conteined in the Canon of the Bible.

Alſo, that the elect are ſaued onely by the grace of God.

Beſides al theſe moreouer, he was charged with ẏ old opinion of the Grecians, which they dyd holde contrary to the Romaine church, vnto the time of the councell of Ferraria aboue mentioned, concerning the proceedyng of the holy Ghoſt.

The wedneſday next following, 3, Doctours, the ſuffragane, Herwicus & Iacobus Sprenger, were ſent vnto

The Church geueth witnes who were the writers of the ſcripture, but hath no authoritie aboue that which is writtẽ.

him with perſwaſions to exhort him, and when he would not ſtand to their Canons, wherby they went about to refute his doctrine, he was then demanded of Herwicus, why he would beleue rather the 4. Euangeliſts, then the Goſpel of Nicodemns. To whõ he anſwerd, becauſe he wold. Being aſked againe why he beleued the 4. Euangeliſts, he ſaid: becauſe he ſo receiued of his parents. Then being demaunded, why he would not beleue the Doctours, becauſe (ſaid he) their doctrine is not canonical ſcripture. Againe, it was to him obiected, why he would be credited himſelf, when he preached, ſeing he would not beleue the holy doctors? To whome hee anſwered in this wiſe, ſaying, that he did preach as his duety was, but whether they gaue credit to his words, he did not care.

By this inquiſition, Chriſt himſelfe might be condemned.

Thys examination being ended, after theſe Articles were condemned by the Inquiſitour & his aſſiſtance, then ſaid he after this maner: As you do with me, if Chriſt himſelfe were here, he might be condemned as an heretike. After this they ſent diuers to him to haue communication wͭ him, and to perſwade him, ſending alſo to him wͭ his Articles a forme of aſking pardone: at length within 3. or 4. daies after, hee was content to condeſcend vnto them, and to ſubmit himſelfe to their holy mother Churche, and the information of the Doctors. In the boke of Orthuinus Gratius, and in Paralypomena, adioyned to Abbas Vrſpergenſis, we reade theſe wordes wrytten of this Ioannes de Weſalia: Dempto ſolo articulo de proceſsione ſpiritus ſancti, in alijs videtur non ita graui cenſura &c. That is: except onely the Article of the proceding of the holy Ghoſt, in other Articles it ſemeth that he was not to be chaſtened with ſo ſharpe cenſure, if reſpit and ſpace had ben geuen him, if good councellours had bene aboute him, if all they which did accuſe and moleſt him, had not bene de via realium, as Thomiſtes, that is, of the ſect of Thomas: which Thomiſts were ſet at that time, againſt the other ſect of the ſeculars, which were called Nominales, and therfore, they ſo ſpited this Doctour becauſe he did not hold with their Thomas, againſt whome otherwiſe (had it not ben for that cauſe) they would neuer haue ben ſo fierce and malitious in proceding againſt him. I take God to witneſſe, which knoweth all things, yͭ this proceſſe, which was made againſt him for his reuoking & burning of his bookes, did greatly diſpleaſe M. Engeline of Brunſwick, a great diuine, and alſo M. John Keiſersberge, being both learned, and famous men, but namely M. Engeline thought, that too much malice and raſhneſſe was ſhewed in handling of that ſame man, and did not feare to ſay, that many of his articles, and the greater part thereof, might be holden well inough, and greatly blamed the mad and phantaſticall diſſention of the Thomiſts, ſeeking by all maner of wayes, how to get the triumph ouer the ſeculare deuines. &c. Hæc ille.

Ex Orth. Grat.

Ex Paralip. Abat. Vrſper.

Diſcorde betwixt Reals & Nominals.

Ex Orth. Grat.

Doct. Iohn de Weſalia reuoketh his opiniõs.

Although thys aged and feble old man, by weakeneſſe was conſtrained to geue ouer vnto the Romiſh clergy, by outward profeſſion of his mouth: yet notwithſtãding, his opinions and doctrine declared his inward heart, of what iudgement he was, if feare of death preſent had not otherwiſe enforſed him to ſay, then hee did thinke. Agayne, although he had reuoked after their minds, yet we reade no ſuch fourme of recantation to be preſcribed to hym to read opẽly vnto the people, as the vſe is here in England. The ſtory of this man is more fully to be found in the bokes of Orth. Gratius. &c.

Albert duke of Saxonie, called *Dextra manus imperis.*

Albert Marques of Brandenburg called *Achilles Germnnicus.*

As touching the raigne of this Fredericke Emperor, ſeeing we haue comprehẽded hetherto ſufficiently the moſt principal matters in his time incurrent, we wil now paſſe forwarde (the Lorde guiding vs) to Maximilian, after I haue firſt geuen a briefe memorandum of 3. valiant Princes and Captaines, floriſhing in the ſame time of thys Fredericke, in Germaine: Of the whych, was one Albert Duke of Saxonie, who for his renoumed and famous acts, was called by publique voyce, Dextera manus Imperij. The ryght hande of the Empire. The other was Albert, Marques of Brandenburge, to whome alſo the name was attribute, named of Pope Pius to be Achilles Germanicus. The third was Fredericke Earle Palatine, ſurnamed Victorioſus, who manfully defended the fredome and maieſty of yͤ Empire, from the fraudulent oppreſſions of the popes tirãny.

{ Anno. 1484. }

The abhomination of Pope *Sixtus.*

Ex Declamatione Agrippa ad Lonanienſes.

In the yeare of our Lorde 1484. in this Emperours time dyed Pope Sixtus the 4. a little before touched, a monſter rather of nature, then a prelate of the Church. Of him writeth Platina, that vniuſtly he vexed al Italy with warre and diſſenſion. Agrippa writing of hym, ſayeth that among all the bawdes of theſe other latter dayes, whych were builders of brothelhouſes, this Pope Sixtus 4. ſurmounted all other: who at Rome erected a ſtewes of double abhomination, not onely of women, but alſo. &c. whereupon no ſmall gaine redounded to his coffers: For euery ſuche common harlot in Rome paide to him a Iuly peece, the ſumme wherof grew in the yere, ſome while to 20000. at length to xl. M. duckets. Whereunto accordeth right wel the Epitaphe of John Sapidus, which in the ende hereof we will annexe.

The warres of Pope *Sixtus.*

Ex Ioan. Laziardo. lib. Hiſteria Vniuerſalis. cap. 284.

John Carion, alſo ſpeaking of this Biſhop, witneſſeth him to be a man rather borne to warre, then to Religion: For hee warred againſt Vitellius Tiphernates, agaynſt the Florentines, the Venecians, whome he excommunicated, and did not abſolue till hee died: alſo againſt Columnenſes, againſt Ferdinandus king of Apulia, and Duke of Calabria: alſo againſt other nations and Princes moe. Ex Ioan. Laziardo.

A large gift of the Pope to the begging Friers.

Alanus, author of our Ladies Pſalter.

Of the ſayde Pope it is recorded, that he was a ſpeciall patron and tutor to al begging Friers, graunting them to haue and enioy reuenues in this worlde, & in the world to come euerlaſting life. Among the which Friers there was one named Alanus de rupe, a Blacke Frier, which made the Roſary of our Ladies Pſalter (ſo they terme it) and erected a certaine new fraternitie vpon the ſame, called Fraternitas Coronariorum, pertaining to the order of the Dominickes, of the which order Iacobus Sprenger, one of the condemners of Ioannes de Weſalia aboue mentioned, was a great aduãcer, and eſpecially this Pope Sixtus 4. who gaue to the ſayd fraternities large graces and priuilegies.

Then had the bleſſed virgine Mary two huſbandes.

An olde knaue to ſucke his wiues breſt.

Concerning the inſtitution of this Roſary, there was a booke ſet forth about the yere of our Lord 1480. in the beginning wherof is declared, that the bleſſed virgin entred into the celle of this Alanus, and was ſo familiar with him, that not onely ſhe did eſpouſe him to her huſband, but alſo kiſſed him with her heauenly mouth, and alſo for more familiaritie, opened to hym her pappes, and powred great plentie of her owne milke into his mouth. For the confirmation whereof the ſayde Alanus, this holy babe (ſayth the ſtorie) did ſweare deepely, curſſing himſelfe, if it were not thus, as he had made relation.

This fabulous figment, when I read in the centuries of John Bale, I began with my ſelfe to miſtruſt the credite therof, and had thought not to trouble the reader with ſuche incredible forgeries. But as the prouidence of God worketh in all things, ſo alſo it appeared in thys, that the very ſame booke came to my hands at the wryting hereof, wherein this ſelfe ſame narration is conteined, wherein I found not onely this to be true, which in Jhon Bale is expreſſed, but alſo found in like manner, an other wonder as prodigious as this: where in an other place not farre off, is ſtoried in the ſame booke, howe that about the time of S. Dominicke, there was a certaine matrone in Spaine, named Lucia, which being taken captiue by the Saracenes, hauing her huſband killed, was caried great with childe into the Turkiſh land.

The deteſtable impietie and blaſphemie of the popiſhe lying religion

When the time of her labour came, ſhee being left deſolate among beaſtes and hogs, and remembring thys twiſe holy Roſary, (firſt inſtituted ſayth the booke by S. Dominicke, and afterwarde renued by Alanus) eftſoones the holy virgin was ready and ſtoode by her, & receiued the childe at her trauaile, ſupplying all the partes of a diligent midwife: and moreouer cauſing a Prieſt ſodenly to appeare, gaue the childe to be Chriſtened, calling it after her owne name, Marianus: and ſo was ſhee wife to Alanus, midwife to Lucia, and Godmother to Marianus. Which ſtory if it be true, then is the Popes Canon, by thys example, to be controlled, whiche permitteth midwiues in time of neceſſity, to baptiſe, ſeeing the bleſſed Virgine, playing the parte her ſelfe of a midwife, durſt not Baptiſe thys childe without a prieſt.

Mendacem memorem eſſe oportet.

Ex Latino Codice impreſſo, cui titulus Roſaſea Maria Corona.

The death of Pope *Sixtus*. 4.

Here endeth Platina.

It followeth more in the ſtorye, that by the helpe of the ſayd bleſſed virgin, this Lucia our Ladies goſſip, after her Purification, was reſtored wͭ her childe ſafe to her country againe. Thys booke being in Latine and Printed, beareth thys title: Roſacea Auguſtiſsimæ Chriſtiferæ Mariæ Corona: and in the front it ſheweth the name of Iodocus Biſſelaius a noble manne of Aquine. And this by the occaſion of Pope Sixtus. Which Sixtus, what a maintainer of blind ſuperſtition hee was, partly by that aforeſpoken, partly by the ende following it may be ſeene. For we reade in certaine wryters, yͭ after thys Pope had vnderſtanding that Hercules Eſtenſis, Duke of Ferraria, had ioyned peace wyth the Venetians againſt hys will, he was ſo greeued therewith, that for rancour of minde, wythin 5. dayes after, hee died: whereunto hys Epitaph following geueth ſufficient record. About whoſe time alſo died Platina, a man not vnlearned, but yet a ſhamefull flatterer and bearer wyth the wicked liues of the Popes.

The Epitaph of Pope Sixtus is this.

Non potuit ſæuum vis vlla extinguere Sixtum-
Audito tandem nomine pacis obit.

An other Epitaphe of the ſame Pope.

Sixte iaces tandem, noſtri diſcordia ſecli,
Sæuiſti in ſuperos, nunc Acheronta moue.
Sixte iaces tandem, deflent tua buſta cinædi,
Scortaq; lenones, alea, vina, venus.

An other.

Gaude priſce Nero, vincit te crimine Sixtus,
Hic ſcelus omne ſimul clauditur, & vitium.

But leauing here pope Sixtus with hys verſes, & vices, let vs nowe procede, as we before promiſed, to enter the ſtory of Maximilian, keeping notwithſtanding the order of our kinges here in England: For a little before the reigne of Maximilian, king Edward the fourth ceaſed his life. an. 1483. after he had raigned 22. yeares. In the tyme of which K. Edward, this alſo is not to be forgotten, yͭ one Burdet, a marchant dwelling in Cheapſide, at the ſigne of the crowne, whiche is the ſigne nowe of the flower de luce merely ſpeaking to his ſonne, ſayd that he wold make him inheritour of the crown, meaning in deed his own houſe. For the which words, when K. Edward cauſed to be miſconſtred, & interpreted, as though he had ment the crowne of the Realme, wͭin leſſe ſpace then 4. houres, he was apprehended, iudged, drawne, and quartered in Chepeſide.

The death of king Edward. 4. Anno. 1483.

Burdet. Tyranny in miſcōſtring a mans wordes. The lawes of the realme miſconſtred for the princes pleaſure.

King Edward the 5.

K.Edward 5

This king Edwarde left behinde hym by hys wife Elizabeth 2. ſonnes, Edward, & Richard & 2. daughters, Elizabeth and Cicilie. which 2. ſonnes Edward & Richard, for ſomuche as they were vnder age and not ripe to gouern, a conſultation was called among yͤ pieres, to debate whether yͤ foreſayd yong prince & king, ſhold be vnder the gouernment of his mother, or els yͤ Rich. Duke of Gloceſter brother to K. Edward the 4. & vncle to the child, ſhould be gouernor of the K. and protector of the realme, there hath bene and is an old adage, the wordes whereof rather then the true meaning, is wraſted out of Salomon: Væ regno cuius Rex eſt puer. &c. i. wo to yͤ kingdom, the king whereof is a child. &c. But if I may finde leaue herein to thruſt in a gloſe, I would this adde and ſay: Væ illi puero, qui ſui regni Rex non eſt. i. wo to that childe, whiche is a king in a kingdome vnruly and ambitious. There was the ſame ſeaſon among other noble peeres of yͤ realm, the Duke of Buckingham, a man of great authoritie, who had maryed King Edwards wifes ſiſter. Becauſe the duke being ſo neare alliaunt to the K. had bene vnkindely (as he thought) of the king entreated, hauing by him no auauncement nor anye great frendſhip ſhewed, according to his expectation, took part therfore wͭ Richard Duke of Gloceſter, both againſt the Queene & her children, to make the foreſayd Duke, the chiefe gouernour and protector. The whiche thinge being broughte to paſſe, by the ayde, aſſiſtaunce, and workinge of the Duke of Buckingham, the Queene tooke ſanctuarye with her yōger ſonne: the elder brother, which was yͤ king remayned in the cuſtody of the Duke of Gloceſter his vncle. who being now in a good towardnes to obtayne that which he lōg loked for, ſought all the means, & ſoone compaſſed the matter, by falſe collour of diſſembled words, by periurie, and labour of friendes, namely of the Duke of Buckingham, and the Cardinall Archbiſhop of Caunterburye, that the other brother alſo ſhoulde bee committed to his credite. Thus the ambitious protector and vnnaturall vncle, hauing the poſſeſſion of his two nephewes, and and innocent babes, thought himſelfe almoſt vp the whele where he woulde clime: Although he could not walke in ſuch miſtes and cloudes, but his deuiſed purpoſes began to be eſpyed: which cauſed him more couertly to goe about to remoue from him all ſuſpicion and to blinde the peoples eyes. But before, he could accompliſh hys execrable enterpriſe, ſome there were, whom he thought firſt muſt be ridd out of his way, as namely the Lorde Haſtinges, and the Lord Stanley, who as they were ſitting together in counſaile within the tower, the protectour (the matter beyng ſo appoynted before) ſodaynly ruſhed in among them, and after a few words there commoned, he ſodainly haſted out agayne: his minde belike, being full of miſchiefe and furye was not quiet. who within the ſpace of an houre, returned agayn into yͤ chamber with a ſterne countenance and a frowning look, and ſo there ſet him downe in hys place. when the Lordes were in great meruell and muſe at the meaning hereof: then he out of a cankered hart, thus begā to bray, aſking them what are they worthy to haue, which go about to imagine the deſtruction of him being ſo neare to yͤ kings bloud, and protectour of the Realme? At the which queſtion, as the other Lords ſate muſing, the Lord Haſtinges, becauſe he had bene more familiare wyth him, thus aunſwered, that they were worthy of puniſhement, whatſoeuer they were. which when the other Lordes alſo had affirmed: that is (quoth the protectour) yonder ſorcereſſe, my brothers wife, meaning the Queene and other with her, adding moreouer, and ſaying: that ſorcereſſe & other of her counſayle, as Shores wife, with her affinitie, haue by their witchcraft, thus waſted my body: and therewith ſhewed forth his left arme a weariſh withered thing as it was neuer otherwiſe, as was well knowne.

Eccle, 10.

Væ puero regi in ſuo regno.

Richard Duke of Gloceſter made protectour. The young king committed to Duke of Glouceſter. The Duke of Buckingham a great doer for the protectour. Both king Edwardes children in the poſſeſſiō of the protectour.

The deueliſhe protectour picketh quarelles.

The Queene & Shores wife, falſely accuſed of the protector to bewitch his arme.

This Shores wife had bene before a Concubine to K. Edward, & afterward was kept by the ſame Lorde Haſtinges. Moreouer here is to be noted, that by the conſent of the ſaid Lord Haſtinges, the cruell protectour had deuiſed about the ſame time, the kindred of the Queene, innocently to be headed at Pomfret, of mere deſpite and hatred. wherfore, this puniſhment not vndeſeruedly, by the iuſt hand of God, fell vpon the ſaid Lord Haſtinges.

Adultery puniſhed of God.

Murder iuſtly puniſhed of god

It followeth then more in the ſtorye, that when the L. Haſtinges had heard theſe falſe accuſations of the tyraunt which he knew to be vntrue: certaynly (my Lord) ſayd he, if they haue ſo done, they be worthye of haynous puniſhement. why quoth the protector, doeſt thou ſerue me with if and with and? I tel thee, they haue ſo done, and that I wil make good on thy body traytour: and therewith geuing a great rap on the boord (for a token or watchword) one cryed treaſon without, and forthwith the chamber was full of harneyſed men, The protector then approchyng to the L. Haſtinges, arreſted him as a traytour. An other let flye at the Lord Standley: who to auoyd the blowe ſhronke vnder yͤ table, or els his head had bene cleft a ſonder: notwithſtanding he receaued ſuch a wounde, that the bloud ranne about hys eares. There were in that counſaile yͤ ſame time the Archbiſhop of Yorke, and Doctour Morton Byſhop of Ely (by whoſe procurement afterward king Henry the vii. was ſent for into England, and he made archbiſhop after that of Canterbury) theſe with the Lord Standley diuerſly were beſtowed in diuers chambers. The Lorde Haſtinges was commaunded to ſpeede and ſhrine hym a pace, for before dinner the protector ſware by S. Paule, yͭ he ſhould dye: and ſo incontinently, without farther iudgement, his head was ſtriken of, by whoſe counſayle the Queenes kindred were at the ſame time and daye, beheded at Pomfret.

L. Haſtings arreſted for a traytour.

L. Stanley wounded.

B. Morton.

The tyranny of the protectour.

The L. Haſtings beheaded.

After this tyrannous murder accompliſhed, the miſchienous protectour aſpiring ſtill to the crowne, to ſet his deuiſes forward, firſt through giftes and fayre promiſes, dyd ſubordinate Doctor Shaw a famous preacher then in Lōdon, at Paules Croſſe to inſinuate to the people, that neyther king Edward with his ſonnes, nor the Duke of Clarence were lawfully begotten, nor the very children of the Duke of York, but begotten vnlawfully by other perſons in adultery on yͤ Duches their mother, and yͭ he alone was yͤ true and onely lawfull heyre of the Duke of York: Moreouer to declare and to ſignifie to the audience, that K. Edward was neuer lawfully maried to the Queene, but hys wife before was dame Elizabeth Lucy, and ſo the 2. childrē of king Edward to be baſe and baſtardes, and therfore the title of yͤ crown moſt rightly to pertaine to yͤ Lord protector. That this falſe flatterer, and loud lying preacher, to ſerue yͤ protectors humour, ſhamed not moſt impudently to abuſe that holy place, that reuerent auditorye, the ſacred word of God, taking for hys theame: Adulteræ plantationes nō dabūt radices altas &c which he moſt impiouſlydid apply againſt the innocent children & right heyres of this realm. whereupon ſuch grudge and diſdayne of the people wyth worldly wonder followed him, that for ſhame of the people crying out of him, in few dayes after he pyned way.

The beaſtly protectour accuſeth his owne mother.

Doct. Shawes impudent ſermō at Paules croſſe.

Sap. 4.

Example for all flattering preachers to beware

When this ſermon would take no effect with the people the protector vnmercifully drowned in ambitiō, reſted not thus, but wͭin few dayes after, excited yͤ Duke of Buckingham, firſt to breake the matter in couert talke, to the Mayor and certayne of the heades of the Cittie, picked out for the purpoſe: that done, to come to yͤ Guildhall, to moue the people by all flattering and lying perſwaſions to the ſame which ſhameles Shaw before had preached before at Paules Croſſe. whiche the Duke with all dilligence and helpes of eloquence, being a man both learned and well

The Duke of Buckingham an other miniſter for the protectours furie

The Duke of Buckingham ſpeaketh for the protectour in the Guildhall.

ſpoken, endeuored to accompliſh, making to the people a long and artificiall Oration, ſuppoſing no leſſe, but that yͤ people allured by his crafty inſinuations would cry, king Rich. K. Ric. But there was no king Rich. in their mouthes leſſe in their hartes. wherupon the Duke looking to the Lord Mayor, and aſking what the ſilence ment, contrary to the promiſe of the one, & the expectation of yͤ other It was then anſwered of the Mayor, that the people peraduenture wel vnderſtood him not: wherfore the Duke reiterating his narration in other wordes, declared agayne yͭ he had done before. Likewiſe the thyrd time he repeted hys Oration againe and agayn. Then the commons which before ſtood mute, being now in a maſe, ſeeing this importunitie, began to mutter ſoftly among themſelues, but yet no king Richard could ſound in their lips, ſaue onely that in the nether end of the Hall, certayn of the Dukes ſeruantes with one Naſhfield, and other belonging to the protector, thruſting into the Hall among the preaſe, began ſodaynly at mens backes to cry king Richard k. Rich, throwing vp theyr cappes, whereat the cittizens turning backe theyr heades, marueiled not a little, but ſayd nothing.

An hard thing to make the tongue ſpeake againſt the hart.

A ſtolne conſent in the Guildhall,

The Duke and the Lord Mayor with that lide, taking this for ſufficient teſtimony, incontinent came blowing for haſt to the protector, then lying at Baynardes Caſtle. where the matter being made before, was now ſo contriued, that forſooth, humble petition was made in the name of the whole commons, and that with 3 ſundry ſutes, to yͤ humble and ſimpel protector, that he, although it was vtterly againſt his will to take it: yet would of his humilitye ſtoupe ſo low, as to receaue the heauy kingdome of England vpon his ſhoulders. At this their tender requeſt and ſute of the Lords and commõs made (ye muſt know how) yͤ milde Duke ſeing no other remedy, was contented at length to yeld, although ſore againſt his will (ye muſt ſo imagine) and to ſubmit himſelfe ſo low, as of a protector to be made king: not much herein vnlike to our prelates in yͤ Popiſh churche, who when they haue before well compounded for the popes Buls, yet muſt they for maner ſake make curteſy, and thriſe deny that for whiche they ſo long before haue gaped, and ſo ſweetly haue payed for.

Fye of hipocriſie

The hypocriſie of the protector denying the crowne thriſe before he would take it.

King Richard the third vſurper.

King Richard 3. vſurper.

AND thus Richard Duke of Glouceſter tooke vpon to be made & proclaymed king of England, the yeare aforeſayd. an. 1483. in the mõth of Iune. who then comming to the Tower by water, firſt made his ſonne a childe of x. yeare old, prince of wales, & Iohn Haward (a man of great induſtry & ſeruice) he aduaũced to be Duke of Northfolke, & Sir Tho. Haward his ſonne, he ordained Erle of Surry. Alſo william Lord Barckeley was appoynted Earle of Notingham. Frances L. Louell, was made Vicunt Louell. L. Stanley for feare of his ſonne, was deliuered out of the Tower, and made Steward of the kings houſhold. Likewiſe the Archbiſhop of Yorke was ſet free: but Morton Biſhop of Ely was committed to the Duke of Buckingham, by whome was wrought the firſt deuiſe to bring in Henry Erle of Richmond into England, and to cõioin mariage betweene Elizabeth king Edwardes daughter, and him, whereby the two houſes of Yorke and Lancaſter were vnited together.

King Richard crowned.

After the kingdome of England was thus allotted to king Rich. the vſurper, as in maner aboue remembred, he taried not long for hys coronation, which was ſolemniſed the month next enſuing, the 6. day of Iuly.

The triumph and ſolemnitie of this vſurped coronation, being finiſhed, & al thinges to the ſame appertayning, this vnquiet tyraunt yet coulde not thinke himſelfe ſafe, ſo long as yong Edward the right king & hys brother, were aliue: wherefore the next enterpriſe which he did ſet vpon was this, how to rid theſe innocent babes out of the way, that he might reigne king alone.

In the meane time while al this ruffling was in hand what dread & ſorow the tender harts of theſe fatherles and friendles children were in, what little ioy of them ſelues what ſmal ioy of life they had, it is not ſo hard as dolorous for tender harts to vnderſtand. As the yonger brother lingered in thought and heauines, ſo the prince which was a 11. yeare old, was ſo out of hart and ſo fraught with feare that he neuer tyed his poyntes, nor ioyed good day, till the trayterous impietie of their cruell vncle had deliuered thẽ of their wretchednes, whiche was not long in diſpatching For after king Richard their vncle, firſt attempting to cõpaſſe his diueliſhe deuiſe by Robert Brakenbury Conſtable of the tower, and could not winne him to ſuche a cruell fact (to die therefore) then he got one Iames Tyrell, ioyning with him Iohn Dighton, and Miles Foreſt, to perpetrate this heinous murder. Which Dyghton and Foreſt about midnight entring into their chamber, ſo bewrapped and entangled them amongſt the clothes, keeping downe the fetherbed and pilowes hard vnto their mouthes, that within a while: they ſmoothered and ſtifeled them pitiouſly in their bed.

The truth of Robert Brakenbury to his prince

Iames Tyrel I. Dighton, Miles Foreſt, cruell traytors and murtherers of their Prince.

Yoũg princes.

The 2. children of king Edward murdered.

And thus ended theſe two yong princes their liues, through the wretched cruelty of theſe forenamed tormentors who for their deteſtable and bloudy murder committed, eſcaped not long vnpuniſhed by the iuſt hand of God. For firſt Miles Foreſt, at S. Martines le grand, by peecemeale miſerably rotted away, Iohn Dighton liued at Callis lõg after ſo diſdained and hated, that he was pointed at of all men, and there died in great miſery. Sir Iames Tyrell was beheaded at Tower hill for treaſon. Alſo King Richard himſelfe within a yeare and a halfe after, was ſlayne in the field hacked and hewed of his enemies handes, torne and tugged like a curre dogge.

The iuſt puniſhmẽt of God vpõ the murderers of them two.

The puniſhment of God vpon K. Richard.

Furthermore, the ſaid iuſtice of gods hand left not the Duke of Buckingham eſcape free: whiche was a greate maintainer and ſetter vp of this butcherly vſurper: for les then within a yeare after ſo God wrought, that hee was himſelfe beheaded for treaſon by the ſayd king, whom he ſo vniuſtly before had aduaunced and ſet vp.

The puniſhmẽt of God vpon the Duke of Buckinghã.

In the ſame catologue and order of theſe wicked doers afore recited, we haue alſo to comprehende two other, as well worthy of memoriall, as the beſt or rather as yͤ worſt. The name of the one was doctont Shawe, aboue rehearſed: The other doctor Pinkie, prouincial of the Auſten Friers: both famous preachers, and both Doctors in diuinitie both of more learning then vertue (ſayth the ſtory) of more fame thẽ learning, & yet of more learning thẽ truth. Shaw made a Sermon in the prayſe of the Protector, before hys coronation. Pinkie preached after thys coronation. Both were ſo full of tedious flatterye, that no good eares coulde abide them. Pinkie in his ſermon ſo loſt his voyce, that he was fayne to leaue of & came downe in in the midſt. Doctour Shaw by his ſermon loſt his honeſty, and ſoone after, his life for very ſhame of the world, ſo that he neuer durſt after that, ſhew his face againe. But as for the Fryer, he was ſo farre paſt ſhame, that the loſſe therof did little touch him.

Doct. Shaw and Doct. Pinkie, two flattering preachers.

Gods iudgement vpon flattering preachers.

Mention was made a little before, of Doctor Morton Biſhop af Ely, by whoſe meanes the deuiſe was firſt broched, for the conioyning the two houſes of Yorke & Lancaſter together. This deuiſe was firſt broken to the Duke of Buckingham, which ſoone after coſt hym his life. But yͤ biſhop more crafty to ſaue hymſelfe, incontinent fled into Brittain. Notwithſtanding, the deuiſe once being broched was ſo plauſible, and tooke ſuch effect, that meſſage was ſent ouer the ſea to Henry Earle of Richmond, by his mother and by the Queene, mother to the Ladye Elizabeth, that if he would make hys returne, and promiſe to marry with the ſayd Lady Elizabeth King Edwards daughter, he ſhould be receaued. To make a longer diſcourſe of thys matter, which is ſufficiently ſet forth by S. Tho. More ſo ornately, it needeth not.

The firſt motion of ioyning the two houſes, Yorke and Lancaſter togeather.

Briefly (to contract that in a ſmall compaſſe of wordes, which was not ſo ſmall a thing in doing) after that the Earle Henry, with ſuch other baniſhed mẽ, as fled out of Englãd at the taking of the Duke of Buckingham, had perfect intelligence by his mother and by the Queene and other frends moe out of England, how the caſe of yͤ realm ſtode, and how it was here purpoſed by his frendes, that is, that he ſhould with all conuenient ſpeede, haſt hys returne ouer into England, promiſing to mary with Ladye Elizabeth: he with all diligence as tyme and preparation would ſerue, aduaũced forward his iourny, being wel helped and furniſhed by Fraunces Duke of Britayne, and ſo ſhipped his mẽ. Albeit his firſt voyage ſped not, for that the winds turning contrary: by force of weather his ſhips were diſparcled, and he repulſed backe into Fraũce agayn. His ſecond viage was more proſperous. Who taking the ſeas at Harflet, in the moneth of Auguſt. an. 1485. accompanied onely with two thouſand men, and a ſmal number of ſhippes, aryued at Milford Hauen in wales, and fyrſte came to Dale, then to Harford weſt, where he was ioyfully receiued, and alſo by the cõming in of Arnolde Butler and the Pẽbroke men, was in power encreaſed. Frõ thẽce he remoued by Cardigan to Shrewſbery, & then to Newport, and ſo to Stafford, from thence to Liechfield, his army ſtill more and more augmented. Lyke as a great floud by comming in of many ſmall riuers, gathereth more aboundaunce of water: ſo to this Earle diuers noble Captaynes

Earle Henry maketh preparation toward his iourney.

The arriuing of Henry Earle of Richmõd in Wales.

tains and men of power adioyned themſelues as Richard Griffith, John Morgan. Rice ap Thomas, thē ſir Georg Talbot, with the yong Erle of Shrewſbery his warde, Sir william Stanley, Sir Tho. Burchier, and Sir walter Hungerford, knightes. At laſt the ſaid Erle hearing of the kinges comming, conducted his whole army to Tamworth.

K. Richad gathered his power to encounter with Earle Henry.

King Richard firſt hearing of the arriuall of the Erle Henry in the partes of wales after ſuch a ſlender ſort, did giue little or no regard vnto it. But after, vnderſtanding that he was come to Lichfield, without reſiſtaunce or incombraunce, he was ſore moued, and exceedingly tooke on curſing and crying out againſt them whiche had ſo deceaued him, & in all poſt ſpeed, ſent for John Duke of Northfolke, Hen. Erle of Northumberlād. Tho. Erle of Surrey with other his frendes of ſpecial truſt. Robert Brakenbury alſo lieſetenaunt of the tower was ſent for, with Sir Tho. Burchier, and Sir walter Hungerforde, with certaine other knightes and Eſquiers, of whome he partlye miſdoubted, or had ſome ſuſpicious gelouſy. Thus K. Richard, after moſt forceable maner well fortified and accompanied, leauing nothing vndone yͤ dilligence could require ſet forward toward his enemies. The Earle by this time was come to Tamworth, to whō ſecretly in the Euening reſorted ſir John Sauage, ſir Bryan Sanford, ſir Simon Digby, and many other, forſaking the part of K. Richard, whome all good men hated, as he no otherwiſe deſerued. The king hauing perfect knowledge the Earle to be encamped at Tamworth, embatled himſelfe in a place neare to a village called Boſworth, not farre from Leiceſter, appointing there to encounter with his aduerſaries. Here yͤ matter lay in great doubt and ſuſpenſe concerning yͤ Lord Stanley (which was yͤ Erles father in law & had maryed his mother) to what part he would encline. For although his hart went (no doubt) with the Earle, & had ſecret conference with him the night before, yet becauſe of his ſonne and heyre George Lord Straunge, being then in the hāds of king Richard, leaſt the king ſhould attempt any preiudiciall thing againſt him, durſt not be ſeene openly to goe that way, where in hart he fauoured, and therefore cloſely kept himſelfe betweene both, till the puſh came that hys helpe might ſerue at a pinch.

K. Richard taketh the field of Boſworth. This Lord Stanley was he, which was hurt at the Tower when the L. Haſtings was areſted *Vide. pag.* 727.

The number of the Erles part exceeded not to the one halfe of the ſide of king Richard. When the time and the place was appointed, where the two battailes ſhould encounter and ioyne together, ſore ſtripes and great blowes were geuen on both ſides, and many ſlayne. If number & multitude might gouerne the ſucceſſe of battaile, king Richard had double to the erle. But God is he, not man, that geueth victorye, by what meanes it ſeemeth to his diuine prouidence beſt. In what order and by what occaſion this field was wonne and loſt, the certain intelligence we haue not certainly expreſſed, but onely by the hiſtorye of Polydore Vergile, whom ſir Thomas More doth follow word for word. In the which hiſtory it doth appeare, yͤ as theſe 2. armies were coupling together, king Richard vnderſtanding by his eſpials where the earle of Richmond was, and how he was but ſlenderly accompanied, and ſeeing him to approch more neare vnto him, he rather caryed with courage, then ruled with reaſon, ſet ſpurres to the horſe and raunging out of the compaſſe of hys ranckes, preſſed toward the Erle, ſetting vppon him ſo ſharpely, that firſt he killed ſir william Brandon, the Erles ſtandard bearer, father to yͤ Lord Charles Brandon Duke of Suffolke, thē after ouerthrew ſir John Cheny, thinking likewiſe to oppreſſe the Erle. But as the Lorde by his ſecret prouidence diſpoſeth the euent of all thinges, as the earle with his mē about him being ouermatched, began to diſpayre of victory, ſodeinly & oportunely came ſyr william Stanley with 3. thouſand well appointed able men, whereby king Richardes men were driuen backe & he himſelfe cruelly fighting in the thick of his enemies, was there ſlain, & brought to his confuſion and death, which he worthely deſerued.

Boſworth field.

The hiſtory of Sir Tho. More, word for word taken out of Polid. Virg.

W. Brandon

Charles Brandon.

The death of king Richard.

In the meane time the Earle of Oxford, who had the guiding of the forewarde, diſcomfited the forefrunt of king Richards hoaſt, and put them to flight, in which chaſe many were ſlayne, of noble men eſpecially aboue other, John Duke of Northfolke, Lord Ferrers, ſir Richard Radcliffe and Robert Brakenbury Lieutenaunt of the Tower. &c. Lord Thomas Haward Earle of Surrey, there ſubmitted himſelfe, and although he was not receaued at firſt to grace, but long remayned in the Tower, yet at length for his fidelitie, was deliuered and aduanced to his recouered honour and dignitie againe.

Duke of Northfolke ſlaine.

Lord Tho. Haward Earle of Surrey aduaunced by K. Henry. 7.

K. Richards ſonne puniſhed for the wickednes of his father.

This king Richard had but one ſonne, who ſhortly after the cruell murder of king Edwardes ſonnes, was taken with ſicknes and died. The wife of the ſayd king Richard (whether by poyſon or by ſickenes) dyed alſo a little before the field of Boſworth: After whoſe deceaſe, the ſtorie of Polydore & of ſir Tho. More affirmeth: that he intended himſelf to mary the Lady Elizabeth his own brothers daughter, and ſo to preuent the Earle of Richmond.

K. Richard purpoſed to marry Elizabeth his brothers daughter.

Moreouer as touching the Lord Stanley, thus reporteth the ſtory, that king Richard being in Boſworth fielde, ſent for the Lord Stanley by a purſeuaunt, to auaunce forward with his company, and come to hys preſence: otherwiſe he ſware by Chriſtes paſſion, that he would ſtrike off his ſonnes head before dinner. The L. Stanley ſent word agayne, that if he did, he had more ſonnes aliue. Wherupō the kyng immediately commaunded the Lord Strange to be beheaded: which was the very time whē both yͤ armies were within ſight, & were ready to ioyne together. Wherfore the kinges counſailers pondering the tyme and yͤ caſe perſwaded the king, that it was now time to fight, & not to doe execution, aduiſing him to delay the matter tyll the battail were ended. And ſo (as God would) king Richard breaking hys othe, or rather keeping hys othe, for he hymſelfe was ſlayne before dyner, the Lord Straunge was cōmitted to be kept priſoner within the kinges tente: who then after the victory gotten, was ſought out and brought to his ioyfull father. And thus haue ye the tragicall life and end of this wretched king Richard.

L. Stanley huſband to K. Henries mother forſooke k. Richard

The L. Strange meruelouſly preſerued.

Henry the Erle of Richmond, after harty thankes geuen to almighty God, for hys glorious victorye obteined, proceeded to the towne of Leiceſter, where was brought to him by the Lord Straunge, the Crowne and put on the Earles head.

In the meane time the dead corpes of king Richarde was ſhamefully caried to the towne of Leiceſter, being naked and deſpoyled to the ſkinne, & being truſſed behinde a purſeuaunt of armes, was caryed like a hog or a dog, hauing his head & armes hanging on the one ſide of yͤ horſe, and the legges on the other ſide, all ſprincled with myre & bloud. And thus ended the vſurped reign of king Richard who reigned two yeares, and two monthes. Ex Polydo. & Thom. Moro.

The ſhamefull toſſing of king Richardes dead Corpes.

{ Anno. 1485. }

King Henry the vij.

When king Henry, by the prouidence of God had obtayned this triumphant victory, & Diademe of the realme, firſt ſending for Edward Plantaginet Earle of warwicke, ſonne to George Duke of Clarence, & committing him to ſafe cuſtody wͭin the tower, frō Leiceſter remoued to Lōdon, & not long after, according to his oth & promiſe made before, eſpouſed to him the yong Ladye Elizabeth, heyre of yͤ houſe of Yorke: whereby both the houſes of Yorke and Lancaſter were conioyned together, to the no little reioyſing of all Engliſh hartes, & no leſſe quyet vnto the realme which was. an. 1485. This king reigned 23. yeares, and 8. monthes, and being a Prince of great pollicie, iuſtice and temperance, kept his realm in good tollerable rule & order. And here interrupting a little the courſe of our Engliſhe matters, we will now (the Lord willing) enter the ſtory aboue promiſed, of Maximilian the Emperour, & matters of the Empire, eſpecially ſuch as pertayneth to yͤ Church.

King Henry. 7.

K. Henry marieth with Elizabeth.

The two houſes of Yorke and Lancaſter ioyned together.

Maximilian Emperour.

IN the yeare of our Lord. 1486. Fridericus waxing aged and partly alſo miſtruſting the hartes of the Germayns who had complained before of theyr greuances, and could not be heard, and therfore miſdoubting that hys houſe after his deceaſe, ſhould haue the leſſe fauour amonge them, for that cauſe in hys life tyme did aſſociate hys ſonne Maximilian to be ioyned Emperour with him: with whom he reigned the ſpace of 7. yeares till the death of the ſayd Fridericke hys father, who departed. an. 1494. after he had reigned ouer the Empire. 53. yeares, lacking onely but iii. yeares of the reigne of Auguſtus Cæſar, vnder whome was the byrth of our Lord and Sauiour Chriſt.

{ Anno. 1486. }

Maximilianus Emperour.

The reigne and death of Fridericus Emperour.

{ Anno. 1494. }

This Maximilian, as he was a valiaunt Emperoure, prudent and ſingularly learned: ſo was hys reigne intangled in many vnquiet and difficile warres: firſt in the lower Countryes of Flaunders and Brabant, where the ſaide Maximilian was taken captiue, but ſhortly after, reſchued & deliuered agayne by hys father. an. 1487. It was ſignified before how this Maximilian by the aduiſe of yͤ Burgundians, had to wife Mary yͤ onely daughter of Charles Duke of Burgundy afore mentioned, by whome he had 2. children, Phillip and Margarete. an. 1477. Whiche Mary not long after, about the yeare of our Lorde. 1481. by a fall

Maximilian marieth the Duches of Burgoyne.

This Mary was neece to king Edward. 4.

from her horſe, fell into an ague, and departed. Other warres many mo, the ſame Maximilian alſo achieued, both in France, in Italy, in Hungary and diuers beſides.

The learning of Maximilian cõmended.
Maximilian writer of his owne ſtories.

Ex Ioã Carione.

Maximilian firſt ordeiner of the vnyuerſitie of Wittenberg.

So happy was ẏ education of this Emperour in good letters: ſo expert he was in tongues and ſciences, but eſpecially ſuch was his dexteritie and promptnes in the latin ſtile, that he imitating the exãple of Iulius Cæſar, did write and comprehend in Latine hiſtoryes, his owne actes and feates done, and that in ſuch ſort, that when he had geuen a certayne taſt of his hiſtory, to one Pircamerus a learned man, aſking his iudgemẽt how his warlike ſtile of Latine did like him, the ſayd Pyrcamerus did affirme and reporte of him to Iohn Caron (the witnes and writer of this ſtory) that he did neuer ſee nor read anye Germane ſtorye, a thing more exactly (and that in ſuch haſt) done as this was of Maimilian. Moreouer, as he was learned himſelfe, ſo was he a ſingular patrone and aduauncer of learned ſtudentes, as may well appeare by the erecting and ſetting vp the vniuerſitie of Wittenberge. By this Emperour many in thoſe dayes were excited to the embraſing as wel of other liberall artes, as alſo namely to the ſearching out of old antiquities of hiſtoryes, whereby diuers were then by him firſt occaſioned in Germany, to ſet their mindes & to exerciſe their dilligence, in collecting & explicating matters pertayning to the knowledge of hiſtory, as well of ancient as alſo of latter times, as namely Cuſpinianus, Nauclerus, Conradus Peutingerus, Manlius, and other.

Learned mẽ begin to grow in Chriſtendome.

Here now it began right well to appeare, what great benefite was broched to the world, by the Arte and facultie of Printing, as is before mentioned. Through the meanes of which printing, the church and common wealth of chriſt began now to be repleniſhed with learned men, as bothe may appeare by this Emperour being ſo induced himſelfe with ſuch excellent knowledge of good letters, and alſo by diuers others famous and worthy wittes, whiche began now in this age exceedingly to encreaſe and multiplye, as Baptiſta Mantuanus, Ang. Politianus, Hermolaus Barbarus, Picus Mirandula, and Franciſcus his couſin, Rodol. Agricola, Põtanus, Philippus, Beroaldus, Marſilius Ficinus, Volateranus, Georgius Valla, with infinite other.

Doct. Weſelus Groningenſis.

Weſelus called *Lux Mundi.*

Among whom is alſo to be numbred Weſelus Groningenſis, otherwiſe named Baſilius, who was not longe after Ioan de Weſalia aboue recited, both muche about one tyme, and both great friendes together. This Weſelus dyed the yeare of our Lord. 1490. After that Ioannes Doctor De Weſalia aforeſayd was condemned this Weſelus being familiar with him, thought that the Inquiſitour woulde come and examine hym alſo, as he himſelfe in a certaine Epiſtle doth write. He was ſo notable and worthye a man that of the people he was called Lux Mundi. That is: The light of the worlde.

The doctrine of Weſelus Groningenſis.

Concerning his doctrine, firſt he reprehended the opinion of the papiſtes, as touching repentaunce, which they deuided in three partes, of the which three partes, ſatiſfaction and confeſſion he did diſalow. Likewiſe Purgatorye and ſupererogation of workes & pardons he did diſprone, both at Rome and at Paris. He ſpake agaynſt the popes indulgences, by the occaſion whereof diuers of the Popes court, perſwaded by him, began to ſpeake more freely agaynſt the ſame matter, then he himſelfe had done.

Ex lib. D. Weſels, De ſacramẽto penitẽtiæ.

The Popes ſupremacie written againſt.

The abuſes of Maſſes and praying for the dead he diſalowed: and likewiſe the ſupremacy of the Pope, he vtterterly reiected (as appeareth in a booke of his De Sacramento pœnitentiæ) denying vtterly that anye ſupreme head or gouernour ought to be in the world ouer all other: affirming alſo & ſaying many times, ẏ the pope had no authoritie to do any thingby commaundement but by truth: that is, ſo farre as trueth goeth with hym, ſo farre hys ſentence to ſtand: neither ẏ he ought to preuayle by commaunding but onely by teaching, ſo as euery true chriſtian Biſh. may preuayle ouer an other. Alſo in ſome place in his writings he denyeth not, but that popes and their ſpirituall Prelates, proceeding agaynſt Chriſtes doctrine, be playne Antichriſtes: ſuch as were infirm and not able to perform the bond of chaſtitie taken vpon them, he ſayd they might wel breake their vow.

Alſo the ſayd Weſelus witneſſeth, that the forefathers which were before Albert and Thomas, did reſiſte and withſtand the popes indulgences, calling them in theyr wrytinges playne Idolatry, mere fraude and erroure: adding moreouer that vnles the ſeueritie of ſome good Diuines, had not withſtand theſe pardons and indulgences of the Pope: innumerable errours had ouerflowne the church.

Amongeſt theſe workes of Weſelus, there is a certaine Epiſtle of one written to hym, in which the authour of the Epiſtle confeſſeth, that in hys time there was a certayne learned man at Paris called maiſter Thomas de Curſelis a Deane: who being in the councell of Baſill, wheras diuers began to aduaunce the power of the pope to farre, declared and affirmed, to be ſayd to him of Chriſt: Quicquid ligaueris ſuper terram erit ligatum & in cœlo: &c. Et non, quicquid dixeris eſſe ligatum. That is. What ſoeuer thou ſhalt bynde vpon earth ſhall be bound in heauen, but not, what ſoeuer thou ſayſt to be bound. As who ſhould ſay the pope cannot nor doth not binde therfore, becauſe he ſo ſayth, except truth and righteouſnes go alſo with him: then he doth ſo bynde in deed. There is a certayne booke of this man amongſt diuers others, which he intituleth, De ſubditis & ſuperioribus, in ẏ which he diſputeth greatly againſt ẏ pope & his Prelates: affirming that the pope vnleſſe hys faith & doctrine be ſound, ought not to be obeyd. He affirmeth alſo that the pope may erre, and when he erreth, men ought by all manner of meanes to reſiſt him. Item, that great & ſuperfluous riches in the clergy do not profite, but hurt ẏ church. That the pope doth wickedly diſtribute the rentes of the Church, and the Church it ſelfe, to vnworthy Miniſters by Simony for hys owne profite and gayne, wherby it may appeare that he neyther careth for GOD, nor the health of the Churche. Item, that the preceptes and commaundementes of the pope and prelates be no otherwiſe but as the Councels and preceptes of Phiſitions, binding no further then they are founde to be holeſome and ſtanding with the trueth of the word. Item, that the Pope can commaunde no man vnder payne of deadly ſinne, except God commaund him before. He ſayth that the keyes of the Pope and of the prelates be not ſuch, wherwith they open the kingdome of heauen, but rather ſhut it, as the Phariſeis did. Concerning vowes, he diſputeth that ſuche as be fooliſh and impoſſibile, ought to be brokẽ: that the hearers ought to diſcerne and iudge of the doctrine of their Prelates, and not to receiue euery thing that they ſay, without due examination.

Ex Epiſt. cuiuſdam in opere Weſeli.
Chriſtes aunſwere to Tho. de Corſelis touching this place *Quicquid ligaueris.*
Not what ſo euer is ſaid to be looſed in earth, is looſed in heauen: but whatſoeuer is looſed in very deede in earth, that is alſo looſed in deede in heauen.
Againſt riches in the Church.
The preceptes of the Pope & prelates how they binde.
The Popes keyes.
Vowes.
Doctrine not to be receaued without examinatiõ.

Excommunication.

He ſheweth moreouer that the ſentence or excommunication is of more force, proceeding from a true godly honeſt, ſimple and learned men, then from the Pope, as in ẏ Councell of Conſtance, Bernard was more eſteemed then Eugenius. Alſo if the pope with hys prelates, gouern and rule naughtely, that the inferiours, be they neuer ſo baſe, ought to reſiſt him.

Writing moreouer of two Popes, Pius the ſecond and Sixtus the fourth, he ſayth, that Pius the ſecond dyd vſurpe vnto hymſelfe all the kingdomes of the whole world & that Sixtus the pope did diſpenſe with al maner of othes in cauſes temporall, not onely with ſuche othes, as haue bene already, but alſo with all ſuche, as ſhalbe made hereafter: which was nothing els but to geue libertie and licence for men to forſweare themſelues and deceiue one an other.

Ex Nouiomago.
A propheſie of Weſelus.
This Oſtendorpius was a man well learned and Canon of the minſter of Lubecke.

This Weſelus beyng a Phriſian borne, and now aged in yeares, vpon a certayne time, when a yong man called mayſter Ioannes Oſtendorpius, came to hym, ſayd theſe wordes: Well my childe, thou ſhalt lyue to that day, when thou ſhalt ſee the doctrine of theſe new and contentious diuines, as Thomas and Bonauenture, with others of the ſame ſort, ſhalbe vtterly reiected and exploded from al true Chriſten deuines: And thys which Oſtendorpius then being young, heard Weſelus to ſpeake, he reported himſelfe to Nouiomagus, which wrote this ſtory. an. 1520. & heard it of the mouth of the ſayd Weſelus, an. 1490. Martij. 18.

Philippus Melanchton writing of the lyfe, of Rodolphus Agricola, ſayth: that Ioſquinus Groningenſis, an auncient and a godly man, reported that when as he was young, he was oftentimes preſent at the Sermons of Rodolphus and Weſelus, wherein they many times lamented the darckenes of the church, and reprehended the abuſes of the Maſſe: and of the ſingle life of prieſtes. Item, that they diſputed oftentimes of the righteouſnes of fayth, why S. Paule ſo oftentimes did inculcate, that men be iuſtified by faith and not by workes, the ſame Ioſquine alſo reported, that they did openly reiecte and diſproue the opinion of monks, which ſay that men be iuſtified by their works. Item, concerning mens traditiõs their opinion was, that all ſuche were deceiued, whatſoeuer attribued vnto thoſe traditions any opinion of Gods worſhip, or ẏ they could not be broken. And thus much for the ſtory of doctour Weſſellianus and Weſilus.

Here it appeareth that this R. Agricola was of good iudgement, though the Friers afterward buried him in a Friers weede.

Rodol. Agricola.
Weſelus lamenteth the darcknes of the Church

By this it may be ſeene and noted, how by the grace of God and gift of printing, firſt came forth learning: by learning came light to iudge and diſcerne the errors of ẏ pope from the truth of Gods word, as partly by theſe abouesaid may appeare partly by other that followe after by ẏ grace of Chriſt) ſhall better be ſeene.

About the very ſame tyme and ſeaſon, when as ẏ Goſpell began thus to braunch & ſpring in Germanie: the hoſt of Chriſtes church began alſo to muſter & to multiply likewiſe here in Englād, as by theſe hiſtoryes here conſequent may appeare. For not long after the death of this weſelus in the yeare of our Lorde 1494. and in the 9. yeare of the reigne of K. Henry 7. the 28. of Aprill, was burned a very old woman named Ioane Boughton widow, and mother to the Lady Young, which Ladye was alſo ſuſpected to be of that opinion which her mother was. Her mother was of foure ſcore yeares of age or more, & held 8. of wickleffes opinions (which opiniōs my author doth not ſhew) for the which ſhe was burnt in Smithfield the day aboueſayd. My author ſayth, ſhe was a Diſciple of wickleffe, whome ſhe accompted for a Sainct, and helde ſo faſt and firmly viij. of his x. opinions, that all the Doctours of Lōdon coulde not turne her from one of them, and when it was told her that ſhe ſhoulde be brent for her obſtinacie & falſe beliefe, ſhee ſet nothing by theyr manacing wordes, but defied them, for ſhe ſayde ſhe was ſo beloued of God, and hys holy aungels, that ſhe paſſed not for the fire, & in the midſt therof ſhe cryed to God to take her ſoule into his holy handes. The night following that ſhe was burnt, the moſt parte of her aſhes were had awaye of ſuche as had a loue vnto the doctrine that ſhe dyed for.

{ Anno. 1464. }

Ioane Boughton mother to the lady Young martir.

Shortly after the martyrdome of this godly aged mother in the yeare of our Lord, 1497. and the 17. of Ianuary, being Sonday, two men, the one called Richard Milderale, and the other Iames Sturdy, bare Fagots before the proceſſion of Paules, and after ſtoode before the preacher in the time of hys Sermon. And vpon the ſonday following, ſtood other two men at Paules croſſe all the ſermon tyme: the one garniſhed with paynted & written papers, the other hauing a Fagot on hys necke. After that in Lent ſeaſon vppon Paſſion Sonday, one Hugh Glouer bare a Fagot before the proceſſion of Paules, & after wyth the Fagot ſtoode before the preacher all the ſermon while at Paules croſſe. And on the ſonday next following foure men ſtoode, and did there open penaunce at Paules as is aforeſayd, in the ſermon time many of their bookes were burnt before them at the Croſſe.

{ Anno. 1497. }

Richard Milderale. Iames Sturdye.

Hugh Glouer.

Foure other beare fagots

Furthermore the next yeare following, whiche was the yeare of our Lord. 1498. in the beginning of Maye, the king then being at Canterbury, was a prieſt burnt, which was ſo ſtrong in his opinion that all the clerkes & doctors then there beyng, coulde not remoue him from his fayth: whereof the king beyng enformed, cauſed the ſayd prieſt to be brought before hys preſence, who by hys perſwaſions cauſed him to reuoke, and ſo he was burnt immediately.

{ Anno. 1498. }

A prieſt burnt.

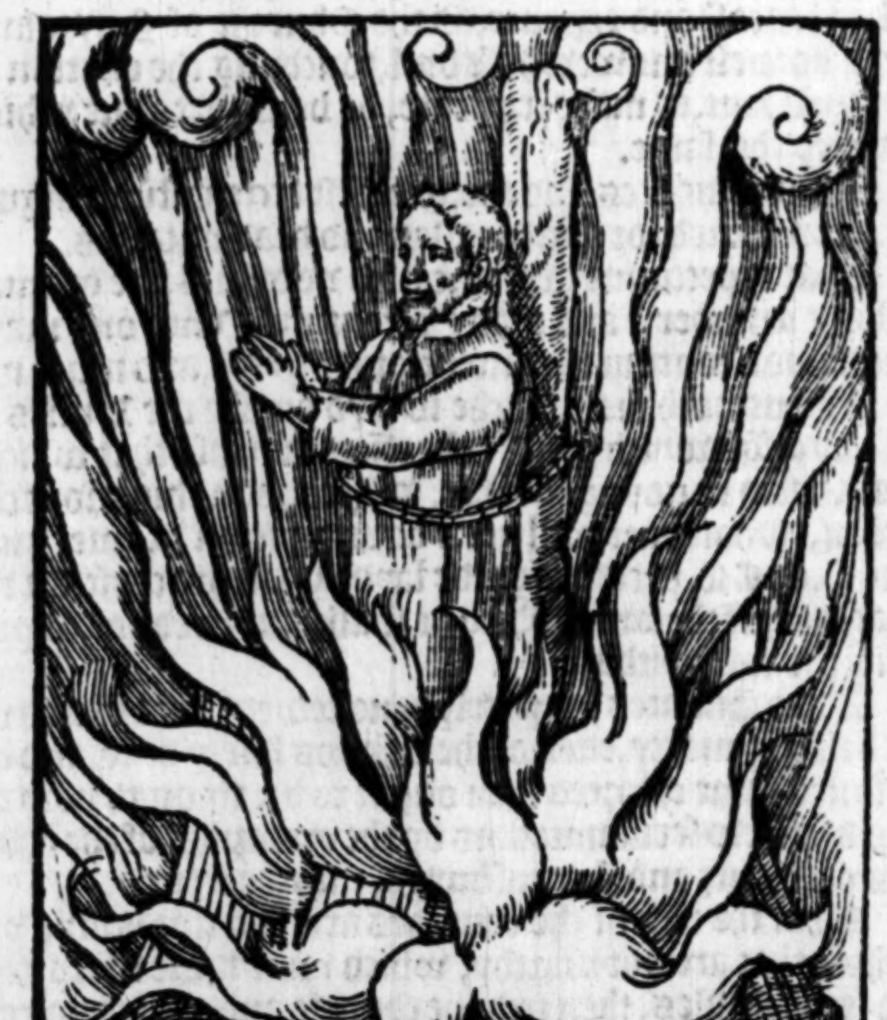
In the ſame yeare aboue mentioned, which was the yere of our Lord. 1499. after the beheading of Edward Plantagenet Earle of warwicke, and ſonne to the Duke of Clarence, the king and Queene being remooued to Calys, a certayne godly man and a conſtant Martyr of Chriſt, named Babram in Northfolke, was brent in the moneth of Iuly, as is in Fabian recorded after ẏ copy, whiche I haue written. Albeit in the book of Fabian printed, his burning is referred to the next yeare following, which is, an. 1500.

Ex Fabiano, & alio ſcripto codice.

The Quene was remoued to Calis at the beheading of her couſin Edward Plātagenet.

Babram brent in Northfolke Martir.

* The burning of Babram.



About which yere likewiſe or in the yere next folowing ẏ xx. day of Iuly, was an old mā burnt in Smithfield

An olde man burned.

In the ſame yeare alſo, which was of the Lord. 1499. fell the martyrdome and burning of Hieronimus Sauonarola, a man no leſſe godly in hart, then conſtant in his profeſſion. who being a Monke in Italy, & ſingularly well learned, preached ſore agaynſt the euill lyfe & liuing of the ſpiritualty and ſpecially of hys own order, complayning ſore vpō thē, as the ſpringes and authors of all miſchieues & wickednes. wherupō by ẏ helpe of certeine learned men he begā to ſeek reformatiō in hys own order. which thyng the pope perceauing, and fearing that the ſayde Hierome, which was now in great reputation amōgſt al men, ſhold diminiſh or ouerthrow his authoritie, he ordained his vicar or prouinciall to ſee reformatiō of theſe matters: which vicare wͭ great ſuperſtition began to reforme thinges, but the ſayd Hierome did alwayes withſtand hym, wherupon he was complayned of to the Pope, and becauſe that contrary vnto ẏ popes commaundement, he did wͭſtand hys vicare, he was accurſed. But for all that Hieronimus lefte not of preaching, but threatned Italy with ẏ wrath and indignation of God, and prophecied before vnto them, that the land ſhould be ouerthrowne for the pride and wickednes of ẏ people, and for the vntruth, hipocriſie and falſhood of ẏ clergy, which God would not leaue vnreuēged, as afterward it came to paſſe, when as king Charles came into Italy and to Rome, and ſo ſtraitly beſet the pope Alexander, ẏ he was forced to make compoſition with the king.

{ Anno. 1499. }

Hieronimus Sauonarola, with two fryers Martirs.

Propheſie of Hie. Sauonarola againſt Italy.

Pope Alexāder beſieged by Charles the French king.

Now for ſomuch as the ſaid Hierom would not leaue of preaching, he was commaunded to appeare before the pope, to geue accompt of his new learning, (for ſo thē they called the truth of the Goſpell,) but by meanes of the manifold perilles, he made his excuſe that he could not come. Then was he againe forbidden by the pope to preach, and his learning pronounced and condemned as pernicious, falſe and ſeditious.

Sauonarola cited to appeare before the Pope

The doctrine of Sauonarola condemned becauſe he would not come before the Pope

This Hieronimus, as a man worldly wiſe, foreſeeing the great perils and daungers that might come vnto him, for feare, left of preaching. But when as the people, which ſore hungred and longed for Gods word, were inſtant vpon him that he would preach agayne, he began agayne to preach in the yeare of our Lord. 1496. in the Cittie of Florence, and albeit ẏ many counſailed him that he ſhould not ſo do without the Popes commaundement, yet did he not regard it, but went forward freely of his owne good will. when as the Pope and his ſhauelinges heard newes of this, they were greuouſly incenſed and inflamed agaynſt him, and now againe curſed him, as an obſtinate and ſtifnecked hereticke. But for all that, Hieronimus proceeded in teaching and inſtructing the people, ſaying that men ought not to regard ſuch curſes, whiche are agaynſt ẏ true doctrine and the cōmon profite, whereby the people ſhold be learned and amended, Chriſt kingdome enlarged, and the kindome of the deuill vtterly ouerthrowne.

Sauonarola preacheth contrary to the Popes commaūdement.

In all his preaching he deſired to teach no other thing then the onely pure and ſimple word of God, making often proteſtation that al men ſhould certifie him if they had heard him teach or preach anye thing contrary thereunto, for vpon his owne conſcience he knew not ẏ he had taught anye thing but the pure word of God. what his doctrine was all mē may eaſely iudge by his books ẏ he had writtē.

After this, in the yeare of our Lord. 1498. he was takē and brought out of S. Markes cloyſter, & two other Fryers with hym, named Dominicke and Siluester, whiche fauoured hys learning, and was caried into priſon, wheras he wrote a godly meditation vpon that moſt comfortable 31. pſalme In te Domine ſperaui non confundar in æternū ſed in iuſticia tua libera me. wherein he doth excellently deſcribe and ſet forth, the continuall ſtrife betweene the fleſh and the ſpirite.

Hieron. with 2. other Friers cōmitted to priſō.

The commentarie of Hierome Sauon. vpon the Pſalme beginning: *In te domine ſperaui.*

After this the Popes Legates came to Florence, & called forth theſe three good men, threatning thē marueilouſly but they continued ſtill conſtant. Then came the chief cōſailers of the citty, with the popes commiſſioners, whiche had gathered out certain Articles againſt theſe men, wher upon they were condemned to death: the tenour of which Articles hereafter enſue.

Articles obiected againſt Hierome & the two Fryers.

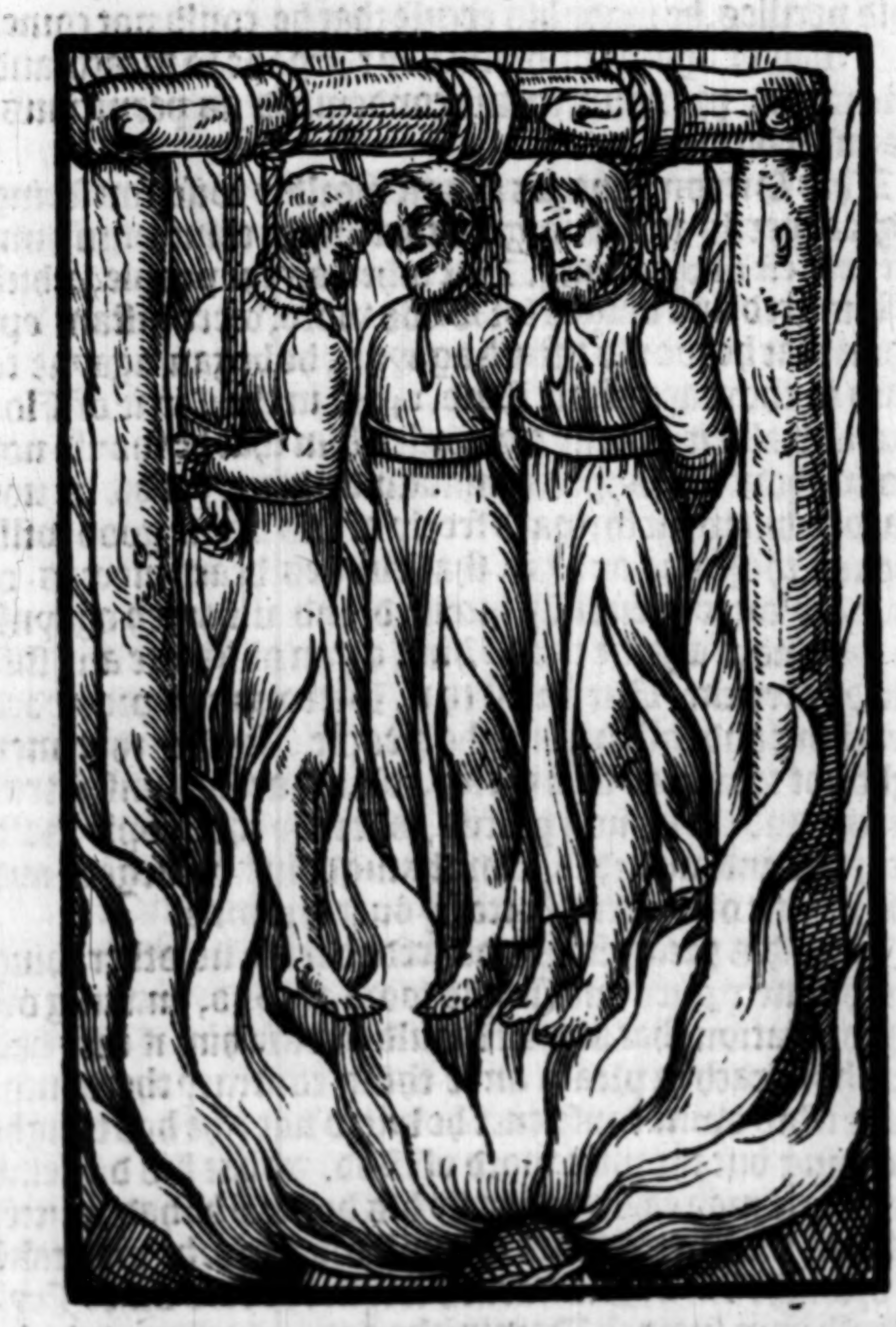
1. The firſt article was as touching our free iuſtification through fayth in Chriſt.
2. That ẏ communion ought to be miniſtred vnder both kyndes.

3. That the indulgences and pardons of the pope, were of no effect.
4. For preaching againſt the filthy and wicked liuing of the Cardinals and ſpiritualtie.
5. For denying the popes ſupremacie.
6. Alſo that he had affirmed, that the keyes were not geuen vnto Peter alone, but vnto the vniuerſal Church.
7. Alſo, that the pope did neither follow the life nor doctrine of Chriſt, for that he did attribute more to his owne pardons and traditions, then to Chriſtes merits, and therfor he was Antichriſt.
8. Alſo, that the popes excommunications are not to be feared, and that he which doth feare or flye them, is excommunicate of God.
9. Item, that auriculer confeſſion, is not neceſſary.
10. Item, that he had moued the Cittizens to vprore and ſedition.
11. Item, that he had neglected and contemned the popes Citation.
12. Item, that he had ſhamefully ſpoken agaynſt, & ſlandered the pope.
13. Itẽ, that he had taken Chriſt to witnes of his naughtines and hereſie.
14. Alſo, yͤ Italy muſt be clenſed through Gods ſcourge, for the manifold wickednes of the princes and clergy.

These & ſuch other like Articles, were layd vnto them & read before them. Then they demaunded of the ſaid Hierome and his companions, whether they would recant & geue ouer their opinions. Whereunto they anſwered, that through Gods help, they would ſtedfaſtly continue in the manifeſt truth, and not depart from the ſame. Then were they diſgraded one after an other, by the byſhop of Vaſion and ſo deliuered ouer to the ſecular rulers of Florence, wͭ ſtraight commaundement, to cary them forth, and handle them as obſtinate and ſtifnecked heretickes,

Hierome with his 2. companions hanged and brent for the Goſpells truth.

✱ The Martyrdome of Hierome and his two companions.



Thus, was the worthy witneſſe of Chriſt, with the other two aforeſaid, firſt hanged vp openly in the market place, and afterward burnt to aſhes, and the aſhes gathered vp, & caſt into the Riuer of Arum, the 24. day of May in the yeare of our Lord 1499. Ex Catal. teſtium. Illyrici.

The propheſies of Hierome Sauonarola.

This man foreſhewed many thinges to come, as the deſtruction of Florence and Rome, and the renuing of the Church: which three things, haue happened in theſe times within our remembraunce. Alſo he foreſhewed that the Turkes and Mores in the latter dayes, ſhould be conuerted vnto Chriſt. He alſo declared that one ſhould paſſe the Alpes into Italy, like vnto Cirus, which ſhould ſubuert and deſtroy all Italy. Whereupon Iohannes Franciſcus Picus, Erle of Mirandula, called him a holy prophet, and defended him by his writings againſt the pope. Many other learned men alſo, defend the innocencie of the ſaide Sauonarola. Marſilius Ficinus alſo in a certayne Epiſtle doth attribute vnto him the ſpirit of prophecie, greatly commending and prayſing him. In the like maner Philippus Comineas a French hiſtoriographer, which had conference with him witneſſeth that he was a holy man, and full of yͤ ſpirit of prophecie, for ſo muche as he had foreſhewed vnto hym ſo many thinges, which in euent had proued true.

Ex Ioan. Franciſ. Mirandula. Ex Marſilio Ficino.

Ex Philip. Cominea.

There were beſides theſe, many other, not to be paſſed ouer or forgotten: as Philip Norice an Iriſhman, profeſſour at Oxford, who albeit he was not burned (yet as it is ſayd) he was long time vexed and troubled by the religious route. But would to God, that ſuch as haue occupied themſelues in writing of hiſtories, and haue ſo dilligently committed vnto memory all other thinges done in foreign common wealthes, had beſtowed the lyke diligence & labour, in noting and writing thoſe thinges, which pertayn vnto the affayres of the Churche: whereby the poſteritie might haue had fuller and more perfecte vnderſtanding & knowledge of them.

This Sauonarola aboue mencioned, ſuffered vnder pope Alexander the 6. of which pope, more leyſure & oportunitie ſhall ſerue hereafter (Chriſt willing) to entreat, after that we ſhall firſt make a little digreſſion to entreate of certayn caſes and complayntes of the Germaynes, incidẽt in the meane time, which as they are not to be ouerpaſt in ſilence, ſo can they haue no place nor tyme more conueniẽt to be inferred. What complayntes of the Germaines were made and moued vnto the Emperour Fredericke agaynſt the popes ſuppreſſions and exactions, mencion was made before pag. 724. where alſo was declared, howe the ſayde Germaines at that time, were twiſe put backe and forſakẽ of the Emperour: whereby they continued in yͤ ſame yoke and bondage, vntill the time of Luther. Wherefore it cometh now to hand, and we thinke it alſo good, here briefly to declare, how the ſayd Germaynes, in the tyme of Maximilian the Emperour: renuing their complayntes agayn, deliuered vnto the Emperour, x. principall greuaunces, whereby the Germaynes haue bene long time oppreſſed: ſhewing alſo the remedies agaynſt the ſame, with certayne aduiſements vnto the Emperours maieſty, how he might withſtand and reſiſt the popes ſubtleties and craftes: The order and tenour whereof here enſueth.

The complaintes of the Germaines agaynſt the Popes greuances renued.

¶ The x. greuaunces of the Germaines.

Ten greuances complayned of by the Germaines.

1. That the Biſhops of Rome, ſucceſſors one vnto an other, do not thinke themſelues bound to obſerue & keepe the bulles, couenauntes, priuiledges, and letters, graunted by theyr predeceſſours, without all derogation: but by often diſpenſation, ſuſpenſion and reuocation, euen at the inſtance of euery vile perſon, they doe gaynſaye and withſtand the ſame.
2. That the elections of prelates are oftẽtimes put back.
3. That the elections of Preſidentſhips are withſtande, which the chapterhouſes of many churches haue obtained with great coſt and expence, as the Churche of Spyre and Haſell do well know: whoſe bull, touchyng the election of theyr preſident, is made fruſtrate, he being yet aliue which graunted the ſame.
4. That benefices and the greateſt eccleſiaſticall dignities, are reſerued for Cardinalles and head notaries.
5. That expectatiue graces, called vowſans, are granted without number, and many oftentimes vnto one man: Whereupon continuall contentions do ryſe, and much money is ſpent, both that whiche is layd out for the Bulles of thoſe vowſõs which neuer take effet, and alſo that whiche is conſumed in goyng to lawe. Whereupon this prouerbe is riſen, whoſoeuer will get a vowſon from Rome, muſt haue C. or CC. peeces of golde layde vp in his cheſt, for the obtayning of the ſame, which he ſhall haue neede of, to preſecute the law withall.
6. That Annates or yearly reuenewes, are exacted without delay or mercy, euen of the biſhops lately dead, and oftentimes more extorted then ought to be, through new offices and new ſeruauntes, as by the examples of the churches of Mentz and Strauſburgh, may be ſeene.
7. That the rule of the churches are geuen at Rome vnto thoſe that are not worthy, which were more fitt to keep and feede Mules, then to haue the rule and gouernance of men.
8. That new indulgences and pardons, with the ſuſpenſion and reuocation of the old, are graunted to gather and ſcrape money together.
9. That tenthes are exacted vnder the pretẽce of making warre agaynſt the Turke: when as no expedition doth follow thereupon.
10. That the cauſe whiche might be determined in Germany, wheras there are both learned and iuſt iudges, are

indiſtinctly caryed vnto the Court of Rome, which thing S. Bernard, writing to Pope Eugenius, ſeemeth wõderfully to reproue.

¶ Here enſueth the remedy agaynſt the ſayd greuaunces.

Remedies againſt the foreſayde greeuances.

IF it ſhal ſeeme good vnto the Emperors maieſty, let it be declared vnto the biſhop of Rome, how greuous and intollerable a thing it is vnto the Germaynes, to ſuffer continually ſo great charge & greeuances, to pay ſo great Annates for the confirmation of the Biſhops & Archbiſhops, and eſpecially in ſuch Biſhopprickes, whereas the Annates by ſucceſſe of time, are enhaunced, & in many (as it is ſayd) doubled. For the Archbiſhops ſea of Mentz (as it is ſayde) ſometime payd onely 10000. floreines: which ſumme, whẽ as one which was choſen there, refuſed to geue, and ſo cõtinued euen vnto his death, he which was afterward elect, being deſirous of confirmation, fearing to withſtande the Apoſtolicke ſea: offered the old ſumme of 10000. floreines: But notwithſtanding, he could not get his confirmation, except he would pay yͤ other 10000. which his predeceſſour before him had not payd.

The Archbiſhops Palle of Mẽtz what it coſteth.

By this meanes he was compelled to pay 20000. floreines. which being enrolled in the regiſter of the chamber hath bene exacted of euery archbiſhop ſince, vntil theſe our dayes: and not onely 20000. but alſo 25000. for theyr newe offices, & new ſeruants. At laſt the ſumme drew to 27000. floreines, which Iames the Archbiſhop of Mentz was cõpelled to paye, as his Commiſſary did report. So by this meanes, in a litle time, there was 7. tymes 25000. floreines payd out of the Archbiſhopricke of Mentz, vnto Rome for the confirmation of the Archbiſhop. And when this Archbiſhop Iames had kept the Archbiſhopricke ſcarce foure yeares, the Lord Vriel was elect after him, who was compelled to pay at the leaſt 24000. or 25000. forcines. whereof a part he borowed of Marchauntes: but to ſatiſfy and pay them agayne, he was forced to exact a ſubſidye of his poore ſubiectes and huſband men, whereof ſome haue not yet ſatiſfied and payd the tribute for the Biſhops Palle, ſo that by this meanes, our people are not onelye tormented and brought to extreme pouertye, but alſo are moued vnto rebellion to ſeeke theyr liberty by what meanes ſoeuer they may, greeuouſly murmuring agaynſte the crueltye of the Clergy.

The Popes palle dearely bought.

The pope alſo ſhould be admoniſhed, how that, through diuers and ſundry wars and battels, the lands of Germany lye deſolate & waſte, and through many mortalityes the number of mẽ is diminiſhed, ſo that for yͤ ſcarcenes of huſbandmen, the fieldes, for the moſt part, lye vntild, the toles are by diuers meanes diminiſhed, the mines conſumed, & the profites dayly decay, whereby the Archbiſhops & Byſhops ſhould pay theyr annates vnto the Apoſtolicke ſea: beſides their other neceſſary and honeſt charges: inſomuch that not without iuſte cauſe, Iames the Archbiſhoppe of Mentz being euen at the poynt of death, ſayde that he dyd not ſo much ſorrow for his own death, as for that his poore ſubiectes ſhould be agayne forced, to pay a greuous exaction for the Palle. wherfore let the high Biſhop as a godly father and louer of his children, and a faythfull and prudẽt paſtor, deale more fauourably with his children the Germaynes, leaſt that perſecution happen to riſe agaynſt the Prieſtes of Chriſt, and that men folowing the example of the Bohemians, do ſwarue from the Church of Rome.

The people polled for the popes Palle.

At the leaſt, let him be more fauorable, as often as any Archbiſhop or biſhop happeneth to rule his Church but a few yeares: as it happened to the Biſhops of Bamberge, whereof 3. dyed within few yeares. The like alſo might happen by other biſhopprickes, whereof (as Æneas Syluius witneſſed) there are in Germany to the number of 50. beſides Abbots, whereof a great number are confirmed at Rome.

Aboue 50. Byſhopricks in Germany

And admitt that in Germany there were greater profite and reuenewes riſing of the ground, mines and toles: notwithſtanding the Emperour and the other Princes, ſhould lacke treaſure and munition of warre agaynſt their enemies, and ſpecially the infidels, and to preſerue Germany in peace and quietneſſe, & to miniſter iuſtice vnto euery man: for which purpoſe, the Councell of the chamber being moſt holyly inſtructed and furniſhed with great coſt & charges, doth chiefly ſerue. Beſides that the Emperour hath need of treaſure, to ſuppreſſe the rebelles in the Empyre, to baniſh and driue away theeues and murtherers, wherof a great nũber are not aſhamed to ſpoyle churches onely, and to robbe them of theyr goods, but alſo to aſſaile the Clergy themſelues. Finally our nation and country of Germany, hath need of great riches and treaſure, not only for the repayring of Churches & monaſteries, but alſo for hoſpitals, for children that are layd out in the ſtreetes, for widowes, for women with childe, for Orphanes, for the mariage of yͤ daughters of poore men, that they be not defloured, for ſuch as haue neede and neceſſity, for the olde and weake, for the ſicke and the ſore, wherof (the more is the ſorrow) Germany is fully repleniſhed and filled.

¶ Aduertiſementes vnto the Emperours Maieſty.

The Emperour aduertiſed of the ſubtill practiſes of the pope, and popiſh prelates.

LEt the Emperors maieſty foreſee and prouide, that the begging friers do not preach againſt his maieſty which are wont to complayn gladly vnto the Apoſtolick ſea, fearing to loſe their priuiledges, which I would to god, were aſwel grounded vpon Chriſt, as they are vpon profite. Let the Emperours maieſty alſo beware that the Pope do not geue cõmaundement vnto the Electours, to proceed to the electiõ of a new king of Romaines, as he did agaynſt Frederick the ſecond, when as the Lantgraue of Thurin, and William Earle of Holland, were elect by the commaundement of the Pope. Let the Emperours maieſty alſo feare and take heed of all the Prelates of the Churches, and eſpecially of the Preſidentes, which by theyr oth are bounde to aduertiſe the Pope. Let the Emperours Maieſty alſo feare and beware that the Pope do not take away from his ſubiectes, their obedience, & prouoke the people bordering vpon him, to make inuaſiõ into yͤ Emperours dominiõs and Archduchy of Auſtrich: which thoſe men, vnder colour of ſhewing obedience vnto the Popes commaundemẽt, be ready to do.

Let the Emperours Maieſty alſo take heede of the Apoſtolicke cenſures, frõ which the pope will in no caſe refraine. Finally let yͤ Emperours maieſty diligently foreſee & take heede, that the pope do not perſwade the people wͭ moſt ſubtile argumẽtes, contrary to the pragmaticall ſanction, excuſing himſelfe, and getting the good will of yͤ ſimple, alledging yͭ wͭ great coſtes & charges, he will repayre yͤ Church of S. Peter in Rome, & build in certaine places, againſt the Turkes, and recouer againe the landes & patrimony pertaining vnto the Church of S. Peter, as he is boũd by his office. Therfore, let your maieſty diligẽtly foreſee and deliberate, how through your moſt wiſe & diſcrete counſaile, if neede ſhall require, you will anſwere to thoſe ſubtilties of the Pope.

The popes pretence of building S. Peters church in Rome

¶ A certaine godly exhortation vnto the Emperours Maieſtie.

A ſupplication or exhortation to Maximilian Emper. for redreſſe of the church.

YOur maieſty cã do nothing better, nothing more acceptable, or more worthy eternall remembrãce, thẽ to moderate the great exactions and oppreſſions of the Germaines: to take away all occaſion frõ the laitie, to perſecute the Clergy: alſo to take away yͤ benefices out of the handes of courtiſans, which can neither preach, comfort, nor counſaile any man (of which benefiſes, as Æneas Syluius writeth ſome are equall to the Byſhopprickes of Italye) to encreaſe Gods honour and worſhip: and ſo to bridle the auarice & vngodlines of thoſe courtiſans, wherby your maieſty may the better prouide for the children of many noble & famous men and Cityzens in Germanie, which being brought vp from their youth in the vniuerſities, learning both the Scriptures and other humaine letters, may without vnquiet vexations, and moſt ſumptuous charges & contentions, aſpire to the Eccleſiaſticall promotions: who by their coũſaile & prayers, may be helpes vnto the whole Church: For there is no ſmall occaſion, why the realme of Fraunce ſhould ſo floriſh, hauing ſo many notable learned mẽ in it. If the Emperour would aboliſh this impiety, and reſtore Germany vnto their auncient liberty, which is now oppreſſed with greuous tributes, and would make way for learned & honeſt mẽ vnto Eccleſiaſticall promotions: then might he truely & perpetually be called of all men, & in all places, yͤ reſtorer of Germany to his aũciẽt libertie, & yͤ father of his countrey, & ſhould obtayne no leſſe glory thereby vnto himſelfe, and profite vnto Germany, then if he had by force of armes, ſubdued any prouince vnto thẽ: And ſo ſhall Germany render no leſſe thankes vnto yͤ ſaide Maximilian, then vnto all the reſt, which hauing tranſlated the Empire from the Grecians vnto Germany, haue raigned many yeares before.

Hereafter enſueth the copy of a certaine letter of yͤ Emperour Maximiliã, geuen out in maner of a decree or cõmaundemẽt, againſt certaine abuſes of the Clergy. Wherunto we haue alſo annexed the aunſwere of Iacobus Seleſtadienſis, vnto the Emperours letters, wherein he ſeemeth alſo to haue ſought aduiſe for the remedy of the like abuſes. which we thought good here not to be omitted.

✱ An Edict of Maximilian Emperour.

WE according to the example of our dearely beloued father Fredericke Emperour of Rome, reuerenſing the chiefe Paſtour of the Church, and all the Clergy, haue ſuffered no ſmall reuenewes of the Eccleſiaſticall dignityes, to be caryed out of our dominion by the Prelats and Clergy that are abſent, whoſe faultes committed by humayne frailty, with Conſtantine our predeceſſor, we haue not diſdeyned to hide and couer. But for ſo much as thorugh our liberality, the decay of Gods honour is riſen, it is our part to foreſee (which are elect vnto the Empyre without any deſert) that amongeſt all other affayres of peace and warre the Churches do not decay, Religion quayle not, or Gods true worſhip be not diminiſhed: which we haue manifeſtly experimented and dayly doe perceiue by the inſatiable couetouſneſſe of ſome, which are neuer ſatiſfied in getting of benefices: through whoſe abſence (being but reſident onely vpon one) Gods honour and worſhip is diminiſhed, houſes decay, Churches decreaſe, the Eccleſiaſticall liberty is hurt, learning and monuments are loſt and deſtroyed, hoſpitality and almes diminiſhed, and by their vnſatiable greedineſſe, ſuch of the Clergy as for theyr learning and vertue were worthy of Benefices, and theyr wiſedome, profitable in common wealthes, are hindered and put backe. Wherefore according to the office and duety of our eſtate, for the loue of the encreaſe of Gods honour, we exhort and require that no man from henceforth, hauing any Canonſhip or Vicarage in one City of our Empyre, ſhall occupy or poſſeſſe a prebend in an other Church of the ſame City, except he geue ouer the firſt, within a yeares ſpace, vnto ſome perſon fitte and profitable for the Church: neither that he doe by vniuſt quarelles, vexe or trouble any man in getting of benefices, neither that any man doe falſely fayne himſelfe to haue bene of the Emperors houſhold, which hath not ben comprehended within the league and agreement made by the Princes, neither that any man attempt to take away the patronages from any lay man, or aggrauate the ſmall prebendes of Curates of Churches, with penſions, neyther that they doe vſe in getting of benefices and Bulles, any fraude, deceite, falſe inſtrumentes, corrupte witneſſes and cloaked Simonye, neyther that any man preſume to obteyne any regreſſe, or other thing contrarye to the ſacred Canons, right, honeſty, equity and reaſon, vpon payne of the moſt greeuous offence of treaſon: the whiche we will that, not onelye they, going ſo contrary to God and all honeſty: but alſo all theyr fauourers, which doe helpe, counſell, harbour or geue them any thing, all theyr meſſengers and writers, proctours, ſuretyes and other theyr friendes, ſhall incurre, and receiue condigne punyſhment for ſo great offence and contempt of our commaundemēt. From Oenopont. &c.

No man to haue two Canonſhips or prebēds at once.

¶ Here enſueth the copye of a letter written vnto the Emperour Maximilian,

¶ To our moſt victorious Lord Maximilian
the Emperour, Iacobus Seleſtadienſis, moſt
humble commendations.

MOſt victorious Emperour, when I had read your maieſtyes Epiſtle, and receiued inſtructions of your Secretary, I prepared my ſelfe with all my whole endeuour, to ſatiſfye your maieſtyes deſire: For euen from my youth hitherto, I haue applyed all my care and ſtudy, fyrſt for the honour of your maieſty, and conſequently for the amplifying of the Germayne nation, and ſacred Romayne Empire. Albeit I knowe my ſelſe farre vnable to ſatiſfye your deſire and purpoſe, and there are many which can fulfill thys matter much better, which haue greater learning and experience of theſe common matters. There be alſo with other Princes, and in the Senates of common wealthes, many excellent learned men, which can exonerate and beautify Germany, and perſwade to reduce all the Clergy vnto a Chriſtian diſcipline, and to an vnity & peace of the vniuerſall Church. Wherein not onely your Maieſty, but alſo your predeceſſours, as Charles the great, and his ſonne Ludouicus Pius, the Othoes, Conrades, Frederickes, and Henrikes, and laſt of all, Sigiſmundus, haue with all labour and diligence trauelled, being ſtirred thereunto, vndoubtedly throughe the zeale & charity which they bare vnto almighty God, & thākfulnes vnto Chriſt, for his benefites which he hath beſtowed vpon mankinde, and ſpecially for the benefite of his moſt bitter paſſion. For Chriſt became not poore for vs, that we ſhould liue in all riote and wantonnes vpon his patrimony, and ſhew forth our ambition and couetouſneſſe: neither did he ſuffer hunger that wee ſhould glut vp our ſelues: or ſuffered labors, chaſtity, and greuous torments, that we ſhuld liue in idleneſſe, wantōnes, and al kind of voluptuouſneſſe. Neither they which were contributers, and benefactours to Churches, induing the miniſters thereof with theyr temporall riches, had any ſuche reſpecte herein, that the Clergye ſhoulde liue onely in idleneſſe, hauing all thinges at theyr wyll, without labour. Surely there was another cauſe why that they in times paſt did empoueriſh themſelues and theirs to endow the Church: veryly that they might the better attend vnto diuine ſeruice, without care of want of liuing (which they might eaſily get and gather out of the fieldes, woodes, medowes, and waters) and to the intent that they ſhould liberally geue almes vnto the poore Chriſtians, Widdowes, Orphanes, aged and ſicke perſons. For in the inſtitutions of the canonicall profeſſion, whiche we ſuppoſe was written by the commaundement of Ludouicus Pius the emperour, and allowed by the counſell of the Byſhoppes, thus it is read: The goodes of the Churche (as it is alledged by the fathers, and conteyned in the chapters before) are the vowes of the faythfull, and patrimony of the poore. For the faythfull, thorow the feruentnes of theyr fayth, and loue of Chriſt being inflamed, hauing an earneſt deſire of that heauenly kingdome, haue enriched the holy Church with theyr owne goodes, that thereby the ſouldiors of Chriſt might be nouriſhed, the Church adourned, the poore refreſhed, and captiues according to the oportunitye of time, redemed. Wherfore ſuch as haue the adminiſtration of thoſe goods, ought diligently to bee looked vpon, that they doe not conuert them vnto theyr owne proper vſe, but rather, according to theyr ſubſtaunce and poſſibility, they doe not neglecte them in whome Chriſt is fed and clothed. Proſper is alſo of the ſame minde, affirmyng that holy men did not chalenge the Church goods to their owne vſe, as their owne proper goodes, but as thinges commended vnto the poore, to be deuided amongeſt them: For that is to contemne that which a man poſſeſſeth, not to poſſeſſe a thing for himſelfe, but for others, neyther to couet the Church goods with couetouſneſſe, to haue them himſelfe, but to take them with a godly zeale to helpe other. That which the church hath, is cōmō to all them which haue nothing, neyther ought they to geue any thing of that vnto them, (ſayth he) which haue of theyr owne: for to geue vnto them whiche haue enough, is but to caſt thinges away. Ex Illyrico.

Pope Alexander 6,

To returne nowe to the order of Popes where we left before ſpeaking of Innocentius the eight, after the ſayde Innocentius, next ſucceeded Pope Alexander the 6. In which Alexander, among other horrible thinges, this is one to be noted, that when Gemes (Peucerus named him Demes) brother to Balazetes the great Turke, was committed by the Rhodians, to the ſafe cuſtodye, firſt of Pope Innocent, then of Alexander the 6. for whoſe keeping the Pope receiued euery yeare 40000. crownes: yet notwithſtanding, whē pope Alexander afterward was cōpelled to ſend the ſayd Gemes to Charles the eight the French king for a pledge: becauſe the Frēch king ſhould not procure the great Turkes fauour, by ſending his brother Gemes to him to be ſlayne, he being hyred by the Turke, cauſed the ſayde Gemes to be poyſoned, who in his iourney goinge toward the French king, dyed at Terracina. Ex Hieronymo Mario.

The pope poyſoneth Gemes the turks brother, beyng committed to his cuſtodie.
Ex Paul. Iouio lib. 2.
Ex Peucero, lib 5.
Ex Hieronym. Mario.

Moreouer in the ſayd Hieronymus Marius it appeareth, that this Alexander taking diſpleaſure with the foreſayd Charles the French king, about the winning of Naples, ſent to Baiazetes the Turke, to fight againſt the foreſayd Charles. Ex eodem.

The Pope ſetteth the great turke againſt the French K.
Ex Seb. Munſtero, lib. 4. Coſmograph.

Munſterus lib. 4. Coſmog. Declaring the foreſayd hyſtorye of Gemes, ſomething otherwiſe, firſt calleth him Zizymus, and ſayth, that he was firſt committed by the Rhodians to the french king. And when as Ioannes Huniades afore mentioned, did labor to the French king to haue him, thinking by that meanes to obtain a noble victory againſt the Turke, as it was not vnlike: this Alexander the pope, thorow his fraudulent flatterye, gotte him of the Frenche King, into his owne handes: by whoſe meanes the ſayd Gemes afterwarde was poyſoned, as is in maner before expreſſed.

Mancinellus writing againſt the wickednes of the pope, loſte hys handes and tongue.

Unto theſe poyſoned actes of the Pope, let vs alſo adioin his malicious wickednes, with like fury exerciſed vpō Antonius Mancinellus, which Mancinellus being a mā of excellent learning, becauſe he wrote an eloquēt oratiō againſt his wicked maners & filthy life, with other vices, he therfore commaunded both his hands & his tong to be cut of, playing much like with him, as Antonius ẏ tirant once did with M. Cicero, for writing agaynſt his horrible life. At length, as one poyſon requireth another, this poyſoned Pope, as he was ſitting with his Cardinals, & other rych Senatours of Rome at dinner, his ſeruauntes vnwares brought to him a wrong bottell, wherewith he was poyſoned, and his Cardinals about him.

Poyſon requited with poyſon.

In the time of this Pope Alexander, alſo it happened (whiche is not to bee pretermitted) how that the Aungell whiche ſtood in the high toppe of the Popes Churche, was beaten downe with a terrible thunder: which thing ſemed then to declare the ruine and fall of the Popedome. After this Pope next ſucceded Pius the 3. about the yeare of our Lord 1503. After whome came next Iulius the ſecond a man ſo farre paſſing all other in iniquity, that Wicelius, &
ſuch

The high Angell of the popes pallace throwne downe.
Pope Pius. 3.
Pope Iulius. 2.

ſuch other of his owne friendes writing of him, are compelled to ſay of him, Marti illum quam Chriſto deditiorem fuiſſe: that is, that he was more geuen to warre and battayle, then to Chriſt. Concerning the madneſſe of this man thys is moſt certaynely knowne, that at what time he was going to warre, he caſt the keyes of S. Peter into the riuer of Tybris, ſayinge, that for as much as the keyes of Peter would not ſerue him to his purpoſe, he woulde take himſelfe to the ſword of Paule. wherupon Philip Melancthō, amongeſt many other writing vpon the ſame, maketh this Epigrame.

Cum contra Gallos bellum papa Iulius eſſet
Geſturus, ſicut fama vetuſta docet:
Ingentes martis turmas contraxit, & vrbem
Egreſſus ſæuas edidit ore minas.
Iratuſq; ſacras claues in flumina iecit
Tibridis, hic vrbi pons vbi iungit aquas.
Inde manu ſtrictum vagina diripit enſem,
Exclamanſq; truci talia voce refert:
Hic gladius Pauli nos nunc defendet ab hoſte,
Quandoquidem clauis nil iuuat iſta Petri.

Whereupon alſo Gilbert Ducherius maketh this Epigrame.

In Gallum vt fama eſt, bellum geſturus acerbum,
Armatum educit Iulius vrbe manum:
Accinctus gladio, claues in Tibridis amnem
Proijcit, & ſæuus talia verba facit:
Quum Petri nihil efficiant ad prælia claues,
Auxilio Pauli forſitan enſis erit.

¶ The ſenſe of theſe Epigrammes in Engliſh is this.

When Iulius Pope agaynſt the French
determined to make warre:
As fame reportes, he gathered vp
great troupes of men from farre.
And to the bridge of Tybur then,
marching as he were wood:
His holy keyes he tooke, and caſt
them downe into the floud.
And afterward into his hand,
he tooke a naked ſword:
And ſhaking it, brake forth into
this fierce and warlike word.
This ſword of Paule (quoth he) ſhall now
defend vs from our foe:
Since that this key of Peter doth
nothing auayle thereto.

The popes law geueth leaue to kyll all that be accurſed of him.

The warres and bloudſhed of pope Iulius.2.

Of this Iulius it is certaynely reported, that partly wͭ his warres, partly with his curſinges, within the ſpace of 7. yeares, as good as 200000. Chriſtians were deſtroyed. Fyrſt he beſieged Rauenna agaynſte the Venetians, then Seruia, Imola, Fauentia, Forliuium, Bononia and other cities, which he gate out of Princes handes, not without much bloudſhed. The Chronicles of Iohn Sledan maketh mention, that when this Iulius was made Pope he toke an othe, promiſing to haue a Councell within two yeares: but when he had no leyſure thereunto, being occupyed with his warres in Italy amōg the Venetians, and with the French king, and in Ferraria, and in other countryes: 9. of his Cardinalles departing from him, came to Millayne, and there appoynted a Councell at the City of Piſe, amongeſt whome the chiefe, were Bernardus, Cruceius, Gulielmus Preneſtinus, Franciſcus Cōſtantinus, with diuers others: amongeſt whome alſo were adioyned the Procuratours of Maximilian the Emperour, and of Charles the French king. So the Councell was appoynted the yeare of our Lord 1511. to begin in the Kalendes of September. The cauſe why they did ſo call this Councell was thus alledged, becauſe the Pope had ſo brokē his oth, and all this while he gaue no hope to haue any councell, & alſo becauſe there were diuers other crimes, wherupō they had to accuſe him. Theyr purpoſe was to remoue him out of his ſeat, the which he had procured through bribes and ambition. Iulius hearing this, geueth out contrary commaundement vnder great payne, no man to obey them, & calleth himſelfe another councell agaynſt the next yeare, to be begon the 19. day of Aprill. The French king vnderſtāding Pope Iulius to ioyne with the Venetians, and ſo to take theyr part agaynſt him, conuented a councell at Thurin in the month of September, in the which councel theſe queſtions were propoſed.

The pope periured. A councell called to depoſe pope Iulius.

Whether it was lawfull for the Pope to moue warre agaynſt any prince without cauſe.
Whether any Prince in defending himſelfe, might inuade his aduerſary: and deny his obedience.

The Pragmaticall Sanction eſtabliſhed, mentioned before, pag. 674.

No vniuſt excommunication to be feared.

Vnto the which queſtions it was anſwered, that neither the biſhop ought to inuade, and alſo that it was lawfull for the king to defende himſelfe. Moreouer that the Pragmaticall ſanction was to bee obſerued thorowe the realme of Fraunce: Neyther that any vniuſt excommunications ought to be feared, if they were founde to be vniuſt. After this the king ſent vnto Iulius, the aunſwere of his councell, requiring him either to agree to peace, or to appoynt a generall Councell ſome other where, where thys matter myght bee more fully decided. Iulius woulde neyther of both theſe, but forthwith accurſed Charles the French king, with all his kingdome. At the lenth, at Rauenna in a great war, he was ouercome by the frēch king, and at laſt, after much ſlaughter and great bloudſhed, and mortall warre, this Pope dyed in the yeare of our Lorde 1513. the 21. day of February.

The turkes doing requiſite to be knowen of Chriſtians.

If it were not that I feare to ouerlay this our volume wͭ heapes of forreigne hiſtoryes, which haue profeſſed chiefly to entreat of Actes and Monuments here done at home: I woulde adioine after theſe popes aboue rehearſed, ſome diſcourſe alſo of the Turkes ſtory: of theyr riſing, and cruell perſecution of the ſayntes of God, to the great anoiance and perill of Chriſtendome: yet notwithſtanding certayne cauſes there be which neceſſarily require the knowledge of theyr order and doinges, and of theyr wicked procedings, theyr cruell tyranny, and bloudy victories, the ruine & ſubuerſion of ſo many Chriſten Churches, with the horryble murders and captiuitye of infinite Chriſtians to bee made playne and manifeſt, as well to this our countrey of England, as alſo to other nations:

The firſt cauſe.

Firſt for the better explayning of the Prophecies of the new Teſtament, as in S. Paules Epiſtle ad Theſſal. and alſo in the reuelation of S. Iohn. whiche Scriptures otherwiſe, without the opening of theſe hiſtoryes, can not ſo perfectly bee vnderſtand. Of the whiche Scriptures we mynde hereafter (Chriſt graunting) orderly, as the courſe of matter ſhall lead vs, to make rehearſall.

The ſeconde cauſe.

An other cauſe is, that we may learne thereby eyther with the publique Churche, to lament with our brethren ſuch a great defection and decay of chriſtian fayth, through theſe wicked Turkes: or els may feare thereby our owne daunger.

The third cauſe.

The thyrd cauſe, that we may pōder more deeply with our ſelues, the ſcourge of God for our ſinnes, and corrupte doctrine, which in the ſequele hereof, more euidently may appeare to our eyes, for our better admonition.

The fourth cauſe.

Fourthly, the conſideration of this horrible perſecution of the Turkes, riſing chiefely by our diſcord and diſſention among our ſelues, may reduce vs agayn from our domeſticall wars, in killing and burning one of an other, to ioyne together in Chriſtian patience and concorde.

The fiſt cauſe.

V. but chiefely theſe great victoryes of the Turkes and vnproſperous ſpeed of our men fighting agaynſt thē, may admoniſh & teach vs, folowing the example of the olde Iſraelites, how to ſeek for greater ſtrēgth to encounter with theſe enemyes of Chriſt, then hitherto we haue done. Firſt we muſt cōſider, that the whole power of Sathan ẏ prince of this world, goeth with the Turkes. whiche to reſiſt, no ſtrēgth of mans arme, is ſufficient, but onely the name, ſpirite, and power of our Lord Ieſus the ſonne of god, going with vs in our battels, as among the olde Iſraelites, the Arcke of Gods couenaunt and promiſe wente with them alſo, fighting agaynſt the enemies of God. For ſo are wee taught in Scripture, that we chriſten mē haue no ſtrength, but in Chriſt onely. whether we warre agaynſt the deuill, or agaynſt the Turke it is true, that the Scripture ſayeth: Sine me nihil poteſtis facere. i. without me you cā do nothing. Otherwiſe there is no puiſſaunce to ſtand agaynſt ẏ deuill or to conquere the world, Niſi fides noſtra: that is, our fayth onely all the promiſes of God (touching ſaluation) be annexed, beyonde which promiſes we muſte not goe; for the worde muſt be our rule. He that preſumeth beyond the promiſes in the word expreſſed, goeth not, but wandereth, hee can not tell whether. Neither muſt we appoynt God, how to ſaue the worlde, but muſt take that way whiche he hath appointed. Let vs not ſet our God to ſchoole, nor cōprehed his holy ſpirite within our ſculles. He that made vs wͭout our counſell, did alſo redeeme vs as pleaſed hym. If he be mercifull, let vs be thankefull. And if his mercyes ſurmount our capacity, let vs therfore not reſiſt, but ſearch his word, and thereunto apply our will: which if we will doe, all our conten-

Admonition to fight againſt the turke.

Chriſtian fayth neceſſary to be ioyned with outward force againſt the turke.

Gratis venum dati eſtis, gratis redimemini. Eſai 52.

Omnes ſitientes venite ad aquas, emite abſque argento et commutatione. Eſai. 55.

contentions wil ſoone be at a poynt. Let vs therfore ſearch the will of our God in his word, and if he will his ſaluation to ſtand free to all nations, why do we make marchandiſe therof? If he haue graciouſly offred his waters to vs, without mony or mony worth, let vs not hedge in the plẽtuous ſpringes of his grace geuen vs.

And finally, if God haue determined his owne ſonne onely to ſtand alone, let not vs preſume to admixt with his maieſty any of our trumpery. He ẏ bringeth S. George or S. Deniſe as patrons, to ẏ field to fight againſt ẏ turk, leaueth Chriſt (no doubt) at home. Now how we haue fought theſe many yeres agaynſt the Turke: though ſtoryes keep ſilence, yet ẏ ſucceſſe declareth. We fight agaynſt a perſecutour, being no leſſe perſecutours our ſelues. We wraſtle againſt a bloudy tyraunt, and our handes be as full of bloud as his. He killeth Chriſtes people with the ſword: and we burne them with fire. He obſeruing the works of the law, ſeeketh his iuſtice by the ſame: the like alſo do we. But neither hee nor we ſeeke our iuſtification as we ſhoulde, that is, by fayth onely in the ſonne of God.

Reformation of religion requiſite before we fight with the turkes.

And what maruell then, if our doctrine being as corrupt almoſt, as his: and our conuerſation worſe, if Chriſte fight not with vs, fighting agaynſt ẏ Turke? The Turke hath preuayled ſo mightely, not becauſe Chriſt is weake, but becauſe that Chriſtians be wicked, and theyr doctryne impure. Our temples with Images, our hartes with idolatry are poluted: Our prieſtes ſtinck before God for adultry, being reſtrayned from lawfull matrimony. The name of god is in our mouthes, but his fear is not in our harts. We warre agaynſt the Turke with our workes, Maſſes, traditions and ceremonies: but we fight not agaynſt hym with Chriſt and with the power of his glory, whith if we did, the field were wonne.

Faith getteth victory.

Wherfore briefely to conclude, ſaying my iudgement in this behalfe, what I ſuppoſe: this hope I haue, & do beleue that when the Churche of Chriſt with the Sacramentes therof, ſhalbe ſo reformed, that Chriſt alone ſhall be receaued to be our iuſtifier, all other religions, merites, tradition, images, patrons and aduocates ſet a part: the ſword of the Chriſtians, with the ſtrength of Chriſt, ſhall ſoone vanquiſh the Turkes pride and fury. But of this more largely in the proceſſe of this ſtory.

The ſixt cauſe.

The ſixte and laſt cauſe, why I thinke the knowledge of the Turkes hiſtory, requiſite to be conſidered, is this: becauſe that many there be, which for ẏ they be farther frõ the Turkes, and thinke therfore themſelues to be out of daũger, take little care and ſtudye, what happeneth to theyr other brethren. Wherefore to the intent to excite theyr zeale and prayer to almighty God, in this ſo lamentable ruin of Chriſtes church: I thought it requiſite by order of hiſtory, to geue this our natiõ alſo ſomething to vnderſtand, what hath bene done in other nations by theſe cruell Turkes, and what detriment hath bene and is like more to happen by them, to the Church of Chriſt, except we make our earneſt inuocatiõ to almighty God, in the name of hys ſonne, to ſtop the courſe of the deuill by theſe Turkes, and to ſtay this defection of Chriſtians falling daylye vnto them, and to reduce them agayn to his fayth which are fallen frõ him. Which the Lorde Ieſus of his grace, graunt wyth ſpeede. Amen.

Earneſt inuocation neceſſary in the Church of Chriſt.

2. theſſ. 2.

Before we enter into this ſtory of the Turks and Saracens, firſt let vs call to remembraunce the Prophecy and forewarning of S. Paule writing to the Theſſ. in his 2. Epiſtle, in theſe words: Be not moued nor troubled in your myndes, eyther by preaching, or by writing, or by letter frõ vs, as though the day of the Lorde were at hande: for the Lord will not come except there come a defection firſt, and the wicked perſon be reuealed. &c. Of this defection ſundry mindes there be, of ſundry expoſitours: ſome thinking this defection to meane a falling away from the Empyre of Rome: ſome from the obedience of the Pope. But as S. Paul little paſſed vpon the outward glory of the Romayn Empyre: ſo leſſe he paſſed vpon the proud obedience of the Pope. What Saynt Paule ment by this defection, the reading of theſe Turkiſhe ſtoryes, and the miſerable falling away of theſe Churches by him before planted, will ſoone declare.

The place of S. Paule expounded. 2. theſſ. 2. ſpeaking of the defection to come.

The number of the Apocalips, cap. 13. expounded.

Another miſtery there is in the Reuelations, Apoc. 13. where the number of the beaſt is counted *666.* Wherby may ſeeme by all euidences, to be ſignified the firſt origene and ſpringing of theſe beaſtly Saracens, as by ſequele hereof may appeare by the firſt riſing of this deuiliſh ſect of Mahumet.

An other place, Apocal. 16. Et ſextus Angelus effudit phialam ſuam, &c.

Moreouer, an other place there is, cap. 16. Apoca. where we read that by powring out of the Phial of Gods wrath, of the ſixt Aungell, the great floud Euphrates was dryed vp, to let in the kinges of the Eaſt: the openyng of which Prophecy, may alſo more euidently appeare, in cõſidering the order and maner of the comming in of theſe Turks into Europe.

Some alſo apply to the Turkes certayne Prophecyes of Daniell, Ezechiell, and other places of the old Teſtamẽt moe, which here I omit, for ſo much as the Prophecyes of the old Teſtament, if they be taken in their proper & natiue ſence, after my iudgement, do extend no further, then to the death of our Sauior, and the end of the Iewes kingdome. Albeit herein I do not preiudicate to any mans opiniõ, but that euery man may abound in his owne ſenſe.

The time of Mahumete the falſe prophet expounded.

As touching the yeare and time when this peſtiferous ſect of Mahumet firſt began, hiſtories do not fully conſent: Some affirming that it began, an. 621. and in the 10. yeare of Heraclius Emperour of Conſtantinople: in whyche minde is Ioannes Lucidus. As Munſterus counteth, it was in the yeare of our Lord 622. Martin Luther, & Iohn Carion referreth it to the 18. yeare of the raigne of Heraclius, which is the yere of our Lord 630. Unto the which nũber the computation of the Beaſt ſignified in the Apocali. doth not farre diſagree, whiche numbreth the name of the Beaſt, with three Greeke letters χξσ whiche Greeke letters after the ſupputation of the Greciãs, make the number of *666.*

The number of the beaſt in the Apo. cap. 13.

Mahumet of the ſtocke of the Iſmalites dwelling in Arabia.

In this all writers agree, that this damnable Mahumet was borne in the country of Arabia, bordering on the Eaſt part of Iewry. His father was a Syrian, or a Perſian, his Mother was an Iſmalite, which Iſmalites being a people of Arabia, were called then Agarens: which term Mahumet afterward turned to the name of Saracens. Of this wretched Mahumete mention was made before. pag. 124. where we ſhewed, how he making himſelfe the higheſt Prophet of all other, yet denyeth not Chriſt to be an holy Prophet and next to him, and Moſes alſo to be an other. Moreouer he denieth not Mary the mother of Chriſt to be a virgin, and to haue conceiued Chriſt by the holy ghoſt, affirming further that Chriſt in his owne perſon was not crucified, but another called Iudas for him. He greatly cõmendeth alſo Iohn the ſonne of Zachary for a virgin: whẽ he himſelfe permitteth a man to haue 4. wiues, and as many concubines as he is able to finde: & ſayth that where as Chriſt & other Prophets had the gift geuen them to worke myracles, he was ſent by force of ſword, to compell men to his religiõ. The prodigious vanityes, lyes, & blaſphemies conteyned in his lawe called Alchoran, are rather to be laught at, then recited.

The prodigious lyes & blaſphemies of Mahumets Alchoran.

It is thought that Sergius a Neſtorian, was a great doer with Mahumet, in cõtriuing of this lying Alchorã & ſo it doth well appeare by the ſcope and pretence thereof which eſpecially tẽdeth to this end, to take the diuinity frõ the perſon of Chriſt, whom he graunteth notwithſtanding to be a moſt holy man, & alſo that he is receiued vp to God and ſhall come agayne to kill Antichriſt. &c.

Mahumetes Alchoran mingled with diuers lawes.

Moreouer this ridiculous Alchoran is ſo blaunched & pondered with ſo diuers mixtures of ẏ Chriſtians, Iewes and the Gentiles lawes, geuing ſuche liberty to all wantonneſſe of fleſh, ſetting vp circumciſion, abſteyning from ſwines fleſh and Iudaicall lotions, and ſo much ſtandeth vpon Father Abraham, that it is ſuppoſed of ſome, this filthy Alchorã, not to be ſet out in the dayes of Mahumet, but that certayne Iewes had ſome handling alſo in this matter, and put it out after his death: and ſo ſemeth firſt to take his force about the number of yeres limited in the Apocal. as is aforeſayd, where thus it is written: He that hath intelligence, let him count the number of the beaſt: For it is the number of a man, and his number is ſixe hundred, ſixe ſcore and ſixe.

The numeration of the Apoc. *666.*

After this deuiliſh Mahumet had thus ſeduced ẏ people, teaching thẽ that he came not by miracles, but by force of ſword, to geue his law, & that they which wil not obey it muſt either be put to death or els pay tribute (for ſo be the wordes of the Alchoran) and after that hee had gathered ſtrength about him, of the Arabians, which Arabians thẽ had occaſion to rebell agaynſt the Emperor, becauſe theyr ſtipendes were not paid them of Heraclius the Emperors officers: he began to raunge with force and violence in the partes of Syria bordering nere vnto him, and firſt ſubdued Mecha, then Damaſcus: and further encreaſing in power, entred into Egypt, and ſubdued the ſame. From thence he turned his power agaynſte the Perſians, with whome Coſroes the king of Parſia, encountring with a puiſſaunt army, ouerthrew the Saracens, & put Mahumet to fight. Of theſe Perſians came the Turkes, which afterward ioining with the Saracens, maynteyned them agaynſt the Chriſtians. Ex Munſter.

Damaſcus ſubdued of the Saracens.

Mahumet put to flight by Coſroes kyng of the Perſians.

After the death of this beaſt, which as ſome ſay, was poiſoned in his houſe ſucceeded Ebocara, or Ebubecer his

father

Hieruſalem beſieged.

father in law, or as Bibliander affirmeth, his ſonne in law who toke vpon him the gouernmēt of the Saracens, and gotte the Cittye Gaza, and beſieged alſo Hieruſalem two yeares. He raigned two yeares, hauing for his chiefe City, Damaſcus.

After him folowed Omar, or Ahumar, who conquered a great part of Syria, and got Egypt.

Ceſaria got of the Saracens.

The kyngdome of the Perſians ſubdued to the Saracēs.

The 4. king of the Saracens after Mahumet, was Odmē, then folowed Haly, & after him Muhanias: which after the ſiege of 7. yeares, obteined & got the chriſtian City of Ceſaria: alſo ouercame the Perſians, with theyr king Ormaſda, and ſubdued that country to his law.

Arabia, Paleſtina, Phenicia, Syria, Egypt and Perſia, ſubdued of the Saracens

Thus the wicked Saracens in the ſpace of 30. yeares ſubdued Arabia, got Paleſtina, Phenicia, Syria, Egypt, and Perſia: whiche came directly to the 666. yeares, prophecied of in the Reuelations of S. Iohn, as is aforeſayd. And not long after they proceded further, and got Affrike, and then Aſia, as in the proceſſe of theyr ſtory ſhal appeare, the Lord willing.

Conſtance the Emperour ouercome by the Saracens.

Murder cōmonly proſpereth not with the Lord.

Rhodes ſpoyled of the Saracēs.

Not long after, Heraclius Emperor of Conſtantinople, ſucceded Conſtans his nephew, who in the 13. yere of his Empyre, fighting vnluckely agaynſt the Saracens in Licia, was ouerthrown of Muhanias aforeſayd in ẏ yeare of our Lord 655. which Conſtans if he were not proſpered by the Lord in his warres, it was no great maruell, conſidering that he had ſlaine his brother Theodoſius before at home: moreouer liued in inceſtious matrimony: alſo being inclined to certayne new ſects, could not abide the cōtrary teachers, but ſlew thē which admoniſhed him thereof. The ſayd Conſtans going afterward to Italy, was alſo ouercome of the Lumbardes. &c. the Saracens after this victory ſpoyled alſo Rhodes.

Sultanes firſt called.

The firſt ryſing of the turkes.

Although theſe curſed Saracens, in theſe theyr greate victories & conqueſts, were not without domeſticall ſeditions and deuiſions among themſelues, yet the princes of ẏ Saracens, being called then Sultans, had in theyr poſſeſſion, the gouernment of Syria, Egypt, Affrike, & of a great part of Aſia, about the terme of 400. yeares: till at length the Saracen king which ruled in Perſia, fighting agaynſt the Saracene of Babilon, ſought ayde of the Turkes, to fight with him agaynſt ẏ Sultane of Babilon. The which Turks by litle and litle ſurpriſed vpō ẏ Sultan of Perſia, & not long after putting him out of place, vſurped the kingdome of Perſia: which afterward went further, as ye ſhall heare the Lord willing. And this is the firſt beginning of the Turkes dominion.

The turkes dominions parted into 4. familyes.

Theſe Turks after they had thus ouercome great coūtryes and prouinces: and made their power large & mighty both in Aſia and Europa, begā to deuide theyr kingdōes & countryes amongeſt themſelues. But when they coulde not agree, but with deadly war contended for the boundes of thoſe kingdomes and dominions: in the meane tyme 4. of the principall families conquering and ſubduing all the reſt, parted the whole Empyre amongſt thēſelues. And yet they alſo not ſo contented, fell to ſuch cruell hatred, contētion, warre, and ſlaughter (no doubt by the iuſt iudgement of God againſt his blaſphemous enemies) that there was no end thereof, vntill the remnant of the auncient Turkes was vtterly rooted out.

For it is euident, that there are fewe nowe remayning which are Turkes in deed by birth and bloud, and that the ſtate of that great empyre is not vpholdē, but by ẏ ſtrength and power of ſouldyors, which haue bene Chriſtians, and now are turned to Mahumetes Religion: ſo that euen theyr owne naturall language is now out of vſe amongeſt them, ſauing in certayne families of theyr nobility and gētlemen.

Theſe foure familyes aboue mentioned, with theyr Captaynes and armyes, about the yeare of our Lorde. 1330. went raging throughout all Aſia and Europa, and euery one of them conquered ſome parte of the countryes where they paſſed.

The diſſenſention of the Chriſtians do make the turkes ſo ſtrong.

The cauſes of theſe great inuaſiōs and victoryes were the diſſention and diſcorde, falſehode, idleneſſe, vnconſtancy, greedy auarice, lacke of trueth and fidelity among Chriſtian men of al ſtates and degrees, both high and low. For by the wilfull defection and backeſliding of the Chriſtians, the Turkiſh power did exceedingly encreaſe, in that many deſiring the licentious life & liberty of war, & allured with the proſperous ſucceſſe of thynges, forſoke the Churche of God, and made themſelues bond ſlaues to Mahumet and his deuiliſh ſect: both becauſe that fleſhly liberty is delighting to all men, and partly alſo becauſe, as fortune fauoreth, ſo commonly the willes of men enclyne: And agayne ſuche as be prophane and without the feare of God, (whereof there is an infinite number in the Church) in all ages, are wont commonlye to iudge of Religion, according to the ſucceſſe of realmes and kingdomes. For if any, not onelye for the variety of opinions, but alſo for the diuerſitye of euentes and fortune amongeſt men, haue inquired and doe inquire, whether there be any Churche of God diſtyncte from other nations: what it is, and where it is: eſpecially, for ſo muche as the greateſt part of men, bothe in the olde time, when as the foure Monarchyes flouriſhed in order, was ignoraunt of this doctrine, whiche is peculier to the Churche alone, and nowe alſo the barbarity of Mahumet preuayleth & raigneth in the moſte part of the worlde. And how ſtandeth this with mans reaſon, that a ſmall number both miſerable and alſo feebled and broken with manye battayles, ſhoulde be regarded and loued of God, and the other flouriſhing in all wealth, proſperity, victoryes, authority and power, ſhould be reiected and deſpiſed of God, ſeing there is no power and authoritye, but by the ordynaunce of God? Albeit therefore, the power of the Turkes hath bene, for theſe two hundreth yeares, of greater force, then any other Monarchy of the world beſides: yet is there no Imperiall dignity to be eſtemed in that Turkiſh tyrāny: but amongeſt thoſe nations onely, where the heauenly doctrine of the Goſpell is preached, & other diſciplines neceſſary for the Churche of God, & the common life of man mayntayned and regarded: where the lawes of God, & other honeſt and ciuil ordinaunces agreable to the ſame, doe flouriſh and reigne: where lawful iudgement is exerciſed: where vertue is honoured and rewarded: where ſinne and wickednes is puniſhed: where honeſt familyes are mayntayned and defended.

No imperiall countrie in all the turkiſh dominions.

The deſcription of the turkes vnordinate Empyre.

Theſe thinges are not regarded amongeſt the Turkes, the enemies of the ſonne of God, and all lawfull Empyres: becauſe they diſſolue and reiect all godly ſocietyes, honeſt diſcipline, good lawes, pollicyes, righteous iudgemēts, the ordinaunce of matrimony, and godly familyes. For what hath the Empyre of the Turkes bene hetherto, but moſte deadly, cruell, and perpetuall warre, to worke all miſchief, deſtruction and deſolation? to ſubuert good lawes, Cityes, kingdomes, policies, and to enlarge theyr cruell power & dominion? The ſtay and ſtrength whereof, is not loue and fauour proceeding of vertue and iuſtice, as in lawefull and well gouerned Empyres: but feare, violence, oppreſſion, ſwarmes and infinite thouſandes of barbarous and moſt wicked people, miniſters of Satans malice & fury. Whiche kinde of dominion and tyranny hath bene condēned by the voyce of God, many yeares agoe: the teſtimonyes wherof the Lord would haue to remayne in the Church, leaſt the godly being moued with ẏ power & ſucceſſe therof, ſhould fall away and forſake the ſonne of God.

Ezech.39.
Apoc.20.

Wherefore, let vs not ſeeke for any Imperiall ſtate in that barbarity: but let vs be thankefull, & acknowledge the great benefite of God, for that he hath reſerued to vs certayne remnaunts of the Romayn Empyre: And let vs call vpon him dayly with harty petitions and grones & wyth zeale and loue to the houſe of God, that this Turkiſh power ioined with the malice of Sathan, againſt the ſonne of God, preuayle not agaynſt the pore congregations & litle remnant of his Churche, as it hath hitherto done agaynſte thoſe ſtrong and noble chriſtian kingdoms and churches, were now we ſee the Turkiſh tyranny to raigne & Sathā to haue taken full poſſeſſion. Whoſe ſtate was once farre better then ours is now, and more like to continue without ſuch horrible ouerthrowes and deſolation Oh that we might foreſee a litle the great daunger that hangeth ouer our heades. For though the Turke ſemeth to be farre of, yet doe we nouriſhe within our breſtes at home, that maye ſoone cauſe vs to feele his cruell hand and worſe, if worſe may be, to ouerrunne vs: to lay our land waſte: to ſcatter vs amongeſt the Infidels, the enemies and blaſphemers of the ſonne of God.

The Chriſten kingdomes and churches deſtroyed by the turkes, are a warning for vs, whom God hath yet ſpared.

Foure principall families of the turke.

The family of Ottomannus.

Nowe, although theſe 4. families aboue mentioned, long continued together in bloudy warres and deadly hatred, yet one of them paſſed the reſt in all crueltye and tyranny, and ſubduing the other 3. familyes, toke vpon him the gouernement alone, and ſo became the firſt Monarch, or Emperour that reigned amōg thē, called Ottomannus, of whome all that raigned after him, were called Ottomanni. Who ſucceeding orderly of his lyne, haue occupyed the ſame dominion and ſeate of the Turkes, from the yeare of our Lord 1300. vnto this preſent time, which haue bene to the number of 12. Of the which 12. in ſuche order as they liued and raygned, I intend (Chriſt ſo permitting) ſeuerally and compendeouſly ſomething to entreat, briefely abſtracting out of prolixe and tedious writers, ſuch ſpecialties, as for vs Chriſtians, ſhall be chiefely requiſite to be knowne.

¶ Ottomannus the firſt great Emperour or Tyraunt of the Turkes.

Ottomannus the firſt Emperour of the Turkes.

THis Ottomannus was at the firſt, of poore eſtate and obſcure amongeſt the common ſort of men, comming of a baſe progeny and of ruſticall parentes: but through hys valiantnes and actiuity in warre, he got him a great name amongeſt the Turkes. For he being a man of fearce courage, refuſing no labour and delighting in warre, and gathering together by great ſubtlety and multitude of common ſouldiours, began to make warre, and by conqueſtes and victories, to aduaunce himſelfe and his family. Fyrſt he began to robbe and ſpoyle with a great band of rouers and afterward he attempted to ſet vpon all men. Neither did he vexe and deſtroy the Chriſtians onely, but ſet vpon his owne nation alſo, and ſought al occaſion to ſubdue thē wholy vnto him. For now the Princes and Captaynes of the Turkes, inflamed with ambition and deſire of rule, began to fall out and contend among themſelues, in ſo much that they fell to domeſticall and inward warre, with all the power they could.

Inward warre amonge the Turkes.

The comming vp of Ottomānus.

Ottomannus hauing this occaſion very fitte & meete to accompliſhe that whiche he long had ſought for, gathering vnto him all ſuch as he thought to be geuē to robbing and ſpoyling, and ſette all vpon miſchiefe, in ſhort time began to grow in authority, & firſt ſet vpon certayn townes, as he ſaw oportunity to ſerue him: Of which towns, ſome he tooke by force, ſome by yelding, other ſome he ſpoyled & ouerthrew, to terrify the reſt, thus laying the firſt foundation of his riſing. In the meane time, the diſcorde whiche was among the Chriſtians, was no ſmall aduauntage to this Ottomannus, by occaſion whereof, he within x. yeres ſpace, ſubdued Bethinia, and al the prouinces about Pontus: Alſo Natolia, which comprehendeth all the dominion of the Greekes within Aſia: Ancyra a City in Phrigia: Sinope a Cittye in Galatia: and Sabaſtia a Cittye in Capadocia: and thus ſtill preuayling, he encreaſed in ſhort time, to a mightye power, either through the ſecret iudgemente of God agaynſt that nation, or els becauſe God woulde haue them ſo farre & ſo cruelly to preuayle, for the puniſhmen of the ſinnes of other nations, like as it was prophecyed before, that ſuch a kingdome there ſhoulde be of Gog and Magog.

Bithinia, Natolia, Ancyra, Sinope, Sebaſtia, ſubdued.

Ezech. 38.

This Ottomannus, after he had raigned 28. yeares in the yeare of our Lord 1527. dyed, and departed to his Mahumet, leauing behind him three ſonnes, of whom Orchanes being the youngeſt, killed his two brethren, whileſt they were at variaunce betwene themſelues.

¶ Orchanes the ſecond Emperour after Ottomannus.

Orchanes the ſecond Emperour of the Turkes, after Ottomannus.

Myſia, Lydia, Lycaonia, Phrigia, Caria, Pruſia, Nicia, Nicomedia.

Chriſten Cities ſubdued of the Turkes.

Ciuil warre among the Grecians.

ORchanes, the youngeſt of the ſonnes of Ottomannus, after he had ſlayne his two brethren, tooke the regimēt of the turkes after his father. Who after he had drawne to him the hartes of the multitude, ſuch as had theyr diſpoſitions ſet vpon the licētious life of warre, cōuerted his power, further to enlarge his fathers dominion: winning & ſubduing Myſia, Lydia, Lycaonia, Phrygia, and Caria: All whiche countryes, being within the compaſſe of Aſia, vnto the ſea ſide of Helleſpontus, and the ſea Euxinus, he added to the Turkiſhe Empyre. Alſo he wanne Pruſia: which was the metropolitane City of Bithynia, which thē he made the chiefe ſeate of the Turkes Empyre. Beſides theſe moreouer, he conquered Nicea, & got Nicomedia: all which were before Chriſtian Cities & regions. And yet all this could not make the Chriſtian Princes in Grecia, to ceaſe theyr ciuill warres, & to ioyne & accord among themſelues: Such debate and variaunce was thē betwene Cātacuzenus, on the Greeks part, & Paleologus ẏ Emperor of Conſtantinople. By reaſon whereof, ẏ turkes ayd was ſent for out of Aſia, to helpe our Chriſtians one to kil an other, and at length to get all thoſe partes of Europe from them both. Who if they had according to theyr profeſſion, ſo well ioyned in brotherly vnity, as they did in cruel hoſtility diſſent, neither had Orchanes ſo preuayled in gettynge Pruſia from the Grecians, neither had the turkes ſo ſoone preſumed into Europe as afterward they did. Orchanes after theſe victories, when he had raigned 22. yeares was ſtrokē, as ſome ſay, with a dart in the ſhoulder, at the ſiege of Pruſia. The opiniō of others is, that he fighting againſt the Tartariās, where he loſt a great part of his army, was there alſo ſlayne himſelfe. an. 1349.

By the diſcorde of Chriſtians, the Turkes encreaſe.

¶ Amurathes the 3. after Ottamannus.

THe Greeke writers doe holde that Orchanes had two ſonnes, Solimannus, and Amurathes. Of which two, firſt Solimannus raigned albeit not long. After him folowed Amurathes, who after that Aſia nowe was ſubdued by his predeceſſors, ſought by all meanes and wayes how to proceede further & to inuade Europe. To whoſe ambitious purpoſe the domeſtical warres of the Chriſtians gaue vnproſperous occaſion: which occaſion is thus declared. Certaine diſcord fell betwene the princes of Greece (whoſe captayne was Cantaguzenus) and Paleologus Emperor of Conſtantinople. Whereupō Paleologus, for that he was not able to make his party good with the Grecians, moſte vnwiſely ſent for Amurathes, to helpe him. Who beinge glad to haue ſuch an occaſion offered, which he ſo long had ſought, ſent to ayde him 12000. Turkes into Thracia: but firſt vſed all delayes he could, of crafty pollicy to the entent that the Greekes firſt ſhoulde waſte theyr ſtrength and power vpon themſelues, whereby he might be more able afterward to ſet vpō them, and to accompliſh his conceiued deſire.

Amurathes the third after Ottomannus.

Amurathes ſeeketh occaſion to inuade Europe.

The Turkes thus being called into Europe, by the Chriſtians, whether they taſting the ſweetneſſe of the ſoyle incenſed Amurathes theyr Emperor to make inuaſion, or whether Amurathes of his owne head thought good to vſe the time, in the yeare of our Lord 1363. he came himſelfe ouer into Europe with 60000. Turkes, falling vpon the Grecians, being waſted and ſpent with their long warres and battelles before. The pretence of the deuiliſhe Turke was to ayd and to aſſiſt the Emperour Pelcologus, whether he would or no, and to ſubdue ſuch as had fallen from him. The Chriſtian ſhippes of the Ligurians for money were hyred to conduct them ouer, taking for euery ſouldiour a peece of gold. Ex Pucer. & alijs.

The firſt comming of the Turke into Europe

The couetouſnes of Chriſtians brought ouer the Turkes.

Callipolis, Philippolis, Adrianopolis, Thracia, gotten of the Turkes.

Thus the Turkes armye being conueyed ouer by the Grecian ſea called Helleſpōtus, firſt got Callipolis wyth other townes and Cityes bordering about the ſea, & there planting themſelues, and preparing ſhippes of theyr own for tranſporting theyr munitions out of Aſia, aduaunced their power further into Thraſia, and there wanne Philippolis, then gotte Adrianopolis, which was not farre from Conſtantinople, & there Amurathes made his chiefe ſeat. Then beganne Paleologus the Emperour at lenth to bewayle his offer & couenaunt made with Amurathes. Whē the Turkes had expugned thus a greate part of Thraſia, they extended forth theyr armye vnto Myſia, whiche they ſoone ſubdued: from thence proceding and conquering the Beſſos and Triballos, they entred into Seruia, and Bulgaria: where they ioyning battell with Lazarus Deſpota prince of Seruia, and with other Dukes of Dalmatia, and Epirus, wanne of them the field, & put them to the worſe: where Lazarus Deſpota being taken, and committed to priſon, ended his life. This Lazarus had a certayne faythfull client or ſeruaunt, who to reuenge his maiſters death, with a bolde courage, although ſeing death before his eies, yet ventred his life ſo far, that he came to the tyraūt & thruſt him through with his dagger. This Amurathes reigned. 23. yeares, and was ſlayne in the yeare of our Lord 1372.

The Turkes entreth into Myſia and Bulgaria, and Seruia.

Lazarus Deſpota ouercome of the Turkes.

Example of a faythfull ſeruant.

The death of Amurathes.

Baiazetes the 4. after Ottomannus.

Baiazetes the 4. after Ottomannus.

THe power of the Turkes began to encreaſe in Europe, what time Baiazetes, the firſt of that name, after the death of his father, entred the poſſeſſion of the turkes kingdome. This Baiazetes had 2. brethrē, Solimānus & Sances. Whiche Sances had his eyes put out by his father for ſtriuing for the kingdome. Solimānus was ſlayne of hys brother. Thus Baiazetes beginning his kingdome wyth the murther of his brother, reduced his Imperiall ſeat frō Pruſia a city of Bithynia, vnto Adrianople, entēding with himſelf to ſubdue both Aſia & Europe to his own power. Firſt he ſet vpon the Seruians and Bulgarians, thinking to reuenge his fathers death, where he gaue the ouerthrow to Marcus Deſpota, with all the nobility of the Seruians and Bulgarians, and put all thoſe partyes vnder his ſubiection vnto the fines and borders of the Illyrians. All Thracia moreouer hee brought likewiſe vnder his yoke, onely Conſtantinople and Pera excepted. That done, he inuaded the reſidue of Grecia, preuaylyng agaynſte the countryes of Theſſalia, Macedonia, Phocides, and Attica, ſpoyling and burning as he paſſed, without anye reſiſtaunce: and ſo returning with innumerable ſpoyle of the Chriſtians, vnto Adrianople, layd ſiege to Conſtantinople the ſpace of viij. yeares, and had expugned the ſame, but that Paleologus beyng brought to extremitye, was driuen to craue ayde of the frenchmen, and of Sigiſmund the Emperour. Who being accompanyed with a ſufficient power of Frenchmen & Germaynes, came downe to Hungaria & toward Seruia agaynſt the Turk. Baiazetes hearing of theyr comming, raiſed his ſiege frō Cōſtantinople,

Marcus Deſpota ſlayne of the Turke.

Seruia, Macedonia, Bulgaria, Phocides, Thracia, Attica, Theſſalia, with other Chriſtian coūtries cōquered of the Turkes.

Conſtantinople beſieged 8. yeares by the Turkes.

The Chriſtians ouerthrowen of the Turkes. Sigiſmund Emperour put to flight. The barbarous cruelty of the turks, againſt the Chriſtians.

and with 60000. horſemen, came to Nicopolis, where he encountring with them, ouerthrew all the Chriſtian army, tooke Iohn the Captaine of the French power priſoner: Sigiſmundus, which before in the Councell of Conſtance, had burned Iohn Hus & Hierome of Prage, hardly eſcaped by flieng. Baiazetes after the victory got, carried away Duke Iohn, with fiue other in bands, into Prulia, where before his face he cauſed all the other chriſtian priſoners to be cut in peeces.

Afterwarde the ſayde Iohn beeing raunſomed wyth 200000. crownes, was deliuered. Some authors referre this ſtory to the time of Calepinus, as followeth heereafter to be ſeene.

Tamerlanes a Parthian ſtirred vp of God to reuenge the cauſe of the Chriſtians. Baiazetes ſonne taken and ſlaine. Crueltyiuſtly reuenged with cruelty. Baiazetes raiſeth hys ſiege from Conſtantinople.

Baiazetes the cruell tirant after this victory wonne, & tirannie ſhewed vpon the Chriſtians, returned againe to his ſiege of Conſtantinople, fully bending himſelfe to cōquere and ſubdue the ſame, whiche thyng no doubt he had accompliſhed, but that the prouidence of God had founde ſuch a meanes that Tamerlanes King of Parthia, wyth an 100. thouſand horſemen, and ſwarmes of footemen, like a violent floud, ouerrunning Aſia, and preſſing vpon Siria and Sebaſtia, had taken Orthobules the ſonne of Baiazetes, priſoner, and afterward ſlue him, exerciſing the like crueltie vpō his priſoners, as Baiazetes had done before vpon the Chriſtians: inſomuch that he ſpared neither ſexe nor age of the Turkiſh multitude: of whome he cauſed xij. thouſand at one time, to be ouerriden and troden downe vnder his horſes feete. By reaſon whereof, Baiazets the tirant was enforced to raiſe his ſiege from Conſtantinople, & to returne his power into Aſia: where he, neere the hill called Stella, pitched his tents there to encounter with Tamerlanes.

Baiazetes ouercome of Tamerlanes king of Parthians.

The fight betweene theſe ij. was long & great on both ſides, which was in the yeare of our Lord 1397. and the ſecond yeare after the ſlaughter of our Chriſtians at Nicopolis in Ponnonia: but the victorie of this battaile fell to Tamerlanes at lēgth. In the which battaile as Munſterus writeth, were ſlaine 2000000. Turkes. Among whome, Baiazetes the tirant, hauing his horſe ſlaine vnder him, was takē priſoner, and to make a ſpectacle of his wretched fortune, was bounde in golden fetters, and ſo beeing encloſed in an iron grate (whome before all Grecia could not holde) was ledde about and ſhewed through all Aſia, to be ſkorned & laught at: and moreouer was vſed in ſtead of a footeſtoole to Tamerlanes, or a blocke, as often as he mounted vpon his horſe. Some adde alſo, that he was made like a dogge to feede vnder Tamerlanes table. The tirannie of which Baiazetes againſt the Chriſtians, as it was not much vnlike to the crueltie of Valerianus yͤ Romaine Emperour aboue mentioned, pag. 73. ſo neither was the example of his puniſhment much diſcrepant, for as Sapores King of the Perſians did then with Valerianus in time of the eight perſecution of the primatiue Church: ſo likewiſe was Baiazetes this perſecutor worthely handled by Tamerlanes king of the Parthians, as in maner aboueſayd.

The iuſt hād of God vpō a cruell perſecutour. Baiazetes made for a blocke for Tamerlanes to get vpon his horſe. *Vid. ſupra. pag. 73.*

The great victories of Tamerlanes in Aſia.

Tamerlanes after thys conqueſt, paſſed wyth hys army into Meſopotamia, to Egypt, and all Syria, where he victoriouſly ſubduing the Cities and munitions of the Turkes, at length alſo conquered Damaſcus. In his ſieges his maner was, the firſt day to go all in white attire, the ſeconde daye in red, the third day in blacke: ſignifieng thereby mercie the firſt daye to them that yeelded, the ſeconde day the ſword, the third day fire and aſhes. At laſt, after great victories, and ſpoiles gotten of the Turkes, he returned into his Countrey againe, and there dyed, anno 1402.

Ex Seb. Mūſtero lib. 4. Coſmograph

Seb. Munſterus writing of this Tamerlanes, recordeth that he had in his army 200. thouſand men: and that hee ouercame the Parthians, Scythians, Hiberians, Albans Perſians, Medes, and conquered all Meſopotamia: and after he had alſo ſubdued Armenia, paſſing ouer the riuer Euphrates with ſixe hundred thouſande footemen, and 4000000. horſemen, he inuaded all Aſia Minor, conquering and ſubduing from the floud Tanais vnto Nilus in Egipt, and was called terror orbis, the terror of the world. He lefte behinde hym two ſonnes, who falling in diſcorde for theyr poſſeſſions, loſt all agayne that their father gotte.

Tanais is the vttermoſt floud in the North ſide: and Nilus the vttermoſt floud in the South ſide of Aſia.

A generation of Vipers

In the meane time Baiazetes in the ſecond yeare of his captiuitie, died, leauing behind him diuers ſonnes, Ieſus or Ioſua the eldeſt, Mulſumanes, Moſes, Celebinus, or Calepinus, Ieſus the yonger, Muſtaphas, and Hali, of whome firſt Ieſus the eldeſt was ouercome and ſlaine of Mulſumanes: which Mulſumanes afterwarde was deliuered to Moſes his brother, and by him was ſlaine likewiſe, which Moſes had alſo the like ende by his brother Calepinus, hauing his necke broken with a bowe ſtring, which was then the vſuall maner among the Turkes in killing their brethren. The ſame Calepinus ſparing onely the life of Muſtaphas his other brother, condemned him to perpetuall priſon. Ieſus the younger was Baptiſed, & ſhortly after departed at Conſtantinople. In theſe ſuch diſorders and diuiſions among the Turkes, what occaſions were geuen to the Chriſtiās to haue recouered agayne of the Turkes that they had loſt, if they had not bene either negligent, or in their own priuate warres otherwiſe occupied with themſelues.

¶Calepinus the 5. after Ottomannus.

Calepinus the fift, after Ottomannus.

Calepinus, or Celebinus was the ſonne of Baiazetes, and of foure brethren, the eldeſt: who beyng all taken captiues of the Parthians, he onely eſcaped and obteined his fathers kyngdome. This Calepinus encouraged by the ſloth and negligence of the Princes of Europe, and by the diſcord of the Grecians amongeſt them ſelues and other nations neare about them, long troubled and vexed the Bulgarians, Seruiās, and Macedonians, euen to the tyme of Sigiſmundus. which Sigiſmundus ſeyng now Baiazetes to be ouercome and taken of Tamerlane, and the power of the Turkes weakened in Europe, & hauing ſuch occaſion offered him, as it were from heauen, to deſtroy and vtterly to roote out, not onely out of Aſia but alſo all Europe, that barbarous nation, and cruell enemies to the name and Religiō of Chriſt: and alſo to reuenge the great ſlaughter and diſcomfiture of his army fighting before with Baiazetes at Nicopolis a Citie in Myſia: with great power made warre agaynſt Calepinus at Columbatium a Towne in Seruia, as is alſo before mentioned. pag. 719. but as vnluckely and with as little ſucceſſe as he did before agaynſt Baiazetes his father: For in that battaile were ſlayne of the Chriſtiās to the nūber of xx. thouſand, and the reſt vtterly diſcomfited, the kyng himſelfe eſcaping ſo hardly, that he entred not agayne into his kingdome for the ſpace of 18. monethes after. Some write that this was done vnder Baiazetes, other ſome referre this battaile to Amurathes, but howſoeuer it was, moſt pernicious was it to the Chriſtiās. He raigned but vi. yeares and dyed very young. an. 1404.

Vide ſupra. pag. 719.

The onerthrow of Sigiſmund, fighting agaynſt the Turke. Some ſtories record this cōflict to be after the time of thys Turke.

¶Orchanes and Moſes his vncle, the ſixt after Ottomanus.

Orchanes and Moſes his vncle. Diuerſitie in hyſtories.

After the captiuitie of Baiazetes aboue mentioned, hiſtories diuerſly doe diſſent. The Greeke writers making no mention at al of Calepinus, onely make mētion of the ſonnes of Baiazetes, & of the contention among them, vntill the time of Muhumetes. The Latin ſtories writing of the children of Baiezetes and of their ſucceſſion, doe not therein agree, ſome affirmyng that Baiazetes had two ſonnes, Orchanes ſurnamed Calepinus, & Mahumetes his brother, which within two yeares ſlew the ſayd Calepinus, and entred his dominion. Other attribute to Baiazetes moe ſonnes, as is aboue rehearſed. Some agayne doe geue to Baiazetes onely theſe two ſonnes Celebinus and Muſtaphas: and hold that Calepinus or Celebinus had two ſonnes, to wit, Orchanes and Mahumetes, and adde moreouer that the ſayd Orchanes beyng ſomewhat yoūg, was ſlayne of his vncle Moſes, who gouerned but ij. yeares. For Mahumetes to reuenge his brothers death ſlew Moſes, and inuaded his dominion. The Greeke ſtories make no mention at all of Orchanes.

Tirāny betwene vncle and nephew. Murther reuenged with murther.

¶Mahumetes the 7. after Ottomannus.

Mahometes the 7. after Ottomānus. Wallachia aſſaulted by Mahometes.

This Mahumetes, whether he was the ſonne of Baiazetes, or els of Calepinus, conuerted to himſelfe alone the kingdome, or tyrāny rather, of the murdering Turks. who afflicted the Chriſtiās with ſore warres within Europe, eſpecially the countrey called Wallachia, lying not farre frō the floud Danubius, betwene Hungary & Thracia. From thence he remoued into Aſia, where he recouered diuers partes in Galatia, Pontus, Capadocia, Cilicia, whiche before Tamerlanes had alienated from the Turkes. This Mahumetes planted his chief Imperiall ſeate in Adrianople not farre from Conſtātinople, within the countrey of Thracia. In ſome writers the conflict betwene Sigiſmund & the great Turke, wherein the Chriſtians were ſo diſcomfited, is referred rather to this Mahumetes, then to Calepinus: of which conflict mention is aboue made in the ſtory of Sigiſmundus. pag. 719. This Mahumetes reigned, as ſome ſay 14. yeares, & dyed in the yeare of our Lord, 1419. Other affirme 17. yeares.

The Turkes ſeat at Adrianopolis.

Vide ſupra. pag. 719.

¶ Amurathes the ſecond, 8. after Ottomanus.

Amurathes the 8. after Ottomanus.

AMurathes, as Philelphus ſayth, was the ſon of Celebinus, as Laonicus Chalcondiles teſtifieth, of Mahumetes: whoſe ſon ſoeuer he was, a wretched tiraunt he was, and permitted as a ſcourge of God, to correct ẏ ſins of the Chriſtians. In the ſtory of Baiazetes, mentiō was made before of Muſtaphas his ſonne, who was cōdemned to perpetual priſon by Calepinus his brother. This Muſtaphas eſcaping out of his brothers priſon, was conueied to the Grecians, where he remained long in cuſtody, til at length they vnderſtanding the purpoſe of Amurathes, ſet him vp with ſufficient habiliments and furniture of war, to fight againſt the ſayde Amurathes his nephew. But in cōcluſion, he being not able to make his partie good, came into ẏ hands of his enemie, and had his necke broke with a bowſtring, after the maner of the Turkiſh execution.

Muſtaphas murthered by Amurathes his nephew.

The Grecians then terrified with this ſiniſter aduerſity required truce of the Turke, but when that would not be graunted, they procured vnto them Muſtaphas, the other brother to Amurathes, being of the age of xiij. yeares: who likewiſe being armed of ẏ Grecians, got the City of Nice in Bithynia, from Amurathes his brother: Albeit it was not long but he was circumuented in the ſame Citie, and brought to Amurathes: who cauſed him likewiſe to taſte of the ſame whip, as the other Muſtaphas had done before. Amurathes being now out of all feare and doubt of brethren & kinſfolke to riſe againſt him, conuerted all his power againſt the Grecians: and firſt raunging throughout Thracia, where diuers Cities yelded vnto him, which before belonged to the Emperour of Conſtantinople, frō thence he ſet forward to the noble and famous City Theſſalonica, being then vnder the league and protectiō of the Venetians. This Theſſalonica is a Citie in Grecce, bordering vpon Macedonia, to ẏ Citizens wherof, S. Paule writeth, foreſhewing vnto them in his 2. Epiſtle, of a defection to come before the comming of the day of the Lord 2. Theſſ. 2. By the which apoſtacie or defection, what the holy Apoſtle doth meane, this ſtory of the Turkes maye eaſely declare. After Theſſalonica was ſubdued, Phocis, with all the countrey about Athens, Beocia likewiſe, Aetolia, Acarnania, with all the region beyond Peloponeſus, vnto the coaſt of Corinth, to whome S. Paule alſo wrote other two epiſtles, were brought in bondage and ſlauery vnto the Turke.

The turke murthereth his brother.
Amurathes ſet againſt the Grecians.
Thracia ſubdued to the turke.
Theſſalonica ſubdued.
The defection ſpoken of Saint Paule declared. 2. Theſſ. 2.

Ioannes Caſtriotus.

In Epirus, and in that quarter that adioyneth to Macedonia, named Albania, reigned then one Ioannes Caſtriotus, who perceiuing himſelfe too weake to matche with the Turkes power, made with the Turke this cōuention, that he ſhould haue Croia, a famous Citie in Grecia, and alſo gaue to him his three ſonnes for hoſtages, to wit, Conſtantinus, Repoſius, and Georgius.

Croia geuen to the turke.
The 3. ſonnes of Caſtriotus, hoſtages with the turke.
Georgius Scanderbeius, Alexander the great.

In this George, ſuch towardnes of noble courage, ſuch vigour of minde, and ſtrength of body ſingularly did appeare, that the Turke cauſed him more freely to be inſtructed after the Turkiſh religion and maner in his owne court: where he being traded vp, did ſo ſhoote vp as well in feates of actiuitie, as in ſtrength of body, that he excelled all his equals: in ſo much that he was named Scanderbeius, which ſoundeth as much as Alexander Magnus.

The valiant Actes of Georgius Scanderbeius.

After this Alexander was grown vp to mature ripenes of age, and was well trained vp in feates of war, he was ſent out by the Turke, to warre againſt Caramannus of Cilicia, The Turkes enemy. In which expedition he ſped himſelfe moſt manfully, fighting hand to hande, firſt with a footeman of Scythia, then with an horſeman of Perſia, being chalenged by them both to encounter, firſt with the one, after with ẏ other: whom he ſo valiantly ouerthrew, ẏ he wan great renoun with ẏ Turk: In ſo much that he truſting to ẏ Turks fauour, whē he heard of the deceaſe of his father, durſt aſke of ẏ Turke the graunt of his fathers dominion to be giuen vnto him. which requeſt, although Amurathes ẏ Turke did not denie him: yet notwithſtanding he perceiuing the matter to be dalied out with fayre wordes, by ſubtill meanes and policie * ſlipt out of the Turks court, and came to Epirus his owne inheritance: where firſt by forged letters he recouered Croia. The other Cities of their voluntary minde, yeelded themſelues vnto him, who then gathering vnto him the people of Epirus & Macedonia (which were not ſo many in nūber, as with good willing minds they ſtucke vnto him) ſo mānfully and valiantly behaued himſelfe, that againſt all the puiſſance both of Amurathes, and alſo of Mahumete, he mainteined his owne, repulſed their violence, and put to flight their armies, many yeres together. But to returne againe to the courſe of Amurathes victories, after he had thus preuailed (as is before ſignified) agaynſt the Eaſt parts of Europa and Grecia, and had conuented thus for the dominion of Epirus, he inuaded Illiricum, (otherwiſe called now Sclauonia) conteining in it Dalmatia, Croacia, Iſtria, and Liburnia: which Countreys after he had ſpoiled and waſted, he continued his courſe to Albania, and Boſna. In which regions, when he had ſubdued a great part, and had led away an innumerable multitude of captiues, he moued further to Walachia and Seruia, vpon hope to conquere all Pannonia.

* Georgius Scāderbeius ſtealeth away from the turke to hys countrey
Croaia recouered.
Epyrus and Macedonia recouered from the turke.
The valiaunt actes of Georgius Scanderbeius againſt the turkes.

Illirica, or Sclauonia, Dalmatia, Croatia, Iſtria, Liburnia, Albania, Boſna, ſpoyled and waſted by the turke.

Georgius Deſpota prince of Seruia.
An vngodly graunt of a Chriſten father to Marye hys daughter to the turke.
Scopia, Sophia, Nouomōte, Myſia ſubdued of the turke.
Georgius Deſpota fled into Hungary.
The crueltie of the turke vpon hys wiues brother.

There reigned at the ſame time in Seruia a certayne prince named Georgius Deſpota, who made great ſute to the Turke for truce & peace, promiſing to giue his daughter to mariage: for by ẏ Turkes lawe they may marry as many wiues as they luſt. It was not long after Amurathes had maried the daughter of Deſpota, but he contrary to his league and promiſe, made warre vpon Deſpota his father in law, and expelled him out of his kingdome, taking from him diuers Cities, as Scopia, Nouomonte, Sophia, and all Miſia. Georgius himſelfe fled into Hungary, leauing behind him his ſon to defēd ẏ town of Sinderonia. Amurathes vnderſtāding of the flight of Deſpota his father in law, compaſſed the Citie of Sinderonia with a ſtrōg ſiege, which whē he in few daies had expugned, he tooke his wiues brother, ſonne of Deſpota, and without regard of all mercy and affinitie, after the barbarous tyranny of the Turkes, put out his eies, with a baſen red hoat ſet before his eies, and after that led him about with him, in deriſion and deſpite of his cowardly father. Ex Chriſtof. Rhicherio Gallo. & Gaſp. Peuc & alijs.

Belgradum beſieged of the turke.

Seruia beeing thus wonne and gotten, Amurathes thinking to go further into Hungary, beſieged the Citie called Belgradium, and no doubt, had alſo ſuppreſſed the ſame, had not the prouidence of God found a meanes, that partly through ſlaughter of his men, partly for lacke of victuall and other forage, he was compelled to raiſe his ſiege and retire.

Ioānes Huniades, Vaiuoda.

In the meane time Ioannes Huniades (of whom mention was made before, pag. 720.) had got great victories againſt the Turkiſh power, and had recouered parte of Seruia, and all Muldauia: againſt whome, Amurathes the Turke, with a mighty army, moued into Pannonia. But Huniades with the power and ayde of Ladiſlaus King of Polonia (but ſpecially by the power of the Lord) did ſoone infringe the puiſſance of the Turke, and gaue him the ouerthrow, recouering vnto the Chriſtians the greateſt part of Seruia and Bulgaria.

Fiue victories of Ioan. Huniades, againſt the turke gotten in one day.
The great Baſſa or duke of the turkes ouerthrowen by Huniades.

In this battaile Huniades had fiue ſundry conflictes with the Turks vpō one day, and with fiue victories put them to the worſe, and toward night did ſo diſcomfit and ouerthrow the great captaine of Amurathes, called Baſſa, the Duke of Anatolia (which is otherwiſe named Aſia Minor) that he ſlue of the Turks that day, to the number of 30. thouſand. Amurathes, although he was not a little thereat diſcouraged, yet diſſembling his feare, with ſtout countenāce ſent for Carambeius his principal ſtay & captaine, with a new power brought out of Aſia, to aſſiſt him in his warres. Then Carambeius, in ẏ downes of Trāſiluania, Ladiſlaus the foreſaid king of Polonie (the Lord ſo working) through the induſtrie of Ioannes Huniades, ſo receiued & with ſuch celerity oppreſſed him vnprouided, that all his ſtout & ſturdy army either was ſlaine downe right, or elſe put to flight & diſparcled, Carambeius the Captaine being himſelfe taken priſoner in the ſame field.

The victory of Huniades againſt Carambeis the great captaine of the turkes.
The great turk brought to a great diſtreſſe.

These victories of Huniades ſtroke no little terror to Amurathes, in ſomuch ẏ for diſtreſſe of minde he was ready to deſtroy himſelfe (as ſome do write) but being cōfirmed by Helibeus Baſſa his coūſailer, he kept himſelfe within ẏ ſtreites of ẏ mount Rhodope. who then hearing that Caramannus inuaded the ſame time the countrey of Bithinia and Pontus in Aſia: was glad to take truce wyth Ladiſlaus and Huniades vpon ſuch conditions as they liſted to make themſelues: which conditions were theſe, that Amurathes ſhould depart clearely from all the region of Seruia, and ſhould remoue from thence all his garriſons, which were placed in the Caſtles and forts of the ſame: Alſo he ſhould reſtore George Deſpota (which is to ſay) Prince of Seruia vnto his poſſeſſion, and ſet his children free, whome he had in captiuitie, and reſtore them to their inheritance. Item, that he ſhoulde make no more claime nor title to the countrey of Moldonia aboue mentioned, nor to that part of Bulgrauia which he had loſt: and that he ſhould deſiſt heereafter from all wrongs and iniuries againſt the Chriſtians. Vpon theſe conditions the Turke being agreed, ſo was truce concluded on both parts for tenne yeares, and with ſolemne othe betweene them confirmed.

Amurathes ſeketh truce of the Chriſtians.
The conditions betweene Ladiſlaus kyng of Polonie, and Amurathes.
Truce betwene the Chriſtians & the turkes for x. yeares.

This

Amurathes returneth into Aſia. The Popes diſpenſation and abſolution abuſed.

This done, Amurathes the tyraunt addreſſeth himſelfe toward Aſia, to reſiſt the inuaſion of Caramannus aforeſaid. At what time Pope Eugenius ſo ſoone as he heard the Turke to be returned into Aſia, ſendeth Iulianus Cæſarianus his Cardinall (whoſe ſtory is before touched, page. 683.) vnto Ladiſlaus the foreſaid king, with full diſpenſation and abſolution, to breake his othe and league wyth the Turke, promiſing moreouer great hope of aide, if he would go in armes ſtoutly againſt the tirant.

The popes raſhe counſayle pernicious to Chriſtendome. Nothyng proſpereth that is taken in hand by the popes ſetting on. The pope breaketh truce made betwene the Chriſtians and the turke.

¶ Where by the way is to be noted, that as there is no truth of promiſe in that peſtilēt ſea of Rome, neither was there euer any war proſpered, which was taken in hande by the Popes counſaile: ſo was there neuer any counſaile of the Pope, that brought with it more detriment to Chriſtianitie, then this. But the Pope belike thought, that as he might lawfully breake promiſe with Iohn Hus, and with other Chriſtians, ſo alſo he needed not to obſerue anye league or truce taken with the Turke: but it turned much otherwiſe then the Popes blinde braines imagined, as by the ſequele is to be ſeene. For Ladiſlaus being thus excited by the vnaduiſed and ſiniſter inſtigation of Pope Eugenius, contrary to the truce ſtabliſhed a little before, ſet out with his army from Seledinus, and ſo proceeding to Walachia and Burgaria, came to Varna, a towne of Bulgary, where he fell ſicke.

The pope moued Ladiſlaus to breake truce The falſe dealing of the Italian Nauie. The battell of Varna, betwene Ladiſlaus king of Polonie, and Amurathes.

It was not long but the Turke hauing thereof intelligence, left his warres begon with Caramannus in Aſia, and with great iourneis made haſte into Europe, paſſing ouer by yͤ ſtraites neare to Calipolis, where all yͤ Italian nauy ſtill looking on, and whether of purpoſe, or whether for cowardlines, would not ſtirre one ore to ſtop the paſſage of the Turkiſh army. When Amurathes was come to Adrianopolis in Thraſia, vſing ſuch celeritie as no mā looked for, within viij. daies he was in Burgaria, & there encamped himſelfe againſt Ladiſlaus. The day of battaile being ſet, the armies ioined on both ſides. Huniades was himſelf there preſent, but all the matter was ruled by Iulianus the Cardinall, and yͤ Popes Clergy. The fight cōtinued three daies and three nightes together, with great courage & much bloudſhed on each ſide: inſomuch that the field did ſtand with lakes of bloud. They ſemed at the firſt to incline to the Chriſtians, by breaking the firſt ranks of the Turkes. But the Prieſts and Prelates which were at the field (which had bene more fitte to haue bene in the Church) ſeeing the Turkes to begin to flie, vnſkilfully left their array to purſue the enemy, ſo that they leauing the other ſtandings of the Chriſtians naked, gaue great aduantage to the Turks, with their darts & ſhot to diſturbe the Chriſtian rankes. By the which occaſion, Amurathes incloſing yͤ Chriſtiās with his army roūd about, obteined the victory. In the which field, Ladiſlaus the yong king of Polony, hauing his horſe firſt killed vnder him, was ſtrooken downe, & ſlaine. The Popes Biſhops flieng to ſaue themſelues, fell into the mariſhes, and there were deſtroied, ſuſteining a durtey death condigne to their filthy falſhode and vntruth. Iulianus yͤ Cardinall, which with the Pope was the chiefe doer in breaking the league, in the way was found dead, being full of wounds, and ſpoiled to his naked ſkinne. Of the reſt of yͤ army that eſcaped by flieng, part was drowned in yͤ mariſhes, ſome periſhed miſerably for hunger, ſome for cold, watching & wādering in the woods. Huniades hardly eſcaped the danger, by the mercifull prouidence of God, being reſerued to the further profite and commoditie of Chriſtendome.

The popiſh prelats were the cauſe of loſing the field. A iuſt puniſhment vpon the popiſh prelates for their vniuſt dealing. Iulianus the Cardinall ſlaine in the warre and ſpoyled. Huniades eſcapeth. The worthy commendation of Iohn Huniades.

This Iohn Huniades the worthy warrier was borne in Walachia, being Earle of Biſtrice, of all Captaines yͭ euer went againſt the Turkes, moſt famous & ſingular, prudent in wit, diſcreet in counſaile, expert and politike in warre, prompt of hand, circumſpect before he attempted, quicke in expedition: in whom wāted almoſt no good propertie requiſite in a warlike Captaine. Againſt two moſt mighty and fierce tirants, Amurathes and Mahumetes, through the Lords might, he defended all Pannonia, and therefore was called the thunderbolt and terrour of the Turkes. Like as Achilles was vnto yͤ Grecians, ſo was he ſet vp of God to be as a wal or bulwarke of al Europe againſt the cruell Turkes and enemies of Chriſt, and of his Chriſtians. Neither was there any King or Prince that euer achieued ſuch noble victories, either ſo many in number, or ſo profitable for yͤ publique vtilitie of all Europe, as did he, and that not onely in the daies of this Amurathes, but alſo of Mahumetes his ſucceſſour, as heereafter remaineth further to be ſeene. This battaile of Amurathes againſt the Chriſtians at Varna in Bulgaria, was fought in the yeare of our Lord 1404.

Amurathes taketh his viage againſt the Grecians.

Amurathes by reaſon of this victorious ouerthrow againſte the Chriſtians, ſurpriſed with no ſmall pride, directed his iourney incontinent toward the Grecians, where Caſtriotus was, otherwiſe called Scanderbeius. And firſt commyng to Peloponeſus, and breaking downe the wall about the ſtraits of Corinthe, encoūtred with the brother of the Emperour of Conſtantinople, whom with his ſodeine commyng he oppreſſed, with all the Greekes army, ere they were prouided. Paleologus the Emperour after that, did build vp the wall againe: but at the Turkes biddyng he was cōpelled to vndoe it agayne: which wall afterward the Venetians did repayre. After the demolitiō of the wall, Amurathes entring into *Peloponeſus, tooke diuers townes and Cities, as Sycione, and Patris, and moreouer made all the parts of Theſſalia and Achaia tributaries vnto him.

* Peloponeſus, Sycione, Patris, with all the partes of Theſſalia & Achaia, brought vnder the turke. The memorable actes of Scanderbeius againſt Amurathes.

The next yeare after this battaile of Amurathes fought agaynſt the Chriſtians at Varna, the Turke beyng now about the partes of Grecia, purpoſed to bend all his force and mayne agaynſt the countrey of Epyrus belongyng to Georgius Caſtriotus Scanderbeius. Of this Scanderbeius mētion was made before, how he was brought vp in the Turkes Court, from whence we declared alſo how ſubtillie he conueyed him ſelfe, and came to the poſſeſſion of his owne patrimony of Epyrus. *Which Epirus this noble and victorious Scanderbeius (whom the Lord alſo had rayſed vp the ſame tyme with Huniades, to bridle the fury of the Turkes) valiaūtly defended agaynſt all the power of Amurathes: In ſo much that he diſcomfited and vanquiſhed vij. of the moſt expert Baſſas or Dukes of the Ottomā Emperour, one after an other, with all their armies of moſt piked and choſen ſouldiours, diſlodged them of their tentes, and expulſed them vtterly out of all Epyrus. Alſo when Amurathes himſelfe with his whole puiſſaunce, had enuironed about the Citie of Croia, with cruell ſiege and ordinaunce out of meaſure, yet notwithſtandyng the ſayd Scāderbeius (through the power and bleſſing of the Lord) beate him out of the field, & repulſed him from his ſiege.

* This Epyrus is a countrey in Grecia bordering neare to the partes of Macedonia. Vij. captaines of the turkes ouercome by Caſtriotus. Scanderbeius.

Amurathes renounced his dominion, & made himſelfe a turkiſh monke.

After this diſcomfiture, the ſaying is that Amurathes, to keepe his vow made before, after his victory at Varna, gaue himſelfe into a religious order, liuyng a contemplatiue life with certaine other Prieſtes ioyned vnto him, in the foreſt of Bithynia, renouncing the gouernement of his realme to the handes of Haly one of his Princes (for thou muſt vnderſtād, good Reader, that the Turkes alſo be not without their ſondry ſectes of Religion, no more then we Chriſtians are without our Friers and Monkes.)

Two Chriſtian warriers in Europe ſtirred vp of God to vanquiſh the turks.

In the meane tyme while Amurathes this Turkiſhe tyrāne was cloyſtered vp in his Monkiſh Religion, Ioannes Huniades in the kyngdome of Hungary, and Caſtriotus Scanderbeius in Grecia, kept great ſtyrre againſt the Turkes. By reaſon wherof Amurathes was takē againe from his Monkiſh vow and profeſſion, & brought agayne into the field: For firſt Huniades had reſcued the whole cōtrey of Hungary: and had propulſed moreouer all the might of the Turkes farre frō Seruia. And although the peuiſhe practiſe of Georgius Prince of Seruia, had oft tymes diſcloſed his counſailes vnto the Turkes, whereby twiſe he was brought in daunger, yet notwithſtandyng (through the Lordes gracious protection) he was preſerued, and deliuered by the ſayd George vnto the Hungarians agayne, & after that manfully vāquiſhed the Turkes, ſo that they had no reſting place about thoſe parts of Seruia and Bulgaria, ſo long as he liued.

This Iohn Huniades is reported of 20. battels with the turke, to loſe but two.

Epyrus & Macedonia, defended by Scanderbeius.

On the other ſide in Grecia, Caſtriotus Scāderbeius ſo foyled the Turke in defence of his cōtrey Epirus and Macedonia, and kept Amurathes ſo ſhort, that not onely he was not able to wynne any great Towne in all Epyrus: but alſo commyng from Epyrus in the ſtraites, was ſo intāgled by Caſtriotus, that he was forced to geue battaile: In the which battaile he was ſo vanquiſhed, & moſt part of his army ſlayne, that for grief and ſorrow conceaued, he fallyng into a rauyng ſickneſſe, was trāſported out of his pauilion vnto Adrianople, and there in fury & madneſſe dyed, after he had reigned 34. yeares, which was about the yeare of our Lord. 1450.

Amurathes ouercome by Scāderbeius.

This Amurathes firſt ordained the order of Ianizarites. Which were the men children of ſuch Chriſtians as he conquered & tooke captiue: whom he forced to renounce the faith of Chriſt, wherein they were Baptized & brought them vp in Mahumetes law, & exerciſed them in the ſame feates of warre as he did his owne people: and after that they came to mens eſtate, he named them Ianizari (that is to ſay) ſouldiours of a ſtraunge countrey, and made them to garde his perſon. They weare on their head is ſtead of an helmet, a white attire made of the groſſeſt ſort of woll, and in ſo manifolde aboute their head, that it can not bee pierced with a ſword. It hāgeth downe on the backe with

Ianizari among the turkes.

a taile, and before on the forehead it is garniſhed with golde and ſiluer. They were wont to vſe bowes and launces in the fielde, but nowe they vſe dagges as oure horſemen do.

At the firſt inſtitution there were but 8000. in theyr garriſon, but now they be twiſe ſo many. This of all bondage and ſeruitude that the Chriſtians ſuffer vnder the Turke is moſt intollerable, and greatly to be of all true Chriſtians lamented. For what can godly mindes behold more to their griefe, then to ſee their children pulled from the faith of Chriſt, wherein they were baptiſed, and by whoſe bloud they ſhould eternally be ſaued, and to be inſtructed and nouriſhed with the blaſphemous doctrine of Mahumet, and to be profeſſed enemies of Chriſt and hys Churche, to make warre againſt heauen, and to periſh euerlaſtingly? And finally, what a lamentable thing is it, to ſee and beholde our owne children borne of our owne bodies, to become our mortall and cruell enemies, and to cut our throtes with their owne hands? This ſeruitude of minde is farre greater then death it ſelfe, which if oure Princes would well conſider, it would cauſe them the rather to agree, and bende their whole force and power againſt this cruell enemy.

A lamentable ſlauery of Chriſtian mens children vnder the turke.

¶ Mahumetes ſecond, the ix.
after Ottomanus.

Mahumetes the 9. turke after Ottomannus.

AMurathes left behind him three ſonnes, Mahumete borne of the daughter of Deſpota, Prince of Seruia, being twentie yeares of age, the ſecond ſonne called Turcines, the third named Calepinus. This Turcines being an infant, and but eighteene moneths old, was ſtrangled at the commandement of the Turke, by his ſeruant Moſes, himſelfe being there preſent, and beholding the horrible murther. And when Moſes the executour of yͤ murther had deſired him not to pollute his handes with the bloud of his brother, he anſwered, that it was the manner of all the Ottoman Turkes, that all the other brethren being deſtroied, none ſhould be lefte aliue but one to gouerne the Empire. wherefore Moſes was commaunded by the tirant, there preſently, and in his ſight, to kill the infant. This horrible fact when the mother of the childe vnderſtoode, ſhe crieng out, and almoſt mad for ſorrowe, curſed the tirant to his face. But he to mitigate ths rage of his mother, at her requeſt being deſirous to be reuenged vpon the executour of her ſonnes death, deliuered the ſaid Moſes bound into her hands, who then in the preſence of the tirant, thruſt him to the hart with a knife, and opening his ſide, tooke out his liuer, and threw it to the dogges to be deuoured.

The tyranny of Mahumets in murthering hys brethren.

The third ſonne called Calepinus, which was but ſixe moneths old, the foreſaid Amurathes his father commended to the cuſtody of Halibaſſa one of his Nobles, who to gratifie and pleaſe yͤ tirant, betraied the infant, & brought him vnto him, and thereupon he at the tirants commandement was ſtrangled. Some affirme, that in the ſtead of Calepinus, another child was offered vnto the tirant, and that Calepinus was conueied to Conſtantinople, and after the taking of Conſtantinople, was caried to Venice, and then to Rome to Pope Calixt, where he was baptiſed, and afterward came into Germany to Fridericke the Emperour, and there was honorably enterteined, & kept in Auſtrich during his life. where note how the mercifull prouidence of God, whom he liſt to ſaue, can fetch out of yͤ diuels mouth. And note moreouer touching the foreſayde Halibaſſa the betraier of yͤ infant, how he eſcaped not vnreuẽged: For Mahumet vnderſtanding him to be a man of great ſubſtance and richeſſe, thorough forging of falſe crimes, with great torments put him to death to haue his richeſſe: for this tirant was geuen to inſatiable auarice. Thus this bloudy Mahumete began his regiment with horrible murther, after yͤ example of other curſed tirants his predeceſſours.

Halibaſſa a traitour to his maiſter.

Horrible paricide of the abhominable turke

Gods prouidẽce can fetch out of the deuils mouth whom he liſt to ſaue.

Note here gods puniſhment vpon the betraer of innocent bloud.

Although this Mahumete, notwithſtandyng that hee came of a Chriſten mother, being the daughter of Deſpota prince of Seruia, and by her was brought vp and inſtructed from his childhood in the precepts of Chriſtian religiõ and maners, yet he ſoone forgetting all, gaue himſelfe to Mahumetes religion, and yet ſo, that he being addicted to neyther Religion, became an Atheiſt, beleeuing and worſhipping no God at all, but onely the Goddeſſe of good Fortune, irriding and mocking yͤ mindes and iudgemẽts of men, which beleue that God by his prouidence, gouerneth and regardeth the ſtate of humaine things on earth.

After that this Mahumete heard of the victories and conqueſts of other his predeceſſours, and had vnderſtanding how Baiazetes lay eight yeares about Conſtantinople, and could not winne it: he diſpraiſing Baiazetes, and diſdaining that ſo long time ſhould be ſpent aboute the ſiege thereof, and yet no victory gotten, bent all hys ſtudie and deuice how to ſubdue the ſame. But firſt hauing a priuie hatred againſt the Citie of Athens, and hauing his hands lately embrued with the bloud of his brethren, this murthering Mahumete firſt of all taketh his viage to ſubuert and deſtroy the Citie aforeſaid, being a famous Schoole of all good learning and diſcipline. Againſt the which Citie he did ſo furiouſly rage for the hatred of good letters, that he thought he ought not to ſuffer the foundation thereof to ſtand, becauſe that Citie was a good nurſſe and foſterer of good Artes and Sciences: wherefore, he commaunded the Citie to be raſed, and vtterly ſubuerted: and whereſoeuer any monuments or bookes could be found, he cauſed them to be caſt into durty ſinkes, and the filthieſt places of the Citie, or put to the moſt vile vſes that could be deuiſed, for extirping and aboliſhing of all good literature, and if he vnderſtood any to lament the caſe and ruine of that noble place, thoſe he greeuouſly puniſhed and put to death.

Mahumete firſt ſetteth vpon Athe

The fury of Mahumete the turke agaynſt the Citie and ſchoole of Athens.

Athens deſtroyed.

Thus the famous and auncient Schoole of Athens being deſtroied and ouerthrowne, he returned his army & power into Thracia, where in all haſte he gathering hys power together both by ſea & by lãd, with a mighty multitude compaſſed the Citie of Conſtantinople about, and began to lay his ſiege againſt it, in the yeare of our Lord 1453. and in the 54. day of the ſaid ſiege it was taken, ſacked, and the Emperour Cõſtantinus ſlaine. As touching the cruelty and fearcenes of the Turkes in getting of this City, and what ſlaughter there was of men, women, and children, what calamitie and miſery was there to be ſene, forſomuch as ſufficient relation, with a full deſcription thereof, hath bene made before, pag. 708. it ſhall be ſuperfluous now to repeate the ſame. This only is not to be omitted touching three principall cauſes of the ouerthrow of this City: whereof was the firſt the filthy auarice of thoſe Citizens, which hiding their treaſures in the groũd, would not imploy the ſame to yͤ neceſſary defence of their City. For ſo I finde it in ſtory expreſſed, that when the Turke, after the taking of yͤ City, had found not ſo much treaſure as he looked for, ſuſpecting with himſelfe (as the truth was) the treaſures and riches to be hidden vnder the ground, commaunded the earth to be digged vp, and the foundations of the houſes to be ſearched: where when he had found treaſures incredible, what (quoth he) how could it be that this place could euer lacke munition and fortification, which did flow and abound with ſuch great riches as heere is, and plenty of all things? The ſecond cauſe was the abſence of the Nauy of the Venetiãs, which if they had bene ready in time, might haue bene a ſafegard againſt the inuaſion of the enemies. A third cauſe alſo may be gathered vpon occaſion incident in ſtories, either for that the City of Conſtantinople fifteene yeares before did yeeld to the Biſhop of Rome, as is before to be ſeene, pag. 76. or elſe becauſe (as in ſome writers it is euident) that Images were there receaued & mainteined in their Churches, and by the Turkes the ſame time deſtroyed.

The ſiege & taking of Conſtantinople.

Vid. ſupra. pag. 708.

Three cauſes ſpecially noted in the winning of Conſtantinople.

Ex Ioanne Ramo lib. 1. rerum Turcicarum.

Vid. ſupra. pag. 67.

Ioannes Ramus writing of the deſtructiõ of this Citie, amongſt other matters maketh relation of the Image of the Crucifixe, being there in yͤ high temple of Sophia: which Image the Turke tooke, and writing this ſuperſcription vpon the head of it Hic eſt Chriſtianorum Deus. i. This is the God of the Chriſtians, gaue it to his ſouldiours to be ſcorned, and commaunding the ſayde Image with a trumpet to be carried through all his army, made euery man to ſpit at it moſt contumeliouſly. wherin thou haſt (good Reader) by the way to note, what occaſion of ſclaunder and offence we Chriſtians geue vnto the barbarous Infidels by this our vngodly ſuperſtition, in hauing Images in our temples, contrary vnto the expreſſe commandement of God in his word. For if Saint Paule writing to the Corinthians, ſaith: we knowe Chriſt now no more after the fleſh: how much leſſe then is Chriſt to be knowne of vs in blind ſtockes and Images ſet vp in our Temples, ſeruing for none other purpoſe, but for the Infidels to laugh both vs & our God to ſcorne, and to prouoke Gods vengeance? which by yͤ like example (I feare) may alſo fall vpon other Cities, where ſuch Images and Idolatrous ſuperſtition is mainteined, whereof God graunt Vienna to take heede betime, which hath bene ſo long, and yet is in ſuch great danger of the Turke, and polluted with ſo many Images, and plaine Idolatrie.

Ex Ramo.

An image of the Crucifix in Conſtantinople.

What offences be giuen to the infidels, by Images in Chriſtian Churches.

Vienna admoniſhed.

In ſumma, to make the ſtory ſhort, ſuch was the cruelty of theſe Turkes in winning the Citie, that when Mahumete had geuen licence to the ſouldiours three dayes together, to ſpoile, to kill and to do whatſoeuer they liſted,

The cruell murther by the turkes in rhe citie of Conſtantinople.

there was no corner in all Conſtantinople, which did not either flow with Chriſtian bloud, or elſe was polluted wᵗ abhominable abuſing of maids, wiues & matrones, without al reuerēce of nature. Of the which Citizēs, ſome they murthered, ſome they roſted vpon ſpits, of ſome they fleyed of their ſkin, hanging thē vp to conſume with famine, of otherſome they put ſalt into their woūds, the more terribly to torment them, inſomuch, that one of them contended with another who could deuiſe moſt ſtrange kinds of new torments and puniſhments, exerciſing ſuch crueltie vpon them, that the place where the Citie was before, ſeemed now to be no citie, but a ſlaughter houſe or ſhambles of Chriſtian mens bodies. Amōg the dead bodies, the body alſo of Conſtantine the Emperour was found: whoſe head being brought to Mahumete, he commaunded to be caried vpon a ſpeare through the whole City for a publike ſpectacle & deriſion to all the Turkiſh army. And becauſe he would diminiſh the number of the captiues, which ſeemed to him to be very great, he neuer roſe from his table, but he put euery day ſome of the nobles to death, no leſſe to fill his cruell minde with bloud, then his body was filled with wine: which he vſed ſo long to do as any of the nobles of that Citie was left aliue: And of the other ſorte alſo, as the ſtories do credibly report, there paſſed no day, in the which he did not orderly ſlay more then three hundreth perſons, the reſidue he gaue to his raſcal ſouldiours to kill, and to do with them what they would. Where is to be noted, that as Conſtantinus the ſonne of Helena, was the firſt Emperour of Conſtantinople, ſo Conſtantinus the ſonne alſo of Helena, was the laſt Emperour thereof.

A lamentable deſtruction of the Citie of Conſtantinople.

The bloudie cruelty of the turk againſt the Chriſtian captiues.

Not farre from the ſaid Citie of Conſtantinople, there was another little City called Pera, & once called Gallatia, ſituated by the Sea ſide: who hearing of the miſerable deſtruction of Conſtantinople, and ſeing the City flaming with fire, ſent certain of their chiefmē with ſpeed to Mahumete, declaring vnto him that they neither had ſent any helpe to the City of Conſtantinople, neither yet wrought any detrimēt to any of his army: wherefore they deſired & praied him, that as they would gladly yeeld vnto him, ſo he would be fauourable vnto thē and ſpare them, & not to puniſh the giltles with the gilty. Mahumete, although he was not ignoraunt that for feare, rather then of any good will, they ſubmitted themſelues, and that they would rather reſiſt him if they had ben able, yet he receiued for that time, the ſubmiſſion of the meſſengers: but ſending wyth them his Embaſſadour into the Citie, he commanded alſo his army to follow withall, and to enter with him into the City, which, although it was greatly ſuſpected & miſliked of yᵉ Citizens, yet they durſt no otherwiſe do, but ſuffer them to enter: which beeing done, the Embaſſadour gaue a ſigne to yᵉ ſouldiours, euery man to do whatſoeuer he was bidden, of whom, ſome ranne to the walles, ſome to the temples and Churches, ſome to yᵉ ſtreetes & houſes of the City, plucking all things downe to yᵉ grounde, ſacking and rauging with no leſſe fury and abhominable filthines, then they had done at Cōſtantinople before, ſauing only that they abſteined frō murther: but the ſame day letters came from Mahumete to the Embaſſadour, that he ſhould ſpare none, but deſtroy and murther all that euer were in the Citie: which meſſage, becauſe it ſeemed to the Embaſſadour to be too cruell, forſomuch as they had yeelded thēſelues, he ſtaied his hand a little vntill night came. In the meane time drunken Mahumete comming ſomething to himſelfe (whome drunkennes had before ouercome) ſent his ſecond letters to reuoke the firſt. Where againe is to be noted the mercifull prouidence of God towardes his people in their deſerued plagues, by ſtaieng the handes, and brideling the fury many times of their enemies, when otherwiſe the caſe ſeemeth to be paſt all remedy.

The citie of Pera yeldeth it ſelfe for feare to the turke.

The citie of Pera ſpoyled.

Dronken Mahumete falſe of promiſe.

The mercifull prouidence of God in ſauing his people.

Conſtantinople made the imperial ſeat of the turke.

The ſiege of Belgradum in Hungary.

Ioan. Huniades.

Mahumete thus beeing in himſelfe not a little aduanced and eleuated by the winning of Cōſtantinople, where he had now made the Imperiall ſeat of the Turkiſh dominion, the third yeare next folowing, to aduēture more maſteries, he ſet out to yᵉ ſiege of Belgradum, a City of Hungary, lieng neare to the bankes of Danubius, thinking to haue the like ſucceſſe there, as he had in the winning of Conſtantinople, albeit through the Lords diſpoſing, it fel out much otherwiſe. Within the Citie of Belgradum the ſame time of the ſiege thereof, was Ioannes Huniades the valiant Captaine, of whom in diuers places mentiō hath bene made before, who with a ſufficient ſtrength of piked ſouldiours, albeit in number nothing equal to the Turks army, valiātly defended the City with great courage, and no leſſe ſucceſſe. In the which ſiege great diligēce was beſtowed, and many of the Turkes ſlaine. Amōg whom alſo Mahumete himſelfe, being ſtroken with a pellet vnder the left arme, was faine to be caried out of yᵉ field for halfe dead, and the reſt ſo put to flight, that of the Turkes the ſame time were deſtroyed to the number, or not much vnder the number of 40. thouſād, beſides the loſſe of all their ordinaunce, which the Turkes in haſt of their flight, were forced to leaue behinde them.

40000. turkes ſlain at the ſiege of Belgradum.

Ex Hier. Zieglero, in lib. de illuſtrib. Viris Germa. ca. 98.

Hieronymus Zieglerus writyng of the ſiege of this Belgradum, addeth moreouer, that whē Mahumete was at the ſiege therof, ſeyng the towne to be ſo ſmall & weake of it ſelfe, that it could not be won with all his great multitude, he ſtaryng and faryng like a mad man, commaunded all his braſen peeces to be layd, to battare downe the walles and Towers of the Towne: So that the Chriſtians within the walles were vehemently diſtreſſed, for the ſiege continued both night and day without intermiſſion. Amōg yᵉ reſt of the Chriſtians which defended the towne. Hieronymus Zieglerus maketh mentiō of a certaine Bohemian, much worthy of his condigne cōmendation: who beyng vpon the walles, and ſeyng a Turke with a bāner or enſigne of the Turkes to be gottē vp, by the ſight wherof the whole Towne was in daunger to be cōquered and taken, runneth vnto the Turke, and claſpyng him about the middle, ſpeakyng to Iohn Capiſtranus ſtandyng by low, aſking him, whether it were any daunger of damnation to him, if he of his voluntary mynde, did caſt himſelfe with that dogge (ſo he termed him) downe headlong from the wall, to be ſlayne with him: what ſhould become of his ſoule, and whether he might be ſaued or not. To whō when the other had aunſwered that hee ſhould be ſaued without doubt, hee eftſoones tombleth him ſelfe with the Turke, downe of the wall, where by his death he ſaued the ſame tyme, the lyfe of all the Citie: Mahumete beyng ſo wounded and in diſpayre of wynnyng the Citie, was caryed (as ye heard) out of the field. Who at length commyng agayne to himſelfe, partly for feare and partly for ſhame, was ready to kill himſelfe. And thus was yᵉ towne of Belgradum at that tyme reſcued through Gods prouidence, by the meanes of Ioannes Hunianes and this good Bohemian.

The noble act of a Bohemian in defence of his countrey.

The towne of Belgradum valiauntly defended from the turke.

This ſiege of Belgradū begā in the yeare of the Lord. 1456. and endured. 46. dayes. At the which ſiege were nūbred of the Turkes. 200. thouſand. Of whom more then 40. thouſand (as is aforeſayd) were ſlayne: where the victory fell to the Chriſtians through the proſperous ſucceſſe geuen of God to Ioannes Huniades, & Capiſtranus. Which Huniades not long after the ſayd victory, through the importune labour and trauaile in defendyng the ſayd towne, was taken with a ſore ſickeneſſe and thereof departed, to whoſe valiaunt prowes and ſingular courage, ſtories doe geue great laud and commendation.

200. thouſand turkes at the ſiege of Belgradum.

The deceaſe of Ioannes Huniades.

Mahumetes the Turke after this done in Europe, returned into Aſia to warre, with Vſumcaſſanes a Perſian, one of the Turkes ſtocke with whō he had three battailes. The firſt was about the Riuer Euphrates, where the Turke loſt 10. thouſand men, and was put to the worſe. In the ſecond field likewiſe he was diſcomfited. The third battaile was at Arſēga, where through the terrible noyſe of the braſen peeces, the Perſian horſes diſturbed the cāpe, and ſo was Vſumcaſſanes ouercome.

The turkes war againſt *Vſumcaſſanos.*

From thence the Turke reduced agayne his power againſt the Chriſtians, and firſt ſubdued vnto him Synope and all Paphlagonia: Alſo the kingdome of Trapezunce, which he beſiegyng both by land and water, wanne from the Chriſtians, and ſent Dauid the kyng of the ſame with his two ſonnes and Calus his vncle, vnto Conſtantinople, where they were miſerably and cruelly put to death, & all the ſtocke of the Conneni, which were of the kynges ſtocke, by the Turke were deſtroyed. Whiche was about the yeare of our Lord. 1459. at which tyme this miſchienous Mahumete was firſt ſaluted Emperour.

The turke agayn returneth againſt the Chriſtians.

Synope, Paphlagonia, Trapezuntus gotten of the turkes.

Dauid Emperour of Trapezuntus with hys two ſonnes and vncle cruelly killed of the turke.

Not long after, he got from the Grecians Corinthus and Mitylene, not without great ſlaughter of Chriſten men: in ſomuch that the whole Citie of Mitylene was vtterly to the grounde almoſt deſtroyed. The Iſles alſo of Lemnus & Leſbos he wanne from the Venetians: In the which Iſlād of Leſbos is the Citie of Mitylene aforeſayd.

Corinthus, Mitylene, Leſbos, Lemnous ſubdued of the turke.

Not farre frō this Iſle of Leſbos and Mitylene, there is a countrey in Aſia toward the ſea ſide borderyng next to Europe, called Myſia, or of ſome called Mœſia, wherein ſtode the Citie of Troye. This countrey Mahumete coueting to wynne rather by policie & falſhode, then by doubtfull daunger of warre, ſecretly ſent for the Prince therof to come to ſpeake with him for certaine cauſes (as he pretended) which ſhould concerne the profite and commoditie of thē both. Which when the king of Myſia, either for ſhame would not, or for feare durſt not denye, he came to him as to conferre vpon neceſſary affaires in commō to them appertaining. Mahumete when he had brought that to paſſe

The falſhood of the wretched turke agaynſt the prince of Myſia.

The crueltie of the turke againſt the kyng of Myſia.

which he would, he cauſed the king to be apprehended, and cruelly to be ſlaine, or rather torne in peeces: and ſo inuading the land of Miſia, exerciſed the like tyrannie vpō all his kindred and affinitie.

This Miſia by fraude being taken and loſt, Mahumete flieth againe toward Europe, where he aſſailed the Iland Euboia, otherwiſe called Nigroponte, making a bridge of a maruellous frame ouer the ſea Euripus, to conuey ouer his army out of Grecia, and there laide his ſiege to the Citie Chalcis, which at length in thirty dayes he ouercame, not without a great ſlaughter of his army: who in yͤ ſiege thereof is ſaid to haue loſt 40. thouſand of yͤ Turkes. But yͤ ſlaughter of the Chriſtians was greater: for when the City was won, the tirant commanded moſt cruelly, none to be ſpared within the whole citie, but to be put to the ſword, whoſoeuer was aboue the age of twenty yeares. This cruelty was ſhewed of yͤ barbarous Tirant for anger and fury, becauſe ſuch a number of his Turkes were ſlaine at the ſiege therof, being reckned (as is ſaid) to 40. thouſand. In the fierce ſiege of this Citie, it is memorable that is in ſtories recorded, how that the women of that Citie, ſeeing the men to begin to faint, and the Citie to lie in preſent danger, tooke the matter themſelues in hand, and plaieng the men, went to the walles, and there defended the Citie with no leſſe trouble to the enemie, then the men had before done, and ſo for a ſpace continued, ſo long as any mans ſtrength and diligence could do anie good. A great cauſe of the loſſe of this Citie and Iland, is imputed to the cowardly timidity of the Venetians nauy: who being there preſent, and hauing proſperous winde, yet durſt not, or would not aduenture vpon the Turkes bridge, which if they had done, the Iland of Euboia and Chalcis, had not ſo ſoone bin ouermatched of the Turks.

The ſiege of Chalcis in Euboia.

The cruell tyrāny of the turke againſt the City of Chalcis.

Ex Ioanne Ramo de rebus Turcicis.

The noble ſtrategeme of women in defending that Citie.

Thus all the Eaſt partes of Grecia being ſubdued to yͤ Turkiſh tiraunt, with all Achaia, Attica, Acarnania, & Euboia, ſhortly after folowed alſo Peloponeſus, brought in like ſubiection to the Turke. within this Peloponeſus were theſe prouinces conteined, Achaia, Meſſenia, Laconia, Argolica, and Archadia, &c. The Venetiās in this Peloponeſus had great poſſeſſions, and had made vp the wall againe toward the Sea ſide, neare to the ſtreites of Corinth before mentioned, where for the more ſpeede of the worke, they had 30. thouſand workemen to the building thereof, which when it came to the knowledge of the Turke, he braſt into the countrey of Peloponeſus wyth an army of 80. thouſand, and firſt waſting the regions of the Coroneans, and Methoneans, and making a greate ſlaughter of the Venetians, in ſhort time he brought the whole dominiō of Peloponeſus vnder his yoke & tribute.

Peloponeſus, Achaia, Meſſenia, Laconia, Argolica, Archadia, Chriſten prouinces in Grecia, ſubdued of the turke.

Long it is and more lamentable to recite all the victories of this Mahumete gotten againſt the Chriſtiās both by land & ſea: who after he had ouercome the Iſle Leſbos aboue mentioned, and had cruelly ſlaine Nicolaus Cataluſius the Prince thereof, turning his army towarde the ſea of Pontus Euxinus, got the countrey of Capha from the Genuans. Before was declared how truce was taken betweene Georgius Scanderbeius, and the Turke for ten yeares: which truce being expired, Mahumete leaueth no time vnſpēt, no diligence vnſought, but maketh all his power to Epyrus & Albania, which he after long fatigation of ſiege, at length ouercame and ſubdued. In yͤ which tract alſo he wanne from the Venetians, Scodra, Lyſſon and Dinaſtrum. Notwithſtanding, when Scanderbeius the valiant Captaine had done againſt the Turke what in mans ſtrength did lie, yet being ouermatched with power and multitude, ſeeing no poſſibilitie to make his partie good, was forced to depart his countrey as an exile, and went to Italy, & there being ſent for by yͤ Popes letters, openly declared not to be poſſible otherwiſe to reſiſt yͤ furious rage of the barbarous Turkes by the ſtrength of any one king or prince, vnleſſe all Europe, with one cōſent ſhuld ioine their power & force together. And thus Georgius Scanderbeius, a man of puiſſant courage, being driuen out of his countrey, continued his age in exile. whoſe courage & vehemency is reported to haue bin ſuch, that in fighting againſt yͤ barbarous enemie, for very egernes of ſpirit, his blond was ſeene to burſt out of his lippes. It is teſtified alſo of him, that being prouoked, he neither denied to fight, and in his fighting, neuer turned his backe, neyther yet was euer wounded, but onely once with a lyght ſhaft in his foote, neither euer ſet againſt the Turke wyth moe then 6000. horſemen, and 3000. footemen: who is ſaid with his owne hand to haue ſlaine aboue 2000. Turkes, whome with ſuch violence he did ſtrike, that many of thē he did cleaue aſunder from the head to the middle.

Capha taken of the turke.

The counſayle of Scanderbeius, how to fight againſt the turke.

A notable example of ſingular courage in a Captaine.

The commendation of Scanderbeius agaynſt the turkes.

Neither yet was the vnſatiable greedines of thys Turkiſh helhound with all this ſatiſfied, but ſtill he conceiued greater things in his minde, thynking to conquere the whole world, and ſo paſſing forward towards Europe, ſubdued all Illiria, ſlaieng Stephanus the King of Boſna, about the yeare of our Lord 1463. But afterwarde Mathias Coruinus, the ſonne of Huniades afore mentioned, recouered againe the ſaid kingdome of Boſna, with many other Cities neare vnto Croacia and Dalmatia, and moreouer repulſed Mahumete the Turke in his ſecond ſiege of Iaiza, taking his tents and munitions lefte behinde him.

Mathias the ſonne of Huniades.

Moreouer, the ſayd Mahumete paſſing vnto walachia, ſet vpon Dracula the Prince thereof, by which Dracula, although he had no great power of ſouldiours, yet he ſo incloſed & enuironed yͤ Turke, that he had almoſt loſt his whole army, of whom a great part notwithſtanding was deſtroied, and many of his enſignes taken. Into Dalmatia was ſent two Captaines of the Turke, who fighting againſt the prouinces of yͤ Venetians, made great ſpoyle and waſte about yͤ regions of Stiria & Carinthia: where alſo the Venetian power was diſcomfited, & Hieronimus Nouell their Captaine ſlaine. At length truce was taken betweene yͤ Turke & the Venetians, vpon this conditiō, that Scodra, Tenarus, & Lemnus ſhould be yeelded vnto him, and that they ſhoulde pay to him yearely 8. thouſand duckets for the free paſſage of their Marchants.

Stiria, Carinthia, taken of the turke.

After this peace concluded with the Venetians, Mahumete himſelfe ſaileth ouer into Aſia, ſending two of his great captaines abroad to ſundry places: of whom, Meſithes was ſent againſt yͤ Rhodes wͭ a mighty nauie. The other called Acomates Baſſa was ſent into Italy to take Rome and all the weſt Empire. Concerning the viage of which two Captaines, this was the euent, that Meſithes after his great trauaile and bloudy ſiege againſt yͤ Rhodians, was faine to retire at length with great ſhame and loſſe. The other Captaine Acomates (as is ſaid) was ſent into Italy, with a nauie of a hundreth Ships, and fifteene thouſand men, who by the way in his ſailing got Lencadia (which now they call S. Maure) Cephalenia, and Zacynthus, and ſayling by Fauelona, arriued in Apulia, and ſo paſſing along by the ſea ſide, ſpoiled and waſted diuers parts by the coaſt, till at length he came to Hidruntum, a City of Calabria in Italy, which after long ſiege he ouercame and ſubdued, and brought ſuch a terrour into all Italy, that the Pope forgetting all other things, yet mindfull of himſelfe, with all haſte fled out of Rome. After the Citie of Hydruntum was taken, and the Turkes placed in the ſame, which was the yeare of our Lord 1481. Mathias Coruinus Huniades ſon was ſent for by the Italians, to ſet vpon the ſaid Citie: vnto the reſcue whereof, when Acomates was about to make his returne with 25. thouſand Turkes, in the meane time newes came yͤ Mahumete the great Turke was dead, by reaſon wherof the ſiege brake vp, and yͤ Citie was deliuered to the Italians againe, and ſo was Italy deliuered at that time out of that preſent perill and daūger. This Mahumete wanne from the Chriſtians 200. Cities, and twelue kingdomes, and two Empires, which he ioined both together. He died in the yeare aboueſayd, anno. 1481.

Rhodes beſieged.

Lencadia, Cephalenia Zacinthus, Fauelona, taken of the turke.

The pope flyeth for feare of the turke.

Hydruntum taken.

Theſe two Empires were Conſtantinople and Trapezunce.

¶ Baiazetes ſecond, the 10. after Ottomannus.

MAhumetes aforeſaid had three ſonnes, of the which, Muſtapha the eldeſt, through voluptuouſnes & carnall luſt, died before his father. The other two were Baiazetes and Demes, otherwiſe called Zizimus. Aboute whom, great cōtrouerſie aroſe amongſt the Turks which of them ſhould ſucceede in their fathers kingdome: For neither of them was preſent at Conſtantinople whē Mahumetes died, Baiazetes being in Cappadocia, & Demes in Lycaonia, wherfore when great diſſention was amōg the nobles for the ſucceſſion, and great ſtrife & bloudſhead for the matter, the Ianizarites, which were the Turkes garde, did proclaime Baiazetes Emperour: others in the abſence of Baiazetes the father, did chooſe Corcuthus his ſonne. Baiazetes the father cōming at length from Cappadocia, partly through yelding, partly by corrupting wͭ money, got yͤ wils of the Ianizarites, & was made Emperour. Demes the other brother being in Lycaonia more neare, although he made no leſſe ſpeede in his cōming, yet was preuented of Baiazetes, and excluded out of Cōſtantinople. wherfore he being put backe from all hope of his kingdome, incited by ſome of his frends, moued warre againſt his brother, who being ouercome in three battailes by Acomates Baiazetes Captain, who had got Hydruntum before, did flie to the greate Maiſter of the Rhodes, leauing in a place called Carræ, his mother, and two yong children,

Of theſe Ianizarites, read before pag.636.

Baiazetes ſlayeth his brothers & mother, and his two nephewes.

children, whom Baiazetes ſlue.

Readbefore pag 734.

Falſe treaſō worthely recompenſed.

This Demes being wyth the maiſter of the Rhodes, was deſired firſt of Pope Innocent the 4. then of Ludouicus the 2. Frenche king, but eſpecially of Mathias Coruinus, king of Hungarie, entending by him to obtaine great victory againſt Baiazetes. But in concluſion the Knights of the Rhodes ſent him to the B. of Rome, where he being kept, and afterwardes ſent to Charles the 8. French king, for an hoſtage of Pope Alexander the 6. was poyſoned by the way at Terracina, by the ſayde Pope Alexander, as is before declared. After whoſe death Baiazetes, to requite the foreſayde Acomates for his good ſeruice, put hym to the halter, partly miſdoubting his power, partly for lucre ſake to haue his treaſure: whoſe death redounded to the great profit of the chriſtians, for ſomuch as he was euer an vtter enemy to the religion and name of Chriſt.

Lithoſtomus, Moncaſtrum, Chriſtian fortes ſubdued of the turke.

The turke ouerthrowen at Tarſus.

Baiazetes thus being confirmed in his tyrannie, made hys firſt expedition againſt walachia, where hee ſubdued two great fortes, one called Lithoſtomus, the other called Moncaſtrum. From thence he remoued hys power, taking his voiage into Aſia, thinking to be reuenged of the Sultane of Egypt, which had ſuccoured and entertayned before hys brother Demes againſt hym, where he loſt two great battailes, the one fought at Adena, the other at Tarſus: but ſpecially at the fielde at Tarſus the armye of the Turke tooke ſuch a wound, that of a 100. M. brought into the fielde, ſcarſe the thirde part remained vnſlayne. But as touching the Rhodians, although they were ſuccourers of Demes aforeſayde, yet Baiazetes (whether for feare, or for ſubtilty) abſtained to prouoke them with warre, but rather entred with them the league of peace, requiring the maſter of the Rhodes to kepe hys brother ſafe vnder his cuſtody, promiſing for his yerely ſalary, to be paied vnto him euery yere in the moneth of Auguſt. 45000. duckets,

Dyrachium taken of the turke.

Thus Baiezetes being ouerthrown and terrified with euill lucke fighting againſt the Sultane of Egypt, remoued from Aſia, and directed his army into Europe, where he got Dyrrachium neare vnto Velona, & had a great victory ouer the Chriſtian armye in the countrey of Croatia, wher the Illyrians, Pannonians and Croatians ioyning their power together, encountred with the Turke and loſt the field, about the yeare of our Lord. 1493.

The turke againſt the Venetians.

The Chriſtians caryed away captiues.

From thence the Turke leading his armye againſt the Venetians, had with them diuers and doubtfull conflicts, where the Turke ſometimes was put to the worſe, and ſometimes againe preuailing, out of Iadra and diuers other cities about Dalmatia, caried away great multitudes of Chriſtians into captiuitie, whych was about the yere of our Lord. 1498.

Peloponeſus agayne inuaded by the turke.

Methone taken of the turkes, and miſerably deſtroyed.

Coron, Pilus, Criſſeū yelded to the turkes.

Two yeares after thys, whych was the yeare of oure Lorde. 1500. Baiazetes with 150. M. armed men, entred into Peloponeſus, whych although Mahumete had expugned before, yet the Venetians had defended Methone, otherwiſe called Modon, all this while againſt the Turks. which Methone the Turke beſieged wyth three armies, hauing about the wals 500. great braſen Canons, wherof 22. were moſt violent and hurtfull, wherewith he battered the City both day and night: but the Citizens, which were wythin the Citie, committing themſelues to God, defended their Citie as well as they could, rather chuſing to dye then to yeelde vnto the Turkes tyrannie. But the Turcke preuailing, and they not able to wythſtande the ſiege, the Chriſtians conuented together into a certaine houſe prepared for the purpoſe, bothe menne, women, and children, where they ſetting the houſe on fire, gaue themſelues rather to be burned, then to come into the tyrauntes handes. Certaine women alſo wyth their children, caſt themſelues headlong into the ſea, by that meanes to auoid the turkiſhe captiuitie. Some wryters there be which affirme that the Methonians, ſeeing 5. great ſhyps of the Venetians comming with men and vitailes towarde them, iſſued downe from the walles to the ſea ſide to receiue them, which were all taken captiues, being aboue the number of a thouſand: which al being tied with long ropes, were brought before the tyraunt, and in his ſight were cruelly ſlaine, except certaine Nobles whom Cherſeugles, ſonne in lawe to Baiazetes, got to be pardoned, amongſt whome was Andreas Gritto. The Citie of Coron, & alſo Pilus Cities in Grece being terrified with the example of the Methonians, yeelded themſelues to the power of the turks. Criſſeum otherwiſe called Caput Sancti Galli, was expugned by Cherſcogles, by force of gunnes.

Chephalenia, Leucas, Nericus Ilandes recouered of the turkes by the Venetiās.

These thynges thus atchieued, although Baiazetes went away victor vnto Conſtantinople, yet notwithſtanding the Venetians, through the helpe of the kynges of Fraunce and Spayne, had wonne from the Turke Chephalenia an Ilande very commodious for theyr trafficke: Alſo had gotten other two Ilandes, Leucas and Nericus otherwiſe called Sancta Maura, ſlaying al the garriſon of the Turkes. But afterwarde peace being taken betweene the Venetians and the Turckes, by the counſaile of Andreas Gitto aforeſayde, the Turkes ſo agreed, that Leucas and Nericus the Ilandes aboueſayde, ſhould be rendred vnto the Turke, and the Venetians ſhould keepe ſtil the poſſeſſion of Chephalenia.

Truce betwene the Venetians & the turke.

Warre betwene Sophus and Baiazetes.

Caragius the turkes captayne taken priſoner & ſlaine of Sophus

Halibaſſa the turkes captayne ſlaine.

Unto this league the Turke did the rather condeſcend, for that hee had to maintaine warre agaynſt Iſmaell Sophus in Aſia, king of Perſia: which Sophus was ſtirred vp by Gods prouidence to warre wͭ thys Baiazetes, wher by the Chriſtian Churches in Europe myght haue ſome breathing time, and freedome from the Turkes cruell tyranny & bloudſhed. This Sophus was a valiant Turke, who with great power & victories had ouerrunne a great compaſſe of the Eaſt partes of Aſia: then paſſing from Aſiria into Media, and returning againe into Armenia, hee made warre againſt the Albanians, Hiberians, and Scythians, and from thence comming vnto Aſia Minor, encountred with Corcuthus Baiazetes ſonne, and afterward cōming to Bithynia, fought with Caragius Baſſa, Baiazetes Captaine, whome he ouercame and put to flight, and afterward tooke him aliue and his wife priſonners. Afterward he was encountered by Halibaſſa an other captaine of the Turkes, whome Techelles one of the ſayd Sophus captaines meeting in the plaine of Galatia did withſtand, and ſo by the way ſlue Caragius the Captain, and hanged hym vppon a poale in the ſight of Halibaſſa, which Halibaſſa ſhortly after was ſlaine in warre, and hys army ſcattered and put to flight.

Reſt geuen to the Chriſtians by the diſcorde of the turkes.

Thus through the admirable example of Gods iuſtice and prouidence, were theſe turks kept occupied, & ſo came it to paſſe, yͤ theſe Barbarians being blaſphemous againſt the ſonne of God, ſhoulde thus horribly runne one to the deſtruction of an other, being worthely puniſhed wͭ mutuall ſlaughter and bloudſhed for theyr impiety and blaſphemy againſt Chriſt and his religion, wherby in the meane time ſome reſt was geuen to the Chriſtians.

Zelymus made Emperour againſt his fathers will.

Baiazetes partly by theſe victories diſcouraged, partly diſeaſed and languiſhing of the goute, and partly alſo broken with age, finding himſelfe vnweldy to the regiment of that tumultuous kingdome, began to haue talke with his nobles about the chuſing of one to ſuccede him. The occaſion whereof miniſtred much matter of inward warres amongſt the Turkes. This Baiazetes had in all 6. ſonnes, wherof three died before him, and three yet were left aliue, to witte, Acomates, Corcuthus and Zilymus, Baiazetes himſelfe had moſte minde to Acomates, but the chiefeſt of his nobles did fauor rather Zelymus: who through theyr traiterous incitation prouoked him to ſtirre warre againſt hys father; and notwythſtanding that he was ouercome in war, yet through interceſſion he was reconciled agayne to his father, and afterwarde proclaimed againe Emperor againſt his fathers will, through the helpe & fauour of the ſouldiours, entring the firſt beginning of hys kingdome, wͭ the murthering of hys owne father. The ſtorye whereof in ſome authors is thus declared.

What theſe Ianizarites were, read pag. 736.

The counſaile of Baiazetes to his ſonne Zelymus.

After that the Ianizarites had perſwaded wyth Baiazetes for that he himſelfe was vnweldy, therfore he ſhould do well to conſtitute ſome ſucceſſour, and that he had aſſigned Acomates to ſuccede him, yͤ Ianizarites being offended with the ſayd Acomates, becauſe he would not enlarge their ſtipends and bribe them, compaſſing about the kings pallace wyth their priuy ſwordes whych they hadde vnder theyr garments, wyth a mighty crie, required Zelymus to be appointed for their Emperor. Unto whom when Baiazetes had anſwered that he had aſſigned Acomates, they refuſed him becauſe he was fatte, groſſe, and vnable therunto: but needes would haue Zelymus, which was ſtoute and warlike, to be made Emperour: and withall drew out their ſwords, crying Zelymus, Zelymus. The Baiazetes geuing place to their fury, ſhewed himſelfe content to geue them Zelymus: whom the Ianizarites receiuing, brought him into the pallace: vnto whom Baiazetes his father geuing place, willed him not to be ſo haſty & furious in hys doings, but to be modeſt and take heede what hee dyd, and not to follow hys fury, but to geue place vnto time, whych reuealeth all thinges, and thinke hymſelfe to be a man ſubiect to dangers and ieoperdies as other men are; and thus ſpeaking, he reſigned hys Imperiall throne and ſeate vnto him, & went away all heauy, entring into a certaine order of their religion. wherupon folowed great exclamatiōs of the people ſaluting Zelymus as Emperor. who then taking the rule vpō him, begā wͭ great cruelty to gouern, deſtroying many of his nobles, ſuch as had ſtood againſt him ſonne with poyſon, ſome by other cruel meanes, & aduauncing his owne ſide with great honors and promotions.

Not long after that Zelymus was thus ſetled in hys kingdome, Baiazetes his father entending to ſee & proue howe he behaued himſelfe in his gouernment, firſt entred into the treaſure houſe, where he found all his riches to be ſcattered and gone. Afterwarde he came into hys armorie, where all the ſpoyles gotten by warre were likewiſe waſted: then entring into the Jewel houſe, where al his plate and gifts ſent from Kings and Princes were kept, whych likewiſe were diſpearſed & geuen away. At length he came into the ſtable, where alſo he ſeeing his principall horſes to be lacking, ſighing wyth himſelfe, and crying vengeaunce vpon him, he prepared himſelf with the reſidue of the treaſure which was remaining, to ſaile ouer into Natolia vnto his eldeſt ſonne, and paſſing by an Orchard neare to the ſea ſide, where he had appoynted to take ſhip, in the meane time whileſt the ſhippes were in furniſhing he ſate downe vnder a tree, & began to curſe his ſonne, and to axe vengeance vpon him, for that he had ſo deſpiſed his father & was become ſo impious a wretch.

The diſpleaſure of Baiazetes againſt his ſonne Zelymus.

Zelymus vnderſtāding of his fathers departure, came into the orchard where his father was, ſeeming to be very heauy, and much lamēting that hys father would ſo priuely depart and goe away, ſeeing that hee deſired not the gouernement of the Empire, but was contented onely wyth the title thereof. O father (ſayd he) do not thus priuely depart away: doe not procure this ſhame to your ſonne, who ſo tēderly loueth you. Let me haue but the name only: and be you the Emperor in dede. The ende of your natural life moſt paciently I ſhal expect, which I pray God may long cōtinue. And thus vſing many faire & flattering words to his father, he cōmanded a banket wᵗ many deinty iunkets, to be brought vnto him, but tempered and infected wᵗ poyſon. which, as ſoone as Baiazetes had begon to taſt of, and felt the ſtrēgth of the poyſon working in his body, he toke his laſt farewell of his ſonne, and going out of the citie accompanied with a great retinue of mē, yelling and crying out in the ſtreetes, in the middle of his iourney fell downe and miſerably died, in the yeare of our Lorde. 1512. Heere mayeſt thou ſee, good Reader, a curſed broode of thys Turkiſh generation, where ẏ father dieth in curſing the ſonne, and the ſonne raigneth by poyſoning his father.

The diſſembling wordes of Zelymus to his father

Zelymus the ſonne poyſoneth his father.

Zelymus the 11. after Ottomannus,

Zelymus the 11. after Ottomannus.

After ẏ thys wretched Zelymus had exerciſed hys barbarous cruelty vpon hys father, wᵗ like impietie he ſeeketh the deſtruction of hys brethren and their children, firſt beginning his murther wyth the fiue children hys Nephewes, which were the ſonnes of hys 3. brethren before departed. which done, then remained his other 2. brethren yet aliue, Acomates and Corchutus wyth theyr chyldren likewiſe to be deſtroyed. Of whome the one had 3. ſonnes, whom the father ſent to Zelymus his brother & their vncle, with faire and gentle wordes to entreat him to be good vnto their father, offering to him their ducty and ſeruice in all things, honoring him alſo as Emperor. But cruel Zelymus commaunded forthwith his ſaide Nephewes to be ſtrangled. The father hearing of the cruell murther of hys ſonnes, leauing houſe and home, went and hid hymſelfe in mountaines, where he liued for a ſpace with hearbes and wilde honie, but being bewrayed by one of hys men, was brought to Zelymus, and ſo was ſtrangled.

The crueltie of Zelymus againſt his father and his bretheren.

The crueltie of Zelymus againſt his couſins.

Chriſtophorus Richerius, wryting of theſe matters, ſeemeth ſome thing to differ from other ſtoryes, and ſayeth that Zelymus, after the death of hys brother Corchutus, came to Burſia, where hee, vnder the colour of making a great triumph, ordeined a feaſt for his frends and kinſfolk, wherunto were called eſpecially his nephewes: who then at the end of the feaſt calling his nephewes aſide (as vnder the pretēce of conferring with them ſecretly about hys neceſſary affaires) committed them to hys ſeruauntes to be ſtrangled and put to death. All this while Acomates hys brother, through the help & inſtruction of his mother, was kept out of the tyrants hands, till at length, after great labor and ſearch made how to get him, certain forged letters were caſt abroad, wherin was cōteined that Acomates, to reuenge the great impiety & ſubdue the tirāny of Zelimus his brother, ſhould ſhew himſelf abroad. which if he wold do, he ſhould find frends enough to take his part. Acomates circumuented with theſe ſubtill traines, partly for hope of reuengement, partly for deſire of ẏ Empire, ſhewed him ſelfe abroad with ſuch power and ſtrength as he had: who being ſet vpon incontinent by Zelymus hys brother, was ouercome in battaile, and falling from hys horſe, beyng a man corpulent and groſſe, and his horſe falling vpon him, was ſo ouerpreſſed and ſlaine.

Ex Chriſt. Richerio.

Zelymus the turke warreth againſt his brother.

Touching the death of thys Acomates, Munſterus ſomwhat differing from this narration, addeth moreouer, and ſayeth, that hee was not killed with the fall from hys horſe, but ſitting all diſmayed vpon a ſtone, and ſeeing no other remedy but death, deſired the Captaine, taking hys rings from his fingers, to deliuer the ſame to his brother, deſiring hym that he might not be put to any extreme cruelty of death, but that hee gently would ſuffer him to be let bloud in the bath, and ſo to die. But Zelymus being not ignoraunt of thys, ſuborneth priuy tormenters, who binding his hands behinde him, wᵗ their feete caſt hym downe vpon the ground, and ſo twiꝛting his necke with a coarde, did ſtrangle him. This Acomates had two ſonnes, who hearing of the death of their father, did flie for ſuccour, the one to Sophus in Perſia, and the other to the Sultane in Egypt.

The crueltie of Zelymus againſt his brother.

The two ſonnes of Acomates flie away from the tyrannie of Zelymus the turke.

By the meanes whereof, new occaſion of warre grew vnto Zelymus, whereby hee was kept in Aſia at home, to fight againſte the Perſians & Egyptians: ſo that throughe the Lordes prouidence, Chriſtendom by that meanes was deliuered from great daunger and perill of the Turkes tirannie: For otherwiſe, the Turke was wholy minded, wyth all his force and puiſſance, to inuade the Chriſtians, being in doubt whether firſt to beginne wyth Rhodes, or whether to aſſault Pannonia, or els to ſet vpon Italy, being then at great diſcorde within it ſelfe: but thys cauſe occupied the Turks mind otherwiſe, and kept him at home. Suche was then the prouidence of the Lorde for the ſafegard of hys people.

The prouidēce of God in ſtirring vp occaſions for his people.

wherfore, for ſomuch as the affaires and doings of this Turke were ſpent for the moſt part in the Turkiſh & heatheniſh countreys: it ſhal not be greatly neceſſary to trouble our chriſtian ſtories therwᵗ, but onely ſhal ſuffice to contracte them in a briefe ſumme, declaring ſuperficially what vnquietnes was amongſt them there, which coulde neuer be quiet, but euer working ſome miſchief either abroade, or at home. Amurathes the Turks nephewe aforeſaide, after he had obtained aide of Sophus the king of the Perſians, firſt inuaded Cappadocia: not long after whome folowed Iſmael, Sophus the Perſian king.

Warre betweene Zelymus and Sophus the Perſiā king.

By reaſon whereof a great battell was fought betwixt the Perſians and Zelymus in the fieldes of Armenia maior. In the which battaile Iſmael Sophus the Perſian Kyng was hurt on the ſhoulder with a pellet, and ſo being caryed out of the field, left the victory to Zelymus: who all be it had an army of 150. M. men, yet he in the ſame fielde loſt about 30000. of hys Turkes. which field was fought in the yere of our Lorde. 1514. Zelymus after thys victorie went to Tauricia the imperiall Citie of the Perſians, whiche he by yelding ſubdued.

"In thys meane time it happened that one Aladulus a king in Armenia the greater, was alſo a helper to Iſmael againſt the Turk, wherupon Zelymus the Turke taking great indignation, the next yere folowing, leauing ẏ Perſians, fought againſt the ſayd Aladulus, & in the end ouercame him, and afterward being found in a caue in a woode, was taken out and brought to Zelymus and ſo beheaded: whoſe hed being firſt caried about Aſia for a triumph, was afterward ſent to the Senate of Venice for a terrour vnto them. The eldeſt ſonne of Aladulus ſcaping the handes of his purſuers, fled into Egypt. This battaile thus fought and ended, Zelymus after he had deuided the kingdome of Aladulus into three prouinces, went to Lycaonia, & from thence to Europe, there to defend the Citie of Samandria, againſt the Chriſtians in Hungary. But the Hungarians being ſone repreſſed by Iuno Baſſa the Turkes captaine, great preparation began to be made by the Turks againſt the confines of Seruia bordering vpō Hungary: The terrour wherof ſtirred vp Maximilian the Emperour, and Ladiſlaus king of Hungarie, and Sigiſmundus Kyng of Polonie, to conſult together, and conioyne their power for defence of Chriſtendome. But through new incumberances incident, the turke leauing Europe, made haſte againe into Aſia, to renue againe his warres againſt the Perſians, who had made a vow not to geue ouer that warre before Iſmael was ouerthrowne.

Warre betweene Zelymus and Aladulus an other turke.

Preparatiō of warre betweene Zelymus & the Chriſtians.

The turke called away from the Chriſtians. A turkiſhe vowe,

But before he entred that warre, firſt he ſent hys meſſengers to the Sultane of Egypte, requiring hym not to entermedle in that warre, for this ſultane before had promiſed to aſſiſt the Perſians againſt the Turke. The name of the Sultane which reigned then in Egypt, was Campſon, ſet vp by the Mamaluci. Theſe Mamaluci were a certain order amongſt the Egyptians, much like to the Ianizarites about the Turke, being the childrē of chriſten men, and after denyeing Chriſt, were the cheſeſt doers in ẏ Sultanes court, and being growne into a great multitude, did degene-

Campſon the Sultane or ruler of the Egiptians. Mamalucy.

degenerat into a turkiſh barbarity, or rather became wors then Turkes. This Campſon vnto the meſſengers of the Turke gaue this aunſwere againe, that vnleſſe he woulde leaue of his warre againſt Iſmael, and reſtore the ſonne of Aladulus, otherwiſe he woulde not lay downe his armor.

Zelymus being incenſed not a little wyth this inſolent aunſwere of the Sultane, leauing all other warres aſide, with great celeritie aduanced hys power againſt the Sultane. which Sultan partly through the falſhode of his captaine Caierbeius, partly by the ſodeinneſſe of the Turkes comming, not farre from the citie of Damaſcus encoūtred with the turke, and there ouerthrowne from his horſe, being a fatte and groſe body, and falling vnder his horſe, and his horſe alſo falling vpon him, was quaſhed in peces and ſo died, which was the yere of our Lord. 1516.

Caierbeius falſe to his maiſter.

Campſon ſlaine.

Mamalucie, of whome more then a M. in thys battaile were ſlaine, flyeng from thence to Memphis, ſet vp Tomoumbeius in ſtede of Campſon: whoſe captaine Gazelles was ouercome at the City of Gaza, & he afterward himſelfe driuen out of Memphis, where a great part of the Mamaluci were deſtroyed. Then Tomoumbeius flying ouer the floud Nilus, renued his army agayne: but in the ende was diſcomfited and chaſed into a mariſh, where hee was found ſtanding in the water vp to the chinne, and ſo being brought to Zelymus, was put to the rack and great tormentes, to make him confeſſe where Campſons treaſures were. But when he would not declare, he was caryed about the Towne with a halter about his necke, & hanged vp vpō a hie gibbet for a ſpectacle to all Egypt: which was the yeare of our Lorde. 1517. And thus were the two Sultanes in Egypt deſtroied with the Mamaluci, whych there had borne the rule in Egypt the ſpace of 243. yeares. The progenie of the whych Mamaluci remaining of the warres, the Turke commaunded in pryſon gates of Alexandria to be cut in peces. Zelymus frō thence, triumphing departed to Conſtantinople, entending to ſpend the reſt of his time in perſecuting the Chriſtians: But in that meane ſpace he was ſtroken with a cankerd ſore rotting inward, and died after hee had raigned 7. yeares like a beaſt, in the yeare of our Lord. 1520.

Tomoūbeius made Sultane of Egipt.

Tomoūbeius executed

A worthy deſtruction of the Mamaluci forſaking their faith and religion. Note againe the prouidence of God. The death of Zelymus.

The raigne of this Turke was but ſhort in number of yeres: but in number of his murthers and cruel bloudſhed it might ſeme exceeding long: which liued more like a beaſt then a mā, for he neuer ſpared any of hys frends or kinred. His father firſt he poyſoned, his brethren and al his coſins he quelled, leauing none of all his kinred aliue. Moreouer his chief and principal captaines for ſmal occaſions he put to death, as Muſtapha, Calogere, Chendeme, Boſtāg hys ſonne in law, and Iunobaſſa.

The beaſtly crueltie of Zelymus againſt his kinred.

It is ſaid moreouer that he entended the poyſoning of his owne ſonne Solyman, ſending vnto him a ſhirt infected wͭ poiſon, becauſe he ſeemed ſomething freely to ſpeake againſt yͤ cruel demeanor of his father: But by the meanes of hys mother, the gifte being ſuſpected, was geuen to an other which was his Chamberlaine, who putting on the ſhirt, was ſtrucken with the poyſon therof, and therewith all died.

As touching thys Turke Zelymus, by the way heere may be noted how yͤ ſecret prouidēce of the Lord kept hym occupied wͭ hys Turkiſh warres at home, while that the reformation of chriſtian religion here in Europe the ſame time begō by Martin Luther, might the more quietly take ſome roting without diſturbance or interruption. For ſo it appeareth by the computation of time, that in the dayes of this Zelymus, Martin Luther firſt began to write againſt the Popes indulgences, which was in the yeare of oure Lord. 1516.

The cruelty of Zelymus againſt his ſonne Solyman.

Solymannus the 12. after Ottomannus.

SOlymannus the onely ſonne of Zelymus ſucceded after hys fathers death, who in the firſt beginning ſeemed to ſome to be ſimple and ſhepiſh, and not mete for the turkiſh gouernmēt. wherfore certain of his nobles cōſulting how to depoſe him, entended to ſet vp an other Emperour. In which conſpiracy, eſpecially are named Caierbeius & Gazelles. This Caierbeſius was he yͭ betraied before Campſon the Sultane of Egypt to Zelymus, as is aforeſayde: who nowe alſo being in conſultation wͭ Gazelles & other about this matter, detected thē alſo vnto Solyman. wherfore the ſayd Gazelles and his fellowes being thus detected, were put to death by Solyman, declaring thereby that he was not ſo ſhepiſh as he was thought of them to be, & as alſo by his acts afterward did more appeare.

A note of Gods prouidence for the reformation of religyon.

Solymānus the 12 after Ottomānus Read in the pag. 738.

Solymannus after thys execution done vpon the conſpiratours, taking his voiage into Europe, firſt beſieged Belgradum: which being a Citye in Hungarie, was the ſtrongeſt forte of all the Romaine Empire, and the chiefe defence at that time, of al chriſtendom, whith alſo being aſſaulted before time by Amurathes the 2. was valiantly defended by Ioannes Huniades as is aboue ſpecified. But here nowe lacked ſuche a one as Huniades was: For the kingdome of Hungary at that time, was vnder yͤ gouernment of Ludouicus a yong king, vnexpert and of a ſimple wit. whom other Princes, & ſpecially the couetous churchmen did ſo pil and pol, that they left hym nothing but only the bare name and title of his kingdom: wherby he being vnfurniſhed both of men and mony, was vnable to match with ſuch an enemie.

Belgradum againe beſieged of the turke.

Read before pag 743.

An other vauntage alſo the Turkes had in beſieging of Belgrade: For the Chriſtian princes at that time were in ciuill diſſention and variance amongſt themſelues: and the Pope with his Churchmen alſo were ſo buſye in ſuppreſſing of Luther, and of the Goſpell then newly ſpringing, that they minded nothing els, except it were to maintaine the welth of their own bellies. which pope if he had ſet his care (as his duety was) ſo muche in ſtirring vp Princes againſt the common enemy, as he was bent to deface yͤ goſpel, & to perſecute the true profeſſors therof: ſoone might he haue brought to paſſe, not only that Belgrade might haue bene defended againſt the Turk, but alſo yͭ to be recouered againe which was loſt before: and moreouer myght haue ſtopped the great dangers and perils which nowe are like to fall vpon the religion and church of Chriſt: whyche the Lord of his great mercy auert and turne away.

Diſcorde amongeſt Chriſtian princes what miſchiefe it bringeth.

Certeſſe what ſo euer the Pope then did, this had bene his duty, ſetting al other things apart, to haue had an earneſt compaſſiō of ſo many miſerable & loſt captiues, which were fallen from their faith & religion, vnto the miſery and ſlauery of the Turke, & thraldome of the deuil, and to haue ſought all means poſſible to haue reduced thē, as loſt ſhepe into the fold againe: which then might ſone haue ben done if prelates & princes ioyning together in chriſtian concord, had loued ſo well the publike glory of Chriſt and ſoules of Chriſtians, as they tendered their owne priuate, worldly, & friuolous quarels. And admit that the Pope had conceiued neuer ſo much malice againſt Luther, hys quarell alſo being good: yet the publike church ſtanding in ſuch danger, as it then did by the inuaſion of the Turke, reaſon woulde nature led, religion taught, time required that a good Prelate forgetting lighter matters, ſhuld rather haue laid hys ſhoulder to the excluding of ſo great a dāger, as then was imminent both to himſelfe, and the vniuerſall Churche of Chriſt: But nowe his quarel being vniuſt, and the cauſe of Luther being moſte iuſt and godly, what is to be ſayde or thought of ſuche a Prelate, who for bearyng the Turke, whome in a time ſo daungerous, hee ought chiefly to haue reſiſted, perſecuted the trueth, whych hee ſhoulde ſpecially haue mainteined? But Chriſt for his mercy ſtande for hys Churche, and ſtirre vp zealous Princes and Prelates, if not to recouer that is loſt, yet at leaſt to retaine that little which is left.

The pope ſo buſie againſt Luther, that he neglecteth the ruine of Chriſtēdome.

True compaſſiō lacking in the Pope.

Solyman therefore taking hys occaſion, and vſing the commoditie of time, while our princes were thus at variance betwixt themſelues, wythout any reſiſtance or interruption, brought his army vnto Belgrade, in yͤ yere of our Lorde. 1521. which Citye being but ſlenderly defenced, the Turke through his vnderminers, guns and other engins of warre, without great difficultie, & with little loſſe of hys ſouldiours, ſoone ſubdued and ouercame.

The city of Belgrade wonne of the turke.

After thys victorye, Solyman reſting himſelfe a whole yeare, and caſting in his mynde howe to make all ſure behinde him, for feare of ennemies to come vppon his backe, thought it expedient for his purpoſe if he might obtain the Iland of Rhodes: for that onely remained yet Chriſtian betwixt him and Aſia: wherfore the next yeare following, he brought hys army of 450. ſhips, and 300. M. men to the beſieging thereof. This Rhodes was a mighty and ſtrong Iland, wͭin the ſea called Mare mediterraneum. The inhabitants wherof at yͤ firſt did manfully reſiſt yͤ turke, ſparyng no labor nor paines for the defence of thēſelues & of al chriſtendome: But afterward being brought to extremity, and pinched wͭ penury, ſeing alſo no aid to come from yͤ chriſtians: ſomwhat began to languiſh in thēſelues. The turkes in the meane time caſting vp two great mountaines wyth ſtrength of hand, 2. miles of frō the citye, like rolling trenches caried them before thē neare vnto the city, in the tops wherof they plāted their ordinance & artillery, to batter the city. The maiſter of the knightes of the Rhodes was then one Philippus Villadamus a Frenchman, in whome no diligence was lacking yͭ appertained to the defence of the city. The Rhodians likewiſe ſo valiantly behaued themſelues vpon the walles, that wͭ their ſhot all the ditches about the city, were filled wͭ the carcaſes of dead Turkes.

Rhodes beſieged.

Beſides thys, ſuche a diſeaſe of the bloudy flixe raigned in the Turkes campe, that 30.M. of them died thereof: and yet for all thys, Solyman woulde not ceaſe from hys ſiege begonne: who at length by vnderminers caſting downe the vamures and vttermoſt partes of the citie, wan groũd ſtill more and more vpon the Rhodians, and with mortary pieces ſo battered the houſes, yͤ there was no free place almoſt ſtanding in all the Citie. And thus continued the ſiege for the ſpace of fiue or ſixe monethes, and yet all thys while came no help vnto them from the chriſtians. wherfore they being out of all hope, thorough the aduiſe of Valladamus, yelded themſelues vnto the Turke vppon condition that hee woulde ſpare them wyth life and goodes, which conuention the Turke kepte wyth them faithfully and truely.

Thus Solyman with his great glory and vtter ſhame to all chriſtian princes, and alſo ruine of all Chriſtendome, got the noble Iſle of Rhodes, although not wythout great loſſe and detriment of hys army: in ſo much that at one aſſault 20. thouſande Turkes about the walles, were ſlayne with fire, ſword, ſtones, and other engines. wherby it may be coniectured what theſe Rhodians might or would haue done, if ſuccor had come to them from other chriſtian princes as they looked for. This city was wonne vpon Chriſtmas day. An. 1522.

Chriſtian princes negligent in helping their felowes.

Rhodes wonne of the turke.

Thys conqueſt of Rhodes obtained, Solyman the 4. yeare after, bringeth backe his army againe into Hungary, where he founde none to reſiſt him but onely Ludouike the yong king: who being accompanied with a ſmal army, and nothing able to matche wyth the Turke, yet of a haſty raſhnes and vaine hope of victory, would needes ſet vpon him: who if he had ſtaide but a little, had proſpered the better. For Ioannes Vaiuoda being a Capitaine well exerciſed in Turkiſh warres before, was not farre off, comming with a ſufficient power of able ſouldiors. But Paulus the Archbiſhop Coloſſ. a Franciſcane Frier, a man more bold then wiſe, with his temerity and raſhnes troubled al their doings: For the whole ſumme of the army of the Hungarians, contained in all but only 24.M. horſmen and footemen, who at length comming vnto the battaile, and being compaſſed about wyth a great multitude of the Turkes army, were brought into great diſtres. The Turks twiſe ſhotte of their pieces againſt the Chriſtian army: yet ſcarce was any Chriſtian touched with the ſtroke therof: whych was thought to be done of purpoſe, bicauſe they were chriſtians whych had the ordering of the gunnes, for then the ſpeciall gunners of the Turkes were Chriſtians, whome for the ſame cauſe they ſpared. Then the Turkes horſmen comming vpon the backe of the chriſtian armie, compaſſed them about, and by reaſon of their multitude, ouercharged their horſemen. Amongſt whom was ſlaine the ſame tyme the Archb. Frier aforeſayd, wyth the Biſhops of Strigone and Varadine & many other nobles beſides. Alſo the kyng himſelfe being deſtitute of hys neceſſary aide and ſuccour, was compelled to flie into a mariſh, where he falling from his horſe, being heauy loden with his harneis, was not able to riſe againe, but there miſerably periſhed.

Chriſten warres againſt the turke neuer ſpeede well vnder the guiding of Popiſhe prelates.

Chriſtians were the ſpeciall gunners to the turke

The raſhe archbiſhop ſlaine.

king Ludouicke periſhed in war

Solyman the Turke marueiled at the foolyſhneſſe of Ludouike the King, who wyth ſo ſmall an armye woulde preſume to encounter wyth ſuch a great hoſte of two hundreth thouſande. This battaile in Hungarie was fought, Anno. 1526.

After the deceaſſe of Ludouicke, Ferdinandus ſucceded in the kingdome, being Duke of Auſtria and king of Hungarie. Then Solyman ſetting contention betwixt Ioannes Vaiuoda and Ferdinandus for the kingdom of Hungarie, ſpedde his viage to the Citie of Buda, whych alſo in ſhort time he made to be yelded vnto hym vpon condition that they ſhould eſcape with their liues and goodes: whych cõdition ſome ſay he kept, and ſome ſay he did not. Beſides Buda diuers places and munitiõs the ſayd Turk, contrary to his league made before, did ſpoile and waſte, as Varadinum, Quinque Eccleſias, and other fortes and munitions moe, bordering about the coaſtes of Hungary.

Ferdinandus K. of Hungary.

Buda, Varadinum, and the citie called Quinqueecleſia taken of the turke.

In the yeare of our Lorde 1529. Ferdinandus king of Hungarie aforeſaid, recouered diuers holdes gotten of the Turke before, and alſo warring againſte Ioannes Vaiuoda his enemy, with whom he had variance (as ye heard before) expulſed him out of his kingdom. wherupon Vaiuoda flying to the Turke, deſired his ayde. The Turke glad to take that occaſion, wyth great preparatiõ addreſſed him ſelfe to returne into Hungary, where he recouering againe the Citie of Buda, which Ferdinandus had gotten from him a little before, remoued his armye into Auſtria, ſpoyling and deſtroying by the way all that came to hys handes, ſhewing many examples of great cruelty & tyranny moſt lamentable to here and vnderſtand. For of ſome he put out their eies, of ſome he cutte of their handes, of ſome their eares and noſes, and of their children he cut of theyr priuy members. The maidens he corrupted, the matrones had their breſtes cut of, and ſuch as were with childe, were ript and their childrẽ caſt into the fire. And theſe examples of horrible and barbarous tyranny, thys wretched Turke perpetrated by the way comming toward Vienna a noble City in Auſtria, beſides the captiues which he tooke by the way, and led into ſeruitude moſte miſerable, mounting to the number of 30. thouſand.

Contention betweene Ferdinandus, and Vaiuoda. Vaiuoda flieth to the turks.

Horrible examples of the turkes crueltie.

Among other holdes by the waye as the Turke came, there was a caſtle called Altenburch ſtrongly by nature ſituated, and by art defenced, which caſtle the Turke entending not to ouerpaſſe becauſe he woulde make all thynges ſure behinde him, began to make hys aſſault, and lay hys ordinance againſt it. The warders and kepers of the Caſtle, ſo ſoone as the Turks began to lay ſiege againſt them, making no reſiſtance, of a womanly cowardnes ſent their meſſengers to the Turke to yelde themſelues, ready to doe his commaundement, and further him with their vitaile. Amongeſt whome were three hundreth Bohemians, who were commaunded to followe the hoſte, that the Turke by them might learne what ſtrength was in the city of Vienna: alſo where the king was, and what was to be done for the winning therof.

The effeminate cowardlynes of the ſouldiours in Altenburch.

The caſtell of Altenburch yelded to the turke.

Of whom when the Turke had vnderſtanding howe all things ſtoode, and how that there was but 20. thouſand men in Vienna able to beare armour, and that other cities of Auſtria would ſoone yeelde if that were gotten, and that Vienna was vitailed but for 2. monthes, and that the king was of late in Boheme, thus the Turk of all things being certified, hauing no doubt in hys minde of victorie, made ſpeede toward Vienna: and firſt comming to Neapolis a city but 8. miles diſtant from Vienna, he required them to yelde themſelues: who notwithſtanding withſtoode them, and repulſed them valiantly. Then the Turkes aſſigned a place for the pitching of their tents, whych becauſe it ſemed ſome thing too litle for ſuch a great multitude, they tooke in more ground to the compaſſe of 7. miles circuit. The multitude of his armye, which hee there planted, is accompted of ſome to extend to 250.M. ſouldiours. The Turke thus being planted, made daily excourſes ouer all the countrey of Auſtria, ſpecially about the citie of Vienna, waſting and ſpoyling with great crueltye & murther amongſt the poore Chriſtians.

Neapolis beſieged of the turke. The turkes army of 250 thouſand ſouldiours.

Moreouer, to make al things more ſure toward yͤ preparation of the ſiege, ſcoutes were ſent abroade, and buſhments were laid about the riuer ſide of Danubius, to prouide that no aid nor victual ſhould be brought to Vienna. So it pleaſed the prouidence of the Lord (who diſpoſeth all things) that 3. daies before the comming of the Turk, Fridericus the Earle Palatine, which was then aſſigned by yͤ Empire to take the charge of Vienna, was come downe by the riuer of Danubius with 14.M. and with a certaine troupe of horſemen well apoynted and picked for the purpoſe. After the comming of thys Fridericke, prouiſion alſo of victuall was appoynted to followe ſhortly after, by the ſayd riuer of Danubius.

Vienna beſieged of the turke.

Fridericus Earle palatine captaine of Vienna.

In the meane time, they which had the cariage & trãſporting therof, hearing how the waies were laid, & all the paſſages 10. miles about Vienna, ſtopped by the Turkes although they knew yͤ city to ſtand in great nede of vitail, yet ſeing there was no other remedy, rather then it ſhould come to the ennemies hande, thought it beſt to ſincke theyr boats wͭ their cariage, and ſo they did. wherby, all be it the chriſtians wanted their reliefe, yet were the Turks diſappoynted of their pray & purpoſe. The captains whych had the keping of the City, which were chiefly Fridericus the Earle Palatine, Gulielmus Rogendorffius, and Nicolaus erle of Salme, ſeing themſelues ſo ſtraightned contrary to their expectation, although they had great cauſes to be diſcouraged, yet calling their courage vnto them, they conſulted together for the beſt way to be taken: and ſeing that the little city Neapolis (aboue mentioned) being 8. miles diſtaunt from them, ſo valiauntly withſtoode the Turkes, that in one day they ſuſtained 7. greuous aſſaultes againſt all the maine force of the Turkiſh armye: by their example and manfull ſtãding, being the more animated and encouraged, thought to abide the vttermoſte before they woulde geue ouer, and firſt plucking downe all the ſuburbes, and buildings wythout the walles, wherby the enemy myght haue any ſuccor, they willed all the farmers & inhabitantes about the Citye to ſaue themſelues, and to bryng in theyr goods wͭin the walles. Such places as were weake wythin the walles, they made ſtrong. About the towers & munition of the walles, they prouided rampires & bulwarks diſtant 80. foote one from another, to kepe of the ſhot: and euery man hadde hys place and ſtanding awarded to hym

vpon

Fridericus Earle Palatine, Williã Rogendorffius, Nicholaus Earle of Salme, captaines of Vienna.

Preparation within the Citie of Vienna, againſt the turke.

vpon the wal, and his office appoynted what to do: but eſpecially that ſide of the City which lyeth to the riuer of Danubius, they fortified after the beſt wiſe: for that way only now remained for vitail to be tranſported from the Bohemians vnto them. wherefore 8. enſignes were aſſigned to the keping of the bridge, and in the plaine, which was lyke an Iland incloſed wythin the riuer, a ſufficient garriſon of horſmen were placed, lying within the gunſhot of the city, to the entent that if any graine or vitail were ſent from the Bohemians, they myght prouide yͤ ſame ſafely to be brought into the Citie.

Prouiſion made for victualing the citie.

Good coūſaile & experience refuſed.

Raſhe hardines of our Chriſtians in ſkirmiſhing with the turke.

The wretched cruelty of the turkes againſt the Chriſtian captiues.

These things thus being diſpoſed and ſet in order, L. William Rogendorffe, to aſſay the ſtrength of the Turks, made diuers rodes out wyth his horſemen, albeit much againſt yͤ mindes of the Auſtrians: who knowing the maner of the Turkes, thought it better to ſuffer them, while either wyth time they myght be ouerweried, or for lacke of victuals conſumed. Among many and ſondry ſkirmiſhes which the Chriſtians had with the Turkes, one eſpecially was to our men vnproſperous: in whych certaine of the horſemen eſpying a ſmall troupe of the Turkes ſcattering abroad from theyr company, made out after them, who ſodenly & guilefully were incloſed and circumuented by the Turks, before they could recouer the gates of the citie, and ſo were all taken aliue: Of whome 3. were ſent from the Turkes into the Citye, to declare to the Viennians what ſtrength they had ſeene in the campe of their aduerſaries, and to ſollicite them to yelde their city for feare of puniſhment which would followe: The reſidue they reſerued to torments and puniſhment, whom in the ſight of the whole army, and of the Chriſtians (whych ſhould tell the ſame to the Citizens) they cauſed euery man to be drawne with 4. horſes a piece, and ſo to be diſmēbred and pluckt a ſonder.

The meſſage of the turke to the Viennians.

The aunſwere of the Viēnians to the turke.

After thys done, the barbarous Turk immediatly ſent his Herold to talke wyth the Captaines of the City, whether they would yelde the City vpon honeſt conditions, or els would abide the arbitrement of warre. If they would gently ſubmit them ſelues, they ſhould haue all gentlenes to them ſhewed: If they would be ſtubburne, and ſtand to their defence, he wold alſo ſtand to hys ſiege begon, ſo that he neither woulde ſpare man, woman nor childe. To thys the captaines aunſwered againe, that they were contented Solyman to ſtand to his ſiege begon, and to do his vttermoſt, what he would, or what he coulde. As for them, they were at a poynte to defende them ſelues and their Citie ſo long as they might: the euent & fall of victory to be doubtfull, and many times ſo to happen, that they whych begin the warre, are wearied ſooner then they which be prouoked: neither againe that they were ſo vnmindfull eyther of themſelues, or of their country, but that they did remember well what they are, and what they be called, named to be Germaines: who vſe alwayes firſt to aſſay the aduerſary, what he is able to doe, and not raſhly to committe themſelues into their enemies handes.

Solymanus approcheth Vienna with three great armies

Solymannus not a little diſdaining at thys aunſwer, firſt burning and conſuming all the villages, houſes, and places round about the city, infecting alſo the ſprings and fountaines whych gaue water into the Citye, and ſo ſtopping al paſſages, that no reliefe ſhould haue way vnto thē, began wͭ angry moode to approche more neare to the Citie, with 3. great campes, ſending them worde in ſkorne and contumely, by one of his captiues, that if they ſtood in nede of helpe of ſoldiors, he would ſend vnto them the 300. Bohemians (mentioned a little before) to aid them in theyr defence. To whom the Palatine directed anſwer again, that they had moe ſoldiours in the City then they neded. As for the Bohemians which had yelded themſelues, he might do wyth them, what he would, for Vienna ſtoode in no great neede of them.

A meſſenger ſent from Ferdinādus to Vienna.

In the meane time a meſſenger comming from Ferdinandus, was priuily let in by night into the Citie, which brought word that they ſhould play the men in keping out the enemy a while: for it would not be long but both Ferdinandus and Carolus his brother, with the ſtrēgth of all Germanie, would be ready to reſcue them. At whych meſſage the hearts of the ſoldiours began ſomwhat to be cheared, and to contemne the huge multitude of the aduerſaries, being ſo great as they neuer did beholde, nor did euer almoſte heare of before. The largeneſſe of whoſe army, extended to no leſſe in compaſſe (as is aboue ſayde) then of 7. miles round about the Citie walles.

The ſiege of Vienna beginneth.

Long it were to recite the whole order of thys terrible ſiege, with all the partes and circumſtances therof. Briefly to touch ſo much as ſhal ſuffice for this hiſtory, with fewer wordes then were ſtripes geuen at the ſiege thereof: thys is to be iudged and confeſſed: whoſoeuer beholdeth the nōber and fierceneſſe of the Turkes, the abſence of the king Ferdinandus, the lacke of prouiſion and vitaile within the city, the noiſe of the gunnes, the violence of the ſhot, the terror of the ſight, and yet no ſuccour ſent vnto them: that the cuſtody of that city was no mans doing, but the arme only of the Lorde God of hoſtes, according to the true ſaying of the Pſalme: Vnleſſe the Lorde doe kepe the Citie, the watchmen watch in vaine, which watch to ſaue it: Vnles the Lord doe build the houſe, the builder ſtriueth in vayne, whych taketh vpon hym to builde it. Experience whereof in keping thys citie may well appeare.

The Lordes power and prouidence in keeping the Citie of Vienna.

Firſt Solymannus bending hys ſhotte and ordinance againſt the City, beate downe to the ground the vāmures with all the vttermoſt ſuburbs of the city, and that in ſuche a ſhort moment of time, that the hearts of the Viennians a little before refreſhed, were now as much appaled agayne with feare, miſdoubting wyth themſelues, leaſt the Turke with the ſame celerity and violence woulde haue preuailed againſt the inwarde walles, as he did in beating down the outward vamures. And no doubt the ſame time the Turk had put the city in great hazard, had not night commynge on, broken of the ſiege for that day.

In the meane time the Citizens laboured all night in repairing and refreſhing the wals, to make all things ſure againſt the next aſſault. The next day early in yͤ morning, the Turks approching the city againe with a new aſſault, thinking to ſcale the walles, were ſo repulſed & manfully reſiſted by the Germaines, that vnneth any ditches aboute the walles could be ſene for the bodies of the dead Turkes, wherwith they were repleniſhed: ſo that the Turks were faine to fight ſtanding vpon the bodies of them which wer ſlaine. By the which calamitie the force of the enemye was not a little abated,

The ſlaughter of the turkes about the walles of Vienna.

The manlynes of Captaine Rogendorffius againſt the turkes

It happened the ſame time, that a companye of the Turkes being ſpied oute of the Citie wandering oute of order, the Captaine Rogendorffius wyth two legions of horſemenne iſſuing out of the Citie gate called Salmaria, and ſo paſſing cloſely vnder the hilles ſide, did ſo ſet vpon them, that they ſlew a great number of them: the reſt being driuen to take the riuer, whome with ſtones and ſhot likewiſe they deſtroyed, and ſo retired backe into the Citie againe. By thys victorie the Captaine Rogendorffius began to be terrible to the Turkes. For in the ſame ſkirmiſh (as after was knowen) was ſlayne of them ſo many, that of 5000. and 300. horſemen and footemen, ſcarſe 140. eſcaped aliue.

An other aſſault of the turkes againſt Vienna.

Solyman diſdayning at this repulſe, thought to proue an other way, & ſo bringing his power toward yͤ gate called yͤ kings gate, there making his trenches & bulwarkes, placed his ordināce, wͭ the violence wherof yͤ walles were ſo battered & ſhaken, that no man was able there to ſtand. wherefore the Turke ſeeing 2. great breaches made in the wal cōmaunded his ſouldiors couertly in the darck ſmoke of gunnepouder to preaſe into the City. The like alſo was done at yͤ ſcottiſh tower, whereby yͤ city was inuaded in 2. ſundry places at one time. The Viēnians at yͤ firſt, freſhly began to withſtand thē, new ſouldiors ſtill cōming in the place of them that were ſlaine and hurt: and ſo this aſſault continuing more thē 6. houres together, our mē beganne at length to languiſh & faint, not onely in ſtrength but alſo in courage: wherby the Citie had bene in great daunger of looſing, had not yͤ two foreſaid Capitaines Rogendorffius in the one place, and the Earle of Salme in the other place, manfully encouraged the ſouldiors to abide yͤ brunt, and to beare out a while the violence of the Turkes, promiſing that immediatly they ſhould haue ayde from Ferdinandus.

In the meane time the Turkes came ſo thicke for gredines of the victory, ſcaling, climing, and fighting vpō the walles, that had it not bene for the preaſe and throng of the great multitude of the Turkes comming ſo thicke that one of them could not fight for an other, Vienna that ſame day had bene taken and vtterly loſt: But by the pollicy of yͤ captaines geuing a ſigne within the city, as though new ſouldiors were called for, our men began to be encouraged, & the Turkes hartes to be diſcomfited.

Another repulſe of the turkes.

when Solymannus ſaw his army the ſecond time, repulſed, he began to attempt a new way, purpoſing by vndermining to ouerthrow the city: in the which work ſpecially he vſed the helpe of the Illyrians, of whome he had a great number in his campe, expert in that kinde of feate. Theſe Illyrians beginning to breake the earth at the gate Carinthia and comming neare to the foundations of the Tower, which they by ſtrength of hand attēpted to break, could not worke ſo cloſely vnder the groūd, but they were perceiued by certayne men aboue, which were ſkilfull & expert in yͤ kind of matter: who cōtrariwiſe vndermining againſt thē, & filling their trēches as they wēt, wͭ gūpouder, ſo con-

Vienna vndermined by the turkes,

conueyed their traine, that when fire ſhould be ſet vnto it, the violence thereof ſhould braſt out by the trenches of the enemies: which done, ſodenly the ground beneath made a great ſhaking, ſo that the tower did cleaue aſunder, and all the vnderminers of the Turks working in their trẽches, were ſmothered and deſtroyed, which came to the number (as it was ſuppoſed afterwarde) of 8000. perſones: in ſo much that yet till thys day a great number of deade mens ſkuls are found in the ground.

An other aſſault of the turkes againſt Vienna.

When Solyman ſaw yͤ this way alſo would not ſerue and had priuy intelligence that the walles about the gates of Stubarium were negligently kept, and that hee might haue there more eaſy entrance: ſecretly he conueyeth about 10. garriſons of freſh ſoldiours, in ſuch ſort as the townes men ſhould not perceiue them: who came ſo ſodenly vpon them, that they had filled the ditches, and were vpon yͤ top of the fortreſſes and munitions, before that our men were aware of them, or coulde make themſelues ready to reſiſt them. For although there was no lacke of ſoldiors wythin the Citie, yet for ſomuch as the whole brunt of the ſiege did lye, ſpecially at the 2. gates aforeſaide, from whence the ſoldiors which were there warding, could not be wel remoued, for a ſhifte the reſcuers (which wythin the Citie were ready for all ſodaine aduentures) were ſent to the walles: by whoſe comming, thoſe fewe whych kept the enemies of before, being ſore hurted and woũded, were ſuccoured and ſent to ſurgery: and thus the ſayed aſſault continued terrible and doubtfull vntill (the darcke night commyng vpon them) they could not wel know the one from the other. In thys bickering were counted of the Turkes to be ſlayne, more then 5000.

The turkes a gayne repulſed.

Then the Captaine Rogendorffius commendyng the valiant ſtanding of his ſouldiours, miſdoubting with him ſelfe (as it happened in dede) that the Turks would not ſo geue ouer, but would ſet vppon him the next day wͭ a freſh aſſault, prouiding wyth all diligence for the purpoſe, made vp the breaches of the walles, & prepared all things neceſſary for reſiſtaunce: The next morning following, whych was ſome thing darke and miſtie, the Turkes thinking to preuent our men with their ſodain comming, began againe buſily to bicker vpon the toppe of the walles.

An other aſſault of the turkes repelled.

It would require a longe tractation heere to deſcribe the great diſtres and danger that the city, thoſe 3. daies following, was in. During all the whych time, there was no reſt, no intermiſſion, nor diligẽce lacking, either in the enemies, fighting againſt the City, either in our men in defending the ſame. For the Turkes beſides the multitude of the great ordinance, wherwith (as wyth a great tempeſt of gunſhot) they neuer ceaſed, ſtill battering the walles and beating the munitions of the Citie, ſent alſo ſuch heapes & multitudes of the Turkes, to the ſcaling and climing the walles, that vnneth wyth all the ordinance and ſhot of the city, either yͤ violence of them could be broken, or the number of them diminiſhed: til at laſt the ſoldiors of yͤ Turkes perceiuing themſelues able by no meanes to preuaile, but onely to runne in daunger of life, and to do no good, began to wrangle among themſelues, grudging and repining againſt their dukes and captaines, imputing yͤ whole cauſe onely to them: that the City was yet vntaken, ſeeing there was in them neither diligence nor good will lacking: and ſo ceaſed the ſiege for that time.

The turkes at variance among themſelues.

After this, when Solymannus had purpoſed in hym ſelfe, with his laſt and ſtrongeſt ſiege, to try againſt the city the vttermoſt that he was able to doe, and had encouraged hys ſoldiers to prepare thẽſelues in moſt forcible wiſe therunto: the ſoldyers ſhewed thẽ ſelues much vnwilling to returne againe from whence they were ſo often repulſed before: by reaſon wherof great commotion begã to riſe in the Turkes campe. The rumour wherof when it came to Solymans eares, he ſendeth his grand captaine to kepe all the ſouldiers in order and obedience, or if they would be ſtubborne, to compell them whether they would or not, to accompliſh his commandement. Who comming to the ſoldiers, ſhewed to them the great Turkes meſſage, and to animate & encourage them, declared that the oportunitie of the time preſẽt was not to be neglected, neither could they now wͭout great ſhame geue ouer, after ſo many aſſaultes attempted: who if they would ſuſtein but one brunt more, yͤ victory were in their owne handes. The townesmen, he ſaide, were waſted and their victualles ſpent: and the more to enflame their mindes, he promiſed them not onely great thanks and reward of their Emperour, but alſo the whole ſpoyle of the Citie, in recompence of their trauaile.

The Turke and his ſouldiours could not agree.

The turke entreateth his ſoldiours.

But when all thys could not ſtir vp yͤ ſturdy ſtomacks of the tired Turkes, vſing compulſion where perſwaſion would not ſerue, he appoynted a number of horſmen to be ſet at their backs, wherby to enforce them, either to go forwarde, or if they denied, wͭ gunnes and ſpeares to deſtroy them. The Turkes ſeeing themſelues in ſuch a ſtrait, that whether they went or taried, it was to them like perill, yet woulde they not ſet forwarde, except the Captaine woulde take the vẽture before them. Who warding forward in his array, thus ſpake vnto his felows, ſaying: Do you forſake your faith & allegeance, and betray the Emperor of Conſtantinople vnto the Chriſtians, if you wil: but I will diſcharge my duety towardes the commune wealth and my Emperour, and with that worde auaunced his enſigne, making toward the city walles. Whõ when other folowed & ſtil mo and mo preſſed after, ſo it came to pas that whole routs of them were ouerthrowen & ſlain of our men vpon the wals, before it was knowne what they meant. Other terrified by their example, gaue backe and left their array, and wineding them ſelues by bie wayes and vnder couert of hilles, retourned againe into their tentes, and ſo came it to paſſe that the ſtrength of the ennemies daily more and more decreaſing, they had leſſe hope euery day more then other of obtaining the Citie. For beſides the innumerable ſlaughter of Turkes vpon the walles, the townеſmen alſo watching the forragers and purueyers of the Turkes, as they raunged about for victual for the campe, euer as occaſion ſerued them, did compaſſe them about, and ſo encountered with them by the way, that of a whole Legion, ſcarſly the tenth part returned again to their felowes aliue, by meanes wherof the courage of the enemies began greatly to faint. Wherby ſuch a maruelous alteration hapned, that as our mẽ began to receiue more hope and courage, ſo the Turkes began ſtill more to droupe and to languiſh wyth diſpaire, ſo that at length ſkarce durſt they appeare wythout the bounds, where they were entrenched, but onely in light ſkirmiſhes, when they were prouoked by our men to come out, and to ſhew them ſelues.

Compulſiō of men ſerueth not where the Lord defendeth.

The ſlaughter of the turkes at Vienna.

The turkes ſlaine.

Solymannus perceiuing his ſoldiers thus daily to go to wracke, of whome he had loſt already more then 80. M. and that wyth long tarying he could do no good, being alſo in lacke of forrage, for that the countrey about hym was waſted: beginneth to conſult with hys captaines & counſailors, what remained beſt to be done. Of whom the moſt parte aduiſed hym to raiſe his ſiege, and betime to prouide for hymſelfe. Which to doe, many cauſes there were that mooued hym.

The turke beginneth to take counſaile to retire.

Firſt the loſſe of his men, which daily were cut frõ him by great numbers, beſides them which lay in hys campe wounded, or ſicke, or famiſhed. Secondly, lacke of perueyance. Thirdly, yͤ approching nere of winter. But yͤ chiefeſt cauſe was, for that he heard Friderike Palatine aboue mẽtioned cõming with a great army at Ratiſbone towardes Vienna, and there had done great moleſtation to a greate number of the Turks forragers, whom by the way he preuented and ſo encloſed in the woods, yͭ he ſlew them. Wherof when Solyman had intelligence, thinking it not beſt to abide the comming of the Palatine, made haſt wyth bagge and baggage to remoue hys campe and to retire: and firſt ſending away his cariage before him, made ſpeede hymſelf with his army, to follow ſhortly after.

Solyman remoueth & raiſeth his ſiege from Vienna.

The Viennians, when they heard of the remouing away of the Turkes, although at the firſt they ſcarſly beleeued it to be true, being afterwarde certified out of doubt, both of their remouing, and alſo of the order therof, how it was in a maner of a flight or chaſe, were greatly deſirous to make out of the City after them. Wherein, albeit the preſence of the Palatine wyth his armie, if hee had bene there preſent, might haue ſtand them in great ſtead, yet notwithſtanding they tooke the oportunitie of the time preſent, and iſſuing out of the Citie, in moſte ſpeedy wiſe, ſet after them wͭ their horſemen: and firſt ouerpaſſing the tentes (where yͤ Turkes had pitched their ſtations or pauillions) for haſt of the way, they made ſuch purſute after them, that wythin litle time, they ouertooke the rereward or latter ende of the armie, whereof they made ſuche hauocke and deſtruction, that (as the author reporteth) there was neuer a ſhotte of the purſuers, nor weapon drawen, nor ſtroke ſtrucken, which light in vain. Which was no hard thing for our men to doe: For as the Turkes in their flight went ſcattered out of order & aray, neither woulde they in the fore rancke (being ſo farre off from ieopardy) retourne backe to helpe their felowes, it was eaſie for our men, without reſiſtance, to come vpon their backes as they would.

The turkes campe purſued in their flight.

Yet notwythſtanding in long purſute, when our men could not ſee the cariage of the Turkes, which was woont in armies to come away behinde after the hoaſt, and ſuſpecting (as trueth was) ſome ambuſh to be left in priuie wayte behinde them, to come betwixt them and home: called themſelues to retraite, and conſulted vpon the matter, thinking good, firſt to ſende out certaine ſcoutes, to eſpie and

The priuy purpoſe of the turkes preuented.

and bring them word, where the enemies lay, & what was the number of them. Wherof when intelligence was geuē them, that the remnaunt of the Turkes army was remayning in the tentes behind, word was ſent to their fellowes in Vienna, to iſſue out, and to ioyn alſo with them againſt the tayle of the turkes, whiche had entrenched themſelues within the campe. Other were appoynted to followe the chaſe, leaſt peraduenture yͤ turks ſeeing our men to recule backe might returne again vpon thē, & help their felowes. Which thinges being thus ordered and appoynted, in the meane time, while part of the Vienians were houering after the mayne armye, the reſt encountered with them that were left in the campe. Who ſeeing themſelues ouermatched, firſt defenced theyr campe with a deepe ditch & Bulwarke, to delay the time, vntill ſome helpe might come to them from the army. Secondly they directed meſſengers to the Chriſtians, to entreate for peace. Thirdly they conueied their priuy letters vnto Solyman for ſpeedy ayde and reſcue. But all the wayes and paſſages being ſtopped by the Chriſtians, there letters were intercepted, and ſo the miſerable Turkes being deſtitute of all hope & ſucour, ſeing no other remedy, made out of theyr campe, to haſſarde and proue the vttermoſt for theyr defence: but in concluſiō, in their deſperate venture they were encloſed about by our men on euery ſide, and there put to the ſword and ſlayne, a few only excepted, who eſcaping out very hardly by ſecret paſſages, ſhifted after the reſt of their fellowes, as well as they could. Their carriage and other furniture lefte behind them in their tentes, was diſtributed amongſt yͤ ſouldiers onely ſuch thinges reſerued as might ſerue for the publike vſe and commoditie of the Cittie.

The reſt of the turkes ſlaine in the campe.

Thus through the mercifull protection and benefite of almighty God, Auſtria was deliuered from the fierce and barbarous hoſtilitie of the cruell Turkes: notwithſtāding that neither Ferdinandus the king, nor the Emperour his brother were there preſent, but only yͤ power of God, thorough the valiauntnes of the worthy Germaines, defēded that cittie, in defence wherof conſiſted yͤ ſafety & deliuerāce, (no doubt) of all theſe weſt partes of Chriſtendome. For the which immortall prayſe and thankes be vnto our immortall God in Chriſt our Lord, according as he hath of vs moſt graciouſly and worthely deſerued. Wherin by the way take this for a note (gentle reader) how & after what maner Gods bleſſing goeth with the true reformers of his religion, and ſo much the more is it to be noted, for that the Turkes in ſo many battailes & ſieges heretofore, were neuer ſo repulſed & foyled, as at this preſent time in incountring wͭ the proteſtantes & defenders of ſincere Religion. This city of Vienna was beſieged & deliuered yͤ yeare of our Lord. 1529. The aſſaultes of the Turke againſt yͤ City are numbred to be 20. and his repulſes as many. The nūber of his army which he firſt brought, was 25000. wherof were reckened to be ſlayne 80. thouſand and aboue. During the time of his ſiege, he led away out of the country about many captiues; virgins and Matrones he quelled & caſt them out naked: the children hee ſtucke vpon ſtakes.

The mercyfull protection of God ouer Chriſtendome.

Gods bleſſing goeth with the mainteyners of his true worſhip & religion.

Solymannus thus put from yͤ hope of victorye of Vienna after he had breathed himſelfe a while at home, the ſecond yere after, which was an. 1531. repayring his hoſt, returned agayne into Hungarye, with no leſſe multitude, then before: where firſt he got the towne called Gunza being but ſlenderly kept with a ſmall garriſon. By reaſon whereof the townſmen and ſouldiours yelding thēſelues vnto the Turke, were conſtrayned to agree vpon vnreaſonable conditions. Ex Ioan. Ramo.

Ex Melchiore Soitero lib. 2. de Bello Pannonico.

Nicholaus Iureſchitz a valiaunt Captayne.

Melchior Soiterus in his ſecond booke writing De bello Pannonico, touching the foreſaid Towne of Gunza, or Gunzium, differeth herein ſomething from Ramus, declaring how this Gunza being a ſmall town in Hungary and hauing in it but onely a 100. ſouldiours (or as Wolfegangus Drechſlerus in his chronicle reporteth, at the moſt but 200. ſouldiours) vnder the valiaunt captayne Nicholas Iureſchitz, defended themſelues ſo manfully and wonderfully, through the notable power of God, againſt the whole puiſſance of 200. thouſand Turkes, that they beyng notwithſtanding diſtreſſed with lacke and penury of purueiance and ſodenly of the Turkes inuaded, yet with pure courage and promptnes of hart, ſuſteined the vttermoſt force and violence of xiij. aſſaultes of that great multitude, for the ſpace of 25. dayes together.

Although the narration of the authour may ſeeme to ſome incredible, yet thus he writeth, that what tyme the great ordinance and battering peeces of the Turkes were planted vpon two mountaynes much higher then yͤ town whereby they within the towne were oppreſſed both before and behinde, in ſo much that 8 enſignes of the Turks were already within the towne, yet by the reaſon of women and children and other impotent perſons, who in the middle of the towne were congregate in an houſe together ſuch a noyſe and clamour went vp to heauen praying and crying to God for helpe, that the turkes within the walles ſuppoſing a new army of freſh ſouldiours to be ſent into yͤ towne for ſodayn feare, voyded the towne, & leaped down from the walles agayn (which before they had got) whom no man eyther purſued or reſiſted: for neuer a ſouldiour almoſt was left on the walles, which was not eyther ſlayne or els wounded with the Turks ordinance. At what time through the Lordes prouidence it ſo happened, that one Ibrahimus Baſſa, neare about the Turke, ſeeing bothe the town to be ſmall, and the great deſtruction of the Turkes in the ſiege thereof, and that the captayn in no caſe woulde yeld, perſwaded ſo the Turke, declaring howe the Towne being ſo little was not worth the loſſe of ſo many men, in yͤ winning wherof there was no glory, & if he were repulſed, great diſhonour might follow: wherby the Turke being perſwaded, did follow hys counſaile, which was thys yͭ Nicholaus the Chriſten captaine beyng called vnto him vnder pledges and ſafe conduict, ſhould receaue the town as of his hand and gift, with condition, that he ſhold do no violence to hys ſouldiours left behinde and wounded, but ſhould procure ſuch meanes as he could, for the recuring of them: and ſo he rayſing his ſiege departed. An other cauſe might be alſo, whiche moued him ſo ſodaynly to rayſe hys ſiege, for that he heard the Palatine not to be far of in purſuing after him, and therfore taking his flight by yͤ mountaines of the Noricians, he returned with muche ſpoyle of Chriſtian mens goods into Conſtantinople. Ex Melchiore Soit. lib: 2. de bello Panno.

A miraculous example of the Lordes protection & prouidence

The turke raiſeth his ſiege from Gunza.

For ſo it was prouided the ſame time in Germany, after the counſaile of Auguſt and of Ratiſboon (at what time the controuerſie of Religion betweene the Proteſtantes & the papiſtes, was differred and ſet of, to the next generall Councel) that Charles the 5. and Ferdinandus his brother hauing vnderſtanding of the Turke thus raunging in Hungary, ſhould collect of the Germaynes, Hungarians, and Spanyardes and others, an able army of 80. thouſand footmen, and 30000. horſemen, to repulſe the inuaſions of the Turke. But Solymanus hauing intelligence of thys preparation of the Chriſtian power comming toward him whether for feare, or whether to eſpy further oportunitie of tyme, for hys more aduauntage and our detriment, refuſed at that time to tary theyr comming, and ſo ſpeeding hys returne vnto Conſtantinople, retired with much ſpoyle and pray ſent before him, as is aboue premiſed: whiche was in the yeare of our Lord. 1532.

The Emperour Charles & Ferdinandus begin at length to ſturre againſt the turke.

The turke refuſeth to tarry the Chriſtian army.

Not long after, being the yeare of our ſaluation, 1534. Solymannus intending ij. warres at once, firſt ſent Corradinus Barbaroſſa the admiral of his nauies into Afrike to war againſt the kyng of Tunece: whō the Barbaroſſa alſo diſpoſſeſſed & depriued of his kingdome: but Charles the Emperour, the next yeare following, an. 1535. reſtored the ſaid king agayne into hys kingdome, and deliuered in the ſame viage 20. thouſand captiues out of ſeruitude.

The turke warreth againſt the king of Tunece. Tunece wonne of the turke. Tunece recouered againe by Charles the Emperour.

The ſame tyme the Turke alſo ſent an other captayne into Hungary, to warre agaynſt Vaiuoda while he hymſelfe taking hys courſe to Perſia, planted his ſiege agaynſt the Citty Taurus, which he in ſhort ſpace ſubdued and expugned. Albeit he long enioied not the ſame: for Tahames king of the Perſians, ſodaynly comming vpon the Turks vnprepared, ſlue of them 20. thouſand, and tooke hys concubines to the great foyle and reproch of the Turke.

Taurus a citie of Perſia taken of the turkes.

20 thouſand turkes ſlaine of the Perſian king

Two yeare after this, which was the yere of our Lord 1537. Solymannus, who coulde not be quyet at home nor reſt in peace, returning agayne out of Aſia into Europe wͭ 270. ſhips, great and little, ſet vppon Corcyra, an other Iland belonging to yͤ Venetians, which he beſieged x. daies waſting and burning the Townes and fieldes as he went beſide the deſtruction of much people therein, whom partly he ſlue, partly led away captiues. From thence he ſayled to Zacynthus and Cythara, an other Ilande not farre off from Corcyra, bordering neare to the coaſtes of Epyrus and Grecia. Where he ſodaynly by night inuading the huſbandmen in villages and fields, ſleeping and miſtruſting no harme, drew them out of theyr houſes and poſſeſſions, men and women, beſides children, to the number of ix. hūdreth whom he made hys bondſlaues; burning moreouer theyr houſes, and carying away all the goodes and cattell beyng without the ſayd Citties of Zazinthus and Cythara. Ex. Ioan. Criſpo.

Corcyra the Iland waſted & ſpoyled by the turkes.

The Ile of Zazinthus & Cythara ſpoiled by the turkes.

From thence theſe helhoundes turned theyr courſe to yͤ ſiege and ſpoyle of Egina, a rich and populous Iland, lying betweene Grecia and Aſia. Where firſt the Egenians did manfully in battaile reſiſt them, and were like to haue preuayled: but being weryed at length and oppreſſed with

Captiues of the Chriſtians. Warre betwene the Egyenetes & the turkes.

Egina taken of the turke.
The citizens of Egina ſlaine of the turkes.

The women of Egina miſerably entreated and captiued of the turkes.

innumerable thouſandes of freſh Turkes, which ſtil were ſent in, to reſcue the other whiche were ouercome before, were compelled to flye into the Cittie of Egina. Which city the cruell Turkes (or rather Deuils on earth) wᵗ muche labour, & violence of their great ordinaunce ſet out of their ſhippes, ſubdued and caſt downe to the ground: the Citizens and inhabitauntes whereof, the Turke after he had burned their houſes, and ranſackt theyr goodes commanded to be ſlayne and killed euery one. The weomen both noble and vnnoble, with their infantes, were geuen to the mariners to be abuſed, and from thence being ſhipped vnto Conſtantinople, were led away to perpetuall miſery & ſlauery, which was in the yeare of our Lord. 1537.

The Ile Parum and Naxus. Ciclades ſubdued of the turke. Ex Ioan. Criſpo

In the ſame iourny Solyman alſo tooke the Ile in the ſayd ſea of Eugeum, called Parum: alſo the Ile adioyning to the ſame named Naxus, and made them to him tributaries. The duke whereof was he which wrote the ſtory both of theſe Ilandes aforeſayd, and alſo of the other Ilandes called Cyclades, and other Dukes. Ex Ioan Criſpo, Duce Naxi. &c.

Note what hurt commeth by the diſſention of Chriſtiã princes

Stiria is a countrey or prouince neare adioyning to Auſtria.

Thys done, Solymannus directed his Nauy vnto Apulia, where he ſet on land. x. thouſand footmen, & 2000. horſemen, which ſpoiled likewiſe and waſted thoſe parties while the Emperour, the pope and yͤ Venetians were together in warre and diſſenſion. Furthermore the next yere folowing. an. 1538. great attemptes began in Stiria, but by the reſiſtance of the inhabitantes, the force of the barbarous turks was repulſed: notwithſtanding great ſpoyles of men & cattell were caryed from thence, and the country miſerable ſpoyled. In the which yeare alſo the Turk turning into Hungary, gaue battaile vnto the Chriſtians in Sauia: where through the fraudulent falſhood of the Captayne Caſſianerus (Wolfegangus nameth him Calcianus beyng (as they ſay) corrupted with money, our men were put to the worſe. an. 1538.

The falſhood of the turke with the Venetians.

After that the Turkes had inuaded the Ilande of Corcyra aboueſayd, the Venetians with Solyman the Turke had ioyned truce for a certayne time, for yͤ which they gaue the turke 300. thouſand crownes, with the city of Neapolis, and Maluaſia in the borders of Macedonia. But within 4. or 5. yeares, the Turke to get a newe ſtipend of the Venetians, brake hys league, and inuaded theyr dominions: whereby they were enforced to enter new conditions agayn with him.

Nouum Caſtellũ in Dalmatia, ouerthrowen by the turke, & the people ſlaine.

In the yeare of our Lord, 1540. the reſtles Turke making hys return toward Hungary, by the way paſſing by Dalmatia, lay againſt the towne called Newcaſtle, beyng defended by the Spanyardes. In the which town becauſe they refuſed to yeld themſelues all the inhabitauntes and ſouldiours were put to the ſword & ſlain euery one. This Nouum Caſtellum or Newcaſtle was a ſtrong fort of yͤ Chriſtians, whiche being nowe in the Turkes power, he had great aduauntage ouer all thoſe quarters of Dalmatia, Stiria, Carinthia, and Hungaria. From thence he proceeded further, keeping his courſe into Hungary, where he planted his power againſt the City of Buda.

The contention in Hungary betweene Ferdinãdus & Vaiuoda & his ſucceſſors.

The communication betweene Monachus and Ferdinandus.

What hurt may come of raſhe ſuſpicion.

The turke called agayne into Hungary by the diſſentiõ betweene Monachus and Ferdinandus.

This Buda was a principall city in Hungary, about which great contention had bene (as ye heard before) betweene Ioannes Vaiuoda, and Ferdinandus. By reaſon wherof the Turke occaſioned by Vaiuoda, came into Hũgary and deliuered the City to Vaiuoda. This Vaiuoda liuing not long after, left behinde him a ſonne, whome being an infant he committed to the gouernance of one Georgius Monachus: who being left tutour vnto the infant, reduced all Tranſiluania, Buda, Peſta, with other parties of Hungary, which belonged to Vaiuoda before, to the ſubiection of the child. Ferdinandus hearing therof, in a great haſt and anger: leuyed an armye to recouer his landes in Hungarie, and ſo laid ſiege to Buda. Monachus ſeing his part weake, firſt ſent his legate to Ferdinandus, deſiring him to talke and conferre with him vppon matter, as he pretended, pertayning to the behoofe of them both. Whereupon both the parties being agreed, the place and manner of their conuention was appoynted, and alſo the day and tyme aſſigned. Thus the partyes (according to the agreement) conuenting together with their armyes, with drawing a little aſide, as they were entred in communication, ſodenly among Ferdinandus men, happened a dagg to be heard, which by the heate of the day (as is thought) looſing of hys own accord, gaue a cracke. The ſound whereof comming to the eares of Monachus, he ſuppoſing the ſame to haue bene diſcharged, agaynſt him, in great anger drewe out his ſworde, bidding Ferdinandus auant wᵗ his doubling diſſimmulation, ſaying that he would neuer any more truſt the promiſes of Chriſtians, and immediatelye vppon the ſame ſent to Solymannus the Turke, for ayde agaynſt the Chriſtians, promiſing that he would ſurrender to him free poſſeſſion of Hungary, if he woulde come and vanquiſh the army of Ferdinandus lying about the ſiege of Buda. The Turke maketh no long tarying, but taketh the occaſion, and with a mighty power, flieth into Hungary, and eftſoones diſcharging the hoſt of Ferdinandus, and putting them of from the ſiege of Buda, getteth the City into his own handes, commaunding the ſonne of Vainoda with his mother, to follow after his camp.

The cowardly viage of Ioachimus Duke of Brandeburg, againſt the turke.

500. Chriſtian ſouldiours taken and carried away of the turkes.

The horrible puniſhments practiſed of the turkes againſt the Chriſtians.

Ex Ioan Ramo, de rebus turcicis, lib. 2.

In the hiſtory of Ioannes Ramus it followeth, that when Solyman the Turk had thus preuayled againſt the Cittie of Buda aforeſayd, & agaynſt other parties more of Hũgary, by the aſſẽt of the Empyre, one Ioachimus duke of Brandeberg, prince Electour was aſſigned with a puiſſant army of choſen ſouldiours of all nations collected, to recouer the City of Buda from the Turke, and to deliuer the other parties of Chriſtendome from the feare of the Turke. an. 1542. Whiche Ioachimus at his firſt ſetting forth, appeared ſo couragious and valiaunt, as though he would haue conquered the whole world: but this great heate was ſo ſlaked in ſhort time by the Turke, that before any great ieoperdy was offered vnto him, he was glad to to be diſcharged of the viage, and with ſhame enough, returned home againe. And would God he had left behynde him in the field, no more but his owne ſhame. For the enemies hauing intelligẽce before of his cowardly departure, thinking to worke ſome poynt of maiſtry or victory before his goyng, did ſet vpon the right wing of his army (which chiefly conſiſted of Dutchmen of low Germany) out of the which they tooke awaye with them aboue 500. ſtrong and valiaunt ſouldiours, not killing them, but carying them away aliue. For whome it had bene muche better to haue ſtand to their weapon and to haue dyed manfully vppon the turkes, then by yealding themſelues to be diſgarniſhed of weapon and armoure, and ſo to be lefte to the curſed curteſie of the foule Turkes. To whome what curteſie was ſheweed, by the ſequele did appeare. For after yͤ Turkes had led them out of Hungary into their own dominiõ, after a moſt horrible & beaſtly ſort they diſſigured & mangled them, & ſo ſent them abroad through all Grecia to be witneſſes of the Turkes victory. Their kind of puniſhment was thus: Firſt they had their right arme thruſt through with an iron red hot, whereby they ſhould be vnable and vnmeet to all labour & warfare. Secondly, theyr heades were ſhauen to the very ſculles, after the maner of our Friers & monks, when they are newly ſhauen. Thirdly, they had all their priuy members cut of frõ their bodies to the intent to make thẽ vnfruitful for propagation which wound was ſo grieuous vnto them, that the greateſt part of them died therupon, the few that recouered the torment therof, led a life more bitter & more miſerable then death it ſelfe. And this kinde of cruelty was executed in order vpõ them all. In much like ſort did cruell Pharao exerciſe hys tyranny agaynſt the people of God in Egipt: who to deſtroy the generation of them, cauſed all the male children to be drowned in the riuer. Whereby it is the more to be hoped, that ſeing the tiranny of this turkiſh Pharao is come to ſuch an extremetie, the mercifull goodneſſe of God will the more ſhortly ſend ſome Moſes or other vnto vs for our ſpeedy deliueraunce. This was by the cruell Turkes done. an. 1542. witneſſed by Ioannes Ramus, which not onely writeth the ſtory, but by the teſtimony alſo of hys owne eyes recordeth the ſame to be true, beholding with his eies one of the ſame number in the city of Vienna, who hauing wife and children in Bruxelles, eyther for ſhame or ſorrow had no minde to returne home to his own houſe. Ex Ioan Ramo.

The falſenes of the turke in keeping no promiſe with the Chriſtians.

But to returne agayne to the city of Buda, from whẽce we haue digreſſed, here is not to be pretermitted, what falſhood and what cruelty the turkes vſed toward the Chriſtians there, after theyr victory. For after that Solyman yͤ Turke vpon the yelding and ſubmiſſion of the men of Buda, had geuen to them his promiſe of ſafety and life, within ſhort time, the ſayd turke picking a quarrell with them for ſelling Oxen vnto the Chriſtians, and for barganing with them, ſlue all the Magiſtrates of the ſayde Citty of Buda: like as in all other Citties, where ſo euer the Chriſtians yelded vnto him, he neuer, or very rarely kept his promiſe with them, neyther did euer any chriſtians ſpeed better wᵗ the turke, then they which moſt conſtantly did reſiſt him.

An horrible example of the beaſtly crueltie of the falſe turke.

And as hys promiſe with the Magiſtrates of Buda was falſe and wretched: ſo hys cruelty with the ſouldiors therof was more much notorious & abhominable. For in yͤ expugnation of Buda among yͤ reſt whiche were ſlayne ij. cohortes or bands of Chriſtian ſouldiors came alyue to his hands. To whom, when he ſeemed at the firſt to grãt pardon of life, he commaunded to put on their armour agayn, and to diſpoſe themſelues in order and battayle array after yͤ warlike maner of the chriſtians. whiche when they had accompliſhed readily, according to his commaundement, & he riding about the ranckes of them, had dilligently vewed and beholden them a certain ſpace, at length he commannded thē to put of their armour againe. which done, certaine of the talleſt and ſtrongeſt of them he pyked out, the reſidue he commanded by his ſouldiors comming behinde them, with ſwordes to be cut in peeces and ſlayne. Of the other, whome he had elected and choſen, ſome he ſet for markes and buttes to be ſhot at: ſome he appointed to his two ſonnes, for them to ſlaſh with their ſwordes, & try theyr ſtrength, which of them could geue yͤ deper woūd and (as they termed it) the fayrer blowe, whereby moſte bloud might follow out of their Chriſtian bodies. Ex Mart. Stella. De ſucceſsibus Turcarum.

Ex epiſt. Marti. Stellæ. de ſucceſsibus turcarum.&c.

After the winning of Buda, the Turke purpoſing not ſo to ceaſe before he had ſubdued and brought vnder his obedience all Hungary, proceeding further with his armye firſt brought vnder a ſtrong hold of chriſtians named Peſtum or Peſta, where a great number of Chriſtian ſouldiours partly were ſlayne, partly were ledde awaye to more cruell affliction.

The caſtle of Walpo wonne of the turkes.

Then he came to an other Caſtle called walpo ſituate in the confines of Boſna, Croatia, and Hungary. whiche forte or caſtle he beſieged three mōthes, while no reſcue nor ayd was ſent vnto them, neyther from Ferdinandus king of Hungary, nor from any other chriſtian Prince or Princes. whereupon at length the forte was geuen vp to the Turke, but more through the falſe treachery or cowardly hart of the ſouldiours, then of the Captaine. wherein is to be noted an example not vnworthy of memory. For when the cowardly ſouldiours, eyther for feare or flattery, wold needs ſurrender themſelues & the peece vnto the Turke, contrarye to the minde of the Captaine, whiche in no caſe would agree to theyr yelding: they thinking to find fauour with the turke, apprehended theyr captaine, and gaue him to Solyman. But ſee howe the iuſtice of God ſometymes by yͤ hands of the enemy, diſpoſeth the end of things to the rewarding of vertue, & puniſhing of vice. For where they thought to ſaue themſelues by the daunger of the faithfull Captain, the euent turned cleane contrary, ſo that yͤ Turk was to the captayne bountifull and very liberalll: and the ſouldiours, notwithſtanding that they had all yelded thēſelues, yet were all put to death and commaunded pitiouſly to be ſlayne, Ex Ioan. Martino Stella De Turcarum in Hungaria ſucceſsibus.&c.

A notable example of Gods iudgementes lighting vpon themſelues, which meane falſehoode toward the innocent.

The citie of 5. churches yelded to the turkes.

The byſhop leaueth his flocke in the bryers.

There is in Hungary an other towne bearing yͤ name of fiue Churches, called Quiquecclesienſis, partly ſpoyled before, as is aboue mentioned, pag.751. but nowe thorough the loſſe of walpo, & by the hugenes of the Turkes armye (conteining in it.220.thouſand fighting men) was ſo diſcouraged and put out of hope and hart, that the biſh. and chiefe nobles of yͤ town fled before yͤ ieoperdy: the reſt of the cōmons, which were partly preuented by the ſodein comming of the turkes, partly for pouerty could not auoid ſent theyr meſſengers to the Turke, to yealde and ſurrender the towne, vppon promiſe of life, vnto his handes. whoſe promiſe how firme it ſtood, the ſtory leaueth it vncertaine. This is affirmed, that three dayes after the yelding of this Quinquecclesienſis, neuer a Turke durſt enter the Cittie.an.1543. Ex Ioan.Mart.Stella. & alijs.

Socloſia a towne in Hungary ſubdued of the turkes.

The next fort or holde gotten by the Turkes in Hungary, was Socloſia. The towne at the firſt inuaſion of the Turkes, was wonne, ſackte, and fiered. The caſtle within the towne, did ſomething hold out a tyme, and firſt requiring truce for 14. dayes, to ſee what ayd ſhould be ſent vnto them, and to deliberate vpon the conditions that ſhould be propoſed vnto thē, after the 14. daies expired, they (truſting to the ſituation and munitiō of the place, which was very ſtrong) began for a certayne ſpace ſtoutly to put back the enemy: But afterward ſeeing their walles to be battered, theyr foundations to ſhake (for the Turke had ſet xij. thouſand vnderminers vnder the diches of yͤ caſtle) & their ſtrength to diminiſhe, and miſdoubting themſelues not to be able ſong to hold out, agreed in like maner to yeld themſelues, vpon condition to eſcape with life & goods. which condition of ſauing theyr goodes, was the looſing of theyr lyues, eſpecially of the richer ſort. For the Turkes perceauing by that condition, that they were of wealth and ſubſtaunce, omitting the inferiour or baſer ſorte, fell vpon the wealthy men for their riches, and ſlue them euery one, an. 1543. Ibid.

Couetouſnes of wordly goodes is the deſtructiō of many a man.

The turke keepeth no promiſe.

In the which his hiſtory this is alſo to be noted, that during the time while the caſtle of Socloſia was beſieged, the villages & pages round about the ſame, came of theyr own accord, ſubmitting and yelding themſelues vnto the Turke, bringing in (as they were commanded) all kynd of victuall and forage, into the Turkes campe. which done, Solyman the Turke commaunded all the head men of the pages to appeare before hym, whiche humbly obeyed and came. Then the turke warned them to returne agayne the next day after, euery one bringing with him his inferiour retinue, and houſhold ſeruauntes. whiche when they had with like dilligence alſo, according to his commaundemēt accompliſhed, the turke immediately commaunded them euery one, in the face of hys whole army, to be ſlayn and ſo was this theyr reward. which reward the more that it declareth the bloudy crueltie of the turke: the more encourage it may miniſter to our men, the more conſtantly to withſtand him. Ex Martino Stella.

Example what commeth by Chriſten mens yelding to the turke.

Strigonium a citie in Hungary beſieged of the turkes.

An other ſtrong town there is in Hūgary named Strigonium, diſtant from Buda aboue ſayde, the ſpace ot fiue Dutch miles, agaynſt the whiche the Turkes made great preparation of ordinaunce, and all other inſtruments of artillary neceſſary for the ſiege therof. which cittie in like maner began alſo to be compaſſed and incloſed by yͤ turks, before it could be ſufficiently prepared & garniſhed of our mē but that the archbiſhop onely of Strigon priuely conueyed vnto them 200. Oxen. Such was then the negligence of Ferdinandus king of Hungary, which ſo ſlenderly looked vnto the neceſſary defence of his townes and cities. Moreouer ſuch was the diſcorde then of chriſten kinges & Princes, which in their ciuile diſſenſion and warres were ſo occupied and hoate in needeles quarrels, that they had neyther leaſure nor remēbraunce, to help in tyme there, where true neede required. which ſlender care, and cold zeale of yͤ Chriſtian rulers, not in tendering yͤ publicke cauſe, while they contend in priuate trifles, hath cauſed the Turke to come ſo farre as hee hath, and yet farther is like, vnleſſe the mercy of the Lord doe helpe more, then our dilligence. One of the chiefe captaynes within the Cittye, was Martinus Laſcanus, a Spanyard.

Negligence of Chriſten princes in publicke defence.

The Turkes in the beginning of the ſiege began firſt to attempt the Cittizens with fayre wordes, and accuſtomed promiſes, to yelde and gently to ſubmit themſelues. But they not ignoraunt of the Turks promiſes wiſely refuſed, and manfully ſtood ſo long as they coulde to the defence of their citty, now and then ſkirmiſhing with them in out corners, and killing certayne numbers of them: ſometime with their ſhot diſturbing their munitions, & breaking the wheeles of their gunnes. &c.

Three ſpeciall meanes the Turkes vſe in winning great fortes and cities: great multitude of ſouldiors: great ordinaunce and mortarie peeces: the third is by vndermyning. All which here in the ſiege of this Cittie, lacked not. This ſiege continued vehement a certaine ſpace: in whiche the Strigonians had borne out foure ſtrong aſſaultes, and ſlue many thouſandes of yͤ turkes, till at length the turkes eyther departing away, or els ſeeming to depart vnto Buda, the people at laſt being ſo perſwaded and made to beleue of ſome chiefe rulers of the citty (peraduenture not the trueſt men) the citizens being erected with hope and comforte, and ſinging Te Deum, as though the city had bene free from all daunger, ſodenly (by whoſe counſaile it is vnknowen) conueyed themſelues all out of the Citty. 300. horſemen alſo paſſed ouer the riuer and departed. The Italiās which were vnder Frāciſcus Salamanca a Spaniſh captayne hardly coulde be perſwaded by him to abide, whiche were in all ſcarſe.600.

Three ſpeciall helpes of the turkes in winning townes & cities.

The citizens of Strigonium flie the citie.

within 3. daies after 300. Germaine ſouldiours, with 2. ſhips laden with ſhot, pouder, & artillery, were priuily let into yͤ town: So that of our men al there were ſcarſe 1300. ſouldiors. who ſeing the ſmall quantitie of their number, burning and caſting downe the towne & ſuburbes, tooke thē to yͤ caſtle: from whence they beate of the turkes valiantly with theyr ordinaunce, a good ſpace, and with wyld fire deſtroyed great companies of thē, till at laſt they ſeyng theyr walles to fayle them, and the whole caſtle to ſhake by vndermyning, but eſpecially by the working of a certayne Italian ſurnamed Preſbyter, they gaue ouer. Thys Italian whether for feare or falſhood, ſecretly vnknowing to the reſt of the ſouldiours, accompanied with two other conueyed himſelfe down from the walles, & being brought into the tentes of the next captayne or Baſſa of the turkes, there in the name of all hys fellowes, conuented with the turkes, to geue vp to them the Caſtle: wherupon yͤ turkes were bid to ceaſe the ſhooting. This Italian ſhortly after with two other turkes was ſent backe to Salamanca hys Captayne, with the Turkes meſſage. The goyng out of this Italian being priuy to the reſidue of hys fellowes, cōtrary to the lawes and diſcipline of warre, although it ſeemed to come of hys own head: yet for ſo much as the other ſouldiours were not ſure, but rather ſuſpected leſt the other Italians his countreymen had beene in ſome parte of

The towne of Strigonium deſtroyed after the flying of the citizens, & the caſtell defended.

An Italian feare in yelding the caſtle of Strigoniū to the turks.

conſent therein, and would take his part: neither durſt offer him any harme for that his doing, nor yet could wel aduiſe with themſelues what was beſt to do, for feare of priuy confederacie within themſelues.

A turkiſhe truce taken with the Chriſtians, they not knowing thereof.

Thus while Laſcanus the chiefe captaine of the Chriſtians aforeſayd, wͭ his fellowe ſouldiours, were in a maſe what to doe or not to do: in the meane time came one running, who geuing a ſigne both to the Chriſtians and the Turkes, to hold theyr hands and weapons, for that it was againſt all lawe of warre to fight after peace and truce taken: our men, as they were commaunded, went into yͤ inward tower. The turkes in the meane time, had got into the Caſtle, and occupyed all the vtter parties. Then was Salamanca by the conſent of the reſt, ſent out to the Turk, who there being ſtayde that night, the next morrowe the Turkes bull or warant was ſent into the Caſtle, permitting free libertie to the Chriſtians to depart with bag and baggage. Who now beyng ready to depart, firſt were cōmaunded by the turkes compaſſing them round about, to caſt from them theyr dagges, launces, and battaile axes, into the trench. Then comming to the gate to go out, theyr ſwordes were taken from them, looking then for nothing but preſent death.

The falſe turkes neuer true in promiſe.

At laſt whē they were come a little further, other were ſent to them to diſcharge them of theyr helmettes, their tergattes, currettes, and what ſoeuer peece of harnes, was about them. Whereupon great feare came vpon them, leaſt ſome great cruelty ſhould be ſhewed vpon them. Solymā after he had long deliberated wͭ himſelf, whether to kil thē or not, at laſt contrary to all expectatiō, granted theyr liues but before they ſhould be diſmiſſed, he firſt cauſed them, in deriſion of Chriſtianitie, to be bayted with ſcornes and mockes throughout all the Turkiſh army, and ſo the next day commaunded them being ſtript out of theyr coats and apparell, to be reduced againe into the caſtle by companies ſetting ouer them certayne turkes with cudgels, & battes to lay vpon their backes and ſides, cauſing them to bury yͤ dead carcaſes, and to gather vp the rubbiſh broken downe from yͤ caſtle walles, and to ſcoure the ditches. Which done the next day following he demaunded of them by an interpreter, whether they would enter wages with hym, & take horſe and armour to ſerue hym in his warres, which condition diuers for feare were contented to take, ſeyng no other remedy to auoyd preſent death. Some neyther by manaſing wordes, nor for any feare of death, coulde be compelled thereunto, of whom certayn which ſtoode ſtoughtly in refuſing thereof, were preſently ſlayne, whome I may worthely recite in the number and catalogue of holy martyrs.

The miſerable affliction of our Chriſten ſouldiours taken at Strigonium.

Holy ſouldiours & Martirs ſlaine of the turkes for their faithfull religion.

Of the foreſayde chriſtians, part were caryed ouer the riuer of Danubius, not without great vilany, & contumely moſt deſpitefull, For ſome had theyr wiues taken from them and caryed away, ſome had theyr wyues rauiſhed before theyr face: and ſuch as made or ſhewed any reſiſtance therat, had their wiues before them caſt into the riuer and drowned: alſo theyr infantes and yong children, beyng appoynted by the turkes to the abhominable order of the Ianizarites, mentioned before pag. 736. theyr parentes not conſenting thereunto, were precipitate and throwne into the riuer and drowned. All whiche thinges are teſtified by Iohn Martinus Stella, in hys Epiſtles in print extant, written to his two brethren, William, & Michaell. &c. Whiche Mart Stella moreouer this addeth & affirmeth, that he hymſelfe being the ſame time at Vienna, did ſee one of the foreſaid wiues, who being holden faſt by the heare of the head yet notwithſtanding hauing her heare pluckt off, caſt her ſelfe into the riuer Danubius, for the ſinguler loue to her huſband, and ſo ſwamme to the ſhippe where he was. And thus this miſerable company of Germaynes, Spanyards and Italiās mixt together, macerate with labours, with hunger pyned, with watchinges, dolours, and ſorow conſumed came at length to Schinda.

Ex Ioan. Mart. Stellæ in Epiſt. ad fratres.

When the tidings therof was noyſed at Vienna, partly with feare and dread, partly with indignation, all mens hartes were moued & vexed diuerſly. Some thought them not worthy to be receiued into their citty, ſhewing themſelues ſo daſtardly and cowardly. Other thought agayne that mercy was to be ſhewed vnto them, and commended their fact for that they being ſo few, & vnfurniſhed of ayde neither able to match by any meanes with ſuche an innumerable multitude of the turkes, kept themſelues till better time might ſerue thē. But howſoeuer the matter was to be thought of, the captaines brought the poore remnant of that rufull company, vnto poſſidonium, where the ſayd Captayns were layd faſt, and their kept in durance, to render accompt of the whole matter, howe it was wrought and handled. And thus haue ye, the lamentable ſtory of Strigonium.

Diuers opinions of the Viēnians touching theſe miſerable afflicted ſouldiours.

The Turke proceeding in his victories, conducted his army next vnto Tath, and to the parties lying nere about Comaron. This Tath was alſo a ſtrong hold in Hungary wherein were placed certayne garriſons, pertly of the Germaynes, partly of the Italians. The chieftayne of the Italians was one Anniball Toſſo, conſtitute by Philippus Torncilius. This Taſſo was a man well experte in prowes of warre: but of a filthy corrupt life, & alſo a foule ſwearer: and horrible blaſphemer of God and his ſaintes. To make the ſtory ſhorte, this forte of Tathe, before anye ſiege was layde vnto it, was yelded and geuen vp to the Turkes: vpon what conditions, or by whoſe meanes, the author ſheweth not: Thus much he ſheweth, that the ſayd Anniball ſhortly vpō the ſame, returning into Italy, was commaunded by Tornellius aforeſaid: to be apprehended and beheaded.

Tath, ſubdued of the turkes.

Victory hath neuer ſucceſſe vnder a wicked captaine and ſwearer.

After the turkes had ſubuerted and deſtroyed the forte of Tathe, they turned their power againſt Alba, ſurnamed Regalis, for that the kinges of Hūgary haue bene always wont there to be crowned, and buryed. This Alba is a litle well compacted citie in Hungary, hauing on yͤ one ſide a mariſhe ſomewhat foggiſhe or fenny, whiche made the town leſſe aſſaultable. But nere to the ſame was a woode from yͤ which yͤ turks euery day with vi. C. cartes, brought ſuch matter of wood and trees felled for the ſame purpoſe, into the mariſh, that within leſſe then 12. dayes they made it apte, and harde to their feete, whiche the townes men thought neuer could be gone vppon, but onely in the hard froſtes of wynter. At the firſt beginning of the ſiege, there ſtoode a little without the munitions in the front of the citie, a certayne church or Monaſtery, whiche the Cittizens pretending to mayntayne and keepe agaynſt the turkes, had priuily cōueyed light matter eaſely to take flame, with pouder, in ſecret places therof, and had hid alſo fire withal. Whiche done, they (as agaynſt theyr willes being driuen backe, withdrew themſelues within the munitions, wayting the occaſions, when this fire woulde take. Thus the turkes hauing the poſſeſſion of the churche, ſodenly the fire comming to the pouder, rayſed vp the Churche, and made a great ſcatter and ſlaughter among the barbarous turkes This was not ſo ſoone eſpyed of them within the towne, but they iſſued out vpon them in this diſturbance, and ſlue of them a great number: Among whom diuers of theyr nobles alſo the ſame time were ſlayne, and one Baſſa an Eunuch, which was of great eſtimation with yͤ turkes. Moreouer, in the ſame ſkirmiſh was taken one of thoſe gunners which the french king is ſayd to haue ſent to the Turke a little before. Whiche if it be true, let the Chriſtian Reader iudge what is to be thought of thoſe Chriſten princes, which not onely forſaking the common cauſe of Chriſtes Churche ioyned league with the turke, but alſo ſent hym gunners to ſet forward hys warres to the deſtruction of Chriſtes people, and to the ſhedding of theyr bloud, for whom they know the bloud of Chriſt to be ſhed. If this be not true, I ſhew myne authour: If it be, then let the Pope ſee and marke well howe hys title of Chriſtianiſsimus, can well agree with ſuch doinges.

Alba Regalis beſieged of the turke.

The turkes deuiſe in filling vpp the mariſhe.

A ſtratageme of the Chriſtians againſt the turkes.

A note touching the French king that then was.

Ex epiſt. Ioan. Marti Stellæ. ad fratres. De Turcar. in Hungaria ſucceſſibus.

But to let this matter ſleape, although the turkes (as ye heard) had wonne the fenne, with theyr pollicie and induſtry, againſt the Cittie of Alba, yet all this while the Albanes were nothing inferiour to theyr enemies, through yͤ valiant help & couragious indeuour of Octauianus Scruzatus, a captayne of Millane. By whoſe prudent counſaile and conſtant ſtanding, the buſy enterpriſes of the turkes did little preuayle a long time, till at length, ſodainly aroſe a thick fog or miſte vpon the cittie, where as rounde about beſides, the ſunne did ſhine bright. Some ſayde it came by Arte Magicall, but rather it may appeare to ryſe out of the fenne or mariſh, beyng ſo preſſed downe with mensfeete and other matter layd vpon it.

The turkes vſing the occaſion of this miſty darckenes in ſecret wiſe approching the walles, had got vp to a certayne fortreſſe, where the Germaynes were, before our men coulde well perceaue them: where they preſſed in ſo thicke, & in ſuch number, that albeit the chriſtian ſouldiors ſtanding ſtrongly to the defence of theyr lyues, dyd what valiaunt men in caſes of ſuch extremetie were able to doe: yet beyng ouermatched with the multitude of the Turks, & the ſodennes of their comming, gaue backe, ſeeking to retyre into the inward walles. Which when theyr other felowes did ſee to recule, then was theyr flyeng of all hands euery man ſtriuing to get into the Cittie. There was betweene the outward wales or vamures, and inward gate of the citty, a ſtraite or narrow paſſage, caſt vp in maner of a bancke or cauſey, pitched on both ſides: which paſſage or ingreſſe happened yͤ ſame time to be barred & ſtopped. By

The outwardwalles gott by the turkes.

A miſerable ſlaughter of Chriſten ſouldiours.

reaſon whereof the poore ſouldiors were forced to caſt them ſelues into the ditch, thinking to ſwimme as well as they could, into the cittye: where many of them ſticking in the mudde, were drowned: one preſſing vpon an other: many were ſlayne of their enemies comming behinde them, they hauing neither hart, nor power to reſiſt. A fewe whiche could ſwimme out, were receiued into the Citty: but the chiefe Captaines and warders of the towne were there ſlayne.

The cittizens being deſtitute of theyr principall captaines and warriors, were in great perplexitie and doubt among thẽſelues, what to do, ſome thinking good to yeld, ſome counſayling the contrary. This while the mindes of the cittizens were diſtract in diuers & doubtfull ſentences, the Magiſtrates minding to ſtand to yͤ turkes gentlenes, ſent out one of theyr heads vnto the turke, who in yͤ name of them all, ſhould ſurrender to him the citty, and become vnto him tributaries, vpõ cõdition they might enioy liberty of life & goods, which being to thẽ granted, after the turkiſh faith & aſſurance, firſt yͤ ſouldiors which were left wͭin yͤ citty, putting of theyr armour, were diſcharged & ſent away. Who being but onely 300. left of 4. enſignes of Italians, & of a thouſand Germaynes, by the way were layd for by the Tartarians, for hope of theyr ſpoyle: ſo that they ſcattering a ſunder one one way, an other an other to ſaue themſelues as wel as they could: fled euery one what way he thought beſt. Of whome ſome wandering in woodes & mariſhes faynted for famine: ſome were taken and ſlayne by the Hungarians, a few with bare and empty, and wythered bodies, more like ghoſtes then men, eſcaped & came to Vienna. And this befell vpon the ſouldiors.

Let neuer good Chriſtians ſtand to the turks gentlenes.

Now vnderſtand what happened to the yelding Citizens. So in ſtory it followeth, that when the turke had entred the towne, and had viſited the ſepulchre of the kynges for three or 4. dayes he pretented muche clemency toward the cittizens, as though he came not to oppreſſe them, but to be reuẽged of Ferdinãdus their king, & to deliuer them from the ſeruitude of the Germaines. On the fourth day, al yͤ chiefe & head men of the citty were cõmaunded to appeare before yͤ turke in a playne, not far frõ the citty where the condemned perſons before, were wont to be executed, as though they ſhould come to ſweare vnto the turke. At this commaundement of the turke, when the cittizens in great number, & in their beſt attyre were aſſembled, yͤ turk contrary to his fayth and promiſe, commaunded ſodenly a generall ſlaughter to be made of them all. And this was yͤ end of the citizens of Alba.

The cruelty of the turks againſt the Chriſtians. What it is to yeld to turke and to ſticke to hys promiſe.

In the meane time, during the ſiege of Alba, the Hungarians meeting ſometimes with the horſemen of yͤ Tartarians, which were ſent out to ſtop their vitailes from yͤ citie, ſlue of them at one bickering. 3000. Turks. In which ſtory is alſo reported & mentioned of mine author, an horrible ſight and example of miſery, concerning a certayne captiue (a Chriſtian belike) who comming into Vienna, was found to haue in his ſcrip or ſatchel the halfe of a yong childe of two yeares old, which remayned yet vneaten, the other halfe beyng eaten before. an. 1543. Ibid.

The Cityzẽs of Alba deſtroyed of the turkes. Halfe of a young child found in the ſatchell of a captiue cõming frõ the turkes.

Next after this was expugned the caſtle of Pappa, by yͤ Turkes. Let the caſtle now of Papa take heede, leaſt one day it follow after.

The caſtell of Pappa wonne of the turkes.

The like fidelitie the turkes alſo kept, with the fort of Wizigradum and the ſouldiours therof. This Wizigradũ is ſituate in the mid way betweene Buda and Strigoniũ. Of the which fort or Caſtle, the higheſt tower ſo mounteth vpon the hil, that vnleſſe it be for famine and lack of water they haue not to dread any enemy. Notwithſtanding ſo it happened, that the lower peece being wonne, they in the higher tower abiding foure dayes without drink were cõpelled wyth liberty graunted of life and goodes, to yelde themſelues. But the deuiliſh turkes keeping no fayth nor promiſe, ſlue them euerye one, onely Petrus Amandus the captaine of the peece, excepted: who priuely was conueyed by the Captayne of the Turkes, out of the ſlaughter. an. 1544.

Wizigradũ gotte and ſurpriſed of the turkes. The falſe dealing and crueltie of the turkes againſt the Chriſtians.

To theſe moreouer may be added the winning of Nouum Caſtellum in Dalmatia, where he ſlue all that were wͭin both ſoldiors & other, for that they did not yeld themſelues in time. Thus the turke, whether they yelded to hym or not, neuer ſpared the people and flocke of Chriſt.

Nouum caſtellum in Dalmatia wonne by the turkes.

As the falſe & cruell Turk was thus raging in Hungary, and intended further to rage without all mercy and pitie of the Chriſtians, and eaſely might then haue preuayled and gone whether he would for that Charles the Emperour and Franciſcus the french king were the ſame tyme in warre and hoſtilitie, and alſo other Chriſten Princes, as Henry Duke of Brunſwike, againſt Iohn Fredericke Duke of Saxonie, alſo Princes and rulers were contending among themſelues: beholde the gracious prouidence of our Lord and God toward vs, who ſeeing the miſery & hauing pittie of hys poore Chriſtians, ſodeinely as with a ſnafle reined this raging beaſt, and brought him out of Europe into his owne country againe, by occaſion of the Perſians, who were then in great preparation of war agaynſt the turkes, & had inuaded hys dominion. By reaſon wherof the turkes was kept there occupyed, fighting with the Perſians a long continuance. Whiche warres at length being atchiued and finiſhed, (wherein the ſayd Turke loſt great victoryes, with ſlaughter of many thouſandes of his Turkes) he was not onely prouoked by the inſtigation of certaine euil diſpoſed Hungarians, but alſo occaſioned by the diſcord of Chriſtan Princes, to returne agayn into Europe, in hope to ſubdue all the partes thereof vnto his dominion. Whereunto, when he had leuyed an armye incredible of ſuch a multitude of turks, as yͤ like hath not lightly bene heard of, ſee agayne the mercifull prouidence & protection of our God toward his people. And as the Turke was thus intending to ſet forward with this innumerable multitude againſt yͤ Chriſtians, the hand of the Lorde ſent ſuch a peſtilence through all the turkes army and dominions, reaching from Bithynia, and from Thracia, to Macedonia and alſo to Hungary, that all the turkes poſſeſſions almoſt ſeemed nothing els, but as a heape of dead corſes, whereby his viage for that time was ſtopped, and he almoſt compelled to ſeeke a new army.

The diſcord of Chriſtiã princes within themſelues. The turke occaſioned to returne out of Europe into Aſia.

The prouidence of God for his Chriſtians.

An other example of Gods prouidence for his

Beſide this plague of the Turkes aforeſayde, whiche was worſe to them then any warre, other lets alſo and domeſticall calamities through Gods prouidence happened vnto Solymannus, the great rouer and robber of yͤ world which ſtayd him at home from vexing the chriſtians, eſpecially touching hys eldeſt ſonne Muſtapha.

This Muſtapha being hated and partly feared of Ruſtanus the chiefe counſailour about the Turke, and of Roſa yͤ turkes concubine & after his wife, was diuers times complayned of to his father, accuſed, & at length ſo brought into ſuſpicion and diſpleaſure of the turke, by them aforeſayd: that in concluſion hys father cauſed him to be ſent for to hys pauilion, where 6. Turkes with viſours were appoynted to put hym to death: who comming vppon hym, put (after theyr manner) a ſmall corde or bowſtring full of knottes about hys necke, & ſo throwing him downe vpon yͤ ground, not ſuffering hym to ſpeake one word to hys father, wͭ the twitch therof throtled & ſtrangled him to death his father ſtanding in a ſecret corner by, and beholding the ſame. Whiche facte being perpetrate, afterward when the Turke would haue geuen to an other ſonne of hys and of Roſa called Gianger, the treaſures, horſe, armour, ornamentes and the prouince of Muſtapha his brother: Gianger crying out for ſorow of his brothers death: phy of thee, ſayth he to hys father, yͧ impious and wretched dog, traytour, murderer, I cannot cal thee father, take the treaſures the horſe and armour of Muſtapha to thy ſelfe: and wyth that taking out hys dagger, thruſt it through hys own body. And thus was Solyman murderer & parricide of hys owne ſonnes: which was in the yeare of our Lord. 1552.

Sylyman the turke murdereth Muſtapha his owne ſonne.

Wherein notwithſtanding is to be noted the ſingular prouidence and loue of the Lord toward his afflicted chriſtians. For this Muſtapha as he was couragious & greatly expert and exerciſed in all practiſe of warre: ſo had he a cruell hart, maliciouſly ſet to ſhed the bloud of chriſtians: wherfore great cauſe haue we to congratulate, & to geue thanks to god, for yͤ happy taking away of this Muſtapha And no leſſe hope alſo and good comfort we may conceaue of our louing Lord, hereby miniſtred vnto vs, to thinke yͭ our mercifull God after theſe ſore afflictions of his Chriſtians vnder theſe 12. Turks afore recited: now after this Solyman intendeth ſome gratious good worke to Chriſtendom, to reduce & releaſe vs out of this ſo long & miſerable turkiſh captiuitie: as may be hoped now by takyng away theſe yong impes of this impious generation, before they ſhould come to worke theyr conceaued malice againſt vs: the Lord therefore be glorified and prayſed. Amen.

The louing prouidence of our Lord for his Chriſtians.

Good hope at Gods hand to be conceaued of Chriſtians.

Moreouer as I was in writing hereof, oportunely came to my handes a certayne writing out of Germanye, certifyeng vs of ſuche newes & victory of late atchieued againſt the turke, as may not a little increaſe our hope and comfort vs, touching the decay and ruine of the Turks power & tyranny againſt vs. Which newes are theſe: yͭ after yͤ turkiſh tyrant had beſieged with an army of 30000. men, the famous & ſtrong town and caſtle of Iula in Hungary lyeng 40. dutch myles beyond the riuer Danubius, which cittye had, by the ſpace of 6. weekes ſuſteined many grieuous aſſaultes: God through hys great mercy & goodnes ſo comforted the ſayd towne of Iula and the poore Chriſtians therein, at theyr earneſt prayers, that the Turke with

Good newes of the turkes lately repulſed by the Chriſtians.

all hys hoſte was driuen backe, by the handes of the generall, called Raretſhim Laſlaw and his valiaunt company, who not onely defended the ſaid town, but alſo conſtrayned the Turks to retyre, to the great ſhame and confuſion, with a great ſlaughter of the turkiſh rable: For the whiche the euerlaſting God be prayſed for euer.

The maner of the ouerthrow was this. As the foreſaid generall did ſee his aduauntage wᵗ Captayne George, and other horſemen of the Sclesians and Hungarians, they ſet on yͤ rereward of the Turks and killed about 8000. of thẽ, and tooke alſo ſome of their artillery and followed them ſo faſt, yͭ the Turkes were conſtrayned to flye into a mariſhe ground, and to breake the wheeles of the reſt of theyr artillary, to ſaue themſelues, and therwith they got a very rich booty, reſcuing beſides and taking from the Turks a great number of chriſtian priſoners. Like thankes alſo are to be geuen to God, for the proſperous ſucceſſe geuen to Magotſchie the valiaunt Captaine of Erla, who making toward the Turkes, and recountring with the Tartarians, ſlue of them about 8. hundreth.

8000. turkes ſlaine.

Chriſtian captiues reſcued & taken from the turkes.

800. turkes ſlaine.

Not long after this, it happened through the like prouidence of our God, a turkiſh Captayne called Begen, accompanyed wᵗ a thouſand freſhe horſemen came newly out of Turky, to go toward the citty named Quinque Eccleſiæ, or Finffenkyrchen: with whome the Erle of Serin by the way did encounter, and in the night ſetting vpon hym, killed the captayne and tooke 8. Cammels, and 8. Moyles laden with treaſure, and alſo got two red Guidons, wyth a whole great peece of rich cloth of gold, and with an other fayre and ſtraunge Jewell. The horſe of this foreſayd turkiſh captayn, was betrapped and decked moſt richly. The ſadle whereof had the pommell and the backe part couered ouer with plate of fine Arabicke golde, and the reſt of the ſadle, beſide the ſitting place, was plated with ſiluer very fayre gilded. The ſeate of the ſadle was couered with purple veluet: the trappers and bridle beſet with little Turkeys, and Rubies: which horſe was ſent to Vienna vnto the Emperour Maximilian for a preſent.

A great captaine of the turkes ſlaine and his treaſure taken.

Although the Earle would very fayne haue ſaued the Captayn, not knowing what he was, yet the Janizarites labouring to carry away their captayne, ſo ſtiffly defended thẽſelues, that the Earle with his company, was conſtrayned to kill both them and theyr Captayne. From whome the ſaid Erle of Serin yͤ ſame time got, xv. thouſand Turkiſh and Hungariſh Ducates: which mony was brought for the payment of the Turkiſhe ſouldiours in the towne aforeſayd of Finffenkyrchen. &c. All which be good begynninges of greater goodnes to be hoped for hereafter, thorough the grace of Chriſt our Lord, eſpecially if our Chriſtian rulers and potentates, firſt the churchmen & prelates for theyr partes: then the ciuile powers & princes for their partes, with holding theyr affections a little, will turne their brawles & variance, into brotherly concord and agrement, which the Lord of peace put in theyr mindes to doe. Amen. Or otherwiſe if it will ſo pleaſe the Lorde, that the turke come further vpon vs, ſo as he hath begonne, for our puniſhment & caſtigation, his grace then geue to the flock of his poore Chriſtians, conſtancie of fayth, pacience in ſuffering, and amendmẽt of life: For ſo J vnderſtand by publicke fame, although vncertaynly rumored by the voyce of ſome, that the Turkes power of late, this preſent yeare of our Lord 1566. hath perced the parties of Apulia within Jtaly, waſting and burning the ſpace of an. 100. myles toward Naples. which if it be certaine, it is to be feared, that the Turke hauing thus ſet in his foote, & feeling the ſweetnes of Jtaly, wil not ſo ceaſe before he get in both head and ſhoulders alſo ſo farre into Jtaly, that he will diſplay hys banners within the walles of Rome, & do with old Rome the like as Mahumete his great granfather did with newe Rome, the city of Conſtantinople, and as the Perſians did with Babylon.

The turke pearcing into Italy.

Coniectures why it is to be feared that the turke ſhall gette Rome.

The cauſes why we haue ſo to iudge, be diuers: firſt yͭ the ſea of Rome hath bene defended hetherto and mayntayned with much bloud, and therefore it may ſeeme not vncredible, but that it will not long continue, but be loſt wᵗ bloud agayne, according to the verdict of the Goſpell: He that ſtriketh with the ſword, ſhall periſh with yͤ ſword. &c. An other cauſe is, the fulfilling of the 18. chapter of the Apocalips: where is written that great Babilon ſhall fall & be made an habitation of deuils, and a denne of vncleane ſpirite, and a cage of filthye and vncleane byrdes: the fall whereof ſhal be like a milſtone in the ſea, that is, which ſhal not riſe agayne. And this to come before the day of iudgement, the text of yͤ ſayd chapter doth apertly declare: where the wordes do follow, ſhewing that the kynges of yͤ earth, and the marchantes which had to doe with the whooriſhe City, ſtanding a farre of for feare of the heate, and beholding the ſmoke of the ſayd Cittie flaming and burning wᵗ fire, ſhall bewayle and rue her deſtruction and deſolation &c. what citty is this, called great Babilon, whiche like a mylſtone ſhall fall and burne, and be made an habitation of vncleane ſpirites, and beaſtes, let the reader conſtrue. This is certayn and playne by theſe her kinges and marchantes ſtanding a far of for feare, and beholding her burning, that the deſtruction of this city (what cittye ſoeuer it be) ſhall be ſeene here in earth before the comming of the Lordes iudgement, as may eaſely be gathered by theſe iij. circumſtances, that is, by the ſtãding, the beholding, and the wayling of her marchauntes. By the which marchauntes and kynges of the earth, peraduenture may be ſignified, yͤ Pope, the rich Cardinalles, the great prelates and fat doctours, and other obedienciaries of the Romiſh ſea: who at the comming of the Turkes, will not auenture theyr liues for theyr Church, but will flee the citty (no doubt) and ſtãd a farre of from daunger: and when they ſhal ſee with their eyes, and heare with theyr eares the city of Rome to be ſet on fire and conſumed by the cruell Turks, the ſight thereof ſhall ſeeme to them piteous and lamentable, to behold the great and fayre city of Rome, the tall caſtle of S. Angell, yͤ Popes mighty ſea (where they were wont to fiſhe out ſuch riches dignities, treaſures, and pleaſures) ſo to burne before theyr eyes, and to come to ſuch vtter deſolation, which ſhal neuer be reedefied agayne, but ſhall be made an habitation of deuils and vncleane ſpirites, that is, Turkes and heathen Sultans, and barbarous Saracens. &c. This (J ſay) peraduenture may be the meaning of that prophetical place of the Apoc. not that J haue here anye thing to pronounce, but onely geue my geſſe, what may probably be coniectured. But the end at length will make this and all other thinges more playne and manifeſt. For miſtical propheſies lightly are neuer ſo well vnderſtand, as when the euent of them is paſt and accompliſhed.

The phropheſi of the 18. chap. of the Apoccalipſexpounded.

An other cauſe concurring with the cauſes aforeſayde may be collected, out of Paulus Iouius, who writing of yͤ ſubuerſion of Rhodes, which was as ye heard. an. 1522. vpon Chriſtmas day, ſayth that it chaunced ſodenly the ſame day in Rome, that as Pope Hadrian the vi. was entring into the church to his ſeruice, ſodeinly ouer hys head the vpper frontier or toppe of the chappel dore, which was of marble immediately as the pope was entring, fel downe and ſlue certayne of hys garde wayting vpon hym. whereby peraduenture may be ment, that the ruine of Rome was not long after to folow the loſſe of Rhodes.

The third cauſe Ex Paulo Iouio.

The fourth cauſe J borowe out of Ioannes Auentinus, who in his thyrd booke alledging the names, but not the wordes of Hildegardis, Brigitte, and other propheticall men hath theſe wordes: Si vera ſint carmina & vaticinia D. Hildegardæ, & Brigittæ. Sybillarum Germaniæ, & Bardorum fatidicorũ, qui ea quæ noſtro æuo completa vidimus, longo ante tempore nobis cecinerunt: Agrippinenſis Colonia, nolimus, velimus, Turcarũ caput erit, &c. That is, if the ſayings and propheſies of Hildegarde, of Brigitte, & of other propheticall perſõs be true, which beyng foretold long before, we haue ſeene now in theſe our dayes accõpliſhed: yͤ town of Colen wil we, nil we, muſt needes be the head city of yͤ turks. &c.

The fourth cauſe Ex Ioan. Auentino. Annal. lib. 3. fol. 30.

A propheſi.

And this J write not as one pronouncing agaynſt the City of Rome, what wil happen, but as one fearing what may fall. which if it come to paſſe (as J pray God it do not) then ſhall the Pope well vnderſtand, whether hys wrong vnderſtanding of the Scriptures, & his falſe flattering gloſers vpon the ſame, haue brought hym.

A caueat to the biſhop of Rome, if he be wiſe.

Wherefore my counſayle is to the Pope, & all hys Popiſh mayntayners and vpholders to humble themſelues, & to agree with theyr brethren by tyme, letting all contention fall: leſt that while the Byſhop of Rome ſhal ſtriue to be the higheſt of all other Byſhops, it ſo fall out ſhortly, yͭ the byſhop of Rome ſhalbe found the loweſt of all other Byſhops, or peraduenture no byſhop at all.

Whereupon alſo an other cauſe may be added, taken out of Hieronimus Sauonarola, who prophecieth that one ſhall come ouer the Alpes lyke vnto Cyrus, & deſtroy Jtaly. wherof ſee more, pag. 737.

Ex Paulo Iouio.

Thys Solimanus, if he be yet aliue, hath now reigned 46. yeares, who began the ſame yeare, in the which yͤ Emperour Charles the v. was crowned, which was an. 1520. and ſo hath continued by Gods permiſſion, for a ſcourge to the Chriſtians, vnto this yere now preſent. 1566. This Solyman by one of hys Concubines, had hys eldeſt ſonne called Muſtapha. By an other Concubine called Roſa, he had foure ſonnes, Mahumete, Baiazates, Zelymus, and Gianger. Of the whiche ſonnes, Muſtapha and Gianger were ſlayn (as ye heard before) by the meanes of their own father. And thus much concerning the wretched tyranny of the Turkes out of the authors here vnder written.

¶ The

✤ The Authors of the Turkes ſtoryes.

Authours of the turkes ſtories.

Laonicus Chalcondila.
Nicolaus Eboicus Epiſc. Saguntinus.
Ioan. Ramus.
Andræas a Lacuna.
Wolfgangus Drechſlerus.
Ioan. Criſpus.
Ioan Faber.
Ludouicus Viues.
Bernardus de Breydenbach.
Mityleneus Archiepiſc.
Sabellicus.
Iſiodorus Rutherus.
Marinus Barletus.
Henricus Penia de bello Rhodio.
Melchior Soiterus.
Paulus Iouius.
Ioan. Martinus Stella.
Gaſpar Peucerus. &c.
Nicolaus a Moſſen Burgundus.
Sebaſt. Munſterus.
Baptiſta Egnatius.
Barthol Peregrinus.

¶ A Notice touching the miſerable perſecution, ſlaughter and captiuity of the Chriſtians vnder the Turkes.

Perſecution vnder the turkes.

HEtherto thou haſt heard (Chriſtian Reader) the lamentable perſecutions of theſe latter dayes, wrought by yͤ Turkes agaynſt the people and ſeruauntes of Chriſt. In the reading wherof, ſuch as ſitte quietly at home, & be farre frõ ieopardy, may ſee what miſery there is abroad, yͤ knowledge and reading wherof, ſhall not be vnprofitable for all chriſtians earneſtly to wey & conſider, for that many there be, which falſely deceauing themſelues, imagin that Chriſtianity is a quiet and reſtfull ſtate of life, full of pleaſure & ſolace in this preſent worlde, when in deede it is nothing leſſe, teſtified by the mouth of our Sauiour himſelfe, who rightly defining his kingdome, teacheth vs that his kingdome is not of this world, premoniſhing vs alſo before, yͭ in this worlde we muſt looke for affliction, but in hym wee ſhall haue peace. Examples hereof in all partes of thys hyſtory through all ages are plenteous and euidẽt to be ſene, whether we turne our eyes to the firſt x. perſecutiõs in the primitiue Church during the firſt 3. hundreth yeares after Chriſt: or whether we conſider the latter 3. hũdreth yeares in this laſt age of the Churche, wherein the poore flocke of Chriſt hath bene ſo afflicted, oppreſſed & deuoured, yͭ it is hard to ſay whether haue bene more cruell agaynſt yͤ Chriſtians, the infidel Emperors of Rome in the primitiue age of the Church, or els theſe barbarous Turkes in theſe our latter times of the Church now preſent.

Compariſon betwene the perſecutions of the primitiue church and of the latter church.

Three ſpeciall enemies of Chriſtes Church.

Thus from time to time the Churche of Chriſt almoſt hath had litle or no reſt in this earth, what for the Heathen Emperours on the one ſide, what for the proude Pope on the other ſide, and on the third ſide what for the barbarous Turke: for theſe are and haue bene from the beginning the three principall & capital enemies of the Church of Chriſt, ſignified in the Apocalips by the beaſt, the falſe Lamb, and the falſe Prophet, from whom wẽt out three foule ſpirites like frogges, to gather together all the kinges of the earth to the battell of the day of the Lord God almighty. Apocal. 16. The cruelty and malice of theſe 3. enemyes agaynſt Chriſtes people hath bene ſuch, that to iudge which of thẽ did moſt exceede in cruelty of perſecution, it is hard to ſay: but yͭ it may be thought that the bloudy & beaſtly tyrannye of the Turkes eſpecially aboue the reſt, incomparably ſurmounteth all the afflictions and cruell ſlaughters that euer were ſeene in any age, or read of in any ſtory: In ſo much yͭ there is neither hiſtory ſo perfect, nor writer ſo diligẽt, who writing of the miſerable tyranny of the Turkes, is able to expreſſe or comprehend the horrible examples of theyr vnſpeakable cruelty and ſlaughter exerciſed by theſe 12. Turkiſh tyrants, vpon poore Chriſtẽ mens bodies, within the compaſſe of theſe latter 3. hũdreth yeares. wherof although no ſufficient relation can be made, nor nũber expreſſed: yet to geue to the Reader ſome generall geſſe or view thereof: let vs firſt perpend and conſider what dominions & Empyres, how many countries, kingdomes, prouinces, cities townes, ſtrong holdes and fortes, theſe Turkes haue ſurpriſed and wonne from the Chriſtians. In all which victories, being ſo many, this is ſecondly to be noted, that there is almoſt no place, which the turkes euer came to and ſubdued, where they did not either ſlay all yͤ inhabitants therof, or led away the moſt part therof into ſuch captiuity and ſlauery, that they continued not long after aliue: or els ſo liued, that death almoſt had bene to them more tollerable.

Apoc. 16. The crueltie of the furious turkes deſcribed.

Two things to bee noted in the turks: how many victories they haue got, & howe cruelly they haue vſed their victories.

Like as in the time of the firſt perſecutions of the Romayne Emperors, the ſaying was, that no man could ſtep with his foote in all Rome, but ſhould tread vpon a Martyr: ſo here may be ſayd, that almoſt there is not a towne, city, or village in all Aſia, Grecia, alſo in a great part of Europa, and Aphrica, whoſe ſtreetes haue not flowed with bloud of the Chriſtians, whom the cruell turks haue murthered. Of whom are to be ſene in hiſtories, heapes of ſouldiours ſlaine, of mẽ & womẽ cut in pieces, of childrẽ ſticked vpõ poles & ſtakes, whõ theſe deteſtable turks moſt ſpitefull (& yͤ in the ſight of theyr parentes) vſe to gore to death: ſome they drag at theyr horſe tailes & famiſh to death: ſome they teare in pieces, tying theyr armes and legges to foure horſes: other ſome they make markes to ſhoot at: vpõ ſome they trye theyr ſwordes, how deep they can cut and ſlaſh, as ye before haue read, pag. 777. The aged & feeble they tread vnder theyr horſes: womẽ wͭ child they ſpare not, but ripp theyr bodyes, and caſt the infantes into the fire, or otherwiſe deſtroy them, whether the Chriſtians yeld to them, or yeld not, all is a matter. As in theyr promiſes there is no truth: ſo in theyr victoryes there is no ſenſe of manhood or mercy in them, but they make hauocke of all.

Ex Marino Barletio de Scodr. expugnat. lib. 2.

So the Citizens of Croia, after they had yelded & were all promiſed theyr liues, were all deſtroyd and that horribly. In Myſia, after the king had geuen himſelfe to the turkes hand, hauing promiſe of life, Mahumet the Turke ſlew him with his owne hands. The Princes of Raſia had both theyr eies put out with baſens redde hoate ſet before them. Theodoſia, otherwiſe called Capha, was alſo ſurrẽdered to the Turke, hauing the like aſſuraunce of life and ſafety: & yet contrary to the league, the Citizens were put to the ſword and ſlaine. At the winning and yelding of Leſbos, what a number of young men and children were put vpon ſharpe ſtakes and poles, and ſo thruſt thorough? At the winning of the City of Buda, what tyrannye was ſhewed and exerciſed agaynſt the poore Chriſtians, whiche had yelded themſelues, and agaynſt the two Dukes Chriſtopher Billerer and Ioannes Tranbinger, cõtrary to the promiſe and handwriting of the Turke, is to be ſene in the ſtory of Melchior Soiterus, de Bello Pannonico.

Ex Michael. Soitero. lib. 1. de Bello Pannonico fol. 515.

Ex Bernardo de Breydenbach Decano Eccl. Magunt.

The like alſo is to be read in the ſtory of Bernardus de Breydenbach, who writing of the taking of Hydruntum, a City in Apulia, teſtifieth of the miſerable ſlaughter, of the young men there ſlayne, of old men troden vnder the horſe feet, of matrons & virgines rauiſhed, of women with child cut & rent a pieces, of the Prieſtes in the Churches ſlayne, & of the Archbiſhop of that Citty, who being an aged man and holding the croſſe in his hands, was cut a ſonder with a woodden ſaw. &c. The ſame Bernerdus alſo wryting of the ouerthrow of Nigropontus, otherwiſe called Chalcides, an. 1471. deſcribeth the like terrible ſlaughter: whiche there was exerciſed: where the Turke, after hys promiſe geuẽ before to the cõtrary, moſt cruelly cauſed all the youth of Italy to be pricked vpon ſharp ſtakes: ſome to be daſhed againſt the hard ſtones, other ſome to be cut in ſonder in yͤ middeſt, and other mo with other kinds of torments to be put to death: in ſo much that all the ſtreetes and wayes of Chalcides did flowe with the bloud of them, whiche were there ſlayn. In which hiſtory the foreſayd writer recordeth one memorable example of maydẽly chaſtity, worthy of all Chriſtians to be noted and commended. The ſtory is tolde of the Pretors daughter of that City, who being the onely daughter of her father, & noted to be of an exceeding ſingular beuty, was ſaued out of the ſlaughter, & brought to Mahumet the turke, to be his concubine: But ſhe denying to conſent to his turkiſhe appetite and filthynes, was commaunded therewith to be ſlayne and murthered, and ſo died ſhe a Martyr, keping both her fayth and her body vndefiled vnto Chriſt Ieſus her ſpouſe. Ibid.

The ſuperſtitious vſe of the materiall croſſe.

Vide ſupra. pag. 755.
Ex Bernardo Breydenb.

A notable example of maydenly chaſtitie.

The like cruelty alſo was ſhewed vpon them whiche kept the Caſtle, & afterward yelding themſelues vpõ hope of the turkes promiſe, were ſlayne euery one. What ſhould I ſpeake of the miſerable ſlaughter of Methone, & the Citizẽs therof dwelling in Peloponeſus: who ſeing no other remedy but neede to come into the Turkes hands, ſet the barne on fire where they were gathered together, mẽ, women, and children: ſome women alſo with child volũtarily caſt themſelues into the Sea, rather then they would ſuſtayne the Turkes captiuity. Vide pag. 734.

Vid. ſupra. pag. 734.

Miſerable it is to beholde, long to recite, incredible to beleue all the cruel parts and horrible ſlaughters wrought by theſe miſcreantes, agaynſte the Chriſtians, through all places almoſt of the world, both in Aſia, in Africa, but eſpecially in Europa. who is able to recite the innumerable ſocietyes and companyes of the Grecians Martyred by the Turkes ſword in Achaia, Attica, Theſſalia, Macedonia, Epirus, and all Peloponeſus: beſides yͤ Iland of Rhodes and other Ilandes, and Cyclades adiacẽt in the ſea about, numbred to 52. of the which alſo Pathmos was one, wher S. Iohn being baniſhed, wrote his reuelations. Where did euer the Turkes ſette any foote, but the bloud of Chriſtians there, without pitty or meaſure, went to wracke? & what place or prouince is there almoſt thorow yͤ world, wher yͤ turks either haue not perced, or are not like ſhortly to

The miſerable ſpillyng of Chriſten mens bloud by the wretched turks.

A briefe recitall of Chriſten townes & forts wonne of the turke in Europe.

The crueltie of the turk againſt the Citizens of Conſtantinople *Vide ſupra. pag. 706.*

The crueltie of the turk againſt the priſoners of Methone. Ex Leonico Chalcondyla de rebus Turcicis. lib. 10.

to enter? In Thracia, & through all the coaſtes of Danubius, in Bulgaria, Dalmatia, in Seruia, Tranſiluania, Boſna, in Hungaria, alſo in Auſtria, what hauocke hath bene made by them, of Chriſten mens bodies, it will rue any Chriſten hart to remember. At the ſiege of Moldauio, at the winning of Buda, of Peſta, of Alba, of Walpo, Strigonium, Socioſta, Tathe, Wizigradum, Nouum, Caſtellum in Dalmatia, Belgradum, Varadinum, Quinque eccleſie: alſo at the battel of Verna, where Ladiſlaus king of Polonie with all his army almoſt, through the raſhnes of the Popes Cardinall were ſlayne: at the winning moreouer of Zabiacchus, Lyſſus, Dimaſtrum: at the ſiege of Guntza, and of the faythfull towne Scorad, where the nūber of the ſhotte agaynſt theyr walles, at the ſiege thereof, were reckoned to 2539. likewiſe at the ſiege of Vienna where all the Chriſtian captiues were brought before the whole army and ſlayne, and diuers drawne in pieces with horſes: but eſpecially at the winning of Conſtantinople aboue mentioned, pag. 706. alſo at Croia & Methone, what beaſtly cruelty was ſhewed, it is vnſpeakeable. For as in Conſtantinople, Mahumet the dronken Turk neuer roſe from diner, but he cauſed euery daye, for his diſport, 300. Chriſtiā captiues of the nobles of that City to be ſlayn before his face: So in Methone, after that his captayn Omares had ſent vnto him at Conſtantinople 500. priſoners of the Chriſtians, the cruell tyraunt commaunded them all to be cut and deuided in ſonder by the middle, & ſo being ſlain to be throwne out into the fieldes.

A ſtraunge and a prodigious wonder of a brute beaſt towarde a dead Chriſtian body.

More humanitie ſeene in a brute beaſt then in the turke.

Leonicus Chalcondyla, writing of the ſame ſtory, addeth moreouer a prodigious narratiō (if it be true) of a brute Oxe, whiche being in the fieldes, and ſeing the carcaſes of the dead bodies ſo cut in two, made there a loud noiſe after the lowing of his kind and nature: & afterward comming to the quarters of one of the dead bodyes lying in the field, firſt toke vp the one halfe, & then comming agayne, toke vp likewiſe the other halfe, and ſo (as he could) ioyned thē both together. Which being eſpyed of them which ſaw the doing of the brute Oxe, and maruelling thereat, and word being brought thereof to Mahumet, he commaunded the quarters agayne to be brought, where they were before, to proue whether the beaſt would come agayne: who fayled not (as the author recordeth) but in like ſort as before, taking the fragmentes of the dead corps, layde them agayne together. It foloweth more in the author, howe that Mahumet being aſtonied at the ſtraunge wonder of the Oxe, commaunded the quarters of the chriſtiā mans body to be interred, and the Oxe to be brought to his houſe, and was much made of. Some ſayd it to be the body of a Venetian: ſome affirmed, that he was an Illyrian: but whatſoeuer he was certayne it is, that the Turk himſelfe was much more beaſtiall then was the very brute Oxe: which being a beaſt ſhewed more ſence of humanity to a dead man, thē one mā did to an other Ex Leonic. Chalcondyla.

The Byſhop with the Citizens of Methone ſlayne of the turke. *Ex Andrea de Lacuna, & alijs.*

To this crueltye adde moreouer, that beſide theſe 500. Methonians thus deſtroyed at Conſtantinople, in the ſaid City of Methone, all the townes men alſo were ſlayne by the forſayd Captayn Omares, and among them theyr Biſhop likewiſe was put to death. Ex Andrea de Lacuna, & ex Wolfgango & alijs.

Ex Ioanne Fabro, in oratione ad Regem. Henr. 8.

Iohn Faber in his Oration made before king Henrye the 8. at the appointment of king Ferdinandus, and declaring therin the miſerable cruelty of the Turkes toward al chriſtians, as alſo toward the biſhops and miniſters of the church, teſtifieth how that in Mitilene, in Conſtantinople, and Trapezunda, what Byſhops & Archbiſhops, or other eccleſiaſticall and religious perſons the Turks could find they brought them out of the cityes into the fieldes, there to be ſlaine like Oxen and Calues. The ſame Faber alſo writing of the battell of Solyman in Hungary, where Ludouicus the king of Hūgary was ouerthrown, declareth that 8. Byſhops in the ſame field were ſlayne. And moreouer, when the Archbiſhop of Strigon, and Paulus the Archbiſhop Coloſſenſis were found dead, Solyman cauſed thē to be taken vp, & to be beheaded and chopt in ſmall pieces. an. 1526.

The crueltie of the turke in Euboia.

What chriſtian hart will not pity the incredible ſlaughter done by the Turkes in Euboia, where as the ſayd Faber teſtifieth that innumerable people were ſticked & gored vpon ſtakes, diuers were thruſt through with a hoat iron, childrē and infants not yet wayned from the mother were daſhed agaynſt the ſtones, & many cut a ſūder in the midſt. Ex Iohan Fabro & alijs.

The prince of Seruia ſlayne & ſlayne of the turke.

Let neuer Chriſten prince truſt the turke.

But neuer did country taſte and feele more the bitter & deadly tyranny of the Turkes, then did Raſia, called Myſia inferior, & now Seruia. Where (as writeth Wolfgangus Dreſchlerus) the prince of the ſayde countrey being ſent for, vnder fayre pretence of words & promiſes, to come & ſpeak with the Turke, after he was come of his own gentlenes, thinking no harme, was apprehended & wretchedly & faſly put to death, & his ſkin ſlain of, his brother & ſiſter brought to Conſtantinople for a triumph, and all the nobles of his country (as Faber addeth) had theyr eyes put out. &c.

The turkes ſtirred vp of the deuil to fight againſt Chriſt.

The turkes are butchers of the Chriſtians.

Briefly to conclude, by the vehement and furious rage of theſe curſed caytifes, it may ſeme that Satan the old dragon, for the great hatred he beareth to Chriſt, hath ſtyrred them vp to be the butchers of all chriſten people, inflaming theyr beaſtly hartes with ſuche malice & cruelty agaynſt the name and religion of Chriſt, that they degenerating frō the nature of men to deuils, neither by reaſon wil be ruled, nor by any bloud or ſlaughter ſatiſfied. Like as in the primitiue age of the Church, and in the time of Diocleſian and Maximiliā, whē the deuil ſaw that he could not preuaile againſt the perſon of Chriſt which was riſen agayne, he turned all his fury vpon his ſely ſeruants, thinking by the Romayn Emperours, vtterly to extinct the name and profeſſion of Chriſt, out from the earth: So in this latter age of yͤ world Satan being let loſe agayne rageth by the Turkes, thinking to make no end of murdering and killing, till he haue brought (as he entendeth) the whole church of Chriſt, with all the profeſſors therof, vnder foot. But the Lord (I truſt) will once ſend a Conſtantinus to vanquiſh proud Maxētius: Moyſes to drowne indurate Pharao: Cyrus to ſubdue the ſtout Babilonian.

The miſerable ſtate of the Chriſtian captiues vnder the turke.

The buying and ſellyng of Chriſten captiues vnder the turks

And thus much hitherto touching our chriſtian brethrē, which were ſlain & deſtroied by theſe blaſphemous turks. Now forſomuche as beſides theſe aforeſayde, many other were pluckt away violently from theyr country, from their wiues & children from liberty, & from all their poſſeſſions, into wretched captiuity and extreme pouerty, it remaineth likewiſe to entreat ſomewhat alſo cōcerning the cruel maner of the Turkes handling of the ſayd chriſtian captiues. And firſt here is to be noted that yͤ turke neuer cōmeth into Europe to war againſt the chriſtiās, but there foloweth after his army, a great number of brokers & marchaunts, ſuch as buy men & children to ſell again, bringing with thē long cheines in hope of great cheates: In yͤ which cheynes they linke thē by 50. & 60. together, ſuch as remayne vndeſtroyd with the ſword, whō they buy of the ſpoiles of thē yͭ rob & ſpoyle the Chriſtian countryes: which is lawfull for any of the Turkes armye to doe, ſo that the tenth of their ſpoyle or pray (whatſoeuer it be) be reſerued to the head Turke, that is, to the great mayſter theefe.

Chriſten captiues tythed of the turke.

O wickednes paſſing all miſerie.

O miſerie aboue all miſeries.

Of ſuch as remayne for tithe, if they be aged (of whom very fewe be reſerued aliue, becauſe little profite commeth of that age) they be ſolde to the vſe of huſbandry or keeping of beaſtes. If they be young men or women, they be ſent to certein places, there to be inſtructed in theyr language and Artes, as ſhall be moſt profitable for theyr aduauntage, & ſuch are called in theyr tongue Sarai: and the firſt care of the Turkes is this, to make them deny the Chriſtian religion, and to be circumciſed: and after that they are appointed euery one as he ſemeth moſt apte, either to the learning of their lawes, or els to learn the feates of war. Their firſt rudimēt of war is to handle the bow, firſt beginning with a weake bow, and ſo as they growe in ſtrength, comming to a ſtronger bow, & if they miſſe the marke, they are ſharply beaten: & theyr allowance is two pence or three pence a day till they come & take wages to ſerue in war. Some are brought vp for the purpoſe to be placed in the number of yͤ wicked Ianizarites, that is, the order of the Turks champions, which is the moſt abhominable cōdition of al other. Of theſe Ianizaraites, ſee before pag. 736. And if any of the foreſayd yong men or children ſhal appeare to excell in any beuty, him they ſo cutte, that no part of that whiche nature geueth to man, remayneth to be ſeene in all his body, wherby while the freſhnes of age continueth, he is compelled to ſerue theyr abhominable abhomination: and when age cōmeth, then they ſerue in ſtead of Eunuches to wayte vpon Matrones, or to keepe horſes and Mules, or els to be ſcullians and drudges in theyr kitchins.

The ſeruitude of yong women captiues.

Such as be young maydens & beautifull, are deputed for concubines. The whiche be of meane beautye ſerue for matrones to theyr drudgery worke in theyr houſes & chābers, or els are put to ſpinning and ſuch other labors, but ſo that it is not lawful for them either to profeſſe their chriſtian religiō, or euer to hope for any liberty. And thus much of them which fall to the Turke by tithe.

The other which are bought and ſold amongſt priuate ſubiects, firſt are allured with faire words and promiſes to take circumciſion. Which if they will doe, they are more fauourably entreated, but all hope is taken from them of returning agayne into theyr country, which if they attempt the payne therof is burning. And if ſuch comming at lēgth to liberty, will mary, they may: but then theyr children remayne bond to the Lord, for him to ſell at his pleaſure: and therfore ſuch as are wiſe amongſt thē wil not mary. They which refuſe to be circumciſed, are miſerably handled: for example wherof, the author (which geueth teſtimony hereof) doth inferre his owne experience.

Ex Bartholomeo Georgionitz, Peregrina lib. de afflictionibus Chriſtianorum ſub Turca.

Such captiues as be expert in any manuall art or occupation can better ſhift for themſelues: but contrariwiſe, they whiche haue no handycraft to liue vpon, are in worſe caſe. And therfore ſuch as haue bene brought vp in learning, or be prieſts or noble men, & ſuch other, whoſe tēder educatiō can abide no hardnes, are the leaſt reputed, & moſt of all other neglected of him that hath yͤ ſale or keping of thē, for yͭ he ſeeth leſſe profit to riſe of them, then of the other: & therfore no coſt of raymēt is beſtowed vpon them, but they are caried about bare head, & barefote, both ſommer & winter in froſt and ſnow. And if any faynt and be ſicke in the way, there is no reſting in any Inn, but firſt he is driuē forward with whips, and if that will not ſerue, he is ſet peraduenture vpon ſome horſe: or if his weakeneſſe be ſuch, that hee cannot ſit, then is he layde ouerthwart the horſe vpon hys belly, like a Calfe, and if he chaunce to dye, they take of hys garment ſuch as he hath, and throw him in a ditch.

In the way moreouer, beſide the cōmon chayne, which doth incloſe thē all the hāds alſo of euery one are manicled which is becauſe they ſhoulde not harme theyr leaders, for many times it happened yͭ x. perſons had the leading of 50. captiues: & whē night came, theyr feet alſo were fettered, ſo yͭ they lodged in no houſe, but lay vpon the groūd al night.

The miſerable calamitie of Chriſten women being in captiuitie vnder the turkes.

The maner of Chriſten captiues, how they are brought to markets and ſolde.

The yong women had a litle more gentlenes ſhewed, being caried in paniers on the day time. But when nyght came, pity it was to heare the miſerable crying out of ſuch as were incloſed wͭin by reaſon of the filthy iniuries which they ſuffred by their cariers, in ſo much that the yong tēder age of 7. or 8. yeres, as wel of yͤ one ſexe as of yͤ other could not ſaue thē frō yͤ moſt filthy villany of the beſtiall turkes.

When the morning cometh, they are brought foorth to the market, to ſale, where the buyer if he be diſpoſed plucking of theyr garments, vieweth all the bones & ioynts of theyr body: and if he like them, he geueth his price, and carieth thē away into miſerable ſeruitude, either to tilling of their groūd, or to paſture their cattel, or ſome other ſtraūge kind of miſery incredible to ſpeake of: In ſo much that the author reporteth, that he hath ſene himſelfe, certeine of ſuch Chriſten captiues yoked together like horſe and oxen, and to draw the plough. The maid ſeruaunts likewiſe are kept in perpetuall toile and work in cloſe places, where neither they come in ſight of any man, neither be they permitted to haue any talke with theyr fellowe ſeruauntes. &c. Such as are committed to keep beaſtes, lye abroad day and night in the wilde fieldes, without houſe and harbor, and ſo chaunging their paſtour, goe from mountayne to mountayne: of whom alſo, beſide the office of keeping the beaſtes, other handy labour is exacted at ſpare houres, ſuch as pleaſeth theyr mayſters to put vnto them.

Chriſtians in their captiuitie, put to drawe in the plough like horſes.

The great daungers of Chriſten captiues which flye out of turky.

Out of this miſery there is no way for them to flye, eſpecially for them that are caryed into Aſia beyond the ſeas: Or if any do attempt ſo to do, he taketh his time chiefely about harueſt, when he may hide himſelfe all the day time in the corne, or in woodes, or mariſhes, and finde foode: and in the night onely, hee flyeth and had rather bee deuoured of wolues and other wild beaſtes, then to returne agayne to his maiſter. In theyr flying they vſe to take with them an hatchet and coardes, that when they come to the ſea ſide, they may cut downe trees, and binde together the endes of them, and ſo, where the ſea of Helleſpontus is narroweſt, about the Seſtos and Abydos, they take the ſea, ſitting vpon trees, where, if they winde & tide do ſerue luckely, they may cut ouer in foure or fiue houres: But the moſt part either periſh in the floudes, or are driuen backe agayne vpon the coaſtes of Aſia, or els be deuoured of wilde beaſtes in woodes, or periſh with hunger and famine. If any eſcape ouer the ſeas aliue into Europe, by the way they enter into no towne, but wander vpon the moūtaynes, following onely the Northſtarre for theyr guide.

The maner and ſhift of our men in getting ouer the ſea.

The manifold daungers by the way in flying.

The myſery of Chriſtian cities & prouinces which liue vnder the turkes tribute.

As touching ſuch townes & prouinces, which are won by the Turke, and wherein the Chriſtians are ſuffered to liue vnder tribute: firſt all the nobility there they kill and make away, the churchmen and Clergy hardly they ſpare. The Churches with the belles & all the furniture therof, either they caſt down, or els they conuert to the vſe of their owne blaſphemous Religion, leauing to the Chriſtians, certayn olde and blinde chappels, which when they decay, it is permitted to our mē to repayre thē agayne, for a great ſomme of mony geuen to the Turke: Neither be they permitted to vſe any open preaching or miniſtration. But only in ſilence and by ſtealth, to frequent together. Neither is it lawfull for any Chriſtian to beare office within the city or prouince, nor to beare weapon, nor to weare any garment like to the Turkes. And if any contumely or blaſphemy, be it neuer ſo great, be ſpoken agaynſt thē, or agaynſt Chriſt, yet muſte thou beare it, and holde thy peace. Or if thou ſpeake one word agaynſt theyr religion, thou ſhalt be compelled (whether thou wilt or no) to be circumciſed: And then if thou ſpeake one word agaynſt Mahumet, thy puniſhment is fire and burning. And if it chaunce a Chriſtian being on horſebacke, to meet or paſſe by a Muſulman, that is a Turkiſh prieſt, he muſt light from his horſe, & with a lowly looke, deuoutly reuerēce & adore yͤ Muſulman: Or if he do not, he is beatē down frō his horſe wͭ clubs & ſtaues.

If Chriſtians may not goe lyke turkes, why ſhould our Goſpellers goe like Papiſtes?

The turkes haue their fire & fagots, as well as our papiſtes.

The Chriſtians muſt light from their horſe, meting a turkiſh prieſt, and adore hym.

Furthermore, for theyr tribute they pay the fourth part of theyr ſubſtance and gayne to the Turke: beſide the ordinary tribute of the Chriſtians, whiche is to paye for euery polle within his family, a ducket vnto the Turke: which if the parentes cannot doe, they are compelled to ſell theyr children into bondage. Other being not able to pay go cheined in fetters from dore to dore begging, to make vp theyr payment, or els muſt lye in perpetuall priſon.

An other miſerie moſt lamentable, in takyng away Chriſten mens children from their parentes, to ſerue the turke.

And yet notwithſtanding, whē the chriſtians haue diſcharged all duties: it remaineth free for the turkes to take vp among the chriſtians children, whom the beſt like, and thē to circumciſe and to take them away being yong, from the ſight of theyr parēts, to far places, to be brought vp for the Turkes wars, ſo that they may not returne to them agayne: but firſt are taught to forget Chriſt, & then theyr parents: ſo that if they come agayne amongſt thē, yet are they not able to know theyr kinſfolkes and parents.

O myſerie.

This miſery paſſing all other miſeries, no man is able wͭ toung to vtter, or with words to expreſſe. What weping & teares, what ſorow and lamentatiō, what groning, ſighes, and deep dolor doth teare & rent a ſonder the woefull harts of the ſely parents, at the plucking away of their babes and children? &c. ſee theyr ſonnes & theyr own childrē, whō they haue borne and bred vp to the ſeruice of Chriſt Ieſus the ſonne of God, now to be drawn away violētly frō thē to yͤ warfare of Satan, and to fight agaynſt Chriſt: to ſee theyr babes borne of chriſtiā bloud, of chriſtiās to be made turks and ſo to be pluckt out of their armes and out of their ſight without hope euer to returne to them agayne: to liue perpetually with aliens, barbarous & blaſphemous Turkes, and ſo to become of the number of them which are called fatherles and motherles.

This is with teares rather thē with words to be expreſſed.

Albeit the ſame childrē afterward do greatly degenerate from the fayth of Chriſt, yet very many of them haue priuily about them the goſpell written of S. Iohn, In principio erat verbum &c. which for a token of remembraunce of theyr chriſtian fayth, they cary vnder theyr arme hole, writen in greek and araby. Who greatly deſire, and long looke for the reuenging ſword of yͤ Chriſtians to come & deliuer them out of theyr dolorous thraldome and captiuity according as the Turkes themſelues haue a prophecy, & greatly ſtand in feare of the ſame. Wherof more ſhalbe ſaid (Chriſt willing) in the chapter folowing.

Priuy Goſpellers in Turkie,

An olde Propheſie of the turkes touching the ſword of the Chriſtians.

¶ And thus haue ye heard yͤ lamētable afflictiōs of our chriſtian brethren vnder the cruell tyranny & captiuity of yͤ turks, paſſing all other captiuityes that euer haue bene to Gods people, either vnder Pharao in Egipt, or vnder Nabuchodonoſer in Babilō, or vnder Antiochus in yͤ tyme of the Machabees. Under the which captiuity, if it ſo pleaſe the Lord to haue his ſpouſe the church to be nurtered, hys good will be done and obeyed. But if this miſery come by the negligence & diſcorde of our chriſtian guides & leaders, then haue we to pray and cry to our Lord God, eyther to geue better harts to our guiders and rulers, or els better guides and rulers to his flocke.

And theſe troubles and afflictions of our Chriſten brethren ſuffered by the Turkes, I thought good and profitable for our country people here of Englande to knowe, for ſo much as by the ignoraunce of theſe, and ſuch like hyſtoryes worthy of conſideration, I ſee much inconuenience doth folow. Whereby it commeth to paſſe, that becauſe we Engliſh men being far of from theſe countryes, and little knowing what miſery is abroad, are the leſſe moued with zeale & compaſſion, to tender theyr greuaunces, and to pray for them, whoſe troubles we know not. Whereupō alſo foloweth, that we not cōſidering the miſerable ſtate of other are the les gratefull to God, when any tranquility by hym to vs is graunted. And if any litle cloud of perturbation ariſe vpon vs, be it neuer ſo litle, as pouerty, loſſe of liuing, or a litle baniſhment out of our countrey for the Lordes cauſe, we make a great matter thereat, and all becauſe wee going no further then our own country, and onely feeling our own croſſe, do not compare that which we feele, with the great croſſes, whereunto the Churches of Chriſt commonly in other places abroad are ſubiect, which if we dyd

Neceſſary for many cauſes that the troubles of the church be knowen.

rightly vnderſtand, & earneſtly conſider, and pōder in our mindes, neither would we ſo exceſſiuely forgette our ſelues in time of our proſperity geuen vs of God: nor yet ſo impatiētly be troubled, as we are in time of our aduerſity, and all becauſe either we heare not, or els we pōder not the terrible croſſes which the Lord layeth vpon our other brethren abroad in other nations, as by this preſent ſtory here prefixed may appeare.

The largenes of the Turkes dominions declared.

NOw conſequently remayneth, as I haue ſhewed hitherto what tyranny hath bene vſed of the Turkes agaynſt Chriſtes people, ſo to declare likewiſe, how far this tyranny of the Turkes hath extended and ſpread it ſelfe, deſcribing as in a table, to the Chriſtē Reader, what landes, countryes and kingdomes the Turkes haue wonne, and got from Chriſtendome, to the intent that when Chriſten princes ſhal behold the greatnes of the Turks dominions ſpread almoſt through al the world, and how litle a part of Chriſtianity remayneth behinde, they may thereby vnderſtand the better, howe it is time now for them to beſtyrre them, if euer they thinke to do any good in Gods Church. And therefore to make a cōpendious draught as in a briefe table, of ſuch countryes, kingdomes, and dominions, gott from vs by the Turkes, we will firſt beginne with Aſia, deſcribing what tractes, countryes, cityes and Churches, the Turke hath ſurpriſed, and violently pluckt away from the ſociety of Chriſtian dominions, taking onely ſuche, as be moſt principall, and chiefely them that be in Scripture conteyned, for that it were to long to diſcourſe all and ſingular ſuch places by name, as the Turke hath vnder hys ſubiection.

The world being deuided commonly into three parts, Aſia, Africa, and Europa, Aſia is counted to be the greateſt in compas, conteining as much as both the other, and is deuided into 2. portions, the one called Aſia Maior: the other called Aſia minor. And although the Empery of the Turke extendeth vnto them both: yet eſpecially his dominion ſtandeth in the other Aſia, which is called Aſia Minor, which reacheth from the coaſtes of Europa, vnto Armenia Maior, beyond the riuer Euphrates, and comprehendeth theſe regions and Cityes vnder written.

¶ The deuiſion of Aſia Minor, called Cheroneſus, with the particular Countryes and Cityes belonging to the ſame.

Countryes.		Cityes.	
		Nicea.	
		Chalcedon.	
Pontus.	Act.2.	Heraclea.	
		Pruſa or Burſa.	
Bithinia.	Act.16	Nicomedia.	
		Apamea.	

Apamea, is a citie in Bithinia, alſo another in Meſopotamia, Apamea Cybotus alſo a citie in great Phrygia, and another alſo in parthia.

Natolia, or Anatolia, conteyneth diuers countryes, with theyr Cities, as followeth.

		Cyzicus.	
		Parium.	
Myſia Minor.	Act.16	Lampſacus.	
		Dardanum.	
		Callipolis.	
Phrygia Minor.	Act.2	Abydus.	
		Alexandria, or Troias	Act.16
Toras.	Act.20	Ilium.	
		Aſſus.	Act.20
Myſia Maior.	Act.16	Scepſis.	
		Adramitium.	Act.27
Phrygia Maior.	Act.2.	Hierapolis.	Col.4
		Pitane.	
		Apollonia.	
		Myrina.	
Lydia.	Eſay.66	Phocœa.	
		Smyrna.	Apoc.2
		Erythræ.	
Æolis.		Laodicea.	Apoc.3
		Carura.	
		Thatyra.	Apoc.2
Ionia.		Philadelphia.	Apoc.3
		Pergamus.	Apoc.2
		Cuma.	
Caria.	1.Mac.15	Epheſus.	Apoc.2
		Sardis.	Apoc.3
		Halicarnaſſus.	Mach.15
Doris.			
		Miletus.	Act.20

Phrygia Minor in Ptolomy is called Troas.

At Carura, a certayne baude with a company of harlots, beeing there lodged, ſodenly hapned an earthquake in the citie, wherein the ſayde baude with al his ſtrompettes were ſwallowed vp. Pius 2. papa. lib. De ſcriptione cap.16.

Thus farre reacheth the compaſſe of Natolia.

		Coloſſæ.	Col.1
		Patara.	Act.21
Lycia.	Act.27	Pinara.	
		Zanthus.	
		Andriaca.	
		Myra.	Act.13
Galatia vel Gellogrecia.	Act.16	Ancyra.	
		Gordium.	
		Tharma.	
		Peſſenus.	
Paphlagonia.		Amiſus.	
		Sinope.	
		Corambis.	

Countryes.		Cityes.	
		Perga.	Act.13
Pamphilia.	Act 2	Artalia.	Act.14
		Aſpendus.	
		Phaſelis.	Mach.15
Piſidia.	Act	Trapeſus.	
		Temiſcyra.	
		Comana Pontica.	
Cappadocia.		Amaſia vel Eupatoria.	
		Maſa, vel Cæſarea.	
		Naziantium.	
		Here Gregorius Nazianzenus was Biſhop.	
		Comana Cappadocia.	
		Miletena.	
Armenia Minor.		Nicopolis.	
		Leandis.	
		Claudiopolis.	
		Iuliopolis.	
		Tharſus.	Act.22
		*Coricus.	
Cilicia.		Solimuntis, vel Traianopolis.	
		Iſſus, vel Iaiaſſa.	
		Auguſta.	Act.27
		Iconium.	Act.14
		Lyſtra.	Act.16
Laconia.		Derbe.	Act.14
		Antiochia, Piſidiæ.	Act.11

Here Baſilius Magnus was Biſhop.

The coūtrey where S. Paule was borne. *Another Corycus is alſo in the Ile of Creta.

Siria comprehendeth in it diuers particular prouinces, with theyr cityes, as followeth.

		Ieroſolyma.	Act.1
Syria.	Act.15	Cæſarea Stratonis	Act.8
		Bethleem.	Math.2
		Emaus.	Mar.1
		Ierico.	Math,20
		Ioppe or	Ioſ.15
Paleſtina Iudea.		Iapheth.	Act.9
		Tyberias.	Iohn.6
		Accaron.	Ioſua.13
		Azotus.	Act.8
Chanaan.		Aſcalon.	Iudi.2
		Gaza.	Act.8
		Berſabee.	Ioſu.19.
		Antipatris.	Act 23
		Aſſaron.	Act.9
Samari.	Act.	Bethania.	Mar.11
		Lydda.	Act.9.
		Nazareth.	Math.4.
Galilea.	Mar.3.	Capernaum.	Math.4
		Cana.	Ioan.2
		Tyrus.	Luc.6
Phœnicea.	Act.11	Sydo vel Sichem.	Luc.6
		Ptolomias	

Berſabee is a citie in Iury, alſo another in Idumæa.

Countryes.		Cityes.	
		Ptolomais.	Act.21
		Cæſarea phillipi.	(Math.16
Damaſcene.		Damaſcus.	Gal.1
		Philadelphia.	Apoc.1
Cœleſyria.		Buthis vel pella.	
Caſsiotis.		*Antiochia apud Orontem, vel Theopholis	Act.11
Comagena.		Samoſata. Antiochia ſub Tauro. Alexandria apud Iſſum. *Nicopolis.	
Seleucis.		Gephyra. Gindarus. *Seleucia. Imma.	 Act.13
Laodicene.		*Laodicæa. Paradiſus. Iabruda.	Coloſſ.1
Apamene.		Nazamma. Apamia.	
Idumea.	Marc.3.	Beſamma vel Berſabee. Euleuſa. Maſſa.	

*Antiochia, apud Orentem, chiefe citie in Siria, where the diſciples of Chriſt were firſt named Chriſtians. Acts.11.

*Nicopolis, is a City alſo in Macedonia, mentioned in the Epiſtle of S. Paule to Titus. Cap.3.

*Seleucia, is a citie in Siria, Alſo another in Pamphilia, another in Cilicia piſidiæ, an other in Cœliſyria, and in Meſopotamia another.

*In this Laodicæa was the councell kept, which is called Concilium Laodicenſe.

There is another Laodicæa, in Lydiæ neare to Coloſſæ, in Aſia minor. Coloſſ.5.

Lacodicæa alſo is the chiefe Citie in Phrigia pacatiana, neare to Galatia. Act.18. 1.Tim.6.

Thus farre reacheth the compaſſe of Syria.

Countryes.		Cityes.	
Arabia.	Gal.1.4	Petrea, or Nabatææ. Felix. { Panchaia. Sabæa. Deſerta.	
Meſopotamia. Pſalme.59.		Carra. or Charan, where Abraham dwelt. Seleucia. Edeſſa, which is now called. Orpha. and in the ſtory of Tobias, called Rages.	Act.7
Babilonia Dan.3. In the country of Babilonia, is alſo a certayne region appoynted for Philoſophers and Aſtronomers called Chaldea.	Iere.50	Bible. Babylon, vel Baldach. Orchoe, vel Vrchoa. vel Hurchaldeoram, where Abraham was borne.	 Act.7 Gen.11.15.
Sarmatia.		Patarue. Azara. Geruſa.S.Georgius. Sinda.	
Cholchis.		Dioſcuria, vel Sabaſtia, which is now called Suias. Phaſis.	
Iberia.		Lubium. Artaniſſa. Armachica.	
Albania.		Getara, vel Gangara. Chabala.	
Armenia.	Gen.8	Armenia maior is deuided from Armenia minor, by the Riuer Euphrates. This Armenia maior and minor, this day be both vnder the Turkes.	

In Edeſſa raigned king Abgarus, mentioned in Euſeb.lib.1, cap.15. to whome Chriſt wrote, promyſing to ſend vnto him after his death.

Babylon in Chaldœa, where Nabuchodonoſer raigned, and was after deſtroyed and tranſlated by Seleucus Nicanor. Another is in Egypt, called Alcayrus.

And thus farre reacheth the compaſſe of Aſia Minor, with the Countryes, and prouinces to the ſame perteyning, which being once brought to the fayth of Chriſt, are nowe in a maner, all ſubdued to the Turkes.

The Ilandes belonging to the Regions of Aſia Minor aforeſayd, gotten by the Turkes.

Ilands belonging to Aſia Minor.

Countryes.			Cityes.
Thinias.		to	Bythinia.
Tenedos.		to	Troas.
Chios. Act.	20	to	Lydia.
Pathmos. Apoc.	1		
Poſsidium.		to	Æolis.
Samos.	Act.20	to	Ionia.
Trogolium.	Act.20		
Cnidus.	Act.27	to	Doris.
Coos. Cou.	Act.21	to	Doris.
Carpathus.		to	Doris.
Rhodus.	Act.21	to	Lycia.
Cyprus.	Act.11		

This Cyprus K.Rich. the firſt, did once ſubdue, fighting agaynſt the Saracens.

Ex Aene.ſyluio.Lib.De Orbis Deſcrip.cap 74.

Æneas Syluius, otherwiſe Pope Pius.2. in deſcribing of Aſia Minor, cap. 74. reciteth a certayne facte of a worthy Virgine: who at what time the Turkes were beſieging a certayne towne in Leſbos, and had caſt downe a greate part of the walles, ſo that all yͤ Townesmen had geuen ouer, putting on mans harneſſe, ſtepped forth into the breach, where not onely ſhe kept the Turkes from entring in, but alſo ſlewe of them a great ſort. The Citizens ſeeing the rare courage, and good ſucceſſe of the Mayden, toke to them agayne theyr hartes and harnes, and ſo luſtely layd about them, that an incredible number of the Turkes were ſlayne. The reſt being repulſed from the land, reculed into theyr ſhips: who being then purſued by a Nauy of Caliſa, were worthelye diſcomfited likewiſe vpon the ſea. And thus was the Iſle of Leſbos at that time, by a poore Virgine, that is, by the ſtronge hand of the Lord working in a weake Creature preſerued from the Turkes. Ex Æne.ſil. Et Seb. Munſt.Lib.5.

A memorable facte of a virgine, in defence of her countrey.

Beſide theſe Regions and Countryes of Aſia minor, aboue deſcribed, Seb. Munſter in the fift booke of his Coſmography, declareth moreouer, that the Turkes and Sultannes haue vnder theyr ſubiection, both Arabia, Perſia, and alſo India exterior, wherein is Calecute. The which Perſia, although it be vnder the Sophi, which is an enemy to the Turke, yet it is to be thought that he is a Sultane, one of the Turkyſhe and Mahometiſh Religion. This Perſia and India were once ſeaſoned with Chriſtes Goſpell, as may appeare by the primitiue Churche, pag.98. And thus haue you the partes of Aſia deſcribed, which in times paſt being almoſt Chriſtened, do now ſerue vnder the Turke.

Ex Sebaſt. Munſt, Coſmo.lib.5.in præfat.

Vide ſupra.pag. 98.99.

After the deſcription of Aſia, let vs nexte conſider the partes and countryes of Aphrike: where although the greateſt parte either conſiſteth in deſerts deſolate, or is poſſeſſed with Preſter Iohn, which profeſſeth Chriſt and his goſpell: yet the Turke hath there alſo no litle portion vnder his dominion, as

Countryes.		Cities.
Ægyptus.	Math.2	Alexandria. Memphis. Arſinoe.
Regnum Tunece.		
Africa Minor.		Charlago. Aphrodiſum. Hippon. Here Saynt Auguſtine was Byſhop.
Cyrene.	Act.2	
Mauritania.		

A deſcription of countryes and Cityes in Europe, which were before chriſtened, & now are ſubdued and ſubiect to the Turke.

Europa.

Countryes.		Cities.
Thracia.		Conſtantinopolis, or Bizantium. Pera. Adrianopolis.
Samothracia.	Act.16	Traianopolis. Caliopis. Seſtus, Appollonia.

Countryes.		Cityes.	
Græcia. Macedonia.	Act.20 Rom.15	Theſſalonica. Philippi. Demetrias. Neapolis. Amphipolis. Apollonia mygdoniæ. Berrhæa.	Act.17 Act.16 Act.16 Act.17 Act.17 Act.17
Theſſalia.			
Epirus. Chaonia. Threſprotia. Amphilochia. Ambrachia.		Ambracia. Actium. Torona. Azelia. Acarnanon. Argos. Aſſacus. Omphalium.	
Achaia. Attica. Bœotia. Phocis.	Rom.15	Athenæ. Megaris. Thebæ. Delphos.	
Ætholia.		Egris. Chalidon. Locris. Naupactus.	
Peloponeſus. Corinthia. Argia.		Corinthus. Meſena. Tegea. Argos. Lacedemon, or Sparta	Act.17 2.Mach.5.
Laconia. Meſſenia.		Epidaurus. Helice. Lerna. Leuctrum. Methone. Mycenæ.	
Elis.		Megalipolis. Nemea. Nauplea.	
Sicyona. Arcadia.		Olympia. Sicyon. Ægira.	

Argos, is a citie in Amphilochia, and an other alſo in Peloponeſus.

Of Corinthus, Strabo writeth that more then a thouſande virgines, there in the temple of Venus, vſed yearely to be ſet out to bee made common: and therfore not without cauſe Saint Paule writeth: Eratis Scortatores, Idololatræ. &c. 1.Cor.6.

Ilandes bordering about Grecia, wonne likewiſe by the Turke, from the Chriſtians.

The Ilands about Græcia.

Euboca, or Nigropontus.		Chalcis. Chariſtus. Cerinthus. Gereſtus.	
Creta.	Act.17	Pulchri portus. Laſæa. Phœnice.	Act.27 Act.27. Act.17
Salmone.	Act.27.		
Clauda.	Act.27		
Cyclades,	Inſulæ.53	Salamis. Delus.1.	 Mach.15
Cephalenia.			
Zacynthus, or Zanthus.		Vide ſupra.	pag.727
Lemnos.			
Ithaca.			
Samos.	Act.20.		
Corcyra. Corcica.		Vide ſupra.	pag.727

Vide ſupra pag.719.

In Creta, S. Paule ordained Titus to be Byſhop and ouerſeer.

Corcica, is an Iland beyond Italy, whiche the Turkes nauie, ioynyng with the French, dyd ouercome. an.1553.

After the Turke had ſubdued Thracia and Grecia, proceding further into Europe, he inuaded other regions, and cities, which alſo he added to his dition, as

Countryes.		Cityes.
Myſia Superior.		Rhætiaria. Neſſus. Vlpianum. Scupi. Sigindunum, or Siget.
Myſia Inferior.		Triballorum. Oeſcus. Tiriſta. Axium, or Chilia.
Dalmatia.	2.Tim.4.	Labacus, Metropolis.
Carinthia. Coruatia. Croatia. Iſtria.		Epidaurus, or Raguſium. Milea, or Meleda. Senia, or Segna. Enona, or Hona. Iadra, or Zara. Sebenica. Stridon, where S. Hierome was borne.
Boſna.		Quinqueccleſiæ. Iaitza, Metropolis.
Bulgaria.		Bulgaria was wonne of Baiazetes. the Turk from the crowne of Hungarye, through the vnproſperous warre of Sigiſmundus, at the fielde of Nicopolis. an.1395. This Sigiſmund, was the burner of Iohn Hus, and the perſecutor of his doctrine.
Wallachia.		Tergouiſtus, or Teruis. Huniad: where Ioannes Huniades was borne.
Tranſyluania or Septẽcaſtra.		Hermenſtat. Croneſtat. Saltzburg. Alba Iulia, or Weiſſenburg. Gyula.
Seruia.		Samandria. Columbetz.
Raſcia.		Walpo. Vid.ſup.pag.740 Nouigradum. Varna.
Moldauia.		
Hungaria. Auſtria.		Buda or Oſen. Alba regalis. Belgradum or Taurinum. Strigonium. Varadinum. Neapolis. { Maior. Minor. Peſtum.

The region of Myſia is deuided into two partes: wherof the one is in Aſia, & is deuided into Myſia maior, and Myſia minor. The other is in Europa, & is deuided into Myſia, or Mœſia ſuperior, and Myſia inferior.

Epidaurus is a citie in Illiria, and alſo an other in Peloponeſus.

Theſe regions were in the former tyme called by the name of Illyria, or Illyricum And afterward by reaſon of certaine Scythians commyng thether, they were alſo called Sclauonia.

Stephanus kyng of Boſna, & afterward of Raſcia and Myſia, was by ſubtil trayne allured to come and ſpeake with Mahumete the Turk: who being come, was taken and his ſkinne flayne off.

All this tracte of Bulgaria, Walachia, Tranſyluania, Seruia, Raſcia, & Moldauia, was wont to be called Dacia, but afterward was ſeuered into diuers lands and dominions.

Of Ioannes Huniades, read before, pag. 720. 721.

At Columbetz, Sigiſmunde loſte the fielde fightyng againſt the Turkes, Vide ſupra, pag.719. In Varna, a Citie in Raſcia, Ladiſlaus K. of Hungary, fought with the Turke, and was ouercome. an. 1444. Vide ſupra, pag.720.

As I was writing hereof, a certayne ſoud of lamentable newes was brought vnto vs howe the Turke, whome wee had hoped before to haue bene repulſed by the Emperour Maximilian out of Chriſtendome, hath now of late this preſent yeare. 1566. got the towne of Gyula about Tranſyluania, after they had ſuſteined 16 of his moſt forceable aſſaultes, deſtroying in the ſame moſt cruelly, many thouſand of our chriſten brethren, men, women, and children: but becauſe we haue no full certaynty, we will referre ẏ ſtory therof, to further information,

¶ The Prophecyes of the holy Scriptures conſidered touching the comming vp and *finall ruine and deſtruction of this wicked kingdome of the Turkes, with the Reuelations and* foreſhewinges alſo of other authours concerning the ſame

Propheſies conſidered for the beginning and falling of the Turkes kingdome.

FOr ſo muche as you haue hitherto ſufficiently heard, to what quantity & largenes the dominon of the Turkes hath encreaſed, & doe vnderſtand what cruell tyranny theſe wretched miſcreants haue and do dayly practiſe moſt haynouſly whereſoeuer they come, agaynſt the ſeruaunts and profeſſors of Chriſt: it ſhall not be vnprofitable, but rather neceſſary, and to our great comfort, to cõſider and examine in the Scriptures, with what propheſyes the holy ſpirit of the Lord hath premoniſhed and forewarned vs before, of theſe heauy perſecutions to come vpon his people by thys horrible Antichriſt. For as the gouernment and conſtitutian of times and ſtates of monarchies & pollicies fall not to vs by blind chaūce, but be adminiſtred and alotted vnto vs from aboue: ſo it is not to be ſuppoſed, that ſuch a great alteration and mutation of kingdomes, ſuch a terrible & generall perſecutiō of Gods people, almoſt through all Chriſtedome, and ſuch a terrour of the whole earth, as is now moued and gendred by theſe Turkes, cōmeth without the knowledge, ſufferaūce and determination of the Lord before, for ſuch endes and purpoſes, as his deuine wiſedome doth beſt know. For the better euidēce & teſtimony whereof, he hath left in his Scriptures ſufficiēt inſtructiō, & declaration, whereby we may plainly ſee to our great cōfort, how theſe greeuous afflictions & troubles of the Church, though they be ſharpe & heauy vnto vs, yet they come not by chaūce or by mās working onely, but euen as the Lord himſelfe hath appointed it, and doth permit the ſame.

Two things to be conſidered in the tyme and order of the olde Teſtament. The ſcriptures, & the people.

And firſt to begin with the tyme of the old Teſtament let vs ſeriouſly aduiſe & ponder, not onely the Scriptures & Prophecies therein conteined, but alſo let vs cōſider the whole ſtate, order, and regimēt of that people: the Church I meane of the Iſraelites. For although the Scriptures and Prophetes of the old Teſtament, were properly ſent to that people, & haue their relatiō properly to things done or that ſhould be done, in that cōmōwealth, of which prophetes, Iohn Baptiſt was the laſt & made an end, as our Sauiour himſelfe witneſſeth, ſaying: The law and Prophets be vnto ẏ tyme of Iohn. &c. Yet notwithſtādyng the ſayd people of that old Teſtamēt, beareth a liuely Image & reſemblaunce of the vniuerſall Church which ſhould follow, plāted by the ſonne of God through the whole earth: So that as the Prophetes of God ſpeaking to them from the mouth & word of God, prophecied what ſhould come to paſſe in that people: ſo likewiſe the whole courſe & Hyſtory of thoſe Iſraelites, exemplifieth & beareth a Prophetical image to vs, declaring what is to be looked for in ẏ vniuerſall Church of God diſperſed through the world, planted in Chriſt Ieſus his ſonne, according as Phil. Melancthon grauely gathering vpon the ſame, teſtifieth in diuers places, in his Commentary vpon the Prophete Daniell.

In Dan. Prophe. Phil. Melanct.

Gen. 4.

As firſt the Hiſtory of godly Abell ſlayne by wicked Cain, what doth it importe, or Prophecie, but the conditiō of the people and ſeruauntes of God, which commonly go to wracke in this world, and are oppreſſed by the contrary part, which belongeth not to God?

The Saracens come of Iſmael. Reſemblāce betweene the 12. ſōnes of Iſmaell: and the 12. Ottoman Turkes.

The like may be ſaid alſo of Iſaac, and Iſmaell: of Iacob and Eſau. Of whō, thoſe two which were the children of promiſe, and belonged to the election of God, were perſecuted in this world, of the other, whiche were reiected. Where moreouer is to be noted cōcerning Iſmaell, that of his ſtocke after the fleſhe, came the Saracens: whoſe ſect the Turkes do now profeſſe & mainteine. And as Iſmaell had but xii. ſonnes: ſo it were to be wiſhed of God, that this Solyman which is the twelfe of the Turkiſh generation, may be the laſt. But of this, better occaſion ſhall follow (the Lord willyng) hereafter.

4. Reg. 17.

The olde church of the Iſraelites beareth a repreſentatiō or image of the publicke church of Chriſt Ieſus

Furthermore, of the xii. tribes of Iſrael, the ſacrate hiſtory ſo reporteth, that after they had a long ſeaſon cōtinued together, by the ſpace of. 8. or. 9. C. yeares, at length, for their idolatrie, & tranſgreſſion of their forefathers. x. tribes of them were cut of, and diſperſed amōg the Gentiles. 130. yeares before the captiuitie of Babilon: ſo that but ij. tribes onely remayned free, and they alſo at laſt, after a. 130. yeares, were captiued vnder the Babylonians, for a certaine time. No otherwiſe hath it happened with ẏ Church of Chriſt almoſt in the vniuerſall world, of which Church the greateſt part both in Aſia, in Africa, & almoſt in Europe (where the holy Apoſtles ſo laboured and trauailed) we ſee now to be diſparcled among the Turkes, and their cādleſtickes remoued (the Lord of his great grace, reduce them agayne. Amen:) So that of xij. partes of Chriſtendome, which was once planted in Chriſt, ſcarſe ij. partes remayne cleare, and they how long they ſhall ſo continue, the Lord knoweth: And albeit thorough the mercy of the Lord, they eſcape the dāger of the Turkes, yet haue they bene ſo beaten with the Pope, that they had bene better almoſt to haue bene in the Turkes handes.

1. Cor. 10.

Agayne, after the ſayd Iſraelites returned, beyng reſtored of Cyrus, let vs conſider well their ſtory, the continuance of tyme, the maner of their regimentes, and what afflictions they ſuſteined in the tyme of the Machabees: and we ſhall ſee a liuely repreſentation of theſe our dayes expreſſed in that Propheticall people, accordyng as S. Paul writyng of them, ſheweth how all thynges happened to them in figures: that is the actiōs and doynges of that one nation, be as figures and types of greater matters, what ſhall happen in the latter times of the whole Church vniuerſally in Chriſt collected.

The church of the Iewes a figure of Chriſtes Church.

So the tranſmigration & deliueraunce agayne of thoſe two tribes, declareth to vs ẏ affliction of Chriſtes Church for ſinne: and yet ẏ God will not vtterly reiect his people for his ſonnes ſake, as by manifold examples of ẏ Church hetherto may well appeare.

Ex Phil. Melanct. in Danielem. cap. 9.

Againe, the continuance of the law firſt geuen by Moſes, vnto the deſtruction of the ſayde people by Titus, amounteth to 1564. yeares: So we counting the age of the new Teſtament, and reckening from the day of our redemption vnto this preſent, be come now to the yeare 1534. lacking but only 33. yeares of the full number.

The tymes and yeares of the old church, compared with the newe.

The rule and dominion of the high prieſtes in the Iewes common wealth, and of our prelates, compared.

Likewiſe in counting the yeares from their deliuerāce out of captiuitie, to the ende of their diſſolution, we finde 564. yeares, during which yeares, as the Churche of the Iewes was not gouerned vnder the authoritie of kings, but the high Prieſts tooke all the power and authoritie to themſelues: ſo we Chriſtians for the ſpace eſpecially of theſe later 564. yeares, what haue we ſeene and felt, but only the iuriſdiction and domination of the Pope and his high Prieſts, plaieng the Rex in all countreys, and ruling the whole: whereby, by the count of theſe yeares, it is to be thought the daye of the Lordes comming not to bee farre off.

Antiochus beareth a figure of Antichriſt.

The family of Antiochus.

The family of the Turkes.

Furthermore, in thoſe latter yeares of the Iewes kingdome, what troubles and afflictions that people ſuſteined three hundreth yeares together, but chiefly, the laſt 166. yeares before the comming of Chriſt, by Antiochus and his felowes, the hiſtory of ẏ Machabees cā report. Wherein we haue alſo notoriouſly to vnderſtād ẏ miſerable vexations and perſecutions of Chriſtian Churches in theſe latter endes of the world by Antichriſt: For by Antiochus Antichriſt (no doubt) is figured and repreſented. Thys Antiochus ſurnamed Magnus, and Antiochus Epiphanes his ſonne, came of the ſtocke of Seleucus Nicanor, much like as the Mahumetes the Turke, and Solymannus, came of the ſtocke of Ottomannus. Wherein this is to be noted and pondered, that like as of the ſayd Seleucus iſſued xij. Syrian Kings one after another of that generation, which reigned ouer ẏ Iſraelites with much ſeueritie and tiranny: ſo of this diueliſh generatiō of Ottomannus, haue come xij. Turkiſh tyraunts, whereof thys Solyman is now the twelfe, God grant he may be ẏ laſt. And as the ij. laſt Antiochi, being ſonnes of the ij. brethrē, did fight together for the kingdome, and in fighting were both ſlaine, and ſhortly after the kingdome fell to the Romaines: ſo the Lorde graunt for Chriſtes ſake, that the bloudy brood of this old Solyman, (which had reigned now 46. yeares, may ſo fight together, and periſh in their owne bloud, that the bloudy tyranny of theirs may come to a finall end for euer, Amen.

And that the truth heereof may the better appeare to ſuch as be diſpoſed to meditate more vpon the matter, I thought good and profitable for the reader, to ſet before his eies, in table wiſe, the catalogue of both theſe Antichriſtian families, with the names and ſucceſſion of the perſons, firſt of the twelue Syrian Kings, then of the twelue Ottomans, in like number and order.

A compariſon betweene the Syrians and the Turkes.

Reſemblāce betwene the Syrian kings, and the Turkes.

	¶ The Syrians.			¶ The Turkes.	
1	Seleucus.	32	1	Ottomannus.	28
2	Antiochus Soter.	19	2	Orchanes. He ſlue his two brethren.	22
3	Antiochus Theos, who killed Bernice his mother in law, and his yong brother.	15	3	Amurathes. He put out the eyes of Sauces his owne ſonne.	23
4	Seleucus Callinicus, with Antiochus Hierax his brother, which two breethren warred one againſt the other.	20	4	Baiazetes. He ſlew Solymannus his brother.	
5	Antiochus Magnus.	36	5	Calepinus. The Greeke ſtories make no mention of this Calepinus, the Latin ſtories ſay that Calepinus and Orchanes were both one, and that hee was ſlayne by Mahumetes hys brother.	6

6 Seleuchus Philopator. 11
7 Antiochus Epiphanes, or rather Epimanes.
8 Antiochus Eupator. 2
9 Demetrius. brother of Epiphanes, who killed Eupator his coſin.
10 Demetrius Nicanor, whome Antiochus Sedetes his brother repulſed from his kingdome.
11 Antiochus ſedetes. Theſe two laſt being brethren, had two ſonnes.
12 Antiochus Grypus, & Antiochus Cyricenus. Theſe two ſtriuing together for the kingdome, were both ſlaine: and ſo not lōg after, the kingdome of Syria came to the handes of Tigranes King of Armenia, and ſo being taken from him, came to the Romaines in the time of Pompeius.

6 Orchanes. whome Moſes his vncle did ſlay.
7 Mahumetes. 1. He ſlue Muſtaphas his brother. 14
8 Amurathes. 2. Hee ſlue Muſtaphas his brother. 34
9 Mahumetes. 2. He ſlue his two brethren Turcinus an infant, and Calepinus. 73
10 Baiazetes. 2. He warred againſt his brother Demes, which Demes was afterward poiſoned by Pope Alexander. 6. 33
11 Zelymus. He poiſoned Baiazetes his father, & his two brethren, Acomates and Corcutus, wyth all their children his owne coſines. 7
12 Solymannus. He ſlue Muſtaphas his owne ſonne, and was the death of Gianger his ſeconde ſonne. 46

The tyme of Antichriſt examined by propheſies.

Theſe two peſtilent families and generations, riſing out (doubtles) from the bottomles pit, to plague yͤ people of God, as in number of ſucceſſion they do not much differ: ſo in maner of their doings and wicked abhominations, they be as neere agreeing, being both enemies alyke to the people and Church of Chriſt, both murtherers and paricides of their owne brethren and kindred, both blaſphemers of God, and troublers of the whole worlde. wherein we haue all to learne and note by the way, the terrible anger of almighty God againſt ſinne, and wickednes of men.

One Antichriſt prefigureth another.

Furthermore, who ſo is deſpoſed to conſider and caſt the courſe of times, and to marke how things be diſpoſed by the maruelous operation of Gods prouidēce, ſhal finde the times alſo of theſe two aduerſaries, in much like ſorte to concurre and agree. For in conſidering with our ſelues both the Teſtaments and Churches of God, the firſt of the Jewes, the ſecond of the Chriſtians, looke what time had the Syrian Kings to rage then in Hieruſalem, the ſame proportion of time hath now the tiranny of yͤ Turks to murther the Chriſtians: ſo that the one Antichriſt may well repreſent and prefigure the other. For as by the booke of Machabees may appeare, Antiochus Epiphanes was about the 191. yeares before the paſſion of our Sauiour, and day of our redemption: ſo now caſting the ſame number from this preſent yeare backward, we ſhall finde it to be about the ſame yeare and time, when Baiazetes the fourth Turke after Ottoman, began to remoue his Jmperiall ſeate from Burſa in Bithynia, to Adrianople in Europe, which is a City of Thracia. Jn which yeare & time began all the miſchiefe in Europe, as is to be ſeene before, pag. 738. and this was the yeare of our Lord 1375. Unto yͤ which yeare, if we adde 691. it maketh 1566. according to the propheſie of the Apocal. chap. 20. where it is propheſied of Gog and Magog, that they ſhall compaſſe about the tents of the Saincts, and the well beloued Citie, by the which welbeloued Citie, is meant (no doubt) Europa: and this was in the yeare aboueſaid 1375. Although touching the preciſe points of yeares and times, it is not for vs greatly to be exquiſite therein, but yet where diligence and ſtudious meditation may helpe to knowledge, J would not wiſh negligence to be a pretence to ignorāce.

Apoc.cap.20.

Machab.lib.& cap.1.
The furious crueltie of Antiochus agaynſt Gods people.

And thus much for the times of Antiochus and his felowes. Now what crueltie this Antiochus exerciſed againſt the people of God, it is manifeſt in the hiſtory of the Machabees: where we reade, that this Antiochus in the eight yeare of his reigne, in his ſecond comming to Hieruſalem, firſt gaue forth in commaundement, that all the Jewes ſhould relinquiſh the law of Moſes, and worſhip the Jdole of Jupiter Olimpius, which he ſet vp in yͤ temple of Hieruſalem. The bookes of Moſes and of the Prophetes he burned. He ſet garriſons of ſouldiours to warde the Jdole. Jn the Citie of Hieruſalem he cauſed the feaſtes and reuels of Bacchus to be kept, full of all filthe and wickednes. Olde men, women, and virgines, ſuch as woulde not leaue the lawe of Moſes, with cruell tormentes he murthered. The mothers that would not circumciſe theyr children, he ſlue. The children that were circumciſed, hee hanged vp by the neckes. The temple he ſpoiled & waſted. The aultar of God, and candleſticke of gold, with the other ornaments and furniture of the temple, partly he caſt out, partly he caried away. Contrary to the lawe of God, he cauſed them to offer, and to eate Swines fleſhe. Great murther and ſlaughter he made of the people, cauſing thē either to leaue their lawe, or to loſe their liues. Among whome, beſides many other, with cruell tormentes he put to death a godly mother with her vij. ſonnes, ſending hys cruell proclamations through all the land, that whoſoeuer kept the obſeruauncies of the Sabboth, and other rites of the lawe, and refuſed to cōdeſcend to his abhominations, ſhould be executed. By reaſon whereof the Citie of Hieruſalem was left voide and deſolate of all good mē, but there was a great nūber, that were contented to follow & obey his Jdolatrous proceedings, and to flatter with the king, became enemies vnto ther brethren. Briefly, no kind of calamity, nor face of miſerie could be ſhewed in any place, which was not there ſene. Of yͤ tiranny of this Antiochus, it is hiſtoried at large in yͤ book of Machabees: And Daniell propheſieng before of yͤ ſame, declareth yͭ the people of yͤ Jewes deſerued no leſſe for their ſins and tranſgreſſions.

1.Machab. cap.1.
Daniel.9.

Antiochus a figure of the Turke.

By conſent of all writers, this Antiochus beareth a figure of the great Antichriſt, which was to folow in the latter end of the world, and is already come, & worketh what he can agaynſt vs: Although as S. John ſayth, there haue bene, and be many Antichriſtes, as parts and members of the body of Antichriſt, which are forerūners: yet to ſpeake of yͤ head & principall Antichriſt, & great enemy of Chriſts Church, he is to come in yͤ latter end of the world, at what tyme ſhall be ſuch tribulation, as neuer was ſene before: whereby is ment (no doubt) the Turke, prefigured by this Antiochus. By this Antichriſt, J do alſo meane all ſuch, which followyng the ſame doctrine of the Turkes, thinke to be ſaued by their workes and demerites, & not by their fayth onely in the ſonne of God, of what title and profeſſiō els ſoeuer they be: eſpecially if they vſe the like force & violence for the ſame, as he doth. &c.

Ex Lyra in Gloſa ordin. cap.1.Machab.

The name of Antichriſt what it conteyneth.

Of the tyranny of this Antiochus aforeſayd, and of the tribulations of the Church in the latter tymes both of the Jewes Church, and alſo of the Chriſtian Church to come, let vs heare & conſider the words of Daniell in xj. chap. & alſo in his vij. chap. Prophecying of yͤ ſame as foloweth.

Dan.cap.11.

He ſhall returne and freat agaynſt the holy couenaunt: ſo ſhall he do, he ſhall euen returne and haue intelligence with them that forſake the holy couenaunt. And armes ſhall ſtand on his part, and they ſhall pollute the Sanctuary of ſtrength, and ſhall take away the dayly ſacrifice, and they ſhall ſet vp the abhominable deſolation. And ſuch as wickedly breake the couenaunt, ſhall flatter with him deceitfully: but the people that doe know their God, ſhall preuayle and proſper. And they that vnderſtand among the people, ſhall inſtruct many: yet they ſhall fall by ſword and by flame, by captiuitie, and by ſpoyle many dayes.

Now when they ſhall fall, they ſhalbe holpen with a little helpe: but many ſhall cleaue vnto them faynedly. And ſome of them of vnderſtandyng ſhall fall to be tryed, and to be purged, and to make them white, till the tyme be out: for there is a tyme appointed. And the kyng ſhall doe what him lyſt: he ſhall exalte himſelfe, and magnifie himſelfe agaynſt all that is God, and ſhall ſpeake marueilous thynges agaynſt the God of Gods, and ſhall proſpere, till the wrath be accompliſhed: for the determination is made. Neither ſhall he regard the God of his Fathers, nor the deſires of womē, nor care for any God: for he ſhall magnifie himſelfe aboue all. But in his place ſhall he honour the God Mauzzim, and the God whom his fathers knew not, ſhall he honour with gold and with ſiluer, and with precious ſtones, and pleaſaunt thynges.

Thus ſhall he doe in the holdes of Mauzzim with a ſtraunge God, whom he ſhall acknowledge: he ſhall increaſe his glory, and ſhall cauſe them to rule ouer many, and ſhall diuide the land for gayne. And at the end of tyme, ſhall the kyng of the South puſh at him, and the kyng of the North ſhall come agaynſt hym lyke a whirle wynde, with charets, and with horſemen, and with many ſhyppes, and he ſhall enter into the countreys, and ſhall ouerflow and paſſe thorough. He ſhall enter alſo into the pleaſaunt land, and many countreys ſhalbe ouerthrowen: but theſe ſhall eſcape out of his hand, euen Edom and Moab, and the chief of the children of Ammon. He ſhall ſtretch for his handes alſo vppon the countreys, and the land of Egypt ſhall not eſcape. But he ſhal haue power ouer the treaſures of gold and of ſiluer, & ouer al the precious thynges of Egypt, and of the Libians, and of the blacke Mores where he ſhall paſſe. But the tydynges out of the Eaſt and the North, ſhall trouble him: therfore he ſhall go forth with great wrath to deſtroy and roote out many: And he ſhall plant the tabernacles of his palace betweene the Seas, in the glorious & holy mountaine, yet he ſhall come to his end, and none ſhall help him.

To this place of Daniell aboue prefixed, might alſo be added the Propheſie of the ſaid Daniell written in the vij. chapter, and much tending to the like effect: where he intreating of his viſion of foure beaſtes (whiche ſignifie the foure Monarchies) and ſpeaking now of the fourth Monarchie, hath theſe wordes.

Dani. cap.7. After this, I ſaw in the viſions by night, and behold, the fourth beaſt was grimme and horrible, and maruelous ſtrong. It had great yron teeth: it deuoured, and brake in peeces, and ſtamped the reſidue vnder his feete: and it was vnlike the other beaſtes that were before it, for it had ten hornes. As I conſidered the hornes, behold, there came vp among them another little horne, before whome, there were three of the firſt hornes pluckt away. And behold, in this horne, were eyes like the eyes of a man, and a mouth ſpeaking preſumptuous things, and ſeemed more ſtoute then the other. Which horne alſo (whē I looked on) made battaile with the ſaints, & preuailed againſt thē: vntill the old aged came, & iudgement was giuen to the Saintes of the higheſt, and till the appointed time was come, that the Saints ſhuld haue the kingdōe.

Thus haue ye heard the plaine wordes of Daniell. In the which, as he doth manifeſtly deſcribe the comming of Antiochus the great aduerſary, toward the latter ende of the Iewes: ſo by the ſame Antiochus is figured alſo to vs the great aduerſary of Chriſt, which is the Turke.

Vide Rodulphum Gualt. de Antichriſto. Although ſome there be notwithſtanding, which wyth great learning & iudgement, do apply this place of Daniel aboue recited, not to the Turke, but rather to the Pope, & that for vj. or vij. ſpeciall cauſes herein touched and noted.

The firſt note. The firſt is this, that the wicked tranſgreſſours of the couenaunt ſhall ioine with him deceitfully and hypocritically, which ſhall pollute the tabernacle of ſtrength, & take away the perpetuall ſacrifice, and bring in the abhomination of deſolation.

The ſecond note. The ſecond note is, that the Prophet declareth, how the learned among yͤ people ſhall teach many, & that they ſhall fall into the ſword, into fire, and captiuitie, and ſhall be baniſhed, whereby they ſhall be tried, choſen, & made bright and pure, &c. All which (ſay they) is not amōg the Turkes to be ſeene, but only in the Popes Church: where yͤ faithfull preachers & teachers of the people are ſlaine and burned, and go to wracke, &c. Where likewiſe it foloweth, that they ſhall be holpen againſt Antichriſt, and that many falſe brethren ſhall ioine vnto them diſſemblingly, &c. To thys they alledge that the Chriſtians haue no ſuch help againſt the Turke, whereunto ſuch falſe brethrē ſhould ioine thēſelues, as is and hath bene commonly ſeene amōg yͤ Chriſtians againſt the Pope, from time to time, almoſt in all Countreys: as in Germany by the Proteſtants & free Cities: In Englād in King Henries time by yͤ Lord Cromwell, and afterward by King Edward, & now by Queene Elizabeth: In Scotland by yͤ godly nobilitie: In France, by the Queene of Nauarre and her ſonne: and alſo by the Prince of Condy and the worthy Admirall, and his two brethren, and many others: In Flaunders, by thē whom the Regent calleth Beggers: So as was in the time of the Machabees, againſt Antiochus.

Helpes of the Chriſtians againſt the Pope.

The third note. Thirdly, that the King ſhall exalt himſelfe aboue all that hath the name of God, and ſhal lift vp his mouth to ſpeake preſumptuouſly againſt God.

The fourth note. Fourthly, that he careth not for the deſires of women: which may ſeeme to note how the Popes doctrine ſhall forbid the honeſt and lawfull mariage in Churchmen.

The fift note. The fift ſpecialtie which they apply to the Pope, is that foloweth in the Prophet, ſaieng: Neither ſhall he regard the God of his fathers, nor any God: but in ſteade of him, ſhall ſet vp his God Mauzzim, & ſhall worſhip him with ſiluer, & gold, & pretious ſtone, &c. which they do apply to yͤ Pope, ſetting vp his God of bread, & worſhipping him with gliſtering golden ornamēts & moſt ſolemne ſeruice.

Mauzzim the popes God.

The ſixte note. Sixtly, it foloweth: & he ſhall encreaſe them with much glory and riches, and ſhall diuide vnto them, lands & poſſeſſions, &c. meaning that the Pope hauing dominiō ouer treaſures of gold and ſiluer, and all precious things of the land, ſhall indue his Cardinals, Prelats, his flatring doctours, with Friers and Monkes & Prieſtes, and all ſuch as ſhal take his part, wͭ great priuilegies, liberties, reuenues & poſſeſſions. And thus, I ſay, ſome there be, which apply this propheſie of the vij. and xj. chapter of Daniell, vnto yͤ Biſhop of Rome. Whom although I take to be an extreme perſecutour of Chriſtes Church: yet I iudge rather thoſe two chapters of Daniel concerning yͤ litle horne in the middle of the x. hornes, and the great deſtroier of the pleaſant land and glorious holy mountaine, to meane firſt Antiochus, and by him ſecondly to meane the great Antichriſt, the Turke: who hath now ſet already yͤ tabernacles of his palace betwene the Seas, accordyng to the Prophecies of Daniell, as is aboueſayd.

The 7. and 11. chapt. of Dan. meaneth the great Antichriſt the turke.

Ezech. cap. 38. 39. Gog & Magog. Ouer & beſides theſe Prophecies aboue alledged, may be added alſo the Prophecie of Ezechiel chap. 39. ſpeakyng of Gog & Magog: which as it may be applied to the oppreſſiō of the Iewes vnder the Heathen multitude, which ſtopped the buildyng of the Citie, and vnder the Syrian kynges: &c. yet in the ſame alſo is expreſſed the calamities and afflictions of Chriſtes Churche in theſe latter tymes, vnder the Saracens and the Turkes. &c.

The propheſies of the new Teſtament, concerning the turke. Proceeding further in this matter, let vs come now to the Prophecies of yͤ new Teſtament & marke the wordes of S. Paule writyng to the * Theſſalonians, which then were Chriſtened, & now either are Turkiſh, or vnder the Turke, which wordes be theſe: Be ye not ſodenly moued in your mynde, nor troubled, neither by ſpirite, nor by word, nor by letter as ſent frō vs, as though the day of Chriſt were at hand. Let no mā deceaue you by any meanes, for the Lord will not come, before there come a defection, or a departing firſt, and that wicked mā be reueled, the ſonne of perdition, which is an aduerſary and is extolled aboue all power, and that which is called God: ſo that he ſhall ſit in the tēple of God, boaſting himſelfe to be God. &c. Although this defection & departing may haue a double vnderſtādyng, as well of the popes ſect (which is gone & departed frō the free iuſtificatiō by fayth onely in Chriſt, through yͤ promiſe of grace) as of the Turkes: yet leauing a while to ſpeake of the Pope becauſe it appeareth more notoriouſly in yͤ Turke, we will chiefly apply it to him: in whō ſo aptly it doth agree, that vnles this great defection frō faith in ſo many Churches, had hapned by the Turke, it had bene hard to vnderſtād the Apoſtles mynde, which now by the hiſtory of theſe Turkes is eaſie and euident to be knowen, cōſidering what a ruine hath happened to the Church of Chriſt by theſe miſerable Turks, what Empires, nations, kyngdomes, countreys, townes and Cities be remoued from the name & profeſſiō of Chriſt, how many thouſandes & infinite multitudes of Chriſten men and children, in Aſia, in Afrike, & in Europe, are caried away from Chriſtes Church to Mahumetes Religion, ſome to ſerue for the Turkes gard among yͤ Ianizarites, ſome for ſouldiours, ſome for miners, ſome for gunners, to fight & warre agaynſt the Chriſtians: ſo that the moſt part of all the Churches plāted once by yͤ Apoſtles, are now degenerated into Turks, onely a ſmall hādful of Chriſtiās reſerued yet in theſe weſt partes of Europe, of the which ſmall reſidue, what ſhall alſo become ſhortly, except Chriſt himſelfe do helpe. Chriſt onely himſelf doth know. How great this defection hath bene ſpokē of by S. Paule, thou mayeſt ſee (gentle Reader) in the table aboue deſcribed. pag. 741.

* 2. Theſſal. 2.

The defection in time of Antichriſt declared.

Vide ſupra. pag. 903. Notwithſtanding this text of the holy Apoſtle (as I afore ſaid) may be verified alſo with no leſſe reaſon, vpō the Byſhop of Rome, thē vpon the Turke, both for that he is a man of ſinne, that is, his ſeate & Citie is a great mainteiner of wickedneſſe, & alſo for that he is an aduerſary, that is, contrary in all his doynges and proceedyngs to Chriſt.

The place of S. Paule 2 Theſſ. 2. applyed to the Pope.

Thirdly, for that he ſitteth in the temple of God, and ſo did not Mahumet.

Fourthly, becauſe he is an exalter of himſelfe, & ſitteth more like a God then a man in Rome, whereof ſee more in the booke ſet forth in Engliſh, called the CONTESTATIONS of the Popes.

Fiftly, for that he ſeduceth and hath ſeduced by his apoſtaſie, the moſt part of all Chriſtendome from the doctrine and free promiſes of God, into a wrong and ſtrāge way of ſaluation, which is, not to be iuſtified freely before God onely by our fayth in Chriſt his welbeloued ſonne (vnto the whiche fayth the promiſe of God freely and graciouſly hath annexed all our ſaluation onely, & to no other thyng) but hath taught vs to worke our ſaluation by an infinite number of other thynges: In ſo much that he bindeth the neceſſitie of our ſaluation alſo to this, that we muſt beleue (if we will be ſaued) and receaue him to be the Vicare of Chriſt in earth. &c. Ex Bonifacio Extrauag.

But to returne agayne vnto the Turkes, among all the prophecies both of the old Teſtamēt & of the new, there is none that paynteth out the Antichriſtian kyngdome of the Turkes, better then doth the reuelation of S. Iohn, whoſe wordes let vs weigh and cōſider, who in the Apocalipſe 9. where he ſpeaketh of openyng the ſeuenth & laſt ſeale, (which ſignifieth the laſt age of the world) and there writyng of the vij. trompets of the vij. Angels at the ſoundyng of the vj. Aungell ſaith, Looſe the iiij. Aungels, which are bound in the great riuer Euphrates. And the foure Aungels were loſed, which were ready both day and houre, and moneth, and yeare, to ſlay the third part of men. And the number of horſemen were 20. thouſand tymes ten thouſand: and I heard the number of them. And thus I ſawe in a viſion, horſes, and them that

Apoc. 20.

te

ſate on them, hauing fiery habbergions, and of Iacinth ſtone, and of brimſtone, and the heads of the horſes were as the heads of Lyons, and out of their mouthes went foorth fire, and ſmoake, and brimſtone, of theſe three plagues was the third part of men killed, that is, of the fire, ſmoake, and brimſtone, which proceeded out of their mouthes, &c.

The 7. trumpets of the 7. Angels in the Apoc. expounded.

By the ſeauenth ſeale is meant the ſeauenth and laſt age of the world, which laſt age of the world, is from Chriſt, to the iudgement and reſurrection of the dead.

By the ſeauen Angels with their ſeauen Trumpets, is ſignified the ſeauen plagues that come in this ſeauenth and laſt age of the world.

The ſixt trumpet.

By the ſixt trumpet of the ſixt Angell, is meant the ſixte plague comming laſt and next before the plague of the great iudgement day, which ſixt plague is heere deſcribed to come by the Eaſt Kings, that is, by the Turkes, as foloweth to be ſeene.

Looſing of the angels vpon the ryuer Euphrates.
Apoc. 19.

By loſing the Angels which had rule of the great riuer Euphrates, is ſignified the letting out of the Eaſt Kings, that is, the Turkes, out of Scithia, Tartaria, Perſia, and Arabia, by whome the third part of Chriſtendome ſhall be deſtroyed, as we ſee it this day hath come to paſſe.

Apoc. cap. 16.

It followeth in the propheſie, Their power ſhall be in their mouthes, and in their tayles. For their tayles be like Serpents hauing heads, and with them they hurt, &c. Meaning that theſe Turkes with the words of their mouthes, ſhall threaten great deſtruction of fire and ſword, to them that will not yeald vnto them, and in the end, when the Chriſtians ſhall yeald vnto them, truſting to their promiſes, they like Serpents ſhall deceaue thē in yͤ end, & kill them, as appeareth by the ſtory of the Turkes aboue paſt, pag. 752. 753. 757.

The 4. beaſtes in the Apoc. mean the 4. Monarchies.

The like propheſy alſo after the like words and ſence, is to be ſeene and read in the 16. chap. of the Apoc. where S. Iohn entreating of ſeauen cuppes, filled with the wrath of the liuing God, geuē to the hands of 7. Angels, by one of the foure beaſts (that is in the time of one of the four Monarchies, which was the Monarchy of Rome) ſpeaketh likewiſe of the ſixt Angell, which poured his viole of Gods wrath vpon the great riuer Euphrates, & the waters thereof dryed vp, that the way of the kings of the Eaſt ſhould be prepared, &c.

The kings of the Eaſt.
Drying vp of Euphrates.
Ibid.

By the ſixt Angell with the ſixte viole, is meant, as before, the laſt plague ſaue one that ſhall come vpon yͤ Chriſtians. By yͤ Kings of the Eaſt are meant the Saracens, and 12. Ottoman Turks. By drieng vp the riuer of Euphrates, is ſignified the way of theſe Turkes to be prepared by the Lords appointment, to come out of the Eaſt to the weſt parts of the world, to moleſt and afflict the Chriſtians. It foloweth more in the text. And I ſaw three vnclene ſpirits like frogs, come out of the mouth of the Dragon, and out of the mouth of the beaſt, and out of the mouth of the falſe Prophet, for they are the ſpirits of deuils, doing wonders, to go vnto the Kings of the whole earth, to aſſemble and gather them together, to the battayle, againſt the daye of the great God omnipotent, &c. And it foloweth ſhortly after, And he aſſembled them together into a place which is called in Hebrue Armagedon, that is, a trap or trayne of deſtruction. And immediatly it followeth in the ſame place, And the ſeauenth Angell poured out his viole in the ayre, and a mighty voice came from heauen, out of the Throane, ſaieng, factum eſt, It is done, or finiſhed, &c. Whereby it is to be vnderſtoode, that toward the laſt conſummation of the world, great force ſhall be ſeene, and a mighty army of the enemies ſhall be collected and gathered againſt the people, and Saints of the higheſt, and then commeth the conſummation, with factum eſt, &c.

Ibid.
An exhortation of the holyghoſt to the faithfull.

Wherefore it is not for naught that the holy Spirite of God in the ſame place, a little before the ſixt Angell doe poure out his viole, doth exhort all the faithfull, ſayeng: Behold, I come like a theefe in the night, Bleſſed is he that watcheth and keepeth his garments, leaſt he walke naked, and men ſee his fylthynes, &c.

Apoc. cap. 13.

The propheſie of the Apo. cap. 13. diſcuſſed.

The beaſt hauing hornes like the lambe, muſt needes meane the Pope.

Nicol. de Lyra, and Paulus Biſhop of Burdens, and Mathias Dorinke writing vpon the 13. chap. of the Apoc. & expounding the miſtery of the ſecond beaſt, riſing out of the earth, hauing the hornes of a lambe, &c. doo apply the ſame to Mahumet and the Turkes, with a ſolemne declaration made vpon yͤ ſame. Which interpretatiō of theirs, although in ſome pointes it may ſeeme to haue ſome appearance of probabilitie, neither can it be denied but that Mahumet & the Turke be peſtilent and wicked enemies of Chriſt our Lord, & moſt bitter perſecutors of his Church, yet as touching the proper & naturall meaning of yͤ Apoſtle in that place, ſpeaking of the falſe lambe, &c. if we conſider well all the circumſtances of that beaſt, and marke the conſequence of the text, both of that which goeth before, and followeth after, we muſt needs graunt that Nicol. de Lyra, with hys fellowes, & with al ſuch like of yͤ Popes ſchoole, that folow that ſchoole be deceaued, and that the deſcription and interpretation of that falſhorned lambe, muſt neceſſarily be applyed only to the Biſhop of Rome, and none other, which is to be proued by ſixe principall cauſes or arguments.

The firſt reaſon.

Ex Boni. 8. Extr. de Maiorit. & obed.

The firſt is, for that this beaſt is deſcribed to beare the hornes of a lambe. By the which lambe, no doubt, is ment Chriſt. By yͤ hornes of the lambe is ſignified the outward ſhew or reſemblance of Chriſt our ſauiour: which ſhew or reſemblance can haue no relation to Mahumet, for that he taketh himſelfe to be aboue Chriſt, & Chriſt as an excellent Prophet of God, ſitting at his feete. Wherfore ſeing Mahumet commeth neither as equall to Chriſt, nor as vicar vnder Chriſt, this propheſy can not agree in him, but only in him which openly in plaine words proteſteth, that all Chriſtes lambes and ſheepe not ſingularly, but vniuerſally through the whole world, are committed to him, as Vicar of Chriſt, and ſucceſſor of Peter, and that all men muſt confeſſe the ſame of neceſſitie, or elſe they are none of Chriſtes ſheepe, &c. wherein it is eaſy to ſee where the pretenſed hornes of the lambe do growe.

The ſecond reaſon.

{ Anno. 1553. }

Vid. ſupra. pag. 649.

The ſecond argument, And he ſpake like the Dragon, &c. A Lambes hornes and the mouth of a Dragon, do not agree together. And as they do not agree together in nature, ſo neither can they be found in any one perſon, either Turke, or other (if we will iudge truely) ſo liuely, as in the Biſhop of Rome. When thou heareſt him call himſelfe the Apoſtolicall Biſhop, the Vicar of Chriſt, the ſucceſſor of Peter, the ſeruant of Gods ſeruants, &c. thou ſeeſt in him the two hornes of a lambe, and would thinke him to be a lambe in deede, and ſuch a one as would waſh your feete for humilitie: but heare him ſpeake, and you ſhall find him a dragon. See and reade the Epiſtle of Pope Martine the fift aboue mentioned, pag. 649. charging, commaunding, and threatning Emperoures, Kinges, Dukes, Princes, Marqueſſes, Earles, Barons, Knightes, Rectors, Conſuls, Proconſuls, with their Shires, Counties, and Vniuerſities of their kingdoms, Prouinces, Cities, Townes, Caſtles, Villages, and other places. See the anſwere of Pope Vrban. 2. and his meſſage to King William Rufus, pag. 192. Behold the workes and doings of Pope Innocent againſt King Iohn.

The Pope hath the hornes of a Lambe, but the mouth of a Dragon

Note alſo the anſwere of another Pope to the King of England, which for the price of the kings head, would not graunt vnto him yͤ inueſting of his Biſhops. Marke well the wordes and doings of Pope Hildebrande againſt the Emperor Henry the fourth, pag. 175. Alſo of Pope Alexāder the 2. treading vpon yͤ neck of Fredericus Barbaroſſa, not like a lambe treading vpō a dragon, but like a dragon treading vpon a lambe: ſo that his owne verſe might be turned vpon himſelfe: tanquam aſpis & baſiliſcus ſuper ouicillam ambulans, & tanquam Leo & draco conculcans agnum. Cōſider moreouer the behauior, maner, cōdition, and property, almoſt, of all the Popes which haue bene theſe 600. yeares, and what Dragon or Serpent could be more viperous then their owne doings and words can ſpeake, and giue teſtimony againſt themſelues.

The third reaſon.

It followeth moreouer in the ſame prophecy of the Apocalipſe for the third argument, And he doth all the power of the firſt beaſt, preſently before his face, and cauſeth the earth, and all the inhabitants therein to honour the firſt beaſt, the ſtripe of whoſe deadly wound was cured, &c.

The two beaſtes in the 13. cap. of the Apoc. expounded.

A deſcription of the Citie and Monarchy of Rome.

In this propheſy ij. things are to be noted: firſt, what the firſt beaſt is, whoſe power yͤ ſecond beaſt doth execute. Secondly, what this ſecond beaſt is, which ſo doth exerciſe his power in his ſight. The firſt of theſe beaſtes here in the Apoc. deſcribed, hauing 7. heads & 10. hornes, muſt needes ſignifie the city of Rome, which may eaſely be proued by two demonſtrations. Firſt by the expoſition of yͤ 17. chap. of the ſame Apocalips, where is declared and deſcribed the ſayd beaſt to ſtād of 7. hils, & to containe 10. kings, hauing the whole power of the dragon geuen: and alſo the ſame citie to be named the whore of Babylon, drunkē wyth the bloud of ſaints. All which properties ioined together, can agree in no wiſe but only to the heathē Empire of Rome, which Citie at the time of writing theſe propheſies, had the gouernment of the whole world. The ſecond demonſtration or euidence, may be deduced out of the number of the monethes aſſigned to this beaſt, Apoc. 13. For ſo it is written, that this beaſt had power to make, that is, to worke his malice againſt Chriſtes people 42. monethes, which monethes counted by ſabbates of yeares (that is, euery moneth for ſeuen yeares) maketh vp the iuſt number of thoſe yeares, in which the primitiue Church was vnder the terrible perſecutions of the heathen Emperors of Rome, as is afore ſpecified, pag. 367.

Which thing thus ſtanding, proued and confeſſed, that the firſt beaſt muſt needes ſignifie the Empire and City of Rome, then muſt it neceſſarely follow that the ſecond beaſt

The deſcription of the beaſt with the two hornes of the Lambe. Apoc.13.

with the lambs hornes, muſt ſignifie the Biſhop & Pope of the ſame City of Rome. The reaſon whereof is euident, and apparant by that which followeth in the prophecye, where it is declared, that the ſeconde beaſt hauing two hornes of a lambe, receaued and exerciſed all the power of the firſt beaſt, before or in the ſight of the ſaid beaſt, which can not be verefied neither in the Turke nor in any other, but only in the Pope of Rome, who (as you ſee) receiueth, vſurpeth, and deriueth to himſelfe all the power of that Citie and Monarchy of Rome: In ſo much that he ſaith, that when Conſtantine or Ludouicus yeelded vnto him the rule & kingdome of that Citie, he gaue him but his owne, and that which of right and duty belonged to him before.

The Pope hauing all the rule and power of Rome.
ἐνώπιον τοῦ θηρίου. Apoc.13.

And this authority or power ouer all the Empire of Rome, he worketh not in Aſia, or in Conſtantinople as the Turke doth, but in the ſight of the beaſt which gaue him the power, that is, in the City of Rome it ſelfe, which is the firſt beaſt heere in this propheſy of the Apocalypſe deſcribed.

The fourth reaſon.

Fourthly, it followeth more, And he cauſeth the earth, and all the inhabitants therein, to worſhip and honour the firſt beaſt, which had a deadly wound, and was cured, &c. The interpretation of this part, as alſo of all the other parts of the ſame chapter, ſtandeth vpon the definition of the firſt beaſt, for being graunted, as it can not be denied, that the firſt beaſt ſignifieth the Citie and Empire of Rome, it muſt conſequently follow, that the Biſhop (whome we call the Pope) of the ſame Citie of Rome, muſt be vnderſtode by the ſecond beaſt, forſomuch as neither Turke nor any other, but only the Biſhop of Rome, hath holden vp the eſtimation and dignity of that Citie, which began to be in ruine and decay by the Vandalians, Gothes, Herulians, and Lombards, about the yeare of our Lord 456. but afterward by the Biſhop of Rome, the priſtine ſtate and honor of that Citie reuiued againe, and flouriſhed in as great veneration, as euer it did before. And that is it which ẏ holy Ghoſt ſeemeth heere to meane of the firſt beaſt, ſaieng: That he had a wound of the ſword, and was cured. For ſo it followeth.

The fift reaſon.

Fiftly, And he cauſed all the inhabitants of the earth to make the image of the beaſt, which had the ſtripe of the ſword and liued. And it was geuen to him to giue life to the image of the beaſt, and to make the image thereof to ſpeake, and to cauſe all them that worſhipped not the image of the beaſt, to be killed: forcing all perſons both little and great, rich and poore, bond and free, to take the marke of the beaſt in their right hand, or in their forheads, and that none might buy or ſell but they which had the marke, or the name of the beaſt, or the number of his name, &c.

Rome almoſt dead.
Roma called Odacria

By geuing life to the image of the beaſt, and making it to ſpeake, is to be preſuppoſed, that ẏ beaſt was at a neare point of death, and lay ſpeachles before, inſomuch that the Citie of Rome began to loſe and change his name, & was called a while Odacria, of Odacer King of the Herulians: which by dent of ſword ſurpriſed the Romans: and yet notwithſtanding, by the meanes of this Romane Prelate, the ſaid Citie of Rome, which was then ready to geue the Ghoſt, ſo recouered his maieſtie and ſtrength againe, that it is hard to ſay, whether Rome did euer ruffle and rage in his tirannie before, in the time of Nero, Domitian, Diocletian and other Emperors, more tragically then it hath done vnder ẏ Pope: or whether that Rome had al Kings, Queenes, Princes, Dukes, Lords, and all ſubiects more vnder obedience and ſubiection, whē the Emperors raigned, or now in the raigne of the Pope. And therefore it is ſaid not without cauſe of the holy Ghoſt: That it is geuen to him, to geue life and ſpeach to the image of the beaſt, cauſing all them to be ſlaine which will not worſhip the image of the beaſt, &c. As for example heereof, who ſeeth not what numbers and multitudes of Chriſtian men, women, and children, in all Countreys, haue bene put to the fire and ſword? Stories of all times will declare, what hauocke hath bene made of Chriſten bloud, about the preheminence and maioritie of the Sea of Rome: what Churches and Countreys both Greekes and Latin, haue bene excommunicated: what Kings haue bene depoſed, and Emperors ſtripped from their Imperiall ſeate, and all becauſe they would not ſtoupe and bend to the Image of the beaſt, that is, to the maieſty and title of Rome, aduanced vp ſo highly now by the Biſhop thereof, as it was neuer higher before in the raigne of Nero or Dyocleſian. wherefore taking the firſt beaſt to ſignifie the Empyre of Rome, which can not be denyed, it is playne, that the ſecond beaſt muſt neceſſarily be applied to the Pope, and not to the Turke, for as much as the Turke ſeeketh nothing leſſe then the aduancement of that Empire, but rather ſtriueth againſt it, to plucke it downe.

To geue life to the image of the beaſt. The Image of Rome ſpeaketh again as cruelly as euer it did.

Et faciet eos occidi, qui non adorauerint imaginem beſtiæ. Apoc.13.

The ſixt reaſon.

The ſixt and laſt argument is grounded vpon the number of the name of the beaſt, expreſſed by the holy Ghoſt in the ſame Prophecie, by the letters χ ξ ς. In which letters a though there lyeth great darckneſſe and difficultie to be vnderſtode, yet certaine auncient Fathers whiche were Diſciples and hearers of them which heard S. John him ſelfe, as Irenæus and other do expound the ſayd letters coniecturally to containe the name of the beaſt, and to be the name of a man, vnder this word λατεῖνος: where as els no other name lightly of any perſon either in Greeke or Latine, will agree to the ſame, saue onely the foreſayd name λατεῖνος. Although ſome latter writers geuing their coniectures vpon the ſame, doe finde the name of Lateranus in Hebrew Letters, to aunſwere to the ſame number. Some fayne other names, as ἄντεμος, or τεῖταν, made wordes, which ſignifie nothyng, as Diclux, or Luduuic, by Romane letters &c. But of all names properly ſignifying any mā, none commeth ſo neare to the number of this miſtery (if it go by order of letters) as doth the word λατεῖνος, aforeſayd. And this much by the way, and occaſion of Nicolaus de Lyra, Paulus Burgen, Matthias Dorinkus, the author of Fortalilium fidei, and other Cōmentaries moe of the ſame faction: who writyng vpon this xiij. Chapter of the Apocalipſe, and not conſidering the circumſtaunces thereof, both are deceaued themſelues, and deceaue many other, applying that to the Turke, which can not otherwiſe be verified but onely vpon the Pope, as may appeare ſufficiently by the premiſſes: Not that I write this of any moode or malice either to the Citie of Rome, or to the perſon of the Byſhop, as beyng Gods creature: but beyng occaſioned here to entreate of the Prophecies agaynſt the Turkes, would wiſhe the Readers not to be deceaued, but rightly to vnderſtand the ſimple Scriptures accordyng as they lye, to the entent that the true meanyng therof beyng boulted out, it may be the better knowen what Prophecies directly make agaynſt theſe Turkes, what otherwiſe.

The number of the name of the beaſt diſcuſſed. 666.

λ. The num-
α. ber of
τ. theſe let-
ε. ters in
ι. greeke, ma-
ν. keth the
ο. full number
σ. of 666.

Nicol. de Lyra and other popiſh writers deceaued in the 13. chap. of the Apoc.

In the which Prophecies agaynſt the Turkes, now to proceede, let vs come to the 20. Chapter of the Apocalipſe, wherein the holy Scripture ſeemeth playnly and directly to notifie the ſaid Turkes. The wordes of the Prophecie be theſe.

Apoc.cap.20.

And I ſaw an Angell deſcendyng from heauen, hauyng the key of the bottomleſſe pit, and a great chayne in his hand: and he tooke the Dragon, the old Serpent, which is the deuill and Satanas, and bound him vp for a thouſand yeares, and caſt him in the pit, and ſealed him vp, that he ſhould not ſeduce the people any more, til the thouſand yeares were expired: and after that he muſt be let looſe for a litle while. &c.

And it followeth after: And when the thouſand yeares ſhalbe complete, Satanas ſhalbe let out of his doungeon, and ſhall go abroad to ſeduce the people, which are on the foure corners of the lād of Gog and Magog, to aſſemble them to battaile: whoſe number is like to the ſandes of the Sea. And they went vp vpon the latitude or breadth of the earth, and compaſſed about the tentes of the Saintes, and the welbeloued Cities. &c.

The bynding and looſing out of Sathan examined.
Three things to be noted in thys propheſie.

To the perfect vnderſtandyng of this Prophecie, three thynges are neceſſary to be knowen. Firſt what is ment by byndyng vp, and looſing out of Satanas the old Dragon. Secondly, at what tyme and yeare firſt he was chayned vp and ſealed for a thouſand yeares. Thirdly, at what yeare and tyme theſe thouſand yeares did end, when as he ſhould be looſed out agayne for a litle ſeaſon. which three poyntes beyng well examined and marked, the Prophecie may eaſely bee vnderſtand directly to be ment of the Turke. Albeit Anagogically ſome part thereof may alſo be referred not vnproperly vnto the Pope, as is aboue notified.

What is meant by bynding vp of Sathan.

Firſt, by byndyng and looſing of Satanas, ſeemeth to be ment the ceaſing and ſtaying of the cruell and horrible perſecution of the Heathen Emperours of Rome, againſt the true Chriſtians, as is to be ſene in the x. firſt perſecutions in the primitiue Church aboue deſcribed in the former part of theſe Actes and Monumentes: in the whiche moſt bloudy perſecutions, Satanas the deuill then raged without all meaſure, till tyme it pleaſed almightie God to ſtoppe this old Serpent, and to tye him ſhorter. And thus haue you to vnderſtād what is ment by the byndyng vp of Sathan for a thouſand yeares: whereby is ſignified that the perſecution agaynſt the Chriſtians ſtyrred vp by ẏ beaſt (that is, in the Empire of Rome, through the inſtigation of Sathan) ſhall not alwayes continue, but ſhall breake vp, after certaine tyme, and ſhall ceaſe for a thouſand yeares. &c.

The tyme of bynding vp of Sathan.

Now, at what tyme and yeare this perſecution, that is, the fury and rage of Sathan ſhould ceaſe, is alſo declared in the Apocalipſe before: where in the chapter. 11. & 13. wee reade that the beaſt afore mētioned, ſhall haue power

Apoc.11.13.42. monethes in the Apoc,declared.

Supputation of yeares betwene the beginning & ceaſing the perſecutions in the primitiue Church.

Vide ſupra.pag. 385.

to worke his malice and miſchiefe, the ſpace of 42. moneths and no more, and then that Sathan ſhould be locked vp for a thouſand yeares. The computation of which monethes being counted by Sabbates of yeares (after the example of the 69. weekes of Daniell. cap. 11,) it doth bring vs to the iuſt yeare and time, when that terrible perſecution in the primitiue Church ſhould end, and ſo it did. For giue to euery moneth a Sabbat of yeares, that is, recken euery moneth for ſeauen yeares, and that maketh 294. yeares, which was the full time betweene the 18. yeare of Tiberius, (vnder whome Chriſt ſuffered) and the death of Maxentius the laſt perſecutour of the primitiue Church in Europe, ſubdued by Conſtantinus, as may appeare by calculating the yeares, monethes and dayes, betweene the ſaid yeare of the reigne of Tiberius, and the latter end of Maxentius: and ſo haue ye the ſupputation of the yeare and time, when Satan was firſt bound vp, after he had raged in the primitiue Church 42. monethes. Which monethes, as is ſaid, being counted by Sabbates of yeares, after the vſuall manner of the Scripture, mounteth to 294. yeares: and ſo much was the full time betweene the paſſion of our Lorde, which was in the 18. yeare of Tiberius, vnto the laſt yeare of Maxentius.

The pope proued to be the ſeconde beaſt mentioned in the Apoc.ca.13.

Et hic bibet de vino iræ dei Apoc.14.

And heere by the way commeth a note to be obſerued, that foraſmuch as by the number of theſe 42. monethes, ſpecified in the Apocalips, the Empire of Rome muſt neceſſarily be confeſſed to be the firſt beaſt: therefore it muſt by like neceſſitie follow, the Biſhop of Rome to be the ſecond beaſt, with the two hornes of the Lambe, for that he only hath and doth cauſe the ſayd Empyre of Rome to reuiue and to be magnified, and ſo doth not the Turke, but rather laboureth to the contrary. Wherfore let euery Chriſtian man be wiſe and beware betime, how he taketh the marke of the beaſt, leaſt peraduenture it follow vpon him, that he drinke of that terrible cup of wrath mentioned Apocal. chap. 14.

The 3.part of the propheſie for the looſing out of Satan.

The beginning of the Turkes progenie.

Thirdly, it remayneth to be diſcuſſed touching the third point in this foreſaid propheſie, that as we haue found out (through the helpe of Chriſt) the yeare and time of Satãs binding, ſo we ſearch out likewiſe the time and ſeaſon of his looſing out, which by the teſtimonie of Scripture, was appointed to be a thouſand yeares after his binding vp, and ſo rightly according to the time appointed it came to paſſe. For if we number well by the Scripture the yeare of his binding vp, which was from the paſſion of our Lorde 294. yeares, and adde thereto a thouſand yeares, it mounteth to 1294. which was the very yeare when Ottomannus the firſt Turke began his reigne: which was the firſt ſpring and welhead of all theſe wofull calamities that the Church of Chriſt hath felt both in Aſia, Affrica, and Europe, almoſt theſe three hundreth yeares paſt. For ſo wee finde in Chronicles, that the kingdome of the Turkes being firſt deuided into four families, an. 1280. at length the familie of Ottomanus preuailed, and thereupon came theſe, whome now we call Turkes: which was about the ſame time, when Pope Boniface the eight was Byſhop of Rome.

The tyme of Tranſubſtantiation.
The tyme of the Turkes.

Ex Laonico Chalcondyla. lib.1.

Where by the way this is againe to be noted, that after the decree of Tranſubſtantiation was enacted in yͤ Councell of Laterane by Pope Innocent the iij. the yeare of our Lord 1215. not long after, about the yeare of our Lord 1260. was ſtirred vp the power and armes of the Oguzians, and of the Orthogules father of Ottomannus: who about the yeare of our Lord 1294. began firſt to vexe the Chriſtians about Pontus & Bithinia, & ſo beginning his kingdome anno. 1300. reigned 28. yeares, as is afore mẽtioned.

The propheſie of Ezech.ca.38.

Mention was made before of Ezechiell propheſieng againſt Gog, whoſe words diuers expoſitours do apply againſt the Turke, and are theſe: Thou ſhalt come from thy place, out of the North partes, thou and much people with thee, all riding vpon horſes, a great and a mighty army, and thou ſhalt come vp againſt my people of Iſraell as a cloude, to couer the land: Thou ſhalt be in the latter dayes, and I will bring thee vpon my land, that the heathen may know me, when I ſhall be ſanctified in thee, O Gog, before their eyes. Thus ſayth the Lord God: Art not thou he, of whome I haue ſpoken in the old time, by the hand of my ſeruants, the Prophets of Iſraell, that propheſied in thoſe dayes and yeares, that I woulde bring thee vpon them? At the ſame time alſo, when Gog ſhall come againſt the lande of Iſraell, ſayth the Lord God, my wrath ſhall ariſe in mine anger. For in my indignation, and in the fire of my wrath haue I ſpoken it: Surely at that time there ſhall be a great ſhaking in the land of Iſraell, ſo that the fiſhes of the Sea, the foules of the heauen, the beaſtes of the field, and all that mooue and creepe vpon the earth, and all the men that are vpon the earth, ſhall tremble at my preſence: the mountaines ſhall be ouerthrowne: the ſtarres ſhall fall, and euery wall ſhall fall to the ground, &c.

¶ The Propheſies of Methodius, Hildegardis and other, concerning the reygne and ruyne of the Turkes.

Methodius propheſies.

The booke of Methodius miſtaken.

The propheſies of Methodius, concerning the turkes.

Vnto theſe teſtimonies aboue excerped out of the holy Scriptures, let vs adde alſo the propheticall reuelations of Methodius, Hildegardis, Sybilla, and others. This Methodius is thought of ſome to be the ſame Methodius, of whome Hierome, and Suidas make mention: which was Biſhop firſt of Olympus in Lycia, then of Tyrus, and ſuffered martyrdome in the laſt perſecution of the primitiue Church, vnder Diocletian. Unto whome alſo Trithemius attributeth the booke intituled: De Quatuor nouiſsimis temporibus. But that can not be, foraſmuch as the ſaid Methodius doth cite and alleadge the Maiſter of Sentence, namely, in his ſecond booke, and ſixe diſtinc. which Maiſter of Sentence, followed more then a thouſand yeare after Chriſt: beſides certaine other fabulous matter conteined in the ſame booke. Albeit, becauſe he ſpeaketh there of many things cõcerning the ſtate of yͤ Church vnder Antichriſt, and the reformation of Religion, as ſeemeth rightly to come to paſſe, and more is like to follow, I thought not to defraude the Reader thereof, leauing the credite of the Authour to his arbitrement, to eſteeme and iudge of him as he ſeeth cauſe. Among diuers other places of Methodius, propheſieng of the latter time, theſe words do follow: After that the children of Iſmaell haue had multiplied in their generations to an infinite and innumerable multitude, in the deſert aforeſayd, they came out of the wilderneſſe of Arabie, and entred into the habitable land, and fought with the Kings of the Gentiles, which were in the land of promiſe, and the land was filled with them. And after 70. weekes, and halfe of their power, wherewith they haue ſubdued all the kingdome of the Gentiles, their hart was exalted, ſeeing themſelues ſo to haue preuailed, and to haue conquered all things, &c. And afterward it followeth of the ſame matter in this ſort.

Viij. weekes of yeares, counting euery weeke for a Sabbate of yeres, that is, euery day for a yeare, commeth to 56. yeares.

It ſhall come to paſſe that the ſayde ſeede of Iſmaell, ſhall iſſue out and obteine the whole world, with the regions thereof, in the entring of peace, from the land of Ægypt, vnto Ethiopia: & from the floud Euphrates, vnto India: and from the riuer Tigris, to the entring of Nabaot, the kingdome of Ionithus, the ſonne of Noe: and from the North, vnto Rome and Illyricum, Ægypt, and Theſſalonica, and Albania, and ſo foorth to the ſea Ponticum, whych deuideth the ſayd kingdomes from Germanie and Fraunce: and their yoke ſhall be double vpon the neckes of all nations, and Gentiles: neither ſhall there be nation or kingdome vnder heauen, which ſhall be able to ſtand againſt them in battaile, vntill the number of eyght weekes of yeares, &c.

The firſt ſtate or alteration of tymes concerning the comming of the Saracens

Chriſtians plagued by the Saracẽs.

Briefly, as in a groſſe ſomme, this ſhall ſuffice, to admoniſh the reader, touching yͤ meaning and methode of Methodius Propheſies, which Methodius firſt deſcribing the long and tedious afflictions of Chriſtes Church, maketh mention of the ſeede of Iſmaell, which comming out of the partes and deſerts of Arabie, ſhall deſtroy (ſaith he) and vanquiſh the whole earth, So that the Chriſtians ſhall be giuẽ of God, to the hands of the filthy Barbarians, to be ſlain, polluted, and captiued: Perſia, Armenia, Capadocia, Cilicia, Syria, Ægypt, the Eaſt partes, Aſia, Spaine, all Grecia, Fraunce, Germania, Agathonia, Sicilia, The Romanes alſo ſhall be ſlaine and put to flight: alſo the Ilands of the Seas ſhall be brought to deſolation, and to captiuitie, and put to the ſword. The which tribulation of the Chriſtians ſhall be without mercy or meaſure: the raunſome of gold and ſiluer and other exactions, intolerable, but eſpecially the dwellers of Ægypt and Syria ſhall be moſt in the affliction of thoſe times: And Hieruſalem ſhall be filled with multitudes of people brought thether in captiuitie, from the foure windes which are vnder heauen. So that beaſtes alſo, and foules, and fiſh in the water, and the waters of the Sea ſhall be to them obedient. Cities and Townes, which were before full of people, ſhall be layde waſte. Women with child ſhall be ript: their children ſticked: infantes taken from the mothers, and caſt in the ſtreates, and none ſhall burie them. The rulers and ſage of the people ſhall be ſlaine, and throwne out to the beaſtes. Churches ſhall be ſpoiled: the Prieſts deſtroyed: virgines defloured, and men cõpelled to ſell their children, and the comming of them ſhall bee chaſtiſement without mercy, and with them ſhall go theſe foure plagues: captiuitie, deſtruction, perdition, and deſolation, wyth much more, which for breuitie I ouerpaſſe. And this affliction, ſayeth hee, ſhall laſt eight weekes, or Sabbates of yeares, which I take to ſignifie eight hundreth yeares, &c.

The ſeconde ſtate or alteration of the Chriſtians relieued of theyr plagues and tribulations

Secondly, after theſe terrible plagues thus deſcribed by Methodius vpon the Chriſtians, which he ſayth ſhall fall vpon them for their wicked abhominations recited in the firſt and ſecond chapter of S. Paule to the Romaines: the ſaide Methodius afterwarde, in this great diſtreſſe of the Chriſtians, being out of all hope and comfort of reliefe, declareth and ſpeaketh of a certaine King of the Greekes or

Romaines,

Chriſtians abuſing Gods benefites.

Romains which ſhall reſtore peace againe to ẏ Chriſtiãs. In which peace they ſhal reedify their cities & manſions againe: the Prieſts ſhalbe deliuered from their greuances, & men at that time ſhall reſt from their tribulations, and then ſhall the King of the Romaines dwell in the Citie of Hieruſalem a weeke or ſabbate, and a halfe of times. &c.

The third alteratiō by the cōming of the turks.

The reigne of Chriſtian kinges in Hieruſalem laſted 88. yeares an. 1187.

Thirdly, during ẏ time of this peace, the ſaid Methodius ſaith, ẏ men ſhal fal into licentious ſecuritie, & careleſſe life: and then according to the word of the Apoſtle, ſaying: Whē they ſhal ſay, peace, peace, ſodeine deſtruction ſhal fall vpon them: then (ſayth he) ſhalbe opened the gates of the North, & the beaſtly people ſhal breake in, which King Alexander the great, did cloſe vp within 2. mountaines, making his prayer vnto the Lorde God, that he would bind vp that beſtial & execrable people, leaſt with their filthy & deteſtable pollutions, they ſhuld come out and pollute the holy land. Whoſe interceſsion being heard, the Lord cōmanded them to be incloſed within 2. mountains in the North parts, to the depenes of 12. cubits (which ſignifieth peraduenture 12. C. yeres) ſo that neither by witchcraft, nor by any means they could get out, or any might come vnto them, vntill the time of the Lord apointed, which are (ſaith he) the latter times: & then, according to the prophecie of Ezechiel in the latter time of the cōſummation of the world, Gog & Magog out frō the north, ſhal come forth into the land of Iſrael, & ſhal work al this miſchiefe againſt the chriſtiās, aboue recited. And then (ſaith Method. proceding in his Propheſies) ſhall the K. of Romanes, after he hath reigned in Ieruſalē a ſabbate of times, & a half, that is, ſaith Met. x. yeres & a halfe, take the crown frō his hed, and yeld it vp to the Croſſe in Golgotha where Chriſt was crucified, and ſhall die. And the Croſſe with the crowne ſhalbe taken into heauen, which ſhal not appeare againe before the comming of the Lord.

By this reſigning vp the crowne to the crucifixe in Golgotha, is ſignified, the ceaſing of the reigne of the chriſtiās in Hieruſalē tyll the cōming of Chriſt.

By this tribe of Dā, and the citie Choroſaim, Bethſaida, & Capernaū is ſignified Gods great malediction vpon Antichriſt.

Fourthly, it foloweth then moreouer in the Propheſies of Method. whych declareth, that when the weeke or ſabbate & half weke of times ſhal end, and whē the K. of Romanes ſhall geue vp his crowne in Jeruſalem, & die. Then immediatly ſhal Antichriſt the ſon of perdition begin to appeare, & be borne in Iewry, of the tribe of Dan, wherof alſo came Iudas Iſcarioth, & he ſhalbe borne (ſaith Methodius) in Choroſaim, & ſhalbe bred in Bethſaida, & ſhal raign in Capernaū: to ẏ which 3. cities, Chriſt the Lord gaue his 3. Væ. And whē great tribulatiō ſhal increaſe & multiply in the daies of this Antichriſt, & al lordſhip & dominion ſhalbe deſtroied, the Lord ſhall ſende his 2. faithful & deare ſeruants, Enoch and Hely, to reproue and detect the falſe ſeducing, & lying forgeries of this Antichriſt, openly before all mē: ſo that the people ſeing thēſelues falſly beguiled, & ſeduced by this ſon of perditiō, cōming out of the tēple diſſēblingly, to the deſtructiō of many, ſhal leaue & flie frō him, & ioyn thēſelues to the ſaid 2. holy prophets. Which ſon of perdition & Antichriſt ſeing his procedings ſo to be reproued, & brought into cōtēpt, in his fury & anger ſhal kil the 2. Prophets of God And then ſhal appeare (ſaith Methodius) the ſigne of the comming of the ſonne of man, and he ſhall come in the clouds of heauenly glory, and ſhall deſtroy the enemie with the ſpirite of his mouth. &c.

The deſtruction of Antichriſt.

✻ Interpretation.

The interpretation.

To theſe propheſies & teſtimonies of Methodius, what credite it is to be geuen, I leaue it to the Reader. But if the meaning of his Propheſies goe by ſuch order of times, as is ſet & diſpoſed in his booke: he ſemeth to deſcribe vnto vs 4. principall ſtates and alterations of times to come.

The comming of the Saracens.

The firſt ſtate and alteration is by Mahumete and the Saracens, which be the offſprings and ſonnes of Iſmael comming out of Arabie in the time of Heraclius Emperour of Conſtantinople. An. 630. which rebelling againſt Heraclius, increaſed & preuailed ſtill more & more againſt the Chriſtians, both in Aſia, and Africa, and alſo in many places in Europe, eſpecially in Spayne, and Italy.

The coming of the turks.

Scythia iuxta Caucaſū.

The ſeconde ſtate & alteration he Propheſieth to come by the Turke, which firſt comming out of the farre partes of Scythia, ẏ is, out of the North, firſt ouercame the Saracenes, ſubdued the Perſians, and afterward ioyning together w the Saracens, conquered the kingdome of Hieruſalem about the yeare of our Lorde 1187: then ſubdued Syria and moſt part of Aſia. &c. And theſe be they, whych Methodius ſeemeth to meane of, ſpeaking of the vile and miſerable people cloſed vp of ẏ Lord God, at the interceſſion of Alexander the great captaine in the North, betwene 2. mountaines the depeneſſe of 12. cubites, leaſt that filthy corrupt nation ſhuld pollute the earth with their wickednes, wherby are ment theſe Turkes, which comming out frō the vttermoſt partes of the North, that is, out of Scythia and the mountaines of Caucaſus or els Imaus, were withholden & kept backe of Almighty God, for Chriſtes cauſe, that they myght not harme his Church a long ſpace, during the time of xii. C. yeares: yea, and then, the ſinnes of the Chriſtians ſo deſeruing, they were permitted of almighty God to breake out, and to inuade the church: who nowe ioyning together w the Saracens, haue wrought, and daily do worke, all theſe greuances againſt our Chriſtian brethren: as we ſe this day is come to paſſe, and more is like to folow, except the hād of the Lord, which let them out, do plucke them in againe.

Victory of the Chriſtians gotte againſt the Saracens.

Ex Paulo Iouio

The citie of Hieruſalē recouered by the Chriſtiās frō the Saracens

Hieruſalem poſſeſſed of the chriſtians 88. yeares.

Hieruſalē wōne frō the Chriſtiās by the turkes, an 1187.

Moreouer, in ẏ meane ſpace, betwene the reigne of the Saracens and the Turks, where Methodius ſpeaketh of the K. of Romaines, which ſhould reſtore quietnes to the church, & ſhould raigne in Hieruſalem, a ſabbate of times and halfe a ſabbate: thereby ſeemeth to be vnderſtand the viage of Chriſtian Princes out of the weſt partes of Europe, vnder Gotfridus Duke of Lotharing & his 2. brethren and many other chriſten Princes, with 300. M. footmen, and 100. M. horſemen: who fighting againſt the Saracens, recouered againe from them, the Citie of Hieruſalem, in the yeare of our Lorde. 1099. which citie before had bene in their poſſeſſion, ẏ terme of 490. yeres. After which victory got, firſt Gotfridus, then Baldwinus his brother, and other after them, to the number of 9. Chriſten kings, reigned in Hieruſalem the ſpace of 88. yeres: and after that through the diſcord of the Chriſtians not agreeing amōgſt themſelues, both Hieruſalem and Syria, with other parts of Aſia beſides, were ſubdued and wonne of the Turkes, whych to this day they keepe yet ſtill. And this was in the yeare of our Lord. 1187.

The cōming & markes of Antichriſt deſcribed.

About which yeare and time (as foloweth in Methodius) when the Citie of Hieruſalem ſhall be wonne of the Turkes, then ſhall Antichriſt begin to be borne of the tribe of Dan, of whom came Iudas Iſcarioth, and ſhalbe borne in Choroſaim and bredde in Bethſaida, and reigne in Capernaum: Meaning that this Antichriſt or ſonne of perdition, ſhalbe full of Gods malediction, noted by Iudas Iſcariothe, and theſe 3. Cities, againſt whome were ſpoken thriſe Væ of the Lord.

And heere is moreouer to be noted, that Methodius ſayth, not that Antichriſt ſhall be borne among the Saracens or Turkes, but among the people of God, and of the tribe of Iſrael. whereby is to be collected, that Antichriſte ſhal not come of the Saracēs, nor Turks, but ſhall ſpring vp among the Chriſtians, and (ſayeth Methodius) ſhall ſeeme to come out of the Temple, to deceiue many. &c. Whereby the Pope may ſeeme rather then the Saracene or the Turk, to be deſcribed, for ſo much as the Pope, being elected noriſhed, and raigning in the middeſt of Gods people, at Rome, ſitteth in the temple, and very place of Chriſt: and (no doubt) deceiueth many. &c.

The time of Antichriſt.

Petrus Lombardus.

Gratianus.

Innocentius. 3.

Trāſubſtātiatiō.

The firſt perſecution by the church of Rome

Dominicke.

Frier Fraunces.

Ex antonino part. 3. tit. 19. c 1.

The orders of Fryers beganne.

And nowe to come to the time aſſigned of Methodius, here is to be added alſo, that which we read in Antoninus. Par. 3. that about this ſaid preſent time, a certaine Biſhop of Florence preached that Antichriſte was then comming. But the pope commanded him to keepe ſilence & to ſpeake no more therof. Now why the pope ſo did, & why he could not abide the preaching of Antichriſte, I referre it to them which liſt to muſe more vpon the matter. This is certain, that about this time, heere aſſigned by Methodius, came Petrus Lombardus Gratianus, and Pope Innocent ẏ thirde, the firſt authors & patrons of trāſubſtantiation. At which time alſo began the firſt perſecution by ẏ church of Rome, againſt ẏ Albingenſes or waldenſes, about Tolous, Biturres, and Auinion. Of whome 17. M. the ſame time were ſlaine, by the Popes croſſed ſouldiors. Among whom frier Dominicke was then the chiefeſt doer. About whyche time alſo was Frier Frances, of which two came the two orders of begging Friers: al which began much about one time together. An. 1215, which were nere, within 20. yeres. after the kingdome of the Chriſtians was taken of the Turkes, according to the Propheſie aboue ſayd.

The pope exalting himſelfe aboue kings and Emperours.

It followeth moreouer in Methodius, That in hys time al Lordſhip & domination ſhal ceaſe and geue ouer. &c. The verity whereof we ſee nowe accompliſhed in the Pope. For where the Pope with his double ſword, and triple crowne dooth come, there all ſeculare power muſt geue place, both Emperors, Kings, and Princes muſt ſtoupe.

Notes of Antichriſt.

So king Iohn yeelded vp his crowne to Pandulfus the popes Legate, and was in his hand 5. daies. An. 1217.

Childerike the French K. had hys crowne taken from him, and geuen to Pipine. An. 747.

Henricus 4. Emperor was forced to ſubmit hymſelfe and his ſcepter to Pope Hildebrand. An. 1077.

Fridericus Barbaroſſa Emperour, in Saint Markes Church in Venice, was faine to lay downe hys necke vnder the Pope Alexanders feete. Anno 1277. which Fridericke alſo before, was faine to holde the ſtirroppe to Pope Adrian, &c.

What ſhould I ſpeake of the Ambaſſadour of Venice, named Franciſcus Dandulus? who being ſent to Pope

Clement the 5. was made to lie vnder the Popes table like a dog, & gather vp the croms, mẽcioned in Sabel.Enn.9.li.7.

Henry the 3. being Emperor, had hys diademe firſt ſet on with the feete of the Pope, and afterwarde ſtrocken off from his head with the Popes foote againe.

And what ſhall I ſpeake more hereof? when as Carolus Magnus ſubmitted himſelfe ſo lowe to kiſſe the feete of Pope Leo. An. 800.

Enoch & Hely.

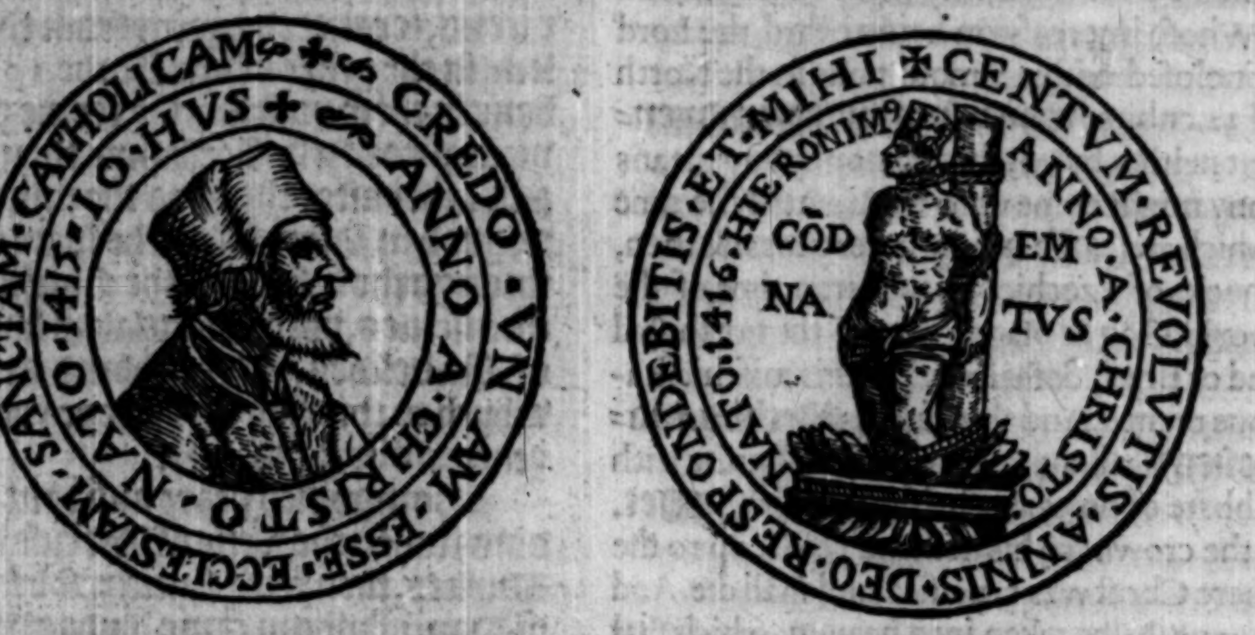
It foloweth then in the propheſie of Methodius: That in the tribulation of thoſe dayes, ſhall be ſent from God two ſpeciall Prophettes, Enoch and Hely, to reprooue and diſcloſe the fraudulent falſehode of Antichriſt, and that many ſeeing his deluſion, ſhall forſake him and followe them: Wherat Antichriſt being greeued ſhall kill them. &c.

Iohn Hus & Hierome of Prage. Vid. in primo Tom. operũ Iohã. Hus. De Anatomia.

We neuer read yet in any ſtory, of any ſuche two Prophets to be ſent either to the Saracens, or to the Turkes: wheras againſt the Pope, we read Iohn Huſſe and Hierome of Prage, two learned Martyrs & Prophets of God to haue bene ſent, & to haue reproued and deſcribed the Anatomie of Antichriſt, and at laſt to haue bene burned for their labor. And what Prophet can ſpeake more plainely, either Enoch or Hely, then did Hierom of Prage, propheſying of the comming of Martin Luther, an C. yeres after him? when the Pope and his fellowes ſhould anſwere to God and to him. The time we ſee came iuſt. Nowe let the Pope ſee with his fellowes, what anſwer they can make.

Hierome of Prage a prophet and Martir.

The true plate of Hus and Hierome, among the Bohemians.


CREDO VNAM ESSE ECCLESIAM SANCTAM CATHOLICAM
IO. HVS ANNO A CHRISTO NATO 1415
CENTVM REVOLVTIS ANNIS DEO RESPONDEBITIS ET MIHI
HIERONIMVS ANNO A CHRISTO NATO 1416
CŌD EM NA TVS

The nearnes of the Lordes iudgement.

It followeth further in Methodius concludyng hys prophecie. And then (ſayth he) ſhall appeare the comming of the ſonne of man in the clouds of heauen, with celeſtial glory. &c.

Wherefore after the burning of theſe two notable Prophets, with many other thouſands burned alſo ſince their time, by the B. of Rome it is to be thought, that the comming of Chriſtes iudgement in the clouds, is not farre of. Veni cito Domine. Amen.

And thus muche touching Methodius, of whoſe prophecies how much or how little is to be eſtemed, I leaue it indifferent vnto the reader. For me it ſhal ſuffice ſimply to haue recited his wordes, as I finde them in his booke contained: noting this by ẏ way, that of this booke of Methodius, De nouiſſimis temporibus, neither Hierome in his Cataloge, nor Suidas, nor yet Auentinus in the place where hee entreateth purpoſely of ſuch prophecies, maketh any mention.

The propheſy of Hildegardis and Brigiete, of the Turkes.

Ex Auentino lib. 3. Annalium.

A caueat to England.

As touching Hildegardus & Brigit, & other whome the French cal Bardi for their ſongs & prophetical verſes, ſufficient hath ben alleaged before out of Auentinus: who in his 3. booke of Chronicles wryting of the teſtimonies of Hildegard, Brigit and Bardi, ſeemeth to grounde vppon them, that the Turkes, whether we wil or not, ſhal haue their Imperiall ſeate at Colen: And I pray God, that it come not to paſſe, that the Turke do geue ſome attempt againſt England by the ſeas, before that he come to Colen by land. &c.

Ex Brigitta, lib. 4. cap. 57.

Propheſies of Brigitte, againſt Rome.

Breuity cauſeth me to cut of many teſtimonies and reuelations of theſe abouesaide, or els I could here rehearſe the propheticall wordes of Brigit, lib 4. cap. 57. concerning the City and Church of Rome, which as ſhe ſayth, muſt be purged and ſcoured with 3. things: to wit, with ſharpe ſword, with fire, and with the plough, and that God wil doe with that Citie, as one that remoueth plants out of one place vnto an other: and finally, that the Citie of Rome ſhall ſuſteine the ſentence, as if a Iudge ſhould commaund the ſkin to be ſlaine off, the bloude to be drawne from the fleſh, and the fleſh to be cut in ſmall peces, & the bones therof to be broken, ſo that all the mary may be quiſed out from the ſame. &c.

The Propheſies of Erithrea Sybilla named Eriphila.

Ex Erithrea Sybilla in ſuo Nazilographo. i. imperiali ſcripto.

But for breuitie I let Brigit paſſe, & ſome thing wil declare out of Erythrea Sybilla, in her booke of prophecies found in S. Georges church in Venice: where ſhe propheſying many things of the birth of Chriſt vnder Auguſtus, and of the birth of Iohn Baptiſt, & of baptiſme, of the Apoſtles, of the conuerſion of the Gentiles, and of Conſtantinus. &c. hath theſe wordes: After that the peaceable Bull ſhall conclude all the climes of the world vnder tribute, in thoſe daies a heauenly lambe ſhal come: and the dayes ſhal come, whẽ the power of the flowing ſtreame ſhalbe magnified in water, & the Lyon the Monarche ſhalbe conuerted to the Lambe, which ſhall ſhine to all men, and ſubuert kingdomes.

Propheſies of Sybilla of chriſt.

By his feete is ſuppoſed to be ment the yeares of his age.

Moreouer ſayeth Sybilla, In the latter age God ſhall bee hũbled, and the diuine offſpring ſhalbe abaſed, & Deitie ſhalbe ioyned with humanity, the Lambe ſhal lie in hay, and God & mã ſhall be bred vp vnder a maidens attendance, ſignes and wõders ſhal go before amõgeſt the circumciſed. &c. Alſo, an aged womã ſhal cõceiue a childe hauing knowledge of things to come. The Worlde ſhall maruell at Boötes (the ſtarre) which ſhall be a leader to his birth. He hauing 32. feete and 6. thumbes ſhal chuſe to himſelf out of fiſhers and abiectes, the number of 12. and one deuill, not wyth ſworde nor with battel. &c. And afterwarde thus followeth moreouer, in Sybilla, ſaying: *The health of the lambe lying ſhalbe clothed with a fewe ſpoiles of the Lyon. Blacke ſhalbe turned into red. He ſhall ſubdue the citie of Æneas, and kings, but in the booke of the fiſher, In deiectiõ and pouertie he ſhall cõquere riches, and ſhall treade downe pride with his owne death, In the night he ſhall riſe vp, and be changed, he ſhall liue and raigne, and all theſe things ſhall be conſummated, and regeneration (or newe things) be made: at laſt hee ſhall iudge both good and euill. &c. And thus much briefly collected out of Sybilla Erythrea concerning Chriſt our Lord.

*The lambe lying, &c. that is, the Church without trauell ſhall be mainteyned with ſome liuing or poſſeſſions of cheife rulers.

By theſe foure beaſts is ment the 4. Monarchies of the worlde, that is the multitude of all the kingdõs of the Gentiles, as is in the Apocal.

By the citye of Aeneas is ment Rome

Furthermore, touching the ſtate and courſe of the Church and of Antichriſt. it foloweth in the ſayde Sybille, ſaying: Then ſhall 4. Winged beaſtes riſe vp in teſtimonie, they ſhal ſoũd out with trumpets the name of the lambe, ſowing righteouſnes, & the law irreprehenſible. Againſt which law, the beaſt ſhal gainſtand, & the abhomination & froth of the dragon. But a maruelous ſtar ſhal riſe, hauing the image of the 4. beaſts, & ſhalbe in a maruelous multitude, he ſhal bring light to the Greekes, and ſhal illuſtrate the world. The lake of the fiſher ſhall bring the name of the lambe with power, into the Citie of Eneas, vnto the end of the worlde, (or time). Then in the city of Eneas, the ſtarre ioyned, ſhall looſe ſuch as were bound of the deuill, and thereof hee ſhall reioyce and glory, and glorious ſhalbe his end &c.

The propheſies of Sybilla, of Antichriſt.

The 663. feet do meane the yeares of his reigne.

After this, Sybilla wryting (as it ſemeth) of Antichriſt, importeth theſe words. And it ſhall come to paſſe, that an horrible beaſt ſhal come out of the Eaſt, whoſe roaring ſhall be heard to Aphrike, to the people of Carthage, Which hath 7. heades and ſcepters innumerable, feete 663. He ſhall gainſtande the lambe, to blaſpheme his Teſtamẽt, encreaſing the waters of the dragon. The kings & princes of the world he ſhall burne in intolerable ſweat, & they ſhal not diminiſh his feete. And then two ſtarres like to the firſt ſtarre, ſhall riſe againſt the beaſt, and ſhal not preuaile, till the abhomination ſhall be come, and the wil of the Lord ſhall be conſummate. And again, ſpeaking of the ſame matter, he inferreth theſe words of the foreſaid 2. ſtarres aboue mẽtioned. And toward the latter dayes, two bright ſtarres ſhall ariſe, raiſing vp men lying dead in their ſinnes, being like to the firſt ſtarre, hauing the face of the 4. beaſts which ſhall reſiſt the beaſt, & the waters of the dragon, teſtifying (or preaching) the name and lawe of the lambe, the deſtruction of abhomination and iudgement, and ſhal diminiſh his waters, but they ſhalbe weakened in the bread of affliction, and they ſhall riſe againe in ſtronger force. &c.

Theſe two ſtarres ſeme to meane Iohn Hus, & Hierome, who being put to death by the pope their doctrine roſe agayne more ſtrongly then before.

And it foloweth moreouer. After the abhomination, then ſhal truth be reuealed, & the lambe ſhalbe known, to whom regions and countreis ſhal ſubmit their necks, & all earthly men ſhal agree together in one, to come into one fold, and to be ruled vnder one diſcipline, and after this ſhalbe but a ſmall time. &c.

And ſhortly after, the ſaide Sybilla ſpeaking of the latter iudgement to come, declareth how all the abhominations of ſinnes ſhall come before the lambe: and that terrible fire ſhall fall frõ heauen, which ſhall conſume al earthly things created vnto the top of heauen. &c.

Ex libro cui titulus, onus Eccleſiæ.

And thus muche out of Sybilla, touching her propheſies of Chriſt & Antichriſt, according as I founde them alleaged of a certaine catholike Romiſh wryter, in his booke entituled Onus eccleſiæ, excerped, as he ſayeth, out of the library of S. George in the citie of Venice.

Philip Melancthon in his preface vpon Bartholomæus Georgienitz Peregrinus, wryting of the Origene and manners of the Turks, alledgeth a certaine prophesy of Hikenus, mentioned hereafter, which forſaid that the Turkes ſhould beare rule in Italy and in Germany. An.1600.

Now it remaineth in concluſion of theſe propheſies of the Turks, ſome thing to ſay of the Turks owne propheſies, concerning the enduring & ending of their own kingdom, whoſe propheticall prognoſtication, being taken out of their owne language, and their own bookes, I thought here to inſert, as I finde it alleaged in the booke of the forſayd Bartholomæus Georgienitz, as followeth.

A Turkiſh prophecie in the Perſian toung of the raigne and ruine of the Turkes.

PAtiſſahomoz ghelur, Ciaferum memleketi alur, keuzul almai alur, Kapzeiler, iedı y ladegh Gyaur keleci cſikmaſſe, on ikiyladegh onlaron beghlig eder: euſi iapar, baghi diker baheſai baghlar, oglikezi olur, onichi yldenſora Hriſtianon Keleci cſichar, ol Turchi gereſtine tus chure.

The Latine of the ſame.

IMperator noſter veniet, ethnici Principis regnum capiet, rubrũ quoque pomum capiet, in ſuam poteſtatem rediget: quod ſi ſeptimum vſque annum Chriſtianorum gladius non inſurrexit, vſque ad duodecimum annum eis dominabitur. Domos ædificabit, vineas plantabit, hortos ſepibus muniet, liberos procreabit, & poſt duodecimum annum, apparebit Chriſtianorum gladius, qui Turcam quaqua verſum in fugam aget.

By the prince of the Gentiles the turkes do here meane the kingdomes and dominions of the Chriſtians, whom they call Gentiles, becuſe they are not circumciſed after their maner.

The ſame in Engliſh.

OUr Emperour ſhal come: he ſhal get the kingdome of the Gentiles prince; alſo he ſhal take the red apple and ſhall bring it vnder his ſubiection; and if the ſworde of the Chriſtians ſhall not riſe vnto the vij. yeare, hee ſhall haue dominion ouer them vnto the xij. yere. He ſhal build houſes, plant vineyardes, ſhal hedge about his orchards, ſhall procreate children: and after the xij. yeare ſhal appeare the ſworde of the Chriſtians, whych ſhall putte the Turke to flight euery where.

They whych make declaration of thys Turkiſhe propheſie do expound this xij. yeare to ſignify the xij. yeare after the winning of Conſtantinople; which Conſtantinople, they ſay, is ment by the redde apple: And after that xij. yeare, ſay they, ſhall riſe the ſworde of the Chriſtians. &c. and this propheſie being wrytten and tranſlated out of the Perſian tounge, with this expoſition vpon the ſame, is to be found in the boke of Bartholomeus Georgienitz. Albeit, concerning the expoſition therof, it ſemeth not to be true which is there ſpoken of the xij. yeare, after the wynning of Conſtantinople, being nowe 100. yeares ſince the wynning thereof.

The expoſition of the turkes propheſie.

Ex Barthol. Georgienitz.

Wherefore it may rather ſeme probable that by the vij. yeare and xij. yeare of the Turkes, this to be the meaning, that if the vij. of the Ottaman Turks do ſcape the ſworde of the Chriſtians, they ſhall continue, builde and plant. &c. vntill the xij. Turke, which is thys Solymannus, & then after that ſhall riſe the Chriſtians ſworde, whych ſhall put them to flight, and vanquiſh them in al quarters. And this expoſition may ſeeme to accord with the place of Geneſis, wherin is wrytten of Iſmael, that he had xij. ſonnes, & no mo: So that this Solymannus being the xij. Turke after Ottomannus, may (by the grace of Chriſt) be the laſt, whõ we heard credibly to be reported at the printing heereof, to be dead. But howſoeuer this prophecy is to be takẽ, it appeareth by their owne Oracles, that at length they ſhal be ouercome by the Chriſtians.

An other expoſition.

Gen. 25.

A Table deſcribing the times and yeares of the Saracens, Turkes, and Tartarians, for the better explaning of the ſtorie aboue prefixed.

The Saracẽs beginne their reigne.

AN.632. Began the kingdom of the Saracens or Arabians, after the death of mahumet the firſt ringleader of ẏ miſchief which Saracens reigning in Babylon ouer Perſia and Aſia, continued about 198. yeres

An.667. Ieruſalẽ was taken of the Saracens. Theſe Saracẽs after they had ſubdued Ormiſda K. of Perſia, ſet vp to themſelues a new kingdom, calling their chiefe prince Calipha, which ſignifieth a general Lord: and vnder him Seriphes, that is, an vnder prince: And againe vnder him their Soldan: which is a ruler or captaine vnder the which Soldanes, all the prouinces were deuided. And thus ruled they ẏ ſpace abouesayd of 198. yeres

The Egiptian Saracens or Sultans.

An.703. The Egyptians being weary of their ſubiection vnder the Romaines, called for helpe of the Saracene Calipha: and ſo caſting of the Romains, ſubmitted themſelues to the law of the Saracẽs, and had alſo their Calipha and theyr Babylon called Cairus, where their Calipha continued vnto Saraco or Syracinus. 447. yeres

An.810. Maugincтus or Muchumetus ẏ chiefe Sultan of Perſia, being at variance with Imbrael ẏ Sultane of Babilon, ſent for the aid of the turkes, out of Scythia: by whõ, when he had got the victorye againſt the Babilonians, the ſayd Turkes ſhortly after, conquered the Perſians and ſubdued their countrey within the ſpace of 20. yeres

The Saracẽs kingdome ceaſeth.

An.830. The Saracẽs being expulſed out of Aſia by the turkes, wandered about Afrike, Spayne, and Italy, and were in diuers places diſperſed, and ſo remained.

The turkes kingdome beginneth.

An.830. The Turkes after they had expulſed the Saracens out of Aſia, began to reigne in Aſia, in Perſia, & in Arabia, and there reigned without interruption, til the comming of the Tartarians, the ſpace of 192. yeres

An.1009. The Turkes wanne the city of Hieruſalem frõ the Saracens: which citie the Sultan of Egypt wan againe frõ the Turkes ſhortly after, & poſſeſſed the ſame till the comming of Gotfridus.

An.1051. Began the firſt king of ẏ turkes called Zaduke, to raign in Aſia, and ioyned league with Calipha of Egypt, and there raigned till the conqueſt of Gotfridus and the Chriſtians, the ſpace of 46. yeres

An.1078. Solymãnus nephue to Aſpaſalem ẏ turkiſh king in Aſia, otherwiſe called Turquinia, ſubdued Capadocia, which hath continued now ſince, the ſpace of 500. yeres

An.1099. Gotfridus Bulion duke of Lotharing a chriſtẽ prince, taking his voiage into Aſia, with 700000. Chriſten ſoldiours firſt got the city of Nicea againſt the Sultane of the Turkes: then Lycaonia, Cilicia, Syria, afterwarde Meſopotamia, and Comagena, then Antiochia. An.1098. and the next yere recouered Hieruſalem, being then in the hands of the Saracens, which they a little before had wonne from the Turkes, as is aforeſayde. After this Gotfridus ſucceded viij. chriſtian kings, which kept the kingdome of Hieruſalem and Aſia, both from the Turkes and Saracens, the ſpace of 88. yeres

An.1100. The Georgians, which be a people of Armenia the greater, vãquiſhed the Turks out of the kingdom of Perſia, after they had cutte their king in pieces. Wherby the Turks flying to Cappadocia, there remained vnder Solyman, & ioyned themſelues to the Soldan of Egypt, and waxed thẽ ſtrong in Aſia minor, called now Turquinia.

An.1170. When Almericus the vij. king of Hieruſalem after Gotfridus, had ouercome the Calipha or Sultan of Egypt, the Sultan being ouercome, called for the help of Saracon the Sultane of Syria. Thys Saracon after he had expulſed ẏ chriſtians out of Egypt, turned his power againſt ẏ Sultane of Egypt, and vanquiſhing him, tooke to him ſelfe the kingdome of Egypt: which kingdom he with his poſteritie did holde till the comming of the Tartarians and the Mamaluches about the ſpace of 88. yeres

An.1187. Saladinus the nephew of Saracon the Sultane of Egypt, perceauing the diſſention among the Chriſtian ſtates of Paleſtina, got Antioche, where he ſlewe Raymundus the Prince with hys owne hands: Then got Tiberias: From thence went to Accõ, where he tooke Guido king of Hieruſalem and Maſter of the Templares, priſonners: for whoſe raunſome, the Turke had Aſcalon yelded vp to him of the Chriſtians. That done, he ſubdued Hieruſalem. whych had bene in the handes of the Chriſtians before, the ſpace of. 88 yeres

An.1189. Friderike Emp. Philip French king, Rich. king of Englande made their viage into Aſia, where Friderike waſhing in a riuer at Cilicia, died. In this voiage at the ſiege of Accon, Saladinus wanne the fielde of our men, of whome 2000. were ſlaine in the chaſe. Accon at length was got of the Chriſtians. King Richarde got Cyprus. The two kings fell at ſtrife. Phillip retired home without any good doing, king Richarde laide ſiege to Hieruſalem, but in vaine, and ſo returning homewarde, was taken neare to Vienna in Auſtria, after hee had taken truce before wyth the Soldane, vppon ſuch condition as pleaſed hym. And thys good ſpeede had the Popes, ſending out againſt the Turkes.

Tranſubſtantiation.

An.1215. There was an other Councell holden at Rome by pope Innocẽt 3. where was enacted a newe article of our faith for tranſubſtantiation of bread and wine, to be turned into the body and bloud of our ſauiour. In this Councell alſo great excitation was made by the Pope, & great preparation was through al Chriſtendom, to ſet forward for recouery of the holy lãd. A mighty army was collected of Dukes, Lordes, knights, biſhops & Prelates, that if Gods bleſſing had gone wyth them, they myght haue gone throughout all Aſia and India.

Anno 1219. The Chriſtians after 18. monethes ſiege, gotte a certaine towne in Egypte, called Damiata or Elipolis, wyth much a do, but not much to ẏ purpoſe. For afterward as the chriſtian army of ẏ popes ſending, went aboute to beſiege the Citie Cairus or Babylon, the Sultane through his ſubtile traine ſo intrapped and incloſed them wythin the daunger of Nylus, that they were conſtrained to render agayne the Citie Damiata, with their pryſonners, and all the furniture thereof as they found it, into the Souldanes hande, and glad ſo wyth their liues to paſſe forwarde to Tyrus. An.1221.

Vide ſupra pag. 312.

In the meane time the Egyptian Turke cauſed the Citie of Hieruſalem to be raſed, that it ſhould ſerue to no vſe to the Chriſtians. what great thing els was done in that viage, it doth not greatly appere in ſtories. All be it Fridericus the 2. Emperour was not vnfrutefully there occupied, and muche more myght haue done, had it not bene for the violence and perſecution of the Biſhop of Rome againſt him: whereby he was enforced to take truce wyth the Sultan for 10. yeres, and ſo returned. After which things done, not many yeares after, at length the laſt citie of all belonging to the Chriſtians, which was Ptolomais or Acres, was alſo taken from them by the Sultane, ſo that now the chriſtians had not one foote left in all Aſia.

Tartarians.

Portæ Caſpiæ.

An.1203. Thus the Chriſtians being driuen out of Aſia by the Sultans & Turkes, yet the ſayd Turkes and Sultanes did not long enioy their victorie: For eftſones the Lord ſtirred vp againſt them the Tartarians, who breaking into Aſia by the portes of Caſpius ſubdued diuers partes of Aſia, namely, about Comana, Colchis, Iberia, Albania. &c. Theſe Tartarians as they had got many captiues in their warres: ſo for gaine vſed to ſhippe them ouer cuſtomably to Alexandria in Egypt to be ſolde: whych ſeruauntes and captiues Melechſala the great Sultane was gladde to buy, to ſerue him in his warres. which captiues & ſeruaunts after they had continued a certaine ſpace in Egypte, and through their valiant ſeruice grew in fauour and eſtimation with the ſayd Melechſala, and began more to increaſe in number and ſtrength: at lengthe they ſlue him, and tooke to themſelues the name and kingdome of the Sultane. And thus ceaſed the ſtocke of Saracon & Saladinus afore mentioned, which continued in Egypt, about the ſpace as is ſayd of 100 yeres

Saladinus ſtocke in Aegipt ceaſeth.

Mamaluchi in Aegipt.

An.1240. After the death of Melechſala, the army of theſe foreſaide raſcals and captiues, ſet vp to themſelues a king of their owne cõpany, whome they called Turquemenius. who to fill vp the nomber of their company that it ſhould not diminiſh, deuiſed this order, to get or to buy chriſtẽ mens children, taken yong frõ their parents, and ẏ mothers lap: whom they vſed ſo to bryng vp to make them to denye Chriſt, and to be circumciſed, and inſtructed in Mahumetes law, & afterward to be trained in the feates of warre, and theſe were called Malaluchi. Among whome this was their order, that none might be aduaunced to be king, but out of their own number, or els choſen by them: neither that any ſhoulde be made knights or horſemen, but only the children of chriſtians which ſhould deny Chriſt before, called Mamaluchi. Alſo it was among them prouided, that to thys dignity neither Saracens nor Iewes, ſhould be admitted. Item, that the ſucceſſion therof ſhoulde not deſcend to the children and offpring of theſe Mamaluchi. Alſo, that the ſucceſſion of the crowne ſhould not deſcend to the childrẽ of the foreſayd Sultanes, but ſhoulde goe by voyce and election. The Tartarians wyth Turquemenius their king, aboute thys time obtained Turquia, that is, Aſia minor, from the Turkes, and wythin 2. yeres after, preuailing againſt the Turkes, expelled them from their kingdome, and ſo continued theſe Mamaluchi reigning ouer Egypt, & a great part of Aſia, till the time of Tomumbeius their laſt kyng, whych was deſtroyed and hanged at the gates of Memphis, by Zelymus the Turke, father to this Solymannus, as in hys hiſtorye is declared, pag. 747. Theſe Mamaluchi continued the ſpace of

Vide ſupra pag. 747.

An.1245. Theſe Tartarians rãging through the countreis of the Georgians, and all Armenia, came as far as Iconiũ, which was then the imperiall city of the Turkes.

An.1289. The Soldane of Egypt & Babilon got from the chriſtiãs Tripolis, Tyrus, Sydon, and Berithus in Syria.

An.1291. Laſtly, Ptolomais, which alſo is called Akers, was ſurpriſed by ẏ ſayd Soldan, raſed and caſt downe to the ground, & all the Chriſtians therein (whych were not many left) were ſlaine. And this was the laſt citye which the Chriſtians had in Aſia. So that now the Chriſtians haue not one foot (as is ſayd before) left in al Aſia. Thus the Egyptian Soldanes, and the Tartarians reigned and ranged ouer the moſt part of Aſia aboue the Turkes, till the reigne of Ottomannus the great Turke, aboute the ſpace of 80 yeres

¶ And thus haue ye the whole diſcourſe of the Turkiſh ſtory, with their names, countreyes, townes, dominions alſo with their times, continuance, interruptions and alterations, in order deſcribed and in yeares diſtincted: which otherwiſe in moſt authors and writers be ſo confuſed, that it is heard to know diſtinctly, what difference is betwene the Saracens, Turkes, Tartarians, ẏ Sultans or Soldans, Mamaluches, or Ianizarites: what is their Calipha,

pha, their Scriphes, their Sultan, or Baſſa, in what times they began, and how long, and in what order of yeres they reigned. Al which in thys preſent table manifeſtly to thine eye may appeare.

Why the pope cannot preuaile againſt the Turkes.

Wherein this thou haſt moreouer (gentle Reader) to cōſider, which is worthy the noting, how the B. of Rome all this ſeaſon, frō the firſt beginning of the Turks reigne, hath not ceaſed from time to time continually, calling vpon Chriſten princes and ſubiectes, to take the croſſe and to warre againſt the Turkes: whervpon ſo many great viages haue bene made to the holy lande, & ſo many battailes fought againſt the Turke and Soldan for winning ỷ holy croſſe: and yet no luckie ſucceſſe hath followed thereof hetherto, nor euer came it proſperouſly forward, whatſoeuer through the exciting of that Biſhop, hath beene attempted againſt that great enemy of the Lorde: In ſomuch that the Chriſtians haue loſt not onely all that they had in Aſia, but alſo vnneth are able to defende that little they haue in Europe, againſt his violence. what the cauſe is of thys harde lucke of the Byſhops doings, it is hard for man to define. Let men muſe as their minde leadeth, and as the Goſpell ſayth, he that hath eyes to ſee let him ſee. This is certaine, that as there hath lacked no care nor diligence in the B. of Rome, to ſtirre men vp to that buſines: ſo on the Princes behalfe there hath lacked no courage nor ſtrength of men, no contribution of expenſes, no ſupportation of charges, no furniture or abilement of warre: onely the bleſſyng of God ſemeth to haue lacked. The reaſon and cauſe wherof I would were ſo eaſy to be reformed, as it may be quickly conſtrued. For what man beholding the life of vs Chriſtians, wil greatly maruell, why ỷ Lord goeth not with our army to fight againſt the Turks? And if my verdit might here haue place, for me to adde my cenſure, there appeareth to me an other cauſe in this matter, yet greater then thys aforeſaid: which to make plaine and euidēt in ful diſcourſe of wordes, laiſure nowe doth not permit. Briefly to touch what I conceiue, my opiniō is thys: that if the ſincere doctrine of Chriſten faith deliuered & left vnto vs in the word of God, had not ben ſo corrupted in the church of Rome, or if the B. of Rome would yet reclame his impure idolatry, and prophanations, and admit Chriſte the Lambe of God to ſtande alone, without our vnpure additions, to be our onely Iuſtification, according to the free promiſe of Gods grace: I nothing doubt but the power of this faith grounding onely vpon Chriſt the ſonne of God, had both framed our liues into a better diſpoſition: and alſo ſone would, or yet wil bring downe the pride of that proude Holofernes. But otherwiſe, if the Biſh. of Rome will not gently geue place to the milde voyce of Gods word, I thinke not contrary, but he ſhalbe compelled at laſt to giue place & roume to the Turke, whether he will or not. And yet notwythſtanding, when both the Turk & the Pope ſhal do againſt it what they can, the trueth and grace of Gods Teſtament ſhall fructify & increaſe, by ſuch meanes as the Lorde ſhall worke, which beginneth alredy (praiſe to the Lord) to come graciouſly and luckely forward in moſt places.

God offended with Idolatrie and wrong faith of the Chriſtians.

¶ A Prayer againſt the Turkes.

A prayer againſt the Turkes.

Pſal. 119.
Galat. 4.
Sapien. 5.
Eſai. 55.
Geneſ. 6.
Iudic. 14.
Ioa. 22.
Luke. 6.
Coloſſ. 2.

O Eternall Lorde God, father of our Lord Ieſus Chriſt, creator and diſpoſer of all things, iuſt, gracious, & wiſe only, in the name and reuerence of thy ſonne Ieſus, wee proſtrate our ſelues, deſiring thine omnipotent maieſtie, to looke downe vppon theſe afflicted times of thy poore creatures and ſeruaunts: relieue thy Church, increaſe our faith, and confound our enemies: and as thou haſt geuen thine onely begotten ſonne vnto vs, promiſing with hym life to all that ſhall beleeue vpon his name: ſo encline the obedience of our faith to thy promiſes in him, that our hearts may be farre off from all other ſinnefull additions and prophane inuentions, which are beſides him, and not in him, grounded vpon thy will and promiſe. And graunt (we beſeeche thee) to thy Church, more and more to ſee how terrible a thing it is, to ſet vp any other meanes or helpe of ſaluation, but onely in him, whome thou only haſt ſent and ſealed. Reforme thy Church with perfecte doctrine and faithfull teachers, that we ſeeing our owne weakeneſſe, may put off our ſelues, and put on him without whom we can do nothing. So ſhall we ſtand ſtrong, when nothing ſtandeth in vs, but thy ſonne alone, in whome thou art onely pleaſed. Renew in this thy Church againe, the decaied faith of thy ſonne Ieſus, which may plentifully bring foorth in vs, not leaues onely, but frutes of Chriſtian life: And forgeue our wretched Idolatry and blinde phantaſies paſt, wherwith we haue prouoked manifold waies thy deſerued indignation againſt vs: For our hearts haue bene full of Idoles, our temples full of Images, our wayes full of hypocriſie: thy Sacraments prophaned, and thy religion turned to ſuperſtition, becauſe the lanterne of thy worde went not before vs, therfore we haue ſtumbled. Miſerably we haue walked hetherto, like ſonnes not of Sara, but of Agar, and therefore theſe Turkiſh Agarens haue riſen vp againſt vs. Many hard and ſtraight wayes we haue paſſed, but the wayes of the Lorde we haue not founde. Much coſt we haue beſtowed on bread that ſwageth no hunger, but that bread which onely feedeth and commeth freely, we haue not taſted. We haue ſailed farre and nere in barkes of our owne building, but haue not kept within the Arke onely of thy promiſe, and therefore theſe floudes haue taken vs. We haue prayed much, but not in thine appoynted temple, and therefore haue not bene heard. Wee haue plowed and tilled, but without thy haiffer, and therfore this vntidie ground of ours, bringeth foorth ſo many weedes We do fiſh apace and that all night, but becauſe we fiſh not on the right ſide of the boate, in our fiſhing we catche neuer a finne. Our buildings be full of good intentions & great deuotiōs, but becauſe the groūd worke is not ſurely laid vpō the rocke of thy promiſe, the Eaſt winde riſeth and ſhaketh them all to ſhiuers. We walke and haue walked long after the precepts and doctrines of men, hauing a ſhew of wiſedome, but not as holding the heade, where lieth all our ſtrength, and therefore theſe Philiſtian Turkes haue hetherto ſo preuailed againſt vs. Briefly, all the partes and bones of the body be ſhaken out of place. Wherefore we beſeeche thee (O Lorde) put to thy holy hand, and ſet them in the right ioynt againe. And finally, reduce this ſame thy myſticall body againe, to his perfect and naturall head, whych is thine onely ſonne Ieſus Chriſt, and none other. For him onely haſt thou annoynted and appoynted. Neither is there any other head, that can miniſter ſtrength and nutriment to this body, but he alone: for aſmuch as all other heades be ſinnefull, and are not able to ſtande in thy ſight, but make thys body rather worſe then better. Onely this thy welbeloued and perfecte ſonne is he, in whome onely dwelleth all our ſtrength and fulneſſe: him onely we confeſſe and knowledge. For whome, and with whome, wee beſeeche thee (O Lorde God of hoſtes) graunt to thy Church ſtrength and victory againſt the malicious fury of theſe Turkes, Saraeens, Tartarians, againſte Gog and Magog, and all the malignaunt rabble of Antichriſt, enemies to thy ſonne Ieſus our Lord and Sauior. Preuent their deuiſes, ouerthrow their power, and diſſolue their kingdome, that the kingdome of thy ſonne ſo long oppreſſed, may recouer and flouriſh ouer all: and that they which wretchedly be fallen from thee, may happely be reduced againe into the folde of thy ſaluation, throughe Ieſus Chriſte our only mediatour and moſt mercifull aduocate. Amen.

Anno. 1500.

In this long digreſſion, wherin ſufficiently hath bene deſcribed the grieuous and tedious perſecution of the Saracens, & Turkes againſt the Chriſtians, thou haſt to vnderſtand (good reader) and beholde the image of a terrible Antichriſt euidently appearing both by his own doings, & alſo by the ſcriptures, prophecied & declared to vs before. Now in comparing the Turke with the pope, if a queſtion be aſked whether of them is the truer or greater Antichriſt, it were eaſy to ſee and iudge, that the Turke is the more open and manifeſt enemye agaynſt Chriſte and hys Church. But if it be aſked, whether of them two hath bene the more bloudy and pernitious aduerſary to Chriſte and his members: or whether of them hath conſumed and ſpilt more Chriſtian bloud, he with ſword, or this with fire and ſword together, neither is it a light matter to diſcerne, neither is it my part here to diſcuſſe, which do onely write the hiſtory, and the Actes of them both. wherfore after the ſtory of the Turkes thus finiſhed, nowe to reenter agayne there, whereas we left, in deſcribing the domeſticall troubles and perſecutions here at home vnder the Byſhop of Rome: after the burning of Babram in Northfolke aboue declared. pag 737. I ſignified alſo of an other certaine aged man mētioned in an old written Chronicle borowed of one in ỷ tower, intituled Polychron. (although I finde not his name in the ſaide Chronicle expreſſed) which ſuffered the paines of burning in Smithfielde, about the ſame time, which was the yere of our Lord. 1500. Ex Polycron.

A queſtion whether is the greater Antichriſt the turke or the Pope.

Babram and an olde man Martirs.
Vide ſupra pag. 737.

Ex ſcripto Polychronicho.

This aged father, I ſuppoſe, be hee of whome I finde mention made in certaine olde papers and recordes of W. Carye Citizen (all be it the day of the moneth doth a little differ) wherin is thus teſtified, that on the 20. day of Iuly. An. 1500. vpon the day of S. Margaret, there was an olde man burned in ſmithfield for an hereticke, & the ſame perſon vpon the 19. day before he was burned, wold haue ſtolen out of the Lolardes tower, and ſo falling out of the tower, did fowly hurt him ſelfe: wherupon he was caried in a cart to his death, as he went to his burning.

In the foreſaid papers of auncient recorde, is furthermore declared, how in the yere aboue prefixed, which was An. 1499. in the time of one Perſeuell, many were taken

Diuers kentiſhmen bearing fagots.

for heretickes in Kent, and at Paules croſſe they bare faggottes and were abiured, and ſhortly after the ſame yeare, there went 13. lolardes afore the proceſſion in Paules, and there were of them 8. weemen and a yong lad, and the lads mother was one of the 8. and all the 13. bare faggottes on their neckes afore the proceſſion.

William Tilſworth Martyr.

Will Tilſworth, Martir.

FOr ſomuch as the world is come now to ſuch a moroſity and peuiſh inſenſibilitie in theſe contentious and cauilling daies of ours, that nothyng can be ſo circumſpectly wrytten and ſtoryed, but ſhall lie in daunger of one Sycophant or an other, whyche neuer will credite there, where they liſt not to like: neither will they euer lyke that, which ſeemeth preiudiciall to their faction, or not to ſerue the humor wherewith their phantaſies bee infected: therefore to ſtop the mouthes of ſuch carping cauillers with as muche poſſibilitie as I may, be it knowne to al and ſingular ſuch perſons, who by euidence of truth and witnes wil be ſatiſfied, that in the towne of Amerſham, be yet aliue both men and women, which can and do beare witnes of this that I ſhal declare. Alſo there is of the ſayd company, one named william Page, an aged father and yet aliue, witnes to the ſame. Alſo an other named Agnes wetherley widdowe, being about the age of an hundreth yeares, yet lyuing and witnes heereof: That in the dayes of king Henry 7. Anno 1506. in the dioces of Lyncolne in Bukingham ſhire (william Smith being Byſhop of the ſame dioceſſe) one william Tylſworth was burned in Amerſham, in a cloſe called Standley about 60. yeares agoe. At which time one Ioane Clearke, being a marryed woman, whych was the onely daughter of the ſayde w. Tylſeworth and a faythfull woman, was compelled with her owne handes to ſet fyre to her deare father: and at the ſame time her huſbād Iohn Clearke did penaunce at her fathers burning, and bare a fagot, as did alſo.

The daughter compelled to ſet fire to her father

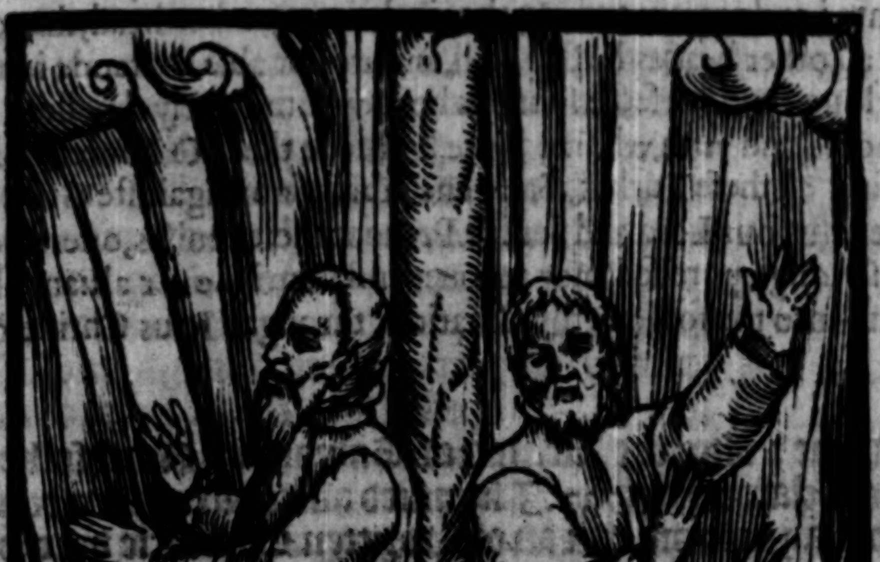
- Robert Bartlet.
- Richard Barlet.
- Iohn Barllet.
- Thomas Harding, and his wife.
- Henry Harding.
- Richard Harding.
- Robert Harding.
- Iohn Milſent and hys wife.
- William Whyte.
- Iohn Mumbe and hys wife.
- Richard Bennet.
- Rog Bennet. Iohn Fip.
- William Grinder.
- Thomas Homes.
- Yomaud Dorman.
- William Scriuener.
- Ihon Scriuener.
- Thomas Chaſe.
- Iohn Cracher.

Amerſham men bearing fagots.

Al theſe bare fagots, and afterward were compelled to weare certaine badges, & went abroad to certaine townes to doe penaunce, as to Buckingham, Aylesbury, and other townes mo: And alſo diuers of theſe men were afterward burned in the cheeke, as william Page, which at this preſent is aliue, and likewiſe did beare a fagot with the aforeſaid. Furthermore the foreſaid Agnes wetherley teſtifieth that at the burning of thys william Tylſworth, were lx. and aboue that were put to beare fagots for their penance, of whom diuers were enioyned to beare and weare fagots at Lyncolne, the ſpace of 7. yeres, ſome at one time, ſome at another. &c. In which nūber was alſo one Robert Bartlet a riche man, who for his profeſſion ſake was put out of his ferme and goods, and was condemned to be kept in the monaſtery of Aſhryge, where he ware on his right ſleeue a ſquare peece of cloth, the ſpace of 7. yeres together.

✻ The burning of Thomas Barnard, and Iames Mordon.

Tho Barnard, Iames Mordon Martirs.



Father Roberts Martir

It foloweth moreouer in ẏ teſtimonie of the forenamed, that about the ſame time of the burning of william Tilſworth (as the Amerſham men do ſay) or the next day after, as recordeth the foreſayd Agnes) was one father Roberts burned at Buckingham. He was a miller, and dwelled at Miſſenden: and at hys burning were there aboue 20. perſons that were compelled to beare fagots, and to do ſuche penaunce as the wicked Phariſes did compell them. After that by the ſpace of 2. or 3. yeeres, was burned at Amerſhā, Thomas Barnard a huſbandman, and Iames Mordon a labourer, they two were burned both at one fire, and there was william Litlepage (who is yet aliue) compelled to be burned in the right cheeke, and father Rogers, and father Reuer alias Reiue, whych after was burned. Thys Father Rogers was in the byſhops priſone 14. weekes together, night and day, where he was ſo cruelly handled with cold, hunger, and yrones, that after his comming out of the ſaid pryſon, he was ſo lame in his backe that he could neuer go vpright as long as hee liued, as can teſtifie diuers honeſt men that be now liuing. Alſo there was 30. mo burned in the right cheke, and bare fagottes the ſame time. The cauſe was that they would talke againſt ſuperſtition and idolatry, and were deſirous to hear & read the holy Scriptures. The maner of their burning in the cheeke was this: theyr neckes were tied faſt to a poaſte or ſtay, wyth towels, and theyr handes holden that they might not ſtirre, and ſo the iron being hotte, was put to their cheekes, and thus bare they the prints and marks of the Lord Ieſus about them.

Father Reuer Martir.

Men of Amerſham burnt in the cheeke for Gods word

✻ The cruell handling of Thomas Chaſe of Amerſham, wickedly ſtrangled and martyred in the biſhops priſon at Wooburne, vnder W. Smith Biſhop of Lincolne.

Anno. 1506.

Tho. Chaſe Martir.

AMong theſe aforeſayd, which were ſo cruelly perſecuted for the Goſpell and worde of Chriſte, one Thomas Chaſe of Amerſham, was one of them that was thus cruelly handled, which Thomas Chaſe by the report of ſuche as did knowe him, was a man of a godly, ſober and honeſt behauior (whoſe vertuous doings doe yet remaine in memorie) and could not abide Idolatrie and ſuperſtition, but many times woulde ſpeake againſt it: wherefore the vngodly and wicked did the more hate & deſpiſe him, and toke hym, and brought him before the blinde Byſhop, beyng at that time at wooburne, in the Countie of Buckingham, and as it is wrytten. Act. 12. that wicked Herode dyd vexe certaine of the congregation, and killed Iames the brother of Iohn with the ſword, and becauſe he ſaw that it pleaſed ẏ Iewes. &c. he proceded farther, and had thys ſame Thomas Chaſe before him, aſking him many queſtions touching the Romiſh religion, wᵗ many tauntes, checkes, and rebukes, but what anſwere this godly man Thom. Chaſe made them, it is vnknowen. Howbeit it is to be ſuppoſed, that hys aunſwere was moſt zealous and godly in profeſſing Chriſtes true religion and Goſpel, and to the extirpation of idolatry and ſuperſtition and hypocriſie, for that the ſayde Thomas Chaſe was commaunded to be put in the biſhops priſon called litleeaſe, in the biſhops houſe at wooburne, which priſon had not bene miniſtred vnto him, had not his anſwers bene ſound and vpright. There Thomas Chaſe lay bound moſt painfully with chaines, gyues, manicles and yrons oft times ſore pined with hunger, where the Biſhopes almes was daily brought vnto hym by hys chapleines: whych almes was nothing els but checkes, tauntes, rebukes, and threatninges, floutinges and mockings. Al which crueltie the godly Martyr toke moſt quietly & paciently, remembring and hauing reſpect to Chriſtes promiſes, Math. 5. Bleſſed are they which ſuffer perſecution for righteouſneſſe ſake: for theirs is the kingdome of heauen, and as foloweth: Bleſſed are yee when men reuile you and perſecute you, &c. when the Biſhop wyth his bonde of ſhauelings, perceiued that by their daily practiſes of crueltie they coulde not preuaile againſt him, but rather ẏ he was the more feruent & earneſt in profeſſing Chriſtes true Religion: and that he did tolerate and beare moſt paciently al their wickednes and cruelty miniſtred vnto hym: they

Tho. Chaſe brought before the B.

Tho. Chaſe condēned to the Biſhops priſon at Wooburne called little eaſe.

A worthy almes of a Biſhop.

The perfect patience & conſtancy of Tho. Chaſe.

they imagined how and which way they might put hym to death, leaſt there ſhould be a tumulte or an vprore amõg the people. And as Richard Hun ſhortly after was hanged or ſtrangled in Lolardes tower, about the yeare of our Lord 1514. euen ſo theſe bloudſuppers moſt cruelly ſtrangled and preſt to death this ſaid Thomas Chaſe in priſon, which moſt hartely called vpon God to receiue his ſpirit: as witneſſeth a certaine woman, that kept him in priſon.

Tho. Chaſe cruelly murthered in the Biſhops priſon.

After that theſe ſtinging vipers being of the wicked broode of Antichriſt, had thus moſt cruelly and impiouſlye murthered this faithfull Chriſtian, they were at their wits ende, and could not tell what ſhift to make, to cloke theyr ſhamefull murther withall, at laſt to blinde the ignoraunt ſely people, theſe bloudy butchers moſt ſlaunderouſly cauſed by their miniſters to be bruted abroade, that the foreſaid Thomas Chaſe had hanged himſelfe in priſon: which was a moſt ſhamefull and abhominable lie, for the priſon was ſuch, that a man coulde not ſtand vpright, nor lye at eaſe but ſtooping, as they do report that did knowe it. And beſides that, this man had ſo many manacles & yrons vpon him, that he could not wel moue neither hand nor foote, as the women did declare that ſawe him dead, in ſo much that they cõfeſſed that his bloudbolke was broken by reaſon they had ſo vily beaten him and bruiſed him: And yet theſe holy catholikes had not made an end of their wicked acte in this both killing and ſlandering of this godly martyr, but to put out the remembrance of him, they cauſed him to be buried in the wood called Norlandwood, in the hie way betwixt Wooburne and little Marlow, to the entent he ſhould not be takẽ vp againe to be ſeene: And thus commonly are innocent men layd vp by theſe clerkly clergye men. But he that is effectually true of himſelfe, hath promiſed at one time or at another, to cleare his true ſeruauntes, not with lyes and fables, but by his owne true word. No ſecret ſaith he, is ſo cloſe, but once ſhall be opened, neither is any thing ſo hid, that ſhall not at the laſt be knowne clearely. Such a ſweete Lord is God alwaies to thoſe that are his true ſeruants. Bleſſed be his holy name therefore, for euer and euer, Amen.

Tho. Chaſe falſely ſlaũdered to hang himſelfe.

God bringeth to light the ſecret murthers of the papiſtes. Math. 10. Luke. 12.

Thomas Harding being one of this company, thus moleſted and troubled as is aforeſaide, in the towne of Amerſham, for the truth of the Goſpell, after hys abiuration and penaunce done, was againe ſought for, and brought to the fire, in the dayes of King Henry viij. and vnder D. Langlond then Biſhop of Lincolne, ſucceeding after Cardinall Wolſey. Of whoſe death and martirdome, we ſhall likewiſe record (Chriſt willing and graunting) in order when we ſhall come to the time and yeare of his ſuffering.

Tho. Norice Martir. Anno. 1507.

After the martirdome of theſe two, I read alſo of one Thomas Norice, who likewiſe for the ſame cauſe, that is, for the profeſſion of Chriſtes Goſpell, was condemned by the Biſhop and burnt at Norwich, the laſt day of March, an. 1507.

Elizabeth Sampſon. Anno. 1508.

In the next yeare folowing, which was an. 1508. In the conſiſtory of London, was conuented Elizabeth Sampſon, of the pariſh of Aldermanberie vpon certain Articles, and ſpecially for ſpeaking againſt pilgrimage & adoration of Images, as ẏ Image of our Lady at Wilſdone, at Staninges, at Crome, at Walſingham, and the Image of ſaint Sauiour, of Barmondſey, and againſt the Sacrament of the aultar, and for that ſhe had ſpoken theſe or like wordes: that our Lady of Wilſdon was but a burnt arſe elfe, and a burnt arſe ſtocke, and if ſhe might haue holpen men & women which go to her on pilgrimage, ſhe woulde not haue ſuffred her taile to haue bene burnt: and what ſhould folke worſhip our Lady of Wilſdone, or our Lady of Crome, for the one is but a burnt arſe ſtocke, and the other is but a puppit: and better it were for the people to geue theyr almes at home to poore people, then to go on pilgrimage. Alſo that ſhe called the Image of Saint Sauiour, Sim Sauiour with kit lips, and that ſhe ſaid ſhe could make as good bread as that which the prieſt occupied, and that it was not the body of Chriſt, but bread, for that Chriſt could not be both in heauen and earth at one time. For theſe and certaine other articles, ſhe was compelled to abiure, before Maiſter William Horſey, Chancellour the day and yeare aboue written. Ex Regiſt. Lond.

¶ Laurence Gheſt.

Laurence Gheſt. Martir.

Lamentable it is to remember, & a thing almoſt infinite to comprehend the names, times, and perſons of al thẽ which haue bene ſlaine by the rigour of the Popes Clergie, for the true mainteining of Chriſtes cauſe and of hys Sacraments. Whoſe memory being regiſtred in the booke of life, albeit it neede not the cõmemoration of our ſtories, yet for the more confirmation of the Church, I thought it not vnprofitable, the ſuffering and Martyrdome of them to be notified, which innocently haue geuen their bloud to be ſhed in Chriſtes quarell.

Laurẽce Gheſt two yeares in priſon at Saliſbury.

Laurence would not be turned for wyfe nor childrẽ

Laurence died a Martir.

In the Cathalogue of whom next in order cõmeth the memoriall of Laurence Gheſt, who was burned in Saliſbury for matter of the Sacrament, in the dayes of K. Henry the 7. he was of a comely & tall perſonage, & otherwiſe (as appeareth) not vnfrended, for the which the Byſhop & the cloſe were the more lothe to burne him: but kept him in priſon the ſpace of ij. yeares. This Laurence had a wife and vij. children. Wherfore they thinkyng to expugne and perſwade his mynde by ẏ ſtirring his fatherly affectiõ toward his childrẽ, when the time came which they appointed for his burning, as he was at ẏ ſtake, they brought before him his wife and his foreſayd vij. children. At the ſight wherof, although nature is cõmonly wont to worke in other, yet in him religiõ ouercõming nature, made his conſtancie to remaine vnmoueable: in ſuch ſorte as when his wife began to exhort & deſire him to fauour himſelfe, he agayn deſired her to be cõtẽt, & not to be a block to his way, for he was in a good courſe, runnyng toward the marke of his ſaluatiõ: & ſo fire beyng put to him, he finiſhed his life, renouncing not onely wife & children, but alſo him ſelfe to follow Chriſt. As he was in burning, one of the Byſhops men threw a firebrand at his face: wherat the brother of Laurence ſtanding by, ranne at him with his dagger, and would haue ſlayne him, had he not bene otherwiſe ſtayd.

Witnes to the ſtory.

Teſtified & witneſſed by the credible report of one Williã Ruſſell an aged mã dwelling of late in Colmanſtreete, who was there preſent the ſame tyme at the burnyng of Laurence, & was alſo himſelfe burned in the cheke, & one of the perſecuted flocke in thoſe dayes, whoſe daughter is yet liuing: The ſame is confirmed alſo with the teſtimony of one Richard Web ſeruaunt ſometyme to M. Latymer, who ſoiournyng in the houſe of the ſayd William Ruſſell, heard him many tymes declare the ſame.

¶ A faythfull woman burned.

A notable ſtorie of a faithfull woman burned in Chippingſadbery.

But amongeſt all the examples of them, wherof ſo many haue ſuffered from tyme to tyme for Chriſt & his truth, I can not tell if euer were any Martyrdome more notable & admirable, wherein the playne demonſtration of Gods mighty power and iudgement hath at any time bene more euident agaynſt the perſecutours of his flocke, then at the burnyng of a certaine godly woman, put to death in Chepingſadbery, about the ſame tyme, vnder the raigne of K. Henry the ſeuenth.

D. Whittington Chauncellour a perſecutour.

The cõſtãcie of which bleſſed womã, as it is glorious for all true godly Chriſtians to behold: ſo agayne the exãple of the Byſhops Chaũcellour, which cruelly cõdemned the innocent, may offer a terrible ſpectacle to the eyes of all Papiſticall perſecutours to conſider, and to take example: which the liuing God graunt they may. Amen. The name of the Towne where ſhe was martyred, was as is ſayd, Chepyngſadbery. The name of the woman is not as yet come to my knowledge. The name of the Chauncellour, who condẽned her, was called D. Whittington. The time of her burnyng was in the raigne & tyme of K. Henry 7. orderly therfore in this place & time to be inſerted. Wherein is to be noted moreouer the oportunitie of this preſent hiſtory brought to my hands, & that in ſuch cõuenient ſeaſon, as I was drawyng toward the ende of the foreſayd kynges raigne: ſo that it may appeare to them, which behold the oportunitie of things, not to be without Gods holy wil & prouidence, that this foreſayd example ſhould not lye hid & vnremembred, but ſhould come to light & knowledge, and that in ſuch order of placing, accordyng as the due courſe of our ſtory hetherto kept, requireth.

A faithfull Chriſtian womã and Martir, burned at Chippingſadbery.

After this godly woman and manly Martyr of Chriſt was condemned by the wretched Chaũcellour aboue named D. Whittington, for the faithfull profeſſion of ẏ truth, which the Papiſtes then called hereſie, and the tyme now come whẽ ſhe ſhould be brought to the place and paynes of her martyrdome, a great concourſe of all the multitude both in the towne and countrey about (as the maner is in ſuch tymes) was gathered to behold her end. Among whõ was alſo the foreſayd Doct. Whittington the Chauncellour, there preſent to ſee the execution done. Thus this faythfull woman, and true ſeruaunt of God cõſtantly perſiſting in the teſtimony of the truth, committing her cauſe to the Lord, gaue ouer her life to ẏ fire, refuſing no paynes nor tormentes to keepe her conſcience cleare & vnreproueable in the day of the Lord. The ſacrifice beyng ended, the people began to returne homeward, commyng from the burning of this bleſſed Martyr. It happened in the meane tyme that as the Catholicke executioners were buſie in ſlaieng this ſely lambe at the townes ſide, a certayne Butcher within the towne was as buſie in ſlaieng of a Bull, which Bull he had faſt bounde in ropes, ready to knocke him on the head. But the butcher (belike not ſo ſkilfull in his arte of killing beaſtes, as the Papiſtes be in murthering Chriſtians) as he was lifting his axe to ſtrike the Bull, failed in hys ſtroke, and ſmit a little too low, or elſe how he ſmit, I knowe not. This was certayne, that the Bull although ſomewhat greued at the ſtroke, but yet not ſtroken downe, put his ſtrength to the ropes, and brake loſe from the butcher into the ſtreete, the very ſame tyme as the people were comming in great preaſe from the burning. who ſeeing the Bull comming towardes them, and ſuppoſing him to be wilde (as was no other lyke) gaue way for the beaſt, euery man ſhifting for himſelfe, as well as he might. Thus the people geuing backe, and making a lane for the Bull, he paſſed through the throng of them, touching neither man nor childe, till he came where as the Chauncelour was. Againſt whome the Bull, as pricked with a ſodeine vehemēcie, ranne full but with his hornes, and taking him vpon the paunch, gored him through and through, and ſo killed him immediatly, carieng his guts, and trailing them with his hornes all the ſtreete ouer, to the great admiration and wonder of all them that ſawe it.

A compariſon betweene butchers, and the popes murthering miniſters.

A rare & ſpeciall example of the iuſt puniſhment of God vpon a perſecutour.

D. Whittington ſlaine of a Bull.

Although the carnall ſence of man be blinde in conſidering the workes of the Lorde, imputing many tymes to blinde chaunce the thyngs which properly pertayne to Gods only praiſe and prouidence: yet in this ſo ſtraunge and ſo euident example, what man can be ſo dull or ignorant, which ſeeth not heerein a plaine miracle of Gods mighty power and iudgement both in the puniſhing of this wretched Chauncelour, and alſo in admoniſhing all other like perſecutours, by his example, to feare the Lord, and to abſtaine from the like crueltie?

Witnes to the ſtory.

Now for the credite of this ſtory, leaſt I be ſayde vpon mine owne head to commit to ſtory, things raſhly which I can not iuſtifie, therefore to ſtop ſuch cauelling mouths, I will diſcharge my ſelfe with authority I truſt ſufficient: that is, with the witneſſe of him which both was a Papiſt, and alſo preſent the ſame time at the burning of the woman, whoſe name was Rowland webbe: which Rowland dwelling then in Chippingſadbery, had a ſonne named Richard webbe, ſeruant ſometime to Maiſter Latymer, who alſo enduring with him in time of his trouble ſixe yeares together, was himſelfe empriſoned and perſecuted for the ſame cauſe. Unto the which Richard webbe being now aged, then yong, the foreſaid Rowland his father, to the entent to exhort him from this ſect of hereſie (as he then called it) recited to him many times the burning of this woman, and withall added the ſtory of the Bull aforeſayd, which he himſelfe did ſee & teſtifie. This Richard webbe is yet liuing, a witnes of his owne fathers wordes and teſtimonie, which I truſt may ſatiſfie all indifferent Readers, except onely ſuch as thinke no truth to be beleeued, but that only which is in their Portues.

¶ Verſes touching the ſame.

Tho. Hatcherus.

Mira legis, quicunq; legis, portenta nefandi
  Exitus, vt pœnas addita pœna luat.
Vera legis, Domini cuicunq; potentia nota eſt,
  Vt delinquentes ira ſeuera premat.
Sæpè fit vt fuſus cumuletur ſanguine ſanguis,
  Sæpè fit vt pœnis obruat ira nouis.
Omnia ſunt Domini dextræ ſubiecta potenti,
  Qui ciet arbitrio bruta, homineſq; ſuo.
Carnificis taurus luctando corniger ictus
  Euitans, fracto fune repentè fugit.
Fortè viam quâ turba frequens confluxerat antè,
  Fœminea vt cernat membra perire rogo,
Taurus ijt, fertur quâ confertiſsima turba,
  Læſus at ex tanta ſolus & vnus erat:
Solus & vnus erat, rapidos qui miſit in ignes,
  Et miſerè paruum ſparſit ouile Dei.
Et quaſi conſultò ferretur, præterit omnes,
  Cornibus hunc tollit, proterit hunc pedibus,
Ille iacet, madido fœdatur ſanguine corpus,
  Eruta perq; vias viſcera ſparſa iacent.
Quis non à Domino, nutu qui temperat orbem,
  Cogitet hæc fieri? non repetendo tremat?
Vltio terribiles comitatur iuſta procellas,
  Sera licet, certis paſsibus illa venit.

And thus much concerning the ſtate of the Churche. wherein is to be vnderſtand, what ſtormes and perſecutions haue bene raiſed vp in all quarters againſt the flocke and congregation of Chriſt, not only by the Turkes, but alſo at home within our ſelues, by the Byſhop of Rome, and his retinue. where alſo is to be noted in the daies and reigne of this king Henry the vij. how mightely the working of Gods Goſpell hath multiplied and increaſed, and what great numbers of men and women haue ſuffered for the ſame, with vs in England, as by theſe ſtories aboue paſt, may be apparent.

The ſtate of the cōmō wealth, commonly foloweth the ſtate of the church.

Now theſe things declared, which to the Church matters be apperteining, cōſequently it remaineth ſomething to entreate of the ſtate likewiſe of the cōmon wealth, which commonly doth follow the ſtate of the Church. where the Church is quietly and moderately gouerned, and the flock of Chriſt defended by godly Princes in peace & ſafety, frō deuouring and violence of bloudy wolues: the ſucceſſe of ciuile eſtate, for the moſt part, there doth floriſhe, and the Princes long cōtinue through Gods preſeruation, in proſperous reſt & trāquillitie. Contrariwiſe where the church of Chriſt either through the negligence of Princes, or thorough their ſetting on, the poore members of Chriſt be perſecuted and deuoured: ſhortly after enſueth ſome iuſt recompence of the Lord vpon thoſe Princes, that eyther their liues do not long continue, or elſe they finde not that quiet in the common wealth, which they looke for. Examples heereof, as in all other ages be aboundant, ſo in this preſent time be not lacking, whether we conſider the ſtate and condition of other countreys farre off, or elſe of our owne countrey neare at home.

The duetie of princes to defend their ſubiectes frō the ſlaughter of the Church of Rome.

And heere not to wander in our ſtory, farther then to Fraunce onely, let vs a little behold the example of Kyng Charles the viij. who liuing in this Kings time, died alſo not long before him. This Charles is commended of Philippus Cominæus, to be a moderate, valiant, and victorious Prince, adorned with many ſpeciall vertues to a Prince apperteining. And yet the ſame king, becauſe he was ſlack and remiſſe in defence of Chriſtes Church, neither did vſe his authority, nor tooke his occaſion offered to him of God, to amend and refourme the ſtate of the Biſhop and Cleargy of Rome when he might, he was therefore himſelfe puniſhed and cut off of the Lord, as by his ſtory enſuing may right well appeare. For ſo it is of him recorded, that being maruelouſly excited and prouoked, of his owne minde (cōtrary to the counſaile of moſt of his Nobles) he tooke hys viage into Italy, neither being furniſhed with money, nor the ſeaſon of the yeare being cōuenient therunto. And that this may appeare the better to proceede of ẏ Lords doing, to the entent he woulde haue the Church and Cleargy of Rome reformed by the Princes ſword, which ſo vexed all Chriſtendome at that time, we ſhall heare what is teſtified in the Commentaries of the foreſaid Philip. Cominæus Lib. 3. De bello Neapolit. writing in this wiſe.

Ex cōmentariis Phil Cominæi De bello Neapolitano. lib 3.

Vid ſupra pag. 731.

The propheſie of Hierome Sauonarola.

There was (ſaith he) in the City of Florence the ſame time a Dominicke Frier, named Hieronimus Sauonarola (of whom mētion was made before, pag. 731.) a man of a right godly and approoued life: who in the ſaid City of Florence preached and prophecied long before, that the French King ſhould come with an army into Italy, being ſtirred vp of God to ſuppreſſe the tiraunts of Italy, and none ſhould withſtand him. He ſhould alſo come to the Citie of Piſæ, and the ſtate of Florence ſhould be altered: all which hapned true. He affirmed moreouer to be ſignified to him of the Lord, that the Eccleſiaſticall ſtate of the Churche muſt bee redreſſed Per vim armorum, i. by the ſword, or force of armes. Many things alſo he propheſied of the Venetians, & of the French King, ſaieng that the King with ſome danger & difficultie, ſhould paſſe that iourney, yet notwithſtanding ſhoulde ouercome it and eſcape, albeit his ſtrength were neuer ſo ſlender: for God woulde ſafely conduct him in that iourney, and ſafely bring him home againe. But becauſe he had not done his office, in amending the ſtate of the Churche, and in defending his people from iniurie, and from deuouring, therefore it ſhoulde come to paſſe (ſaid hee) and that ſhortly, that ſome incommoditie or detriment ſhoulde happen to the King: or if hee ſhoulde eſcape that danger of hys ſickneſſe, and recouer health, then if he did reſiſt the cruelty of the wicked, and procure the ſafety of the poore and miſerable, God would ſhew mercy vnto him, &c. And this the ſaide Hieronymus declared before to Cominæus one of the Kings counſaylours, whych was the writer of the ſtory, and required him to ſignifie the ſame vnto the King, which ſo did, and he moreouer himſelfe comming to the preſence of the king, declared no leſſe.

Note.

All which things, as he had foretold, came directly to effect. For the King being but eaſely accompanied wyth a ſmall power, entred into Italy, where firſt he came to Aſta, then to Genua, and to Piſæ, from thence proceeded to Florence, which alſo he obteined, diſplacing there Petrus Medices the Duke, who had vſed great tyrannie vpon the ſubiects.

Vide Phil. Cominæũ de bello Neopol.lib.5.

ſubiects. From thence he remoued toward Rome, where a great part of the Citie wall at the comming of the french King, fell downe.

Afterward when the King was entred into the Citie, and the Pope (who then tooke part with Alphonſus King of Neaples againſt the French King) had immured himſelfe within the mount of Adrian, the wall of the Caſtell fell downe of it ſelfe: whereby, when the King was both occaſioned, and exhorted alſo by his Captaines to inuade yͤ Pope, and to depoſe him, & to reforme yͤ Church of Rome, (which he might then eaſely haue done, as it had pleaſed him) yet all theſe occaſions offered ſo opportunely of God, moued not yͤ king to do his duty, & to help the poore church of Chriſt: wherefore ſhortly after, returning home into France from Neapolis, either yͤ ſame yeare or yͤ next yeare folowing he was ſtrooken with a ſodeine ſicknes at Amboiſe, as he was looking on thẽ that played at tennes, and that in the ſtinkingeſt place in all the Caſtle, where he fell downe & died within twelue houres, according to yͤ forewarning of Hieronimus, who wrote vnto him a little before, both of his ſonnes death and of his owne, which was about the yeare of our Lord 1498. Ex Philip.Cominæo.Lib.5.

De bello Neopolit. lib. 5.

Like examples we haue many heere alſo in this our realme of England. So long as king Iohn kept out of the realme, the Popes authority and power, he continued ſafe and quiet with his nobles: but ſo ſoone as he brought the realme vnder tribute and ſubiectiõ to that forreine Biſhop, God ſtirred vp his Nobles againſt him, whereby he had much diſquiet and trouble and ſoone thereupon decayed.

Examples of kinges of England, which were bleſſed of God with long proſperitie, being enemies to the byſhops of Rome.

Of all the Kings of England, from william Conquerour, to this king Henry vij. were none which either longer continued, or more proſperouſly flouriſhed, then King Henry the ſecond, King Henry the third, King Edward the firſt, King Edward the third, of whome the firſt, how ſtout he was in withſtãding Tho. Becket and Pope Alexander the iij. is ſufficiently before comprehended, pag. 206.

Auguſtus reigned 55 yeares.

The ſecond, which was ſonne of King Iohn, albeit through the wretchednes of that time his power was not ſufficient to repulſe the Popes vſurped iuriſdiction out of the Realme: yet his will was good: at leaſt he ſo defended & prouided for his ſubiects, that they tooke no great wrong at the Popes handes: who reigned one yeare longer then Auguſtus Cæſar, which hath not commonly bene ſeene in any Prince.

The third, which was King Edward the firſt, ſo vigilantly behaued himſelfe for the publique cõmoditie & ſafetie of his people, that he defended thẽ frõ all forraine power and hoſtilitie both of the Scottes (then our enemies, now our frendes) and alſo from the Biſhop of Rome, takyng part with them againſt vs, as may appeare aboue, page 340. Furthermore of the ſame King, and of his worthy Nobles and houſe of Parliament, how valiantly they ſtoode in deniall of the Popes ſubſidies, and alſo how the ſayd King ſecluded out of his protection the Biſhops, and eſpecially the Archbiſhop Peccham for ſtanding wyth the Pope, reade pag. 352.

Vide ſupra pag. 340.

Vide ſupra pag. 352.

Now as touching King Edward the third, how little he regarded, how princely he with his Nobles likewiſe reſiſted the Popes reſeruations and prouiſions, how hee bridled the Archbiſhop Iohn Stratford, and reiected the vaine authority of the Biſhop of Rome, both in defenſe of his ſubiects, and alſo in defence of claiming his right title in the Realme of France, reade pag. 383.

Vide ſupra pag. 383.

Not that I do heere affirme or define, as in a generall rule, that worldly ſucceſſe and proſperitie of life alwayes followeth the godly, which we ſee rather to be geuen more often to the wicked ſort: but ſpeaking of the duty of Princes, I note and obſerue by examples of hiſtories, that ſuch Princes as haue moſt defended the Church of Chriſt committed to their gouernance, from iniurie and violence of the Biſhop of Rome, haue not lacked at Gods hand great bleſſing and felicitie: whereas contrarywiſe, they whiche either themſelues haue bene perſecutours of Chriſtes mẽbers, or haue not ſhielded thẽ by their protection from forreine tiranny and iniuries, haue lacked at Gods hand that protection, which the other had, as may appeare by King Edward the ſecond, Richard the third, King Henry the fourth, King Henry the v, king Henry the vi, &c. who becauſe either negligẽtly they haue ſuffered, or cruelly cauſed ſuch perſecuting lawes to be made, & ſo much Chriſtẽ blood iniuriouſly to be deuoured: therefore haue they bene yͤ leſſe proſpered of the Lord, ſo that either they were depoſed, or if they floriſhed for a while, yet they did not long continue, almoſt not halfe the time of the other kings before named.

What difference betweene moderat princes, and thẽ that were perſecutors.

And therefore, as the ſtate of the common wealth doth commonly folow the ſtate of yͤ Church, as ye hard before: ſo it had bene to be wiſhed, that this King Henry the vij. beyng otherwiſe a prudent & temperaunt Prince, had not permitted the vntemperaũt rage of the Popes Clergy ſo much to haue their willes ouer the poore flocke of Chriſt, as then they had: accordyng as by theſe perſecutiõs aboue mẽtioned may appeare. The which king Henry vij. albeit he had a ſufficiẽt continuaunce, who had now raigned 24. yeares, yet notwithſtãding here commeth the ſame thyng to be noted, wherof I ſpeake before: that whẽ the Church of Chriſt begynneth to be iniuried with violẽce, & to go to wracke through miſorder & negligẽce, the ſtate of the common wealth can not there long endure without ſome alteration, & ſtroke of Gods correction. But howſoeuer this marke is to be takẽ, thus lyeth the ſtory: that after the burnyng & vexyng of theſe poore ſeruauntes of Chriſt aboue recited, when the perſecution begã now in the Church to be hoate, God called away the kyng, the ſame yeare aboue mentioned, which was 1509. after he had raigned yͤ terme of yeares. 24. who if he had adioyned a litle more pitifull reſpect, in protectyng Chriſtes poore mẽbers, from the fire of the Popes tyrãny, to his other great vertues of ſingular wiſedome, excellent tẽperaunce, & moderate frugalitie: ſomuch had he bene cõparable with the beſt of thoſe Princes aboue comprehended, as hee had bene inferiour but to a few: but this defect which lacked in him, was ſupplyed moſt luckely (bleſſed be yͤ Lord) by his poſteritie ſucceding after him. Of whom in the next volume folowing (Chriſt thereunto aſſiſting vs) we haue to ſpecifie more at large.

The death of K. Henry. 7.

Couentry men perſecuted.

Among many other thynges incident in the raigne of this kyng Henry vij. I haue ouerpaſſed the hiſtory of certaine godly perſons perſecuted in the Dioceſſe of Couentry and Lichfield, as we finde them in the Regiſters of the Dioceſſe recorded, here folowyng.

The yeare of our Lord. 1485. March 9. amongeſt diuers and ſundry other good men in Couetry, theſe ix. here vnder named were examined before Iohn Biſhop of Couentry and Lichfield, in S. Michaels Church, vpon theſe Articles, folowyng in order.

I. Blomſtone.

FIrſt, Iohn Blomſton was openly and publickely, infamed, accuſed reported & appeached that he was a very hereticke, becauſe he had preached, taught, holden & affirmed, that the power attributed to S. Peter in the Church of God, by our Sauiour Ieſus Chriſt: immediately did not flit, or paſſe frõ him, to remaine with his ſucceſſours.

The power of Peter flitteth not to his ſucceſſours.

Item, that there was as much vertue in an herbe as in the Image of the Virgine Mary.

Purgatory denied.

Item, that prayer and almes auayle not the dead, for incontinent after death, he goeth either to heauen or hell, whereupon he concludeth there is no Purgatory.

Item, that it was fooliſhneſſe to go on Pilgrimage to the Image of our Lady of Dancaſter, Walſingham, or of the Tower of the Citie of Couentry: for a man might as well worſhip the bleſſed Virgin by the fire ſide in the kitchin, as in the foreſayd places, and as well might a man worſhip the bleſſed Virgin, when he ſeeth his mother or ſiſter, as in viſityng the Images, becauſe they be no more but dead ſtockes and ſtones.

Images not to be worſhipped.

Item, that he ſayd in Engliſh with a frowning countenaunce, as it appeared: a vengeaũce on all ſuch horſon Prieſtes, for they haue great enuy that a poore man ſhould get his liuyng among them.

Richard Hegbã.

RIchard Hegham of the ſame Citie was accuſed, &c. to be a very hereticke, becauſe he did hold that a Chriſten man beyng at the point of death, ſhould renounce all his owne workes good and ill, and ſubmitte him to the mercy of God.

Merites condemned.

Item, that it was fondneſſe to worſhip the Images of our Lady of Tower in the foreſayd Citie, or of other Saintes, for they are but ſtockes and ſtones.

Images ſerue rather to be burned, then to be worſhipped.

Item, that if the Image of our Lady of Tower were put into the fire, it would make a good fire.

Item, that it were better to deale money vnto poore folkes then to offer to the Images of Chriſt and other Saintes, which are but dead ſtockes and ſtones.

Robert Crowther.

RObert Crowther of the ſame Citie was accuſed, that he was an hereticke, becauſe he did hold, that who ſo receiueth the Sacramẽt of the altar in deadly ſinne, or out of charitie, receiueth nothyng but bread and wine.

Item, that neither Byſhop, nor Prieſtes or Curates of Churches, haue power in the market of penaunce to bynde and looſe.

Againſt Pilgrimage.

Item, that Pilgrimage to the Image of our Lady of Tower is fooliſhneſſe, for it is but a ſtocke or a ſtone.

Iohn Smith.

IOhn Smith was accuſed to be a very hereticke, becauſe he did hold that euery man is bounde to know yͤ Lordes

Prayer,

The Lordes prayer to be in Engliſhe.

Prayer, and the Creede in Engliſh, if he might for theſe falſe Prieſtes.

Item, that who ſo beleeued as the Church then did beleeue, beleeued ill: and that a man had neede to frequent the ſchooles a good while, ere that he can attaine to the knowledge of the true and right faith.

Item, that no Prieſt hath power to aſſoile a man in the market of penance, from his ſinnes.

Roger Browne.

Against Pilgrimage.

ROger Browne of the ſame Citie, was alſo accuſed to be an hereticke, bicauſe he did hold that no man ought to worſhip the Image of our Lady of Walſingham, nor the bloud of Chriſt at Hailes, but rather God almighty, who would geue him whatſoeuer he would aſke.

Item, that he held not vp his hands, nor looked vp, at the eleuation of the Euchariſt.

Item, that he promiſed one to ſhew him certaine bookes of hereſie, if he woulde ſweare that he woulde not vtter them, and if he would credite them.

Fleſhe eating in Lent.

Item, that he did eate fleſh in Lent, and was taken with the maner.

Item, if any man were not ſhriuen his whole life long, and in the point of death would be confeſſed, and could not, if he had no more but cōtrition only, he ſhould paſſe to ioy without Purgatory: And if he were confeſſed of any ſinne, & were enioined only to ſay for penance one Pater noſter, if he thought he ſhould haue any puniſhmēt in Purgatory for that ſinne, he would neuer be confeſſed for any ſinne.

Againſt Purgatory and confeſſion auricular.

Againſt confeſſiō & ſatiſfactiō.

Item, becauſe he ſaid all is loſt that is geuen to Prieſts.

Item, that there was no Purgatory, that God woulde pardon all ſinnes without confeſſion and ſatiſfaction.

Thomas Butler.

THomas Butler of ẏ ſame Citie, was likewiſe opēly accuſed to be a very hereticke, becauſe he did hold ẏ there were but two wayes, that is to ſay, to heauen, and to hell.

Againſt Purgatory.

Item, that no faithfull man ſhould abide any paine after the death of Chriſt, for any ſinne, becauſe Chriſt died for our ſinnes.

Item, that there was no Purgatory, for euery man immediatly after death paſſeth either to heauen, or hell.

Againſt merites.

Item, that whoſoeuer departeth in the faith of Chriſt and the Church, howſoeuer he hath liued, ſhall be ſaued.

Item, that praiers & pilgrimages are nothing worth, and auaile not to purchaſe heauen.

Iohn Falkes.

Againſt Images.

IOhn Falkes was accuſed to be a very hereticke, becauſe he did affirme that it was a fooliſh thing to offer to the Image of our Lady, ſayeng, her head ſhall be hoare or I offer to her; what is it but a blocke? If it could ſpeake to me, I would geue it an halfepeny worth of ale.

Item, that when the Prieſt carieth to the ſicke the body of Chriſt, why carieth he not alſo the bloud of Chriſt?

Item, that he did eate cowe milke vpon the firſt Sonday of Lent.

Item, that as concerning the Sacrament of penaunce & abſolution, no Prieſt hath power to aſſoile any man frō his ſinnes, whē as he can not make one heare of his head.

It is hereſie to ſay a ſtone is a ſtone, & a blocke is a blocke.

Item, that the Image of our Lady was but a ſtone or a blocke.

Richar. Hilmin.

RIchard Hilmin was accuſed that he was a very hereticke, becauſe he did ſay and mainteine that it was better to depart with money to the poore, then to giue tithes to Prieſts, or to offer to the Images of our Lady, and that it were better to offer to Images made by God, then to the Images of God painted.

Scripture in Engliſhe.

Item, that he had the Lords Prayer and the Salutation of the Angell and the Creede in Engliſh, and another booke did he ſee and had, which conteined the Epiſtles and Goſpels in Engliſh, and according to them woulde hee liue, and thereby beleeued to be ſaued.

Item, that no Prieſt ſpeaketh better in the Pulpit then that booke.

Item, that the Sacrament of the aultare is but bread, and that the Prieſts make it to blinde the people.

Item, that a Prieſt whiles he is at Maſſe, is a Prieſt, and after one Maſſe done, till the beginning of another Maſſe, he is no more then a lay man, and hath no more power then a meere lay man.

¶ After they were enforced to recant, they were aſſoyled and put to penaunce.

Margery Goyt.

IN the yeare of our Lord 1488. the iij. of Aprill, Margery Goyt, wife of Iames Goyt of Aſburne, was brought before the foreſayde Iohn Biſhop of Couentry and Lichfield, who was there accuſed that ſhe ſaid, that that which ẏ Prieſts lift ouer their heads at Maſſe, was not the true and very body of Chriſt: For if it were ſo, the Prieſtes could not breake it ſo lightly into foure parts, and ſwalow it as they do: for the Lordes body hath fleſh and bones, ſo hath not that which the Prieſts receiue.

Againſt the Sacrament of the Aultar.

Item, that Prieſts buieng xl. cakes for a halfepeny, and ſhewing them to the people and ſaieng, that of euery of them they make the body of Chriſt, do nothing but deceiue the people and enrich themſelues.

Item, ſeeing God in the beginning did create and make man, how can it be that man ſhould be able to make God?

¶ This woman alſo, was conſtreined to recant, and ſo was ſhe aſſoyled and did penance.

Thus much I thought heere good to inſerte, touchyng theſe foreſaid men of Couentry, eſpecially for this purpoſe, becauſe our cauilling aduerſaries be wont to obiect againſt vs the newnes of Chriſtes old and auntient Religion. To the intent therefore they may ſee this doctrine not to be ſo new as they report, I wiſh they woulde conſider both the time and Articles heere obiected agaynſte theſe foreſayd perſons, as is aboue premiſed.

Picus Mirādula Earle.

I ſhould alſo in the ſame reigne of King Hēry vij. haue induced that hiſtory of Ioannes Picus Earle of Mirandula, the mention of whoſe name partly is touched before, page. 704. This Picus Earle of Mirandula being but a yong man, was ſo excellently witted, & ſo ſingularly learned in all ſciences, and in all toungs, both Latine, Greeke, Hebrew, Chaldey, and Araby, that cōming to Rome booted and ſpurred, he ſet vp 90. concluſions, to diſpute in the ſame with any in al Chriſtēdome, whoſoeuer would come againſt him. Of which concluſions diuers were touching the matter of ẏ Sacramēt, &c. And when none was found in all Rome, nor in Europe, that openly would diſpute wt him, priuely and in corners certaine of the Popes Clergy, Prelates, Lawyers, & Friers, by the Pope appointed, cōſulted together to inquire vpon his cōcluſions, wherupon they did articulate againſt him for ſuſpicion of hereſie. And thus the vnlearned Clergy of Rome priuely circumuēted and intangled this learned Earle in their ſnares of hereſy, againſt whome they neuer durſt openly diſpute. He dyed being of the age of 32. of ſuch witte and towardnes, as is hard to ſay whether euer Italy bredde vp a better. In his ſickenes Charles viij. the French King, moued with the fame of his learning, came to viſite him. The furniture of his bookes coſt him 7000. florens. A little before his death his mind was to giue all away, and to take a coule, to go about & preach, but the Lord would not permit him. His ſtory requireth a long tractatiō, which if place do ſerue, we will not peraduenture forget. With ij. Popes, that is, with Pope Innocent, & Alexander vj. he had much vexation.

¶ The names of the Archbyſhops of Canterbury in this ſixt booke conteyned.

62	Iohn Stratford.	viij.
63	Iohn Kempe.	iij.
64	Thomas Burchier.	xxxiij.
65	Iohn Morton.	xiiij.
66	Thomas Langhton.	
67	Henry Dene.	ij.
	Guliel. Warham.	xxviij.

This Thomas Lāghton was elected Archbyſh. but died before he was confirmed.

¶ Heere endeth the ſixt Booke, and the firſt Tome.

❊ A briefe note of Eccleſiaſticall lawes ordeined by auncient Kings in this Realme.

Eccleſiaſticall lawes ordeined by auncient kings of this Realme.

FOrſomuch as it is, and hath bene a perſwaſion lōg gendered in the heads of many, that the Biſhops of Rome be the vniuerſall heads of the whole militant Churche of Chriſt in earth, and haue alwaies ſo cōtinued from the beginning of the primitiue time. And that no Prince, King, nor Emperour in his owne Realme hath any intereſt to intermedle with matters and lawes Eccleſiaſtical, but only the ſayd Biſhops of Rome; to refell and remoue that opiniō out of the heads of all Engliſhmen, as a thing moſt falſe, and contrary both to hiſtories of time, and examples of ancient Kings & gouernors of this Realme, I thought to fill vp a litle end of paper here left, with ſome ſuch briefe rehearſall of lawes deuiſed & appointed by Kings and rulers of this land, for the ordering of the Church, and cauſes Eccleſiaſticall, to the intent that all the world may ſee the gouernement of Chriſtes Church heere in earth vnder Chriſt, hath not depended only of the Pope from auncient time, but hath ben rather directed by ſuch kings and princes, as God here had placed vnder him to gouerne ẏ people of this Realme of England, as foloweth heere in this preſent table to be noted.

¶ A briefe recapitulation, of auncient Eccleſiaſticall lawes by ſondry Kinges of this Realme ordeyned, for gouernment of the Church, before the Conqueſt.

¶ Eccleſiaſticall lawes of King Inas, or Ina.

Eccleſiaſtical lawes of king Ina.

FIrſt King Inas who reigned in this land the yeare of our Lord. DCCxij. commanded, that miniſters ſhould frame ther conuerſation of life according to the forme in lawes preſcribed.

2. That infants ſhould be baptiſed within 30. dayes.

3. Item, that no mā lay or ſpirituall, free or bond, ſhould labour vpon the Sonday.

4. Item, he eſtabliſhed immunitie of Churches, & Sanctuarie. Alſo he tooke order for the true paiment of Church dueties, and of the firſt fruites of all that was ſowen to be payd at the day of S. Martin.

¶ Eccleſiaſticall lawes of King Alured, or Alfred.

King Aluredes lawes.

1. KIng Alured, after he had ordeined diuers iudiciall puniſhments for violating ẏ holy precepts of God commanded by Moſes, he alſo cōfirmed and enlarged the priuiledge of Sanctuarie; he laid double paine vpon ſuch as committed offences in ẏ ſolemnities of certaine feaſts: Alſo againſt them that committed ſacrilege.

2. He made a law againſt Prieſts committing murther.

.3 Alſo he made a law againſt whoredome, adultery, and fornication.

4. He appointed daies of faſting and ceaſing frō labour.

5. Item, he ſet order for making and keeping vowes.

¶ Eccleſiaſticall lawes of kyng Edward the elder, and Gythrum the Dane kyng.

K. Edwards lawes.

FIrſt, they agreed vpon the Sāctuary: they forbad Gentilitie and Paganiſme: they layd puniſhment vpon the Clergy committing theft, periurie, or murther, fornicatiō, or any capitall crime.

1. They puniſhed Prieſtes, that pretermitted their office in pronouncyng feſtiuall, or faſtyng dayes.

3. They made a law agaynſt all labour, buying, and ſellyng vpon the Sabbaoth: alſo for keepyng of feaſtes. Itē, for no execution to be done on the Sonday. Alſo agaynſt witches and ſorcerers. &c.

¶ Eccleſiaſticall lawes of kyng Ethelſtane.

K. Ethelſtanes lawes.

1. KIng Ethelſtan, who reigned the yeare of our Lord, 924. commaunded that euery Village of his owne, ſhould geue a monethly corrodie to a poore perſon.

2. That 50. Pſalmes ſhould be ſong dayly in the Church, for the kyng. &c.

3. He alſo ordeined puniſhmēt for witches, & ſorcerers. &c

¶ Eccleſiaſticall lawes of kyng Edmund.

K. Edmūdes lawes.

1. AFter kyng Ethelſtan folowed kyng Edmund about the yeare of our Lord. 940. who eſtabliſhed and prouided lawes agaynſt the vnchaſt liuing of Churchmen.

2. Item, he made lawes concernyng tythes, with firſt fruites of euery mans croppe, and almoſe money duly to be payd.

3. Item, he enacted that Byſhops of their owne proper charges ſhould repayre Churches, and ſhould alſo admoniſh the kyng for the furniſhyng of the ſame.

4. For periury alſo, and for fighting within the Church, he ſet lawes and paynes.

¶ Eccleſiaſticall lawes of kyng Edgar.

K. Edgars lawes

1. KIng Edgar, who begā his reigne about the yeare of our Lord. 959. amongeſt other cōſtitutions Eccleſiaſticall, ordeined, that the Sōday ſhould be kept holy from Saterday at noone till Mōday in the mornyng.

2. Item, he ordeined and decreed concerning liberties & freedomes of the Church, for tythes alſo, and firſt fruites of corne, and paying of Peterpence.

3. Item, for holy dayes and faſtyng dayes.

4. Itē, that aſſemblies or Synodes ſhould be kept twiſe euery yeare, whereat as well the Byſhop of the Dioceſſe ſhould be preſent as the ciuill Magiſtrate.

¶ Kyng Æthelrede, Anno. 979.

King Ethelredes lawes.

KIng Æthelrede alſo which ſucceeded after Edgar, and Edward appointed diuers lawes for publicke regiment, whereof we finde but few touching matters Eccleſiaſticall, for tythes, lightes, feaſtes and nothyng els, and therfore we paſſe further to the lawes of Canutus.

¶ Eccleſiaſticall lawes of kyng Canutus.

King Canutus lawes.

CAnutus the Dane kyng began to reigne in this lād in the yeare of our Lord. 1016. The ſaid Canutus (as Aethelrede had done before) diuided his lawes into Eccleſiaſticall and temporall.

1. That Eccleſiaſticall perſons beyng accuſed of fightyng, murder, or any other offēce, ſhould purge thēſelues therof

2. That Prieſtes ſhould be degraded for periury, and put in ſureties of good behauiour.

3. He prayeth Prieſtes, that they will liue chaſt, and commaunded other Religious.

4. He limited the degrees of Mariage.

5. Item, he commaunded celebration of the Sabbaoth frō Saterday at noone till Monday mornyng, as Edgar had done before, forbiddyng markets, huntyngs, labours, and Court keepynges, duryng the ſayd ſpace.

6. He ordained eche Chriſten man to come to the houſell thriſe yearely at the leaſt: That they ſearch and enquire after Gods law, and his commaundementes.

7. That euery Chriſtian man vnderſtand the pointes of his fayth, & that at the leaſt he learne perfectly the Lordes Prayer, and the Creede, and that whoſoeuer can not the ſame, ſhall be excluded from the Euchariſt, and ſhall not be receiued to vndertake for others in Baptiſme.

8. That Byſhops and Prieſtes ſhould doe their duties: that they cry out and warne their flockes when the wolfe commeth.

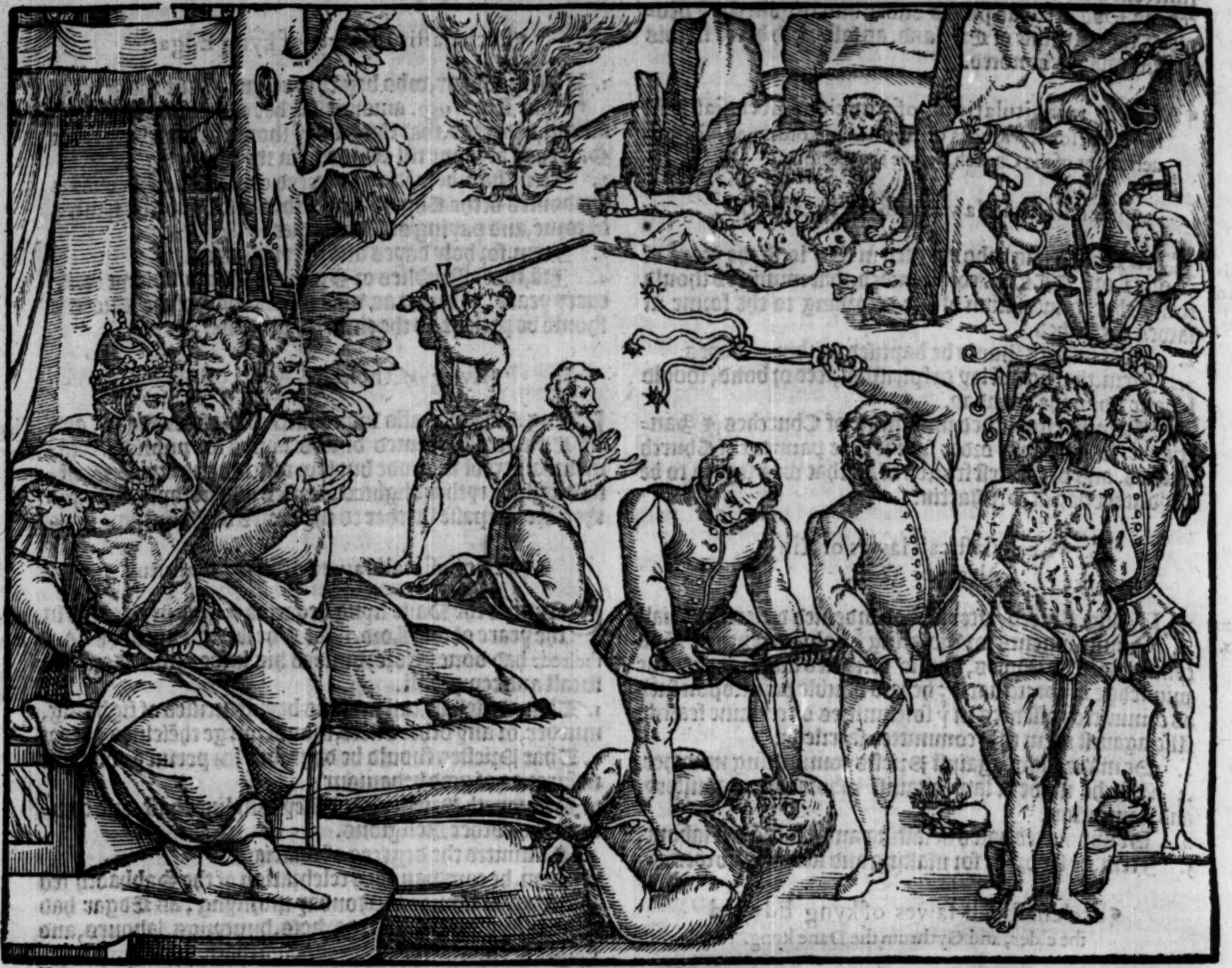
9. That at the Court of euery Shire, the Biſhop of the Dioces ſhal be preſent with the Sheriffe, and that the one ſhall teach them Gods law, and the other mans law, as ye heard in King Edgars lawes before.

Kinges of England before the Conqueſt gouernours as well in cauſes Eccleſiaſticall as temporall

Many other lawes both Eccleſiaſticall and temporall beſides theſe were enacted by theſe and other Kings heere in England before the Conqueſt, but theſe be ſufficient to geue the vnderſtanding Reader to conſider, how the authority of the Biſhops of Rome, all this while, extended not ſo farre to preſcribe lawes for gouernement of the Church, but that Kings and Princes of the Realme, as they be now, ſo were then full gouernours heere vnder Chriſt, as well in cauſes Eccleſiaſticall, as temporall, both in directing orders, inſtituting lawes, in calling of Synodes, and alſo in conferring Byſhopricks and benefices, without any leaue of the Romiſh Biſhops. Thus Odo, Dunſtane, Oſwold, Ethelwold, Aldelmus, and Lancfrancus, although they fet their palles afterwarde from Rome, yet were they made Biſhops and Archbiſhops by Kings only, not by Popes.

Whē kinges of England came firſt vnder the Popes ſubiection.

And thus ſtoode the gouernement of this Realme of England all the time before the Conqueſt, till Pope Hildebrand through the ſetting on of the Saxons, began firſt to bring the Emperour (which was Henry 4.) vnder foote. Then followed the ſubduing of other Emperours, Kings, and ſubiects after that; as namely heere in England, when Lancfrancus, Anſelmus, and Becket, went to complayne of their Kings and gouernours, then brought they the Popes iudiciall authority firſt from Rome, ouer this land, both ouer Kings and ſubiects: which euer ſince hath continued, till theſe latter yeares. Albeit the ſayd Kings of this Realme of England being prudent Princes, and ſeeing right well the ambitious preſumption of thoſe Romiſh Byſhops, did what they could to ſhake off the yoke of their ſupremacie, as appeareth by the lawes and Actes of their Parliaments, both in king Edward the thirds time, King Richard the 2. and King Henry the 4. aboue in their Parliament notes ſpecified: yet for feare of other foreine Princes, and the blind opinion of their ſubiectes, ſuch was then the calamitie of that time, that neither they could nor durſt compaſſe that, which faine they would: till at laſt, the time of their iniquitie being complete, through the Lords wonderfull working, theyr pride had a fall, as in the next Volume enſuing (the Lord ſo graunting) ſhall by proces of hyſtorie be declared.



The proude primacie of Popes paynted out in Tables, in order of their riſing vp by little and little, from faythfull Byſhops and Martyrs, to become Lords and gouernours ouer King and kingdomes, exalting themſelues in the Temple of God, aboue all that is called God, &c. 2. Theſſalonians. 2.

The martirdome of good biſhops vnder wicked Emperours in the primitiue Church.

IN the Table of the primitiue Churche aboue deſcribed, hath bene (gentle Reader) ſet forth and exhibited before thine eies the greeuous afflictions and ſorowfull tormentes, which thorough Gods ſecret ſufferance, fell vpon the true Saints and members of Chriſtes Church in that time, eſpecially vpon the good Biſhops, Miniſters, and teachers of the flocke: of whome ſome were ſcourged, ſome beheaded, ſome crucified, ſome burned, ſome had their eies put out, ſome one way, ſome another, miſerably conſumed: which daies of wofull calamitie cōtinued (as is foreſhewed) neare the ſpace of CCC. yeares. During which time, the deare ſpouſe and elect Church of God, being ſharply aſſaulted on euery ſide, had ſmall reſt, no ioy, nor outward ſafetie in this preſent world, but in much bitternes of hart, in continuall teares and mourning vnder the croſſe paſſed ouer their daies, being ſpoiled, unpriſoned, contemned, reuiled, famiſhed, tormented and martired euerywhere, who neither durſt well tarie at home for feare and dread, and much leſſe durſt come abroade for the enemies, but onely by night, when they aſſembled as they might, ſometimes to ſing Pſalmes and Hymnes together. In all which their dreadfull dangers, and ſorowfull afflictions, notwithſtanding the goodnes of the Lord left them not deſolate: but the more their outward tribulations did increaſe, the more their inward conſolations did abound: and the farther off they ſeemed from the ioyes of this lyfe, the more preſent was the Lorde wyth them wyth grace and fortitude, to confirme and reioyce theyr ſoules. And though theyr poſſeſſions and riches in this world were loſt and ſpoyled, yet were they enriched wyth heauenly giftes and treaſures from aboue an hundreth fold. Then was true Religion truely felt in hart. Then was Chriſtianitie not in outwarde appearance ſhewed, but in inward affection receaued, and the true image of the Churche not in outwarde ſhew pretenſed, but in her perfect ſtate effectuall. Then was the name and feare of God true in hart, not in lippes alone dwellyng. Fayth then was feruent, zeale ardent, prayer not ſwimming in the lippes, but groned out to God from the bottome of the ſpirite. Then was no pride in the Church, nor layſure to ſeeke riches, nor tyme to keepe them. Contention for trifles was then ſo far from Chriſtians, that well were they when they could meete to pray together agaynſt the Deuill, authour of all diſſention. Briefly, the whole Churche of Chriſt Ieſus, wyth all the members thereof, the farther it was from the type and ſhape of this worlde, the nearer it was to the bleſſed reſpect of Gods fauour and ſupportation.

The true riches of the Church deſcribed.

¶ The firſt riſing of the Byſhops of Rome.

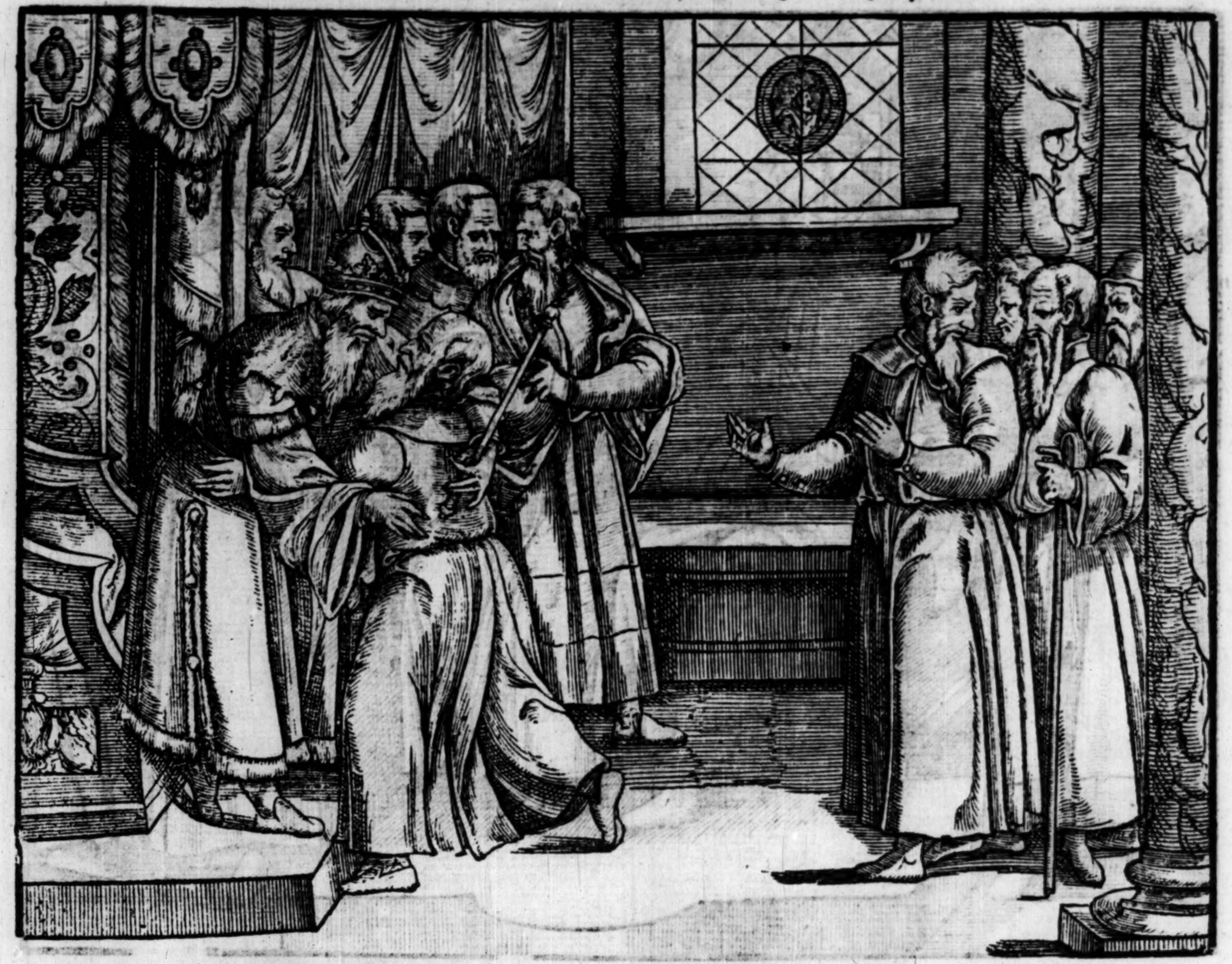
The firſt riſing of the Biſhops of Rome.

AFter this long tyme of trouble, it pleaſed the Lord at length mercifully to looke vpon the Saints and ſeruauntes of his ſonne, to releaſe their captiuitie, to releaſe their miſerie, and to binde vp the old Dragon the Deuill, which ſo long vexed them, whereby the Church began to aſpire to ſome more libertie: and the Biſhops which before were as abiects, vtterly contemned of Emperours, through the prouidence of God (which diſpoſeth all things in his time after his owne will) began now of Emperours to be eſteemed and had in price. Furthermore, as Emperours grew more in deuotion, ſo the Biſhops more and more were exalted, not only in fauour, but alſo preferred vnto honour, in ſo much that in ſhort ſpace they became not quarter maiſters, but rather halfe Emperours with Emperours.

The ſpirituall riches of the Church turned to worldly riches. Ex libro Serm. Diſcipuli.

After this in proceſſe of tyme, as richeſſe and worldly wealth crept into the Cleargye, and that yͤ diuell had poured his venome into the Churche (as the voice was heard yͤ ſame time ouer Conſtantinople) ſo true humilitie began to decay, & pride to ſet in his foote, till at laſt they played as the Iuy doth with the Oke tree, which firſt beginning with a goodly greene ſhew, embraceth him ſo long, till at length it ouergroweth him, and ſo ſucketh all his moiſture from him, ſetting his roote faſt in his barke, till at laſt it

both



Conſtantinus the Emperour embraſing Chriſten Byſhops.

Looke Tyndall in his booke of the Practiſe of Prelates.

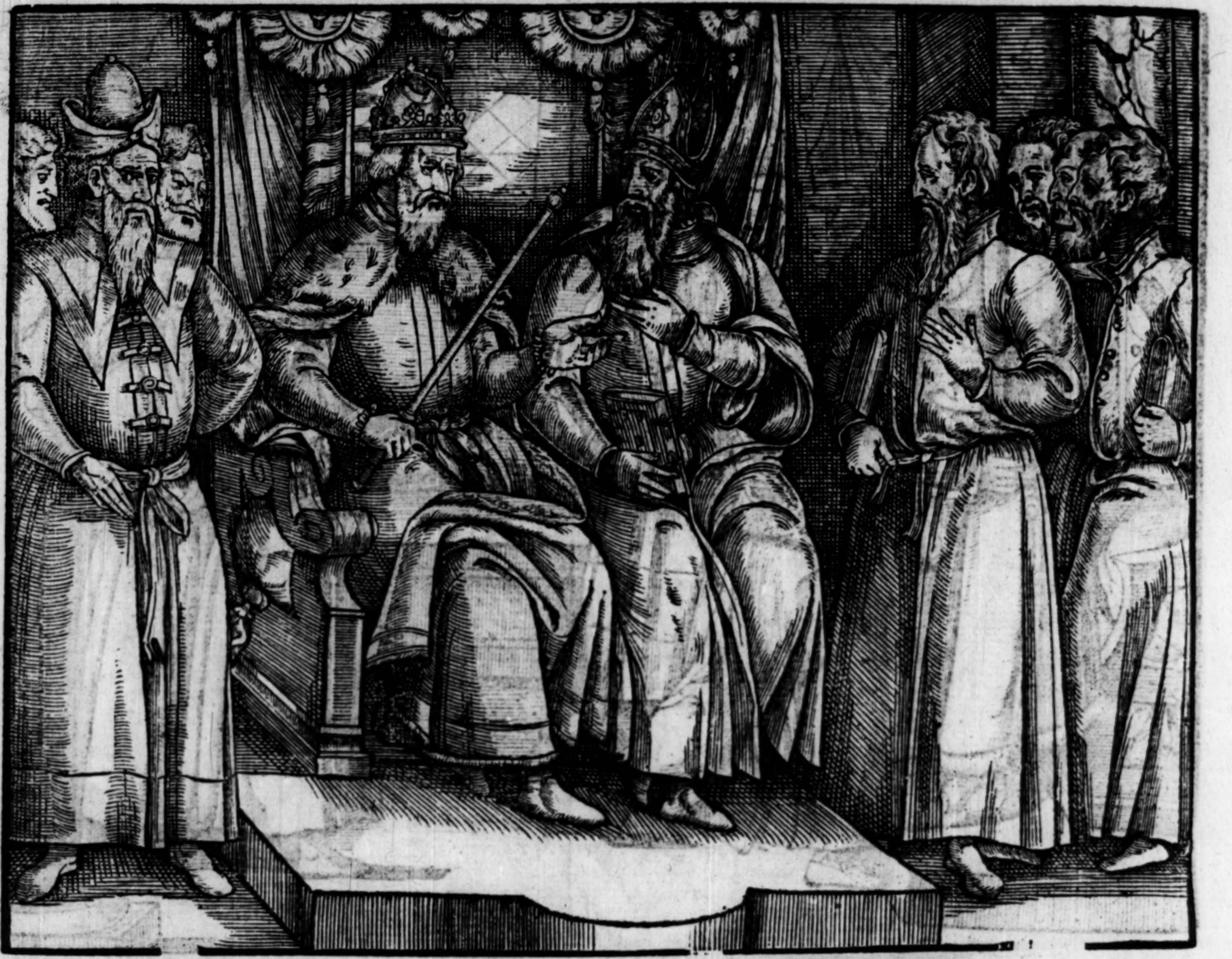
both ſtifleth the ſtocke and killeth the braunches, and ſo cometh to be a neſt for Owles and all vncleane byrdes. Not vntruly therfore it was ſayde of Auguſtine: Religio peperit diuitias, & filia deuorauit matrem. i. Religion begat riches, & the daughter hath deuoured the mother. The verity whereof notoriouſly may appeare aboue all other in the Churche of Rome, and the Byſhoppes of the ſame. For after that the Church of Rome, through fauor of Emperours, was endued with landes, donations, poſſeſſions, & patrimonyes, ſo that the Biſhops thereof feeling the ſmacke of wealth, eaſe, and proſperity, began to ſwell in pompe and pride: the more they floriſhed in this world, the more Gods holy ſpirite forſooke them, till at laſt the ſayd Biſhops who at ẏ firſt were poore, creeping low vpon the groūd, & were perſecuted long time, euery man treading vpon them in thys world: now of perſecuted people, began to be perſecutors of others, and to tread vpon the necks euen of Emperors, and to bring the heades of kinges and princes vnder theyr girdle: And not onely that, but furthermore through pride and riches they were ſo farre gone from all Religion, that in the very end they became the great aduerſary of GOD (whom we call Antichriſt) prophecied of ſo long before by the ſpirite of God to come, ſitting in the temple of God. &c Of whom thus we read in the Epiſtle of Paule. 2. Theſſ. 2. where he ſayth: We beſeech you brethren, by the comming of our Lord Ieſus Chriſt, and by our felowſhip together in him, that ye be not ſodenly moued in your minde, nor troubled neither by ſpirit, nor by word nor letter, as it were frō vs, as though the day of Chriſt were at hand. Let no man in any wiſe deceiue you for that daye ſhall not come except there come a departing firſt, and that man of ſinne be reuealed, euen the ſonne of perdition, that aduerſarye whiche exalteth himſelfe aboue all that is called God, or that is worſhipped, ſo that he ſhall ſit in the temple of God, as God, and ſet forth himſelfe as he were God. &c.

The great aduerſary called Antichriſt deſcribed by S. Paule. 2. Theſſ. 2.

A declaration of Saint Paules wordes.

By which words of S. Paul we haue diuers things to vnderſtand: Firſt, that the day of the Lordes cōming was not thē nere at hand. Secōdly, the Apoſtle geuing vs a tokē before, to know whē that day ſhall approch, biddeth vs looke for an aduerſary firſt to be reuealed. Thirdly to ſhew what aduerſary this ſhalbe, he expreſſeth him not to be as a common aduerſary, ſuche as were then in his time. For although Herode, Annas and Cayphas, the high Prieſtes and Pharaſyes, Tertullus, Alexander the Copperſmith, Elymas & Symō Magus, & Nero ẏ Emperor in Paules time were great aduerſaryes, yet here he meaneth another beſides theſe greater thē all ẏ reſt, not ſuch a one as ſhould be like to Prieſt, King or Emperor, but ſuch as farre exceding the eſtate of all kinges, prieſts and Emperors ſhould be the prince of prieſts, & ſhould make kings to ſtoupe, and ſhould tread vpon the necke of Emperors and make them to kiſſe his feet. Moreouer, where the Apoſtle ſayth, that he ſhall ſit in the temple of God, thereby is ment, not the perſonall ſitting of the Pope in the Citty onely of Rome, but the authority and iuriſdiction of his ſea exalted in the whol vniuerſall Church, equall with God himſelfe. For let men geue to the Pope that which he in his lawes, decrees, and in his pontificall requireth, and what difference is there betweene God and the Pope? If God ſette lawes and ordinaunces, ſo doth he? If God haue his creatures, ſo hath he, if God require obedience, ſo doth he. If the breach of Gods commaundementes be puniſhed, much more be his. God hath his Religion, the Pope alſo hath his: yea for Gods one Religion, he hath an hundreth. God hath ſet vppe one Aduocate, he hath an hundreth. God hath inſtituted but a few holydayes: for Gods one, he hath inſtituted xl. And if the holy day that God hath appoynted be ſimplex, the feaſte that the Pope appoynteth is duplex & triplex. Chriſt is the head of the Church: ſo is the Pope. Chriſt geueth influence to his body: ſo doth the Pope. Chriſt forgeueth ſinne, the Pope doth no leſſe. Chriſt expelleth euil ſpirites by his power: ſo pretendeth the Pope by his holy water. Farthermore, where Chriſt went barefoote vpon the bare ground: he with his golden ſhoes is caried on mennes ſhoulders. And where Chriſt was called Sanctus Sanctorum: he is called Sanctorum Sanctiſſimus. Chriſt neuer practiſed but onely the ſpirituall ſworde, he clayneth both ſpirituall and temporal. Chriſt bought the Church: he both buieth and ſelleth the Church. And if it be neceſſary to beleue Chriſt to be the Sauiour of the world: ſo is it neceſſary to beleue the Pope to be the head of the Church. Chriſt payd tribute to Ceſar: he maketh Ceſar to pay tribute vnto him. Finally, the crowne of Chriſt was of ſharp thorne: the Pope hath three crownes of golde vpon his head, ſo farre exceeding Chriſt the ſonne of God in glory of this world, as Chriſt exceedeth him in the glory of heauen. The Image and Paterne of whoſe intollerable pride and exaltation, according as S. Paule doth deſcribe him in his epiſtle aforeſayde, we haue here ſet forth, not onely in theſe Tables to be ſeene, and by hys owne factes to be noted, but alſo his owne wordes and Regiſters, Clementines, Extrauagantes, and Pontificals, expreſſed as in order (ẏ Lord willing) ſhall folow.

The Pope matching himſelfe euen with God.



¶ The exaltation of popes aboue Kinges and Emperours out of hiſtoryes.

Firſt, after that Italy and the City of Rome were ouerrunne by the Gothes and Vandales, ſo that the ſeate of the Empire was remoued to Conſtantinople, then began Ioannes Patriarch of Conſtantinople, to put forth hymſelfe, and would needes be called vniuerſall Biſhop of the world: but the Biſhoppe of Rome in no caſe would ſuffer that, and ſtopped it. After this came the Emperours deputy, and Exarch of Rauenna to rule Italy, but the Byſhop of Rome through ayde of the King of Lombardes ſone quayled him.

Iohn Patriarch of Conſtantinople ſubdued by B. of Rome.

The Emperours Lieuetenaunt of Rauenna ſubdued by the Lumbardes and Romaine Byſhops.

Not long after, about the yeare of our Lord 60[illegible]. came Phocas the murderer, who ſlue the Emperor of Conſtantinople his maiſter Mauritius and his children. By which Phocas the biſhops of old Rome aſpired firſt to their preheminēce, to be coūted ẏ headbiſhops ouer ẏ whole church and ſo together with the Lombardes began to rule the city of Rome. Afterward when the Lombardes would not yeld vnto him, in accompliſhing his ambitious deſire, but would needs require of the Biſhop the ſaid city of Rome: he ſtyrred vppe Pipinus, but firſt depoſed Childericus the king of Fraunce, and ſo thruſting him into an Abbay, ſette vp in his place Pipinus and his ſonne Carolus Magnus to put downe the ſayds king of Lombardes called Aiſtulphus. And ſo tranſlated the Empyre from Conſtantinople into Fraunce, deuiding the ſpoyle betwene him and them: ſo that the kinges of Fraunce had all the poſſeſſions and landes which before belonged to the Empyre, and he to receiue of them the quiet poſſeſſion of the city of Rome, with ſuch donations and Lordſhips, which now they challenge vnto thē vnder the name of S. Peters patrimony, which they falſly aſcribe to ẏ donatiō of Conſtantinus the great.

Boniface 3. obtained of Phocas to be called vniuerſall byſhop.

Pope Zachary putteth downe Childericus the French K. and ſetteth Pipinus in his place..

Pipinus and Carolus Magnus ſet vp by pope Zachachary.

How the Byſhops of Rome came firſt to be the head Byſhops of the Church.

It foloweth then in proces of tyme, after the dayes of Pipinus, Carolus and Ludouicus (who had indued theſe Biſhops of Rome, called now Popes, with large poſſeſſions) when the kinges of Fraunce were not ſo applyable to theyr becke, to aide and mayneteine thē agaynſt the Princes of Italy, who began then to pynch the ſayde Byſhops for theyr wrongful vſurped goodes, they practiſed with the Germanes to reduce ẏ Empyre to Otho firſt of that name Duke of ſpayne, referring the election thereof to 7. Princes Electours of Germany, which was aboute ann. 1002. notwithſtanding reſeruing ſtill in his handes the negatiue voyce, thinking thereby to enioy that they had, in quietnes and ſecuritie, and ſo did for a good ſpace.

Donation of Conſtantine a thing falſe and forged.

Pope Gregory 5. practiſeth with the Germains to reduce the Empyre to Germany. an. 1002.

Otho firſt Germaine Emperour.

At length when ſome of theſe Germane Emperours alſo after Otho began a litle to ſpurne agaynſt the ſayd biſhops and Popes of Rome, ſome of thē they accurſed, ſome they ſubdued and brought to the kiſſing of theyr feet, ſome they depoſed, and placed other in theyr poſſeſſions.

So was Henricus 4. by theſe Byſhoppes accurſed, the Emperoure himſelfe forced with his wife and child to wait attendaunce vppon the Popes pleaſure three dayes and three nightes in winter at the gates of Canoſſus. Reade before pag. 179. Beſides all this the ſayd Pope rayſed vp Rodulphus to be Emperor againſt him: who being ſlaine in warre, then the ſayde Pope Gregorye vij. not reſtyng thus, ſtyrred vppe his owne ſonne Henricus. 5. to fight agaynſt his owne naturall father and to depoſe him, whiche Henricus the 5. was alſo himſelfe afterwarde accurſed and excommunicated, and the Saxons at laſt ſet vp by the Byſhops to fight agaynſt him.

Emperours brought to kiſſe the popes feete.

Henricus 4. accurſed, wayteth at the popes gate 3. daies. Rodulphus, and at laſt his owne ſonne ſet vp to fight againſt him. Read before pag. 179.

After this the Emperours began to be ſomewhat calmed and more quyet, ſuffering the Byſhops to reigne as they liſted: till Fridericke the firſt called Barbaroſſa came, and began to ſtyrre coales agaynſt thē. Howbeit they hampered both him, and his ſonne Henry in ſuch ſort, that they brought firſt the necke of Fridericke, in the Church of Venice, vnder theyr feet to tread vpon: and after that the ſayde biſhops crowning Henricus his ſonne in the church of S. Peter, ſet his crown on his head with theyr feet, and with theyr feet ſpurned it of agayne to make him know that the Popes of Rome had power, both to crowne Emperours, and to depoſe them agayne. whereof read before pag. 784.

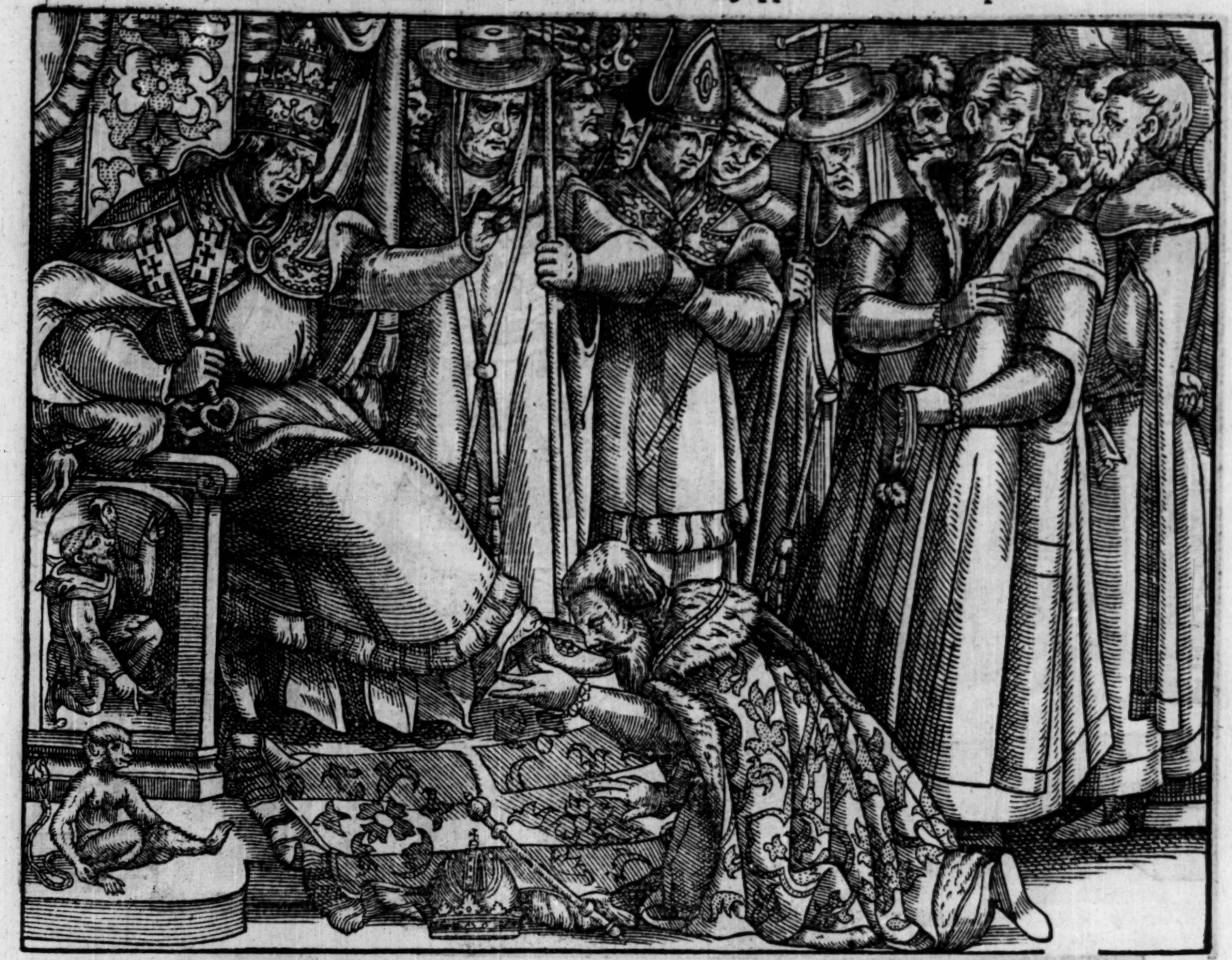
Pope Alexander. 3. treadeth vpon the necke of Fredericke Emperour.

Pope Celeſtine crowneth Henry. 5. Emperour with his feete, and with his foote ſpurneth the crown from his head agayne.,

Then folowed Philippus brother to Henry aforeſaid, whome alſo the Popes accurſed, aboute the yeare of our Lord. 1198. and ſet vp Otho Duke of Saxonye. But when the ſayd Otho beganne to be ſo ſaucy to diſpoſſeſſe the Byſhops of theyr Cittyes and landes whiche they had encroched into they handes, they could not beare that, but incōtinent they put him beſides the cuſhin. The like alſo fell vpon Otho the 4. that folowed after Philip, who was ſuffered no longer then foure yeares to raigne, about the yeare of our Lord. 1209.

At this tyme Fridericus 2. the Sonne of Fridericus Barbaroſſa aboue mētioned, was but yong, whō the Byſhops of Rome ſuppoſing to finde more mortified & tamed to theyr hand, aduaunced to be Emperour after his father. But that fell out much cōtrary to theyr expectation. For he perceiuing the immoderate pompe and pride of ẏ Romain

biſhops



Honorius. 3. Gregory 9. Innocent. 4. againſt Fridericus 2. Emperour.

biſhops, which he could in no caſe abide, ſo netled them, & cut theyr combes & waxed ſo ſtout agaynſt them intending to extirpe theyr tyranny and to reduce theyr pompous riches to the ſtate & condition of the primitiue church agayn, putting ſome of them to flight, and priſoning ſome of theyr Cardinals, that of 3. Popes, one after another he was accurſed, circumuẽted by treaſon, at laſt depoſed, & after that poyſoned, and at laſt forſaken and dyed.

Warre rayſed againſt Conradus, by the Byſhops of Rome.

After this Friderick folowed his ſonne Cõradus, whõ the foreſayd Biſhops for his diſobedience ſone diſpatched, exciting agaynſt him in mortall warre the Lantgraue of Thuring, whereby he was at length driuen into his kingdome of Naples, and there deceaſed.

Ex Anentino.

This Conradus had a ſonne called Conradinus duke and prince of Sueuia. When this Conradinus after the deceaſe of his father came to enioy his kingdome of Naples, the ſayd Biſhops ſtyrred vp againſt him Charles ẏ french kings brother in ſuch ſort, that through crafty conueyance, both Conradinus which deſcended of the bloud of ſo many Emperours, & alſo Fridericke Duke of Auſtria were both takẽ, and after much wretched handling in theyr miſerable induraunce vnſeeming to theyr ſtate, at length were both brought vnder the axe by the Popes procurement, and ſo both beheaded. And thus ended the imperiall ſtock of Fridericke the firſt ſurnamed Barbaroſſa.

The inſolencie of Pope Boniface 8. againſt Philip French kyng.

The like as happened to Fridericke the Emperor, had almoſt alſo fallen vpon Philip the French king, by Pope Boniface the 8. who becauſe he could not haue his commodityes and reuenewes out of Fraunce after his will, ſent out his Bulles and letters patents to diſplace king Philip aforeſayd, and to poſſeſſe Albertus king of Romanes in his rowme.

The tyrannous iniuries of Byſhops of Rome agaynſt kings of England. Pope Alexander 3. againſt Kyng Henry. 2. Pope Innocent 3. againſt king Iohn.

And thus hitherto of forreigne ſtoryes. Now touching our countrey Princes here in Englande to ſpeake ſomewhat likewiſe of them: did not Pope Alexander the 3. preſumptuouſly taking vpõ him where he had nothing to do to intermeddle with the kinges ſubiectes, for the death of Becket the rebell, albeit the king ſufficiently cleared hym ſelfe thereof, yet notwithſtanding did he not wrongfullye bring the ſayd king Henry 2. to ſuch penaunce as it pleaſed him to enioyne, & alſo violently conſtrayne him to ſweare obedience to the Sea of Rome? pag. 227. The lyke alſo was ſhewed before in this ſtory to happen to K. Iohn hys ſonne. For when the ſayd king like a valiaunt Prince had held out the tyranny of thoſe Biſhops 7. yeares together, were not all the Churches in England barred vp, and hys inheritaunce with all his dominions geuen away by pope Innocent. 3. to Ludouicus the French king, and he afterward compelled to ſubmitt both himſelfe and to make hys whole Realme fedotary to the Byſhops of Rome & moreouer the king himſelfe driuen alſo to ſurrẽder his crowne to Pandulphus the Popes Legate, and ſo continued as a priuate perſon 5. dayes ſtanding at the popes curteſy whether to receiue it agayne at his handes or no? And when the nobles of the realme roſe afterwarde agaynſt the king for the ſame, was not he then fayne to ſeeke and ſue to the foreſayd Pope for ſuccour, as by this his owne letter, takẽ out of the publicke roles, may appeare.

Kyng Iohns Supplication to Pope Innocent the third.

Ex Rotulo patent. De anno Regni Reg. Ioannis 8

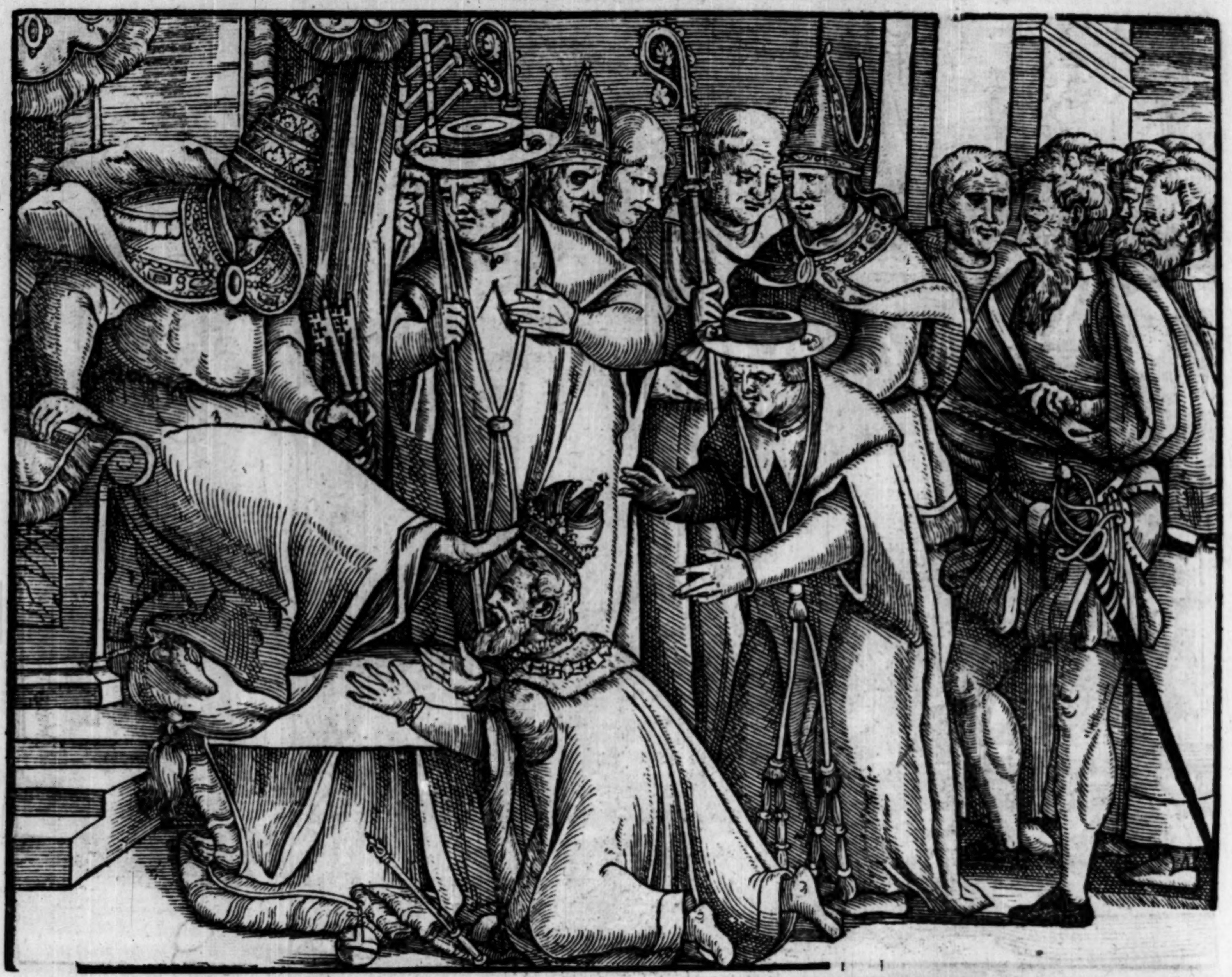
K. Iohns ſupplication to Pope Innocent. 3

REuerendiſ. Domino ſuo & Patri ſanctiſ. Innocentio Dei gratia Ioan. eadem gratia R. Angliæ &c. Cum Comites & Barones Angliæ nobis deuoti eſſent, antequam nos & noſtram terram Domino veſtro ſubiacere curaſſemus, ex tunc in nos ſpecialiter ob hoc, ſicut publice dicunt, violenter inſurgũt. Nos verò præter Deum, vos ſpecialem dominum & patronum habentes, defenſionẽ noſtram & totius Regni, quod veſtrum eſſe credimus, veſtræ paternitati commiſſam, & nos quantum in nobis eſt, curam & ſolicitudinem iſtam veſtræ reſignamus dominationi, deuotius ſupplicãtes quatenus in negotijs noſtris, quæ veſtra ſunt, cõſilium & auxilium efficax apponatis, prout melius videritis expedire, latores præſentium. &c. Teſte meipſo apud Dour. 18. Septemb. 6.

William Caxtõ. Thomas Gray. French Chronicle in meeter. Ranulph. Ceſtrenſis. Tho. Rudburn. Rich. Redus. Eulogium. Walterus Giſburne. Ioan. Maior.

And yet all this notwithſtanding that the ſaide king Iohn did ſo yeld to the Pope, he was both purſued by his nobles, and alſo in the end was poyſoned by a ſubiect of ẏ Popes owne Religiõ, a Monke of Swinſted: As I haue ſufficiently to proue, not onely by William Caxton aboue in my ſtory alledged. pag. 257. but alſo haue teſtimony of ẏ moſt part of Chronicles for the ſame (a few only excepted) as of Tho. Gray in his French Chronicle. Alſo of an other Frenche Chronicle in Metre, of Rannulphus Ceſtrenſis. Thomas Rudburne alſo doth witnes the ſame. So doth Richard Rede in nouo Chronico ad tempora Henr. 6. The like alſo doth the Chronicle called Eulogium Monachi Cant: The wordes of Walter Giſborne an auncient hiſtoriographer be plaine. No leſſe is to be found in Ioan Maior, De geſtis Scotorum Libr. 4. cap. 3. fol. 56. where he not onelye maketh mention of the Monke and of the poyſon, but alſo of the Abbot, of his abſolution, and of the 3. Monkes e-

Pope Cœleſtinus 4. crowning the Emperour Henricus 6. with his feete.



Writers in Engliſh and Latin without name.

uery day ſinging for the ſayde Monkes ſoule. To theſe I could alſo annexe diuers other writers both Engliſh and Latin, without name, which witnes that king Iohn was poyſoned, one beginning thus: Here beginnneth a booke in the Engliſh toung, called brute. &c. another beginneth: Becauſe this booke is made to tell what time any thing notable &c. The thyrd in Engliſh beginneth: The reigne of Britaine that now is called England. &c. Of Latin bookes which haue no name one beginneth thus: Britannia, quæ & Anglia dicitur, a Bruto nomen eſt ſortita &c. another hath this beginning: Adam pater generis humani. &c.

Beſides this king Henry. 2. and king Iohn his ſonne, what kinges haue here reigned in Englande ſince theyr time, vntill the raign of king Henry 8. who although they were prudent princes, & did what they could in prouiding agaynſt the proude domination of theſe Biſhoppes were forced at length ſore agaynſt theyr wils, for feare to ſubiect themſelues together with theyr ſubiects vnder theyr vſurped authority, in ſo much as ſome of them (as Math. Pariſ. writeth by king Henry ỹ. 3.) were fayne to ſtoupe and kiſſe their Legates knee.

H. Henry 3. kiſſing the knee of the popes Legat

Ex D. Paulo. 2. Theſſ. 2.

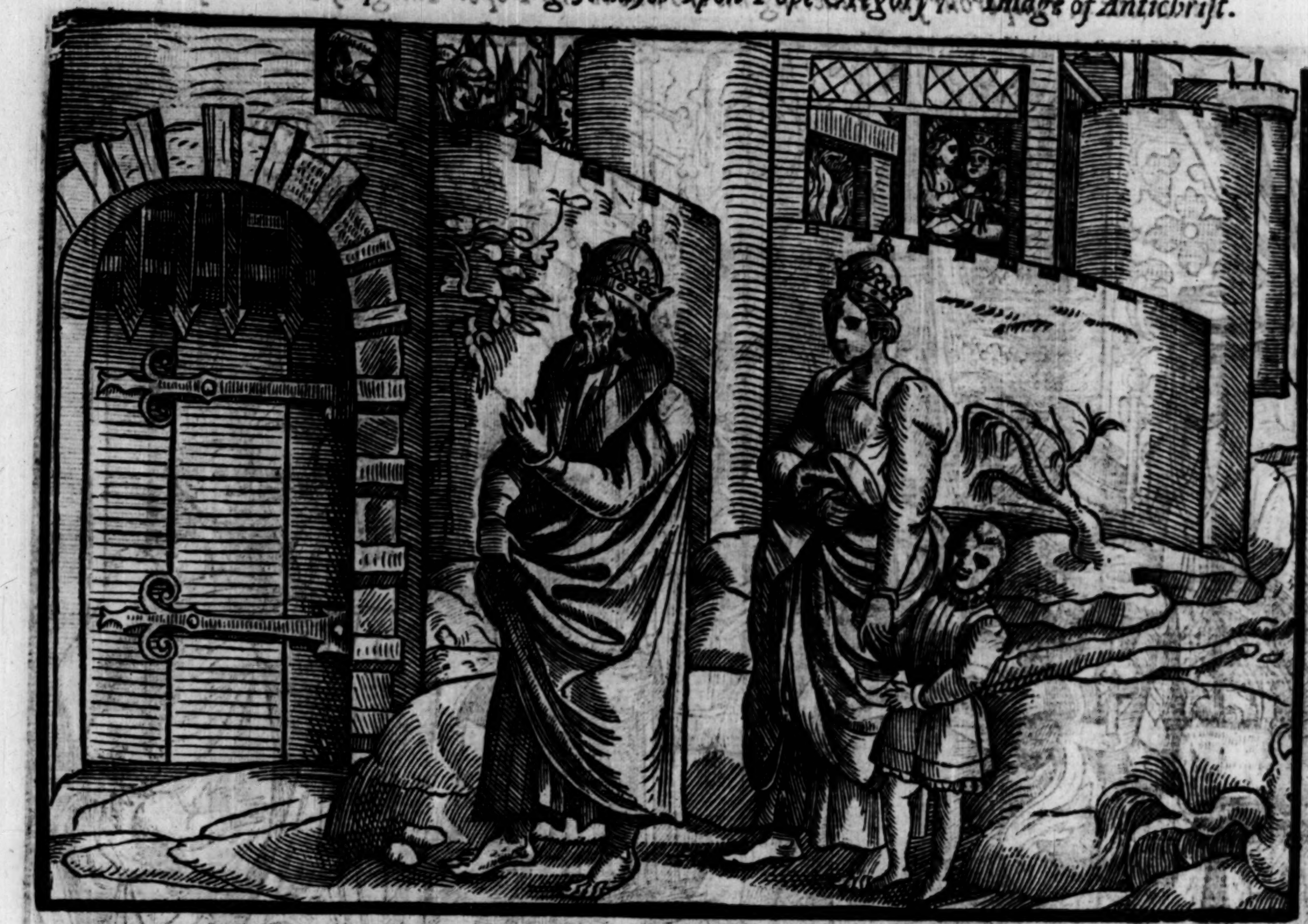
¶ The Image of Antichriſt, exalting himſelfe in the Temple of God, aboue all that is named God,

out of his owne Decrees, Decretals, Extrauagantes,
Pontificals. &c. word for worde as it is out
of the ſayde bookes here alleaged and quoted.

1. FOr as much as it ſtandeth vpon neceſſity of ſaluation, for euery humaine creature to be ſubiect vnto me the Pope of Rome, it ſhalbe therefore requiſite & neceſſary for all men that will be ſaued, to learne and know the dignity of my ſea, and excellency of my domination, as here is ſette forth according to the truth and very wordes of mine owne lawes, in ſtile as foloweth. 2. Firſt my inſtitution began in the olde Teſtament, and was conſummate and finiſhed in the new: in that my prieſthood was prefigured by Aaron: And other biſhops vnder me were prefigured by ỹ ſonnes of Aarō that were vnder him. 3. Neither is it to be thought that my church of Rome hath bene preferred by any generall Councell, but obteined the primacy onely by the voice of the Goſpell, and the mouth of the Sauiour. 4. And hath in it neither ſpotte nor wrinckle, nor any ſuch like thing. 5. Wherefore as other ſeates be all inferiour to me, and as they cannot abſolue me: ſo haue they no power to bind me or to ſtand againſt me, no more then the axe hath power to ſtand or preſume aboue hym that heweth with it, or the ſawe to preſume aboue him that ruleth it. 6. Thys is the holy and Apoſtolicke mother church of all other Churches of Chriſt. 7. From whoſe rules it is not meet that any perſon or perſons ſhould decline, but like as the ſonne of God came to do the will of his father, ſo muſt you do the will of your mother the Church, the head whereof is the Churche of Rome. 8. And if any other perſon or perſons ſhall erre from the ſayd Church, eyther let them be admoniſhed, or els theyr names taken, to bee knowne who they be that ſwarue from the cuſtomes of Rome. 9. Thus then for as much as the holy Church of Rome, whereof I am gouernour is ſet vp to the whole worlde for a glaſſe or example, reaſon would what thing ſoeuer the ſayd Church determineth, or ordeineth, that to be receiued of all men for a generall and a perpetuall rule for euer. 10. Whereupon we ſee it now verified in this Churche, that was forprophesied by Ieremy, ſaying: Beholde I haue ſet thee vp ouer nations & kyngdomes to plucke vp and to breake downe, to builde and to plant. &c. 11. Who ſo vnderſtandeth not the prerogatiue of this my Prieſthood, let him looke vppe to the firmament, where he may ſee two great lightes, the Sunne and the Moone: one ruling ouer the day, the other ouer the night. So in the firmament of the vniuerſall Church. 12. GOD hath ſet two great dignityes, the authoritye of the Pope, and of the Emperour. Of the which two this our dignity is ſo much more weightier, as we haue the greater charge to geue accompt to GOD for kinges of the earth, and the lawes of men. 13. Wherefore be it knowne to you Emperours, which know it alſo right well, that you depend vpon the iudgement of vs: we muſt not be brought and reduced to your will. 14. For (as I ſayde) looke what difference there is betwixt the Sunne and the Moone, ſo great is the power of the Pope ruling ouer the daye, that is, ouer the ſpiritualty, aboue Emperours and Kinges ruling ouer the night, that is, ouer the laity. 15. Now ſeeing then the earth is ſeauen times bigger then the Moone, and the Sonne eight times greater then the earth, it followeth that the Popes dignity 56. tymes doth ſurmount the eſtate of Emperours. 16. Uppon conſideration whereof, I ſaye therefore and pronounce that Conſtantine the Emperour dyd naught in ſetting the Patriarch of Conſtantinople at his feete on his lefte hand. 17. And although the ſayd Emperour wrote to me, alleadging the wordes of Saynt Peter, commaunding vs to ſubmitte our ſelues

to

1. Pope Bonifacius 8. Extrauag. de Maiorit. & obed. c. Vnam.
2. Diſtinct. 12. cap. Decretis.
3. Pope Pelagius Diſtinct. 21. c. Quamuis.
4. Pelagius. Ibidem.
5. Pope Nicolaus. Diſt. 21. cap. Inferior.
6. Pope Lucius. 24. q. 1. ca. 2. Recta.
7. Pope Calixtus. Diſt. 12. cap. Non decet.
8. Pope Innocentius. 11. cap. Quis
9. Pope Stephan. Diſt. 19. ca. Enimuero.
10. Pope Bonifac. 8. Extrauag. c. vnā ſanctam. Item Pope Ioannes. 22. Extrauag. cap. Super gentes.
11. Pope Innocent. 3. art. de maior et obe. c. Solitæ.
12. Pope Gelaſius. Diſt. 96. cap. Duo.
13. Ibidem.
14. Innocentius De Maior. & obed. c. Solitæ.
15. Gloſa Ibidem.
16. Ibidem.
17. Innocentius Ibidem.



to euery humane creature, as to kinges, dukes, & other for ẏ cauſe of God. &c. 1.Pet.2. yet in aūſwering again in my decretall, I expoūded ẏ minde & the words of S.Peter to perteine to his ſubiectes, & not his ſucceſſors, willing the ſayd Emperor to conſider ẏ perſon of the ſpeaker, & to whom it was ſpoken. For if the mind of Peter had bene there to debaſe the order of prieſthod, and to make vs vnderlings to euery humane creature, thē euery Jack might haue dominion ouer Prelates: which maketh agaynſt the example of Chriſt, ſetting vp the order of Prieſthode to beare dominion ouer kings, according to the ſaying of Ieremy: Beholde I haue ſet thee vp ouer kinges & nations. &c. 18. And as I feared not then to write this boldly vnto Cōſtantine, ſo now I ſay to all other Emperours, ẏ they receauing of me their approbation, vnction, conſecratiō, and crowne Imperiall, muſt not diſdain to ſubmit theyr heads vnder me, & ſweare vnto me theyr alegeance. 19. For ſo you read in the Decree of pope John, how that princes heretofore haue bene wont to bow & ſubmit theyr heads vnto Biſhops, & not to procede in iudgement agaynſt the heads of biſhops. 20. If this reuerence and ſubmiſſion was wont to be geuen to Byſhops, how much more ought they to ſubmit theyr heads to me being ſuperiour, not onely to kings, but Emperors, and that for two cauſes: Firſt for my title of ſucceſſion that I Pope of Rome haue to the Empyre, the rowme ſtandyng vacant. Alſo for the fulneſſe of power that Chriſt the king of kings, and Lord of Lords hath geuē to me though vnworthy in the perſon of Peter. 21. By reaſon whereof, ſeing my power is not of man but of God, who by his celeſtiall prouidence hath ſette me ouer his whole vniuerſall Church maiſter and gouernour, it belongeth therefore to my office to looke vpon euery mortall ſinne of euery Chriſten man: 22. whereby all criminall offences as well of kings as all other, be ſubiect to my cenſure. 23. in ſuch ſort, that in al maner of pleading, if any maner of perſon at any time either before the ſentence geuen or after ſhall appeale to me, it ſhall be lawfull for him ſo to do. 24. Neither muſt kinges and Princes thinke it muche to ſubmit themſelues to my iudgemēt: for ſo did Valentinianus the worthy emperor, ſo did Theodoſius, & alſo Carolus. 25. Thus you ſee al muſt be iudged by me, and I of no man. Yea and though I Pope of Rome, by my negligence or euill demeaner be founde vnprofitable, or hurtfull, either to my ſelfe or to others: yea if I ſhoulde draw with me innumerable ſoules by heapes to hell, yet no mortall man ſo hardy, ſo bolde, or ſo preſumptuous to reproue me. 26. or to ſay to me: Domine cur ita facis: i. Syr why doe you ſo? 27. For although you read that Balaam was rebuked of his aſſe, by the whiche aſſe our ſubiectes, by Balaam we Prelates are ſignified: yet that ought to be no example to our ſubiectes to rebuke vs. 28. And though we read in the Scripture that Peter, who receiued power of the kingdome, and being chiefe of the Apoſtles, might by vertue of his office controlle all other, was content to come and geue annſwere before his inferiours, obiecting to him his goyng to the Gentiles, yet other inferiors muſt not learne by this example to be checkmate with theyr Prelates becauſe that Peter ſo tooke it at theyr handes, ſhewing therby rather a diſpenſation of humility, then the power of hys office: by the which power he might haue ſayde to them agayne in this wiſe: It becommeth not ſheep, nor belongeth to theyr office to accuſe their ſhepheard. &c. 29. For els why was Dioſcorus Patriarche of Alexandria condemned and excommunicated at Chalcedone? not for any cauſe of his fayth, but onely for that he durſt ſtand agaynſt Pope Leo, and durſt excommunicate the Biſhoppe of Rome: for who is he that hath authoritye to accuſe the ſeate of Saynt Peter? 30. Albeit I am not ignoraunt what Saynt Hierome writeth, that Paule would not haue reprehended Peter, vnleſſe he had thought hymſelfe equall vnto him. 31. yet Hierome muſt thus be expounded by my interpretation, that this equality betwixt Peter and Paule conſiſteth not in like office of dignity, but in pureneſſe of conuerſation. 32. For who gaue Paule his lycence to preach but Peter, and that by the authority of god, ſaying: Separate to me Paule and Barnabas? &c. wherefore be it knowne to all men that my Church of Rome 33. is Prince and head of all nations. 34. the mother of the fayth. 35. the foundation Cardinall: wherupon all Churches doe depend as the doore doth depende by the hinges. 36. the firſt of all other ſeates, without all ſpot or blemiſh. 37. Lady miſtres and inſtructour of all Churches. 38. a glaſſe and ſpectacle to all menne, to be followed in all, whatſoeuer ſhe obſerueth, 39. which was neuer founde yet to ſlide or decline from the path of Apoſtolicke tradition, or to be intangled with any newneſſe of hereſy. 40. Agaynſt which Church of Rome whoſoeuer ſpeaketh any euill, is forthwith a hereticke. 41. yea a very Pagane, a witch, and Idolater or Infidell. 42. Hauing fulnes of power onely in her owne handes in ruling. 43. deciding, abſoluing, condemning, caſting out, or receiuing in 44. albeit I deny not but other Churches be partakers with her in labouring and caryng. 45. To the whyche Church of Rome it is lawfull to appeale for remedye, from the Churches. Although it was otherwiſe concluded in the generall Councell of Milleuitane that no manne ſhould appeale ouer the ſea vnder payne of excommunication, yet my gloſe commeth in here with an exception: Niſi fortè Romanam ſedem appellauerint: i. Except the appeale be to the Sea of Rome. &c. 46. By the authoritye of whiche Churche of

18. pope Clement.5. Clement de iureiurando.c. Romani.

19. pope Ioannes. Diſt.96 c.Nunquam.

20. pope Clement.5. Clement. de Sentent.& reiudi. paſtoralis.

21. pope Innocent.3. De iudicijs cap. Nouit.

22. Ibidem.

23. pope Marcellus Cauſa. 2.q.6.c.ad Romanam.

24 Innocent. Nouit ille.

25. Bonifacius Martyr. Diſt. 40.cap. Si papa.

26. Gloſa Extrauag. de ſede vacant Adipoſtolatus.

27. pope Leo. cauſ.2.q.7.c. Nos.

28. Gregor.2.q.7.c. Petrus.

29. pope Nicolaus. Diſt.21.cap. In tantum.

30. Hiero. Cauſ 2. q.7.cap. paulus.

31. Gloſa Gratiani Ibidem.

32. Gloſa. in Diſt.21. cap. Quis.

33. Cauſ.2.q.7.c. beati.

34. pope Nicolaus Diſt.22.c. omnes.

35. pope Anacletus. Diſt.22.c. Sacroſancta.

36. pope pelagius. Diſt.21. quamuis.

37. pope Nicolaus. Diſt.21.cap. Deniq;.

38. pope Step. Diſt.19. Enimuero

39. pope Lucius. 24. q.1. A rect.

40. pope Nicolaus. diſt.22. omnes

41. pope Gregorius. diſt.81 cap. Si qui.

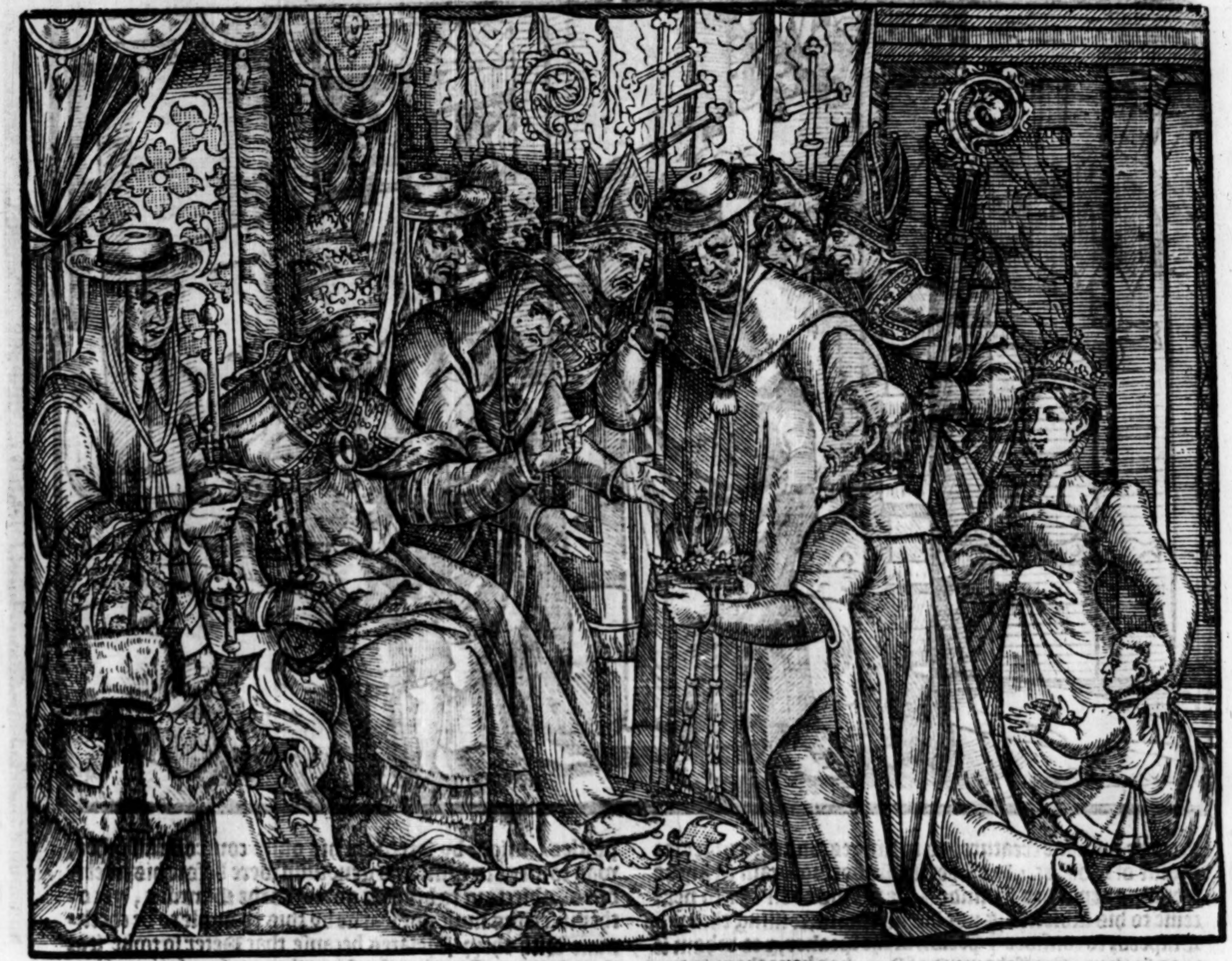
42. pope Leo. Cauſ.3.q.6.cap. Multum.

43. Diſt. 20. Decretales.

44. pope Iulius. Cauſ.2.q.6. qui ſe

45. Cauſ.2.q.6. Arguta. Item. c. Ad Romanam.
Cau.2.q.6.cap. placuit.
Gloſa.
Gratiani.
Niſi.

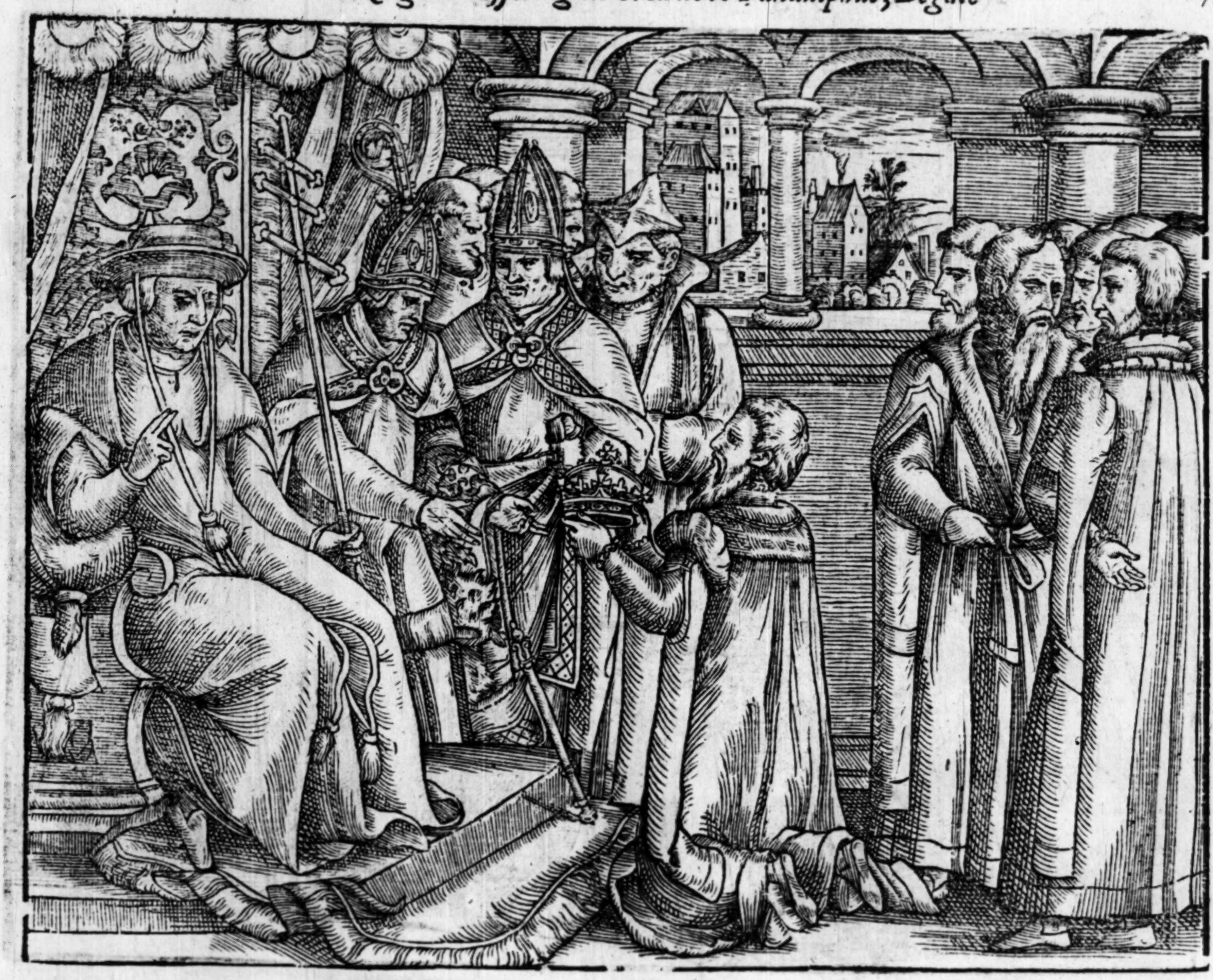
46. pope Gelaſi.25.q.2.cap. confidimus.



Rome, all Synodes, and decrees of Councelles ſtand confirmed. 47. And hath alwayes ful authority in her handes to make new lawes & decrementes: And to alter ſtatutes, priuiledges, rightes or documentes of Churches: To ſeparate thinges ioyned, and to ioyne thinges ſeparated vpon right cōſideratiō, either in whole or in part, either perſonally, or generaly. 48. Of the which Church of Rome, I am head as a Kyng is ouer hys Iudges. 49. the Vicare of S. Peter. 50. yea not the Vicare of Peter properlye, but the Vicare of Chryſt properlye, and ſucceſſour of Peter. 51. Vicare of Ieſus Chriſte. 52. Rector of the vniuerſall Churche: Directour of the Lordes vniuerſall flocke: 53. Chiefe Magiſtrate of the whole worlde. 54. Cephas. i. caput, the head and chiefe of the Apoſtolicke Church. 55. vniuerſall Pope, and Dioceſan in all places exempt, as well as euery Byſhop is in places not exempt. 56. moſte mighty Prieſte. 57. Lex animata in terris. 1. 58. a lyuynge lawe in the earth iudged to haue all lawes in the cheaſt of my breſt. 59. bearing the rowme of no pure man: 60. beyng neither God nor man, but the admiration of the world, and a middle thing betwixt both: 61. Hauyng both ſwordes in my power, both of the ſpirituall and temporall iuriſdiction. 62. ſo farre ſurmounting the authority of the Emperour, that I of myne owne power alone without a Councell haue authoritye to depoſe him, to transfer his kingdome and to geue a new election, as I did to Fridericke and diuers other. 63. What power then or poteſtate in all the world is comparable to me: who haue authority to binde and loſe both in heauen and earth? 64. That is, who haue power both of heauenly thinges, and alſo of temporall thinges. 65. To whom Emperors and kinges be more inferior, then lead is inferior to Gold. 66. For do you not ſee the neckes of great kinges and Princes bend vnder our knees, yea and thinke thēſelues happy and well defenced, if they may kiſſe our handes? 67. Wherefore the ſawcines of Honorius the Emperor is to be reprehended, and his conſtitution aboliſhed who with hys laity would take vpon him to intermeddle, not onely wyth the temporall order, but alſo with matters eccleſiaſtical and election of the Pope. 68. But here percaſe ſome wil obiect the examples & wordes of Chriſt, ſaying, that his kingdome is not of this worlde, & where he being required to deuide betwixt 2. brethrē theyr heritage, did refuſe it. But yͭ ought to be no preiudice to my power. 69. For if Peter & I in Peter, if we I ſay, haue power to binde & looſe in heauē, howe muche more thē is it to be thought, that we haue power in earth to looſe & take away empyrs, kingdoms, dukedoms, & what els ſo euer mortal mē may haue, & to geue thē wher we will? 70. And if we haue authority ouer Angels, which be yͤ gouernors of princes, what then may we do vpō theyr inferiors & ſeruants? 71. And for yͭ you ſhall not marueil yͭ I ſay: Aungels be ſubiect to vs, you ſhall heare what my bleſſed clerke Antoninus, writeth of yͭ matter, ſaying yͭ our power, of Peter & me, is greater then yͤ Angels in 4. things: In iuriſdiction 2. in adminiſtratiō of ſacramēts 3. in knowledge, 4. & in reward. &c. 72. And againe in Bulla Clementis, do I not there cōmaund in my Bull, yͭ Angels of Paradiſe to abſolue yͤ ſoule of mā out of purgatory, & to bring it into the glory of Paradiſe? 73. And now beſides my heauenly power, to ſpeake of mine earthly iuriſdiction, who did firſt tranſlate the Empyre from the Greekes to the Almaynes, but I? 74. And not onely in the Empyre am I Emperor, the place being empty, but in all Eccleſiaſticall benefices haue full right and power to geue, to tranſlate, & to diſpoſe after my arbitremēt. 75. Did not I Zacharyas put down Childerick the old king of Fraunce, & ſet vp Pipinus? 76. Dyd not I Gregorius 7. ſet vp Robert Wyſard and made him king of Sicilia & Duke of Capua? &c. 77. Did not I yͤ ſame Gregorius alſo ſet vp Rodulphus agaynſt Henry 4. Emperour? 78. And though this Hēricus was an Emperor of moſt ſtout courage, who ſtood, 62. times in opē fielde againſt his enemies. 79. yet did not I Gregori. bring hym corā nobis, & made him ſtand at my gate 3. daies & 3. nights barefoot & barelegge with his wife & childe, in the deepe of winter, both in froſt and ſnow, intreating for his abſolutiō & after did excōmunicate him agayne, ſo yͭ he was twiſe excommunicated in my dayes? 80. Againe did not I Paſchalis after Gregory, ſet vp yͤ ſonne of yͤ ſaid Hēricus againſt his father in war, to poſſeſſe yͤ Empyre, & to put down his father, & ſo he did? 81. Item, did not I pope Alexander bring vnder Hēry the ſecōd king of Englād, for yͤ death of Thomas Becket, & cauſe him to go barefoot to his tombe at Canterbury with blee-

47. Pope Vrbanus 25. q. 1. cap. Sunt.
Pope Pelagius, 25. q. 2. cap. poſtea quam.
48 Bulla Donationis. Diſt. 96. c. Conſtant.
49 Pope Paſchalis, Diſt. 63. cap. Ego.
50 Pope Clemens. 5. Clement. c. Romani Gloſa.
51 Pope Bonifacius. 8. Sext. Decretal. ca. vbi.
52 Ibidem.
53 Pope Bonifac. prohem. Sext. Decretal. ab. Sacroſancta.
54 Anacletus. Diſt. 22. cap. Sacroſancta.
55 Pope Bonifacius. 4. Sext. Decret. de pænit. & remiſſ. cap. 5. Gloſa.
Item Alexander. 4. Sext. Decret. c. 4. in Gloſa.
56 Pope Hillarius. 25. q. 1. Nulli.
57 Sext. Decret. cap. Ab arbitris. Gloſa.
58 Pope Bonifac. Sext. Decret. De conſt. cap. licet.
59 Pope Innocentius 3. De tranſ. c. Quanto.
60 Prohæm. Clement. Gloſa Papa Stupor mundi. &c.
Nec Deus es nec homo, quaſi neuter es inter vtrumq;
61 Pope Bonifacius. Extrauag. De Maiorit. & obed. cap. Vnam.
Item. Diſt. 22. cap. Omnes. 62. Sext. Decret. De ſenteht. & re. c Ad Apoſtolica. Item in Gloſa Ibidem.
63 Pope Nicolaus. Diſt. 22. cap. Omnes.
64 Gloſa. Ibidem.
65 Pope Gelaſius. Diſt. 96. c. Duo.
66. Pope Gelaſius. Ibidem.
67. Diſt. 96. Illud.

68. Ex citatione Hiero. Marij.
69. Pope Hildebrandus, alias Gregorius 7 Ex platina, in Vita Gregorii.
70. Hildebrandus. Ibidem.
71. Antoninus, in tertia parte Sũma maioris.
72. Bulla Clementis.
73. Pope Innocent de electione, c. Venerabilem.
74. Extrau. de præbend & dig. c. Execrabilis.
75. pope Zacharias. Cauſ. 15. q 6. c. Alius.
76. pope Hildebrand, alias Gregor. 7. Clement. c. paſtoralis.
77. Ex Geſtis Hildebrandi.
78. Baptiſta Egnatius.
79. platina. Benno. Nauclerus.
80. Platina. Egnatius. Benno.
81. polidor. Virgil. Hiſtoria Iornalenſis de rebus Anglorum.



King Iohn offering his Crowne to Pandulphus, Legate

82. Chronica vernacula

83. Pope Vrbanus. Cauſ. 15. q. 6. ca. Iuratos.

84. Pope Paſchalis. Cuſculanus. Platina. Vincētius. Stella. Antonius Matheus Pariſienſis. Pope Gelaſius. 2. Pope Calixtus. 2. Platina de vitis pontificum.

85. Pope Innocentius. 2.

86. Nauclerus.

87. Pope Alexander. 3. De ſponſal. & matr. c. Non eſt.

88. Nauclerus. Acta. Rom. pontificum.

89. Pope Adrianus. Vitæ Rom. pontificum.

90. Ex Auentino.

91. Bulla Adriani cōtra Cæſarem.

92. Acta. Ro. pontif.

93. Pope Innocentius. 3. Ex vitis & Actis. Rom. pontificum. Ex Abbate Vrſpergenſ.

bleeding feete? 82. Did not I Innocentius the thyrd cauſe King Iohn to kneele downe at the feete of Pandulphus my Legate, and offer vp his crowne to his handes: alſo to kiſſe the feete of Stephen Langton Byſhop of Caunterbury, and beſides marſed him in a thouſande Markes by yeare? 83. Did not I Vrbanus the ſeconde, put down Hugo Earle in Italy, diſcharging his ſubiectes from theyr oth and obedience to him? 84. Did not I Paſchalis excommunicate alſo his ſonne Henry 5. and get out of his hands all his right and title of elections and donations of ſpirituall promotions? Did not I Gelaſius 2. bring the Captayne Cintius vnder, vnto the kiſſinge of my feete. And after Gelaſius, did not I Calixtus 2. quale the forſayd Emperour Henricus 5. and alſo bring in ſubiection Gregorye whom the ſayd Emperor had ſet vp againſt me to be pope, bringing him into Rome vpon a Cammell, his face to the horſe taile, making him to holde the horſe tayle in his hand in ſtead of a bridle? 85. Further, did not I Innocentius 2. ſet vp and made Lotharius to be Emperour for driuynge out Pope Anacletus out of Rome? 86. Did not I the ſayd Innocentius take the Dukedome of Sicile from the Empyre, and made Roger to be king thereof, whereby afterward the kingdome became the patrimony of S. Peter? 87. Did not I Alexander 3. ſuſpend all the Realme & churches of England for the kinges mariage? an 1159. 88. But what do I ſpeake of kinges? did not I the ſayd Alexander bring the valiant Emperor Fredericke the firſt to Venice, by reaſon of his ſonne Otho there takē priſoner, & there in S. Markes church made him fall down flat vpō the groūd while I ſet my foote vpon his necke, ſaying the verſe of the Pſalme. Super aſpidē & baſiliſcum ambulabis. &c. 89. Did not I Adrianus pope, an engliſh mā borne, excōmunicate W. K. of Sicile, & refuſe his peace, which he offered? & had not he ouercome me in playne field, I would haue ſhaken him out of his kingdom of Scicil & dukedom of Apulia. 90. Alſo did not I ẏ ſaid Adrianus, cōtrol & correct the foreſaid Fridericus Emperor, for holding the left ſtyrrup of my horſe whē he ſhould haue holdē the right? 91. & afterward did not I excōmunicate & curſe him, for that he was ſo ſawſy to ſet his owne name in writing afore mine? 92. And although a poore ſlye afterward ouercame & ſtrāgled me, yet I made kings & Emperors to ſtoup. 93. Did not Innocētius 3. deiect Philippus, brother to Fridericus from the Imperiall crown, being elected wout my leaue, & after ſet him vp againe? & alſo ſet vp Otho of Brūſwicke, & after did excōmunicate & alſo depoſe the ſame 4. yeares, ſetting vppe the frēch K. to war againſt him. 94. Thē was Fridericus 2. by me ſet vp & reigned. 37. yeres, & yet 5. yeares before he dyed. 95. did not I Honorius interdict him, for not reſtoring certaine to theyr poſſeſſiōs at my requeſt? 96. whō alſo Gregor. 9. did excōmunicate twiſe together, & raiſed vp the Venetiās againſt him. 97. And at lēgth Innocētius ſpoiled him of his Empyre: after ẏ he cauſed him to be poiſoned, at lēth to be ſtrangled by one Manfredus, & dyd excommunicate his ſonne Conradus after him, not onely depriuing him of his right inheritance, but alſo cauſed him with Friderick Duke of Auſtria to be beheaded. 98. Thus then did not I excommunicate and depoſe all theſe Emperours in order? Henricus 4. Henricus 5. Fridericus 1. Philippus Otho 4. Fridericus 2. and Cōradus his ſonne? 99. Did not I interdict King Henry the 8. 100. and all his kingdome of England? 101. And had not his prudence and power preuented my practiſe, I had diſplaced hym from his kingdome alſo. Briefely, who is able to comprehende the greatneſſe of my power and of my ſeate? 102. For by me onely generall Councels take theyr force and confirmation 103. and the interpretation of the ſayd Councels & of all other cauſes hard and doubtfull ought to be referred & ſtand to my determination. 104. By me the workes of all writers, whatſoeuer they be, either be reproued or allowed 105. Then how much more ought my writinges & decrees to be preferred before all other? 106. Inſomuch that my letters and Epiſtles decretal be equiualent with generall Councels. 107. And where as God hath ordeined all cauſes of men, to be iudged by men, he hath onely reſerued me, that is the Pope of Rome, without all queſtion of mē, vnto his owne iudgement 108. And therefore where all other creatures be vnder theyr iudge, only I which in earth am the iudge of all, can be iudged of none, neither of Emperour, or the whole clergy, nor of Kinges, nor of the people. 109. For who hath power to iudge vpon his Iudge? 110. This iudge am I, and that alone, without any other aſſiſtaunce of any Councell ioyned to me. For I haue power vpon Councels, Councels haue no power vpon me. But if the Councell determine amiſſe, it is in my authority alone to infringe it, or to condemne whom I luſt without any Councell 111. And all for the preeminence of my predeceſſour bleſſed Saynt Peter, whiche by the voyce of the Lorde, he receyued, and euer ſhall reteyne. 112. Furthermore, and where as all other ſentences and iudgementes

94. Ex eodem.

95. Pope Honorius. 3. Ex Mario.

96. Pope Gregor. 9. Ex eodem.

97 Pope Innocent 4. Hieronimus Marius. Petrus de Vineis.

98. Ex Chronic. Canonis.

99 Hiſtoria Anglorum.

100. Ibidem.

101. Ibidem.

102. Pope Marcellus. Diſt. 17 ca. Synodum.

103. Diſt. 20. Decretales.

104. Pope Nicolaus. Diſt. 19 Si Romanorum.

105. Ibidem.

106. diſt. 20. Decretales.

107 Symmachus Pope 9. q. 3. Aliorum.

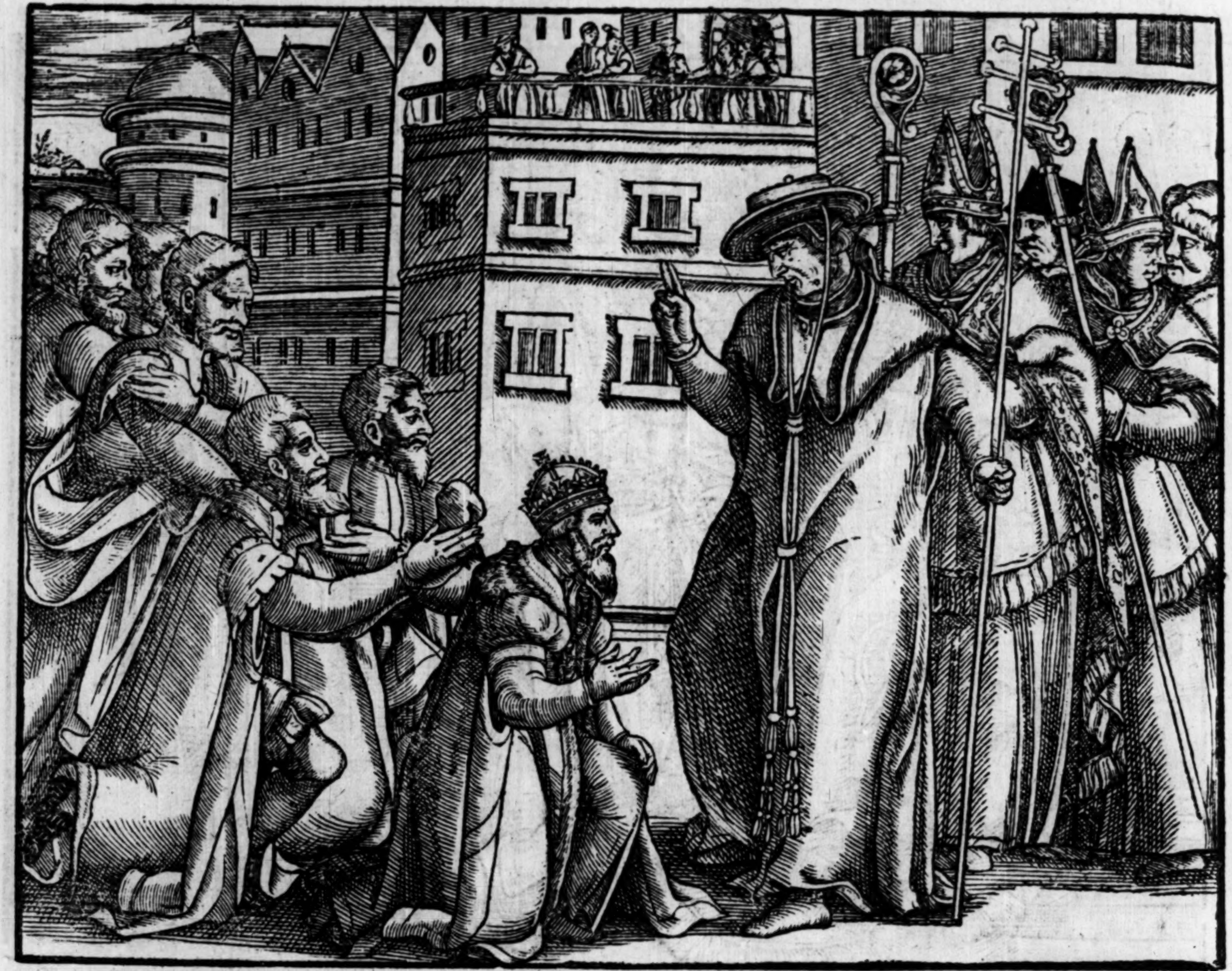
108 Pope Innocentius 6 q. 3. cap. Nemo.

109. Ibidem

110 Pope Gelaſius, 9. q. 3. ca. Cuncta.

111 Ibidem

112 Anaſtaſius Patriarch, D. q. 3. cap. antiquis.

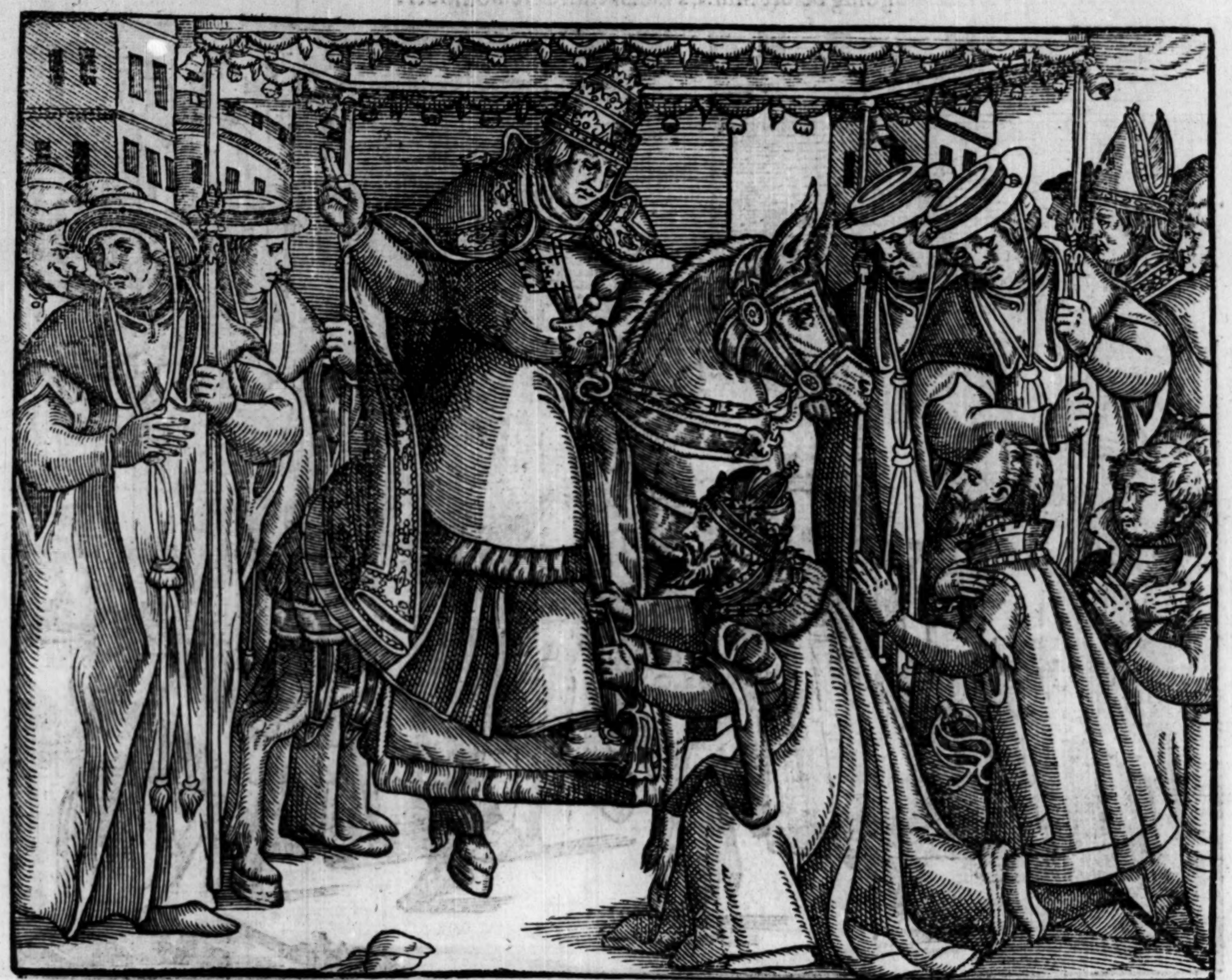


K. Henry 2. kiſſing the knee of the Popes Legat comming into England.

both of Councelles, perſon, or perſons, may and ought to be examined. 113. for that, they may be corrupted foure wayes, by feare, by giftes, by hatred, by fauour: onely my ſentence and iudgement muſt ſtand. 114. as geuen out of heauen by the mouth of Peter himſelfe, which no mā muſt 115. breake, nor retract. 116. No man muſte dyſpute or doubt of. 117. Yea if my iudgement, ſtatute, or yoake ſeeme ſcarcely tollerable, yet for remembraunce of S. Peter it muſt be humbly obeyed. 118. Yea and moreouer obedience is to be geuen, not onely to ſuche decrees ſet forth by me in time of my Popedome, but alſo to ſuche as I doe foreſee and committe to writing before I be Pope. 119. And although it be thought by ſome writers, to be geuen to all men to erre, and to be deceiued. 120. yet neyther am I a pure man. 121. and agayne the Sentence of my Apoſtolique ſeat is alwayes conceiued with ſuch moderation is concoct and digeſted with ſuch patience and ripeneſſe, and deliuered out with ſuche grauitye of deliberation, that nothing is thought in it neceſſary to be altered or retracted. 122. Wherefore it is manifeſt, and teſtified by the voyce of holy biſhops, that the dignity of this my ſeat is to be reuerenced through the whole world, in that all the faythfull ſubmit themſelues to it as to the head of the whole body. 123. Whereof it is ſpoken to me by the Prophet, ſpeaking of the Arke: if this be humbled, whether ſhall you run for ſuccour, & where ſhall your glory become? Seing then this is ſo, that ſo holy Byſhops & Scriptures do witneſſe with me, what ſhall we ſay then to ſuch as will take vpon thē to iudge of my doings, to reprehend my procedings, or to require homage & tribute of me to whō all other are ſubiect? 124. Againſt yͤ firſt ſort yͤ ſcripture ſpeaketh Deut. thou oughteſt not to put thy ſithe in an other mās corne. Which thing to attempt agaynſt me what is it but plaine ſacriledge? 125. According to my Canoniſts, which thus define ſacriledge to conſiſt in 3. thinges, either when a man iudgeth of hys Princes iudgement: or when the holyday is prophaned, or when reuerēce is not geuē to lawes and Canons. 126. Agaynſt the ſecōd ſort maketh the place of the booke of kinges, where we reade the Arcke of God was brought from Gaba to Hieruſalem, and in the way the Arke inclining by reaſon of yͤ vnruely Oxen, Ozias the Leuite put to his hand to helpe, and therefore was ſtriken of the Lord. By this Arke is ſignified the Prelats: by the inclination therof: the fall of Prelates. 127. which alſo be ſignified by the Aungels that Iacob did ſee goyng vp and comming downe the lader. 128. Alſo by the Prophet, where he ſayth: He bowed downe the heauens and came downe &c. By Ozias and by the vnruely Oxen are ment our ſubiectes. 129. Then like as Ozias was ſtricken for putting his hand to the Arke inclining, no more muſt ſubiectes rebuke theyr Prelates going awry. 130. Albeit here may bee aunſwered agayne, that all be not Prelats which ſo be called: for it is not the name that maketh a Beſhop, but hys life. 131. Agaynſt the third ſort of ſuche as would bring vs vnder the tribute and exactions of ſecular men, maketh the new Teſtament, where Peter was bid to geue the groate in the fiſhes mouth, but not the head nor the bodye of the fiſh: No more is the head or body of the Church ſubdued to kings, but onely that which is in the mouth, that is, the externe thinges of the Church. And yet nor they neither. 132. For ſo we read in the booke of Gen. that Pharao in time of dearth ſubdued all the land of the Egyptians, but yet he miniſtred to the Prieſtes, ſo that he tooke neither their poſſeſſions from them, nor theyr liberty. If then the Prelates of the church muſt be neither iudged, nor reprehended, nor exacted, how much more ought I to be free from the ſame? 133. which am the Biſhop of Biſhops, and head of Prelats. 134. For it is not to be thought that the caſe betwixt me and other Prelats: betwixt my ſea and other Churches be like. 135. Although the whole Catholicke and Apoſtolicke Churche make one bridechamber of Chriſt: yet the Catholicke and Apoſtolicke Church of Rome, had the preheminence geuen ouer all other by the mouth of the Lorde him ſelfe ſaying to Peter: Thou art Peter. &c. 136. Thus a diſcretion and difference muſt be had in the Church as it was betwixt Aaron and his children. 137. betwixt the 72. Diſciples, and the 12. Apoſtles: betwixt the other Apoſtles and Peter. 138. Wherefore it is to be concluded, that there muſt be an order and difference of Degrees in the Churche betwixt powers, Superiour and Inferiour: without which order, the Vniuerſitye of the whole cannot conſiſt. 139. For as amongeſt the Angelicall creatures aboue in heauen, there is ſet a difference and inequality of powers and orders, ſome be Aungels, ſome Archaungels, ſome Cherubines and Seraphines. 140. So in the Eccleſiaſticall Hierarchie of the Church Militant in the earth, Prieſtes muſt not be equall wyth Byſhoppes, Byſhoppes muſt not bee like in order wyth Archbyſhoppes, wyth Patriarckes, or Primates. 141. who conteyne vnder them three Archbyſhops

113. Pope Grego. 2.q.3.c. Quatuor.
11.4. Pope Agatho. Diſt. 19. cap. Sic omnes.
115. P. Nicolaus. 9.q.3. Patet.
116. Pope Innocētius. 2. Art. 17.q.4. Si quis.
117. Diſt. 19. ca. In memoriam.
118. Sext. Decret. Tit 7. De renunciat. Quoniam Gloſa
119. Offic. l. 1
120. Gloſa. Extra. De verb. ſignif. cap. Ad.
121. Pope Gregorius. Cauſ. 35.q.9. Apoſtolicæ.
122. Pope Symmachus. Cauſ. 9 q 3. Aliorum.
123. Ibidem.
124. Pope Gregorius 6.q.3. Scriptum eſt.
125. Cauſ. 17.q. 4. Sacrileg. Gloſa.
126. 2.q.7. cap. Plærûque Gloſema Grauiani. ¶ Item.

127. Ibidem.
128. Ibidem.
129. Ibidem.
130. Ibidem. ¶.
His Ita.
131. Pope Vrbanus 23. q. Tributum
131. Ibidem. ¶.
Quamuis.
133. Pope Benedictus. Extr. De aut. et vſu. palij. c. Sancta.
134. Pope Stephanus. Diſt. 19. Enimuero.
135. Pope Pelagius. Diſt. 21. Quamuis.
136. Diſt. 21. Decretis.
137. Pope Anacletus. Diſt. 21 In nono.
138. Pope Bonifacius & Greg. Diſt. 89. Ad hoc.
139. Ibidem.
140. Diſt. 89 cap. Singula.
141. Ex Citatione. Buſ. Decret. 5. Ser. 3.

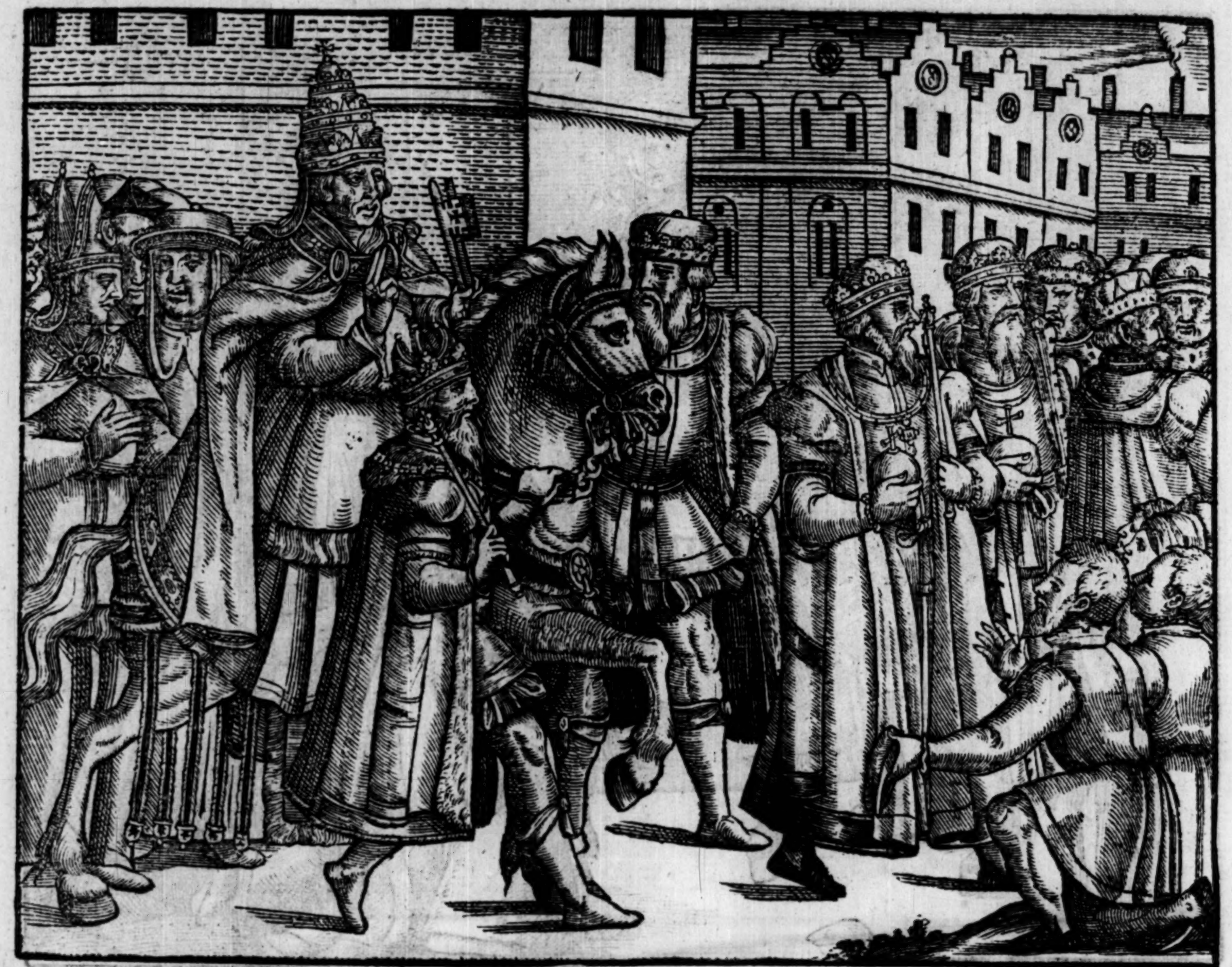


ſhopppes, as a Kyng conteineth three Dukes vnder him. In the whiche number of Patriarches, commeth in the ſtate alſo of 142. Cardinals or Principals, ſo called, becauſe as the dore turneth by his hinges, ſo the vniuerſall church ought to be ruled by them. 143. The next and higheſt order aboue theſe is mine, whiche am Pope, differing in power and maioritie, and honour reuerẽtiall, from theſe and all other degrees of men. 144. For the better declaration whereof my Canoniſtes make three kindes of power in earth: Immediata, which is mine immediately from God Deriuata, which belongeth to other inferior Prelates from me. 145. Miniſtralis, belonging to Emperours and Princes to miniſter for me. For the whiche cauſe the annoynting of Princes and my conſecration doth differ: for they are annoynted only in the armes or ſhoulders, and I in the head to ſignifie the difference of power betwixt princes and me. 146. This order therefore of prieſtes, biſhops, and Archbiſhops, Patriarckes and other, as a thing moſt conuenient my church of Rome hath ſet and inſtitute through al churches following therin, not onely the example of the Angelicall army in heauen, but alſo of the Apoſtles, 147. For amongſt them alſo there was not an vniforme equallitie or inſtitution of one degree. 148. But a diuerſitie or diſtinction of authoritie and power. Albeit they were all Apoſtles together, yet it was graunted notwithſtanding to Peter (themſelues alſo agreeing to the ſame) that he ſhould beare dominion and ſuperioritie ouer all the other Apoſtles. 149. And therfore had hys name geuen him Cephas, that is, head or beginning of the Apoſtlehood. 150. Whereupon the order of the prieſthood firſt in the new teſtamẽt began in Peter, to whõ it was ſayd: Thou art Peter, and vpoon thee I will build my Church. 151. And I will geue thee the keyes of the kingdome of heauen. And thou being conuerted confirme thy brethren. 152. I haue prayed for thee, that thy faith ſhal not fayle. Wherefore ſeeyng ſuch power is geuen to Peter, 153. and to me in Peter, beyng hys ſucceſſour. 154. Who is he then in all the worlde that ought not to be ſubiecte to my decrees whiche haue ſuche power, in heauen in hell, in earth with the quick and alſo the dead? 155. commaunding and graunting in my bull of lead ſent to Vienna, vnto all ſuch as died in theyr peregrinatiõ to Rome, that the payne of hell ſhould not touch them: And alſo that all ſuch as tooke the holy croſſe vppon them, ſhoulde euery one at his requeſt not onely be deliuered himſelf, but alſo deliuer 3. or 4. ſoules whome ſoeuer he would, out of purgatory. 156. Agayne, hauing ſuche promiſe and aſſurance that my fayth ſhall not fayle, who then wil not beleue my doctrine? For did not Chriſt himſelfe firſt pray for Peter that his faith ſhould not fayle? 157. Alſo haue I not a ſure promiſe of Paules owne mouth, writing to my Church by theſe wordes: God is my witnes whom I ſerue in my ſpirite, in the Goſpel of his ſonne, that without ceaſing I make mention of you alwayes in my prayers? Rom. 1. 158. Wherefore as I condemne all ſuch worthely, which will not obey my decrees to be diſpoſſeſſed of all theyr honour, without reſtitution. 159. So all they yͭ beleue not my doctrine or ſtand agaynſt yͤ priuiledge of the church eſpecially the Church of Rome, I pronounce thẽ heretickes. 160. And as the other before is to be called vniuſt, ſo this man is to be called an heretick 161. For why, he goeth agaynſt the fayth whiche goeth agaynſt her who is the mother of fayth. 162. But here may riſe percaſe a doubt or ſcruple, that if my fayth and knowledge ſtand ſo ſure by the promiſe of Chriſt, and by the continuall prayer of S. Paule: whether is it true, or is to be graunted, that any other ſhoulde excell me in knowledge or interpretation of holy Scripture. 163. For looke whoſe knowledge is grounded of moſt reaſon, hys wordes ſhold ſeeme to be of more authoritie. 164. Whereunto I aunſwer and graunt, that many there be and haue bene more aboũdauntly indued with fuller grace of the holy Ghoſt, and greater excellency of knowledge, and therefore that the tractations of Auguſtine, Hierome and others ought to be preferred before the conſtitutions of diuers popes: yet I ſay in determination of cauſes, becauſe they haue not the vertue and height of that authoritie, which is geuen to me therefore in expounding of ſcriptures they are to be preferred, but in deciding of matters they ſtand inferiour to my authoritie. By vertue of whiche authoritie. 165. both they themſelues be allowed for doctors, and theyr workes approued, and alſo all other matters be ruled, through the power of the keyes whiche is geuen to me immediately of Chriſt. Although I denye not but the ſame keyes be alſo committed to other prelats, as they were to other apoſtles beſides Peter: 166. yet it is one thing to haue the keyes, an

142. De officio Archipræsbyt. in Gloſa.
143.
144. Ex 3. parte Summæ maioris b. Antonini.
145. Pope Innocent. 3. De ſacra vnctione.
Qui veniſſet
146. Pope Nicolaus Diſt. 22. cap. Omnes.
147. Pope Clement. diſt. 80. cap. In illis.
148. P. Anacletus. Diſt. 22. c. Sacroſancta.
149. Ibidem. Quaſi vero Petrus non a Petra, ſed κηφας ἀπὸ τῆς κεφάλης ducatur.
150. Diſt. 21. ca. In nouo.
151. Ibidem.
152. Diſt. 21. ca. Decretis.
153. Pope. Leo diſt. 19. c. Ita Dominus.
154. Pope Nicolaus in tantum. Diſt 21.
155 Pope Clemens in Bulla Viennæ. in ſcrinijs priuilegiorum.

156. Diſt. 21. cap. Decretis.
157. Pope Anacletus. Diſt. 22. c. Sacroſancta.
Scripture well applyed, and lyke a Clerke.
158. Pope Damaſus. 25. q. c. Omnia.
Item pope Greg Diſt 19. Null.
159. Pope Nicolaus.. Diſt. 22. cap. Omnes
160. Ibidem.
161. Ibidem.
162. Diſt. 20. Decretales.
163. Ibidem.
164. Ibidem.
165. Diſt. 19 Si Romanorum.
166 Gabriel Biel. lib. 4. Diſt. 19.

The order of the Popes riding, the Emperour holding his bridle, and kinges going before him. Ex Lib. Sacrar. Ceremon. lib. 1.



167 Petrus de Palude.

161 Diſt.95. cap. Imperator.
169 Gabriel lib. 4. Diſt.19.
170 Pope Nicol. Diſt.19. cap. Si Romanorum in Gloſa.
171 Item 24. q. 1. Hæc eſt.
172 Diſt.40. cap. Si Papa.
173 2.q.7. Nos Si. in Gloſa.
174 Extrauag. De elect. Innotuit.
175 De pænitentia. Diſt.1. c. Serpens in Gloſa.
176 Diſt.19. cap. Nulli.
177 Auguſt de Ancho.
178 Gloſa Ordinaris.
179 Antoninus
180 Antoninus

Summæ maioris 3. part. Diſt.22

181 Ibidem.

other thing to haue the vſe of the keyes.167. Wherfore here is to be noted a diſtinction of keyes, after the minde of my ſchooldoctors: one key whiche is called Clauis ordinis, hauing authoritie to bind and loſe, but not ouer the perſons whom they bind and loſe, and this authoritie they take not immediately of Chriſt, but mediately by me the vicare of Chriſt. The other key is called Clauis iuriſdictionis, whiche I the vicar of Chriſt take immediately of him, hauing not onely authoritie to binde and loſe, but alſo dominion ouer them on whom this key is exerciſed. By the iuriſdiction of which key, the fulnes of my power is ſo great, that where as all other are ſubiectes.168. yea and Emperours themſelues ought to ſubdue theyr executions to me. Onely I am a ſubiect to no creature,169. no not to my ſelfe, except I liſt, In foro pœnitentiæ, to my Ghoſtly father ſubmitting my ſelfe as a ſinner, but not as Pope: So that my Papall maieſtie euer remaineth vnminiſhed. Superiour to all men.170. whom all perſons ought to obey.171. and follow 172. Whom no man muſt iudge nor accuſe of any crime, either of murder, Adultery Simony, or ſuch like.173. No mã depoſe, but I my ſelf.174. No man can excõmunicate me, yea though I cõmunicate wᵗ the excõmunicat, for no Canõ bindeth me. Whõ no man muſt lye to.175. For he yͭ lyeth to me is a church robber.176. And who obeyeth not me is an hereticke, & an excõmunicate perſon.177. For like as al the Iewes were commaũded to obey yͤ high prieſt of yͤ Leuiticall order, of what ſtate or condition ſo euer they were, ſo are al chriſten men more and leſſe bound to obey me Chriſtes Liefetenaunt in earth. Concerning the obedience or diſobedience of whom, ye haue in Deut.17.178. where the commõ gloſe ſaith, that he who denyeth to the hye prieſt Obedientiam, lyeth vnder the ſentence of condemnation, as much as he that denieth to God his Omnipotentiam. Thus then appeareth that the greatneſſe of my prieſthoode: 179. begonne in Melchiſedeche: ſolemnized in Aaron: continued in the Children of Aaron, perfectionated in Chriſt: repreſented in Peter: exalted in the Vniuerſall iuriſdiction: and manifeſted in Silueſter. &c. So that thorough this Præeminence, of my prieſthood, hauing al things ſubiect to me. 180. it may ſeeme well verified in me yͭ was ſpoken of Chriſt. Pſal. 8. Omnia ſubieciſti ſub pedibus eius, oues & boues, & vniuerſa pecora campi. Volucres cœli & piſces maris. &c. i. Thou haſt ſubdued all thinges vnder his feete ſheep, & oxen, and all cattell of the fielde, the birdes of heauen, and fiſh of the ſea, &c.181. Where it is to be noted, that by oxen, Iewes and heretickes, by cattell of the field, Paganes be ſignified. For although as yet they be out of the vſe of my keyes of bynding and looſing, yet they be not out of the iuriſdiction of my keyes, but if they returne I may abſolue them.182. By ſheepe and all cattell, are ment all Chriſten men both great and leſſe, whether they be Emperour, Princes, prelates or other. By birdes of the ayre you may vnderſtand the Angels and poteſtates of heauen who be all ſubiect to me, in yͭ I am greater then the Angels, and that in foure thinges as is afore declared: & haue power to binde and loſe in heauen:183. and to geue heauen to them that fight in my warres, 184. Laſtly, by the fiſhes of the ſea, are ſignified the ſoules departed in payne or in purgatory, as Gregory by his praier deliuered the ſoule of Traianus out of hell, and I haue power to deliuer out of Purgatory whom I pleaſe.185. Laſtly by the fiſhes of the ſea, are ſignified ſuch as be in purgatory: in ſomuche that they ſtand in neede and neceſſitie of other mens helpe, and yet be in theyr iorney Viatores, & de foro Papæ i. paſſengers and belonging to the court of the pope: therefore they may be relieued out of the ſtorehouſe of the Church, by the participation of indulgence. And foraſmuch as ſome do obiect that my pardons cannot extend to them that be departed, for that it was ſayd to Peter: what ſoeuer thou ſhalt loſe vpon earth, and therefore ſeeing they are not vpon earth they cannot be loſe of me. Here I aunſwere agayne by my doctours, that this word Super terram &c. i. vpon the earth may be referred two maner of wayes: firſt to him yͭ is the loſer, ſo that he which ſhall loſe ſhalbe vpon the earth. And ſo I graunt that the pope being dead can looſe no man. Alſo it may be referred to hym that is looſed, ſo that whoſoeuer is looſed muſt be vpon the earth or about the earth. And ſo the ſoules in purgatory, may be looſed, which albeit they are not vpon the earth, yet they are about the earth, at leaſt they be not in heauen. And becauſe oft tymes one queſtion may riſe vppon an other, and the heades of men now a dayes are curious, a man hearing nowe that I can deliuer out of purgatory will aſke here a queſtion, whether I be able alſo to emptie all purgatory at once, or not? To whom my Canoniſt Auguſt. de Ancho doth aunſwere by a triple diſtinction: Quantum ad abſolutam meam iuriſdictionẽ, quantum ad ordinatam executionem, quantum ad diuinam acceptationem. Firſt touching my abſolute iuriſdictiõ, he ſaith I am able to rid out all purgatory together, for as many as be vnder my iuriſdiction, as all be, except onely infants

vnbap-

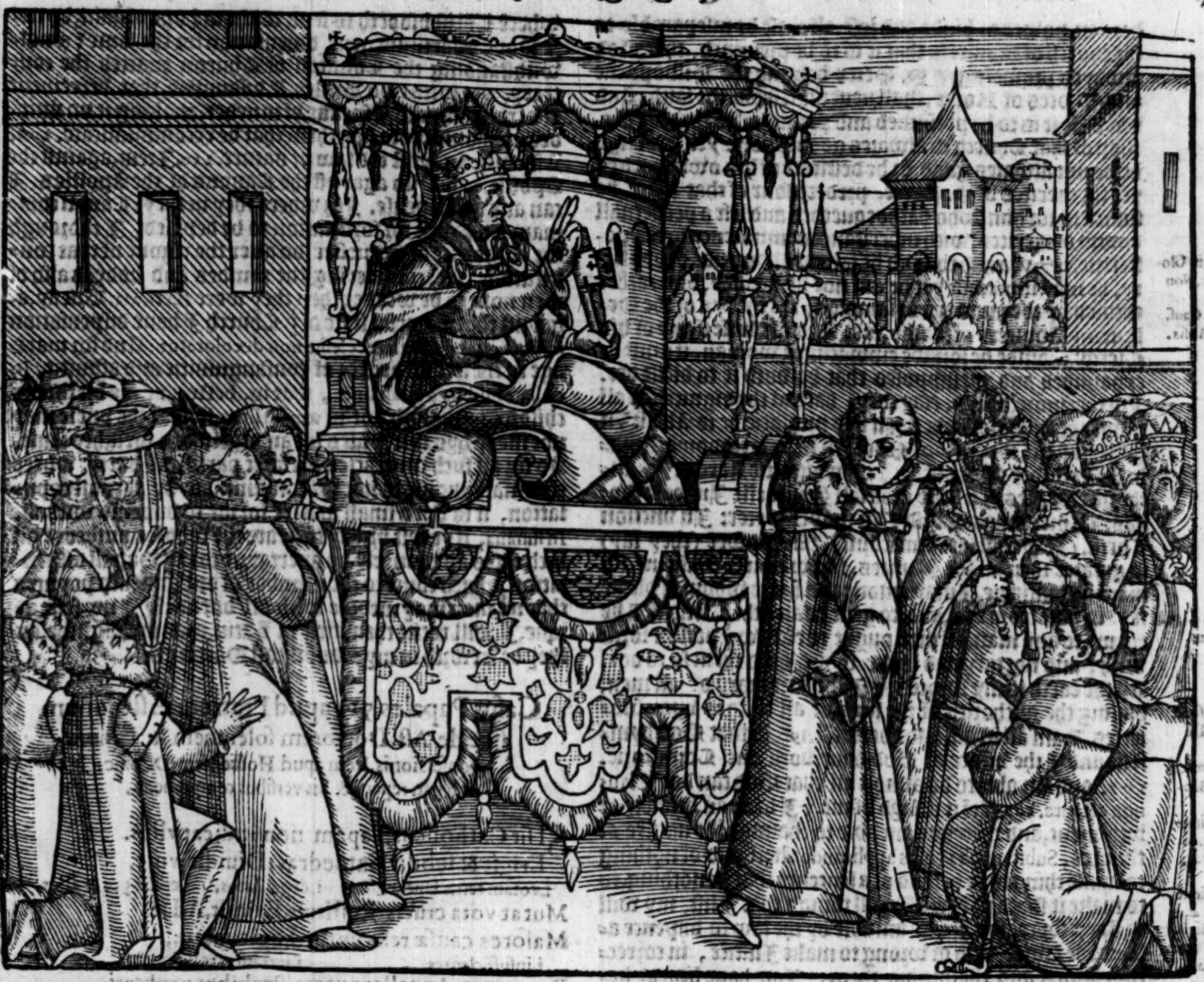
182 Ibidem
183 23.q.5. ca. Omnium
184 Idem Antoninus inibid.
185, Ibid.

Antoninus, Auguſt. de Ancho. Th. Parte 4.

Auguſt. de Ancho.

An papa poſſit totũ purgatoriũ expoliare. Ibidem Abſoluta iuriſdictio.

The P. caried on mens ſhoulders, the Emp. & K. going before him. Ex li. Sacrar. Cer. lib. 1.



Doctors agree in Purgatory.
Auguſt. de Ancho. Antoninus.
Ordinata executio.
Diuina acceptatio.
A.
Antoninus in Summulis.
Auguſtinus de Ancho. in Decret. Aſteſanus Midorita.
B.
Baptiſta de Saluin ſua.
Baptiſtiniana.
Bonauentura.
C.
Campenſis. lib. Controuerſiarum.
Coclæus.
D.
Durandus. in Speculo.
Dreido. de eccleſ. Scripturis & Dogmat.
E.
Eduardus Peuellus, Anglus contra Luthe.
Ecchius in Enchirid.
F.
Franciſcus.
Fulgo.
G.
Gabriel. Biel.
Spica.
Gaſpar.
Gratianus in Decretis.
Gerſon doctor Illuminatiſſimus eccleſiaſtica poteſtate.
H.
Hugo Cardinalis in poſtilla.
Hoſtienſis.
Holkot.
Hoſius.

vnbaptiſed In Limbo, and men departed onely Cum baptiſmo flaminis, that is, with the baptiſme of the ſpirite: & ſuche as haue no frendes to doe for them that wherfore pardons be geuen: theſe onely excepted. For all other beſides, the Pope (he ſayth) hath power to releaſe al purgatory at once as touching his abſolute iuriſdiction. Albeit Thomas Aquine part. 4. denyeth the ſame, foraſmuch as Chriſt himſelfe (he ſayth) when he came downe, did not vtterly at once releaſe all purgatory, As touching my ordinary execution they hold, that I may if I will, but I ought not to doe it. Thirdly, as concerning the deuine acceptation, that is, how God would accept it if I did it, yͭ (they ſay) is vnknowen to them, and to euery creature, yea and to the Pope hymſelfe.

And to the intent I would all men to ſee and vnderſtād that I lacke not witneſſes moe beſides theſe, if I liſt to bring them out, you ſhal heare the whole queare of my diuine clergy brought out, with a full voyce teſtifying in my behalfe, in their bookes, tractations, diſtinctions, Titles Gloſes, and Summaryes, as by their owne wordes here followeth. The Pope (ſay they) being the vicare of Ieſu Chriſt throughout the whole worlde, in the ſtead of the liuing God, hath that dominion and Lordſhip which chriſt here in earth would not haue, although he had it in habitu, but gaue it to Peter in Actu, that is, the vniuerſall iuriſdictio both of ſpirituall thinges and alſo of temporall, which double iuriſdiction was ſignified by the 2. ſwordes in the Goſpell: And alſo by offering of the wiſe men, who offered not onely incenſe, but alſo gold, to ſignifie not onely the ſpirituall dominion, but alſo the temporall to belong to chriſt and to his vicare. For as we read: the earth is the Lordes and the fulnes thereof, & as Chriſt ſayth: all power is genē to him both in heauen & earth. So it is to be affirmed Incluſiué, that the vicar of Chriſt hath power on thinges celeſtiall, terreſtriall, and infernall. which he tooke immediately of Chriſt: all other take it mediately by Peter and the Pope. wherfore ſuch as ſay that the Pope hath dominion onely on ſpirituall things in the world and not of temporall, may be likened to the counſellers of the king of Syria 3. Reg. 20. which ſayd that the Gods of the mountayns be theyr Gods, and therefore they haue ouercome vs, but let vs fight agaynſt them in the low midowes and in valleys where they haue no power, and ſo we ſhall preuayle ouer them. So euill counſellers now a dayes, through theyr peſtiferous flattery deceiue kinges and princes of the earth, ſaying, Popes and prelates be Gods of mountaynes, that is, of ſpirituall thyngs onely, but they be not Gods of valleys, that is they haue no dominion ouer temporal things and therefore let vs fight with them in the valleys, that is in the power of the temporall poſſeſſions, and ſo we ſhall preuayle ouer them. But what ſayth the ſentence of God to them, let vs heare. Becauſe (ſayth he) the Syryans ſay that the God of mountaynes is theyr God, and not the God of valleys, therfore I will geue all this multitude into your hand, and ye ſhal know that I am the Lord. what can be more effectually ſpoken to ſet foorth the maieſtie of my iuriſdiction, which I receaued immediatly of the Lord of the Lord I ſay, and of no man. For where as Conſtantine the Emperour gaue to Silueſter, induing hym with this poſſeſſion & patrimony that is, ſo to be expounded and taken not ſo much for a donation, as to be counted for a reſtitution made of that which tyrannouſly was taken from hym before. And agayn, where as I haue geuen at ſondry tymes to Ludouicus and other Emperours, of my temporall lands & poſſeſſions, yet yͭ was done, not ſo much for any recogniſing of homage to thē, as for keeping peace with thē, For I owe to Emperoures no due obedience yͭ they can clayme: but they owe to me as to theyr ſuperiour. And therefore for a diuerſitie betwixt theyr degree and myne, in their conſecration they take yͤ vnction on theyr arme, I on yͤ head. And as I am ſuperior to thē, ſo am I ſuperiour to all laws, & free frō al cōſtitutiōs. which am able of my ſelf, and by my interpretation, to prefer equitie being not written, before the lawe written: hauing all lawes within the cheſt of my breſt, as is aforeſayd. And whatſoeuer this my ſea ſhall inact, approue or diſproue, all men ought to approue or reproue the ſame, without eyther iudging, diſputing, doubting or retracting. Such as the priuiledge geuen of Chriſt in the behalfe of Peter, to the churche of Rome. 186. that what countrey ſoeuer, kingdome or prouince, chuſing to themſelues biſhops and miniſters, although they agree with all other Chriſtes faythfull people in the name of Ieſu, that is in fayth and charitie, beleeuing in the ſame God, and in Chriſt his true ſonne, and in the holy Ghoſt hauing alſo the ſame Crede: the ſame Euangeliſtes and ſcriptures of the Apoſtles: yet notwithſtāding vnles their Byſhops and Miniſters take theyr origine and ordinatiō from this Apoſtolicall ſeate, they are to be counted not of yͤ Church. So that ſucceſſion of fayth onely is not ſufficient to make a church, except the miniſters take theyr ordination by them which haue theyr ſucceſſion from the Apoſtles. So theyr fayth, ſupremacy, the chayre of Peter, keyes of

I.
Ioannes Andrea.
Innocentius.
Ioan. de Turre Cremata de eccleſia ſumma.
L.
Lanfrancus contra Wiclef.
Lilius Hiſtoricum Anglus.
Lapus.
Laurentius.
M.
Magiſter. Sententiarum.
N.
Nicolaus.
O.
Ockam in Dialogo. parte. 1. lib. 5.
Oytanus.
P.
Petrus de Palude
Petrus de Tharam.
Petrus de Aliaco.
Panormitanus Alexander de Alec.
R.
Raymundus in Sūma de Caſibus.
Richardus.
Rabanus ſuper Math. cap. 16.
Rupertus Tuitienſis.
S.
Scotus Doctor Subtilis.
T.
Thomas Aquin.
V.
Vlricus.
W.
Waldenus confeſſonate, & De Sacramentis.
186. Ioan Dreido. De Dogmatibus varijs. Lib. 4.

heauen, power to binde and loſe, all theſe be inſeparable to the church of Rome: ſo that it is to be preſumed, that God alwayes prouiding, & S. Peter helping the Biſhopricke and Dioces of Rome, ſhall neuer fall from the faith. And likewiſe it is to be preſumed and preſuppoſed that the Byſhop of that Church is alwaies good & holy. Yea & though he be not alwaies good, or be deſtitute of his own merites yet the merites of S. Peter, predeceſſour of that place, be ſufficient for him, who hath bequethed and left a perpetuall dowry of merites, with inheritance of innocency to his poſteritie. 187. yea and though he fall into homicide or adultery, he may ſinne, but yet he can not be accuſed, but rather excuſed by the murders of Sampſon, the theftes of the Hebrues, yͤ Adultery of Iacob. 188. And likewiſe if any of his Clergy ſhoulde be founde embracing a woman, it muſt be expounded and preſuppoſed that he doth it to bleſſe her. Furthermore, the P. (ſay they) hath al the dignities & all power of all Patriarches. In hys primacie he is Abell: In gouernment, the Arke of Noe: In Patriarchdome. Abraham: In order Melchiſedech: In dignitie Aaron: In authoritie Moſes: In ſeate iudiciall Samuell: In zeale Helias: In meekenes Dauid: In power Peter: In vnction Chriſt. (Nay thou art Antichriſt). My power (they ſay) is greater then all the Saintes. For whom I confirme, no man may infirme. I may fauour and ſpare whom I pleaſe 189. to take from one, and to geue to an other. And if I be enemy to any man, all men ought to eſchew yͤ perſon forthwith, and not tary and looke while I bid them ſo to doe. All the earth is my Dioces, & I the Ordinary of all men, hauing the authoritie of the king of all kinges vpon ſubiectes. I am all in all, and aboue all. 190. ſo that God hymſelfe and I the vicare of God haue both one Conſiſtorie. 192. and am able to do almoſt all that God can do, Claus non errante. 192. Itē it is ſayd of me, yͭ I haue an heauēly arbitrement, and therefore am able to chaunge the nature of thinges, Subſtantialia vnius applicando alteri, and of nothing to make thinges to be: and of a ſentence that is nothing, to to make it ſtand in effect: In all things that I liſt, my will to ſtand for reaſon. For I am able by the law to diſpence aboue the lawe, and of wrong to make Iuſtice, in correcting lawes and chaunging them. You haue hearde hetherto ſufficiently out of my Doctors. Nowe you ſhall heare greater thinges out of myne own decrees. 193. Read there Diſt. 96. Satis. 194. Alſo, 12. Cauſ. 11. q. 1. cap. Sacerdotibus 195. Alſo, 12. q. 1. cap. Futuram. Doe not you finde there expreſſed how Conſtantinus the Emperour ſitting in the generall Councell of Nice, called vs Prelates of the Church, al Gods? 196. Agayne, read my Canon Decretal. De tranſl. Epiſc. cap. Quanto. Do you not ſee there manifeſtly expreſſed how not man, but God alone ſeperateth that which the biſhop of Rome doth diſſolue and ſeperate? wherfore if thoſe thinges yͭ I do be ſayd to be done not of man, but of God what can you make me but God? Agayne, if Prelates of yͤ churche be called and counted of Conſtantinus for Gods, I then being aboue all prelates, ſeeme by this reaſon to be aboue all Gods. wherefore no maruell, if it bee in my power to chaunge time and times, to alter & abrogate lawes to diſpenſe with all thinges, yea with yͤ preceptes of Chriſt For where Chriſt biddeth Peter put vp hys ſword, moniſhed his Diſciples not to vſe any outward force in reuenging themſelues. 197. do not I Pope Nicholaus writing to the byſhops of Fraunce, exhort them to drawe out theyr materiall ſwordes in purſuing theyr enemies, and recouering their poſſeſſions, ſetting againſt the precepte of Chriſt, the Prophet ſaying: Diſſolue colligationes impietatis &c? Item, where Chriſt was preſent himſelfe at the maryage in Cana Galilea. 198. do not I pope Martinus in my diſtinction inhibite the ſpiritual clergy to be preſent at mariage feaſtes, and alſo to mary themſel ues? Item where matrimony by Chriſt, cannot be loſed but onely for whoredome, 199. do not I pope Gregorius Iunior, writing ad Bonifacium permitte the ſame to be broken for impotencie or infirmitie of body? 200. Item, agaynſt the expreſſe caution of the Goſpell, doth not Innocentius the 4. permitte vim vi repellere? 201. Likewiſe againſt the old teſtament. I do diſpēce in not geuing tythes. 202. Itē, againſt yͤ new teſtament in ſwearing and that in theſe 6. cauſes: 203. Pax, fama, fides, reuerentia cautio damni. Defectus veri, poſcunt ſibi magna caueri.

Wherein two kindes of othes are to be noted. whereof ſome be promiſſoria, ſome be aſſertoria. &c. 204. Item, in vowes, and that ex toto voto, where as other Prelates cannot diſpenſe ex toto a voto, I can deliuer ex toto a voto, lyke God himſelf. 205. Itē in periury if I abſolue, my abſolutiō ſtandeth, 206. where alſo note, that in al ſwearing alwaies the authority of the ſuperiour is excepted, 207. Moreouer, where Chriſt biddeth to lend without hope of gain, do not I Pope Martinus geue dipenſation for the ſame? & notwithſtanding the Councell of Thuron enacted the contrary, yet with two Bulles I diſanulled that decrement 208. what ſhould I ſpeake of murder, making it no murder nor homicide to ſlay them that be excommunicate. 209. Likewiſe agaynſt the law of nature. 210. Item, againſt the Apoſtle. 211. Alſo agaynſt the Canons of the Apoſtles. I can and do deſpenſe. For where they in theyr Canon commaund a Prieſt for fornication to be depoſed, I thorough the authoritie of Silueſter do alter the rigour of that conſtitution. 212. conſidering the mindes and bodyes alſo of men now to be weaker then they were then. 213. Briefly, agaynſt the vniuerſal ſtate of yͤ Church I haue diſpenſation ſcilicet quando ſtatus eccleſiæ non decoloratur: And for mariage in the ſecond degree of conſanguinitie and affinitie, In collateralibus æquali linea, that is, betwene the brethrens children: although not in æquali linea, ſo that the vncle may not mary hys nice, vnles for an vrgent and weighty cauſe. As for all ſuch contractes betwixt party and party, where that matrimonie is not yet conſummate by carnall copulation, it is but a ſmall matter for me to diſpenſe withall. In ſumma, if ye lyſt briefly to heare the whole number of all ſuch caſes as properly do apertayne to my Papall diſpenſation, which come to the number of one and fifty poyntes that no man may meddle with all but onely I my ſelfe alone, I will recite them firſt in Latin, then in Engliſhe, as they be ſet forth in my Canonicall Doctours.

187. Hugo, in Gloſa Diſt. 40. c. Non Neſt.
188 Gloſ. in Cauſ. 11. q. 3. cap. Abſis.
189 Gloſa, in c. 11. q. 3. Si inimicus.
190 Hoſtienſis in cap. Quanto De tranſl. præb.
191 Ex ſummacaſuum fratris Baptiſtæ.
192 Ex Citatione Henr. Bulling. de fine ſeculi. Orat. Prima. Item, ex citatione Iacobi Andreæ, aduerſus Hoſium. Lib. 5. Item ex citatione Hier. Marij, in Actis. 2. Diui.
193 Pope Nicolaus Diſt. 96. c. Satis.
194. 11. q. 1. Sacerdotibus.
195. 12. q. 1. Futurā
196. Decretal. De Tranſl. epiſt. c. p. Quanto.
Thus ye may ſee it verified that S. Paul propheſieth of the aduerſary ſitting in the temple as God, and boaſting himſelfe aboue all that is named God. &c. 2. Theſſ. 2.
197. pope Nicolaus Cauſa. 15. q. 6. c. Autoritatem.
198. pope Martin. Diſt. 14 cap. Lector.
199. pope Gregorius Innior. 32. q. 7. cap. Quod propoſuiſti.
200. pope Inno. 4. Sext. Decretal. De ſententia excom. cap. Dilecto.
201. pope Alexander. 3. De Decimis cap. Ex parte.
202. pope. Nicolaus. 15. q. 6. Autoritatem.
203. De elect. & elect. poteſtate. Significaſti in Gloſa.
204. Baptiſta de Salis. in Summa caſuum ex panormitano.
205. pope Innoc. 4. De elect. Venerabilem.
206. Ext. De Iureiurando. cap. Venientes. Item. Diſt. De Elect Significaſti. in Gloſa.
207. pope Martinus.
5. Extra cap. Regimini Vniuerſalis eccleſiæ.
208. pope Vrbanus. 2. Cauſ. 23. q. 5. c. Excommunicatorum.
209. pope Nicolaus Cauſ. 15. q. 6. Autoritatem.
210. Ibidem.
211. Diſt. 82. 1. præsbyter.
212. pope pelagius. Diſt. 34 cap. Fraternitatis.
213. Baptiſta de Salis. fol. 114. Ibidem.

Caſus Papales 51. apud Fratrem Aſte ſanum ſiue de Aſt. Doctorem ſolemnem in ſumma confeſsionis. Item apud Hoſtienſem, De offic. legat. reperti & his verſibus comprehenſi.

SI ſit Catholicus, Papam non iudicat vllus.
Erigit & ſubdit Cathedras: Diuidit, vnit,
i. votam terræ ſanctæ. i. degradatos. i. epiſcopos & alios.
Mutat vota crucis. Reſtituit. Eximit. Ad ſe
Maiores cauſæ referuntur. Legitimatq;,
i. inſufficientes. i. intrantes religionem.
Promouet, Appellare vetat, Prohibet profiteri.
i. defectum regi vacante regno.
Deponit, transfert, ſuppletq;, Renunciat illi
Symonia, Iuramentum, Excommunicatio á Papa facta
Præſul, & exemptus. Simon, Iurans, Anathema,
tam Papa quam legati.
Vel proprium, vel legati, vel lex vtriuſq;
i. ſoluitur papa
Tum neq; participans: Etſi quam ſponte ſalutat,
Quem Canon damnat, ſibi ſoli quando reſeruat,
qui irrelugaritatem incurrit.
Soluitur a Papa nec non quem regula damnat.
ſcilicet addas.
Addas ſuſpenſum, Cauſam, cum fertur ad ipſum.
i. addas i. pluralitatem beneficiorum.
Reſcriptum, fidei dubium: Confert bona plura.
Irritat infectum, Legem condit generalem.
i. imperatorem.
Approbat imperium, firmat, deponit, & vngit.
canonizat.
Conſilium generale facit, Sacrat quoq; Sanctos.
de aliquo facit nihil. de nihilo aliquid.
Ens non eſſe facit: non ens, fore. Pallia ſemper
Portat Concedit, Legi non ſubiacet vlli.
i. immediate.
Appellatur ad hunc medio ſine, Iudiciumq;
de monacho non monachum facit.
Eſt pro lege ſuum. Monachum reuocat renuentem.
i. inceſtum. &c.
Maius adulterio ſoluit generaliter, Arctat
i. impedimentum matrimoniale
Et laxat quicquid ſponſis nocet. Ordinat extra
i. extra. 4. tempora.
Tempora dando ſacrum, Promotum promouet idem.
Ordinat atque die qua conſecratur & ipſe.
i. ſacerdotium confert nondum vacans.
Viuentiſq; locum concedit, Iureq; priuat.
in ſignia Epiſcopalia concedit. i. decimis eximit. i. præſbytero concedit infantes vngere.
In ſignit, Laico ſacro donat: Chriſma miniſtro.
Summa ſede ſedet, plenuſq; vicarius extat.
Si ſit Catholicus Papam non iudicat vllus.

Caſes Papale, to the number of one and fiftie, wherin the Pope hath power onely to diſpenſe and *none els beſides, except by ſpeciall licence from hym.*

24.q.1.Quoties.

First, the determination of doubts and queſtions belōging to faith.

Extr.de tranſlat.c.Inter

Tranſlation of a biſhop electe, or confirmed: Likewiſe of Abbots exempted.

3.q.6.Quamuis.9 q.3. Deniq;.16 q.1.Frater.

Depoſition of Biſhops.

The taking of reſignation of Biſhops.

Exemptions of Biſhops, not to be vnder Archbyſhops.

2.q.6.Ideo.

Reſtitution of ſuch as be depoſed from theyr order.

Extr.De reſtitutione.cap Cum veniſſent.7.q.1. temporis.

The iudiciall definition, or interpretation of his owne priueledges.

Chaunging of Byſhopprickes, or dimiſſion of Couentes. &c.

New correction of Biſhops ſeates, or inſtitutiō of new Religions.

16.q.1 Felix. 16.q 1.Et Chriſtus.

Subiection or diuiſion of one Byſhopricke vnder an other.

Extr.De vota.Ex multa.

Diſpenſation for vowing to go to the holy land.

Extr.de ſtatu monachi.c Cum ad.

Diſpenſation for the vow of chaſtitie, or of Religion, or of holy orders.

Extr. De iuramento.cap Venientes.

Diſpenſation agaynſt a lawfull othe, or vowe made.

Extra. De iudicio. c. At ſi clerici.

Diſpenſation agaynſt diuers irregularities, as in crimes greater then adultery, and in ſuche as be ſuſpended for Symonie.

Extr.de Bigamia.c.nuper

Diſpenſation in receiuing into orders hym that had two wiues.

Extrr. de clerico nō ord. miniſtrante.

Diſpenſing with ſuche as beeing within orders, do that which is aboue theyr order, as if a Deacon ſhoulde ſay maſſe, beyng not yet Prieſt.

Extr.De corpore vitiatis & Diſt.55. Diſt.50. Miror.

To receaue into orders ſuch as be blemiſhed or maymed in body.

Diſpenſation with murther, or with ſuche, as willingly cut of any member of mans body.

Extr.De ſententia & excom.ca.Cum illorum

Diſpēſation to geue orders to ſuch as haue bene vnder the ſentence of the greater curſe or excommunication.

Ibidem.

Diſpenſation to ſuch as beyng ſuſpended with ye greater curſe, do miniſter in any holy order.

Extr.De filijs præſbyt. c. Is qui.

Diſpenſation with ſuche as being vnlawfully borne, to receiue orders, or benefices.

Extr De præbend.c.De multa.

Diſpenſation for pluralities of benefices.

Extr.De elect.cap.Cum nobis.

Diſpenſation to make a man Byſhop before he be thirty yeare olde.

Extr.De ætate & qualit, Generalem.

Diſpenſation to geue orders vnder age.

Diſt.15.per totum,

The Pope onely hath power to make and call a generall Councell.

9,q.3.Per principale.

The Pope onely hath power to depriue an Eccleſiaſtical perſon, and geue away his benefice being not vacant.

De elect.cap.Venerabilē

The Pope alone is able to abſolue hym that is excommunicate by name.

Extr.De officio legati.c. Querenti.

The Pope onely is able to abſolue him whome his Legate doth excommunicate.

9.q.3.Aliorum.

The Pope doth iudgeth in the cauſes of them that appeale vnto hym, and where he iudgeth none may appeale from him.

Extr. De templi ordine. c. Cum in Diſtrib.

Onely he hath authoritie to make Deacon, and Prieſt, whom he made ſubdeacon, eyther vpon Sondayes, or vpon other feaſtes.

Extr.De vſu palij.cap. Ad honorem.

Onely the Pope, and none els, at all times and in all places weareth the palle.

Extr.De elect.c.Dudum

The Pope onely diſpenſeth with a man, eyther being not within orders, or being vnworthy to be made Biſhop.

Ext.de elec.c.venerabilē

He onely eyther confirmeth, or depoſeth the Emperour when he is choſen.

Tractatu.De cenſuris.

A man being excommunicate, and his abſolutiō referred to the Pope, none may abſolue that man but the pope alone.

Ext.De elect.c.Innocuit.

The ſame hath authoritie in any electiō, before it be made, to pronounce it none whē it is made,

Extra.De religione & veneratione Sanct.cap.1

He doth Canoniſe Saintes, and none els but he.

Extrau. De præbend.ca. De multa.

Diſpenſation to haue many dignities and perſonages in one Church, and without charge and cure of ſoule, belongeth onely to the Pope.

Extrau. Qui.fi.ſint.leg. cap.Tanta.

To make that effectuall whiche is of no effect, and contrariwiſe, belongeth onely to the Pope.

9 q.3.cap.Vltimo.

To plucke a monke out of his cloyſter both againſt his owne will and the Abbattes, pertaineth onely to the Pope.

Extrau.De Sentent.& re Iudic.c.In cauſis.

His ſentence maketh a law.

Extrau.De elect cap. Quod ſicut.

The ſame day in whiche the pope is conſecrate, he may geue orders.

Extrau.De reſtit.ſpo.Literas.

He diſpenſeth in degrees of conſanguinitie and affinitie.

Extrau.De præſcript c. vlt.& De Iudicio c. Nouit.

He is able to aboliſhe lawes, quoad vtrumq; forum, that is, both Ciuill and Canon, where daunger is of the ſoule.

Thomas.

It is in his diſpenſation to geue generall indulgences to certayne places or perſons.

Extrau.Qui.fi.ſint.legit.c.Per venerabilem. Petrus de Palude. lib.4.

Item to legitimate what perſons ſoeuer he pleaſe, as touching ſpiritualties: in all places, as touchinge temporalties, as honoures, inheritaunce. &c.

To erect new religions, to approoue or reproue rules, or ordinaunces, and Ceremonies in the Church.

Secundum Thomam in 4.

He is able to diſpenſe with all the preceptes and ſtatutes of the Church.

9.q.3.Per principalem.

Item, to diſpenſe and to diſcharge any ſubiect from ye bond of allegeance or oth made to any maner perſon.

Diſtinct.40.Si Papa.

No man may accuſe hym of any crime, vnleſſe of hereſie, & that neyther, except he be incorrigible.

Ibidem.

The ſame is alſo free from all lawes, ſo that he cannot incurre into any ſentence of excommunication, ſuſpenſion, irregularitie, or into the penaltie of any crime, but into the note of crime he may well.

Diſt.32.cap. Præter hoc. ¶. Verum.

Finally he by hys diſpenſation may graunt, yea to a ſimple prieſt, to miniſter the ſacrament of confirmation to infants: alſo to geue lower orders, and to hallow churches and virgines. &c.

These be the caſes wherein I onely haue power to diſpēſe, and no man els, neyther Byſhop, nor Metropolitane, nor Legate, without a licence from me.

The riches and poſſeſſions of the Pope.

¶ After that I haue nowe ſufficently declared my power in earth, in heauen, and in purgatory, howe great it is & what is the fulnes thereof, in binding looſing, commanding, permitting electing, confirming depoſing, diſpenſing, doyng, and vndoing &c. I will entreat now a litle of my riches likewiſe and great poſſeſſions, that euerye man may ſee by my wealth and aboundaunce of all thynges, rentes, tythes, tributes, my ſilkes, my purple Miters, Crowns, Golde, Siluer, Perles and Gemmes, Landes, and Lordſhips, how God here proſpereth and magnifieth hys Vicare in the earth. For to me pertayneth firſt the Imperiall Citie of Rome, the Pallace of Laterane the kingdome of Cicile is proper to me, Apulia, Capua be myne. Alſo ye kingdome of England and Ireland, be they not or ought to be tributaryes to me? 214. To theſe I adioyne alſo, beſides other prouinces and countryes both in the Occident and Orient, from the North to the South, theſe dominions by name. 215. as Surrianum, Mōtembordō, & lunæ inſulam, Corſicæ regnum, Paruam Mantuam, Monteſelete, Inſulam venetiarum, Ducatum Ferrariæ, Canellum, Caniodam, Ducatum Hiſtriæ Dalmatiam, Ex archatum Rauennæ, Fauentiam, Ceſenam, Caſtrum, Tiberiatus Roccam Mediolanum, Caſtrum ceperianum, Caſtrum Cuſianum, Terram Cornulariam, Ducatum Ariminii, Comtam, Montem ferretum, Montem Capiniq; ſeu Olympicum, Caſtrum exforij. Robin, Eugubin, Vrbin, forum Sempronij, Galli, & Senogalli, Anconam, Goſam, Ducatum peruſij, Vrbenetam, & Tudertum, Caſtrum Sinianum, Ducatum Spoletanum, Theanū, Calabriam, Ducatum Neapolim, Ducatū Beneuenti, Selernum, Sorrenti inſulam, Cardiniam inſulam, Anciæ inſulam, Territorium Cutiſan, Territorium præneſtinum, Terram Silandis, Terram Cluſium, Terram fundan, Terram vegetan, Terram Glaudanam, Terram camiſinam, Terram Fabinenſem, Terram Siram, Terram portuenſem, cum inſula Archis, Terram Oſtienſem cum maritimis, Ciuitatem Aquinenſem, Ciuitatem lamentum, & Sufforariam, Ciuitatem Faliſenam, Fidenam, Feretrum, Cliternam, Neapolim, Galiopolim, with diuers other mo. 216. which Conſtantinus the Emperour gaue vnto me, not yt they were not mine before he did geue them. 217. For in that I tooke them of hym, I tooke them not as a gifte (as is afore mentioned) but as a reſtitution. And that I rendered them agayn to Otho, I did it not for any duety to him but onely for peace ſake. What ſhould I ſpeak here, of my dayly reuenues, of my firſt fruites, annates, palles, indulgences

214.Diſt.96. Conſtantinus.

215.Ex Commentarijs Theodorici Niemi, quem citat Illyricus in Catalogo teſtium.fol.228.

216.Diſt.96. Conſtantinus.

217.Antoninus in ſumma Maiore.3.Parte.

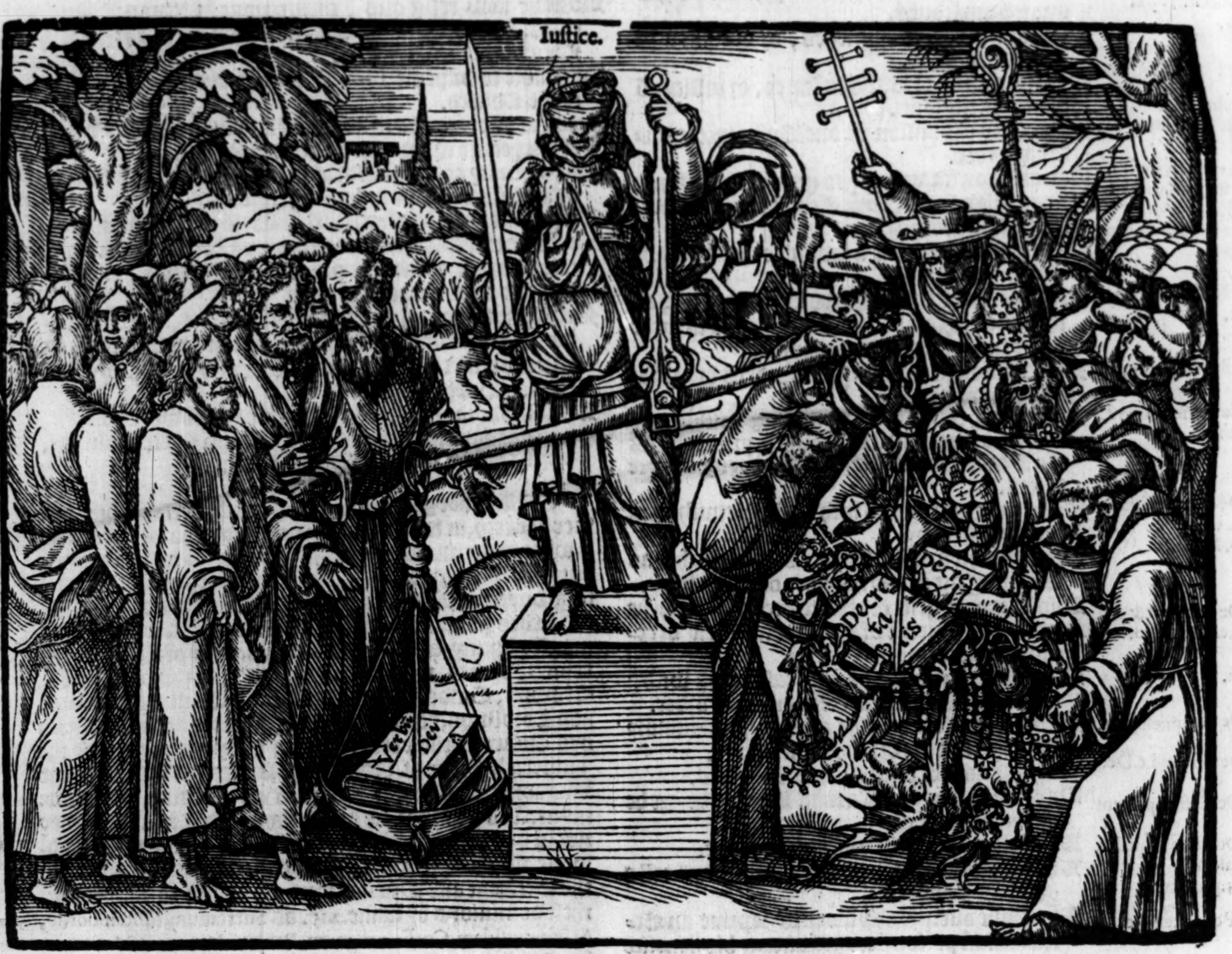
gẽces: bulles, conſeſſionals, indultes and reſcriptes, teſtamẽts, diſpenſatiõs, priuilegies, elections, prebends, religious houſes, and ſuch like, which come to no ſmall maſſe of money? Inſomuch that for one palle to the Archbiſhop of Mentz, whiche was wont to be geuen for x. thouſand 218. florence, now it is growne to xxvij. thouſand florence which I receaued of Iacobus the Archbiſhop not long before Baſill Councell: Beſides the fruites of other Biſhoprickes in Germanye, comming to the number of fiftie, whereby what vauntage commeth to my coffers, it may partly be coniectured. But what ſhould I ſpeake of Germany, 219. when the whole worlde is my Dioceſſe, as my Canoniſtes do ſay, and all mẽn are bound to beleue, 220. except they will imagine (as the Manichies doe) two beginninges, which is falſe and hereticall. For Moſes ſaith: In the beginning God made heauen and earth, and not in the beginninges. 221. Wherefore as I begon, ſo I conclude, commanding declaring and pronouncing, to ſtand vpon neceſſitie of ſalnation, for euery humaine creature to be ſubiect to mee.

218. Ex lib. Gra. nominũ nationis Germanicæ. Aboue fiftie byſhoppricks in Germany. Aeneas Syluius. 219. Sext Decret. De penis. cap. Felicis in Gloſa.

Itẽ De priuilegijs c. Autoritatẽ in Gloſa. 220. Pope Bonifacius 8. Ext. De Maio. & obed. c. Vnam ſanctam. 221. Ibid.

¶ The end of the firſt Volume of the Booke of Martyrs.

A liuely picture deſcribing the weight and ſubſtaunce of Gods moſt bleſſed word agaynſt the doctrines and vanities of mans traditions.



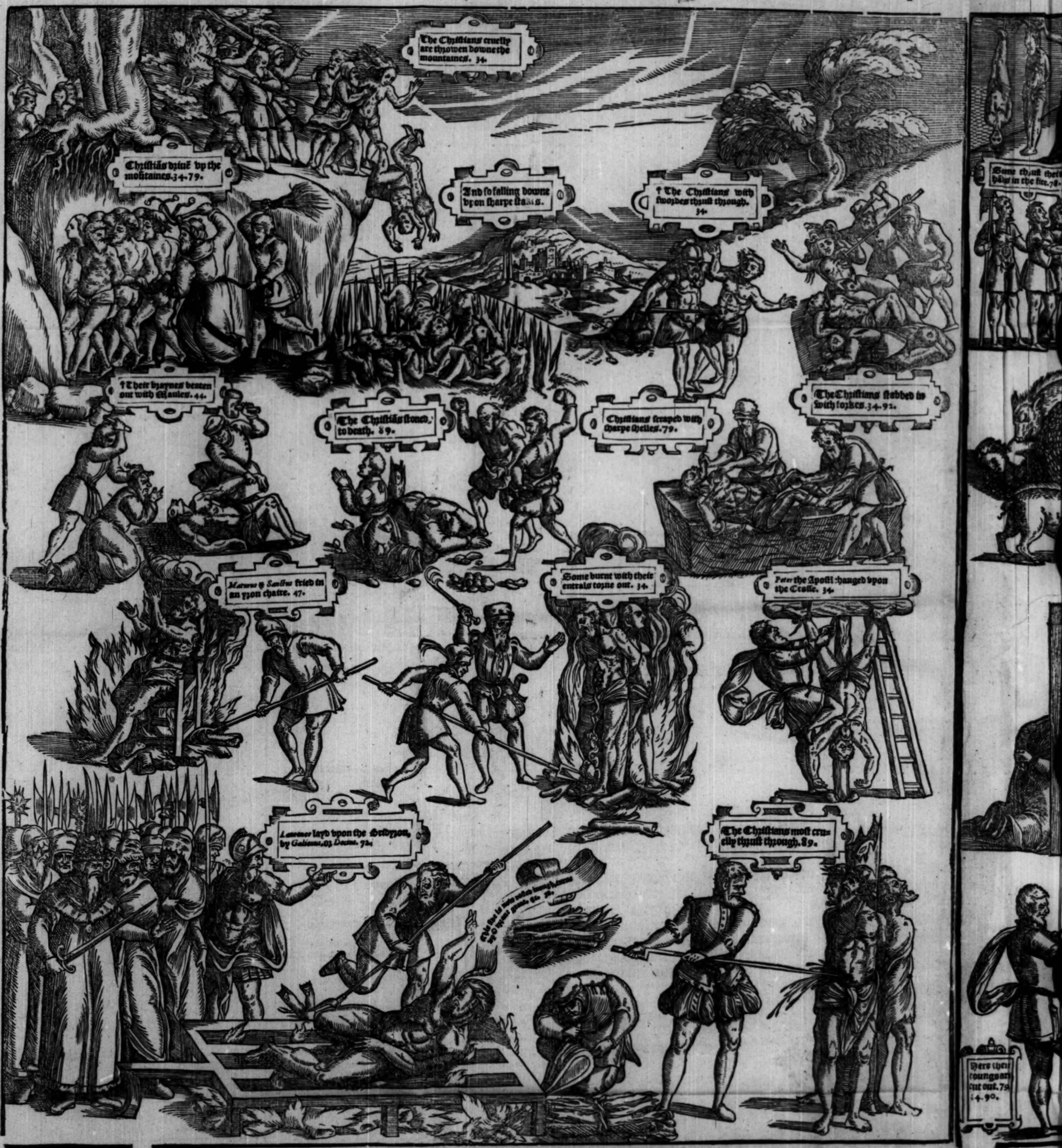
¶ AT LONDON.
Printed by Iohn Daye, dwelling ouer
Alderſgate beneath Sainct Martins.

Anno. 1583.

Cum gratia & Priuilegio Regiæ Maieſtatis.

A Table of the X. firſt Perſecutions of the Primitiue Chu

tyme of Tiberius, vnto Conſtantinus Emperours of Rome, w


The Christians cruelly are throwen downe the mountaines. 34.
Christiãs driue vp the moũtaines. 34. 79.
And ſo falling downe vpon ſharpe ſtakes.
The Christians with ſwordes thruſt through. 34.
Their braynes beaten out with Maules. 44.
The Christiãs ſtoned to death. 89.
Christians ſcraped with ſharpe ſhelles. 79.
The Christians ſtabbed in with forkes. 34. 92.
Maturus & Sanctus fried in an yron chayre. 47.
Some burnt with their entrals torne out. 34.
Peter the Apoſtl hanged vpon the Croſſe. 34.
Laurence layd vpon the Gridyron, by Galienus, or Decius. 72.
The Christians moſt cruelly thruſt through. 89.
Some thruſt
in the fire. 78.
Here their
toungs are
cut out. 79.
34. 90.

xlij. Monethes. Reuelat. xi.

iij. yeares & a halfe.

iij. dayes & a halfe. Reuelat. xi.

A time, times, and halfe a time. Reuelat. xij.

M.CCLX. dayes. Reuelat. xij.

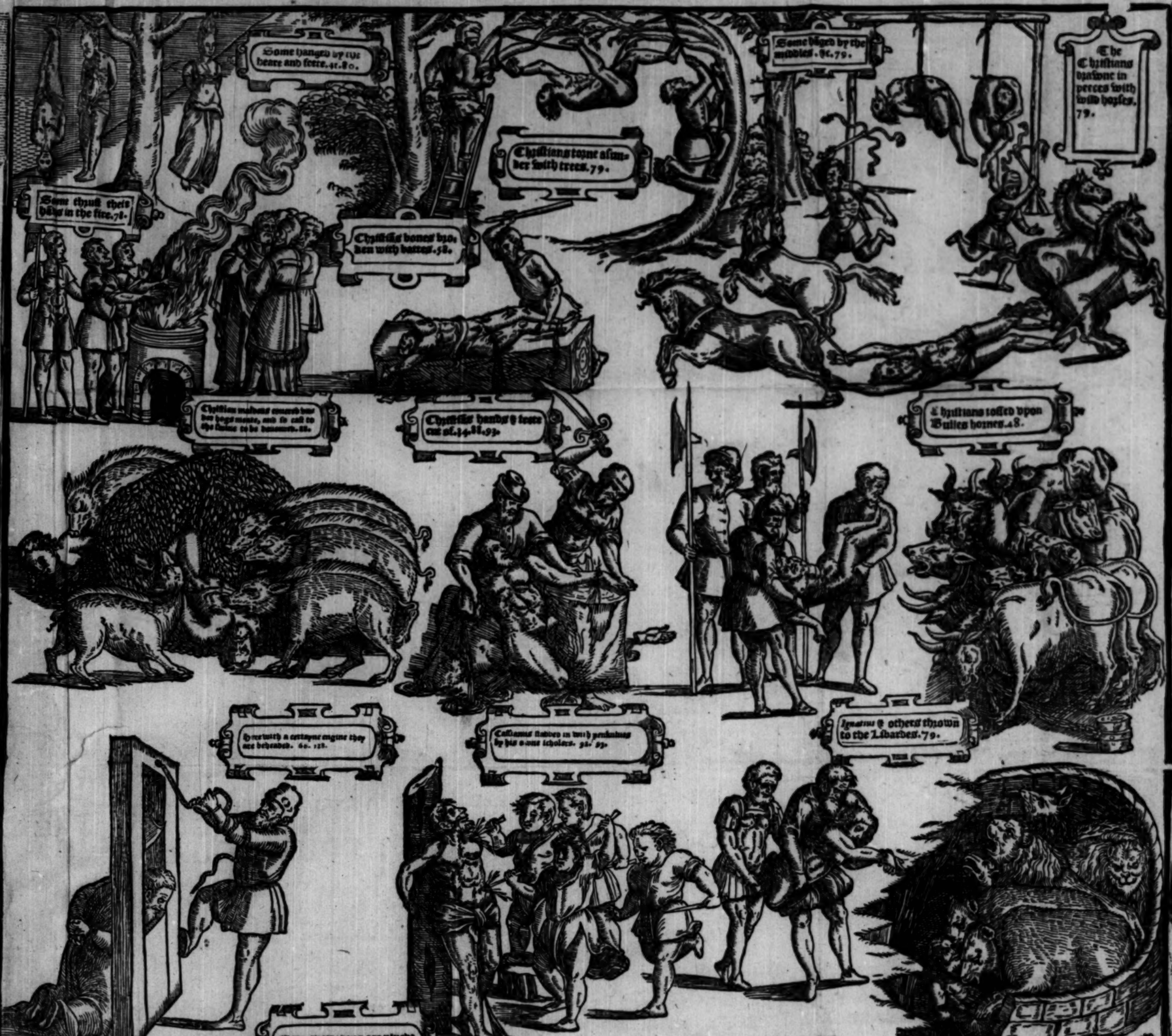
The tying & loſing agayne of Sathan. Reuelat. 20.

These perſecutiõs of ẏ primatiue Churche laſted cccxiiij. yeares, count
in his Reuelation doth Propheſie before in ſundrye places: firſt Cap. xj. where h
the common vſe of Scripture, & of Daniell, that is, euery moneth for vij. yeares, do
Wherein is to be noted ẏ errour of thẽ, which taking theſe xlii. monethes ſimply (
to be reckened by Sabbates of yeares, that is, vij. yeares to euery moneth, after the
The lyke vnderſtanding alſo hath ẏ iij. dayes & a half mẽtioned in the Reuelation. C
And ſo whether ye count by monthes or by dayes, both wayes it geueth a time,
xlii. monethes: ſo likewiſe in one day, ij. dayes and halfe a daye, may be vnderſtand
Furthermore, where in the ſayde Reuelation of S. Iohn. cap. xii. mention is made
yeares: and ſo long continued theſe Perſecutions.

Note moreouer, that after ẏ tyme of theſe Perſecutions expired, S. Iohn in the ſayd booke of his Reuelations. C
people, as before: Which looſing of Sathan falleth vpon the yeare of our Lorde. 1324. At what time the king

itiue Church vnder the Heathen Tyrannes of Rome, continuing the ſpace al

mperours of Rome, with the ſundrye kindes of Tormentes deuiſed agaynſte the Chriſtians, as by the places here noted and quoted, in the ſ


Some hanged by the heare and feete. 41. 80.
Some thruſt their hands in the fire. 78.
Chriſtians torne aſunder with trees. 79.
Some hanged by the middles. &c. 79.
The Chriſtians drawne in peeces with wild horſes. 79.
Chriſtians bones broken with barres. 58.
Chriſtian maidens couered in hogges meate, and ſo caſt to the Swine to be deuoured. 88.
Chriſtians handes & feete cut of. 14. 88. 93.
Chriſtians toſſed vpon Bulles hornes. 48.
Here with a certayne engine they are beheaded. 60. 128.
Caſſianus ſtabbed in with penknifes by his owne ſcholers. 92. 93.
Ignatius & others thrown to the Libardes. 79.
Here their ſkins are plucte of aliue. 92. 90.
Chriſtians dragged through the ſtreetes. 37. 78.
Here their toungs are cut out. 79. 14. 90.

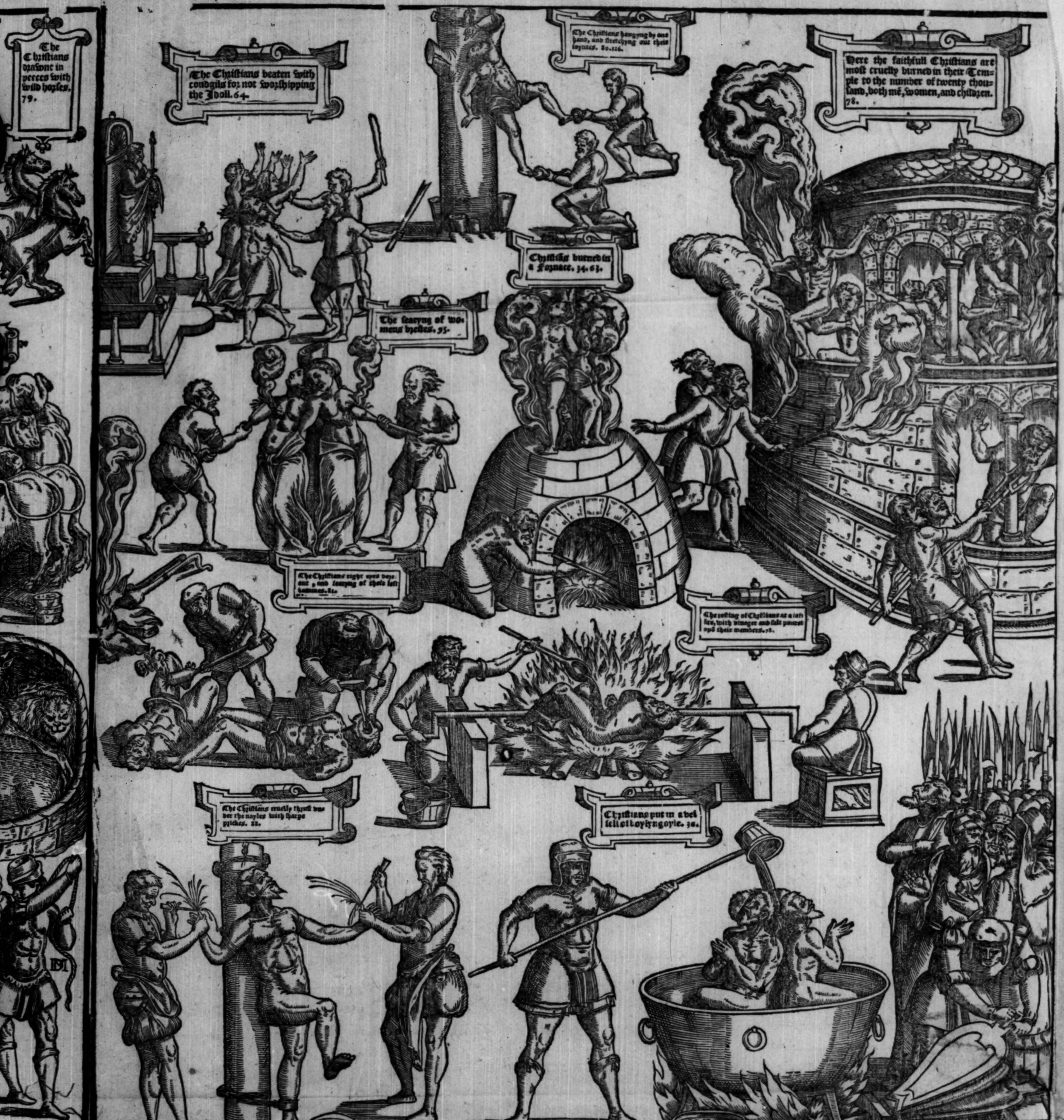
¶ *The XLII. Monethes in the Reuelation of S. Iohn expounded.*

d ccxciiij. yeares, counting from the beheading of *S. John Baptiſt* (which was the xxxii. yeare of the raigne of *Tiberius*) till the end of *Licinius* the laſt perſecuting
aces: firſt Cap. xj. where he ſayth: The Gentiles ſhall tread downe the holy Citie xlij. monethes. And agayne in the xiij. Chapter: And power was geuen to the Beaſt to make xlii. moneth
ery moneth for vij. yeares, doe riſe to the number aforeſayd, of ccxciiij. yeares.
g theſe xlii. monethes ſimply (as the letter ſtandeth (for iij. yeares and a halfe, do affirme thereby, that Antichriſt, when he ſhall come (being borne of the tribe of Dan) ſhall reigne but onely iij. y
es to euery moneth, after the vſe of Scripture, and ſo they make ccxciiij. yeares: During the tyme of whiche yeares, Antichriſt then reigned in the Primitiue Churche, till the comming of Con
f mētioned in the Reuelation. Cap. xi. where is ſayd: That after three dayes and a halfe the two Prophetes ſhall reuiue agayne. &c. For count euery houre of the day (whiche be xii.) by Sabbates o
oth wayes it geueth a time, tymes, and halfe a tyme. For as one tweluemonth (whiche is one yeare) maketh one tyme, ii. twelue monthes (whiche is ii. yeare) make ii. times: & vi
fe a daye, may be vnderſtand a tyme, tymes, and halfe a tyme, mentioned in the Reuelation cap. xii.
hn. cap. xii. mention is made of a M. cclx. dayes, it commeth likewiſe to the ſame reckening. For in geuing xxx. dayes to a moneth, ſo many dayes doe amounte in all to xlii. moneth

ſayd booke of his Reuelations. Cap. xx. propheſieth that Sathan ſhoulde be tyed vp for a thouſande yeares, and after that let loſe agayne in the worlde for a little ſpace that is, that the rag
324. At what time the kingdome of the Turkes firſt beganne vnder Ottomannus, waſting and deſtroying then the Churches of Aſia, and afterward of Europa. Read the Actes and

ng the ſpace almoſt of ccc. yeares after Chriſt from the

e noted and quoted, in the ſtory is to be found more at large.


The Chriſtians drawne in peeces with wild horſes. 79.
The Chriſtians beaten with coudgils for not worſhipping the Idoll. 64.
The Chriſtians hangyng by one hand, and ſtretchyng out their ioyntes. 80.126.
Here the faithfull Chriſtians are moſt cruelly burned in their Temple to the number of twenty thouſand, both mē, women, and children. 78.
Chriſtiās burned in a Fornace. 34.63.
The ſearyng of womens breſtes. 95.
The Chriſtians right eyes bored out, and ſearyng of their left hammes. 81.
The roſting of Chriſtians at a ſoft fire, with vineger and ſalt poured vpō their members. 78.
The Chriſtians cruelly thruſt vnder the nayles with ſharpe prickes. 22.
Chriſtians put in a veſſell of boylyng oyle. 36.
DM

f *Licinius* the laſt perſecuting Emperour of *Rome*. Cōcerning ẏ which cccxciiij. yeares S *Iohn*
n to the Beaſt to make xlii. monethes. &c. Which xlii. monethes being counted by Sabbates of yeares after

e of Dan) ſhal reigne but onely iij. yeares and a halfe: not vnderſtādING how theſe xlii. monthes are miſtically
e Churche, till the comming of Conſtantine the Chriſtian Emperour.
y (whiche be xii.) by Sabbates of yeares, that is, for vii. yeares, and it commeth to cccxciiij. yeares.
e is ii. yeare) make ii. times: & vi. monethes (whiche is halfe a yeare) make halfe a tyme, making altogether

e amounte in all to xlii. monethes. Which (as is ſayde) being reduced to Sabbates of yeares, make cccxciiii.

a little ſpace that is, that the rage and violence of Perſecution ſhoulde then be ſtyrred vp agaynſt Gods
d of Europa. Read the Actes and Monumentes. Pag. 735. 736. 738. σωὶ τῷ χριςῷ.

Imprinted at London by Iohn Daye.